

THE MILITANT

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

20,624 NEW READERS!

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DRIVE OVER THE TOP!
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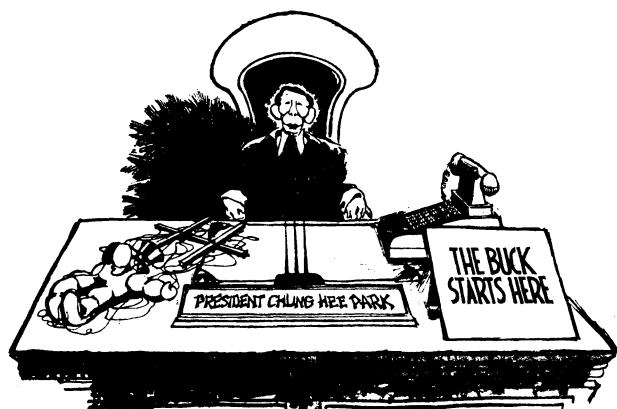
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March 25-26 protests

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POLICE TERROR: Protests against police terror continue in Houston. Cops there have shot down fourteen people this year. A November 5 picket line of eighty people demanded that two cops be fired and investigated for the shooting death of Milton Glover, a Black Vietnam veteran. In September, an independent commission of inquiry found the cops guilty of cold-blooded murder. Disregarding eyewitness accounts, city officials have excused the shooting. They claim the cops made a simple human error—they mistook a bible carried by Glover for a gun.

A rally after the picket line was addressed by leaders of the NAACP, a representative of the Student Coalition Against Racism, Glover's sister, and others.

CIA TO PUT SQUEEZE ON AGEE?: The British government has ordered the deportation of Philip Agee, a former CIA agent turned CIA opponent. Despite protests from Britain's National Union of Journalists and some Labour party members of Parliament, Britain's Home Office refuses to back up its charge that Agee "could be harmful to the security of the United Kingdom." This has prompted widespread speculation of possible U.S. involvement in the affair.

Agee's book *Inside the Company: C.I.A. Diary*, which named many American spies, caused an epidemic of agent demoralization. CIA sources admit that "serious consideration" is being given to charging Agee with violating federal espionage statutes.

Franco's heirs arrest Trotskyists

One hundred and fifty persons were arrested November 20 while attending a meeting of the Spanish Liga Comunista Revolucionaria (LCR—Revolutionary Communist League, a sympathizing organization of the Fourth International).

A force of armed police raided the Aranzazu monastery in the Guipuzkoa province of the Basque country, where the meeting was being held, the French Trotskyist daily *Rouge* reported in its November 22 issue.

Torture of political prisoners is common in Spain, but the authorities in the Basque country are notorious for their special brutality.

Among those arrested was Jaime Pastor. Pastor had been previously arrested in October following a meeting in Madrid demanding amnesty for Spanish political prisoners. Pastor was brutally beaten and then released, although he faced possible indictment.

At this time, there is no confirmed information on the whereabouts of those arrested, or what charges they face. *Rouge* says they may have been taken to the Central Commissariat in San Sebastián, well known for its torture chambers.

'NO EXECUTIONS!': More than forty people gathered outside the Bexar County Courthouse in San Antonio November 14 to protest the death penalty and the planned execution of Gary Gilmore in Utah. The rally was sponsored by the Coalition Against the Death Penalty. Speakers were from the American Civil Liberties Union; PADRES, an organization of Catholic priests; Socialist Workers party; National Organization for Women; Committee to Reopen the Rosenberg Case; and International Union of Electrical Workers Local 1013.

The *San Antonio Express* reported Bob Brischetto of the ACLU as saying that the record in Texas shows the discriminatory application of capital punishment. The death sentence has been ordered for 193 Blacks, compared with 143 whites. The *Express* also reported that Ellard Yow, shop steward for Local 1013, told protesters that his local has adopted a resolution against the death penalty.

RALLY FOR AFFIRMATIVE ACTION: Women Office Workers, a feminist group, is urging New Yorkers to protest the Labor Department's proposed affirmative-action guidelines. The women have planned a noon rally, December 6, at Broadway and Forty-fourth Street. Labor Department hearings are scheduled there that day. Several feminist and Black groups will be testifying against the new guidelines, which would enable many companies holding government contracts to trash affirmative-action programs.

MARTIN LUTHER KING DOCUMENTS DESTROYED: After the announcement last September that a congressional committee would reinvestigate the assassination of civil rights leader Martin Luther King, documents relevant in King's case have been destroyed.

Richard Sprague, chief counsel of the House Committee on Assassinations, said the documents had been "in the possession of law enforcement authorities." He did not say who had destroyed them. Committee member Henry

**FREE GARY TYLER!
END THE DEATH PENALTY!**
Come to the NSCAR conference
in Boston - Nov. 19-20



Militant/Lou Howort

At a rally at New York University, Juanita Tyler (speaking) was presented with a check for more than \$1,000 to aid in the defense of her son Gary Tyler. The November 17 meeting was sponsored by the New York Student Coalition Against Racism and the NYU Program Board to publicize the case of the Black Louisiana youth and protest the death penalty. Juanita Tyler described how her son had been framed up for the shooting death of a white student when a racist mob surrounded Blacks being bused for school desegregation. Louisiana officials are trying to execute the eighteen-year-old Tyler. Other speakers at the rally included John Artis, codefendant with Rubin 'Hurricane' Carter, (seated left); Maceo Dixon, coordinator of the National Student Coalition Against Racism (seated next to Artis); Clyde Bellecourt, national field director of the American Indian Movement; Saad El-Alim, chief counsel of the World Community of Islam in the West; and Michael Meyers, assistant national executive director of the NAACP.

González (D-Tex.) said the material had been in the hands of officials in Tennessee, where King was murdered in 1968.

WOMEN APPLAUD MARXIST ANTHROPOLOGIST: Students and faculty at Goucher College, a women's school outside Baltimore, gave a warm reception to Evelyn Reed this month. At a November 12 meeting, 350 people heard the Marxist anthropologist explain the origins of women's oppression, which she has documented in her book *Woman's Evolution: From Matriarchal Clan to Patriarchal Family*. Many students there have been studying this book in psychology and anthropology courses. Twenty-three others bought copies at the meeting.

While in the Baltimore area, Reed was interviewed for WMAR television's "Merle Comber Show." Articles on Reed appeared in the Baltimore daily *Sun*, *News American*, *Port City News*, and the Goucher College and Johns Hopkins University campus papers.

—Ginny Hildebrand

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**Where
we are**

20,000 new readers in 10 weeks

'Militant' subscription campaign tops goal

By Harvey McArthur

We made it!

20,000 new readers in ten weeks!

The final results are still coming in. But as of November 22, we have received 20,624 new subscriptions—103 percent of our goal. So far, thirty-one out of fifty-six areas have gone over their local goals. (See scoreboard.)

The final scoreboard and a fuller report will be printed in a coming issue.

During the week of November 15-22

SPECIAL STEEL ISSUE: Next week's Militant will feature six pages of coverage of the battle in the United Steelworkers of America between insurgent Ed Sadlowski and the USWA bureaucracy. To join in plant-gate sales of this special issue, contact the Socialist Workers party branch nearest you (see Socialist Directory, page 31) or order a bundle from the Militant Business Office, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014.

alone, we signed up 2,288 new subscribers.

New York City socialists led the way, sending in 340 subscriptions. They had fallen behind earlier in the drive, but during the last two weeks they sold 760 subscriptions to go over

their goal on time.

Los Angeles, Chicago, and San Francisco also made their targets with big pushes in the drive's final weeks.

Sales to trade unionists were an important aspect of the subscription effort. One day this week, for example, four socialists sold ten subscriptions to workers at the big U.S. Steel plant in Pittsburg, California. Members of the San Francisco Socialist Workers party plan to return there for more sales of Militant subscriptions and of the pamphlet *The Fight for Union Democracy in Steel*.

Socialists attending the National Student Conference Against Racism in Boston sold sixty subscriptions and more than 300 single copies of the Militant to other participants there.

Chapters of the Young Socialist Alliance, which sold mainly on college campuses, also did very well in the drive. The YSA at the University of Massachusetts at Boston sold more than 140 subscriptions during the drive. The Detroit, Philadelphia, and Minneapolis YSA chapters also sold more than 100 each. The New York City YSA sold more than 400.

Thirteen of the areas listed on the scoreboard are cities where SWP branches have only recently been established. They all found the subscription drive an especially useful way to meet people and introduce them to socialist ideas.

Subscription scoreboard

	Sent				
	Goal	in	%		
Kent, Ohio	30	65	216.7	Albany, N.Y.	55 50 90.9
Tacoma, Wash.	115	152	130.4	Edinboro, Pa.	30 27 90.0
Salt Lake City	50	61	122.0	Allentown, Pa.	20 18 90.0
Newark, Del.	5	6	120.0	Seattle	475 423 89.1
Kansas City, Mo.	150	167	111.3	Milwaukee	650 575 88.5
Phoenix	50	54	108.0	Ithaca, N.Y.	50 43 86.0
Oakland, Calif.	375	400	106.7	Houston	900 754 83.7
Indianapolis	100	105	105.0	Madison, Wis.	100 83 83.0
Berkeley	400	408	104.7	San Diego	400 315 78.8
San Jose	350	366	104.6	Bloomington, Ind.	50 39 78.0
Portland, Ore.	350	365	104.3	Denver	600 456 76.0
Washington, D.C., Area	750	780	104.0	Kingston, R.I.	25 19 76.0
Louisville	150	155	103.3	Minneapolis	775 559 72.1
State College, Pa.	30	31	103.3	Buffalo, N.Y.	25 18 72.0
Philadelphia	650	667	102.6	Sarasota, Fla.	25 18 72.0
Los Angeles	1,000	1,025	102.5	St. Paul	175 123 70.3
Baltimore	325	333	102.5	Champaign, Ill.	25 17 68.0
Chicago	900	922	102.4	Lexington, Ky.	50 29 58.0
Cleveland	450	458	101.8	Tallahassee, Fla.	25 13 52.0
Cincinnati	150	152	101.3	Knoxville, Tenn.	10 5 50.0
New York	2,000	2,021	101.1	Boulder, Colo.	20 8 40.0
Atlanta	600	606	101.0	Arlington, Tex.	30 8 26.7
Newark, N.J.	400	404	101.0	Campaign teams	
Boston	800	806	100.8	New Mexico	85 85 100.0
Dallas	150	151	100.7	California	300 260 86.7
St. Louis	425	427	100.5	Ohio	400 330 82.5
San Francisco	800	803	100.4	Northeast	400 279 69.8
New Orleans	225	226	100.4	Rocky Mountain	215 118 54.9
Toledo	150	150	100.0	Michigan-Indiana	400 158 39.5
Richmond, Va.	125	125	100.0	Southeast	250 88 35.2
Miami	80	80	100.0	Upper-Midwest	165 21 12.7
San Antonio	175	171	97.7	General	1,837
Detroit	800	777	97.1	Total	20,000 20,624 103.1
Pittsburgh	450	429	95.3	Should be	20,000 100.0

In San Francisco

1,200 rally to defend Blacks in southern Africa

By John Studer and Sara Gates

SAN FRANCISCO—More than 1,200 people crowded into Queen Adah Hall in San Francisco's Western Addition district on November 12 to demand Black majority rule in southern Africa. Hundreds more were turned away when the hall was filled.

Sponsoring the meeting was one of the broadest coalitions ever assembled in the Black community here. Among the many sponsors were Marvin Chandler, executive director of the San

Francisco Council of Churches; U.S. Rep. Ron Dellums; San Francisco *Sun Reporter* publisher Carleton Goodlett; Student Coalition Against Racism; Black Women Organized for Action; Socialist Workers party; and the Hastings Black Law Students Association.

Joseph Hall, president of the San Francisco chapter of the NAACP, was the first speaker.

Hall called for a stepped-up campaign to force an end to white minority rule in southern Africa.

"In the early days of the Vietnam War only a minority of people protested on the campuses," Hall said. "This minority grew to a majority, toppled one president, and had the ultimate result of forcing a cessation of the war. This same kind of movement can bring results in South Africa and Rhodesia."

Yahya Shaheer Id-Deen, assistant minister of Mosque 26 of the World Community of Islam, brought greetings to the rally.

Rev. Jim Jones, founder and pastor of the Peoples Temple, said, "I hope that meetings such as this will be taking place all over the country."

"The sham homelands and Bantustans in South Africa are scenes of misery and mass starvation," Jones continued. "And here at home a great deal of our economy is based on the blood and sweat of our brothers and sisters in southern Africa."

"We must not worry whether we're sitting next to a communist or not," Jones said. "As long as people stand up for freedom, they are our sisters and our brothers."

Following Jones was Tony Thomas, author of *The Freedom Struggle in South Africa* and a member of the National Committee of the Socialist Workers party.

"There is \$1.5 billion of U.S. investment in South Africa," Thomas said.



Section of audience at rally. Speakers called for more protests against U.S. complicity with white minority regimes.

Kissinger's scheme

What was Secretary of State Henry Kissinger up to when he masterminded the Geneva talks on Rhodesia?

He's tried to convince the world that his goal was to speed the transition to Black rule. But recent comments by Rhodesian Prime Minister Ian Smith suggest that Kissinger had actually mapped out a scheme to provide cover for stepped-up aid to the white minority regime.

Smith revealed on November 19 that Kissinger had given him "assurance that if we entered this agreement and it collapsed because of what Black Rhodesians have done as opposed to myself and my government he was convinced that we would get a great deal more sympathy from the free world and also tangible assistance."

Smith said that such assistance would include arms to combat Black freedom fighters.

"There are over 350 American corporations active in South Africa. Higher profits are being made by these U.S. corporations in South Africa than anywhere else in the world."

"The U.S. government supplies South Africa with its military equipment: its planes, its jeeps, and its tanks."

"We have a historic responsibility in this country," Thomas continued, "To build more and larger protests like this one to come to the aid of our brothers and sisters in southern Africa."

Thomas reported that the National Student Conference Against Racism to be held in Boston November 19-21 would discuss a proposal for nationwide meetings and demonstrations around March 21, the anniversary of the 1960 Sharpeville massacre in South Africa.

"We can take this proposal and begin to build a massive movement like the anti-Vietnam War movement," the Black socialist said.

The last speaker was Leonard Mudavanhu, secretary-treasurer of the Zimbabwe African National Union in North America.

Mudavanhu blasted the so-called Kissinger Plan for Zimbabwe. "This plan has been rejected overwhelmingly by the people of Zimbabwe," he said. "It's outright racism! The Kissinger Plan is an attempt to protect white privileges and we reject it."

The November 12 Protest Coalition, the group that organized the evening's activities, will meet to discuss future actions.

Mass sentiment for independence

Parti Québécois victory: what it means

By Art Young

[The following article appeared in the November 22 issue of *Labor Challenge*, a revolutionary socialist fortnightly published in Toronto.]

There was dancing in the streets of East-End Montréal when the results of the Québec election came in on the evening of Nov. 15.

As the defeat of one cabinet minister after another was announced, French-language television viewers could hear the jubilant cheering of television technicians in the background.

At the news of the Parti Québécois [PQ—Québec party] victory, French-speaking Montrealers poured out of their houses and paraded through the streets carrying the Québec flag and Parti Québécois banners, exchanging "V-for-victory" and clenched-fist salutes.

Ten thousand PQ supporters crammed a victory rally in the Paul Sauvé arena. The arena resounded with nationalist songs and chants of "Le Québec aux Québécois" (Québec for the Quebecers).

What did the defeat of the hated Liberal government of Robert Bourassa mean to them? The message was plain. It is time for national rights, time for social justice, time for a profound change and for rapid action.

But the masses of working people who elected the PQ are far from victory.

The Parti Québécois is committed to defend big business rule, to oppose the rights of the labor movement, and to oppose the key demands of the Québécois for national rights. Whatever concessions the PQ government may be forced to grant, the masses of Québécois will now have to face the reality of the Parti Québécois—a party firmly opposed to their rights and their demands.

The Liberals were crushed, winning 28 seats to the PQ's 69. (In 1973 the Liberals took 102 of the 110 seats.) Even Bourassa lost his own riding to the PQ.

It was a bitter pill for [Prime Minister Pierre Elliot] Trudeau, who six years ago unleashed the War Measures Act and jailed hundreds of Québécois without charges in an attempt to intimidate and bury the growing nationalist movement. Not long ago Trudeau declared, "Separatism is dead." Now a party promising to take Québec out of Confederation holds office in Québec City.

The feeling against the Bourassa

regime was so strong that one of the Liberals' own candidates described Bourassa as the most despised man in Québec.

Economic issues weighed heavily in most voters' minds: record high unemployment, expected to get worse; continuing inflation combined with wage controls; an anticipated budget deficit of more than \$1 billion; taxes among the highest in the country; a series of scandals involving the inept and corrupt squandering of public funds.

Bourassa alienated the unions with his antilabor legislation, union busting, and poor contract offers. All three major labor federations opposed the Liberals, supporting the PQ in one form or another.

In face of the mounting conflict over the privileged status of the English language in Québec, the Bourassa regime had attempted to play French and English against each other. Its Law 22 purported to make French the official language of Québec; yet it changed nothing of substance and alienated the large immigrant community, making it the scapegoat for Québec's Anglicization.

Bourassa lost the support not only of those who defend the rights of Québécois to live and work in French, but of a significant part of the English-language chauvinist element. English-language and immigrant voters gave substantial support to the Union Nationale [National Union], which promised to abolish the language law in order to remove any limitations on the expansion of the privileged English-language education system.

Independence issue

But in the absence of a viable labor alternative, the election was largely a two-way race between the Liberals and the Parti Québécois opposition. The PQ played down its stand for independence during the campaign, substituting a promise of a referendum to convince voters that they could elect the PQ without voting for immediate independence.

Trudeau, among others, seized on this to declare that the new PQ administration has a mandate only to govern Québec as a province within Canada, and not to take it out of Confederation.

Yet while it is true that the election was not a plebiscite on independence, Trudeau and the other federalist politicians can derive little comfort from the outcome of the vote.

In the final weeks of the campaign, Bourassa staked everything on a massive scare campaign against "sep-



Masses of nationalist-minded Québécois have high expectations of new government. But PQ, as a party committed to big-business rule, will show itself to be firmly opposed to their rights and their demands.

aratism." In the two previous elections it worked. This time the scare campaign was on an even higher scale, and more strident. But there was no sign that PQ support fell off as the independence question came to the fore.

A *Toronto Star* reporter at the joyous PQ victory celebration on election night wrote: "While a referendum is still required for the Parti Québécois to proceed towards independence, anyone standing in the arena last night couldn't help but wonder about the accuracy of polls showing only 18 percent in favor of a separate Québec. "Every mention of independence drew a roar. A report that Ontario Premier William Davis claimed the PQ's massive win was not a defeat for Canada drew hoots of derision and renewed chants of, 'It's only a beginning.'"

Instability, rising tensions

What will happen now?

The masses who elected the PQ—workers, students, and other nationalist-minded discontented layers of the population—expect the new government to take measures that will substantially improve their lives. They expect national equality and better living conditions. But PQ leaders have made it clear that they intend merely

to rule more honestly and efficiently than the Liberals, introducing a number of quite limited reforms.

Without challenging the domination of Québec by foreign, English-speaking imperialism, it will be impossible for the PQ to meet the expectations of its supporters. The PQ takes office in the context of a stagnant economic situation that leaves little margin for costly reform projects within the capitalist framework.

The Québécois are entering a new, richer, and more intense political experience as a result of the PQ victory. They have high expectations of [the new Québec Premier René] Lévesque and his cabinet. But as the PQ increasingly reveals its real character, illusions in it will dissipate, producing heightened tensions within the party and clashes between the PQ and the labor and nationalist movements.

Larger numbers of Québécois will come to understand that a PQ government cannot advance their interests, and that they need a workers government to lead the struggle for an independent and socialist Québec. Pressure will grow on the unions to break from the PQ in this direction by launching their own mass labor party.

The prospect of the referendum on independence will bring into sharp focus all aspects of the national oppression of Québec, as the debate grows on how to overcome that oppression.

There is no question that the PQ's overwhelming victory is a severe setback for the plans of Canada's rulers. They need to take new measures to attempt to firm up their control of Québec. Their alarmed statements reflect their fear not of the Parti Québécois but of the mass nationalist and prolabor sentiment that brought it to office.

Trudeau told the House of Commons November 16 that he remains dedicated to an "inseparable Canada, a Canada which is indivisible," and that he has no intention of negotiating "any form of separatism" with Québec.

These are ominous words coming from the man who ordered troops into Québec during the War Measures Crisis.

English Canadians should reject Trudeau's approach. They should affirm their belief that the Québécois have the right to decide their own fate, free of pressure and threats from outside Québec. As an oppressed nation, the Québécois must be able to take whatever measures they feel necessary to free themselves.

'For an independent & socialist Quebec'

Under the slogan "For an Independent and Socialist Québec," the Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière (LSO—Socialist Workers League) ran Paul Kouri in Montréal's Jeanne-Mance constituency in the November 15 Québec election.

The LSO is the Québec wing of the Canadian section of the Fourth International, known in English Canada as the League for Socialist Action.

Kouri campaigned in defense of French language rights, defense of the right to strike, and opposition to wage controls.

A major focus of the socialist campaign was the need for the Québec unions to break with the capitalist parties, including the Parti Québécois, and form an independent labor political party.

"The labor party must be the party of all the oppressed and exploited," said the LSO campaign program. "It must lead the struggle for national liberation of Québec, for the libera-

tion of women, and for the national rights of the Indians and the Inuit."

Kouri is a former member of the Québec Teachers Federation and an activist in the Regroupement des Militants Syndicaux (RMS—Trade Union Militants Tendency), a grouping of unionists fighting for trade-union unity, for union independence from government interference, and for a labor party.

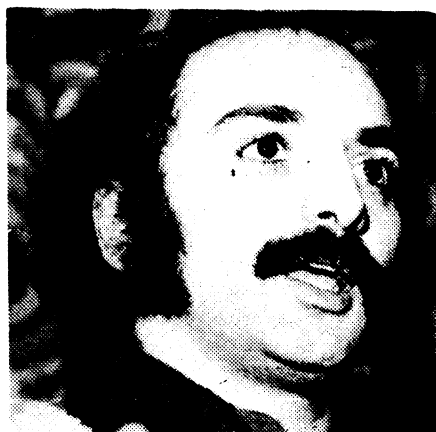
The RMS formed a coalition with the small Québec affiliate of the New Democratic party (the mass labor party in English Canada) to run twenty-one candidates in the Québec elections.

The LSO called for a vote for the NDP-RMS candidates, in spite of disagreements with their program, as a vote for working-class political independence.

On the same basis the LSO urged a vote for three candidates presented by the Groupe Marxiste Révolutionnaire (GMR—Revolutionary Marxist

Group), another Trotskyist group in Québec.

A third Trotskyist group, the Groupe Socialiste des Travailleurs du Québec (GSTQ—Québec Socialist Workers Group) ran no candidates in its own name. It campaigned energetically for the NDP-RMS slate and also supported Paul Kouri.



Labor Challenge/MacInnis
Paul Kouri, Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière candidate in recent Québec elections.

Behind 1976 auto talks: sharpening conflicts, aggressive corporations

By Frank Lovell

General Motors, last of the "big three" auto corporations to settle with the United Auto Workers this year, finally agreed to a new three-year contract on November 19 after a twelve-hour "mini-strike."

The dividing issue between the UAW and GM was union organization at six of the company's parts plants in the Deep South where GM pays more than one dollar per hour below the Detroit scale for identical work. The union seeks a uniform national wage rate.

General Motors has successfully prevented organization of these open-shop plants, a policy described as GM's "Southern strategy" to weaken the union.

The corporation nets an estimated \$2 million a year in extra profits from the lower wages paid at just one of these plants, in Clinton, Mississippi.

Company officials in the South have tried to keep Blacks unorganized by falsely claiming that the UAW will bring white workers from the North to steal their jobs.

This dispute was postponed when GM officials signed a letter of "Neutrality," pledging to "neither discourage nor encourage" the organization of nonunion plants.

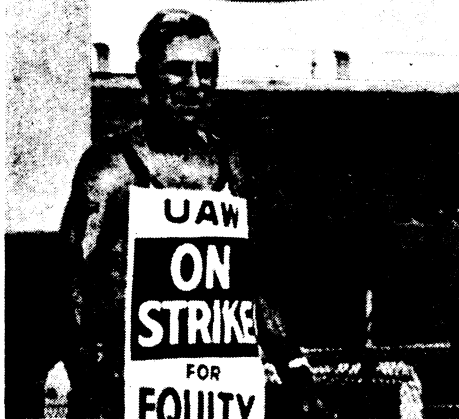
The company pledge satisfied UAW President Leonard Woodcock and Irving Bluestone, chief negotiator in charge of the union's GM department. Bluestone said he was confident the corporation would not commit the "intolerable" act of breaking its pledge.

This remains to be seen.

In all other respects the tentative settlement with GM followed the already established auto pattern. It is subject to ratification on December 6 by the 390,000 UAW members who work for GM.

This will conclude the triennial auto contract talks except for a settlement still to be made with the financially troubled American Motors Corporation.

On the surface these negotiations



appeared to conform to the traditional style and they seemed to be carried through with few hitches. But the underlying irreconcilable conflict between union and management was more threatening this time. And the dissatisfaction of the auto workers was greater and, among the skilled crafts, better organized.

At the outset last summer both union and management stated their opposing positions. Management proposed to hold the line on wages to prevent further inflation. The union asked for "equity" in the face of rising prices and soaring corporate profits.

In accordance with past practice the UAW selected a "target company" for purposes of working out a standard agreement. This year Ford Motor Company was the "target." When the old contract expired September 14 the industry was not prepared to settle. Ford was struck while Chrysler and GM continued production.

It is an open secret that the corporations negotiate jointly even though they maintain the convenient form of separate negotiations, largely for efficiency of company-by-company operations.

No settlement is ever reached until approved by General Motors, the dominant power. This monopolistic corporate structure is part of established union-management understanding in the auto industry.

The pattern agreement was fixed on October 12 after a twenty-eight-day strike of the 165,000 UAW members at Ford plants in the United States. The terms amounted to little more than a reshuffle of wage gains and other benefits that would have accrued under an extension of the old contract.

The highly publicized new gain of "shorter work time" amounts to only seven new paid days off over the next three years. All concerned recognize that this will not create more jobs for unemployed auto workers.

UAW officials claim the new contract "charts new paths in job security, employment opportunities, and shorter work time."

"It sets new standards in health care," they say, "... corrects inequities for skilled workers and provides ... greater control for subcontracting."

This will not change the conditions of work in the auto plants.

The top negotiator for General Motors, George Morris, thought the agreement was "pretty good." And GM Chairman Thomas Murphy said after Ford and Chrysler had signed, "We can live with that."

Representatives of Chrysler Corporation signed shortly before the 6:00 p.m. strike deadline on November 5.

General Motors was given a November 19 deadline but stalled until after 80,000 UAW members were called out at sixteen of its key plants in seven states. Faced with the prospect of having to lay off the remaining GM workers, company officials gave their pledge of "neutrality" against the union and signed the national UAW contract.

After signing, GM's George Morris called it "the most expensive wage and benefit package in General Motor's

Continued on page 30

Pittsburgh steel sales off to a good start

By Fred Stanton

The Pittsburgh Socialist Workers party recently organized a one-week blitz to kick off sales of the pamphlet *The Fight for Union Democracy in Steel*.

They sent sales teams to plant gates and door to door in working-class neighborhoods. Despite unseasonably cold weather, more than fifty pamphlets and twenty-five *Militant* subscriptions were sold.

Plant-gate sales were preceded or accompanied by distribution of a leaflet about the pamphlet and the *Militant*. A display ad for the pamphlet, placed by the Militant Bookstore, was run two days that week in the *McKeesport Daily News*, a widely read paper in the industrial Monongahela River Valley.

The pamphlet was well received not only by steelworkers but other unionists as well. A member of the Machinists union sold five copies to his coworkers.

Electrical workers at Westinghouse Air Brake, where the *Militant* had been sold in the past, were glad to see "the *Militant* people" back again, and bought the pamphlet to find out more about Ed Sadlowski's campaign for president of the United Steelworkers.

Members of the Marine and Shipbuilding Workers union at Dravo shipbuilding works liked the pamphlet. So did the driver of the canteen truck at the gates—he took a consignment of ten to sell along with the coffee and doughnuts.

Workers at U.S. Steel's Clairton coke works can now buy the pamphlet at the plant gates, outside local union

Suit hits firing of steel candidate

By Robert Mahoney

LOS ANGELES—Attorneys for the insurgent slate of Ed Sadlowski in the United Steelworkers of America filed suit in federal court here November 4 on behalf of Ignacio "Nash" Rodríguez, candidate for USWA international secretary on Sadlowski's slate.

The suit charges the USWA officialdom with carrying out political reprisals against Rodríguez by removing him from his post as president of USWA Local 1549 at American Can

Company's Los Angeles plant.

Rodríguez, who had worked at the plant for twenty-seven years, was elected local president in 1973.

American Can closed the plant last July. The international union followed its traditional policy of appointing an administrator to wrap up any local business.

As is also traditional, Rodríguez remained on staff, presumably until all grievance and arbitration issues were settled. Five arbitration cases and four third-stage grievances were still pending with American Can.

Liquidation of the local makes a victory in these cases more difficult.

The sequence of events leading up to the liquidation makes clear that it was politically motivated. Rodríguez's candidacy on the Sadlowski slate—which was officially announced October 11—had been rumored for a week before.

On October 10, in a letter to Local 1549 administrator Charles Blattau, District 38 Director Frank McKee said the local should "now be phased out." McKee is running for international treasurer on the "official family" slate headed by Lloyd McBride.

Following up on McKee's move, USWA President I.W. Abel then wrote Blattau on October 14 "canceling" the local. Blattau then removed Rodríguez from his post.

