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Volume 10, Number 1 August-September 1975

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LETTERS

Dear Comrades:

We are congratulating you for sending us two important issues of PL and "Unheavenly System." We got them on the 8th and 10th of May '75, due to postal delay. We are carrying out profound discussions among the members of our group with some of the articles in it; e.g., 1) Road to Revolution III, 2) The Strategy and Tactics of the International Communist Movement, 3) Article on Seventh Congress of Third International, 4) Lessons of the Paris Commune, and others. Several questions have arisen among us (though discussions remain incomplete) and we are giving the summary of them below. We found nothing **fundamentally against** your comment on "two-stage" theory. But our belief is against "no-stage" theory. Many comrades among our group raised several points that should be clarified to understand precisely the line. We are certain that if we cannot fight against every variety of revisionism and social imperialism; if we cannot criticize the past revisionist mistakes (even though they may be made by revolutionary parties or persons), we cannot succeed to pave the path of world-wide communism. We ask your help in the effort to criticize revisionism resolutely.

1) We know from our experience the harm and danger that can be done by the "cult of the individual" instead of democratic centralism in a party. Charu Mazumdar's (head of the Naxalites; India's Maoists/killed by the police) closest circles preached the cult of Charu Mazumdar, "an infallible person," "a genius," "an emancipator of Indian people," "a born Marxist" who discovered Marxism suitable to Indian soil and this liquidated our party which had many positive aspects. We quite see eye to eye with your analysis of this respect.

2) The tactic of united fronts originates from the fact that the working class is a weak class (numerically), and hence in order to make the revolution victorious, it must be united with its friends. Practically, a united front from "up,"

without a mass line, is meaningless. We believe in this. But we think that **the proletariat can utilize the contradictions among the enemy** and that we must unite as many as possible to defeat the few—it is a tactic that helps the proletariat seize power. We want more on this point "united front"—What? Why? With whom? Who must stay outside? **Why the "temporary friends" among the enemy should be kept outside?** And how can it be achieved? Your line on it should be clearly stated and clarified.

3) Interaction among the leaders of the people—the party, leaders, cadres and people. We must rely on the people, our class (proletariat) and its staunchest and close friends. But degrees of our reliance on our class and other sections of people are not equal.

4) Should we avoid "peace talks" and tactics which weaken our enemy? And again "to save ourselves from being ruined" can we not have any peace treaty (e.g., Brest-Litovsk)? The Vietnamese "peace talks" hastened Vietnam's liberation.

5) Concept of "war and peace" should be clearer.

6) You have correctly condemned Chinese policy on the "third world." Putting the U.N. sky high is a weapon in the hands of the bourgeoisie and imperialism (as rightly stated by the CPC (Communist Party of China) in "Apologists of neo-colonialism"). But now the CPC is propagating the utter nonsense of the U.N. being in the hands of anti-imperialist forces.

7) Question of no standing army—this is not at all convincing. The "Paris Commune" preceded National Guards, which was nothing other than a standing army which "withers away" in the course of the revolution. In a communist society we will have no state and hence no standing army. But before the victory of revolution and throughout the transition period (socialism)?

8) We are seriously discussing the correctness and significance of the

slogan "Fight for Socialism" in our country and we think it is a correct slogan. Only the **"dictatorship of the proletariat"** and not "new democracy" can save the oppressed people and the working class from oppression and subjugation. This is convincing, because a new democratic dictatorship (of the alliance of four classes: workers, peasants, national bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie) may be a **dictatorship of bourgeois ideology** first, which will not try to uproot capitalist production relations and nothing can be done to lead the history to its goal. Again, socialist revolution is a revolution in the sphere of superstructure first and then the economic base is changed. In the Western countries bourgeois democratic revolutions occurred when the economic base had turned basically capitalist. History shows that all previous revolutions were made when the economic base had changed and new relations of production reigned supreme. The 'new' feudal lords snatched power from the slave owners when the **basic** relations of production in the society were not of slave owning society but that of feudal society. Likewise the new and progressive capitalists came to power after the bourgeois relations of production were **basic** in the society. But the case is the reverse in a socialist revolution. The working class first takes control, seizes power first, and then socialist and communist relations of production are put on the society, abolishing gradually capitalist relations. Hence in such a revolution any ideological or other concessions to the bourgeoisie will inevitably loosen the seized superstructure and lead to capitalism and the dictatorship of the proletariat will be transformed to the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. The Chinese authorities have permitted small and medium sized capitalist enterprises in China (the new constitution). They say (in "Advice to the Third World Countries, to build their national economy,"—see **Peking Review**, various

numbers between 1-10, 1975) that to build a national economy, one must first encourage small and medium size (capitalist) enterprises in order to have enough capital to build large scale industry, and then with a strong national economy one can fight against imperialism. But this kind of large scale industry must be capitalist and can not

but help imperialism. China also is following this on its own soil, although there is a sign-board of the dictatorship of the proletariat there. It is the inevitable result of the concessions they gave to the bourgeoisie before and after liberation. The ultimate effect of the new policy taken by the CPC is to become a social imperialist power and

to follow its predecessors Kautsky, Khrushchev, Brezhnev and Co. The working class and its party must try to transform the bourgeois intellectuals into proletarian intellectuals and try to transform their world outlook. But concessions? Never.

These are, in short, our views on reading the PL's. We want to have your opinion on these and other points. We want to have more information on PLP.

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International Round-Up

Argentina

The reality of class struggle is breaking the illusions held by Argentinian workers about Peronism. The Federation of Labor (CGT) was forced to call a general strike on June 27 to protest Isabel Peron's new economic policy. With inflation running at 100 per cent a year, with increases of all prices plus a 50 per cent devaluation of the local currency in relation to the dollar, the government is trying to limit the workers' wage demands to 50 per cent.

The seven-hour general strike plus the massive demonstration called by the three-million strong CGT in front of the Presidential palace followed a wave of strikes led mainly by auto workers. On June 30, massive rank and file-led strikes paralyzed the auto industry here and the industrial cities of Mendoza and Córdoba.

Isabel succeeded her husband Juan Domingo Peron after he died last year. Peron, elected by a massive vote, was brought back from exile by the Argentinian ruling class as their final hope to stop the workers' struggles here. Prior to Peron's return, the many military dictatorships which ruled the country were smashed by the massive workers' rebellion in May 1969 which took over the industrial city of Cordoba and fought the army for days. This rebellion, known as El Cordobazo, was repeated to a smaller degree in 1971. That was when the bosses decided to bring back Peron, who enjoyed massive popularity among the workers.

But Peron's demagoguery could only last a short time in this period of crisis for world capitalism. Before Peron died, the part of his movement which believed that he was for socialism, led by the Peronist Youth (JP) and the Montoneros guerrillas, broke with him. After Isabel took over and the sinister Lopez Rega, Minister of Social Welfare (known as the witch because of his belief in astrology) became the leading



March in Argentina in support of striking metalworkers

power behind the throne, the Anti-Communist Alliance (AAA) began its terrorist tactics, killing hundreds of workers and opponents of the government. Rank-and-filers began struggles like the two month old strike at the Villa Constitucion steel mill in the spring of this year, where 3,000 workers held out in spite of the arrests of 200 of their trade union leaders and the lack of support from the official union bureaucracy.

As this article is being written, thousands of workers are waging strikes all over the country, demanding wage increases to compete with the high cost of living here. But a heavy imbalance in trade has caused a sharp drop in foreign exchange reserves, and the country might not be able to pay more than \$2 billion in foreign debt next years. Capitalism is in a crisis here and the Peronist government, as a good capitalist agent, must make the workers pay for the crisis.

THE FUTURE FOR THE WORKERS MOVEMENT

The most mentioned opposition to the

Isabel government has been the guerrillas movement, the Peronist Montoneros and the People's Revolutionary Army (ERP). The Montoneros are the biggest, with wide support among the radical petit-bourgeoisie (it has a mass following of more than 100,000). The Montoneros still believe in Peron, but not in his successors. Their line has gone from open guerrilla attacks to participation in elections in Misiones this spring, where they helped form an Authentic Peronist Party to compete with the official Peronists supported by Isabel. They got wiped out, but their line is still to ally with a section of the bourgeoisie.

The ERP are called Marxist-Leninists. They broke with Trotskyism a few years ago and their line is more closely associated with Castroist guerrilla tactics. Their belief is that the class struggle should be subordinated to their military struggles. Therefore (since they do not truly constitute a mass workers' army) their military tactics are isolated from the working class and hurt the workers' mass struggle.

The Argentinian "Communist" Party

follows the same line as any other pro-Soviet "C" P. They support the Peronist government (when the P" C" A had a revolutionary line they called Peron a fascist, because Peron was a supporter of the Axis powers during World War II).

The Maoist "Revolutionary Communist" Party also supports the Peronist government "against an attempted coup by the two super-powers."

The Trotskyist PST, the equivalent of the U.S. Socialist Workers' Party (SWP), is as right wing as the SWP in the U.S., and became famous for signing a pact with Peron itself. Their line inside the workers' movement is pure reformism.

There are, though, many workers and many independent left-wing forces who are trying to build a Communist Party to fight for socialism without allying with any section of the bourgeoisie here. This is the only way that the Argentinian working class will win socialism.

The struggle of the Argentinian workers is important for all workers. For the U.S. workers, it is very important since U.S. imperialism, particularly the three auto giants, have great investments here and the auto workers here have been in the vanguard of the class struggle.

Lebanon

Bloody fighting has continued for over one month now in Lebanon between Phalangists and Palestinians. A military government, the first in Lebanon's history, has come and gone within two weeks. The stage is now set for civil war, which may result in a massacre of Palestinians similar to that of September 1970 (Black September) in Jordan.

The Phalange is a fascist party, originally established under French colonial rule in Lebanon, in conjunction with the Catholic Church, to organize Catholics against Moslems and other Christians. The Phalange was part of the French imperialist scheme of divide-and-rule.

The Palestinian Liberation Organization is a group of nationalist organizations for the establishment of a Palestinian state in the land now occupied by the State of Israel.

The fighting was sparked by an attack by units of the Phalangist militia on a bus carrying Palestinians from a political rally. Twenty-seven Palestinian men, women and children were killed.

Clashes were concentrated in the suburban areas of Beirut, where the Phalangists have their strongholds, although attacks also took place all over the city, and also in other parts of Lebanon, including Sidon and Tripoli (according to **Free Palestine**).

So far, several hundreds have been killed and many hundreds more wounded. The Phalange, armed with the latest American weapons, and numbering about 5,000 armed men, was no match for the PLO. The Palestinians can call out easily twice that many armed partisans, with the latest Russian weapons, and can rely on support from thousands of Palestinians and leftist Lebanese. As a result, a truce was arranged by the government and the Arab League. Shortly afterwards, a military government was created, but resigned on May 26. Fighting erupted again.

Fighting like this has broken out regularly over the past few years in Lebanon, and is the direct result of an irreconcilable contradiction between the capitalist Lebanese state and the armed Palestinian movement. No capitalist state can afford to have a large well-armed and organized movement outside of its control within its borders, especially if the movement is partially directed against its host imperialist power. The Palestinian movement is directed against US imperialism, which controls Lebanon. It was precisely this contradiction that resulted in the September massacres of 1970 in Jordan.

The Palestinian movement, on the other hand, has no intention of uniting with Arab workers in overthrowing capitalism in the countries of West Asia. Instead, the movement maintains organizations for Palestinians separate from Arab workers in the host countries, and tries to co-exist with capitalist governments, like the Lebanese, in order to use such countries as Lebanon for attacks on Israel.

Such an imbalance of power cannot continue forever. The present fighting is probably an attempt by the Lebanese capitalists and their US backers to test the strength of the Palestinian movement and its support from

Lebanese through the Phalange attack. The failure of the Phalange attack, they probably reasoned, could be backed up by a military government and, if necessary, the Lebanese army supported by the US and Israeli armed forces. The Palestinians would be no match for such a combination.

The explosiveness of the situation is such that, if either the US or Israel became involved, then Syria, Iraq and, possibly, the Soviet Union would also become involved. Because of increasing imperialist rivalries, any petty flareup in West Asia can readily lead to World War III.

At the same time, the revolutionary potential of workers and poor peasants in West Asia is increasing. None of the regimes in the area really enjoy any popular support. In Lebanon, the situation is much like the "Wild West": almost every family has its own sub-machine gun. What the proletarians of the many nationalities of West Asia need now is to unite on a CLASS basis. If we don't do in the bosses, they will do us in, in one of their wars. Nationalism, which passes now for revolutionism, must be dumped. Workers and poor peasants don't need a Palestinian state, which will be another capitalist regime. They must destroy all the capitalist regimes and fight for SOCIALISM.

U.S. Defeat in Southeast Asia

The ignominious rout of U.S. imperialism in Vietnam is easily the most significant milestone so far on the road to the ruin of the U.S. bosses. The U.S. defeat is the first unconditional surrender since 1945. Of the thirteen international wars that marked this 30 year period of "peace," only one, the U.S.-Vietnamese war, led to unconditional surrender, panic-stricken flight of embassy and military personnel intact, abandonment of \$10 billion of arms and military facilities, etc. The terror-stricken stampede, the severe drubbing, the completeness of the defeat is an object lesson to U.S. puppets and "friends" the world over, and there are signs the proper conclusions are being drawn by such former lackeys as the Thai government, the Israeli fascist clique and the South



Defeated U.S. puppet soldiers fight each other during evacuation

African racists.

Vietnam, China, USSR, Japan and France will compete to fill the military, economic and political vacuum left by the hasty U.S. exit from South-East Asia. The Vietnamese will be a military power in the area, but they are turning to the various imperialist powers for economic contracts. Preliminary overtures to private companies already have come from the new Saigon regime in Paris. Contracts made by the old government are rescinded, says a PRG spokesman, and new ones will have to be negotiated. Offshore oil exploration already is being given priority. The Japanese, who traded with North Vietnam before the fall of Saigon, are ready to fill the vacuum and already have made approaches to the PRG. "The new government will need houses, medical facilities, bridges, ports and dams, and Japan should cooperate, by supplying the necessary materials and machines," said Yasuo Oki, marketing chief of Mitsubishi. (Quoted in **Business Week**).

At this point the Japanese do indeed have the inside track in the race to become the predominant power in the area. They maintained their embassy in Saigon during the panicky flight of the U.S. imperialists and immediately opened up contacts with the PRG. The historical Japanese need to guarantee raw materials and food from South-

East Asia is the prime objective of Japanese imperialist policy. Moreover, the defeated U.S. imperialists are giving some encouragement to the Japanese in this in order for them to outmaneuver the Soviets in South-East Asia. At this point geography and China prevent the USSR from assuming the role of No. 1 power in the region and neither Vietnam, France nor China has the economic muscle to dominate the area. So the way seems open for a modern, slicker version of the "Greater East-Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere."

Portugal

The ruling Armed Forces Movement has taken a swing to the right in their latest crisis meeting to try to save capitalism and to avert a workers' revolution here.

The Armed Forces Movement declared in its June emergency meeting, after workers took over the "Socialist" Party newspaper **Republica** and the Catholic Church Radio **Renascenca**, that they "rejected a dictatorship of the proletariat and will not tolerate organizing inside the Armed Forces."

The truth is that the Armed Forces Movement is as "socialist" as

Rockefeller or the "Socialist" and "Communist" Parties. They all represent different sections of the bourgeoisie of Portugal. And in spite of the bickering between all of them, their main aim is to avoid a workers' revolution here.

On the other hand, the working class is organizing itself every day and is breaking the hold of this trio.

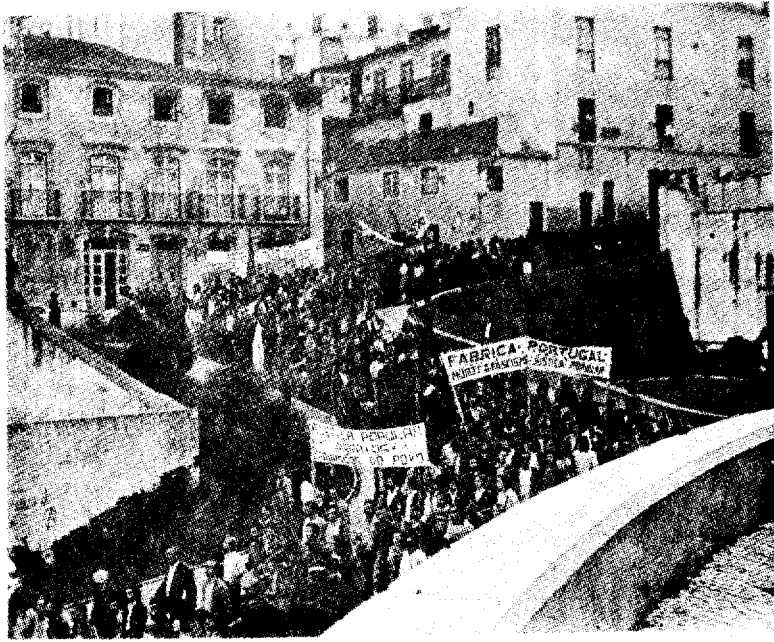
During the same week that the AFM announced its new program:

—TAP (National Airlines) workers surrounded the main administration offices of TAP and kept the management—two senior military officers and a civilian—trapped in their offices demanding an immediate settlement of their 15-month-old wage claim. The 7,500 TAP workers have been waging struggles since Portugal was ruled by fascism. In August, 1974, TAP was brought under military control following similar actions. The TAP workers do not have the support of the "Communist" Party (revisionist)-controlled trade union leadership (Intersindical), which has opposed all actions by these militant workers. The revisionists are also opposed to the labor dispute affecting the telephone workers, showing that more and more sections of the trade union movement are breaking away from the revisionists and taking a militant path.

—Workers at the Belgian-owned factory Sapec, which produces agricultural machinery, were also keeping a member of the board trapped in his office in Setubal. He has been refused permission to leave by the 900 workers until the parent company in Brussels agrees to transfer to Portugal a major part of this year's recently declared annual dividend and agrees to purge the local company's management, accused by the workers of being fascist. Workers are also demanding an end to the gross discrepancy between the monthly average wage of a worker of 6,800 escudos (about US\$260) and the 30,000 escudos earned by the commercial director.

—Workers attacked a fascist demonstration called by the Catholic church against the workers who took over the Catholic church-owned Radio **Renascenca**.

—The Armed Forces Movement also has imprisoned 500 members of the Maoist Movement for the Reorganizing of the Proletarian Party (MRPP) when



Anti-fascist demonstration in Portugal, June 1975

they planned to hold a demonstration against NATO. Many of the persons arrested have been tortured in prison.

The situation in Portugal is ripe for a workers' revolution for socialism. The "C" P and "Socialist" Party are the main props that the bourgeoisie has inside the workers' movement, but the class struggle is exposing their cover.

On the other hand, the workers in Portugal must build their own Communist Party to lead the revolution. Otherwise, fascism will make a comeback and Chile will be repeated again.

The forces to build that Party are growing among the workers (especially the basic industries workers like TAP, shipyard workers, steelworkers, etc.) Rank-and-file workers committees are growing strong and are actually leading the class struggle in those industries.

The left-wing is splintered into many groups: there are about a dozen groups calling themselves Maoists and many other left-wing groups. Some of them have influence inside the working class. The group officially recognized by China, the Communist Party (m-l), has an open alliance with the "Socialist" Party (openly supported by West Germany and the U.S.) based on the rotten Chinese line of alliance with

the "old" fascists to "oppose the new social-fascists of the Soviet Union." This is a rotten line and leads the workers along the same route the P"C" P would take them.

A new Communist Party based on the alliance of the working class, peasants, professionals and intellectuals, and breaking completely with all sections of the bourgeoisie to fight for a workers' revolution (the only real socialism)—is the solution that will destroy capitalism here.

Mao Tells How to Crush Communist Insurgents

BANGKOK, Thailand, July 9 (AP)—Mao Tse-tung still thinks well of former President Richard M. Nixon and says the Watergate scandal was the result of "too much freedom of political expression in the United States," Premier Kukrit Prmaj reports.

Mr. Kukrit said that during his meeting with the Chinese

leader in Peking last week, the 81-year-old Mr. Mao told him: "What's wrong with taping a conversation when you happen to have a tape recorder with you. Most people in America love playing with tape recorders."

Mr. Mao said he remembered Mr. Nixon's visit to China in 1973 and added: "Please tell him I still think of him," Mr. Kukrit reported. Mr. Kukrit talked with newsmen during a reception marking his return from Peking, where he established diplomatic relations between the Chinese Government and his.

Mr. Kukrit said that Mr. Mao complained of pains in his legs and that his eyesight was getting worse, but he refused to wear glasses.

They talked for an hour, and Mr. Mao's lips were trembling all the time he talked, "but I consider him a healthy man at the age of 81," Mr. Kukrit said.

He said Mr. Mao told him he should solve the problem of Communist insurgents in Thailand by observing three principles he said he used successfully against Chiang Kai-shek in 1949:

¶Don't wage propaganda campaigns.

¶Don't fight the insurgents because "if you send in soldiers, the insurgents will run away into the jungle, and when the soldiers leave the insurgents will return."

¶Don't kill them because "you will make martyrs of them."

Premier Kukrit told Parliament today that the establishment of diplomatic relations with China would not change relations between Thailand and the United States.



Fascism and Busing in Boston

The U.S. ruling class is carefully and deliberately nurturing the conditions for a full-blown nationwide fascist movement. At the present time, this movement is most readily recognizable by its virulent racism. Within the past five years, the new fascist forces have exposed themselves in the following developments, among many others:

—The 1974 San Francisco “Zebra Killings” hoax, during which liberal Mayor Alioto used a series of murders as a pretext for ordering mass police terror against the city’s entire black population. During the “Zebra” affair, virtually every black man between the ages of 18 and 40 was officially considered legitimate police bait.

—The 1972 Forest Hills (Queens, N.Y.C.) movement against integrated housing, led by a two-bit real estate shark named Jerry Birbach, who used racist demagoguery to organize several hundred people in demonstrations against a low-income housing project. Birbach, who was really acting as a P.R. man for a construction and real estate tycoon named Levitt, had tacit backing from New York’s Mayor at that time, the liberal John Lindsay.

—A similar movement in 1973 against integrated low-income housing in Newark, N.J., led by gangster Anthony Imperiale and staffed mainly by his small army of personal thugs.

—A racist 1973 school boycott in Canarsie (Brooklyn, N.Y.) that attempted to stop black children from going to their classes.

—Dragnet Palmer-type raids conducted by the U.S. Immigration Service against so-called “illegal aliens” (foreign workers whom the international capitalist economy forces to come here and to whom the bosses’ government will not give legal documentation) in every major U.S. population center, especially California, Texas, Chicago and New York City. These raids and proposed Nazi-type legislation to increase arrests and deportations of “illegals” are openly encouraged by every section of the ruling class. Liberal Ted Kennedy was one of the initial sponsors of the anti-immigrant Rodino Bill, while conservative Mario Biaggi is the proud father of an even

tougher bill. By February 1975, both the liberal New York Times and the conservative New York Daily News had written a series of articles to express their unconditional support of anti-immigrant legislation and to blame the “illegal” immigrants for every burden the present depression has placed on the backs of the working class.

These and many other developments typify the infancy of the new fascist movement in the United States. In the cases cited, however, significant active popular support for the movement has not existed. The Gauleiters have been Mayors, Congressmen and well-heeled goons like Imperiale and Birbach. The storm-troopers have been uniformed policemen. Even the few hundred people mustered in Forest Hills and Canarsie weren’t too reliable over a prolonged period of time.

But, from the viewpoint of the ruling class, this is not adequate. Racism must lead to the threat and ultimately the reality of race war. And race war, like any other war, requires an army—a fascist army. The developing U.S. fascist movement needs a large armed force of civilians who will use violence to carry out the logic of the bosses’ racist policies. The fascists must develop an aggressive mass base.

This base exists today only in Boston, Massachusetts. The well-publicized racist anti-busing movement in that city—particularly in South Boston—can count on several thousand people among its enthusiastic supporters. It has organized a number of large demonstrations within the last year. Many of these demonstrations carry out the cowardly, criminal violence that is the stock-in-trade of Hitlerites: rocks, stones and knives thrown at school children, bombs planted in the homes of black people, solitary black men dragged from their cars and brutalized by gangs of racist punks.

This movement has an open, public leadership in City Councilwoman Louise Day Hicks, former Boston School Committee Chairman John Kerrigan, and a number of other political hacks and ward-healers who have tied their fortunes to

racism. However, as we shall see later, it also has a clandestine liberal leadership in the Kennedys, Mayor White, Governor Dukakis, President Ford, and other representatives of the U.S. ruling class.

The racist movement against black schoolchildren in Boston is the most developed and therefore the most dangerous example of fascism in the United States today. If workers and their allies everywhere do not unite to smash it now, it will be emboldened to mushroom in its own right and, more to the point, will enable the bosses to carry out their plans for developing similar and larger mass movements. The racist movement in Boston is a trial balloon for coast-to-coast fascism.

BACKGROUND

The thousands of people who have taken to the streets to terrorize black schoolchildren in Boston were not mobilized overnight. The forces of racism have worked long and hard to produce this movement, whose roots go back well over a decade.

The public schools in Boston are among the most dilapidated in the country. The atrocious conditions in the all-black schools, which were well-documented for the 1960s in Jonathan Kozol's book, **Death At An Early Age**, have worsened in the interval. Conditions in the all-white schools are not much better: overcrowded classrooms, antiquated and inadequate facilities, insufficient books and supplies. The reading level at South Boston High—the Alma Mater of the fascists—is not much higher than in the Roxbury ghetto schools. Boston teachers went on strike against these conditions in 1970. During the course of this struggle, many appalling facts came to light. Only three of 68 schools had gym facilities. Two hundred thirty-one teachers filed reports about insufficient heat, 360 complained about not enough light, and 276 pointed to the lack of furniture. Two hundred ninety-six teachers reported that no textbooks were available. Forty percent of Boston's high schools were so unsafe even by low government standards that they were threatened with loss of accreditation. This is the state of public education in the cradle of U.S. liberalism and scholarship.

The Boston schools are also among the most segregated in the U.S. Kozol's book attests to this. Moreover, the city's minority population—although sizable—does not begin to approach the percentage of the aggregate minority population in cities like New York, Detroit, Newark, and Washington, D.C., where black, Latin, and other non-white people comprise hearily half or, in some cases, more than half the total.

Finally, Boston is not the site of a basic heavy industry (like auto in Detroit or steel in Chicago) or a major profit-making industry (like garment or transportation in New York). Therefore, the objective unity that exists between super-exploited minority workers and exploited white workers **at the point of production**—where daily life constantly exposes the boss as the common enemy—

has not been developed as fully in Boston as elsewhere. For example, the important General Electric plant in Lynn (a Boston suburb) has a black work force of only 3%.

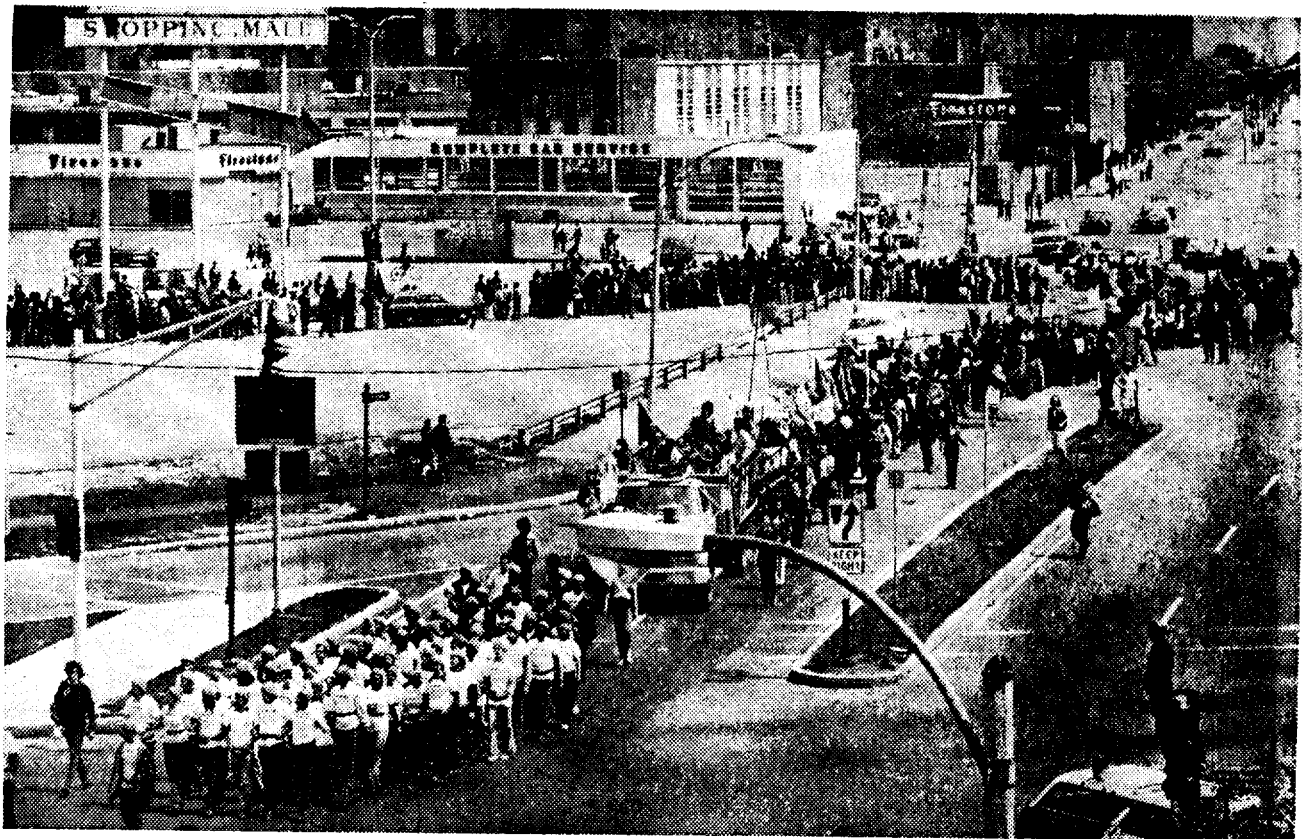
The seeds for fascism were planted in Boston as part of the nationwide racist response organized by the ruling class to the Civil Rights Movement of the late 1950s and 1960s. The racists functioned on two levels, then as now. First, the scenario was written and staged by liberals. In April 1965, the State Board of Education presented a 132-page report on "racial imbalance" in Massachusetts schools. The report, which was signed among others by Kennedy father-confessor Cardinal Cushing, pointed out the obvious fact that northern "racial imbalance" and southern "legalized segregation" were one and the same, and that there was just as much "racial imbalance" in Boston as there was segregation in any comparable southern city. The report shed many crocodile tears over how this situation deprived black children of a chance to fulfill the American Dream. It was written, in part, to co-opt the fierce struggle black parents had waged to improve the Boston schools.

Disguised in liberal rhetoric and dripping with humanitarian niceties, this report cynically set the stage for an organized racist movement against the very things it pretended to support. By implying that the all-white schools were qualitatively better than the segregated schools, by covering up for the bosses who run the Massachusetts school system, and by calling for "integration" without improving the schools, the report cleared a path for the racists to start spewing demagoguery that would get white people to fight black people for the paltry crumbs of a shrinking pie.

Integration in every phase of life—at the point of production, in the communities, in the schools, and elsewhere—is in the vital class interests of all workers. Segregation intensifies disunity, racism—and therefore the oppression of the whole working class. Integration is possible only on the basis of a united fight for more jobs, more schools, more benefits, more money, etc. for everyone. This is precisely the kind of fight the bosses of the Mass. State Board of Education wanted to pre-empt or smash. If the Board of Ed. was so deeply concerned about the effects of racism in the Boston public schools, why didn't it evaluate its own role in the situation? Why didn't it come up with the money needed to make a dent in the appalling conditions outlined above? Why, by promoting the racist myth that the segregated all-white schools were significantly better than the segregated all-black schools in Boston, did it give a blank check to the "Save our neighborhoods" lies and demagoguery of the racists?

The answer is that the ruling class wanted to have its cake and eat it too. Without spending any money from their profits to improve schools, they wanted to mislead the sincere anti-racist forces and at the same time spread maximum antagonism between black and white people.

The public leadership of the anti-integration



PLP-led May Day march in Boston, May, 1975

movement, in 1965 as today, was centered in the Boston School Committee, of which Louise Day Hicks was Chairwoman between 1963 and 1965. Hicks and others on the School Committee used the "racial imbalance" report to whip up racist hysteria against school integration. On March 3, 1965, Hicks crony Joseph Lee delivered a speech to the School Committee that must have been researched in a Nazi manual on "Aryan superiority." He warned that school integration would bring about a "population take-over" by black people. Later, commenting upon the State Board of Education report, he said that "White children do not want large numbers of backward pupils from unprospering Negro families shipped into their present mainly white schools..." (**Death at an Early Age**, p. 138).

This white supremacist trash from Lee, Hicks and others received massive attention from the Boston press. Hicks and Co. were organizing for race war by now. The opening salvo came on St. Patrick's Day, 1965, when, according to the **Boston Globe**, "trouble cropped up at 1 Street, where a group of youths in their twenties held forth, their beer mugs held high. One stepped out from the gutter and spewed a mouthful of beer on Archie E. Dickerson, a Negro from Roxbury... The parade hadn't gone a block when another youth staggered out and cursed a priest... At Perkins Square, Father Serino flew out of line of march a second time when a young group in front of a bar

chanted, 'Nigger-lovin b-----...'

Hicks was already recruiting storm-troopers. In a much-publicized move, she got the Boston Police Dept. to give her a gun permit on May 20, 1965. Civil rights demonstrators had picketed School Committee meetings, and she used this as a pretext for further provocative racist actions.

For her meritorious service, the Boston City Council named Louise Day Hicks "Woman of the Year" in 1964 and the city's "Outstanding Citizen" of 1965. The same City Council named Michael J. Flaherty, who is currently a Massachusetts State Representative and with Hicks a leader of today's fascist movement, South Boston's "Outstanding Citizen" of 1962. The Boston City Council, however, sleazy as it may be, is not a fly-by-night operation run by a few crackpots. It is the titled mouthpiece of the Boston and Massachusetts ruling class. Bestowing these awards on Hicks and Flaherty was no accident. It meant that Massachusetts bosses wanted to encourage racists to organize in Boston. These awards were a green light for Hicks and Co. Soon afterwards, the **Boston Globe**, the **New York Times** and the television networks transformed Louise from a local ugly duckling into a national monument. She ran for the Boston mayoralty in 1967 and lost to liberal Kevin White—but the very fact that she was able to mount a serious campaign added to the legitimacy of organized racism. In 1970, she became a member of the Boston City Council. In

1972, she won the Congressional election for the 9th Massachusetts District and was a member of the U.S. House of Representatives for two years.

THE GOOSE STEP QUICKENS

The racism which Hicks and her cronies had whipped up during the 1960s was to serve the ruling class well as its economy began to sink further and further. By late 1973, although today's depression-level layoffs and unemployment had not yet reached full force, zooming inflation had the bosses in plenty of trouble. To offset workers' militancy in the face of their own growing weakness, they had to resort to more drastic tactics. And so Boston's local ruling class received the task of launching a new round of race war ballyhoo, to serve as an example to the rest of the country.

The pretext for this campaign was an incident at Dorchester High School. Dorchester High is in a section of Boston that is being block-busted by big banks and their real estate front men. Real estate parasites are paid to spread racist panic so that white families will sell out cheap and black families will be forced to buy for exorbitant prices.

Dorchester High is a typical school hellhole. Headmaster O'Brien suspended a student for refusing to run outdoors coatless during a winter fire drill in 1972. That same year, he organized an "attack force" of the most anti-working class and racist teachers. Basically, this force acted to "discipline" (i.e. terrorize) the students. On Tuesday, Sept. 25, 1973, a minor racist incident took place. Two days later someone pulled the alarm system. School officials knew this was a false alarm. Nonetheless, they forced students and teachers to rush out of the building. A serious fight ensued. "Mysterious" racist rumors that had been circulating for several days helped prepare the conditions for this fight.

Immediately the press—not just the "right-wing" press, but the staid, respectable, liberal Boston **Globe**—seized upon this incident to mount

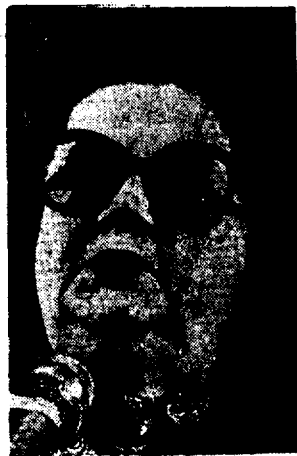
a racist campaign with the tested technique of the Big Lie. The **Globe** printed fables about black "militants" savagely and wantonly attacking white people. It wrote that when the Dorchester High students returned to class on Monday, October 1, the senior class (which it wrongly described as "split along racial lines") held workshops to support the police. In fact, school officials had banned all meetings. But 100 students defied them and met to formulate unity demands (like firing O'Brien and altering the black studies program to involve more white students). This the **Globe** ignored. A year later, the New York **Times** was to play a similar role in exaggerating a racist incident at Brooklyn's New Utrecht High School and in "neglecting" to report the students' serious efforts to promote unity.

After things calmed down at Dorchester High School, the Boston ruling class had to conjure up some fresh grist for its race war mill. On Wednesday, Oct. 3, 1973, a young woman named Evelyn Wagler was murdered—burned to death. There are two kinds of hard evidence about the murderer(s): flimsy and non-existent. Yet the press and liberal Mayor White (the same Mayor White who today parades as the best friend black people have) took the police story that she had been torched by "six young black people" and made it nationwide front-page news. Reporters for **Challenge-Desafio** uncovered several clues that don't make the police story look too good. For instance, a local resident said that people had seen her arguing with a man about "bad drugs" before her death. The bosses' press kept silent about this lead and others: after all, the truth about the Wagler murder would have shattered the "Black-hordes-out-to-kill-white-people" myth that White, the **Globe** and the police were trying to whip up into tidal wave force.

Another racist horror story that made headlines at the same time concerned the murder of fisherman Louis Barba. The press reported that he had been "stoned to death" by a "black mob." Radio stations issued bulletins about the movements of this "mob." Just two days after the murder, the police were forced to admit an "unfortunate mistake": Barba had been stabbed with his own knife, not stoned. The mysterious "mob" evaporated into thin air without a word. Yet several days after the cops had acknowledged their "booboo," the Boston **Herald** had the gall to print the headline: "Stoning Victim Buried."

This campaign of racist lies must have had Dr. Goebbels chortling in his grave. Within limits, it also produced its intended effect by provoking a number of terrible incidents that could be considered steps in the direction of race war. On October 4, police organized some white racists to beat up black students at Boston's Andrews Station. A black girl's back was broken. No banner headlines reported this incident. Then the **Globe** faithfully carried the police version of another racist horror story, this time about a black minister, Rev. Hollins, who was accused of shooting a white boy.

Challenge-Desafio interviewed Hollins and got a different version. On Tuesday, Oct. 9, the



Hitler, Hicks: same old tricks.

Hollinses went to the Roslindale shopping center in response to a desperate call from Hollins' sister. They found her by her car, which had just been vandalized. Nearby were some cops making racist jokes with a number of teenagers. When the cops left, some punks from among the teenagers surrounded the Hollinses. The family all got into Hollins' car and attempted to drive off. As they did so, they heard some shots. They were then surrounded and dragged out of the car by a battalion of cops. During the frisking, the women were molested (standard police procedure) and then dragged off to the local precinct. **The Rev. Hollins was framed for shooting a white kid with a stolen police gun.** (All details about the Dorchester High, Wagler, Barba and Hollins incidents are cited in the Nov. 2, 1973 edition of **Challenge-Desafio**.)

Despite the local ruling class' best efforts, despite all the lies trumpeted in the press, by the politicians and on TV, as well as the attention paid to Boston by the national media which of course swallowed the **Globe-cop-White** versions of everything hook, line and sinker, race war isn't so easy to organize among a population that basically doesn't want it. Over 40,000 **Challenge-Desafio** flyers were distributed during this time throughout Boston. They exposed the bosses' lies and called for class unity against racism, for better conditions, and for socialism. The response at plant gates, on campuses, in communities was almost universally favorable to these ideas. Boston's workers weren't ready to goose-step their way into oblivion for the ruling class' racist line.

BLITZKRIEG IN SOUTH BOSTON

The Hicks-liberal axis went back to work. The 1973 School Committee elections were won by the racists, as usual. This in no way represented a clear endorsement from the working people of Boston, because John Kerrigan, a nazi who served a term as School Committee chairman, received only 7.47% of the eligible vote. This is hardly a popular mandate for racism. It is exactly what it appears to be: the voice of the organized racist movement in Boston. Obviously, the Boston ruling class wants the School Committee run by people like Kerrigan, because mass pressure is certainly not forcing them to "tolerate" this situation. The shoe is on the other foot.

In the spring and summer of 1974, the bosses decided to use Hicks, Kerrigan, and Co. to bring racism to a boiling point in preparation for the coming fall school term. As in 1965 and 1973, the liberals set the stage. On April 4, Hicks and City Councilman Albert O'Neill led a demonstration of 10,000 people against school busing. On April 23, liberal Mayor White, who got his start in life as Corporation Counsel for Rockefeller's Standard Oil of California in 1955, and then-Governor Sargent threw their support behind a non-binding referendum worded in the following manner: "Shall Boston public school children be assigned to a particular Boston school on the basis of race, sex or creed without the consent

of their parent or guardian?"

This referendum was calculated to produce the most racist possible response. **A referendum campaign that really had the interests of Boston's black and white school children at heart would ask questions and make demands that related to the specific improvements desperately needed throughout the public school system.** A referendum campaign organized for the purpose of winning meaningful school reform would concentrate on highlighting the points of unity for workers and working class students. This referendum was worded in the most divisive way possible. A referendum campaign that really wanted to convince people with a racist outlook to welcome black children into their schools would have to show that racist attacks suicidally play into the bosses' divide and conquer strategy. Like the State Board of Education report of 1965, this referendum was the liberal ruling class' device for parading as the good guys while in fact acting as the primary instigators and beneficiaries of racism.

The results of the referendum were interesting. It lost, by the overwhelming margin of 30,798 to 2,282. Given the manner in which the question was posed and the fact that this enabled Hicks and Co. to get out the vote with a vengeance among their most loyal base, this lopsided margin is not surprising. Far more interesting and positive from the point of view of Boston's black and white working class is the fact that **only 12% of those eligible voted. Only 25% voted in Hicks' stronghold, South Boston. Only 3% voted in Roxbury. This was by far the lowest turnout for any election in the city's history—and few issues have been trumpeted in the media with as much fanfare.** Like the Kerrigan election, this referendum proved once again that, aside from a nucleus of several thousand (and one cannot include nearly all the 30,000 "no" votes among them), the vast majority of Boston's workers were not ready to be led actively into the politics of race war. Those who stayed away from the polls in droves understood that they were being set up for something they wanted no part of.

The liberals forged ahead with their scenario for a showdown. After many proposals and counter-proposals had been put forth by Hicks and Co. on one side and White and Co. on the other over how much, if any, busing should take place in the fall, Judge Arthur Garrity handed down his ruling on June 21, 1974. He ordered 20,500 children bused at the opening of school in September and enjoined the School Committee from acting in any way to oppose his decision. Acting for the liberals, Garrity sought to guarantee that the busing would take place in the worst possible school conditions. **His ruling also enjoined the School Committee "... from beginning construction of any new school, expansion of old schools, or placement of new portable schools ..."** (Boston Globe, June 22, 1974).

So the set-up for race war was virtually complete. The Garrity ruling enabled the liberals to pose once again as anti-racist champions and at the same time to organize the busing in the most

provocative manner possible, because the injunction clearly made any significant improvement in the Boston public school system appear contradictory to school integration. In effect, they were telling black and white schoolchildren and their parents: "Share the poverty."

Leaving no stone unturned, the liberals proceeded to intensify the provocations. On September 9, shortly before the schools were to open, Teddy Kennedy appeared on the speakers' platform of a large anti-busing rally organized by Kerrigan and his ally, O'Neill. Ostensibly, Kennedy came to speak in favor of busing. He told the anti-busing forces they were "entitled to (their) views" (New York **Times**, Sept. 10. After all, in the democratic U.S.A., the Kennedys aren't going to deny anyone the "right" to be a nazi...) but was chased from the platform by a well-organized group of fascists. Inevitably, the story made Page One and prime time news.

The incident smacked of the blatant collusion between Kennedy and the fascists. Why did Kerrigan allow his most noteworthy "enemy" to address a rally of his own supporters? Why did Kennedy—who was not born yesterday—want to speak at a racist rally, when he must have known he would be jeered by a large number of the participants?

Again the answer is that the liberals—and in this case, their main national public spokesmen, the Kennedys, are in fact the principal chieftains of the fascist movement in Boston and elsewhere. Their heart-rending rhetoric to the contrary, the Kennedys have amply exposed their role as major racists on numerous occasions. On July 4, 1973, in Decatur, Alabama, Teddy presented George Wallace with the "Audie Murphy Patriotism" award. This is the same George Wallace whose mounted cops attacked black children with electric cattle prods. The event was described in the July 5 New York **Times** as "... a major political turning point... it (marked) the beginning of a serious effort to reconstruct the old Democratic coalition..." between liberal northern racists and their more obvious southern counterparts. In the speech he made to launch this love-match, Teddy said: "Let no one think I come to lecture you on that racial injustice which has proven as deeply embedded and resistant in the cities of the North as in the countries of the South..." Coupled with his assertion that the fascist Kerrigan-led demonstrators were "entitled to their views," this remark leaves little room for doubt about Kennedy's favoritism toward racists. In addition, Kennedy's support for the anti-immigrant Rodino Bill is backed up by his alliance with Cesar Chavez, who is the leading spokesman within the labor movement for the summary deportation of "illegals." Beyond this, the Kennedy family's role in organizing the U.S. imperialist war of genocide in Vietnam is well documented, as is the elder Kennedy brother's sponsorship of such fascist and anti-working class legislation as the McCarran Act and the (Kennedy)-Landrum-Griffin Act. We mention these details as evidence that the liberals are the real conductors of the Boston Fascist Symphony, an orchestra in which Kerrigan, Hicks and their cronies are mere

instrumentalists.

