

THE MILITANT

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

**FBI
BURGLAR
SAYS AGENTS
PAID HIM
HUSH MONEY**
—PAGE 3

**Human rights and
the Soviet Union**
—PAGES 12, 26

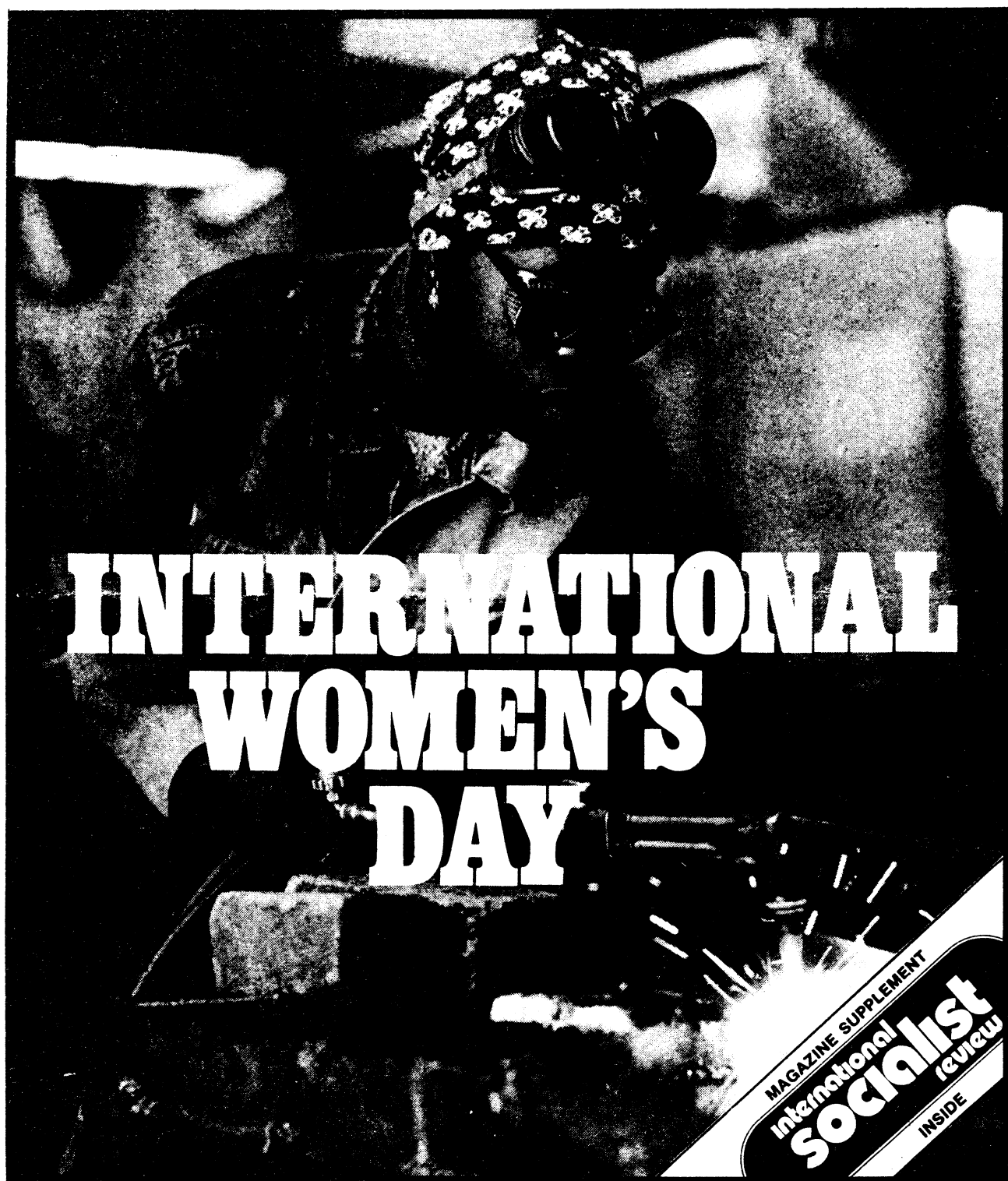
**Was Sadlowski
'too radical'?**
—PAGE 24