The "cancellation," if upheld, could disqualify Rodríguez as a candidate. As part of the nominating procedure,

candidates are required to obtain certification from their own locals. Rodríguez would have no local to certify him.

The action also violated the union constitution, which states: "No Local Union shall be dissolved, except with the approval of the International Executive Board." Abel was in such a hurry that he forgot to follow the rules.

At a meeting of 150 supporters of the Sadlowski campaign here November 14, Rodríguez declared his intention to stay in the race and fight the illegal dissolution of his local.

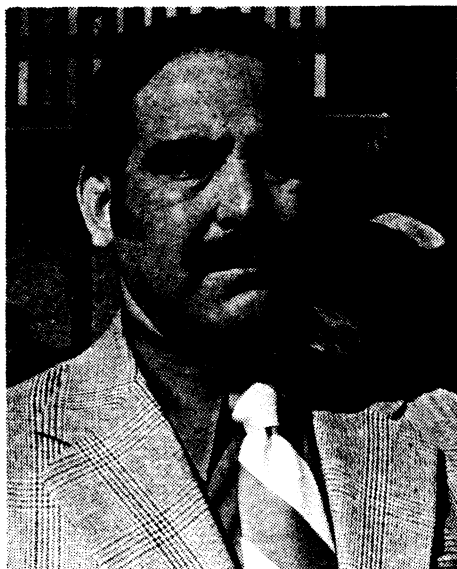
He said that the Sadlowski campaign is "one of the greatest rays of hope of the labor movement, one of the greatest rays of hope of the whole country."

At the same meeting, Sadlowski termed the firing of Rodríguez an act of desperation and an example of Abel and McKee's contemptuous attitude toward the membership.

In an earlier press release from Chicago, Sadlowski accused the union's top officialdom of having a hypocritical position on civil rights.

"They disqualified Sam Stokes, a Black who was nominated for vice-president in 1973, on a technicality," Sadlowski said, "and now they are rewriting the rules to make things hard for Nash."

If Rodríguez is elected, he will be the first Latino to hold international USWA office.



Militant/Ruth Robinett

Nash Rodríguez, Steelworkers Fight Back candidate for international secretary.

Read the Militant

The Militant tells the truth. About the economy, about working people, about the struggle to defend their rights and standard of living. About recent elections, FBI and CIA crimes, attacks on women's rights.

The fight for union democracy in the United States will affect the future of the entire labor movement. You'll get regular coverage of the campaign in the Militant, along with firsthand reports on struggles for jobs, decent wages, and safe working conditions.

...and this timely, important pamphlet:

The Fight for Union Democracy in Steel

ANITY RUSE, labor columnist for the Militant, has just published a pamphlet on the fight of steelworkers to gain control of their own union. It tells about Ed Sadlowski's challenge to the union bureaucracy and discusses questions facing all working people.

• How did the unions become bureaucratized?
• What happened to the powerful social upsurge that built the CIO in the 1930s?
• What strategy is needed to move forward today?
• Other topics include:
• Black workers and the CIO
• The fight against the no-strike deal
• Does labor need "another Roosevelt"?
40 pp. 50 cents.

Paper/Pamphlet Offer:

Send me the top works of the Militant at the introductory rate of \$1.00 for one year. Please send me copies of The Fight for Union Democracy in Steel (\$2.50 each, 50¢ each for 5 or more).

Name _____ State _____
Address _____
City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Mail this order to: The Militant, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014.

meetings, and at a neighborhood bar near the plant. The bartender, who is also a steelworker, took ten copies on consignment.

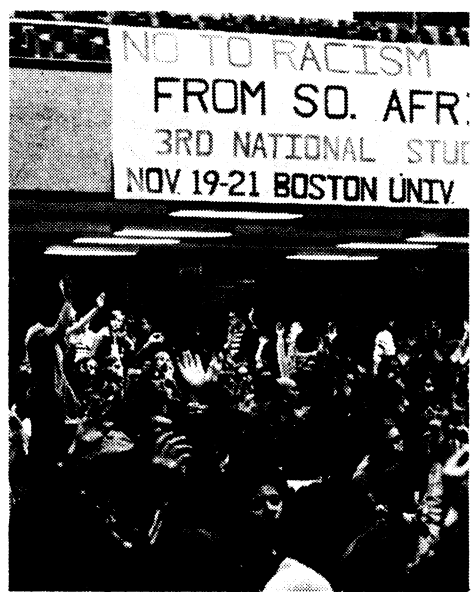
"We found that successful sales at a plant require careful planning," said Ruth Robinett, Pittsburgh SWP organizer. "Workers at large steel mills go into the gate up to an hour before their shift begins, and sales teams have to get there early."

"One of our teams to U.S. Steel's Homestead works got to the plant at 7:40 a.m. and found they had missed most of the 8:00 shift."

Robinett reports that participants in all the sales teams, including several SWP campaign supporters who are not party members, are enthusiastic about continuing these plant-gate and community sales.

"We see this special week as just the beginning of a sustained campaign," she said. "The pamphlet sales will continue through the steelworkers election next February, and the *Militant* plant-gate sales will be a regular part of our work."

Students set 'U.S. out of Africa' protests



Militant/Anne Teesdale
Conference voted for March 25-26 demonstrations.

By Peter Seidman

BOSTON—Spurred by appeals from Black South African and Zimbabwean freedom fighters, the third National Student Conference Against Racism voted to set March 25-26, 1977, as national days of protest against U.S. support to racist regimes in southern Africa.

The National Student Coalition Against Racism, which initiated the conference, was founded in February 1975 to help mobilize protests against racist attacks on school desegregation in Boston and other cities. NSCAR now has some seventy chapters in cities and on campuses from coast to coast. The wide respect NSCAR has won in the busing fight was shown by the prominent figures who addressed the conference's opening rally. (See article below.)

South Africa

But at this conference, held November 19-21 at Boston University, the 1,100 participants were confronted with a new challenge.

Inspired by the militant protests of Black South African students, NSCAR

had made the theme of the conference, "No to Racism from Boston to South Africa."

A Saturday morning educational panel provided a framework for conference discussion. It was chaired by NSCAR national staffperson Vince Eagan.

Tsietsi Mashinini, a leader of the June 16 Black high school student revolt in Soweto, South Africa, set the tone for the panel. He appealed "to the people of America to help us to get America out of our country."

Mashinini cited the American anti-war movement as a key ally of the courageous and prolonged struggle of the Vietnamese people. "When America pulled out of Vietnam," he said, "it was not because the Vietnamese were very strong but it was because inside America there were a lot of campaigns against what was happening in Vietnam."

Jeff Baqwa, a leader of the South African Students Organisation now exiled in Botswana, explained that racist oppression in the United States is caused by the very same government that props up apartheid in Africa—

Washington. "We need your help as much as you need our help," he said. "This is what the struggle involves."

Warned about Carter

Cortland Cox documented the central role played by Washington in maintaining racist oppression in Africa. Cox was program director for the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee during the 1960s and secretary-general of the Sixth Pan African Congress. He is currently a researcher at the Center for National Security Studies.

Cox warned that Washington's role was not likely to change under Jimmy Carter. He cited an interview with Carter in the *Financial Mail*, a South African newspaper.

Carter claimed he was for use of Washington's economic leverage—but not boycotts or sanctions—to influence South Africa's policies. But he also refused to rule out sending American troops to South Africa. If token reforms failed to dampen the freedom struggle, the next president of the United States reserved the right to rescue the racist regime.

Cox's warning was echoed by New York State Supreme Court Justice William Booth. Booth is president of the board of the American Committee on Africa. "What Cox said about president-elect Carter left out one thing," Booth said. "Carter requested his remarks be held up till after the election. Carter's like every other American president we've had who's only concerned with protecting American investments around the world."

Example of antiwar movement

August Nimtz, a professor of political science at the University of Minnesota, urged the conference to look to "the anti-Vietnam War movement as a model for what we can do." That example, he said, shows the need for a nationally organized effort that is "broad, nonsectarian and focused on the role of the United States."

Also speaking on the panel were Synos Mangazza, chairperson of the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) in the United States, and Herbert Vilakazi, a Black South African now living in this country. A fuller report on the panel will appear in a forthcoming *Militant*.

March 25-26 protests

Maceo Dixon, NSCAR national coordinator, and Tony Austin, a coordinator of Philadelphia SCAR, proposed that the conference initiate a call for national protests March 25-26 against U.S. complicity with racist regimes in South Africa, Zimbabwe (Rhodesia), and Namibia.

These dates were chosen to commemorate the anniversary of the Sharpeville massacre. On March 21, 1960, South African cops shot down scores of Blacks protesting apartheid.

The Dixon-Austin proposal suggested that March 25, a Friday, could be a day for campus teach-ins.

On March 26, the proposal said, "city-wide coalitions can organize rallies, marches and/or picket lines at South African consulates or other symbols of southern African racism. Demonstrations outside of federal buildings are especially important since the U.S. government is the main

Rally: 'No to racism from

By Baxter Smith

BOSTON—Eyewitnesses to South African repression, an Irish revolutionary, a Native American, civil rights leaders, feminists, an advocate of prison reform, a frame-up victim, and the mother of a frame-up victim were among those addressing a rally against racism here November 19.

The evening rally was the opening shot in a weekend National Student Conference Against Racism, organized by the National Student Coalition Against Racism.

Its theme was "No to Racism from Boston to South Africa."

Students and others, more than 700, attended the rally at Boston University. Some came to see an Irish revolutionary up close. Others came to hear about South African repression firsthand. All came to learn of ways to fight racism on their campuses and in their communities.

"The purpose of this conference is to educate people about racism and to build a national, mass movement against it," declared Robert Allen, editor of the *Black Scholar*. Allen chaired the three-and-a-half hour rally, which was marred briefly by a bomb scare evacuation.

Allen directed his remarks at the racism of Boston school officials and the antibusing movement. He applauded NSCAR's support for school desegregation and its defense of Black students against Boston's antibusing bigots.



SPEAKERS: (From left) Tsietsi Mashinini, Robert Allen, Herbert Vilakazi, Polly Halfkenny.

Joe Madison, executive secretary of the Detroit NAACP, is a prominent supporter of the student coalition. He has spoken at other NSCAR gatherings and is on the group's national speakers bureau.

Madison has a knack for turning the tables and laying bare racist arguments. In his rally speech he laid waste to segregation and tokenism.

Madison said he has been tabbed as "an agitator" by some. The definition of an agitator, he said, is something "that moves to beat out filth, dirt, uncleanness."

"For that reason I proudly wear the label of agitator, because racism whether it be in South Boston or South Africa is filthy, is dirty," and something he is working to remove.

Madison pointed out that the struggle against racism "has to be fought

out on the streets," and that students should not be led astray by tokenism. "Because the man who gives you the token can take it back or devalue it."

To whistles and rhythmic applause that punctuated the remarks of several speakers, Madison declared: "You cannot stand in the United States and fight for freedom here unless you fight for freedom in South Africa."

Twenty-nine-year-old Irish revolutionary Bernadette Devlin McAliskey brought the crowd to a standing ovation when she was introduced.

McAliskey, a former British Parliament member, is touring the country to generate support for Marie and Noel Murray, who face the death penalty in Ireland for struggling for Irish freedom from British domination. She trained her verbal cannons on antibusing Irish-Americans.

Devlin recalled a visit to the United States several years back. That was when she was first struck by "the contradictory attitudes of many Irish-Americans in their support to the struggle in Ireland and their very reactionary and prejudiced opinions against the Black people of the United States."

Devlin said the plight of Irish immigrants was similar to that of oppressed Blacks.

"Many times in our history our people fled to America to escape famine," she said. "They fled to escape genocide, they fled to escape poverty."

That is why "I find it so sad that in this country they only remember the shamrocks, the beer, and the leprechauns," she said to applause and cries of "all right!"

Devlin drew a parallel between the persecution of Black frame-up victim Gary Tyler and the framed-up Murrys. Until whites learn not to allow racism to divide them from Blacks, she added, they will never free themselves from exploitation by the rich.

The rally featured eyewitness reports on the recent Black upheavals in South Africa.

The student coalition is undertaking a major campaign to force an end to all U.S. complicity with racist regimes in southern Africa. To kick off this effort, the group brought in speakers familiar with the situation there.

NSCAR plans to conduct an educational campaign to inform the Ameri-

prop upholding the racist regimes."

The resolution urged NSCAR activists to win support for these activities among labor, Black, religious, and women's organizations. It offered the hope that March 25-26 would be a time of international protests as well.

"The success of these actions," the resolution said, "can also lay the basis for even further, even larger protests in the future."

After a full discussion open to all participants Saturday night, the conference voted enthusiastically to approve the Dixon-Austin proposal.

It also supported a resolution submitted by Koko Farrow of the Commission

for Racial Justice of the United Church of Christ. Farrow's resolution detailed some of the themes of the anti-apartheid protests. Another resolution, submitted by Paul Pumphrey of the Anti-Apartheid Movement in the USA, urged NSCAR to consider support to June 16 moratorium activities. This proposal was also approved.

Activists at the conference were involved in school desegregation struggles in Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Cleveland, Detroit, Louisville, and many other cities. They applauded Maceo Dixon's reminder that the fight for busing "is the central question facing the Black liberation struggle in

the United States at this time."

Dixon spoke during a special educational panel on the current stage of the desegregation struggle.

Also participating on the panel were Arlene Carver, a member of Progress In Education, a Louisville pro-busing group; Christine Rossell, a Boston University professor who has amassed important facts in support of school desegregation; and Luis Fuentes, the embattled fighter for bilingual-bicultural programs and community control of education in Community School District One on New York City's Lower East Side. A fuller report on this panel will also appear in a forthcoming *Militant*.

A resolution submitted by Dixon was approved by the conference. It noted that "the school systems in most major cities are still segregated" and that "segregation has not been completely eliminated from those school systems, such as Boston and Louisville, currently undergoing court-ordered school desegregation."

The resolution also blasted an anti-busing federal court ruling in Pasadena and the decision by the U.S. Justice Department to file as a "friend of the court" on the side of antibusing forces in Wilmington, Delaware. These moves, the resolution warned, show the need for antiracist activists to continue demonstrating against Washington's attacks on equal education.

Educational campaign

Dixon pointed out that NSCAR is one of the few organizations that understands the need to defend busing by combining legal battles with street demonstrations and other forms of mass protest.

He stressed the importance of an educational campaign to "lay the basis for a powerful movement that could galvanize and organize protests in the streets."

Such a campaign, he said, would have to reach out to trade unions, the NAACP, the Urban League, and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference to convince them of the need for massive demonstrations.

Continued on page 30

NSCAR elects Austin



TONY AUSTIN Militant/Lou Howort

BOSTON—"I'm very optimistic about the success of the southern Africa campaign and the potential of the March 25-26 protests," Tony Austin said as the weekend NSCAR conference drew to a close.

Austin, twenty-five, is the newly elected national coordinator of NSCAR.

A native of Philadelphia, Austin is no newcomer to organizing activities against U.S. involvement in southern Africa. He was a leader of the Philadelphia chapter of the African Liberation Support Committee.

Before moving to Boston to help out with NSCAR's national work, Austin was coordinator of the group's Philadelphia chapter. He testified at school board hearings in support of desegregation there and helped generate support for protests last year against the racist fire bombing of a Puerto Rican family.

Austin served as a marshal at the May 17, 1975, Boston march for school desegregation.

Defense work

BOSTON—The Wilmington Ten case is somewhat similar to the Gary Tyler case, according to Imani Kazana, because in both cases the defendants fell victim to opponents of "academic excellence for Black students."

Kazana is the coordinator of the National Wilmington Ten Defense Committee. She was one of several who addressed the evening rally and conference workshops on behalf of victims of racist frame-ups.

Defense of such victims has been a benchmark of student coalition work since its founding. Rev. Ben Chavis, a Wilmington Ten defendant, sent a telegram to the conference hailing its efforts.

Representatives from many defense committees were present.

Paul X Moody, a Black college student who was convicted of raping a white woman, addressed the rally. Tyler's mother, Juanita Tyler, spoke on behalf of her son.

Members of the Native American Solidarity Committee distributed information on Leonard Peltier, who is unjustly accused in a South Dakota shooting. The conference passed a resolution presented by the solidarity committee demanding sovereignty for Native Americans.

Petitions circulated for Marie and

Noel Murray, Irish freedom fighters who face the death penalty in Ireland. Petitions also circulated calling for freedom for Stanton Story, a Black Pittsburgh man being persecuted on the false charge of shooting a white cop.

A resolution from the Louisiana Student Coalition Against Racism called for the freeing of other victims of racist frame-ups including Joanne Little, Yvonne Wanrow, J.B. Johnson, Delbert Tibbs, Antonio Smith, and Lewis 17X Dupree. The resolution was adopted unanimously.



IMANI KAZANA Militant/Barry Chann

Boston to South Africa'

can people about the degree of U.S. involvement in southern Africa. Students are urged to uncover campus and corporate complicity with white-settler rule.

Rally participants heard from Essex County College Prof. Herbert Vilakazi, Jeff Baqwa, and Tsietsi Mashinini.

Vilakazi, a Black South African, was in Soweto when Black student protests were touched off on June 16 against compulsory learning of Afrikaans, a language of the white ruling minority.

Vilakazi saluted the actions of high school students in the South African protests. He called the students "the spark that started what is surely the South African revolution." He said that teen-agers, and even those in their preteens, have played a major role in the protests.

"Their parents, their grandparents, their uncles, and aunts say they have never seen anything like this before," Vilakazi said.

Vilakazi introduced Baqwa (pronounced ba-KLAA), who is an executive committee member of the South African Students Organisation and a leader of the South African Students Movement. He was exiled from South Africa in 1974 and lives in Botswana.

"It's a great pleasure for some of us to come out to places like this and find people who are fighting this sickness, this sickness that is tending to destroy our people," Baqwa said.

He urged the building of a movement in the United States in solidarity with



SPEAKERS: (From left) Juanita Tyler, Maceo Dixon, Bernadette Devlin McAliskey, Clyde Bellecourt.

southern Africa struggles. He encouraged listeners to "organize people so that we can knock down all the manifestations of racism."

Mashinini is the former president of the Soweto Students Representative Council. The council is comprised of representatives from primary and high schools in the Black township and has coordinated the student protests.

The white-settler regime forced Mashinini into exile in August. He is now living in London.

Mashinini, nineteen, registered big with the crowd.

"It's not 'No to racism from South Africa to Boston,' it is 'No to racism from Boston to South Africa,'" he said. "Here in Boston you get exactly what is created in South Africa and here in Boston is the headquarters of racism,

and it is for you to fight it."

The young rebel stressed the importance of forcing the United States government to withdraw its support for South Africa. The U.S., he said, "creates racism in South Africa."

Mashinini said he had grown up to hate whites and believed all whites were racist oppressors until he was forced into exile. There he met up with antiracist and anti-apartheid whites. He said the building of a multinational movement demanding that the United States get out would help change that attitude, which, he said, is not uncommon among South African Blacks.

Maceo Dixon, a national coordinator of the student coalition, said that "South Africa has become the race question on the international level."

Dixon pledged NSCAR's efforts to free political prisoners in South Africa

and to campaign against U.S. involvement there.

Polly Halfkenny of the National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression brought greetings from her group and expressed the group's "solidarity with this third National Student Conference Against Racism, the programs, the proposals, and the work that is going to be planned here."

Clyde Bellecourt presented greetings from the American Indian Movement and urged support for Leonard Peltier. Peltier is a Native American who is seeking asylum in Canada and fighting extradition to the United States in a frame-up.

Paul X Moody, who was convicted for the false charge of raping a white woman, addressed the rally, as did Juanita Tyler. Tyler is the mother of Gary Tyler, a Black teen-ager who was convicted in Louisiana on trumped-up charges in the shooting death of a white youth.

Others speaking at the rally were Ed Kennedy, vice-president of the National Student Association; Cathy Sedwick of the Young Socialist Alliance; John Boone, former Massachusetts prison head and now a prison reform advocate; and Imani Kazana, coordinator of the National Wilmington Ten Defense Committee.

Also, Johnny Parker of a Boston University Black student group; Terry Taylor of the Boston University Student Union; and a representative of the National Organization for Women.

Devlin finishes 10-city U.S. tour

600 hear Irish activist at N.Y. meeting

By Michael Maggi

NEW YORK—"To really be for peace in Ireland, your first demand must be for the immediate withdrawal of British troops from Ireland."

That's what Bernadette Devlin McAliskey told a November 20 meeting at Barnard College. More than 600 people turned out to hear the Irish socialist and civil rights leader describe the history of Britain's oppression of Ireland and conditions there today.

McAliskey said she had found a great deal of confusion in America over the so-called Women's Peace Movement. The Irish "peace movement" has been widely publicized for its protests against Catholic and Protestant violence.

"It is often mistakenly compared to the American antiwar movement [against the Vietnam War]," McAliskey explained. "And it seems to be a progressive movement because it is

called a women's peace movement.

"But neither of these two comparisons is true," McAliskey said. She explained that the Irish "peace movement" overlooks the conditions fostered by British imperialism, which are the true source of violence in Ireland today.

The greatest source of violence is the twenty thousand British troops stationed in Northern Ireland, McAliskey said.

She suggested that James Connolly's famous statement, "Ireland, unfree, will never be at peace," must be updated to, "There will be no peace in Ireland this side of socialism."

McAliskey urged support in this country for Noel and Marie Murray, who are sentenced to hang in Dublin for bank robbery and murder. The Murveys are Irish anarchists who are not affiliated to any political organization.

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Audience at Devlin's New York meeting at Barnard College

S. Korea's spies, bribes & goons

By Nancy Cole

WASHINGTON—In 1971 South Korean Tongsun Park visited his good friend Edwin Edwards and offered him a gift. Edwards—then a congressman from Louisiana running for governor—declined the gift. He feared it might be construed as an illegal campaign contribution.

Park left, went downstairs, and handed Edwards's wife \$10,000 in cash "for her and the girls." Edwards didn't learn of the money until three years later during an Internal Revenue Service investigation.

* * *

This is the kind of "true" story circulating here in Washington these days, as current and former members of Congress try to wriggle out of an embarrassing predicament that exposes them as bought-and-paid-for emissaries of the South Korean dictatorship.

After years of inaction, the Justice Department is reluctantly proceeding with an inquiry into the elaborate "influence-peddling" scheme by agents of South Korean President Park Chung Hee.

Park Chung Hee is a tyrant who resorts to arbitrary imprisonment and torture of even his most moderate opponents.

Under emergency measures decreed in 1975, it is a crime punishable by a minimum of one year in prison to express any opposition to the Park regime.

This police state is propped up by Washington. More than 40,000 U.S. troops are stationed throughout South Korea. And President Park's friends in Congress defeated a move some months back to cut military aid to the regime from \$485.5 million to \$290 million over a twenty-seven-month period.

The South Korean bribery plot was reportedly thickened at a 1970 meeting in President Park's Blue House in Seoul. U.S. President Nixon had just decided to withdraw 20,000 of the 60,000 U.S. troops stationed in South Korea.

But the removal was sweetened with Nixon's pledge of \$1.5 billion in U.S. tax money to modernize Korea's armed forces.

To stave off more troop withdrawals and to help ensure the promised aid came through, the Park regime and Korean CIA devised a three-faceted plan. They set out to bribe Congress, influence the American people through pro-Park propaganda, and intimidate and harass South Korean dissidents living in the United States.

The central figure in the bribery phase is Park Tong Sun, known here as Tongsun Park. He has reportedly spent up to \$1 million a year "influencing" Congress.

In 1973 U.S. customs officials found a list of ninety senators, representatives, and other officials in Tongsun Park's briefcase. Beside each



'Gee, Dad, you look as if you'd seen a ghost.'

name was a figure, assumed to represent amounts of bribes.

Park owns and operates the George Town Club, where he entertains government officials in the style they've become accustomed to. Arkansas Gov. David Pryor, a former U.S. representative, says he saw as many as 300 members of Congress at Park's parties during Pryor's stint in Washington.

But Park and his Capitol Hill buddies were not above outright cash bribes either. House Majority Whip John McFall accepted \$3,000 in hundred-dollar bills from Park while running for reelection in 1974.

A former South Korean embassy official says that he once happened upon Ambassador Don Jo Kim stuffing hundred-dollar bills into about two dozen envelopes. The ambassador said he had to "deliver them to the Capitol."

The propaganda offensive was apparently taken over by the multi-million-dollar operation of South Korean Rev. Sun Myung Moon. Moon's central teaching—aside from the one that bids his followers to give all their worldly possessions to him—is anticommunism.

Moon's most memorable effort was his campaign to keep Richard Nixon in office. The evangelist organized a series of anti-impeachment rallies.

Demonstrators chanted "God needs Nixon" and "God supports Nixon." Moon assured his followers that God had revealed to him his divine forgiveness of Nixon. Now we learn that the real blessing came from the all-powerful KCIA.

Not the least of President Park's manipulation campaign is the harassment by KCIA goons of Koreans in this country who speak out against Park's dictatorial rule.

Dissidents, especially those in the large Korean community in Los Angeles, have been threatened and physically attacked for public and private remarks against Park.

Since the scandal hit, says *New Korea* editor Kim Woon-ha, the KCIA pressure has become "more subtle" but just as steady.

The Park regime's frenzied attempt to buy favor and silence critics in the United States is not unique. Nor is the impunity with which the KCIA operates in this country.

"The Israelis have bugged Arab embassies," reports *Newsweek* magazine. "The Iranians have monitored the activities of their students in the U.S. The Chileans have recruited anti-Castro exiles in Miami."

These spy operations are supplemented with embassy parties, foreign junkets for U.S. officials, and expensive gifts. The more sophisticated nations hire prominent Americans—preferably former government officials—to do their "influencing" for them.

But there's nothing these overseas regimes do that their U.S. benefactors didn't think of first. Secret-police forces, like the KCIA and Iran's hated SAVAK, are even trained by the CIA.

The CIA bribes foreign politicians, plots assassinations, and terrorizes the people of the world. Why shouldn't its allies abroad follow suit?

A former State Department official Donald Ranard, says he pressed for a South Korean inquiry in the early 1970s. Nothing came of it.

Korea had 52,000 troops fighting in Vietnam at the time. Now that the United States has "lost" Vietnam, Korea is an even more valuable satellite. It is one of the last U.S. military footholds on the Asian mainland.

The CIA and State Department are arguing against an investigation of South Korean influence here because, according to *Newsweek*, "subjecting foreign agents to public scrutiny could risk exposure of intricate CIA operations and perhaps blow the cover of agents in place."

The Justice Department continues to tiptoe through the investigation. "There are some cases where clearly it would be in order to stop an investigation," explains a top department official. "If there was a real danger to national security, no one in his right mind would say we should proceed."

"National security," of course, is the familiar code word used to protect secret government crimes. In this case, it's an international criminal conspiracy—plotted in Washington and Seoul—with the Korean people as its victims.

By Cindy Jaquith

The recently released FBI smear document "Exploitation of Women's Movement by Socialist Workers Party" contains important lessons for feminist activists today who are trying to combat the renewed attacks on our right to abortion.

This secret document has been made public by the Political Rights Defense Fund, which is backing the lawsuit of the SWP and Young Socialist Alliance against government spying.

Our first article on this document showed how the FBI uses red-baiting to discredit social movements. How it attempts to frighten off potential supporters by charging that these movements are "dominated" by socialists or communists.

The FBI has also promoted red-baiting *within* movements, to divide the forces fighting against government injustice and to sow confusion and suspicion.

This article will explain the destructive role red-baiting played in the founding of the Women's National Abortion Action Coalition (WONAAC). Founded in the summer of 1971, WONAAC was the first national coalition launched by the feminist movement around one of women's chief demands—legal abortion.

Virtually the entire FBI document on "Exploitation" is devoted to discrediting WONAAC. It portrays the coalition as "SWP dominated." The bureau's preoccupation with WONAAC is revealing testimony of how much the federal government and its spies hated the abortion struggle and feared its potential impact.

'Stealthy propaganda'

The FBI claims in this document that socialists helped establish WONAAC out of sheer opportunism. "What was needed especially by the 'socialists' was a rallying cause, an issue around which they could reach into the personal lives of hundreds of women and around which the SWP/YSA could stealthily wrap their propaganda," the document states.

"Penetrating, participating, contributing, and collaborating, the SWP/YSA dug into the abortion campaign," the sleuths continue.

"... Through a variety of 'organizing tools,' the SWP/YSA kept the abortion issue very much alive."

The FBI would apparently have us believe that the SWP plucked the abortion issue out of the sky, singlehandedly turning it into a national political issue and then keeping it alive—not for the purpose of winning legal abortion, but in order to "stealthily" penetrate women's personal lives with socialist propaganda.

It's as if the masses of women in this country, for whom legal abortion is a life-and-death matter, were complacently accepting laws that made them criminals for controlling their own bodies.

This is a lie—and the FBI knows it. The abortion struggle was far from a "socialist plot"—it was a struggle reflecting the aspirations of millions of women.

Neither socialists nor other feminists were invading the personal lives of women for ulterior motives. It was the U.S. government, the Catholic church hierarchy, and other reactionary defenders of the status quo—with their anti-abortion laws and their "morals"—who had been strangling the personal lives of women for hundreds of years.

When the women's movement began to organize picket lines, speak-outs, and demonstrations for the right to abortion, this marked a tremendous rebellion against the humiliation and suffering forced upon us by anti-abortion laws. As the FBI notes, the SWP and YSA were active in building these protests.

The document reports that the socialists "backed all measures and all groups engaged in the struggle to grant women the right to privacy in their personal and sexual associations, the right to control their own motherhood, and the right to free abortion on demand. New bills that liberalized abortion laws in many states, establishing the legal right of any woman to decide whether or not to have an abortion, were cited as being the direct result of the pressure of Women's Liberation."

Pretty subversive stuff.

Right-wing attacks

After 1970, when New York liberalized its abortion law, the anti-abortion forces stepped up their attacks on the women's movement. Their "right to life" propaganda that abortion is "murder" was aimed at overturning the New York reform law, keeping abortion illegal elsewhere, and delivering a crushing blow to the feminist movement.