By the time Kennedy participated in the September 9 provocation, the Kerrigan-Hicks Storm Troop was already running wild in the streets of South Boston, openly promising to beat up bused students on the impending first day of classes. By September 21, the New York **Times** and the Boston **Globe** reported that members of the National Socialist White People's Party and the Ku Klux Klan had set up shop in South Boston. On the first day of classes, the fascists arrived in force to shout disgusting insults and throw rocks at black children and also to attack a Progressive Labor Party demonstration—the only action that day calling on South Boston's white workers to welcome black students into their schools and to organize a united fight against the bosses.

After two weeks of school, during which the bused students were subjected to various forms of abuse, including violence, Hicks decided it was time to heat things up even more. A group of several dozen fascist thugs carried out the kind of "superman" action for which their Hitlerite grandfathers were internationally renowned, when on October 7 they dragged a young Haitian immigrant worker named Andre Jean-Louis out of his car in Dorchester and brutally gang-beat him. This incident, which received national front page attention, was taken by the Boston fascist movement as a signal to carry out similar deeds of valor elsewhere, and as a result, racist mob violence against black school children increased. It goes without saying that the bosses' press seized on every attempt by black students to defend themselves and portrayed it in the same light as the actions of the fascists.

The fascist organizing was common knowledge. Hundreds of police were present at every high school where "trouble" had been anticipated. Probably half the police force of Boston was at South Boston High regularly. **Yet the attacks took place and intensified while the cops either stood by or made perfunctory arrests for the sake of publicity.** Facts prove therefore not only that the police themselves were anxious to let the racist mob have its way but also that Mayor White—the same Mayor White who a year earlier had gone on television to spread racist hysteria about the Wagler and Barba murders—was in league with them. The Boston fascist movement can sometimes turn out 10,000 to a demonstration. It can turn out less to insult black school children, less again to use violence against them—and, at this point, far, far less to take on a serious struggle with armed policemen. The cops easily had the physical ability to guarantee that not one single hair on the head of a bused student would be harmed—and White could have ordered them to do so.

Contrast this "benign neglect" of fascist thugs with the treatment accorded to minority workers or any other workers, for that matter, who undertake rebellions. In Newark, Watts, Harlem and scores of other cities, mayoral orders to the cops are an unequivocal "Shoot to Kill." Some forces on the so-called "left" united with Mayor White to call for the National Guard in Boston as "pro-



Ted Kennedy and George Wallace-- Anti-racist movement will cripple both of them

tection" for the bused children. This brilliant suggestion calls to mind the great black working class rebellion of 1967 in Detroit for jobs, housing, schools and decent wages. When it became so large and violent that the city police couldn't handle it, the government called in the National Guard. Even the National Guard couldn't kill the rebels fast enough—so the bosses rerouted the 102nd Airborne Division from its Vietnam destination and sent it to Detroit. This decision had to be made by President LBJ. A ruling class with this kind of military power at its beck and call obviously can stop Louise Day Hicks and her ragtag Wehrmacht any time it wants to. Obviously it doesn't want to. Obviously it wants Louise hanging around and flourishing.

If further proof of this point were needed, it came on October 9, two days after the incident in which Andre Jean-Louis had nearly been massacred by the Hicks thugs and one day after the pie-cards who run the Massachusetts State Building and Trade Council had unanimously voted to oppose busing. On that day, President Gerald Ford, the Paganini of imbecility, emerged from a strategy session with his Fuhrer Rockefeller and proclaimed that he disagreed with Garrity's desegregation order for Boston. This was the first time since 1954 that a U.S. President had made a

public statement to contradict a court-ordered desegregation decision. (New York Times, Oct. 10) To cover himself, Ford made a few bland statements about how he regretted the violence in Boston and how there were other ways to oppose busing. But the Hicksites and just about everybody else read the message loud and clear as a Presidential endorsement of Nazism in Boston. The newspapers and TV reported members of ROAR (the Boston anti-busing group) as sending telegrams of support to the White House and parading around South Boston with "We Love You Gerry" signs.

Since October, the fascist movement has continued its vicious attacks at South Boston High School, Hyde Park High, and other schools. Major battles flared up in December and January as a result of which South Boston High was temporarily shut down.

As of this writing (June 1975), daily racist violence continues in South Boston High, Hyde Park High and elsewhere. ROAR is brazenly attempting to form a national organization and is receiving massive publicity from the liberal press. Louise Day Hicks & Co. fly ROAR banners outside the windows of their Boston City Council offices.

U.S. bosses are promoting the violent move-

ments against school busing in Boston and elsewhere as a key battering ram of their strategy for developing fascism. The main anti-busing organization, ROAR, is seriously attempting to constitute itself as a nationwide group. The ruling class wants the racist attacks against school-children in Boston to serve as the springboard for similar attacks in dozens of other cities.

THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING CLASS dictate that this strategy be smashed. In order to counter the rulers' plans for fascism, workers and their allies must act upon an unwavering class position that will enable us to maintain vital unity within our own ranks and at the same time go on to the offensive. Therefore, the Progressive Labor Party offers the following program on the question of busing and the schools:

—We support and fight for the concept of quality, integrated education. Segregation in the schools, the communities, or anywhere else, harms the entire working class. It divides us, promotes racism, and therefore weakens our ability to fight back against the bosses. From a class standpoint, the fight for integration is inseparable from the fight for more schools, more jobs, higher wages, and more benefits for everyone, especially minority workers and their children who are hardest hit by segregation and racism.

—The public school system in the U.S. is generally rotten. However, because of racism, the worst conditions overall prevail in ghetto schools and in schools with a high percentage of minority children in attendance. Given this situation, many minority parents have reached the conclusion that their children will receive a better education in schools with a higher percentage of white children, where the effects of racism are not as devastating. These parents should be able to send their children to any school they choose. They should be provided with adequate busing service to accomplish this. When busing is used in this way, it can help to integrate the schools. The PLP supports busing for integration.

—The bosses are able to use racism to build an anti-busing movement in cases where white parents and students oppose the arrival of new groups of minority students into their schools. These parents justify their action on the grounds that black, Latin and other minority children will create "inferior" conditions in the schools. This viewpoint is a nazi trap. It can lead only to worsening school conditions for everyone. Those responsible for the disgusting conditions in the schools are the bosses, the politicians and the school administrators. To the white parents who oppose busing for integration, we say: Don't be a sucker for the ruling class. Nothing—absolutely nothing—can justify wanton attacks on anyone's kids. When minority children are bused into your schools, welcome them. Make friends with their parents. Unite with teachers to build a movement that can fight to win significant improvements in everyone's schools. Disunity and racism are certain roads to defeat. Hicks, Kerrigan and ROAR have yet to build a single school for the children of Boston—and the Boston public school system is

one of the worst in the country.

—At the same time, liberal politicians like Kennedy, Boston's Mayor White, and others, who represent the center of power in the U.S. ruling class, deliberately use the issue of busing to provoke as much racism and discord as possible in the ranks of the working class. When Judge Arthur Garrity (who was a high-ranking JFK campaign worker in 1958) issued his busing orders last year and this year, he made it illegal to build any new schools in the city. This is standard operating procedure when the liberals organize any busing program: they actually intensify racism by making integration appear contradictory to improvement of the schools. At the same time, liberal Mayor White stood by while the Boston police under his command let the ROAR-inspired fascists viciously attack black school children all year long. If we want to build a united movement that can win significant reforms in the schools and that can fight back against racism, we must smash both the open ROAR-type racists and the liberal bosses and politicians who stand behind them.

—Ultimately, decent, integrated, non-racist education that teaches important basic skills and that prepares children for productive lives is impossible under the capitalist system. We can have it only under socialism, after we have wiped out the big bosses and taken power by ourselves. Eliminating the obstacles that block our way to this goal therefore becomes a primary task for our class. The greatest of these obstacles at the present time—particularly in the mass movement to improve the schools—is racism. The most virulent racism manifests itself in the anti-busing movement. The fight for socialism, the fight for survival and the fight to win more and better schools depend on our ability to wipe out racism. Don't fall for the bosses' plans to split our ranks! The anti-busing movement is a deadly trap: reject it! We must act in Boston and elsewhere to guarantee that not one single hair is harmed on the head of one single bused minority student. Those who attack children violently are fascists. The working class will make them pay for their crimes.

Meanwhile, Garrity has announced the latest busing plan for 1975. It calls for more students to be bused this year than in 1974, with a heavier emphasis on grade school than on high school. The Garrity order of May 10 contains no plan to build new schools or expand existing facilities. On the contrary, it threatens to close down some schools. Thus, the same conditions that led to fascist violence in 1974-5 will prevail in 1975-6, unless the white and black workers organize for unity and to smash ROAR now.

Two signs indicate that this development is beginning to take place. First, thousands of black, Latin, Asian and white workers and students marched on May Day under the banners of the Progressive Labor Party, in the very stronghold of the Boston fascist movement. Despite the attempted terror tactics of the Hicks goon squad, despite constant attacks by the racist Boston police from one end of the march to the other, despite

the hysterical chicken-hearted denunciations of every group on the so-called "left," the **May Day march took place**. Its roars of "DEATH TO FASCISM" and "FIGHT FOR SOCIALISM" won hundreds of black and white Bostonians to participate in it. During the march itself and in the course of organizing for it, many people from South Boston came forth and expressed their hatred of Hicks, their desire to see the violence end, and their wish for better schools. South Boston has 35,000 residents. Doing their utmost, the ROAR Gauleiters managed to mobilize about 800 to oppose the PLP May Day march. Of these, only about 100 came ready to fight, and when these cowards tried to attack the PLP speakers' stand before any of the marchers had arrived, 24 PLP fighters sent them scurrying to the hospital in a bloody panic. Fascists are good bullies. When a serious struggle is mounted against them, they usually do two things: run away and lose.

The second sign that the fascist movement in Boston can be put on the defensive and defeated is the response to the Committee Against Racism's summer project, BOSTON '75. Hundreds of young people from all over the U.S. have already committed themselves to fight ROAR between June and September. Hundreds more from all over Boston have expressed their support for the project. (See accompanying article on BOSTON '75.) The May Day march and BOSTON '75 are the hope of the future. They can also be the wave of the future.

WHY FASCISM NOW?

The United States rulers are staggering like a punchdrunk fighter. Their actions resemble those of a man caught in quicksand without a link to dry land: every move they make brings them closer to the brink of annihilation.

Their economy is a wreck. The official government figure of 9% total unemployment is only a fraction of the truth. For black, Latin and other minority adult workers, the figure must be closer to 30%—and the government openly admits it is around 45% for teenagers. Not one spokesman for the capitalists is willing to predict that this will change before the end of the present decade, and those who think it will end by then are optimists. Inflation has not stopped zooming. Housing starts are at a record low. Government spending is decreasing precipitously. The auto industry—the trend-setter for every other heavy industry in today's economy, an industry vitally related to one out of every six jobs in this country—is in a shambles. No matter what kind of car the auto bosses produce—gigantic, standard, compact, subcompact, mini or pee-wee—they can't sell it. Detroit has an inventory of almost as many unsold 1975 cars as it has people. The much ballyhooed "rebate plan" concocted by the Big Three has been a fiasco. These factors and others also combine to shake the whole credit system to its very foundations, a development that must ultimately lead to rack and ruin for the banks and the stock market.

These are the classic signs of a **major depres-**



YVON FLEEING SOUTHIE MOB

sion—not a temporary "recession" or "minor slump" as the bosses' media would lead us to believe.

On the international front, the United States ruling class is also going to seed. While they still retain vestiges of their former power as a major force to be reckoned with, their days as top dog of the worldwide imperialist dung-heap are clearly numbered. This decline is now being publicly lamented by every political pundit from William Buckley to James Reston. The facts are incontestable, and new signs of U.S. decay emerge daily. The Yom Kippur War, the war in Cyprus, the revisionist takeover in Portugal, the war in Bangla Desh, and most recently, the ignominious rout of U.S.-backed fascist puppets by nationalist forces in Cambodia and South Vietnam—all these developments and others reflect the dominant trend in the world today: U.S. imperialism is about to be overtaken by the "red" bosses of the Soviet Union.

Secondary but important contradictions have also emerged as part of this trend, and the U.S. is on the losing side of all of them. The sharpest of these at the moment is the growth of the OPEC countries as significant new imperialist forces. The Arab sheiks and nationalists as well as the Shah are sick and tired of grovelling for crumbs from Rockefeller. They want to sit as honored

guests at the banquet table. They are acutely aware of U.S. decline and are organizing to maximize the economic gains they can get out of it. They know that within limits, they have Rocky and Co. over an oil barrel.

These two factors—the collapse of the U.S. economy and the weakened state of U.S. imperialism—are acting to produce one political debacle after another for the evangelists of the “Pox” Americana. Just look at the recent record of their Presidents. JFK was bumped off as a result of internecine squabbling among the big bosses. LBJ was hounded out of office by millions of anti-war demonstrators and ghetto rebels who exposed the bloody hands of the “Great Society.” Nixon found himself on the losing side of a battle between entrenched billionaires (Rocky et al.) and upstarts in aerospace, oil, etc. looking to nudge them out. Ford is an impotent oaf.

In summary, the U.S. ruling class is not exactly looking into a rose-colored crystal ball.

In the long run, if they are to make a serious move to regain their lost stature, only one course of action is available to them: a World War to redivide the international organization of markets, resources, and supplies of labor power. All the maneuvering they are doing now in the name of “detente” can at best serve only to delay the war. In many cases, the maneuvers actually increase

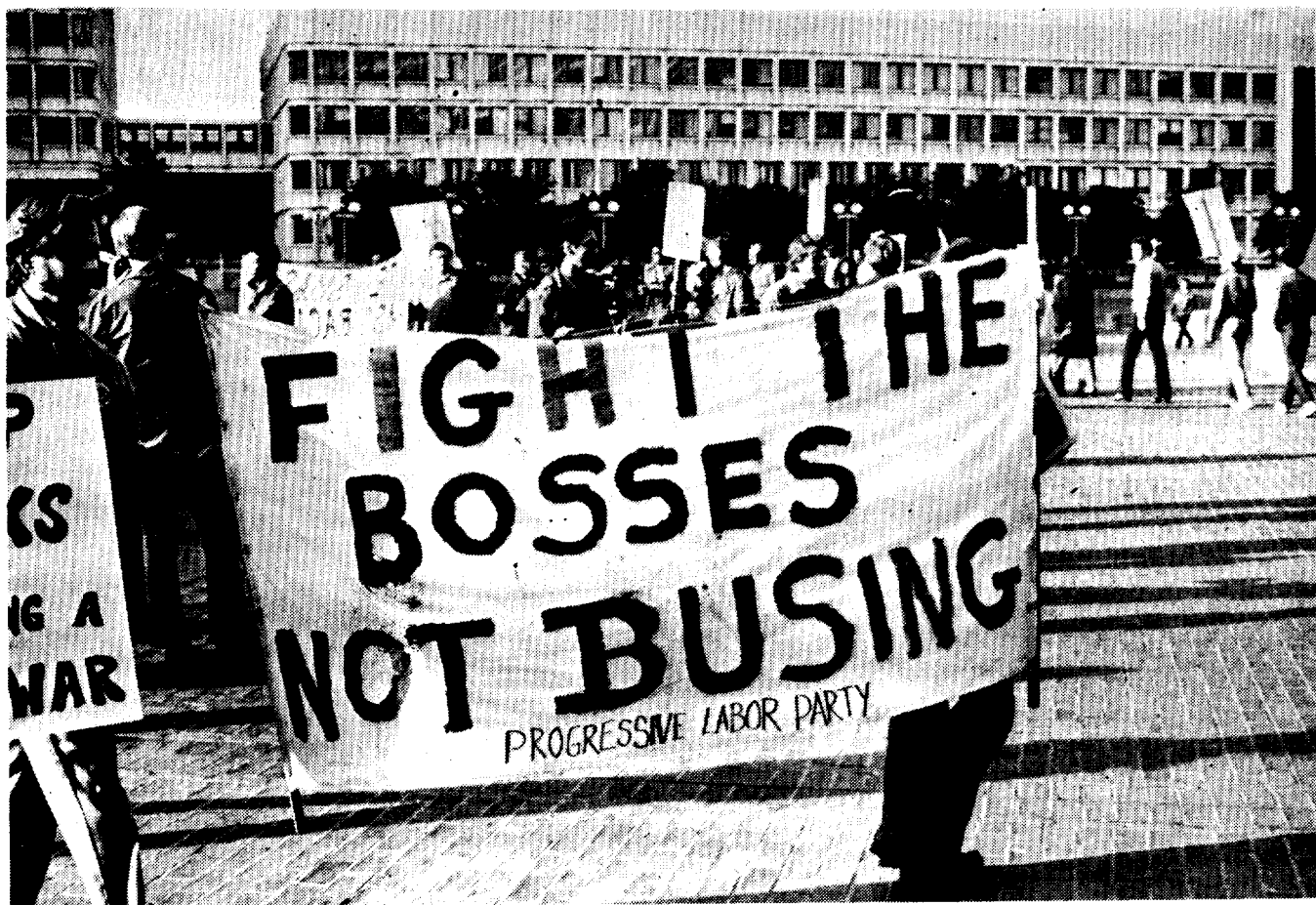
the danger of war. Every time Kissinger gets on an airplane, fighting seems to break out somewhere. The war in Cyprus and today’s escalated military activity in southeast Asia are the true results of the “peace” junkets Dr. Strangelove is taking for Rockefeller and the other U.S. imperialists.

Anybody who doubts that the U.S.-Soviet competition must inevitably lead to war would be well-advised to take a look at the history of previous World Wars, which took place under similar circumstances and for identical reasons. Anybody who doubts that the imperialists would hesitate to use nuclear weaponry if they deemed it necessary should think about Hiroshima and Nagasaki as well as about the fact that every ruling class in history has always used every so-called “ultimate weapon” at its disposal. This includes the catapult, the cross-bow and gunpowder, all of which were at one time or another described as instruments of Doomsday.

Many people will concede the analysis made above but will ask what the relevance of U.S.-Soviet war is to the events in Boston and the emergence of a fascist movement in this country. The answer is that fascism has everything to do with world war. War of this type presupposes a working class willing to fight it. Rockefeller isn’t about to dig trenches himself. The bosses can’t



Workers on the march in Boston



possibly carry out their strategy if they fail to cool down domestic class struggle, if they can't inspire a mass jingoist movement with "America First" slogans, and if they can't stifle the development of a revolutionary communist movement. Therefore, they must win the workers to class collaboration, extreme nationalism and anti-communism.

This isn't so easy. U.S. workers are fighting mad over the onslaught against their standard of living. More strikes occurred in the early summer of 1974 than at any time for a comparable period since the end of World War II. As the depression deepens and drives so-called "middle class" people into the ranks of the working class, they too are rebelling, many for the first time. The recent strike of interns and residents in New York City reflects a growing trend. Most workers who are told that their demands for economic survival violate the "national" (i.e. bosses') interest don't act overly convinced by this hogwash. The war in Vietnam, which the ruling class initiated as a crusade to bring the American way of life to the "poor, dumb" Asian peasants wasn't exactly a stunning success. It was in fact the most unpopular war in U.S. history. Toward the end, most of the fighting done by U.S. troops was against their own officers. Anti-communism isn't all that easy to push either.

Most workers understand at the very least that communists aren't their enemies, don't lay them off, raise their cost of living, kill them with speed-up, or send their kids to school to become functional illiterates.

So if pacifism, jingoism and anti-communism aren't readily made to appear convincing on their own merits, another approach has to be used. The ruling class understands that only a weak working class is ripe for falling into line. A weak working class is a working class divided against itself and therefore its class interests. **This is the vital role reserved for racism.** This is why the events in Boston are so important and so dangerous, unless we act to reverse them.

At the moment, the Hicks-Kerrigan forces in Boston represent the most highly developed case of mass fascist organizing in the U.S. today. If one wants to see the consequences of not smashing this movement **now**, one need only envision similar movements in New York, San Francisco, Detroit, Pittsburgh, Houston, Chicago and elsewhere, with thousands of demonstrators stoning black and Latin people and immigrants as scapegoats for the depression and then calling for U.S. bosses to seize Arab oil fields and bring the American Dream to Russia.

Impossible? Unthinkable? It has happened before. The German Nazi Party was a bunch of

right-wing nationalist pipsqueaks that came into being after the German ruling class had lost out in World War I. They seized upon anti-semitism to rationalize every problem confronting German workers. They armed themselves, eventually got uniforms, and went around beating up Jews, fighting communists, and breaking strikes in the name of patriotism and social progress.

For nearly 15 years, the German ruling class stood by and allowed Hitler and his gang to develop. They realized the use they could eventually make of a huge mass movement ready to commit mayhem for the Fatherland and the "Master Race." Secretly, many of Germany's big bosses were bankrolling Hitler all along. One of the earliest was an industrialist named Thyssen. Eventually, the whole German ruling class decided that the Fuhrer was the only viable alternative to working class revolution and the collapse of their system and their profits. Hitler came into power because Krupp, I.G. Farben and others put him there. They had kept him around precisely for this emergency.

Although certain differences exist between Hitler and Hicks, the similarities are overwhelming. Like the original Nazis, the Hicksites are violent racists. Like the original Nazis, they are tolerated and encouraged by the main section of the ruling class; otherwise, they could not exist. Like the original Nazis, they can look to the hallowed halls of ivy for aid and comfort: the mobs that beat up Andre Jean-Louis and stoned school buses are carrying out the doctrine of "master race" theoreticians from academia like Herrnstein, Jensen, Shockley and Banfield. Finally, like the original Nazis, the Hicksites and their counterparts elsewhere are the battering ram the ruling class hopes to forge into a movement for world domination.

FIGHTING FASCISM: WHAT IT MEANS

If all of the above is true, then organizing to crush the Boston Nazis and their bosses is obviously one of the most crucial tasks now confronting U.S. workers and their allies. In fact, it is crucial for workers and their friends all over the world. As in any development, quantity turns into quality. The fascists are still weak. They have a mass base in only one city, and even there it is small. **They can be taken.** Destroying them in Boston will make it immeasurably more difficult for the ruling class to organize mass backing for another round of Zebra raids, Biaggi anti-immigrant demagoguery or Immigration Service dragnets, as well as the rulers' plans for war. Think of what could have been avoided if masses of German workers and the German Communist Party had organized to obliterate the Hitlerites at the time of their abortive 1923 putsch.

Eventually fascism is bound to be smashed, no matter how strong it becomes. The class struggle is the law of history, and workers will sooner or later always take care of those who trample over them, commit genocide against them or use them as cannon-fodder for profit wars. The Hitlerites,

who represented the apex of fascist virulence until now, managed to hold onto power for a scant 12 years before the international working class—led by the socialist Soviet Union—pulverized them.

The wisdom of historical hindsight should enable us not to pay the dreadful price for the mistakes made by our movement 40 and 50 years ago. World War II took 100,000,000 lives. World War III will take more in multiples—unless we limit it.

In particular, we must grasp and act on two fundamental points about fascism:

First, we must recognize it in its infancy and strangle it in the cradle. By 1939, not too many people had illusions about Hitler outside of Germany. **The time for lucidity was 15 years earlier.** The same conclusion must be applied to the Hicks-Kerrigan Storm Troop and its Kennedy puppeteers. The only reasonable treatment our class can accord to fascists—figuratively and literally—is **death.** Fighting fascism is not primarily a verbal process, although debate enters into it. Fighting fascism is primarily **warfare**, class warfare.

Second, we must fight the fascists and their bosses with the outlook of wrenching political power away from all of them and establishing a working class dictatorship. The main reason U.S. bosses are still around today to threaten war and fascism is that the communist parties that fought so valiantly against the Nazi beasts did not lead the workers to wipe out every other boss as well. As long as capitalism exists, imperialism will exist. As long as imperialism exists, war and fascism are inevitable.

In reality, the fascists are weak. They must ultimately lead even their most ardent supporters to destruction. The fact that the ruling class has to resort to fascism is a sign of decrepitude. How long will the people of South Boston keep swallowing the Hicks demagoguery about how much she "loves" them when they look around and see that their own unemployment rate is a scant few percentage points lower than that of Roxbury?

Our class must ultimately win. Nothing can stop us, and we cannot afford to lose. Internationally, workers, farmers, students, intellectuals and others have time and again braved the most apparently overwhelming odds to inflict defeat after defeat on murderers, bosses and fascists. Our list of landmarks is endless: the Paris Commune, the Bolshevik Revolution, Stalin-grad, the Chinese Revolution, the great industrial organizing of the 1930s, the magnificent battles fought by the Vietnamese people against French and U.S. imperialists, the great ghetto rebellions.

We can, must and will add crushing Boston fascism to that list of historic victories. We can, must and will transform the fight against fascism and war into a battle for all power to the working class.

We can, must and will make the slogans of this year's Boston May Day march living realities for our class:

**Stop Deportations
Smash Racism**

30 Hours' Work For 40 Hours' Pay

Fight for Jobs

Death To Fascism

FIGHT FOR SOCIALISM

To accomplish these goals, the following steps, among others, must be taken:

—JOIN THE PROGRESSIVE LABOR PARTY.

Only a revolutionary communist party with the outlook of seizing state power from the bosses can effectively lead the working class out of the morass of war, fascism, unemployment, racism, and general oppression. Every worker, every ally of the working class who joins the PLP drives a nail into the coffin of capitalism.

—FIGHT FOR RANK AND FILE CONTROL OF THE UNIONS. The trade union movement is in the hands of the bosses and their handpicked lieutenants. We have to take it back from them. Therefore, we must devote painstaking attention to the development of rank and file caucuses

capable of leading the fight to control production and, therefore, the ability to strike.

—JOIN THE WORKERS' ACTION MOVEMENT.

Our class needs an organized force to initiate the fight for power in the unions as well as the fight to win 30 for 40. WAM is such an organization. Joining it and carrying out its line can help put us on the offensive.

—JOIN ANTI-RACIST GROUPS LIKE THE COMMITTEE AGAINST RACISM. CAR has played a key role in the fight against the academic racist theorists and is now organizing a movement against the practical application of their "ideas" in the field of budget cuts, health care, immigration and the schools. BOSTON '75, CAR's summer campaign against the Hicksites, can set an example for workers and students everywhere by promoting black-white unity and helping transform racist mob violence into its opposite—a fight against racism and for better conditions.

On the next page, we reprint an advertisement from the Bronx News . This advertisement was taken out by a budding fascist organization, the Morris Park Community Association.



"ATTENTION"

(All You Forgotten People)

The Morris Park Community Association



Invites Everyone to Attend this Very Special Meeting
To Discuss:

(Are You Tired of Being the Forgotten Minority)

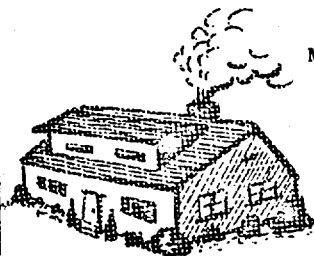
- WE ARE TIRED - Of being passive and submissive.
Of fear, crime, and filth.
- WE ARE TIRED - Of unfair tax burdens placed on our backs by our government to cover budgetary deficiencies and just plain free-loading.
- WE ARE TIRED - Of being branded racist and bigots. When we speak out and take action on issues that concern us and affect our so called American dream of working hard for what we earned.
- WE ARE TIRED - Of having our children used as cattle so that minority children may be bussed into our neighborhood schools.
- WE ARE TIRED - Of standing idly by while our sons and daughters are denied entrance to certain colleges in favor of less qualified minorities.
- WE ARE TIRED - Of losing jobs after long years of seniority to unqualified newly-hired minorities.

WORKING WITH YOUR POLICE DEPARTMENT
"GUEST SPEAKERS"

Meeting to held at: PS 83, Auditorium
950 Rhinelander Ave.
Between (Radcliff Ave. & Bogart Ave.)
Bronx, N.Y.

Time: 8:00 p.m. Date: Tuesday, May 27, 1975

PROTECT YOUR FAMILY & PROPERTY
NOW



ATTENTION NEW AND UNPAID MEMBERS: \$5 per year
Please fill-in and return the following Membership Form. Upon receipt, we forward you a Membership Card.

MEMBERSHIP		-CHECK-	
MORRIS PARK COMMUNITY ASSOCIATION		RENEW	<input type="checkbox"/>
1801 RADCLIFF AVE., BRONX, N.Y. 10462		NEW	<input type="checkbox"/>
NAME _____			
ADDRESS: _____			
PHONE NO: _____	DATE: _____		

Boston Freedom Summer '75

We reprint here a pamphlet issued by the Committee Against Racism (CAR) which analyzes the situation in Boston and proposes a strategy for organizing against racism. The Progressive Labor Party supports the program of CAR and salutes those who have responded to the call to participate in the Boston Freedom Summer Project.

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CHAPTER I

The International Committee Against Racism (CAR) calls on students and other interested people to join the FREEDOM SUMMER '75 ANTI-RACIST ACTION PROJECT, which will bring hundreds of volunteers from around the country to Boston, Massachusetts, to organize and defeat the racist movement there. Working intensively with Boston CAR, volunteers will prepare the way for a strong grass-roots peoples' movement, uniting whites, blacks and other minorities to fight for quality,

desegregated education and to fight against the racism being used to wreck the busing program.

CAR is organizing internationally for this project. But the racist organizers are also active. Louise Day Hicks is calling for a march on Washington in May to spread racist filth to other cities, and already news media have given the racist anti-busing movement coverage (and top billing) as far away as California. Defeating this racism is a life-and-death issue for whites as well as minorities. Faced with growing cutbacks in education and health, with more inflation and unemployment

ment, with the Immigration Department carrying out large-scale deportations of immigrants, we will either UNITE to fight for better conditions, or LOSE everything as racism brings us into conflict with each other.

JOIN BOSTON '75: INCAR's ANTI-RACIST SUMMER ACTION PROJECT!

A. POLITICAL STRATEGY OF THE SUMMER PROJECT

CAR believes we can reach the silent majority of white anti-racists and bring them into open struggle. While it is true that the Nazi Party and the KKK are openly organizing, already some East Boston and South Bostonites are defecting from the racist groups.

From the Boston Globe, March 10, '75

"In December, 25 people who were the original mainstays of the (East Boston Information) Center (a racist group)... divorced themselves from that group and ROAR..."

"Explained one, Anthony Cestrone, who described himself as formerly Mrs. Palladino's 'right hand man,'... 'the more ROAR and Information Center meetings I attended, I saw they were really against blacks, and I don't want to be part of any racist organization,'"

Our main strategy is allying with, working with, and forming coalitions with, existing organizations and groups of anti-racists and non-racists. The following activities are planned:

1. **A referendum or petition campaign.** Door-to-door work and working at shopping centers and factory gates to FIND AND WORK WITH anti-racists, and CONVINCED others to fight for the CAR PROGRAM for schools. The concentrations will be Charlestown and East Boston (where busing will begin in 1975), South Boston, Roxbury and Dorchester.
2. Setting up multiracial meetings of Boston parents, teachers, students and residents.
3. Working with community, church, labor, civic and school-based groups. Developing a speakers' bureau on the topic of anti-racism in Boston. Organizing CAR chapters and anti-racism committees in these groups.
4. A CAR office, open full-time, to coordinate mailings, press releases, street rallies, referendum/petition activities, housing and fund-raising.
5. Teach-ins, rallies, demonstrations, speak-ins on the commuter campuses. The purpose will be to create situations in which volunteers and students from the Boston area will discuss ideas, interact, and form relationships for anti-racist activity.
6. Leafletting of state office buildings, county and city facilities, union halls and factories.
7. Street rallies, demonstrations and guerrilla theater in areas which have shown interest in

anti-racist struggles.

8. Speeches and forums on request before community organizations, unions, etc.
9. Anti-racist freedom schools, media blitzes, making classrooms into discussion groups where possible, making the CAR headquarters into both a learning and mobilizing activity.

More ideas will be developed by the Boston CAR group as we get an idea of how many people will be coming.

B. TIMETABLE FOR THE SUMMER ANTI-RACISM PROJECT

May:

Internationally, recruiting serious anti-racists to volunteer for the project. Students should register at Boston State College, Northeastern University, University of Massachusetts, Boston University and other commuter schools for the summer session. Boston State has walk-in registration both in June and in July, for example.

In Boston, HOUSING, FUNDRAISING, RECRUITING (in that order) will be the main activities, co-ordinated by the Boston Area CAR steering committee.

June and July:

Official Kick-off of Boston, '75: June 1.

Two one-week anti-racist freedom schools for volunteers, to prepare our people for interaction with the Boston community. The results of our work must be solid, city-wide CAR chapters and other rank-and-file anti-racist groups, tremendous experiences for our volunteers, and the growth of CAR itself toward the united, rank-and-file, multiracial mass movement essential to defeating racism in Boston and elsewhere.

August:

International CAR demonstration against racism in Boston, followed by the biennial CAR convention to plan future fightbacks.

C. HISTORY

Ten years ago black Boston parents organized **en masse** against the segregated inferior education given to their children.

Out of these struggles came the passage of the Massachusetts Racial Imbalance Law, legally ending **de facto** segregation of the schools.

But for ten years School Committeewoman Louise Day Hicks (now a City Councillor) and her cronies built political opposition to desegregation, and let the schools in Boston deteriorate. Segregation of the schools actually **increased**.

One year ago Federal Judge Arthur Garrity ordered massive busing of school children to force the Boston School Committee to comply with the Racial Imbalance Act. Politicians urged violent defiance of this court order, and the Nazi-like racist organization ROAR, led by Hicks, was formed.

The racist movement in Boston is growing. Racist "information centers" are opening in some

places. The all-white private Hyde Park Academy has been sanctioned by the racist Boston School Committee as a refuge from the desegregated public schools. Kerrigan, Bulger, Flynn, Hicks and other politicians lead racist meetings and give racists (who have already come close to using murder as a tactic) justifications to continue their actions.

D. CONCLUSION:

By hindering the attempt to create even further racial turmoil around the '75-'76 busing program, we will greatly improve our chances of creating an international movement against racism.

MOST OF ALL, Boston is the test of whether or not racist mob-violence, similar to FASCISM, combined with political racism can succeed in stopping the desegregation movement. CAR says, "The racists are gonna FLUNK THIS TEST!!!"

CHAPTER II: BUSING AND RACISM IN BOSTON

BACKGROUND AND ANALYSIS FOR CAR FREEDOM SUMMER VOLUNTEERS

The purpose of this chapter is to provide some essential background information for CAR volunteers. It attempts to answer the following questions:

- (1) How and why did Boston's public schools become racially segregated?
- (2) How and why did court-ordered busing for integration come about?
- (3) What was the nature of the temporary "Phase I" busing plan used this year?
- (4) What are the strengths, ideologies and activities of the racist anti-busing movement that has been built in the Boston area? Who are its leaders?
- (5) What is the current situation and what will the permanent "Phase II" busing plan be like?

Boston CAR hopes that answering these questions will help persuade people to come to Boston and help prepare them to work effectively against racism. The most important thing that volunteers can bring to Boston, however, is a commitment to bodily fighting racism.

A. BOSTON'S "NEIGHBORHOODS"

Boston has a population of 600,000 people. About 25 per cent, or 150,000, are members of minority groups. Blacks number approximately 110,000; Puerto Ricans and Asian-Americans make up most of the remaining 40,000. Major sections or "neighborhoods" of Boston are virtually all-white: South Boston is heavily Irish and mostly very poor working-class. (A small section along the river, known as the "Point"—where Louise Day Hicks maintains a residence—is affluent.) The North End and East Boston areas are heavily Italian and poor working-class areas. Areas like Brighton and Hyde Park have a greater ethnic mix but are both mostly working-class. Roslindale has a few blacks, a few middle-class areas, but

**Boston
Freedom
Summer
'75**



**The Anti-Racist Action
Project of The InterNational
Committee Against Racism**

*A Summer Of Struggle,
A Lifetime Of Commitment...*

ON TO BOSTON!

10¢

is mostly white working-class. West Roxbury is the most affluent section of Boston. It is the home of many high-level city officials and politicians, and it is all white. The Back Bay includes a lot of students and elderly people. It is somewhat racially integrated. Jamaica Plain is perhaps the most racially integrated section of the city. It is almost entirely working-class, and it includes significant numbers of whites, blacks, latins and Asians. Dorchester and Mattapan are formerly all-white working-class areas which now -- as a result of blockbusting--have large black areas. Finally, Roxbury is predominantly—but not completely—black and latin.

In summary, there is some residential integration in the areas to the south and west of Roxbury, but elsewhere throughout the city, housing is highly segregated.

A few words should also be said about Boston's suburbs. The population of suburban Boston is over 2 million, of whom less than 20,000—or one per cent—are minority group members. These suburbs, although virtually all-white (with the exception of Cambridge, which is about 8 per cent minority)—are not generally middle-class or affluent. Most are predominantly working class with median family incomes of below \$12,000 a year. Pervasive racial discrimination has kept minorities out of these suburbs and out of their separate school systems. Approximately 2,400 minority students from Boston are voluntarily

bused to schools in these suburbs under a program known as METCO, begun in the late 1960s and funded by the state of Massachusetts.

B. BLOCKBUSTING

Racial segregation in Boston's schools is not just the result of segregated housing patterns. It is also the result of vicious blockbusting practices and racist school committee policies. In the late 1960s Boston's biggest banks and real estate speculators, together with the federal Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD), conspired to pit black against white and make huge profits in the housing market through blockbusting.

In 1971, a U.S. Senate investigating committee found that these banks first pooled \$29 million of HUD-insured home mortgage money, then took a map and drew a circular line around an all-white portion of Mattapan and decided they would grant mortgages to blacks only within the circle. Armed with these maps, real estate speculators unleashed a flood of racism, scaring white homeowners into panic selling to get out "before the neighborhood changed." These whites sold their homes to the speculators at great losses. Blacks, in turn, being unable to purchase homes anywhere else, were forced to buy homes within the circle at inflated prices. Later, when most blacks in the area defaulted on mortgage payments, the banks foreclosed and received their money from HUD, which had insured the mortgages. What clearer example is there that racism is a great money-



The 1963-65 fight against school segregation set the stage for today's struggle.

maker for the rich and a disaster for both blacks and whites? (Boston *Globe*, Sept. 20, 1971).

In any case, the end result was the extension of rigidly segregated housing patterns into Mattapan and also into sections of Dorchester. No punishment was ever meted out to these racist vultures.

C. SCHOOL COMMITTEE DELIBERATELY SEGREGATED SCHOOLS

A lion's share of the credit for segregating Boston's public schools must go to the School Committee. It has labored long and hard over the years to promote segregated and inferior education for Boston's school children.

In the early 1960s Boston's schools were a focal point of civil rights struggles. Black parents and students and their white allies organized city-wide school boycotts to press for integration and equality. Louise Day Hicks emerged as the chief of the racist forces, repeating over and over again that the "culturally deprived children of Roxbury need education, not transportation." The chairman of the Boston School Committee, in response to criticism of the Boston schools, boldly stated, "We do not have inferior schools; we have been getting an inferior type of student." Here we can see the kind of illogic Jensen, Herrnstein, Banfield were going to support.

Pressure from the Civil Rights Movement led to passage of the Racial Imbalance Act by the state legislature in 1965. This law stated that no school could be more than 50 per cent minority (although a school could be 100 per cent white without being "imbalanced"). The black community and its allies supported this law because they felt that having all-black schools made it easier for the School Committee to provide an inferior education to black children.

In the decade that followed, the Racial Imbalance Act was never implemented by the Boston School Committee nor enforced by the state legislature, the courts or the state board of education. Consequently, the number of segregated schools has doubled and the quality of education has steadily worsened.

In 1972, black parents, along with the NAACP, filed suits in federal court to force integration of Boston's public schools. Almost two years later, in the spring of 1974, Judge W. Arthur Garrity ruled that members of the Boston School Committee had taken "many actions in their official capacities with the purpose and intent to segregate the Boston public schools and such actions caused current conditions of segregation in the Boston public schools."

This is a very important point. Boston's schools were ordered desegregated not because of de facto segregation—segregation caused by housing patterns—but because they had been intentionally and deliberately segregated by School Committee policy. In this key respect, Boston is just like Little Rock and other southern cities.

Which policies did the Boston School Committee employ to further segregation? Education writer

Alan Jehlen of the **Quincy Patriot-Leader**, a large suburban Boston newspaper, summarized these policies and their political effect in an article written last November.

Jehlen noted that the Boston School Committee could have avoided Judge Garrity's desegregation order had it stuck to its "neighborhood schools" policy—sending children to the school closest to their homes.

Instead, the committee planned and built elementary schools **so that they would be segregated when they opened**, and district lines were drawn to keep them that way. "At the intermediate and high school levels, the committee was even more blatant." Jehlen wrote: "...each junior high or middle school got the graduates of a set of elementary schools, and most high schools got the graduates of a set of junior or middle schools."

Jehlen said the sets did not necessarily conform to geography, but "were manipulated so that students from white elementary schools usually could get into white junior high schools, and then white high schools."

In many cases, the board allowed white schools to become severely overcrowded rather than to cross "district lines" previously set up to keep the schools segregated.

Although the U.S. Supreme Court has ruled that a segregated school system cannot be forced to integrate for the sole reason that it is segregated, because of the Boston School Committee's action, Judge Garrity would have been violating Supreme Court guidelines had he failed to order busing.

The Supreme Court held that when a school committee acts illegally to make its schools segregated, it at the same time creates racial housing patterns and that it is the responsibility of the judicial system to counteract such policies.

Jehlen quoted opponents of the present system as saying that having a small committee (five members), and having them elected at-large, tends to eliminate minority representation. Since the system was started in 1906, there has never even been a person of Italian descent on the committee, let alone a black.

Jehlen also offered another reason for the committee action—political aspirations of individual board members. Jehlen noted that running at large aids politicians hoping to move up and that "it did not hurt the political futures of committee members to ride the race issue onto newspaper front pages day after day."

"Would Louise Day Hicks have become a city councillor and a member of Congress, and come close to becoming mayor, without the race issue?" Jehlen asked.

Despite the fact that many Boston parents don't want their children bused, the city's main anti-busing organization wants to keep the committee as it is—the same committee that led them into busing in the first place.

The group—ROAR—contends that allowing the mayor to have more control over Boston schools and changing the committee structure might cause turmoil in the schools.

"ROAR's position probably has something to do with the close ties which some of its leaders have

with politicians who have built their political careers on the race issue," Jehlen wrote. But he said there were a few signs that the day of making political hay via racism may be ending.

"When ROAR organized a march on the offices of Sens. Edward Kennedy and Edward Brooke... the parade was led by a car plastered with political bumper stickers pushing, among others, school committee chairman John Kerrigan for district attorney and city councillor Albert (Dapper) O'Neil for sheriff," Jehlen said, "Kerrigan and O'Neil lost those races."

Jehlen's article exposes some of the most important myths propagated by the anti-busing movement. "Neighborhood schools" is not the issue, even though some parents and students sincerely believe it is. Boston has had neighborhood schools only when and where such schools would be segregated. Integrated neighborhoods did not have neighborhood schools because of deliberate School Committee policy. The most racist parents and students also collaborated in this policy in order to avoid integration and are now using the slogan "neighborhood schools" as a cover for racism.

The anti-busing movement is not a "grass roots" movement run by "little people." It was organized and led by important politicians to further their own ends. These racist political misleaders, not busing, are the problem in Boston. And behind them lies the academic-corporate complex with ties to Harvard, politicians like Kennedy and Brooke, and the banking-insurance group which controls the Boston metropolitan area.

D. "PHASE I": A REVIEW OF THE PAST SCHOOL YEAR

The busing plan used this past school year was drawn up by the state board of education after the Boston School Committee refused to come up with one. The board of education plan clearly had many serious defects: (1) It excluded large areas of the city, leaving schools in West Roxbury, East Boston, Charlestown and parts of Roxbury still segregated. (2) It caused great over-crowding on the high school level, adding to racial tension in schools like Hyde Park High. (3) It decimated bi-lingual programs for Latin students. (4) It paired Roxbury with South Boston, the area where the greatest white resistance could be anticipated. (This, by itself, was not necessarily bad, but the planners made no serious attempt to combat the racist opposition they knew would be forthcoming. They also failed to introduce pre-busing preparation, which had proven successful in a test area in Louisiana.) (5) It included no educational improvements and innovations; indeed, it had the effect of dismantling innovative programs already in effect. Judge Garrity tried to justify some of these defects by asserting that education had to "take a back seat" to integration this year!

These serious defects in the plan led some groups in the city to concentrate their efforts on opposing the busing plan, not on opposing racism. CAR, however, and virtually all other anti-racist

**OPEN LETTER TO THE PEOPLE OF HYDE PARK FROM MR. AND
MRS. DALEY OF 168 WASHINGTON STREET IN HYDE PARK:**

We, Mr. and Mrs. Daley of Hyde Park, wish to invite you to a short meeting next Monday evening to discuss what happened to us last week.

The only reason that we came to Hyde Park was because we had difficulty in finding a house with three bedrooms and a bathroom on each floor. Upon finding such a house in Hyde Park we decided to take it.

We think it very unjust for people to treat other human beings the way that we were treated. This is a free country and we feel that we have a right to live here as well as anyone else.

Nobody in the neighborhood knows us and we feel that the only reason that our family was attacked was because we are black.

I am afraid that if we allow these hooligans to continue they will even pick on white persons.

We do not believe that, being black, we will bring down your property values, but we do believe that if you allow these hooligans to continue their activities in this area THEY will bring down the property values.

So please try to come to this meeting. It is only going to be an hour long. We plan to stay here so we might as well try to work together. We don't necessarily have to be friends but we can at least be civilized to each other.

The meeting will be on Monday, June 30th, at 7 p.m., at St. Pius X Hall, corner of Cushman Rd. and Nadham.

—Elaine and Kenneth Daley

The Daley's are a black family who have been attacked by racist, ROAR-inspired gangs in Hyde Park. CAR organized defense squads to stay at their house after a fence and several windows were broken. Police, who were on the scene when this damage took place, made no arrests. As a result of mass distribution of the above leaflet, neighbors helped to organize to prevent the recurrence of such attacks.

forces in the city, while in no way defending the shortcomings of the plan, focused its efforts on attacking the racists and calling for multiracial unity to fight for better education for all.