THE IDI AMIN FUROR
—PAGE 9



Carter maps crackdown on 'illegal aliens'

Internal passport scheme is
threat to all U.S. workers
—PAGE 4



THIS WEEK'S MILITANT

- 3 FBI burglar says feds paid him hush money
- 4 Carter aide announces crackdown on 'illegals'
- 5 800 ERA supporters rally in St. Louis
- 6 NSCAR maps March actions
- 7 Calif. students defend minority admissions
- 8 Democratic party: dead end for 'New South'
- 9 Carter rattles saber over Idi Amin furor
- 24 Was Sadlowski 'too radical'?
- 26 N.Y. protest defends Soviet dissidents
- 27 Women vs. the FBI
- 28 ERA foes push to reverse ratification
- 29 Chicanas: attacks demand united response
- 30 Filipino nurses face murder charges
- 32 Carter & CIA: the big cover-up
- 2 In Brief
- 10 In Our Opinion Letters
- 23 Capitalism in Crisis Women in Revolt
- 25 As I See It
- 11-22 International Socialist Review

THE MILITANT

VOLUME 41/NUMBER 9
MARCH 11, 1977
CLOSING NEWS DATE—MARCH 2

Editor: MARY-ALICE WATERS
Managing Editor: NELSON BLACKSTOCK
Business Manager: HARVEY McARTHUR
Southwest Bureau: HARRY RING
Washington Bureau: DAVID FRANKEL

Published weekly by The Militant Publishing Ass'n., 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014. Telephone: Editorial Office (212) 243-6392; Business Office (212) 929-3486. Southwest Bureau: 1237 S. Atlantic Blvd., Los Angeles, Calif. 90022. Telephone: (213) 269-1456. Washington Bureau: 1424 16th St. NW, #701-B, Washington, D.C. 20036. Telephone: (202) 265-6865.

Correspondence concerning subscriptions or changes of address should be addressed to The Militant Business Office, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014.

Second-class postage paid at New York, N.Y. Subscriptions: U.S., \$9.00 a year; outside U.S., \$14.50. By first-class mail: U.S., Canada, and Mexico, \$36.50. Write for surface and airmail rates to all other countries.

For subscriptions airmailed from New York and then posted from London directly to Britain, Ireland, and Continental Europe: £1.50 for eight issues, £3.50 for six months, £6.50 for one year. Send banker's draft or international postal order (payable to Pathfinder Press) to Pathfinder Press, 47 The Cut, London, SE1 8LL, England. Inquire for air rates from London at the same address.

Signed articles by contributors do not necessarily represent the Militant's views. These are expressed in editorials.

1,500 PICKET J. P. STEVENS MEETING: Representing a broad spectrum of labor and religious organizations, 1,500 people demonstrated outside the annual stockholders' meeting of J.P. Stevens & Company in New York March 1. The picketers were supporting a national boycott against the textile giant by the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union. The boycott, backed by the AFL-CIO, was called to protest Stevens's notorious antiunion policies.

Among those on the picket line were Catarino Garza, Socialist Workers party candidate for mayor of New York; Paul O'Dwyer, New York City Council president; Coretta Scott King; and Bayard Rustin, executive director of the A. Philip Randolph Institute.

MAINE INDIANS GET BOOST IN LAND CLAIMS: The Penobscot and Passamaquoddy Indian tribes have won a round in their struggle to win damages and back rent for five million acres of Maine land illegally stolen from them almost 200 years ago. On February 28 the U.S. Justice Department announced it would join the Indians' lawsuit aimed at recovering the land if an out-of-court settlement is not reached soon.

