

THE MILITANT

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

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Women demand their rights

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SEATTLE—1,500 women marched for equality August 27

Militant/Karl Bermann

MAGAZINE SUPPLEMENT
International
socialist
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a review of
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DENY CANTU APPEAL: The U.S. Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals in New Orleans upheld August 24 the conviction of San Antonio Chicano activist Mario Cantú for "shielding illegal aliens."

Cantú was convicted in 1976, sentenced to five years' probation and hit with a \$5,000 fine. The "illegal aliens" were workers at his restaurant.

"When the INS [Immigration and Naturalization Service] raided Mario's Restaurant, I refused to let them in without a search warrant," Cantú told an August 26 news conference.

"The INS agents said they were 'going to get me,'" he continued. "They had the active cooperation of the FBI and the Mexican government. There were a lot of things the ruling class had against me—my defense of the immigrant workers over the years, my public attack against the racist and inhumane practices of the INS."

Cantú concluded, "We want real amnesty for all and respect for human rights."

Cantú's appeal charged that he had been singled out for harassment because of his outspoken political views.

Crystal City wins 5-day gas reprieve

By Mark Schneider

SAN ANTONIO—Attorney Paul Rich won a five-day stay against a threatened gas cutoff in Crystal City, Texas, by the LoVaca Gathering Company. The U.S. Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals issued an eleventh-hour stay late Friday, August 26, a few hours before the gas was scheduled to be shut off.

For two-and-a-half years, Crystal City has refused to charge residents—overwhelmingly Chicano and poor—the increment on LoVaca's gas rate hike from \$.35 to \$2.10 per thousand cubic feet. Based on the new rates, the utility figures the city government now owes it \$744,000.

Crystal City does not have the money, so LoVaca is threatening to turn off the gas.

In issuing the restraining order, circuit court Judge James Hill did not rule on the merits of the case but said he needed more time to study the matter.

KANSAS NUKE PROTEST: Two hundred people demonstrated at Burlington, Kansas, August 6 against the 1,150 megawatt Wolf Creek nuclear reactor scheduled for completion in 1982. The nuclear plant is located eighty miles from Kansas City.

Edith Lange, a retired schoolteacher, told the rally atomic power will be stopped the same way the Vietnam War was stopped—"by the people."

OOPS: Construction of twin nuclear reactors in Virginia has been delayed again after engineers discovered that pumps for an emergency backup cooling system—designed to prevent a disastrous core meltdown—wouldn't perform as needed.

The Nuclear Regulatory Commission was on the verge of granting operating licenses for the reactors, one of which would have gone into operation almost immediately.

LEGION SAYS BLACK RIGHTS SECONDARY: The recent American Legion national convention unanimously approved a resolution calling for closer U.S. ties with the apartheid regime in South Africa, claiming the country was key to blocking the Soviet Union's plan to "recolonize" Africa.

"We want to stop the spread of communism in Africa. That is our principal concern," said Frank Manson, deputy director of the Legion's foreign relations commission. "The racial problems in South Africa are theirs to resolve," Manson said.

ADDING INSULT TO INJURY: On August 24, a federal judge ordered Barbara Copeland, a federal employee who unsuccessfully sued the government for sex discrimination, to reimburse the government's \$4,000 defense costs.

The judge charged that Copeland acted "in bad faith with the intent to harass her supervisors and generally vex the defendant [the federal government]. . . ."

"I was shocked and hurt," Copeland said, "not just for myself, but for anyone who feels they were discriminated against."

She added that the decision "will discourage anyone from following the judicial process."

ORCHESTRA'S ONLY BLACK MEMBER RESIGNS: Sanford Allen, the only Black member of the New York Philharmonic, has left it to pursue a career as a soloist. He said he was "tired of being a symbol."

Allen joined the Philharmonic in 1962.

FBI SPIED ON NAT'L LAWYERS GUILD: The FBI wiretapped the phones of the National Lawyers Guild and broke into the group's offices during the 1940s and 1950s. The guild, an organization for radical lawyers, is suing the FBI for disruption and harassment. The revelations came as part of that suit.

The guild's national office phone was tapped from 1947 to 1951. In 1948, FBI agents broke into the Yale Law School office of Prof. Thomas Emerson, then guild president, and photographed an article he was writing.

The guild and its legal representative, the National Emergency Civil Liberties Foundation, say that "there is strong evidence that in 1949 the FBI broke into the guild's Washington national office three times in order to microfilm the guild's membership list. . . ."

VISA FOR FRENCH UNION OFFICIAL: The State Department has granted a visa to Jacques Tregaro, an official of the French General Confederation of Labor (CGT). The CGT, one of France's largest labor organizations, is strongly influenced by the Communist Party. Tregaro had been denied a visa only a month ago on the ground he was a member of a "Communist union."

GAY RIGHTS SUPPORTERS WIN ONE. . . . About 120 people picketed the Miss National Teenager Pageant in Atlanta August 19, where antigay crusader Anita Bryant was scheduled to receive the "America's Greatest American" award. The demonstrators' favorite chant was "No awards for bigots—defend gay rights!"

. . . AND LOSE ONE: The Austin, Texas, City Council refused to prohibit discrimination against homosexuals in selling or renting houses. The August 26 vote went against the recommendation of the city's Human Relations Commission. The council passed a law barring discrimination for race, color, religion, national origin, sex, physical handicap, or student status, but specifically refused to include marital status, occupation, or "sexual orientation."

REID TO ADDRESS WOMEN'S POLITICAL CAUCUS: Willie Mae Reid, Socialist Workers Party 1976 vice-presidential candidate, will speak before some 1,500 delegates and observers at the National Women's Political Caucus convention in San Jose, California, September 10. The convention, organized around the theme "Caucus '77: Women, Power, and Politics," will also hear Gloria Steinem, U.S. Rep. Pat Schroeder, and others.

—Arnold Weissberg

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This week staff writer Andy Rose files a story from the Mesabi Iron Range, where thousands of workers are on strike in a major challenge to the steel industry's attack on their living standards. To keep up with the latest developments in steel, in auto, among teachers, and in other unions, subscribe to the *Militant* now.

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Racist frame-up falters **Judge throws out Dawson 5 'confession'**

By Don Davis

DAWSON, Ga.—After nineteen months in jail awaiting trial, the last two of the Dawson Five defendants were set free on their own recognizance August 29.

The release of Johnny Jackson and J.D. Davenport came after local authorities suffered another setback in their campaign to frame up the five young Black men for the killing of a white ranch foreman in a local grocery store last year.

The prosecution's main piece of evidence, an alleged confession, was declared inadmissible because Dawson cops had obtained it by threatening to kill defendant Roosevelt Watson if he did not say he was guilty.

That ruling by Judge Leonard Farkas, on what was supposed to be the opening day of the trial, left the prosecution without a case. Noting that the confession was "crucial," the prosecutors asked for, and were granted, an immediate appeal to the state court of appeals.

Since that will take another two or three months, Farkas ordered Davenport and Jackson set free. Thus, the two young men—who have been portrayed as cold-blooded killers and held for more than a year under a \$100,000 bond—now are free.

The other three defendants had been freed earlier as bond money was raised during the past year.

Members of the defense team said they doubted the prosecution would even attempt to try the Dawson Five if the appeals court agrees to quash the confession.

"At some point they have to throw it in. They have to admit they haven't got a case," said Courtney Mullen.

Judge Farkas was a last-minute replacement for Judge Walter I. Geer who had heard pretrial evidence on several defense motions, including the one dealing with the forced confession.

Defendants Roosevelt Watson and James Jackson, Jr. had testified that the cops had threatened to kill them

if they did not confess, and a former Dawson policeman testified that he had witnessed a threat against Jackson.

Defense also documented the continuing segregation of schools, housing, and jobs here in Dawson, and the use of police terror and economic intimidation to keep Blacks from exercising their rights.

Geer ruled on several defense motions, but resigned from the case August 23—claiming ill-health—without issuing a ruling on the alleged confession by Watson.

Farkas, who said he had been told that all pretrial motions had been disposed of, was perplexed. He asked the prosecutor if he had any explanation for Geer's failure to rule on the defense motion.

The prosecutor said he had none. Defense attorney Millard Farmer had an explanation: "He didn't have the guts to rule for us."

Farmer repeatedly demanded that the new judge suppress the confession.

Farkas, a wealthy landowner appointed to the judgeship by Jimmy Carter when Carter was governor of Georgia, acknowledged that it was up to the prosecution to prove that the confession was voluntary. But he stalled on making a ruling, continually asking the prosecution for arguments that could be used to overrule the defense motion.

The best that Michael Stoddard—the young prosecutor appointed by the state to help the ailing district attorney—could suggest was that the entire six days of pretrial testimony on the motion be repeated.

Farmer pointed out that the defense, supported entirely by contributions from sympathizers, had spent three thousand dollars bringing in expert witnesses and could not be required to prove its case a second time simply because Judge Geer had made an error.

Finally, with no way out, the judge gave in. He muttered, "I'm going to suppress it," and fled the courtroom.

Protests demand justice

Denver killer-cops murder two Chicanos

By Steven Marshall

DENVER—"A madman with a gun."

That was Kim Alire's first impression of the gunman she saw on July 30 in Denver's Mestizo Park (called Curtis Park by the anglo city government).

Her description proved accurate. The man and his companions were Denver police officers. On that day, without provocation, Patrolmen John O'Dell, Gary Graham, and Dave Neil murdered two Chicanos and sparked a continuing protest in the Chicano community here.

It was a warm summer evening in Mestizo Park—a basketball game, children playing, neighborhood residents enjoying a picnic.

Lying on the grass nearby, sharing a bottle of wine, were Arthur Espinoza, forty-two, and James Hinojos, thirty-two.

The two Chicanos probably didn't see the police cruisers pull into the park or the two plainclothes and one uniformed cop approach them.

Without warning, the cops pumped eight bullets into Hinojos.

Espinoza was hit with one bullet. While he bled to death, with first aid available in a firehouse 150 yards away, the cops beat him, kicked him, and dragged him by the hair.

Soon sixty cops, armed with shotguns and mace, arrived and attacked the Black and Chicano residents who had gathered in the park, outraged by the shootings.

I talked with Arthur Espinoza's son, Andy; his nephew, Ruben; and his brother, Charles. They said Arthur had been continually harassed and threatened by the police.

"Artie," Patrolman O'Dell used to say, "we've got a bullet with your name on it."

Charles told me his brother had once been grabbed by police outside a local nightclub and forced at gunpoint to remove his trousers "for a narcotics search."

The Espinoza family filed an official complaint last year charging police harassment—specifically naming Patrolman O'Dell.

Why had Arthur Espinoza been singled out for such racist abuse?

"Because he stood up for his rights," said Charles. "He answered 'em back."

The Mestizo Park murders fit into a



Denver cops using dogs, clubs, and guns hold back angry protesters in Mestizo Park following police murder of two unarmed Chicanos.

series of police attacks on Denver's oppressed minorities.

Last year Carl Newland, a Black accountant, was stopped on the street by police for questioning about a robbery. Even though the robbery victim said Newland was not involved, he was arrested and taken to jail, where he was beaten to death by the cops.

Last month an undercover cop arrested a gay Black man and charged him with prostitution. Acting as judge and jury, the cop put a gun to the prisoner's head and fired, killing him. "It was an accident," said the cop.

"The police treat us differently," said Charles Espinoza. "Even the Chicano cops treat us worse than they treat anglos. People say we need more Chicano cops, but they're just as bad . . . they're brainwashed."

The depth of the racism in Denver's police department was best expressed by top cop Art Dill, when asked why he refused to suspend the killer cops. If he suspended every cop involved in an incident like the Mestizo Park killings, Dill said, he "might end up with thirty or forty people off duty."

Since the killings, spontaneous protests have occurred in several city parks. On August 1, 300 Chicanos and Blacks marched on the city-county building, demanding justice for the two slain men.

The rising anger in the Chicano community has made it more difficult for police to just sweep the incident under the rug. The cops first said they were fired upon from a car they had stopped. The next day they abandoned that lie and invented a new one. They admitted the two victims were lying down and didn't shoot, but the cops said they identified themselves and then Hinojos pointed a gun at them.

But witnesses heard no identification and saw no gun. Dino Castro, a park worker who was nearby, said, "They just lit 'em up."

A grand jury has convened to investigate the killings, but its deliberations are secret. Blacks and Chicanos have not forgotten the grand-jury whitewash of Carl Newland's murder.

On Saturday, August 27, the families of the two slain men sponsored a rally in City Park to demand prosecution of the cops and demonstrate opposition to police harassment.

Continued on page 30

N.Y. socialists set plans

How we're going to sell 'Militant' subscriptions

By Nelson Blackstock

How do you go about selling 1,800 *Militant* subscriptions in New York City?

Socialists in New York are thinking a lot about that question these days.

The Socialist Workers Party convention in early August voted to launch a ten-week national campaign to sign up new subscribers to the *Militant*. It begins September 10. The total goal is 18,000.

That means that one out of every ten of those subscriptions will be sold in New York City. That's a big job. In the course of trying to figure out how they are going to do it, New York socialists have come up with some ideas they want to share with subscription organizers in other cities.

In 1972 Linda Jenness was the SWP candidate for president of the United States. Today she is the organizer of the New York City local of the SWP. On the evening of August 29 a meeting of all the party members in the city was held at the McBurney YMCA in lower Manhattan, where Jenness gave a major report.

The report outlined the major party tasks in the coming months. Key among them is the subscription drive. Jenness called it "the most challenging thing we're doing this fall."

"If we do this right," she said, "everything else will fall into place."

The day the drive begins is a Saturday. It's been set aside as a day for a full mobilization of SWP members throughout the country to sell subscriptions to the *Militant*. Socialists will be putting aside whatever else they might have been doing that day to focus all their energy on selling subscriptions to the socialist press.

In most cities this means canvassing door to door in Black, Chicano, Puerto Rican, and other working-class communities. In most places, SWP branch offices are located in these areas, and subscription canvassers will frequently zero in on the area surrounding the socialist headquarters. Other important sections of the city are also being pinpointed for subscription work.

During last fall's subscription drive, New York sold half its goal in housing projects, and they'll be back September 10.

Catarino Garza is the SWP candidate for mayor of New York. Campaigning for Garza and selling sub-

scriptions to the *Militant* will go hand in hand.

You'll be able to find socialists on some busy New York street corners that Saturday—selling subscriptions for the *Militant* and campaigning for Garza.

The subscriptions that will be brought in that Saturday will be important. They'll get the drive off to a good start, and the whole day will set the right spirit for the drive.

But it's important to maintain that spirit right through to the end of the drive on November 11. Here's where New York's plans provide a valuable example.

In a discussion before she gave her report, Linda Jenness put it this way: "The final goal has to be hit by November 11. But we're looking at the drive not just in terms of one goal—but as ten separate goals."

"We're breaking the goal down and setting separate goals for each week of the drive. That's the only way to run a drive on this scale effectively."

"Each week of the drive we want to make a certain percentage of our goal. We'll have a concrete target to shoot for. And if we don't make it that week, we'll want to try to figure out why and what can be done to make up the difference."

The SWP and the Young Socialist Alliance are taking joint goals for the subscription drive in cities where units of both organizations exist. They will be collaborating in meeting those goals.

In its plans for the drive, the New York SWP is giving a lot of attention to helping the YSA sell subscriptions on campus. They're not leaving the campuses to the YSA alone.

Since the best time to sell subscriptions on campus is right when they open in September, the New York socialists are laying plans now for a big push during the time when students are registering for classes.

Whenever their schedules allow, SWP members will reinforce the YSA efforts to sell at registration lines during the day. Every major campus in New York City will be hit by subscription teams.

A little later in the drive socialists will comb college dormitories in search of *Militant* subscribers.

These ideas can definitely be used by subscription drive organizers around the country to make the fall campaign a big success.

All out September 10

September 10 is the national kick-off date for the fall drive to get 18,000 new subscribers for the 'Militant' and 500 subscribers for 'Perspectiva Mundial,' the new bi-weekly Spanish-language news magazine.

All across the

country supporters of the 'Militant' will be going all out to sell subscriptions to their paper.

The idea is to take a big bite out of the 18,000 goal on the very first day of the drive.

You can help. To find out how, get in

touch with the Socialist Workers Party branch or Young Socialist Alliance in your area listed in the Socialist Directory on page 31. Or contact the Circulation Office, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014. Telephone: (212) 929-3486.

Bilingual subscription blank

This is a reproduction of the bilingual joint 'Militant'-'Perspectiva Mundial' subscription blank especially designed for this fall's circulation campaign.

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Help the 'Militant' raise \$50,000

By Stacey Seigle

If you've been reading the *Militant* for any length of time, the *Militant* has probably helped you in some way.

Now you have a chance to help the *Militant*.

A fund drive to raise \$50,000 to help cover the rising costs of putting out the *Militant* was launched in August at a rally climaxing the twenty-ninth national convention of the Socialist Workers Party.

The fund drive target was originally set at \$40,000. However, the rally audience responded enthusiastically to a fund appeal with contributions and pledges totaling \$31,000.

Following the rally, another *Militant* supporter donated \$10,000 as a matching fund. This means that all future contributions will be matched dollar for dollar up to \$10,000.

The matching fund gives *Militant* readers around the country the oppor-

tunity to double the value of their contributions toward the paper's \$50,000 goal.

The August rally heard greetings praising the *Militant* from a number of prominent figures, including noted journalist and editor I.F. Stone; La Raza Unida Party founder José Angel Gutiérrez; film maker Emile de Antonio; gay rights leader Morris Kight; sociologist and Black rights fighter Harry Edwards; and Richard Mohawk and Paul Skyhorse, American Indian Movement activists now standing trial on false murder charges.

The *Militant* is important to many people in many different ways, as speakers at the rally made clear. Diane Sarge, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Houston, is a steelworker and member of the United Steelworkers of America. She explained how the *Militant* helps her convince her shopmates that working people need to break with the two big-

business parties and forge a labor party based on the power of the trade unions.

Manuel Archuleta, Raza Unida Party candidate for lieutenant governor of New Mexico, praised the *Militant* for playing an important role in attracting Chicanos to socialist ideas.

And Irish revolutionist Bernadette Devlin explained that the *Militant* had helped her absorb the lessons of the U.S. socialist movement and apply them to the struggle in Ireland.

The \$50,000 *Militant* fund will allow the paper to continue providing on-the-spot coverage of political events in the United States and around the world.

Last spring, for instance, the *Militant* was able to send two reporters to cover the first Spanish elections in forty years, and a third to report on developments in Palestine.

This issue begins a series of reports from Minnesota's Mesabi Iron Range,

where *Militant* reporter Andy Rose is meeting with and interviewing striking steelworkers. Iron Range USWA members voted overwhelmingly last February for Ed Sadlowski for union president, expressing their discontent with the union's no-strike agreement.

Andy Rose's reports from Minnesota continue the *Militant*'s unparalleled coverage of issues facing steelworkers.

This year the steelworkers union has been the scene of some of the most important developments in the U.S. trade-union movement in a long time. No other publication of any kind has given such thorough coverage or such in-depth analysis of these events and their significance for all working people.

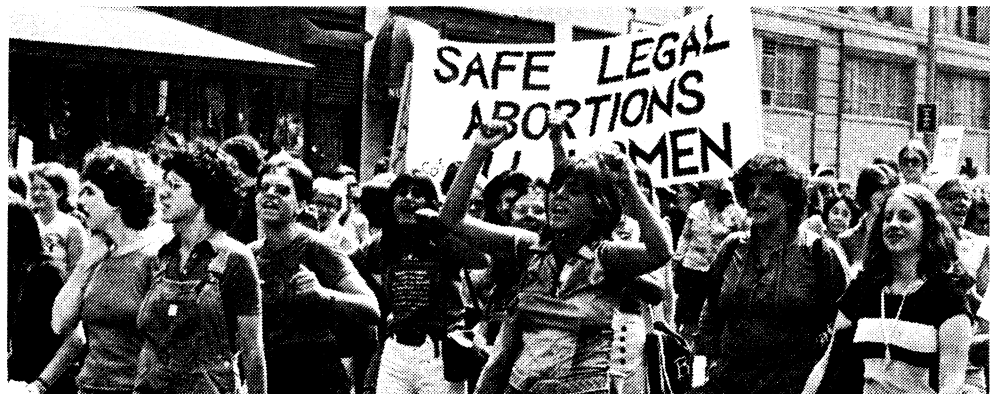
Won't you help the *Militant* continue to do the job it's been doing?

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Aug. 26: women demand rights



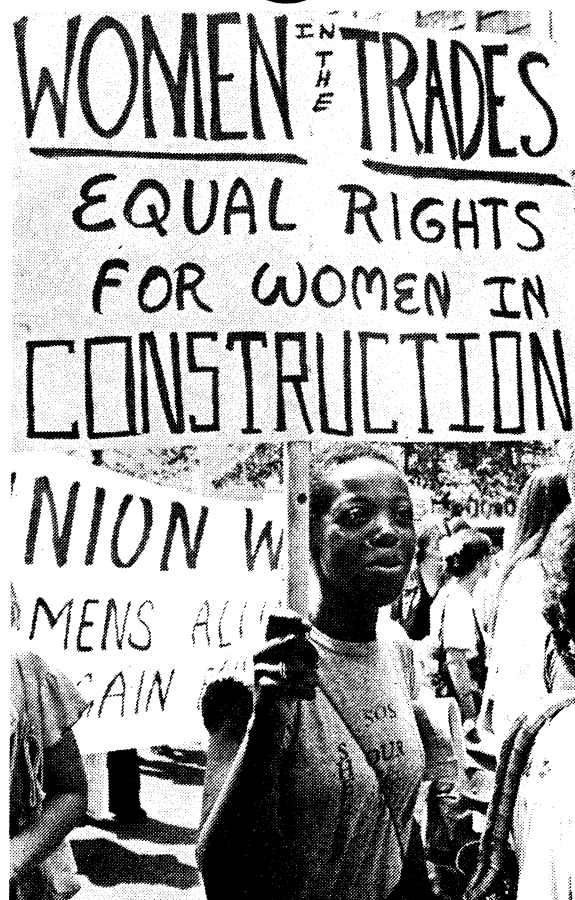
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Militant/Lou Howort

New York

By Diane Wang

NEW YORK—As the "Day for Women's Rights" march formed at Columbus Circle here on August 27, feminist writer Vicki Pellegrino talked to reporters. "Our enemies say we are just middle-class, white women," she said. "But look around."

Her point was clear. Black and Puerto Rican women were gathering in contingents around the minority task force banner. The task force had put out leaflets for the march in English and Spanish.

The Asian-American women's contingent had put out a leaflet in Chinese. Now it had three banners in addition to one carried by the defense committee for two Filipina nurses recently convicted on frame-up poisoning charges in Michigan.

Not far back were groups of trade-union women. The New York Coalition of Labor Union Women had a banner, as did the Typographers union and the Postal Workers union.

A member of the Garment Workers union held a sign declaring, "Local 31 ILGWU wants pregnancy disability for workers."

Other contingents were organized around specific women's issues. The Coalition for Abortion Rights and Against Sterilization Abuse (CARASA) brought many women. They carried signs that said, "Keep your laws off my body," and "Safe, legal abortions for all women."

The Coalition for Lesbian and Gay Rights chanted, "Defend lesbian mothers, save our children" in answer to Anita Bryant's antigay "Save Our Children" outfit.

As the 2,000 women marched up Broadway to Central Park they clapped and chanted. "Equal work—equal pay, ratify the ERA." "Not the church, not the state, women must decide their fate."

At the rally Betty Friedan spoke of "the urgency of the moment. All we fought for and all we won in the last fifteen years is in danger. . . . Not a week has gone by without erosion of all the rights we've won."

She suggested that the women's movement remind Carter of what the early suffragists had done. "When Democrats didn't do anything, the Democrats were just as much the enemy."

But Friedan went on to urge everyone to unite behind the mayoral candidacy of Democrat Bella Abzug.

Gloria Steinem added her endorsement later.

Abzug herself was cheered loudly when she criticized the antiabortion Hyde amendment for making "one law for rich women and one law for poor women." Unfortunately, the only action she proposed to answer such discrimination was to get more women elected to public office.

Willie Mae Reid, speaking as a Black feminist and Socialist Workers Party

Continued on page 30

Seattle

By Barbara Hennigan

SEATTLE—Fifteen hundred people demonstrated their support for women's rights in an hour-long march through the downtown area here August 27.

The march and rally demanded ratification of the federal Equal Rights Amendment, the right of women to control their reproductive lives, an end to forced sterilization, and decent and adequate child care.

Two themes that stood out in the signs and speeches were the attacks on lesbian rights and on the rights of women of the oppressed nationalities.

Some marchers wore T-shirts saying, "A day without human rights is like a day without sunshine." Signs demanded "No more Bakkes," referring to a California court decision in opposition to affirmative action. The case is now before the U.S. Supreme Court.

Asians, Chicanas, Native Americans, and Black women participated, including representatives from the Hispanic Women's Caucus and the Asian and Pacific Women's Caucus.

The Chicana contingent brought a huge red, white, and green banner with *Mujer* written on it, which draped the speakers platform during the rally.

Asian activist Rita Fujiki Ellway told the protesters that "sexism and racism are two heads of the same monster." Asian and Pacific women are speaking up, she said, and their new activism is captured in the slogan, "Lotus Blossom doesn't live here anymore."

Pauline Rose, a Native American activist, pointed to a recent study showing that 3,400 Indian women in Seattle—approximately 1 out of every 6 Indian females—were sterilized in a three-year period.

A significant list of groups sponsored the women's rights action, including the Washington State Nurses Association, Japanese-American Citizens League, *Mujer*,

Lesbian Resource Center, Gay Community Center, National Abortion Rights Action League, Washington State ERA Coalition, and Washington State board of the National Organization for Women.

Unfortunately, the Seattle chapter of NOW declined to endorse the event, arguing that the ERA would only be harmed if it were linked with other women's issues such as abortion rights.

But participation by women representing so many groups and communities demanding that all their rights be protected and extended was ample lesson for the politicians of the Democratic and Republican parties. Women want the ERA, and we will have it, along with our other rights too!

Washington

By Marcie Kuzeja

WASHINGTON—"This delegated march today represents millions of Americans who overwhelmingly support the Equal Rights Amendment," said Eleanor Smeal, president of the National Organization for Women, at an August 26 rally here.

Smeal told the women's rights gathering of more than 4,000 that "President Carter said he was committed to the ERA. But a policy of inaction established a policy of hostility."

A huge banner with the wording of the ERA written on it led the procession. Many marchers were dressed in white in commemoration of the suffragists who won the vote fifty-seven years ago. The demonstration also paid tribute to Alice Paul, founder of the National Women's Party and author of the ERA when it was first introduced in Congress in 1923.

Women chanted "What do we want? ERA! When do we want it? Now!" with raised fists as they marched down Pennsylvania Avenue to Lafayette Park across from the White House.

The action's sponsoring groups were NOW, Business and Professional Women, League of Women Voters, and National Women's Party.

More than seventy-five organizations participated. The trade unions represented included United Steelworkers; United Mine Workers; United Auto Workers; American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees; National Education Association; and Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Union.