The racist violence that erupted last fall when schools opened made Boston the center of national attention. Here is a brief summary and analysis of what has taken place since last September.

In South Boston, racist mobs of several hundred people formed and stoned buses bringing in black students. Members of CAR leafletted during the summer in South Boston and Dorchester and on the first day of school at South Boston High School. A racist boycott organized by ROAR (Restore Our Alienated Rights) was effective at the South Boston-Roxbury High School Complex, but largely ineffective throughout most of the rest of the city. Citywide school attendance during the first two weeks of school averaged around 70 per cent. (Absenteeism normally keeps attendance at around 80 per cent.) After two weeks, racist white students returned to schools—especially to South Boston High—and began to instigate attacks on black students. During this time there was no harassment of white students being bused into black areas, and no incidents in schools initiated by blacks. Only after four weeks of racist attacks, culminating in the near-lynching of a Haitian worker, André Yvon Jean-Louis, did some

blacks retaliate.

Having stirred up racist violence in the schools, ROAR now pointed to this violence as proof that integration would not work! By the time schools were closed for Christmas vacation, over 1500 students had been suspended from school, two-thirds of them minority students. Of the 52 whites arrested for assaulting blacks, not one was convicted of a single charge. The South Boston judge who heard their cases explained that he was applying "community standards of justice."

Hundreds of city and state police continue to be stationed in and around South Boston and Hyde Park High Schools and other "trouble spots." The anti-busing rallies and motorcades that took place almost weekly last September and October have ceased. Recently, in March, Louise Day Hicks led about 1400 people from Boston in an anti-busing march in Washington. There they were joined by racists from around the country, including racist anti-book forces from West Virginia. They formed a national organization called SOAR (Save Our Alienated Rights).

E. THE ANTI-BUSING MOVEMENT

ROAR is the main anti-busing organization. ROAR has established "information centers" in South Boston, Dorchester, and other neighborhoods. Members of the "information center" in

East Boston recently quit the organization because they did not want to be affiliated with a racist organization. ROAR has also established allied groups in Boston's suburbs such as Mass. Citizens Against Forced Busing and South Shore Citizens Against Forced Busing. In many cases the leading activists in these groups are former residents of South Boston. ROAR's greatest organized strength is in South Boston and the Hyde Park-Roslindale-West Roxbury area. ROAR is trying to establish all-white "alternative schools" in these two areas: the "South Boston Heights Academy" and the "Hyde Park Academy."

Officially, politicians like Louise Day Hicks, School Committeeman John Kerrigan, or State Rep. Ray Flynn are not the leaders of ROAR, and ROAR has not yet "endorsed" the campaigns of any politicians. However, the official leaders of ROAR are people like Hicks' secretary, Rita Graul, Fran Johnene, Virginia Sheehy, and Pixie Palladino, all of whom have worked in the political campaigns of these politicians and are "leaders" of "Home and School Associations"—paper "parents" groups run by the Boston School Committee. The rallies and motorcades of last fall were dominated by speeches by these politicians and their close friends.

Four of the five members of the Boston School Committee (Kerrigan, McDonough, Tierney, and Ellison) are members of ROAR. Eight of the nine members of the Boston City Council are ROAR members. The state representative (Flynn) and state senator (Bulger) from South Boston are members of ROAR. This November several of these politicians are expected to challenge Mayor Kevin White, who is running for reelection.

F. ROAR'S IDEOLOGY

Officially ROAR maintains the pretense that it is not a racist organization; obviously, this is important, because ROAR can gain a measure of support from many people who would be much more uncomfortable in an explicitly racist organization. ROAR asserts that it is against "forced" busing, because it violates constitutional rights of parents to choose to send their children to neighborhood schools. ROAR also appeals to workers' resentment against the rich and against the government by emphasizing that busing is supported by wealthy liberals like Senators Kennedy and Brooke, whose children attend exclusive private schools, but imposed mainly upon poor working-class people who have no say in the matter.

Liberal politicians like Boston's Mayor White or Senators Kennedy and Brooke who urge "obeying the law" are obviously totally unable and/or unwilling to challenge ROAR's ideology in any effective way. Indeed, the racist political machines which they depend on for support do not allow them to really fight against **ROARISM**. But except for justifiable resentment of the rich, the rest of ROAR's position is a total sham!

(1) Leaders of ROAR have shown by past actions that they favor neighborhood schools only in segregated neighborhoods. Otherwise, they



favor gerrymandering school district lines and busing to achieve segregation!

(2) Leaders of ROAR are not concerned about the government telling them what to do with their children. Hicks, Kerrigan and their friends did not object when the government drafted hundreds of young men from South Boston and other parts of the city to fight and die in an imperialist war in Vietnam. In fact, they attacked anti-war and anti-draft protesters as "hippie-commie-draft-dodgers." More recently, leaders of the South Boston "information center" attacked pro-integration forces as "the same groups who deprived us Bostonians of our civil rights and civil liberties during the anti-war demonstrations." Indeed, we can expect racist demagogues to try and blame blacks, other minorities, and progressive whites for the defeats in Southeast Asia.

Apparently, these anti-busing leaders think it is all right to draft people and send them to Vietnam, but it is wrong to bus them to Roxbury. During the first week of school last September, Hicks and two other politicians issued a statement in defense of the racist violence then occurring. They asserted that "it is against our children's interest to send them to school in crime-infested Roxbury... No responsible, clear-thinking person, knowing the realities of life in that community, would send his child there." Here we get the clearest demonstration of how racists like Banfield have helped to create racist actions. Obviously, the real motivation here is blatant racism, not any concern for anyone's rights.

Throughout the history of the civil rights movement, racists invented "rights" to justify racist opposition to black equality. Political leaders of Southern states prated about "states' rights" to justify defiance of civil rights laws. Landlords and real-estate agents talked about the rights of property owners to rent or sell property to whom-

ever they wished—to justify housing discrimination. Lester Maddox and other racist businessmen wanted about their right to decide who to serve to justify excluding blacks from restaurants and motels. The so-called “right” not to have one’s child bused is—like all these phony “rights”—nothing more than a “right” to practice racism. CAR maintains uncompromisingly that there is and there should be no such “right!”

(3) Leaders of ROAR have followed the classic fascist-like strategy of twisting working-class consciousness in a racist direction. The politicians know that white working-class people in Boston are increasingly angry about their worsening social and economic conditions, resulting from cutbacks in employment, health, education, and welfare services. Boston’s public schools have deteriorated markedly over the past decade. Fewer than 20 per cent of Boston’s high school graduates go on to college, except from the elite examination high schools. Over one-third of the students entering South Boston High School in recent years didn’t even graduate from high schools. Dozens of Boston’s schools have terrible physical conditions, inadequate heating, lighting, and ventilation, no gyms or showers, horrible lunch programs, out-dated textbooks, etc. Many of Boston’s schools are terribly overcrowded. In fact, before busing began, the worst overcrowding was in white schools. More and more white students were crowded into South Boston High and other white schools to avoid sending these students to integrated schools.

In 1970 four of Boston’s high schools were nearly denied reaccreditation. That same year, thousands of white students followed the lead of black students in staging protests and walkouts at many high schools and junior high schools. The School Committee and other politicians had good reason to fear the development of a strong multi-racial movement of students, parents and teachers to fight for better schools. To head this off and take the heat off themselves, Hicks, Kerrigan, et al. stepped up their efforts to organize a racist movement in the city to pit white against black.

(4) As the months have gone by, the leaders of the anti-busing movement have become more openly and blatantly racist in their words and deeds. This past December John Kerrigan, then chairman of the School Committee, and a member since 1967, “twice publicly described a black television correspondent, Lem Tucker, as ‘one generation away from swinging in the trees,’ adding, ‘I bet he likes bananas.’” (*Newsweek*, Dec. 30, 1974.) In addition to the grossest racism, Kerrigan and his friends on the School Committee are thoroughly corrupt. Teachers, administrators, and other workers in the Boston School Department are required to purchase tickets for fund-raising testimonials for Social Committee members or face demotion and other forms of harassment. Some of this money goes to finance campaigns; a lot of it simply goes into the pockets of Kerrigan and his pals. Kerrigan is also part owner of a private vocational school (Andover Institute) that rips off large sums of money in tuition through fraudulent advertising promises

and third-rate education. Kerrigan and Hicks are also fairly successful in the real estate business. Hicks owns dozens of apartment buildings throughout Boston and undoubtedly has benefited from racism and blockbusting practices. In addition, they are junior members of a power elite which allows them these privileges in order to prevent any kind of general reform which would attack the privileges of that elite. We in CAR assert there is an ideological connection between Harvard University’s academic racists and the School Committee.

G. “PHASE II”: A LOOK AHEAD

The temporary one-year busing plan (Phase I) will be replaced this September with a permanent desegregation plan (Phase II). Four court-appointed “Masters” and two “educational experts” have been working on this final plan for about two months and have recently made public the general outlines of the new plan. At this time it is impossible to make definitive judgments about all of its features, but a few observations can be made.

(1) This plan makes substantial concessions to the racists. Although the plan covers the entire city, it appears to permit residents of South and East Boston to maintain largely “neighborhood” high schools. A Roxbury district high school would be predominantly black and latin.

(2) This plan operates within and accepts severe financial restraints. It proposes closing a number of schools without building new ones. It proposes limiting busing to save money, even where this means children must walk long distances or take public transportation to school.

(3) It apparently maintains the inadequacy of remedial and bilingual programs.

(4) It proposes a heavy involvement of large businesses and colleges and universities in the schools. Racist, non-union companies like Gillette and John Hancock Insurance will have the opportunity to “help” prepare students for low-paying jobs. Racist universities like Harvard will lend a hand in curriculum development. (Perhaps Herrstein and Banfield will agree to help out. Indeed, the influence of the CED Report on a local level may be connected here.)

As with Phase I, we do not intend to concentrate our efforts on attacking the plan or proposing a better one. We want to concentrate on fighting racism and uniting people in a multiracial movement to improve education for all.

H. CONCLUSION

Last fall, members of the Nazi Party and the Ku Klux Klan came to Boston to try to take advantage of the situation here. The Nazis recently opened a bookstore in South Boston. Members of ROAR have picketed this bookstore and the cops have raided it. But this should not deceive us into believing that the anti-busing movement is not a fascist-like movement. The ideology of its members is more and more a “white power” ideology.

They assert that whites are being hurt because everything is being done for blacks. "All the jobs and educational opportunities are going to blacks," cry the racist dupes.

In recent months the official unemployment rate climbed to over 10 per cent in Massachusetts. Large layoffs hit the telephone company, the area's largest employer. A lot of racism was stirred up by the totally false rumor that whites with higher seniority were being laid off so that blacks recently hired could be kept on. This took the heat off the company and prevented a united fight against the layoffs themselves.

We should make no mistake. This movement has essentially the same character as fascism. Just as the Nazis in Germany sought to hide their true character by calling themselves "socialists," the current fascists will generally not call themselves by their true name. They know the hatred for fascism held by the working people of Boston. As CAR's Summer Project begins to turn that hatred toward its appropriate targets, the days of the racist politicians and businessmen will be numbered!

And, to make this happen—and it can happen, even in Boston, we need your help—morally, physically, financially. **ON TO BOSTON! JOIN INCAR IN BOSTON.**

CHAPTER III. WHAT IS INCAR?

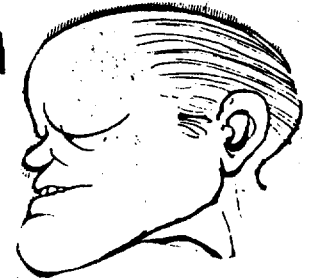
The International Committee Against Racism, founded in 1973, is based on three principles:

a
call
to
action

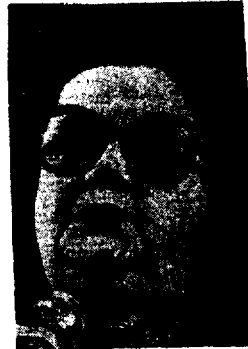


ROCKEFELLER

ON TO BOSTON...
for the
BICENTENNIAL!!!



FORD



LOUISE DAY HICKS

"THE RACISM
CONNECTION"

(1) Because racism victimizes all racial and cultural groups, CAR is a multi-racial organization. Racism allows our standard of living and our opportunities for growth and development to be diminished at the same time that it effectively dismantles our ability to unite in a mass way to protest, resist or otherwise oppose such cut-backs. Multi-racial unity is essential to success in our fight to improve our living conditions and to expand the very nature of our human lives.

(2) The fight against racism must be led and waged by the people who are its constant victims. Therefore, CAR is a mass rank-and-file organization, drawing its strength from ordinary people.

(3) CAR is an action-oriented organization, committed to opposing racist ideas and practices in all their sundry forms, by deeds as well as words.

Racism, subtle and blatant, is threatening many aspects of all of our lives. It is being used to justify reactionary measures of all sorts, measures that are having serious effects on the living conditions of all racial and ethnic groups. Racist cuts in welfare aid, decaying housing, unemployment, poor medical care, the destruction of public education and educational opportunities from kindergarten through graduate school, declining real wages—all are linkable to this racist upsurge.

During the Second World War and the subse-



"Your honor, can we just take the pardons and go? We've already done our share to build racism in this country."

quent decades of civil rights battles, millions of people learned to recognize racism as a moral evil. Many saw it as a deadly enemy. That tradition is under attack; there is an attempt to substitute for it an outlook that views racism as socially correct and scientifically justified. This outlook bears great similarity to the Hitlerite "master race" theory. It is just as false and vicious. Racism was then and is now an enemy of all social progress. No gains in our fight to improve the conditions of our lives can be made without a rejection of this false doctrine and its practical consequences.

The current racist upsurge in Boston and elsewhere has taken two forms: ideas and acts. They are closely intertwined and can only be fought together. In the realm of ideas the biological and social sciences are being twisted and distorted to provide a "scientific" cover for what is, in reality, unscientific baloney.

INCAR seeks to effectively articulate the growing outrage of faculty, students and community people against the exponents of neoracism. It seeks to alert campuses and communities to the immense dangers and consequences of resurgent racism and to mobilize a broad coalition of forces to struggle against its revival.

The resurgence of racism can be traced to the increasing socio-economic pressures on a wide variety of people, both on college campuses and throughout society in general. If recent trends are to be reversed, a program of action addressing the fundamental issues involved must be developed. It is this recognition which gives focus

and direction to our struggle. Thus we are fighting for the realization of the following:

1) The organization of chapters affiliated with the International Committee Against Racism on campuses, in hospitals, among immigrants and among parents, teachers and school children—wherever racism needs to be fought.

2) Non-racist, comprehensive medical care for all, regardless of economic status; increased medical care budgets to fund more health-related research; expanded community health programs; the construction of more health facilities which are free to everyone, but particularly to inner-city and low-income groups.

3) High quality, non-racist, free education for all, staffed by a substantial increase in the number of minority teachers, especially minority women; roll-backs in tuition to permit higher education for all, regardless of economic status, and free access to higher education by federal subsidy according to need.

4) An end to government funding of racist research, such as programs aimed at "proving" the false thesis that one race of class is inferior to another; or psychosurgery, which seeks to alter so-called "destructive" behavior of poor blacks and whites; or experiments in the sterilization of minority and low income people.

5) A voluntary end to the non-critical propagation of racist ideas in texts, journals and classrooms; an end to the exercise of such ideas in public and national policy.

6) An end to fascist immigration laws which presently allow so-called "illegal" foreign work-

ers to be exploited, discriminated against and oppressed, and "legal" foreign students and others to be intimidated and inhibited in their economic, social and political activities.

Hence, the broad areas of education, health care and politics are the prime focus of our struggle. Without a decent education people are certain to be relegated to marginal positions and conditions in society, and they will often lack the knowledge and skills that are necessary to earn a living or participate effectively in the political process. In a civilized country, excellent health care should be a right to which all citizens are entitled as a matter of national policy. The quality of health care now available to many poor, working and middle class people not only results in a shortened life span, but also affects our ability to work and support ourselves.

In recent years various federal programs and administrative policies have served only to deepen and perpetuate hostilities between one racial or ethnic group and another, and have resulted in a

decline in the standard of living for both. Such divisive measures should be opposed at all levels—local, state, and international—as destructive to the essential unity of all peoples. Division can only result in our mutual suffering. These issues will continue to be raised sharply by INCAR through forums, letters, demonstrations, scholarship, and actions like Boston '75.

INCAR has fifteen chapters in the United States, six in Canada and one in Paris, France. If you wish to affiliate with CAR but do not have a chapter in your locality, you may obtain further information on how to go about establishing one from CAR's international headquarters.

c/o F. C. Campbell
E-110, 6337 Pheasant Lane
Middleton, Wis. 53562

FIGHTING RACISM IS WINNING! JOIN US... IN BOSTON THIS SUMMER!

APPENDICES

THE POLITICS OF RACISM: Appendix No. 1

Louise Day Hicks, undisputed leader of racist anti-busing forces, is expected to seek re-election to the City Council, though a third bid for mayor has not totally been ruled out. Should she decline the mayoral race (she was twice before defeated by Mayor White), the banner will likely fall to State Sen. William Bulger (D-South Boston) or State Rep. Raymond Flynn (D-South Boston). Both men have already had campaign materials printed up. If Mrs. Hicks does not run for mayor, anti-busing leaders hope that Flynn and Bulger would decide between themselves which will carry the racist banner. If both ran, the anti-busing vote would likely be split, to the probable advantage of incumbent Mayor White.

POTENTIALS FOR CAR; Appendix No. 2

An untitled group, guided by Rose Marie Ruggiero, does not advocate forced busing but supports a "foster parent" program to ensure safe passage of bused children.

Robert Colvario of Residents Against Forced

Busing contends that East Boston has been "pushed around by outside forces too long and busing is the last straw; we won't accept it."

Evelyn Morash of East Bostonians for Quality Education (EbQue): "Busing will be a good thing because it will help break down traditions of prejudice among children by exposing them to youngsters of different colors, backgrounds and neighborhoods. It is a necessary means to an end." Mrs. Morash, a member of the state board of education, urges compliance with Judge Garrity's desegregation order.

CAR will support EbQue and the "middle ground" offered by Mrs. Ruggiero, who said she has located about 200 affected parents who have soured on racist tactics. She said the 200 have contacted hundreds of others for participation in a network that would make each parent responsible for meeting one child going to, or coming from, school, regardless of whether their own children were being bused.

Residents Against Forced Busing is a group hoping to establish a private academy for white children.

INCAR's PROGRAM FOR BOSTON

1. Build 25 new schools in working class areas now. Upgrade all schools, starting with those in black and poor areas. Hire at \$200 per week 5000 unemployed people to work on this upgrading plan.

2. Hire hundreds more teachers, especially minority teachers. Double the number of janitors for proper school maintenance.

3. Expand bilingual programs.

4. Indict John Kerrigan and Louise Day Hicks for conspiracy to violate the civil rights of school children.

5. End the practice of having parents' meetings segregated on the basis of race, now taking place at many schools. Multiracial groups of parents, students and teachers must form to fight for better schools. Integrated parents' meetings are the key.

6. Establish cafeterias and hot lunch programs in all schools.

Organize

On-the-Job

Struggle

The main line of the Progressive Labor Party points out that the period we are living in is one of a ruling-class drive towards war and fascism to deal with the insoluble contradictions the bosses face. Without detailing those contradictions (see article in last PL magazine), it is sufficient to note here that they are trying to "solve" those contradictions at the expense of the working class, shifting the effects of their crisis onto our backs.

These effects include wage cuts, raging inflation, sharply increased racism (racist layoffs; deportation dragnets), mass unemployment (government estimates are that 25,000,000 workers will be out of work at one time or another during 1975), cut-backs in services, and union-busting, among other things. Finally, the ruling class attempts to deal with these contradictions by dragging U.S. workers into wars against workers in other countries, especially a world war against its chief rival, the Soviet Union's ruling class.

Since U.S. bosses know from hard experience that the working class does not, and will not, take this stepped-up oppression lying down, it is attempting to crush the workers' inevitable fight-back by imposing fascism on us. The liberals who lead this movement, as the main section of the ruling class, use the more openly right-wing forces (Hicks, Wallace, etc.) as their advance guard to attack whatever workers have won over the years.

It is the Party's main task to lead the working class in defeating this ruling class "solution" of fascism and war, along with the effects mentioned.

While the Party declares that temporarily the main contradiction influencing events in the world is between Soviet and U.S. bosses (and between imperialists generally), over the long run we still believe the underlying contradiction to be between bosses and workers. This contradiction always exists. It is sharpest at the point of pro-

duction where workers battle bosses over how much money (surplus value) the bosses will be able to steal from the workers, who produce all value.

Historically it is at the point of production where the workers have organized themselves most effectively against the bosses, having been drawn together into social production by the development of the capitalist system. It is out of the strength organized at the point of production that the working class has been able to mount even greater struggle elsewhere, up to and including socialist revolution, as well as such monumental achievements growing from socialism as the smashing of Hitlerite fascism.

Similarly, now in the U.S., the fight against war and fascism must be inter-woven with, and grow out of, the class struggle at the point of production, where the contradiction of bosses vs. workers is sharpest. If we communists in PLP are to lead the working class to revolution, the foundation stone at this stage of the struggle is leading workers in class struggle **ON THE JOB**, with **communist** ideas.

WHY THE PARTY PUTS FORWARD THE LINE OF ON-THE-JOB STRUGGLE:

We cannot really fight fascism, repression and war—with all their effects—without an organized mass base for the Party's ideas in the trade union movement. To fight fascism there, means to fight against strike-bans and the outlawing of unions, against wage cuts and racist layoffs, against mass unemployment, etc. To fight fascism elsewhere means to be able to draw on the organized strength developed by the rank and file in the trade union movement and direct it wherever workers feel the effects of fascism. (What would be the effect of unions organizing in Boston against Hicks, of marching through South Boston and opening up those virtually-closed union headquarters there, of mobilizing their members to defeat the racist anti-busing movement, of



mobilizing their members to smash the fascist punks, using their experience as trade unionists who must smash scabs in strikes and organizing unions in the first place? Enough said.)

Unions are not moving in this direction because they are controlled by a right-wing, sellout leadership which collaborates as junior partners with the bosses. While the mass of workers in the Center have little faith in these finks, they still have not broken with them because they do not see any organized alternative leading in a Left direction. However, when workers are drawn into on-the-job struggle against the bosses, led by communists and communist ideas, the right-wing leadership is exposed and isolated; the mass of workers overcome their anti-communism, are won over to follow the Left in whom they now see an alternative in their fight for job and union security, as well as against all the other effects of the bosses' economic crisis.

It is because we in PLP have not led enough on-the-job class struggle, with the content of our ideas, that the line-up of forces is still not clear to the mass of workers in the Center. It is from this on-the-job struggle that the role of the sellouts will become so clear on a day-to-day basis, that workers will join and follow communist-led caucuses and other formations, and that many will join the Party **OUT OF THE NEEDS OF THE CLASS STRUGGLE**. It is then that they will also follow communist leadership in other areas, whether it be in May Day marches, fighting fascism, fighting the drive to war, racist Hicks-type movements, etc.

We often wonder why workers at a union meeting string along with the sellout leadership or somehow "don't see" their sellout nature. Actually this is a question of the lack of a real alternative to these finks. The existence of an alternative can only be based on militant, Left leadership at the point of production, **ON THE JOB**, which, in turn, will be reflected at union meetings and in all other union activities. Our ability to "deliver the goods" in the class struggle on the job will determine whether workers will follow us in all other areas of struggle. It is this kind of communist-led class struggle that will win workers away from the right-wing lackeys and will build a Left-Center leadership in life (it cannot be

based on merely winning workers to a line verbally).

Without on-the-job struggle, there can be no thought of winning power in the unions. If there is one lesson to be learned from all our activity around union elections and from the Boston May Day march and the drive to fascism, it is that power in the union will **NOT** be won simply by electing a new union leadership. It will be won basically at the point of production, through communist-led on-the-job struggle, with workers' violence and SEIZURE of that power, drawn from the workers' control over their ability to shut production and defeat all violent boss attempts to stop them.

When we lead these kinds of struggles, they will be reflected in union elections, or else in the fact that workers will "vote" with their feet and muscle, guaranteeing they will determine who their leaders will be, regardless of bosses' laws, corrupt union leaders, government mediators or the "Honest" Ballot Association. Without leadership on the job, we cannot expect workers to fight for rank-and-file power against the right-wing sellouts, and any election victory will be overturned by all the power that the enemy has to marshal against it. Power in the unions is determined by the confidence workers have in our leadership at the point of production, not by our putting forward a good program in a union election, important as that still is. **The program should reflect on-the-job struggle.**

To win a bloc of workers into a Left organization is not winning power in the union. That power is only won by the Party leading a bloc of workers on the job in class struggle—through organized forms such as caucuses, or whatever other Left forms the Party decides on, including winning certain key union committees—all leading to a **rank-and-file take-over of the union itself.**

Further, our ability to lead class struggle in areas away from the job is dependent on what we can produce on the job. We can't be "for" things elsewhere but do nothing about the immediate problems at work. Workers won't follow that kind of leadership in any mass way. Communist leadership in on-the-job struggle will lay the basis for workers to follow it against a fascist anti-busing movement or against a deportation dragnet.

ON-THE-JOB STRUGGLE MEANS 52 WEEKS A YEAR

The most glaring weakness in our trade union work is the lack of consistent on-the-job struggle led by the Party and its ideas 52 weeks a year. Where people carry out the line **systematically**, 52 weeks a year, the rest of the line also works. When on-the-job struggle is sporadic or non-existent, very little of the rest of the line works. For instance, when the Canadian Party of Labor (CPL) engaged in real on-the-job struggle in the Toronto post office, about every issue that came up, a Postal Action Caucus resulted, 10 of 18 stewards were won into the caucus, 35 workers from the post office came to May Day, a number of postal workers joined CPL and a big ideological struggle was waged at the union meeting around



N. Y. C. sanitationmen strike against layoffs

endorsing May Day, which, while not winning the endorsement, was very instrumental in winning the bloc of 35 to go to May Day.

Moreover, on-the-job struggle led by communists changes the character of Party-building and recruiting. Although many workers and others have joined the Party in the recent recruiting campaign most have not been won out of mass class struggle, but rather from being met through public agitation or as casual acquaintances. Not that we shouldn't recruit such workers; rather, that kind of growth rate will not be sufficient to meet the needs of the coming class struggle, in the face of war and fascism.

How we built for May Day largely reflects this. Most workers came from our personal ties and from ties with the ones we brought—our friends, and the friends of our friends. Others came from public agitation around May Day. A lesser number came from on-the-job struggle. Except for situations like the Toronto Postal Action Caucus (which endorsed May Day), and one or two hospitals in N.Y.C. where we led a strike, no big bloc of workers was brought to May Day from one shop or local, precisely because there has been no consistent, year-round, on-the-job class struggle with communist content to it. The same thing has been true for people coming to conventions, large demonstrations, etc.

While we were able to defeat the fascist punks

who attacked us on May Day, we wouldn't have been able to defeat a mass attack by the cops. We can only contemplate that kind of victory if we have large blocs of workers coming, with the confidence in us borne of fighting the boss every day in the shop, where a clear understanding of the role of the cops always comes out in sharp class struggle.

If we give communist leadership every day on the job, we will be able to move large numbers of workers in **EVERY AREA OF LIFE** in which capitalism oppresses the working class.

HOW TO CARRY OUT THE LINE OF ON-THE-JOB STRUGGLE:

Communist-led on-the-job struggle means using the Party's ideas to win the demands of the immediate struggle and, in the course of that, to win workers involved in that struggle into the Party. Both things are necessary. If we try to lead class struggle without the Party's ideas and without building the Party, whose ideas are we using and what are we building? Only the bosses' ideas, no matter how militant we may be. If we do not bring communist ideas into the struggle and convince workers to join the Party and fight for revolution, then, in effect, we are leading workers to think that you can win through reforming the system, that we don't need a communist

party, which is precisely what the boss tells us all the time. And, of course, if we try to build the Party by "talking" to workers about it without using the ideas to lead class struggle, we'll never win very many workers to the Party, and certainly won't win much class struggle.

But leading on-the-job struggle doesn't mean doing something once a year or once a month. It doesn't mean engaging in a strike over the contract and then going on "vacation from struggle" for six months. The job is there 52 weeks a year, the contradiction with the boss is there 52 weeks a year; therefore, **the class struggle is there every single day, 52 weeks a year.** There is something we can do virtually **every day** at work—especially if we have a plan—that contributes to the class struggle.

There are grievances which come up every day; workers being fired or threatened with being fired; workers robbed of money in their paychecks; workers not given their rightful classification or opportunity to advance to higher classifications; workers unfairly disciplined; workers victimized by racism in a myriad of forms; and on and on.

In addition to these daily injustices, there are the "larger" issues: wage cuts, mass layoffs, new contracts, etc., and all the preparation for struggle around those issues, as well as the union-related activity to them: rank-and-file participation in negotiations, organization for strikes, mass demonstrations against layoffs and cuts, activizing union committees that will organize these fight-backs, likewise for union meetings, and running in union elections around programs that reflect the activity in the class struggle on these issues.

On the one hand, with all that staring us in the face, some of us can find "no issues" to lead struggle around. On the other hand, some of us get very deeply involved in such struggles, but no sooner does that happen, then we forget all

about the fact that we are communists, that there is a Party line, a Party to be built, and Party ideas to be put forward, both in the particular struggle and over-all. Right opportunism sets in with a vengeance and lays the basis for defeat, both in the immediate struggle (because, with the absence of the Party's ideas, we and the workers fall prey to the bosses' ideas), and in the long-run struggle, because **the key to all struggle being built—the Party—is not being built at all.** How should we actually operate?

For instance, suppose a worker is being fired. On the one hand, we must get all the facts in the case, the violations of the contract, etc. We must proceed from the point of view that the worker is always right, the boss always wrong. And we must explain precisely **that point** to all the workers; that is, we must fight the firing by injecting class consciousness into the struggle, not allow workers to feel that someone is being fired because some boss is nasty or "has it in for a worker."

We can, through this issue, show the nature of the capitalism system, that built on profits and boss control, it is designed to screw workers, take their livelihood away from them, never allow a moment of real security. We must not allow the bosses' idea of "this is only one worker," or "he or she was wrong anyway," or "don't stick your neck out for someone else," or "he never did anything for you when you needed it," or a thousand other anti-worker ideas designed to split working-class unity. In fact, by the boss and his lackies putting forward any of these lies, it gives us the opportunity to put forward communist ideas, **which are answers to every one of these things**, especially if it involved racism by the boss.

Furthermore, we must organize a struggle against the firing by not only putting in a grievance, but by also organizing a demonstration on the job on behalf of the worker, by confronting the boss about it as soon as possible, by threatening a slowdown or even strike if necessary (and the forces can be marshalled), by publicizing the injustice far and wide, through leaflets, shop papers, press releases, etc., and attacking the boss sharply in all this, exposing company profits and all the conditions of work that led to the firing.

In doing this, the Party's line becomes composed of two things: (1) the next most important thing to do in the struggle to win it, to raise it to a higher level, to actually beat the boss, answering everything they throw at us with pro-working class ideas; and (2) linking the particular struggle to the general Party line—the relation of the firing to general layoffs or cutbacks; to racism if that is involved; to the policies of liberal administrators; to the sellout policies of union "leaders," **to the need to build a movement, a caucus, a stronger union;** to whatever larger movement the Party is building at the time (May Day, a jobs demonstration, a convention, a conference, a Party forum or social affair, etc.): **to the need to build the Party—and join it—as the key organization putting forward the key ideas that are helping to win the struggle and carry it on in the first place.**



N.Y.C. workers hang Mayor Beame in effigy, July 1975

No doubt more things can be put down here. Some of these ideas can become part of union or rank-and-file caucus leaflets, newspapers, etc. And some can be part of Party leaflets put out during the struggle, and after, to draw some lessons. Certainly there should be an article in **CHALLENGE-DESAFIO** about it, during the struggle if it lasts that long, but at least after it, both describing the struggle and putting forward the **Party's** strategy in it. And **CHALLENGE-DESAFIO** should be **SOLD** to every worker there.

We should be trying to involve certain workers in the struggle who we think are winnable to the Party, or to a caucus, or any organization the Party is trying to build. We should make sure we see such workers off the job and have longer discussions with them, see them socially, etc.

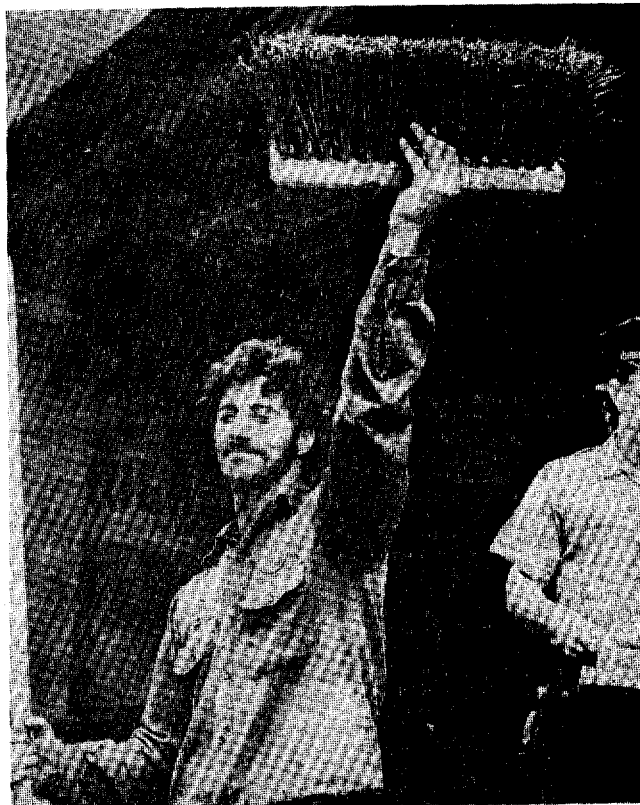
Of course, if the person being fired is a Party member, this raises the Party line to an even higher level; why the boss hates communists and looks to get rid of them because of what communists stand for, in the immediate struggle and in the fight for socialism.

In the course of this struggle, it should be discussed in the club or in some Party collective. The whole strategy shouldn't depend on what only one Party member thinks.

This is only some of what can be done in just the firing of one worker. A lot more can be organized if the struggle involves issues bigger than that—a contract, a mass layoff, etc. More of this is written up in the internal bulletin article printed before the last Party convention—"The Guts of Trade Union Work."

The main point is that class struggle at the point of production is, and should be, taking place **ALL THE TIME**, and the Party's ideas and building the Party should be discussed and put forward **THROUGHOUT THE STRUGGLE**. This is true no matter what the nature of the struggle. Many times we will put forward a militant strategy in relation to, say, opposing an injunction against a strike, organizing to defy it with mass picket lines, challenging the union sellouts' giving in to the bosses' law, etc., but all without linking up the use of the injunction to a class analysis of the state, why only **workers** are enjoined, what that all means to the necessity to have a revolution and therefore the necessity to build the Party that will lead the revolution.

In putting forward these ideas, it is not merely a question of putting out a leaflet saying, "I am a member of PLP, these are my ideas." While that may very well be necessary and correct, the Party's ideas don't become part of the workers' consciousness simply by "osmosis." They have to be **FOUGHT** for—a **political struggle** must take place. Just because our ideas, and actions that represent those ideas, are put forward doesn't mean they will be automatically accepted. The bosses will do all they can to distort them and lie about them. Much of what the bosses say will be accepted by the workers, or at least posed to us by workers to see if we can answer them and fight those ideas. And **FIGHT** we must; otherwise, our ideas and their resultant actions will not win out.



A striker raises his broom in triumph after hearing that proposed layoffs are cancelled.

Of course, some points involve principled questions and some are merely tactical. Which is which depends on the particular situation, and this is why a collective Party discussion is needed, especially during peaks of struggle such as strikes (when the Party club or section involved should be meeting virtually daily in one form or another).

Obviously, we cannot go into every type of struggle in this report. Some on-the-job struggle is relatively short-lived. Others, such as organizing the rank and file for a successful strike, are more protracted. Some we can do right away; others will take longer, and will depend on how we organize the shorter-range struggles. **But the main point is: we can, and should, organize on-the-job struggle every day we're on the job, CONSTANTLY INJECTING COMMUNIST CONTENT INTO IT AND THEREBY BUILDING THE PARTY.**

—BUILD CAUCUSES—

In organizing workers at the point of production, we know we must deal with the obstacle of a class collaborationist union officialdom. Since they control the union machinery, in fighting to make that machinery work for the rank and file, we must organize **caucuses** on the job, in a department, a shop, a local, and subsequently to higher levels of the union, on up to the International. These caucuses, composed of communists and non-communists, are the building block of the unity of Left and Center, the tool by which strategy and

tactics can be hammered out by a group that, in effect, includes the Party and its base, and through the carrying out of militant, caucus-led struggle, achieves the goal of communist-led rank-and-file power in the unions. The role of caucuses and how to organize them is discussed in the pamphlet on "Caucuses and Rank-and-File Power in the Unions." If we were active in struggle on the job every day, it would inevitably lead to caucuses spouting up by the dozen. The best and most effective caucuses are those that arise **out of struggle**. If one is built from an election slate, it will not exist long if it does not organize class struggle on the job. Otherwise, it is just seen—and rightfully so—as the "outs" trying to replace "ins" as union officials. Only the organization and leadership of class struggle will differentiate a militant, communist-led caucus from a sellout leadership. Action always speaks louder than words (and the piecards can always spout our line as long as we don't **DO** anything about carrying it out).

THE SOURCE OF OUR WEAKNESS

First, let it be said that we would never be in a position to discuss the question of organizing on-the-job struggle if we had not pursued a strategy of turning towards the unions the last 3 to 4 years. Not so long ago we were content to try to organize outside the unions and away from the point of production (workers' councils, unemployment councils, readers and sellers groups, etc.) However, by directing our main energies to building the Party in the trade union movement and at the point of production, we achieved a membership that **has** been through a considerable amount of class struggle, has led strikes and many smaller-scale struggles, and has recruited many workers and trade unionists to the Party. Certainly the majority of the Party are workers or members of working-class families and a large minority, probably 40%, actually belong to unions.

This is no small achievement, given the fact that our Party attempts to put forward the dictatorship of the proletariat in the mass, class struggle, something **no other communist organization has really ever tried to do in U.S. labor history**. However, given the drive to war and fascism, given the need for the Party to give mass leadership to the working class against that drive, what we have been doing and not doing, all our opportunism (written about in previous reports) will prevent us from giving that leadership, if we don't change our ways, as outlined. No one ever said the class struggle is easy, is a cakewalk. But then again, neither is capitalism and its effect on our lives and the lives of the whole working class.

If communist leadership of on-the-job class struggle 52 weeks a year is absolutely necessary to defeating the ruling class and building the Party, why haven't we approached that goal? The National Committee feels it is not some error in the Party's line that explains this weakness, that the line of power in the unions, of protracted on-the-job struggle, of producing the guts of trade unionism **as communists**, is a sound line. If it lies in our

not carrying out this line, why not?

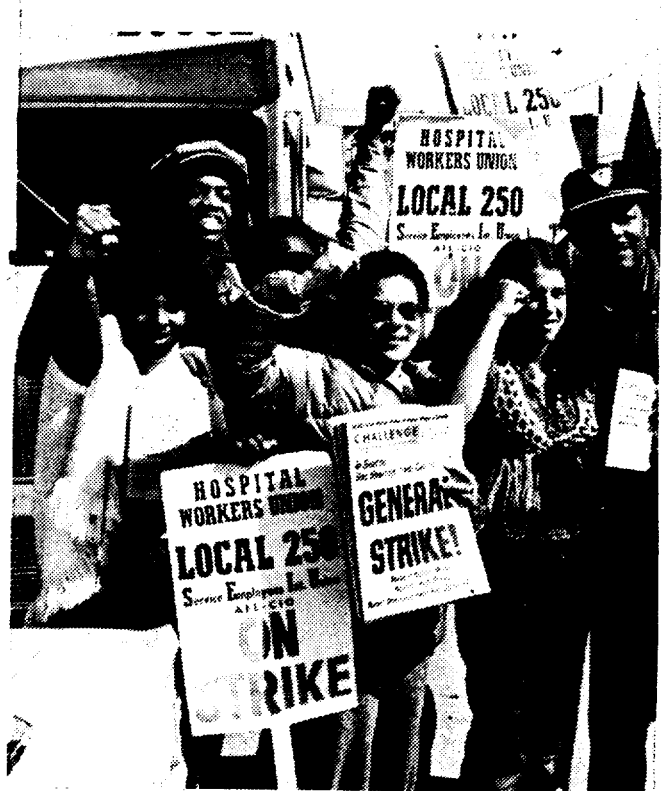
The main reason is that the leadership of the Party, starting with the National Committee, has not won itself and the membership to overcoming the fear and isolation that hold back the Party from leading this kind of all-out class struggle.

1) We don't guarantee that this struggle, in **all its details**, will take place. We mainly **tell** comrades to do it. We don't keep after it on a day-to-day basis. Therefore, we are not really **FIGHTING** for the party line, but more paying lip-service to it.

2) We don't do it in a real concentration way, picking out one place in which we might very well be successful (or at least would influence others far beyond the immediate struggle area) and move the whole Party behind it.

3) We tend to build for larger events (May Day, conventions, etc.) in a way that **diverts** members of the Party from carrying out on-the-job struggle. Instead of really seeing to it that struggles are carried out and then that May Day, etc., is linked to it and workers are drawn from these struggles to the events we're building, we merely **tell** members to do that and then spend most of our time getting members to followup lists of friends and co-workers to bring them to the event. While this is important to do, and given our present base, probably necessary to insure that the event comes off, it certainly doesn't reflect the event being built based on class struggle. We do not carry the necessity to organize on-the-job struggle with communist ideas uppermost in our minds.

If we guarantee these class struggles, then the





“lists” will come right out of those struggles, but in a far more massive way than “ones” and “twos.” There’s nothing wrong with following up lists. It’s essential to organizing Party events. The problem is that our BASE does not come out of the class struggle, in sharpest conflict with the ruling class. That’s what has to be changed, and, in turn, will change the character of the activities and the Party that we’re building.

4) In speaking of the weakness of leadership in not guaranteeing the carrying out of the details of class struggle, we mean leadership on every level, but in the first place on a national level, in the National Committee (NC). From there, the weakness is carried to area, section and club leaders, reaching virtually every member of the Party. Therefore, **the NC must take this problem head-on, and so must every leader and member of the Party with the group of Party members and Party base that he or she deals with or is responsible for.**

No doubt there is much fear of class struggle, for exactly the same reasons that many workers fear struggle—we have to take on the bosses and struggle against their ideas with others. There is also a lot of isolation, again partly due to fear, and also due to a lack of fighting for the Party’s ideas. When we do fight for these ideas, rather than isolating ourselves, we draw more and more workers and others around us (as proven by the 6-month recruiting results and organizing over 4,000 people into May Day marches around the continent).

Fear and isolation will only be conquered by committing ourselves to the Party, to the collective, and by bolder leadership and initiative, coming in the first place from the NC, and from every leader and member of the Party.

To help overcome these leadership weaknesses in carrying out communist-led on-the-job struggle, we should do the following:

1) Every NC member responsible for an area of work and every area leadership should pick out one area of **industrial** concentration to develop communist-led, rank-and-file class struggle on the job, and move the whole Party behind it, to one degree or another. (If the concentration has already been chosen, then apply ourselves to that one.) The NC members and/or area leaders must give **specific day-to-day leadership** to this effort. It should affect the whole Party base and work on other issues in the area. Workers should be recruited out of this effort. Results should be evaluated two weeks before the next NC.

2) Every Party club should discuss and work out a plan for developing class struggle and for building the Party out of that struggle. **Every member should be responsible to be a part of that club plan.** Caucuses should be central to these plans.

If we do all this, as communists putting forward the Party’s line, we will transform the Party into a most serious working-class organization that organizes and leads the class struggle against the bosses, out of which a real mass base for socialism can develop.

U.S. Depression -

Marxist vs.

non-Marxist Analyses

The U.S. economy (as well as every other capitalist economy) is again in a depression. The working class is being crushed between two rocks—mounting unemployment and inflation are cutting our income, while “cutbacks” are worsening essential public and private services like schools, health care, welfare programs and the quality of goods we buy. Naturally in a racist society (which every capitalist country is) the minority races and foreign workers are hit hardest of all.

As the “prosperity bubble” is bursting, the bourgeois “scholars” and media “experts” are trying to explain what is happening, why it’s happening, and what to do about it (before the working class figures it out for ourselves). The scientific explanation of what’s happening, and the conclusions regarding what to do about it, are a far cry from the “line” that the bourgeois economists, the reactionary professors, the politicians and the mass media are presenting to us.

According to the capitalist-oriented social “scientists,” this depression was not supposed to happen. “Keynesianism,” the active and widespread government involvement in the economy, was supposed to have licked the contradictions of capitalism once and for all. Another depression was supposed to be impossible. Marx’s analysis of capitalism was supposed to be dead, irrelevant, and a joke. This view of things prevailed during the 50s and 60s when it was easier to be taken in by the superficial features of the so-called Age of Affluence. Even pseudo-Marxists like Herbert Marcuse and Baran and Sweezy theorized about things like “post-industrial society,” and capitalism’s problem of “disposing of the surplus,” and the “bought-off” nature of U.S. workers, never suspecting that the basic failure of capitalism—depression—was just around the corner.

This is a good time to look at scientific Marxist economics, to examine some of the non-Marxist analyses of the present economic mess which is being put out for public consumption. Then let’s

see which outlook provides workers with an understanding and a program that suits our needs.

REFORM OR REVOLUTION

If capitalism could “work,” that is if capitalism could provide a good way of life for the masses of people, then it would be logical for those who have a concern for social welfare to become “reformers.” They would work to keep the good, and change the bad, **within** the system. That means they would be active in struggles for reforms without attacking the existence of capitalism or calling for a radically different economic system. However, if you are convinced that capitalism can’t work for the masses of people, and if you are concerned about people, then your logical path is to be a **revolutionary**. That is, you work and organize to build a **communist party** (in the U.S., the P.L.P.) to lead the people in getting rid of capitalism and replacing it with socialism. So the analysis of the workability of capitalism is basic to our political ideology and actions. That is why we have to understand economics.