This made it incumbent on women to organize a

Red-baiting in fight for abortion rights

TROUBLED WATERS

Beginning with a massive national Women's Strike for Equality, held on August 26, 1970, socialists within the Women's Movement began to be openly attacked for their attempts to pressure, manipulate, and control. Those who were questioning SWP/YSA tactics were labelled red-baiters trying to divide the broad coalition of women's organizations. One YSA member stated that such red-baiting had come essentially from outside, reflecting a pressure against mass movements from those who have everything to lose from social changes.

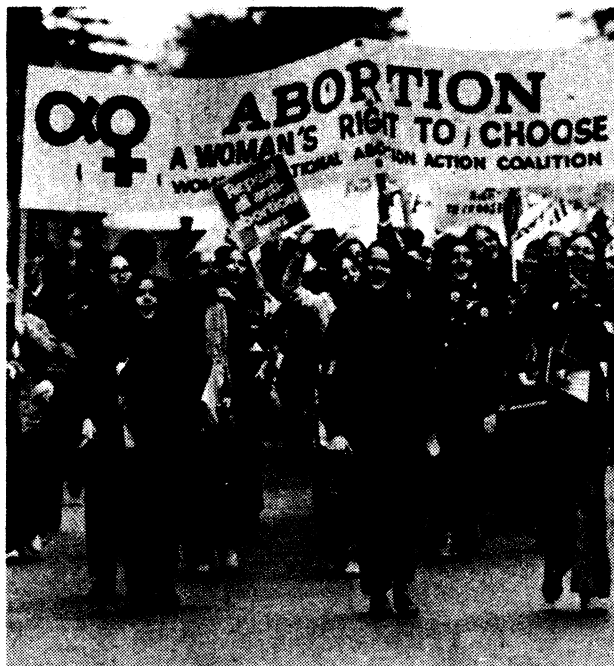
This suspicion of and dissatisfaction with members of SWP/YSA spread into some of the groups active in the abortion campaign. During the July, 1971, conference in New York City, at which plans were made for the November 20 demonstrations, a group of 150 supporters of an organization called Women for the Inclusion of Sexual Expression (WISE) walked out after a series of disruptions and disagreements, chanting *Off the Trots!*

In August, 1971, an organization called Feminist Organization for Communication, Action and Service disseminated a leaflet, a portion of which follows:

The Women's National Abortion Coalition has been called and organized by the SWP and its affiliates, the YSA, including women supposedly representing Women's Liberation Groups, who in truth represent, first, the SWP and YSA. These women attach more importance to their political movement than to the Women's Liberation Movement. And when 77% of the women in this country are for reform of abortion laws, there is fertile soil for a political party to build itself on. The SWP/YSA realizes this and is taking advantage of it.

At the September, 1971, National Conference of NOW, SWP forces were attacked by the outgoing president who stated NOW was in danger of being co-opted by people and organizations attempting to push their own causes. The Board of Directors of NOW had voted September 3 to withhold support from WONAAC because of the Coalition's "tactics and politics." Anti-WONAAC members of the conference were successful in preventing national NOW endorsement of the upcoming November abortion demonstrations, bringing charges that WONAAC was "dominated" by women from the SWP and the YSA.

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Similar activities were initiated on other campuses across the country, a great number of them spearheaded and directed by SWP/YSA affiliates. It soon became apparent, however, that Women's Liberation was a very broad issue covering many facets of the political, social, and economic inequalities of women. What was needed especially by the "socialists" was a rallying cause, an issue that could reach into the personal lives of hundreds of women and around which the SWP/YSA could stealthily wrap their propaganda.

THE ABORTION CAMPAIGN

With the threat of overpopulation, public consciousness in the 1960s was stirred through propaganda directed at birth-prevention measures, among which was legalized abortion.

The reform of state abortion laws had met success in some states by 1967 and had received the approbation of the American Medical Association and the sympathy of many other groups. All the changes were similar and conformed to specific regulations, including the prevention of births of deformed fetuses or those conceived during acts of rape or incest. Some groups held out for abolishment of penalties for abortions performed by licensed physicians for any reason.

MADE TO ORDER

The tactics of the SWP/YSA are nowhere more clearly evidenced than in their approach to this appendage of Women's Liberation called the abortion campaign.

In the SWP report on Women's Liberation, approved by the National Committee of the SWP in March, 1970, it was pointed out that the abortion question is made to order as the initial issue on which the women's liberation movement can cut its teeth. It involves the most fundamental rights of women—to control their own bodies, to remove from the state the prerogative to decide who will bear a child and when... there is no question that right now on a national scale, the abortion issue has emerged as the key demand with potential for involving masses of women in action.

SWP/YSA DIG IN

Penetrating, participating, contributing, and collaborating, the SWP/YSA dug into the abortion campaign.

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Pages from FBI document on Women's National Abortion Action Coalition. Red-baiting attacks on coalition's efforts played into hands of government anti-abortion forces.

campaign to explain that the issue was not "murder," but the democratic right of women to control our own bodies. This campaign had to focus its attacks directly on the government, through actions that united women from all walks of life and all political persuasions.

This was the perspective of revolutionary socialists in the movement and the view of many other militant feminists. As the FBI's document shows, the government tried to do everything possible to prevent this perspective from gaining significant support.

Within the movement, there were several other currents of thought as to how women should fight for liberation and where the abortion issue fit in.

Some feminists believed that personal life-styles and changing one's own consciousness were the keys to liberation. They counterposed this to mobilizing masses of women in a fight against the government.

Another current, represented mainly by the Democratic-party-oriented leadership of the National Organization for Women (NOW), shied away from a big public campaign on the controversial topic of abortion. They preferred to lobby politicians and concentrate on electoral activity.

Another group of women believed that without explicit "socialist" or "anti-imperialist" demands, the women's movement was settling for the "lowest common denominator" and failing in its responsibility to radicalize women.

WONAAC conference

All these different viewpoints came together at the founding conference of WONAAC, held in New York City July 16-18, 1971. More than 1,000 women from all across the country attended. At the end of three days of discussion and debate, the overwhelming majority of women approved a plan of action—a national campaign around three demands: repeal of all anti-abortion laws, repeal of laws against contraception, and an end to forced sterilization.

As its first action, WONAAC called for a national march on Washington, D.C., on November 20, 1971.

Counterposed to this strategy were other proposals that failed to win majority support. One proposal urged WONAAC to focus on the demand for "free abortion" instead of centering on the struggle to get rid of the anti-abortion laws.

A group of women calling themselves the WISE caucus—Women for the Inclusion of Sexual Expression—insisted that the demand "freedom of sexual expression" be another focus of WONAAC. They argued that WONAAC should fight for both abortion rights and gay rights at the same time. They charged that those who disagreed with them were "antigay."

The majority of women at the conference supported both free abortion and gay liberation. However, they saw WONAAC's purpose as an action coalition with one specific job—to force the government to make abortion legal.

When leaders of the WISE caucus saw they could not win support for their political views, they resorted to a red-baiting attack on the SWP and YSA, and then led a disruptive walkout. As the FBI document relates: "... a group of 150 supporters of an organization called Women for the Inclusion of Sexual Expression (WISE) walked out after a series of disruptions and disagreements, chanting *'Off the Trots!'* [Trotskyists—SWP and YSA members]."

The hundreds of women who refused to join this walkout were branded "dupes" of the socialists. One leader of the WISE caucus, Rev. Magora Kennedy, told these women, "You all look like lambs being led to the slaughter."

FOCAS news conference

The red-baiting created such an emotionally charged atmosphere that women in the WISE caucus continued their campaign against WONAAC after the conference. They went so far as to hold a public news conference July 22.

The news conference was organized by an outfit calling itself FOCAS (Feminist Organization for Communication, Action, and Service). It included many leaders of the WISE caucus. The entire purpose of the news conference was to attack WONAAC as "SWP-dominated," while saying nothing about women's real enemies, the government and the Catholic church hierarchy.

"... the planning, the structure, and the methods of this past weekend's abortion conference was dominated by a particular political party and its members—the Socialist Workers Party and its youth group, the Young Socialist Alliance," the FOCAS press release stated.

The women at the news conference suggested that

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The final round

They're innocent.

But the state of New Jersey is still trying to make its frame-up stick against Rubin "Hurricane" Carter and John Artis.

Carter (a contender for the middleweight boxing championship at the time) and Artis were convicted for murder and put away in 1967. But two years ago the chief prosecution witness admitted he lied.

After that news came out, after Carter wrote a book about his plight, after Bob Dylan wrote a song about the case, after Muhammad Ali spoke out in their defense, and after thousands of people around the country demanded their freedom—finally Carter and Artis were released from prison.

Now Carter and Artis are back on trial for the old murder charge. The state has dragged its star witnesses onto the stand again.

Arthur Bello is giving his seventh version of what happened the night of the murder. And Patricia Valentine is trying to explain why she identified the wrong car under oath.

The prosecution's efforts are as clumsy as they are vicious.

This is the final round. If Carter and Artis are to win they need everyone's support.

Drop all charges against Rubin "Hurricane" Carter and John Artis!

Bilingual education

On November 22, the *New York Times* printed an editorial warning of "the possible growth of Spanish-speaking enclaves" within the United States. "The present encouragement given to making such enclaves permanent. . .," the editors say, "points the road to cultural, economic and political divisiveness."

They charge that "political splinter groups . . . are misinterpreting the goals of bilingual education" to mean teaching children to be fluent in two languages.

"But the purpose of such instruction must be to create English-speaking Americans with the least possible delay."

To create English-speaking Americans with the least possible delay. Adolf Hitler had a word for it: *Umwolkung*. It can be translated "refolking." It meant taking a people, stamping out their language and culture, assimilating them into the Master Race. Those considered nonassimilable, like the Jews, went to the gas ovens.

Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, Indians, Chinese, and other groups have fought hard for bilingual-bicultural education. They want their children to get an equal education, to be able to function in English. But they also want to have their language and culture preserved through the school system. They don't want their children taught that if they aren't white English speakers they're inferior.

The *New York Times* is not a fascist hate sheet. On the contrary, it is a very prestigious liberal newspaper.

When such an authoritative ruling-class paper makes such an openly racist statement, it is a danger signal. It shows the rulers have no intention of granting bilingual-bicultural education unless they are forced to do so by the struggles of oppressed minorities.

Mockery of justice

For the families and friends of eleven men in Oven Fork, Kentucky, this past week was a nightmare revisited—the nightmare of the two mine explosions last March that left twenty-six people dead. Last week the remaining eleven bodies were finally recovered from the Scotia No. 1 mine and buried by relatives.

For the Scotia Coal Company, these were merely twenty-six statistics. Sacrificed in the interests of digging more coal, faster, cheaper, and more profitably. Just one day before the first methane-gas blast, the mine had been cited by federal inspectors for three explosion-related safety violations.

The murderers who run the coal industry receive the aid and comfort of the government—from Congress, to federal "inspectors," on down to local judges. As the United Mine Workers union has pointed out, even after the Scotia tragedy, federal judges in eastern Kentucky refuse to even bring coal bosses to trial for their violations, much less mete out justice.

UMW President Arnold Miller charges that the Justice Department has "failed utterly even to attempt to enforce" mine safety legislation. "Because of that failure," says Miller, "the safety act . . . has been made into not only a mockery but, worse, hundreds of coal miners have been needlessly killed and maimed."

Problems in NYC schools

In response to high school teacher Ed Berger's November 12 article, I being a high school student would like to tell the *real* problems of our schools in New York City. It is not the ethnic background of a teacher. The real problem is the need for books and other supplies for the students.

I couldn't care less if my teacher is white, Jewish, Hispanic, or Black, as long as he or she gives a decent education. The problem is that our schools need much more financial aid to keep laid-off teachers and to hire new teachers.

Who cares if the United Federation of Teachers likes Albert Shanker as their president? People argue he is just in favor of white teachers in the school system. But he has been helping *all* school teachers for years. He went to jail several times for the teachers. Everything he does, he does with the intention of helping our teachers and the union.

But who cares about my opinion? I'm only a student.

L. Wolff

Brooklyn, New York

CP on gays

I was very happy to see your recent article on the Communist party's attitude toward gay rights [*Militant*, October 22]. I would like to mention that Jarvis Tyner, the CP's vice-presidential candidate, in a 1970 pamphlet put out by the Young Workers Liberation League [a youth group associated with the CP] called homosexuality a bourgeois degeneration that would be solved after the revolution.

I hope that members and supporters of the SWP understand that when the CP says it is against discrimination against gays, it means under this society. Once communism comes to power, of course, it will be dealt with differently.

They always seem to forget to mention this these days with the growing sentiment of support for gay people in the general population.

John A. O'Brien

Hollywood, California

Stop legalized murder

I have always been opposed to capital punishment.

If any of the *Militant's* readers still remain undecided as to the cruelty of that legalized premeditated murder, the following account—as printed in the *Congressional Record* of March 13, 1974, page 3719—may help change their minds.

In Louisiana, Willie Francis, a teenager, was to be electrocuted.

"Then, the electrocutioner turned on the switch and when he did, Willie Francis's lips puffed out and he groaned and jumped so that the chair came off the floor. . . . the condemned man yelled: Take it off. Let me breathe!

"The current was turned off, and Francis was returned to his cell to await another attempt on his life." Later, by a five to four vote, the Supreme Court held that the Constitution did not forbid to send him to the chair a second time, and he died there."

The last execution in the USA took place in Colorado, in June 1967 (Luis José Monge), and produced this related eyewitness account:

"According to the official execution log, unconsciousness came more than five minutes after the cyanide splashed in the sulphuric acid.

". . . Even after unconsciousness is declared officially, the prisoner's body

continues to fight for life. He coughs and groans. The lips make little pouting motions resembling the motions made by a goldfish in his bowl. The head strains back and then slowly sinks down to the chest. And in Monge's case, the arms, although tightly bound to the chair, strained at the straps and the hands clawed torturously as if the prisoner were struggling for air."

So, please, people, don't let murders such as those happen again, *ever*.

Michele Mooney

Los Angeles, California

Sue for press coverage too

While watching the "circus" on TV election night, I was appalled that the voting results for the Socialist Workers party were not shown! I thought that this was one of the "benefits" of having ballot status. Now I realize that even after you spend an extensive amount of time and money to get on the ballot around the country, the thieves still find ways to discriminate against you.

I hope the SWP will seriously consider filing a suit to demand that all candidates on the ballot be entitled to press coverage of their vote totals.

Congratulations on a great campaign.

B.W.L.

St. Louis, Missouri

'Maxim Gorki'

The November *Signature*, magazine of Diners Club Inc., lunges with a lampooner's lance at the *Maxim Gorki*, the Soviet Union's new attempt to corral a piece of the Caribbean cruise action.

The ship has "all the capitalist refinements—Rosenthal china, cut crystal and fine linens, etched mirrors, enamel-on-copper artwork," the magazine says, to serve its guests "in the bourgeois manner."

But the author found the crew bumbling and the service baneful.

The onboard breakfast menu offered "fried poached eggs," and matchstick potatoes were listed as "boiled matches." "Chicken gypsy style" turned out to be Kentucky fried chicken.

How gauche!

B.S.

New York, New York

Vietnam

The lengthy article by Fred Feldman on Vietnam in the November 12 *Militant* is not only a gross insult to the Vietnamese people but an affront to all genuine revolutionaries.

Feldman's assertion that Vietnam has entered a new period of despotism under a "Stalinist bureaucracy" is not merely just sectarian fantasy, but rather a capitulation to the most crass anticommunism and American chauvinism. Isn't this what the State Department said all along?

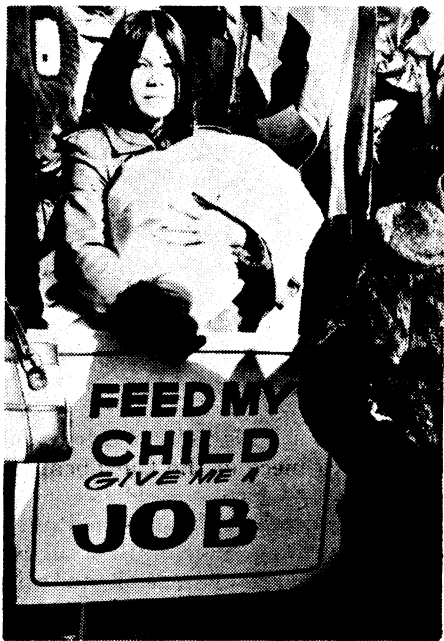
A central theme that runs through much of the *Militant's* analysis of Vietnam is the assertion that the cooperation with "patriotic" elements of the propertied classes is proof positive of the "counterrevolutionary" nature of the communist movements in these countries.

What the *Militant* ignores, however, is the basis of this collaboration: the dictatorship of the oppressed classes. Although these layers are very small, uniting with them is not necessarily unprincipled. Mao Tsetung's essay "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions among the People"

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International Socialist review

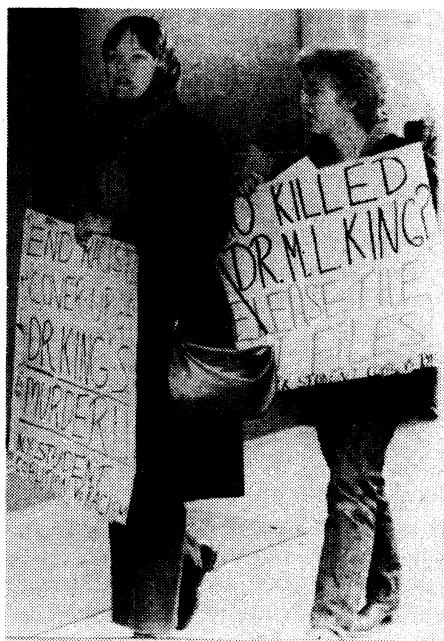
American Politics and the Outlook for Working People



Harris Freeman



Baxter Smith



Lou Howort



This is an edited version of a report adopted by the Twenty-Eighth National Convention of the Socialist Workers party, held in August 1976. The convention also discussed and adopted resolutions on the Chicano liberation struggle and the struggle of Puerto Ricans in the United States.

By Jack Barnes

American working people have had a strange experience over the past few months. Week after week the newspapers have spotlighted what is supposed to be "good news" about the state of the country and the economy. But when we look at our own lives, it seems to turn into *bad news*.

Some of the so-called good news is the following:

- The "security posture" of the United States has improved; there is a record-breaking war budget of more than \$100 billion. Every Soviet city with a population of more than 100,000 has thirty-eight nuclear missiles targeted on it. American arms merchants have managed to sell

\$8.3 billion so far in 1976. "Progress" has been made by Washington's friends in the use of international force and violence in defense of the exploiters: in Argentina, Lebanon, Thailand, and elsewhere this progress is measured in massacres, repression, and torture.

The U.S. rulers have found an especially good friend in the shah of Iran, the heir to the cannibal kings of the Persian Empire. The shah has spent \$10.4 billion on U.S. arms since 1972 and has 24,000 American advisers to help operate them; by the end of the next administration the figure may rise to more than 60,000 American advisers to help with new arms already ordered.

- The American capitalists have registered great gains in the international economy vis-à-vis their main competitors. Looking back on the great oil squeeze and the depression, they came out the clear victor relative to Europe and Japan.

- The assets of foreign subsidiaries of American banks have jumped from \$47 billion in 1970 to \$166 billion in 1975. International loans from U.S. banks are also alive and well; they totaled \$45.6 billion in 1974, \$52 billion in 1975, and, it is hoped, well over \$60 billion this year.

- Under the bicentennial theme "America is more competitive," they brag that labor costs per unit of output have been rising more slowly than last year. Wage gains of U.S. workers have not only been lower than those of workers in Europe and Japan, but lower than what U.S. workers had won last year. The 1976 Democratic party platform made it clear that the capitalists were readying wage controls in reserve, just in case their labor lieutenants don't make enough

concessions to continue this trend.

- Big utilities and landlords across the country have institutionalized escalator clauses; that is, they pass on to us any increases in their costs, plus a bit more, of course.

- New York officials brag that finally, after the hard times in the past two years, the "business climate" is improving, due to aid, financial incentives, and tax breaks to new businesses. The New York State commerce commissioner has predicted that the next session of the state legislature will eliminate all surcharges on corporate income taxes in New York State and will take steps toward the goal of cutting by 10 to 15 percent the taxes on big corporations.

- In July, General Motors, Ford, and Chrysler all announced record quarterly profits. General Motors' profits of \$909 million in one three-month period is the biggest in American business history next to that of their good friends at AT&T, who took in \$939 million.

That is the so-called good news.

But for us—for working people—the picture is not so cheery.

While General Motors was crowing over its \$909 million, tens of thousands of auto workers remained laid off while those working are being forced back into more and more overtime to grind out the superprofits.

The same week New York officials were hailing the improvement in the business climate, the state decided to slash Medicaid payments to city hospitals with the goal of forcing nearly 3,000 additional layoffs. Meanwhile the New York City

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*Jack Barnes is the national secretary of the Socialist Workers party and coauthor of the book *Prospects for Socialism in America* (Pathfinder Press, 1976). The book contains the resolution referred to in this speech, "Prospects for Socialism in America," as well as resolutions and reports on the Black struggle and other topics by leaders of the Socialist Workers party.*

**Also in This Issue: •The Nature of the First
American Revolution •Women in the USSR**

THE MONTH IN REVIEW

Challenge to Women

For those who look to the Democratic party as an ally in the struggle for women's rights, the Carter campaign was filled with disappointments. Carter seldom murmured a word of support for women's rights although he had promised to campaign vigorously on their behalf.

Then, when the opponents of women's rights forced the abortion issue into the campaign spotlight, Carter revealed his naked hostility to women's right to control their own bodies.

The only specific women's issue that Carter seemed at all comfortable mentioning was the Equal Rights Amendment—a constitutional amendment that both parties officially "support" but somehow just can't seem to ratify.

Carter and other politicians used verbal support to the ERA along with promises to appoint women to high government posts to capture the feminist vote.

But while Carter was promising women at a conference in Chevy Chase, Maryland, that he would "tear down the walls that have kept you out of decision-making and policy-making participation in your government," the Democrats and Republicans were at the same time trying to tear down women's right to abortion and affirmative-action programs. Underneath all the campaign demagoguery, the reality for women during this campaign period has been a bipartisan attack on gains won in previous years of struggle.

The attack on affirmative action came with new guidelines proposed in September by the Labor Department for companies holding government contracts. In the name of streamlining the guidelines, the proposed changes would decrease the number of companies required to set up affirmative-action plans and seriously weaken the enforcement procedures.

At the same time, the anti-abortion offensive intensified and scored a startling blow in late September, when the Democrat-controlled Congress passed the Hyde amendment as part of a social services appropriations bill.

The amendment bars the use of federal Medicaid funds for all abortions except those necessary to save a pregnant woman's life. For the time being, a federal district judge has blocked its implementation with an injunction. However, a higher court can still overturn this ruling.

The attacks on abortion and affirmative action are part of the ruling class's strategy to cope with their economic problems. The politicians have singled out women and Blacks and other minorities as the first victims in a campaign to impose the economic and social priorities of a wealthy minority at the expense of the rights and standard of living of all working people.

The passage of the Hyde amendment is a

major victory for the anti-abortion movement. If the amendment is ever implemented, it will mark the single biggest setback for women's right to abortion since 1973, when the Supreme Court handed down its pro-abortion decision.

The opponents of women's right to abortion have a two-pronged approach. First, they have directly challenged the fundamental premise of the Supreme Court ruling that through the first six months of pregnancy women have the constitutional right to choose abortion. This is the sense of the various proposed constitutional amendments assigning fetuses a "right" to be born.

The second goal of the forced-motherhood advocates has been to restrict the availability of abortions without explicitly saying that women don't have the right to have them.

The Hyde amendment is the boldest move yet in this scheme to effectively deny women their right to abortion.

Planned Parenthood estimates that already through a host of anti-abortion measures 400,000 to 900,000 women are denied abortions each year. In one fell swoop, the Hyde amendment would add as many as 300,000 additional women to this list.

If Congress passed a constitutional amendment overturning all women's right to abortion, it would likely provoke a head-on confrontation with the women's liberation movement. The Hyde amendment is calculated to avoid this battle by focusing the attack on one group of women—Medicaid recipients.

Who are these women? They are working-class and unemployed women, a disproportionate number of whom are Black, Puerto Rican, or Chicana. These are the women who will be forced into motherhood or risk the hazards of cut-rate, butcher abortions. The racist practitioners of population control will also use these circumstances to offer Black, Puerto Rican, and Chicana women medically safe abortions if they "consent" to sterilization.

The brazen attempt to deny hundreds of thousands of women access to safe, legal abortions runs counter to majority public opinion. The women's movement won the population to support abortion as a woman's right through years of struggle to overturn the old restrictive laws. In 1968 only 15 percent supported legalizing abortion. Now, 81 percent think abortion is a decision that should be left up to each woman, according to a recent Knight-Ridder newspaper poll.

A few picket lines and rallies in defense of abortion rights were organized this fall. But they did not begin to tap the massive sentiment behind women on this issue.

The Hyde amendment poses a grave responsibility and challenge to the National Organization for Women, the Coalition of Labor Union Women, and other feminist groups.

Will the entire movement come to the defense of women who need Medicaid abortions? Or will the Democrats and Republicans successfully avert a struggle by temporarily focusing the attack on Black, Puerto Rican, Chicana, and other working-class women?

The women's movement cannot allow the rulers of this country and their right-wing foot soldiers to overrun women's right to abortion

through this strategy of divide and conquer. What is called for is a nationwide counteroffensive to kill the Hyde amendment and deal the anti-abortion forces a clear defeat. It has been the absence of such a struggle that has enabled these right-wingers to monopolize the issue and score a stunning blow.

Unfortunately, some feminists who see the Democratic party as a potential guardian of women's rights—particularly some leaders of NOW and CLUW—hesitate to launch a vigorous national action campaign.

They think we should hold off any struggle so as not to embarrass Carter and other newly elected "pro-women" Democrats.

Another argument voiced by some in the women's movement against organizing in defense of abortion rights is that it would get in the way of ratifying the Equal Rights Amendment. This attitude originates with liberal politicians who see abortion as a much more controversial issue than the ERA. These fair-weather friends are trying to use the promise of the ERA to coax women into silence on abortion.

The oppressed cannot always choose when and on what issues they will make their stand. Our enemies often decide this for us. This is the reality facing feminists right now.

We cannot allow the right to abortion to be crippled as the price for promises of winning the ERA. Equal rights for women cannot be counterposed to abortion rights. Women's ability to control their own bodies is a precondition for being able to fight for and exercise equal rights in all other spheres of life.

The victories we have won in the areas of abortion rights and affirmative action have strengthened fundamental principles of equality and democratic rights. They have meant real changes in the lives of millions of women. It would be a catastrophe for the women's movement to allow these rights to slip away for the sake of promises of formal equality. Furthermore, any retreat by the women's movement on the question of abortion is going to embolden the opponents of the ERA and weaken the struggle for it, not aid that struggle.

The question of Medicaid funds for abortions could come before the Supreme Court during the next few months. Hearings on the government's affirmative-action guidelines begin in several cities this month. In addition, state legislatures will be considering the ERA this spring. The women's movement can have an impact on these issues if it begins to act now.

The first order of business is to alert the population to the severity of the attacks on women's rights. Teach-ins, debates, and news conferences can sound the alarm and arouse opposition to the government's schemes.

These kinds of activities can set the stage for visible protests—large demonstrations and rallies—across the country.

This is the way to defend abortion rights and affirmative-action programs and press ahead for ERA ratification.

It is also the way to prove to those women bearing the brunt of these attacks—poor women, working-class women, and women of the oppressed nationalities—that the women's liberation movement fights for the rights of every woman and sees that an injury to one is an injury to all.

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...Outlook for Working People

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Board of Education announced plans to save \$18 million by raising the cost of bus rides for primary school pupils in New York City. They're now taking nickels from third-graders to "balance the budget"!

While the corporations are being promised lower taxes for themselves, every working person knows that taxes are taking an even bigger bite out of our income. And while landlords and utility monopolies are instituting escalator clauses in their prices in city after city, trade unionists find cost-of-living protection the hardest thing to win.

All the Democratic and Republican politicians seem to agree on the "holy three"—no spending, no busing, no abortion rights. By "spending," of course, they mean on social improvements, not on war.

Through a joint campaign of the government, the major medical supply corporations, and the American Medical Association, the public hospital and health facilities in this country are being systematically wiped out of existence in city after city. Child-care and job training programs are being slashed. Not even in the Great Depression of the 1930s did New York officials institute tuition at the City University of New York, as they have done this year.

The ruling class has a simple strategy: they say there are no funds, and they blame scapegoats. They claim that busing programs, bilingual education programs, affirmative-action programs, or welfare and unemployment for "illegal aliens" are eating up the funds. They claim that the stupendous unemployment afflicting Black youth is an unavoidable, permanent condition, implying that it is somehow rooted in their genes, not in this decaying social system.

The Urban League conducted a survey in a number of Washington, D.C., neighborhoods last summer. It was more revealing than the surveys done by liberal professors and the bourgeois press, which are designed to get the answers their employers want to hear. Here is what the Urban League found out:

1) The poorer the neighborhood, the higher the



JACK BARNES

Susan Ellis

cost of food. 2) One-half of the unemployed Blacks interviewed lost their jobs because of some health-related problem. 3) Only 16 percent of unemployed Blacks interviewed were receiving jobless benefits of any kind. 4) A majority of those with jobs said that they were simultaneously looking for another job because they were having trouble making ends meet. 5) 80 percent of those interviewed called for more child-care facilities.

On July 20 an official of the New York State Commission of Correction reported that conditions in Attica prison are today as bad as or worse than they were five years ago—an indication of the conditions faced by prison inmates throughout this country.

As to the situation of Native Americans, there does seem to be quite a bit of money available—but only for frame-up trials of Indian leaders.

The situation facing working women is getting worse. Last spring the Census Bureau released a major report on the changing situation of American women. It found that under the pressure of the depression and cutbacks the income gap between men and women is still widening. In 1970 the median income of women workers was only 59 percent of that of males. In 1974 it had declined further to 57 percent of what men were making.