Among the other groups joining the march were the American Civil

Liberties Union, Gray Panthers, NAACP, Organization of Chinese-American Women, and National Conference of Puerto Rican Women.

A hand-picked delegation was allowed to see Carter in the Rose Garden just prior to the rally. The group presented the president with a petition seeking his more active support of the ERA.

In response, Carter proclaimed August 26 "Women's Equality Day."

Hazel Hunkins Hallinan, an eighty-seven-year-old suffragist, led the march and told the rally, "The ERA is the next step, the essential step. It's as if Thomas Jefferson wrote it, and it should be part of the Constitution."

Across country

The National Organization for Women sponsored walk-a-thons for the Equal Rights Amendment in cities across the country August 27. The actions were planned to focus public attention on the ERA and to raise funds to work for its passage.

Women made history in Tacoma, Washington, August 27, when they marched through downtown 400 strong demanding the ERA, abortion rights, child care, and an end to forced sterilization.

The city has an ordinance forbidding a parade permit unless the sponsor pays an exorbitant insurance fee. The August 27 coalition challenged this ban in court and won.

Joining the march were seventy-five supporters from the Action for Women's Equality Coalition in Olympia, Washington. The day before, that group had sponsored a women's rights rally in Olympia of 400.

In New Orleans August 27, nearly 300 rallied for "more than the right to vote—stop the attacks on women's rights!"

Speakers at the broadly sponsored event included representatives from the NAACP Youth Council, National Abortion Council, NOW, American Civil Liberties Union, and United Teachers of New Orleans. Juanita Tyler and three mayoral candidates, including Joel Aber of the Socialist Workers Party, also spoke.

Other August 27 events were held in Milwaukee, where 120 rallied prior to a walk-a-thon; in Chicago where 125 women participated; in Dallas, where 125 attended a rally for women's rights; and in Phoenix where 200 marched and rallied for the ERA.

SEC reveals banks made millions

Garza: 'Workers are real fraud victims in NY'

By Dick Roberts

NEW YORK—An issue has been thrown into city politics here that has caused sparks to fly in the last two weeks before the September 8 Democratic Party mayoralty primary election. Mayor Abraham Beame, along with the biggest New York banks and brokerage houses, has been charged with concealing the city's true budget situation before the financial crisis here came to public attention in May 1975.

According to a U.S. Securities and Exchange Commission report released August 26, Beame, City Comptroller Harrison Goldin, the six biggest city banks, and Merrill Lynch, the country's largest brokerage firm, all misled small investors in the winter of 1974-75 into buying New York bonds while concealing from these investors that the city faced an imminent financial crisis.

Mayor Beame, who is running for reelection, vehemently denied the charges.

Also seeking the Democratic Party mayoralty nomination are six other candidates, including such well-known liberals as former U.S. Rep. Bella Abzug, Bronx Rep. Herman Badillo, and Manhattan Borough President Percy Sutton. To one degree or another the Democratic Party liberals have sided with the SEC report in denouncing Beame.

"But the way they present it, it's a totally false issue," Catarino Garza told me August 29. Garza is the Socialist Workers Party candidate for New York mayor.

"Abzug presents the deep-going social crisis in New York as though it's a personal thing about Beame that can be turned around by putting the right Democrats in office."

"Let's look at what the SEC report really shows," Garza continued.

"The report reveals that the banks did *not* conceal the situation from large investors, that is, from the owners of the banks and the other capitalists."

Far from it. According to the August 27 *New York Times*, "As early as Dec. 3, 1974, a Morgan vice president told a 'substantial' client that it was possible the city's bond rating would be downgraded and recommended that the individual reduce his holdings."

The SEC report shows that these banks also unloaded New York bonds held by their own trust departments. The trust departments of these major New York banks are where the immense investments of the American ruling class are held.

This gives the lie to the whole pretense of a New York financial crisis, Garza emphasized.

"The crucial point is not that some middle-sized investors were misled. The crucial point is that huge investors made enormous profits by getting out of New York bonds—at the expense of everybody else!

"One after another, in the period of the fall and winter of 1974-75, the biggest U.S. banks dumped hundreds of millions of dollars worth of city bonds. It was after that—on May 19, 1975, to be exact—that they called up Goldin and said they wouldn't lend New York any more money.

"In other words, the bankers and the politicians were lying when they said—beginning in May 1975—that there was a big financial crisis. They were playing fast and loose with us when they said that the budget had to be immensely reduced in order to preserve New York's credit, and when they drastically slashed our social-welfare programs in order to do this.

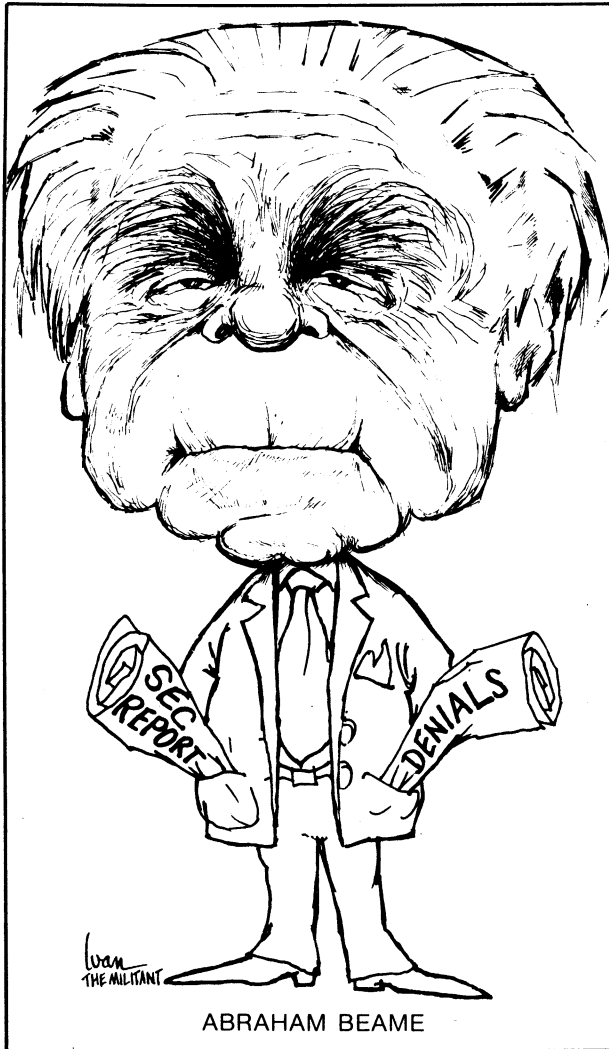
"What kind of crisis is it when you cash in millions of dollars worth of bonds at a profit?"

"The so-called crisis, the fact that the banks said they wouldn't lend New York any more money, was cooked up in order to justify the attack on the living standards of New York workers. What the SEC has just proved is that the rulers of this country knew all about that planned attack well in advance—because *they* had planned it!"

Garza turned to one point that has not been given much press coverage: that a considerable part of the bonds the banks and financiers unloaded were dumped into the union pension funds of municipal workers.

"The report," according to the August 29 *Wall Street Journal*, "says that Mr. Goldin, with the approval of the mayor, encouraged heavy purchases of city securities by city employee pension funds as the fiscal crisis deepened and other markets began to dry up. So, 'the sound investment objectives of the pension plans were neglected in favor of the expedient interests of the city,' the SEC staff says. . . .

"In 1973, the pension funds had only nominal



holdings in city securities. By June 30, 1977, an estimated 35% of all pension-fund assets were invested in city obligations," the *Wall Street Journal* states.

Commenting on this, Garza told me that "we shouldn't forget the wretched roles that such municipal union leaders as Victor Gotbaum and Albert Shanker played. To help out their Democratic Party buddies such as Beame and Gov. Hugh Carey, they used workers' pension funds to soak up city debts. And what did they get in return? Tens of thousands of teachers and municipal workers fired.

"Look at the spot Shanker's in now. He's a Beame supporter. 'Beame is good for business, and business is good for New York,' says Shanker.

"The truth of the matter is that big business has put the squeeze on New York. Big business wants to get a lot of its capital out of New York. And big business wants to make sure it doesn't lose any money in the process—in fact it made money on the crisis.

"The real role Abraham Beame played in New York—the one that counts as far as working people are concerned—is that he fired tens of thousands of workers in order to ensure continued interest payments on New York bonds. Albert Shanker helped Beame. They both belong in the bond business."



While Democratic Party candidates jockeyed to come out on top in September 8 primary, Socialist Workers Party mayoral candidate Catarino Garza and city council president candidate Jane Roland turned in 17,162 signatures on petitions to place themselves and two other SWP candidates on ballot in November election.

"Democratic Party liberals like Bella Abzug and Herman Badillo tell us that they can turn around this crisis in New York," Garza continued.

"They are pouring hundreds of thousands of dollars into this primary campaign. They say that 'the system can work if only we make it work.' They are trying to suck people in with these promises."

Actually, Garza explained, the social crisis in New York, "really the whole Northeast, the big cities, New Haven, Boston," is much deeper than these liberal Democrats admit.

"These cities are devastated by the flight of capital out of the Northeast and by the profound racism in America. There are fewer and fewer jobs to go around. People get paid less, and unemployment, especially among young people, reaches terrible proportions—way over 50 percent in the New York areas where the young people rebelled during the blackout this summer.

"On May 19, 1975, the bankers called Goldin down to Wall Street and told him they weren't going to lend New York any more money unless the city slashed its budget. Look what the bankers got:

"Over 60,000 municipal workers fired. Hospitals closed, and hospital services cut where the hospitals remained open. Abolition of free tuition in city colleges. Closing of colleges, and closing of departments in colleges that remained open. Closing of day-care centers.

"They meant to teach city dwellers a lesson, and they did.

"Now let's suppose Herman Badillo, or Bella Abzug, or Percy Sutton, and not Mayor Beame, had been in office that day. Would these Democrats tell Goldin to go down to Wall Street and tell the bankers to go to hell?"

"Would they demand that the bankers immediately open their books to New York working people in order to reveal the billions of dollars that the bankers had already made off New Yorkers over decades—not to speak of the winter of 1974-75?"

"Would they demand that the bankers continue to lend money to the city—and, in fact, increase their loans, and at no interest, in order to provide the funds desperately needed in every borough—and take over the banks if the banks refused?"

"That's my program for the New York crisis.

"We socialists know that taking on the banks is not a simple proposition. You can't do it if you're still tied in with the bankers' parties—the Democrats and Republicans.

"You have to break with those parties and build a mass party based on the potential fighting power of this city's union movement—a mighty power that has not yet been mobilized because of the misleadership of people like Shanker and Gotbaum, who keep the unions tied to the Democrats.

"But nothing short of a mass workers party, acting in the interests of the oppressed, against the interests of the banks and big business, can even begin to solve the New York crisis.

"New York City workers—and workers all over the country—need a labor party. It's as simple as that."

Tells convention to have faith

Shanker defends AFT support of Carter...

By Lynn Henderson

BOSTON—In his "state of the union" address at the American Federation of Teachers convention here August 15, AFT President Albert Shanker doggedly tried to convince delegates that the union had not committed a blunder in its massive support for the Carter-Mondale ticket in the 1976 elections.

This was no easy task.

Since Carter's election, cuts in funds for public education and teacher layoffs across the nation have continued unabated. During last year, AFT membership shrank by 30,000, the sharpest decline in thirty years.

In defending the union leadership's response to these cutbacks, Shanker explained: "The first measured effort has been to shift our emphasis away from an exclusive concern with collective bargaining to a shared concern. . . . We have shifted our concern, so that we devote equal attention to the political sphere."

Actually, Shanker has gone a lot farther than "shifting emphasis away" from an "exclusive concern with collective bargaining." *Last November he advocated that New York City teachers completely give up their collective bargaining rights for the duration of the city's fiscal crisis.* If you continue collective bargaining under present conditions, Shanker explained, "you are just going to create a lot of internal dissension within a union."

"I know," Shanker continued in his convention speech, "we've looked at some of the statements made by the president and some of the decisions. . . . There are times when we've had doubts. There are times when we've asked ourselves, 'Well, is that why we've worked so hard.'"

"I think it's important that we not work ourselves into a position where, because we're disappointed with one or two or five or ten things that are done, that we don't allow ourselves a fair picture of what's been accomplished."

While Shanker was selling soap to the AFT delegates in Boston, across the state at Williams College, U.S. Sen. Edward Brooke was giving 800 teachers at the opening session of the Massachusetts Teachers Association's Summer Leadership Conference a different, and more accurate, account of what lay in store for public education under Carter.

"In last year's presidential campaign, Brooke said, "you and I heard candidate Carter promise to be more sympathetic and responsive to your needs and the needs of the nation's schoolchildren."

"It is now time for these promises to be kept. Yet from my position on the Senate Appropriations Committee, I must tell you that they are not being kept."

Shanker also made clear his intention to continue the dead-end strategy of advocating cuts in other social services and layoffs of other public employees as a principal strategy for "defending" public education and teachers.

He projected a campaign by the AFT to take hundreds of millions of dollars in federal funds away from community groups and other "little rinky-dink organizations here and there" and use it for teachers. This was one of the few proposals for which Shanker claimed to have Carter's personal assurance and support.

However, Shanker's policies did not go unchallenged at this sixty-first AFT convention.

In addition to the major struggle over AFT support to the anti-affirmative-action *Bakke* decision (see last week's *Militant*), two other resolu-

tions reached the convention floor to counter Shanker's class-collaborationist policies.

Resolution Eighteen called on the AFT to "initiate a national conference of all public employee unions and associations to discuss the national attacks on public employees and to plan strategies for a united response."

If passed, such a step would cut across the erosion of labor solidarity epitomized by Shanker's cut-someone-else approach. This dog-eat-dog policy of the United Federation of Teachers and other municipal unions in New York City has had disastrous results for teachers and other city employees.

Similar resolutions had already been passed by the California Federation of Teachers and by the National Education Association, the other major teachers union.

Resolution Twenty-three called for the AFT to "seek the support and sponsorship of the AFL-CIO and independent unions for a nationwide conference of the labor movement to discuss taking concrete steps to establish an independent party of labor which would champion the economic and social interests of all workers and the poor."

Both resolutions were defeated on the floor, but not before provoking discussions that challenged Shanker's policy of reliance on antiteacher Democratic Party politicians.



Militant/Lou Howort

Albert Shanker at Boston convention admitting he's had 'doubts' about Carter

...then lines up behind Beame

By Judy Kleinberg

NEW YORK—The United Federation of Teachers (UFT) delegate assembly met here Monday, August 22, and voted union endorsement of incumbent Mayor Abraham Beame in the September 7 Democratic Party primary.

The action provoked significant opposition. Even in the heavily pro-Shanker delegate assembly, with barely a quorum present, 50 of the 254 delegates voted against Shanker's motion.

This meeting came on the heels of

Judy Kleinberg is a special-education teacher in Brooklyn and a member of the UFT.

the American Federation of Teachers national convention in Boston and immediately put into practice the policy presented there by Shanker—continued support to Democratic Party "friends of labor".

In rejecting other Democratic Party candidates, Shanker gave special attention to Bella Abzug. He said her election would be viewed as antibusiness and would scare corporations out of the city.

Shanker explained that teachers' interests are directly linked with New York's big businesses. To show he means what he says, Shanker has been sitting down with Wall Street bankers to help them figure out how to give away millions of dollars to these businesses in reduced city taxes.

Shanker began his motivation of Beame's candidacy by admitting that the mayor had taken some actions that were bad for teachers.

During Beame's four-year term he spearheaded a wage freeze for all public employees, the elimination of more than 20,000 school jobs, and the gutting of public education in New York City.

According to Shanker, Beame's actions were the result of "a temporary loss of memory"—failure to remember that the UFT endorsed his candidacy in 1973 and contributed to his campaign, calling him "a progressive and enlightened public official."

Shanker is apparently confident that these strange attacks of amnesia will not recur if Beame is elected again.

Beame's other problem, said Shanker, was that he had some bad people inside his administration who were against teachers—but these people are not there anymore.

Shanker's apologies aside, the truth is that Beame was not manipulated by a few subordinates. The destruction of educational programs, layoffs of teachers, and attacks on other social services are part of a conscious and coordinated policy of the Democratic Party, the Emergency Financial Control Board, big business, and city banks and real estate interests.

One point in Beame's favor, according to Shanker, was the mayor's help in reducing court penalties leveled against the union for the 1975 teachers' strike. The union will "only" have to pay \$50,000 in fines, instead of a possible \$5,000,000.

Shanker, however, was silent about the millions of dollars lost by teachers under state Taylor Law provisions that docked them two days' pay for every day on strike.

Shanker also expressed gratitude to Beame for his aid in pushing through the agency-shop bill. This is not a union-shop law, which would require all employees to be union members. Rather, the bill mandates automatic dues checkoff from all public employees' paychecks whether they're union members or not.

Shanker really appreciates the agency shop.

As more and more teachers have become disgusted with Shanker's racist and do-nothing policies, many have voted with their feet by leaving the union.

The agency shop is a reward to loyal union bureaucrats who collaborate with the Democratic city administration. It strengthens the bureaucrats' hand against the membership by guaranteeing dues income even from those who drop out of the union.

Shanker also pointed out that Beame will help maintain the board of education's racist and sexist policies in hiring, promotions, and assignments.

These policies were exposed in a 1976 Health, Education and Welfare report. The report showed that among major cities, New York has one of the worst records of discrimination. Shanker's response was to join with our boss, the board of education, in attacking the report and defending these discriminatory practices.

Shanker then went on to assert that without Beame we would not have a contract. He claimed to see a change in atmosphere and assured delegates that the corner had been turned in the city's crisis.

This change of atmosphere is a figment of Shanker's imagination.

A contract signed under a wage freeze that doesn't even keep up with the cost of living can hardly be regarded as a triumph for teachers. Beame and the wealthy interests who run him plan further cuts in social services and in the living standards of working people.

Shanker concluded by saying, "I have never seen a clearer choice before."

Shanker is right. Beame is the candidate for him—but not for teachers. For us, support to Beame and other Democratic and Republican politicians is a losing strategy.

'Trying to drive us off picket lines'

Iron ore strikers hit with insurance cutoff

By Andy Rose

EVELETH, Minn.—In an attempt to demoralize striking iron ore workers, the steel corporations have declared they are canceling payments of insurance premiums for striking employees as of September 1.

The 19,000 strikers in northern Min-

'Militant' staff writer Andy Rose is on the Minnesota iron range collecting material for future stories on the steelworkers' strike there.

nesota and Michigan thus face the prospect of either losing their medical and life insurance or paying premiums of \$100 a month for a single family.

Bill Larson, president of United Steelworkers of America Local 4757, in Babbitt, Minnesota, denounced the company action as "a strikebreaking tactic."

"I don't think they can get away with it," Linus Wampler, director of USWA District 33, told the *Militant*.

The companies are openly violating the union contract, which states that in the event of a strike, "The Company

will advance premiums for [insurance] coverage during . . . 30 days, which premiums will be repaid by the Employees. During such 30 days, the parties will discuss procedures and arrangement with respect to further continuation of insurance coverage and the repayment of premiums advanced."

The steel companies have refused even to discuss continuation of insurance coverage—just as they have refused to negotiate any issues since the strike began August 1.

U.S. Steel—the first company to send out letters to employees announcing the cancellation—dismissed the contract language with the arrogant statement, "there are no contractual obligations under an illegal strike."

Local 4757 President Larson responded by asking why, if the strike was in fact illegal, a federal judge had refused the steel companies' request for an antistrike injunction.

"These people would like to see it made illegal for us to strike over anything at any time," Larson angrily told the *Militant*.

The steel companies contend that the

strike violates the Experimental Negotiating Agreement signed by former USWA President I.W. Abel in 1973. The ENA prohibits a nationwide steel strike, but supposedly allows local strikes over local issues. There are 1,250 unresolved local issues in the iron ore strike, including health and safety protection, seniority practices, fresh drinking water, and protective clothing in cold weather.

One of the demands of the iron ore workers is for incentive-pay plans such as those in the basic steel industry. This, the companies claim, is an "economic" issue rather than a local issue.

Wampler called the company argument a "smokescreen" to cover their own refusal to negotiate. "Our best legal brains have determined it is a local issue," he said. "No two incentive plans [in basic steel] are alike—all are handled on a local basis."

Larson summed up the meaning of the company's latest escalation: "The companies have shown they are ready to use any means to break this strike," he said. "This is a cruel way to do it. They'd like to wait until we have

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BULLETIN

MINNEAPOLIS, Sept. 1—A federal district court judge here has ordered the steel corporations to continue advancing payment on insurance premiums for some 19,000 striking iron ore workers. Moments after midnight last night—when the insurance premiums were due to lapse—Judge Miles Lord ruled that the companies' threat to cut off payments violated the contract.

Lord castigated the companies' disregard for the health and well-being of thousands of striking employees and their families.

He rejected the steel companies' contention that the union should pay the premiums from its \$95 million strike fund.

Joe Samargia, president of USWA Local 1938 at U.S. Steel's Minntac plant, told the *Militant*, "It's great—this is the shot in the arm that we needed."

—A.R.

Bay Area machinists locals under attack

Rylock

By Robert West

OAKLAND, Calif.—Eighty workers on strike against Rylock Ltd.—a manufacturer of aluminum window frames in the South Bay city of Union City—are fighting to save their union, the International Association of Machinists.

They went on strike April 1, the first strike at the plant in forty years. The action was precipitated by company demands to slash wages of new hires from \$7 to \$3.50, eliminate seniority rights, and cut benefits, including medical coverage.

More than forty scabs now run the shop. Protected by a private security detail, the scabs regularly harass pickets. Several strikers have been hospitalized when supervisors raced their cars through the line. Pickets have even been fired on.

The company has added to its list of demands, since it clearly has the upper hand. Rylock now insists that the union agree to the firing of twenty-one strikers because of their "activity" on the picket lines. Some of these workers have worked at Rylock for more than thirty years.

Beyond paying small, though crucial, strike benefits and sending appeals for funds to other unions, the

IAM leadership has done nothing to beat back this union-busting drive.

The strikers have aroused sympathy and some news coverage because of the violence directed against them.

But the IAM leadership has made no effort to mobilize support from the labor movement and from the rest of the public. With aid from unions, students, and prominent local figures, Rylock could be scandalized for its brutal actions. Large purchasers of Rylock window frames could be pressured to end business with the company.

An attempt to aid the strikers is under way in several East Bay locals of the United Steelworkers of America. A drive to collect food for the strikers, initiated in USWA Local 1304, has spread to several shops and two other USWA locals. All of these small efforts, by themselves, will not be enough to break the determination of Rylock to bust the IAM union shop. But they are a beginning.

Caterpillar

By Robert West

OAKLAND, Calif.—Caterpillar workers on strike here since May 1 voted 792 to 372 to return to work August 2. The contract they approved

was negotiated by the international office of the International Association of Machinists behind the backs of the local negotiating committee.

The workers were forced to vote for a strike because the company threatened to weaken seniority rights and institute a grievance system whereby the supervisors control the stewards.

IAM President William Winpisinger personally intervened to end the militant strike by dispatching International Vice-president Stan Jensen with orders to come to terms with Caterpillar without consultation with the local strike leaders.

Jensen mounted a pressure campaign to discredit the negotiating committee and to avoid discussing the issues of the strike by red-baiting all opposition to the proposed contract.

The IAM mailed out ballots for the contract before any union meeting even had a chance to discuss the proposal.

Nine hundred Cat workers signed a petition circulated by the strike committee demanding withdrawal of the mailed ballot for a contract they had not seen or heard an explanation of.

Arguing that the mailed ballot was a violation of the IAM constitution and a denial of basic democracy, Cat workers unsuccessfully sought a court order to halt the voting procedure.

Under pressure, the IAM tops finally

did call a union meeting to "answer questions about the contract." More than 400 angry workers showed up to give voice to the resentment and bitterness brewing in the ranks.

Jensen was booed off the platform, and similar treatment was afforded anyone associated with the international's efforts to go around the negotiating committee.

The negotiating committee urged rejection of the contract proposal, citing seniority and grievance rights as the biggest issues yet to be settled. Advances were made, however, in the health, safety, and wage clauses of the new proposal.

The vote favoring the contract showed that the majority of Cat workers concluded they were not in a position to continue the thirteen-week strike under the pressure of the international. Many strikers felt that despite its weaknesses, the latest proposal was at least a step forward from previous company offers.

For some, the strike exposed the destructive nature of the labor bureaucracy's class collaboration, that is, their working with the bosses to come up with an "acceptable" agreement, ignoring the needs of the workers.

What is needed is a union leadership with the confidence of the workers that can do battle with the bosses in full sight of the union.

Hussmann out to break union in Mo. steel strike

By David Welters

BRIDGETON, Mo.—Every workday several hundred cars drive down Taussig Road here and turn through a gate in the eight-foot fence surrounding the parking lot of the Hussmann Refrigeration Company.

A small force of security guards, municipal police, and company officials patrol the scene in this small community outside St. Louis.

This massive scab operation is an ominous reminder to the skeleton picket crew, restricted by court order, and to the 1,500 striking steelworkers at Hussman, that their union is in serious danger.

The strikers, members of United Steelworkers Local 13889, have been out on strike since May 1. The com-

pany is showing no inclination to settle.

The union's original demand was a two-dollar wage hike to bring their pay into line with Hussmann plants elsewhere in the United States and Canada. Base pay at the Bridgeton plant is now \$4.65.

Hussmann at first offered forty-five cents for one year and demanded a large-scale combination of job classifications and a reduction in the number of shop stewards to one per shift.

Union members say these measures would result in the layoff of up to 500 workers and virtually eliminate union representation on the job.

The plant was shut down throughout the first month of the strike. In June, however, the company began

hiring scabs, and their number has grown steadily since then.

On July 13 Hussmann resubmitted its offer with a \$1.35-an-hour wage increase over three years, and sent letters to all strikers announcing that anyone not returning to work by July 18 would be fired. At a special union meeting 1,100 union members rejected the offer in a nearly unanimous vote.

The company's position has been bolstered by court orders that have limited the number of pickets to two per gate and closed the union's initial headquarters, located in a trailer home directly across from the plant.

More than 100 strikers have been arrested, charged with violating the court orders.

Active support for the strike by the St. Louis labor movement has regrettably been lacking. In contrast to the support the company has lined up, union activities have been small, consisting mostly of Local 13889 members.

Not until mid-August did the St. Louis Central Labor Council declare its support and announce a boycott of Hussmann products.

Negotiations with a federal mediator began August 23.

The union has offered to drop all previous demands except the cost-of-living allowance and to resubmit the previous company offer if Hussmann agrees to fire the scabs.

Company representatives have turned down this offer.

Arizona antideportation activist supports San Antonio Chicano/Latino conference

The following are excerpts from a talk by Margo Cowan at a July 29 planning meeting of sixty Tucson, Arizona, antideportation activists. In response to a Call to Action by Texas Raza Unida Party leader José Angel Gutiérrez, the meeting decided to send a caravan to the October 28-30 national Chicano/Latino conference in San Antonio.

