

Fighting Worker

Response to:

THE BOSTON BUSING CRISIS

(1974 - 1976)

\$.75 Donation

**Boston Busing Crisis:
A Monopolist "Divide and Conquer" Scheme
and Testing Ground for Fascism.**

Collection of leaflets, articles and mini-pamphlets put out by the *Fighting Worker* in its efforts to help unite the multi-national working class of Boston and national minority and white working class communities of Boston against the monopolist and their system's economic crisis, and especially against the Government's Boston Busing Plan which represents the increasing presence of fascist measures in the public schools and in these communities, and against the fascist movement around ROAR and the Marshals, etc. fomented and organized in sham opposition to the fascist measures of the government.

— Published May 1977

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Fighting Worker Statement of Purpose 2

Introduction 3

Busing in Boston — The Monopolists "Divide & Conquer". 12

Phase II and You. 16

To the *Honest* Followers of R.O.A.R. 23

Oppose the Receivership of South Boston High School! 30

Bi-Lingual Education on the Busing Plan 34

Latin Community Leads Fight Against Phase II 35

Boston Construction Jobs for Boston Workers! 40

Busing in Everett — A Different Story 44

Black, Latin & White Parents Hold *Anti-Busing* Press Conference. 46

East Boston Keeps High School But Massport Real Victor 51

Everett Parents Win School Transportation & Decent Class Size!
Boston Parents Fight for Decent Class Size Begins 53

FIGHTING WORKER Statement of Purpose

The *Fighting Worker* is a group of honest working people, mostly with families who feel that there is a fighting alternative to the many problems that working people face today at the hands of the monopolists. Through our articles (which are group efforts), we hope to educate and in turn learn from our brothers and sisters on the need to "walk tall" and stand together in these times of inflation, unemployment, and general depression conditions.

Our basic message is ORGANIZE. Where there are no unions we must organize them. Where there are, we must become active in them and force our unions to become active in the fight for higher wages to meet rising prices, better and safer working conditions, shorter work weeks, the preservation of our right to strike; and putting the unions back where they belong — in the hands of the workers. We believe that the present U.S. government is a tool of Big Business and that we working people cannot rely on the Democratic or Republican Parties or anyone else to do our fighting for us. We believe that it is in the interest of all U.S. workers of all nationalities to develop fighting UNITY against the monopolists and their government. White workers in particular must reject the lie that white people are better than other people which has been pushed by the rich and their servants to keep the working class divided.

If our society is ever to advance again and blossom, it will require the organization and unity of working people both on the job and in the political arena.

We welcome your responses-- letters, articles, donations-- and look forward to meeting you in the months ahead.

Write to:

FIGHTING WORKER

P.O. Box 201, West Lynn Station, Lynn, Mass. 01905

INTRODUCTION

For more than two years, the city of Boston has experienced a state of seige, probably not so very different from that experienced by the Founding Fathers in this "Cradle of Liberty" 200 years ago, when Boston was occupied by British troops. From September of 1974 to the present, the use of police on a massive scale in Boston, including city police, the Tactical Patrol Force (T.P.F.), Metropolitan and State Police, National Guard, etc. has helped to foment a climate of fear and hatred among the working class communities of Boston of the different nationalities. The Boston Busing Plan (Phases I, II, and now IIB) has been the issue around which this dangerous, anti-working class climate has been created and intensified. Yet unlike the aroused, involved, politically knowledgeable citizens of Revolutionary Boston in 1776, the generally apathetic, cynical and demoralized citizens of present-day Boston have so far been largely unsuccessful in mounting a counter-offensive against the present day rulers of Boston — no longer a King George, but now instead the bankers and politicians, the businessmen of State Street Bank, Prudential Insurance, Gillette Co., etc. who are taxing the citizens at an unprecedented rate and giving repression instead of representation in return.

Thus the people of Boston, a city made up overwhelmingly of poor and working people, are today still bristling under the heel of oppression; and the great energy of the multi-national working class, instead of being united and channeled against its common enemy — monopoly capital and its government apparatus — remains directed inward, against itself. Although the *Fighting Worker* material presented here cannot be a record culminating in victory for the working class at this time, we consider that the wealth of experience of the working class gained in this crisis is important to share with our brothers and sisters in other cities in the northern U.S.A., where forced school busing plans are being introduced. By learning from the bitter experience of the working class in Boston, the working class movement in these cities may come more quickly to understand the sophisticated ways that the U.S. monopoly businessmen and their government lackeys introduce "reforms" from "above" which, in the name of improving the lives of the working class as a whole or of national minority people or of a section of the working class, etc., actually carry through change that takes rights and resources *away* from the already hard-pressed poor and working people of this country.

History teaches us that Boston, the citadel of repression in the 13 colonies, was turned into the cradle of liberty in 1776. The *Fighting Worker* believes that the Boston Busing Plan represents a Monopolist effort to make Boston once again into a citadel of repression as one of the opening shots of their present-day effort to institute repression as a greater part of their rule in the country as a whole. But armed with the knowledge of our history, we are confident that the working class and national minority people of Boston, the present-day *people* of Boston, can once again in unity with workers throughout the country, turn Boston into a Cradle of Liberty.

* * *

The *Fighting Worker's* decision to publish this collection of all our articles, leaflets and mini-pamphlets regarding the Boston Busing Crisis in one large pamphlet is based on our view that the lessons of the experience of the workers of Boston with the monopolists can be extremely valuable to the working class movement throughout the country in developing more effective forms of uniting the working class in common struggle against the common enemy. The introduction of busing plans in other northern cities seems to us to be aimed at the same goals which the monopolists have so far largely achieved here.

The basic goal of monopoly capital here has been to shift the burden of the consequences of their system's economic crisis onto the shoulders of the working class. With their system's increasing inability to provide decent standards for existence to the working class, more and more repressive methods are instituted to replace more costly programs of social service such as unemployment compensation, welfare, educational opportunities, etc.

In Boston, among the goals achieved thus far by the monopolists largely on the basis of the Boston Busing Plan are: (1) a sharp cutback in the number of public schools (especially in the Black Community), cutbacks in the number of teachers and in the bi-lingual and other special programs; (2) new *direct* role of the biggest businesses, banks, and insurance companies in the high school curricula at the workers' (taxpayers') expense; (3) increase of police presence, surveillance and repression in the public schools, increased police overtime, and increased police presence in the working class and national minority communities of Boston; (4) drastic cutback in unemployment compensation payments through sharp restrictions on eligibility for benefits under new Massachusetts law — a development which, according to Gov. Dukakis, has made Massachusetts more "attractive" to business investors; (5) record tax increases both in the State and in the City of Boston.

The main way that the monopolists have been able to accomplish these goals is by further dividing the already-divided working class along national lines. And this further division has taken place precisely at this moment when unity of the multi-national working class has been more clearly needed than at any time in recent history.

Yet there are certain goals that the monopolists have tried, but have *not* been successful in achieving so far in Boston. These include: (1) the effort to break the unions, especially in the construction industry; and (2) the effort to lay off hundreds of low-level service workers on the Boston city payroll.

In the midst of the difficult times of disruption and division and even hysteria created by the monopolists and their servants in ROAR, the NAACP, etc., on February 18, 1976, two bursts of sunshine brightened the situation and gave reason for real optimism for the long-run. First, the Latin parents and students who were involved in the South Boston High School bi-lingual program picketed outside and testified inside Judge Garrity's courtroom, and *won* their demand to move their bi-lingual program to a school in the Latin community — thus exposing the lie that the national minority parents supported the Busing Plan and also creating a precedent whereby Judge Garrity poked holes in his own Busing Plan. On the same day and only a few blocks away, several thousand city workers staged a one-day strike and picket line at Boston City Hall protesting against the proposed layoff of 700 city workers. These service workers demanded that any layoffs start with their bureaucratic bosses at the top and they succeeded in stopping the layoffs from taking place. It was inspiring to see these Black and white workers marching arm in arm against City Hall and to witness Black and white workers dancing the Irish jig at different places in the crowd. The fact that these workers were still able to unite after all the poison of white chauvinism had been spread was remarkable and also vital to their successful effort to prevent the massive layoff at that time.

The *Fighting Worker* has attempted to help unite the white working class communities and national minority communities of Boston, not only against the Busing Plan but also against the other big attacks on our conditions of life launched by the monopolists in this period. It is tragic that many of the white city workers from South Boston, etc. who picketed on Feb. 18th didn't know then and still do not know about the successful fight of the Latin parents against Phase II, which fact reveals much of the basis for unity of the multi-national working class in the school situation as well as the job situation, taxes, etc.

The fact remains, however, that the monopolists have been largely successful thus far in shifting the burden of their economic crisis onto the workers here on the basis of the tremendous divisions and hostilities that they have fostered within the multi-national working class.

* * * * *

A few additional points will be helpful to the reader in gaining a grasp of the material and in understanding more completely what forces have been at work in this situation, including the *Fighting Worker*:

(1) Concerning the *Fighting Worker's* role in the Boston Busing Crisis: The *Fighting Worker* was established by a small group of working people in the Lynn area on the industrial North Shore above Boston. It was formed largely on the basis of our experience gained in some shop struggles, in an effort to establish a North Shore Labor Solidarity Conference of the major local unions there against the Nixon Wage Freeze in 1972, and in an effort to democratize one of these large local unions. These efforts met with a mixture of failure and success, and out of this experience a group studying labor history together was formed in early 1973. Out of this group the *Fighting Worker* was established in late '73 in response to the monopolist-created "oil crisis."

In the fall of '74 when Judge Garrity's court order hit the Boston schools, we were still based almost entirely on the North Shore. This fact made it extremely difficult for our organization to establish on our own initiative a multi-national working class coalition against the Busing Plan which would be a powerful organizational alternative to the developing fascist ROAR anti-busing leadership among the white working class communities of Boston, and to the pro-monopolist NAACP leadership in the Black and other national minority communities. The predominantly white or Anglo composition of the *Fighting Worker* compounded the problem.

In spite of our limitations in the situation, however, from the very first days of the school year in the Fall of 1974, we struggled for the creation of a multi-national working class coalition against the Busing Plan. For a long period, we focused much of our effort on trying to get the Puerto Rican Socialist Party (P.S.P.) nucleo in Boston to spearhead such a coalition movement. The Boston P.S.P. nucleo at that time strongly agreed with us on the need to develop a multi-national working class coalition against the Boston Busing Plan. Unfortunately, however, because it was a controversial and unpopular position in the U.S. left, and especially because of the tremendous confusion rampant in the Black Community of Boston due to the powerful influence of the monopolist mass media and to the support for the monopolist Plan by the NAACP and most of the Left, the P.S.P. Headquarters in New York City was reluctant to encourage such an initiative by the P.S.P. here. Also, the complexity of the issue and the newness of the P.S.P. organization in the U.S. contributed to the foot-dragging that prevailed in the P.S.P. on this important question. Nevertheless, the fact remains that in that crucial period, the P.S.P. chose to remain linked with the rest of the U.S. Left and to abandon the working class and the oppressed national minority people on this question.

A year later, the P.S.P. and the mass organization of Latin Parents in Boston, El Comité de Padres, which it had helped to found, did help create the beginnings of a multi-national Coalition of this type. But the Boston P.S.P. nucleo, under new and politically-unreliable leadership, abruptly pulled out of both the multi-national Coalition and El Comité de Padres.

Likewise, several outstanding young Afro-American militants in Boston were initially confused by the supposedly-"pro-Black" character of the Busing Plan into being "neutral" about the Plan, under the leadership of the October League, and they spoke on behalf of the October League and its mixture of Marxism, paternalism and liberalism at this critical moment. Within a few months, however, they had seen through the anti-working class liberalism of the October League and by the following year, some of these forces had written a profound analysis of the Boston Busing Crisis and a profound exposure of the October League's role in this crisis. Some of these young Afro-American militants in and around the Harriet Tubman — Nat Turner Collective participated in the effort to establish the multi-national coalition against the Busing Plan in the fall of '75. Later they helped Black Charlestown High School students and their parents to organize to defend themselves under the extremely repressive conditions the students and their parents faced at Charlestown High School. Representatives of a group of young Chinese students and workers that had ties with the Chinese Parents Association, also participated in the Coalition in a positive way, as did representatives of El Comité de Padres.