The same study included the first report the Census Bureau has bothered to make on the conditions of Spanish-surnamed women. They "discovered," of course, that these women suffered higher unemployment, worse jobs, and lower pay than women as a whole.

In city after city the government, in its role as employer, rips up contracts and presses for new layoffs. There is a new scapegoat in this country: the public employees, who are painted as responsible for every increase in our taxes. The public worker has joined the Blacks, the "hippies," the "welfare cheats," and the "illegal aliens" as the ones who are to blame for our economic troubles.

And not far behind as a scapegoat is the construction worker, who is supposedly getting too high wages. In July, the bureaucrats who pretend to represent New York City construction workers agreed to a 25 percent across-the-board cut in pay for all rehabilitation work, which is the bulk of construction work in the city. The "hayride" is over, said Peter Brennan, head of the Greater New York Building and Construction Trades Council. Claiming that the pay cut was necessary "to save the city," he stated, "This is not selling out. This is leadership." And they will try to impose more "leadership" like this.

Topping all of this off as a symbol of what American capitalism has in store for us is the Supreme Court decision of last July: the restoration of the death penalty, based on the time-honored principle of ruling-class vengeance.

The resolution of the Socialist Workers party "Prospects for Socialism in America" has been confirmed in its analysis of the basic economic facts and realities. Making the United States competitive is necessary and good for the capitalists, but it is taking a disastrous toll on the rest of us. Most people are unaware of the extent of the assault on American workers in terms of the total impact on living standards, working conditions, and quality of life.

Problems for Ruling Class

Not everything is going well for the U.S. ruling class, however, despite their cockiness. The explosion in southern Africa, for example, was not supposed to happen. They still get an overwhelmingly negative reaction among the American people to any threat of new wars. And in the course of interimperialist competition, some of their allies—such as Italy and Britain—have become too weak for comfort and face mounting class struggles.

The "internationalization of Watergate" has continued, with the proliferation of Lockheed and other scandals. In a report on the release of secret documents about postwar U.S. rule of Japan, a July 26 *New York Times* dispatch from Tokyo remarks that "until recently Japan's hierarchical society had no concept of the people's 'right to know.'" Naturally this new concept is considered very destabilizing for Japanese democracy.

Contrary to the estimates and hopes of the U.S. rulers, the struggles of women and of oppressed nationalities around the world have not cooled down, but have deepened as the class struggle has deepened.

And here at home, the attitudes of working people are not what the politicians and bosses wanted or planned for. Many have been stunned by the layoffs, the cutbacks, the antibusing and anti-abortion campaigns. But they have not been defeated, and are willing to fight back if a way forward is shown.

There was the May 16 march for the Equal Rights Amendment in Springfield, Illinois, the largest action of the women's movement since August 1970.

There have been victories such as in New York City, where, through struggle, the city was

prevented from closing down Hostos Community College, the city's only bilingual-bicultural school.

On June 27 in San Francisco, between 80,000 and 100,000 people were in the streets on behalf of gay rights.

Bad Year for FBI

The FBI has had an especially bad year. The suit by the Socialist Workers party and the Young Socialist Alliance has been directly responsible for the continuing disclosures of FBI crimes. Morale among FBI agents is described as "dismal." FBI officials complain of unprecedented resistance by citizens to cooperating in their "investigations." Thanks to the work of our party in Denver in exposing the informer Timothy Redfearn, we now have a better picture of what kinds of crud make up the 7,000 provocateurs and informers on the FBI payroll: racists, sexists, professional crooks, Nazis, assassins, fire bombers, and voyeurs.

Moreover, the victory the ruling class pretends to have won through the Supreme Court death penalty decision has not actually been won. They made the decision, but have not yet felt confident to carry it out. They have not yet decided how much wrath they would face if they actually go through with the first legalized lynchings. And they know that will be decided in struggle.

The key conclusion from all of these developments is the fact that there have been no gains whatsoever for the ruling class in terms of renewed trust or confidence in their leadership by the masses of people.

Jimmy Carter noted in an interview with the *New York Times* last August that trust in the government is the number one issue among the American people, who, he predicted, were giving the government "one more chance" in these elections. He went on to say that there was a growth of optimism in the country now, but that this should not be overestimated. "If there should be any more lying, or scandal, or betrayal of trust on my part or the part of other leaders, it would be a devastating blow."

Carter thinks the ruling class has one more chance with its two-party system. And as our resolution "Prospects for Socialism in America" points out, this is the god that can't fail for them. A further decline in trust of the government that leads to a breakdown of the capitalist two-party system *will* be a "devastating blow," beyond all others, for the people who rule this country.

Two-Party System in Trouble

Today more than ever before, including during the 1930s, the two-party system of American capitalism is in trouble. This is evident not only in the small percentage of Americans who vote—for example, Carter's "landslide" vote in the primaries in which he received the grand total of 4.2 percent of the voting-age population—and not only in the growing percentage of Americans who tell the pollsters they are independents and want to find a way of voting on the issues that concern them rather than for parties.

It is not only these trends. The experiences of the Black rebellion, Vietnam, Watergate, the rise of Chicano and Puerto Rican protest, the economic crisis, and the exposures about the FBI and CIA have placed this decline of confidence into a framework of the moral failure of the government, of its failure to produce a progressively better life, and of its increasing appearance as an enemy of the majority of people.

This is not primarily a crisis of the Democratic party. It is a crisis of the two-party system, of the trading back and forth of power between the two parties that are supposed to give us a "choice," which the capitalists have used as their method of political rule for decades and decades.

Both the Republicans and the Democrats begin from the same framework. They must present to the American people candidates and programs that appear to promise no more war, no more Watergates, and some kind of new deal for working people. But at the same time, their programs have to include, among other things, no spending (except on the military), no abortion rights, and no busing.

The Democrats have to try to develop the image of being the party of Blacks, of labor, of

the common man (they usually don't mention the common woman), of the old Franklin D. Roosevelt coalition, and the liberal "New South" (that is, politicians like Carter, who oppose abortion rights, support "right to work" laws, and favor legalized lynching through the death penalty).

The desperate quest for this image was symbolized by the Democratic party convention. On the one hand there were fewer women delegates and fewer delegates from the oppressed minorities than at the previous convention. But the entire convention—from the speeches by Barbara Jordan and Andrew Young, to the waving of the "Viva Carter" signs, to the meeting between Carter and Leonard Woodcock—was staged to give the impression that this was a party of labor and the oppressed. They even got old George Wallace up on the platform next to Coretta Scott King for the singing of "We Shall Overcome!"

While this spectacle was a fake, it also showed how the Democrats feel they must bend to what they know is the mood in the country. Thus the key to Carter's role is not his actual program, but rather what working people *think* (or hope) his program is—open government, peace, jobs, help to the populations of the big cities like New York, and better conditions for the working-class family, the Blacks, the Chicanos.

Can Carter Produce?

But the question will be, can Carter *produce* on these promises?

Can he produce open government? No. He (like Ford) may do some pretending. But open government—an end to secret diplomacy, and opening of the files of the FBI, CIA, police, and other government agencies—would mean the end of the American ruling class.

Can he help take the pressure off the working-class family? To the contrary, the families of working people are going to face *more* pressure—fewer child-care facilities, less medical care, fewer rights, higher taxes. And jobs will not be created by magic—especially for the unemployed youth—but will depend on a big increase in the rate of growth of the world capitalist economy. And that is a most unlikely prospect.

Will Carter pay attention to the "problems of New York City"? Yes, but not in the way that working people need. He considers the austerity measures in New York City to be *the model* for what may well have to be done in city after city across the country.

Of course, there will be token appointments of minorities and women to government posts, and we may see some short-term concessions to working people. And there will be upturns in the business cycle. But these short-term concessions will only breed a long-term whirlwind. Because Carter is right about one thing—this is a last chance for the capitalist monopoly on politics. If the capitalist politicians cannot produce, they face a "devastating blow," as Carter put it.

Carter sees this because he knows the American ruling class maintains its rule not simply through their control of industry, but through their control of government and monopoly over the political process (as well as, when necessary, through the organization and control of extralegal fascist-type gangs).

Control of industry is not enough, because the bosses, by themselves, could not stand up to the demands and power of the working class and the oppressed. The use of government in every aspect of life is central to maintaining the profit system, and it is the growing disillusionment in this instrument of capitalist rule that has Carter and those he serves so worried.

The decisive historic need of the American working class is to break through this monopoly that the bosses have on politics. Without such a working-class breakaway from the two-party monopoly, we will be unable simply to defend what we have now, much less win social and economic gains.

Threshold of New Period

Our resolution "Prospects for Socialism in America" noted that we are on "the threshold of a new period in the transformation of the political consciousness of the American working class."

"A different stage in the process of radicalization is opening," it said. "New types of struggles are coming onto the agenda."

It is clear that we are in a transitional period

in this change of political consciousness, a transitional period of more than just six months or a year. And as is always the case in crossing such a historic threshold, the ruling class has the initiative because of its position in the economy and the government and its centuries-long shaping of "public morals."

We should not forget that the capitalist class made its turn first: in 1971 they launched their New Economic Policy offensive against wages and social programs, in order to try to get the advantage over their capitalist competitors in other countries. They deepened this offensive in 1974, spurred by the international capitalist downturn.

We in the Socialist Workers party made our turn second, in response to them. We took note of the assault that had been launched against working people, and took steps to prepare ourselves organizationally and politically to meet the opportunities and the challenge we saw coming.

American working people are making their turn last, and very unevenly, as they attempt, with inadequate organizations and treacherous leadership, to respond to the initial blows that have been dealt to them.

There are several basic features of the transitional period that we find ourselves in today:

First, the American working people have not fully grasped the scope of the government's attack, what it has accomplished up to now, and how far it intends to go. Many are stunned over the cutbacks, the layoffs, and the new economic pressures they face. But they reject these measures; they are angry; and they are undefeated.

Many skirmishes have taken place—strikes, demonstrations, and protests against the cutbacks. Most have been losing skirmishes at this point. But even the losing ones encourage more and more working people to ask questions, to think out what should come next, to seek new answers.

This process is very uneven. The unorganized, the unemployed, the oppressed minorities, the working women are hurt the worst. Illusions still exist, especially among the relatively privileged workers, in the possibilities of the economy to again produce prosperity. The union bureaucracy grasps at straws, trying to somehow get back on the "hayride" through getting favor in the government and in the bosses' political parties.

The second basic feature is that in this initial period, without a socialist leadership of a major wing of the working class, numbers of working people have been taken in to some degree by the two main demagogic lines of the ruling class—the line that there is no money available, and the line that it is other working people who are to blame for the economic pressures—the "illegal aliens," the "welfare cheats," the women and Blacks who are trying to win equal treatment.

Third, there has been a definite change in labor-management relations in the United States. The period of the big concessions, the unprepared but successful strikes, the gentlemen's agreement, the concessions from lobbying, is over. The employers have the initiative, *they* know that the hayride is over, and they intend to push their advantage as far as possible.

Role of the Government

Fourth and most important is the central role of the government in this drive against working people, including in the sphere of private industry. The government enters, directly or indirectly, into every facet of social and economic life—as an employer, as the social-welfare provider, as the so-called labor referee, as the legislator of labor laws, as the taxpayer, as the subsidizer of industries, as the union dues check-offer, as the wage controller. And the harder hit working people are, the more they are dependent upon the government—not on their boss—for their fundamental needs and rights.

The government is central in the drive to slow down the extension of democratic rights, to chip away at them where necessary, to prevent their extension on the social and economic plane, and to try to stifle and reverse the struggles of the oppressed minorities and of women—to get them "back in their places."

More and more Americans sense that the scope of the social crisis in this country and in the world is such that no single employer and no local decisions can possibly solve it. And in increasing numbers they sense that we are at a turning point in history and the great questions

posed on the agenda are going to have to be solved on the governmental level. They don't want Big Brother, but big government is necessary. The question is what *kind* of government.

The fifth basic feature of this transitional period is that the government has not been successful in driving back antiwar attitudes, opposition to government secrecy, or the demands of women, Blacks, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, the elderly, or the youth.

Women Won't Go Home

One big complaint of the government statisticians is that women won't stop looking for work. The statisticians explain that for decades women generally worked for a few years and then had children, went back into the home, and didn't seek or desire work anymore. The unemployment statistics were adjusted to take this pattern into account. But today, women don't seem to want to go back into the home and are therefore charged with "artificially" raising the unemployment rate. And not only are women refusing to stop looking for jobs, they are beginning to demand child-care facilities as well.

Nor have Black people changed their minds about what they think are their rights. To the contrary, the steady erosion of the rights and economic position of Blacks is setting the stage for a tremendous fight.

Nor has the government succeeded in significantly dampening the expectations of the more steadily employed layers of the working class, who are also feeling the squeeze. The small upturns in the economy that might permit a few



Chris Smith

Socialist Workers party leader Ed Heisler was secretary of the Right to Vote Committee of the United Transportation Union, an earlier example of struggle for union democracy and rank-and-file control.

concessions to these workers are merely going to whet their appetites and raise new hopes that will be dashed at the next downturn.

Dead End of Class Collaboration

The broad prosperity has ended, and with it has ended the era of major concessions to working people. The ruling class must minimize the economic gains, social gains, and political gains of the workers. Even token gains or formal democratic rights won by women, Blacks, or any of the oppressed only embolden them to press further political, social, and economic demands.

This perspective also means a historical dead end for the old class-collaborationist misleaders of the American labor movement. This is the end of the road for them, because once the "hayride" stops they have nothing to offer. "Privileged" relations with the Democrats, Republicans, or both produce nothing. This is not only true for the trade-union bureaucrats, but also for their emulators in the Black movement, the Chicano movement, the Puerto Rican movement, and the women's movement.

Where the American working people, the oppressed and discriminated-against, most need organization is on the political level, the level of generalized economic and social struggle. This is the level where they are most atomized and disorganized. This is the source of the discouragement; this is why struggles often seem to get nowhere, even though there is the will to fight back.

As long as the employers and oppressors have a monopoly on politics through their two parties and their government, even partial victories slip

between our fingers and can be taken back. On the level of the government, which affects us every day and in every way, we cannot act for ourselves. Agents of our class enemy "represent" us by attacking us. And at this point even the leaders of our own class organizations act as political agents of our enemies.

This is the key question: how to break out of political subordination to the capitalist parties. To understand the scope and importance of this challenge, it helps to step back and place it in historical perspective.

The Historical Perspective

At the beginning of the depression in the early 1930s, working people were atomized and unorganized not only on the political level but on the trade-union level. Only narrow, fragmented craft unions existed, headed by a conservative bureaucracy.

Then came the rise of the CIO, a broad and militant social movement without a consolidated bureaucracy at the beginning, which organized basic industry and had the potential to go much further. But war production, the no-strike pledge, and suppression of union democracy, and total subordination to the government war boards meant the end of the CIO as a social movement and the end—it turned out historically—of motion toward independent working-class political action.

The last major conquests of the CIO were not in the great postwar strikes. The last new conquests came way back in 1941, thirty-five years ago, when the Ford empire was organized, Bethlehem Steel fell, and the captive coal mines became union-shop territory.

During the war there was, of course, resistance; the miners carried out a heroic strike and there was growth of labor-party sentiment in the ranks of labor. But there was no leadership. The John L. Lewis wing of the union bureaucracy were conscious opponents of independent working-class political action. And the Communist party (CP), the strongest radical organization, was the most forceful advocate of class collaboration from the moment Hitler invaded the Soviet Union.

By the time of the massive strike waves of 1945-46, the unions had been tied completely to the capitalist parties. There was tremendous militancy, and great struggles to win back what had been lost during the war. But no new conquests were made for labor. No new sections of industry or of the country were organized. No new antilabor laws were driven back.

Instead, the postwar struggles culminated in the consolidation of bureaucracies in unions such as auto. The passage of the Taft-Hartley Act brought in a whole new epoch of direct, "peace-time" intervention of the government in union affairs.

The unions had been transformed from what they were during the struggles of 1934 and the winter of 1936-37 that built the CIO. This failure of the CIO to develop along the lines of independent class action—ascrivable to the CIO leadership, the Lewis leadership, and the Communist party leadership—is a key fact for today.

The great majority of the American workers have no living tradition or personal memory of independent political action, of real motion toward it, or of leaders fighting for it. They have no living tradition of class-struggle politics. A new generation must forge this for itself.

Vanguard Role of Black Movement

But something else began in 1941 that leads to a second key fact for today. That is, the refusal of sections of the Black movement to subordinate its demands to the war effort. Early in 1941 A. Philip Randolph raised the heretical idea of a march on Washington to demand an end to discrimination against Black people by the government, in the war industries, and in industry in general.

Most of the labor movement ignored Randolph's call. There were exceptions, however. For example, the Newark CIO council adopted a motion in support of the march on Washington, which was introduced by a member of the Socialist Workers party. The SWP itself published a pamphlet backing the march as soon as we heard it had been called, before even the official march committee.

The march was finally called off in June 1941 after a few promises from Roosevelt. But these

promises turned out to be no more sincere than the promises of Carter will turn out to be.

So in the spring of 1942, Randolph issued the call again. This time there was a virtual explosion of support for the march among Black people. Huge rallies were held in the major cities. The *Militant* reported in a front-page article how New York City's Madison Square Garden was filled to overflowing.

But by this time both the Communist party and the CIO leadership were wrapped up in the war effort. The CIO turned its back on the March on Washington Movement; the Communist party denounced it and fought it.

This was one of the earliest and clearest examples of the vanguard role of the Black movement in the American labor movement, which has continued up to today.

Blacks took the lead in continuing to press the demands of working people and the oppressed despite the war. Black newspapers, such as the *Pittsburgh Courier*, came out for the "double V" for victory—victory over racism at home as well as fascism abroad. They were denounced as undermining the war effort. The NAACP also took up this demand. They exploded to more than

numbers of Afro-American comrades. By 1946 more than one-fifth of our membership was Black.

However, despite the tremendous power and combativity of the struggles during and after the war, the effects of a class-collaborationist leadership took their toll. Just as 1941 saw the last major conquest of the CIO as an industrial union movement, World War II saw the cruel betrayal of the American workers, as well as the Blacks and other oppressed nationalities.

As a union movement without a political party, the CIO had run up against an imperialist war and proved incapable of taking an independent stance. The results were inevitable—its decline as a union movement, its decline and end as a social movement, and its decline as a potential political movement.

One lesson from this review of history is the need for some patience. The new struggles on the horizon will not be resolved overnight. Between the crash of the Great Depression in 1929 and the great strikes of 1934, there were five years in which the American workers recovered from being stunned, fought skirmishes, thought out the lessons of defeats, and began to mobilize.



Flax Hermes

'The fight for democracy in steel can become a crusade for all labor, attracting the most militant workers in all unions, workers who are waking up to the realization that on the job, in the unions, and in society as a whole something new must be organized, a new direction charted.'

half a million members.

Black soldiers and sailors fought against racism in the armed forces. The SWP and the *Militant*, virtually alone in the radical movement, defended them. In fact, this was one of the reasons for the government's efforts to suppress the *Militant* during the war and to step up FBI harassment of our party.

In 1943 not only did the miners go on strike, but Harlem and Detroit exploded. The CP sided with the repressive forces against the demonstrating Black masses. The so-called zoot-suit riots took place in Los Angeles. And the "pachuco roundups" began, to make sure that young Chicanos got the message not to do as the Blacks did.

The CP and CIO heads barely said a word about these roundups, just as they did not protest the massive roundups of Japanese-Americans only a few months before.

Growing numbers of nationalist militants in Puerto Rico were signing pledges that they would not fight in the U.S. imperialist army. They were also denounced by the Communist party.

Some Hidden History

The wartime revolt of the Black community in Detroit led to another chapter of history that is not well known. In 1945 Richard Frankenstein, a CIO leader, ran as an independent candidate for mayor of Detroit. The Black community, which had just been through a big explosion, demanded that a Black clergyman, Reverend Charles Hill, be added to the CIO ticket as candidate for the city council. This threw the CIO leadership into a great quandary, but they finally agreed.

Then the Democrats launched their scare campaign, charging that the CIO ticket was aimed at turning Detroit over to the Blacks and labor. But many people apparently thought this was a good idea, since Frankenstein lost by only a narrow margin.

The SWP, at this time, was recruiting large

Another conclusion that stands out from this review of history is the vanguard role of the Black movement and the struggles of other oppressed nationalities in our epoch. From the resistance to racism during World War II, to the rise of the Black Freedom Now party in the early 1960s, to the rise of the Raza Unida parties, these movements have been the forerunners of the future mass independent party of American labor.

It also illuminates the interconnection between the building of a class-struggle left wing in the labor movement and uncompromising political struggles championing the demands of all the oppressed in American society.

What Is Class Consciousness?

In this connection, it is worth recalling the meaning of the much-used term "class consciousness."

Trade-union consciousness is of course a step toward class consciousness. It is an advance for workers to favor organizing themselves on the economic level. However, trade-union consciousness, by definition, remains within the framework of winning gains and getting along under the decaying capitalist system.

It is a qualitative leap to move from this level of consciousness to class consciousness, which is really synonymous with political consciousness.

Trade-union consciousness, on the lowest level, is consciousness of who you're *against*—the boss. Class consciousness heads toward something different, and that is consciousness of who you are *for*. Consciousness of being for all working people, for your brothers and sisters among all the oppressed, for the "illegals" as well as the "legals."

Class consciousness is the generalization of who your allies are in the struggle to change this system and to take political power from the hands of one class and put it into the hands of another class.

Labor Party and Democracy

The history of the development of the CIO points to another important truth: that is, the link between the struggle for independent working-class political action in this country and the struggle to defend and extend democratic rights.

The rise of a movement for a labor party would mean all the rules of political life would change. Class polarization would rapidly accelerate and the right wing would challenge more directly the democratic rights of the oppressed and exploited.

The American ruling class has waited too long to have good economic and social conditions for the growth of a tame, reformist labor party. The economic basis for such a labor party has been badly undermined: the concessions that the ruling class can give to keep social peace have been limited by history.

In some ways—with all proportions guarded—the Democratic-labor-oppressed-minority coalition is already playing the role in American politics that the reformist Labour party plays in a country like Britain. The jump in consciousness and organization accompanying the initiation of a labor party in this country would be more analogous to the breakaway of a revolutionary wing of the British Labour party than to the

This leads to the question of democratic rights. As was clear from Watergate, the ad hoc solutions set into motion by the ruling class in the face of social crises are not modeled on the Bill of Rights. We have seen some of the methods that were used to try to stop the Black liberation struggle and the antiwar movement of the 1960s and 1970s—infiltration, provocation, burglary, kidnapping, and assassination.

And any explosive movement toward independent labor political action will be even less acceptable to the ruling class than these movements were. The moment such a movement begins, growing sectors of the ruling class will begin thinking beyond Watergate-style methods. In addition to the use of repression through their control of industry and government, they will begin thinking of the organization and use of extralegal, antilabor gangs.

This is one of the reasons why the fight to defend and extend democratic rights will not go away as the class struggle deepens and why it can only be carried out by the working class and its allies.

Democracy and Capitalism

Democracy is not simply a form of capitalist rule. It also institutionalizes the conquests

policy. Along with union democracy went the unions' opposition to imperialist slaughter, their willingness to champion struggles of the oppressed, and their ability to make any major new conquests for the labor movement.

A class-collaborationist trade-union bureaucracy cannot and will not defend democratic rights against their restriction by the government, nor can it allow genuine democracy in the unions. And genuine democracy does not simply mean a fair constitution and the right to talk freely. It means the right to talk, to decide, and to act. It means the workers making the union "our union," not "the union." It means using the tremendous power inherent in the union movement to help rebuild society.

One of the things we are celebrating at this convention is the publication of two new pamphlets on the fight for union democracy. One of them, *A Struggle for Union Democracy* by Ed Heisler, is the story of the battle for the right to vote on contracts in the United Transportation Union. The second is *The Fight for Union Democracy in Steel* by Andy Rose.

Steelworkers Fight Back

Our party is going to campaign to sell thousands and thousands of *The Fight for Union Democracy in Steel*, because it relates to the most important single thing happening in the union movement today. That is, the Steelworkers Fight Back campaign in the United Steelworkers of America.

It is not only we who see the importance of this insurgent movement, headed by Ed Sadlowski. The ruling class sees it too. In an unusual step, the *New York Times* put a "labor story" on its front page July 31. Former labor editor and *Times* editorial writer A.H. Raskin notes what the stakes are in the United Steelworkers of America: "Mr. Abel," he explains, "... regards the present long-term, no-strike agreement in steel as the capstone of his career and wants to preserve its principles against destruction by Mr. Sadlowski."

Sadlowski also sees the main difference between him and the Abel crew as clearly defined. "I don't feel they could tell a worker from a boss," Raskin quotes.

The ruling class is falsifying and campaigning against this movement; we tell the truth about it and champion it. We see its importance not only because of its effect on the largest union in the AFL-CIO, but because in our opinion it can have a big effect on the entire labor movement and its allies.

A fight for democracy in this massive union can become a crusade for labor, attracting the most militant workers in all unions to follow its progress and support it—the workers who don't go for Abel and his ilk, the ones who are fed up, worried, and waking up to the realization that on the job, in the unions, and in society as a whole something new must be organized, a new direction must be charted. It can be a center of attention for every rebel grouping in American labor, every group of workers anywhere who are groping toward union democracy and class-struggle politics.

It can attract and inspire Blacks and Chicanos, as well as women. A growing percentage of steelworkers are Black or Chicano, and increasing numbers are women. The Fight Back movement will encourage them in their insistence on affirmative-action plans to redress discrimination. It encourages organizations like the Coalition of Labor Union Women and the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists. It encourages those who are fighting to defend busing for desegregation, for the Equal Rights Amendment, against deportations of foreign-born workers. It can inspire all the best forces in American society.

Beyond February 8

The key to the future of Steelworkers Fight Back is not who wins or loses in the February 8 election for president of the union. The key is to build a movement that won't end on February 8, no matter who wins the election.

Of course, this perspective of building a class-struggle left wing in the unions poses the problem of the massive historic obstacle we face—the class-collaborationist American trade-union bureaucracy. This is a much bigger obstacle than workers faced in the 1930s. But it is a parasite, a hollow shell. This bureaucracy has



Jimmy Carter, Leonard Woodcock, and Henry Ford II

'As long as the employers and oppressors have a monopoly on politics through their two parties, even partial victories slip between our fingers. On the level of the government, we cannot act for ourselves. Agents of our class enemy "represent" us by attacking us.'

establishment of another conservative labor party of the kind we're used to.

The ruling class has waited too long in another sense. Unlike during the period of the rise of the CIO in the 1930s, the struggle today rests on a long prior radicalization and struggles by Blacks, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, and women, as well as antiwar struggles. Any motion toward the political organization of the labor movement would inspire and accelerate all these struggles, and would in turn be deeply affected by these struggles.

In addition, the revolutionary party itself would grow tempestuously in any movement for labor political action. The old, outmoded trade-union bureaucracies would divide and shatter.

I believe that workers sense these radical implications of the idea of launching a party of labor. They sense that such a party would be a real break from "business as usual," a start on a new path.

The ruling class, on the other hand, has not prepared for such a development; in fact, they have banked everything on preventing such a variant from occurring. Their two-party system, it should be remembered, is rigid and fragile. As long as all politics remains within the framework of the two-party system, the ruling class has tremendous flexibility. But the moment a political movement breaks out of that framework, the two-party system will crack up overnight; and the capitalist class has prepared no substitute to rapidly put in its place.

resulting from the struggles for democratic rights by the plebeian masses, their attempts again and again throughout history to defend these rights and to find avenues to extend them to the economic and social levels.

In fact, the struggle for socialism itself is a struggle for the qualitative extension of democracy. As Marx and Engels wrote in the *Communist Manifesto*, "The first step in the revolution by the working class is to raise the proletariat to the position of ruling class, to win the battle of democracy." With the dictatorship of the proletariat we will have real majority rule for the first time.

On the other hand, capitalism in crisis must restrict democratic rights. War, for example, is a permanent aspect of our epoch and is in contradiction to democracy. Imperialist wars cannot be prepared, launched, and fought without deception and secret diplomacy.

War and the preparation for war not only limit democracy in general; they also necessitate the suppression of trade-union democracy. Without this, the masses of working people cannot be organized to go to slaughter.

Demands for trade-union democracy and for independence from the government run counter to the drive toward imperialist war, totalitarianism, and crushing of the oppressed which marks this entire epoch.

In the American unions, democracy was lost during preparations for World War II and its aftermath, a victim of class-collaborationist

been bypassed by history; it knows more and more surely that the hayride is over, and it sits scratching its head and collecting its dues, hoping beyond hope that something will change to make the old class-collaborationist methods—the only methods it knows—work. It is hoping, along with Carter, for “one last chance.”

The unions, on the other hand, are made up of much more powerful forces than existed in the 1930s. Any real rank-and-file movement that picks up steam can simply sweep aside the Abels, the Shankers, and the Fitzsimmonses. It might even happen before poor Leonard Woodcock achieves his newest goal, announced last spring, of being placed on the board of directors of the Chrysler Corporation.

Of course, there are no guarantees about how many of the unions can be transformed in the course of the struggle. We often forget how totally reactionary the labor unions—under their current misleaders—have become as political animals. In Russia, for example, a majority of the unions remained under the leadership of the Mensheviks at the time when the Bolsheviks took power. The workers had built new organizations—factory committees and soviets—to fight for their interests.

But the important thing is the struggle, not predicting the details of the outcome in each industry. The struggle for socialism, the struggle for a workers government, is inconceivable without a struggle to transform the unions into class-struggle instruments using union power to fight for all the workers and oppressed and discriminated-against.

Not Clean or Neat

The struggles and gropings toward a class-struggle left wing in the American labor movement will not be clear, clean, or neat. The beginnings of thinking socially and acting politically are giant steps, and there will be many false starts and detours.