Cowan is director of Tucson's Manzo Area Council, a barrio community agency. In 1976 she and three associates were indicted for



MARGO COWAN

Mark Day

"illegally" counseling undocumented immigrants. The case won broad support and the indictments were dropped. Manzo continues to offer assistance to undocumented people.

For more information on the San Antonio conference, or to send needed contributions, write: International Committee on Immigration and Public Policy, 1927 West Commerce Street, San Antonio, Texas 78807. Phone: (512) 227-1220.

I'm really happy to see that there are some clients [undocumented immigrants] here at the meeting. It shows they're ready to put themselves up front in the struggle. . . .

What is the purpose of the San Antonio Call to Action?

Well, in November of last year there was a soccer game in Washington. And Immigration, the Border Patrol, and park guards surrounded the park and summarily arrested people leaving the game.

That incident organized a whole lot of people on a national basis who are concerned about the way the racist Immigration and Naturalization and the Border Patrol treat the Latino community in the United States. . . .

I think it's hard for those of us in Tucson to realize what kind of implications and ramifications were present in our indictment. Manzo defense committees were formed in Seattle, Washington; all up and down California; in New Mexico; Colorado; South Texas; Chicago; Detroit; Wisconsin; New York; D.C.

There was tremendous concern raised on a national level by people who, in their individual communities, were dealing with immigration abuses, but had never been part of a national or united effort.

There were thirty-two inquiries by members of Congress. Two attorney generals reviewed the case.

Cathy Montaña [one of the Manzo defendants], some clients, and Manzo board members went on a *caravana* to Washington. They met with people in the White House and the immigration commissioner. And the indictments were dropped.

At the same time, Leonel Castillo was appointed the first Chicano commissioner of INS.

There was a point this April, in a press conference, where he referred not

to "illegal aliens," but to undocumented people. And he talked about the contributions these people have made to the community, to society, to the economy. . . .

We have to look very closely at the things that affected what happened between December and April. The pressure was taken off. The indictments against us were dropped. Castillo was appointed commissioner.

It was like those were the bones that were thrown to the community to stop this kind of national organizing effort.

So it was at that time that people all over the country—from José Angel Gutiérrez in Texas to Bert Corona in California, and other people—began talking about putting together some kind of national meeting in order to have an impact on this system, which is clearly not up to date with the demands of the community, the needs of the community.

The idea was to put together a national conference that would be open, be free, be very supportive of the different kinds of immigration struggles, and would attempt to come up with very specific recommendations on policy and program.

And what's been happening is that communities all over the Southwest, all over the country, are getting together just like we are tonight and trying to decide what issues we want to have an impact on.

The October San Antonio conference is completely open, and we should be organizing for it, holding a lot of meetings. When we go we'll try to take a lot of clients, and we should try to go in a *caravana*. . . .

National groups all over the country are realizing that the whole division in the Spanish-speaking community is now being dealt with, and the community is beginning to get itself together. I think that this is what's so

important about what we do here in Tucson. . . .

When Manzo first began talking about undocumented people, there were very few people who would stand with us. But I think the community has now come to the point of saying, "This is an issue we have to deal with."

I think we have to take the momentum, and take the leadership, and we have to really turn this thing around. The system has to be made to adjust to a whole migration of people.

'Alien' arrests up 51 percent

By Arnold Weissberg

Arrests of "illegal aliens" crossing the border from Mexico have increased 51 percent since President Carter announced his "amnesty" plan for undocumented immigrants last month.

During the first three weeks of August, the Border Patrol picked up 50,705 Mexicans. There were 33,495 arrests during the same period in 1976.

Mexico's steadily worsening economic situation is the main cause of the increase in attempts to reach the United States. "I would say that unemployment and underemployment, aggravated by the drought this year, are pushing a lot more people up here," Border Patrolman Jack Richardson said.

But the 50,000 arrests show that under the Carter administration, as under previous Democratic and Republican administrations, the United States is anything but a land of opportunity.

As Andrew Young meets 'Baby Doc'

Miami authorities jail 81 Haitian refugees

By Lee Smith

MIAMI—Human Rights for Haitian Refugees, a new coalition formed here August 20, has called for an August 31 picket line at the office of the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS), and an October 1 mass march and rally protesting the Carter administration's immigration policies victimizing Haitian refugees.

Events the previous week clearly

showed the need for such action. On Monday, August 15, the Coast Guard towed in from offshore a small, creaky sailboat crowded with sixty-five refugees from Haiti. The following day sixteen more Haitians arrived in a twenty-four-foot boat.

These latest 81 refugees, like some 2,000 others who have arrived in Florida during the past five years, were rushed through processing and sent

directly to jail.

This all coincided with United Nations Ambassador Andrew Young's return from Haiti where he had met with dictator "Baby Doc" Jean-Claude Duvalier. Praising Duvalier as a sincere man who "wants to do the right thing," Young claimed there were only twenty-one political prisoners in the country.

Amnesty International lists 255 political prisoners by name. It also cites reports from church-related organizations of massive use of torture and executions of Haitian political dissidents.

Young did concede that human rights were being violated in Haiti. The coincidence of Young's statement with the arrival of the eighty-one refugees spotlighted the treatment these refugees receive in this country. It tended to undermine the INS position that Haitian exiles are not political refugees but have immigrated "only to get jobs."

To head off any sympathy generated for the refugees, the *Miami Herald* argued against asylum in an editorial August 18. The editorial repeated Young's whitewash of the Duvalier dictatorship.

That same day Carter appointee Leonel Castillo, U.S. immigration commissioner, was in Miami to meet with his local underlings. He echoed the same line.

"Reports from Amnesty International keep saying that terrible things are happening there," Castillo told the *Miami Herald*, "but the reports we get

from the State Department say that things aren't so bad, that they're even improving."

Washington's treatment of Haitian refugees contrasts glaringly with the reception given to Cuban exiles, who make up a large part of Miami's population. This contradiction is noted in a letter to the editors of the *Miami Herald* being circulated by Bettye Wiggs, a leader of the new Human Rights for Haitian Refugees coalition, and staff worker for the National Council of Churches Office of Haitian Refugee Concerns.

"A large part of Miami's population is made up of recent refugees whose reception was quite different from that now being accorded to the Haitians," Wiggs says. "Neither Washington's friendly relations with Haiti's dictator nor the black skin of Haitian refugees can reasonably excuse a double standard on political refugees."

The August 20 meeting also heard a report on the October 28-30 Chicano/Latino Conference on Immigration and Public Policy to be held in San Antonio, Texas.

Participants at the new coalition's founding meeting included staff members from the Haitian Refugee Center, as well as representatives of several churches, the Dade County Democratic Party Executive Committee, the Florida Alliance Against Repression, American Friends Service Committee, Student Coalition Against Racism, and the Socialist Workers Party.



Haitian refugees arrive in Miami after thirty days at sea on leaky boat.

Angry celebration

Women celebrated August 26 angrily this year. Angry that fifty-seven years after women won the vote, Democratic and Republican politicians still deny them the Equal Rights Amendment. Angry that big business and all levels of government are conspiring to send women back to butcher abortionists, to keep them in the lowest-paying jobs, even to deprive them of jobs and return them to their "place" in the home.

In many cities across the country, women joined walk-a-thons for the ERA to commemorate the suffrage victory. In some places, such as New York and Seattle, the women's movement expanded the day's activities with rallies and marches to involve more women and their supporters. The demands were broadened to include all women's rights under attack.

The results were modest, yet important, successes. They once again served notice of the massive and powerful movement that could take to the streets if women's rights continue to be trampled on.

In Washington, D.C.—home of the antiwoman triumvirate made up of the White House, Congress, and Supreme Court—seventy groups supporting the ERA were represented in a "delegated" march. Carter even granted a select few an audience in the Rose Garden.

But the real significance of that action was not Carter's oft-stated but never-acted-on support for the ERA. It was the trade unions, Black, Latino, and women's groups represented in the march. If those organizations had called on their members to march, with threats to bring still more the next time, Carter would have been impelled to do more than proclaim Women's Equality Day. And his cohorts in legislatures across the nation also would have gotten the message.

The August 26 actions were sparks, and they should be used to build the needed fire—a broad social movement that can win women's equality.

Profit hungry

In 1933, in the midst of the hunger and poverty of the Great Depression, Franklin D. Roosevelt ordered the slaughter of thousands of baby pigs. Why? To increase the price of pork so that American agribusiness could turn a profit.

The hog slaughter was not an aberration. It marked the beginning of a basic governmental policy in agriculture—to boost profits by creating shortages.

Under the new "set aside" program that President Carter announced August 29, he will seek congressional authorization to force a cut in wheat acreage in 1978 by 11 million acres—one fifth of all wheat acreage in the nation. It will reduce U.S. food production by 20 million tons of wheat.

A recently released two-year study of world food production and hunger by the National Research Council documented a desperate crisis. It found that between 450 million and 1 billion people—as much as one quarter of the world's population—suffer from malnutrition.

The study also concluded that contrary to what Washington would like us to believe, the main cause of malnutrition is not overpopulation. "The major immediate cause of hunger is poverty," said the government-sponsored report. The hungry are unable to obtain food because of high prices and inequitable income distribution.

It is in the face of such massive suffering that Carter and America's ruling rich are once again making the decision to restrict food production.

It is a decision that will result in the starvation of thousands and perhaps even millions of human beings.

It is a brutally irrational decision when measured against every conceivable criteria, save one—to maintain the profits of the agribusiness monopolists.

The crisis of world food production can only be solved through its total reorganization as *social production for human need*.

The solution lies in nationalizing the food monopolies and placing them under the democratic control of working people and consumers.

The food trusts and their government, of course, will never permit such a solution. The entire economy will have to be reorganized under the control of the producers themselves.

The accomplishment of this great historic task is the great challenge of our times. The choice is one of socialist revolution and abundance, or the continuation of world hunger and misery under capitalism.

Zionist censorship

As some of your readers already are aware, the international edition of the *Jerusalem Post* is available in the United States. Supposedly it takes the significant articles from the previous week's issue. But what they don't tell us is that they cut out obviously important parts of the original articles.

For example, in the August 15 daily, an article appeared, "What Americans think of Israel," an interview with Prof. Seymour Martin Lipset. In the August 16 international edition, the article is entitled, "Why Carter is in a hurry on the Middle East," and the following is omitted:

"Prof. Lipset bases these views on a recent study he completed in collaboration with Prof. William Schneider, of Harvard University, on 'American opinion toward Israel and the Jews.' The study, which analyses various opinion-poll findings on this question, concludes that whereas the American public's support for Israel vis-a-vis the *Arabs* has not been eroded, when the question concerns support for Israel or for the *Palestinians*, the outcome is much more even."

There are similar cuts in other articles that appeared in that issue of the international edition.

Lenny Glaser
Berkeley, California

'Honest and factual'

I have been a reader of the *Militant* for about six months. The *Militant* is one of the very few papers in this country that provides its readers with honest and factual reporting. The article on Gary Tyler certainly served to highlight this fact.

Gary Tyler's plight is a prime example of the racism and inhumane living conditions inmates at Angola [State Penitentiary] are subjected to on a daily basis. Gary is fortunate that the cruel and callous racist overseers did not have him confined to the newly built, notorious camp "J" strip tier for refusing to be exploited.

Angola provides an ideal atmosphere for the sadistic and racist guards employed as "correctional officers."

I hope to see more articles in the *Militant* exposing the putrid penal system in this country.

A prisoner
Angola, Louisiana

'Rocky' I

Fortunately, as Gary Cohen complains in his letter in the August 26 issue, the *Militant* has seen fit not to distort the real content of the movie *Rocky* by portraying it as a ruling-class plot to brainwash the American people against busing, affirmative action, welfare rights, women's and gay rights, the colonial revolution, etc.

What Cohen's letter amounts to is an attempt to apply the criteria of "socialist realism" to an excellent, though innocuous, film about life, love, and boxing. Yes, boxing!

Cohen's notion that *Rocky* was designed to pit "one section of the oppressed against another" in order to divide and conquer is ludicrous. The only confrontation between oppressed people occurs in the ring and not as a metaphorical symbol of the class struggle.

The artistic devices used in the movie, such as caricature and satire, have to be twisted extensively to conform to Cohen's schematic view of all art as merely a mirror image of the class struggle; with good guys and bad

guys, capitalist-readers, and proletarian fighters.

Cohen comments that, "a film like *Rocky* doesn't help poor white workers to see the commonality of struggle with Blacks against a common enemy." True enough. But if Cohen expects such movies from the bourgeois Hollywood film industry he should get an Oscar for naiveté.

There are racist films and there are antiracist films. *Rocky* is neither. It is an action-packed, two-fisted, two-hour chunk of the so-called American dream. "A story about a guy whose whole life was a million-to-one shot."

And that's the name of 'dat tune.

Bruce Farnsworth
Jon Sternberg
Denver, Colorado

'Rocky' II

A recent letter to the *Militant* referred to the "racist nature" of the popular film *Rocky*. According to the writer, *Rocky* "is a perfect complement to the attacks on affirmative action, busing, welfare rights, and so on." He favorably cites the views of a Boston columnist who "sees the film as propaganda designed to increase the perception" (my emphasis) that Blacks are to blame for the problems of poor whites. The writer, Gary Cohen, also objects to the "disgusting, revolting caricature of Ali," and complains that the movie "doesn't help" poor whites to unite with Blacks.

First of all, the movie has nothing to do with affirmative action, busing, or welfare—and it's hardly a deliberate effort to divide Blacks and whites. It's just the story of the struggle of one individual underdog against overwhelming odds. The individual happened to be an Italian-American from Philadelphia.

Past his peak, and probably never that great a fighter anyway, Rocky gets an unexpected chance to box the world champion. From the viewpoint of the champion, it's just a publicity gimmick. Rocky loses, but puts up a great fight, surprising everyone. And movie audiences are surprised and delighted as well—everyone loves an underdog!

There was a caricature of Ali, but it was realistic. The real-life Ali not only resisted the draft, but is unfortunately also a sexist, egotist, a supporter of Democratic politicians, etc. But, in the ring, Ali should be judged on his boxing ability, not on some admittedly "disgusting, revolting" personal traits.

And the movie *Rocky* should be judged on its artistic merit, not by some "political" criteria. And those who enjoyed *Rocky* for its artistic merit should not be criticized for "failing to deal with" the movie's alleged "political" faults.

Steve Beren
Jackson Heights, New York

Native American land rights

It's instructive to watch officials in Maine squirm around looking for a legal excuse for their thievery of Native American tribal lands. The Passamaquoddy and Penobscot tribes have a strong case for land rights, and the federal courts have decided that the federal government always did have the legal responsibility of protecting these tribes from abuses such as phony land deals. This makes the state treaty invalid.

But Maine officials, in their efforts to keep every bit of the 12 million acres that their predecessors stole from the tribes in 1794 have lately dredged up a

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international **socialist** review



GEORGE NOVACK

Charles Ostrofsky



MICHAEL HARRINGTON

The Politics and Philosophy of Michael Harrington's 'The Twilight of Capitalism'

By George Novack

Women in Iran

By Furogh Rad



Furogh Rad

THE MONTH IN REVIEW

Rise of the Right?

Escalating attacks on abortion rights, oppressed minorities, and gays, have prompted alarm among some on the left about the rise of a "new" right—perhaps even a mass fascist movement. Some see American society as caught up in rampaging reaction that is sweeping away the radical sentiments of the 1960s.

An example of this view appeared in the July 13, 1977, issue of the pro-Maoist weekly *Guardian*. Executive Editor Irwin Silber began a lead article by asserting, "The U.S. right is building a mass base." He continued, "Two of its current crusades—opposition to abortion and the 'threat' posed by homosexuality . . . have greatly magnified the right's influence."

Forces that Silber calls "neofascist" are "developing a political clout which has already been reflected both in Congress and in state legislatures," even though the *Guardian* editor asserts that they have yet to get backing from the summits of finance capital.

As proof of the "new" right's power, Silber cites measures barring Medicaid-funded abortions to poor women that "were enacted largely in response to the pressures of the antiabortion lobby and out of fear of the political consequences for those who refused to bow to rightwing pressures."

Silber's estimate gives the Carter administration and Republican and Democratic legislators too much credit. Together with the Catholic hierarchy, these capitalist politicians have promoted the anti-abortion crusade, flouting the overwhelming pro-abortion sentiments of working people. Their aim is to reinforce sexist discrimination and attitudes. Silber's view fosters the illusion that the president and Congress are attacking women's rights only because of "pressure" exerted by surging rightists.

In fact it is the ruling-class attack on working people, women, and the oppressed nationalities—spearheaded by Carter and his congressional allies—that has given the extreme right greater confidence and stirred it into new activity.

The impulse given to these attacks by the ruling class and its government can create the impression of far wider popular support for the reactionary stands of the far right than exists in reality.

The "new" rightists are reactionary forces that are polarizing around the ruling-class offensive against gains won by working people during more than four decades. The *Guardian's* conception—which implies a

rising right wing "pressuring" a "moderate" ruling class onto a reactionary course—is a serious political error.

* * *

That is not Silber's worst error.

He leaves out of his analysis the response of the forces that are under attack by the ruling class. He sees the attacks on the living standards of working people, but not the shift in the outlook of workers represented by developments in the United Steelworkers and United Mine Workers unions. He sees attacks on abortion and the ERA, but not the stirrings among women—especially women of the oppressed minorities. He allows Anita Bryant's antihomosexual tirades to blind him to the significance of the mass demonstrations for gay rights that followed the Miami setback. He sees racist attacks on Black people—but not the self-assertiveness and potential power that was demonstrated when the lights went out in New York City.

What is taking place in the United States is not a clash between "rightists" on the rise and "leftists" in retreat, but a *class polarization*. The ruling class has launched an offensive against the working class and its allies. The rulers aim to make workers pay for the deepening problems of U.S. capitalism at home and abroad. In response, the workers and their allies are being compelled to rethink old ideas, to look for effective means of fighting back, and ultimately to challenge capitalist domination.

The capitalist offensive has a determined leadership—the ruling class and its agents, the Carter administration and the two capitalist parties. The oppressed are saddled with conservative and class-collaborationist leaderships that yield vital ground to the attackers. This situation gives the ruling-class attacks greater visibility and momentum.

This is a temporary phenomenon, however. A massive clash between opposed classes and their allies is building up—not simply a one-sided rightist assault. This clash will eventually pose the issue of which class will rule in this country.

Carter knows that the political situation is more complex than Silber thinks. That is why Carter tries to cover his reactionary tracks with liberal imagemongering. While attacking the right to abortion, he stresses his "support" for the ERA. He presents a racist assault on undocumented workers as a liberal reform granting "amnesty" to millions of "illegals." He conceals the meaning of his attacks on busing and equal job opportunity by placing the administration "on record" in support of school integration and affirmative action. He beclouds attacks on workers' living standards by proposing phony "pro-labor" legislation, promptly hailed by the AFL-CIO officialdom. He carries out imperialist policies in the name of "human rights."

Carter's progressive image is a fake. He would hardly have to bother with such deceptions, however, if a mass rightist

movement were sweeping the country. Carter is trying to carry forward the ruling-class offensive without sparking a massive confrontation with working people and their allies. He seeks to avoid a clash because the ruling class does not believe it could win such a test of strength.

Carter's ability to avoid a confrontation with the victims of his policies is primarily due to the pro-Carter, pro-Democratic Party policies of the leaders of the labor, Black, and women's movements. Growing anger at Carter's policies among the oppressed will make it increasingly difficult for him to carry out his reactionary game plan while retaining a "populist" image.

* * *

Silber's misestimate of the rightist opposition to abortion, integration, and equal rights as a mass fascist movement stems from the errors noted above. If capitalist reaction were rising without a counterpolarization of the oppressed and exploited, the ruling class would not need a fascist movement. The attacks on the rights and living standards of working people could be carried to completion without disturbing bourgeois democracy or the two-party system.

However, the working class and its allies have a vast combat capacity that will inevitably enable them to burst through the obstacles created by their class-collaborationist leaderships. The resulting challenge to capitalism will be far too powerful to be defeated through "normal" capitalist repression.

The real threat of a fascist victory will come only after the working class has had a chance to replace the outmoded capitalism with socialism. If the working-class counteroffensive stalls due to misleadership—without breaking with the Democrats, creating a mass party based on the struggles of working people, and establishing a workers government—then the ruling class will find among the millions of disappointed and demoralized people a base for a fascist assault on the workers movement. Such a decisive battle is not imminent today.

However, the stirrings among workers, women, and oppressed nationalities provide great opportunities for socialists to assure a favorable outcome to the approaching class confrontations. This can be done by fighting to break the union movement from the disastrous policy of supporting Carter and the Democrats and to set it on a class-struggle course leading to the formation of a labor party; and by fighting for mass actions of the Black, Chicano, and women's movements independent of the Democratic Party and the Carter administration.

The key to ultimate success is the patient building of a revolutionary socialist party that can provide the program and strategy needed for a socialist victory—the Socialist Workers Party.

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Iranian Women: Oppression and Resistance

Princess Ashraf, the shah's sister, and Queen Farah claim to be 'feminists' seeking to liberate Iranian women. In fact, the shah's tyrannical rule rests on sexist discrimination and brutal mistreatment of women.

By Furogh Rad

"Atefeh, you have three choices," they said; "undergo electrocution, submit to being poisoned, or be run over by a car." The seventeen-year-old woman accepted the last choice, hoping to survive. Hours afterward passersby found her lying unconscious and took her to the hospital where she remained unconscious and half-paralyzed.

This recent case of an Iranian woman whose sexual relationship with a "respected" clergyman was discovered by her family sums up the current status of women in Iran today. Her brother and her uncle took it upon themselves to eradicate the blot on their "male honor" by conducting a family trial, sentencing her to death, and then carrying out the execution.

Atefeh's case is not an exceptional one but part of the fabric of daily life for Iranian women today. In fact, the treatment of Atefeh is encouraged by Iranian law. Under Article 197 of the family code a man may murder his female relative if in his eyes she has dishonored him. Jealous husbands and male relatives who feel their sisters and daughters are dressing or socializing inappropriately are given a legal weapon to use against them.

Iran is a backward country, and a telling indicator of this backwardness is the position of Iranian women. Just as the state—ruled by the shah in complicity with U.S. imperialism—must maintain its repressive apparatus in order to survive, the individual family unit—ruled by the male—also maintains itself by means of terror.

The veiling of women also expresses their oppression, graphically demonstrating their traditional isolation from society. A recent survey revealed that 68 percent of female students wore the veil because of pressure exerted by the men of the household. Every aspect of Iranian society mirrors women's secondary status. The laws discriminate against women, and the lack of educational facilities for women, along with traditional values of a masculine society, functions to keep women within the narrow limits of the family, with all the economic dependence that entails.

The Family and Its Laws in Iran

Despite the increased industrialization and changing modes of production brought about by the penetration of foreign capital in Iran, an Iranian family's fundamental function has remained unchanged. Whether in the extended structure of the rural and tribal societies, or in the new nuclear family pattern evolving in Tehran, the family is, to quote Princess Ashraf, writing in *The Iranian Woman, Past and Present*, "the first, the smallest, and the most important unit in the social structure."

Among the possessing classes, the Iranian family is a mechanism for passing on property from generation to generation. As for the working and peasant masses, the family serves to impose private responsibility for the welfare of the individual family members and provides the cheapest possible mode of maintaining and reproducing the worker and poor peasant classes. In this institution, Iranian women are burdened with the assignment of reproduction, child care, and the care of the old and sick as well as preparing the family's food, clothing, and household needs.

Furogh Rad is a supporter of the Committee for Artistic and Intellectual Freedom in Iran



Furogh Rad

The economic dependence of women is maintained through the social division of labor in the family, women's slavery in the house. It is reinforced by a whole body of law and by the backwardness of the economy itself. Only a minority of women are employed. This fact, plus the reactionary "family" and "labor" laws, has kept women dependent on and dominated by men.

In the rural areas, and to a lesser extent in the cities, marriage partners are chosen without their own consent and many times without any previous acquaintance. In addition to the overtly forced marriages, social pressure dictates that the woman who is not married by twenty-one is considered "defective." Many women finally succumb to marrying the least evil" partner presented because the social pressure becomes unbearable.

The traditional sum paid by the husband's family to the bride's family shows that marriage is a business transaction in which women are bought and sold.

However, one of the contradictions of the capitalist mode of production, which is increasingly prevalent in Iran, is the need to hire women workers, which undermines the foundations of the family institution. Skyrocketing prices and food shortages are driving more women to search for jobs, producing an implicit challenge to the archaic family structure. It is because of this that Princess Ashraf mounted a propaganda campaign about the benefits of the family, warning women that their stepped-up participation in the labor force is "against the interest of the family." The family in Iran, as elsewhere, is a pillar of class rule.

The Family Protection Law, originally adopted in 1967, has been revised twice supposedly to benefit women. But a brochure published by the Women's Organization of Iran (a government-approved body formally headed by Princess Ashraf) admits that a majority of the laws are in reality rephrasings of the old anti-woman laws.

Although over the last fifteen years the number of families where both husband and wife work has increased tenfold, Article 1105 of the Civil Law states that the husband is the head of

the family. Thus he is empowered to make all decisions regarding family welfare. This law holds the male responsible for "essential" family expenses (food, housing) but exempts him from obligations for such "nonessentials" as medical expenses. While his economic obligation is thus circumscribed, the woman's refusal to have sexual relations with her husband is sufficient grounds for him to refuse financial support. By legally providing the husband with minimal duties while dictating that his wife's body always be accessible to him, family law reinforces male domination while degrading women. In fact, family law provides the legal basis for women's oppression within the family.

'Sigheh'

Despite the regime's claim to have abolished all forms of polygamy, the practice of *sigheh* is still upheld by the law. *Sigheh* is a form of "temporary" marriage. In the *sigheh* contract a specific price is set for a given period of time ranging from one hour up to ninety-nine years. At the end of the specified period the marriage is dissolved with no further obligation on the husband's part, as there might well be in the event of divorce.

Many men prefer *sigheh* because of the limited financial burden it entails and because they can set the duration of the marriage. In return the wife is required to have sexual relations with her husband. Thus *sigheh* is an inexpensive and legal form of prostitution. It is also a way that a small businessman can procure a cheap supply of free labor. Many women who are in "temporary" marriages work in shops and factories owned by their "husbands." They are entitled neither to wages nor to coverage by the laws regulating working conditions. They are their husband's slaves.

Polygamy is still practiced widely in Iran. The regime claims that polygamy exists only when the woman gives "free consent." M. Khamenei, in *Family Laws in Simple Language*, points out that the recently adopted Article 14 provides that "for a man to acquire a second wife he must request permission from the court; the court will



Vida Hadjebi Tabrizi, a sociologist, was kidnapped by the shah's secret police and sentenced to seven years in prison although no charges against her were made public. After being tortured in the Evin prison until her life was endangered, she was transferred after international protests. She has now reportedly been returned to the Evin torture chamber. Press reports assert that she has been murdered or blinded and crippled by her torturers.

then give such permission when it has taken certain necessary steps and *if possible* inquiry of the wife, the financial capabilities of the husband. . . . So, she remarks, "the law with frankness has put the stamp of approval on polygamy. . . ."