Two other predominantly-white groups in addition to the *Fighting Worker* were invited to participate in the Coalition. In practice, the Busing Articles Group (B.A.G.) and Compass functioned as one group while having the voting and speaking power of two groups. At each meeting of the Coalition, B.A.G. and Compass would start quoting supposedly-revolutionary and theoretical ideas in the abstract, having the effect of obstructing the Coalition from carrying out practical work of uniting the working class in opposition to the Busing Plan. With their conduct, Compass and B.A.G. made it impossible for the rank-and-file parents of El Comité de Padres, the *Fighting Worker* and the other groups to participate effectively, and tended to drive away from the Coalition the very people most directly affected and most willing to act. By the time the Compass and B.A.G. groups were driven out of the Coalition by the Chinese Support Group, El Comité de Padres and the *Fighting Worker*, much of the school year and many critical opportunities had passed by. In reality, the B.A.G. and Compass people had never really agreed with the basic requirement for participation in the Coalition — that the Busing Plan Phase II was an attack on the entire working class and especially on the national minority communities, and that we were striving to do something about it. From the very beginning of the Coalition meetings, it was clear to the *Fighting Worker* that, at the very least, the B.A.G.-Compass people neither believed that the Busing Plan was especially an attack on the national minority communities, nor did they seriously intend to do something about it.

The obstructionist role of B.A.G.-Compass and the fact that they were tolerated for such a long period by the other groups is a large part of the reason why the initiatives finally undertaken by the remnants of the Coalition were so few and so feeble.

The fact that many of the Black, Chinese and Latin leaders at one time involved in the Coalition have become almost totally absorbed in what they call "vanguard" work to the exclusion of "mass" work leaves the multi-national working class in Boston still without an effective organized alternative to ROAR and the NAACP.

Hopefully this pamphlet will help to re-vitalize some of these important people to take up this urgent and important task once again.

* * * *

(2) The *Fighting Worker* does not see our material as a blueprint or a formula for the way the working class movement must deal with busing plans ordered by the federal courts, etc. in other northern cities or anywhere else in the U.S.A. for that matter.* In fact, the *Fighting Worker* played a leading role in a successful fight for school busing in the city of Everett, located just outside of Boston's city limits (see Pages 44-45 and 53-54 dealing with this situation). We actively participated in that struggle because, under the specific conditions in Everett, school busing led to concrete gains for the education and safety of the working class children there. We believe that forced busing plans introduced by the federal courts in Detroit, Cleveland, Louisville, etc. are all different from each other, and are being implemented in conditions that are very different from each other, as well. We do believe, however, that the basic forces at work are for the most part the same--The monopolists are trying to shift the burden of their economic crisis onto the shoulders of the working class, and the monopolists are trying to further divide, along national lines, the already-divided working class in order to keep us unable to fight back against their monopolist attacks on our conditions of life. It is in this light that our brothers and sisters in the working class movement in Northern cities can use the material presented here to help unite the working class against monopoly capital.

* * * *

(3) Finally, a few *personal* words on how the *Fighting Worker* developed our position on the Boston Busing Crisis. The *Fighting Worker* is an organization of honest and militant working people who believe in militant trade union principles (see our Statement of Purpose). The organization itself operates on trade union principles. All workers who see the need (a) to unite the multi-national working class and (b) to fight the monopolists for a better life for the working

* We recognize that in the South and in the Southwest there are some fundamentally different forces at work. With this in mind, we want to take note of what we believe is an example of positive struggle against a busing plan in a deep South city. It was reported that in Alexandria, Louisiana as the schools opened, the Black community successfully carried out a 100% boycott of the new busing plan there in protest against the unduely large percentage of Black students as compared to white who were being bused!

class and are willing to work in a responsible and consistent way for these aims are welcome to join the *Fighting Worker*. A person may be an atheist, a Catholic, a Hindu, Moslem or any religious persuasion. A person can be for the preservation of the capitalist system and just want to make it more equitable, or he or she may believe, as I do, that the capitalist system itself must be destroyed and replaced by the socialist system run by and for the working class. All these are welcome in the *Fighting Worker*.

As the President of the *Fighting Worker* and one of the main architects of our "controversial" position on the Boston Busing Crisis, I feel it would be dishonest of me to close my introductory remarks to this pamphlet without acknowledging my debt to the science of Marxism-Leninism, the science of the working class. Without this science I would have been unable to contribute to the development of the *Fighting Worker's* correct approach to the complex problem posed by the Boston Busing Crisis to the working class of Boston.

In particular, the teachings of Georgi Dimitrov, the Bulgarian trade union leader, communist leader, and leader of the world movement against German Nazism or Fascism in the 1930's, have confirmed and deepened the position set forth here.

Dimitrov taught 40 years ago that wherever the monopoly capitalists are in power (as in the U.S. today), they try to shift the burden of their economic crisis onto the shoulders of the working class. And as the working class resists this development, more and more the ruling class resorts to repressive measures to maintain control. If not effectively resisted, this process could lead to fascism coming to power.

Prior to the study of Dimitrov's writings against fascism, we had already analyzed the Boston Busing Crisis from the standpoint of the trade union movement, the mass working class movement, as containing *two* fascist motions, each playing off the other, in seeming opposition to the other, but each one furthering the drive toward fascism, toward the elimination of the democratic liberties that still remained for the working class and national minority people of Boston. The study of Dimitrov's writings, however, deepened our understanding of this dual motion and the importance of fighting for unity of the multi-national working class in opposition to the monopolists and to the Boston Busing Plan.

Dimitrov wrote, "before the establishment of a fascist dictatorship, bourgeois governments usually pass through a number of preliminary stages and adopt a number of reactionary measures which directly facilitates the accession to power of fascism. Whoever does not fight the reactionary measures of the bourgeoisie and the growth of fascism at these preparatory stages is not in a position to prevent the victory of fascism, but, on the contrary, facilitates that victory." [Georgi Dimitrov, *Dimitrov on United Front*, New Delhi, India; 1971; pp. 4-5] This makes clear (especially in light of the fact that this "reform" was not being demanded by any mass

movement of workers and/or national minority people), the need to oppose the Federal Government court-ordered forced busing plan, which took control of the school system away from corrupt, but *elected* officials, and put control in the hands of a federal judge backed by massive police power.

At the same time, Dimitrov wrote that, "Fascism is able to attract the masses because it demagogically appeals to their *most urgent needs and demands*. Fascism not only inflames prejudices that are deeply ingrained in the masses, but also plays on the better sentiments of the masses, on their sense of justice, and sometimes even on their revolutionary traditions." [Ibid., p.5] In Boston, ROAR, the South Boston Marshals and other groupings around Louise Day Hicks, John Kerrigan, et al., have built themselves a base out of the frustrations of the white workers with the lack of jobs, inflation, etc. as well as their justifiable resentment of the federal government's encroachment into their personal lives involved with the education and safety of their children. ROAR leaders in particular have played on their distorted version of our "revolutionary traditions," to make their appeal more attractive in the bicentennial year, etc. ROAR's "Pledge of Allegiance," its songs, all reflect this characteristic.

Dimitrov further points out that, "It would be a gross mistake to lay down any sort of universal scheme of the development of fascism, valid for all countries and all peoples. Such a scheme would not help but would hamper us in carrying on a real struggle. Apart from everything else, it would result in indiscriminately thrusting into the camp of fascism those sections of the population which if properly approached, could at a certain stage of development be brought into the struggle against fascism or could at least be neutralized." [Ibid., p.84]

All the above made clear the importance of exposing the ROAR leadership to the many white workers who, at least initially, were honest followers of ROAR. (See PP. 23-29 of this pamphlet, "To the *Honest* Followers of ROAR.")

In essence, both the federal government with its repressive measures including the Busing Plan (backed by the NAACP) and the ROAR leadership with its anti-busing plank share a common belief in white *chauvinism*, which Dimitrov said is the "main instrument of ideological influence of the fascists on the masses." [Ibid. p.70] The federal government says that Black people need to oe with white people in order to get an education; ROAR says that it is the Black people who are responsible for the Busing Plan, the elimination of democratic liberties, police occupation of the white working class communities, etc.

Thus both these forces spread white chauvinism among the masses.

One final point made by Dimitrov is extremely helpful today in understanding and dealing with the Boston Busing Crisis as one opening round in the U.S. big business drive toward fascism:

"Let us take for example so important a country in the capitalist world as the *United States of America*. There millions of people have been set into motion by the crisis. The programme for the recovery of capitalism has collapsed. Vast masses are beginning to abandon the bourgeoisie parties and are at present at the crossroads.

"Embryo American fascism is trying to direct the disillusionment and discontent of these masses into reactionary fascist channels. It is a peculiarity of the development of American fascism that at the present stage it comes forward principally in the guise of an opposition to fascism, which it accuses of being an 'un-American' trend imported from abroad. In contradistinction to German fascism, which acts under anti-constitutional slogans, American fascism tries to portray itself as the custodian of the Constitution and 'American Democracy.' It does not as yet represent a directly menacing force. But if it succeeds in penetrating the wide masses who have become disillusioned with the old bourgeois parties, it may become a serious menace in the very near future.

"And what would the victory of fascism in the United States involve? For the mass of working people it would, of course, involve the unprecedented strengthening of the regime of exploitation and destruction of the working class movement." [Ibid., p.31]

In reading this quote keep in mind that the federal government and ROAR both hide their real motives and activities behind slogans such as "defense of democracy" and "defense of the Constitution." And remember that the majority of those eligible to vote in the upcoming Presidential Elections are now expected to stay away from the polls! Remembering that this was written over 40 years ago makes its applicability to the present situation all the more remarkable.

* * * * *

I hope that this introduction to the pamphlet proves helpful to you, in putting the various articles, leaflets and mini-pamphlets into the right perspective and that from this pamphlet you will gain some insight and some inspiration with which to actively fight for the unity of the working class movement in the difficult days ahead.

October 1, 1976

Fraternally,
President of the *Fighting Worker*

We welcome your criticisms of this pamphlet. Please write:

Fighting Worker
P.O. Box 201, West Lynn Sta., Lynn, Mass. 01905

BUSING IN BOSTON

The Monopolists "Divide & Conquer" *

As the economic situation for working people deteriorates, we workers have a greater need than ever for unity in struggle against the monopolists of the oil companies, the utilities, the insurance companies and the banks. The monopolists like Rockefeller and their front men in the federal government know this and they try in every way to keep the working people divided.

The biggest and deepest division among working people today is between the white and Black workers. The monopolist rulers and their government stooges know that the brainwashing of the white workers built on the little better jobs and living conditions which white workers have (compared to the Black people) has kept the majority of the white workers hostile to or at least afraid of the Black people. For years the white workers have sided with their oppressors, the rich whites, rather than uniting with their fellow workers the Black workers, Puerto Rican and other national minority workers on the job, in the political arena, etc. The forced busing of the school children of Boston is a scheme ordered by the federal government, the main tool of big business, to further divide Black and white workers as times get tougher for us all.

The federal government dictated the forced busing against the will of the majority of both the Black and white working class communities of Boston. The polls taken of Boston parents just before the schools opened in September showed that *the majority of both Black and white parents* had no desire to bus their children to school. The majority of Black parents, having gone through the struggle for "integrated" education in the 1950's and 1960's, are well aware in 1974 that integration and busing do not mean quality education. No parents want their children to be taken out of their community for any reason, unless there is great benefit to be gained from this. The Boston school system as a whole does a poor job of "educating" the youth. As inadequate as are the schools, facilities, and teachers provided for the Black youth, the schools in South Boston and other white working class areas are almost as bad, and not worth the disruption to community life in either South Boston or Roxbury, for example.

* This was published as a Special Issue of the *Fighting Worker* on December 14, 1974.

The immediate response to the forced busing was that in South Boston, gangs of white thugs threw rocks at Black children on their way to school. At that point, millionaire liberals like Kennedy and Black liberals like Thomas Atkins of the N.A.A.C.P. tried to whip up support in the Black community for forced busing. Those Black people who followed Kennedy and Atkins, etc. provided an object for the thugs to lead the South Boston workers against. Thus, in the name of opposing the fascists, the Black middle class liberals, led by the rich white liberals, gave powerful support to the small but growing movement of fascist thugs led by Boston City Councilor Louise Day Hicks and Schoolboard Chairman Kerrigan! With the liberals' help, Hicks and Kerrigan were able to use the busing issue to channel the frustration of thousands of South Boston parents against Black people instead of against the monopolists and their government.

Frustrated at their inability to keep up with the cost of living and unable to provide a decent life for their families, the white working class people of South Boston have followed Hicks and Kerrigan instead of uniting with the Black people who have a similar frustration, and channeling our *common* frustration against our monopolist rulers who are responsible for making owning our own home, oil and heating fuel, electricity, automobiles, and even basic items like meat and sugar, etc. beyond our families' means. They have helped our rulers to further divide the working people at a critical moment for ourselves and our families.