Reform and revolution are obviously opposites, but they are not quite as separate as they might seem. Many sincere reformers become revolutionaries as they see their goals are unattainable under capitalism. Also, true revolutionaries are always active in the struggle for reforms which benefit the working class. They do this both for the sake of the reforms themselves, as well as for the strategic goal—socialism. The foundation of the new society is built upon masses of people choosing communist ideology, organization and leadership. **This basis of the new society only comes into being in the course of fighting the evils and oppressiveness of the old society.** It is a historical fact that no revolutionary party ever overthrew capitalism without having been active in the masses’ struggles for reforms, and it’s

also true that every working class movement that ever achieved significant reforms under capitalism had active communist participation and leadership. No popular movement that rejected communists ever won anything good for the workers.

PART I. MARXIST ECONOMICS A SCIENTIFIC ANALYSIS OF THE CAPITALIST SYSTEM

Karl Marx was the first to really analyze capitalism and to reveal its built-in contradictions and inescapable breakdown. His book "Capital" was written about 100 years ago. Lenin brought it up to date in 1920 with "Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism," which dealt with the modern development of monopolies, banks and foreign investments—which all came into prominence between the time of Marx and Lenin. There have also been many further developments since then, but the essence of the system is still the same:

Capitalists invest money into means of production (machines, factories, raw materials, etc.). This money is called CAPITAL C

The workers add value to materials by their labor. The more man-hours spent, the greater the value added. VALUE ADDED V

The workers get paid wages which amount to less value than the value they added by their labor. WAGES W

These are the basic ingredients of the system. C and W are pretty familiar, but "Value added in production" is less familiar. It can be figured like this. The value of the finished products leaving a plant is greater than the value of the raw materials that entered the plant. The difference is the value added.

The capitalists' gross profit is V minus W. (Marx called this quantity the "Surplus Value.")

The rate of profit is the ratio of profit to invested capital and this is of key importance to capitalist business.

$R = \text{Rate of profit} = \frac{V - W}{C}$

(We can also include corporation taxes ... T ... to get the profit after taxes = $V - W - T$ and the after tax Rate of profit = $\frac{V - W - T}{C}$)

For all their scorn of Marxism, the capitalists use just these Marxist categories in keeping statistical records of the industrial economy.

From the Manufacturing Tables we get some current figures: (table 1217)

U.S. Manufacturing 1972

V = Value added = \$353 billion
W = Wages = \$105 billion (wages paid to production workers)

There were 13.4 million production workers, so each worker got an average yearly wage of \$7,800.

The average amount of value added per production worker was \$26,300 or, in other words, there was \$3.36 value added per \$1 paid in wages.

Net profit before taxes - \$63 billion (table 1220)

Net profit after taxes - \$37 billion

Dividends paid to stockholders - \$16 billion

New capital invested - \$23 billion (table 1224)
(total capital assets were about \$280 billion)

THE FALLING RATE OF PROFIT, AND THE CRISIS OF OVERPRODUCTION

From these basic ingredients and their interrelation, we can see two very basic problems of capitalism:

1) The total amount of capital (C) keeps on

No. 1217. MANUFACTURES—SUMMARY: 1947 to 1972

(Prior to 1953, excludes Alaska and Hawaii. Census data through 1967; thereafter, estimates based on sample, see text, pp. 711-713. Covers all establishments employing 1 or more persons at any time during year. See also *Historical Statistics, Colonial Times to 1867*, series P 1-8)

ITEM	1947	1954	1958	1963	1965	1967	1970	1971	1972 (prel.)
Establishments, operating, total ¹1,000..	241	287	303	312	(NA)	311	(NA)	(NA)	316
With 20 or more employees ¹1,000..	(NA)	90	95	102	(NA)	107	(NA)	(NA)	112
Proprietors and firm members.....1,000..	189	198	186	169	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
All employees: ²									
Number, annual average ³mil..	14.3	16.1	16.0	17.0	18.0	19.3	19.2	18.4	18.9
Salaries and wages.....bil. dol..	40	66	78	100	114	132	153	156	173
Payroll per employee.....dol..	2,777	4,091	4,889	5,891	6,335	6,842	7,966	8,506	9,169
Production workers:									
Number, annual average.....mil..	11.9	12.4	11.7	12.2	13.0	14.0	13.5	12.9	13.4
Man-hours.....bil..	24.3	24.3	22.7	24.5	26.4	27.8	26.7	25.3	26.5
Man-hours per worker.....	2,040	1,967	1,944	2,004	2,034	1,995	1,971	1,962	1,978
Wages.....bil. dol..	30	45	50	62	71	81	92	93	105
Wages per worker.....\$1,000..	2.5	3.6	4.3	5.1	5.5	5.8	6.8	7.2	7.8
Wages per worker man-hour.....dol..	1.24	1.83	2.19	2.53	2.69	2.92	3.44	3.69	3.95
Value added by manufacture ⁴bil. dol..	74	117	142	192	225	262	300	314	353
Per production worker.....\$1,000..	6.2	9.5	12.1	15.7	17.4	18.8	22.2	24.4	26.3
Per dollar of wages.....dol..	2.46	2.62	2.85	3.09	3.17	3.22	3.28	3.37	3.36
Percent of shipments.....	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	45.6	46.0	47.0	47.3	46.8	46.9
Value of shipments ⁵bil. dol..	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	421	490	557	634	671	753
Per production worker.....\$1,000..	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	34.4	37.7	39.9	46.9	52.1	56.2
Value of inventories.....bil. dol..	26	40	49	60	68	84	101	102	(NA)
Capital expenditures ⁶bil. dol..	6.0	8.2	9.5	11.4	16.5	21.5	22.2	20.9	22.9

NA Not available. ¹ Beginning 1958, includes administrative offices and auxiliary units.
² Includes data for employees of manufacturing establishments engaged in distribution and construction work.
Beginning 1954, includes administrative offices and units auxiliary to manufacturing.

NO. 1220. FINANCES OF MANUFACTURING CORPORATIONS: 1960 TO 1973

(In billions of dollars)

ITEM	1960	1965	1966	1967	1968	1969	1970	1971	1972	1973
Sales net.....	346	492	554	575	632	695	700	751	850	1,017
Net operating profit.....	26	46	51	48	56	58	50	55	66	86
Net profit:										
Before Federal taxes.....	28	47	52	48	55	56	48	53	63	81
After Federal taxes.....	15	28	31	20	32	33	29	31	36	48
Cash dividends.....	8	12	13	13	14	15	15	15	16	18
Retained earnings.....	7	16	18	16	18	18	14	16	20	30

Source: U.S. Federal Trade Commission, *Quarterly Financial Report for Manufacturing Corporations*, fourth quarter reports.

NO. 1224. MANUFACTURES—EXPENDITURES FOR NEW PLANT AND EQUIPMENT, 1960 TO 1972, AND GROSS BOOK VALUE OF DEPRECIABLE ASSETS, 1967, TO 1971

MAJOR INDUSTRY GROUP	EXPENDITURES FOR NEW PLANT AND EQUIPMENT (mil. dol.)				GROSS BOOK VALUE (END OF YEAR OF DEPRECIABLE ASSETS (bil. dol.))					
	1960	1965	1970	1972	1967		1970		1971 (prel.)	
					Total	Mach. and equip.	Total	Mach. and equip.	Total	Mach. and equip.
All industries.....	10,070	16,695	22,164	22,917	218	187	267	193	277	199
Food and kindred products.....	1,042	1,476	2,144	2,332	21	14	24	18	25	17
Tobacco manufactures.....	47	59	56	(D)	1	1	1	1	1	1
Textile mill products.....	326	618	811	1,120	8	6	10	7	10	8
Apparel and related products.....	85	168	300	360	(S)	(S)	3	2	3	2
Lumber and wood products.....	320	482	535	914	5	3	6	4	6	5
Furniture and fixtures.....	80	151	231	363	2	1	2	1	2	1
Paper and allied products.....	635	1,186	1,397	1,388	16	12	19	16	20	16
Printing and publishing.....	402	543	873	1,042	8	6	9	7	10	7
Chemicals and allied products.....	1,238	2,475	3,111	2,649	28	22	35	27	37	28
Petroleum and coal products.....	485	603	1,218	1,159	13	8	16	10	17	10
Rubber and plastic products.....	299	516	828	1,084	6	4	8	6	8	6
Leather and leather products.....	35	46	39	75	1	(Z)	13	(Z)	9	(Z)
Stone, clay, and glass products.....	541	773	920	1,211	11	8	42	33	43	34
Primary metal industries.....	1,614	2,257	2,787	2,149	35	28	15	11	15	11
Fabricated metal products.....	483	805	1,140	1,358	12	9	20	14	21	15
Machinery, exc. electrical.....	700	1,228	1,855	1,911	15	11	15	10	16	10
Electrical machinery.....	616	1,047	1,520	1,431	12	8	20	13	1	13
Transportation equipment.....	725	1,679	1,612	(D)	16	10	20	13	1	13
Instruments and related products.....	170	232	436	463	3	2	4	2	4	3
Misc. manufacturing.....	163	186	253	317	2	1	3	2	3	2
Ordinance and accessories ¹		94	127	75	2	1	2	1	2	2

D Withheld to avoid disclosing figures for individual companies. S Figure does not meet publication standards. Z Less than \$500 million. 1 Not elsewhere classified. 2 Includes privately owned and/or operated establishments; excludes government owned and operated.

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Annual Survey of Manufactures*.

NO. 1223. CAPITAL IN MANUFACTURING INDUSTRIES: 1950 TO 1973

(In billions of dollars. Prior to 1960, excludes Alaska and Hawaii. Data refer to privately owned manufacturing industries and are based on the fixed capital formation components of the gross national product. For detailed discussion, see source. Stocks are as of end of year; investment and depreciation are annual totals. See also *Historical Statistics, Colonial Times to 1957*, series P 24-26 and 1, for data in 1947 dollars, series P 20-23 and P 27-29)

ITEM	1950	1955	1960	1965	1968	1969	1970	1971	1972	1973
Purchases of equipment and structures:										
In current dollars.....	5.6	8.6	10.3	16.7	20.9	22.5	22.4	21.2	23.0	28.1
Equipment.....	4.0	6.2	7.4	12.6	15.6	16.7	16.6	15.9	18.0	22.5
Structures.....	1.5	2.4	2.8	4.2	5.2	5.8	5.7	5.3	5.1	5.6
In 1958 dollars.....	7.5	10.0	10.0	15.4	17.5	18.1	17.0	15.4	16.4	20.8
Equipment.....	5.5	7.1	7.2	11.7	13.4	14.0	13.3	12.3	13.7	16.7
Structures.....	2.1	2.8	2.8	3.7	4.2	4.1	3.7	3.1	2.7	4.1
Depreciation (straight-line) on equipment and structures:¹										
In current dollars.....	4.3	6.5	9.4	11.3	14.9	16.4	18.2	19.8	21.1	20.1
Equipment.....	2.7	4.6	6.8	8.2	11.0	12.1	13.3	14.4	15.2	15.9
Structures.....	1.6	2.0	2.6	3.1	3.8	4.3	4.8	5.4	5.9	4.2
In 1958 dollars.....	6.0	7.7	9.1	10.3	12.4	13.1	13.7	14.2	14.6	14.9
Equipment.....	3.8	5.4	6.5	7.6	9.4	10.0	10.6	11.0	11.5	11.8
Structures.....	2.2	2.3	2.6	2.7	3.0	3.1	3.1	3.2	3.2	3.1
Net investment:²										
In current dollars.....	1.3	2.1	.9	5.4	6.0	6.1	4.2	1.4	1.9	8.0
Equipment.....	1.3	1.6	.6	4.4	4.6	4.6	3.3	1.5	2.8	6.6
Structures.....	-.1	.4	.2	1.1	1.5	1.5	.9	-.1	-.8	1.4
In 1958 dollars.....	1.5	2.3	.9	5.1	5.1	5.0	3.3	1.2	1.8	5.9
Equipment.....	1.7	1.7	.7	4.1	4.0	4.0	2.7	1.3	2.2	4.9
Structures.....	-.1	.5	.3	1.0	1.2	1.0	.6	-.1	-.5	1.0
Real net value of equip., structures, and inventories in 1958 dollars.....	105.4	132.4	146.7	169.1	204.8	212.6	217.9	217.4	221.4	229.6
Equipment and structures ³	53.4	78.2	87.5	97.8	116.6	121.6	124.9	128.0	127.7	132.6
Equipment.....	33.3	44.0	49.6	57.8	72.3	76.3	78.9	80.1	82.3	86.7
Structures.....	30.0	34.1	37.9	39.6	44.3	45.4	46.0	48.0	45.5	45.9
Inventories.....	42.0	54.2	59.2	71.8	88.2	91.0	93.0	91.4	93.7	97.0

¹ Estimates derived by using perpetual inventory method and assuming, in general, service lives of 85 percent of those shown in Internal Revenue Service's Bulletin F. ² Represents the difference between the purchase and depreciation series. ³ Represents real net value of equipment and structures in preceding year plus net investment based on straight-line depreciation for year shown.

Source: U.S. Bureau of Economic Analysis, *Fixed Nonresidential Business Capital in the United States, 1925-73*, *Stocks of Business Inventories in the United States, 1928-71*; *Survey of Current Business*, December, 1973; and unpublished data.

rising. (From table 1223 we see that it more than doubled between 1950 and 1973, increasing by many billions of dollars each year). This is because of the need to introduce new technology in order to beat the competition. So unless the total profits keep rising to match the ever increasing total capital, the rate of profit will be falling. (This is called the "falling rate of profit" tendency of capitalism.)

2) To get the profit from the whole capitalist procedure, the final and very necessary step is to sell the stuff. If they can't sell it, its value becomes meaningless. When they produce more than they can sell at a price that reflects its value, they don't realize their profit. (This is called the "Crisis of Overproduction," and it only takes a look at the pictures of Detroit's acres of unsold cars to realize that this contradiction is not outmoded.)

The history of capitalism, the history of the last 200 years, has basically been the history of the capitalists' various attempts to ward off these two problems, the depressions and wars that arose when these problems prevailed, and the history of the working class' drive towards socialism as the escape from these problems.

Let's look at these matters in more detail.

1) ATTEMPTS TO COUNTERACT THE FALLING RATE OF PROFIT.

The gross rate of profit after taxes was

$$R = \frac{V - W - T}{C}$$

Since there are 4 quantities that are involved in the rate of profit, there are 4 ways to try to keep the rate high: Increase V, decrease W, decrease T, or decrease C. All four have been tried with important historical consequences.

A) Increase V (the Value added):

To get more value you need more manhours worked. The main way has been by increasing the size of the labor force. The labor force has in fact grown enormously in the U.S. as well as the other capitalist countries. The main additions have been women (working wives), immigrants, and overseas workers (through 'foreign investment' or imperialism). These recent historical changes in the work force, the addition of millions upon millions of new workers, is well known and we won't go into the details.

B) Decrease W (Wages):

One of the ways that wages have been effectively reduced has been by the cheapening of consumer goods through advances in technology and through the use of cheaper labor overseas. This has meant that bosses don't have to pay as much to keep the workers sustained. This is because we judge our income by what it can buy, so if goods become cheaper for any reason, it takes less wages to sustain workers and their families. Think of how much more of our consumer goods come from Hong Kong, Taiwan, Korea, Spain, Brazil, etc. compared to 20 years ago. Also, advancing technology led the ball point pen to come down from \$10 when they first came out to about 25¢ now. Similarly with portable radios with their trans-

sistors, printed circuits, etc. All these advances lead to the working class requiring less to live on, and it lets the capitalists decrease monetary wages, thereby counteracting the falling rate of profit.

Inflation is currently the major way of reducing workers' real income, leaving more for the bosses. We are all seeing our wages dropping by this technique.

Finally, slave labor is the most extreme way of reducing W. The German capitalist class instituted this in a mass way in the 40's and many capitalist countries, like South Africa, have working conditions that closely approach outright slavery.

C) Decrease T (Taxes)

There have been constant increases in the amount of government employees and expenditures—mostly for military spending, police agencies and other harmful purposes. But for some time now we have seen all kinds of government services from schools to the postal service to hospitals, parks, libraries, etc., deteriorating terribly. Currently there is an extreme attempt to cut corporation taxes by forcing huge government CUTBACKS in every such area that is beneficial to the people.

D) Decrease C (Capital)

This takes place to some extent by the companies skimping on spending money on maintaining or improving the plant. Much of U.S. basic industry facilities are 20 years or more behind the times. Equipment is allowed to be literally run into the ground with a high toll on workers' health, safety and even their lives. This occupational slaughter is perpetrated to keep C from increasing, and the rate of profit from falling.

A more extreme course is to decrease C. This takes place by wars or depressions. After enough devastation the stage becomes set for a revival of capitalist growth, or recovery. (The depression of the 30s led to the war which devastated Europe and then the post-war "recovery").

One final way that the big capitalists keep up **their** rate of profit is to decrease the number of capitalists sharing the loot, so that the average rate of profit increases even if the total profits stay the same (less around to split the pie). This is the day to day wheeling and dealing that characterizes the jungle world of capitalism—the small outfits being gobbled up by the big ones, the mergers and the foldings that lead to an ever smaller number of capitalists controlling an ever greater share of the economy. Wars are really just an extension of the more controlled type of day to day business warfare that characterizes capitalism.

So we see how many of the major historical developments are linked to the capitalists' attempts to counteract the tendency of the rate of profit to fall.

(There is one additional point that is not brought out by the previous discussion. That is that there is another factor causing the effective rate of profit to fall, other than the fact that C (invested capital) is increasing. That factor is the vast and ever increasing amount that goes to supporting the

non-productive superstructure (institutions) of capitalism. Between gross profits (surplus value) and net profit, is an ever increasing amount to support the agencies of repression (the armed forces, the police, courts, spies, etc.), the agencies of propaganda (the churches, clergymen, the advertising industry, most of higher education, the mass media, etc.), and the papershufflers of capitalism (the lawyers, bookkeepers, tax consultants, bankers, insurance companies, etc.) As capitalism gets more developed it gets more dependent on these items and the expense of this vast, non-productive sector puts an additional strain on the economic system. (This was discussed at length in the article on INFLATION in the Oct.-Nov. 74 issue of PL Magazine.)

2) ATTEMPTS TO AVERT THE CRISIS OF OVERPRODUCTION

Crises of overproduction are a basic feature of capitalism:

If a capitalist firm is successful it produces more value than it pays its workers in wages. The difference (the profits) are used partly in the decadent, luxury-loving, extravagant consumption lifestyle of the capitalist class, but if they want to stay in business they must also re-invest a significant share of the profits in order to stay ahead of the competition and abreast of the technology.^o With this new capital expenditure, production the following year will be even greater. So there is even more stuff that must be sold. The wages of workers becomes an ever decreasing share of the total output and so it becomes ever harder to sell each succeeding year's products. The company may be very productive, but if it doesn't sell all the products each year, it will fold. Every company is producing like crazy on the assumption that they will be able to sell it all, but sooner or later the expectation flounders on the working class' inability to buy up all the stuff and so the crash comes. Businesses fail, workers are laid off so that they can buy even less, and so more businesses fail, and even more workers get laid off, etc., etc., into a depression. The depressions "cured" the crises of "overproduction" by destroying means of production. Factories closed and rotted. Small firms went bankrupt and closed down, and most "effective" of all, WARS physically destroyed means of production so that capitalism could again start from a low level of production and build up full steam. This was called recovery.

—from PL Magazine, Vol. 9, No. 5

(We have seen that each year they are reinvesting about \$20 billion dollars, and that total capital has more than doubled in the last 20 years.)

While depressions and wars deal with the crisis of overproduction by destroying means of production, they are drastic measures and do not contribute to the stability of the system. There have been several important trends to deal with



During the 1930's, with massive unemployment, the government was forced to employ over 500,000 men in the Civilian Conservation Corps. The capitalist economy is still unable to provide jobs for all.

this contradiction in less drastic ways, by coming up with new ways to realize sales rather than by reducing production.

A) One of these ways has been the scramble for overseas markets in which to sell their products. Exports have increased enormously, but it didn't really solve anything because at the same time other capitalist countries were selling their stuff here, so basically most countries just manage to stay even on this score.

B) Another way sales have been realized has been by the government guaranteeing sales and profits through subsidies, grants, assistance and even actual "takeover" to guarantee profits to industries no longer able to make it in the market system. This is on the increase as the economy worsens (Penn Central RR, Lockheed Aircraft, etc. are only the beginning). This process is further advanced in other capitalist countries like Britain and Italy whose economies have been in trouble much longer.

C) However, the MAJOR way the capitalists have tried to avert the crisis of overproduction has been CREDIT! Since the stuff couldn't all be sold with just the money that's around, loan out money to workers, to business and to the government so that they can keep buying the products. This has been the major "solution" for the capitalist system since World War II. Debt has increased from \$400 billion in 1946 to over \$2,500 billion in 1974. (Only 20% of this increase is due to inflation.) Credit for capitalism has been like heroin for the junkie. An ever increasing amount is needed to 'survive,' while the condition of the addict keeps getting more and more unhealthy. As Business Week said in a recent special issue on "The Debt Economy" (Oct. 12, 1974)— Two critically important questions must be asked about the U.S. economy today:

- Can all the debt now outstanding be paid off or refinanced when it becomes due???
- Can the economy add enough new debt to keep growing at anything close to the rate of the post-war era???

Up to now most old debts have been 'paid off'

by taking out new loans. But this escape valve is being stretched to its limits. The answer to both of **Business Week's** question is obviously NO. There will be more and more defaults and business failures, and the economy will shrink, not grow.

Credit has been the way the next depression was put off for 30 years, but it has only delayed the day of reckoning, not eliminated it. Depression is still the ultimate 'cure' for the crisis of overproduction.

One final point. The bourgeois scholars and commentators all claim to be perplexed by the fact that capitalism now has simultaneous inflation and depression. They act puzzled by this because according to their theories this should be impossible. However, by our analysis this is not at all surprising. It is very logical. We have seen that capitalism has the built-in tendency to create depressions. The tendency for the rate of profit to fall and for more to be produced than can possibly be sold, always points the system toward eventual depression. Since the last "great depression," the capitalists have devised more gimmicks-like vastly expanded credit, more non-productive jobs in the superstructure, more 'defense' spending, the Korean and Vietnam War to further the imperialist needs, and more exports. All these "countermeasures to depression" are in fact inflationary, i.e., they tend to create shortages of goods and drive up prices. And apart from all this, inflation itself helps counteract the falling rate of profit by reducing the wages of the working class. So simultaneous inflation and depression is not surprising. It is merely the simultaneous manifestation of the basic disease and the side effects of the attempted "cure." As a matter of fact, the dynamics of capitalism can be understood as the dialectical unity of inflation and depression.

MARXISM IN PRACTICE

Starting from Marx's insight into how value, labor, capital and profit are related, we see the two basic contradictions of capitalism—the falling rate of profit and the crisis of overproduction. We also see the relation between major historical developments and the futile attempts to stave off the 'busts' of the business cycles that are an inescapable part of capitalism. These historical developments which we tied together through their relationship to capitalism include:

- Expansion of the labor force—wives working, immigrant workers, etc.
- Companies setting up branches in other countries employing native workers (imperialism).
- Cheaper consumer goods through technology and cheap labor.
- Less public services for the people, more armed forces, police, and government bureaucracy.
- Increased concentration of wealth and industrial control into the hands of ever fewer big corporations.
- Increased sales abroad, and increased imports from abroad.
- VASTLY EXPANDED CREDIT.

• Private businesses being 'taken over' by the government in capitalist countries.

- Inflation
- Depressions
- Wars

This is the power of scientific analysis. It explains reality in terms of the essence of things. In this case it explains the reality of social history in terms of the essence of capitalism. However, Marxism is more than just an explanation of what is. Marxism is a guide to what can be. It points to the solution of the problem in terms of getting rid of the cause of the problem. Capitalism is the cause of our problems, and for over a hundred years class conscious workers have aspired to the goal of socialism, where the working class is organized to be the ruling class of society. **Under this political system the working class controls the government, the media and all other institutions, and uses its control to advance its interest and to suppress the capitalists. This is called the "Dictatorship of the Proletariat."** Private ownership of the means of production (capital) is outlawed, so that there can be no more capitalism where somebody makes profits from the labor of others. During the period of the dictatorship of the proletariat the trend is towards communism which is the final and most advanced type of society. Under communism economics will finally be governed completely by the rule, "From each according to their ability, to each according to their need!"

An article on inflation in the Oct.-Nov. 1974 issue of **PL Magazine** discussed at length how socialism eliminates the enormous waste present under capitalism and how it leads to a much more productive and satisfying way of life. It is a tribute to the enormous advantages of socialism that even in those revisionist countries that have forsaken socialism, the people are still in many ways much better off than in their counterpart capitalist countries that never had even a taste of socialism.

The Progressive Labor Party has the Marxist outlook, based on the analysis so briefly given here, that capitalism is a rotten system that will never provide a decent existence to the majority of the people. Not only because of the periodic depressions and wars with all their horrible slaughter of our people, but because we feel that the same thing basically goes on all the time, even in so-called good times or boom periods. The daily exploitation, racism, police brutality, genocidal practices, starvation, sexism, decadence and anti-social acts amount to the same kind of waste of life, and are equally an intrinsic part of the capitalist system, as are the wars and depressions. Therefore, regardless of the momentary economic picture we will always hate capitalism and fight for the dictatorship of the proletariat to gain the vast improvements our lives can attain from socialism. Everyone who shares this outlook, or who wants to learn more about it, everyone who wants to struggle more effectively against the bosses to get benefits for the working class—all should work more closely with the Progressive Labor Party and join our Party to

Trimming Sails

Firms Drop Operations To Lower Their Costs And Preserve Capital

Businesses Are Abandoned,
Factories Closed or Sold;
Some Companies Expand

Ex-Executives' Opportunity

By RALPH E. WINTER

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

For many companies, 1975 will be the year of the purge.

As the economy continues to worsen, firms all across the country are finding that modestly profitable operations are turning into losers while those that were already losing money are plunging deeper into the red. The remedy in many cases: Dump them.

Not only are older and less efficient plants being closed or sold; many entire businesses are also being jettisoned.

Often the businesses being axed weren't any too promising even a year or so ago. But in a booming economy they appeared to have some potential, or at least weren't sick enough to require an urgent effort to junk them. Similarly, older plants weren't much younger then; still, they provided needed, if inefficient, capacity.

With the economic plunge, however, some of these operations have become a real drain on corporate treasuries. And with profits dropping, the parent companies need every dollar they can scrape together.

Greyhound Drops Cattle

Here are some examples of businesses being killed off or put up for sale:

—Greyhound Corp., the big bus company that has diversified into meat packing and other activities, is liquidating its cattle-feeding operation, which lost \$10.2 million last year.

—Evans Products Co. of Portland, Ore., maker of transportation equipment and building products, has agreed to sell a Far East ship-chartering operation and a new office building. Evans also seeks to get out of the manufacturing and wholesale distribution of building materials.

Alco Standard Corp. of Valley Forge, Pa., the highly diversified mining, manufacturing and distributing company, sold a foundry business in Canada and a wire- and cable-manufacturing operation there. It also

sold about half its U.S. coal-mining operations to the steel companies that use the coal, but continues to receive a management fee for running the mines.

Westinghouse Electric Corp. sold its \$600-million-a-year appliance business to White Consolidated Industries Inc. of Cleveland, ending an operating loss that ran into the millions.

New Scuttling Foreseen

There will be more such divestitures this year than ever before, says Augustin Hilton, president of Corporate Diversification Ltd., a New York consulting firm that specializes in helping companies acquire or sell off products or divisions. "In a year like this," he says, "executives would much rather sell off something where the bloom is off the rose than enter the money market for financing."

According to Mr. Hilton, many "really good" operations are up for sale, along with hundreds of less desirable businesses. Most of them haven't been publicly identified, he says, "because it's a highly sensitive thing for a company to noise around that they would like to divest this or that"; it hurts employe morale, damages relationships with suppliers and customers, and generally weakens the unit being offered for sale.

One immediate result of the purge is a lot of red ink splashed around companies' quarterly and annual reports as assets are sold below book value. In the long run, though, pruning such activities should improve profit potential. Companies can reduce interest costs and concentrate capital and management on ventures with better growth prospects and a higher return on investment.

In some cases where plants, rather than entire businesses, are being abandoned, the plants may be missed in a year or so if the economy turns up rapidly. Cautious executives note that it was only a year ago that there was a real shortage of capacity for producing almost everything from nuts and bolts to heavy trucks.

But That Was Then

At the moment, of course, the capacity isn't needed, which is one reason so many plants are being closed. Some examples:

—Philips Industries Inc. of Dayton, Ohio, producer of mobile-home parts, has "closed some plants and shifted production to other facilities in an effort to shrink our capacity to what appears to be a smaller market," says Richard A. Mullen, the company's vice president for finance.

—Chrysler Corp. has consolidated two automotive-trim plants. Company officials decline to predict future closings, but industry sources speculate that one or more of Chrysler's six auto-assembly plants may be abandoned or sold, possibly including an old plant in Detroit.

—Warwick Electronics Inc. of Chicago, 57% owned by Whirlpool Corp., will close a color-television plant in Covington, Tenn., about midyear. Warwick is primarily a supplier of television sets to Sears Roebuck.

Businesses folding is still the only "cure" to the falling rate of profit and the crisis of overproduction.

fight for the reforms and the revolution which we need in order to survive and to improve our lives and our children's lives.

PART II: NON-MARXIST (BOURGEOIS) ANALYSIS OF THE CRISIS - BLUEPRINTS FOR DISASTER

As we mentioned at the beginning, the capitalist economies are in serious trouble. The economic conditions of millions of people is being very seriously hurt by unemployment, inflation, and deteriorating goods and services. People who previously were not very involved in politics, economic analysis, or active in their unions or other organizations, are more and more forced to think about the economic situation and to get involved in efforts to do something about it.

Naturally the ruling class wants to steer our thoughts and efforts into channels that are beneficial, or at least harmless, to them. So it's to be expected that many popular books, magazine articles, TV programs, etc. are devoted to the economy. Two of the recent popular books on the subject are: "**The End of Affluence**" (Subtitled, "A Blueprint for Your Future") Ballantine paperback, by Paul Ehrlich; and "**Economics And The Public Purpose**" (Subtitled, "How We Can Head Off the Mounting Economic Crisis"), Signet paperback, by John Kenneth Galbraith.

"THE END OF AFFLUENCE"

Paul Ehrlich is a California college professor who represents the outlook of upper middle class people like himself. He is well off and comfortable but feels very insecure because of the way things are going. His cozy situation is inconvenienced and threatened by the crowding and pollution of his vacation areas, impending gasoline and other material shortages, and the deadly hazards of the nuclear power plants that are being built to "solve the energy crisis." But 'worst of all,' the economic crises that cause starvation in the non-industrial countries and depressions in the capitalist countries, will lead to social upheavals, revolutions and wars. Ehrlich appears angry at the capitalist rulers who are not stopping these things from happening, but his main approach is to blame the people. "People" are the cause of these problems, and the solution is simple: have fewer people, especially the poor and the colored people of the world. Ehrlich popularized this racist, anti-people approach in 1968 in his book, "**The Population Bomb**," and he organized the Zero Population Growth campaign. Because Ehrlich addresses himself to the threats that many people feel (especially middle-class people), his following is quite strong among college and university students and graduates. That influence is spread further since the people who are affected by Ehrlich in turn influence many others when they go into school teaching and other professions.

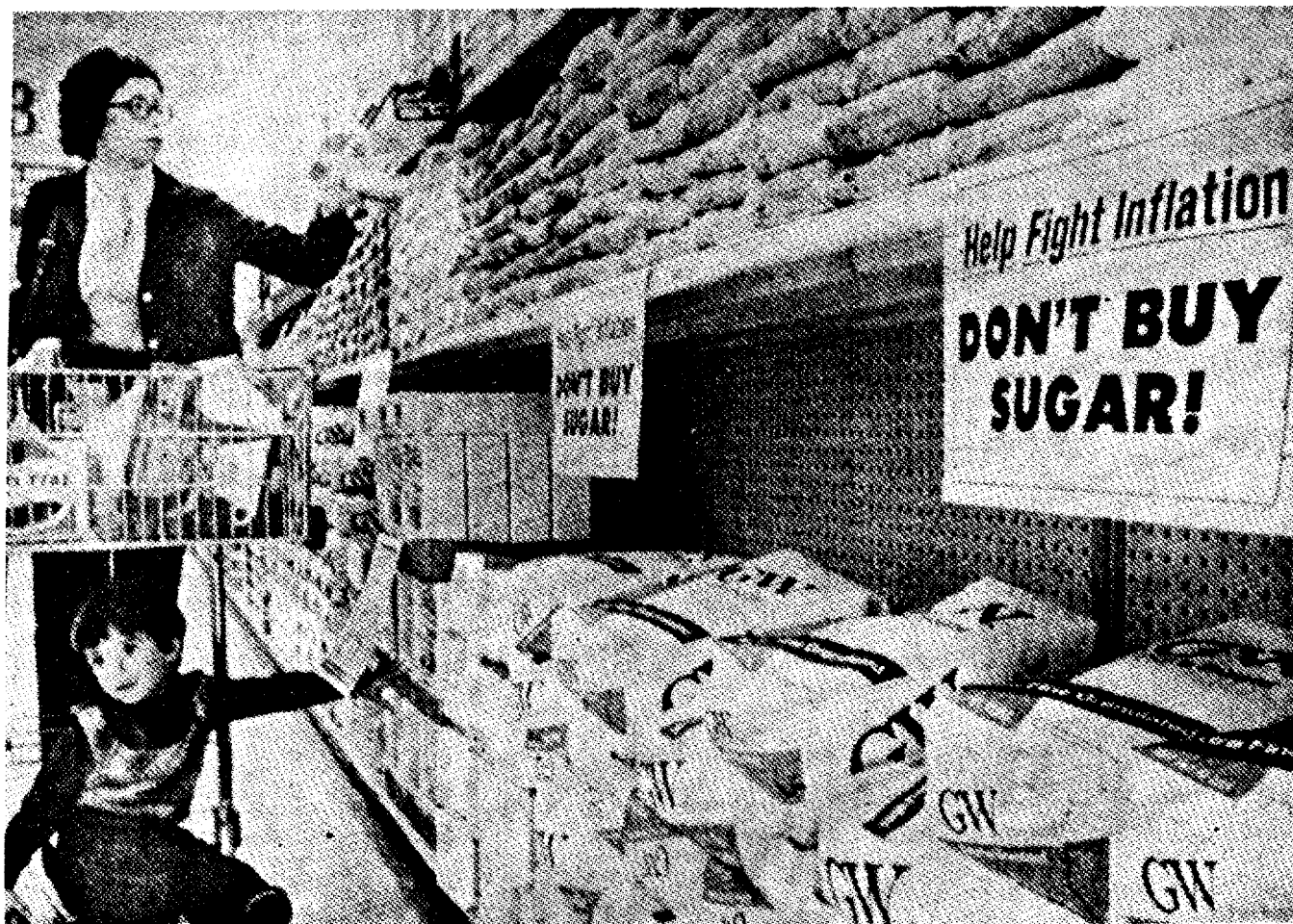
Ehrlich's analysis in this new book is one of

deep pessimism. He says, "The general economic trend is going to be downhill from now on. There may be temporary reversals, but as the end of the century approaches, each decade will be worse than the preceding one for the average American, to say nothing of the average human being." (p. 92); and, "In the early 1970s, the leading edge of the age of scarcity arrived. With it came a clearer look at the future, revealing more of the nature of the dark age to come. But more importantly, it exposed the hopeless inadequacy of society's response to a diffuse and slowly evolving crisis. . . . The U.S. government-industrial establishment will continue to act as if it can go on increasing its resource gluttony, raping the world's ecosystems, and tromping on many American citizens and those of other nations with impunity. All this will inevitably lead to a period of great turmoil. . . . If you face what's coming squarely you may be able to ride the crest of the tidal wave that will engulf society, rather than be crushed beneath it." (p. 7)

Ehrlich predicts that billions of people will starve to death in the 70s and 80s. He says there will be shortages of everything. He devotes 50 pages to exposing the insanity of nuclear power as a future energy source. He blasts the oil companies for manufacturing the "oil shortage" of 1973-74. "As for the oil companies, there is no question that greed lay behind their behavior. They embody perfectly the notion that the sole social responsibility of American business is to maximize profits. There was no shortage of pumpable petroleum in the early 70s though there may have been a basic shortage of supply in the U.S. (We must say "may" because there is no independent source of petroleum statistics except the oil industry. And when a notoriously avaricious liar tells you that he **cannot** sell you something which it is to his advantage **not** to sell you some skepticism is in order.)"

Ehrlich's forecasts on the international front are also grim. Among his predictions are thermonuclear war resulting from competition between industrialized countries, or from "resource imperialism"—the attempts to re-colonize the resource-rich 'undeveloped' countries, and his final prediction is "regional and national collapses brought on by the collision between growing populations and diminishing resources to support them, and these will have global repercussions." He writes off India: "Whether we like it or not, the fate of some countries—India for example—is largely sealed. . . the train of events leading to the dissolution of India as a viable nation is already in motion." He then spends a chapter describing Japan as "The Dying Giant that May Never Awaken" and Brazil as "The Awakening Giant that May Soon Die." Interestingly, he gives only one paragraph in the entire book to the formerly socialist country, China:

The Peoples Republic of China (PRC), the largest and most important underdeveloped country, may be an exception to this rule. Despite the frequent statements of American economists that inflation is "worldwide," the PRC with about one fifth



Bosses bleed workers dry by raising prices.

of the world's population, has a slowly falling price level. The contrast between India and China is striking. While there is more political freedom in India (sic), there is more freedom from hunger and poverty in China—and few would contend that the average Indian is better off than the average Chinese. . . . It is clear that many underdeveloped countries could learn a great deal from the Chinese example, and there are quite likely many valuable insights to be gained from that model even by the Overdeveloped Countries. Keep an eye on the relationships between China and other Underdeveloped Countries; the world's oldest civilization may well play a dominant role in helping to save some of the youngest nations."

Exactly half the book is devoted to these gloomy forecasts which are backed up by lots of significant and relevant facts and statistics. We too admit that many of the horrible things Ehrlich describes might well come to pass (as indeed many such things have been happening all along.) However the second half of the book, his proposals on what to do, are like a sick joke! Although he earlier describes the big capitalist corporations and the government as causing these hor-

rendous crises, he in no way advocates organizing any kind of fight against them or their system. He makes no mention of any working class movement—no mention of socialism, the dictatorship of the proletariat. (As a matter of fact, the only time he comes even close to the idea of a movement of oppressed people, he is explicitly and totally defeatist.)

Collectively, the poor might be able to improve their condition vastly if they were able to organize. But thus far, attempts to organize them have been feeble and largely unsuccessful because the interests they oppose are too powerful. If a majority of the poor came to realize how they are being ripped off, and if they banded together to do something about it, something might be accomplished. But until that day comes, we're sorry to say, the poor will have to depend on themselves and their neighbors to solve their problems at very local levels, not on some nationwide movement.

Instead of a fighting, working-class movement, Ehrlich advocates two different, but equally meaningless, programs. The main one is "Withdraw Yourself," try to be self-sufficient. As the book cover blurb says, "The End of Affluence" contains a broad range of money-saving options—

in home heating, dietary planning and more rational transportation—that will help you adapt to the new era of limited resources.” In other words, his line is “Don’t Fight It . . . Adjust!” Included in his “Survival Kit of Helpful Hints” are things like:

- Move to a rural area and take up subsistence farming. (Or at least grow a victory garden.)
- Buy a trained guard dog.
- Increase your stock of first aid items.
- Have your fireplace modified to become a more efficient heater. Get a solar heating unit! Have plenty of warm blankets on hand (wool is best).
- Keep several jugs of water in the house.
- Replace light bulbs with ones of lower wattage. Use candlelight for dinner. Eat cold meals.

All these and many others are contained in the final chapters of Ehrlich’s book, called (if you can believe it), “A Brighter Future - It’s Up To You.”

The other half of his proposal is the same lame old game: Electoral politics. Of course he begins by saying that all politicians stink, but then it’s back into the fold:

If you want to help, you must be willing to work long and hard for and against political candidates and (even more important) to recruit more people into the effort. Some progress along this line was made between 1968 and 1972, especially in the Democratic Party. But unless public concern is maintained, the party may revert to old forms and again become the exclusive property of self-serving party hacks. There must be a rerun to an old idea in our republic—that we send people to Washington who we think have brains and integrity and who we hope will make wise decisions, attempting to balance our local interests with a concern for the good of the nation and the world . . . Groups like the League of Women Voters and Common Cause can supply you with the voting records of your senators and representatives . . . Don’t hesitate to let your representatives at any level in government, from city council to president, know how you feel about their actions.

So Ehrlich’s intellectual bankruptcy and dishonesty is glaring by the total mismatch between the two halves of his book, a mismatch that borders on the absurd! After convincingly forecasting thermonuclear imperialist wars, billions starving in famines, catastrophic nuclear power plant accidents, and “regional and national collapses,”—and after correctly blaming these things on the greed of the capitalist corporations . . . he then concludes that the solution is to eat cold meals, get a trained guard dog, consult the League of Women Voters, and write letters to the President!!! Who does he think he’s kidding???

Once again Ehrlich has served the capitalist ruling class by trying to persuade us that there’s no way to fight capitalism and gain liberation. He prefers that we withdraw from, or adjust to, the

system as best we can. Sorry, Ehrlich, but those tired old cliches won’t make it any more. People will be looking elsewhere for the solution to the problems that are upon us.

“ECONOMICS AND THE PUBLIC PURPOSE”

Galbraith is a different kettle of fish altogether. He is a Harvard professor, and much more into the realities of power. (He served as U.S. ambassador to India under Kennedy.) Galbraith isn’t the voice of the threatened middle class on the fringes. He is a mouthpiece for the dominant section of the big-money ruling class. While Ehrlich addresses himself to the question of how a small middle class section can survive the coming age of ‘social turmoil,’ Galbraith is talking about how the U.S. capitalist system itself can survive, and what kind of changing and adapting it’s going to take. He is trying to persuade a big upper-class readership a new tactical approach that the big bourgeoisie is launching to save its crisis-riddled system. He’s trying to undo some of the old brainwashing that now stands in the way of the big bourgeoisie having enough flexibility to ride out the crises. A large part of his book is spent convincing the reader that the standard economics they learned in colleges and universities, and which professional economists work out of, is full of crap; that the standard economics is not science, but propaganda to support the status quo. **Since this is true, he does a good job of making this point.** Also he acknowledges that a lot of people are aware that the standard theory is grossly out of touch with reality. They know that reality is not explained by theories that state “the consumer is King,” that “individual choices on how to spend income determine the market,” and “the market determines the economy,” and that this brings about the greatest good for all. Galbraith admits that even if you expand the standard theory to include monopolies and the Keynesian role of the government, it doesn’t improve the standard theory much.

Right off Galbraith admits that the increasing rejection of the standard theory is leading to a renewed interest in Marx, and he makes it clear that he is not a Marxist.

ONE CONSEQUENCE OF THE REJECTION OF THE NEOCLASSICAL MODEL IS a renewed interest in Marx. The Marxian system was once (sic) the great alternative to classical economic thought. Numerous of its tenets are in striking contrast with the more implausible assumptions of the neoclassical model. It accords a major role to the large enterprise. That enterprise and its owner, the capitalist, do not lack power. Their superior technical competence is also granted. So is their tendency to capitalist concentration. The capitalists are not subordinate to the state; the state is their executive committee.

Just to remove any possible doubt, he states explicitly in the foreword, “For better or for worse, I am a reformer, and not a revolutionist.”

According to Galbraith, the economy consists of two sections which he calls the "planning system" and the "market system." The market system includes the 12 million smaller firms, including farmers and the construction industry, service industries like hospitals. He says that the economics of the market system is fairly well described by the standard economic theory of capitalism. Galbraith says in recent decades, the "planning system" has risen to dominance in the economy. The "planning system" are the roughly 1000 giant technological corporations of the automobile, aircraft and defense, oil, chemical, communications, and computer industries, etc., that control the economy. It is the planning system, the dominant section of the economy, that does not conform to the standard model, because it controls prices, influences consumers, controls the government, and does things which are counter to the assumptions of the standard economics. Galbraith then devotes a chapter apiece to the many problems with the U.S. economy, and shows how they each can be understood as arising from the dominance of the planning system. Finally he summarizes the situation as follows:

That the economic system has a tendency to perfect itself will, perhaps, not now be believed. Unequal development (among different industries), inequality (of income among different workers), frivolous and erratic innovation (of new consumer products), environmental assault, indifference to personality (dehumanized work conditions), power over the state, inflation, failure in inter-industry coordination are part of the system as they are part of the reality. Nor are these minor defects, in the manner of a misshapen wheel on a machine, which once identified and isolated can then be corrected. They are deeply systemic. They are part of a system in which power is exercised in unequal measure by producers; they derive from the exercise of such power. That power embraces, organically, the state—the normal source of reform. It depends, further, on its hold on our beliefs. And immensely relevant to what is believed is what is taught—essential to the power of the system is the view that most formal teaching provides about economic life. Anyone who speaks casually about reforms in such a context is indeed being casual.

Galbraith then goes into the ways to achieve reforms:

Since the planning system has brainwashed us, the first step is to win "Emancipation of Belief" so that the public will be mobilized to pursue its interest in opposition to the purposes of the technostructure and the planning system. Then the "public" must get control of the state away from the planning system. "The emancipation of the state begins with the Legislature. This, not the executive branch is the natural voice of the public purpose against the technocratic purpose." Galbraith says we should work within the Democratic party which contains a wing that associates

itself with the public (as opposed to the planning system's) purposes. (e.g. the McGovern campaign of '72), and this could make the Democratic party eventually become more of a social-democrat type of party. Once we get control of the state in this way, we can then implement some of the reforms Galbraith hopes will save the system. Galbraith has three types of reform goals:

There is first the need to enhance radically the power and competence of the market system in relation to that of the planning system and thus reduce the systemic inequality in development between the two systems. This here is called The New Socialism.

Then comes policy in relation to the planning system. This consists of disciplining its purposes—in making these serve, not define, the public interest. This means restricting resource use in the areas of overdevelopment, redirecting the resources of the state to serve not the planning system but the public, asserting the higher purposes of the environment, making technology serve public and not technocratic interest.