The cases she cites to back this up are revealing. She describes how in the majority of such cases the women cannot even read the court order. Many women believe it is a household bill and hand it over to the husband. A few days later the woman is faced with a second "wife" in the house. What can this court notice mean to more than three-quarters of the women in the country who remain illiterate? In reality, the court, and not the woman, approves the man's petition for another wife. But even if the woman were to signify her approval, such a formal consent would mean little, given her economic dependence.

The Women's Organization wrongly asserts that since the new law only mentions a *second* wife, it excludes a third or fourth wife. But with the existence of *sigheh* up to four wives are easily allowed. A provision stating that the second wife is also to be punished if the marriage takes place without the court's permission makes *women* the victims of this law. Many women who wed out of economic necessity don't know there is a first wife, but are held legally as responsible as the male. Such is the government's conception of equality.

Hundreds of laws and provisions continue to enslave women. A woman must have her father's permission to marry, while there is no legal counterpart for men. It is also necessary for a woman seeking employment to obtain her husband's permission. Specifically she can only work if it does not "disgrace" the husband or in any way "threaten" family responsibilities. Her residency is determined by her husband. She must obtain the permission of her husband to leave the country. The marriage of Muslim women to non-Muslim men is forbidden. Marriage to a foreigner, even where there is no legal

obstacle, requires special permission from the government, but there is no such provision for men who marry non-Iranians.

Under the shah's divorce reform law a man can no longer divorce his wife without "notice" through a registration process. He must request a divorce from the court. Women can also obtain a divorce. But court cases publicized in the censored Iranian press show that it can take years for a woman to obtain a divorce, because of judicial attempts to encourage her to "try" to make the marriage "work." In one case, a woman who was beaten daily by her husband appeared in court with bruises only to be told, "Try and live with him a little longer, things may change." It took her two years to get a divorce.

There is a stigma attached to a woman who is divorced, but not to the male, and it is considered the man's legal right to keep the children. Fear of losing their children and fear for their economic future keep women trapped in marriages.

Inheritance Laws

As Simone de Beauvoir remarked, one way to judge the position of women in a given society is to look at the inheritance laws. In Iran, with the death of a father, a daughter receives one-half as much inheritance as her brothers. The wife, if she has no children, will receive one-quarter; otherwise she receives one-eighth.

Real equality cannot exist, of course while women are economically dependent prisoners of the family structure. Today many women are unable to make use of the clauses in "reform" legislation that offer some relief because these laws are not enforced rigorously. Both the law and the law enforcers side with the reactionary social and religious prejudices against women. It is only with the abolition of capitalism in Iran that this oppression will end because the subordination of women is an integral part of capitalism.

Illiteracy Among Women

"Thank God that the last disgrace of our society has been erased and this chain of degradation and slavery has been lifted from the neck of half the population and broken."

—Shah
The Iranian Woman, Past and Present

A compulsory education law was passed in 1944. Three decades later, the law is still not enforced. By the government's own admission, 69 percent of all women are still illiterate. A majority among the "literate" have only completed two years of elementary schooling. According to Princess Ashraf, in a speech delivered in Rezaieh in August 1976, 92 percent of all rural women are still illiterate. This fact alone exposes the hypocrisy of the shah's regime, which claims "equality" has been achieved for the women of Iran.

In another recent publication by the Women's Organization, four reasons for such high illiteracy among women are given: a) poverty (14.4 percent); b) parental opposition (11.5 percent); c) lack of interest (9.7 percent); and d) lack of schools and educational facilities (64.4 percent). Thus the main obstacle to spreading literacy is *the government itself*. Only 6 percent of the country's annual budget is earmarked for education while almost half of its population—almost 16 million people—is under the age of twelve. For every girl who attends grammar or high school, two boys attend, and at the college level, there are four men enrolled for every woman.

Women's fight for the right to education began in the early 1900s. The monarchy tried to crush the initial movements. In order to modernize the country, however, the law prohibiting women from attending the university was revoked in 1935.

Following the CIA-initiated coup against the nationalist regime of Mossadegh in 1953, which returned the shah to power, the latter launched the "White Revolution." Women were "given" the vote and other political and educational rights—in words.

A key factor that hampers women is that all educational instruction is in Persian, the language of only 40 percent of the country's population. Until women of all nationalities can be educated in their own languages widespread illiteracy will remain.

At the height of the shah's "literacy campaign," during the celebrations of the 2,500th year of the Persian monarchy in 1971, the regime

issued the slogan "2,500 schools will be built." This, like other promises by the shah, remains on paper. Instead the shah contributes \$700,000 to UNESCO for a "fight" against world illiteracy while refusing to organize such a campaign at home. He also contributes lavishly to American universities. But these are crass attempts to buy an image that is not his own.

Women in the Work Force

The majority of Iranian women, like the majority of the population, are working-class and peasant members of the oppressed nationalities. These nationalities constitute the most deprived layers of women. They are subject to the worst kind of oppression and discrimination and the harshest physical labor—often as wageless house-slaves.

The last decade saw a great surge of women into the work force both in industry and in the service sector. This was not only due to the increased admission of women into schools and higher educational institutions, but because of the migration of many women from the villages to the cities and industrial centers. Where men have left the villages in search of work, women have had to take responsibility for the household, including providing the daily bread.

The combined character of women's oppression as women, as workers, and as members of oppressed nationalities gives their struggles a particularly explosive character.

The pace of industrialization meant that the capitalist mode of production now *needed* the labor of women beyond the confines of agriculture, housework and child-rearing. In the government's Budget Report for March 1976-77 it stated that the goal of hiring women was a means of "alleviating the pressure of shortage of manpower [sic]" (*The Iranian Woman, Past and Present*). In addition, women provide the cheapest available source of labor.

The Labor Law states that "the wage of men and women for equal work shall be equal." Yet the wage differential for male agricultural workers in 1971 was 98 rials (\$1.20) per day but 52 rials (\$.65) per day for women. When women in the light bulb factory in Rasht went on strike in 1974 they won an increase in their wages from 55 rials (\$.67) to 80 rials (\$.95). For similar factory work men received 130 rials (\$1.90). Zafardakht Ardalan, assistant professor at Tehran University, wrote that women were afraid to reveal their wages for fear of losing their jobs. In an article published by the Women's Organization she wrote:

"Most workshops are *not* willing to allow women to work under conditions of equality with men over wages and work; under equal conditions for men and women they would prefer to employ male workers."

In general, work is segregated by sex. Women predominate in the service industries and constitute slightly more than half the country's teachers. Women are concentrated in such light industries as light bulb, battery, and shoe factories; in food processing and packaging; and in construction, transportation, and electronics. About 20,000 women serve as nurses and midwives.

Women are a minority among professionals. Only 316 out of 10,900 lawyers are women, and 350 of the 12,000 engineers. Of Iran's 10,000 doctors, 793 physicians and 248 dentists are women.

Women Workers

The increased role of women in the labor force has occurred in the context of the growth of the Iranian working class as a whole. The number of industrial workers has tripled during the past fifteen years to more than three million. When agricultural workers and seasonal laborers are included, the Iranian working class comprises ten million, 15 percent of whom are female.

The Women's Organization claims that "while the female work force in Iran is smaller than the male work force, it is more skilled . . . 75% of all working women possessed skills versus 40% of working men." Contrary to this claim it is the female workers who are the least educated and least skilled, and therefore they are the least likely to hold the better-paying industrial jobs.

Considering that women constitute 49 percent of the population, the number of those officially

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Politics and Philosophy in Harrington's 'The Twilight of Capitalism'

Would Karl Marx support the Carter administration if he were alive today? Would he be a loyal Democrat? Michael Harrington creates a 'new' Marx in Harrington's own reformist image.

By George Novack

Michael Harrington is a significant figure on the American left—an unabashed, though intellectually sophisticated, social democrat, who prefers the less compromised appellation of "democratic socialist."

Social democracy has remained an undeveloped force in the United States. The exceptional wealth, power, and stability of American capitalism, and the concomitant political backwardness of the working class, have prevented reformist socialists from playing as considerable a role in national politics as their counterparts elsewhere.

The organizational feebleness of American social democracy has been matched by the paucity of its theoretical productions and the mediocrity of its publications. Harrington's latest book, *The Twilight of Capitalism*, issued in 1976, and its 1972 predecessor, *Socialism*, represent an ambitious effort to make up for the ideological deficiency of his movement over the past four decades. They are designed to provide reasoned arguments for the political course mapped out by his branch of reformism.

There are three social-democratic organizations in the United States. The weakest is the provincial Socialist Party, a remnant from the days of Norman Thomas, when the party engaged in some independent electoral activity. The most flagrantly reactionary is the Social Democrats USA. This witch-hunting, war-mongering outfit, run by AFL-CIO President George Meany's flunkies, is quick to pounce on anybody who criticizes U.S. imperialism. Its ideology is Sidney Hook.

Harrington is the founder and national chairman of the third group, the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee (DSOC). He resigned as national cochairman of the Socialist Party-Democratic Socialist Federation, the precursor of SDUSA, in October 1972 because it was "doing the work of Richard Nixon" by turning its back on George McGovern, the Democratic presidential candidate. He complained that the SP-SDF had also refused "to support American withdrawal from Vietnam," and, in fact, supported the U.S. intervention. DSOC aligns itself with the "liberal" wing of the union bureaucracy that backed McGovern in 1972. In 1976 DSOC supporters backed Morris Udall for the Democratic nomination and later went all-out to elect Jimmy Carter. DSOC operates exclusively as a "socialist" pressure group supporting left-liberal currents within the Democratic Party. Harrington was a delegate to the last two Democratic national conventions.

Harrington comes out of the group led by Max Shachtman that broke away from the Trotskyist movement and its program in 1940, and, after a period of independent activity, dissolved into the Socialist Party. He has derived from the Shachtman school its approach to world politics, embodied in the doctrine of "bureaucratic collectivism" as a definition of the nature of the USSR and other postcapitalist societies, and the habit of presenting his positions in Marxist terms.

Harrington is well-versed in the literature of the Marxist movement, an able journalist, and the author of a celebrated study of poverty in the United States, *The Other America*. He is well qualified to attempt a theoretical justification for

the minireformism disguised as socialism represented by DSOC.

The Twilight of Capitalism is divided into two parts: a theoretical exposition, described as "a scholarly rediscovery of Marx," followed by an analysis of the U.S. economy today.

The theme of Harrington's project is announced in the dedication, which reads: "To the future of an almost forgotten genius: the foe of every dogma, champion of human freedom and democratic socialist—KARL MARX." It is refreshing to have Marx recognized as a protagonist of freedom in a country where he is usually slandered as the progenitor of totalitarian enslavement. However, it is odd to refer to Marx as "an almost forgotten genius," when, along with Darwin, he is the most universally known nineteenth century thinker and a foremost influence in world politics.

This paradoxical statement is explained by Harrington's labeling of Marx as a "democratic socialist," that is, a social democrat. Selectively skipping through Marx's biography, Harrington depicted him in *Socialism* as a gradualist who gave way to occasional fits of ultraleftism, as in 1850 when he put forward the perspective of permanent revolution and in 1871 when he hailed the Paris Commune as prefiguring the dictatorship of the proletariat. In this new work he tries to show that Marx not only behaved, but thought, along lines appropriate to a social democrat such as Harrington. Harrington claims to have discovered a "true" Marx who has been hidden from view for the past century until Harrington brought forth the innermost secret of his teachings. After he gets through "trimming Marx's beard," the fiery, irreconcilable foe of capitalism turns out to look more like a radical university professor or a parliamentary politician than the man his comrades and contemporaries knew.

Even so, Harrington's appeal to Marx would be considered excessive by the leaders of the West German Social Democratic Party, who renounced the last vestiges of their Marxist heritage in the Godesburg Program of 1959. They grasped the incompatibility of Marx's conception of the class struggle with their political role better than their fellow member of the Second International. Harrington, unlike them, is not engaged in administering the affairs of his own capitalist regime; he has the more modest task of assembling the initial cadres for such a vocation in the far future, which permits him to be more of a "doctrinaire."

Inconsistency in Theory and Practice

While Harrington employs Marxian categories such as the labor theory of value in his economic analyses, he reserves an escape hatch for himself in the sphere of politics by methodological contrivance. His kind of Marxist is not obliged to harmonize theory with practice. "There is no necessary relationship between Marxist theory and political positions (that is . . . those who agree as to methodology can utilize that method to reach contradictory political judgments.)"

To be sure, people and parties are very often inconsistent; their deeds are at angles with their avowed principles. Social democrats and Stalinists offer conspicuous examples of this discrepancy. Moreover, as Harrington says, "there is a personal element in the way in which various individuals translate the same methodological propositions into politics." However, Harrington, who correctly criticizes empiricists and positivists for remaining on the surface of phenomena, cannot let the matter rest by simply recording the fact; he should uncover the underlying reasons for systematic arbitrariness.

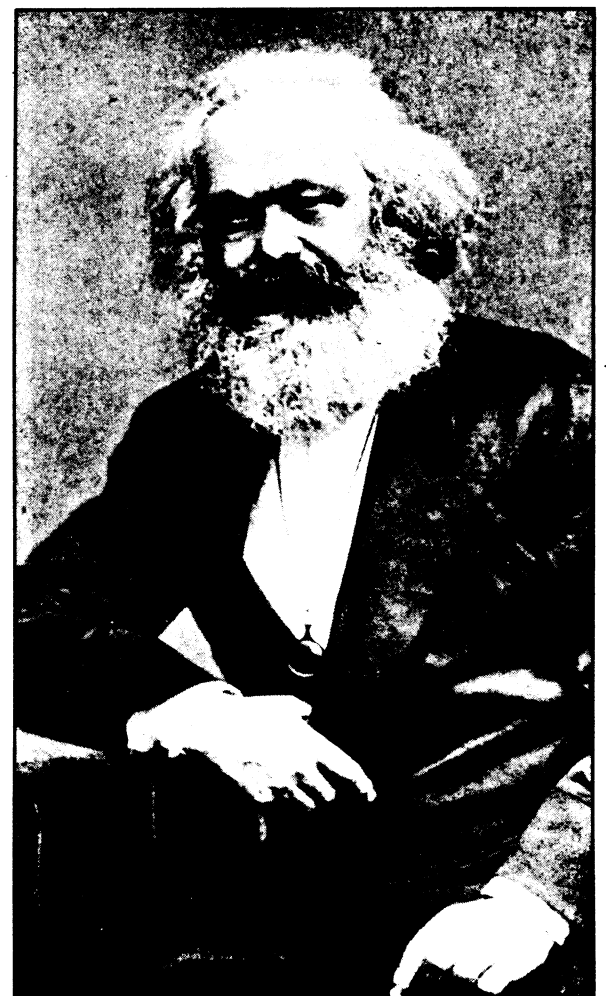
Trotsky did so in a probing manner in a 1939

polemic with Max Shachtman. "Appealing to 'inconsistency' as justification for an unprincipled theoretical bloc, signifies giving oneself bad credentials as a Marxist. Inconsistency is not accidental, and in politics it does not appear solely as an individual symptom. Inconsistency usually serves a social function. There are social groupings which cannot be consistent. Petty-bourgeois elements who have not rid themselves of hoary petty-bourgeois tendencies are systematically compelled within a workers' party to make theoretical compromises with their own conscience" (*In Defense of Marxism*).

Instead of exposing the social and political roots of inconsistency, as a materialist should, Harrington offers a theoretical justification for this trait. What's more, he practices what he preaches. What could be more anomalous than for a would-be socialist to support the president at the helm of the major imperialist power and defend this in the name of Marxism?

There is a logical connection between Harrington's efforts to remake Marx along social-democratic lines and Harrington's reformist politics. *The Twilight of Capitalism* thus offers an object lesson in the affinity between theory and politics.

In order to clear the ground for making over Marx to social-democratic specifications, Harrington lays open to question the whole inventory of Marxism. He does so by summarizing and endorsing, with minimal reservations, "the most dramatic statement" authorizing such skepticism from Georg Lukács's *History and Class Consciousness*. "One can be an 'orthodox Marxist,' Lukács said, and reject all of Marx's specific applications of his theories, as long as one asserts that the Marxist method offers the best way of proceeding and that it can only be deepened in the spirit of its founder." That is to say, so long as you profess to be a Marxist, you are licensed to comb from the works and ideas of the founders of dialectical and historical materialism whatever does not suit your taste or needs.



KARL MARX

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The Marxist method is not so readily detachable from the materials of its inquiries, the verified results of its applications, and the experience of the international class struggle over the past century-and-a-half, as this assertion implies. Marxism is open to amendment and enrichment, as scientific advances and social and political experience warrant. But both as a method and a scientific theory it imposes certain conditions upon the "openness" allowed to its adherents. Whoever denies that material production is the basis of social life, negates the central role of the class struggle throughout civilization and in contemporary affairs, or gives allegiance to a capitalist party or government has left the ground of Marxism, regardless of his pretensions. Harrington chafes under such confinement.

Harrington's "new Marx" does not teach dialectical materialism, but preaches "spiritual materialism." He borrows this odd designation from Erich Fromm, though he takes care to distance himself from the more extreme distortions of Marxism popularized by his fellow social democrat. It is less dangerous, he opines, to defend the spiritual element in Marx than "the myth of his crass, sordid materialism."

Marxism takes into account the spiritual side of human beings expressed in their consciousness, values, and cultural creations. It must give the utmost attention to all forms of collective consciousness, since as a system of scientific ideas it aims to change the mentality of the masses and direct them toward revolutionary action. But it always keeps in mind that the manifestations of social and political consciousness are molded by material conditions. The full implications of this truth are what Harrington bridges at.

"As a tool of social and economic analysis, the concept of man as a spiritual materialist is almost empty of meaning," he confesses. However, it does serve the purpose of demarcating the pure-spirited vision and values from those of the crass materialists who take Marx at his word.

Marx Misunderstands Harrington

Philosophically Harrington keeps company with the fashionable "praxis" thinkers of Western Marxism; he contracts the scope of Marxist ideas to the framework of society and adopts a subjectivist theory of knowledge. Thus he endorses Leszek Kolakowski's assertion that "the senses do not, in the Marxist view, 'reflect' an external reality that is independent of the subject."

This is not the Marxist view. Every materialist theory of knowledge has held that sensory experience is the primary source of our knowledge about the world, which exists independently of human activity and individual consciousness. If sensory reflection did not provide relatively accurate and reliable information about the things and events in the environment the human species would not have survived or developed. Without the checks upon our mind and imagination imposed by objective reality we would have no way to distinguish fact from fantasy, truth from error.

A sensation is a subjective image with an objective content referring and corresponding to some aspect of the material world. To deny any internal connection of our sensations with what exists outside ourselves is to make a mystery of knowledge, since whatever we know comes in the first place from evidence supplied by the senses. Let Harrington put his finger on a red-hot stove and then cry out that the painful sensation he reacts to does not "reflect" an external reality.

The materialist conception of knowledge steered Marx and Engels to radical conclusions, as Marx brought out in *The Holy Family*. "If man derives all his knowledge . . . from the sensible world, and from his experience of the sensible world, it follows that the task consists in so ordering the empirical world that man encounters in it what is truly human . . . that he experiences himself humanly . . ." (quoted from *Marxism* by George Lichtheim. New York, 1965, p. 39 footnote).

Having adopted the view that our senses are not organically linked to an independently existing material world, Harrington is led to attack the sociological principle that "the material base determines the superstructure." He takes violent exception to Marx's statement in the introduction to *Critique of Political Economy* that "the mode of production in material life determines the general character of the social, political, and spiritual processes of life." This

text is "certainly the most unfortunate statement of what Marxism is," Harrington asserts. "It is the very essence of vulgar Marxism," he continues, and is "also an ideological foundation of Stalinism."

Harrington expresses his preference for an earlier draft in which Marx expressed the same basic idea in less pointed language. Harrington claims that the rejected version is closer to the "real" Harringtonian Marx, while the final version represents Marx's "misunderstanding" of himself that paved the way for Stalinism. In weighing this estimate of Marx's preferred formulation it is useful to bear in mind Harrington's stricture on the French philosopher Althusser who distorted Marx's views on alienation:

"It is a dangerous procedure in any case to declare that a world-historical genius has misunderstood himself, not in a few pages or in an essay or two, but in a major work." The foreword to *The Critique of Political Economy* was a carefully considered major formulation of Marx's method that he never repudiated, often applied, and even repeated virtually word for word in a footnote to Volume I of *Capital* (Chicago: Charles H. Kerr, 1906, p. 94). The rebuke he addresses to the French misreader of Marx likewise applies to Harrington himself.

Harrington tries to explain why the errors he attributes to Marx and Engels have gained such widespread currency. He offers four reasons for this development. The co-creators of Marxism were first of all responsible for misunderstanding themselves and misleading others. "Both Marx and Engels . . . contributed to the distortion of Marxism, the former on occasion, the later more systematically." Marx himself tolerated a kind of intellectual double standard by letting Engels propagate "a schematic determinism."

The masses swallowed these misrepresentations—often rejecting religion and other variants of idealism in doing so—because they "were not and are not capable of the intellectual subtlety required to fathom authentic Marxism on the theoretical level," (a rather elitist conception of socialist theory for a "democratic socialist"!). Then the pre-World War I social-democratic functionaries, and later the Stalinist officialdom, had their own bureaucratic reasons for falsifying Marxism.

Without absolving these worthies from participation in the degradation of Marxism in theory and practice, Harrington would have done well to emphasize the assiduous efforts of the bourgeois opponents and academic Marxologists, some of whose arguments he echoes.

Base and Superstructure

Harrington errs in ascribing to the creators of historical materialism "the mechanistic theory that there is an economic base that immediately determines the content of cultural and political superstructure." Marx never thought that Dante's *Divine Comedy* and Aquinas's *Summa Theologiae* were direct products of the feudal mode of production, though their essential ideas and outlook were certainly shaped by its productive relations through the mediation of Catholicism. Philosophizing and artistic creativity developed according to their own laws. While the underlying mode of production and prevailing form of property do not immediately determine events in the other areas of social activity, they do so indirectly, fundamentally, and at length through a whole series of intermediate factors and their reciprocal interaction.

Anyone who cares to know the Marxist position of the manner in which economic basis determines cultural superstructure, on the relative autonomy of the superstructural spheres from politics to philosophy, and on the reciprocal action of all the elements in a historical process and social formation can find a lucid explanation in a letter Engels wrote to Conrad Schmidt on October 27, 1890. When it comes to economics and politics, "it is the interaction of two unequal forces: on the one hand the economic movement, on the other the new political power, which strives for as much independence as possible, and which, having once been established, is also endowed with a movement of its own. On the whole, the economic movement gets its way, but it has also to suffer reactions from the political movement which it established and endowed with relative independence itself, from the movement of the state power on the one hand and of the opposition simultaneously engendered on the other."



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In 1870-71, workers rose in Paris after the defeat of France in the Franco-Prussian war. They established the first working-class government in history. This upheaval convinced Marx that the working class could overthrow the bourgeoisie and establish socialism. Workers' military, police, and bureaucratic apparatus, replacing

In regard to literature and philosophy he wrote: "I consider the ultimate supremacy of economic development established in these spheres too, but it comes to pass within conditions imposed by the particular sphere itself; philosophy, for instance, through the operation of economic influences (which again generally only act under political, etc., guises) upon the existing philosophic material handed down by predecessors. Here economy creates nothing absolutely new (*a novo*), but it determines the way in which the existing material of thought is altered and further developed, and that too for the most part indirectly, for it is the political, legal and moral reflexes which exercise the greatest direct influence upon philosophy. . . ."

In summary, "the whole vast process proceeds in the form of interaction (though of very unequal forces, the economic movement being by far the strongest, most elemental, and most decisive)." (Marx-Engels, *Correspondence 1846-1895*. International Publishers, New York 1935, pp. 477-484.)

Harrington's Alternative

These elucidations indicate how baseless is Harrington's charge that "what is usually known as 'historical materialism' tends to be vulgar, mechanistic, and catechetical."

What alternative does Harrington propose to historical materialism, "Marx's signal contribution to the misunderstanding of Marxism"? Harrington seeks to correct this alleged aberration arising from Marx's self-misunderstanding by informing us that all the elements in society codetermine its nature and development. This is a variant of the multiple factors theory of social structure and historical development advocated by many eclectic sociologists, Max Weber to C. Wright Mills, which pulverizes the social formation into institutional pieces of prospectively equivalent weight and assigns supremacy now to one element and now to another. What is the purpose of identifying this method of liberal academic sociology with "real" Marxism?



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proletariat—a democratic workers government such as that of the commune. Harrington dismisses these revolutionary conclusions as an unfortunate lapse by Marx into youthful 'radicalism.' He prefers to portray Marx as an advocate of the trade-union bureaucracy's strategy of trying to win reforms by collaborating with and defending capitalist parties and the capitalist state.

Harrington does acknowledge in several places that "production predominates within the organic whole" of a social formation and triumphantly announces that "it exists in a reciprocal relationship with all the other elements." Marx and Engels would not have objected to this observation, since they learned from Hegel about the interdependence and interaction of all the diverse aspects of social and cultural life and was aware that every manifestation of human thought, will and activity contributed in some measure to the making of history.

Yet the crucial question still remains to be answered: what plays the ultimately decisive part in the process of historical determination? Is it the economy, politics, legal system, morality, religion, the arts, sciences, or philosophy? Harrington wobbles on this point. Sometimes economics is paramount; in other cases it is not. He is of two minds on this, as on other important issues.

Harrington's version of Marxist philosophy has political advantages for him: it provides him with a basis for the theory of bureaucratic collectivism and for supporting the capitalist welfare state. Both require a reversal of the relationship between base and superstructure that Marx laid bare.

Bureaucratized Workers States

The anti-Marxist theory of bureaucratic collectivism acquired from Shachtman prevents Harrington from comprehending the sociological nature of the anticapitalist revolutions of our century and the regimes issuing from them. Wherever victorious worker-peasant revolutions have abolished capitalist property and productive relations, replaced them with collective relations of production under state ownership, and instituted a planned economy (as in the USSR, China, and Cuba) he judges these to be not praiseworthy progressive accomplishments, but the formation and foundation of an inferior, more retrogressive system.

The methodological source of this misconception is his departure from the cardinal principle of historical materialism, which judges the essential nature of a society and its political structure according to the form of property and mode of production dominant within it. Just as Italy has remained capitalist under the Savoy monarchy, Mussolini's fascism, and the present parliamentary republic, so the Soviet Union has remained a postcapitalist society under Lenin and Trotsky's regime as under the bureaucratic tyranny of Stalin and his successors by virtue of the surviving gains of the October revolution.

Harrington takes the possession of political authority, a superstructural power, as the prime criterion of the character of a society and its state. Most social democrats since the Mensheviks who refuse to acknowledge the legitimacy or reality of the socialist orientation of the October revolution have considered the Soviet Union to be state capitalist. Harrington, however, classifies it under a different label, although his conclusions are similar. While he concedes that Lenin's Bolsheviks made a socialist revolution in 1917, he claims that Stalin converted Russia into a bureaucratic-collectivist society in 1929. This society obeys neither the laws of capitalism or socialism; it is a unique socio-economic development that Marx did not foresee.