The Black and white working class people of Boston, caught in the liberal ("pro-busing") vs. fascist ("anti-busing") political *vicious circle*, have allowed the fascist thugs in South Boston to grow in number and to intensify and broaden their terror tactics to include gang beatings and lynch mob type terror against any Black person who happens into South Boston. The explosive growth of the "lynch mob" from 150 on the opening day of school to 1500 outside South Boston High School on Dec. 11, underscores the tremendous failure of liberal ("pro-busing") politics to unite the working people of Boston.

What Can We Do?

While both Black and white students have mounted boycott efforts, apparently no one has suggested that a *joint* boycott of the forced busing program be mounted to end the busing and to demand that the money be used instead to improve or replace the existing terrible school system in all parts of the city; such a joint boycott could also push forward the demand that the money collected in the wealthy school districts be redistributed to establish state- or nation-wide educational system, so that cities of the poor such as Boston would not have a "poor" school system.

Real unity of white working class people with the Black working people of Boston to achieve quality education for our children can only be won if several things are frankly admitted by all concerned:

1. The Black people whose community is under attack should exercise great unity and have the absolute right to use any means necessary for the defense of their community.
2. Hicks and Kerrigan, as important School Committee people during the past decade, are two of those directly responsible for the terrible "education" which the children of South Boston as well as Roxbury receive. Yet it is these same Hicks and Kerrigan who are now holding aloft the banner of "defending" "quality education"!
3. The white school boycott, where it has failed to divorce itself from, denounce and oppose the thugs who have thrown rocks at little Black children coming to schools and physically attacked any Black people in their communities, has given aid and comfort to the fascist hoodlums led by Hicks and Kerrigan.
4. Directly benefitting from the busing crisis, the American Party candidate for Massachusetts Governor — Kahian — actually won the election in the South Boston area!! and polled over 60,000 votes in Mass. In supporting the fascists, the white working people of South Boston are supporting the KKK and American Party, the very forces who in the past have oppressed and terrorized the Catholic people and the labor movement where ever they have had the power to do so.
5. Irish Catholic people of South Boston who attack Black people while claiming to support the struggle for civil rights and independence of their brothers and sisters in Ireland, are today fighting *against* a similar and equally just struggle of Black people in the U.S.A. for civil rights and independence!

Will a portion of German history repeat itself in the U.S.A., beginning in Boston and spreading to the whole country — will there be an Irish-American Catholic priest who will someday say; "when they attacked the Black people, I did nothing; when they destroyed the labor movement, I did nothing; and now when they are coming for me, it is too late!"

Well, it's not too late yet. The white working class people of Charlestown correctly began their anti-busing struggle against the federal government which had forced the busing on them and not against Black people. However, partly because with the exception of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), no other Black community organization has come out publicly and strongly *against* the forced busing, and because they were intimidated by the vicious police attacks

against their demonstrations, and most importantly because many in Charlestown have been caught up in the white supremacist ideas pushed by big business through both the fascist and liberal politicians which have intensified throughout the Boston area, the white working people of Charlestown have not yet attempted to develop unity with the Black people of Boston.

The long run interests of both the Black and white working people of Boston lies in their finding fighting unity against the monopolists, and this includes Black and white unity against the federal government busing program. The forced busing of the "liberal" federal government and today's anti-busing campaign led by fascists like Hicks and Kerrigan are an offensive *against* our interests as working people. It is only on the basis of Black and white unity that we can improve our children's education and turn around the deteriorating conditions under which our families are more and more forced to live. And it is on this basis that the struggle against busing can become a part of the general struggle to advance the welfare of our families, our communities, and our country.

Defend the Black Community!

Develop Black, Puerto Rican and white working class unity

against the federal government's forced busing!

—against Hicks' anti-Black fascist thugs

—against the Kennedy-Atkins ("pro-busing") liberals.

Fight for Quality Education!

1. *Joint Black and white boycott of forced busing.*
2. *Equalization of all school funding in Massachusetts.*
3. *Working class control of schools in Black & white working class communities.*

*Black, Latin and White Working Class Parents of Boston --
"Big Business is Coming . . . Big Business is Coming!!!"*

PHASE II & YOU *

THE FIGHT FOR QUALITY EDUCATION

An old Negro spiritual tells us, "Keep your Eye on the Prize, Hold On!" All working class parents in Boston cherish the thought that a better education for their children will mean a brighter future. As the Depression takes hold of this country, the dream of a more prosperous life becomes more and more removed from reality and more and more *just* a dream. Nevertheless, many working class parents, especially among the Black and Puerto Rican people and among other national minorities, see a quality education for their children not only as a vehicle for their individual family's escape from hardship, but as a vehicle for their people and their class, for all the toilers of this country, to become free of exploitation and oppression. *The prize of quality education for our working class children is certainly a prize worth fighting for.*

Federal Judge Garrity's Boston School Busing Order was *not* issued in response to grass roots demands from the Boston Black community or any working class community for integrated education. The majority of Black parents, having gone through the struggle for "integrated" education in the 1950's and 1960's, were well aware in 1974 that integration and busing do not necessarily mean quality education. And Busing *within* Boston, a city of poor and working class people, means little or no improvement in education for the children bused away from their homes and communities, even under the most ideal circumstances. No parents want their children to be taken out of their community for any reason, unless there is great benefit to be gained from this. As inadequate as are the schools, facilities, and teachers provided for the Black youth, the schools in South Boston and other white working class areas are almost as bad, and not worth the disruption to community life in either South Boston or Roxbury, for example. *The Boston Busing Plans represent no concrete steps toward quality education for any of Boston's children.*

* This was published as a Special Issue of the *Fighting Worker* on May 17, 1975.

THE BOSTON BUSING PLAN— THE MONOPOLISTS DIVIDE AND CONQUER

WHO'S BEHIND THE BOSTON BUSING PLAN?

The Busing Articles Group from East Boston, among others, has dug out the *facts* surrounding the 1974 Boston Busing Plan. The facts indicate that this Plan was a conscious conspiracy of the biggest businesses in the Boston area: Judge Garrity's Boston School Busing Order was based on the Racial Imbalance Act of 1965 which in turn based itself on the Kiernan Report of 1965. The Kiernan Report was prepared by the "Advisory Committee on Racial Imbalance and Education" which, behind a screen of "prestigious educators and churchmen", included such big business representatives as:

"RALPH LOWELL, . . . a trustee of the Provident Institute of Savings, . . . Chairman of the Board of the Executive Committee of the Boston Safe Deposit and Trust Co.; Honorary Director of John Hancock; Board member of the Suffolk Savings Bank; a director of the *Boston Globe*; member of the Advisory Council on Public Schools; and honorary director of the Massachusetts Tax-Payer's Foundation.

ERWIN CANHAM. . . the editor of the *Christian Science Monitor*; Director of John Hancock Mutual Life Insurance Co.; and Director of Resources for the Future (a Ford Foundation agency); as well as all sorts of other things.

CARL J. GILBERT . . . The former Chairman of the Board of Gillette; a director of various financial groups; President of the Association of Independent Colleges and Universities of Mass.; a Trustee of the Committee of Economic Development, a nationwide policy-making group of businessmen from the most powerful corporations in the country.

LUCY BENSON, National President of the League of Women Voters; a trustee of Northeast Utilities; Director of the Dreyfus Third Century Fund; and currently the new Commissioner of Human Services in the Dukakis Regime.

And finally, THOMAS HENNESSY, President of New England Telephone and Telegraph; and a trustee of the Charlestown Savings Bank."
[from "The State Connection," distributed by the Busing Articles Group]

The Busing Articles Group also exposed a powerful body called the "Massachusetts Advisory Council on Education" or MACE which is a group "composed or people appointed by the governor . . . empowered to recommend to the governor who should be appointed to the State Board of Education ... and ... determines what the State Board of Education will hear and vote on." Most of MACE's "advisory" papers are "prepared by something called the Lincoln Filene Center for Citizenship and Public Affairs located at Tufts University . . . On the Board of Directors of the Lincoln Filene Center are to be found: Ralph Lowell, Lucy Benson, Carl J. Gilbert and Erwin Canham!!!"

MACE, the monopolist powers behind MACE, and the Massachusetts Board of Education, are *against* working class community control of schools. Education, says MACE, "plays too vital a role in the overall economic health of a state to leave its effective functioning in the hands of localities."

Phase I and II were designed by the monopolists to break up the working class communities of Boston (especially the Black community which has been the most active in the fight against the monopolists), to pit white workers against Black, and to bring Big Business and their police in more direct control of the education of the "dislocated" working class youth of Boston.

PHASE I – THE MONOPOLISTS DIVIDE

In Boston during this school year, Phase I served to disrupt rather than improve the education of the working class youth concentrated here. The working people of Boston who by September 1974 had plenty of reasons to *unite against* the monopolists – soaring prices, soaring profits and soaring unemployment, to name a few – have become *further divided* around the busing issue introduced by the monopolists.

The increased division of the working people of Boston in the face of developing Depression is due primarily to the fact that the white working class communities and especially South Boston working people, have been mobilized behind the openly white-supremacist Hicks - Flynn - Kerrigan et al, and have attacked the Black people and other national minority people instead of the monopolists really responsible for their problems. Hicks and Kerrigan have for years covered up and apologized for the monopolists who are unwilling to allow us working people a quality education with which we could actively fight their system of unemployment, inflation, moral and spiritual decay, etc. Instead of blaming Hicks, Kerrigan and the other School Committee people over the years for the lousy education their children are receiving, South Boston workers are now following these same politicians! and are blaming and attacking the Black people who are precisely those working class parents who over the past decade have fought actively for quality education!!!

Hicks and the rest of ROAR's leadership, in the name of opposing 100% tax valuation, are now helping the Big Boston Bankers and Industrialists to put over their scheme for getting Boston working people to take on an even heavier tax burden which Big Business is seeking with its 100% valuation on Boston property! ROAR's leaders, instead of bringing its membership up against the monopolists responsible – for example, Massport Authority, covering 2/3 of East Boston, pays no taxes!!! – is covering up for the monopolists by making the Black community the *scapegoat!* On the education front, while appealing to the white parents of South Boston, for example, on the legitimate basis of concern for losing what little control over their children's education they had previously, ROAR leadership directs the anger of its members and other white working people *not* against the monopolists who engineered the Boston Busing Plan, but against the Black community who have less control over their children's education than even the white working people have! Scratch a ROAR leader and find an aspiring political front man for big business – Flynn, Kerrigan, Hicks, Avi Nelson, Palladino, etc.!

What a blow to working class unity and what a disgusting and tragic spectacle to have white working class youth following ROAR's leaders and attacking and stoning innocent young Black children on their way to school!

Meanwhile the monopolists are using Black middle class misleaders like Thomas Atkins to mobilize workers of the oppressed nationalities to support (through busing) the police and federal government, the very force which have been used over the years by big business to keep the Black people oppressed! Last summer, before busing began, the Black people of Boston held massive protests against police brutality. Now, people such as Leon Nelson, the Boston NAACP march co-ordinator of the May 17th Rally, can get away with describing these same cops as "Boston's finest"!! [Boston Globe, 5/15/75, p.24]

ROAR, a fascist movement, is being built under the banner of resistance to the real fascist measures of the federal government. And increased use of police and other fascist measures are being introduced by the federal government under the banner of opposition to the fascist movement of ROAR. Thus under Phase I, the Black and white working people of Boston were caught up in the monopolists' "liberal" (but really dictatorial) pro-busing Vs. ROAR's "democratic" (but really terrorist) anti-busing VICIOUS CIRCLE. The monopolists' success in confusing and dividing the working people of Boston paved the way for Phase II

PHASE II AND YOU – THE MONOPOLISTS CONQUER! – DIRECT MONOPOLY TRAINING OF OUR CHILDREN:

Judge Garrity's Phase II Plan is only a week old and many important specifics are not yet known about it. For example, during preparation for Phase II, all Latin American children were classified by teachers as either "white" or "Black", thus in many cases dividing brothers and sisters! While

bi-lingual programs already won by Latin parents will still be available to Spanish-speaking children, the power to decide how many and which children will be going to schools with these programs may well be completely taken out of the hands of the working class parents in the Latin communities.