We have to learn to see the thrust toward class-struggle politics—in Steelworkers Fight Back, in organizations, and movements toward organizations like the Coalition of Labor Union Women, like groupings in the Teamsters union that are fighting for democracy, like probusing and pro-affirmative-action groups in the American Federation of Teachers, like strikers who are willing to fight.

We have to be able to recognize struggles that try to unify the oppressed—like the fight to prevent the shutdown of Hostos Community College in the Bronx, the fights for child care in various cities, struggles by the National Organization for Women, the NAACP, protests against capital punishment, and any union solidarity with such struggles.

We do not know how a labor party itself would arise or exactly what it would look like. In the history of the party we have discussed many possible variants. But then came variants we had not anticipated: the Freedom Now party in Michigan, the Raza Unida parties, the motion toward independent Puerto Rican candidates and other local independent campaigns. Most likely the move toward independent labor political action will occur in a way we have not yet guessed, perhaps as a combination of different struggles within and outside of the union movement.

But one thing is certain: the coming period will be marked by abrupt turns, sudden struggles, unexpected explosions. We can have no rigid schemas or priorities. No one would have guessed three years ago that Boston would become the center of a massive antiracist struggle in defense of busing. No one would have guessed three years ago that in the great, bureaucratized steel union, the potentially biggest and most important reform movement in contemporary American labor history would begin to bubble.

In addition to being flexible, we must be realistic. The SWP at this stage is not large enough to be able to galvanize the working class to action to resolve the problems they face. It can patiently explain. It can involve itself in the key struggles that arise.

Historic Year for the SWP

Having said that, I think we can also say that this has been a historic year for the SWP. One of the ways our progress has been reflected is in the change in the relationship of forces between the Socialist Workers party and the Communist party.



Nagasaki, Japan, 1945

‘Nuclear bombs, ecological destruction, torture, and starvation—this is the daily fare offered by the American ruling class to the people of the earth. Their goal is “ethnic purity” on a world scale, and the death penalty on a world scale for those who resist. The violence comes from them. But it will not be unanswered.’

There is no challenge and responsibility greater than this one: the replacement of this Stalinist party by a revolutionary Marxist party as the strongest current in the coming class confrontations. This must be done or the most heroic struggles of the American workers will not lead to victory. It must be done, or even motion toward labor political action will be blocked or perverted, as it was in the 1930s.

Let's look at some of the events of the past year.

First, there is the antiracist, probusing struggle centered in Boston. The SWP, together with the Young Socialist Alliance, has been in the forefront of that struggle, while the Communist party has refused to participate in the various action coalitions and community organizations that have led that struggle.

Communist Party and the ERA

Second, this is the year that the Communist party has emerged as one of the most vocal opponents of the women's Equal Rights Amendment. The CP was not present at the May 16 demonstration for the ERA in Springfield, Illinois. They were not there with NOW, with CLUW, with the many Black women, trade-union men and women, and young women from around the country who made this the largest women's liberation action in half a decade. The ERA question is symbolic: the CP has taken a stand dead against the struggle of one of the mightiest forces in this country—the movement of women.

The third factor is the impact on the Communist party of the SWP's campaign against the FBI and other government secret-police agencies.

For decades the CP has been the single main victim of FBI repression, frame-ups, and provocation. But when the unique moment came, with the Watergate revelations, for a party to grasp the time and move to deal blows against secret-police repression, the Communist party proved

incapable of moving an inch. The Stalinists have seen many of their own supporters turning to applaud and support the major suit launched by the SWP and the YSA against the FBI and other government agencies. Instead of doing anything against the FBI, the CP has spent its time and effort trying to find ways of attacking our suit for democratic rights. This can only cost them more dearly in the future.

And finally, we can compare the presidential campaign of Peter Camejo and Willie Mae Reid to the CP campaign for Gus Hall and Jarvis Tyner. One revealing way of comparing the success of the two campaigns was to compare our ability to overcome the big obstacles the ruling class puts in front of independent parties getting on the ballot. In Massachusetts, in California, and elsewhere, the SWP was clearly able to outmobilize the CP in this arduous task.

Instead of turning their fire against the capitalist government and its undemocratic election laws, the response of the CP to its difficulties was to try to smear the SWP campaign by charging us with submitting falsified petitions. After facing an immediate barrage of protests against such slander, including from their own membership and periphery, CP leader Victor Perlo was forced to publicly retract this charge.

This is the first time I can remember that the American Stalinists have felt forced to retract one of their slanders against us. Historically, the Stalinists have felt they could get away with even physical attacks and assassinations against Trotskyists. This first retraction is a sign of the times.

History in Our Direction

The mighty class battles that are coming in this country are pressing in the opposite direction from the direction of the whole class-collaborationist history and record of the Communist party. They are pressing in the direction that our entire, proud revolutionary history takes us.

Gus Hall tried to explain the problems the CP is facing in a speech last spring to the CP's National Council, which was published in their magazine *Political Affairs*. His problem is to try to motivate his own party's leaders to get behind the Hall-Tyner campaign! They are too used to supporting liberal Democrats.

After citing the problems the CP had in mobilizing their people to petition to get on the ballot, Hall finally comes around to saying that the biggest obstacle is in the party itself.

“One has to take into consideration the unusually bad weather and the flu,” he says, “but I don't think that explains the sluggishness. The basic problem is that we have not politically convinced the Party. The root of the weakness is in the leading cadre.”

“It is simply unbelievable how our cadre is tied to an inner bureaucratic existence. Leading comrades not only lead such a life—but insist on having around them a core who do likewise. We must change our style of work. It must become the political responsibility of every leading comrade no matter what the assignment is—to fight for, to organize your work in such a manner that a part of your time each week is devoted to practical political work—the kind of work where you come in direct contact with people, with workers.”

The CP has failed in that goal.

For us, this is the decisive task: to build a party of action that is part of the leadership of all the struggles of the oppressed. Because capitalism is not going to fall of its own dead weight. It will be brought down only when all the conditions pointing to its fall are joined by one other condition—the existence of a large, revolutionary party that knows what its task is, believes in that task, and is willing to carry it out.

Combat Party

I would like to conclude by mentioning an experience I had several weeks ago being questioned for eight-and-a-half hours by FBI and government lawyers in connection with the SWP's suit against the government. There were two questions the lawyers kept returning to: 1) Why do we predict violent struggles on the agenda; and 2) What do we mean when we say a revolutionary party must be a combat party.

The answers are very simple.

A few months ago the San Francisco Militant

Labor Forum heard a speech by Sylvia Weinstein, one of the leaders of the fight for child care in that city and a longtime Socialist Worker. She began with the statement: "I think you can judge a nation by how it treats its young, how it treats its elderly, and how it treats its poor. This country is the richest country in the world. And yet its actions are criminal."

This is exactly the point the government lawyers could not understand or accept. This government's actions are criminal, at home and abroad. And millions will be judging it exactly as Sylvia did.

The American ruling class was born and grew in violence, bloodshed, and repression against the Indians, against women who were branded and burned at the stake, against the slaves, against the Mexicans, against the people of the Caribbean, and against the wage workers of this country. Their goal, in the winged phrase of Jimmy Carter, is "ethnic purity" on a world scale, and the death penalty on a world scale for those who resist.

This is not exaggeration but fact. The use and stockpiling of nuclear bombs, ecological destruction, torture, military coups, and starvation is the daily fare of the American rulers for the people of this earth. They stand behind and organize the

greatest horrors of our epoch: Dresden, Hiroshima, Korea, Hanoi, Indonesia, Chile, Argentina, Iran, South Africa, Palestine. And they intend to continue to visit this violence on humanity.

They are the most brutal and hated ruling class in history. We must speak the truth on this: The violence comes from them.

But it will not be unanswered.

The government lawyers can't see the need for a combat party of the oppressed because they do not live under the violence of the ruling class or need to combat it; they live off the booty of that violence.

But we know who will find their way to the revolutionary combat party in this country. We fought side by side with them at Carson Beach and all over Boston. We have picketed with them at Hostos Community College in New York City. We rode the trains with them to the ERA march in Springfield. We have demonstrated with them against *la migra*. We fought with them for child care.

They are the ones who stand up for busing among teachers and other unionists. They are the ones who are shot at by goons in Houston for fighting for trade-union democracy—and who will be shot at again in the future. They are the ones who are willing to march all across

Louisiana to free Gary Tyler. They are the ones who stand up to cops, to bosses, to thugs, to racists, to sexists, those who are ready to give everything in the struggle, including their lives. They are the ones who will pull down the rulers of this country.

Millions of them will grow ready to combat capitalist violence and will find their way to a party that is willing to fight and willing to win.

And when they do, the exploiters and rulers of this country are going to pick up the *Militant* that morning and read a similar message to what their brothers, the Russian rulers, read in *Pravda* on the morning of October 27, 1917. They will read this message from the American workers:

"They wanted us to take the power, so that we alone should have to contend with the horrible difficulties created in this country. So be it. We take the power alone, relying upon the voice of the country and counting only upon the solidarity and help of the world proletariat.

"But having taken the power, we will deal with the enemies of the revolution and its saboteurs with an iron hand. They dreamed of a permanent dictatorship of American capital. . . . We will give them the dictatorship of the proletariat."

The Nature of the First American Revolution

What is a 'bourgeois-democratic' revolution? Where does the American Revolution fit in among other capitalist revolutions and wars of independence?

By George Novack

The bicentennial has called forth a wide assortment of opinions among American historians on the nature of the First American Revolution. Israel Shenker listed a sampling of their various verdicts in the July 6, 1976, *New York Times*.

The interpretations range from the belief that it was no revolution at all to the more realistic view, expressed by Prof. Gary B. Nash of UCLA, that it was a movement of national liberation combined with a "civil war within America regarding what kind of society you'd be lucky enough to have if you defeated the British." (The *Journal of Psychohistory* takes first prize for foolishness with a piece on "The American Revolution as a Psychotic Episode.")

Most of the academicians, whirling around in a squirrel cage of relativism and agnosticism, agree that the event is too complex, its causes too obscure, and its effects too uncertain to arrive at any definitive conclusions about its basic character. Thus Prof. Merrill Jensen of the University of Wisconsin stated that the Revolution was "many movements. It's a different revolution in each colony. It's also an antirevolutionary movement. It's a political movement." It was also a social accident and an oedipal conflict.

"It was all those things," he said. "It's the blind man looking at the elephant. It depends upon what part you touch."

Professor Jensen's eclecticism is regrettable because his writings have shed new light on progressive aspects of the Articles of Confederation period preceding the constitutional struggle.

Apparently these scholarly "blind men" need another hundred years to clear up their confusion and find out what the revolution was all about. Meanwhile, what can a Marxist analysis tell us about the significance of this momentous struggle?

The socio-economic and political nature of a revolution is fundamentally determined by the

historical period that gives birth to it. Thus the course and outcome of the Russian revolution of 1917 was essentially different from that of the popular revolutions of the preceding centuries, because it broke out in a backward country of Europe that had not experienced a democratic reconstruction at a time when world capitalism was already on the downgrade.

The First American Revolution necessarily had a far less advanced character because it unfolded during the ascent of world capitalism in the commercial stage of its evolution. This international context brought into being the material preconditions for its evolution and advent, prescribed its major objectives, and set limits on the extent of its achievements.

There could only be one kind of revolutionary progress under the conditions of the eighteenth century, when the landmarks of social, economic, political, and cultural advancement were at one and the same time bourgeois and democratic. What do these terms signify?

Meaning of 'Bourgeois-Democratic'

The sociological designation "bourgeois" had both negative and positive aspects. It meant that the revolutionary movement had to be directed against conditions and forces that stood in the way of the indigenous growth of the ways of life and labor most suitable to a well-developed commodity-producing society. The destruction of precapitalist elements was the prerequisite for

constructing those institutions facilitating bourgeois relations.

A very broad range of issues and objectives was subsumed under the rubric of "democratic." These included national liberation and unification (the right of self-determination); separation of church and state; self-government; a cluster of civil liberties and human rights (freedom of speech and publication, freedom of assembly and petition, trial by a jury of one's peers, etc.); the right of citizens to vote, bear arms, and travel freely. The most important social aspect of democratization was the right of small cultivators to own the land the family tilled.

The demands usually put forward by the revolutionary forces of that era had a hybrid nature. Such strictly bourgeois economic rights as freedom of trade, private ownership of property, taxation through representation, mortgaging, and the right to receive interest on loans were intermingled with popular freedoms. The two-sided character of their aims sprang from the exceedingly variegated and complex components involved in the revolutionary cause.

Despite their common hostility to crown rule, the Patriot camp was a coalition of class strata with differing interests that could throw them into sharp conflict with one another. There was a very wide disparity in the conditions of life and ownership and enjoyment of wealth between rich merchants like John Hancock of Boston and John Brown of Newport and a petty shopkeeper or craftsman in a seaport town, or between an aristocratic planter in the South and a frontier trapper or settler. City dwellers had a different outlook than backwoods farmers.

These could unite in the fight for independence and liberty against British tyranny, which was the first and foremost goal of the democratic program. But small farmers, artisans, tradesmen, and laborers had aims and aspirations of their own that ran counter to the desires and designs of the upper crust.

The most imperative task of the revolution was the overthrow of British domination. This was equally in the interests of the upper and lower classes in the colonies. It was at once a native bourgeois and a democratic objective. Its success would not only give sovereignty over the nation and control of its trade and adjoining territory to the merchants, landlords, and planters, but bring freedom from the exactions of foreign rule to the whole people whatever their status. Every true patriot could support the effort to achieve independence.



Charles Ostrofsky

GEORGE NOVACK

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However, other issues engendered more difference than agreement within the patriot camp. The most critical point in dispute revolved around what the division of powers would be among its constituent elements and how many liberties would be accorded to the common folk. It could not be decided in advance what rights they would be able to gain and to what extent their specific hopes for improvement would be realized. That was determined by the relationship of forces in the domestic struggles between the patricians and the plebeians as the revolutionary process evolved all the way from 1765 to 1789.

The War of Independence should therefore be defined as a bourgeois-democratic revolution or, more precisely, the first stage of such a revolutionary transformation of American society (the Civil War was the second). That was still not the whole story.

This was a bourgeois revolution of a special type. Unlike the English revolutions of the preceding century or the French revolution that followed soon after, it was a *colonial* uprising. The combination of a democratic revolution in a colonial setting accounts for many of its achievements and special characteristics.

This fact likewise explains the limitations that

bourgeoisie, subordinated to it, or merged with it, their characteristic institutions, customs, and ideas continued to influence the ruling circles and the lives of their inhabitants.

The North American colonies had quite another sort of background and process of formation. They came to birth under very different historical circumstances and on a higher social level. From its inception North American civilization has been largely built upon bourgeois foundations, from its economy to its religious and philosophical heights. This basically bourgeois nature stamped upon its origins constitutes the prime peculiarity of America's life and development from the seventeenth century on.

To be sure, precapitalist economic forms and social relations coexisted and intermingled with bourgeois relations throughout colonial times. The aboriginal inhabitants retained their tribal ties and customs, however much these were transformed and deformed by the white "civilizers." Black slavery was implanted and flourished especially in the South, while the landed proprietors sought to transpose semifeudal institutions from the Old World to the New. Nonetheless, all these precapitalist formations and forces increasingly came under the sway of the developing

various forms of labor they required from the market, whether these were slaves, indentured servants, or hired hands. While much was grown or made for home use, the principal colonial products were raised for sale in distant markets.

The cities that grew up on the Atlantic coast—Boston; Newport, Rhode Island; New York; Philadelphia; and Charleston, South Carolina; were not simply administrative headquarters, military encampments, or naval stations but bustling mercantile and shipping centers, inseparably linked with far-reaching overseas trade. Though petty craftsmen prospered and increased, the closed guilds of artisan characteristic of medieval cities had no chance of crystallizing into closed and fixed castes in the seaport towns.

The traditional seven-year apprenticeship was abandoned altogether by 1731. The last attempt to set up a guild organization was made in 1718 by the Philadelphia cordwainers and tailors, but their organization quickly collapsed. (Interestingly, the Philadelphia cordwainers organized the first American trade union almost a century later.) As Michael Burrage noted in the Fall 1972 issue of *Daedalus*, "The history of the craft guilds in America is largely the record of their disinte-



Common interest in throwing off British rule bound together diverse layers of colonial society. Above, British troops fire on citizens in Boston Massacre.

were imposed on its endeavors and outcome.

The preconditions for a national and popular upheaval like this one were brought into being by economic developments of international magnitude—in this case the effects of the expansion of the capitalist world market and the shifts in its currents on the inhabitants of the New World. These became incorporated in a novel social formation with a peculiar alignment of class forces that came to grips with one another after prolonged cohabitation.

First Successful Revolt

The exceptional constellation of social forces that were concentrated in the coastal colonies of North America under British rule produced something new in the revolutionary activity of the early bourgeois era. Whereas previous revolts in the Spanish, Portuguese, and French dominions had all been put down, the British subjects along the Atlantic coast were the first to engage in a successful revolt against the imperial domination of the mother country. They initiated in the eighteenth century the protracted series of colonial uprisings that have been carried over into the twentieth century and have given so many headaches to the metropolitan masters.

Why was this particular body of overseas settlers impelled to undertake this action and able to carry it through to completion? The answer has to be sought in the historical conditions that formed the thirteen colonies and more particularly in the economic, social and cultural peculiarities that distinguished them not only from other British possessions such as Canada, the West Indies, Ireland, and India, but also from older nations such as Japan, China, Spain, France, Russia, and even to a certain extent from England itself.

In Europe and Asia feudalism and other forms of precapitalist relations had flourished for many centuries, impressing an indelible stamp upon their subsequent development. Long after the monarchy, nobility, priesthood, and landowning aristocracy had been subjugated by the rising

capitalist world market and were drawn into its network. The plantation agriculture carried on by servile labor raised its staple crops of tobacco, rice, and indigo for overseas shipment and consumption.

The persistence and predominance of mercantile influences were primarily responsible for the feebleness of feudalism. The same forces that were breaking up feudalism in Western Europe served to obstruct and stunt its growth while they were fostering chattel slavery in North America.

There was no lack of efforts to install and reinforce feudal relations by the British aristocrats and favorites of the crown. Yet they secured a far weaker foothold in the coastal colonies than in the Spanish and French possessions. The crown proprietors in Maryland, the Carolinas, and Pennsylvania tried to transport the feudal order intact across the Atlantic. Some even applied to their domains principles of feudal law that had long since been abandoned in England.

But the ways and means were not at hand to realize the will of the royal proprietors. They could not convey into the New World the whole historical context and economic relations that had previously favored the flourishing of feudalism in Western Europe and were at that time strengthening the grip of "the second feudalism" in East Europe and Russia and implanting semifeudal structures in Latin America.

From their beginnings the English colonies grew up as extensions and outlying branches of the capitalist world market. Their economies were not shut in or isolated but entered as an organic part into the circuit of international commodity production and exchange. How could feudalism hope to thrive, or even to long survive, in a newly opened region where almost everything was from the first, or quickly thereafter became, converted into an article of commerce?

Commodity relations embraced the entire field, from the land and its laborers to the products of the forests, seas, and soil. Land was widely bought and sold. The upper classes secured the

gration." Traditional prescribed qualifications for the practice of the medical and legal professions that were highly exclusive in England were likewise discarded.

The hugging of routine, submission to authority, and suspicion of innovation flowing from stable prebourgeois conditions wore away in an environment where new ideas, fast-changing conditions, and wider possibilities prevailed. Instead of "shoemaker, stick to your last," the colonies produced the "jack of all trades." Paul Revere was not only a silversmith but also made copperplate engravings, clocks, hatters' irons, spatulas, probes for surgeons, cannons, and bells, as well as engraving political cartoons and promoting a rebellion.

Though agriculture was the basis of the colonial economies, try as they might, the landed proprietors proved unable to maintain a permanent hereditary caste of serfs attached to their domains in a country where labor was so scarce and expensive and unsettled land was plentiful and cheap. Either slaves in large-scale enterprises or freehold farmers were predestined to be the cultivators of the soil.

Feudalism Eliminated

This exceptional economic structure and social atmosphere prevented feudalism from sinking deep roots and having any sustained growth in the coastal colonies. From the first, powerful bodies of their inhabitants put up resistance and even engaged in armed uprisings against the feudal obligations imposed by the legal masters of the domain. Throughout the eighteenth century there was a constant erosion of feudal ties and their displacement by other forms of economic relations.

The feudal lords invoked force time and again to maintain their rulership and claims upon the squatters on their land. Although they had the authority of the crown government behind them, they were fighting a losing war against the colonial masses. Despite their legal titles and political power, the strongest currents of social

development were running against them.

The proprietary regimes were eliminated from the colonies beginning with New Hampshire in 1679 and concluding with Maryland, Delaware, and Pennsylvania in 1776. The Revolution finished the job of driving out these propertied parasites. Along with the British monarchy and its retainers, the feudalists were the main targets of the rebels. They were detested as absentee exploiters and oppressors by the direct cultivators of the soil and as aristocratic wastrels by the plebeian townspeople, while they were feared as rivals and restorationists by the more radical representatives of the merchants and planters.

The First American Revolution deprived all except a few patroon proprietors along the Hudson of their properties, privileges, and powers. Together with the estates of Lords [William] Penn, Baltimore, Granville, Fairfax, and others, the rebels swept away such feudal relics as quitrents, crown lands, primogeniture and entail, and the established church.

The revolutionary ax cut down feudalism root and branch. Its last vestiges were gone by 1850. It has never been revived and there were none left to mourn its passing or celebrate its spurious glories, as in the case of the antebellum Southern slavocracy.

The fate of feudalism has been singled out for examination because, as the principal indigenous socio-economic casualty of the revolution, it brings into focus its underlying nature. The main mission of a bourgeois revolution is to bulldoze away the obstacles to the growth of national capitalism. The development of the bourgeois forces, large and small, rich and poor, patrician and plebeian, brought them into collision with both foreign domination and feudal ownership.

The faster and farther a people traveled along the capitalist road, the sharper grew the conflict between the overseas masters and their dependents on the one hand and the rising native forces on the other—and all the quicker came the bourgeois upheaval. Just as England itself had become bourgeoisified sooner and far more fundamentally than Spain, Portugal, Russia, and even France, so its Atlantic coastal colonies acquired more advanced and extensive capitalist relations than either Québec or the conquered colonies of India and Ireland. That is why bourgeois power raised its head in Massachusetts, New York, and Virginia long before it did in these other English dominions.

Political Conquests of the Revolution

The major political conquests of the revolution provide sufficient proof of its national-democratic character. The Patriots won the right of self-determination by breaking loose from British domination; welded the thirteen colonies into an independent nation; and established a constitutional republic, the most progressive form of government for that time.

Had the overlords in London graciously permitted their American subjects to develop as they wished along mercantile capitalist lines, there would have been no need for the revolutionary war. But the colonies were too precious a source of enrichment for the ruling classes of Great Britain to relinquish without a fight. The haughty lieutenants of the crown no more believed the upstart colonials could overcome the formidable might of the majestic empire than the advisors of Kennedy, Johnson, and Nixon expected the Vietnamese to withstand the U.S. military machine.

However, the forces of the merchants and shipowners; backed up by the anti-British commercial planters in the Southern regions; together with the shopkeepers and artisans, longshoremen and seamen in the towns; and with the freehold farmers, trappers, and traders in the backcountry, mustered strength and endurance enough to overthrow all the agencies of their oppressors and win national sovereignty.

While the radical political changes are beyond dispute, some have questioned whether the revolution can be considered as a socio-economic upheaval like the French and Russian revolutions.

A social revolution has to destroy an obsolescent mode of production and form of property, as the Civil War did away with the chattel slave system. Feudal proprietorship, to be sure, was not so extensive and sturdy as slave ownership. Nonetheless, the War of Independence did uproot whatever feudal relations had been clamped

upon the colonies and replaced them with bourgeois economic and legal relations. Although the principal Patriot leaders did not aim at a social reconstruction, they got one all the same—within the boundaries of a bourgeois transformation.

The Anglican church was disestablished; the right of entail and primogeniture was wiped out; the landed barons were expropriated; such seigniorial obligations as quitrents owed to the crown or the proprietary families were discontinued; the king's right to mast trees for the royal ships was abolished; and Tory estates were confiscated and dispersed. Distinctions of rank gave way to distinctions of wealth. This destruction of the prerevolutionary order brought advantages to all grades of the free white population.

The agrarian question has been at the bottom of every bourgeois revolution: what classes would have access to the land and on what terms would they acquire ownership of it? In addition to the titled aristocrats, the colonists had to contend with two main claimants to the territories they coveted: the Native Americans and the British king. They proceeded to drive the Indian tribes westward from their traditional hunting grounds by force and fraud. They removed the limitations set by the crown on occupation of the lands beyond the Alleghenies and turned them over to the states or federal government for disposal.

The preempted areas were thereby opened up not only for resident colonists but for the swarms of immigrants from the Old World that sailed to this country in the next century. The reforms promoted a broader diffusion of land ownership that was, however, redistributed in the unequal proportions characteristic of bourgeois regimes. The wealthier Patriot families bought up large tracts while other sectors of the territories fell into the clutches of speculators. The Land Ordinance of 1785 institutionalized the family farm as the basic productive unit of midwest agriculture. These measures leveled the last barriers to a free market in land.

Development of Private Property

The bourgeois nature of the revolution was certified not simply by the historical tasks it confronted but even more by its results, by what it abolished in fact and in law, and by the prospects it opened up for the development of private property on a large and small scale.

Independence and unification spurred business enterprise in many ways. By removing the curbs on trade between the separate states they created an unfettered and expanding domestic market. Interstate trade facilitated the specialization of products in different regions. A national currency and the establishment of commercial banks expanded credit for commercial and manufacturing entrepreneurs. The mineral rights and other natural resources monopolized by the crown were made available for private exploitation.

One of the earliest acts of the Continental Congress in 1774 was to pry open the gates to foreign trading, which had previously been shut by the restrictions of the London Board of Trade producing a bold and crafty crew of smuggling merchants and shipowners. The loss of trade with the British West Indies after the Revolution was compensated for by the rich rewards that the opening of the China trade bestowed on New England and New York merchants. American merchant capital that had been enchained by British merchant capital under imperial domination was liberated for gainful enterprises far and wide. The young republic also put up a welcome sign to foreign investment, which did much to propel economic progress in the new country during the next century.

There has been much debate among historians about the degree of democratization brought about by the revolution. One scholar, Robert E. Brown, has argued that, as far back as the seventeenth century, Massachusetts was already "a middle class democracy" where property qualifications for voting were largely ignored; the rebels, he concluded, acted to conserve democracy rather than acquire it.

At the other extreme are those who contend that the revolution did little if anything to extend the rights of the people but simply substituted a homegrown brace of exploiters—wealthy merchants and slave-owning planters—for the British tyranny.

Lopsided and contrary as they are, both judgments enclose grains of truth. The changes

wrought in British society by the seventeenth century revolutions had greater political repercussions in the coastal colonies, and their inhabitants had grown accustomed to more latitude of action in handling their affairs, than other dominions. All the same, colonial society was highly undemocratic and controlled by aristocratic families deferring to crown rule.

And even though the supreme power in the young republic was held by representatives of the well-to-do, the War of Independence was a watershed in the acquisition of new liberties by the common folk.

Many of the anti-British merchants and planters were "reluctant revolutionaries," and the more moderate among them wanted to see as few social and political changes as possible come out of the conflict. From the popular uprisings of 1774-75, to the adoption of the Constitution in 1789, continual tussles took place between the patricians and radical plebeians in the Patriot camp over the amount of democratization that was to be established. These culminated in Shays's rebellion among the farmers in western Massachusetts, whose crushing in 1786-87 set the stage for the framing and passage of the Constitution. The fortunes of the democratic movement were decided by the outcome of these internal class struggles. The Bill of Rights would not have been attached to the Constitution without the pressure and protests of what the gentry called "the mobocracy."

Written Guarantees of Rights

In addition to the achievement of national sovereignty, unity, and a representative republic, the rebels introduced such political innovations as national and state constitutional conventions and written constitutions with specific guarantees of popular and legal rights. They also created a unique fusion of federalism and republicanism. This was considered an impossible combination by Europeans who believed that republican rule was compatible only with a small and localized population.

The vicissitudes of the drive for egalitarianism can be gauged by comparing the Pennsylvania Constitution of 1776, drafted at the flood tide of revolutionary democracy, with the document written for the federal republic in Philadelphia eleven years later when the men of property had succeeded in beating back and outmaneuvering the insurgent masses. The earlier document was exceptionally democratic in its provisions. It established a unicameral legislature, gave the vote to every freeman twenty-one years of age, and instituted complete local self-government. All foreigners residing in the state for one year would have the right to vote and could hold office after two years' residence.

Even the Articles of Confederation were more progressive in some respects than the U.S. charter that superseded them. They introduced the custom of rotation in office-holding, stating that no person should be a member of Congress more than three years out of six.

No bourgeois revolution has achieved more than a partial democratization of state institutions and social relations. The immediate gains of the First American Revolution did not cover much more than free, white males possessing a certain amount of property, to whom the franchise was extended. The Native Americans received no benefits from it, only further aggressions. Nor were any legal rights given to women or to indentured servants.

The revolution did abolish slavery and the slave trade in many Northern states; slavery was banned in the Northwest Territory; and the Constitution forbade slave trading after twenty years. But most Black people remained in bondage and their servitude was sanctified by the Constitution. The endurance of slavery would lead to a second revolution in the following century.

If ideal standards are applied to the results it is easy to show that this first experiment in democratization of American life was highly imperfect. In realistic historical terms, its achievements have to be matched with what had previously prevailed under imperial rule as well as with similar movements across the Atlantic at that point in the expansion of world capitalism. By these specific tests, the final political balance sheet of the American Revolution is far more creditable than that of the French Revolution.