Trotskyists admit that the workers states exhibit unprecedented features arising from the exceptional conditions of their birth and growth since 1917. We thereby define the countries from Russia to China as degenerated or deformed workers states, which combine a progressive nationalized and planned economy with a reactionary bureaucratic rulership. The first has to be defended and developed; the second opposed and replaced with a democratic regime installed and controlled by the working masses. That salutary change would bring the political superstructure into harmony with its socio-economic foundation.

Harrington goes wrong by assigning a corres-

pondence between the economy, which is a conquest of the revolution, with the Stalinist regime, which is in contradiction with its dynamics, just as he sees a harmony between the official leadership and the ranks in the American union movement. In both cases he employs a mechanical method of analysis that leads him to see an essential coincidence of interests. The dialectical and materialist method, on the other hand, recognizes the coexistence of opposing interests in a contradictory unity. The policies and outlook of the misleaders at the helm of the AFL-CIO are basically at odds with the welfare of the membership; the friction and deepening distrust between them can only be resolved by ousting that officialdom and establishing rank-and-file control over the unions.

The same approach holds good for the bureaucratized workers states. Their privileged and parasitic leaderships, imbued with narrow, nationalistic outlooks, do not promote the program and goals of socialism; that's why progressive-minded oppositionists yearn to get rid of their dictatorship and move forward to socialist democracy. Just as the union organizations have to be strengthened and defended against the bosses' attacks, so the social gains and economic basis of the workers states have to be safeguarded against imperialist encroachment or bureaucratic maladministration.

Harrington completely fails to grasp the problems involved in the difficult and protracted period of transition in the once-backward countries that are going from capitalism and colonialism toward socialism. He expresses sympathy for the democratization movement in Czechoslovakia crushed by the Kremlin's occupation in 1968. Yet he gives no weight to the explicit commitment of its participants—workers and intellectuals alike—to the nationalized economy, which is for them the irreplaceable foundation of "socialism with a human face." They understand that the issue of who owns what is decisive and that collective ownership of the means of production provides the sole material basis for socialist democracy.

Bureaucratized Trade Unions

Harrington cites the case of Hungary, where he opposed the Soviet invasion of 1956 that crushed the Hungarian workers, as proof positive that the USSR is not a workers state. Moscow's criminal intervention further exposed the counterrevolutionary character of the Stalinist leadership—but it did not nullify the class nature of the social foundation on which it rests.

"It is clear that workers' states, by definition, crush only counterrevolutions, not revolutions," he writes. That holds true of a healthy workers state with a genuine Marxist party at its head. But the Soviet Union is a diseased workers state commanded by a caste that is hostile to all manifestations of workers' democracy, and the country stands in dire need of a political revolution to cure its malignant bureaucratism.

Analogously, it could be said that a union, by definition, engages in strikes but does not break them. What about a union such as the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, which threw its resources into a long effort, supported by agribusiness, to crush the United Farm Workers union? What about a union whose leadership—such as the former Boyle leadership of the United Mine Workers—engages in bloody violence to suppress movements for democracy? Does Harrington regard these as real unions? He does, of course, but his sort of theorizing should bar such a conclusion.

While unions of this type are deeply diseased, they still have to be recognized as workers organizations to be protected from attacks by the employers. A similar role applies to the postcapitalist states from Russia to Cuba.

The question of democracy is extremely important, and Marxists fight at all times and in all places for the optimum degree of democracy for the people. But when an imperialist democracy tries to strangle a bureaucratized workers state, or its government seeks to cripple a bureaucratized union, the workers must protect their class organizations in order to democratize them through their own efforts.

Harrington counters that democracy is the essence of socialism. Democracy is the *political* essence of a socialist movement and the hallmark of a flourishing workers state. But the socio-economic objective of the socialist forces is to "expropriate the expropriators" and radically transform property relations in order to lay down



Left: Che Guevara and Fidel Castro, who led the Cuban masses in overturning capitalism and landlordism. Right: Union bureaucrats Leonard Woodcock, Joseph Curran, Lane Kirkland, George Meany, and I.W. Abel at an AFL-CIO Executive Council meeting. Harrington regards officials such as



these, who violate union democracy, support capitalist economic policies, and backed efforts to crush the Cuban revolution, as progressive 'social democrats' heading an 'invisible labor party.' Castro and Guevara, on the other hand, are denounced as 'totalitarians.'

the necessary material foundation of a superior order and ensure a greater degree of democracy for the working people than the freest capitalism can provide. Despite the deformations of their political systems, which Trotskyists perceive and fight against, the revolutions since 1917, from Russia to Vietnam, have succeeded in demolishing capitalist relations within their borders and thereby lifting humanity to a higher level of development.

The Cuban Revolution

The political logic of this position is revealed in Harrington's treatment of the Cuban revolution. He platonically admires the humanism of Castro and the heroism of Guevara, but deplores their revolutionism. Che is described as an "idealistic totalitarian" who went wrong by engaging in a revolution on the island when the time was not ripe.

Harrington does not grasp the tremendous significance of the first breakthrough of the socialist revolution in the Americas. He dwells only on its shortcomings, not its accomplishments. The confrontation of class forces and the resulting transformation of property relations from a capitalist to a proletarian basis, and the impact of this on the struggle for socialism on a world scale including the United States, eludes his understanding.

Contrast his hostility toward the Cuban revolution with his favorable judgment on the AFL-CIO bureaucracy. He contends in *Socialism* that under Meany's auspices "the unions . . . had created a social-democratic party, with its own apparatus and program within the Democratic Party." This ersatz labor party, which is invisible to almost everyone but Harrington, is hailed as "a class movement of workers which seeks to democratize many of the specific powers of capital but does not denounce capitalism itself." Apart from its atrocious foreign policy, on most domestic issues the Meany leadership—which Harrington styles "the American social democracy"—represents "the mass left wing of American society."

Everything in this picture is topsy-turvy. The warriors of the July 26 movement, who overthrew their native capitalism, defied U.S. imperialism, and started amidst heavy handicaps toward socialism, are derogated as totalitarians. But the highly paid AFL-CIO bureaucrats, who violate the democratic rights of union members in the interest of collaboration with the capitalists, who backed the Bay of Pigs invasion, who hailed the war in Vietnam, and who represent the most reactionary force in labor circles, are painted up as crypto-socialists.

According to Harrington, three systems are competing for hegemony on the world arena: capitalism, socialism, and bureaucratic collectivism. In a conflict between the first and the third he throws his support to the first in the name of defending democracy and in the hope that it will someday evolve into socialism. That accounts for his aversion to Cuba. The imperialist democracy headquartered in Washington, which sought to strangle Cuba because of its efforts to abolish capitalist oppression, stands higher in his eyes. This reveals the real quality of Harrington's "spiritual materialism."

Harrington's mentor, Max Shachtman, gave an even more graphic demonstration of the meaning of "bureaucratic collectivism." He hailed the invasion of Cuba and supported

Johnson's bombing of Vietnam, all in the name of defending capitalist democracy from the encroachments of bureaucratic collectivism. Harrington drew back from Shachtman's most extreme views, though such positions are immanent in the theory he defends. Inconsistency has its uses!

The second half of *The Twilight of Capitalism* "concentrates on the economic and political aspects of the domestic life of the welfare state." Harrington's analysis of the economy is superior to his political line; he has a keen eye for the built-in inequities and shocking contradictions of the system. Yet he politely refrains from calling monopoly capitalism by its proper name, preferring to embellish its "war-fare" and "ill-fare" reality with the prettified title of "the welfare state" liberals have bestowed upon it.

Indeed, his appraisal of the regime substantially merges with the ideology of those liberals to whom the state is either an institution above the classes or an indeterminate agency that can serve the plutocrats or the people depending upon the pressures it undergoes. According to Harrington, the contemporary American welfare state has both a capitalist bias and an anticapitalist potential. For all the government intervention in the economy, he argues, it is indubitably capitalist because of its domination by the corporate rich.

The failures of the welfare state in recent years "derive from the antiegalitarian and capitalist limitations of the system." Capitalism is "outrageously unjust," "self-destructive," and bound to collapse some day, somehow. On the other hand, the state can be swayed to meet the needs of the masses and even holds a latent socialist potential.

Harrington effectively polemicizes against the theories that in its present phase American society has transcended capitalism, placed some new ruling elite in power through a silent revolution, and become a postindustrial society (Raymond Aron and Daniel Bell) or a technocratic system (Galbraith).

He surveys one sector after another to show how the federal government kowtows to big business and leaves the ordinary citizen in the lurch.

"All the evidence shows," he points out, "that there has been no change in basic income distribution" between the rich and the rest of the American people "at least since 1947."

Responsibility for the "energy crisis" should not be saddled upon the Mideast sheiks, Harrington explains. It resulted from a generation of government policy that followed and subsidized corporate priorities. "The secret of the welfare state," he concludes, "is national economic planning subordinated to corporate priorities."

The 'Welfare State'

After such a damning verdict on the policies pursued by Democratic and Republican administrations alike over the past decades, one would logically expect a socialist-minded critic to repudiate the rulership of big business and its political managers lock, stock, and barrel. Harrington is not ready to give up on their welfare state. It should not be condemned en bloc or simply dismissed as a tool of monied interests. It has another, more benign side; its "complexities, contradictions and ambiguities" allow it considerable leeway for flexibility and improve-

ment, leaving it open to extensive reformation to the advantage of the lower classes.

The welfare state, he writes, "represents the reluctant concessions of the ruling class, the increments of reform that function to make basic change unnecessary. But it is also the product of conscience and consciousness, that of socialist workers and middle-class liberals, of militant blacks and students, and of the aging. As such, it has been the instrument of the oppressed as well as of the oppressors, a means of partial liberation as well as of partial pacification." That makes it worthy of being cherished, not opposed.

Those Marxists, Harrington claims, who maintain that the administrations from Roosevelt on have essentially and necessarily been obedient servitors and defenders of the wealthy in power see with only one eye; if they had both eyes open they would see how much they have also done for the poor and are still capable of doing.

It should be noted that in the above encomium of the bright side of the welfare state Harrington speaks of "the ruling class." This may be a slip of the pen since a few pages later he assures us that while "there is unquestionably an upper class in America . . . that does not mean either in theory or in fact that there is a ruling class." The notion that the national government functions as the executive committee of the plutocracy "goes well with a base-superstructure model of society and is flawed for that reason."

Marxists have shown that the economic structure of monopoly capitalism is the force that ultimately shapes the domestic and foreign policies of the federal government. It is uncertain, however, where Harrington locates the supreme decision-making power or who is on top of the capitalist hierarchy. For Harrington, the representatives of the Morgans, Mellons, Rockefellers, DuPonts, and the like, who own the economy and control the means of production and exchange, do not thereby call the tune in government policy. Political power is not centralized, as is capital, in the hands of monopolists, but appears to be dispersed and exercised by a plurality of forces. "Sophisticated businessmen" are "the decisive, though not always dominant class of welfare-state society. . ." It follows that if no ruling class exists, there can be no rulers, and the American people can exult in their unexampled freedom.

Dogmatic Marxists who focus on the political consequences of the capitalist supremacy over the economy do not understand that the political structure has a "relative autonomy" that permits it to act on behalf of the upper class at one occasion and for the benefit of the lower classes on another.

"Relative autonomy" means, however, that there are limits upon the leeway accorded to the politicians and diplomats. Who and what sets those limits? Experience verifies what Marxist theory indicates, that the fundamental class interests of the monopolists shape the main course of action followed at home and abroad by the political officeholders and the military chiefs, and these cannot be transgressed with impunity.

By attributing an indeterminate and hybrid nature to the welfare state, floating in space and undominated by any ruling class, Harrington justifies the reformist politics of DSOC and its practice of choosing "the lesser evil" in the capitalist sweepstakes. He is quite explicit on this score. He stated in a debate with me in 1972: "Liberals are the mass left wing of American

society. . . . If we are ever going to build a socialist movement in America we will not build it on the basis of principled hostility to liberals and their candidates, but on the basis of socialists participating with liberals and candidates in the struggle for immediate gains and generalizing these immediate struggles."

Harrington writes: "If it [the welfare state] is seen as merely, or primarily, as a tool in the hands of the ruling class, then the struggles between the Republicans and Democrats, conservatives and liberals, really don't matter very much." For him the contests between the twin parties of the capitalist class, fixed in advance against the masses, are all that count in political realism. It is foolishly utopian to put up an independent socialist party and program as an alternative, even though that has been the way the socialist forces in America have been assembled, trained, and strengthened since the days of Eugene Debs.

Reformist Strategy

Harrington calls his coalition with the liberals inside the Democratic Party a tactic. But though it differs in form, it conforms to the strategy pursued by social democrats the world over. None of the parties of the Second International, to which Harrington belongs, from Germany in 1918 to England in the 1970s, have socialized the economy or ousted the capitalists from power. They have, as Harrington admits, functioned as caretakers for ailing capitalist regimes until disillusioned electorates turned them out of office or military or fascist coups crushed them.

Under a bourgeois democracy, especially in prosperous times, where politicians depend on votes to get or stay in office, it is possible to wrest concessions from the powers-that-be through organized struggle and persistent mass pressure. Marxists try to mobilize the power of the discontented for that purpose. Reforms can be stepping-stones toward revolutionary class action insofar as they improve the conditions, strengthen the position, and heighten the confidence of the masses. That is the grain of truth in Harrington's statement that "reforms provide the only Archimedean point from which the system itself can be changed."

But reformism as a strategy, a long-range policy, and a practice of discouraging the initiative, independent mobilization, and self-action of the oppressed and staying at all costs within the confines of the system of capitalist politics is an altogether different matter. The antiwar movement, the most important and progressive political event of this generation, started and developed outside of and against the institutions of the bipartisan warlords in Washington. Moreover, in an economic downturn counterreforms keep cutting into the gains made in the past, as the urban crisis proves.

Harrington is bound by two allegiances that override such considerations. One is his commitment to working in and through the Democratic Party; the other is his fidelity to the international social democracy. Believe it or not, he expresses confidence that the Second International, in spite of its procapitalist record over sixty years, will ultimately lead the breakthrough to socialism. Greater faith hath no man!

Harrington denies that the United States is an imperialist power "in the neo-Leninist sense of the term." Apart from the oil industry (the world's foremost industrial empire is indeed a majestic exception!), the welfare state has significantly altered the old pattern of exploitation since a larger percentage of total foreign investment now goes to Europe, Australia and Japan than to the colonial lands. Thus "the welfare state . . . is not dependent on the exploitation of the Third World."

He misreads Lenin's analysis of imperialism. Unlike Rosa Luxemburg, Lenin did not regard foreign investment in, and exploitation of, the raw materials of semicolonial lands as the exclusive or main aspect of imperialism, which he viewed as the inevitable outgrowth of the monopolist stage of capitalist development. In his famous pamphlet on the subject he stressed as its central aspect the division of the world markets between the major capitalist powers. He singled out five distinguishing features of imperialism: the decisive role of monopolies; the interpenetration of banking and industrial capital creating finance capital and financial oligarchies; capital exports; the formation of international monopolies; and the "territorial divisions of the world among the greatest capitalist powers."

Considering that since Lenin wrote the global markets available to big capital have shrunk as a result of anti-imperialist revolutions, his definition is more pertinent than ever. Monopoly power has never been more concentrated than it is today in the gigantic industrial and banking trusts of the United States. Exxon, the biggest corporation in the capitalist world, sells more than half of its oil to Europe. The Chase Manhattan Bank floats interest-bearing loans in more than 100 nations. Both exploit global resources in order to pile up private profits for the Rockefeller branch of the American financial oligarchy. When America's banking and multinational corporations invade the advanced along with the less developed and weaker countries, that signifies not the slackening, but the widening, of their field of exploitation.

Harrington gives the capitalist "planning" more credit than it deserves. "Today one can hardly speak of the 'anarchy of capitalist production' when there is welfare-state planning." However, the U.S. government does not in any sense guide the overall national economy or fix its objectives; the effective decisions are made by private firms headed by the giant corporations. Their internal planning and price-fixing agreements do not eliminate competition, but render it more intense on the domestic and world markets. State intervention is limited to "fine tuning" the economy by fiscal or monetary measures. While the government is increasingly called upon to bail out failing enterprises, recurrent crises demonstrate that the state cannot avert the vicissitudes of the industrial cycle or keep the economy booming. The reason, in Harrington's words, is the "practical rationality and generalized irrationality of capitalist production."

The welfare state is not stable or harmonious; it is, he says, "a contradictory, crisis-prone, last stage of capitalism." The depression of the seventies has arisen from the conjunction of two crises; one is the exhaustion of the long wave of capital expansion and accumulation since World War II; the other is a result of specific events of the decade. "The secret history of the crisis of the seventies reveals that, first of all, an antisocial socialization of the economy in behalf of the corporations perpetuates and aggravates, rather than resolves, the contradictions of capitalism. Secondly, it shows that the capitalist mechanism of boom and bust continues in a moderated and sometimes politically exacerbated, form and that the system thus sickens from its own success. Thirdly, the new expressions of the intrinsic instability of bourgeois society have, since 1973, been magnified by the effect of an oil cartel whose effectiveness is, in considerable measure, a result of the fact that American energy planning followed capitalist priorities for a generation."

Harrington, LBJ, and Carter

Harrington is not among those theorists who believe that state or monopolist regulation of the economy have succeeded in eliminating or suspending the internal contradictions of this mode of production and overcoming its infirmities. He points out that the welfare state takes away with the right hand what it gives with the left, and that social reforms are whittled away by the mechanics of the system; endemic inflation makes it difficult for the poor and the pensioners to eke out an existence.

He should know from personal experience how the major tendencies of monopoly capitalism cripple the efficacy of reforms decreed from the

White House. After writing *The Other America*, he was drawn in as an adviser on President Lyndon B. Johnson's "war on poverty," which was sunk by the war in Vietnam. More than a decade later he admits that poverty and misery are as widespread as ever. Yet he is undismayed about the virtues of the welfare state and is more than ready to repeat the experiment with the present Democratic incumbent.

Despite his proclamation that this is the twilight of capitalism, he does not anticipate that the current crisis will lead to a decisive breakdown of the system. It will recover, and the decline will drag on indefinitely. There is no realistic possibility of acute class conflicts in his outlook, and the prospect of revolution does not enter into this theorizing or practice. He has little to say about the struggles of the oppressed nationalities in the United States, and is pessimistic about the possibilities of revolution in the third world.

His attitude toward the welfare state parallels John Kenneth Galbraith's prescription for taming the power of the great corporations: exclude its antisocial abuses from its social uses. So the monopolist state is not to be combated and replaced by a state based on the power of the workers and democratically controlled by them but transformed by repeated dosages of social reform into a vehicle of socialism. That will ease the way to a gradual, prolonged, and peaceful transition to a better social order.

The kind of "struggle" he envisages, and DSOC practices, is to try to push the Democratic Party leftward. For that it is necessary to support and elect its candidates and assure the people that these are the best available figures to lead the nation forward.

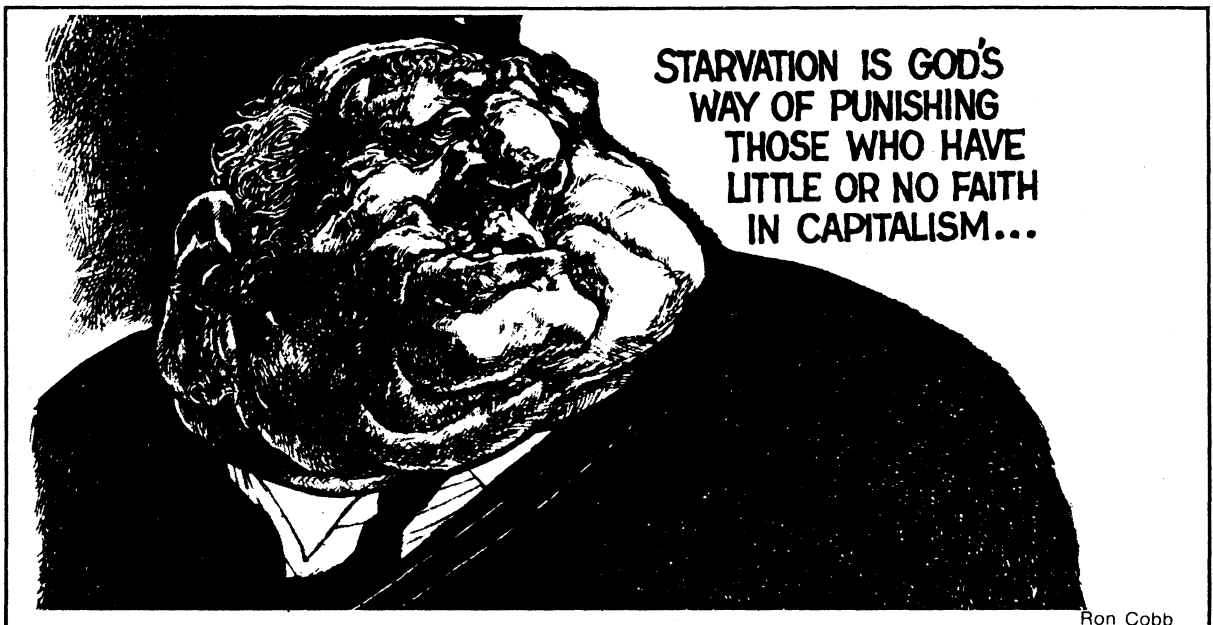
In this spirit Harrington hailed the new chief at the time of the inauguration: "Jimmy Carter has a program which make his the most progressive presidency of the twentieth century." This appeared in the *New Republic* January 22, 1977. A few months later, in the June *New York Times*, columnist Tom Wicker complained: "Jimmy Carter is turning out to be the most conservative Democratic President since Grover Cleveland."

'Anguish Before Revolution'

It remains to be asked: what does all this have to do with Karl Marx, whom Harrington has taken as his totem? Marx anticipated, prepared for, participated in, and welcomed all revolutionary movements of the oppressed directed against capitalism and its upholders. He was the very antithesis of a social democrat. As Engels emphasized in his speech at the graveside in 1883: "Marx was before all else a revolutionary . . . His real mission was to contribute in one way or another to the overthrow of capitalist society and of the state institutions which it had brought into being, to contribute to the liberation of the present-day proletariat . . . Fighting was his element."

That is the real and the true Marx. Engels also said of the reformist British Fabians that their guiding principle was "anguish before revolution."

These reformists provide more of a model for Harrington than Marx. His mission, as outlined in *The Twilight of Capitalism*, is to save the capitalist state from itself. That is not only an impossible, but an unworthy, enterprise for an avowed socialist.



...Iran

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employed is still very low. The law prohibits a woman from working without her husband's permission, the limited educational opportunities, the almost total lack of adequate child-care facilities, and an outmoded economic system all work to keep women out of the work force.

Many employed women are not officially employed. These include many agricultural workers, workers in family-operated factories, predominant in the textile and carpet-weaving factories, and household workers (maids, washer-women, cooks).

In the aftermath of the 1953 coup, all labor organizations were either destroyed or taken over by the government. The working class has no legal means of organizing or defending itself. Strikes are illegal and brutally crushed by the regime. The results of this are disastrous for the living conditions of all workers, and even more so for working women.

This is reflected in working hours. According to Iran's laws, working hours must not exceed nine hours out of every day, with a forty-eight-hour workweek. But the working hours can legally exceed that for "shift" workers provided that the total in four consecutive workweeks does not exceed 192 hours. So it is possible for employers to impose a longer workweek. As for agricultural workers, limitations on working hours have no meaning. During the season the workday begins with sunrise and ends with dusk. The majority of working people work a six-day week for years without a vacation.

Lack of health insurance and fringe benefits deprives all workers, but particularly women, who have special medical needs, and especially during pregnancy. According to 1972 government statistics, only 18,241 out of 89,000 female city workers were insured. According to Women's Organization reports, the recent law providing paid maternity leaves for twelve weeks after childbirth (for the first two children only) has remained on paper.

More than half the rural population receives no medical care. Even the health centers set up by the government lack facilities to meet the gynecological needs of pregnant and nursing women. It is common for working women in Iran to reach menopause at the age of thirty. Many women suffer from malnutrition and gynecological diseases left unchecked. Until recently the law barred abortion. Given the primitive state of health care, few women have access to modern birth-control methods.

A reactionary provision of the Labor Law, outlawing night work for women was recently repealed. This law was resented by women, who saw it as an obstacle to higher-paying jobs. The pro-Moscow Stalinists of the Tudeh Party (which is illegal) opposed its repeal, siding with the reactionaries who maintain that women's place is in the home. They argued in *Donya*, the Tudeh Party's theoretical organ:

"It is not clear where the children are to be put and who will take care of them. Moreover a mother who has not slept all night will return home exhausted and nervous and therefore cannot possibly feed, dress and send her children to school—besides what have the poor children done to deserve facing a tired and impatient mother in the morning."

The Stalinists feel that such chores as child-rearing and housework are the fundamental duties of women. Apparently they do not think that society must assume responsibility for household chores and child care, instead of placing these overwhelming tasks on the shoulders of individual parents, male or female.

With the increased participation of women in the labor force, the question of child care has become increasingly important. It is not rare to hear of working women returning home to face children who have been hurt while playing in the street unsupervised. Rejecting the demand of the reactionaries (and, more cautiously, the Tudeh Party) that women be kept in the home, women have been pressuring the government to set up child-care facilities. The government has been



The shah and Queen Farah



Iranian children—most are condemned to poverty and illiteracy by shah's policies.

forced to announce the launching of a campaign for child care. But currently there are only ninety-seven centers and twenty-five infant centers in the entire country, primarily based in Tehran. Most require a higher fee than most women can afford.

New Mood Among Women

All organizations formed legally in Iran are controlled by the repressive government. It is interesting nonetheless to note that open women's organizations have been formed. The Women's Organization of Iran, the most prominent of these, is in reality a government agency that occasionally takes a progressive stand in order to retain some credibility. It is run by a predominantly male board of directors. Other organizations are formed by women, run by women, and formed under the impact of the women's movement internationally. The Women Writers and Journalists of Iran, Women Architects of Iran, and the Organization of Women Post, Telegram, and Telephone Workers are the best known.

At the International Conference of Women Architects held in Iran in October 1976, fifty Iranian women attended. One of the Iranian women architects, citing that there are only ninety women in the country who are licensed architects, went on to say, "The main problem is that no one takes *women* architects seriously. That is why the aim of this conference is to discuss us as women."

Another participant noted: "Right now the power is in the hands of the big investors. These landeaters cause great destruction of architectural identity of the landscape, due to the fact that they seek only profit and as a result there is not harmony between what they build and the needs of its surroundings."

This is an example of the deepened political consciousness of the women's movement. It shows how women who become aware of their particular oppression come to see the way the capitalist system affects society as a whole.

The struggle of Iranian women under the current situation of stifling repression takes different forms. This is true of most semicolonial countries, where, because of the heavy weight of women's oppression, actions like suicide, murder of husbands, murder of the "second" wife, and other violent actions express the rage of women against the repression and exploitation they suffer, especially within the family. They are also reactions to the murder and mutilation women suffer at the hands of male relatives—and which, under Article 179, is legal.