The main features of Phase II are already clear, however: (1) *Increased numbers of children are to be bused* — (2) *especially Black community children are to be dispersed*: More schools in predominantly Black districts will be closed and more children will be bused out of these districts to other areas (percentage-wise) than in any other part of the city! Black parents, many of whom fought for quality education through integration in the early 1960's and then through community control of schools in the late 1960's, will now be in the most difficult position to have a real voice in their children's education under Phase II. (3) *Disruption of white working class communities and especially South Boston!* The South Boston district will have more busing of its children than any other community except the Black community. So this potential base of working class struggle against the monopolists is being disrupted and the concerned (though presently misled) parents of this district will, like the Black parents, have much difficulty in participating in the education of their children.

The dispersal and disruption of these working class communities, through the forcible removal of many of their children to other areas, is all the worse when we realize the following: (4) *the use of the police in schools and of criminal courts in handling school violations has already become acceptable* in the heat of the busing controversy under Phase I, and (5) *the greatest number and percentage of children being bused are elementary school age*. And the monopolists believe that parents, having become conditioned to having little or no say in their children's education, will be ready to accept (6) *the direct involvement of the biggest banks, insurance companies, and industries — in short, big business — in the high school training of our children*. For behind the dust stirred up by the Busing controversy, Phase II sneaks in the "partnership plan" under the Greater Boston Tri-Lateral Task Force (set up June 27, 1974) and "made up of representatives of the Greater Boston Chamber of Commerce, the National Alliance of Businessmen, and the Boston School Department." This Task Force is setting up what it calls "the most comprehensive effort yet undertaken between business and the public schools." Among the partnerships reported (*Boston Globe*, 5/11/75, p.2) are: Gillette Co. Safety Razor Division with South Boston High; First National Bank with Hyde Park High; Stop and Shop with Charlestown High; New England Mutual Life Insurance with Jeremiah Burke High in Roxbury; New England Telephone with Dorchester High; State Street Bank with Roxbury High; Massport Authority with East Boston High. (The Manager of East Boston's Little City Hall even said: "The idea of making East Boston High into a satellite of Massport is absurd. I don't know where the hell it came from.!!")

And Judge Garrity had the conscious purpose in mind of putting the big businessmen's plan into operation as the heart of *his* plan. As the *Boston Globe* put it (5/14/75, p.3): Massachusetts is "a state with double-digit unemployment, a fact not overlooked by Judge Garrity, who wants 'plans to phase out outdated programs and to introduce up-dated programs appropriate to changes in the state's occupational mix!'"

To sum up, Phase II's main characteristics are: (Points 1, 2, 3) increased busing for the increased dispersal and disruption of Boston's working class communities; (4) intensified use of police and courts against school-age youth; (5) taking *young* children far from home and (6) direct involvement of big business in training our youth as *their* future *obedient* workers.

Phase II is a program for fascist training of our children!!

WHAT CAN WE DO?? — FIGHT FOR COMMUNITY CONTROL OF SCHOOLS!!

In New York City, the *Por Los Ninos* ("For the Children") Campaign for community control of schools is an example of a strong fight for quality education being made jointly by Black, Asian, and Latin working class parents. In Boston, with the support of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party, "Parents for Bi-Lingual Education", made up of parents of Spanish-speaking children, have struggled to keep bi-lingual schools open and responsive to the needs of the Latin community. Asian parents have also fought against their children's dispersal. The Congress of Afrikan People (CAP) exposed the Dec. 14 pro-busing rally. Hopefully, CAP will help lead the Black community out of the arms of the federal government and the millionaire white "liberals" — Kennedy, Dukakis, White, State Street Bank, Gillette, et al — and into a sharp struggle for community control of schools in unity with Latin parents and ultimately with the white working class communities of South Boston, East Boston, Charlestown, Jamaica Plain, etc. In East Boston, a group of white working class parents who had got caught up in the beginnings of ROAR, broke with ROAR and the fascist movement without any advice or leadership from white liberals. These actively anti-ROAR East Boston parents (who remain anti-busing) represent the *potential* of the thousands of other white working class people in Boston to wage a fight for quality education *jointly* with the Black, Asian and Latin parents of Boston! We have the opportunity to turn the Boston busing crisis from a very bad thing into a very good thing.

Black, Latin, and white working class parents of Boston:

UNITE IN OPPOSITION TO ROAR!!

- Leave and oppose the open fascists of ROAR !
- Expose ROAR's phony opposition to Phase II and ROAR's real opposition to Black people and to all working people!
- Expose ROAR's pro-monopolist leadership of Hicks, Flynn, Palladino and Kerrigan!
- Defend the Black Community!
- Defend the right of all minority and working class communities to self-defense!

UNITE IN OPPOSITION TO PHASE II !!

- Expose Big Business' phony "pro-Black" and real anti-Black, anti-worker plans!
- Expose the Kennedy-Atkins "pro-busing" liberals!
- Remove Police from all Public Schools!
- Get Big Business out of our schools!

FIGHT FOR QUALITY EDUCATION!!

- Equalization of all school funding in Massachusetts!
- *Voluntary* busing available for *all* Boston working class children to white middle class suburbs *until* state funding is equalized!
- No busing between Boston school districts!
- Joint Black, Latin, and white boycott of forced busing!
- Parental and community control of schools!
- Working class control of schools in Black, Latin, and white working class communities!

*To the Black, Chinese, Latin, and white working class people of Boston,
and especially*

To The Honest Followers Of R.O.A.R. *

As the Boston public schools opened, not only white parents of Charlestown and South Boston, but also large numbers of parents in the Latin and Chinese communities and the Black community decided to have their children boycott the busing plan. These Latin, Chinese and Black parents, like the *honest* white parents, are motivated by concern for the safety of their children and by their community and cultural pride and personal dignity which the busing plan threatens. On the eve of school opening, the Boston Chinese Parents Association announced its intention to boycott. An article in the August 31 issue of *Claridad*, a leading Puerto Rican newspaper, states: "we know that the Puerto Rican community does not want its children bused. It will boycott that plan whether organized or spontaneously." Will the *honest* white working class parents join ranks with the Latin, Chinese and Black people's boycotts? Will they unite with the members of the oppressed national minorities?

As we pointed out in our May 17 pamphlet: "The working people of Boston who by September 1974 had plenty of reasons to *unite against* the monopolists — soaring prices, soaring profits and soaring unemployment, to name a few — have become *further divided* around the busing issue introduced by the monopolists.

"The increased division of the working people of Boston in the face of developing Depression is due primarily to the fact that the white working class communities and especially South Boston working people, have been mobilized behind the openly white-supremacist Hicks-Flynn-Kerrigan et al, and have attacked the Black people and other national minority people instead of the monopolists really responsible for their problems. Hicks and Kerrigan have for years covered up and apologized for the monopolists who are unwilling to allow us working people a quality education with which we could actively fight their system of unemployment, inflation, moral and spiritual decay, etc. Instead of blaming Hicks, Kerrigan and the other School Committee people over the years for the lousy education their children are receiving, South Boston workers are now following these same politicians! and are blaming and attacking the Black people who are precisely those working class parents who over the past decade have fought actively for quality education !!!"

* This was published as a Special Issue of the *Fighting Worker* on September 9, 1975.

PHASE II AND YOU

Phase II is a setback in the struggle for quality education for the children of Boston. The key features of Phase II are cutbacks in teachers, schools and other educational resources, direct involvement of the police and the courts in the schools, direct involvement of the biggest banks, insurance companies and industries in the education of the working class youth of Boston. The *Boston Globe* [9/7/75 & 9/8/75] included the following statistics: On opening day 1974, there were 189 schools in the Boston public school system — on opening day 1975, there were only 162 schools. In 1974, there were 5200 teachers — in 1975, 4950 teachers. (And this is just what occurred in Dearborn, Mich. a few years ago. When the smoke and dust of the busing controversy settled there, the people of Dearborn awoke to find that their school system had suffered all kinds of serious cutbacks and setbacks.) On opening day 1974, there were 94,000 students enrolled — in 1975 there were 76,000 students! The parents of approximately 18,000 students, many of them working people, now have the double burden of paying their ever-increasing government taxes and additional hundreds of dollars in tuition for private school for the “privilege” of having their children attend school.

Furthermore, on opening day 1974, there were 500 police. *On opening day 1975, there were almost 1800 police backed by 600 National Guard M.P.'s in the city and an additional 600 National Guards as their back-up!* Who is the enemy that this “army” is prepared to fight? — It can be none other than *the citizens of Boston!!*

Both R.O.A.R. and the N.A.A.C.P. pay lip service to the demand common to parents of the Black and white working class communities, namely the demand for quality education. But neither R.O.A.R. nor the N.A.A.C.P. is mobilizing anybody in opposition to these negative developments in the struggle for quality education. (The N.A.A.C.P., despite its long history as a civil rights organization, is now controlled by white “liberal” millionaires.) And as times get tougher and working people become more restless, isn't a cutback in spending on workers' education, and increased spending on the force of police repression just what the monopolists need?

R.O.A.R. AND THE N.A.A.C.P. — — TWO SERVANTS OF BIG BUSINESS

Neither R.O.A.R. nor the N.A.A.C.P. is mobilizing anybody to struggle for jobs at a union scale, for price or profit controls, against the government's increasing oppressive taxes on working people, against new tax breaks handed to the big corporations by the government, against police brutality, or for quality education — all of which struggles are aimed at taking in increasing part of the monopolists' pie away from them and putting it into the hands of the working people who created it. Instead, both R.O.A.R. and the N.A.A.C.P. teach the

white and Black working people of Boston that each section of the working class can prosper only at the expense of the other. By increasing the divisions in the working class, R.O.A.R. and the N.A.A.C.P. both help the monopolists with their effort to shift the burden of the economic crisis that *they* created, onto the shoulders of the working people.

The N.A.A.C.P.'s answer to the Black parents who desire a decent education for their children is to offer them the illusion that an integrated education is a quality education — to demand that the white working class parents of Boston share their miserable education in South Boston, etc. with the Black people and other national minorities. And R.O.A.R.'s leaders agree with the N.A.A.C.P. R.O.A.R. tells the white workers that they used to have a “quality education” because the Blacks weren't there, and that the Black children's mere presence now deprives the white students of their “quality education.” Thus, while the N.A.A.C.P. leaders are telling the Black people that the white workers are the obstacle to quality education for *their* children, the R.O.A.R. leaders are telling the white workers that the Black people are the obstacle to the education of *their* children.

The monopolists through the N.A.A.C.P. encourage the Black people to rely on and even support the police force, the federal troops, the courts — the very tools of big business which have been used historically to keep the Black people enslaved and oppressed! At the same time, since the white workers have been poisoned with white chauvinism (based on slightly less bad jobs and living conditions), R.O.A.R. leaders have been able to play on their white chauvinism, spouting words of “opposition” to the police, federal troops, the courts, etc., while in reality keeping (like the N.A.A.C.P.) their followers loyal to the police, etc. (Despite R.O.A.R. and the N.A.A.C.P., however, many Black people in Roxbury, as well as many white workers in South Boston and Charlestown, have boldly fought the police on their own.)

The N.A.A.C.P., in encouraging the Black people to support Phase II, is encouraging them to accept the direct involvement of the biggest Boston businesses — John Hancock, First National Bank, Gillette, Massport, etc — in the education of their youth. Tom Atkins has actively pushed for this big business—high school partnership plan! And R.O.A.R.'s leaders have obediently gone along with this “partnership” plan.

The Black community of Boston as elsewhere in the country has been the most active community struggling for quality education and against police brutality, demanding decent jobs, etc. in the past 15 years and more. And as the Black community is coming more and more under attack, as white chauvinism (fostered by R.O.A.R.) spreads throughout the whole Boston area, the N.A.A.C.P. is telling the Black community to *disperse*, to become vulnerable, to bus their children far away from the guidance, control and protection of their families and their community. ROAR, the NAACP, and the federal government

have tried to create the illusion in the Black community that the federal government is on their side now! They want the Black community, the leading anti-fascist community, to disarm while under attack! ROAR, the NAACP and the federal government have also tried to project this idea to the white working class communities of Boston with the emphasis put in such a way that the white workers blame the Black people and many viciously attack *them* and *not* the federal government and the big businessmen for all the fascistic measures which the federal government has introduced in Boston.

ROAR and the NAACP need each other – and the Boston big businessmen need both!!

THE CARSON BEACH INCIDENT

As you probably know, hundreds of Black people marched to Carson Beach on August 10. Unlike the previous march into South Boston, a provocative march staged by the Progressive Labor Party in *support* of the federal government's busing plan, the Black people were marching on Carson Beach to restore their alienated right to use the only public beach available in the city. And their right to use the beach had been alienated *not* by the federal government but by the vicious actions of misguided youth and thugs from South Boston. These youth had been misled by some of the politician leaders of ROAR, who have directed ROAR's anger *not* against the vicious federal government and police occupation, though they talk about it, but against the Black people who have even less control over what the government does than the people of South Boston have.