Finally **the economy must be managed** (wage-price controls). The problem is not to manage one economy but two—one that is subject to the market and one that is planned by its constituent firms.

Now let's see what specifics he has in mind behind these three generalities.

First Galbraith throws in a few goodies to look progressive. He puts in a chapter on the role of women and starts it off with a quote from Lenin! He goes on to demand an end to the sexist household, provision of day care for children, and equal job opportunities for women. He appeals to the capitalists to support these reforms because it will make a lot more labor available to them. Then he comes up with the pitch for the petit bourgeoisie (small businessmen), with his reforms to "enhance the Market System." "Exempt small businessmen from all prohibitions in the antitrust laws against combination to stabilize prices and output." "Tariff protection in the market system." "Government support to the educational, capital and technological needs of the market system." On the other hand he makes some proposals that the small businessmen will be less happy with: "Direct government regulation of prices and production in the market system," and "An extension and major increase in the Minimum Wage," and "Provision of a guaranteed annual income of about \$5,000 to everyone who can't find employment."

However, Galbraith's **serious** business is brought up in the chapter called "The Socialist Imperative." In a nutshell, he says that the rapidly and seriously decaying quality of housing, medical care and mass transit are social dynamite. These industries have to be taken over by the government before people take things in their own hands and revolt. Besides, he says, practically all the other capitalist countries in the world have already done all this a long time ago. "The only

answer for these industries is full organization under public ownership." "These industries cannot function in the market system. They do not develop in the planning system. They are indispensable...." "The new socialism allows of no acceptable alternatives; it cannot be escaped except at the price of grave discomfort, **considerable social disorder** and, on occasion, lethal damage to health and well-being. The new socialism is not ideological, it is compelled by circumstance."

He continues, that the **advanced** industries like aero-space/defense too must be "socialized."

But the story is not yet complete. The case for socialism is imperative in the weakest areas of the economy (housing, health, transit). It is also paradoxically compelling in the parts of exceptional strength. Where the technostucture of the corporation is in peculiarly close relationship with the public bureaucracy, each, we have seen, draws power from its support by the other. (Example: Lockheed, General Dynamics, Grumman—the Pentagon). The combined power of the two bureaucracies would be usefully reduced by converting the large specialized weapons firms into fully public corporations along lines mentioned previously. The change is one of form rather than substance. For the large specialized weapons firms the cloak of private enterprise is already perilously, and even indecently, thin. General Dynamics and Lockheed, the two largest

specialized defense contractors, do virtually all their business with the government. Their working capital is supplied by the government. A large portion of their plant and equipment is owned by the government. Losses are absorbed by the government and even financial rescue when necessary. **AS A ROUGH RULE A CORPORATION DOING MORE THAN HALF OF ITS BUSINESS WITH THE GOVERNMENT SHOULD BE CONVERTED INTO A FULL PUBLIC CORPORATION AS HERE PROPOSED.**

After a few more goodies about the need to protect the environment, the need for more government spending for public purposes, and more progressive taxes, Galbraith gets to another of his hard points: wage and price controls!

The final step is the regulation of wages and prices in the planning system. Here the market has been disestablished; the requisite planning to maintain price stability is beyond the competence of the individual firm. In the absence of action by the state there is a steady and accelerating upward spiral of wages and prices. Public control is thus inevitable.

Galbraith admits that there is a big psychological barrier here for the true believers in the "Free Enterprise System," but that's life. He says that Nixon began controls but didn't go far enough.

"The first requirement is that controls be seen as forever!" Otherwise the policy will be like a pendulum: As soon as the controls start working,



Capitalism has not and can not provide jobs for all.



The reality of the "Free Enterprise System"

they will be abandoned and the swing will be back again. Galbraith goes into detail about how controls would be applied, but the main point is that they would be permanent.

Finally Galbraith concludes his list of necessary "reforms" with the call for more coordination between industries on an international basis.

WHAT ARE WE TO CONCLUDE about Galbraith's book? First let's see what his theory boils down to. He says that market system capitalism would be fine, except that some corporations have gotten too powerful. They are no longer controlled by the market, and their greed is messing things up and causing the terrible problems that constitute the "mounting economic crisis." He doesn't mention that the classical market system capitalism itself is **not** fine, that it has built into itself the tendency for the rate of profit to fall, and the tendency to produce more than can be sold at profit-making prices, and that the so-called planning system industries developed into what they are as a result of the pressure imposed by these two major defects of capitalism.

So he obscures that the real cause of these problems is capitalism itself, rather than his new discovery, the planning system.

Next let's look at his proposals. What do they boil down to? Will Galbraith's proposal to "socialize" the health, housing and mass transit help the working class in these vital areas? In a very limited way it might. But, large sections of these industries are **already** publicly owned and run. We have plenty of experience with city and county hospitals, with public housing, and with the big city transit authorities to know that we are not going to get much by making the entire industry be like the part that's already public. Anyway it's clear that Galbraith is not concerned about the well-being of the working class. Rather he is concerned about the inability of capitalism to function if workers can't get to and from their jobs, if they die like flies, or if they have no housing, and he is concerned about the "considerable social disorder" and perhaps even revolution that might result if the system fails to deliver a basic minimum in these areas.

Will the working class benefit one way or the

other if Lockheed and General Dynamics are taken over by the government? Hell no. These type industries and many others are government-run in many European capitalist countries and the class struggle there—strikes, layoffs, etc.—are identical as in the 'private sector.' Of course certain reductions in corruption and ripoffs, and certain increases in efficiency might result which could reduce the taxes going to these industries, and that would be a reform. But basically, this type of change is of no significance to us.

Finally, no worker in his right mind would look forward to permanent wage and price(?) controls after our recent experiences with them. This would merely legislate low wages.

No, these "reforms" are not pro-working class reforms like 30 for 40 (30 hours work for 40 hours pay), the shorter work week, that clearly benefits the workers greatly at the expense of the employing class. These "reforms" of Galbraith are reforms that benefit the dominant section of the U.S. ruling class at the expense of the workers and other classes (including other capitalists) in the society. For instance, PL has analyzed the Watergate affair as the struggle between the Old Eastern manufacturing and banking capitalists led by Rockefeller, versus the newer Western oil and aerospace tycoons. The final step in asserting dominance over the upstart 'New Money' group would be Galbraith's proposed government takeover of the aerospace industry.

"Socializing" the health industry would squeeze the petit bourgeois, M.D.-entrepreneurs out of existence. The next generation of doctors would not be minor league businessmen making \$100,000 a year, but rather they'd be salaried government employees getting paid like other skilled craftsmen. Wage controls would institute direct government control over workers and their movements. None of these proposals by Galbraith are "far out." Probably most of them will be initiated to some degree soon if they haven't already done so. There is still room for U.S. capitalism to achieve economies and efficiencies through greater rationalization, planning, and centralizing of its system. They can squeeze out some of the lower level capitalists and bosses, and tighten up government control over the economy. However, we should be clear that these steps are not advances for the working class. Rather they are a great threat to us. Hitler and Mussolini came into power

with greater government control of the economy and "Socialization." **True socialism is only possible if the working class rules society. The working class can only rule society if it has destroyed the capitalist system's police and army by means of a violent revolution.** "Socialization" without workers' rule (called the dictatorship of the proletariat) is only a strengthening of capitalist rule. It is more a step to fascism than towards communism. That's the phony type of "socialism" that Galbraith is calling for. However, even that doesn't work. No amount of bourgeois nationalization of industry changes the capitalist essence of the economy. The falling rate of profit and the crisis of overproduction are still in force. Look at all the nationalizing that Britain has done. Medicine, the steel industry, the coal mines, auto manufacturing, airlines, etc., etc. Is their economy out of the hole? Is the depression staying away from England? Hell no. They are actually the furthest down the road to ruin of any of the capitalists.

Ehrlich has given up on the system and is into hoarding food and water under his bed. Galbraith wants to extend capitalism's life by a few years by rationalizing the system some. Neither of these professors has an explanation for the crisis. Neither one of them has a program. The Progressive Labor Party understands the capitalist crisis in terms of the permanent, built-in defects of the capitalist system which can only result in depression, war and fascism. Our program is to fight for the needs of the working class, the pro-working class reforms needed right now under capitalism, as well as the overthrow of capitalism itself.

30 hours work for 40 hours pay!

Destroy racism which divides workers!

Take rank and file power in the unions!

Build the revolutionary organization, the PLP.

Overthrow the capitalist system.

Establish the rule of the working class, true socialism leading to true communism.

These programs of the PLP are explained in detail in our publications and in our daily work on the job, in the communities and schools. Join us in this struggle. We have nothing to lose but our chains. We have a world to win. Workers of the world, unite!

The History of the Progressive Labor Party Part One

Notes on the History of the Progressive Labor Party

The international communist movement has a great history of working class struggle and revolution. Communists have always been in the forefront of workers' battles for better working conditions, shorter hours and higher wages, industrial unionism, anti-racism and the fight against the exploitation of women. Communists led the fight against fascism and imperialist wars which cost the lives of hundreds of millions of working people in the past century. Above all, communists have been in the vanguard to destroy capitalist society, and have led the workers to establish the first socialist societies in history.

IN THE COURSE OF THIS GREAT PROGRESSIVE struggle, numerous errors were made which caused serious harm to revolutionary advance. Particularly harmful have been the reversals of the great revolutions in the Soviet Union and China which were analyzed in the PLP document Road to Revolution III.

The PLP does not repudiate the history of the communist movement. We are part of it. We study it and defend it in order to develop it further. Naturally, we cast aside all that is negative while we cultivate all that is positive. We make no absurd claims as to being the first true communist party in history. We struggle daily to rid ourselves of the influences of capitalist ideas. By our adherence to revolutionary communist principles and especially by our actions, which always speak louder than words, we continue to evolve as the revolutionary vanguard of the U.S. working class.

THUS, IN A FUNDAMENTAL SENSE, THE HISTORY of PLP begins with the earliest strivings of the world's workers to get rid of capitalist exploitation. PLP identifies itself with the outstanding revolutionary contributions of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin, Mao and others (despite our sharp criticisms of their mistakes).

THE FIGHT INSIDE THE OLD COMMUNIST PARTY (CPUSA)

Just as socialism arises out of capitalism, the PLP arose out of the old Communist Party, which lost its revolutionary outlook and became a prop

of capitalism. This process of degeneration of the old communist movement reached its climax at the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) in 1956. At this Congress the revisionist (counter-revolutionary) idea of being "pals with bosses" was codified. Peaceful co-existence, peaceful competition, peaceful transition became the cornerstone of international "communist" policy. The Congress repudiated completely the leadership of J. Stalin, and with it the thirty-year history of the first workers' state's effort to build a socialist society. Fundamental Marxist-Leninist principles, such as the dictatorship of the proletariat, proletarian internationalism and a democratic-centralist workers' party were cast aside.

A SHOCK WAVE SWEPT THE ENTIRE INTERNATIONAL communist movement. In the United States, the C.P. was thrown into a grave internal crisis. The leadership, which had long been steeped in opportunistic policies, such as support for liberal bosses like Franklin D. Roosevelt, completely panicked. A right-wing group, under the leadership of John Gates, the editor of the *Daily Worker*, openly broke with Marxism-Leninism. They attacked the concept of a disciplined revolutionary communist party and called for a "mass socialist party" of electoral reform. Their platform was the idiotic demand of "Revolution by Constitutional Amendment," as if the bosses would simply roll over and play dead because the majority of working people want socialism. (Incidentally, this is still the programmatic outlook of the revisionist "C" P).

The center forces were under the leadership of Eugene Dennis, the general secretary, and William Z. Foster, the chairman. The centrists fought the right-wing Gates forces, who were deserting the party in droves and declaring that they had "wasted the best years" of their lives. As if fighting the bosses' system of racism, exploitation, war and fascism is a waste! While defeating the Gates' right-wingers, the Foster-Dennis forces never defeated the revisionists' class collaborationist program. They failed because they never analyzed the roots of their own revisionist policies; they never repudiated the 20th Congress of the CPSU; they never adopted a self-critical attitude to the history of the CPSU or to the history of the international communist movement.

The Left forces in this critical period had no big-name national leaders. Most were secondary leaders and trade union comrades from the in-



The Progressive Labor Party was formed to take up the red flag of revolution from the corrupt 'C'P USA.

dustrial sections of the party. While the Left vigorously fought the Gates right-wingers and were critical of the Foster-Dennis center group, they, too, were divided and confused about the correct course. One group, about 500 strong, broke from the old CP and immediately set out to build a new communist party. Known as the Provisional Organizing Committee for a new communist party (POC), they rapidly disintegrated because: 1) They had no program other than that the old communist party was no good; 2) They continuously split over different personality clashes in their leadership; 3) They mistakenly elevated secondary differences about practical activities to matters of principle and stewed in their own juice.

OTHER LEFT FORCES FOUGHT FOR CHANGE inside the old CP. Within the year following the 20th Congress, the CPUSA was decimated from top to bottom. In Buffalo, N.Y., for example, the Upstate Organizer quit; the county organizer took off for California without a word to anyone; most community and student section leaders quit. The only sections of the Erie County CP that held firm and fought for a disciplined communist party and revolutionary communist principles were two industrial sections (the public and non-public). Interestingly, these comrades were attacked as "Stalinists" by the revisionists who had deserted the fight for communist revolution.

The experience of the mass desertion of the fight for a revolutionary communist party by the petty bourgeois sectors of the old party was an important lesson to the future leadership of the Progressive Labor Party, several of whom were leading cadres in the two Buffalo industrial sec-

tions of the old CP.

THE STRUGGLE INSIDE THE CP SHARPENS

AS A RESULT OF THE DESERTION OF THE OLD CP by the right-wing Gates forces and the ultra-left POC'ers, a large vacuum was created in leadership, particularly in NY where 50% of the national membership functioned. A new, younger leadership began to emerge. In Buffalo, Milt Rosen, an industrial worker and leader of the industrial section, became the Upstate NY organizer.

That year (1957) the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC) swooped into Buffalo with the aim of finishing off the left-wing's industrial base. What the revisionists couldn't do from within, HUAC hoped to accomplish from without with anti-communist hysteria. The reactionary leadership of the United Steelworkers, United Auto Workers, and International Electrical Workers cooperated fully with the Un-American Committee. It was these sellout union misleaders that initiated the firing of many communist industrial workers.

Many comrades lost their jobs, particularly those who had followed the policy of hiding their communist views from the workers. HUAC, the FBI and the bosses knew who were party members but the workers on the job didn't! However, those comrades who were known to their fellow workers as communist fighters were defended from the HUAC attack. In most cases these comrades did not lose their jobs.

This experience pointed up the profound lesson that communists must rely on and trust their fellow workers.

The HUAC attack failed to crush the Left forces in Buffalo. The party organization remained intact and the comrades proceeded to rebuild the Upstate NY organization. In 1959, M. Rosen was elected to be the NY State CP's industrial organizer.

WITH THE ELECTION OF NEW TRADE UNION cadres to party leadership in the NY State organization, the struggle inside the old CP sharpened. The left boldly advanced the struggle to openly bring the banner of socialism into the working-class movement. For the first time in many years, open communist street rallies were organized in the NYC garment district.

The national leadership, under the direction of Gus Hall, viewed with alarm the new Left leadership in the NY State party organization. Hall's political line was to bury the party in the mass movement. Hall maintained that the task of communists was to get party members to become militant reformist leaders. Thus, trade union comrades were to be the best trade union reformers, communists in the peace movement the best pacifists, those in the civil rights movement the best civil libertarians. In elections, we were supposed to support the bosses' lesser-evil candidate, John Kennedy.

This reformist course was vigorously fought by the Left working-class party cadres. Naturally the Left believed that communists must fight within the mass movement (the trade unions and other mass organizations) for reforms that were in the workers' class interests, but we insisted that we must do so as communists, and with the aim of winning militant fighters to a communist revolutionary outlook. We also vigorously opposed the entire lesser-evil theory.

Fearful of inner-party ideological struggle, the old party national leadership proceeded to attack

the new Left cadres as "anti-party," even though we functioned strictly within the guidelines of democratic centralism. At the 17th party national convention, the Gus Hall leadership maneuvered to put into national leadership from New York such well known revisionists as Betty Gannett, Clarence Hathaway, Sy Gerson, and others who had been repudiated by the NY convention delegates.

DIZZY WITH THEIR RIGHT-WING TRIUMPH AT the 17th convention, the Hall leadership then proceeded to mop up the NY "political delinquents," as we were characterized. Behind their haste to eliminate the Left working-class cadres in the old CP was the new crisis developing inside the old communist movement—the Chinese-Soviet split. While the Left forces had hints of this struggle with the publication of such documents by the Chinese as "Long Live Leninism" and "On the Historical Experiences of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat," we had no real knowledge of the depth of the struggle or scope of the issues involved.

We were limited because we were very weak ideologically. Having been badly-trained politically in the CP, we were very weak on all basic ideological questions—the state, armed struggle, the dictatorship of the proletariat, etc. However, the opportunism and the degeneracy of the political line and practice of the CP was made much clearer by the polemics which finally developed openly between the Albanian CP, the Chinese CP and the CPSU.

The struggle of the Left forces inside the old CP was a fight over the revisionist line and practices of the CPUSA. Unlike the numerous pro-Mao groups that emerged after the Sino-Soviet split, the founders of the Progressive Labor Party split from the old CP before open polemics began between the Chinese and Soviet parties.

This independence was a reflection of both a strength and a weakness. The strong aspect indicated that these new PL cadres would stand on our own feet and pursue a course that was in the revolutionary interests of the international working class based on our own collective understanding of Marxist-Leninist principles. We would not be a mere echo or baton-follower of any guru. The weakness stemmed from our low ideological development, particularly, the influence of nationalism. We failed to see at that time, that the historic roots of the CPUSA's revisionism was really international in scope. We did not fully understand that U.S. revisionism is no more an exceptional phenomenon than is the U.S. road to revolution.

After a protracted struggle over line inside the CP, the Gus Hall leadership, fully aware of the developing Sino-Soviet struggle and fearful of large-scale defections, moved to expel the new Left cadres. Hall and Co. knew that we would be sympathetic to the revolutionary international forces and support the Chinese side in the fight. So, in the winter of 1961, the industrial cadres who had taken the lead inside the old party to defeat the revisionists were expelled.

In December of that year twelve comrades representing about thirty-five communist workers, and fifteen communist youth who were known as the Call Group (a communist student-based group strongly influenced by the Cuban revolution, who called for a new communist party), met to shape the future.

At the December, 1961 meeting Milt Rosen gave a political report projecting the perspective to build a new communist party in the United States. We realized the enormity of this task. Many other

groups who had come into collision with the revisionist CP had proclaimed a similar goal. All had gone down the drain. We were convinced that others had failed because their entire focus was wrong. These other groups degenerated into small "left" sects because they concentrated their efforts on fighting the old communist party. But who was interested in such matters? Only a small number of ex-CP'ers, not the mass of the U.S. working class.

We resolved not to fall into that sectarian trap, but rather to concentrate our efforts on developing a revolutionary program with a mass line and with the aim of building a new working-class base. Toward that end we decided to publish a journal called **Progressive Labor**.

At the meeting there were several disagreements. One of the most important was a debate over the question of whether or not we should refer to ourselves as Communists and Marxist-Leninists. All at the meeting regarded themselves as such, but should we be open about it? This question arose because of the influence of the Castro Revolution which was proclaimed as a socialist revolution. Castro's movement was known as the July 26th movement, a revolutionary democratic anti-fascist movement. Only after coming to power did he proclaim himself a Marxist-Leninist and communist. The Cuban revolution had great appeal to young comrades.

"LET OUR ENEMIES CALL US COMMUNISTS. We won't deny it or admit it, but we will just go about our business of building a socialist revolution." This is how some of the young student comrades argued. This view was vigorously opposed. The trade union comrades cited their experiences that anti-communist ideas among the workers cannot be defeated by hiding our communist principles and aims. Indeed, it was pointed out that Marx and Engels had long ago declared in the Communist Manifesto that "Communists disdain to conceal their views." After a sharp comradely debate, agreement was reached on this important principle without which it would be impossible to defeat revisionism and other anti-communist ideas or to build a mass communist party.

Another issue that divided some of the founding members of PL was where to concentrate our efforts. Some of the student comrades believed that they should go South. It was felt that in the South the contradictions of U.S. capitalism were sharpest, the workers mainly unorganized and more exploited than in the North, and where the anti-racist struggle was rapidly developing. While these arguments had merit, the trade union comrades believed we had very limited forces and resources, that we should not spread ourselves too thin to begin a new movement, and instead advocated that we should concentrate in N.Y. where we had a small base. However, because the younger comrades were very anxious to pursue this "Southern strategy," it was agreed that we should support the efforts of a few comrades to work in the South.

THE DECEMBER MEETING WAS A GREAT success. It proved we could openly debate differences and arrive at conclusions that would be based on firm adherence to matters of principle and flexibility on matters of practical policy. As a result, a new unity between trade union and student communist cadres was developed and the Progressive Labor Movement was born.

In July, 1962, fifty delegates from eleven cities met at a conference called by the editors

of PL magazine which had been published monthly, since January of that year. This meeting at the Hotel Diplomat in New York City became the founding conference of a new national Marxist-Leninist organization called the Progressive Labor Movement.

THE MEETING WAS MARKED BY AN INTENSIVE debate over the main political report presented by Milt Rosen. The report set forth the objective for a national organization to build the foundations for establishing a new revolutionary communist party. Before a new party could be launched four key tasks had to be achieved: 1) We must develop a revolutionary Marxist-Leninist program. 2) We must boldly initiate militant mass struggles around the immediate needs of U.S. workers and students, and build single issue mass organization, such as unemployment councils. 3) We must develop a base of support among young workers and students and win them to Marxist-Leninist ideas. 4) We must establish a network of clubs and collective leadership. The organization would be loose in form and we would use the principles of flexibility and persuasion to develop united action on policies. "Organize, organize, organize!" concluded the report.

The report was hotly disputed from the "left" and the "right." The "left" urged that the new organization should be the party, itself. While agreeing with the tasks that the report set forth, the "left" argued that these were continuing tasks of not just an organization to build foundations for a party, but to build the party itself.

In reply to this objection, the majority of the comrades said that because we were a new group, without a clear M-L program and relatively unknown to the mass of the workers and students as well as to one another, we should not try to function at this early stage on the basis of democratic centralism. Democratic-centralism is the organizational principle for a communist party—a serious communist party requires a high level of discipline and an authoritative national leadership. At this early stage, a much looser form of organization would open the doors to revolutionary young workers and students who would help us build the foundations for a new party. However, it was agreed that our objective must be to establish a disciplined party that would function according to the principle of democratic centralism which require that the minority carry out the decisions of the majority.

The main opposition to the Conference report came from the "right." The "rightists" proposed an entirely different direction for the new organization. They argued that the working class didn't need a communist party—a vanguard M-L type of organization to lead the class struggle. "The workers struggle daily without us," they declared: "What is needed is a communist educational organization—an organization to bring communist ideas to the workers."

THIS ANTI-PARTY, ANTI-LEADERSHIP VIEW was overwhelmingly rejected by a vote of 48 to 2. Trade union (T.U.) comrades cited their experiences in strike struggles and on-the-job actions. We spoke of the history of organizing the labor movement and the leading role of communists. Workers fully understand the need for leadership and discipline to beat the bosses. Only those who stood apart from the working class could view their role as "educational pundits" and not as fighting

communist leaders.

"Of course workers struggle daily with or without communists," the T.U. comrades said, "but they struggle more effectively with communist leadership. But more important, it is only through active participation by communists in day-to-day battles that workers can really grasp the ideas of communism and of the necessity for a communist party to lead the workers' revolution for socialism."

The conference adopted the report with only two dissenting votes. A national coordinating committee was elected to guide the work of the new organization. We agreed to call ourselves Progressive Labor Movement because PL magazine had played the key role in setting forth the generally agreed upon policies that represented a communist alternative to the old revisionist "C" P. The word "Movement" was adopted instead of "organization" to stress the fact that we were a transitional organization that would be moving in the direction of founding a disciplined party.

The PLM founding conference gave great impetus to the growth of a new revolutionary U.S. communist movement. We opened up community PL centers on the Lower East Side of New York, in Harlem, and wherever we had enough forces in other cities, such as Williamsport, Pa., and Buffalo, N.Y. We hit the streets with public rallies. For the first time in many years the banner of Socialist Revolution was brought openly to the workers and students. We participated in developing various community struggles against slum landlords, police brutality and unemployment. We directed our main fire at the liberal bosses and the Kennedy Administration which were "critically" supported by the old C.P. revisionists. Four national campaigns in these early years (1962-1964) in which PLM played a leading role indicate how our small organization began to emerge in the forefront of the revolutionary movement in the U.S. These four nationally significant struggles were: The Hazard Miners Solidarity Campaign, The Student Trip to Cuba, The May 2nd Movement, and the Harlem Rebellion.

THE HAZARD MINERS SOLIDARITY CAMPAIGN

IN THE WINTER OF 1962-63, THE COAL MINERS in the Appalachian Mountain Region of Kentucky, Tennessee and West Virginia were engaged in a bitter all-out strike struggle. The strike was a rank and file rebellion against inhuman working conditions and starvation wages. (The average wage was \$25 a week!) The struggle for union standards had reached the level of armed struggle in defense of the strike. The mine owners, the police, and local government officials had initiated a campaign of terror and scabbing to break the strike. The strike was several months old when PLM first learned about it. We had a small force in the South (recall the agreement of the December meeting?) But we had no base at all among the miners.

One of PL's southern comrades went to Hazard, Kentucky which was the strike center. He interviewed Berman Gibson, rank and file leader of the strike. A telegram was dispatched to PLM headquarters in N.Y., urging an all-out relief and solidarity campaign. Immediately, the National Steering Committee of PLM met and decided to make the Hazard Miners struggle the main focus of our work. A bold national campaign of support was

launched. The strike was given national publicity. A national TU Solidarity Committee was organized under the leadership of Wally Linder, a PL member and the president of his local union RR lodge. Food, clothing, and funds were collected in working class communities across the country wherever we had PL readers and PLM members. The issue was raised in local unions to send truckloads of food.

A key feature of the strike was the participation of black miners. Although black workers made up a relatively small percentage of the population in the Southern mountain region (as compared to the delta areas), they played a big role in the strike. The example of black and white workers united side by side and armed had sent the local bosses and politicians into a frantic rage. Significantly, the bosses' news media, N.Y. Times, CBS, NBC, A.P., etc., never mentioned the fact about the unity of black and white miners in all the publicity they gave to this strike.

We also raised funds for a mimeograph machine for the miners to put out their own local paper to combat the lies of the Hazard Herald and other bosses' news media. A mass meeting was organized in New York with Berman Gibson as the featured speaker. More than a thousand workers attended.

The bosses and their stooges went wild! "Communism comes to Kentucky!" headlined the local Kentucky newspapers. The "C" P revisionists were aghast at how the insignificant PLM could initiate such a bold national solidarity campaign. The Trotskyites and such sectarian groups of ex-C.P.'ers as "Hammer and Steel" sniped at PLM

for doing "missionary" work, as if strike solidarity was not a critical question of class interest for all workers.

The response of the miners and most rank and file leaders was terrific. The response in numerous workingclass communities and among rank and file trade unionists was also terrific. From the outset it made clear to the miners, to Gibson and other leaders that PLM was a revolutionary communist organization. We made certain that they knew about our communist aims because some of us had had enough experiences inside the old C.P. with the bad effects of the opportunist policy of concealing communist ideas.

WE ANTICIPATED THAT THE BOSSES WOULD resort to redbaiting, as indeed they did. At first Gibson and other rank and file leaders resisted the anti-communist crap, but as intensive red-baiting mounted, Gibson and others retreated and disassociated themselves from PLM.

The Kennedy liberals and social democrats noted that a very dangerous situation was developing for the bosses—that is, a situation where armed workers, black and white, were uniting with communists to fight back! They decided to step into the picture. With big \$\$ and lots of resources, the liberals set up their own solidarity committee. Gibson and others broke with PLM, and turned to the liberals.

The strike continued for many months but ultimately petered out.

Vital lessons were learned in the course of this great strike and solidarity campaign. Among the

(B)



Pete Seeger at PLM support rally. Gibson in background.



PLM Trade Union Organizer speaking at same rally.



From Vol. II, Nos. 10-11 of Progressive Labor magazine (Oct-Nov., 1963) depicting fascist U.S. bosses pointing at students who had broken the travel ban to Cuba.

more important ones are these:

- Workers will fight with guns-in-hand to defend their fundamental class interests when they deem it necessary.

- Strike solidarity is a crucial issue to all workers and they will respond enthusiastically when bold leadership is given.

- The bosses never hesitate to use violence to break a strike, but their ace in the hole is anti-communism, especially when racism has failed to break the fighting unity that has been forged between black and white.

- The left can not defeat redbaiting without a mass base. Furthermore, a solid communist working class base cannot be established outside the ranks of the workers. Such a base can not be achieved quickly in one or two battles. Only through protracted class struggles with communists giving active leadership from within the ranks of the workers, will workers shed their anti-communist prejudices and see that communist ideas are in the best interests of our class.

THE STUDENT TRIP TO CUBA

The Cuban Revolution had great appeal to young people in the U.S. and especially to black and Latin workers. The U.S. ruling class was fearful that the Cuban revolutionary experience would spark revolution throughout Latin America and also radicalize U.S. workers and students. The Kennedy administration had failed miserably to crush Cuba at the Bay of Pigs. In October, 1962, the Kennedy boys (John and Robert) played brinkmanship with Nikita Khrushchev in the famous eyeball-to-eyeball missile crisis which was said to have brought the world to the threshold of nuclear war.

Never having any illusions about the Kennedy administration, PL had anticipated Kennedy's invasion plans. We issued tens of thousands of leaflets, held street rallies and unfurled the first **Hands Off Cuba!** banner in the galleries of the United Nations.

To isolate Cuba, Kennedy had declared an economic boycott and travel ban on Cuba. Groups, like the Fair Play for Cuba Committee, under

Trotskyite influence, had emerged to issue pro-Cuba propaganda and reprint Castro's speeches, but they didn't dare do anything to develop a mass struggle. At the same time that we had developed the Hazard Miners Solidarity Campaign, the young PLM boldly announced that we would break the travel ban on Cuba and openly confront the State Dept.

More than five hundred students had contacted PLM to join with us in defying the State Dept. travel ban. Out of the 500 applicants, 75 U.S. students were selected to go by the PL-led Ad Hoc Committee to Travel to Cuba. An official invitation was secured from the Cuban Federation of University Students. Intending to spend their Christmas vacation in Cuba, the U.S. students entered Canada to fly on a Cuban plane. Acting in collusion with the U.S. State Dept., the Canadian government refused to give the plane a landing permit and the trip was temporarily blocked.

THE REVISIONISTS AND TROTSKYITES laughed at us. They called us "crazy adventurers" and declared that we would never get to Cuba. However, we anticipated these difficulties and had an alternative plan which combined public and non-public methods.

After failing to go via Canada, we publicly announced that the next effort would be to go via Mexico. We even told the students who were planning to go that Mexico would be the route. We knew that the FBI, CIA and State Dept. would try to infiltrate our ranks with agents. Actually, only a few comrades knew about arrangements to go via Czechoslovakia. The real plan was to fly thousands of miles to Europe and back in order to go to Cuba, which is only 90 miles off the Florida coast.

The plan came off smoothly. In the summer of 1963, fifty students crashed the Kennedy curtain and traveled to Cuba. The ruling class was furious and the C.P. revisionists and Trots were dejected.

When the students returned to the U.S. and landed at Idlewild (now called Kennedy) Airport, the U.S. immigration officials began to mark their passports "invalid." The students refused to turn their passports over to them. The immigration officials re-

treated and the students kept their passports. Within a few weeks, PLM leaders and Ad Hoc Committee members were hauled before a Grand Jury hearing considering conspiracy charges. We were said to have conspired to break the travel ban. What a conspiracy—we had publicly announced that intention for almost a year!

MORE THAN FIFTY MEMBERS AND FRIENDS of PLM were either cited for contempt or indicted. Some comrades and friends faced up to 20 years in jail! This effort to terrorize and punish the young PL'ers and their friends for daring to defy the U.S. government failed miserably. Of course, a few defected. One of the more notorious ones was Phil Luce, a Travel Committee leader and PL'er who also faced 20 years in jail. In desperate fear he turned to drugs, became an FBI informer, wrote an anti-PL book under the auspices of the Un-American Activities Committee, and was last heard of as being a leader in the ultrareactionary YAF (Young Americans For Freedom).

Most of the young PL comrades and friends held firm in the face of the attacks and grew stronger and more committed to fight the U.S. ruling class. A national campaign to defend the Student Travelers was launched and received widespread support.

The best answer to the indictments and harassment was given when we dared to organize another trip. This time about 84 students went—almost a thousand wanted to go. The ruling class decided that they better cool it. After a fight that went all

the way up to the Supreme Court all the charges were dropped. A full victory was obtained. The travel ban was broken; the State Dept. was confronted and beaten! Many students joined the new PLM in the course of this struggle and PLM began to emerge as a new vigorous force in the emerging new left in the U.S.

Every struggle contains lessons, new and old, and the Student Trip to Cuba Campaign proved to be very educational.

- It is necessary to anticipate the attacks of the ruling class and to develop alternative plans to defeat those attacks.

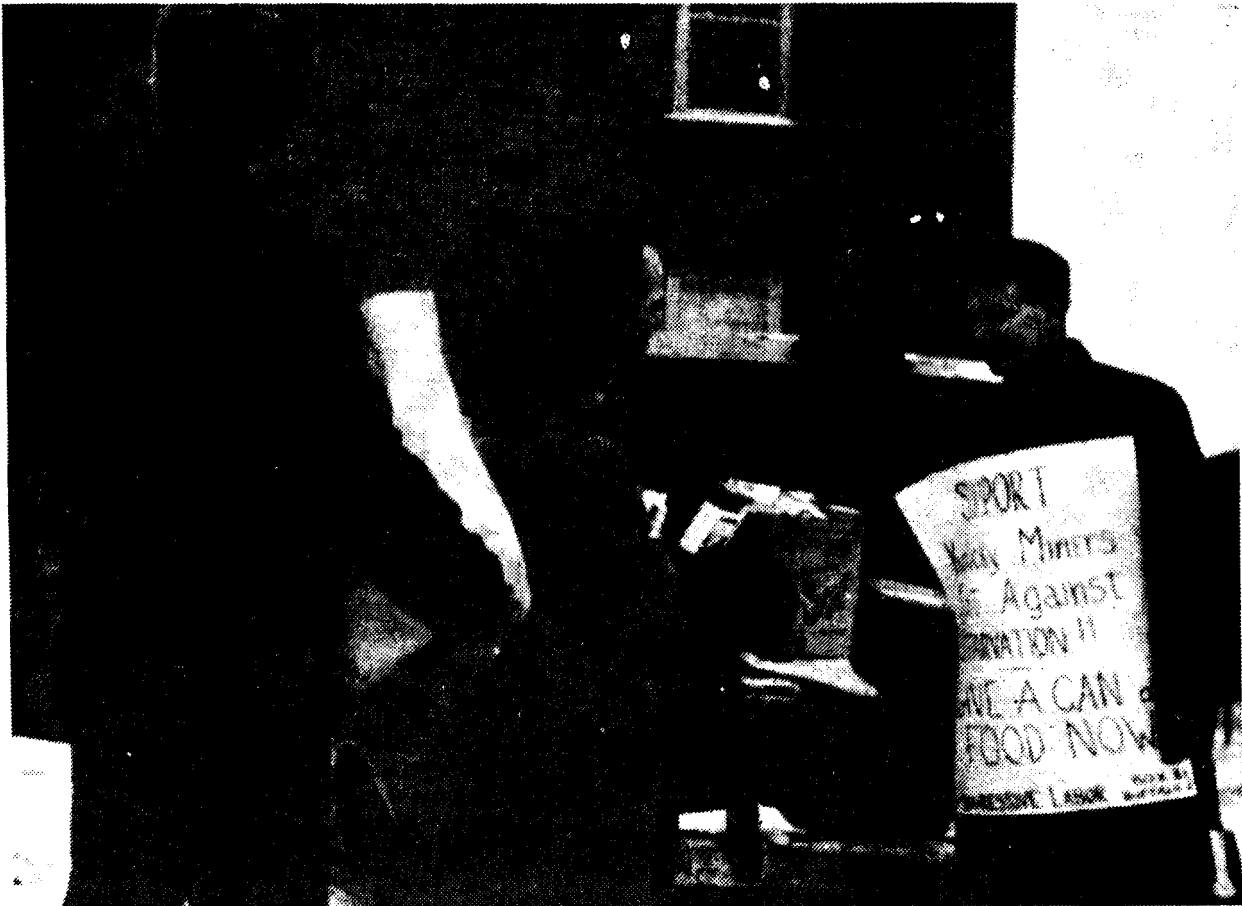
- We must learn to travel many different avenues of struggle to smash the bosses.

- Be bold—dare to struggle and dare to win! We must dare to fight the bosses. We must dare to speak out loud and clear on matters that others only whisper about. We must dare to undertake campaigns that others only dream about. We must always be guided by the principle of acting in the best interests of the international working class.

- We grow stronger only through struggles. Ruling class terror will never destroy the communist movement but our own fears and timidity can turn formerly good fighters into corrupt renegades.

The May 2nd Movement

In March 1964, a conference on socialism was held at Yale University. Numerous self-proclaimed socialist and communist organiza-



P.L.M. established a regular truck route from New York to Hazard, Ky., bringing food, clothes and money to the striking miners and their families.

tions were invited including the "C" P revisionists and various Trotskyite groups. PLM was also invited and we decided to participate.

THE CONFERENCE WAS SUPPOSED TO BE only on a theoretical plane and to debate ideological differences without getting into any practical political proposals. This ridiculous anti-Marxist-Leninist approach to socialism was adhered to by all the so-called revolutionary groups except PLM. We refused to go along with such bourgeois academic ground rules that make a mockery of communist ideology by trying to separate it from practical working class action.

Breaking through the academic nonsense, PLM spokesman Milt Rosen electrified the audience of more than 500 students and faculty members by discussing real life. He particularly focused on the Vietnamese revolution and the efforts of U.S. imperialism and international revisionism to crush it. Furthermore the PLM chairman proposed that the conference should support a nationwide mobilization on May 2nd to protest U.S. aggression in Vietnam.

The proposal was overwhelmingly approved by the conference and a May 2nd Committee was organized under PLM leadership. On May 2nd thousands of students and workers marched and rallied in numerous cities across the country demanding that "U.S. GET OUT OF VIETNAM NOW!" The May 2nd action was the first national demonstration against U.S. aggression in Vietnam! It was the forerunner to the millions of protesters who were to march against U.S. imperialism in the years ahead.

To maintain the momentum of the May 2nd demonstrations and to organize a national anti-imperialist peace movement the May 2nd Committee decided to become a national membership organization and called itself the May 2nd Movement (M2M).

Hundreds of young people joined M2M. Many of the students who had participated in the Travel To Cuba struggle became leaders of the organization.

The youthful and militant May 2nd Movement played a major role in popularizing the struggle against U.S. imperialism in Vietnam. It issued hundreds of thousands of leaflets, buttons, pamphlets etc. It initiated numerous Vietnam Teach-ins in universities across the country. It organized rallies and marches. In addition to its anti-imperialist activities, the M2M also developed the Free University movement as an off-campus alternative to the bourgeois educational system.

Many students were attracted to M2M and its offshoot activities. However the organization was infected with several fatal weaknesses that prevented it from emerging into a powerful anti-imperialist mass movement. These weaknesses were: 1) Drugs, 2) Sectarianism and 3) Racism.

It is no accident that the drug culture rapidly developed in the early 1960's. Drugs have always been around, but they were especially pushed by the U.S. ruling class in the 60's to divert young people from struggling against them. The Boss controlled media told young people to "tune in, turn on, and drop out." They tried to make the drug culture appear to be "anti-establishment" but it was just the opposite. They were really telling young rebel fighters to "tune in to bourgeois culture" and "to turn on to drugs" in order "to drop out of the anti-war and civil rights movements." Is it any wonder

that Berkeley, the scene of the first major student strike of the 60's—the Free Speech Movement—became a national center of the Drug Scene?

PLM VIGOROUSLY OPPOSED THE USE OF drugs which had widespread influence inside M2M and had even penetrated to some young comrades in PLM.

While PLM succeeded in purging its own ranks of drug users we never won the struggle inside M2M. Unfortunately, many fine young fighters degenerated politically by becoming drug users.

SECTARIANISM

As the Johnson Administration stepped up U.S. aggression in Vietnam, new forces emerged to enlist in the growing mass anti-war movement. Along with the growth of M2M, many other anti-war organizations also began to flourish, such as Vietnam Day Committees and especially the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS).

Instead of striving to unite with these forces, many M2M'ers as well as some PL'ers viewed these other anti-imperialist war fighters with disdain and even contempt because "they are not as radical as we are," or because "they're under the influence of a bunch of phony liberals and revisionists."

A sharp struggle developed inside PL as it did inside M2M over the question of uniting with and merging with SDS. SDS had grown into the major center of radical student politics following its massive Washington anti-war rally in the Spring of 1965. The PL leadership vigorously fought both inside its own ranks and inside M2M against a sectarian line of isolating ourselves from the new anti-war forces that were developing on a vast scale throughout the U.S.

AFTER AN INTENSIVE STRUGGLE BOTH INSIDE PL and M2M the overwhelming majority supported the line of dissolving M2M and joining SDS. A small group of PL'ers quit over this difference in tactics and attacked the leadership as "opportunistic" and "revisionist" for dissolving M2M. They tried to maintain M2M and the Free University as a viable alternative to the actual mass movement but they rapidly evaporated.

RACISM

Perhaps the most serious weakness in M2M was its failure to develop the struggle against racism and to link the anti-racist struggle with the anti-war movement.

This weakness was directly related to the wrong line PL had on the question of Black Liberation at that time. We failed to understand the class nature of racism and the struggle to destroy it as being a life and death question for white workers as well as black workers. The fight against racism was never a central question in the M2M as it should have been. As a result of racism M2M never succeeded in building any base among black youth nor any unity with the growing militant black student organizations, such as SNCC (Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee).

To understand M2M's positive significance we must recall the character of the old anti-cold war peace movement which was strictly pacifist. Completely dominated by the old "C" P revisionists the old peace movement was never anti-imperialist. The "C" P pushed instead a policy of international



The May 2nd Movement demonstration (pictured above) led to the massive marches (left insert) that took place in Washington D.C., NYC and San Francisco, demanding U.S. Out of Vietnam Now-

class collaboration with such slogans as "Ban the Bomb" "Summit Negotiations to Ease International Tensions" "Peaceful Co-existence" "For a Sane Nuclear Policy" etc.

Despite the serious weaknesses we discussed above and which ultimately destroyed the organization, M2M played a vanguard role in the struggle against U.S. imperialist aggression in Vietnam. It also represented a break with the old pacifist peace movement, and it helped move all the new emerging anti-war forces in a more left, anti-imperialist direction, especially the SDS. Many fine young fighters joined PL as a result of their experiences within the mass struggles of the M2M. We also learned more about Marxist-Leninist principles and tactics, such as:

- The left must never isolate itself from the mass movement. We cannot be mere agitators or propagandists. We must be an integral part of the mass struggle, strive to give leadership from within and raise our communist ideas as we fight side-by-side with those who disagree with us.
- No mass organization can sustain a progressive course without elevating the struggle against racism to a top priority.

The Harlem Rebellion

On February 1, 1960, the civil rights struggle took a qualitative turn when a group of

black students in Greensboro, North Carolina began a sit down at a lunch counter of the Woolworth store. Within two weeks the sit-ins spread like wildfire to 15 other cities and within a month to 33 more.

THIS BOLD CONFRONTATION WITH THE RACIST jim-crow system was not initiated by any big shot leader, not by the revisionist "C" P but by a black student, McNeil Joseph, who was fed-up with racist discrimination and decided to do something about it.

As far as the revisionists were concerned, Ben Davis, a national "Communist Party" (C.P.) leader, told the 17th Convention of the "C." P. that "if the Greensboro students would have come to us for advice about the sit-in we would have told them not to do it and would have called it adventuristic."

The sit-ins of 1960 were followed by the Freedom Rides of '61 and then wade-ins at beaches, swim-ins at pools, kneel-ins at churches and lie-ins at construction sites. By August of 1963 the civil rights movement reached its zenith with a massive march on Washington of more than 200,000 to hear Martin Luther King's "I have a dream" speech.

The tempo of the rapidly growing movement could be measured by the fact that in the ten week period following massive demonstrations in Birmingham, Alabama in the Spring of 1963, there were (by official U.S. Department of Justice reports) 758 different mass demonstrations and 13,786 ar-



*Summer of '64,
N.Y.C. Workers
demonstrate their
anger at racist
cop brutality
which was on the
rise as lip-servi-
ce to their needs
was voted in as
civil rights
amendments.*

rests. (They didn't give figures on the killings, the beatings, the bombings, the police dog bites, the fire hoses and other brutalities against the people.)

The struggle against racist oppression took two main forms: In addition to the integration movement, the nationalist movement also grew in scope and militancy in the early 60's. In Monroe, North Carolina, Robert Williams broke with the NAACP and set forth a nationalist line for armed struggle. He attacked the NAACP and King for their non-violent middle class program. While attracting some national attention, the Williams' group evaporated when Williams fled to Cuba in August 1961 to escape trial on "kidnapping" charges.

The most important nationalist force to emerge in the early 60's was the Muslims. This religious organization was founded around 1932 by Elijah Muhammad, but its most famous spokesman in the early 60's was Malcolm X. Malcolm X vigorously and persuasively spoke out against the integration movement, its collusion with racist liberal politicians, and its submission to racist violence. When attacked by the cops, the Muslims fought back. They developed their own armed self-defense unit. They recruited large numbers of rebellious black youth from the jails and from the streets.

THE MUSLIMS GREW BY LEAPS AND BOUNDS.

Their membership figures were secret but based on turnouts at rallies and conventions estimates range up to 12,000 members and 50,000 supporters.