Violent outbreaks by women in the face of this oppression are widespread. Hardly a month goes by without new cases being reported of women who have resorted to desperate acts. In 1973 the case of Zeevar became a focal point in a discussion over Article 179. Zeevar killed her husband's lover, stating to the court in her defense:

"Why don't you ask me the reason behind it? Why don't you want to know what happens that a miserable, helpless woman like me takes a kitchen knife and cuts off her husband's lover's head in cold blood from ear to ear? It's true that she too was a miserable and helpless woman, God bless her, but in this case I was in no better shape than her. Golam was my refuge too. I am not at fault, if you put a pan on the fire and put a lid on it and give it the full heat of the fire, what will happen to it? Will not the pot explode? Me too! I had had it and I exploded."

Zane Rooz, a woman's weekly magazine, publicized the case and hired a lawyer for her defense, and even the Woman's Organization was forced to condemn Article 179 as embodying a repressive double standard. Had Zeevar been a man, she would not have had to even face a trial. Instead she was imprisoned for fifteen years.

It is interesting to note that one of the contradictions of Iran is reflected in the cases of its women victims. While the cases of the tortured political prisoners cannot be discussed in the censored newspapers of Iran, every week the pages of the country's newspapers and magazines recount the stories of women who are brutally mutilated at the hands of their fathers, husbands, and brothers.

Issues of women's oppression are openly discussed while issues about the nationalities or the problems workers face are totally suppressed.

Even though demonstrations or any small gatherings are banned in Iran, one demonstration did occur in 1974. After the shah sent 3,000 of his troops to Oman to crush the Dhofari Liberation Movement, the mothers of those soldiers demonstrated demanding the return of their sons.

As more women are entering the work force and receiving an education, more women join the ranks of the political dissidents. During 1976 more than ten women were murdered by the police in the streets of Tehran and other cities for their political opposition. In its propaganda the regime tries to portray these women as women of "bad reputation," announcing that these women only serve the sexual needs of the male oppositionists, or as a tool to deceive other women into joining the group. These slanderous efforts to discredit women's growing politicalization, attempting to intimidate women, are doomed to failure.

The 1976 murder of the woman political prisoner Manijeh Ashrafzadeh Kermani by the firing squad and the continued torture and imprisonment of Vida Hadjebi Tabrizi indicate the brutality of the shah's methods. Yet these have been ineffective. In the year and a half since the execution of Kermani women's political participation has been on the rise. Currently, according to Amnesty International, there are more than 4,000 women political prisoners in Iran.

Recently women active in the Women's Organization raised these demands: revision of Article 18, which requires the permission of the husband to leave the country; revision of Article 179; abolition of all acts legalizing sex discrimination; discarding of all verses from the *Koran* offensive to women; expansion of labor and social insurance laws to the agricultural sector and small local factories and handicraft shops; providing wages and social insurance for housewives and housekeepers; and removal of sexist terminology from school textbooks.

It is illegal to debate the results of land reform in Iran, or the country's military budget, or whether Iran should go to war. Projects that the government announces with fanfare—such as the building of the subway or sewage systems for Tehran—are not topics for open debate and discussion. However, the plight of women is one area where debates and discussion (closely supervised) do occur. At one point when parliament was discussing making marriage compulsory,

the debate that opened up in the women's magazines succeeded in killing the bill. Recently, too, one of Iran's few women senators, M. Dolatshahi, resigned her post in protest against the government's refusal to abolish the law requiring a woman to get her male relative's signature before leaving the country.

The regime is conscious of the potential power of the women's movement and of its international allies and has set out to contain it. That is why the shah, Princess Ashraf, and Queen Farah try to pose as sympathetic to the problems of women, and as fighters in that struggle. Thus the regime invites Betty Friedan, sets up a women's film festival, and sends Princess Ashraf and Queen Farah on international tours to lecture about the equality of women. Princess Ashraf was the chairperson for the consultative committee for the International Women's Year Conference in Mexico City in 1975, and head of Iran's delegation.

The granting of the vote to women in 1963 by the shah, and the forced unveiling of women under the regime of the shah's father reflected the need of the Iranian state to modernize. But the explosiveness of the women's movement in this repressive and heavily censored country will go beyond the narrow boundaries set up by the regime.

A neocolonial regime like that of Shah Reza Pahlavi cannot contain demands for fundamental modernization in this area any more than it can contain the demands of the workers, peasants, and oppressed nationalities. The attempts of the shah and his family to create an image of themselves as liberators of women lay the groundwork for bigger explosions of the women's movement as these pretensions are exposed.

The large protests that have been organized by American feminists and Iranians living abroad whenever Princess Ashraf and Queen Farah have spoken, challenging their claims to represent Iranian women, will strengthen the growth of a massive women's movement in Iran. Together with the struggles of workers, peasants, and oppressed nationalities, this movement will leave no repressive institution standing. Ending the oppression of Iranian women means overturning all vestiges of privilege and beginning to construct a new socialist society on the basis of human values.

Committee for Artistic and Intellectual Freedom in Iran

... is a civil liberties organization publicizing the cases of victimized Iranian artists, intellectuals, and political prisoners.

Of the eleven prisoners CAIFI has championed in the last years, five have been released—thanks to the international pressure brought to bear on the shah's regime.

Currently CAIFI is campaigning on behalf of Vida Hadjebi Tabrizi, a woman sociologist arrested in 1972, and Ghom Hossein Saedi, a noted playwright not allowed to leave Iran.

CAIFI

853 Broadway, suite 414
New York, New York 10003

- ☐ Enclosed is my contribution of \$ _____
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Name _____

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...Artists

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tion. In the course of the discussion the plan for the mural changed from one of painting members of respectable middle-class professions (such as doctors and lawyers)—an impossible dream for most women under capitalism—to showing women in more characteristic roles. The mural was also designed to suggest themes of working-class solidarity and interracial unity.

Next came the process of painting the mural in a working-class district. Initially the young women were harassed and ridiculed by groups of unemployed men hanging around a nearby Manpower office. But as the work progressed the men's attitude changed. Eventually a good number of community people were drawn into making decisions about the details of the mural. Not only did the finished work succeed in relating to women workers who lived in the area, but a year later it was used by the Lower East Side Women's Coalition of Gouverneur Hospital as the location for a rally to kick off the International Women's Day march.

Less satisfying than the compilation of practical experiences are the sections of the books which probe on a theoretical level the aesthetic problems involved in socially committed public art.

Neither the authors, nor the muralists whose activities are described, openly express sympathy

for Stalinist notions of "proletarian culture" or for the view that a revolutionary vanguard has the right to dictate a "line" for art. On the other hand, despite the fact that the authors assert that they seek a "revolutionary program in art," the concrete experiences of artists in the existing postcapitalist societies (such as the Soviet Union and China) are never discussed.

The only acknowledgment that such a legacy exists, and that it may be problematic, comes in a disturbing passage in which "Zhdanovism" (the socialist realist doctrine promulgated by Stalin's cultural thug Andrei Zhdanov)

seems to be explained away as an erroneous attempt to declare a "class style." The authors seem to miss or undervalue the point that the real purpose of Stalin's cultural imposition of uniformity and conformity was to institute a reign of terror throughout the party, the working class, and the Russian intelligentsia in order to stamp out antibureaucratic opposition.

But *Toward a People's Art* should not be belabored for its weaknesses in this one area, especially since the authors clearly intend their work to draw attention to a burgeoning movement and initiate discussion on any and all

issues involved. In the foreword Jean Charlot characterizes the book as "a journal jotted down as the work proceeds"; and the handsome photographs confirm that this work in progress is very much in the spirit of one of Lenin's comments to Clara Zetkin, recorded in her *Reminiscences of Lenin*:

"Art belongs to the people. It must have its deepest roots in the broad masses of workers. It must be understood and loved by them. It must be rooted in and grow with their feelings, thoughts, and desires."



Mitchell Caton with Santi Isrowuthakul, William Walker, and poet Siddha: *Day Dreaming, Nightmare* (detail). 1975, Chicago.

Artists for the People

By Alan Wald

Toward a People's Art: The Contemporary Mural Movement

By Eva Cockcroft, John Weber, and James Cockcroft. New York, E.P. Dutton, 1977. 184 pp. \$7.95.

Partisans of social revolution have long recognized the unique potential of public art forms such as the mural. An early and influential exemplification of this is the classic utopian story *City of the Sun* (1623), in which the Italian Renaissance philosopher Thomas Campanella lauded the use of extensive visual education. The book contains a description of an imaginary communist city with seven great walls on which the basic ideas of history, geography, mathematics, and botany are presented pictorially.

According to Anatole Lunacharski, commissar of education in the Soviet Union after 1917, Lenin much admired this section of Campanella's work. Lunacharski described a conversation in the winter of 1918-19 in which Lenin sought to apply this notion of art "which served as a visual lesson in history stirring social conscience." Believing the Russian weather too severe for the frescos (paintings on plaster, which require a dry climate) envisioned by Campanella, Lenin proposed a campaign of "monumental propaganda." Although this plan was eventually aborted, there was a brief period in which a number of sculptures and inscriptions appeared in Leningrad and Moscow commemorating figures from revolutionary history and freedom fighters from previous centuries.

Trotsky, too, saw a special role for visual art which could relate to a vast audience and use the struggles of the oppressed masses for creative inspiration. Writing in the United States journal *Partisan Review* in 1938, Trotsky announced that the Russian revolution had found its greatest interpreter in the field of painting in the frescos of the Mexican artist Diego Rivera. Not only did Trotsky declare Rivera's work to be authentic "revolutionary art," but he linked Rivera's break with past tradition and his "creative penetration into the epic of work, oppression and insurrection" to the artist's identification with the inspiring triumph of 1917.

Toward a People's Art is a book about the present works of radical muralists in North America. It concentrates primarily on visual art that expresses the struggles of oppressed minorities and women. Most of the murals described have been created by participants in those struggles, and almost all were painted in working-class communities. Furthermore, the movement described is partially inspired by left-wing artistic activities in Latin America (such as the murals

of the Brigada Ramona Parra in Chile before the coup), Mexico (as underscored by the book's foreword by Jean Charlot, veteran of the Mexican mural movement), and the federally funded WPA in the United States during the 1930s.

The thesis of the book is that there is a "renaissance in the making" in North America. At various times the renaissance has been referred to as the public-art movement, the contemporary mural renaissance, people's art, and street art. But regardless of the rubric, the renaissance consists of thousands of large-scale wall paintings, which have appeared in a dozen major cities during the past ten years.

A number of unique features characterize this phenomenon described by Eva Cockcroft (a muralist and radical art critic), John Weber (a muralist and teacher), and James Cockcroft (a political sociologist who wrote *Intellectual Precursors of the Mexican Revolution*).

For example, most of the creators of these murals have never been students who learned the techniques of muralism in art classes.

Instead, the muralists developed their artistic approach and techniques in response to the growing social movements.

These new muralists have by and large repudiated the social isolation of the individualistic studio. They aspire to achieve direct contact with the oppressed and to make public statements of their convictions.

The authors affirm at the outset that the contemporary mural movement is distinguished by "the problem of audience":

"A visual art for and with the masses, understood and supported by them, is something our country has not previously seen. The very possibility of it is denied by many—a denial that is one of the premises of much that has passed through the galleries in recent decades. Can there be a fully developed art based essentially on the working classes and expressing their values and vision?"

The book as a whole—with its striking photographs of murals and the muralists at work, its histories of different mural projects, its practical guidelines for funding, and its tentative theoriz-

ing on certain aesthetic problems—is meant to constitute an affirmative answer to this question.

The materials assembled on the politicizing effects of the murals and the involvement of working-class communities in the mural projects constitute the most persuasive component of the book's argument. Time and again it is shown how a group of muralists can raise important issues before a community and use art to affect the lives of the oppressed and increase class consciousness. The 1974 *Wall of Respect for Women* is a most instructive example.

Directed by the Asian artist Tomie Arai of Cityarts Workshop in New York, the mural team for *The Wall of Respect for Women* consisted of nine working-class women from the Lower East Side. All were under twenty-one, and they were mostly from oppressed minorities.

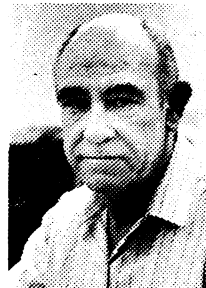
The authors describe how the concept of the feminist mural grew out of a series of consciousness-raising sessions in which the team debated the nature of women's oppression and the road to libera-

Continued on ISR/page 11



Tomie Arai and Lower East Side women: *Wall of Respect for Women* (finished mural). 1974, New York.

Alan Wald is on the faculty of the University of Michigan in Ann Arbor. His book James T. Farrell: The Revolutionary Socialist Years will be published in 1978 by New York University Press.



Bankers and racketeers

Continued from page 10

document of a Tory government that states that the tribes had no right to the land as a result of their defeat in one of the French and English colonial wars.

The tribes, of course, still occupied the lands, knowing nothing of such a pronouncement.

The officials have relied on Tory pronouncements and on the backsliding of none other than George Washington, who promised good faith to the Passamaquoddy.

But the Passamaquoddy, to their credit, have their real service to the American revolution. They agreed to fight for the American side, and secured their territory from British attack. Washington commended them for their valor.

The tribes in Maine should be compensated fully for their land. One billion dollars would not be equal to the value of these 12 million acres in Maine.

Five hundred million dollars would be a fair settlement, but so far the federal government is offering \$25 million and 100,000 acres.

The tribes have filed suit to gain a just settlement. The suit is a challenge to corporate America because it is directed against the nine corporations and half-a-dozen family trusts that own the timber lands at issue in their suit. Their ownership, which the suit is disputing, equals 57 percent of the land in Maine.

Russell DuPree
Portland, Maine



'It's just a simple little operation but we want you to pay now.'

Erroneous headline

An article I wrote that was printed in the August 26 issue of the *Militant* was unfortunately given an erroneous headline. The article, headlined "INS harasses Balto. Chicano," obviously gives the reader the impression that José Luaces, the subject of the article, is a Chicano. This is not the case. Luaces is a native of Spain.

Gordon Fox
Baltimore, Maryland

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.

Teamster President Frank Fitzsimmons complains about charges of corruption against him and other union officials. He says, of course, that all such charges are unfounded and that the news media spread lies. He wants people to believe that he's no crook.

In the August issue of the *International Teamster*, Fitzsimmons denies that he had anything to do with the disappearance of his predecessor and one-time mentor, James Hoffa. He says it is a lie that he and the Teamsters union paid \$1 billion to the Nixon administration to bar Hoffa from holding union office, and also a lie that the Ford administration blocked a Justice Department investigation into the matter.

According to Fitzsimmons, "The truth is that the FBI interviewed me three different times about Hoffa's circumstances, and I answered every question put to me." As proof of his innocence he quotes a "Justice Department spokesman" who said the department "is investigating certain allegations and has no fixed belief as to their truthfulness."

One reason Fitzsimmons writes about Hoffa in the union magazine is to distract membership attention from other investigations that more directly affect working truck drivers.

Federal investigators are tightening the vise on Fitzsimmons and his associates. The Justice Department, the Labor Department, the Internal Revenue Service, the Senate Permanent Investigations subcommittee, and the House Ways and Means oversight subcommittee are all busy on the case.

Last year the IRS revoked the tax-exempt status of the \$1.4 billion Central States pension fund of the Teamsters union. The tax-exempt status was restored in April after all former trustees, including Fitzsimmons, were forced to resign.

The IRS investigation of the fund for the years 1965 through 1974 found irregularities in the payment of benefits. Teamsters with more than twenty years' employment were denied benefits for lack of "continuous service," that is, because they were laid off for

brief periods during their years of work.

There were also irregularities in investments. Big loans—with no security—were made to underworld characters. Senator Charles Percy said last July, "There is concern on the part of some federal officials that the fund may have lost between \$500 million and \$700 million, perhaps as much as one-half of the fund's assets, because of these bad investments."

All assets and investments are now controlled by bankers. Equitable Life handles investments in real estate east of the Mississippi, and the Victor Palmieri Co. takes care of these investments in the West. Securities are in the hands of Equitable, Lazard Freres & Co., Crocker Investment, and the Mercantile National Bank of Dallas.

Whether it is better for union members to entrust their pension funds to racketeers or bankers, and exactly where the line is drawn between these two categories, remains to be determined. Bankers are known to make "poor investments" for their own benefit, and funds in their trust have vanished.

Senator Percy says he may draft a "sunshine bill" allowing workers to look at the books of pension fund managers. But truck drivers shouldn't hold their breath until this happens.

Senators Percy, Henry Jackson, and Sam Nunn—all members of the Permanent Investigations subcommittee—recently demanded to know what criminal investigations are under way, if any. Labor Secretary Ray Marshall said his department is proceeding in civil and criminal cases for the mishandling of funds and, if possible, to recover stolen money.

At this point, the senators are characteristically more interested in criminal procedures against union officials than legislation to protect union members. This is why Fitzsimmons is nervous and full of complaints.

However much he protests his innocence, few members of the Teamsters union will believe "Fitz." They have already made up their minds about crooks in union office, and in government too.

Capitalism Fouls Things Up

Arnold Weissberg



Work can make you sterile

The following guest column is by Kendall Green.

In addition to giving you cancer and heart-and-lung diseases, the stuff you work with may leave you sterile or hurt your children.

The most recent reports are of sterility in at least twenty-six male employees at Dow Chemical, and at Occidental Petroleum. Both companies have produced a fumigant dibromochloropropane (DBCP). This chemical, which has also been linked to cancer, was found to cause degeneration of the testicles and a low sperm count in animals when it was tested in 1961. None of this information was made available to Dow or Occidental workers.

The Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Union has asked the Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA) to limit the use of DBCP, and Ralph Nader's Health Research Group is asking the government to ban it entirely.

About 30 million pounds of the chemical are manufactured in this country each year in at least fifty-six consumer and agricultural products. Since it first went on the market in the 1950s, DBCP has undoubtedly come into contact with thousands of workers and even more consumers.

Six other related pesticides are now going to be reviewed by the Environmental Protection Agency.

In another case, Cynthia Van Dyne, a secretary at Wyeth Laboratory, after her child was stillborn, found that several other women there had also had unsuccessful pregnancies. She kept asking Wyeth's safety director for more information on pregnancy problems.

Finally she and other workers petitioned the National Institute for Occupational Health and Safety

(NIOSH) for a health-hazard evaluation. Under federal law, only one worker need petition to get an inspection by OSHA. A union can also request such an inspection. By law employees who request an inspection are supposed to be protected against being fired or even having their names revealed.

Industry often uses legitimate concern about health hazards to justify discrimination against women. Unionists have hit General Motors for requiring fertile women exposed to lead to either be sterilized or change to lower-paying jobs.

Firestone bans women from working with polyvinyl chloride.

Even the federal Nuclear Regulatory Commission has a double standard—a "guideline" of one-half rem of radiation per nine months for fertile women in nuclear power plants, and five rems for other workers. But this is just a guideline; each woman must decide whether or not to work in a high-radiation area.

Unions should fight against the bosses' attempts to use legitimate health precautions to discriminate against women, keeping them on the lowest rungs of the job ladder. They should demand that all employees be protected from harmful and potentially harmful substances.

Now that women are entering into more and more fields that were previously reserved for males, Congress has finally been pressured into giving NIOSH some money to investigate substances that may be hazardous to a fetus. Some common hazards have already been identified, including freon, a common aerosol propellant.

Most important in combating these health hazards, however, are militant workers alert to possible dangers and willing to pursue all avenues to make the workplace safe.

Louisiana loyalty oath upset, SWP on ballot

By Scott Breen

NEW ORLEANS—Socialists will be on the city ballot here October 1 for the first time in fifty years.

Louisiana Secretary of State Paul Hardy certified nominating petitions for three candidates of the Socialist Workers Party August 10. The candidates are Joel Aber for mayor of New Orleans, and Laurie Burke and Derrick Morrison, both running for city council at large positions.

Hardy certified the SWP five days after Federal District Court Judge Boyle upheld an SWP lawsuit challenging Louisiana's "loyalty oath."

This reactionary act required any prospective candidate for public office to file a sworn affidavit stating that he or she "is not and never has been a communist or subversive person as defined in [Louisiana law number] R.S.14:359."

The socialists filed this precedent-setting lawsuit July 18. American Civil Liberties Union cooperating attorney Jim Kellogg represented them.

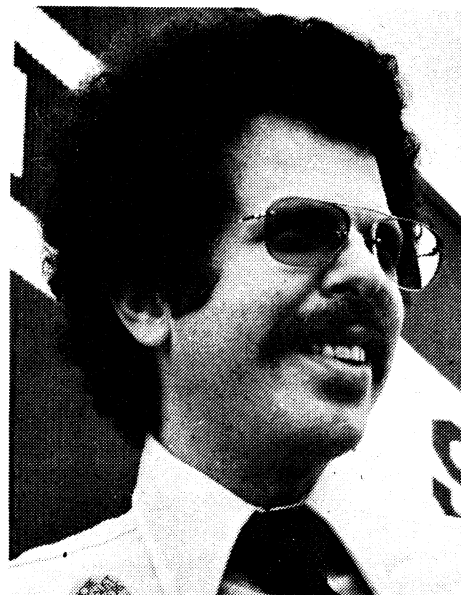
The SWP suit argued that Louisiana's loyalty oath violated guarantees of freedom of speech and association in the First Amendment to the U.S. Constitution.

Judge Boyle agreed. In his decision he noted that the state's answer to the socialists "nowhere offers a docu-

mented, affirmative argument in support of the constitutionality of the statute as written."

Joel Aber hailed Boyle's ruling. "The elimination of this undemocratic vestige of the cold-war fifties," he said, "is an important step in opening up the ballot to political views divergent from those of the ruling parties of big business, the Democrats and Republicans."

Aiming to keep this challenge to their power at bay, Louisiana officials are appealing Boyle's decision.



JOEL ABER

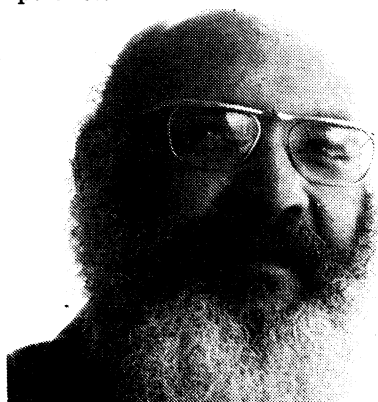
Campaigning for Socialism

SANCHEZ JOINS N.Y.C. SWP TICKET: Nicomedes Sanchez will run for the city council, District 2, this fall on the Socialist Workers Party ticket. Sanchez's running mates are Catarino Garza for mayor, Jane Roland for city council president, and Robert Des Verney for comptroller.

A longtime activist in the Puerto Rican struggle, Sanchez was a candidate on the Por Los Niños slate in the May 3 school board elections in New York's Lower East Side. Por Los Niños ran in opposition to the racist "Brotherhood" slate. It championed community control and bilingual-bicultural programs for District One's predominantly Puerto Rican children.

Por Los Niños won two seats, leaving the schools in the hands of a Brotherhood majority.

Sanchez expects that the racists' school board election victory "will further embolden them. . . . I have launched my city council campaign," he says, "to provide an alternative. This means building a massive, militant community movement that will fight for the needs of the oppressed independently of the Democratic and Republican parties in the streets and at the polls."



NICOMEDES SANCHEZ

SWP CERTIFIED IN CLEVE. MAYORAL RACE: Alyson Kennedy, SWP candidate for mayor of Cleveland, was informed August 8 by the Cuyahoga County Board of Elections that the 5,400 nominating signatures her supporters filed this summer (well over the 3,000 required) qualify her for a spot on the October 4 primary ballot.

Kennedy immediately challenged all her Democratic and Republican party rivals to debate "all the issues that are really vital to the working people of Cleveland."

CARSON BLASTS MPLS. CITY CUTBACK ARTISTS: "I accuse Mayor Al Hofstede of contriving to impose a New York City-style budget crisis on Minneapolis," SWP mayoral candidate Jim Carson told a July 28 news conference at city hall. Carson was there to file 3,200 signatures with the city clerk required to place his name on the November 8 ballot.

Carson, whose campaign slogan is "human needs before profits," also blasted Hofstede's proposals to freeze city hiring and establish labor-management productivity boards. "There is plenty of money to provide more services," the socialist said. "And it doesn't have to come from working people. Let's tax the superrich corporations and individuals and the pollution profiteers. Let's gut the federal war budget. And let's stop tax-free interest payments to the wealthy holders of city bonds. That way we can generate plenty of money to meet the needs of working people and the oppressed in this city."

KELLOGG FILES IN ALBANY MAYORAL RACE: Supporters of SWP mayoral candidate Kevin Kellogg filed 2,500 signatures on petitions with the Albany Board of Elections August 22. This was well over the 1,500 required.

Kellogg told the media that this requirement is designed to "discourage working people who don't support the Democrats and Republicans from running campaigns against the two parties of big business."

Among those who supported Kellogg's democratic right to be on the ballot are: Rezsins Adams of Women's International League for Peace and Freedom; John Daniels of the Religious Society of Friends; Michael Dollard of the Irish Republican Clubs; and Werner Kuhn of the Gay Political Caucus.

'Gay rights now!' say actions in Calif., Indpls.

By Ann Menasche

SAN FRANCISCO—Six hundred people, nearly half of them women, marched to the United Nations Plaza here August 20 and rallied around the theme, "Gay Rights Are Human Rights."

The demonstrators demanded that gay rights legislation be passed on a local, state, and national level. They also expressed support for Jeanne Julion, a lesbian mother here who has been denied custody of her children.

David Fishlow of the American Civil Liberties Union condemned the anti-gay initiative being filed for the California ballot by State Sen. John Briggs. The initiative would start a witchhunt against gay teachers. "They want to rewrite the Declaration of Independence to read, 'All men, and we mean men—that is, straight, white men—are created equal,'" said Fishlow.

Jan Zobel of the Lesbian Teachers and Schoolworkers also defended gay teachers who would be victimized by Briggs's initiative. "We are accused of being child molesters," said Zobel. "But a 1972 study showed that 95 percent of child molesting cases are performed by heterosexual men, mostly in the family."

Other speakers included State Sen. Art Agnos, who has introduced legislation banning antigay discrimination; Ann Menasche of the Socialist Workers Party; Linda Gill, a blind mother who is in the midst of a child custody battle; lesbian activist and author Del Martin; Howard Wallace of Gay Action; Ericka Huggins from the Black Panther Party; and representatives from the San Francisco chapter of the National Organization for Women and "Straights for Gays."

The many prominent individuals and organizations endorsing the August 20 action included Allen Baird, president of the San Francisco Newspaper Drivers (International Brotherhood of Teamsters); Stan Smith, secretary of the San Francisco Building and Trades Council (AFL-CIO); the local YWCA; Women Library Workers; San Francisco Human Rights Commission; People's Temple; The *Sentinel*; and Carol DeBerry, president of the East Bay Coalition of Labor Union Women.

By Dave Ellis

INDIANAPOLIS—"With the oppression of Blacks, women, and Latinos, there isn't room in America's racist, sexist closet for gays. We are here tonight to say we won't be driven back!"