In France, as in England, the cycle of bourgeois revolution ended in restoration of the

monarchy on a new social basis. Though the state that emerged from the American Revolution was likewise bourgeois in its fundamental property relations, its structure was democratic, republican, and federal. Even so, state power was not concentrated wholly in the hands of the Northern moneyed men. They had to share control of the national administration with representatives of the Southern planters with whom they directed the war and conceived the republic. Just as the British bourgeoisie governed together with the landed aristocracy, so their transatlantic counterparts had to rule in partnership with the slaveholders from 1789 to 1860. It required the Civil War to give the U.S. capitalists their monopoly of state sovereignty.

The reconstructive work of a great revolution is more important for the long-range changes it makes possible than for its immediate results. The Declaration of Independence served notice not only to Great Britain but to the other

European powers that the North Americans would not countenance any outside interference with their national destiny. The revolution fostered the conditions for the unimpeded development of the people along capitalist lines. The revolution was instrumental in forming the white inhabitants along the Atlantic seaboard into a distinctive new nationality that the exuberant Walt Whitman later called the "Americano" and the Mexicans the "gringo."

So profound a revolutionary experience inevitably inspires new forms of consciousness that become deeply embedded in national tradition. One of the most enduring consequences of the revolutionary era and its aftermath was in the ideological and cultural field. The basic principles of the bourgeois-democratic ideology were elaborated in their native style during this period. However stale and stereotyped they have become, this pattern of ideas has pervaded the

political and intellectual life of the nation up to the present time.

While the War of Independence did not have the same world-historical significance as the French Revolution that followed on its heels in the center of European civilization, for many decades it had a tremendous impact on progressive-minded peoples elsewhere. The reverberations of its rhetoric have not entirely subsided even in this age of U.S. imperialism. The "spirit of '76" redirected the course of American life and laid the basis for its impetuous advancement in the next century. For all its manifest deficiencies and the hypocritical homage paid to it in the official celebrations, the first victorious colonial uprising of modern times deserved to be commemorated for its lessons and achievements in 1976.

BOOKS

An Apology for Sexism in the USSR

Soviet Women

By William M. Mandel. Anchor Books, New York, 1975.

By Marilyn Vogt

Condescending narratives calculated to convey a childlike amazement with the magnitude and complexity of the world of grown-

enormous business operation. . . .

"Captain Anna Shchetinina is master [sic] of a twenty-thousand-ton freighter. . . . She is one of the most experienced of Soviet skippers, having captained ships for over thirty-five years, and you don't become a captain your first year at sea. . . . Captain Shchetinina is large-bodied."

William Mandel's book abounds with such glowing success stories. The patronizing tone reflects the fact that he begins from a number of erroneous assumptions. One of

and a man like a man."

What does it mean to "act like a woman"? He delicately tries to get more specific: "To Soviet women, their right to bear children is as sacred as their right not to. To them, that is what being a woman, within the larger framework of freedom to be a human being, is all about."

No one, least of all William Mandel, really knows what Soviet women want, since they are not free to organize and express themselves. But this book as a whole

pioneering work in this area by referring to her "far-out views on sex." Her ideas do little more for Mandel than arouse his prurient interest. For example, when referring to Kollontai's work on the newspaper *Woman Worker* at the time of the revolution, he says:

"No men were present at the meetings. . . . The senior women, the political 'heavies,' clearly found these gatherings a chance to relax. Alexandra Kollontai . . . was a wonderful raconteuse and a talented mime. I imagine the young



Although it officially supports equality for women, upper crust of Soviet bureaucracy maintains itself as a virtually all-male body

ups are sometimes found in children's books, as many of us may remember.

This literary form finds bizarre reflection in *Soviet Women* by William Mandel, a frequent organizer of tours to the Soviet Union and author of several books on the USSR. In the same type of condescending prose, the author expresses an unabashed amazement that women can actually function competently performing tasks men have traditionally performed.

For example, in discussing the educational and job attainments of Soviet women, Mandel writes: "Not everyone can be a judge, but anyone of normal intelligence and health and the level of education needed to understand machine operation and repair instructions can operate a mechanical cotton-picker, even if it is as big as a truck and a good deal more complex-looking."

Or:

"A twenty-thousand-ton freighter is not only an expensive, block-long assemblage of machinery that has to be brought safely across oceans despite storms and ice and into port without damage to itself, its cargo, the docks, or boats and ships in its path. It is also an

them: "American women are hungry for material with which to prove, to themselves first of all, that females can create successfully in all fields."

Quite the contrary is true. In fact, the rise of the feminist movement in America and elsewhere has reflected the fact that women *know* they could "create successfully in all fields" but are denied the opportunity to do so.

Mandel's paternalistic way of describing Soviet women's achievements is made even more revolting by the author's insistence that no picture of a woman is complete unless it includes her marital status and the number of children or grandchildren she has.

Col. Nina Rusakova, test pilot: "The mother of two children, she is married to another test pilot."

Nadezhda Puchkovskaya, eye specialist: "Like all the others we have described, she, being a Soviet woman, did not find it necessary to stay single in order to pursue a career. . . ."

Why does the author do this? Apparently he is trying to lend credibility to the major point in his introduction to the book: In the Soviet Union, he boasts, "a woman has the right to act like a woman

makes it clear what William Mandel's opinion is, even though he never says it openly: that bearing children "is what being a woman is all about."

He is totally unable to deal with the ideas of women like Alexandra Kollontai, a leader of the fight for women's emancipation who fought for her ideas as a Bolshevik leader during and after the October revolution of 1917. Kollontai understood the deep psychological and physical fetters that centuries of oppression had imposed on women. She believed this oppression would be overcome through new social institutions that would relieve women from the burdensome responsibilities of housework and maintaining the family and would allow women to pursue their own personal goals.

Kollontai believed that changes in the traditional concepts of love and sexual relationships were a prerequisite for women's liberation and that human relationships would develop into something new under communism. Humanity was walking on new ground and no one could prescribe rules, for there were none. New experiences and growth must be allowed.

Mandel dismisses all Kollontai's

working-women must have heard some shocking tales out of school about the men, particularly as Kollontai personally practiced the free love that she preached."

'Different but Equal'

Mandel feels the main point people should remember is that women are "different but equal." He presents graphically what he means by this:

"The thought that equality with men means being like them is not present today in the U.S.S.R. The best statement [of this is] the enormously popular 1972 film *The Dawns Are Quiet Here*. As [the women anti-aircraft gunners] are pictured first in their quarters and then in the ordeal in a swamp, they are very, very womanly. . . ."

"Sisterhood (as distinct from comradeship) comes through loud and clear in many scenes, such as one in a bathhouse where the whole squad, women of perfectly normal physique, gasp and call out their admiration when they see a new member, particularly shapely and with extraordinary hair, for the first time in the nude. . . . No one who knows Soviet people would challenge the fact that the film accurately describes the prevalent

self-image of women there as *different but equal*." (Emphasis in original.)

Mandel is a chauvinist; he has no understanding of what the emancipation of women means; and he is in no way qualified to analyze the problems of women in the USSR, as his book amply demonstrates.

Apologist for Oppression

Why did he write this book? First and most obvious is that he is an apologist for the oppression of women in the Soviet Union and for the bureaucratic policies of the Kremlin.

He is also trying to discredit the feminist movement in Europe and the United States because this movement has both heightened women's consciousness of their rights as human beings and encouraged women to fight for their rights. If the militancy of the international women's movement were to extend to women in the Soviet Union, the entire bureaucratic ruling structure would be undermined.

But his book only confirms the profound inequality that Soviet women must still endure. They are socialized to see themselves fulfilled through becoming wives and mothers and are shouldered with the responsibility for care of the household and raising the children, yet they are workers as well, confined to lower-paying, less-skilled jobs.

For example, the present-day Soviet rulers have often pointed to the large percentage of Soviet doctors who are women as evidence of women's emancipation. According to the *New York Times*, 70 percent of the doctors in the USSR are women. Men, however, are usually the heads of clinics and hospitals. It should also be pointed out that doctors are in a lower-paying wage category; they earn around 100 rubles per month, less than three-quarters the average wage of an industrial worker.

The secondary status of women in the USSR is revealed by their small numbers in the organs of power. While women are nearly 54 percent of the population, only 24 percent of the members of the Communist party are women. There are no women in the Politburo, and only 8 of the 287 full members of the Central Committee of the CPSU are women. All the ministers and heads of government committees are men.

Women are oppressed in academia as well. According to official statistics, 71 percent of secondary-school teachers are women but 72 percent of the principals of secondary schools are men. There are 2.7 times more men than women with advanced academic degrees, and more than six times as many men than women are doing postgraduate work at the doctoral level. Women are considerably underrepresented in the upper levels of the intelligentsia; only 13.7 percent of the members of the Writers Union are women, and there are only 3 women among the 243 full members of the Academy of Science.

A similar situation exists in other fields.

Anna Shchelinina, the ship captain Mandel referred to, mentioned above, recently advised women against entering her occupation in an interview printed in the Soviet press and excerpted in an August 9, 1976, article in the *New York Times*. Such statements from a woman whom the Kremlin bureaucrats display as a model Soviet woman provide stark testimony to

the attitude of resignation to a secondary status the present Soviet government is seeking to foster among women.

Shchelinina endorsed the ruling in 1944 that had closed seafaring schools to women. She said:

"In the previous 20 years, probably hundreds of girls studied to become ship commanders, but only four in the whole country made it. So is it worthwhile to continue spending money teaching girls? You cannot fight against life. To command a ship is still a man's business.

"Let men go to sea and women remain on shore to raise children, to occupy themselves with things traditionally feminine."

Mandel cites a 1970 survey that showed that "only one third of women but one half of men wished to upgrade their work skills." He comments: "I have no doubt that one reason for the difference in attitude has to do with the significantly smaller amount of time the married woman has after the day's work than does her husband. Another reason, however, is that the employed woman there finds some part of her life-goal satisfaction in raising her children, while the difference in sex-role attitudes causes more men to look elsewhere for that."

Throughout the book Mandel blames the individual men and women for women's oppression and tries to make us believe that the backward attitudes about "a woman's place," that is, "the difference in sex-role attitudes," is due to the backward thinking still surviving from prerevolutionary times, which no one can do anything about.

Hence, his book is profoundly antirevolutionary for he would have us believe that the elimination of women's oppression may take a century because women want to be oppressed and men are just too pigheaded to change.

He makes periodic jabs at the Equal Rights Amendment—the proposed amendment to the U.S. Constitution that would outlaw discrimination on the basis of sex. He says Soviet women are proud of all the "protective" legislation that exists and is ever growing in the USSR. He wants the reader to think that this legislation keeps women from "being forced" to take certain jobs. In reality, such laws are yet another means by which the Stalinist bureaucrats foster the idea that women are "the weaker sex" whose prime responsibility is home and family.

Mandel's Version of History

Mandel's position is that nothing much really happened in terms of women's emancipation immediately after the October revolution in 1917 on in the 1920s. He complains that many "idealize" that period "merely because of the stirring revolutionary films then being made."

According to Mandel's version of history, it was not until the 1930s and particularly the post-World War II period and especially the past ten years that improvements in women's status are notable. Stalin and his heirs are given credit for the bulk of the gains.

But historical facts belie Mandel's assertion. Out of respect to history, these facts should be recalled:

The Russian revolution was touched off in February 1917 by demonstrations of women textile workers. The Bolsheviks' seizure of power and transformation of the economy created the preconditions for establishing a socialist society and freeing women by nationaliz-

ing the means of production and instituting a government of workers, peasants, and soldiers councils (soviets). Under this new government a program for moving toward equality for women was put into practice.

Between 1917 and 1927 a series of laws passed by the Soviet government provided every legal basis for ending male domination and privilege and formally establishing women's equality.

Civil marriage was established, with marriage and divorce to be based on the decisions of the partners involved (1917 and 1918).¹ Government funds were allocated for sixteen weeks of free pregnancy and maternity care (1918).² Care and raising of children was seen as society's responsibility, not the mother's, and nursery schools were established with the perspective of making them readily available to all.

Free, legal abortion was made every woman's right (1920).³

However, the momentum of these first steps toward bringing women out of the homes and into the life of the country was halted by the reactionary policies of the bureaucracy that had usurped control over Soviet life by the end of the 1920s. While this bureaucracy, headed by Stalin, did not restore capitalism, it abolished the major political gains and revived the barbarities and prejudices of the past as the basis for official policy.

The internationalism of the revolution was replaced by the concept of "socialism in one country." All democracy was repressed. Privilege, anti-Semitism, and Russian chauvinism were used by the bureaucracy to consolidate its power. Almost all the leaders of the revolution were murdered, and all opponents or suspected opponents of Stalin and the rule of the bureaucratic caste he represented were sent to prison.

The gains that had been won by women were pushed back. Women were pressured to view their primary role as wife and mother. The nuclear family was glorified. Measures for child-care centers, communal housing, and household service facilities were drastically curtailed.

In 1936, abortion was made illegal except in cases where a pregnant woman's life might otherwise be endangered or a fetus was deformed, with a term of up to three years' imprisonment facing any doctor or midwife who performed an abortion.⁴

In 1943, coeducation was abolished because it interfered with the development of traditional sex roles.

The Family Law of 1944 consolidated the institutionalization of the family and the glorification of motherhood: by making divorce extremely difficult to obtain; increasing penalties for nonpayment of alimony; increasing family subsidies; and introducing the "Motherhood Medal" (for women with five or six children), the "Order of Motherhood Glory" (seven, eight, or nine children), and the "Order of Heroine Mother" (to the women who have given birth to and raised ten children, to be given when the latest child is one year old if the other nine are still alive).⁵

The nuclear family became the

pinion of Soviet life. Although after Stalin's death in 1953 abortion was legalized, the reactionary political and social orientation revived under Stalin's rule still holds sway today in the USSR, and Soviet women's lives continue to be warped and destroyed by it.

Contrary to what Mandel argues, it is the legal and ideological victories and the achievement of a planned economy, making possible massive industrialization, the elimination of illiteracy, the availability of free medical care, etc.—all of which were won by revolutionary men and women after the Bolshevik revolution in October 1917 and during the 1920s—that are responsible for the gains that still remain for Soviet women today. These victories even the Stalinist reaction could not totally eliminate; they are gains that survive *despite* Stalin and his heirs, not because of them as Mandel maintains.

'Share the Housework'

Neither Mandel nor the Stalinist bureaucrats who control Soviet life today wish to revive the idea that the elimination of women's oppression presupposes the establishment of high-quality, twenty-four-hour child-care centers and communal eating and laundering facilities on a massive scale. This is what the Bolsheviks had the perspective of doing, with far less material wealth than the Soviet government has today.

Mandel, along with official Stalinist propaganda, fosters the view that the solution is for men to share household chores equally with women.

"Often [Soviet women] seek undemanding work because of the fatigue resulting from holding a job and also keeping house. *This is the fault of men*, and of the society for not pushing hard enough for sharing of household duties." (Emphasis added.)

"Sharing of household duties," even if "society" were to "push hard" for it, is not the answer. It only reinforces the erroneous view that the problem of women's emancipation is each individual woman's personal problem. But women's oppression is not an individual problem, it is a social problem. The Bolshevik revolutionaries recognized this, and that is what the women's liberation movement of today is saying.

The social needs of women—and of the majority of working people—are not being satisfied in the Soviet Union because a parasitic bureaucratic caste sits on top of the nationalized means of production, represses voices from below, and uses the tremendous resources of the planned economy—achievements of the October revolution—to maintain its own privileged position.

The struggle for democracy in the Soviet Union, a struggle against bureaucratic rule, has particular importance for the international women's movement. The struggle for women's emancipation in the Soviet Union is intimately linked with the struggle for democracy there. Feminists around the world should support that struggle. If they have not yet done so today, women in the Soviet Union will in the future join the ranks of the numerous currents struggling for democratic rights in the USSR, expressing women's particular demands. And when their movement has had a chance to be heard once again, as in February 1917, women will unleash the forces to finish the tasks they began fifty-nine years ago.

1. Rudolf Schlesinger, *Changing Attitudes in Soviet Russia: The Family* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1949), pp. 31 and 33.

2. Sheila Rowbotham, *Women, Resistance and Revolution* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1972), p. 141.

3. Schlesinger, p. 44.

4. Ibid., p. 271.

5. Ibid., p. 367.



Continued from page 10

gives an extensive treatment to the problems of exercising proletarian dictatorship over these elements.

It is easy for a political organization to express solidarity with revolutionary struggles of past eras. This becomes meaningless if one refuses to take a principled position in support of the revolutionary movements of oppressed people *in our own time*. This is the central political question facing the *Militant* if it is not to move further toward an objective bloc with the camp of the global class enemy—U.S. imperialism and its lackeys. Perhaps a *hoc tap* [reeducation] session would be a first step in reversing this trend.

Tom Quinn
Takoma Park, Maryland

Go easy on China

In response to the article “‘Guardian’ still undecided on China purge” [*Militant*, November 12], I would make two brief comments: in my judgment the “Stalinist” bureaucracy has succeeded in winning tremendous gains for the working people of China in the face of extreme difficulties; as such, we should appreciate what they have done and might respond with constructive criticism rather than with a stream of denunciations.

I also consider that to “discuss and democratically determine” is a process that must be viewed in a historical and cultural context and cannot necessarily be judged against the U.S. American standard of democratic socialism.

Jan Erik Backlund
Minneapolis, Minnesota

Florida public employees

The October issue of the Florida *HRS* (Health Rehabilitative Services) *News* includes two items that I thought might be of interest to the *Militant*.

One tells of an employee who received a \$1,525 award “for his idea to use a programming library to eliminate one and one-half employee positions . . . at the HRS Data Center in Jacksonville. The estimated savings in the first year alone are \$15,252.”

This is part of the “Florida State Awards Program for Career Service Employees.” The entire program is disgustingly oriented toward the lowly worker coming up with ideas to save the bureaucracy money—and granting a 10 percent award (10 percent of the actual cost saving) to that worker.

The other item tells of thirty-six security guards at the South Florida State Hospital being “terminated” as a result of either walking off the job or calling in sick September 19-20. They wanted a \$145-a-month pay increase.

The American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees is only just beginning to organize in unionless Florida. Setbacks like these won't help initially but hopefully will set a militant example for others.

Linda Thalman
Tallahassee, Florida

The letters column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Please indicate if your name may be used or if you prefer that your initials be used instead.

Capitalists on strike

New evidence appears every day that the recovery is not only faltering—in many respects the economy is sliding downhill again. Industrial production has fallen for two months in a row. Layoffs are spreading in steel, auto, electrical, textile, and other industries.

In previous columns (November 12 and November 26) I cited two reasons why the recovery, after getting under way in spring 1975, has run out of steam so rapidly.

First, workers' real wages have been driven down. So consumers (which overwhelmingly means workers) don't have the money to boost retail sales.

Second, the government has followed relatively conservative economic policies.

Underlying these factors is a more fundamental weakness: the refusal by the corporations to step up what is called *capital spending*—investment in new plants and machinery.

Capital spending in real terms (after correcting for inflation) declined 1 to 2 percent this year from 1975. In the United States today, capital spending is about 9 percent lower than it was during the 1973 boom. Next year it is likely to rise only about 2 percent, according to one recent survey of business spending plans.

In a capitalist economy, steady growth of capital spending by private business is the only way to keep production expanding and create new jobs. We're told that the economic “contribution” made by the capitalists—which justifies the profits they receive—is that they invest their wealth productively. Instead of, I suppose, hoarding it in shoeboxes.

Well, from that standpoint the capitalists have gone on strike. Or at least they're conducting a multi-billion-dollar slowdown that jeopardizes the livelihoods of millions of people. A feature in the September 13 issue of *Business Week*, entitled “Where Is the Capital Spending Boom?”, explains why.

The biggest single obstacle is permanent worldwide inflation—the product of decades of government deficit spending to finance the war machine and prop up the economy. Even though the present U.S. inflation rate of about 6 percent is lower than in 1973-74, it is extremely high by historical standards.

No business will invest unless it expects a certain rate of profit on the investment. That minimum rate is higher today because of the rising cost of capital goods, high interest rates, and the general climate of

economic uncertainty. *Business Week* tells of one company that raised its “hurdle” rate—minimum annual rate of return on investment—from 15 percent to 20 percent. Another raised its rate from 25 percent to 30 percent.

This helps explain why the capitalists are so determined to drive inflation down through continued high unemployment and why they are strongly opposed to any major government stimulus of the economy.

Henry Wallich, a governor of the Federal Reserve Board, which sets government monetary policy, explains: “If we attempted a more stimulative program, business would spend less. A more stimulative program would heighten uncertainty about the future because business would expect another resurgence of inflation followed by another and even more severe recession.”

So the choice we're offered is between the present situation of stagnation and high unemployment, or higher inflation that could lead to an even worse recession. According to *Business Week*, this dilemma *cannot be solved!*

“There is no apparent middle course—no option available to governments of the Western industrial countries that can provide business with the incentive to restore capital spending growth to earlier levels.”

“Incentive” to invest is the code word for profits. Higher profits—*much* higher profits—is the price the capitalists are demanding to end their “strike.” How? One, keep wages low. Two, cut government spending (on social services, of course, not war production) and reduce taxes on business. Cutting taxes on profits, *Business Week* concludes, is “the only route open to spurring capital spending.”

But there's a problem—a political problem. “These incentives would be hard to sell to a public that is likely to see pro-savings, pro-investment moves as making the rich richer and the poor poorer.” Notice that *Business Week* does not deny that such moves *would in fact* make “the rich richer and the poor poorer.”

“But,” it insists, “the only sure alternative is long-term stagflation, something that benefits neither the rich nor the poor.” Whether that is really the only alternative will be the subject of my next column.

Their Government

Nancy Cole



Real costs of joblessness

WASHINGTON—We all know that capitalism with its curse of unemployment causes immeasurable pain and injustice for working people.

But a recent congressional study attempts to chart that suffering with statistics on death and disease resulting from increases in the jobless rate.

The study attributes more than 51,000 deaths during 1970-75 to the 1.4 percent jump in unemployment in 1970. The figures are based on a six-year cycle, because some stress-related diseases take that long to kill.

The toll includes 1,540 suicides, 1,740 homicides, and 26,440 deaths from heart, blood, and kidney diseases. The rise in unemployment also accounted for 5,520 new patients in state mental hospitals and 7,660 new prisoners in state institutions.

The research was compiled for the Joint Economic Committee of Congress by Dr. M. Harvey Brenner from the Johns Hopkins University. Its purpose, supposedly, is to allow the country's “economic policy makers” to gauge the *human* impact of joblessness.

“The human tragedy alone of unemployment revealed by this study is shocking,” wrote Sen. Hubert Humphrey in a letter transmitting the report to committee members. But just in case the “policy makers” can only relate to figures preceded by dollar signs, an estimate of money lost through these deaths and diseases is provided.

“In effect, illness and deaths attributed to unemployment reduce our Nation's resources—our ability to produce goods and services,” Humphrey said. Combined with medical costs, welfare payments, and other

expenses, the total lost during those six years, they say, is some \$21 billion.

You can be sure that these death and disease figures are conservative. There's no way to neatly extract for purposes of congressional graphs the casualties of high unemployment. But even these “official” statistics are going to get a lot worse.

In 1970 unemployment rose from 3.5 percent to 4.9 percent. This year it hovered around 8 percent. The study predicts that current high unemployment will triple the human cost figures during the next six years. That's a forecast of 150,000 unemployment-related deaths by 1981.

The congressional committee released the report just prior to the November 2 election. With the cover letter from liberal Democrat Humphrey, it was intended to collect votes for Jimmy Carter.

Because of the study, Humphrey promised, “economic policy planners can and will now know the full and tragic cost of unemployment.” If only they had known before. . . .

Well, they have always known. It comes as no revelation to the capitalist rulers of this country that suffering results when profits are put before human needs. And putting numbers on that tragic cost isn't going to break any hearts on Wall Street.

The only bright spot in the unemployment study is the observation that its dire predictions are “built on the assumption of continuity in historical relationships.”

Those relationships of oppressor and oppressed, capitalist and worker, will hopefully not last through many more six-year cycles.

Judge describes contents

FBI informers' files reveal dirty tricks

By Diane Rupp

NEW YORK—Thefts and disruption schemes. These are what U.S. District Court Judge Thomas Griesa found in his quick review of several FBI informer files. Griesa reported on his findings at a November 19 court hearing.

The Socialist Workers party and Young Socialist Alliance have made an initial demand for the files of nineteen informers as evidence for their lawsuit against government harassment. The nineteen are a small sampling from the army of some 1,300 informers the FBI admits it has used against the socialists at various times

over the past sixteen years.

The government claims that informers simply "informed" about the socialists' activities. But the SWP and YSA want to document how the FBI used its informers as weapons in an attempt to wreck the two organizations.

Griesa did not report names, dates, or places from the files. But the types of activities the judge said were contained in them seem to back up the socialists' charges.

The judge reported that one or more files are labeled "Cointelpro," the name of the government's political disruption program. These files, Griesa said, show that informers may have deliberately tried to disrupt SWP and YSA activities and relations with the anti-Vietnam War movement.

The files show various methods of FBI infiltration. Some informers—about one-fifth of the 1,300—actually joined either the SWP or YSA. Although these activities are not labeled "Cointelpro," the judge said, they may have been disruptive.

Thefts

One or more files apparently show that informers stole private material. It is not clear whether what these informers did would be called "burglary" in legal jargon. But they did sneak out materials belonging to the socialists to copy for the FBI.

The files show that some informers had criminal records. This came as no surprise to the socialists. When Timothy Redfearn was exposed as an informer in Denver last summer, it was after local cops had caught him stealing guns and other valuables.

Griesa said the files also show how the FBI paid its informers and that they rewarded informers according to their "performance."

One or more files included statements by the informers saying they would be willing to testify. This contradicts the FBI's claim that informers always oppose disclosure of their identities.

However, since the FBI has come up with no evidence of illegal activity by the SWP or YSA in its thirty-eight years of "investigation," the informers never had the chance to publicly finger socialists.

The judge also reported that some informers had also functioned in groups other than the SWP and YSA.

Enough proof

After hearing the judge's report, Leonard Boudin, the socialists' attorney, concluded, "We think that Your Honor's summaries or partial summaries are proof enough to justify turning over the 19, and probably all 1,300 files."

Boudin pointed out that "the informers' files show, at a minimum, attendance and reports to the FBI about a legal organization for thirty-eight years."

Even if such "grosser" activities as disruption and theft were not revealed, Boudin said, this long campaign of government spying alone justifies the SWP's demand for the files.

Government summaries of the files' contents are not enough, Boudin insisted. The socialists should be given the complete records because only they know what to look for, he said.

Experience with informers' files already turned over to the socialists has proved this.

Earlier in the case the FBI was forced to give the socialists files on six informers whose identities were already public. The SWP and YSA compared what they found in the files with what the government had said in its summaries.

In one case, for example, an FBI informer got hold of a key to an SWP



headquarters and gave it to his government bosses.

The FBI forgot to mention that in its summaries.

Another incident the summaries did not record was that of an FBI informer who stirred up a fight over antiwar strategy in a small YSA chapter. Thanks to his work, two members quit and the chapter dissolved.

The FBI rated that informer "excellent."

Stage one

However, Judge Griesa decided that it is "important from every standpoint" to have a detailed summary of the nineteen files prepared for him. He wants to examine what is in the records before ruling on whether to release them.

The question at stake is not just these nineteen files, the judge said, but all the material on informers. Examination of a detailed government summary is only the first stage, he explained.

At that point, the government's lawyer, William Brandt, objected to the particular nineteen files that had been chosen. But Griesa answered that the nineteen seemed to him a reasonable sampling. He suggested that if there are "more significant files" that could be included in the summary, Brandt should discuss the matter with the socialists' attorney.

Boudin stressed that the government should prepare the summary quickly so that the judge can rule on the release of the files.

Top cop subpoenaed for Arizona lawsuit



Undercover Work

By Joe Callahan

PHOENIX, Ariz.—FBI Director Clarence Kelley was subpoenaed November 18 to testify in Prof. Morris Starsky's lawsuit against the Arizona State University Board of Regents.

Kelley is scheduled to testify at a court hearing December 13.

The FBI chief was in Phoenix to speak at the Civic Plaza when he was handed the summons. His luncheon was picketed by fifteen of Starsky's supporters. The picketers demanded Starsky's reinstatement as a professor at Arizona State University.

As part of the government's Cointelpro disruption campaign against dissidents, the FBI sent anonymous poison-pen letters about Starsky to a faculty committee reviewing his contract.

In 1970 the board of regents subsequently fired Starsky, a member of the Socialist Workers party, because of his political views and activities.

In 1972 the U.S. District Court in Arizona ordered the board to reinstate Starsky with full pay and full tenure. The court ruled that Starsky's firing "violates his right to free speech and involves the violation of federal due process."

An appeal by the regents of that ruling was upheld by the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals. The appeals court, however, ordered a new trial on the regents' claim that Starsky gave up his right to reinstatement by accepting a sabbatical leave. The amount of damages due Starsky also remains to be decided.

Gov't holds files for ransom

The government is trying to demand a ransom for the many files it has compiled about the Socialist Workers party and Young Socialist Alliance.

Ever since the SWP and YSA lawsuit against the FBI and other political police agencies began three years ago, the government has been forced to produce material for evidence.



LEONARD BOUDIN: "Government has no right to those files."

The FBI has turned over some 200,000 pages of records documenting its disruption programs, burglaries, cover-ups, and other dirty tricks.

But two weeks ago, when the socialists went to pick up six cartons of documents the judge had ordered released, the government demanded payment for xeroxing—about \$1,500.

It had always been assumed that the many questions about legal costs would be settled when the case is finished. But now the government was insisting that the socialists promise to pay within a month or six weeks. Bills for all the previous xeroxing would follow, government lawyers said.

This ransom is the government's latest effort to avoid turning over evidence.

The socialists' attorney Leonard Boudin protested the government's demands at a November 19 court hearing. "I don't need to add that these files should not have been compiled in the first place," Boudin insisted. The government set up its huge files on the socialists illegally and has no right to force the SWP and the YSA to pay for them, he charged.

In fact, "the government has no right to the files," Boudin pointed out. He suggested that perhaps the socialists should have the originals and let the FBI make copies if it needed them for its legal defense.