Because they had come to Carson Beach for a just cause, i.e. to restore their alienated right to use the beach, many of the Black people who came there were able to see through the pro-busing, pro-police, pro-big business leadership of Thomas Atkins and the NAACP. But frustrated by the NAACP-police plan to use the Carson Beach march as a "test run for Phase II" (and don't forget the police also thanked ROAR's leaders for their co-operation at Carson Beach), Black youth in the days following the Carson Beach incident began to retaliate against cars of white people coming through their communities – their *response* to rotten actions of the white youth in South Boston who had misguidedly been taking out their frustrations on Black and other national minority people who came in their community. Now it was an eye for an eye.

And this is where the politics of ROAR's leaders and the NAACP leaders lead – to warfare between the white working people and the oppressed national minorities.

But many of the Black people at Carson Beach, acting on their just demand, saw through the NAACP-police-ROAR connection, the Big Business connection. By August 16, less than one week after the Carson Beach incident, a Black organization called the *CONCERNED CITIZENS OF MISSION HILL* had been formed on the basis of the Black people's exposure of the NAACP's co-operation with the white power structure. For the first time since Phase I began over a year ago, the Black community is staging protests against police brutality and against police occupation of their community. The Black people's justified anger is being directed against white merchants and businessmen who control the police.

The *Boston Globe* [8/17/75] reported: "Among several demands, the marchers [the Concerned Citizens of Mission Hill] called for dismissal of charges against blacks arrested during last week's incidents, the elimination of the Tactical Patrol Force, and an economic boycott against white-owned businesses downtown and in black communities. 'We demand that the armed seige of the black community be ended with the removal of police forces and trained dogs,' the statement said. 'These forces have proven to be a mechanism of provocation which enflames an already tense situation.' "

How right the Concerned Citizens of Mission Hill are!

"THE POLICE FORCES . . . A MECHANISM OF PROVOCATION"

Here are two examples:

1. *Newsweek* Magazine [10/21/74, p.37] states: "When, for reasons that are still unclear, members of the city's Tactical Police Force stormed into a run-down hangout of the anti-busing forces known as the Rabbit Inn, leaving ten people injured and causing \$20,000 worth of damage, Southie snapped. The result was a protest against police 'brutality', followed the next day by an anti-busing rally and the attack on Yvon [a black Haitian immigrant driving through South Boston]."

ROAR leaders did nothing to really mobilize the people of South Boston against the police occupation. ROAR leaders did everything to stir up the white workers' hatred of Black people. In other words, the ROAR leadership turned the South Boston working people's protest against police brutality into an hysterical anti-Black movement.

The T.P.F. carried out a similar brutal and provocative attack last month in the already angry Black community. In defense of their community, unlike ROAR and the NAACP (to the best of our knowledge), the Concerned Citizens of Mission Hill called for the dismantlement of the T.P.F.

Obviously joint action by the people of South Boston and Roxbury against police occupation and especially against T.P.F. provocation and brutality would be in the interests of both the Black & white working class communities.

2. On Tuesday, August 12, just 2 days after the Carson Beach incident, 20 courageous Black youth from Columbia Point jogged the entire length of Carson Beach and back without police "protection" and the few white youth who started to follow them were discouraged by older white community people. The Black youth then went swimming with no incidents. Just two days earlier, with 800 policemen present, there was all kinds of violence! What if there had been no police occupying South Boston on August 10? — The Black people, with their organized strength and their large numbers, would have forced the white people to respect their right to use the beach. But then the massive Boston police, M.D.C. police, State Police, F.B.I., Justice Department, National Guard presence in the Boston schools couldn't be justified. The white working class people of South Boston would begin to wake up to the fact that the Black community is their best friend!!! The white working class communities of Boston would begin to *unite* with the Black, Chinese and Latin working class communities to oppose the drive toward fascism being launched by the federal government through busing and the Phase II program in Boston.

The Concerned Citizens of Mission Hill have not yet called for a boycott of the Phase II school plan. But these Black people already represent a break with the NAACP misleaders, and a determined force in opposition to the police occupation of their community. Will you honest white working class people including the *honest* followers of ROAR break with ROAR leaders and unite with the Concerned Citizens of Mission Hill in demanding that the police occupation of *your* communities be ended?

PRESIDENT FORD AND THE MILITARY IN YOUR LIFE

The present military occupation of Charlestown, South Boston and Roxbury are no accident. In the *Boston Globe* [8/3/75, p.21], President Ford's dual tactics in relation to the Boston Busing Crisis were revealed: "At the height of last fall's protests, Mr. Ford told a press conference that while he 'deplore[d] violence,' he also 'respectfully disagree[d]' with the court order and 'opposed forced busing' . . . What is not widely known is that, at almost the same time, Mr. Ford . . . secretly alerted the 82nd Airborne and pressed its commanders to be ready to go into action in Boston on short notice." About this same Presidential Press Conference, *Newsweek* [10/21/74, p.38] said; "cheered by the President's remarks. . .their [ROAR's] growing pessimism about the future of their busing boycott disappeared."

President Ford gave moral support to the ROAR anti-busing movement last year, helping to keep it alive; while at the same time he increased the involvement of military forces to force compliance with the federal busing order!! President Ford, the chief spokesman for U.S. big business, clearly added fuel to the fire to justify enlarging the numbers and powers of the "fire department"!! From President Ford to Mayor White, the same dual tactics are being used to fan the flames and bring in the troops as school opens this year.

As we stated in our May 17 pamphlet: "*ROAR, a fascist movement, is being built under the banner of resistance to the real fascist measures of the federal government. And increased use of police and other fascist measures are being introduced by the federal government [with the help of the NAACP leaders] under the banner of opposition to the fascist movement of ROAR.*"

CONCLUSION;

In an earlier article, we reported that: "In East Boston, a group of white working class parents who had got caught up in the beginnings of ROAR, broke with ROAR and the fascist movement. . . . These actively anti-ROAR East Boston parents (who remain anti-busing) represent the *potential* of the thousands of other white working class people in Boston to wage a fight for quality education *jointly* with the Black, Asian and Latin parents of Boston! We have the opportunity to turn the Boston busing crisis from a very bad thing into a very good thing."

Will the working people of the Black, Chinese and Latin communities unite in opposition to busing and the Phase II program? Will the *honest* white working class people, including the *honest* followers of ROAR, break with the ROAR leaders and unite with their working class brothers and sisters in the Latin, Chinese and Black communities of Boston?

Oppose The Receivership of South Boston High School*

WHAT DOES RECEIVERSHIP MEAN?

Placing South Boston High School under receivership means that the education and training of students and their relationship to the community come under direct control of the federal government, and that working class parents have even less say about their children's education. It means keeping different groups fighting among each other, so that the Busing Plan has succeeded in setting up intense hostility between Black and white working people. In short, the federal government and Big Business have systematically, through Garrity, shifted control of the schools into their own hands.

Garrity has finally come around to admitting the divisive effects of the Busing Plan that he and Big Business devised — effects that the poor and working people of South Boston and Roxbury have been pointing out for a long time. For example, Garrity pointed out that in the main building of South Boston High School, the overwhelming police presence is accompanied by very little or no education going on. Whereas at the L Street Annex where there are fewer police, some education is taking place. But did Garrity act on the basis of his observation and remove the police from the schools? On the contrary, even the *Globe* observed with surprise that Garrity avoided dealing with the police issue. Instead of less government—police interference in our children's education, Garrity offers us more!

In South Boston, our children's education is now under direct control of the courts, the police, and the federal government. Garrity's receivership of South Boston High School has brought the working people of Boston a step closer to the direct and total (fascist) control over the training of our youth.

* This was published by the *Multi-National Coalition for Quality Education and the Defeat of the Boston Busing Plan* in January 1976.

WHO GAINS FROM RECEIVERSHIP?

Big Business — While the Black, Latin, Asian and white working class communities are fighting each other and getting terrorized by the police, Big Businesses like Massport, Gillette, the Banks and the Insurance Companies are getting even tighter control of the schools. The Big Business—Boston Public School “partnership plan” sets up a *publicly financed job training* system so that the new tailor-made labor force will replace their laid-off mothers and fathers to meet the changing labor needs of Big Business.

The Federal Government — The Federal Government, through Garrity and the Courts, instituted the Busing Plan which was designed to pit poor white working people against poor Black working people, and to bring more police into our communities. It is their Plan which has led to the present educational crisis. Now, white working people are supposed to believe that without Garrity's intervention, Black people would have *closed* South Boston High. Meanwhile the NAACP is telling the Black community that Garrity is saving their children from racist attacks. So the Federal Government, through the same Garrity, is being presented to us by the Big Business-dominated media as the savior of all.

The Police — Despite the clear connection between police presence and the lack of education which Garrity saw on his own visit to South Boston High School, the police are an essential part of the receivership plan! In contrast to other city employees who are hard hit by layoffs, the police gain fat pay-checks from overtime, and more power by their overwhelming presence in and around the schools of Boston.

WHO LOSES?

Meanwhile, the government's Busing Plan is helping Big Business, in the name of de-segregation, to shift the burden of the economic crisis even more onto the backs of poor and working people and especially the oppressed minorities, through cutbacks in education and other vital services. So what do we get?

—National Minority children are being dispersed in an attempt to stamp out the rising resistance to national oppression. These children each day have suffered from racial slurs and the danger of physical harm.

—In the name of “economizing,” dozens of schools were over-enrolled or else completely closed down; most closings took place in the poorest communities. Meanwhile millions of dollars were spent on police alone.

—Last September, 600 teachers were laid off through the school system and this particularly cut out the teachers hired for special education programs and the minority teachers hired for bi-lingual and bi-cultural education.

It is no coincidence that these attacks on our political rights are happening at the same time as cutbacks and tax hikes. And it is no coincidence that Big Business, the Federal Government and the Police are showing such good teamwork. As poor and working people of Boston fight back against their schemes to put even more burden on us, they are forced to show how they are all parts of the same monster.

WHY RECEIVERSHIP NOW?

In trying to defend his decision, Garrity has been forced to acknowledge that things at South Boston High are not going so well. He cites the “prison environment,” the non-existent education, the fact that the school is providing “custodial care” more than anything else. But instead of admitting that Phase II was planned to create these prison conditions, Garrity places the blame on “racism” in general. It is a fact that there are biggotted and violent whites who would use any excuse to attack minorities; it is also a fact that landlords and politicians like Hicks and Kerrigan stand to gain by misleading honest white working people into fascist-led organizations like ROAR.

But it is because parents and other concerned citizens all over Boston now see that the Busing Plan is a blow to our children’s education that Garrity (and the Federal Government) and the NAACP (backed by the Ford and Rockefeller Foundations) are now crying “racism” to cover up the schemes to tighten government and Big Business control over poor and working people. Garrity, the NAACP, and the Federal Government feed into the lies and hostility of groups like ROAR by making it seem that it is against the interest of white workers to fight for equality and democratic rights of oppressed minorities.

The reality is exactly the opposite. Black, white, Asian and Latin working people must work together in our common struggle against government and Big Business control. We must guard against phony “reforms” that look good but actually take things away from us and keep us fighting each other while the monopolists strengthen their power. By fighting side by side we’ll see our common interests and learn to respect our differences and go on to win victories.

Black, Asian, Latin, and white working people of Boston unite — —

- Say NO to the receivership of South Boston High School, a diversionary tactic by the federal government to mislead us away from our common struggles!
- Uphold the rights of all working class children to a decent and quality education! Fight the cutbacks in education!
- Support the democratic rights and special needs of minority children in the interest of uniting the working class!
- Support Bi-lingual and Bi-cultural programs for all school children! Support the demand of Latin parents and students to re-locate the bi-lingual program at South Boston High School to a school of their choice!
- Condemn the white thugs who are beating up the national minority students!
- Support the demands of the Black students at South Boston High School! Struggle together to end the violence and the police occupation of our schools and our communities!
- Fight to defeat the government and Big Business Boston Busing Plan, for this plan is an attack on the entire working class and particularly an attack on the oppressed national minorities!

WHAT CAN YOU DO?