The surging integrationist and nationalist movements both reflected the anti-racist mood of the black masses. On the surface, the leadership of both these movements seemed to be pushing in two opposite directions: the civil rights movement for integration with whites and the nationalist move-

ment for a separate state for blacks. Both these movements, however, were united in their devotion to capitalism. The integrationists were headed by leaders who wanted to integrate into the white capitalist superstructure on a parity with the white bosses. The nationalist leaders said that this was a pipe dream and that we must aspire to have our own capitalist factories, stores and farms in order to make a big profit. The perspective held out for the black working masses was not an end to exploitation but the opportunity to be exploited by black bosses instead of white bosses.

While PL's line on Black Liberation was not correct at that time, we always set forth the correct strategic position that only a socialist revolution could end the racist capitalist system. This revolutionary perspective differentiated the young PLM from the revisionist "C" P and SWP. The revisionist "C" P and the Trotskyite SWP had long tailed after one tendency or another within the black liberation struggle. In this period, the "C" P gave all-out support to King and the SWP backed Malcolm X. Neither group adopted a critical class analysis of the two black capitalist oriented movements.

IN OUR EARLY YEARS, PLM WAS STRONGLY influenced by the view, most clearly articulated by Mao, that nationalism had two aspects: One aspect was reactionary because it attacked the workers of the foreign imperialist nation; the other aspect was revolutionary because it attacked the bosses of the imperialist power. This position led us to align ourselves more with the nationalists than with the integrationists. However, we always maintained a critical line toward both, while we directed our main fire at the liberal Kennedy and Johnson Administrations who backed King.

It was within this setting of a rising national anti-racist movement and our weak ideological class analysis that the leading role of the young PLM in the historic Harlem Rebellion of 1964 becomes so significant.

Prior to the Harlem Events of 1964 PL had some experience in the South and in the ghettos of New York and Buffalo. In the South we worked with SNCC and also with the Williams forces in Monroe. Our main concentration was in Harlem.

In early 1963 we opened a PL center in Harlem, headed by Bill Epton who had been a rank and file activist in the Negro American Labor Council. Our work focused on the development of a mass movement against police brutality and the organization of self-defense councils. Police terror had become a central issue throughout the country. The ruling class had tried to stem the growing tide and militancy of the "Freedom Now" movement by granting numerous reforms, such as the Civil Rights Act of 1964 which outlawed discrimination in all public facilities. But, while they held out these "carrots" to placate the masses, the bosses heightened their use of the "stick" in the form of horrendous acts of racist police brutality.

Week after week PL held street rallies in Harlem exposing case after case of police brutality. We also organized numerous demonstrations in front of local precinct headquarters. On June 11th, 1964, the murder frame-up case of the Harlem Six, the cop clubbing of John Morton while he was handcuffed, the police assault on Eladio Rivera.

When Lt. Gilligan murdered in cold blood 15 year old James Powell the raging anger of the black masses reached the boiling point and Harlem broke out into open rebellion. Thousands of militant youth took to the streets. The focus of their anger was on the cops and the local price gouging stores that the cops protected. Molotov cocktails were hurled at police cars and numerous stores were burned. Thousands of cops were rushed into the area to quell the revolt, but the rebellion spread. Thousands of shots were exchanged.

Mayor Wagner and Police Commissioner Murphy issued a proclamation putting the city under virtual martial law by outlawing rallies, demonstrations and marches. All the civil rights leaders were called in to try to smash the rebellion by telling the people to "cool it." Wagner brought in King, Roy Wilkins, James Farmer, Bayard Rustin and other big shot "leaders," but the rebellious masses ignored them and Life magazine lamented that "Decent Negro leadership has collapsed."

"The fact is that the only force that had the guts to give political direction to the spontaneous rebellion was PL."

THE MASSES WERE IN MOTION AND INDEED they were seeking leadership—revolutionary leadership. "Where's Malcolm?" many asked. Malcolm X had broken with the Muslims in March of that year and was on a tour of Africa. Wagner had rushed back on behalf of the ruling class from his vacation in Spain with his fascist chum Franco, but Malcolm didn't see fit to return from Africa to give leadership to the rebellion. He was too busy making it with Allah and big shot African governmental officials.

As for the revisionist "C" P and the Trotskyites, no one had to tell them to "cool it" because they were already in a deep freeze as far as Harlem was concerned.

The fact is that the only force that had the guts to give political direction to the spontaneous re-

bellion was PL. Thousands of posters demanding **"WANTED FOR MURDER, GILLIGAN THE COP"** with Gilligan's picture were circulated throughout Harlem. Hundreds of young rebels came to the Harlem PL center for leaflets and posters. In defiance of the Wagner ban on rallies and marches, PL organized a massive rally and march.

We also pointed out that the rebellion was directed not only at police terror but at the racist conditions of life in Harlem. Racist law and order in Harlem meant that the Harlem median family income was \$3,995 compared to NYC \$6,100, that unemployment in Harlem was 300% higher than in the rest of the city, that sub-standard housing was 49% while in the rest of NYC it was 15%, that infant mortality was 45.3 per 1000 births but only 26.3 in the rest of the city.

PL was violently attacked by the bosses' media for "inciting riots." The renegade and cowardly "C" P attacked us as "adventurists." The lives of PL leaders were threatened. The NYC red squad tailed and harassed PL leaders 24 hours a day.

Epton and other PL leaders were arrested and indicted for inciting a riot and for violating an ancient anarchist conspiracy law. The faced up to 20 years in jail! The PL printers who made the Gilligan posters were also arrested and jailed! Numerous members of PL were subpoenaed before a grand jury and faced contempt citations. Freedom of speech, press and assembly is cast aside when the bosses deem it necessary.

A NATION-WIDE DEFENSE CAMPAIGN WAS launched. While the Harlem rebellion subsided in a few weeks, its impact on the entire country was enormous, and the prestige of PL soared in the black communities. For example, in the Fall of 1964, Bill McAdoo came from Harlem to be the main speaker at a mass defense rally in San Francisco. PL was virtually unknown in the S.F. Bay area black communities. But because of our leading role in the Harlem Rebellion, almost 500 black militants came to hear the PL spokesman's on-the-scene report of the struggle in Harlem.

Unfortunately, we were not able to maintain this leading position because of our incorrect line and poor organizational leadership at that time.

Our weaknesses in organizational leadership, for example, were reflected in the fact that we ignored such fundamentals as getting the names, addresses and phone numbers of hundreds of young people who had come to the Harlem Headquarters during the rebellion and to the rallies, marches and demonstrations. In the enthusiasm of organizing during the rebellion we got swept up in the historic importance of the immediate battle and forgot about organizing for the long war ahead to destroy capitalism.

Above all, our political line was not correct, being influenced by nationalism. In practical terms we had the perspective that white comrades should work among white workers and black comrades should work among black workers. This line disunited the fight against racism. It undermined collective leadership, criticism and self-criticism and collective responsibility for developing the strategy and tactics to lead all aspects of the class struggle.

As a result of these weaknesses we failed to raise the revolutionary class consciousness of the hundreds and thousands of young militants who admired PL for daring to give some leadership to the rebellion. Consequently we did not consolidate this potential base for the new revolutionary communist party, PLP, although we did recruit a few of the rebel fighters into our ranks.

THIS LESSON CAN NOT BE OVEREMPHASIZED: It is not enough to organize leaflet distributions, mass marches, rallies, and wall posters. It is not enough to seize the moment to give leadership to an immediate battle no matter how sharp. We must do more. We must organize the masses not only to fight now but for the future. Of course this not only requires obtaining names and addresses of our friends and supporters to visit them, but to organize study-action groups, sell our party literature, and involve the new forces in collective political discussions on the strategy and tactics of the fight so as to help train them as well as ourselves as Marxist-Leninist revolutionary leaders.

The Harlem Rebellion and PL's role again re-

"... the battlecry of the people became 'Burn baby, burn!' meaning that we will burn this racist system to the ground."

inforces the point that revolutionaries must rely on the masses and not on alliances with class enemies who sell the people out. By daring to give leadership where others fear to tread we can emerge as a real workers' revolutionary vanguard.

Just as the sit-in movement in Greensboro, North Carolina initiated a new stage in the civil rights movement, the Harlem Rebellion raised the movement to a new level. A grave credibility gap developed between the repudiated, exposed, reformist leaders and the militant black masses. No longer would King's advice to the black masses that "if blood is to be shed, let it be our blood" be tolerated. Instead the battlecry of the people became "Burn, baby, burn!" meaning that we will burn this racist system to the ground.

Thus following Harlem, more than 100 cities throughout the U.S. felt the torch of rebellion and the ruling class shuddered in realization that this was only the spark of the workers' revolution yet to come.

Ideological Struggle Inside P.L.M. Road to Revolution I - The Struggle Against Revisionism

The fight against counter-revolutionary ideas has always been a central feature of the history of the working class movement. Marx and Engels combatted the anarchist views of Proudhon and Bakunin. Lenin opposed the revisionism of Bernstein and Kautsky. Stalin fought Trotsky's line that socialism could not be built in a single country.

THESE GREAT DEBATES WERE NOT abstract academic speculations over how many fairies can dance on the head of a pin, but vital life and death questions for the workers of the world.

The triumph of Marxism in the 19th century meant that thereafter the working class would strive to end its suffering under capitalism by advancing the strategic aim of socialist revolution. Lenin's victorious ideas led to the October revolution and the first socialist state. Stalin's victory gave the workers the opportunity to build history's first socialist economic system.

The emergence of PLM in the early 1960's coincided with another great ideological struggle of international significance—the Sino-Soviet dispute. The founders of PLM had engaged in a protracted internal struggle against the reformist policies of

the old "C" P leadership. However, we did not have a good understanding of the depth of the revisionism that had grown like a cancer over the whole of the old communist movement. In this regard, the anti-revisionist contributions of the Communist Party of China were of great importance to the young Progressive Labor Movement of the U.S. as well as to revolutionary communists throughout the world.

You will recall that at the founding conference of the Progressive Labor Movement in July, 1962 (see Part II) four tasks were adopted to build the foundations for a new revolutionary communist party in the U.S. These tasks were: 1) the development of a revolutionary Marxist-Leninist program, 2) the initiation of militant mass struggles around the immediate needs of U.S. workers and students, 3) building a base of support among new forces and winning them to communist ideas, 4) building a network of clubs and collective leadership.

The bold leadership the young PLM organization gave in the Hazard Miners Solidarity Campaign, the Student Trip to Cuba, the May 2nd Movement, the work in the South and in the Harlem Rebellion as well as numerous local struggles attracted a relatively large number of revolutionary-minded students and young workers into our ranks.

TO HELP WELD THE NECESSARY IDEOLOGICAL unity around a revolutionary program, following the founding conference the National Coordinating Committee issued a Prospectus for a new theoretical journal, the Marxist-Leninist Quarterly, to be published by the end of that year.

The Prospectus and MLQ's lead editorial had a basic contradiction in PLM's ideological position. For example, the Prospectus noted that... "revisionism is a dangerous and self-defeating folly not only because it leaves little room for independent action and propaganda on behalf of socialism, but more important, because it represents an unwillingness to see that the liberalism of the Kennedys and Rockefellers is a sophisticated, flexible instrument of imperialism that shares with the ultra-right the goal of capitalist world domination. Such revisionism has led to reliance on support of allegedly "advanced" or "progressive" sections of the ruling class instead of reliance on the working class and on the opportunities presented by sharpening class struggles."

At the same time that we castigated revisionism, we also stated in the MLQ that "We do not want to enter into a fratricidal war with the CPUSA... nor with the SWP, nor with any other socialist group... We seek only a frank exchange of differences and, whenever possible, a coordinated struggle against the imperialist enemy." Hence, we declared that we were ready to fight revisionism, but unwilling to fight revisionists. Such a contradictory position was untenable and inevitably led to PLM's first major internal ideological struggle following the fight with the "Educational Associationists" at the PLM founding conference.

Two factors gave impetus to the necessity to resolve the above contradiction. One was the open polemics that swept the old communist movement and the other was the internal growth of PLM and its developing mass base.

New members and friends wanted to know clearly what were our ideological and political differences with the old "Communist" Party, and also how we viewed the Sino-Soviet debate.

On October 23rd, 1963 Milt Rosen, PLM chairman, gave a comprehensive political-ideological report on the fight against revisionism to the National Coordinating Committee. This report became the basis of a national PLM discussion that lasted more than three months. It was revised several times based on suggested changes by PLM members and published in pamphlet form around March, 1964, under the title Road to Revolution.

"If your line is right and if your work is positive and if you dare to fight imperialism and revisionism, then the possibility exists for winning the best of what remains in the old party."

THE DOCUMENT BEGINS WITH A CLEAR statement of the difference between the revisionist road and the communist road for the working class. It says: "Two paths are open to the workers of any given country. One is the path of resolute class struggle; the other is the path of accommodation, collaboration. The first leads to state power for the workers which will end exploitation. The other means rule by a small ruling class which continues oppression, wide scale poverty, cultural and moral decay and war."

The scope of the 126 page pamphlet can be gleaned from some of its chapter titles: U.S. Workers Require Revolutionary Theory, Fear of Revolution Sparks an Imperialist Counter-Offensive, Fear of Imperialism Sparks Revisionism, The Origins and Results of Class Collaboration in The U.S., Black Liberation: Key to Revolutionary Development, What Kind of Peace Movement is Needed?, Revisionism in the International Movement, A Period of Revolution, The Chinese Communist Party Fights for Marxism-Leninism, Build a Revolutionary Party in the U.S.A.

Road to Revolution was the most important policy declaration since the founding of PLM. It linked the "great debate" between Marxism-Leninism and revisionism in the international communist movement to the development of the revisionist degeneration of the "C" P of the United States and analyzed its significance for the U.S. working class.

The document represented a devastating ideological assault on the old "C" P. It summed up the history of the old communist party and indicated that "From the earliest days of the communist movement in the U.S. to the present, revisionism and its political manifestation, class collaboration, has been the chronic weakness... (and that), on balance, despite thousands of revolutionary-minded members, the "C" P was a party of reform, not revolution." The document shook up a number of former "C" P members who had joined PLM.

The main opposition came from the S.F. Bay Area PLM Executive which voted four to one against publishing Road to Revolution and against any open polemics with the old "C" P.

The arguments they raised were along the following lines:

- The struggle against revisionism would not be aided by polemics against the "C" P because the old "C" P is without influence.
- We defeat revisionism in practice by developing militant struggles against the ruling class, not

by polemics.

- Fighting the old "C" P would divert us from the outward focus of building a mass base and put us on a sectarian course.

- It will isolate us from a number of good people still in the old Party or who have recently left it.

These arguments actually took no issue with the content of the report, but completely focused on the question of "open polemics" and "publication." Indeed most of the "oppositionists" said that they agreed with the document and that it would be useful for inner-PLM study groups and classes—but they insisted "it should not be published."

Why did these comrades fear publishing Road to Revolution even though they claimed that they agreed with it?

The real reason was this: The S.F. PLM leadership all came out of the old "C" P. Instead of integrating new young people that were attracted to PLM as a result of our revolutionary politics and militant national campaigns, they organized the new young forces into a separate PLM youth group. The leadership remained completely in the hands of ex-"C" P's who refused to break with their old "C" P friends and contacts. While they argued that open polemics would set PLM on a sectarian course the truth is that they had oriented their political work primarily to the old left and not towards winning new young revolutionists.

The "oppositionists" feared antagonizing their old pals who supported the revisionists and they also feared having to publicly defend communist political ideas against revisionist attacks. They judged the publication of Road to Revolution to be sectarian because their outlook was not to build a new revolutionary party with new cadres and a new mass base, but how to maintain their old relationships. As the letter from the PLM National Coordinating Committee stated in reply to the S.F. leadership: "Our major attention should not be placed on what our individual relations are with old "C" P members—on what they think of our ideas and actions at this moment or that moment. We cannot and will not evaluate our reports and work on that basis. If your line is right and if your work is positive and if you dare to fight imperialism and revisionism, then the possibility exists for winning the best of what remains in the old party."

Actually it was the S.F. leadership that was on a sectarian path! They did not understand the necessity to publish Road to Revolution as a vital document in the fight to win new young fighters to communism because that was not their main focus.

The argument that only practice not polemics will defeat revisionism is a worn-out old dodge to avoid ideological struggle. Often in the history of the communist movement there have been attempts by various opportunists to pit theory against practice and practice against theory. Of course revolutionary practice is primary in the workers' struggle to defeat revisionism and the ruling class, for practice is the source of ideas. But practice without ideological struggle cannot win either because the outlook of workers helps determine their course of action.

The oppositionists' position that words could not defeat revisionism was an echo of the old "C" P's attack on the Chinese Communist Party's revolutionary propaganda as being nothing but "cardboard swords," "curses" and "vituperation that will not weaken imperialism." The CPC correctly pointed out in their reply to the "C" P U.S. that "In the eyes of these persons, aren't all revolutionary propaganda undertaken by Com-

munists since the time of the Communist Manifesto, all the writings of Marx and Engels exposing capitalism, all Lenin's works exposing imperialism ... aren't they all only "cardboard swords"?

"These persons emphatically fail to understand that once the theory of Marxism-Leninism grips the masses of the people a tremendous material force is generated. Once armed with revolutionary ideas, the masses of the people will dare to struggle and to seize victory, and they will accomplish earth-shaking feats."

The reply of the N.C.C. also made the following points to rebut the oppositionists' arguments:

"It is true that at the outset we took the tact that we should not involve ourselves with too much debate about the old party. This still holds true. But we didn't budge at the beginning. To do so then would have been a serious error. We had to use all our resources to get off the ground. Our political unity was yet to be tested. Our leadership had not yet developed as a collective. Accomplishments had to be made to prove that an alternative path was necessary and possible. However, growth, limited as it may be has imposed new conditions on us. First of all students, workers and others want to know the differences between us and the C.P. in as much as we both call ourselves communists. There is much confusion on this score.

"Workers in Harlem, for example, are interested in the Sino-Soviet dispute. They are militantly pro-Chinese. These workers remember the old party. Their recollections are good and bad. They want to know our thinking on these questions, and how we are going to work in the present in a different way.

"MLQ goes out to two thousand readers. The next issue will be three thousand copies. Fortunately or unfortunately as the case may be we have arrived at the stage where it is impossible or desirable to answer these questions verbally. And even worse—to ignore them.

"Secondly, PL takes a critical position on the reformist leaders in the people's movement. We attempt to analyze them all, and where possible to point out an alternative path. Can we ignore for all time the lessons to be learned from the history of the (old communist) movement, and the harmful role it plays today? In other words we can criticize all, but not the C.P. leaders. What cowards we would be in the eyes of the advanced workers!

"Finally, revisionism is a set of harmful political ideas. They are put forward by specific people around specific issues. In order to benefit from history, a generally valid idea, you have to deal with actual occurrences. Historically that is how it was done. (We) doubt if that will ever change.

"Consequently, revisionism is not an abstraction. It is made up of live people with wrong ideas. The "C."P.'s main political enemy is us, and it does all in its power to destroy us. In this they work hand in glove with the (class) enemy who now view us as their main cross to bear.

"Each year the old party attracts and influences many students. As a result many young people become corrupted, cynical and useless to any political movement. Despite an earlier background of positive efforts, the "C."P. revisionism has set back the (revolutionary) Marxist-Leninist movement in this country. As a matter of fact, the old party doesn't simply follow a wrong line—it is involved in counter-revolutionary activity.

The S.F. oppositionists threatened to split if the document was published.

Naturally the PLM would not abandon the struggle against revisionism by such a threat. The NCC advised the oppositionists to review their commit-

ment to the unity of the working class and to building its communist vanguard party and said "We do not see that ideological discussion combined with much practical work should create schism. If comrades allow themselves to be so easily derailed from building the movement over the question of how best to fight the common danger, revisionism, then this implies other questions."

Unfortunately, the oppositionists did not heed the NCC's advice. In January 1964, a special S.F. Bay Area meeting of all members and some friends of PLM and the PL youth group was convened in a final effort to resolve the struggle over the publication of Road to Revolution in a comradely fashion. PLP's Vice-chairman, Mort Scheer, was sent to represent the NCC at the meeting. An intensive debate ensued.

Most of the comrades in the PLM youth group as well as several veteran Trade Union communists supported the NCC's position. However, the oppositionists maintained a majority, almost all of whom were ex-C.P.'ers. Nationally the S.F. oppositionist grouping represented only a small fraction of the PLM membership 90% of whom were new young revolutionists who had never been near the old "C."P.

Following the January meeting the oppositionists quit PLM and tried to build a new group. It evaporated within a year.

The NCC followed up the January meeting by assigning Mort Scheer to be the West Coast organizer to assist the young comrades and trade union veterans who remained loyal to PLM to build the new communist organization in the S.F. Bay Area. While the oppositions soon disappeared the new PLM began to flourish as it did on the East Coast so that by the time of the founding convention of the Progressive Labor Party in 1965, the West Coast was an integral part of the new communist party.

Just as important lessons were learned from our struggles in the mass movement, we also learned much from this and other inner-party struggles.

- The ruling class has always tried to portray communists as opponents of polemics and the public exchange of ideas, but the fact is that ideological struggle has always been a central feature of the communist movement and always will be. Indeed communist consciousness thrives on ideological struggle against its enemies and a communist movement grows stronger by purging its ranks of capitalist ideology. This has been the experience of the international communist movement and it has been the experience also in PL's history.

- Another lesson in connection with the struggle around Road to Revolution is the question of loyalty. While loyalty to family and old friends is often an admirable quality it must not supercede loyalty to the working people of the world. The sole test for communist policy and activity can only be this: Does it serve the revolutionary interests of the international workingclass?

- Revolutionaries cannot live in the past, but must always link up their lives with what is new and developing in the working class movement. The oppositionists were so tied up with the old communist movement that they could not and did not realize that the "C."P. was dead as a revolutionary organization and had become counter-revolutionary.

- Splits are an inevitable part of the process of growth. The new casts off the old; the revolutionary discards and destroys the counter-revolutionary. Dedicated communists, however, are deeply committed to the unity of the working class and will



From its base on hundreds of college campuses, SDS brought tens of thousands to demonstrate against the war.

never split for petty reasons. We split away from enemies and will struggle to destroy them, but with friends and comrades we always strive for unity no matter how sharp our differences. While on the surface it appeared that Road to Revolution led to a minor split in PLM the reality is that it led to a much greater unity.

Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) led 25,000 people to Washington, D.C. on April 17, 1965 to protest U.S. involvement in the Vietnam war. This demonstration started a process which transformed the organization and led toward events such as the shutdown of Columbia University in 1968, San Francisco State 1968-1969 and Kent State strike in 1970. By the fall of 1966 thousands of college students had flooded into SDS, creating hundreds of new campus chapters.

BEFORE 1965, THE ORGANIZATION HAD BEEN small, mainly confined to graduate students, and relatively unified around a liberal, anti-communist ideology. The new members joined because they felt the Vietnam war was unjust, that there were many related injustices in the U.S. society and that SDS, based on the April demonstration, was the place to do something about it. ACTION, perhaps in the image of the civil rights movement, was on their minds. "Ideology" was generally distrusted, and looked down upon as a relic of the "old left." These students quickly discovered that their de-

sire to fight back forced them to consider ideological questions, such as exactly why the United States was in Vietnam. These debates were vital precisely because they helped determine what to do and how to do it, a far cry from the empty "theoretical" arguments they rejected.

As noted in Part III of the History of the PLP, the students in the Progressive Labor Movement took a day off from the Party's founding convention and joined the April 1965 demonstration in Washington. Together with our comrades in the May Second Movement (M2M) we brought hundreds to Washington and put forward the line of "U.S. Get Out of Vietnam Now," which was enthusiastically adopted by thousands of demonstrators. Sometime later, in the winter of 1965-1966, we won the majority of the M2M members to dissolving that organization and joining SDS. We realized that most of the students who were joining SDS to actively oppose the war did not have an anti-imperialist outlook, and to learn from them at the same time, we had to be where they were—in SDS.

During the period 1966-1968, PLP's main form of political organizing among masses of students was in SDS. There we sold **CHALLENGE-DESAFIO**, issued Party leaflets, and conducted some activities under our direct leadership. Some of these activities were conducted in alliance with SDS and/or other campus organizations.

Both independently and within SDS, PLPers helped provide leadership to many of the most militant and massive campus struggles of this period, as well as numerous smaller ones. These included fighting against ROTC, campus recruiters for the

military services and the Dow Chemical Co. (makers of napalm), against university-sponsored research for the Vietnam war, and against class ranking for the draft. Among other schools, these struggles took place at Fordham, CCNY, Brooklyn College, Queens College, all in N.Y.; Harvard, Boston College, Boston University, Princeton, Rutgers, Stonybrook, Univ. of Chicago, Michigan State, Iowa State, Berkeley, Stanford, and San Francisco State.

SDS WAS ABLE TO LEAD THESE STRUGGLES because of an ideological struggle that was carried on simultaneously within the organization. We in PL and others fought against the ideas that the U.S. was in Vietnam through some sort of mistake, and that troops remained there through the stubbornness of the military, LBJ, or Nixon. We pointed out that the U.S. government had financed France's war to hold onto Vietnam and her other Indo-Chinese colonies in the 1950's, and that the motives for the U.S. war on Vietnam of the 1960's were no different—to keep the profits rolling in. We explained the necessity of investment in areas where labor is

available at super-low wages for the survival of monopoly capitalism. We argued that the government was an instrument of the capitalist class, and that the so-called "doves" differed with the "hawks" only on the right tactics for holding onto Vietnam and exploiting the Vietnamese people. After all, the foremost "dove" of all, John Kennedy, had played a major role in starting the war. His only "mistake" had been underestimating the capacity of the Vietnamese people to fight back.

To this analysis we added the idea that the administrations of our universities were servants of the capitalist class, and were helping in countless ways to wage the war. As students, we were in a perfect position to expose this (many of these college presidents and deans were super-liberal "opponents" of the war) and fight against it, bringing the anti-war movement home to thousands of our classmates who would, otherwise, not have become involved. Where they did become involved, leading to massive confrontations and shut-down campuses, millions more people around the country became conscious of the anti-war movement via the news media.

Part two of the History of the Progressive Labor Party will appear in a future issue of PL Magazine



PLP'ers in SDS were the first to raise the slogan 'Out of VietNam Now' pointing out that the war was no 'mistake.'

A Revolutionary Speech

From Sri Lanka

INTRODUCTION

In April 1971, the Ceylonese government announced that it was besieged by an armed insurrection of eighty thousand 'Guevarists' and that thirty rural police stations had fallen to the insurgents. The movement confronting the Ceylonese authorities was the Janatha Vimukti Peramuna, which had been conducting vigorous and successful agitation against Ceylonese capitalism among rural laborers, peasants and youth and was starting to attract support from the urban proletariat—to the utmost alarm of the reformist coalition of Sirimavo Bandaranaike. Unleashing a nation-wide repression of the JVP, the Bandaranaike regime pre-emptively arrested its leader Rohan Wijeweera, then massacred great numbers of suspected militants and incarcerated fourteen thousand of the survivors in prison camps. Previously (PL Magazine, Vol. 8, No. 4), we have printed an article detailing these events. In this issue, we reprint from New Left Review, No. 84 an excerpt from the defense speech made by Wijeweera when he was eventually brought to trial in November 1973. It is both an eloquent political denunciation of his accusers and a moving personal document, animated by the intransigent spirit of the new generation of revolutionaries now emerging in South Asia. We welcome comments from our readers.

Chairman and Members of the Commission:

A representative of one social class is addressing the representatives of another social class. That is what is happening here. A representative of the exploited and oppressed proletariat is addressing the representatives of the exploiting and oppressing class. We should not forget that the living reality which transpires here is a struggle for the fulfilment and class interests of two opposed social classes. Although I have been designated the 'thirteenth suspect' by this Commission in the present inquiry, the Chairman himself has stated that I am the chief suspect. That being so it will be necessary right at the beginning to tell you who I, the thirteenth suspect, am. I am a Marxist-Leninist. I am a modern Bolshevik. I am a proletarian revolutionary. Marxism-Leninism is a clear doctrine. In no way is a Marxist-Leninist a conspirator. I, a Bolshevik, am in no way a

terrorist. As a proletarian revolutionary, however, I must emphatically state that I am committed to the overthrow of the prevailing capitalist system and its replacement by a socialist system.

To disown capitalism which has turned gray, reactionary and obsolete in the course of human social development, to say that this system must be replaced with the new socialist system of production which has come to the fore as befitting the latest and noblest historical stage in the course of the development of human society, and to act accordingly, is in no way a conspiratorial act. I am not a conspirator in the context of the development of history. I am no conspirator in the context of the development of society and humanity.

Honorable Members of the Commission: May I make one request to begin with? I have been subjected to every possible indignity and harassment at the hands of the ruling class and have been for

several years the target of numerous defamations, slurs and slanders, mud-slinging and character assassination—and all this without any protection from the law. The only request that I make of you, is to respect my right to express my innocence freely and without any let or hindrance. The ruling clique of capitalists will gag me for a long period, if not for all time. In these circumstances I do not wish to blame myself for not saying all that I have to say before you now. I beseech that I be not gagged.

This suspect, who is making use of his right to state the facts that will prove his innocence, does not intend under any circumstances to refrain from saying what he has to say. This capitalist institution has been used against me in a somewhat heavy way. I am not surprised. I know that the ruling class sets up its institutions to serve the needs of capitalism. Pleading my case before this Commission could be considered a futile exercise if it simply provided a legal cover for the unscrupulous and arbitrary decisions, and the disgraceful course of action, on which you have embarked. But I intend to explain the historical process which led to the most furious, the most barbarous and the most widespread human slaughter that has taken place in the recent history of our country.

Honorable Members of the Commission: "The noblest, the most valuable, the greatest and supreme treasure that a man has is his life. He lives only once. He should spend that life in such a way that at his dying moment he will have no cause for regret, repentance, shock or sorrow; in such a way that he could really be happy in the thought of having sacrificed his life advancing the development, the liberation and the victory of mankind—the people of the whole world." This is a Soviet writer's interpretation of life. I agree with this aspiration and do not wish to have any reason for sorrow should the capitalist ruling clique cut short my life in the prime of my youth.

The Charges Against Us

I have no regrets whatsoever about my life and the fate in store for me. I hope to tell you everything concerning the history of the April incidents, without any qualms about possible reprisals against my person. The charges made against us are grave. We have been charged with the breach of Sections 114 and 115 of the Penal Code. According to the writ issued to you by the then Governor-General, and also according to the indictment served on us, the period at issue is that between the beginning of 1968 and the end of 1971. It is said that during this period "we conspired against the Queen's government." It is said that during this period we conspired criminally to overthrow the Government of Ceylon. It is said that we have "waged war against the Queen" or have abetted such acts. Similarly, the opening submissions of the State Prosecutor have attempted to show that the birth of the **Janatba Vimuktbi Peramuna** was in itself tantamount to a conspiracy. What we actually said and did during this period is the crux of the matter; accordingly my own views and con-

ceptions are as much the subject of inquiry as anything else.

Mr. Chairman: There was a time when Ceylon was a direct colony of the British Empire on which, it used to be said, the sun will never set. When the second imperialist war was raging, these colonies were trampled under the yoke of Admiral Geoffrey Layton's war chariot; the colonial government engaged in a ruthless suppression of the Leftist movement of this country after incarcerating the leaders and proscribing their parties (the Lanka Samaja Party and the United Socialist Party); the masses were full of sorrow and racked by oppression; colonial troops were ransacking the Island and autocracy was in complete command, with capitalists raking in more and more profits and revolutionaries languishing in jail. It was in such a sad and dark time, similar to the present, that I was born in Tangalle, in July 1943. I grew up in Kottegoda, a small village in the Matara district. I was admitted to the Godanda Government Primary Boys' School in the middle of 1947 where I received Primary education until 1953.

When a whole country's progress is obstructed, when the forward-march of an entire nation has been halted, when a whole people find themselves poised on the brink of a dark abyss, it is not difficult to understand why just and honest men will show no signs of fear as they enter prisons and suffer untold hardships, face constant harassment and even sacrifice their lives for the purpose of saving their country and their people from that national calamity. After the second imperialist war the administration of this country was handed over to the local capitalist class, as part of a neo-colonialist strategem, and the country continued along the same bankrupt path of capitalist development. In such an atmosphere my generation entered their youth. We inherited by this time a vast reservoir of experience from our parent society. It was this social experience that pushed us towards the path of revolution.

My Path to Marxism

In 1954 I was admitted to the Godanda Government Senior English School. That same year this school was transformed into a Sinhala language school. It was there that I obtained my secondary education. I found myself drawn towards the Communist Party as a result of the massive agitational campaign against imperialism and capitalism conducted throughout the South by my political mentor Comrade Dr S. A. Wickremasinghe, the present General Secretary of the Ceylon Communist Party, and also as a result of the experiences I had gained from society. It was during these days that I first read the Sinhala edition of that historic document of Marx and Engels, **The Communist Manifesto**, and also Liu Shao Chi's **How To Be A Good Communist**, though I must admit that at that time I failed to understand them correctly. I learned the ABC of politics at the propaganda rallies and Youth League seminars of the Communist Party. I am grateful to Comrade Dr Wickremasinghe for this.

As a member of the Communist Youth League I

took part in political activity for the first time in my life with a sense of feeling and understanding. In July 1959 when I was studying science for the GCE (O Levels) I had to leave my school because of the shortage of science teachers and enter Dharmasoka College, Ambalangoda. In December of that year I passed the GCE (O Level) exam in Science.

At the General Elections of 1960, the Ceylon CP entered the fray with 53 candidates—the highest number it had ever put forward at an election in its entire history. As it was a small party I had to focus all my endeavors on its election campaign. The experience I gained in this election campaign in remote areas like Aparakka, Dandeniya, Urugamuwa and Radampola was considerable. One day, after the elections, I read a news item in the magazine *Soviet Land* to the effect that the Soviet Premier, Khrushchev, who was on a tour of Indonesia in the middle of 1960, would shortly be opening an International University in Moscow for the benefit of youth from the colonial countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. By this time I was finding it difficult to continue higher studies due to economic factors. During the 1947 General Election, my father, who was organizing the election activities of the Communist candidate for Hakmana, Comrade Premalal Kumarasiri, found his jeep forcibly stopped by reactionaries. He was abducted and beaten up, an experience that left him a permanent invalid. My family found it materially impossible to finance higher education for me. At my own wish I applied for entrance to the proposed new People's Friendship University of Moscow.

On winning a Medical Degree Scholarship, I left for Moscow on 25 September 1960. After the preliminary examination held there I was admitted to the Faculty of Philology on 1 October 1960, to learn the Russian language. At seventeen, I was then the youngest student at the university and I cannot forget the great assistance my Soviet Teachers extended to me. I studied Russian till June 1961. In addition, I attended the lectures on World History and Historical Materialism held there in the English language. I refer here with gratitude to the well-known Soviet historian Professor Metropolski. Had I not been his pupil, it is possible that I would not be here before you today. It was this great man's ideas that helped me to understand how I could be of greater service to mankind in this present era, by giving up my love for medical science and becoming a revolutionary rather than a doctor.

In June 1961 I passed with distinction the final examination in the Russian language and was accordingly selected a member of the University delegation that was to visit Soviet Georgia in August. In the meantime I spent the first month of the summer holidays (July 1961) in Soviet Moldavia. During that month I worked as an agricultural worker in a village in the Torspol District of the Soviet Moldavian Republic and also on a nearby State farm. This was the first employment I ever had. During this month we had the opportunity, every evening after work, to see the other farms, factories and electric power stations in the

area. It would be completely true to say that it was here that I was convinced of the evil of the private property system and the value of the collectivized property system. It was here that I received the magnificent opportunity to live and work and exchange views with the Soviet working class and to see and understand the victories of socialism.

The Impact of Sino-Soviet Dispute

On 1 September 1961 I commenced my medical studies. In the same educational year I studied, as additional subjects, Political Science and Russian Literature at this University. In the same month I was elected Deputy General Secretary of the Union of Ceylonese Students in Russia and accordingly I had to engage myself in student welfare work too.

At the time of the 22nd Congress of the CPSU I witnessed the differences of opinion, which were boiling and brewing within the international Communist movement, burst its seams and spill out into the open. By this time we were feeling dissatisfied with the policy and programme of the Ceylon Communist Party of which we had become staunch followers due to our meagre knowledge of Marxism. We felt that rightist and social-democratic tendencies had become the predominant force inside the Ceylon CP. We thought that the Ceylon CP was degenerating into a social-democratic party and that to save the Communist Party from this disaster we should launch an ideological rectification campaign within it. Together with the present National Organizer of the Communist Party, Comrade K.P. Silva, who was then on a visit to the Soviet Union, and the late Comrade Dharmakerthi, I took the initiative of setting up a "Marxist Education Circle" for the benefit of Ceylonese students.

During the summer holidays of 1962, I came back to Ceylon, but returned to the Soviet Union with my confidence in the Communist Party shattered still further. In September 1962, during my second year in the Medical College, my interest in politics came to the fore pushing my interest in medical science to a secondary place. I had the opportunity of discussing the Chinese Communist Party's position in the Sino-Soviet ideological conflict with comrades like Murad Aidit, a close friend of mine and brother of the then leader of the Indonesian CP, the late Comrade D.N. Aidit, and comrade Che Ali who was an Indonesian students' union leader. As a result of these discussions I felt that I was in a position to agree with most of the views put forward by the Chinese CP and accordingly I found myself on the Chinese side in the Sino-Soviet dispute. This in no way means that I became anti-Soviet. This conflict appeared to us at the outset as a fraternal ideological struggle between the Chinese and Soviet parties with the common object of arriving at a correct program. I did not then realize that it was to develop into a conflict between enemies. I thought it would remain a fraternal debate. I did not like the idea of having two conflicting and contradictory voices in the international communist

movement. However I admitted the fairness of having two voices, one right and one wrong, rather than having only one voice and that one wrong. But what was most unfortunate here was that, though there were two voices, both these voices happened to be wrong.

At this moment I would like to raise a question which is of vital importance in relation to this trial, namely, the view of Marxists in regard to peace and violence. I do so because the question of violence is related to most of my evidence. The two most important issues of contention between the Soviet and Chinese Parties were the following problems: the question of transition from capitalism to socialism and the question of relations between the capitalist and socialist systems in the present world. Members of the Commission, our view concerning the transformation from capitalism to socialism has become a subject of your inquiry. Therefore I will explain it in some detail.

The Questions of Violence

Whether a peaceful transition from capitalism to socialism is possible has been the subject of keen and heated controversy within the world communist movement and the international working class for a fairly long time. It was suitably answered as far back as 1847 by the young Engels. In his treatise, **Principles of Communism** he poses this question as follows: "Can private property be peacefully abolished?" and gives the following reply: "It would be desirable if this could happen, and the communists would certainly be the last to oppose it. Communists know only too well that all conspiracies are not only useless but even harmful. They know all too well that revolutions are not made intentionally and arbitrarily, but that everywhere and always they have been the necessary consequence of conditions which were wholly independent of the will and direction of individual parties and entire classes. But they also see that the development of the proletariat in nearly all civilized countries has been violently suppressed, and that in this way the opponents of communism have been working toward a revolution with all their strength. If the oppressed proletariat is finally driven to revolution, then we communists will defend the interests of the proletarians with deeds as we now defend them with words."

Engels' answer is quite clear. We who are Marxists, we who are revolutionaries are most desirous of seeing state power peacefully transferred from the hands of the exploiter capitalist ruling class to the hands of the proletariat. We would be very glad to receive peacefully from the few owners of property the means of production and hand them over to the custody of the entire people. If a peaceful abolition of the system which is based on the exploitation of man by man could be easily and readily brought about we would have no objection. If class distinctions in society can be abolished without any conflict and in a friendly manner we would have no reason to object. In fact we communists would most certainly prefer

peaceful methods for the realization of our objects, for the fulfillment of our aspirations—for the establishment of communism on behalf of all mankind so that antagonistic class distinctions no longer exist, where the disgraceful process of man exploiting man no longer exists, where all the means of material production are vested in society as a whole and where the noble policy of "from each according to his ability, to each according to his needs" is actually practiced. However it must be emphatically stated that it is not proletarian revolutionaries who have to decide whether the proletarian socialist revolution will take place peacefully or will necessitate the use of violence.

Marx has shown clearly that the exploiting, property-owning class has never voluntarily abandoned its ruling power nor its privileges at any time in history. Not a single property-owning class can be picked out from the entire globe which has bowed its head peacefully when confronted with the verdict of history embodied in the needs and will of the majority and given up its privileges voluntarily. The class which holds state power in this society makes use of this state power to protect and consolidate its property system. In order to protect their property there will be no cruel or disgusting crimes against the oppressed masses which these capitalist ruling classes will not commit.

The capitalist classes make use of their unlimited power in this society to subordinate members of the oppressed classes to bourgeois ideology. If the threat of an independent ideological development is observed within the ranks of the proletariat, the ruling classes realize the danger and employ all their customary methods to destroy it. They will infiltrate their agents to mislead and entice it towards them and use every devious means ideologically to disarm this independent movement inside the proletariat. They will resort to disgraceful slanders in order to divide and humiliate it, its policies and its disciplined members. When all these efforts fail, they seek its destruction through capitalist laws, courts, prisons, repressive rules and regulations and, in the end, even resort to violent attacks and massacres. This is the truth, tested out in the annals of the class struggle.

The state machine is an institution brought into being as a result of the emergency of class divisions based on the system of private property and the resulting class conflict. It arose and developed as a powerful weapon necessary for the ruling class in power to repress and govern the proletariat it exploits. Without the assistance of this institution—the State machine—which is the creature of the class struggle, the ruling class cannot secure or improve its class needs and interests. It has never been impartial. In any society where a class system exists the state machine safeguards the interests of one class. It serves one class. The state machine in a feudal society is the class weapon of the aristocracy. In a capitalist society it is the weapon of the capitalist class. In a socialist society, of course, the dictatorship of the proletariat is at the service of the

proletariat. The entire history of present-day society bears witness to the fact that whenever the proletariat, together with other oppressed groups in society, tries to secure its rights or change the existing social system by peaceful means, the exploiter classes, which represent a tiny minority in society, always act to protect their property system by completely negating and annulling the peaceful struggle of the proletariat by the use of violence.

We Marxists are proletarian revolutionaries. We do not conceal this fact from anyone. We hope for a complete revolutionary change of the existing social system and act with that goal in view. Ours is not the role of sitting on the fence with folded arms waiting for the day when this capitalist system is taken for burial on the shoulders of others; this capitalist system has bequeathed suffering and oppression to the working class of this country which is over three million strong. It has made poverty and want the sole inheritance of the middle and lower peasants who comprise more than half the population of this country, it has brought unemployment to the youth and malnutrition to the infant, it has become the fount and source of each and every contemporary social problem that the bulk of the nation suffers. The socialist revolution in a country can be hastened or delayed depending on the degree to which objective conditions are ripe and subjective conditions, i.e. consciousness, organization and leadership have developed.

Counter-revolutionaries resort to violence. Therefore to ensure the safe delivery of the new social system, it becomes necessary for proletarian revolutionaries to resort to revolutionary violence against the violence employed by the capitalist class.

The fundamental issue is the question of state power. The main task in any social revolution is the destruction of the capitalist state and the creation of a proletarian state, in other words, the dictatorship of the proletariat. For us Marxist-Leninists the consolidation of the proletarian dictatorship is the essential precondition for the transition to a socialist system. No socialism can be built without the proletariat first capturing and later consolidating state power. To retain state power the capitalist class will use violence. We Marxists are not preachers of violence. We only predict the certainty of violent acts in the course of the revolution. We prophesy that the decaying ruling classes, to prevent the forward march of society through a socialist revolution, will resort to counter-revolutionary violence and the proletariat will answer with its own revolutionary acts of violence.

Chief Justice Fernando: If a burglar comes to you for advice, you may tell him: "Well it may be necessary for you to carry a revolver because the owner of the house might also have a revolver." Under our law you cannot carry a revolver in those circumstances.

13th Suspect: You have a good knowledge of your law. The knowledge that I have is of the views I hold and of the things I have said and done. What we have said and done has been presented here

in a completely distorted form. But when the entire truth is made known, you will be able to take any course of action the law allows.

Departure from the Soviet Union

After I was cured of an illness in February 1964, the doctor advised me to take leave for one term. I decided to spend this leave in Ceylon and arrived back on 24 March 1964. During the latter half of 1963 the Ceylon Party split into Russian and Chinese wings. My political mentor Dr. S.A. Wickremasinghe remained in the leadership of the Russian wing, but I took the side of the Chinese wing in accordance with the policies and views I held. I even sent my congratulations from Moscow to the Congress of the Chinese wing.

Justice Alles: Would it be correct to say that you were refused a visa to return to Russia?



Chief of state,
Prime Minister
Sirmavo
Bandaranaike
of Sri Lanka.

13th Suspect: After my return to Ceylon I worked as a sympathizer of the Chinese wing. During this period I was invited by a number of student unions and other public associations from several districts to speak to them on Socialism and about the Soviet Union. I was questioned by the audiences on the factors which led to the Sino-Soviet polemics and answered these questions from the Chinese point of view. For this reason the local leaders of the pro-Moscow Party became angry with me. In August 1964, when I applied for a visa to return to the Soviet Union, the Soviet Embassy refused my application without giving any reasons. At that time I was taking a greater interest in political work in Ceylon. That is the answer to the question posed by Justice Alles.

Justice Fernando: Why did it surprise you?

When they refused you a return visa they treated you correctly. You came back from Moscow and you attacked Soviet Communism.

13th Suspect: No I am not anti-Soviet. Even today I admit that the Soviet Union is a workers' state. I will always defend it against the onslaughts of the capitalist class. But there are theoretical problems that divide the Soviet Union from us. They are family problems. If you attack the Soviet Union I shall defend it. But I reserve the right to criticize openly and state the differences between the Soviet Union and us.

Origins of the JVP

In the middle of 1967, according to a prior agreement, a comrade whose name I cannot disclose and comrade Sanath came to my mother's house in Hunnadeniya. We had a discussion there related to our future course of action. As a result of this, at the end of 1967 a discussion was held by several of our sympathizers and ourselves. The discussion was of historic importance since it paved the way for the emergence of a new political movement—the **Janatha Vimukti Peramuna**. There was a special reason for conducting these discussions over this period. A new political trend had grown on an international level and was gaining ground even in this country.