With these words, Dr. Bruce Voeller, co-executive director of the National Gay Task Force, concluded a gay rights rally here August 20.

Attended by almost 600 people, the rally was sponsored by the Indianapolis Gay People's Union and the Indianapolis Coalition for Human Rights. Following the rally, demonstrators held a candlelight march through downtown Indianapolis.

The action was organized in response to a recent bill introduced into the state legislature that would reinstate antisodomy laws.

Right-wing legislators, fundamentalist preachers, and so-called right-to-life coalitions have spearheaded recent attacks on gay rights. A series of "Tent Crusades" in suburban Indianapolis tried to whip up antigay, antifeminist, and anti-Black sentiment.

The police and courts have joined in the crusade. Dozens of gays have been

rounded up by local cops for the "crime" of walking on Indianapolis's public streets.

Rev. Craig Dixon, a right-wing minister, held a news conference just before the gay rights rally, denouncing the Indianapolis Convention Center for renting facilities to the Gay People's Union. He said that gays had no right to hold a public gathering. Despite such veiled threats and provocations, the rally and march were peaceful.

In addition to Dr. Voeller, speakers included Rev. Jeanine Ray, co-owner of a feminist bookstore, and representatives of the Gay People's Union. Greetings were given at the rally by Dr. Albert Klassen of Indiana University and the Kinsey Institute, and from the Chicago Coalition for Lesbian and Gay Rights.

Endorsers of the action included: Rev. John Aleshire, of the North United Methodist Church; the local chapter of the National Organization for Women; Dr. Jerry Ulman, of the American Federation of Teachers; Carson Bennett of the Indiana Civil Liberties Union; Indianapolis Student Coalition Against Racism; Jeff Pittman, shop steward, and Richard Byfield of Office and Professional Employees International Union Local 1; Feminist Union at Purdue University; and the Socialist Workers Party.

By Joanie Quinn

LOS ANGELES—About 150 people gathered in support of gay rights at a march and rally here August 20 sponsored by the Human Rights Coalition. The theme of the demonstration was "Gay rights and women's rights are human rights."

Protesters called for an end to the stepped-up campaign of police harassment of gays in Hollywood and defense of custody rights of lesbian and gay parents. Many speakers also called for launching a campaign to defeat a proposed antigay bill sponsored by California State Sen. John Briggs. The bill would make it illegal for lesbians or gay men to be hired as teachers in California.

Speakers at the rally included Brenda Weathers from the Coalition for Human Rights; Art Martinez of Latinos Unidos, a gay Latino organization; and Connie Russel from the Los Angeles chapter of the National Organization for Women.

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More than 1,650 members and friends of the Socialist Workers Party attended its national convention in Ohio this August.

Militant/Lou Howort

SWP national convention

Organizing to counter the capitalist offensive

By John Hawkins

"In his first half-year in office James Earl Carter has wrapped himself in a cloak of morality, piety, compassion, and 'an uncompromising and unconditional commitment to human rights,'" said Jack Barnes, Socialist Workers Party national secretary in his opening report to the twenty-ninth national SWP convention.

"This stance is fitting," he continued, "for a Baptist lay minister who campaigned on the following promises:

- Increase democratic rights at home and abroad.
- Reduce arms expenditures.
- Bring nuclear weapons under control.
- Protect the environment, health, and safety.
- Eliminate arms sales and aid to dictatorships in other countries.
- Reestablish free trade and good relations in the world.
- Provide jobs for all, and bring inflation under control.
- Inaugurate a post-Watergate open government with a commitment to justice after eight years of callous Republican rule.

"But in his first six months in office Carter has, in reality, broken all of these promises," Barnes said. "Under the banners of austerity, energy conservation, and a balanced budget, every one of the eight promises has been turned into its opposite."

Offensive abroad

In his report, "The Ruling-Class Offensive Abroad and at Home," Barnes detailed the real record of Carter's first six months in office.

Abroad, the Carter administration has continued the policies of Nixon and Ford and accelerated U.S. imperialism's drive to maintain world dominance.

Against its capitalist allies in Europe and Japan, the American ruling class, through Carter, has altered trade relations in its favor and forced its allies to bear a greater share of the cost of policing the world.

In the semicolonial and colonial countries, Carter's human rights rhetoric covers for continued backing of brutal military dictatorships, with arms sales and financing shifted to private sources of funds in order to better conceal the truth.

And in relations with the Soviet Union and other workers states, Carter's policy remains the long-standing policy of the U.S. rulers—escalation of the arms race with the aim of eventually rolling back the gains of those socialist revolutions.

Offensive at home

Carter's offensive abroad is paralleled by and rooted in the stepped-up capitalist offensive at home. "For the first time in a long time," Barnes said, "all three branches of government are taking the same tack on this project.

"The White House, Congress, and the Supreme Court . . . are working hand in hand in the same operation.

Carter's promise of national health care is scuttled, while the solution to the energy crisis is

unsafe nuclear power. To increase the profitability of coal the Carter administration has opened war on the health and safety standards of miners and other workers.

For welfare reform, the new administration offers a forced-labor program. The much-publicized promise of full employment is now called unrealistic.

At the same time the ruling-class drive to reverse social gains of the past forty years and to prevent any new ones has deepened since Carter's inauguration.

These attacks fall most heavily on women, Blacks, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, and other oppressed nationalities.

Stepped-up attacks are seen against abortion rights, maternity benefits for pregnant workers, affirmative action, and the Equal Rights Amendment.

The Supreme Court undermines a whole body of civil rights legislation with its decree that women and oppressed nationalities must prove "intent" to discriminate—not simply the fact of discrimination—to gain relief in the courts. The courts and Congress limit school desegregation funds, uphold antigay legislation, and join in Carter's campaign against undocumented workers.

This assault on the gains of women and the oppressed nationalities is essential to their main aim—driving down the living standards of American working people as a whole.

Preparing the fight back

"Our convention," Barnes explained, "is designed to discuss, point by point, the character of this offensive, its effects, the reaction to it, and the way to fight back against it—in the labor movement, among women, among Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, undocumented workers, in the Black community, and among the youth.

"And finally to discuss and decide how we can best organize ourselves to lead that fight."

How to participate in and help advance the beginning resistance to the ruling-class offensive among women, the oppressed nationalities, and working people as a whole was at the center of the convention discussion.

The convention is the SWP's highest decision-making body. For the three months leading up to it, the entire party membership participates in a thorough and democratic discussion of the major issues to be decided there.

Prior to this year's convention, the national leadership presented for party members' consideration written reports on the developing response to the ruling-class offensive.

Over the summer, all party branches organized special preconvention discussions where SWP members had an opportunity to express their views on all questions facing the party. Members could also contribute articles and resolutions on any aspect of the party's program or policy to a discussion bulletin distributed to the entire membership.

Following the branch discussions, each branch elected convention delegates. At the convention the delegates discussed and decided the party's perspec-

tives until the next convention. They also elected a new national leadership to direct the party's activity.

A continuing discussion

The discussion at this year's SWP convention was, in fact, a continuation of an important process begun at the party's convention two years ago.

At its August 1975 convention, the party sized up the economic and political situation in the United States as fundamentally changed from that of the preceding thirty years.

The prolonged capitalist economic boom following World War II had come to a definitive end. Beginning in 1971 with the Nixon administration's wage freeze, American capitalism was increasingly on the prod against the American working class, as it sought to lower its costs to gain an edge against its foreign competitors.

This offensive to drive down the standard of living and quality of life of American workers stood behind the massive cutbacks in New York City and gained steam during the 1974-75 depression.

In a major resolution adopted at the 1975 SWP convention—"The Decline of American Capitalism: Prospects for a Socialist Revolution" (published by Pathfinder Press, Inc., in *Prospects for Socialism in America*)—the party predicted that these new attacks on working people would generate a new wave of radicalization.

Coming on top of the deep-going changes in attitude wrought by the movements of the 1960s and the government credibility crisis brought on by the Vietnam War and Watergate, this is leading to a beginning of the radicalization of the working class.

On that basis the party decided to turn its activities toward new political openings in the women's movement, in the organizations and communities of the oppressed nationalities, and in the trade unions. At this year's convention the timeliness of that decision was evident.

Party expansion

"If there is one word that sums up the organizational changes in the Socialist Workers Party since August 1975," said Mary-Alice Waters, reporter for the political committee under the organization report, "that one word is *expansion*."

"The expansion of the party can be summarized under four major headings," Waters continued. "The first is the numerical expansion of the party, our membership growth.

"The second major facet of the party's expansion has been our geographic extension.

"The third facet of our growth has been our leadership expansion and reorganization.

"The fourth facet of our expansion has been what I would call our political expansion; that is, the expansion of the number of arenas of political activity we are engaged in."

Attendance at this year's convention reflected this expansion in many ways.

Waters reported that since August 1975 party membership had increased by 59 percent. Of those

Continued on next page

...convention

Continued from page 25

joining since that time an increasing percentage are of oppressed nationalities. Close to half are women.

In the same two-year period, the party has doubled the number of cities in which it has established units, taking the party to new areas of the country and to others where it hasn't had units in decades.

The 1,685 members and guests from more than sixty party branches who attended the convention bore living proof of the growth Waters reported. During the three-month pre-convention discussion period, two new party branches were established—Albuquerque, New Mexico, and Raleigh, North Carolina. Both sent delegates to the convention.

In all, those in attendance came from thirty-six states and from many key industrial cities across the country.

For 265 people, this was their first SWP convention. During the week-long convention itself, close to eighty people joined the SWP.

RMC fusion

The SWP's growth and expansion and its timely response to developments in the class struggle have increased the attractive power of the party and affected many radical-minded people who previously viewed themselves as opponents of the party.

This was driven home by one of the high points of the convention: the fusion of the forty-five members of the Revolutionary Marxist Committee with the SWP.

For the past year the RMC, a Detroit-based group, had been discussing a broad range of political questions with the SWP and carrying out common activities with the party.

Through these discussions and activities the RMC found themselves increasingly in political agreement with the perspectives of the SWP for making the revolution in this country. As a result, in July the RMC members voted unanimously to fuse forces as a group with the SWP.

At the convention the SWP leadership proposed that the delegates vote to fuse with the RMC—that is, to take the RMC into party membership. This proposal was unanimously approved by the delegates, who elected three former RMC members to the party's national leadership.

Winding up his report on the proposal to fuse with the RMC, Larry Seigle, reporter for the political committee, predicted, "The fusion, and the discussion it will generate, will cause some people to take a new look at our party, and to consider for the first time that maybe the SWP is the place for them to be.

"They will look at the SWP in a new light. Their image of the party will change. They will see us as a party that is growing, that is capable of attracting new forces, of responding to opportunities.

"And some will see the question of their role, their membership in such a party, in a new way.

"So we have every reason to hope and expect that our recruitment of these forty-five comrades will have a similar impact on others—on an even bigger scale."

[A future article will report in detail on this significant aspect of the convention.]

Internationalism

As at previous SWP conventions, developments in the socialist and mass movements abroad were an integral part of the discussion.

More than 150 observers from socialist organizations in other countries attended the convention—from as far away as Australia and as nearby as Puerto Rico, Mexico, and Canada. Others came from Israel, Colombia, Spain, Britain, France, and Germany.

Another high point of the convention was a report on developments in the socialist movement in Canada and Québec from the leadership of the newly reunited section of the Fourth International, the world Trotskyist organization.

Just prior to the SWP convention the League for Socialist Action/Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière, the Groupe Marxiste Révolutionnaire and Revolutionary Marxist Group successfully completed a fusion of their forces to form the largest pan-Canadian Trotskyist organization ever, the Revolutionary Workers League/Ligue Ouvrière Révolutionnaire.

This reunification of Fourth Internationalists in Canada brought to a close a four-year split in the Canadian socialist organization. The division had occurred along the lines of debate between two major international factions inside the Fourth International, the International Majority Tendency (IMT) and the Leninist Trotskyist Faction (LTF).

Under the impact of recent events in the class struggle, and through day-to-day discussions and collaboration, the three groups came together to form the new, unified socialist organization.

In his report to the convention on the world Trotskyist movement, Barry Sheppard, SWP national organization secretary, pointed to the significance of the pan-Canadian fusion for the Fourth International as a whole.

On behalf of the SWP Political Committee Sheppard proposed that the convention delegates call on the two international factions—the IMT and LTF—to dissolve.

The differences dividing the two currents within the world Trotskyist organization have not been altogether resolved, Sheppard said. But there has been a significant convergence on several important issues. Thus the conditions now exist for

carrying forward the discussions of political and theoretical questions in the expectation that discussion of new developments will produce agreements or disagreements that do not simply repeat the old lineups.

Following Sheppard's report, Charles Duret, a member of the United Secretariat of the Fourth International, brought greetings to the convention.

Speaking also as a representative of the IMT, Duret explained that his view of the political differences within the Fourth International was different from Sheppard's. Nevertheless, he welcomed Sheppard's proposal that the LTF and IMT be dissolved.

For a second year, two international Trotskyist currents not inside the Fourth International observed the convention and brought greetings: one was the Organizing Committee for the Reconstruction of the Fourth International; the other was the international current affiliated with the French organization Lutte Ouvrière (Workers' Struggle), including the Spark group in the United States.

In addition to the many guests from abroad, the reports and greetings, convention workshops and classes also reflected the deep-going internationalism of the SWP. Classes and panel discussions were conducted on the founding of the international Trotskyist movement, revolutionary developments in Ireland, Spain, the Middle East, Puerto Rico, and Mexico, the unfolding struggle against Stalinist rule in Poland, and the revolutionary struggles in southern Africa and Ethiopia.

The convention also discussed plans for continued work in defense of political prisoners abroad, especially in Latin America, Iran, and southern Africa.

Time was allotted during the convention week so that participants could attend a concert and poetry reading in solidarity with political prisoners abroad. The concert was sponsored by three organizations active in that arena: the U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners; the Committee for Artistic and Intellectual Freedom in Iran; and the National Student Coalition Against Racism.

New period for labor

"We are at the end of an era," said Joel Britton, reporter for the political committee on party tasks and perspectives in the labor movement. "The period when it was possible for organized workers to make significant gains within the framework of union officialdom's policies of class collaboration is behind us.

"We have entered a new period in which the ruling rich are taking away many of these gains. This is a time when working people are stunned—sometimes even conservatized—by the attacks. But, along with this, we also see increasing ferment and radicalization.

"The bureaucrats have no strategy for counteracting these attacks, and consequently there is more questioning of their policies in the ranks, especially among those who now make up a majority of the American work force—youth, women, and oppressed nationalities."

The strategy of the union bureaucrats is one of class collaboration. They begin from the premise that capitalism is the best system there is, and that what is good for business is good for labor.

In exchange for recognition of their right to collect dues, they help the employers police the work force and turn the unions into instruments for that end.

This same collaborative relationship cultivated by the labor tops in the economic arena is pursued with equal conviction in the political arena. There the bureaucrats seek to curry favor with the politicians of the capitalist Democratic and Republican parties.

Such a policy, Britton pointed out, is deadly for the labor movement, as the 1976 elections showed.

In exchange for supporting Carter in the 1976 elections the labor bureaucrats hoped for help in winning a few concessions. On their list was a raise in the minimum wage, passage of the common-situs picketing bill for the construction trades, and a revision of the National Labor Relations Act to make it easier for them to organize the unorganized.

On all of these items the Carter administration has rebuffed the union tops.

Steelworkers Fight Back

"In one union there was a different response to the employer offensive, a response that arose from some of the ferment in labor's ranks. It reflected growing recognition that the old policies are inadequate.

"It emerged in the form of an election campaign for the top offices in the union, a Steelworkers Fight Back campaign for Ed Sadlowski for president and candidates for other top offices.

"The Sadlowski campaign represented a big step forward in the union movement," Britton said, "a break with many aspects of the class-

Our party is your party

Prospects for Socialism in America

Jack Barnes, Mary-Alice Waters, Tony Thomas, Barry Sheppard, and Betsey Stone



This book contains the main political resolution adopted at the 1975 SWP convention, as well as important related materials. The 1975 resolution laid the basis for the discussions that you've read about in the above article on this year's convention. *Militant* readers interested in learning more about the SWP can order this book by filling out and sending in the coupon on the right.

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collaborationist approach of the top union officials. "It was a new experience for today's union movement and for most of our party. We actively backed Sadlowski. This was the most important new development in the class struggle, and our biggest experience in the labor movement since we met here in convention last August."

The attractive power of the Fight Back campaign to hundreds of thousands of steelworkers lay in the ideas it put forward: the need for workers to conduct a fight against the employers; the need to do this through the unions and to transform them in the process; the idea of democratic rank-and-file control over the unions—including the right to vote on contracts and the right to strike.

"These were the most important ideas voiced by Ed Sadlowski and raised in the Steelworkers Fight Back campaign . . . because growing numbers of steelworkers, like growing numbers of other workers, are—under the impact of the employer offensive—beginning to look away from *individual* solutions to their problems and toward *collective* solutions."

The real importance of the Fight Back campaign was what it reflected about the changes going on in the ranks of the steelworkers union: the beginning process of radicalization.

This same process is taking place within the ranks of other unions as well, as shown by developments in those unions and by an initial favorable response to what Fight Back represented in the USWA.

The experience of SWP members, Britton reported, among railroad workers, miners, auto workers, and public workers testify to this fact. They have explained the significance of the Fight Back development for those sectors of the labor movement and have received a favorable response.

"As the capitalist ruling class pursues its offensive against the living standards, job conditions, and rights of working people, we can expect greater efforts among rank-and-file members of many unions to find a way to fight back.

"These unionists who begin to fight back can, with correct leadership, undertake the all-important task of changing their unions into fighting organizations committed to militant action on all fronts—economic, social, and political."

Class collaborationism

However for the emerging generation of union militants to do this they must be armed with a class-struggle perspective. And this requires a thorough understanding of what class collaborationism is.

Key to this is understanding that class collaboration "is not just an approach, or an attitude, but is embodied in *institutions*, institutions that tie the workers hand and foot. These institutions deny democracy at the bottom and are enforced by the government at the top.

"On this basis alone, we can see the revolutionizing dynamic of the fight for union democracy and the fight for independent working-class political action.

"All the crimes of the union bureaucrats culminate in tying labor to the capitalist two-party setup, with special emphasis on the Democratic Party. The bureaucrats foster the myth that the government is 'impartial,' and can be won to 'their' side. Union members' dues money is squandered, time and effort wasted campaigning for candidates who invariably line up with the boss class when push comes to shove."

The bureaucrats maintain their control over the unions in many ways. They discourage rank-and-file participation in union affairs. They victimize dissenters and try to buy off young militants. They corrupt officials with high salaries and a consequent living standard more akin to a corporate executive than to the average worker.

They also help the employers maintain the stratification of the workers: skilled against unskilled, employed against unemployed, stratification along age, sex, and race lines.

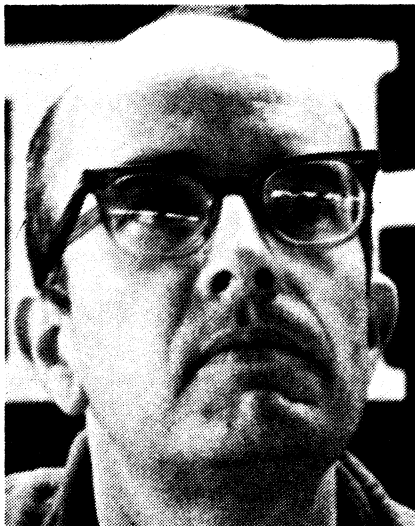
"The trade union bureaucracy works hand-in-glove with the employers in perpetuating these inequalities within the working class. They have collaborated in maintaining all the discriminatory aspects of the seniority system. They have opposed affirmative-action programs. And they have either opposed or ignored the movements for Black rights, Chicano rights, Puerto Rican rights, women's rights. These policies have gone a long way to alienate many workers from the unions and weaken the labor movement as a whole."

Building a left wing

Overcoming the domination of the unions by this bureaucratic misleadership is at the center of the SWP's work in the labor movement.

This work revolves around the fight to replace the class-collaborationist policies of the union bureaucracy with class-struggle policies—on the job, in society at large, and in the political arena.

Broad social issues—such as school desegregation, affirmative action, abortion rights, and an end



JACK BARNES



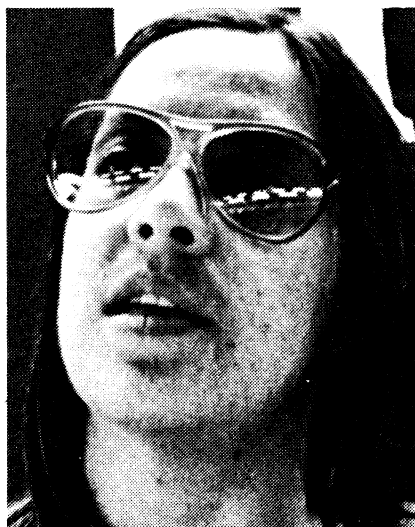
JOEL BRITTON



MALIK MIAH



WILLIE MAE REID



OLGA RODRIGUEZ



CATHY SEDWICK



LARRY SEIGLE



BARRY SHEPPARD



MARY-ALICE WATERS

Militant photos by Lou Howort and Susan Ellis

to deportations—are of immediate consequence for the labor movement as a whole.

"It is the young workers, women workers, and workers of the oppressed nationalities who are destined to lead the coming battles to defend the entire working class. They are destined to be the base of the class-struggle left wing that will transform the unions.

"In the course of the workers' expanding confrontation with the employers," Britton continued, "it will become increasingly evident that the unions must break from reliance on the Democratic Party and embark on the road of independent working-class political action by forming a mass party of labor based on the unions.

"The labor party is not an additional slogan, an extra issue we tack onto our class-struggle program. It is integral to the mobilization of labor and its allies around issues of the most immediate concern to the broadest social layers."

SWP members, Britton reported, have been working to lay the basis for such a mass class-struggle movement in the unions.

In the discussion under the report, many delegates who have been activists in the Steelworkers and other unions took the floor to add their observations and discuss the experiences of the party in carrying out its work in the unions.

In some areas SWP members in the USWA have been involved in the continued development of local Steelworkers Fight Back committees. In all cases they have gotten involved in a wide array of union and social issues—local union negotiations; organization of small shop groups; defense of Fight Back supporters against company and government victimization; union civil rights and women's committees; work in defense of the southern African revolution; and the fight to halt deportations of so-called illegals.

SWP members in the steel industry also set at the convention a goal of signing up 200 new subscribers to the *Militant* among their co-workers.

The party is conducting similar work in other

basic industries. Britton pointed out the growth in the number of party members in the auto industry in Detroit.

"The United Mine Workers is today a center of struggle," Britton said. "The coal miners face the most concerted attack on any industrial union in decades. And as they fight back—as many striking miners are already doing—we can anticipate that the employers will try to further whip up a hysteria against them. The Carter administration is preparing to move against the coal miners if they should dare to strike when their national contract expires in December."

Britton said that the government is already planning to seize the mines in event of a strike. He recalled how miners responded to Roosevelt's threat to send troops to break their 1943 strike. The miners told Roosevelt, "You can't dig coal with bayonets!" "The same applies today," Britton said.

In adopting Britton's report, the convention delegates approved launching a major campaign to take the party to the coal fields and to help build support for striking UMW miners in Stearns, Kentucky.

Britton reported that in the area around Morgantown, West Virginia, 130 people—most of them mineworkers—already subscribe to the *Militant*.

Part of this campaign to help lead the developing response among miners to the coal operators' and government attacks will be to establish a branch of the SWP in Morgantown.

While deepening and expanding its work in the trade-union movement, the SWP has also stepped up its work in the women's liberation movement and in the organizations and communities of the oppressed nationalities.

Fight for women's rights

In her report, "The Struggle for Women's Liberation," Willie Mae Reid, reporter for the political committee, painted a vivid picture of the ruling-class offensive against women. This offensive, which threatens every social gain women have

Continued on next page

...convention

Continued from page 27

come to consider as a right, is presently centered on the right to abortion.

"This attack on women's right to choose abortion is the clearest example of the ruling-class offensive against women," Reid said. "Using the well-tested method of divide and rule, the ruling class's government has zeroed in on one-third of all women who seek abortions each year."

The attack on abortion rights, codified in the Hyde amendment, strikes most directly at working-class women—women of the oppressed nationalities and young women. This attack on women's rights has gone largely unanswered by the leaders of the women's movement.

"Like the labor leaders and Black leaders," Reid said, "the basic strategy of the leadership in the women's movement is subordination of the interests of women to the interests of the two capitalist parties."

Nonetheless, this capitalist offensive against women is meeting stiff resistance. Women in massive numbers refuse to accept the burden of the capitalist economic crisis. Instead of giving in to the capitalist drive to push them out of the labor force, women are pushing for greater equality, spurred on by the gains in jobs, educational opportunities, and abortion rights they have won in past years.

Reid called special attention to the increased role of women of the oppressed nationalities within the women's movement and the crucial role these women will play in struggles to come.

The mounting resistance of women to attacks on their rights has been centered in the National Organization for Women, the largest and most authoritative women's liberation group. Growing out of the debate and discussion over strategy within NOW before and during its April conference, the Defending Women's Rights caucus advocated a militant feminist approach in the fight to defend women's rights.

"The latest default of the NOW leadership on the abortion issue," Reid said, "combined with the new round of government attacks on affirmative action, gay rights, and the ERA, is leading more NOW members to consider or reconsider the alternative perspective raised at the national conference in April."

"Supporters of the Defending Women's Rights caucus must now play a more intensive role in working with these women."

During discussion under Reid's report SWP members active in the women's liberation movement described their experiences in the National Organization for Women, and the many struggles being waged to defend women's right to abortion and to win the Equal Rights Amendment.

Struggle for Black equality

The same sort of ruling-class offensive confronting the labor and women's movements faces the Black movement as well, said Malik Miah, reporter for the political committee, in his report, "The SWP and the Struggle for Black Liberation." So do the problems of misleadership and the urgent need for an organized mass response guided by a strategy of independent struggle.

Miah pointed to the New York City blackout and the spontaneous social explosion it triggered as an example of the depth of the social crisis confronting Blacks and the inability of the capitalist government to solve it.

"Considering unemployment to be as high as 80 percent in parts of Brooklyn and more than 60 percent in other areas of the city, this explosion was no surprise."

"After the rebellions in the 1960s the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders put it this way: 'This is our basic conclusion: Our nation is moving toward two societies, one Black, one white—separate and unequal.'"

"In other words, a decade after the passage of important legislation that gave Blacks legal equality, nothing much has really changed for the masses of Black people."

Nor is any relief forthcoming from the government. In today's worsening economic situation, from the capitalists' point of view, there is no money for poverty programs or the creation of jobs through a massive public works program.

Instead the government—Congress, the White House, and the courts—has embarked on a campaign to reverse the gains of previous struggles. In fact, it has been the courts—traditionally viewed as the most sympathetic of government institutions to the cause of Black rights—that have paved the way through recent decisions for the rash of attacks on these gains.