Join us in our fight against Phase II and in our common struggle to win real victories for our children and all poor and working people in these critical times. Contact us:

Multi-National Coalition for Quality Education and the Defeat of the Boston Busing Plan

Including:

- Boston Asians for Unity and Democratic Rights
- Fighting Worker

Leaflet also endorsed by:

- Harriet Tubman — Nat Turner Collective

BILINGUAL EDUCATION AND THE BUSING PLAN

We join with Latin students of South Boston High School, El Comite de Padres, and all other concerned people to fight for the re-location of the Hispanic "bi-lingual" class to another school of their choice. Our children have the right to get a quality education in our own languages and in a manner which treats our cultural heritage with dignity. But the Busing Plan offers us none of this. Instead, our children are treated as though they are handicapped when English is not their first language. Children of the oppressed national minorities are dispersed to distant and hostile communities, breaking up families and making the children vulnerable to attack. Moreover, they are getting no education, only degrading treatment, police repression and attacks from organized white thugs. Meanwhile, minority teachers are laid off, and the bi-lingual programs cut back.

The Busing Plan has forged the way for a systematic attack at all levels against working class children — cutbacks in the already inadequate school system, layoffs of hundreds of teachers and the chopping away of much-needed special programs — particularly those for national minority children.

With the help of the Busing Plan, the government and Big Business have tightened up their power and control over our children's education — for example, high schools are directly paired with industries like Gillette, Massport, the State Street Bank; and South Boston High has been put under direct control of the federal government.

By whipping up divisions within the working class, the state apparatus on the one hand has been able to beef up its local and state police, National Guard and federal marshalls, to occupy our schools and communities. On the other hand, the plan has fed the growth of violent white chauvinistic organizations like ROAR.

In exchange for these attacks and repressive measures against the entire working class, oppressed national minorities get nothing but phony promises of "Equality" and "democratic rights" — as defined by the ruling class. Poor and working people of Boston must unite to support the democratic rights of Latin children to a safe bi-lingual, bi-cultural program! Oppose the Busing Plan as an attack on the entire working class, particularly the oppressed national minorities! Fight for real quality education for all working class children! Defend national minorities against fascist attacks by groups like ROAR! No more cutbacks or layoffs in education or other human services!

Contact us: **Multi-National Coalition Against the Busing Plan
and for Quality Education**

* This leaflet, published by the Coalition in Spanish & English, was distributed in front of Judge Garrity's courthouse as Latin students and parents occupied Judge Garrity's office and people from the Latin, Black and white working class communities demonstrated outside, demanding that the Latin students being bused to South Boston High School be transferred to their community school. This fight was successful.

Latin Community Leads Fight Against Phase II *

On Feb. 18, after a four-week boycott, the Latin students who were being bused to South Boston High School won their demand that their bi-lingual program be transferred to a school of their choice. Before the forced busing program existed, the Latin community of Boston had fought for and won the right to bi-lingual programs and bi-lingual schools in their community, where their children were taught in their own language and where their cultural heritage was treated with respect. Under Phase I and II, these bi-lingual and bi-cultural programs were almost destroyed. At South Boston High School, the Latin students bused there under Phase II found themselves in a "bi-lingual program" that crammed 25 students of 3 grade levels into one classroom, where one teacher taught every subject for all 3 grades. They were uprooted from their community and forced into hostile surroundings — into a school with a massive police presence where they were subject to harrassment, suspension and arrest, and where they had to fear for their safety not only because of the police but also because of vicious attacks from organized gangs of white thugs. And they were often not even allowed to speak Spanish among themselves. Under these circumstances it was impossible for these Latin students to get a decent education — either an education that was up to grade level or one that treated their cultural heritage with respect.

The parents of the Latin students at South Boston High School, like so many other parents of Boston, were faced with having less and less control over the education of their children as the federal government stepped in with its courts and police. These parents were not even able to participate in their children's school (in the PTA, etc.) because they could not enter South Boston without fearing for their lives. Furthermore, the Latin parents had to constantly worry over the safety of their children who were spending the day in a hostile and dangerous atmosphere.

* This was the lead article in the March 1976 issue of the *Fighting Worker*.

To the Latin parents and students at South Boston High School, Phase II was a living nightmare!!

But the Latin students and parents did not sit by and say, "The law is the law and we'll have to learn to live with it." Under the leadership of El Comite de Padres (The Parents Committee for Bi-lingual Education), they organized themselves around several demands for quality education, the most important of which was the right to move their bi-lingual program to a school of their choice. They organized a boycott and refused to attend school until their demands were met. AND THEY WON!!

WHY DID THE LATIN PARENTS AND STUDENTS WIN?

Big Business, through its federal courts, implemented the busing program in order to further divide the working people of Boston in a time of economic crisis in this country. They want us to be fighting each other as they raise food, rent, utility and insurance prices, cut back on unemployment and welfare benefits, cutback social and medical services, cutback educational funds, and speed us up at our places of work. With a lot of help from ROAR (which blames the Black people and other national minorities for the busing program) and also from the NAACP (which puts all the blame on the white workers for the worsening education that Black and other national minority children are receiving), big business has been largely successful so far in pitting the working people of Boston against each other.

The big business-controlled media (T.V., radio, newspapers) has created as much confusion as possible and spread certain lies on the issue of busing to keep the working people from uniting and fighting against this Program and for quality education (and eventually for better working conditions, higher pay, lower utility rates, lower prices, etc.). One of the main lies that they push is that "only white people are *against* busing" and that "all the national minority people are *for* busing." The struggle of the Latin students and parents against the dictates of the Phase II program exposes this lie! The struggle of the Latin students and parents therefore helped lay a basis for unity among the working and poor people of Boston around the struggle against Phase II and for a quality education for their children.

Garrity "granted" the demands of the Latin students in an effort to bury their struggle *against* Phase II — The court was forced to go against the letter of its own Phase II order and to give into the demands of the Latin community to try to prevent the fighting example of the Latin people from spreading to the other communities of Boston.

ROAR — AN ENEMY OF THE WORKING PEOPLE OF BOSTON

All the working and poor parents of Boston have a stake in fighting a school plan that takes the control of our children out of our hands and puts it into the hands of the government, that disperses the communities of this city (especially the national minority communities), that brings great police presence into our schools and communities, that cuts back the number of teachers, schools and special programs, and that puts big business in direct control over our children's education with its "partnership plan." The "partnership plan", set up on June 27, 1974, establishes the direct involvement of big business with the educational affairs of Boston's public schools. We all have a stake in fighting a school plan that takes an already lousy school system and turns it into a worse one.

ROAR has been pushed by the big business-dominated media as "THE anti-busing organization." ROAR's role as a servant of big business has been to keep the white working people from seeing their common struggle (interest) with the Latin, Black and Asian people of this city. ROAR pushes the false idea that white people are better than anyone else. Instead of uniting with the Latin, Asian and Black people and helping to direct that united anger against the government and their big business-inspired "divide and conquer" plan, ROAR takes the just anger of the white working people over this plan and over the police occupation of their communities and directs it *against* the Black people and other national minorities.

ROAR talks about opposing the dictates of judges who know nothing of the problems of working people, but never exposes the big businessmen who are behind the courts and the Boston busing plan. ROAR yells slogans about fighting the undemocratic dictates of the courts but in reality ROAR helps cripple any effective struggle against these dictates by setting white working people of Boston against their closest friends in the struggle for quality education — the Latin people, the Black people and other national minority people.

The honest white working people who genuinely want to struggle against Phase II and for a better education for their children should ask themselves — if the leaders of ROAR such as Louise Day Hicks are really fighting for quality education for all the children of Boston, then why haven't they united with forces in the national minority communities who are against Phase II? Why did they openly support the police and blame the Black community for the trouble at Hyde Park High? Why haven't they united with the Latin students and parents of South Boston High School? And why are they now taking the decision-making out of the hands of the rank-and-file members of ROAR?

Like the Nazis in Germany who played on both the chauvinism of the German people and on the legitimate dissatisfaction of the German workers in a time of economic depression in Germany to turn them against the Jewish and all other "non-Aryan" people, (taking the heat off the monopolists who supported the Nazis) — ROAR is playing the monopolists' "dangerous game." *In words*, ROAR is against the dictatorial busing plan; *in practice*, ROAR (by setting white workers against their Black, Latin, and Chinese brothers and sisters) is a valuable servant of the very big businessmen who sponsored this dictatorial plan!

WHAT TO DO?

The Latin Community has taught us two very important lessons:

First, they have given us an example of how to fight. They showed us that it is when we rely on ourselves, and not expect politicians or the courts or the police to do our fighting for us that we win victories. The Latin community did not rely on Garrity when they won the right to transfer to their neighborhood school — At the same time of the hearing before Garrity, a demonstration in support of the Latin students' demands was taking place outside the courthouse. After the victory, a leader of El Comité de Padres told the jubilant crowd that the victory had been won not because of the "goodness" of the courts, but because the people had united and fought for their rights and needs.

Second, the Latin Community has given us an example of what to fight for. The Latin students fought for and won the right to go to their *community school*. They did this while respecting the right of South Boston to have their community high school. — The NAACP, by contrast, tried to close South Boston High School, feeding the vicious propaganda of the monopolists and ROAR that the Black people are trying to take something away from white working people.

It is through the fight against Phase II and for community control of our schools that we will develop a strong basis to fight the poor educational system of this city — an educational system made even *worse* by Phase II. If our children go to *neighborhood* schools, we can organized concerned parents and neighbors to fight both in and outside of the PTA's to force the school system to improve the education of our children. Through a fight for community control of the schools, the national minority communities can best fight for bilingual, bi-cultural programs, for an educational process that treats their cultural heritage with pride and dignity. Through a fight for community control of the schools, the community of East Boston can insure that their children have a high school in their neighborhood (and perhaps a new technical school on Massport land) — not just a school providing Massport with their workers of the future. It is through the fight for community control of the schools that the parents will be able to play a direct role in the running of their schools and in a better position to fight for better facilities, badly needed special programs, more teachers, and so on.

The victory of the Latin community against the Phase II program is a "foot in the door" of a united *city-wide* struggle for community control of schools. As one of the leaders of El Comité de Padres put it; "now other groups of national minority and white students who face the same problems the Latin students faced can follow in our path." This victory lays the basis for the working and poor people of Boston to begin to unite and fight for quality education for our children.

CONCLUSION

The Boston school crisis can either be a basis for further division and violence among the working people of Boston — or a basis for a new unity in the struggle for our *common interests*. The Latin students at South Boston High School, their parents, and El Comité de Padres have fought and won a victory. If we learn the lessons of this victory, we can begin to turn the Boston school crisis from a very bad thing into a very good thing.

The *Fighting Worker* is playing an active role in the Multi-National Coalition Against the Busing Plan and for Quality Education which has involved people from the Latin, Black, Chinese and white communities of Boston. This coalition represents the beginning of the unity among the poor and working people of Boston of all nationalities so desperately needed if we are to win more victories like the one won by the courageous parents and students in the Latin community and turn the Boston School Crisis around.

We urge all honest and concerned parents and students to contact us.

Boston Construction Jobs for Boston Workers *

Over the past few months, Black, Latin and Asian unemployed workers have been fighting for construction jobs. Also, South Boston residents have been making the same fight.

Led by the Third World Workers Association (T.W.W.A.), Black, Latin and Asian unemployed workers have demanded 50% minority hiring in the predominantly-national minority communities of Dorchester, Roxbury, Mattapan, Jamaica Plain, Chinatown and the South End, and 30% minority hiring in Boston as a whole.

With jobs very scarce, the T.W.W.A.'s demand for jobs has caused concern among many members of the mostly-white Building Trade Unions. Questions are raised like: "Doesn't more minority hiring mean some white workers may lose their jobs?" and "Why should non-union workers be hired when there isn't enough work for all the union members?" These are undoubtedly some of the questions and fears that led the 2,000 union construction workers to a demonstration (on May 8) protesting the shutting down of several construction sites by unemployed national minority workers.

At first glance, it may seem that the interests of the unemployed minority workers and those of the employed union workers are in opposition to each other — one group is demanding jobs while the other group wishes to protect their jobs. However, the *Fighting Worker* believes that *the fight for more jobs, including more minority jobs, is in the interest of all workers* — employed as well as unemployed.

Unemployment helps the monopolists. They use the fact that many workers are in desperate need of work as a weapon against all working people. The monopolists count on the fact that with massive unemployment and the constant threat of lay-offs, workers are often afraid to stand up to the arrogant attacks of the companies. Unity between the employed and unemployed workers in a struggle for more jobs would strengthen the labor movement. It means that rather than fight each other for the "crumbs" the companies throw to us, we would be united, fighting for more jobs, which in turn will provide greater job security for all.