Griesa was unwilling to let the FBI delay producing the files. He told the government's lawyers to hand over this material as they have in the past. The judge said he would work out an arrangement for dealing with the costs.

—D.R.

...Kelley

Continued from back page

and YSA are stepping up their demands for the complete FBI record on the two organizations.

Kelley testified that the FBI has not decided what to do with the eight million pages of files it has collected on the SWP and Young Socialist Alliance. He said discussions are now going on to decide what to do.

"Only when we get all the files," Stapleton said, "will we know the full scope of the FBI's illegal operations."

The socialists' examination of Kelley also revealed to the American people how little the FBI chief has done about the agency's burglaries and other crimes.

Until last summer Kelley claimed that FBI burglaries stopped in 1966. But in August he announced that he had been deliberately "deceived" by some aides who had kept evidence of later burglaries from him.

"And if I find those who have knowledgeably, knowingly, intentionally deceived me," Kelley said in August, "I will take some action."

But when Boudin asked Kelley what he did when he learned about the burglaries that happened after 1966, the FBI chief described his reaction this way:

"I talked with what we call the executive conference group, and I told them that as a result of some of the things which have been publicized, there is obviously someone or some people who have deceived me, letting me continue as I had in saying that they stopped at a certain date. I did not, however, probe to determine what they knew, nor did anyone volunteer any information."

Kelley said he was working with the Justice Department to find out about the burglaries. But his testimony exposed how little he knows about that investigation.

The Justice Department set up its own team (nicknamed the "Dirty Dozen" by G-men) to investigate the burglaries by FBI agents. When rumors began that the "Dirty Dozen" were sealing off Kelley from their probe, the Justice Department denied those rumors.

J. Stanley Pottinger, the official in charge of the probe, said he had discussed the investigation with Mr. Kelley when it was "necessary and appropriate." Pottinger said that "whatever information is shared with him remains in his personal knowledge and possession only."

But when Boudin asked Kelley about Pottinger's reports, the FBI chief said he had not seen a single one. It looks like none were "necessary or appropriate" for him to see.

Kelley's testimony also cast doubts on how real last summer's "reorganization" of the FBI was.

Last August Kelley announced a major shake-up of the FBI that was supposed to put a stop to attacks on democratic rights. Kelley said he was transferring all "domestic intelligence" work to the "general investigative division."

That, he claimed, would mean FBI agents would be limited to investigating crimes, not political ideas.

But when Leonard Boudin, the SWP's attorney, questioned Kelley, the top cop admitted how little the reorganization really means.

"It means that physically first the personnel which [were] under intelligence division moved to an area wherein they were directly with and under the general investigative division," Kelley said. "It meant structurally that the overall supervision shifted from the assistant director in charge of intelligence. . . ."

In other words, the dramatic reorganization that was supposed to end FBI crimes was just a matter of moving desks and changing nameplates.

Carter, Artis retrial begins

By Steve Wattenmaker

Prosecution witnesses offering contradictory and admittedly perjured testimony are once again providing the basis for the government's case against Rubin "Hurricane" Carter and John Artis.

Carter and Artis are being tried for the second time in the June 1966 slaying of three whites in a Paterson, New Jersey, bar. At the time of his arrest, Carter was a contender for the middleweight boxing title. He had used his prominence in the ring to speak out against police brutality in the Black community.

In 1974 two prosecution witnesses who had identified Carter and Artis as the killers recanted their testimony in sworn affidavits. Pressured by a nationwide campaign demanding freedom for Carter and Artis, the New Jersey Supreme Court threw out the original convictions last March. It ordered a retrial.

The prosecution's case in the second trial, which began November 11, has emerged as a weak and transparent rehash of the original frame-up.

The state's star witness is Alfred Bello, one of the two eyewitnesses who

recanted in 1974. Bello now says his 1974 affidavit was the result of bribe offers by a defense attorney and a *New York Times* reporter. Bello says that Carter and Artis were the two "colored men" he saw flee from the bar while he was committing a burglary nearby.

Defense attorneys easily established that Bello has lied repeatedly in court—often at the urging of police and prosecution lawyers.

Was it not true that he had given at least seven different versions of his story since 1966? defense attorneys asked Bello.

"I gave several versions," he answered. "Through the whole period of time I gave several. Whatever the number, I said them things."

Another prosecution witness who had testified at the first trial, Patricia Graham Valentine, contradicted her 1967 testimony.

Valentine had identified the tail-lights on the getaway car as identical to those on the car in which Carter and Artis were riding when they were arrested. Under questioning, however, Valentine identified an entirely different model car.

Both John Artis and Hurricane

Carter are confident of an acquittal. "Ten years ago no one was concerned about us," said Artis. "Now a lot of people care."



Militant/Lou Howort

John Artis speaking at a November 17 meeting sponsored by New York Student Coalition Against Racism.

Blast 'la migra' at L.A. meeting

By Steve Warshell

LONG BEACH, Calif.—Groups opposed to deportations of undocumented workers gathered here November 5 to protest a recent series of raids by the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) in greater Los Angeles.

Participating were the Raza Unida party, Raza Student Coalition of California State University at Long Beach, Socialist Workers party, and East Long Beach Centro de la Raza.

More than fifty activists attended the meeting, which was the first of its kind in the Long Beach area.

Activists called the protest in the wake of a sweeping series of raids by the local vice squad and the INS. On September 30, five bars and social clubs in the predominantly Chicano west side of Long Beach were hit simultaneously by the vice squad and *la migra*.

More than sixty people were arrested and deported in the raids.

One topic discussed at the meeting was the growing complicity between the INS and local police departments in the Los Angeles area. Juan Avila, a member of the July 31 Coalition in Santa Ana, described Police Order 23A, an internal directive of the Santa Ana Police Department made public earlier this year.

Cops can spot "illegal aliens," according to the directive, by their "poor manner of dress; substandard housing conditions; difficulty in conversing in English; and failure to maintain eye contact with police officers during questioning."

"Armed with this order," Avila told the meeting, "cops started to ask every Chicano for immigration papers. They started to act like immigration agents

themselves."

Also speaking were Virginia Garza, Socialist Workers party candidate for the U.S. Congress in the twenty-fifth district in Los Angeles, and San Fernando Raza Unida party chairperson Eugene Hernández. They spoke about the basic human and democratic rights denied undocumented Mexican workers who come to the United States.

Hernández also pointed out that the movement fighting *la migra*'s racist policies is on the rise throughout the Southwest. He put special emphasis on the defense of Mario Cantú and Nacho Pérez, two victimized antideportation activists in San Antonio, Texas. Cantú and Pérez were recently arrested for harboring undocumented workers. Hernández urged nationwide support to free the two activists.

Judge moves to end Hampton trial

By Baxter Smith

Federal District Court Judge Joseph Sam Perry has arbitrarily threatened to cut off the Fred Hampton and Mark Clark Chicago Panther trial by January 17.

The trial, less than half-completed, is part of a multi-million-dollar lawsuit. The suit was filed by families of the two Black Panthers, who were slain in a predawn police raid on December 4, 1969, and the seven raid survivors.

Perry, pointing to trial delays, said the plaintiffs can have their day in court, but not a year. The trial began last January 5.

"It's outrageous," said G. Flint Taylor, a plaintiff attorney.

"We think that's an illegal order, and we have never heard of it in the history of law. And we've never heard where a judge said you've got to end your case not ruling on the merit of individual witnesses," said the lawyer.

Several of the delays were caused by government stalling on turning over pertinent files on the Panthers.

Rather than receiving the necessary files during the pretrial phase, as is normal, "we've had to use the case for discovery," plaintiff attorney Jeffrey Haas said. "So it's gotten broader and broader. And I think he saw it as a way to regain control of it and also to keep us from putting on some of our evidence."

"We don't know of any precedent for it."

The trial is only half over because the plaintiffs have yet to call the cop and government officials who ordered the cover-up of government plotting behind the slayings.

William O'Neal, an FBI informer who wormed his way up through the Panther hierarchy, is due to testify shortly. O'Neal was the informer who supplied FBI tops with information vital to the deadly assault.

In a request to Washington for a bonus for O'Neal, the supervisor of the Chicago FBI bureau's "Racial Matters Squad" credited the informer with the

legwork behind the raid. The information that O'Neal supplied, he said, was "not available from any other source" and proved to be "of tremendous value."

O'Neal is believed to be the person who drugged Hampton to sleep before the raid, during which cops fired ninety-nine rounds into the Panther apartment.

The plaintiffs had also planned to call Edward Hanrahan, the former Cook County state's attorney whose men conducted the raid; Jerris Leonard, the former head of the civil rights division of the U.S. Justice Department; and others.

Leonard was instrumental in getting the grand jury indictment of Hanrahan dismissed in 1971. The indictment cited Hanrahan for obstructing justice during an investigation of the raid.

The plaintiffs say their case will prove that the 1969 raid was part of the government's drive to destroy the Panther party.

Violence to handle differences is a threat to entire movement

By Olga Rodríguez

Recent events in Denver have shown that the use of physical violence to settle political differences has become a problem that threatens all movement organizations.

This problem demands immediate attention if it is to be reversed.

On October 1, two leaders of the Socialist Workers party went to the headquarters of the Crusade for Justice in Denver. They went there to discuss threats of physical violence that had been made by Ernesto Vigil, a Crusade leader, against Elfege Baca of the Denver Young Socialist Alliance.

The threats stemmed from tensions that had been rising between several Crusade members and the leadership of MEChA, a Chicano student group at Metropolitan State College. Baca was chairperson of the MEChA.

Olga Rodríguez is a member of the National Committee of the Socialist Workers party.

The two SWP leaders—Fred Halstead and Steve Chainey—met with Ernesto Vigil. But Vigil refused to repudiate or even discuss the threats. He said it was a personal matter between him and Baca, and not the business of the SWP or YSA.

The two socialists were told to leave. As they were leaving, they were assaulted by Vigil and other Crusade members.

This unprovoked physical attack on the SWP representatives made clear that what was involved was not a personal hassle between Vigil and Baca. Instead, some Crusade members had decided to use physical intimidation and violence in handling political relations with other groups.

The socialists were left with no other recourse but to initiate a public campaign to persuade the Crusade leadership to repudiate this use of physical violence.

This step was not taken lightly. But after the two socialists were attacked, it became necessary to mobilize the public opinion of the radical movement to convince the Crusade to take a clear stance against the use of such tactics.

The socialists initiated a "Declaration Against Violence in the Movement" and explained what had happened through the pages of the *Militant* and through personal contact with movement activists.


We viewed the situation as urgent, because history has shown time and again that violence between movement activists invariably hurts not only those directly involved, but everyone fighting for social change. It is not something that will go away by keeping quiet.

Such violence creates a situation where rational discussion and debate of different ideas become impossible. It leads to a breakdown of united action around common goals and to a general poisoning of relations within the movement.

And—just as important—it opens the movement to government attempts to victimize activists, using these violent clashes as a pretext. Moreover, government operatives and right-wingers can carry out provocations against any movement group, trying to create the impression that the violence came from within the radical movement.

This was a favorite tactic of the government in its campaign against the Black Panther party and other Black organizations. The FBI would provoke and help organize violence between the Panthers and other movement groups, hoping to destroy them both.

The failure of these Black groups to mount a political campaign to stop the violence left them open for provoca-



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Attempts Division In Chicano Community

SWP/YSA EXPOSED

by Maria Serna

Concerned Fellow Activists

We have this day received a copy of an open letter from Fred Halstead to Rodolfo 'Corky' Gonzales being distributed and circulated by members of the Socialist Workers Party and their youth affiliate the Young Socialist Alliance. Several aspects of the content of that letter, the letter itself, and to whom it is addressed are particularly disturbing.

community situation that involved two individuals -- not two Movement organizations. As has been asserted in SWP propaganda. One of these individuals happened to be a member of the Crusade for Justice and the other individual a member of the Y.S.A.

I offer herein a short history of the events that culminated in the incident of October 1, not because

we feel that the history warrants public judgment, but because it provides information which fits between the lines and challenges the lies of SWP propaganda. As Secretary of the Denver Chicano Liberation Defense Committee, as well as a person present when Fred Halstead and Steve Chainey came to the Crusade for Justice building, I share the following pertinent information with you.

tion. As a result, several persons were killed and others victimized in the courts.

The "Declaration Against Violence in the Movement" does not place responsibility for or make a judgment about the attacks that took place in Denver. It simply notes, "Disturbing reports on the use of physical violence by members of the Crusade for Justice have come to our attention." It urges "decisive action to deescalate tensions."

Specifically it calls on Rodolfo "Corky" Gonzales—the central leader of the Crusade and a nationally prominent figure in the Chicano movement—to "take a stand in favor of the simple democratic right to express a point of view without fear of reprisal from anyone. . . .

"Taking such a stand certainly does not mean repudiating the right of self-defense against violent attacks. It means making clear that differences among those fighting for social justice cannot be resolved by fists or other weapons."

The reason why the declaration does not take a position on what happened is simple: Different accounts of the events exist, and determining which is more accurate is not the main problem.

The problem is the threat of future violence, including extension of the violence to other groups or cities, and further deterioration of relations among those fighting for social change.

The SWP and YSA have made their position clear. Elfege Baca and other leaders of the YSA and of the SWP signed the statement. With a similar declaration from the Crusade, tensions could be expected to deescalate and the incident could be closed.

But Gonzales and the Crusade leadership chose to not make such a statement. Instead of taking a course designed to deescalate tensions, they did just the opposite.

The September 1976 issue of *El Gallo*, the Crusade's newspaper (published in late October), reiterates the threats. One unsigned "letter" broadens them to include all the signers of the declaration. Several articles accuse socialists and signers of the declaration of being agents, drug pushers, and people who use the movement for their own financial gain.

Those threatened include some of the most prominent movement leaders across the country, ranging from Texas Raza Unida party founder José Angel Gutiérrez to Robert Allen, editor of the *Black Scholar*, to Luis Fuentes, former superintendent of New York Community School District One.

The gravity of the situation is heightened by the fact that Rodolfo "Corky" Gonzales, the Crusade's most authoritative leader, associates himself with such tactics. In an article printed

in *El Gallo* he accuses signers of the declaration—"individually and collectively"—of using "distortion, innuendo, character assassination, and yellow journalism" in order "to create divisionism, factionalism, disunity and confusion with the Chicano Movement."

In addition, he charges that signers "have pompously become judge, jury and prosecutor based on misinformation, ignorance, spite, guilt, or provocation."

He also accuses them of creating "disunity," "distrust," and "confusion."

Gonzales misrepresents what the declaration says. It does not make any judgment about the incidents. It simply takes note of the reports of attacks and says the way to prevent such clashes is for the groups involved to clearly and unambiguously state their opposition to violence within the movement.

Instead, Gonzales tries to read socialists out of the movement. He does not go as far as other items in *El Gallo* (one of which brands the socialists as "pig apparatus organizations"), but his message is clear enough.

He calls the SWP and YSA "missionary leadership," "the colonizer," "biased and reactionary forces," and "alien and questionable political groups."

The idea that socialists are not part of the movement—either in the sense of the Chicano movement, or in the broader sense of all those fighting for justice and social change—is preposterous. Chicano socialists have participated in the Crusade for Justice itself. They have even been staff teachers at the Crusade's school, Escuela Tlatelolco.

In fact, when red-baiting and exclusionism were severe problems a few years ago in the Chicano movement, the Crusade for Justice, and Gonzales in particular, rebuffed those antidemocratic practices.

It is true that there has been a marked growth of "confusion," "distrust," and "disunity" recently.

And the agent-baiting, red-baiting, pusher-baiting, and alien-baiting sprinkled liberally throughout *El Gallo* only help to foment further "confusion," "distrust," and "disunity."

That is why such name-calling has often been used by the ruling class to disrupt social struggles. It is a form of verbal violence that tends to suppress free discussion of ideas just as certainly as physical violence does.

It can lead to a witch-hunt atmosphere, where anyone who expresses a difference can be labeled an agent, threatened with violence, or worse.

The articles in *El Gallo* raise the possibility of further physical and verbal violence and intimidation. Past

Continued on page 30

Committee for free speech launched in Mich.

By Meg Hayes

A statewide Committee for Free Speech has been launched at Central Michigan University in Mount Pleasant, Michigan, to protest the arrest of three members of the Young Socialist Alliance.

Brigid Douglas, Jim Garrison, and Tom Smith were arrested at CMU October 20 while distributing Socialist Workers party campaign literature outside a public lecture by former CBS correspondent Daniel Schorr.

The three YSA members each face six months in jail and \$1,600 fines on charges of trespassing and "illegally occupying a university building by force."

The Committee for Free Speech has begun to circulate petitions throughout the state demanding that CMU administrators drop the charges.

The committee, headed by Joyce Pillote, chairperson of CMU's philosophy department, has won broad support. Six hundred fifty CMU students and faculty members have already signed the petitions.

Sixty-nine CMU professors signed a statement declaring, "We deplore the University administration's recent arrests and prosecution of members of the Young Socialist Alliance as a serious threat to free speech and to the academic freedom of the entire academic community. . . .

"Two weeks ago we at CMU witnessed the forceful suppression of opinion on this campus. While various candidates and groups have campaigned unhindered throughout the campus this Fall, only the YSA found themselves bureaucratically stonewalled and suddenly arrested, handcuffed, fingerprinted and charged with criminal trespass for the distribution of campaign literature in Warriner Hall during a public lecture. . . ."

Among the statewide endorsers of the Committee for Free Speech are Herb Boyd, Black studies professor at Wayne State University; Leonard Grossman of the Michigan American Civil Liberties Union; Vesta Svenson of the ACLU in Detroit; Elia Vázquez of Chicanos Organized for Political Action; Jackie Washington of the National Organization for Women; Greg Williams of the Organization for Black Unity at CMU; and Robert F. Williams, civil rights leader.

Zolton Ferency, president of the American Association of University Professors at Michigan State University, has agreed to defend the YSA members in court.

Telegrams protesting the arrest and demanding that charges be dropped should be sent to CMU President Harold Abel, Warriner Hall, Central Michigan University, Mount Pleasant, Michigan 48858.

Contributions to pay legal costs and the expense of publicizing the case should be sent to the Committee for Free Speech, Room 143, Anspach Hall, Central Michigan University, Mount Pleasant, Michigan 48858.



Queens College Phoenix/Kenneth Bizzigotti
MICHAEL HARRINGTON

[Last week's *Militant* reprinted the complete opening statements by Michael Harrington and Peter Camejo from their November 1 debate at Queens College in New York City. Harrington, who spoke as a Carter supporter, is national chairperson of the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee. Camejo is a member of the National Committee of the Socialist Workers party and was the SWP candidate for president.

[After their opening presentations, Camejo and Harrington alternately answered questions from the audience. Below is the first part of that question-and-answer session. Questions have been paraphrased, but Camejo's and Harrington's responses are reprinted in full.

[The remainder of the question-and-answer period and the final summaries will appear in a coming *Militant*.]

Question: One of the top union leaders in New York City, Victor Gotbaum, is a member of the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee, which is Mr. Harrington's group. According to all the press, the bankers have been very proud to say that Mr. Gotbaum has been the most conciliatory and the most cooperative in agreeing to laying off tens of thousands of workers in his union.

Isn't this the proof of how your strategy leads to a dead end? Victor Gotbaum told the workers and the poor people in New York City in 1972 and 1974 to vote for the liberal, Mayor [Abraham] Beame, and the liberal, Governor [Hugh] Carey, on the basis that they would *not* lay off, that they would *not* cut back, that they would *not* end free tuition. These were the issues that were debated.

Gotbaum said, you can be sure if a Republican gets in these things will happen, but if Beame and Carey get in, we'll have a chance because they're more sensitive. It seems like now I'm having a *déjà vu* with Ford.

Harrington: The essence of the question is: Vic Gotbaum is a member of DSOC. He told people to vote for the Democrats. The Democrats are in control of New York. Isn't this the dead-end [policy] of DSOC since Gotbaum is losing jobs? Okay?

A couple of answers. Number one. If you analyze seriously the New York City crisis, you must know that it is a national crisis caused by the government following corporate priorities, creating massive unemployment created by Republicans. It is solvable in the immediate only in Washington, which is one of the reasons I'm for Carter. Beame can't solve it. Carey can't solve it. They don't have the resources. The only way you can solve it is in Washington, D.C. It's not going to be solved by Gerald Ford—we know what he does to us.

Secondly, two things about Vic Gotbaum. Number one. The DSOC is not a democratic centralist nucleus of the future party of the power of the proletariat. We are a catalyst.

We know that socialism's a joke in America. It is not a serious political movement. It is not. Go out in this country. It is not a serious political movement. Therefore, we don't have the pretenses of being a vanguard party. We don't discipline our members.

Finally, let me say that I think Vic Gotbaum—in a bitter struggle created by corporations and Republicans who are going to vote for Ford—has done a better job under absolutely miserable and intolerable conditions of defending his membership than any trade unionist I know in New York City.

Camejo: I want to say very briefly I think the way we should take care of the political crisis we have in New York would be to get Gotbaum and all

SHOULD SOCIALISTS HAVE VOTED FOR CARTER?

A debate between Peter Camejo and Michael Harrington (Part II)

the other union leaders—including Michael Harrington—together. And for us to put up our own labor slate and to take over the city and run it in the interests of human needs, instead of having these politicians who are obviously running it for the corporations.

Instead, what [Gotbaum and Harrington] do is crawl after Beame and the others.

It's perfectly true. Gotbaum and Harrington both said vote for Beame. You tried it. Did it work? Why don't you try it again? We've done it for a hundred years. It never worked yet. What the hell, give it another hundred years. Maybe someday it'll start working.

I say it's about time that working people, the majority, started putting up our own candidates and putting our own people, that we control democratically, in office. The Democratic party is the least democratic of any party in this country.

Question: In the newspaper this morning there was a story in reference to a Black minister being turned away from the church in which Jimmy Carter is a deacon in Plains, Georgia. I would like to hear Mr. Camejo's response to the implications of that action for Mr. Carter's attitudes toward Blacks if and when he becomes elected president.

Camejo: I don't give this thing that much importance. You see, the fact is that regardless of what the laws of the land are, Jimmy Carter has supported discrimination and racism in Georgia all along. Now, Mr. Harrington knows this.

When he was on the school board in Georgia after the 1954 Supreme Court decision, Mr. Carter did nothing for integration. All the white children were bused to school. Blacks had to walk. He even made a motion to have a Black school moved so whites wouldn't have to see Blacks on their way to school. So this has been his position.

It's true he's not an extreme, extreme racist. He didn't himself personally go out and beat up Blacks. He left that to others.

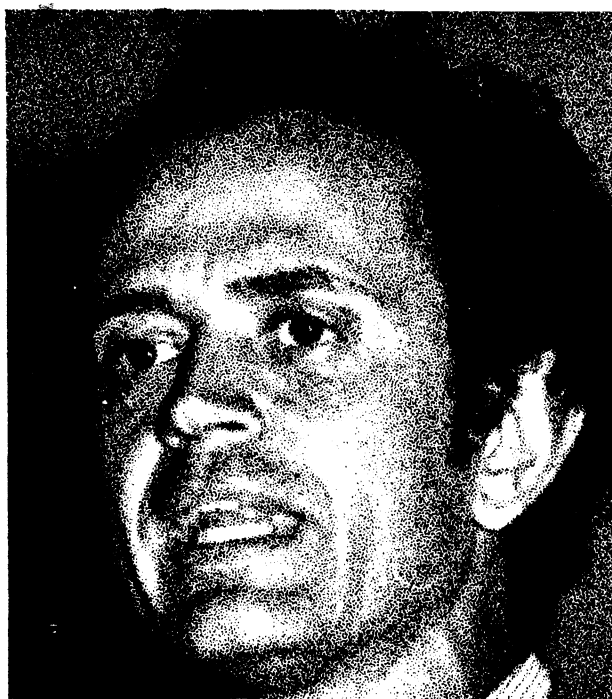
Today on the real issue of affirmative action for Blacks, he's opposed to it. Busing, which is absolutely necessary, and which Mr. Harrington's for, Carter's against.

Who runs the city of Boston? The Democrats. Who have been the people who have allowed the racists to meet in city hall in Boston? The Democrats. Who has made the city, with taxpayers' money, finance the lawsuit of Boston racists against Blacks? The Democrats. So why don't we join them?

That's Mr. Harrington's solution, because he says Mr. Carter is better. With that argument, you know, you can go anywhere you want.

Yes, it's true, Carter has a long history of racism. He himself has to have a myth. Because he can't cover it all up, although he does try to deny some of the more extreme things.

Harrington: A couple of things. Number one.



Queens College Phoenix/Kenneth Bizzigotti
PETER CAMEJO

Banning the Black minister from joining the church is intolerable.

Number two. Take care—it could be a setup. The SWP knows something about setups. You might think about that.

Number three. What would Carter do for the Blacks? Much, much more than Gerald Ford, because he would follow full employment policies that would make it possible for Black people to begin making the gains again that were made—not enough—but gains that were made in the 1960s.

Last point. Peter Camejo throughout . . . I mean, he's got Carter as such a scoundrel—then isn't it surprising that Coretta King and Andy Young, and the Black people of the United States are such dummies that they can't see through an out-and-out closet racist? What a contemptuous attitude this is toward the leadership and the masses of the Black people in the United States who have not seen through such an obvious racist. Doesn't this suggest to you it might be just a bit more complicated than Mr. Camejo presents it?

Question: I'm from the Revolutionary Student Brigade at Queens College. Mr. Harrington slandered Marx. And as long as he did, I'd like to ask him to respond to this quote from Lenin. [Questioner reads a long quotation from Lenin explaining that capitalist states are repressive.]

Harrington: I'm sort of at a loss. The reason I'm at a loss is that I love playing quotationmanship. I am, as any of my students in the audience here will tell you, one of the most dedicated Marx quoters in the world.

I don't know. Lenin said that states are repressive institutions, and that political gains are often shell games. Absolutely agreed. However, I also think that tomorrow there is a significant choice for New York City, for working people, for Black people, for women.

I want to change that state, but I do not think a Vladimir Ilyich Lenin—analyzing politics from the point of view of an underground movement under tsarism and the dictatorship afterwards—is the best philosopher to tell us what to do on November 2, more than fifty years after his death. So I finesse. I pass.

Camejo: It is true that Marx, Lenin, and others in the past have always opposed workers voting for parties of the ruling class. Marx made a big speech about it in 1851 which ends with the statement, workers should never vote democrat—that is, small d, meaning procapitalist forces—but should always put up their own candidates. But I'm not for getting into the quoting game either.

I'd like to take advantage of this thirty seconds I have left to answer the accusation that I'm insulting Blacks.

Black people are not voting for Carter, Mr. Harrington, and you know it and you shouldn't join the lie. The majority, the overwhelming majority of Blacks, in spite of their misleaders who tell them to vote for Carter, aren't voting for Carter.

In the primaries they said Carter was getting the Black vote. Down in Miami the first time, they announced this during the primaries. Do you know what percentage of Blacks voted? Four. Carter got 2. So they said the Blacks are voting for Carter. You know how many Blacks voted in Bedford-Stuyvesant for Carter? Less than 5 percent.

The majority of the Blacks agree with me that neither of them are any good, and that's what Black

Continued on next page

...Should socialists have voted

Continued from preceding page

people are voting this year. Let's tell the truth.

I don't care what any Black leaders say. I know where Andrew Young is going. A man who would get up on television before this nation and say there's no more racism in Georgia. And then say it's because of Jimmy Carter. I almost fell off my chair. I thought it was "Mission Impossible."

Question: I'd like to direct this to Mr. Camejo. I for one—and I know many other people—am going to walk into that voting booth tomorrow and stare at that first line. And I'm going to say, do I vote for the short term or do I vote for the long term? And my choice is truly between Camejo and Carter.

What can I say to myself in January when I vote for Camejo and I go up to Albany to lobby for City University, and they're telling me that there's no money, that Beame has said that he's not going to fund us? What can I say to myself when I have nowhere else to turn when I vote for you and Gerald Ford is in Washington?

How do I reconcile the fact that I'm going to have nowhere to turn anymore—aside from a long-term perspective—when I want to graduate next year and my university isn't going to be there when the doors open in February?

Camejo: You're saying the same thing that young people asked me in 1964 when they said, "I'd like to vote Socialist Workers, but I've got to vote Lyndon Baines Johnson or we'll be in a war in Vietnam. What am I going to say if I vote socialist and then we all get drafted and I have to go to Vietnam to kill Vietnamese? How am I going to justify it to myself?"

You're going to go to Albany and it's going to be Carter that's going to be cutting you back. And you're going to be coming up to me and saying, "Mr. Camejo, you were right."

I'm ready to bet on that. I'll tell you what: the day we turn around and give a half a million, a million votes to an independent socialist candidate, you will suddenly see a change in this country. Because the message we've got to send with a socialist vote is—not to Washington, but to the tens of millions of people who are turned off—"Brothers and sisters, you're not alone."

The time has come for us to start standing up. That is the best way for us to win reforms. You want to save this school? Then don't give a vote to the Democrats and Republicans. That's not going to make them bend to your pressure.

You want the demonstrations to work? Then you've got to have the growing political power of an independent force behind them. Because as long as they've got the political monopoly, you demonstrate all you want and they keep smiling at you.

Then they'll put up two candidates. They'll always have one that's worse than the other—just mathematically, unless they're exactly equal. Then you'll come and give the same speech to me ten years from now and twenty years from now.

We'll have wars and we'll have inflation, we'll have pollution—everything—until we stand up and start doing it. That's what's going to stop them.

It doesn't matter whether Carter or Ford gets in. That's irrelevant for what the corporations are going to do.

'In the Democratic party there are reactionary forces and progressive forces, including the entire progressive wing of the labor movement. I go not with the Democratic party. It is not my party in a Leninist sense. I go with the left-liberal, labor, Black, minority, woman's wing of the Democratic party.'

When the ruling class wanted Lyndon Baines Johnson to bomb, he bombed. When they wanted him not to bomb, he didn't bomb. It would have been the same, regardless.