According to the Justice Department, President Carter will soon appoint a federal mediator to negotiate with Congress on a cash settlement of the Indians' claims.

If no settlement is reached, however, the Justice Department says it will file suit against "a limited number of major landowners" in the state.

NEW YORK KILLER-COP ACQUITTED: An all-white jury turned in a "not guilty" verdict February 24, ending the trial of William Walker for the cold-blooded murder of a Black student in 1973. Walker, a white New York City cop, was accused of shooting down John Brabham, twenty-two. Prosecutors said Walker planted a toy gun near Brabham's body to make the killing appear as self-defense.

In 1974 Thomas Shea, another New York killer-cop, was found innocent—also by an all-white jury—after he murdered a Black ten-year-old, Clifford Glover.

Another New York cop, Robert Torsney, is now awaiting trial for the fatal Thanksgiving shooting of a third Black youth, fifteen-year-old Randolph Evans.

FRAME-UP OF DENVER CRUSADE ACTIVISTS: The frame-up trials of Juan Haro and Antonio Quintana have been set for March 14 and 23 in Denver district court. Haro and Quintana are activists in the Crusade for Justice, a Denver Chicano organization.

The two are falsely accused of plotting to blow up a Denver police substation.

Their trial was moved to Denver after right-wingers in Akron, Colorado—the original trial site—began organizing a vigilante squad aimed at Chicanos who wanted to attend the trial.

PROTESTS HALT EXCAVATION IN SAN JOSE: The Holiday Inn in San Jose, California, has halted excavation for a downtown parking garage on the site of an Ohlone Indian burial ground. In January American Indian Movement leader Dennis Banks had called for a boycott of Holiday Inn.

On February 23, the U.S. Justice Department's Community Relations Service announced that Holiday Inn, along with Ohlone Indian representatives and the city of San Jose, agreed to a further forty-five-day moratorium on excavations while they try to reach a voluntary settlement.

ANTIBUSING MARCH FLOPS IN LOUISVILLE: Organizers of a February 26 antibusing march in Louisville had hoped to draw 3,000 participants. But only about 250 racists showed up. "I'm kind of disappointed with the turnout," said Jack Shore, president of the so-called Union Labor Against Busing, sponsor of the demonstration. Shore told reporters he hoped Attorney General Griffin Bell "may be able to do something for us in the near future."

Five days earlier the Kentucky Commission on Human Rights charged Louisville's schools with failure to comply with desegregation guidelines ordered by Federal District Judge James Gordon in a 1975 busing order.

The commisison cited an "obvious failure by school administrators to use their powers" to implement Gordon's ruling.

BLACK STUDIES CATALOG FROM PATHFINDER: The spectacular success of the televised production "Roots" revealed the growing interest in the history and ideas of the Black liberation struggle.

To help this expanding audience find the kind of books it wants and needs, Pathfinder Press has released a richly illustrated twenty-four-page Black studies catalog.

The catalog lists all of Pathfinder's Black studies books and pamphlets. It features two new books: *The Assassination of Malcolm X*, by George Breitman, Herman Porter, and Baxter Smith; and *The Battle of Boston, Busing and*

the Struggle for School Desegregation, by Jon Hillson. Hillson's eyewitness account will be available this month.

Pathfinder has mailed 13,000 of these catalogs to Black studies departments, libraries, and trade unions all over the country. *Militant* readers who would like to help distribute the new catalog in their area can write Pathfinder at 410 West Street, New York, New York 10014.

RX: ORANGE JUICE?: Anita Bryant, TV's singing orange juice pusher, is an outspoken opponent of the newly enacted ordinance in Dade County, Florida, that outlaws job and housing discrimination against gays.

Soon after the law was passed, a New York producer turned down Bryant for a part she wanted. Bryant accused the producer of "caving in to . . . homosexual activists." She said the producer gave "the impression that this sick segment of society represents society on a much broader basis than it does in reality."