* This was the lead article in the August 1976 issue of the *Fighting Worker*.

"BOSTON CONSTRUCTION JOBS FOR BOSTON WORKERS"

The *Fighting Worker* believes that there is a basis for unity between the employed and the unemployed construction workers of Boston. David Lee and Theodore Landmark of the Community Task Force on Construction, have demanded "Boston Construction Jobs for Boston People" — a program which would create more jobs for all construction workers in this city. David Lee said: "We want to stop suburbanites from coming into our own backyard and taking money out that should be staying in the economy of our communities." The *Fighting Worker* agrees. Why should workers from Roxbury, South Boston, Dorchester or Charlestown fill the unemployment and welfare lines or starve while jobs that their taxes help create go to outside workers? The demand for 50% hiring from the communities in which the construction is being done will insure that those communities benefit the most.

This demand for community construction jobs has not only been raised by national minority workers of Boston but also by South Boston workers! In April there was a demonstration of South Boston residents protesting the fact that outside construction workers were taking jobs that should have gone to the unemployed workers of South Boston. The demonstrators demanded that jobs within the community go to community residents first. What a basis for white working class communities and national minority communities of Boston to *unite* in the fight for jobs!

THE SOUTH BOSTON MARSHALLS — ENEMIES OF WORKING PEOPLE

Both ROAR and the South Boston Marshalls claim to be defenders of working people and our unions. But in reality, the opposite is true. They are servants of Big Business who help keep employed workers from seeing their common interests with unemployed workers, and who help keep white workers from seeing their common interests with Black and other national minority workers.

ROAR's main role has been to further divide working people around the Boston School Crisis. All the working and poor people of Boston are faced with a school plan that has been created by the biggest businesses in Boston. Big Business pushed the Busing Plan in a time of economic crisis to divide us and get us fighting each other rather than fighting the monopolists who are responsible for the problems we working people face.

The South Boston Marshalls carry ROAR's divisive, anti-worker politics into the streets. The South Boston Marshalls have actively opposed community control of jobs. When they learned there was a demonstration led by the Third World Workers Association for community jobs at a South End site, they rushed down, supposedly in "defense of the union," to oppose the T.W.W.A.'s demands!

If the South Boston Marshalls were real defenders of the unions, they would be fighting for community control of jobs. Theodore Landmark, brutally beaten by thugs inspired by the South Boston Marshalls, has called for more jobs for all Boston construction workers. If the South Boston Marshalls were real defenders of the unions, they would be fighting for one of its basic and most treasured principles - "In Our Unity Lies Our Strength." That most certainly includes unity between Black and white workers, and unity between employed and unemployed workers.

THE WEYMOUTH INCIDENT:

The importance of construction workers aiming their mounting anger and frustration against those really responsible for their problems was underscored recently by developments in Weymouth.

On July 23, 1976 over 500 unemployed union construction workers invaded a construction site of a shopping mall in North Weymouth, causing several thousand dollars damage. The contractor on this site used non-union laborers, most of whom were brought in from New Hampshire. Because of the critical shortage of construction jobs in Massachusetts, the union workers had set up pickets in early July at the site demanding the hiring of union workers from the community. In reaction to this, the Weymouth Board of Selectmen banned the construction until the contractor promised to hire the local union workers. The company promised this and the ban was lifted. But the company did not carry out its promise and the angry workers, many of whom had run out of unemployment benefits, attacked the site. This incident is an indication of how serious the employment situation in the construction industry has become and how willing the workers have been to fight for a decent job.

CONCLUSION:

The *Fighting Worker* supports the demand of the national minority workers, the South Boston residents and the Weymouth construction workers for community construction jobs. We believe it is in the interests of Boston Building Trade Union members to join the fight of the unemployed for jobs, and to fight, *through their union*, for "Boston Construction Jobs for Boston Workers" - a demand which, if won, will provide more jobs and job security for all construction workers of this city.

The fight for more construction jobs is being actively waged by white unemployed workers as well as by Black, Latin and Asian unemployed workers at this time. We believe it is most important that these workers demand (1) that these new jobs be *union* jobs; and (2) that the unions open their doors to a substantial and equitable number of national minority workers, since in the past national minority workers have been systematically kept out of the Building Trade Unions. If the white workers do not agree to Point 2, or if the national minority workers do not agree to Point 1, then their struggles rather than resulting in more and better jobs for all in the struggle against the construction companies, will result in worse and fewer jobs for all in the struggle against each other.

The development plans for the South West Corridor will create 18,000 new construction jobs in the near future. Let us be unified, Black and white, employed and unemployed, so that Boston workers and the communities in which the construction will take place will benefit from this project. The *Fighting Worker* is happy to report that positive steps have already been taken towards the building of a city-wide, multi-national coalition based on the demand of "Boston Construction Jobs for Boston Workers."

IN OUR UNITY LIES OUR STRENGTH!

Busing In Everett - A Different Story *

In Everett, a big, expensive, brand new elementary school, the Centre School, has been built right in the downtown business district. A few neighborhood schools are being closed down. The city's elementary school districts are being re-districted for next fall. The Superintendent of Schools (with the Everett School Committee present) has been going from school to school during the past few weeks to present his proposals to the parents and to hear what the concerned parents think of his plans. The general reaction of parents at many of these schools has been, "They stink!"

As usual in such circumstances, there is much confusion and few straight answers from the school officials. In a neighborhood where the school is being closed down, the School Superintendants proposals call for most of the parents to have an "option" of sending their children to the new Centre School or to the closest neighborhood school. The School Supt., in presenting estimated figures of the number of pupils per classroom teacher, lumped these children in with the enrollment at the brand new school on the basis that every parent wants their children to go to a new school. The *catch* is that the distance to be walked and the dangerous streets to be crossed etc., make this "option" into a clear choice for almost all these parents — they will send their children to the neighborhood school.

Thus, if the School Committee's proposal is put into effect, the neighborhood school will be overcrowded while the brand new school with all the modern facilities will be attended by small numbers of students. With the attraction of smaller classes added to the attraction of a modern, well-equipped facility, the better teachers in the school system will attempt to transfer to the Centre School.

Since the new school is located in the downtown area, rather than in a large residential neighborhood, the fortunate students attending the Centre School will, in most cases, come from the wealthier and more affluent and privileged families in Everett whose parents have the car and the time to drive their children to and from the new school. Those stuck in the neighborhood schools will be unnecessarily overcrowded in their older classrooms with less experienced teachers—they will be the "have-nots" of Everett education. As a mother at one meeting put it, there will be a private school education (for the fortunate at the Centre School) in the midst of a public school system!

* This is an article which appeared in the April 1976 issue of the *Fighting Worker*.

WHAT CAN BE DONE ABOUT IT?

Already one useful lesson can be drawn from this school controversy — If more parents had been involved with the schools through active and serious PTA groups, the new school would have been built in a better location for the parents and children of Everett. Such unity of concerned parents should be built up now to pressure the Supt. of Schools, the School Committee and the Mayor to ensure that the class size at the new Centre School will be no smaller than at any of the older elementary schools. If the Centre School is used wisely, then overcrowding of classes elsewhere in Everett can be eliminated and the Centre School will be of educational benefit to the entire city of Everett.

If the working class parents of Everett do not unite and fight against the present proposals on redistricting, then the Centre School will be an island of decent education for the privileged and wealthy of Everett in a sea of inadequate education for the children of the working class!

Already in at least one school meeting, parents have signed a petition addressed to the Supt. of Schools demanding that a bus be provided for the children in the so-called "optional" school district area. This petition was signed by parents whose children would be attending the neighborhood school as well as by parents of those who would opt for the new Centre School if a bus were provided. A bus would provide *safety* for those first and second graders attending the new school, and a smaller and fairer class size for those attending the neighborhood school.

Because of the obvious safety and educational advantages gained by the working class children in Everett through such a *voluntary* busing plan, the *Fighting Worker* heartily supports the Everett school parents' fight for busing in Everett — just as strongly as the *Fighting Worker* opposes the *Boston* forced busing plan because of the safety and educational *disadvantages* to the Black, Latin, Asian and white working class children of Boston. Let all working class parents unite and fight for quality education for all working class children!

Black, Latin & White Parents Hold *Anti-Busing* Press Conference *

On Saturday, April 24, Black, Latin and white parents of Boston came together to denounce the monopolists' Busing Plan. The Press Conference was originally called by the predominantly-Black Charlestown Parents Group, El Comite de Padres, and the Chinese Parents Association to expose the Pro-Busing March which was originally planned for that date. These groups invited the predominantly-white *Fighting Worker* and a few national minority-dominated organizations to participate.

Because of the need to offer a genuine working class alternative to the Black, white and other working class parents of Boston in these times of developing "war" between Blacks and whites, the Charlestown Parents Group held the Press Conference in spite of the fact that the Pro-Busing March was cancelled. The statement of the Charlestown Parents Group included the following:

"Black 'leaders' of Boston have called a march to take place April 24th. The main theme of the march is to 'end the racist attacks — desegregate the schools.'

"In light of the history of racial attacks in this city and because they have escalated in the last two years, we the Charlestown Parents Group (minority parents) agree 100% that these attacks on all oppressed minorities must end!

"We do not agree with the continuation of the desegregation plan — forced busing. It is time for all minority parents and students affected by the forced busing plan to speak up and be heard. We must unite with other progressive parents groups who have the same goals and desires for our children — the right to go to the schools of our choice with quality education at those schools. We cannot support a plan designed to attack our rights and slash our childrens education in half. We cannot support a plan that helps to further divide poor people along racial lines, while the rich get richer and the poor sink deeper into misery. We do not want the busing plan — we never asked for it. . .

* This was published as a Special Issue of the *Fighting Worker* on May 16, 1976.

"Many parents and students are seeing more of the role of the federal government in protecting the people who run this country and not the poor. We can no longer allow these people to speak for us. It is time for parents and students to come together and say: *no more!* We demand an end to the forced busing plan. We are tax payers and have the right to determine where our children go to school, where we live, work, play or walk in this city for that matter. We can no longer allow people who self-appoint themselves as leaders and who are given more air time on the 6:00 and 11:00 news to speak for the parents and students."

Spokesmen for El Comite de Padres, the *Fighting Worker* and other groups also read statements at the Press Conference. (Proof of how tightly the monopolists control the mass media — radio, T.V., newspapers — can be seen in the fact that even though all major mass media were invited to attend, only T.V. Channel 4 covered the Conference, and their slight coverage was inadequate considering the significance of the Press Conference.)

The *Fighting Worker* statement follows:

FIGHTING WORKER STATEMENT OF SOLIDARITY

The *Fighting Worker* is a group of honest working people, mostly with families, who feel that there is a fighting alternative to the many problems that the working people face today at the hands of the monopolists. We believe that it is in the interests of the U.S. workers of all nationalities to develop fighting unity against the monopolists. White workers, in particular, must reject the lie that white people are better than other people which has been pushed by the rich and their servants [especially ROAR's leadership] to keep the working class divided. If our society is to ever advance again and blossom, it will require the organization and unity of working people on the job and in the political arena.

Because the *Fighting Worker* stands for unity of the working class, we believe that it is a great privilege for us to be participating in this Press Conference. This Press Conference called by El Comite de Padres and the predominantly-Black Charlestown Parents Group, represents the break-through, at long last, of a genuine working class alternative to the fascist politics of ROAR on the one hand, and to the liberal monopolist politicians of Boston big business backed by the NAACP on the other!

The very existence of this Press Conference called by concerned parents in the Black and Latin communities and participated in by some concerned white working class parents as well, is a step in the right direction. It is the first real step toward working class unity to be undertaken in the city of Boston after the hundreds of steps toward greater and greater division of the working class which have been taken during the one-and-a-half years of the Boston Busing Plan.

All the working class people of this country are faced with a rapidly worsening economic and social position. The Boston Busing Plan Phase I and Phase II have been the means by which the big businessmen of this area have diverted the just anger of us working people away from the monopolists and their government lackeys, and the means by which our anger is instead directed inward against each other — against ourselves. In order to be successful in dividing us, the monopolists have needed stooges in both the white and national minority communities. In an article that the *Fighting Worker* published on September 9, 1975, we pointed out: “. . . this is where the politics of ROAR’s leaders and the NAACP leaders lead — to warfare between the white working people and the oppressed national minorities.”