This idea that when you vote tomorrow, you're deciding who runs this government, is a myth. You still believe it? Go ahead and vote for Carter. Then come and let's have a talk in January. It won't be January, it has to be February. But we'll have a talk and you'll see.

Harrington: Quick quotationmanship. Marx supported at least two bourgeois candidates that I can think of. One named Abraham Lincoln, the other named Andrew Johnson. Leave that aside.

Camejo is wrong. There will be a difference when you go to Albany if Ford is in and if Carter is in.



Queens College Phoenix/Kenneth Bizzigotti

Camejo and Harrington debate at Queens College. History professor Michael Wreszin (center) served as moderator.

Anybody who is political in this audience knows it. I can't prove that—that is so ABC. Everybody knows it.

Secondly, and more importantly, I think the way to send a message to the people turned off—you can't send them a card, you can't go and give a speech on television—would be if we could turn City University around just a bit on open admissions and free tuition. If we could start going back, if we could show them that there's some hope.

What I'm saying is, I repeat, not that Carter's going to do what he should do, or that he'll do enough. I have no illusions about that. He'll be better when you go to Albany.

The way to convince those people is not to give a speech, not to vote SWP, but to show them that CUNY [City University of New York] can be saved as a decent, viable form of higher education for working people, and minorities, and middle-class people in New York City.

Question: You keep saying that there is a

some second thoughts on your editorial. You can find them in today's issue.

The *Wall Street Journal* said this morning that the problem with Carter is that he's become too liberal. That's why he's losing. He's going for this full employment stuff. He's not being a conservative; that's why he went down. They say he's moved to the left; that's what's wrong with him.

The *Wall Street Journal* knows what side of the bread the butter is on. Peter Camejo says [the Hawkins-Humphrey bill is] just a sheet of paper. I'm going to get to that in the summary. That's preposterous. The *Wall Street Journal* and all the business people who have been working night and day against Hawkins-Humphrey know that it is not just a sheet of paper. They are afraid. They are afraid that we'll get something out of it.

Last point. The Democratic party has got to explain to radicals in the audience who belong to Leninist organizations—it might come as a shock—that it is not a Leninist organization. In a Leninist organization, if Camejo says something, you can be sure that the entire Political Committee of the Socialist Workers party believes it.

I don't like Abe Beame. I don't like all kinds of Democrats. The Democratic party is filled with charlatans and frauds and antilabor people. I said that. Of course it is.

It's also filled with the most progressive forces in America. Is it a contradictory party? Yes. Is this a bourgeois party, the likes of which Karl Marx never dreamed of? Yes. Is this an unprecedented situation? Yes. What do you have to do? Think.

If you think, you'll understand that in this party there are reactionary forces, progressive forces, including the entire progressive wing of the labor movement.

I go not with the Democratic party. It is not my party in a Leninist sense. I go with the left-liberal, labor, trade-union, Black, minority, woman's wing of the Democratic party.

Camejo: On the question of this difference. There is a difference between the Socialist Workers party and the Democratic party. He says there's a lot of good people in the Democratic party. That's the truth. But the question is, who runs the party?

In the Socialist Workers party, the ranks run the party. Harrington may not agree with that. We have rules that when a majority votes to stop at the stop sign, even the minority stops at the stop sign.

for Jimmy Carter?

You know, that's what we do in society as a whole. This sounds very dangerous to Mr. Harrington. I don't know how else you can organize things other than by majority vote—democracy.

Except the way they do it in the Democratic party. I guess that's why he's against that concept, because in his party they don't do it that way. They can have a majority of workers in it, but the party's run for the rich.

We've got to understand who runs the Democratic party. This Democratic party and Mr. Carter are not representing working people.

What about this business that they're for full employment. The Democrats run Congress. They run the Senate. Just name what they have proposed for full employment. You say that business is afraid of the Humphrey-Hawkins bill. The ruling class always prefers for us to vote for the most conservative alternative they have. But they always make sure to have another one in case we don't.

Do you think the ruling class is so stupid that they would only put up one candidate and say, "There it is! You want him? Aw, you didn't like him."

They're intelligent enough to run two so that you spend your time trying to figure out which one of their [candidates to pick]. They add up the Democratic and Republican vote to figure out what they got. They can have a little debate among themselves as to who they would prefer us to vote for as the best alternative for them. But *both* are their alternatives.

And although Carter may use more demagogy, let me tell you something. The Democratic party, when it was founded in this country, was the party of the slavocracy. And who belonged to it? The workers and the small farmers—just like they do today.

It was the slavocracy that presented bills, like the Humphrey-Hawkins bill—little tokens, gestures to try to win over the workers to be in their party. But the party was run by the slave owners, and today it's run by the people who really run this society.

Question: You say there's no difference between Ford and Carter, but that's just a myth. You believe if Ford gets elected and things get bad, people will say there's no more hope and will go to the socialist party. But the Democratic party is the only way we can have any hope left for this country.

When you say that Lyndon Baines Johnson did nothing for this country but the Vietnam War, that's utterly absurd. Lyndon Baines Johnson did a lot of good for the economy. And even on Vietnam, Johnson had bad advisers, and he had the honor to resign when he knew his policy was wrong.

Camejo: I can't believe this question. Lyndon Baines Johnson said he wouldn't run anymore because there was no chance of his getting elected. Everyone hated him so much. You forget that the man couldn't go anywhere in this country without tens of thousands coming out and yelling, "Hey, hey, LBJ, how many kids did you kill today?"

Don't tell me he wasn't for the war in Vietnam, somebody put him in it. Let's deal with reality. Let's not deal with these myths they make.

You say that we're voting for the worse. No, you're just falling for their trap. The FBI, right now they have sixty-six agents in my campaign committee to try to destroy it.

I wrote Carter and asked him to make a statement against that. He won't. Because he's for that. He's for that. Just like the red squad in Atlanta under his control was for going after the Black movement and the socialist movement to destroy them. They'll continue to do that. Because you've got to understand what the problem is.

The problem is we haven't built our own alternative. What you say to the people here is, "Don't start your own alternative. Don't start voting socialist. Don't promote the break from the Democratic and Republican parties and start building our own thing. Because, you see, if you do that, Ford will get in."

That argument will keep us always in chains. We'll never have our own party. We'll never have an alternative. We'll always be having to pick one of theirs, if we accept your premise. I say, let's be very daring and challenge. Let's have real democracy in this country. Why should it be that if you vote socialist, it's really a vote for Ford?

Look at how they took Eugene McCarthy off the ballot. Why can't we have democratic laws in this country so there's proportional representation? If 10 percent wanted McCarthy, then that point of view gets 10% of the seats. If 5 percent want the

socialists, they get that percent of the seats, so that every vote counts.

They could pass that tomorrow. They don't want democracy in this country. They want to play a trick on you. They want the electoral laws to be so geared that you don't have a choice.

In California with 65 signatures the Democrats get put on the ballot. Socialists have to get 99,284. They make the financing law so only they get finances. Socialist candidates or anybody else that's in opposition can't get financing.

We have two government parties that self-perpetuate themselves. And you fall for their argument of thinking you always have to vote for the people governing the United States—and that you cannot vote for opposition. They've written the law to make it that way so that oppositions will not appear. It's about time we don't get fooled by these electoral laws and recognize we don't have real democracy in this country.

People who want to vote for Eugene McCarthy are not voting for him because of this logic. People should be free to vote for whatever position they want. And every vote should count, and that could be done very easily through election laws. The Democrats and Republicans won't do it. And Mr. Harrington falls for that and never speaks out against it in this type of debate.

'I say it's about time that working people—the majority—start putting up our own candidates and putting our own people in office. The Democratic party is the least democratic of any party in this country. They have a majority of workers in it, but the party's run for the rich.'

Harrington: Number one. Lyndon Johnson was tragically wrong on the subject of Vietnam. He went into it for a pile of reasons. He wasn't just tricked into it. And he was stopped, not just by the antiwar movement in the streets, which did some excellent things, but by the political struggle in the Democratic party of Gene McCarthy and Bobby Kennedy. We took it into the Democratic party. When Johnson was challenged in the Democratic party and he was going to be defeated by McCarthy and Kennedy, that's when he backed out.

Secondly, you're right, there was a difference even during this horrible war in Vietnam. Goldwater would not have given us Medicare. Tell me there's no difference about Medicare.

Thirdly, there is a theory which I call the "vulture theory" of socialism. It says the worse things get, the more radical people will get. Nonsense. What makes people radical is the feeling that they can win something. What's going to make people conservatives tomorrow is if Ford wins. What will open the way to a possible radicalization is if Carter wins.

Question: Mr. Harrington, how can you tell women to vote for Carter? Neither he nor his party has been fighting for women's rights.

Harrington: Yes, a couple of things. Look, you tell me your Jimmy Carter horror story and I'll tell you mine. I'm not saying he didn't do many things I'm against. He's not my candidate. I am saying this: he is the better candidate for women.

Number one, his position on abortion is not the same as Ford's. Ford is for a constitutional amendment. Carter is not.

Number two. I was at the Democratic convention where the politically organized women of the United States were there in massive presence. They were a tremendous, effective pressure inside the Democratic party at that convention on Carter about women's representation. They got concessions out of him.

Number three. Carter will appoint people to the Supreme Court who will not be like the neanderthals that Gerald Ford is going to give you on the Supreme Court on issues like abortion.

And, four, I would suggest to you that, in addition to the Equal Rights [Amendment], which I am committed to, which the main progressive forces inside the Democratic party—the trade-union movement, the Coalition of Labor Union Women, the Congressional Black Caucus—are all committed to the most important single thing that can be done for women in the United States, which is to gain full employment in this country. Because as long as we don't have full employment, men are pitted

against women, Blacks and other minorities against whites, organized against unorganized.

I'm saying, on all these issues—abortion, the way the courts will handle women, the whole political atmosphere in the United States, above all the full employment making real affirmative action possible—the choice is between Carter and Ford and Carter is much, much better for women.

Camejo: First, I notice how Michael is more and more turning something into fact by repeating it. And that's that Carter's for full employment. Carter in the debates openly said that his goal after four years is to only have 4.5 percent unemployment. So, he himself advocated 4 million people being unemployed in the debate.

He doesn't even claim to be for full employment, and the fact is that he won't even get to the 4.5 percent because the forces that create unemployment and inflation are totally out of the hands of the president of the United States. They defend a profit-oriented system.

Whether Carter's in or Ford's in, they're both going to have it. And we should have this debate automatically rescheduled for six months from now if Carter wins. I think Mr. Harrington will have much more doubt about having the debate then.

I just want to mention real quick on the Supreme Court: What did Carter say during the debates? He

said he likes the present Nixon Supreme Court. That's what Carter said. What can I do? I can't help you. I'm sorry. You say it's a terrible Supreme Court, it's getting worse. You're right. But he likes it. So, I don't understand what your point is.

Question: I'd like to know Mr. Camejo's position on the question, "the worse, the better."

Camejo: Yes. I want to say that I agree with Mr. Harrington. I think that defeats only set people back. It's victories that inspire people—like when masses of women came out and fought for the right to abortion or we had mass demonstrations against the war in Vietnam and were able to force American troops out of Vietnam.

By the way, the two forces that did this were the antiwar movement and the Vietnamese, not the antiwar movement and a bunch of Democrats. Those were the two forces that did it.

No, it's true, victories. But where I differ with Mr. Harrington is not on this. I don't think it's fair to say that that's our position. I think that Michael knows that's not the Socialist Workers party's position. We do not believe the worse, the better. On the contrary, we believe it's only on the basis of victories that you move forward. I agree with him.

What we're debating is which is the victory. That's what we're debating. Honestly and sincerely I believe completely that Mr. Harrington's purpose in wanting Carter is to get full employment, is to get the type of things that we're both for. I accept his complete sincerity.

I say it's more of a victory if half a million people go out and vote socialist than whether Ford or Carter gets in. I think that's more of a victory. I say that that'll inspire people, rather than once again, twiddle-dee—Oh, I'm sorry. Usually it's twiddle-dee-dee and twiddle-dee-dum. This year we've got two twiddle-dee-dums.

I don't think that makes a difference.

Harrington: Half a million people vote socialist, let's take that generous estimate, okay—put that there. Gerald Ford is elected president of the United States. Everybody feels the country is going to the right, unemployment gets deeper, the Supreme Court gets more reactionary because a Democratic party institutionally in terms of the class and social forces it represents is a more liberal party than a conservative party.

We have four years of reactionary leadership in Washington in which national health gets vetoed; in which we lose on ERA; in which we lose on Hawkins-Humphrey. I don't think that the Socialist Workers party has the theory that the worse is the better. I think it has the practice that leads to the reality that the worse is the better.

...auto

Continued from page 5

history." He claimed it brings the total hourly labor cost for each worker to more than \$15.

Such inflated claims are common before workers have ratified the contract. They are based on company cost statistics and bear little relation to the wages and other benefits actually received by workers.

The contract was narrowly accepted by skilled workers at Ford and Chrysler. Production workers at both corporations approved the settlement by 65 percent margins, but only about 60 percent of these workers voted. Skilled workers voted in larger numbers—more than 75 percent of them voted—and the contract was accepted by slightly more than a 50 percent majority.

The oppositionists were represented by the Independent Skilled Trades Council, a loose federation of opposition caucuses within the UAW.

Representatives of the opposition concede that there is little likelihood of GM workers rejecting the new contract. They had hoped it would be turned down at Chrysler where the opposition is stronger.

Opponents of the new contract claim that it grants the corporations hiring rights for temporary employees that did not previously exist. This is a new practice recently introduced by the corporations that offers employment on a temporary basis with wages below the regular scale and no fringe benefits.

The other danger is what the UAW officials were aware of when they demanded that GM recognize the union in all plants. The UAW cannot long tolerate a partially organized industry.

The corporations are seeking to expand their nonunion sector, as both the electrical and rubber industries have successfully done. The electrical workers and rubber workers unions—as demonstrated in negotiations and strikes earlier this year—are now incapable of calling effective nationwide strikes.

Auto union officials and union members alike have a common stake in preventing a shift of forces in favor of the auto corporations, something that is bound to occur if the open-shop GM plants are not organized and brought under the national contract.

General Motors Corporation is determined to raise its profits at the expense of its workers and to further weaken the bargaining power of the UAW. This is the underlying conflict that continues during contract negotiations and beyond. The employers are becoming more aggressive on all fronts.

For some mysterious reason UAW officials, who spent union funds and energy in the campaign to elect Carter, appear confident that the political climate is now shifting in their favor and that they are assured greater success in their Southern organizing drives.

The coming contest to win union members in the open-shop territory of the South will test this theory.

...NSCAR

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Without such backing, the conference participants did not feel they could realistically project a national probing demonstration at this time. But, Dixon stressed, "NSCAR must be prepared to immediately respond to any racist attacks."

The scope of NSCAR's work was reflected in the many conference workshops. Among the key workshop resolutions discussed and approved by the conference were:

- A resolution submitted by New Orleans SCAR pledging continued support "to the thousands of victims of racist injustice" in the United States. (See box on page 7.)

- A resolution from a workshop on bilingual-bicultural education urging SCAR chapters to oppose efforts by racist school boards to counterpose busing programs to the educational needs of Spanish- and other non-English speaking minorities.

- A resolution condemning a recent California Supreme Court decision that undercuts affirmative-action programs for Black and Chicano students. The resolution was written by James Bell of the executive board of the Hastings Black Law Students Association in San Francisco.

- A resolution in defense of Indian rights, cosponsored by the Native American Solidarity Committee and the Boston University Student Union.

- A resolution urging NSCAR to continue building united actions against the death penalty.

- A resolution submitted by a gay activists' workshop backing efforts to mobilize gay people in support of school desegregation.

Tony Austin, who along with Maceo Dixon submitted the conference's major action proposal, was elected as NSCAR's new national coordinator.

In explaining his decision to step down as NSCAR coordinator, Dixon told the conference that he planned to remain active in Boston's Black community in the struggle for school desegregation. Dixon said he would continue to serve on NSCAR's national steering committee.

Conference participants came from 130 organizations. These ranged from the NAACP to numerous defense committees, the National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression, National Student Association, National Organization for Women, Coalition of Labor Union Women, fifteen trade unions, Socialist Workers party, Young Socialist Alliance, American Civil Liberties Union, Amnesty International, the World Community of Islam in the West, American Friends Service Committee, Spark, and the Revolutionary Marxist Committee.

Only one organization at the conference voted against the major action proposals. This was the Spartacist League, a small sectarian group that has opposed NSCAR's desegregation efforts in the past.

By Sunday afternoon—as conference participants wearily departed for their plane, train, auto, and bus connections—they had accomplished quite a lot.

And they seemed eager to return to the seventy-nine colleges and forty high schools they had come from to boost the antiracist struggle—as they had promised—"From Boston to South Africa."

...Devlin

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McAliskey told the audience about the witch-hunt against "terrorists" in the so-called Free State in southern Ireland. The Murrys were convicted in this hysterical climate by a special criminal court that tries only political activists.

The police produced a "confession" by the Murrys. But the Murrys repudiated the statement in court, saying they had signed it because of police torture.

Neither the Murrys nor their lawyers were present during two-thirds of the trial. Yet a three-judge panel convicted them and sentenced them to the gallows.

A Rhodesian hangman has been imported to carry out this execution, the first in Ireland in more than twenty years.

More than 2,500 people throughout the United States have signed petitions demanding mercy for the Murrys. Rep. Bella Abzug, New York City Council President Paul O'Dwyer, and Daniel Berrigan have all protested the death sentence.

The November 20 meeting enthusiastically voted to send a telegram to Ireland's President Patrick Hillery

protesting the hanging order. Statements condemning the Murrys' execution from Juanita Tyler, Gary Tyler's mother, and from the Committee to Reopen the Rosenberg Case were read at the meeting.

The New York meeting was the final forum in a two-week, ten-city tour that took McAliskey to Kingston, Rhode Island; Philadelphia; Washington, D.C.; Los Angeles; San Francisco; Minneapolis; St. Paul; Chicago; Boston; and New York.

More than 5,000 people attended McAliskey's meetings in the United States, and millions more watched her on TV. In addition to the national "Good Morning America" program, McAliskey appeared on a half dozen local TV programs.

...abortion

Continued from page 9

socialists should be thrown out of the movement. "This is not a 'split within the women's liberation movement,'" the release said. "It is a split between the movement (whose highest allegiance is to women's interests) and those who would use this movement (whose highest allegiance is to the fortunes of their own political organizations.)"

The irony of this statement cannot be overstated. Here feminists, declaring their "highest allegiance" to the movement, were attacking the first national effort to fight back against the anti-abortion laws. The effect of their news conference was to divide the movement still further, cast doubts on WONAAC, and promote the idea that the women's movement should exclude socialists and those who agree with socialists. This could only play into the hands of the government.

Beneath the vicious red-baiting tirade, a glimmer of real political differences with WONAAC's course showed through. "... the thrust of this conference was to emphasize only one narrow, indirect approach to achieving this goal [of legalizing abortion]—mass street demonstrations," said the press statement.

This was at the heart of the differences that had erupted at the first WONAAC conference. The issue of whether the movement could, and should, organize united protest demonstrations for abortion would continue to be debated as the date approached for the November 20, 1971, march on Washington. This will be the subject of our next article.

...Crusade

Continued from page 26

experience has shown that these methods must be categorically rejected and condemned to prevent their spread.

What is involved in the campaign to halt the use of violence in the movement is not a fight between two groups, or saving face, or factional maneuvers, or an attempt to discredit the Crusade leadership.

The respect Crusade leaders have won over the years as fighters for Chicano liberation is not at issue.

What is at issue are certain methods—the use of slander, violence, and threats of violence to settle political differences. These methods are harmful—to the Crusade for Justice and to the movement as a whole.

What is needed is a clear statement by all involved saying that such tactics are unacceptable. That is what the "Declaration Against Violence in the Movement" does.

The articles in *El Gallo* make clear that Crusade leaders are not yet convinced of the need to make such a statement.

We urge all fighters for social justice to add their names as signers of the declaration and to help persuade Gonzales of the urgent need to take a principled stance against such tactics.

Calendar

CINCINNATI

FEMINISM AND SOCIALISM. A panel of socialist women from the SWP and YSA. Tues., Nov. 30, 8 p.m. Univ. of Cincinnati, Tangeman University Center, Room 401-A. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (513) 321-7445.

LOS ANGELES: CRENSHAW

STOP LEGAL MURDER: A SPEAK-OUT AGAINST THE DEATH PENALTY. Speakers: Linda Ferguson, National Conference of Black Lawyers; Linda Hunt, ACLU; Michele Sims, Gary Tyler Defense Committee. Fri., Dec. 3, 8 p.m. 4040 W. Washington Blvd. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (213) 732-8196.

NEW ORLEANS

FIGHT AGAINST POLICE BRUTALITY: A PANEL DISCUSSION. Speakers: Rev. Avery Alexander, state representative; Dianne Cole, New Orleans NAACP president; Diana Bajeie, state representative; Rashaad Ali, SWP; Rhonda Jean, SCAR; others. Fri., Dec. 3, 8 p.m. YMCA, 2222 Dryades St. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (504) 891-5324.

SOCIALIST EDUCATIONAL WEEKEND. Dec. 10-11. Donation: \$1.50 for four lectures. 3812 Magazine St. Ausp: SWP. For more information call (504) 891-5324.

PHILADELPHIA

REPORT FROM 3RD NATIONAL STUDENT CONFERENCE AGAINST RACISM. Speaker: Shafiq AbdulAhad, SWP. *Battle of Boston*, a documentary slide and tape show on racism in the U.S. Fri., Dec. 3, 8 p.m. First Methodist Church (corner Germantown and High St.). Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (215) VI4-2874.

PITTSBURGH

SOCIALIST EDUCATIONAL WEEKEND. Speaker: Fred Feldman, national education director, SWP. Fri., Dec. 3, 8 p.m.: *China after Mao's death*; Sat., Dec. 4, 11 a.m. & 2 p.m.: Classes on the history and development of the Chinese revolution. 5504 Penn Ave. (near Negley). Donation: \$1. Ausp: Pittsburgh Militant Bookstore. For more information call (412) 4410-1419.

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Puerto Rico: U.S. Colony in the Caribbean

José G. Pérez

PUERTO RICO: U.S. COLONY IN THE CARIBBEAN

BY JOSÉ G. PÉREZ

'Nothing could be more ironic for Puerto Ricans than the celebration of 200 years of American independence. . . . To understand the economic crisis and political ferment on the island, the recurring debates over Puerto Rico in the United Nations, and the maneuvers in the U.S. Congress, it is necessary to begin from one simple fact: Puerto Rico is a colony of the United States.'

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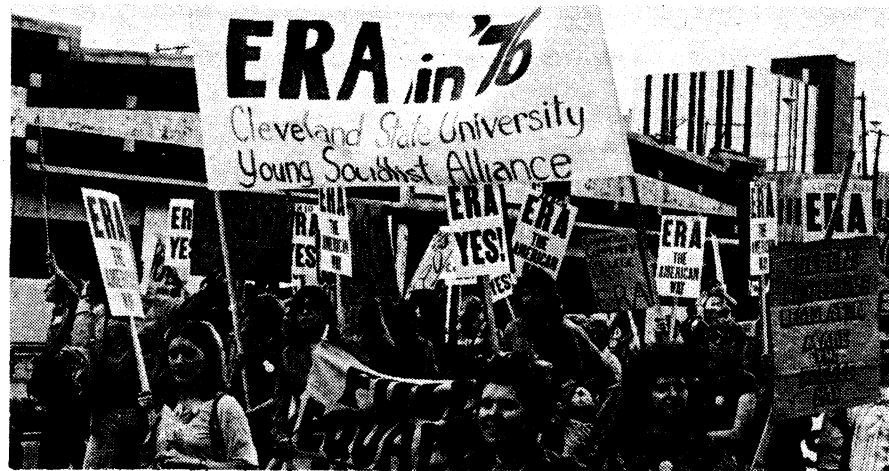
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Come to the YSA convention



The Young Socialist Alliance national convention will take place December 31-January 2 at the Sheraton-Chicago Hotel in Chicago.

The convention is the perfect place to find out more about the socialist movement.

To find out more about the convention or to join the YSA, contact the YSA chapter nearest you (listed on page 31), or fill out the coupon below.

- ☐ I want to join the YSA.
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- ☐ Send me more information.

Name _____

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FBI CHIEF QUIZZED IN SWP LAWSUIT

Admits socialists break no laws

By Diane Rupp

FBI Director Clarence Kelley has admitted that there is no evidence that the Socialist Workers party or Young Socialist Alliance break any laws, not even the witch-hunting "communist-control" laws.

The nation's top cop has also admitted that—contrary to pledges this summer—he has never sought details about FBI burglaries that happened after 1966.

Kelley made these admissions November 3 under questioning by attorney Leonard Boudin for the SWP and YSA lawsuit against government harassment.

Boudin specifically questioned Kelley about the various laws that have been used to justify the FBI's "investigation" and harassment of the socialists.

Kelley insisted, "... we are not using a subterfuge to continue any investigation of the Socialist Workers party membership."

Kelley said that no SWP or YSA members are now being investigated under rebellion or conspiracy laws, the Smith Act, the Internal Security Act of 1950, the Communist Control Act of 1954, or the Voorhis Act, which limits collaboration with international groups.

"These are stunning admissions that the FBI's thirty-eight-year 'investigation' and harassment of the SWP and YSA were completely illegal and unjustified," said Syd Stapleton, an SWP leader who was present during Kelley's questioning.

"Never before," he explained, "has the government admitted that there is no evidence of criminal activity in what the socialists do. This takes the government one step further in admitting there is no legal justification whatsoever for its harassment of political dissidents."

Now that the FBI claims it has ended its "investigations," the SWP

Continued on page 24



Gov't fails to gag press

FBI chief Clarence Kelley's testimony for the Socialist Workers party lawsuit made news across the country, despite efforts by government lawyers to have a gag order slapped on press coverage.

NBC-TV correspondent Carl Stern told about Kelley's testimony on nationwide evening news:

"A sworn statement obtained by NBC news shows that FBI Director Clarence Kelley has not investigated alleged burglaries by FBI agents, still doesn't know what burglaries occurred when, and has not taken steps to root out subordinates who he said lied to him. . . .

"He said that burglaries were already being investigated by the Justice Department and he did not wish to intrude. Kelley's office today stuck by that explanation.

"Government lawyers, nonetheless, tried to keep the deposition secret on the grounds that Kelley hadn't checked it yet for accuracy. Later they said there were no errors of substance."

The story sent out nationwide over Associated Press wires explained, "Assistant U.S. Attorney William S. Brandt then went to court in a last-minute effort to block release of Kelley's testimony. . . ."

The *Washington Post* asked the FBI for a corrected copy of Kelley's

answers but was refused. The G-men's lawyers were apparently not trying to keep Kelley's testimony under wraps because they thought it was inaccurate.

U.S. District Judge Thomas Griesa, who is presiding over the case, explained at a November 19 court hearing that he had not put a gag order on Kelley's testimony. A statement the judge gave the press explained that he had asked the socialists' attorneys to request that copies of Kelley's transcript be returned.

"However," the statement said, "the judge has issued no orders to newspapers and it is up to the newspapers to decide what to do."

Last summer government lawyers tried to have a lid put on press coverage of the lawsuit. But Griesa refused then too. He said that any rule forbidding the socialists from talking to the press would raise serious First Amendment problems. (The First Amendment guarantees the right to a free press.)

Government lawyer Brandt said that objections to a gag order "blow the First Amendment out of all proportion."

Brandt's latest attempt to hush up Kelley's testimony shows that he sticks by that complaint. —D.R.

Antonio Smith: victim of racist frame-up

By Jack Lieberman and Stuart Rogers

MIAMI—Antonio Smith is another victim of America's racist system of justice.

In November 1975 an all-white jury in New Mexico convicted Smith for the rape and murder of a white woman. His real "crime" is that he is Black, young, and retarded—an easy frame-up target.

Smith could not afford private medical help and could not find the necessary public facilities for the retarded here in Miami. An unsuccessful search for such facilities led him to New Mexico in 1975.

On April 25 of that year, Smith saw John Weaver kill Lorraine Sorrells. Smith was arrested and held for a month without charges. In June Weaver made a deal with the police and implicated Smith.

But instead of setting Smith's trial date for juvenile court, the state stalled until he turned seventeen two months later so that he could be tried as an adult.

Despite a recommendation by psychologist Dr. William Lowe, Smith was tried along with Weaver and Larry Starks, a retarded white man who had also witnessed the murder.

At the trial Starks testified that Smith had nothing to do with Sorrells's death. In fact, neither Starks nor Smith had known the woman.

Weaver alone claimed that Smith was involved. But his testimony had many inconsistencies.

For example, Weaver claimed that Smith—who weighed only 120 pounds—stood on a ladder, lifted the

170-pound victim over his head, and threw her into an oil tank.

Nonetheless, the all-white jury sentenced Smith to two to ten years' imprisonment. His case is currently being appealed to the New Mexico Supreme Court.

Starks was sent to a mental hospital in Las Vegas, Nevada. Smith remains in prison.

An Antonio Smith Defense Committee has been organized in Miami to demand that Smith be released and given adequate help for his retardation. Revulsion against the flagrant racism and the prejudice against retarded persons that convicted Smith has helped the committee win wide support for its defense efforts.

Supporters include numerous churches in Miami's Black community, the Florida Alliance Against

Racist and Political Repression, Miami Student Coalition Against Racism, Miami NAACP, All People Inc., National Association for the Retarded, National Council of Negro Women, Socialist Workers party, and two Black community newspapers in Miami, *Liberty News* and *Florida Courier*.

In New Mexico, the Raza Unida party and the Black studies department at the University of New Mexico have aided defense efforts.

Letters and telegrams demanding Smith's freedom should be sent to Gov. Jerry Apodoca, State Capitol Building, Santa Fe, New Mexico 87503.

Contributions should be sent to the Antonio Smith Defense Fund, 188 North Plaza Arcade, Room 20, Northside Shopping Center, Miami, Florida 33147.