Bob Kunst, a Miami gay rights spokesperson, challenged Bryant's charge. "She wants to cause gays to lose their jobs and she complains because she lost a job," he said. "The lady is a hypocrite."

CONDEMNS HONORS TO RACIST SCIENTIST: Arthur Jensen is a psychologist who holds the racist theory that Blacks are genetically inferior to whites. He bases much of his theory on the recently exposed faked research of British psychologist Sir Cyril Burt. Nonetheless, on February 24 Jensen was elected to the American Association for the Advancement of Science—a high honor in the academic community.

Dr. William Wallace, director of Harvard's health career programs, announced his resignation from the association, protesting what he called its "endorsement of racism." Wallace said the vote was "an insult to minorities and damaging to the credibility of the AAAS in its work with minority scientists."

'IPI TOMBI' PROTESTS GET BAD REVIEW: The February 19 Johannesburg, South Africa, *Star* quoted Hymie Udwin, a backer of the racist South African musical *Ipi Tombi*, as follows:

"It's a tragedy that 'Ipi Tombi' has had to close in New York after only six weeks.

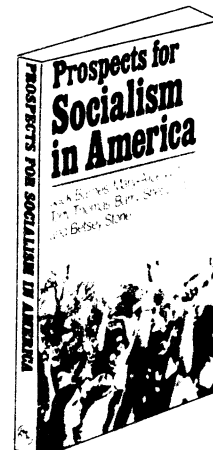
"But it was clear last week that the show couldn't survive. Two organisations, the Socialist Workers Party and the Patrice Lumumba Foundation, organised the picketing.

"There were never fewer than 70 and often as many as 250 picketing the entrance to the theatre."

—Peter Seidman

SUBSCRIBE NOW! 10 WEEKS FOR \$1

Or subscribe for 6 months
or 1 year and get this
FREE BOOK!



This 269-page book is the best explanation of the ideas of the Socialist Workers party. Five leaders of the SWP discuss proposals for strengthening the struggles of working people, women, Chicanos, Blacks, Puerto Ricans, students—and building a mass socialist movement that can take on the ruling superrich and win.

Offer good for new or renewal subscriptions.

- () \$1 for ten issues
- () \$5 for six months and *Prospects for Socialism*
- () \$9 for one year and *Prospects for Socialism*
- () New () Renewal

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Send to: The Militant, Box A
14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014

Denver cops in on earlier break-in?

FBI burglar says feds paid him hush money

By Diane Wang

Timothy Redfearn, the imprisoned FBI burglar and informer, has charged that two FBI agents threatened him and then paid him \$4,100 in hush money not to testify before a Denver grand jury last summer.

On February 26 Redfearn made these charges to Joe Henry of the Socialist Workers party; Jeff Pond, an American Civil Liberties Union lawyer; and Ruth Getts of the Political Rights Defense Fund. The PRDF is coordinating support for the SWP's \$40 million lawsuit against government spying and harassment.

Redfearn also charged that the Denver police had accepted stolen Young Socialist Alliance records from him. In addition, he said he had broken into the house of U.S. Rep. Patricia Schroeder (D-Colo.).

Redfearn is serving an indeterminate-to-ten-year sentence for a July 7, 1976, burglary of the Denver SWP office. Redfearn stole four cases of the socialists' office records to give the FBI.

After Redfearn's arrest, a federal judge in New York ordered the FBI to give the SWP the informer's complete FBI file for its lawsuit. The uncensored FBI record exposed the bureau's role in prompting and covering up the informer's break-in.

Last summer a Denver grand jury examined the evidence in Redfearn's FBI file and heard testimony from several G-men. Redfearn refused to testify at the time.

Silence is golden

Redfearn now charges that John Almon and Frank Renner, two FBI agents he had worked with, paid him \$4,100 to keep silent. Renner, Redfearn added, also threatened his family.