Certainly at this particular moment the widest division and the nearest to so-called “race-war” conditions prevail in Boston. In the past week or so, the monopolist-controlled media, including the *Boston Globe* as well as T.V. and radio, have played up the incidents in which first Black and other national minority people have been viciously attacked by white thugs, and then the ugly but understandable response of Black youths against white individuals. This monopoly-controlled media has tried to give us the impression through its active support of the Boston Busing Plan that the monopolists are concerned about the welfare of the poor and oppressed of Boston. Yet with all the coverage of the growing “race-war”, this mass media has given almost no mention of the fact that when the two Black M.B.T.A. drivers were attacked by white fascist thugs in South Boston, three white M.B.T.A. workers came to the defense of the two Black drivers, and were themselves beaten by the fascist white thugs along with their Black fellow workers! Indeed it is the kind of working class unity shown in this living example that is the only real means of averting the developing “race-war” in Boston. But it is precisely such working class unity which the monopolists are most desirous of eliminating altogether. It is for this reason that the mass media has buried the outstanding act of the three white M.B.T.A. drivers and the fact that they along with their Black fellow workers, were beaten by the anti-working class white thugs who are rapidly becoming a fascist mob. And it is for this reason that the mass media, which has portrayed itself and its master — the monopolists — as the friend of “racial harmony,” is actually fomenting the so-called “race-war.”

This Press Conference and the strength of the working class solidarity that it reflects, is the platform from which the irresponsible, vicious and extremely dangerous coverage of the Boston situation by the monopolist-controlled mass media can be exposed. Along with it, the image of the monopolists as the alternative to ROAR for working people and especially for the oppressed national minorities, is likewise exposed. And we must remember that the mass media’s anti-working class, anti-national minority coverage of the present situation is of a piece with their consistent support for the Boston Busing Plan with *its* anti-working class, anti-national minority character.

This Press Conference exposes 2 other lies important to the monopolists in their effort to fan the flames of working class division that are now bursting out into so-called “race-war”:

The ROAR leadership, headed by Louise Day Hicks, has long pushed the lie onto the white working class people of Boston that all the national minority people support the Busing Plan and are the ones responsible for it. The fact that El Comitè de Padres and a predominantly-Black parents organization, the Charlestown Parents Group, have joined together to come out publicly against the forced Busing Program, explodes this “big lie” pushed by Hicks and the rest of ROAR’s leadership. Through time and effort, this fact could lead to the defusing of the rising fascist movement that ROAR is presently building out of the misguided but genuine frustration of many white working class parents of Boston.

At the same time, the participation of a predominantly-white organization, the Fighting Worker, in supporting the initiative of the Charlestown Parents Group and El Comitè de Padres, exposes the lie pushed by the NAACP and many others that all the white parents opposed to busing are anti-Black and anti-national minority. [Italics added]

Most important of all, the multi-national coalition against busing which is sponsoring this Press Conference represents the first step toward genuine multi-national working class unity in opposition to the big businessmen and their lackeys. It is these big businessmen who are primarily responsible for the forced Busing Plan and the current educational and political crisis in Boston, as well as for the economic crisis which all of us are now experiencing.

The original purpose of this Press Conference was to expose the fact that the pro-busing March which had been scheduled for today was not a march in defense of Black people’s interests, but in reality a march in support of the interest of the biggest and wealthiest businessmen in Boston. But because of the tense climate of the past few days, these businessmen did not even trust their lackeys in the Black community and in the radical-liberal white movement, to carry out the march. Instead, that march was postponed and Mayor White and Governor Dukakis were put at the head of a new march (joined by the NAACP) scheduled for yesterday — a work day. Government employees and employees of the biggest Boston banks were given time off to attend this pacifist march “against violence.”

This march was an open attempt to disarm the militant and generally anti-imperialist Black community by creating the illusion that there is a government-led force for good-will operating in the white community. Meanwhile, the white communities surrounding it as well as the various Police Departments are armed to the teeth.

Chester Broderick, as the head of the Boston Policeman's Union, issued a statement rejecting the Mayor's invitation to participate in the march on the basis that Broderick and the police want what amounts to Martial Law to be established in Boston — they are calling for the outlawing of any public demonstrations, for elimination of the freedom assembly, and for placing police on regular 12-hour shifts.

Once again in the midst of this terrible crisis, the big businessmen, their government lackeys, and their mass media are projecting the same two alternatives — Either support pacifism being pushed by Mayor White, Kennedy, the NAACP and others (pro-busing) [particularly on the Black Community]; or support the open militarism and violence being pushed by Broderick, the police and Louise Day Hicks (“anti-busing”) [particularly in the white communities]. It is in the midst of this terrible situation, fraught with danger for all working people but especially for the oppressed national minorities, that this Press Conference and the multi-national coalition against busing are emerging!

Up 'till now, the working people of this city have been stuck in a vicious circle—either side with the monopolists' “liberal” pro-busing plan, or side with ROAR's so-called “democratic” (but really fascist) anti-busing stand.

The *Fighting Worker* believes that today the working class people of Boston finally have the answer to the monopolists and their servants like ROAR and the NAACP — because today we see the beginning of a multi-national, city-wide movement of parents and students against Phase II.

With the coming together of El Comite de Padres and the Charlestown Parents Group, there is finally a working class alternative for the parents and students of Boston — an anti-busing, anti-ROAR multi-national coalition! The *Fighting Worker* wholeheartedly supports this development and pledges wherever and whenever possible, to march shoulder to shoulder with these groups in the fight against Phase II.

East Boston Keeps High School But Massport Real Victor *

Under Phase II's “partnership plan,” the biggest businesses of Boston become *directly* involved in the education of the children of the poor and working people of this city. Under Phase II, East Boston High and Massport Authority are “partners.” Thus it is not surprising that plans were announced to make East Boston High into a city-wide technical school specializing in aviation technology. Massport's relationship as a partner with East Boston High was described by Massport Community Relations Director, Thomas Callagan. He said Massport will assist in the planning of the technical school by “determining what the objectives should be for those people who will be going to work after high school.” [*Boston Globe*, March 8, 1976] In other words, through Phase II, Massport is guaranteed their trained and obedient work force of the future!

But faced with the threat of a united community struggle against the loss of its only high school (which in turn would force the busing of 75% of the high school students from East Boston), the federal courts changed its plans for East Boston High. Under Phase IIB, East Boston will be “allowed” to keep its high school.

But the community of East Boston still loses In spite of the correct demand made and fought for by some of the parents and students, the new technical high school will not be built on Massport land even though Massport already owns 2/3 of the land of East Boston. Instead, a brand new middle school (the Barnes School), originally built for the community, will become the new magnet technical school.

. . . . and Massport Authority still wins. They get their technical school at the expense of the community, and they are able to use the public school system to train their private work force. Just imagine the profit increase for Massport when, rather than having to train workers themselves through on-the-job-training, apprentice programs, etc., they can get workers trained to the special needs of the aviation industry right out of a “public” high school.

* This is an article which appeared in the June 1976 issue of the *Fighting Worker*.

As long as ROAR is leading the anti-busing struggle of the people of East Boston, Massport will continue to win! For ROAR directs the just anger of the white working people against the oppressed minorities of Boston rather than against Massport and the other big businesses of Boston who really benefit from and who are really responsible for the divisive busing plan.

East Boston may be the most blatant example, but through Phase II and now Phase IIB, big business has a direct role in the education of the children of most of the communities of Boston – Gillette Co. is paired with South Boston High, Stop & Shop with Charlestown High, State Street Bank with Roxbury High, New England Telephone with Dorchester High, etc. Let us unite – Black, Latin, Asian and white – against Phase II and ROAR and fight for community control of our schools rather than put up with big business control of our schools!

EVERETT PARENTS WIN SCHOOL TRANSPORTATION AND DECENT CLASS SIZE! BOSTON PARENTS FIGHT FOR DECENT CLASS SIZE BEGINS.

In the April issue of the *Fighting Worker*, we supported the effort of working class parents in Everett to force the Everett School Committee to provide bus transportation to a new elementary school next year.

We described the situation as follows: "In Everett, a big, expensive, brand new elementary school, the Centre School, has been built right in the downtown business district. A few neighborhood schools are being closed down. . . . Since the new school is located in the downtown area, rather than in a large residential neighborhood, the fortunate students attending the Centre School will, in most cases, come from the wealthier and more affluent and privileged families in Everett whose parents have the car and the time to drive their children to and from the new school. Those stuck in the neighborhood schools will be unnecessarily overcrowded in their older classrooms with less experienced teachers – they will be the "have-nots" of Everett education. As a mother at one meeting put it, there will be a private school education (for the fortunate at the Centre School) in the midst of a public school system!

" . . . A bus would provide *safety* for those first and second graders attending the new school, and a smaller and fairer class size for those attending the neighborhood school."

In spite of active resistance from many powerful forces in Everett, more than four months of work and struggle by Everett parents has forced the Everett School Committee to make arrangements for a special M.B.T.A. bus (with monitors for the children's safety).

HOW WAS THIS VICTORY WON?

Many Everett parents, concerned about improving the education of their children, participated in the battle for school transportation. These parents were organized and led by a smaller, well-organized group of determined parents who pushed the struggle forward step by step. A few *Fighting Worker* members played an active and leading role as part of this organized core of parents. With much hard work from all these parents, the struggle developed from a timely petition signed by 30 dissatisfied parents to a battle which one School Committee member described as "the hottest issue before the Everett School Committee in years."

* This is an article which appeared in the August 1976 issue of the *Fighting Worker*.

The task of the organized core of parents was to find the ways — the necessary steps — to actively involve as many parents as possible in the effort to improve their children's education. In the search for allies, these parents linked up with parents from another school which will be closed down next year and whose children were going to be forced in September to walk to the new Centre School across a busy and dangerous traffic rotary! This school district includes most of the Spanish-speaking residents of Everett as well as many white working class parents. This alliance of the two school districts made the movement for school transportation a force to be reckoned with!

The working class parents of Everett won school transportation because they fought for themselves and their children under the leadership of a determined and well-organized core of parents. The *Fighting Worker* encourages the parents who participated in this fight to go on next year to establish active P.T.A.'s in their children's schools.

THE STRUGGLE FOR DECENT CLASS SIZES

In Everett, unlike in Boston, school busing will lead to smaller and more equitable class sizes. We concluded our April article on the Everett School Situation with the following: "Because of the obvious safety and educational advantages gained by the working class children in Everett through such a *voluntary* busing plan, the *Fighting Worker* heartily supports the Everett school parents' fight for busing in Everett — just as strongly as the *Fighting Worker* opposes the *Boston* forced busing plan because of the safety and educational disadvantages to the Black, Latin, Asian and white working class children of Boston."

In Boston, the School Committee is presently planning to eliminate the jobs of 500 teachers next year and is threatening to increase the student/teacher ratio from 26/1 to as high as 36/1 at the elementary school level! The *Fighting Worker* supports the efforts of Boston parents to fight these and other educational cutbacks being brought in behind the smokescreen of forced busing. However, if these cutbacks are going to be effectively fought, a *multi-national* citywide coalition must be built, actively involving parents of all nationalities. In the past, Black and Latin parents have been the most active in the fight for quality education for their children in the Boston schools. Let those white working class parents sincerely concerned to fight for smaller class sizes and the predominately-white teachers union likewise concerned, join with the Black and other national minority parents in this struggle. Only with working class unity can quality education for the working class children of Boston be successfully won against the monopolists and their plans for cutbacks in education behind the smokescreen of the Big Business Busing Plan.

Dear Friends,

As we enter our fourth year of publication we look forward to hearing your comments and criticisms of the articles appearing in the *Fighting Worker*. This booklet contains all of our articles on Busing in the Boston area. If you agree that these positions on Busing and related situations in the Boston area are a contribution to the cause of the working class, we ask now that you make a contribution to help us meet the high cost of putting out the truth to the working people of the Boston area.

We also wish to involve you in the activities sponsored by the *Fighting Worker*. Presently, the *Fighting Worker* is sponsoring a reading group to study U.S. labor history. We think it necessary that workers in this country learn about the proud past history of the U.S. labor movement which has been buried for so many years, so that we may begin again to fight in earnest for a decent and dignified life as working people.

Write to:

FIGHTING WORKER

P.O. Box 201, West Lynn Station, West Lynn, Mass. 01905

- I am interested in the labor history reading group.
- I want to be put on / remain on the *Fighting Worker* mailing list.
- I would like to make a contribution of _____
- I would like to receive more busing booklets at 60 cents each.
- I would like to receive more than 6 busing booklets at 50 cents each.
- I desire a bulk rate price for _____ booklets

Enclosed is _____

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

TELEPHONE _____

COMMENTS _____