After the killing of comrade Che Guevara in Bolivia, and through the Tricontinental Congress and OLAS, this trend received worldwide publicity and had an important repercussion. The Cuban Embassy in Ceylon had various speeches and texts by comrades Castro and Guevara printed in Sinhala and widely distributed throughout this country. Among these were Castro's **History Will Absolve Me** and **The Second Declaration of Havana**, **The Path the Latin American Revolution Should Take**, **Those Who are Not Militant Revolutionaries Are Not Communists** and **From Moncada to Victory**. As a result of this many of our sympathizers felt that Ceylon should take the same path and emulate the heroic example of Che! The essence of this view was that under present conditions the revolution can take place without a revolutionary party. This view rejected the Leninist conception of the necessity of a fully fledged revolutionary organization for the victory of the proletariat and the socialist revolution. According to this view the betrayal of the old Left Movement in the face of capitalist repression had created a situation where a revolutionary party could not be formed; revolutionaries should commence the armed struggle so that the oppressed masses would be awakened by the sound of gun fire, a process which would rally them behind the revolution. The same comrades maintained that political activities, political classes, discussions, agitational campaigns and ideological struggles to organize the proletariat as a class and fight for the revolution, were either impossible or unnecessary. Those who wanted to follow the Cuban road had not even properly understood it themselves. They held the mistaken view that the revolution was launched, fought and won by 11 men with guns. They did not

realize that broad sections of the masses—the Llano organization and the July 26th Movement—had been mobilized against the cruel Batista dictatorship. This false concept was completely rejected at the Kallatawa discussion. We defeated the petty-bourgeois adventurism which had developed behind the cover of the Cuban model and discussed what to do next. The innumerable negative examples we gained within the Old Left Movement and the break-away pro-Chinese grouping, which claimed to be revolutionary, and our considerable experience of the international communist movement became useful to us as the basis of our discussions.

Tasks of the Revolution in Ceylon

We held, first, that the views we had in regard to the development of the Ceylonese revolution, when we were in the Chinese wing, were incorrect. When we were in the Chinese wing we held that the present stage of the revolution, was that of struggle for a people's democracy. At the Kallatawa discussion we rejected that view. What was relevant for Ceylon was a socialist and not a people's democratic revolution. I must explain why we rejected the concept of the people's democratic revolution.

This concept was copied by the Ceylonese Party from the leadership of the former Third (Communist) International and from China. On an analysis of the present nature and stage of social development in Ceylon and the international nature of capitalism, we came to the view that the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal tasks of the revolution in colonial and semi-colonial societies can be carried out only by attending to the socialist tasks since in the epoch of imperialism (the extension of capital internationally), no anti-imperialist task can ever be effectively completed without socialism. The uncompleted and neglected tasks of the bourgeois democratic revolution, such as national independence, agrarian revolution and democracy can only be accomplished through a socialist revolution. They can be carried out only by the proletariat.

To argue that a new democratic stage exists between the capitalist system and the socialist system is to ignore the principles of social development and mutual class relationships. World capitalism, taken in its entirety, has developed sufficiently to provide the objective conditions suitable for a socialist revolution on a global scale and therefore socialist tasks are on the order of the day even in the undeveloped countries of the world.

At the same discussion we argued that a proletarian revolutionary party must be established. However there cannot be a Marxist party without Marxists. What has the Old Left Movement done during the course of thirty years and more to develop Marxists? It was quite apparent that the Old Left leaders had succumbed to capitalist ideology and paid scant attention to the question of providing the working class with a basic Marxist understanding. These Old Left leaders did not have the cadres who could have propagated

Marxist ideas in Sinhala. Although they conducted a political class or two on certain subjects in a haphazard and irregular fashion, they did not provide the working class vanguard with systematic political education. They took no serious steps to raise and maintain political consciousness within their own ranks. As a result, when they turned to the right, there was no strong group of Marxists to fight back effectively, and most of their members followed suit.

Political Education

I say all this to try and show you the context in which our five education classes came into being. Considering the negative experiences we had gained through the Old Left, we realized that to provide the people with a knowledge of Marxism, a correct, simple, established method should be adopted so that they would be able to grasp the subject readily. I am not going to conduct these five lessons here. I will only give you a brief introduction.

The first class was on the subject: "Economic Crisis." As it is the mode of production or the economy of a social system on which other structures rest, we realized the importance of making a fundamental analysis of the economy. We analyzed the economic situation, its crisis, its origin, its causes, its development, its future and its inevitable consequences. We explained that the economic crisis in colonial and semi-colonial societies is in the process of being transformed into a political crisis; that before long it would result in a great national calamity and how the only way of escaping this calamity was to take the forward path of class struggle and establish the dictatorship of the proletariat and hasten both socialist industrialization and the collectivization of agriculture.

The second class was entitled: "Independence—a neo-colonial stragem." This provided a basic Marxist interpretation of the socio-economic-political meaning of the changing of flags—the lowering of the Union Jack and the raising of the Lion—that took place on 4 February 1948. In this class we explained that what was received was neither full independence nor economic independence. We showed how the strategy of British imperialism necessitated a neo-colonial device to protect its colonial investments and property from the rising tempest of anti-imperialist liberation struggles resulting from the change in the international relationship of forces at the conclusion of the Second Imperialist War. We maintained that political independence without economic independence was a sham.

The third class concerned the way in which Indian expansionism affected Ceylon. The idea of "Indian expansionism" was first put forward by the Chinese Communist Party. The editorial board of this Party's daily newspaper **Renmin Rebao** published two articles entitled "The Chinese-Indian Border Struggle" and "The Nehru Doctrine." These gave a lengthy **expose** of the class needs of the Indian ruling class, its basic philosophy and argued that the Indian capitalists aimed

at spreading their economic and political dependence over their smaller neighbors. This process was named Indian expansionism. In our class we discussed how this affected our country. We explained the class needs of the powerful Borah capitalists in this country, the way in which these compare with Indian expansionism; the racist politics they engage in for the purpose of keeping the estate workers of Indian origin separate from the rest of the working class and under their own heel. We stated that the capitalist class had misled the estate workers of Indian origin and trapped them and we determined to rescue these workers from the ideological grip of the capitalists. However we had no cadres to do this. The many efforts we made to build cadres among comrades of the national minorities were fruitless.

The fourth class was on "The Left Movement in Ceylon." The purpose of this class was to learn the lessons from the unhealthy experiences of the Old Left and understand the reasons for its failure. Here we criticized the policies and program of the Old Left from the 1930s onwards. This was done primarily so that we could learn the lessons of previous defeats.

The fifth class was the most important class. As there have been incorrect references to it, I expect to take some time to speak about it. It involved burning questions of the Ceylonese Revolution. The fifth class was originally referred to as "The Path To Socialism in Ceylon." Later on, after the text **The Path the Latin American Revolution Should Take** became well known, certain persons referred to this class as "The Path the Ceylonese Revolution Should Take."

After the publication of Che's **Guerrilla Warfare** certain of our sympathizers, as well as members of other groups, thought of seeking solutions to the prevailing economic crisis by similar methods. Two other books appeared in Sinhala at this time: Lin Piao's **Long Live the Victory of People's War** and Mao Tse-Tung's **Selected Military Writings**. Some sought to apply the remedies prescribed in these volumes. The Chinese wing and their supporters thought that the Ceylonese revolution should be a repeat of the Chinese revolution with protracted war moving from the countryside to the towns. There were others, especially those groups that broke away from the Lanka Sama Samaja Party, who advocated the example of the Russian Revolution. It was these factors which led us to prepare the fifth class.

Our purpose was to defeat mechanical materialist concepts and show how incorrect and unscientific they were, and also provide our supporters with correct ideological tools. Through this class we intended to make a fundamental analysis of the experience gained by the international working-class movement in the class struggle starting from the Paris Commune of 1871 up till the present time. We explained the difference between social reform and social revolution and showed how reforms serve the capitalist class and revolutions the proletariat. We showed how the path a revolution had taken in one country in a certain period and under certain conditions had been different in another country in a different

Below is the complete text of Chou En-lai's letter to Sirimavo Bandaranaike, dated April 26 1971 and officially published by the Ceylonese Government a month later. The text has not been readily accessible internationally, thus giving rise to uncertainty as to the letter's existence or authenticity. For these reasons, WLA is printing it in full and as a document. The Chinese Government has not questioned the version released in Colombo. There can be no doubt as to its accuracy.

CHOU EN-LAI'S MESSAGE TO SIRIMAVO BANDARANAIKE

'I am grateful to Your Excellency and the Ceylon Government for your trust in the Chinese Government and your friendly sentiments towards the Chinese people. The friendship between China and Ceylon is in the fundamental interests of the two peoples and can stand tests. The Chinese Government and people highly treasure the friendship between our two countries and no one with ulterior motives will ever succeed in trying to sow discord and sabotage our friendly relations.

Following Chairman Mao Tse-tung's teaching the Chinese people have all along opposed ultra 'left' and right opportunism in their protracted revolutionary struggles. We are glad to see that thanks to the efforts of Your Excellency and the Ceylon Government, the chaotic situation created by a handful of persons who style themselves 'Guevarists' and into whose ranks foreign spies have sneaked has been brought under control. We believe that as a result of Your Excellency's leadership and the co-operation and support of the Ceylonese people these acts of rebellion plotted by reactionaries at home and abroad for the purpose of undermining the interests of the Ceylonese people are bound to fail.

We fully agree to the correct position of defending state sovereignty and guarding against foreign interference as referred to by Your Excellency. The Chinese Government and people admire this and firmly support Ceylon in her just struggle towards this end. As Your Excellency is deeply aware the Chinese Government has consistently abided by the Five Principles of Peaceful Co-existence, has never interfered in the internal affairs of other countries, and is also firmly opposed to any country interfering in other countries' internal affairs, and particularly to foreign reactionaries taking advantage of the opportunity to carry out armed intervention. I would like once again to reaffirm this unshakable stand of the Chinese Government.

In the interests of the friendship between China and Ceylon and in consideration of the needs of the Ceylon Government, the Chinese Government in compliance with the request of the Ceylon Government, agrees to provide it with a long-term interest free loan of 150 million rupees in convertible foreign exchange. We would like to hear any views which Your Excellency might have on this matter. We are prepared to deliver a portion of the loan in May and sign a document on it. As for other material assistance, please let us know if it is needed.'

Ceylon Daily News, May 27th 1971



Mao (left) greets Bandaranaike and Chou En-lai does the same during her recent visit to Peking

Chou En-lai's message to Bandaranaike leaves no doubt that the Chinese leaders have long since abandoned a revolutionary course and have joined the rest of the world's bourgeoisie's in oppressing workers.



period and under different conditions and how, therefore, socialist revolutions do not follow a single uniform path, but vary in their paths depending on the time, the place and the conditions peculiar to each occasion. In this way we demonstrated that the Chinese Revolution was different from the model of the Russian Revolution and the Cuban Revolution was different from them both and that therefore it was possible to see the emergence of a model different from previously cited experiences.

This class, like the other four, was political, theoretical and philosophical. If you want me to conduct these classes in full, I am ready to do it. It has been stated that there was something secret about these classes. Therefore if you want me to conduct the fifth class on its own in full I am ready to comply. **(Justice Fernando declines the offer. His words are not clearly recorded in the Court record.)**

At the Kakattawa discussion we agreed that after these classes were held, those who showed political interest or keenness and were ready to go ahead should be further educated and that this should be done in educational camps where theoretical classes on Marxist Economics and Marxist Philosophy would be conducted. I want to make it clear that we did not expect anyone to become a Marxist by following these five basic classes. They were merely a bridge to draw people away from the influence of bourgeois ideology and closer to Marxism.

From 1968 onwards I began holding classes all over the country. They took place at the rate of two or three a day or night depending on the times at which people could attend. During this period I began to visit the Land Development Department (LDD) worksites in various parts of the country and hold classes for the workers there. We managed to start political work in the Land Development Department Workers' Union. For this reason, the first classes I held were mostly for worker comrades, peasants and sections of youth.

During the year 1968 I held classes in 80 different work sites of the LDD. At the same time I conducted political classes for workers and clerks in the Colombo office of the LDD and in many private places. With the increasing demand for classes there was a corresponding need for more people to conduct them. Towards the end of 1968 other comrades began to conduct political classes. One question needs to be explained at this stage.

A large number of persons brought before this Commission have been young. Why did these youths seek connections with the JVP? I will attempt to explain this. The new situation created by the general crisis of capitalism; the lessons learned via the Sino-Soviet ideological battle; the new echo of the Cuban revolution which resounded throughout the world after the death of comrade Guevara, the clamor of OLAS; the struggle of the Indo-chinese people, in particular, of the Vietnamese, as well as other circumstances generated a new wave which had repercussions not only in Asia, Africa and Latin America, but even in Europe and North America—the bastions of modern capitalism. This radicalism of youth was by no means

limited to Ceylon.

The entire history of capitalism tells us that when the working class is passive and lethargic, other sections of society suffering under capitalism will find it necessary to protest against the existing social system. It is no secret that by 1968 the working-class movement had been misled internationally by a reformist leadership and left demoralized and dispirited before the capitalist system. It is no longer a matter of controversy that the working class of France and Italy were thrust away from the path of class struggle into the backwaters of class collaboration. They were ideologically disarmed by the decadent, increasingly reformist leaderships of the Communist Parties in the face of a capitalist onslaught. What happened in colonial and neo-colonial countries like ours was no different.

The leaders of the Old Left in Ceylon were reformists who had their heads filled with Fabian ideology. These leaders, though they called themselves Marxists, were in reality guided by the writings of Laski and Keynes, and invariably betrayed the aspirations of the workers. They tied the trade-union movement to their brand of reformist, parliamentarist politics. The final betrayal was the abandonment of the 21 demands which destroyed the United Workers Trade Union and the United Left Front by open collaboration with the capitalists. This historic class betrayal left the working class discouraged and demoralized. Under the UNP government a generalized bitterness developed and both students and young workers began to demonstrate their hostility. On several occasions during this period (1968-9) the Peradeniya University Students clashed with the armed forces. Students from Colombo University crashed into the Parliament building and declared that it was nothing more than a den of thieves. In 1968 a number of youths who had attended our classes entered the universities and by the end of that year we succeeded in winning over a large section of sympathizers of the Russian and Chinese wings inside the universities. At this point we started our classes inside universities and schools.

The Right to Rebel

As a Marxist I have held, and still hold, the view that a people has the right to rebel against an arbitrary government. This is not a view held only by Marxists. Throughout history, people believing in various ideologies and religions have accepted the right of a community to rebel against a cruel administration. We are charged, before you, of rebelling against the Queen's government, of attempting to rebel, of abetting a rebellion and conspiring to rebel.

Honorable Chairman, some time ago I learned that as far back as 1649 the people of Britain led by Oliver Cromwell rebelled against their monarch, Charles I, an ancestor of the present Queen of England. They wanted him off the throne and they succeeded. On that occasion the British people held the view that to rebel against an oppressive regime was fair and just. No doubt you

are aware of how in 1778 the American rebellion under the leadership of George Washington succeeded against the British empire. You are also aware of the 1789 events in France known as the French Revolution. What this indicates is that even before the advent of Marxism, people in various countries held the view that they had the right to rebel. In your capacity as Judges you may have had occasion to read **Vindicia Contra Tyrannos** written under the pseudonym of Stephanos Junius Brutus in which it is stated not only that there should be insurrections against autocratic governments, but even that they should be led by Judges! The fact that Liberal thinkers have supported the right to rebel is illustrated vividly in the French **Declaration of the Rights of Man**. A passage in it reads: "When a government violates the rights of the people, insurrection is for them the most sacred of rights, the most imperative of duties." A glimpse into our own history will show how Mahawansa, Chulawansa and other works record innumerable popular insurrections against cruel rulers. We are not the first to be charged with rebellion against the Queen's government. Similar charges were brought against Keppetipola Adikarama and others in 1848. This demonstrates that the right to rebel was accepted by the people of our own country. In the same way I, too, accepted the view that people have the right to rebel against an oppressive regime. I still hold this view.

The next question before you is whether we did rebel during the month of April 1971. I will give you my answer in detail.

In this social system the privileged classes are the imperialists and their local lackeys. In this system there are a number of problems that have been growing for a long time. You know that a free education system began in this country when we were children. A large number of us from both rural and urban areas had an opportunity of receiving education. The degree of educational opportunity is almost on a par with developed countries. This is obvious when you compare Ceylon with India, Pakistan and Nepal. This has given a considerable impetus to the development of a proletarian consciousness and a proletarian political education. According to government statistics the number of children attending school was 3,500,000 and of these 270,000 leave school in search of employment every year. 50,000 have had an education up to Senior level. To say that the remaining 220,000 had received a lesser education means that under this social system they have no prospects of employment above that of ordinary wage-earners and laborers. Every year about 220,000 semi-educated persons enter society as serfs and laborers. This process has continued since the end of the 1950s. Increasingly many university graduates also found it difficult to obtain jobs and there were instances where they, too, were compelled to become general laborers.

According to government statistics issued in 1969-70 there are 3,333,000 wage-earners in this country. 16 per cent of these were rural workers and 26 per cent were estate workers working on

the tea, rubber and coconut plantations. The urban workers numbered 18 per cent. Over the last seven years the economic, social and political problems confronting these three groups of workers have been increasingly acute.

The condition of the peasantry within this social system requires special attention. In the rural areas the lower peasants suffer from the problem of landlessness. An official report of the Kandyan Peasantry Commission appointed by the Bandaranaike government stated that 180 Kandyan families live in each 2 acre zone. Ninety families would thus live on one acre. This gives you an idea of the enormity of the problem of landlessness in certain areas. Within this social system, utter misery and destitution have become the common lot of the villager. And we find that only 4,000 of the more than 2,000,000 families in this country have a monthly income of Rs 1000 and over (L1 - Rs 30). Government figures confirm this fact. In brief 2 million families have a low income and lead a miserable life. It is under these social conditions that the political unrest arose which led to the April incidents.

Origins of the April Incidents

It is necessary to bring to your attention certain specific incidents which occurred in 1971. The **Janatha Vimukti Peramuna** was implanted in the rural proletariat, the lumpen proletariat and certain petty-bourgeois layers. In the urban working class and the estates the influence of the Old Left was still paramount. In the rural areas, before our intervention, the traditions of the Sri Lanka Freedom Party (SLFP) were strongest. The SLFP won most of its seats in the rural areas. The worst massacres during the April incidents took place in the areas held by the SLFP. The SLFP politicians had shamelessly sown the germs of communal discord against the Tamil minority. In the 1956 elections the CP and the LSSP stood for parity on the language issue. But what did they do a short time later? They were not only against equal status for Tamil and Sinhala, but opposed even the granting of any lesser rights. It was in these conditions that we became disillusioned with them. That is why we struggled. If anyone willingly risks his or her life, or is prepared to be shackled as a prisoner, this can only be because there is no alternative. Chairman, you are aware that after this Government came to power we started our political activities in the open and they were immensely successful. Look back and see the picture of our public meetings held in various parts of the country such as Kandy, Kegalle, Kurunegala and Southern Province and Colombo—you will see the mass of humanity, thousands and thousands of people that flocked round us, to see us and listen to us. And these were not people we had forced or cajoled with the use of guns to attend our rallies, nor had we supplied them with free lorries and buses, but people who had come of their own accord because of their interest in our politics. With every passing day we were moving forward. This process continued while another parallel process was tak-

ing place: dissatisfaction with the UNP resulted, with our blessing, in the election of the United Front government, with over a two-thirds majority. The LSSP and CP had told the people that if they were brought into power with a two-thirds majority, they would amend the constitution, change the system of internal administration and open the way to Socialism. The ordinary people took them at their word. They expected the new Government to perform miracles and that is why they put the cross against the star and the key and not against the elephant.

I have already mentioned that in the early days we were not strong in the urban working class. But by 1971 we had begun to spread out from the villages to the towns and, through our political agitational campaigns, our impact was beginning to be felt in the cities, specifically in certain sections of the working class. Young workers in factories and worksites were beginning to listen. It was then that the Old Left began to understand the threat we posed to them. They attempted to devise a course of action to deal with us. The first method was branding us as CIA agents, but you are aware that this attack failed. Then they resorted to the second method. This can best be described in the words of Mr. Sarath Muttattuwagama, a leader of the CP. In a speech made at a CP mass rally in Ratnapura during the latter half of 1970, he stated that the repression of the Che Guevarists should not be left to the police. It should be the responsibility of the CP! During the same period the LSSP leaders also discussed the threat we posed. A meeting of their Politbureau issued instructions to their locals to unleash physical attacks against us. They asked for police protection to carry out this task. I have already mentioned these facts at our public meetings. When the second method failed, they discussed the matter in the new Cabinet and considered ways and means of suppressing the **Janatha Vimukti Peramuna** so that it could not become an effective political force. They decided, according to a recent statement by the Prime Minister, not to ban us as it would have made heroes out of us. The capitalist class is well aware of the futility of banning a Marxist party. So this Government suspected that even if they banned us we would carry on political activities under another name. They devised an alternative scheme which was and continues to be implemented.

You are aware that the country is facing a severe economic crisis. It is something which everyone admits. But the crisis has not materialized out of thin air. It existed on 5 April 1971. It was there before that date. At that time the government was not in a position to add to the distress of the people, to place the economic and social burden they have now placed on the masses with impunity, because there existed a revolutionary force that would have roused the people and led them to protest against these measures. It was necessary to destroy our movement before such measures could be taken. And accordingly they prepared their plans. After January 1971 things came to a head. Mr. S.A. Dissanayake, a

former Inspector-General of Police was appointed Additional Permanent Secretary to the Ministry of Defence and External Affairs with effect from 1 March 1971. Long before this, the CID had been using its full powers to investigate the activities of the JVP. A separate unit had been set up, which had gathered sufficient facts by April 1971 through raids and arrests of comrades from various parts of the country. They also planted agents inside the JVP rank and file.

By 1 March 1971 arrangements had been completed for the deployment of military units in various parts of the country to collect intelligence about our activities. Press reports in relation to these maneuvers appeared between 1 and 5 March. In the same week police powers were vested in officers of the Army. On 5 March the police rehearsed a plan in order to find out how much time it would take them when the alarm was sounded. This rehearsal was to test their alertness in an emergency and it was conducted in Colombo as well as in other parts of the island. On the 6th there was an attack on the US Embassy which supplied them with the excuse needed to repress the revolutionary movement. On 13 March I was arrested and on 16 March a State of Emergency was declared. 4,098 people were arrested before 5 April 1971.

In April 1971 the revolutionary pre-conditions for the seizure of power by the proletariat and for an armed revolutionary struggle were absent. That is my view. In the absence of a revolutionary situation—i.e. both objective and subjective conditions—an armed uprising was not possible.

My view is that the conditions were not ripe for organizing an armed revolutionary uprising to seize state power. The objective conditions were maturing fast, but they were still unripe. It had not reached a stage where the masses saw no other solution but revolution. It is true, however, that then, as now, society was moving in that direction. The subjective conditions were also lacking: that is, the existence of a revolutionary party that has steeled itself, won the support of the masses and is fit to lead them in an armed struggle for power. The **Janatha Vimukti Peramuna** was developing and moving towards that goal, but had not reached full maturity. We had failed at that time to establish the JVP in the Northern and Eastern provinces and in the Estate sector as a political force. And then there was the question of mass support. It is true that out of the millions who voted for the Coalition Government, tens of thousands had by this time washed their hands of it. It is also true that this section was the politically developed section. They were abandoning the Coalition Government and moving leftwards towards the JVP. But there was a section which, although disgusted and frustrated did not break away from the government during those eight months. In other words the JVP had not yet reached the stage where the masses could see it as a real alternative to the government, accept its leadership and join in the class struggle under its banner. In our Marxist conception, a revolution—an armed uprising—is not something done behind the backs of the masses.

Justice Fernando: Have revolutionaries in any part of the world never made mistakes?

13th Suspect: Mistakes have been made. In fact they have learned lessons from these mistakes. Mistakes can happen in the future as well.

Justice Fernando: I said a mistake. I meant a miscalculation.

13th Suspect: There can be no revolution without the participation and active support of the people. That is our stand.

I told you earlier that I reject the position that it was a JVP decision to seize state power on 5 April 1971. I do not admit that. But as I discovered later and something I do not deny is that there have been instances when certain comrades of the JVP, in the face of intolerable repression, resorted to a struggle against such repression.

"More buds will bloom..."

In March 1971 a class need arose for the ruling class to suppress the revolutionary movements of this country, especially the JVP. They acted accordingly. The April incidents were the result. I interpret the process as one initiated by the counter-revolution. This does not mean that anyone who acted against capitalist repression on April 5, or had mistaken a decision taken by others to be a JVP decision, or even decided on such a course on their own in the absence of another alternative, was thus a counter-revolutionary. A number of close comrades of mine are no longer living. The entire revolutionary leadership of the Matara district exists no more. Comrade Susil Wickrema, Comrade Jayatissa of Deniyaya, Comrades Piyatassa, Loku Mahatmaya, Suraweera, Jayaweera, the two Bogahawatta brothers were all both personal friends and fellow comrades. No one can speak about their fate. On inquiring from their homes all I have learned is that they are no longer among the living.

For me, Honorable Chairman, the April episode was an occasion when the capitalist class found its existence as a class increasingly threatened by the proletariat. It is a result of a counter-revolutionary course of action on which the capitalist class of the country embarked in order to save the capitalist system from the proletariat. It

has been part of that course of action to ban the JVP today. A large number of persons connected with the JVP, but belonging to the Leftist parties have been murdered. A large number of persons connected with the JVP have been put in prison as have many who had no connection with us. It has become possible to continue the repression of the JVP in particular and the revolutionary movement in general.

In conclusion this is what I have to say: I admit that the capitalist class has been temporarily victorious. But I do not see it as a defeat for the proletariat. This is only a big retreat for the proletariat; yes, I call it a big retreat. A retreat is not a defeat, but a phase from which it is possible to recover and march again to certain victory. No revolutionary movement has raced non-stop to victory in a straight line from start to finish. Forward marches followed by retreats are quite common in revolutionary movements. That is the position with which we are confronted today and it is from this position that I have come to give evidence before you. I have not spoken here by stretching my principles for personal gain. I remain an unrepentant Marxist and what I am defending here are Marxist principles rather than my person. For as a revolutionary Marxist I have nothing else to defend.

Whatever the capitalist class may have expected to gain through the April incidents, their ultimate result has already been expressed by a revolutionary poet in the following stanza:

See these blossoms strewn on earth and
withered lie
Their fragrance shall abide, shall never die.
To raise its sweetness high to limits
limitless.
More buds will bloom and bloom and
multiply.

The poet expresses himself in clear and plain terms. The flowers of revolution have blossomed, but now they lie withered and dead. But their perfume has not ceased. To enhance that perfume and with that aim in view other buds will continue to bloom. In fact, gentlemen, the capitalist cause has no real reason to celebrate its success. For in the class struggle victory is a see-saw until the proletariat finally emerges victorious. That is our belief. I have concluded my evidence.



Bright and Morning Star is a short story written in the 1930's by the black author, Richard Wright.

Bright and Morning Star

by Richard Wright

1

SHE STOOD with her black face some six inches from the moist windowpane and wondered when on earth would it ever stop raining. It might keep up like this all week, she thought. She heard rain droning upon the roof and high up in the wet sky her eyes followed the silent rush of a bright shaft of yellow that swung from the airplane beacon in far off Memphis. Momently she could see it cutting through the rainy dark; it would hover a second like a gleaming sword above her head, then vanish. She sighed, troubling, Johnny-Boys been trampin in this slop all day wid no decent shoes on his feet.... Through the window she could see the

rich black earth sprawling outside in the night. There was more rain than the clay could soak up; pools stood everywhere. She yawned and mumbled: "Rains good n bad. It kin make seeds bus up thu the groun, er it kin bog things down lika watah-soaked coffin." Her hands were folded loosely over her stomach and the hot air of the kitchen traced a filmy vein of sweat on her forehead. From the cook stove came the soft singing of burning wood and now and then a throaty bubble rose from a pot of simmering greens.

"Shucks, Johnny-Boy coulda let somebody else do all tha runnin in the rain. Theres others bettah fixed fer it than he is. But, naw! Johnny-Boy ain the one t trust nobody t do nothin. Hes gotta do it all hissef...."

She glanced at a pile of damp clothes in a zinc tub. Waal, Ah bettah git t work. She turned, lifted a smoothing iron with a thick pad of cloth, touched a spit-wet finger to it with a quick, jerking motion: *smiitiz!* Yeah; its hot! Stooping, she took a blue work-shirt from the tub and shook it out. With a deft twist of her shoulders she caught the iron

in her right hand; the fingers of her left hand took a piece of wax from a tin box and a frying sizzle came as she smeared the bottom. She was thinking of nothing now; her hands followed a life-long ritual of toil. Spreading a sleeve, she ran the hot iron to and fro until the wet cloth became stiff. She was deep in the midst of her work when a song rose up out of the far off days of her childhood and broke through half-parted lips:

**Hes the Lily of the Valley, the Bright n
Mawnin Star
Hes the Fairest of Ten Thousan i mah
soul . . .**

A gust of wind dashed rain against the window, Johnny-Boy oughta c mon home n eat his suppah. Aw, Lawd! Itd be fine ef Sug could eat wid us tonight! Itd be like ol times! Mabbe aftah all it wont be long fo he comes back. Tha lettah Ah got from im last week said **Don give up hope**, Yeah; we gotta live in hope. Then both of her sons, Sug and Johnny-Boy, would be back with her.

With an involuntary nervous gesture, she stopped and stood still, listening. But the only sound was the lulling fall of rain. Shucks, ain no usa me ackin this way, she thought. Ever time they gits ready to hol them meetings Ah gits jumpity. Ah been a lil scared ever since Sug went t jail. She heard the clock ticking and looked. Johnny-Boys a hour late! He sho must be havin a time doin all tha trampin, trampin thu the mud But her fear was a quiet one; it was more like an intense brooding than a fear; it was a sort of hugging of hated facts so closely that she could feel their grain, like letting cold water run over her hand from a faucet on a winter morning.

She ironed again, faster now, as if she felt the more she engaged her body in work the less she would think. But how could she forget Johnny-Boy out there on those wet fields rounding up white and black Communists for a meeting tomorrow? And that was just what Sug had been doing when the sheriff had caught him, beat him, and tried to make him tell who and where his comrades were. Po Sug! They sho musta beat the boy somethin awful! But, thank Gawd, he didnt talk! He ain no weaklin, Sug ain! Hes been lion-hearted all his life long.

That had happened a year ago. And now each time those meetings came around the old terror surged back. While shoving the iron a cluster of toiling days returned: days of washing and ironing to feed Johnny-Boy and Sug so they could do party work; days of carrying a hundred pounds of white folks' clothes upon her head across fields sometimes wet and sometimes dry. But in those days a hundred pounds was nothing to carry carefully balanced upon her head while stepping by instinct over the corn and cotton rows. The only time it had seemed heavy was when she had heard of Sug's arrest. She had been coming home one morning with a bundle upon her head, her hands swinging idly by her sides, walking slowly with her eyes in front of her, when Bob, Johnny-Boy's pal, had called from across the fields and had come and told her that the sheriff had got Sug. That morn-

ing the bundle had become heavier than she could ever remember.

And with each passing week now, though she spoke of it to no one, things were becoming heavier. The tubs of water and the smoothing iron and the bundle of clothes were becoming harder to lift, with her back aching so; and her work was taking longer, all because Sug was gone and she didn't know just when Johnny-Boy would be taken too. To ease the ache of anxiety that was swelling her heart, she hummed, then sang softly:

**He walks wid me, He talks wid me
He tells me Ahm His own**

Guiltily, she stopped and smiled. Looks like Ah jus cant seem t fergit them ol songs, no mattah how hard Ah tries She had learned them when she was a little girl living and working on a farm. Every Monday morning from the corn and cotton fields the slow strains had floated from her mother's lips, lonely and haunting; and later, as the years had filled with gall, she had learned their deep meaning. Long hours of scrubbing floors for a few cents a day had taught her who Jesus was, what a great boon it was to cling to Him, to be like Him and suffer without a mumbling word. She had poured the yearning of her life into the songs, feeling buoyed with a faith beyond this world. The figure of the Man nailed in agony to the Cross, His burial in a cold grave, His transfigured Resurrection, His being breath and clay, God and Man—all had focused her feelings upon an imagery which had swept her life into a wondrous vision.

But as she had grown older, a cold white mountain, the white folks and their laws, had swum into her vision and shattered her songs and their spell of peace. To her that white mountain was temptation, something to lure her from her Lord, a part of the world God had made in order that she might endure it and come through all the stronger, just as Christ had risen with greater glory from the tomb. The days crowded with trouble had enhanced her faith and she had grown to love hardship with a bitter pride; she had obeyed the laws of the white folks with a soft smile of secret knowing.

After her mother had been snatched up to heaven in a chariot of fire, the years had brought her a rough workingman and two black babies, Sug and Johnny-Boy, all three of whom she had wrapped in the charm and magic of her vision. Then she was tested by no less than God; her man died, a trial which she bore with the strength shed by the grace of her vision; finally even the memory of her man faded into the vision itself, leaving her with two black boys growing tall, slowly into manhood.

Then one day grief had come to her heart when Johnny-Boy and Sug had walked forth demanding their lives. She had sought to fill their eyes with her vision, but they would have none of it. And she had wept when they began to boast of the strength shed by a new and terrible vision.

But she had loved them, even as she loved them now; bleeding, her heart had followed them. She

could have done no less, being an old woman in a strange world. And day by day her sons had ripped from her startled eyes her old vision, and image by image had given her a new one, different, but great and strong enough to fling her into the light of another grace. The wrongs and sufferings of black men had taken the place of Him nailed to the Cross; the meager beginnings of the party had become another Resurrection; and the hate of those who would destroy her new faith had quickened in her a hunger to feel how deeply her new strength went.

"Lawd, Johnny-Boy," she would sometimes say, "Ah jus wan them white folks t try t make me tell who is in the party n who ain! Ah jus wan em t try. Ahil show em somethin they never thought a black woman could have!"

But sometimes like tonight, while lost in the forgetfulness of work, the past and the present would become mixed in her; while toiling under a strange star for a new freedom the old songs would slip from her lips with their beguiling sweetness.

The iron was getting cold. She put more wood into the fire, stood again at the window and watched the yellow blade of light cut through the wet darkness. Johnny-Boy ain here yit . . . Then, before she was aware of it, she was still, listening for sounds. Under the drone of rain she heard the slosh of feet in mud. Tha ain Johnny-Boy. She knew his long, heavy footsteps in a million. She heard feet come on the porch. Some woman . . . She heard bare knuckles knock three times, then once. Thas some of them comrades! She unbarred the door, cracked it a few inches, and flinched from the cold rush of damp wind.

"Whos tha?"

"Its me!"

"Who?"

"Me, Reva!"

She flung the door open.

"Lawd, chile, c mon in!"

She stepped to one side and a thin, blond-haired white girl ran through the door; as she slid the bolt she heard the girl gasping and shaking her wet clothes. Somethings wrong! Reva wouldna walked a mil t mah house in all this slop fer nothin! Tha gals stuck onto Johnny-Boy. Ah wondah ef anythin happened t im?

"Git on inter the kitchen, Reva, where its warm."

"Lawd, Ah sho is wet!"

"How yuh reckon yuhd be, in all tha rain?"

"Johnny-Boy ain here yit?" asked Reva.

"Naw! N ain no usa yuh worryin bout im. Jus yuh git them shoes off! Yuh wanna ketch yo deatha col?" She stood looking absently. Yeah; its somethin about the party er Johnny-Boy thas gone wrong. Lawd, Ah wondah ef her pa knows how she feels bout Johnny-Boy? "Honey, yuh hadn't oughta come out in sloppy weather like this."

"Ah had t come, An Sue."

She led Reva to the kitchen.

"Git them shoes off n git close t the stove so yuhll git dry!"

"An Sue, Ah got somethin t tell yuh . . ."

The words made her hold her breath. Ah bet its somethin bout Johnny-Boy!

"Whut, honey?"

"The sheriff wuz by our house tonight. He come t see pa."

"Yeah?"

"He done got word from somewheres bout tha meetin tomorrow."

"Is it Johnny-Boy, Reva?"

"Aw, naw, An Sue! Ah ain hearda word bout im. Ain yuh seen im tonight?"

"He ain come home t eat yit."

"Where kin he be?"

"Lawd knows, chile."

"Somebodys gotta tell them comrades that meetings off," said Reva. "The sheriffs got men watchin our house. Ah had t slip out t git here wid-out em followin me."

"Reva?"

"Hunh?"

"Ahma ol woman n Ah wans yuh t tell me the truth."

"Whut, An Sue?"

"Yuh ain tryin t fool me, is yuh?"

"Fool yuh?"

"Bout Johnny-Boy?"

"Lawd, naw, An Sue!"

"Ef theres anythin wrong jus tell me, chile. Ah kin stan it."

She stood by the ironing board, her hands as usual folded loosely over her stomach, watching Reva pull off her water-clogged shoes. She was feeling that Johnny-Boy was already lost to her; she was feeling the pain that would come when she knew it for certain; and she was feeling that she would have to be brave and bear it. She was like a person caught in a swift current of water and knew where the water was sweeping her and did not want to go on but had to go on to the end.

"It ain nothin bout Johnny-Boy, An Sue," said Reva. "But we gotta do somethin er we'll all git inter trouble."

"How the sheriff know about tha meetin?"

"Thas whut pa wans t know."

"Somebody done turned Judas."

"Sho looks like it."

"Ah bet it wuz some of them new ones," she said.

"Its hard t tell," said Reva.

"Lissen, Reva, yuh oughta stay here n git dry, but yuh bettah git back n tell yo pa Johnny-Boy ain here n Ah don know when hes gonna show up. **Somebodys** gotta tell them comrades t stayerway from yo pas house."

She stood with her back to the window, looking at Reva's wide, blue eyes. Po critter! Gotta go back thu all tha slop! Though she felt sorry for Reva, not once did she think that it would not have to be done. Being a woman, Reva was not suspect; she would **have** to go. It was just as natural for Reva to go back through the cold rain as it was for her to iron night and day, or for Sug to be in jail. Right now, Johnny-Boy was out there on those dark fields trying to get home. Lawd, don let em git im tonight! In spite of herself her feelings became torn. She loved her son and, loving him, she loved what he was trying to do. Johnny-Boy was happiest when he was working

for the party, and her love for him was for his happiness. She frowned, trying hard to fit something together in her feelings: for her to try to stop Johnny-Boy was to admit that all the toil of years meant nothing; and to let him go meant that sometime or other he would be caught, like Sug. In facing it this way she felt a little stunned, as though she had come suddenly upon a blank wall in the dark. But outside in the rain were people, white and black, whom she had known all her life. Those people depended upon Johnny-Boy, loved him and looked to him as a man and leader. Yeah; hes gotta keep on; he cant stop now . . . She looked at Reva; she was crying and pulling her shoes back on with reluctant fingers.

"Whut yuh carryin on tha way fer, chile?"

"Yuh done los Sug, now yuh sendin Johnny-Boy . . ."

"Ah got t, honey."

She was glad she could say that. Reva believed in black folks and not for anything in the world would she falter before her. In Reva's trust and acceptance of her she had found her first feelings of humanity; Reva's love was her refuge from shame and degradation. If in the early days of her life the white mountain had driven her back from the earth, then in her last days Reva's love was drawing her toward it, like the beacon that swung through the night outside. She heard Reva sobbing.

"Hush, honey!"

"Mah brothers in jail too! Ma cries ever day..."

"Ah know, honey."

She helped Reva with her coat; her fingers felt scant flesh of the girl's shoulders. She don git ernuff t eat, she thought. She slipped her arms around Reva's waist and held her close for a moment.

"Now, yuh stop that cryin."

"A-a-ah c-c-cant hep it . . ."

"Everythingll be awright; Johnny-Boyll be back."

"Yuh think so?"

"Sho, chile. Cos he will."

Neither of them spoke again until they stood in the doorway. Outside they could hear water washing through the ruts of the street.

"Be sho n send Johnny-Boy t tell the folks t stay erway from pas house," said Reva.

"Ahil tell im. Don yuh worry."

"Good-bye!"

"Good-bye!"

Leaning against the door jamb, she shook her head slowly and watched Reva vanish through the falling rain.

2

She was back at her board, ironing when she heard feet sucking in the mud of the back yard;

feet she knew from long years of listening were Johnny-Boy's. But tonight, with all the rain and fear, his coming was like a leaving, was almost more than she could bear. Tears welled to her eyes and she blinked them away. She felt that he was coming so that she could give him up; to see him now was to say good-bye. But it was a good-bye she knew she could never say; they were not that way toward each other. All day long they could sit in the same room and not speak; she was his mother and he was her son. Most of the time a nod or a grunt would carry all the meaning that she wanted to convey to him, or he to her. She did not even turn her head when she heard him come stomping into the kitchen. She heard him pull up a chair, sit, sigh, and draw off his muddy shoes; they fell to the floor with heavy thuds. Soon the kitchen was full of the scent of his drying socks and his burning pipe. The boys hongry! She paused and looked at him over her shoulder; he was puffing at his pipe with his head tilted back and his feet propped up on the edge of the stove; his eyelids drooped and his wet clothes steamed from the heat of the fire. Lawd, tha boy gits mo like his pa every day he lives, she mused, her lips breaking in a slow faint smile. Hols tha pipe in his mouth just like his pa usta hol his. Wondah how they woulda got erlong ef his pa hada lived? They oughta liked each other, they so mucha like. She wished there could have been other children besides Sug, so Johnny-Boy would not have to be so much alone. A man needs a woman by his side . . . She thought of Reva; she liked Reva; the brightest glow her heart had ever known was when she had learned that Reva loved Johnny-Boy. But beyond Reva were cold white faces. Ef theys caught it means **death** . . . She jerked around when she heard Johnny-Boy's pipe clatter to the floor. She saw him pick it up, smile sheepishly at her, and wag his head.

"Gawd, Ahm sleepy," he mumbled.

She got a pillow from her room and gave it to him.

"Here," she said.

"Hunh," he said, putting the pillow between his head and the back of the chair.

They were sileht again. Yes, she would have to tell him to go back out into the cold rain and slop; maybe to get caught; maybe for the last time; she didn't know. But she would let him eat and get dry before telling him that the sheriff knew of the meeting to be held at Lem's tomorrow. And she would make him take a big dose of soda before he went out; soda always helped to stave off a cold. She looked at the clock. It was eleven. Theres time yit. Spreading a newspaper on the apron of the stove, she placed a heaping plate of greens upon it, a knife, a fork, a cup of coffee, a slab of cornbread, and a dish of peach cobbler.

"Yo suppahs ready," she said.

"Yeah," he said.

He did not move. She ironed again. Presently, she heard him eating. When she could no longer hear his knife tinkling against the edge of the plate, she knew he was through. It was almost twelve now. She would let him rest a little while

longer before she told him. Till one er'clock, mabbe. Hes so tired... She finished her ironing, put away the board, and stacked the clothes in her dresser drawer. She poured herself a cup of black coffee, drew up a chair, sat down and drank.

"Yuh almos dry," she said, not looking around.

"Yeah," he said, turning sharply to her.

The tone of voice in which she had spoken had let him know that more was coming. She drained her cup and waited a moment longer.

"Reva wuz here."

"Yeah?"

"She lef bout a hour ergo."

"Whut she say?"

"She said ol man Lem hada visit from the sheriff today."

"Bout the meetin?"

She saw him stare at the coals glowing red through the crevices of the stove and run his fingers nervously through his hair. She knew he was wondering how the sheriff had found out. In the silence he would ask a wordless question and in the silence she would answer wordlessly. Johnny-Boys too trustin, she thought. Hes trying t make the party big n hes takin in folks fastern he kin git t know em. You cant trust ever white man yuh meet....

"Yuh know, Johnny-Boy, yuh been taking in a lotta them white folks lately..."

"Aw, ma!"

"But, Johnny-Boy..."

"Please, don't talk t me bout tha now, ma."

"Yuh ain t ol t lissen n learn, son," she said.

"Ah know whut yuh gonna say, ma. N yuh wrong. Yuh cant judge folks just by how yuh feel bout em n by how long yuh done knowed em. Ef we start tha we wouldnt have nobody in the party. When folks pledge they word t be with us, then we gotta take em in. Wes too weak t be choosy."

He rose abruptly, rammed his hands into his pockets, and stood facing the window; she looked at his back in a long silence. She knew his faith; it was deep. He had always said that black men could not fight the rich bosses alone; a man could not fight with every hand against him. But he believes so hard hes blind, she thought. At odd times they had had these arguments before; always she would be pitting her feelings against the hard necessity of his thinking, and always she would lose. She shook her head. Po Johnny-Boy; he don know...

"But ain nona our folks tol, Johnny-Boy," she said.

"How yuh know?" he asked. His voice came low and with a tinge of anger. He still faced the window and now and then the yellow blade of light flicked across the sharp outline of his black face.

"Cause Ah know em," she said.

"Anybody mighta tol," he said.

"It wuznt nona our folks," she said again.

She saw his hand sweep in a swift arc of disgust. "Our folks! Ma, who in Gawds name is our folks?"

"The folks we wuz born n raised wid, son. The folks we know!"

"We cant make the party grow tha way, ma."

"It mighta been Booker," she said.

"Yuh don know."

"...er Blattberg..."

"Fer Chrissakes!"

"...er any of the fo-five others whut joined las week."

"Ma, yuh jus don wan me t go out tonight," he said.

"Yo ol ma wans yuh t be careful, son."

"Ma, when yuh start doubtin folks in the party, then there ain no end."

"Son, Ah knows ever black man n woman in this parta the county," she said, standing too. "Ah watched em grow up; Ah even heped birth n nurse some of em; Ah knows em all from way back. There ain none of em that **coulda** tol! The folks Ah know jus don open they dos n ast death t walk in! Son, it wuz some of them **white** folks! Yuh just mark mah word n wait n see!"

"Why is it gotta be **white** folks?" he asked. "Ef they tol, then theys jus Judases, thas all."

"Son, look at whuts befo yuh."

He shook his head and sighed.

"Ma, Ah done tol yuh a hundred times: Ah cant see white n Ah cant see black," he said. "Ah sees rich men n Ah sees po men."