Outstanding among these attacks on Black equality are: the attacks on affirmative action by the Supreme Court, and the upcoming *Bakke* decision

fight; recent congressional limitations on school busing for desegregation; the lack of any solution to the joblessness among Blacks, especially among Black youth; the government offensive against abortion rights, which strikes hardest at Black women; the reinstitution of the death penalty, and the series of defeats in frame-up cases such as Gary Tyler and the Wilmington Ten.

No section of the leadership of the Black movement has mounted a consistent response to these attacks: neither the Black elected officials, nor the leadership of traditional civil rights organizations, nor the Black union officials.

Need for new strategy

The Black civil rights leaders and union officials refuse to utilize the power of their organizations to further the fight for Black equality. This refusal flows from their strategy of collaboration with capitalist party politicians inside the framework of the two-party system.

This subordination of the needs and aspirations of the Black masses to the Democratic Party stands behind their inadequate strategy of lobbying, litigation, and electioneering. Their fear of upsetting cozy relationships with the "friends of Black folk" in government stands behind their refusal to mobilize the Black community in militant mass struggle.

"This is the context in which we participate in the Black movement today," Miah said. "The leadership of the Black community is completely in the hands of the liberal, procapitalist currents of the movement. Therefore, no national response to the government offensive has occurred."

A key element in the strategy needed to advance the fight for Black equality is independent Black political action. One of the key tasks confronting the Black movement is to break with the Democratic and Republican parties in day-to-day struggle and in the political arena.

Miah pointed out that as the capitalist offensive deepens, more and more militant Black activists will come to see this need. The SWP has a crucial role to play in helping lead the Black movement toward such a development.

During discussion under Miah's report SWP members active in the Black movement discussed their involvement in struggles to defend school desegregation, against racist harassment in Boston, in defense of the southern African freedom struggle, and against the death penalty.

Much of the discussion revolved around the state of the mass civil rights organizations today and how the party could best help to engage them in the fight for Black equality.

Antideportation movement

Other reports at the convention took up the developing resistance to the ruling-class offensive among youth and among the Chicanos.

In her report, "The Chicano Movement and the Struggle Against Deportations," Olga Rodríguez, reporter for the political committee, outlined the concerted drive of the Carter administration against immigrant workers from Mexico, the Caribbean, and other Latin American countries.

This drive, she said, is an integral part of the rulers' offensive against working people as a whole.

Rodríguez described the racist scare campaign the government, the press, and the capitalist politicians are trying to whip up against so-called illegal aliens.

This drive has centered on immigrant workers from Mexico. This campaign directly threatens Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, and other oppressed nationalities. It is being used to deepen the divisions

within the working class by making *mexicano* immigrant workers the scapegoat for high unemployment.

The majority of the Chicano leadership has not responded to this offensive, Rodríguez said. They have followed up their support for Carter in the 1976 elections with support for his administration's schemes to control immigration from Mexico.

However, a significant section of the Chicano leadership has responded to this attack. In the context of this general default in defending undocumented workers, said Rodríguez, "we can see the importance of the initiatives taken by the leaders of the Texas Raza Unida Party—and supported by leaders of the New Mexico RUP, some southern California Raza Unida parties, and Chicano students—to build a national response to the government's attacks."

Pointing to the national antideportation conference set for October 28-30, in San Antonio, Texas, Rodríguez said, "This conference can be an important first step in the direction of building a badly needed multinational, united-front campaign demanding an end to deportations."

[The full text of Rodríguez's report will be printed in an upcoming issue of the *Militant*.]

Several RUP leaders were present at the convention. Armando Gutiérrez, a leader of the Texas RUP, and Juan José Peña, a leader of the New Mexico RUP, brought greetings to the convention.

Cathy Sedwick, reporter for the Young Socialist Alliance National Executive Committee, outlined the impact of the ruling-class offensive on youth. Sedwick described the important role YSA chapters across the country have been playing in the struggles for Black rights, Chicano rights, and women's rights.

The activities of the YSA are key, she said, to all of the campaigns projected at the convention. Thus one of the major responsibilities of party branches across the country is to help establish viable chapters of the YSA.

Many convention delegates in the discussion under this point spoke of the need for increased collaboration between the two organizations, and of the role the YSA has played since its founding in educating and training revolutionary cadres for the Trotskyist movement.

'Prepare and organize'

Under all the points on the convention agenda, the reporters touched on the nature of the current political period in which the party is operating.

Barnes characterized it in his report as "a preparatory period of explanation, modest growth, and organization"—a period in which the party's main task is laying the basis for future rapid developments in the class struggle.

"We do not act as if an explosive change *will* happen tomorrow," he said, "but we prepare and organize ourselves because it *can* happen."

Central to this preparation is the campaign launched at the convention to deepen the party's influence in the labor movement, among women, in the communities of the oppressed nationalities through its election campaigns and the winning of an increased readership for its press.

To do this the convention decided to get an early start on the 1978 election campaigns for Congress and state offices.

The convention also decided, as reported in last week's *Militant* to launch an ambitious drive to win 18,000 new readers for the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial*, while undertaking at the same time a single-issue sales drive to regularize and increase plant-gate sales of the paper.



Delegates listen to discussion at SWP convention

Militant/Lou Howort

By Marvell Scholl

What anger and disgust must have shot through the veins of hundreds of thousands of people when word broke that the FBI had kept files on many old socialists and radical writers. I was especially angered when I read the name Helen Keller.

Helen Keller was one of the many people whose name appeared in the FBI files released to the American Civil Liberties Union earlier this summer. Some 20,000 pages documented the spying done on ACLU members between 1920 and 1943.

Among the people targeted were Jane Addams, Stephen Vincent Benet, Pearl Buck, Clarence Darrow, Eugene V. Debs, John Dewey, John Dos Passos, Theodore Dreiser, Felix Frankfurter, Upton Sinclair—and Helen Keller.

Many people know the general outlines of this famous deaf-blind woman's life, how she was rescued from a literal prison of sightlessness and deafness by her remarkable teacher, Anne Sullivan. Hollywood even made a movie about it, *The Miracle Worker*.

What isn't so well known is Keller's politics. Her FBI dossier described her as a "writer on radical subjects." But she was more.

As a result of her travels and lectures throughout industrial New England, as well as her friendship with the rebel (but not socialist) Mark Twain, Keller began to understand that blindness was often not simply an accident.

For many, blindness was the result of industrial accidents, poor working conditions, starvation wages, child labor, ghetto living, filth, and all the other social ills that beset the majority of the population. As she explained to a *New York Tribune* writer in 1916:

"I, who had thought blindness a misfortune beyond human control, found that too much of it was traceable to wrong industrial conditions, often caused by the selfishness and greed of employers. And the social evil contributed its share."*

She visited textile and shoe mills, read the faces of the workers, women, and young children. She visited their homes, smelled the poverty, felt the pain and hunger with her sensitive fingers, "seeing" their faces.

Marx in braille

Through friends she got copies in braille of Karl Marx's *Value, Price and Profit*, and *Wage Labor and Capital*. She subscribed to several German socialist braille newspapers, and to the American socialist *Appeal to Reason* and *The Call*. These American newspapers were not published in braille, but her teacher and other friends read them into her eager hands. In 1909 she joined the Socialist Party and wrote frequently for both the papers. Keller followed the beliefs of Eugene V. Debs, not those of the SP's reformist wing, led by the small-city mayors and other political job holders.

In 1916 she declared herself an industrialist—a member of the Industrial Workers of the World. In an interview for the *New York Tribune* she explained why:

"I became an IWW because I found that the Socialist Party was too slow. It is sinking in the political bog. It is almost, if not quite, impossible for the party to keep its revolutionary character so long as it occupies a place under the government and seeks office under it. The government does not stand for the interests the Socialist Party is supposed to represent."

Even though she officially became a member of the IWW in 1916, Keller continued to write for *The Call* and the *Appeal to Reason*. She led the fight for birth control, women's suffrage, a ban on child labor, and for the unemployed.

She was vocal, both on the lecture platform and in her articles and let-

HELEN KELLER: SOCIALIST

Why the FBI kept files on this famous deaf-blind woman



ters, in the fight against militarism and World War I. She supported Eugene Debs when he was tried and convicted of violating the Espionage Act and sent to the federal penitentiary in Atlanta, Georgia.

She was at first fooled by Woodrow Wilson's election promises to keep the United States out of that war. After his election, when he led the country into the war, Keller's bitterness, both at Wilson and against her own misjudgment, knew no bounds.

When the October revolution broke out in Russia, Keller's joy was intense. She declared that "tomorrow has come." She never lost her faith in the Bolshevik revolution. Even in the 1930s, after the Moscow trials had shown her the evils of Stalinism, she still remained faithful to the revolution and to the Russian people.

In 1933 her German publisher wrote her, demanding that she revise her book *Midstream* before it was published in German, taking out favorable references to the Soviet Union. She wrote back forbidding that publisher to bring out her book at all. Later, Keller's books added to the pile of those burned by the Nazis in Germany.

In 1921 Helen Keller decided that her main work in life was to help the blind. She began the American Foundation for the Blind. Her public activities as a socialist came to an end, but in her private letters she still maintained her belief that only a socialist society could make this a better world for everyone.

I went to work for the American Foundation for the Blind as a secretary in the Department of Public Education in 1952.

By this time Keller's teacher Anne Sullivan was dead, and her place had been taken by Polly Thomson. Anne Sullivan had been married to John Macy, a young socialist writer who had introduced Helen Keller to socialism. The marriage had been a stormy one, though, and early in 1910 Macy had left the household.

Anne Sullivan was both nonpolitical and nonreligious. But she never interfered with Keller's politics.

But with Polly Thomson, a tried and true tory, it was different. She dominated the aging Keller, keeping her carefully secluded from all but "acceptable" persons at their Westport, Long Island, home. They came into the

foundation only occasionally.

One day shortly after I went to work for the foundation, I went into the hall just as Keller and Thomson came out of the executive director's office. Keller sensed my presence. She said something to Thomson in her high, unintelligible voice, and Thomson called me over to be introduced.

Keller ran her beautiful, sensitive hand over my face, then held that hand out to be shaken. I was deeply honored to meet this still-beautiful, famous deaf-blind woman whom I had read so much about.

I was even more deeply honored shortly after when I learned I had shaken the hand of a sister socialist!

During the years I worked at the foundation, I learned many other things about Keller from the old-timers who had worked at the foundation almost from its beginning. They knew Helen Keller as a fellow worker who came in almost every day to work in the fund-raising department.

While Anne Sullivan had been alive the two had traveled all over the world helping other organizations and governments establish schools and workshops for the blind and deaf-blind.

For her shipboard companions, Keller chose the crew. She avoided the salons of the first class and found her way down the companionways below deck where the sailors, stewards, and stewardesses lived. She was a skilled checkers and chess player, and at that time her speaking voice was still understandable. But she had Sullivan to interpret for her, and Sullivan also enjoyed these below-decks trips.

False translations

One of Thomson's means of keeping Keller in check and making her old friends in the radical movement think she had gone completely reactionary was to interpolate, instead of translate, her speeches. One of the women I worked with told me this story:

Keller had made a speech to a large audience. Thomson then took the podium to translate the speech—but she didn't give a true translation. Somehow Keller sensed what was going on—probably because enough people in the audience had understood her speech and began stirring around.

Keller was acutely sensitive to movement, even though she couldn't hear a sound. Feet shuffling on the floor would cause vibrations she could feel. She leaned forward, pulled Thomson's skirt, spoke to her—and Thomson backtracked.

Polly Thomson died in the late fifties. Even though there must have been much friction between the two women, they had lived together for many, many years and had a deep love for one another. During Thomson's last months in the hospital, comatose, Keller spent every day with her companion.

With Thomson's death Keller's circle of communicants was reduced to two, possibly three, persons—an old gardener who had worked for her many years, who had learned the manual alphabet so he could communicate; her secretary, Mrs. Davidson; and possibly one maid.

Keller lived to be eighty-six. She remained true to her socialist principles to the end. Of that I am sure.

Imagine the loneliness of this talented, mentally alert woman after her secretary retired because of illhealth and her old Scottish gardener died. Encased, once again, in an impenetrable prison of silence and darkness, her only companions her beloved brailled books, with no loving hands to speak into hers, no warm arms to hold her close, infirmity so great she could not take care of even her most intimate personal needs, no longer run in the garden, her wonderful sense of smell fading fast—death must have found her ready and willing.

And to think that the slimy hands of the FBI, a most hated American institution, dared to touch this beautiful person.

*This interview, as well as other speeches and writings of Keller, are collected in *Helen Keller: Her Socialist Years*, edited, with an introduction by Philip Foner, published by International Publishers in 1967.

500 rally in Seattle to aid 4-month strike



Militant/Karl Bermann

By Karl Bermann

SEATTLE—Five hundred unionists and supporters demonstrated here August 6 in solidarity with striking members of the Seattle Automotive Trades Council.

Fifteen hundred members of the council have been on strike since May 17 against the fifty-two new car dealers that make up the King County Automobile Dealers Association.

The trades council is composed of Auto Machinists Local 289, Auto Painters Local 518, Auto Sheetmetal Local 387, and Teamsters Locals 44 and 882.

Washington State Labor Council President Joe Davis and King County Labor Council Executive Secretary Jim Bender both signed the call for the march and rally. It stated, "Certain leaders and negotiators for the Dealers Association are intent on making the new car dealers in King County nonunion. Simply put, they want to break our unions."

The statement concluded by ask-

ing unionists to "join us this coming Saturday afternoon to remind all of Seattle and the dealers in particular that Seattle is a *union town* and hasn't forgotten the meaning of the word *solidarity*."

Since the strike began, the dealers association has made only one offer: wage increases totaling a mere \$1.25 over a three-year period with no cost-of-living adjustments, and any increases in the cost of existing benefits to be paid by the workers themselves.

In addition, the mechanics will have to continue to buy their own tools without compensation.

The turnout for the march and rally was significant, considering it was organized in less than a week.

The action began with a mass picket line around the entire city block occupied by S.L. Savidge, Inc., a Chrysler-Dodge dealership, and Westlake Chevrolet.

Following a rally, the demonstrators marched for a mile, stopping at three more of the large dealerships.

Superspy agency bugged attorney

By Peter Seidman

For the first time, the U.S. National Security Agency has been forced to reveal the name of one of the victims of its electronic surveillance of all airborne communications in the United States. The NSA is a supersecret government spy agency that is part of the Defense Department.

The revelation came August 2 when the FBI was ordered by U.S. District Judge Ralph Freeman to tell where it had obtained the contents of six overseas phone calls and telegrams made by Detroit attorney Abdeen Jabara.



Jabara, thirty-six, was born in Michigan of Lebanese parents. He is a well-known defender of the freedom struggle of the Palestinians. Active in the movement against the Vietnam War, Jabara first came under FBI surveillance after he spoke at an antiwar rally in 1967 at Wayne State University.

The victim of intensive government spying since then, Jabara, is suing the FBI for damages inflicted by thirty-five admitted wiretappings of his telephone conversations within the United States.

It was this lawsuit, in which Jabara is represented by John Shattuck, director of the Washington, D.C., office of the American Civil Liberties Union, that forced the FBI to reveal its NSA source.

Calendar

DETROIT

SOCIALIST CAMPAIGN RALLY. Speakers: Trudy Hawkins, SWP candidate for mayor; Leslie Craine and Steve Beumer, SWP candidates for city council. Sat., Sept. 10, 7:30 p.m. reception; 8 p.m. rally; party to follow. 2230 Witherall, room 601 (downtown YWCA). Donation: \$2. Ausp: SWP Campaign Committee. For more information call (313) 961-5675.

LOS ANGELES: CRENSHAW

NUCLEAR POWER: PROGRESS OR THREAT? Speakers: Don May, nuclear engineer; representative of Friends of the Earth; Tom Thompson, Abalone Alliance; Joanie Quinn, SWP. Fri., Sept. 9, 8 p.m. 2167 W. Washington Blvd. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (213) 732-8196.

MIAMI

CARTER'S CANAL TREATY: U.S. STILL WIELDS BIG STICK. Speaker: Ed Shaw, SWP National Committee. Fri., Sept. 9, 8 p.m. Center for Dialogue, 2175 NW 26th St. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (305) 266-4381.

MILWAUKEE

HOW TO DEFEAT THE NAZIS. Speakers: Connie Allan, SWP; Nancy Pfeifer, Socialist Party USA; Al Steargar, Workers World Party; representatives from Milwaukee Alliance and Wisconsin Civil Liberties Union. Fri., Sept. 9, 8 p.m. 3901 N. 27th St. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant. For more information call (414) 442-8170.

PHOENIX

STOP FORCED STERILIZATION! Speakers: Michael Zavala, Tucson attorney; Ann Russo, Feminists United for Action. Fri., Sept. 9, 8 p.m. 314 E. Taylor St. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Bookstore Forum. For more information call (602) 255-0450.

WASHINGTON, D.C.

THE CASE AGAINST NUCLEAR POWER. Speakers: Bruce Rosenthal, editor of *Critical Mass Journal* published by Ralph Nader's Public Citizen; Mark Reis, asst. legislative director of Friends of the Earth; representative of Potomac Alliance; Sylvia Bailey, SWP. Fri., Sept. 9, 8 p.m. 2416 18th St. NW. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (202) 797-7699.

WASHINGTON, D.C.: GEORGIA AVENUE

WHAT IS THE SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY? A REPORT FROM THE SWP CONVENTION. Speaker: Dita Constantinitis, SWP. Fri., Sept. 9, 8:30 p.m. 700 1/2 Barry Place NW. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (202) 265-7708.

...Denver

Continued from page 3

Letters of support to the rally, which drew more than 300 people, were read from Peg Ackerman, state coordinator of the National Organization for Women, and from the Colorado Abortion Rights Coalition. Brewery Workers Local 366, which has faced police attacks in its long battle against the Coors beer company, sent greetings, as did the Denver Socialist Workers Party.

A letter from the Student Coalition Against Racism tied the fight against police terror to the movement to defend undocumented immigrants from the terror of U.S. border cops.

Andy Espinoza, speaking at the rally, asked, "Who gave the cops the right to shoot my father? Their supervisor? Chief Dill? Mayor McNichols?"

"These killings have happened in the past, and they'll happen in the future," Espinoza said Chicanos must defend themselves from "cold-blooded murder."

Charlene Trujillo, an eyewitness to the killings, also spoke, as did Odinga Nia Lamumba of the executive board of Operation PUSH. Terry Murphy,

representing the June 7 Committee, a coalition to defend gay rights, also spoke. He called for unity between gays and other victims of Denver police brutality.

Sylvia Zapata of the Denver Student Coalition Against Racism compared the Mestizo Park murders to recent police killings in Houston. "Blacks and Chicanos have to get together," she said. "We need more rallies and demonstrations like this one to fight these racist assaults."

Ruben Espinosa, who chaired the rally, said his uncle's killers were still roaming the streets. He expressed the sentiments of the entire crowd in demanding that the killer cops be jailed, indicted, and tried for murder.

...steel

Continued from page 8

enough sick people or people starving to drive us off the picket line."

The vindictive company move does not seem likely to succeed, though. Every union officer and member I have spoken to expressed confidence that either the union will force the compan-

ies to continue advancing money for insurance, or some other way will be found to keep up the strikers' medical coverage.

The USWA locals involved have filed grievances protesting the insurance cutoff and are demanding immediate arbitration of the dispute.

Larson said that although some strikers might be "confused" over the insurance question, he did not think morale would be seriously affected.

"Morale is excellent," Wampler declared. "Our people are strong. They're determined. We intend to see this thing through."

Another leading strike activist agreed. "If you give in now," he said, "you are going to be caving in for the next twenty years."

...Aug. 26

Continued from page 5

leader, reminded the crowd that the methods of struggle that had won women the vote, and will win rights today, are "self reliance and direct action."

Reid was met with cheers and a

standing ovation when she concluded her speech with a quote from Black abolitionist and feminist Sojourner Truth. "We'll win our rights—see if we don't!"

Ginny Apuzzo, cochairperson of the National Gay Rights Lobby, echoed the theme of unity in the women's movement against the right wing. But, she warned, "we can bury our differences without burying the issues."

"I'm horrified, but not surprised," she said, "that this president, and this Congress, and this Supreme Court, that can agree on nothing else, can agree on restricting the access of all women to abortion."

"Called upon to explain the obvious inequities to poor women, Carter the Compassionate had the audacity to tell women in this country that life is often unfair," Apuzzo continued. "I didn't hear him say that to the investors in the Concorde. I didn't hear him say that to the oil companies. And I don't hear him say that to Bert Lance!"

Other speakers included Rubye Jones, president of the New York Coalition of Labor Union Women; Goldie Chu of the Asian-American Women's Caucus; Eleanor Smeal, national president of NOW; author Jo Freeman; and Lolita Lacson, vice-chairperson of the Filipino Forum.

...Chicago

Continued from back page

"security" officers on their strategy of providing "very low visibility" police presence at schools to be desegregated. Participants resolved to keep the pressure on city hall to provide real protection for the transfers.

The meeting decided to begin the task of organizing teams of Blacks rights supporters to drive behind the buses to monitor the situation if that proves necessary and to further pressure the police

to provide full protection.

A PUSH-called protest demonstration on August 27 at the central police headquarters was attended by 300 people. To dramatize their demand for full police protection, many picketers demanded that Officer Majerczyk be fired.

The Student Coalition Against Racism participated in the action and called for full desegregation of Chicago schools. SCAR spokesperson Saladin El-Tabuk said, "Although this transfer program is not the comprehensive desegregation plan that is needed, it is a small step toward that goal and must be fully implemented."

Chicago public schools, among the most segre-

gated in the country, have long been threatened with a cutoff of state and federal funds unless a desegregation plan is developed. The latest of many deadlines for coming up with such a plan is March 1978.

SCAR backed the call for "full protection for the transfer students, including the National Guard and federal troops if necessary." SCAR called on supporters of Black and Latino rights to mobilize for the August 31 meeting of the board of education.

"For too long the racists have used these meetings as forums for their campaign of violence against Black and Latino students," the statement said. "The stakes are high. The time to act is now."

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Parents demand police protection

Chicago racists threaten Black transfer students

By Joel Britton

CHICAGO—Black parents and students are demanding full police protection as a very limited desegregation program goes into effect with the opening of public schools here.

For the first time, Black students expect to be transferred from their overcrowded schools into underutilized schools in the all-white Bogan district on this city's southwest side. Previous transfer plans exempted this area after massive racist protests.

As school opening draws near, white racist opponents of this modest new step toward equal educational opportunity are again threatening violence to the high school and elementary school students being transferred.

In response, Rev. Jesse Jackson and other Black leaders are beginning to speak out against the racist drive. Jackson, national president of Operation PUSH, said his organization would call "massive marches" and demand "the calling out of the National Guard" if the rights of Black students aren't protected by city officials.

So far, fewer than 1,000 out of some 6,000 eligible students have signed up to transfer. Many Black and Latino parents fear for the safety of their children and have hesitated to approve their transfer. That these fears are well-grounded is shown by a review of some of the recent racist attacks and mobilizations here:

- Earlier this summer Black kindergarten- to third-grade students picnicking in Calumet Park on the southeast side were assaulted by a racist mob and driven out of the park.

- On August 22 a Ku Klux Klan-style cross was burned on the lawn of the first Black family to move into a previously all-white block in south-suburban Harvey.

- On August 23 David Hicks, a seventeen-year-old butcher's apprentice was attacked by three white racist thugs on the near south side as he was returning from lunch. He was left unconscious and bleeding in the street.

- On August 24 a bomb exploded in the home of Arthur Hall, Jr., in an area just east of all-white



Operation PUSH leader Jesse Jackson speaks to press after meeting with Mayor Bilandic. Jackson says he will organize 'massive marches' if rights of Black students aren't protected when school opens.

Marquette Park, long plagued by racist attacks on Black families and passersby. Hall lost his left hand and suffered shrapnel wounds.

- Racist meetings and demonstrations have attracted hundreds of white racists, who have paraded near the mayor's home, sat in at city hall, and packed meetings of the school board. They are demanding an end to the transfer plan, saying they won't permit even one Black student to enter Bogan-area schools.

The racists carry signs saying "Resist," "Never," and "I'm white, and I'll fight."

- A southwest-side cop, A.A. Majerczyk, told school board members and the press that "many police officers can be expected to get the 'blue flu' when called in to protect school buses." This threat to aid racist attacks on Black students was dismissed by Police Supt. James Rochford as an exercise in "free speech."

Democratic Mayor Michael Bilandic has done his bit to cover for the racists. He responded to de-

mands that the students be protected by saying, "I think the children have nothing to fear. But I think the people who have been talking about fear . . . may inadvertently be giving someone an idea."

Black parents have sought out meetings with civil rights groups to discuss what can be done to ensure the safety of Black students this fall.

One such meeting took place August 25 at Operation PUSH headquarters. More than 200 parents, students, and supporters of Black rights heard PUSH leader Bill Thurston explain the need for action.

Thurston said the events in Chicago had to be put in a national context: "In 1977 the forces of racism are on the offensive. Their aim is to undo the gains we have made since 1955." Citing recent Supreme Court decisions on desegregation and affirmative action, Thurston said, "They're saying no more special treatment" in the quest for equality.

The meeting heard reports from school board

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Phila. socialist blasts bogus 'voluntary' busing

By Jon Hillson

PHILADELPHIA—Nine years ago the Pennsylvania State Human Relations Commission found the school system of the nation's fourth-largest city segregated and ordered the Philadelphia School Board to do something.

It didn't. Instead, while segregation worsened, the board mounted appeal after appeal and submitted plan after plan designed to avoid busing—the only way to genuinely desegregate the 240 of 280 city schools that are racially imbalanced.

In the all-Black schools here, segregation means deteriorated facilities, less qualified teachers, and the absence of programs comparable to those in all-white schools.

On July 1, the State Commonwealth Court decided to allow a "voluntary" busing plan to redress the decades of racist discrimination

in the school system.

The court based its decision on a "broad" interpretation of the recent spate of U.S. Supreme Court orders that have overturned busing plans in Austin, Indianapolis, Dayton, Milwaukee, and Omaha. Since a "conscious intent" to segregate had not been found in the original Philadelphia desegregation decision, a system-wide mandatory busing plan was not constitutionally necessary, the court held.

A survey last spring of another "voluntary" school board desegregation scheme—the modest "magnet school program"—showed that this approach had registered no gains whatsoever toward desegregating city schools during its operation over several years.

On July 25, the Human Relations Commission stated that it would appeal the school board's bogus, "voluntary" plan. Black school

board President Arthur Thomas blasted the appeal effort. "When you use the words 'forced busing'—people are not geared to that in a democracy," he said.

But Rhonda Rutherford, the Socialist Workers Party's Black candidate for city controller, graduated from the Philadelphia school system and supports the Human Relations Commission's appeal.

"I don't know what all this talk about 'forced busing' is," Rutherford told the *Militant*.

"Segregation is the system of force," she said, "not desegregation. Black students didn't 'volunteer' to be segregated. And racists aren't going to 'volunteer' to desegregate. That's why I support the implementation of a real desegregation plan by the Black community to achieve full equality in the schools by any means necessary—and that means busing."



Militant/Walter Lippmann

RHONDA RUTHERFORD: "Black students didn't 'volunteer' to be segregated."