She picked up his dirty dishes and piled them in a pan. Out of the corners of her eyes she saw him sit and pull on his wet shoes. Hes goin! When she put the last dish away he was standing fully dressed, warming his hands over the stove. Jus a few mo minutes now n hell be gone, like Sug, mabbe. Her throat tightened. This black mans fight takes **everthin**! Looks like Gawd put us in this world jus t beat us down!

"Keep this, ma," he said.

She saw a crumpled wad of money in his outstretched fingers.

"Naw, yuh keep it. Yuh might need it."

"It ain mine, ma. It berlongs t the party."

"But, Johnny-Boy, yuh might hafta go erway!"

"Ah kin make out."

"Don fergit yosef too much, son."

"Ef Ah don come back theyll need it."

He was looking at her face and she was looking at the money.

"Yuh keep tha," she said slowly. "Ahil give en the money."

"From where?"

"Ah got some."

"Where yuh git it from?"

She sighed.

"Ah been savin a dollah a week fer Sug ever since hes been in jail."

"Lawd, ma!"

She saw the look of puzzled love and wonder in his eyes. Clumsily, he put the money back into his pocket.

"Ahm gone," he said.

"Here; drink this glass of soda watah."

She watched him drink, then put the glass away.

"Waal," he said.

"Take the stuff outta yo pockets!"

She lifted the lid of the stove and he dumped all the papers from his pocket into the fire. She followed him to the door and made him turn round.

"Lawd, yuh tryin to maka revolution n yuh cant

even keep yo coat buttoned." Her nimble fingers fastened his collar high around his throat. "There!"

He pulled the brim of his hat low over his eyes. She opened the door and with the suddenness of the cold gust of wind that struck her face, he was gone. She watched the black fields and the rain take him, her eyes burning. When the last faint footstep could no longer be heard, she closed the door, went to her bed, lay down, and pulled the cover over her while fully dressed. Her feelings coursed with the rhythm of the rain: Hes gone! Lawd, Ah knows hes gone! Her blood felt cold.

3

She was floating in a grey void somewhere between sleeping and dreaming and then suddenly she was wide awake, hearing and feeling in the same instant the thunder of the door crashing in and a cold wind filling the room. It was pitch black and she stared, resting on her elbows, her mouth open, not breathing, her ears full of the sound of tramping feet and booming voices. She knew at once: They lookin for im! Then, filled with her will, she was on her feet, rigid, waiting, listening.

"The lamps burnin!"

"Yuh see her?"

"Naw!"

"Look in the kitchen!"

"Gee, this place smells like niggers!"

"Say, somebodys here er been here!"

"Yeah; theres fire in the stove!"

"Mabbe hes been here n gone?"

"Boy, look at these jars of jam!"

"Niggers make good jam!"

"Git some bread!"

"Heres some cornbread!"

"Say, lemme git some!"

"Take it easy! Theres plenty here!"

"Ahma take some of this stuff home!"

"Look, heres a pota greens!"

"N some hot cawffee!"

"Say, yuh guys! C mon! Cut it out! We didn't come here fer a fea!"

She walked slowly down the hall. They lookin fer im, but they ain got im yit! She stopped in the doorway, her gnarled, black hands as always folded over her stomach, but tight now, so tightly the veins bulged. The kitchen was crowded with white men in glistening raincoats. Though the lamp burned, their flashlights still glowed in red fists. Across her floor she saw the muddy tracks of their boots.

"Yuh white folks git outta mah house!"

There was quick silence; every face turned toward her. She saw a sudden movement, but did not know what is meant until something hot and wet

slammed her squarely in the face. She gasped, but did not move. Calmly, she wiped the warm, greasy liquor of greens from her eyes with her left hand. One of the white men had thrown a handful of greens out of the pot at her.

"How they taste, ol bitch?"

"Ah ast yuh t git outta mah house!"

She saw the sheriff detach himself from the crowd and walk toward her.

"Now, Anty..."

"White man, don yuh Anty me!"

"Yuh ain got the right sperit!"

"Sperit hell! Yuh git these men outta mah house!"

"Yuh ack like yuh don like it!"

"Naw, Ah don like it, n yuh knows dam waal Ah don!"

"Whut yuh gonna do bout it?"

"Ahm telling yuh t git outta mah house!"

"Gittin sassy?"

"Ef telling yuh t git outta mah house is sass, then Ahm sassy!"

Her words came in a tense whisper; but beyond back of them, she was watching, thinking, judging the men.

"Listen, Anty," the sheriff's voice came soft and low. "Ahm here t hep yuh. How come yah wanna ack this way?"

"Yuh ain never heped yo own sef since yuh been born," she flared. "How kin the likes of yuh hep me?"

One of the white men came forward and stood directly in front of her.

"Lissen, nigger woman, yuh talkin t white men!"

"Ah don care who Ahm talkin t!"

"Yohll wish some day yud did!"

"Not t the likes of yuh!"

"Yuh need somebody t teach yuh how t be a good nigger!"

"Yuh cant teach it t me! Not longs mah bloods warm!"

"Don git smart now!"

"Yuh git outta mah house!"

"Spouse we don go?" the sheriff asked.

They were crowded around her. She had not moved since she had taken her place in the doorway. She was thinking only of Johnny-Boy as she stood there giving and taking words; and she knew that they, too, were thinking of Johnny-Boy. She knew they wanted him, and her heart was daring them to take him from her.

"Spouse we don go?" the sheriff asked again.

"Twenty of yuh runnin over one ol woman! Now, ain yuh white men glad yuh so brave?"

The sheriff grabbed her arm.

"C mon, now! Yuh don did ernuff sass for one night. Wheres tha nigger son of yos?"

"Don yuh wished yuh knowed?"

"Yuh wanna git slapped?"

"Ah ain never seen one of yo kind that wuznt too low fer..."

The sheriff slapped her straight across her face with his open palm. She fell back against a wall and sank to her knees.

"Is tha whut white men do t nigger women?"

She rose slowly and stood again, not even touch-

ing the place that ached from his blow, her hands folded over her stomach.

"Ah ain never seen one of yo kind tha wuznt too low fer . . ."

He slapped her again; she reeled backward several feet and fell on her side.

"Is tha whut we too low t do?"

She stood before him again, dry-eyes, as though she had not been struck. Her lips were numb and her chin was wet with blood.

"Aw, let her go! Its the nigger we wan!" said one.

"Wheres that nigger son of yos?" the sheriff asked.

"Find im," she said.

"By Gawd,, ef we hafta find im well kill im!"

"He wont be the only nigger yuh ever killed," she said.

She was consumed with a bitter pride. There was nothing on this earth, she felt then, that they could not do to her but that she could take. She stood on a narrow plot of ground from which she would die before she was pushed. And then it was, while standing there feeling warm blood seeping down her throat, that she gave up Johnny-Boy gave him up to the white folks. She gave him up because they had come tramping into her heart demanding him, thinking they could get him by beating her, thinking they could scare her into making her tell where he was. She gave him up because she wanted them to know that they could not get what they wanted by bluffing and killing.

"Wheres this meetin gonna be?" the sheriff asked.

"Don yuh wish yuh knowed?"

"Ain there gonna be a meetin?"

"How come yuh astin me?"

"There is gonna be a meetin," said the sheriff.

"Is it?"

"Ah gotta great mind t choke it outta yuh!"

"Yuh so smart," she said.

"We ain playing wid yuh!"

"Did Ah say yuh wuz?"

"Tha nigger son of yos is errown here somewheres n Ah aim t find im," said the sheriff. "Ef yuh tell us where he is n ef he talks, mabbe hell git off easy. But ef we hafta find im, well kill im! Ef we hafta find im, then yuh git a sheet t put over im in the mawning, see? Git yuh a sheet, cause hes gonna be dead!"

"He wont be the only nigger yuh ever killed," she said again.

The sheriff walked past her. The others followed. Yuh didn't git whut yuh wanted! she thought exultingly. N yuh ain gonna never git it! Hotly, somethin arched in her to make them feel the intensity of her pride and freedom; her heart groped to turn the bitter hours of her life into words of a kind that would make them feel that she had taken all they had done to her in her stride and could still take more. Her faith surged so strongly in her she was all but blinded. She walked behind them to the door, knotting and twisting her fingers. She saw them step to the muddy ground. Each whirl of the yellow beacon revealed glimpses of slanting rain. Her lips moved, then she shouted:

"Yuh didnt git whut yuh wanted! N yuh ain gonna nevah git it!"

The sheriff stopped and turned; his voice came low and hard.

"Now, by Gawd, thas ernuff outta yuh!"

"Ah know when Ah done said ernuff!"

"Aw, naw, yuh don!" he said. "Yuh don know when yuh done said ernuff, but Ahma teach yuh ternight!"

He was up the steps and across the porch with one bound. She backed into the hall, her eyes full on his face.

"Tell me when yuh gonna stop talkin!" he said, swinging his fist.

The blow caught her high on the cheek; her eyes went blank; she fell flat on her face. She felt the hard heel of his wet shoes coming into her temple and stomach.

"Lemme hear yuh talk some mo!"

She wanted to, but could not; pain numbed and choked her. She lay still and somewhere out of the grey void of unconsciousness she heard someone say: **aw fer chrissakes leave her erlone, its the nigger we wan . . .**

4

She never knew how long she had lain huddled in the dark hallway. Her first returning feeling was of a nameless fear crowding the inside of her, then a deep pain spreading from her temple downward over her body. Her ears were filled with the drone of rain and she shuddered from the cold wind blowing through the door. She opened her eyes and at first saw nothing. As if she were imagining it, she knew she was half-lying and half-sitting in a corner against a wall. With difficulty she twisted her neck and what she saw made her hold her breath—a vast white blur was suspended directly above her. For a moment she could not tell if her fear was from the blur or if the blur was from her fear. Gradually the blur resolved itself into a huge white face that slowly filled her vision. She was stone still, conscious really of the effort to breathe, feeling somehow that she existed only by the mercy of that white face. She had seen it before; its fear had gripped her many times; it had for her the fear of all the white faces she had ever seen in her life. Sue . . . As from a great distance, she heard her name being called. She was regaining consciousness now, but the fear was coming with her. She looked into the face of a white man, wanting to scream out for him to go; yet accepting his presence because she felt she had to. Though some remote part of her mind was active, her limbs were powerless. It was as if an invisible knife had split her in two, leaving one half of her lying there helpless, while the other half shrank in dread from

a forgotten but familiar enemy. **Sue its me Sue its me . . .** Then all at once the voice came clearly.

"Sue, its me! Its Booker!"

And she heard an answering voice speaking inside of her. Yeah, its Booker . . . The one whut just joined . . . She roused herself, struggling for full consciousness; and as she did so she transferred to the person of Booker the nameless fear she felt. It seemed that Booker towered above her as a challenge to her right to exist upon the earth.

"Yuh awright?"

She did not answer; she started violently to her feet and fell.

"Sue, yuh hurt!"

"Yeah," she breathed.

"Where they hit yuh?"

"Its mah head," she whispered.

She was speaking even though she did not want to; the fear that had hold of her compelled her.

"They beat yuh?"

"Yeah."

"Them bastards! Them Gawddam bastards!"

She heard him saying it over and over; then she felt herself being lifted.

"Naw!" she gasped.

"Ahma take yuh t the kitchen!"

"Put me down!"

"But yuh cant stay here like this!"

She shrank in his arms and pushed her hands against his body; when she was in the kitchen she freed herself, sank into a chair, and held tightly to its back. She looked wonderingly at Booker. There was nothing about him that should frighten her so, but even that did not ease her tension. She saw him go to the water bucket, wet his handkerchief, wring it, and offer it to her. Distrustfully, she stared at the damp cloth.

"Here; put this on yo fohead . . ."

"Naw!"

"C mon; itll make yuh feel bettah!"

She hesitated in confusion. What right had she to be afraid when someone was acting as kindly as this toward her? Reluctantly, she leaped forward and pressed the damp cloth to her head. It helped. With each passing minute she was catching hold of herself, yet wondering why she felt as she did.

"Whut happened?"

"Ah don know."

"Yuh feel bettah?"

"Yeah."

"Who all wuz here?"

"Ah don know," she said again.

"Yo head still hurt?"

"Yeah."

"Gee, Ahm sorry."

"Ahm awright," she sighed and buried her face in her hands.

She felt him touch her shoulder.

She knew; she stiffened and grew cold. It had happened; she stared dry-eyed, with compressed lips.

"Its mah Johnny-Boy," she said.

"Yeah; Ahm awful sorry t hafta tell yuh this way. But Ah thought yuh oughta know . . ."

Her tension eased and a vacant place opened up

inside of her. A voice whispered, Jesus, hep me!

"W-w-where is he?"

"They got im out t Foleys Woods tryin t make him tell who the others is."

"He ain gonna tell," she said. "They just as waal kill im, cause he ain gonna nevah tell."

"Ah hope he don," said Booker. "But he didnt have a chance t tell the others. They grabbed im jus as he got t the woods."

Then all the horror of it flashed upon her; she saw flung out over the rainy countryside an array of shacks where white and black comrades were sleeping; in the morning they would be rising and going to Lem's; then they would be caught. And that meant terror, prison, and death. The comrades would have to be told; she would have to tell them; she could not entrust Johnny-Boy's work to another, and especially not to Booker as long as she felt toward him as she did. Gripping the bottom of the chair with both hands, she tried to rise; the room blurred and she swayed. She found herself resting in Booker's arms.

"Lemme go!"

"Sue yuh too weak t walk!"

"Ah gotta tell em!" she said.

"Set down, Sue! Yuh hurt! Yuh sick!"

When seated, she looked at him helplessly.

"Sue, lissen! Johnny-Boys caught. Ahm here. Yuh tell me who they is n Ahil tell em."

She stared at the floor and did not answer. Yes; she was too weak to go. There was no way for her to tramp all those miles through the rain tonight. But should she tell Booker? If only she had somebody like Reva to talk to! She did not want to decide alone; she must make no mistake about this. She felt Booker's fingers pressing on her arm and it was as though the white mountain was pushing her to the edge of a sheer height; she again exclaimed inwardly, Jesus, hep me! Booker's white face was at her side, waiting. Would she be doing right to tell him? Suppose she did not tell and then the comrades were caught? She could not ever forgive herself for doing a thing like that. But maybe she was wrong; maybe her fear was what Johnny-Boy had always called "jus foolishness." She remembered his saying, Ma, we cant make the party grow ef we start doubtin everbody . . .

"Tell me who they is, Sue, n Ahll tell em. Ah jus joined n Ah don know who they is."

"Ah don know who they is," she said.

"Yuh gotta tell me who they is, Sue!"

"Ah tol yuh Ah don know!"

"Yuh do know! C mon! Set up n talk!"

"Naw!"

"Yuh wan em all t git killed!"

She shook her head and swallowed. Lawd, Ah don believe in this man!

"Lissen, Ahll call the names n yuh tell me which ones is in the party n which ones ain, see?"

"Naw!"

"Please, Sue!"

"Ah don know," she said.

"Sue, yuh ain doin right by em. Johnny-Boy wouldnt wan yuh t be this way. Hes out there holdin up his end. Les hol up ours . . ."

"Lawd, Ah don know . . ."

"Is yuh scared a me cause Ahm white? Johnny-Boy ain like tha. Don let all the work we done go fer nothin."

She gave up and bowed her head in her hands.

"Is it Johnson? Tell me, Sue?"

"Yeah," she whispered in horror; a mounting horror of feeling herself being undone.

"Is it Green?"

"Yeah."

"Murphy?"

"Lawd, Ah don know!"

"Yuh gotta tell me, Sue!"

"Mistah Booker, please leave me erlone . . ."

"Is it Murphy?"

She answered yes to the names of Johnny-Boy's comrades; she answered until he asked her no more. Then she thought. How he know the sheriffs men is watchin Lems house? She stood up and held onto her chair, feeling something sure and firm within her.

"How yuh know bout Lem?"

"Why . . . How Ah know?"

"Whut yuh doin here this tima night? How yuh know the sheriff got Johnny-Boy?"

"Sue, don yuh believe in me?"

She did not, but she could not answer. She stared at him until her lips hung open; she was searching deep within herself for certainty.

"You meet Reva?" she asked.

"Reva?"

"Yeah, Lems gal?"

"Oh, yeah. Sho, Ah met Reva."

"She tell yuh?"

She asked the question more of herself than of him; she longed to believe.

"Yeah," he said softly. "Ah reckon Ah oughta be goin t tell em now."

"Who?" she asked. "Tell who?"

The muscles of her body were stiff as she waited for his answer; she felt as though life depended upon it.

"The comrades," he said.

"Yeah," she sighed.

She did not know when he left; she was not looking or listening. She just suddenly saw the room empty and from her the thing that had made her fearful was gone.

5

For a space of time that seemed to her as long as she had been upon the earth, she sat huddled over the cold stove. One minute she would say to herself. They both gone now; Johnny-Boy n Sug . . . Mabbe Ahll never see em ergin. Then a surge of guilt would blot out her longing. "Lawd, Ah shouldna tol!" she mumbled. "But no man kin be so lowdown as t do a thing like tha . . ." Several

times she had an impulse to try to tell the comrades herself; she was feeling a little better now. But what good would that do? She had told Booker the names. He jus couldnt be a Judas to po folks like us . . . He couldnt!

"An Sue!"

Thas Reva! Her heart leaped with an anxious gladness. She rose without answering and limped down the dark hallway. Through the open door, against the background of rain, she saw Reva's face lit now and then to whiteness by the whirling beams of the beacon. She was about to call, but a thought checked her. Jesus, hep me! Ah gotta tell her bout Johnny-Boy . . . Lawd, Ah cant!

"An Sue, yuh there?"

"C mon in, chile!"

She caught Reva and held her close for a moment without speaking.

"Lawd, Ahm sho glad yuh here," she said at last.

"Ah thought somethin had happened t yuh," said Reva, pulling away. "Ah saw the do open . . . Pa told me to come back n stay wid yuh tonight . . . Reva paused and started, "W-w-whuts the mat-tah?"

She was so full of having Reva with her that she did not understand what the question meant.

"Hunh?"

"Yo neck . . ."

"Aw, it ain nothin, chile. C mon in the kitchen."

"But theres blood on yo neck!"

"The sheriff wuz here . . ."

"Them fools! Whut they wanna bother yuh fer? Ah could kill em! So hep me Gawd, Ah could!"

"It ain nothin," she said.

She was wondering how to tell Reva about Johnny-Boy and Booker. Ahll wait a lil while longer, she thought. Now that Reva was here, her fear did not seem as awful as before.

"C mon, lemme fix yo head, An Sue. Yuh hurt."

They went to the kitchen. She sat silent while Reva dressed her scalp. She was feeling better now; in just a little while she would tell Reva. She felt the girl's finger pressing gently upon her head.

"Tha hurt?"

"A lil, chile."

"Yuh po thing."

"It ain nothin."

"Did Johnny-Boy come?"

She hesitated.

"Yeah."

"He done gone t tell the others?"

Reva's voice sounded so clear and confident that it mocked her. Lawd, Ah cant tell this chile . . .

"Yuh tol im, didnt yuh, An Sue?"

"Y-y-yeah . . ."

"Gee! Thas good! Ah tol pa he didnt hafta worry ef Johnny-Boy got the news. Mabbe thingsll come out awright."

"Ah hope . . ."

She could not go on; she had gone as far as she could. For the first time that night she began to cry.

"Hush, An Sue! Yuh aaways been brave. Itll be awright!"

"Ain nothin awright, chile. The worls jus too

much for us, Ah reckon."

"Ef yuh cry that way itll make me cry."

She forced herself to stop. Naw; Ah cant carry on this way in fronta Reva... Right now she had a deep need for Reva to believe in her. She watched the girl get pine-knots from behind the stove, rekindle the fire, and put on the coffee pot.

"Yuh wan some cawffee?" Reva asked.

"Naw, honey."

"Aw, c mon, An Sue."

"Jusa lil, honey."

"Thas the way to be. Oh, say, Ah fergot," said Reva, measuring out spoonsful of coffee. "Pa tol me t tell yuh t watch out fer tha Booker man. Hes a stool."

She showed not one sigh of outward movement of expression, but as the words fell from Reva's lips she went limp inside.

"Pa tol me soon as Ah got back home. He got word from town..."

She stopped listening. She felt as though she had been slapped to the extreme outer edge of life, into a cold darkness. She knew now what she had felt when she had looked up out of her fog of pain and had seen Booker. It was the image of all the white folks, and the fear that went with them, that she had seen and felt during her lifetime. And again, for the second time that night, something she had felt had come true. All she could say to herself was, Ah didnt like im! Gawd knows, Ah didnt! Ah tol Johnny-Boy it wuz some of them white folks...

"Here, drink yo cawffee..."

She took the cup; her fingers trembled, and the steaming liquid spilt onto her dress and leg.

"Ahm sorry, An Sue!"

Her leg was scalded, but the pain did not bother her.

"Its awright," she said.

"Wait; lemme put some lard on the burn!"

"It don hurt."

"Yuh worried bout somethin."

"Naw, honey."

"Lemme fix yuh so mo cawffee."

"Ah don wan nothin now, Reva."

"Waal, buck up. Don be tha way..."

They were silent. She heard Reva drinking. No; she would not tell Reva; Reva was all she had left. But she had to do something, some way, somehow. She was undone too much as it was; and to tell Reva about Booker or Johnny-Boy was more than she was equal to; it would be too coldly shameful. She wanted to be alone and fight this thing out with herself.

"Go t bed, honey. Yuh tired."

"Haw; Ahm awright, An Sue."

She heard the bottom of Reva's empty cup clank against the top of the stove. Ah got t make her go t bed! Yes; Booker would tell the names of the comrades to the sheriff. If she could only stop him some way! That was the answer, the point, the star that grew bright in the morning of new hope. Soon, maybe half an hour from now, Booker would reach Foleys Woods. Hes boun t go the long way, cause he don know no short cut, she thought. Ah could wade the creek n beat im there... But what would she do after that?

"Reva, honey, go t bed. Ahm awright. Yuh need res."

"Ah ain sleepy, An Sue."

"Ah knows whuts bes fer yuh, chile. Yuh tired n wet."

"Ah wanna stay up wid yuh."

She forced a smile and said:

"Ah don think they gonna hurt Johnny-Boy..."

"Fer real, An Sue?"

"Sho, honey."

"But Ah wanna wait up wid yuh."

"Thas mah job, honey. Thas whut a mas fer, t wait up fer her chillun."

"Good night, An Sue."

"Good night, honey."

She watched Reva pull up and leave the kitchen; presently she heard the shucks in the mattress whispering, and she knew that Reva had gone to bed. She was alone. Through the cracks of the stove she saw the fire dying to grey ashes; the room was growing cold again. The yellow beacon continued to flit past the window and the rain still drummed. Yes; she was alone; she had done this awful thing alone; she must find some way out, alone. Like touching a festering sore, she put her finger upon that moment when she had shouted her defiance to the sheriff, when she had shouted to feel her strength. She had lost Sug to save others; she had let Johnny-Boy go to save others; and then in a moment of weakness that came from too much strength she had lost all. If she had not shouted to the sheriff, she would have been strong enough to have resisted Booker; she would have been able to tell the comrades herself. Something tightened in her as she remembered and understood the fit of fear she had felt on coming to herself in the dark hallway. A part of her life she thought she had done away with forever had had hold of her then. She had thought the soft, warm past was over; she had thought that it did not mean much when now she sang: "**Hes the Lily of the Valley, the Bright n Mawnin Star**"... The days when she had sung that song were the days when she had not hoped for anything on this earth, the days when the cold mountain had driven her into the arms of Jesus. She had thought that Sug and Johnny-Boy had taught her to forget Him, to fix her hope upon the fight of black men for freedom. Through the gradual years she had believed and worked with them, had felt strength shed from the grace of their terrible vision. That grace had been upon her when she had let the sheriff slap her down; it had been upon her when she had risen time and again from the floor and faced him. But she had trapped herself with her own hunger; to water the long dry thirst of her faith her pride had made a bargain which her flesh could not keep. Her having told the names of Johnny-Boy's comrades was but an incident in a deeper horror. She stood up and looked at the floor while call and counter-call, loyalty and counter-loyalty struggled in her soul. Mired she was between two abandoned worlds, living, but drying without the strength of the grace that either gave. The clearer she felt it the fuller did something well up from the depths of her for release; the more urgent did she feel the need to fling into her black sky an-

other star, another hope, one more terrible vision to give her the strength to live and act. Softly and restlessly she walked about the kitchen, feeling herself naked against the night, the rain, the world; and shamed whenever the thought of Reva's love crossed her mind. She lifted her empty hands and looked at her writhing fingers. Lawd, whut kin Ah do now? She could still wade the creek and get to Foleys Woods before Booker. And then what? How could she manage to see Johnny-Boy or Booker? Again she heard the sheriff's threatening voice: Git yuh a sheet, cause hes gonna be dead! The sheet! Thas it, the **sheet!** Her whole being leaped with will; the long years of her life bent toward a moment of focus, a point. Ah kin go wid mah sheet! Ahll be doin whut he said! Lawd Gawd in Heaven, Ahma go like nigger woman wid mah windin sheet t git mah dead son! But then what? She stood straight and smiled grimly; she had in her heart the whole meaning of her life; her entire personality was poised on the brink of a total act. Ah know! Ah **know!** She thought of Johnny-Boy's gun in the dresser drawer. Ahll hide the gun in the sheet n go aftah Johnny-Boy's body . . . She tiptoed to her room, eased out the dresser drawer, and got a sheet. Reva was sleeping; the darkness was filled with her quiet breathing. She groped in the drawer and found the gun. She wound the gun in the sheet and held them both under her apron. Then she stole to the bedside and watched Reva. Lawd, hep her! But mabbe shes bettah off. This had t happen sometime. She n Johnny-Boy couldna been together in this here South . . . N Ah couldnt tell her bout Booker. Itll come out awright n she wont nevah know. Reva's trust would never be shaken. She caught her breath as the shucks in the mattress rustled dryly; then all was quiet and she breathed easily again. She tiptoed to the door, down the hall and stood on the porch. Above her the yellow beacon whirled through the rain. She went over muddy ground, mounted a slope, stopped and looked back at her house. The lamp glowed in her window, and the yellow beacon that swung every few seconds seemed to feed it with light. She turned and started across the fields, holding the gun and sheet tightly, thinking, Po Reva . . . Po critter . . . Shes fas er- sleep . . .

6

For the most part she walked with her eyes half shut, her lips tightly compressed, leaning her body against the wind and the driving rain, feeling the pistol in the sheet sagging cold and heavy in her fingers. Already she was getting wet; it seemed that her feet found every puddle of water that stood between the corn rows.

She came to the edge of the creek and paused,

wondering at what point was it low. Taking the sheet from under her apron, she wrapped the gun in it so that her finger could be upon the trigger. Ahil cross here, she thought. At first she did not feel the water; her feet were already wet. But the water grew cold as it came up to her knees; she gasped when it reached her waist. Lawd, this creeks high! When she had passed the middle, she knew that she was out of danger. She came out of the water, climbed a grassy hill, walked on, turned a bend and saw the lights of autos gleaming ahead. Yeah; theys still there! She hurried with her head down. Wondah did Ah beat im here? Lawd, Ah **hope** so! A vivid image of Booker's white face hovered a moment before her eyes and a surging will rose up in her so hard and strong that it vanished. She was among the autos now. From nearby came the hoarse voices of the men.

"Hey, yuh!"

She stopped, nervously clutching the sheet. Two white men with shotguns came toward her.

"Whut in hell yuh doin out here?"

She did not answer.

"Didnt yuh hear somebody speak t yuh?"

"Ahm comin aftah mah son," she said humbly.

"Yo son?"

"Yessuh."

"What yo son doin out here?"

"The sheriffs got im."

"Holy Scott! Jim, its the niggers ma!"

"Whut yuh got there?" asked one.

"A sheet."

"A **sheet?**"

"Yessuh."

"Fer whut?"

"The sheriff tol me t bring a sheet t git his body."

"Waal, waal . . ."

"Now, ain tha somethin?"

The white men looked at each other.

"These niggers sho love one ernother," said one.

"N tha ain no lie," said the other.

"Take me t the sheriff," she begged.

"Yuh ain givin us **orders**, is yuh?"

"Nawsuh."

"Well take yuh when wes good n ready."

"Yessuh."

"So yuh wan his body?"

"Yessuh."

"Waal, he ain dead yit."

"They gonna kill im," she said.

"Ef he talks they wont."

"He ain gonna talk," she said.

"How yuh know?"

"Cause he ain."

"We got ways of makin niggers talk."

"Yuh ain got no way fer im."

"Yuh thinka lot of that black Red, don yuh?"

"Hes mah son."

"Why don yuh teach im some sense?"

"Hes mah son," she said again.

"Lissen, ol nigger woman, yuh stand there wid yo hair white. Yuh got bettah sense than t believe tha niggers kin make a revolution . . ."

"A black republic," said the other one, laughing.

"Take me t the sheriff," she begged.

"Yuh his ma," said one. "Yuh kin make im talk n tell whose in this thing wid im."

"He ain gonna talk," she said.

"Don yuh wan im t live?"

She did not answer.

'C mon, les take her t Bradley."

They grabbed her arms and she clutched hard at the sheet and gun; they led her toward the crowd in the woods. Her feelings were simple; Booker would not tell; she was there with the gun to see to that. The louder became the voices of the men the deeper became her feeling of wanting to right the mistake she had made; of wanting to fight her way back to solid ground. She would stall for time until Booker showed up. Oh, ef theyll only lemme git close t Johnny-Boy! As they led her near the crowd she saw white faces turning and looking at her and heard a rising clamor of voices.

"Whose tha?"

"A nigger woman!"

"This is his ma!" called one of the men.

"Whut she wans?"

"She brought a sheet t cover his body!"

"He ain dead yit!"

"They tryin t make im talk!"

"But he will be dead soon ef he don open up!"

"Say, look! The niggers ma brought a sheet t cover up his body!"

"Now, ain that sweet?"

"Mabbe she wans t hol a prayer meetin!"

"Did she git a preacher?"

"Say, go git Bradley!"

"O.K.!"

The crowd grew quiet. They looked at her curiously; she felt their cold eyes trying to detect some weakness in her. Humbly, she stood with the sheet covering the gun. She had already accepted all that they could do to her.

The sheriff came.

"So yuh brought yo sheet, hunh?"

"Yessuh," she whispered.

"Looks like them slaps we gave yuh learned yuh some sense, didnt they?"

She did not answer.

"Yuh don need tha sheet. Yo son ain dead yit," he said, reaching toward her.

She backed away, her eyes wide.

"Naw!"

"Now, lissen, Anty!" "There ain no use in yuh ackin a fool! Go in there n tell tha nigger son of yos t tell us whos in this wid im, see? Ah promise we wont kill im ef he talks. We'll let im git outta town."

"There ain nothin Ah kin tell im," she said.

"Yuh wan us t kill im?"

She did not answer. She saw someone lean toward the sheriff and whisper.

"Bring her erlong," the sheriff said.

They led her to a muddy clearing. The rain streamed down through the ghostly glare of the flashlights. As the men formed a semi-circle she saw Johnny-Boy lying in a trough of mud. He was tied with rope; he lay hunched and one side of his face rested in a pool of black water. His eyes were staring questioningly at her.

"Speak t im," said the sheriff.

If she could only tell him why she was here! But that was impossible; she was close to what she wanted and she stared straight before her with compressed lips.

"Say, nigger!" called the sheriff, kicking Johnny-Boy, "Heres yo ma!"

Johnny-Boy did not move or speak. The sheriff faced her again.

"Lissen, Anty," he said, "Yuh got mo say wid im than anybody. Tell im t talk n hava chance. Whut he wanna perfect the other niggers n white folks fer?"

She slid her finger about the trigger of the gun and looked stonily at the mud.

"Go t him," said the sheriff.

She did not move. Her heart was crying out to answer the amazed question in Johnny-Boy's eyes. But there was no way now.

"Waal, yuhre astin fer it. By Gawd, we gotta way to make yuh talk t im," he said, turning away. "Say, Tim, git one of them logs n turn that nigger upside-down n put his legs on it!"

A murmur of assent ran through the crowd. She bit her lips; she knew what that meant.

"Yuh wan yo nigger son crippled?" she heard the sheriff ask.

She did not answer. She saw them roll the log up; they lifted Johnny-Boy and laid him on his face and stomach, then they pulled his legs over the log. His kneecaps rested on the sheer top of the log's back and the toes of his shoes pointed groundward. So absorbed was she in watching that she felt that it was she who was being lifted and made ready for torture.

"Git a crowbar!" said the sheriff.

A tall, lank man got a crowbar from a nearby auto and stood over the log. His jaws worked slowly on a wad of tobacco.

"Now, its up t yuh, Anty," the sheriff said. "Tell the man whut t do!"

She looked into the rain. The sheriff turned.

"Memme she think wes playin. Ef she don say nothin, then break em at the kneecaps!"

"O.K., Sheriff!"

She stood waiting for Booker. Her legs felt weak; she wondered if she would be able to wait much longer. Over and over she said to herself, Ef he came now Ahd kill em both!

"She ain sayin nothin, Sheriff!"

"Waal, Gawddammit, let im have it!"

The crowbar came down and Johnny-Boy's body lunged in the mud and water. There was a scream. She swayed, holding tight to the gun and sheet.

"Hol im! Git the other leg!"

The crowbar fell again. There was another scream.

"Yuh break em?" asked the sheriff.

The tall man lifted Johnny-Boy's legs and let them drop limply again, dropping rearward from the kneecaps. Johnny-Boy's body lay still. His head had rolled to one side and she could not see his face.

"Jus lika broke sparrow wing," said the man, laughing softly.

Then Johnny-Boy's face turned to her; he

screamed.

"Go way, ma! Go way!"

It was the first time she had heard his voice since she had come out to the woods; she all but lost control of herself. She started violently forward, but the sheriff's arm checked her.

"Aw, now! Yuh had yo chance!" He turned to Johnny-Boy. "She kin go ef yuh talk."

"Mistah, he ain gonna talk," she said.

"Go way, ma!" said Johnny-Boy.

"Shoot im! Don make im suffah so," she begged.

"He'll either talk or he'll never hear yuh ergin," the sheriff said. "Theres other things we kin do t im."

She said nothing.

"Whut yuh come here, fer, ma?" Johnny-Boy sobbed.

"Ahm gonna split his eardrums," the sheriff said. "Ef yuh got anythin to say t im yuh bettah say it now!"

She closed her eyes. She heard the sheriff's feet sucking in mud. Ah could save im! She opened her eyes; there were shouts of eagerness from the crowd as it pushed in closer.

"Bus em, Sheriff!"

"Fix im so he cant hear!"

"He knows how t do it, too!"

"He busted a Jew boy tha way once!"

She saw the sheriff stoop over Johnny-Boy, place his flat palm over one ear and strike his fist against it with all his might. He placed his palm over the other ear and struck again. Johnny-Boy moaned, his head rolling from side to side, his eyes showing white amazement in a world without sound.

"Yuh wouldnt talk t im when yuh had the chance," said the sheriff. "Try a talk now."

She felt warm tears on her cheeks. She longed to shoot Johnny-Boy and let him go. But if she did that they would take the gun from her, and Booker would tell who the others were. Lawd, hep me! The men were talking loudly now, as though the main business was over. It seemed ages that she stood there watching Johnny-Boy roll and whimper in his world of silence.

"Say, Sheriff, heres somebody lookin fer yuh!"

"Who is it?"

"Ah don know!"

"Bring em in!"

She stiffened and looked around wildly, holding the gun tight. Is tha Booker? Then she held still, feeling that her excitement might betray her. Mabbe Ah kin shoot em both! Mabbe Ah kin shoot twice! The sheriff stood in front of her, waiting. The crowd parted and she saw Booker hurrying forward.

"Ah know em all, Sheriff!" he called.

He came full into the muddy clearing where Johnny-Boy lay.

"Yuh mean yuh got the names?"

"Sho! The ol nigger..."

She saw his lips hang open and silent when he saw her. She stepped forward and raised the sheet.

"Whut..."

She fired, once; then, without pausing, she turned, hearing them yell. She aimed at Johnny-Boy, but they had their arms around her, bearing

her to the ground, clawing at the sheet in her hand. She glimpsed Booker lying sprawled in the mud, on his face, his hands stretched out before him; then a cluster of yelling men blotted him out. She lay without struggling, looking upward through the rain at the white faces above her. And she was suddenly at peace; they were not a white mountain now; they were not pushing her any longer to the edge of life. Its awright...

"She shot Booker!"

"She hada gun in the sheet!"

"She shot im right thu the head!"

"Whut she shoot im fer?"

"Kill the bitch!"

"Ah thought somethin wuz wrong bout her!"

"Ah wuz fer givin it t her from the firs!"

"Thas whut yuh git fer treatin a nigger nice!"

"Say, Bookers dead!"

She stopped looking into the white faces, stopped listening. She waited, giving up her life before they took it from her; she had done what she wanted. Ef only Johnny-Boy... She looked at him; he lay looking at her with tired eyes. Ef she could only tell im! But he lay already buried in a grave of silence.

"Whu yuh kill im fer, hunh?"

It was the sheriff's voice; she did not answer.

"Mabbe she wuz shootin at yuh, Sheriff?"

"Whut yuh kill im fer?"

She felt the sheriff's foot come into her side; she closed her eyes.

"Yuh black bitch!"

"Let her have it!"

"Yuh reckon she foun out bout Booker?"

"She mighta."

"Jesus Chris, whut yuh dummies waitin on!"

"Yeah; kill her!"

"Kill em both!"

"Let her know her nigger sons dead firs!"

She turned her head toward Johnny-Boy; he lay looking puzzled in a world beyond the reach of voices. At leas he cant hear, she thought.

"C mon, let im have it!"

She listened to hear what Johnny-Boy could not. They came, two of them, one right behind the other; so close together that they sounded like one shot. She did not look at Johnny-Boy now; she looked at the white faces of the men, hard and wet in the glare of the flashlights.

"Yuh hear tha, nigger woman?"

"Did tha surprise im? Hes in hell now wonderin whut hit im!"

"C mon! Give it t her, Sheriff!"

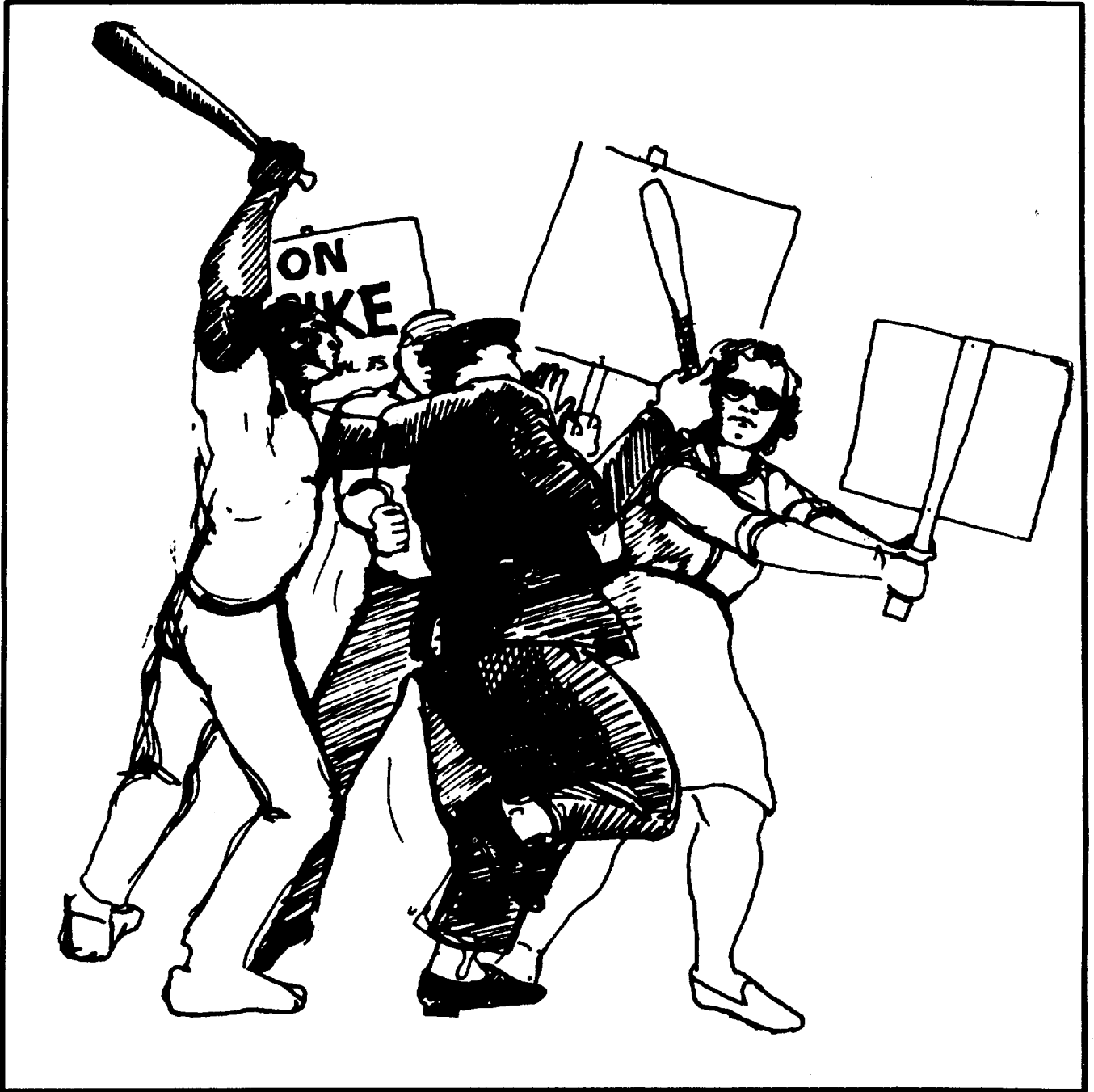
"Lemme shoot her, Sheriff! It wuz mah pal she shot!"

"Awright, Pete! Thas fair ernuff!"

She gave up as much of her life as she could before they took it from her. But the sound of the shot and the streak of fire that tore its way through her chest forced her to live again, intensely. She had not moved, save for the slight jarring impact of the bullet. She felt the heat of her own blood warming her cold, wet back. She yearned suddenly to talk. "Yuh didnt git whut yuh wanted! N yuh ain gonna nevah git it! Yuh didnt kill me; Ah come here by mahsef..." She felt rain falling into her wide-open, dimming eyes and heard faint

voices. Her lips moved soundlessly. **Yuh didnt
git yuh didnt yuh didnt** . . . Focused and pointed she
was, buried in the depths of her star, swallowed
in its peace and strength; and not feeling her

flesh growing cold, cold as the rain that fell from
the invisible sky upon the doomed living and the
dead that never dies.



CHALLENGE

"We will not recognize any back-to-work injunction that the state may file against this strike, and we will not accept layoffs during it either."
"This (truly) is the power that we are and the power we're going to be."
(Bob Nassef, PL'er and head of the striking Philadelphia PSSU)

A WEEK OF STRUGGLE

BUENOS AIRES, July 7—A two-day strike was called today by the 3 million strong Federation of Labor (CGT) against President Isabel Perón refusal to grant wage increases of 150 per cent to counter the inflation and high cost of living. It was the first General Strike called against a Peronist government here.

For the last three weeks rank-and-file workers have been waging mass strikes and mass mobilizations against Isabel's wage freeze (see last two issues of CHALLENGE). Today's General Strike was forced by the almost total shutting down of the country by rank-and-file workers.

Last week the auto industry and the steel industry were paralyzed by wildcat strikes. The bus and subway workers of Buenos Aires shut down the city with a strike. Textile workers marched to Buenos Aires and had to fight cops. In La Plata, workers and cops had a shootout. One cop was injured and many workers were arrested. In Rosario, 15,000 workers attacked the offices of the CGT demanding a general strike.

As a matter of fact, the calling of the general strike by the rightwing leadership of the CGT was nothing but a response to reality, since the whole country has been virtually paralyzed for 10 days by rank-and-file led strikes.

The rightwing Peronist union hacks are trying to blame everything on the fascist Minister of Social Welfare, José López Rega ("the witch") and other fascist cabinet members of Isabel Perón, all of whom just resigned from the cabinet.

The truth is that Peronism is not working as a last hope by the capitalists and imperialists to save capitalism from workers' revolution

DOMINICAN REPUBLIC—Doctors working for all public hospitals went out on strike on July 5 demanding higher wages. The strike was called by the Dominican Medical Association, since the doctors earn hunger wages.

The government is using army doctors as scabs but it isn't working. Nurses who have supported the doctors' strike are being persecuted by the fascist police of Joaquín Balaguer.

Also, hundreds of workers are still under arrest when the government started mass round-ups last month, claiming that a guerrilla group had landed here. Among the arrested, the leadership of the Federation of Labor (CGT), including the head of the CGT, Francisco Antonio Santos. The CGT wants that tradeunionists, rank-and-file caucus and workers in general, write to: Joaquín Balaguer, Palacio Nacional, Santo Domingo, Dominican Republic, protesting the arrests of Santos and other tradeunionists.



General Dynamics strikers stop scabs (full story on page 3)

NYC, Philadelphia, Groton, Conn.: Scabs Stopped, Troopers Fought.

STRIKE TO WIN!

Pennsylvania: Confrontations Mark General Strike



PHILADELPHIA, July 17—What started out as the first general strike against a state government in U.S. labor history went into its second week as 12,000 members of the Pennsylvania Social Service Union and the PESEA manned their picket lines, while the 70,000-member AFSCME union ordered its membership back to work pending ratification of their contract.

THE AFSCME NEGOTIATING COMMITTEE and Policy Committee are recommending acceptance of what has to be one of the worst contracts in the history of that union. The leadership settled for a 2-year contract; no costs of living

escalator; no dental plan; 3.5 per cent wage increase (which was the state's original offer; .11 cents an hour more effective Jan. 1976-July 1976, which roughly makes up loss of pay during the strike; effective July 1, 1976-1977 .30 cents an hour more. The worst part of the contract calls for the amending of the pay scale so that starting salaries would be 5 per cent lower than the current starting salary. Present employees would be effected if they were promoted or transferred to another category. (Their pay would be figured on the new amended pay scale).

In Philadelphia, the predominantly black AF- (continued on page 3)