According to Redfearn, the G-men paid him \$2,000, \$800, \$500, and \$650 during July, August, and September. At that time the grand jury was assembling and examining evidence. Redfearn said he received another \$150 in the mail after his indictment.

FBI agents quickly denied Redfearn's story. According to the February 28 *Washington Post*, "Homer J. Boynton, a spokesman at FBI headquarters in Washington, said the agents named by Redfearn deny paying him to keep silent."

Another FBI spokesperson, Mike Griffin, told the *Militant*, "All we're saying right now is that they deny the allegations out there [in Denver]." Asked whether the FBI accepted the Denver agents' denials, Griffin answered, "We accept what the agents say at this point."

The *Washington Post* also referred to sources who "said the Justice Department is proceeding cautiously because Redfearn has a documented record of criminal activity and unreliability in his statements."

Yet, as recently as last June the FBI rated Redfearn an "excellent" informer. In fact, one G-man suggested that Redfearn be given a 90 percent rating for reliability.

Who to believe?

So it's the word of Redfearn, a former paid liar, against that of FBI agents who have already been caught lying in this case.

John Almon, for example, initially claimed that he had not accepted any stolen goods from Redfearn's July 7 break-in. But Redfearn's FBI file included material from the burglary that Almon had taken from Redfearn.



TIMOTHY REDFEARN

Denver District Attorney Dale Tooley says Redfearn told his office about the hush money last December but then recanted.

But according to a March 1 *Rocky Mountain News* story, "Redfearn said he recanted because the prosecutors 'weren't that interested.' . . . 'I don't know that I ever said it was untrue,' he said. 'I just stopped talking about it. I got the feeling they thought I was wasting their time . . . so I just told them to forget the whole thing,' Redfearn said."

Cops and robbers

Redfearn's uncensored FBI file also included evidence of a 1973 burglary he had done to take YSA records from a socialist's apartment. Ruth Getts asked the informer about the role of Denver cops in that burglary:

Getts: Do you think the Denver police department knew about the '73 burglary?

Redfearn: Sure they did.

Getts: Other than the report that was filed by the people that were burglarized?

Redfearn: Yeah, I told them.

Getts: Who did you tell?

Redfearn: People in the intelligence bureau, two guys I worked with before. . . .

Getts: You told them before you were going to conduct the burglary?

Redfearn: I don't remember if I told them before, but I sure did afterwards. . . . As a matter of fact, I turned some of the information over. . . .

Denver Police Division Chief Montoya told the *Militant* that he had no comment. Asked if the police were looking into Redfearn's charge, Montoya replied, "No, not really."

Redfearn also says he broke into the house of Rep. Patricia Schroeder and turned over material from the break-in to the FBI.

Schroeder confirmed that her house had been broken into several times in the past few years. She also said the FBI had compiled a file on her anti-Vietnam War activities. She obtained the file under the Freedom of Information Act.

"Even though Mr. Redfearn is neither entirely credible nor without self-interest," Schroeder is quoted in the *Rocky Mountain News*, "these are serious charges and they ought to be thoroughly investigated."

The March 1 *New York Times* reported that J. Stanley Pottinger, head of the Justice Department civil rights division, promised Schroeder he would investigate Redfearn's charges.

In-house probe?

Redfearn too had asked the Justice Department to look into his case. On February 18 he was interviewed by U.S. assistant attorneys Stephen Kadison and William Ellsbury.

John Wilson, a spokesperson at the Justice Department, told the *Militant*, "We are checking into all of the allegations." But he would not specify which charges had been discussed February 18. He suggested we ask Redfearn.

Redfearn told Getts, Henry, and Pond that his meeting with the U.S. assistant attorneys had covered the payoffs, burglaries, and the Denver police.

In addition, Denver District Attorney Tooley told the *Militant* "the matter is under review; I've had investigators working on the matter."

Tooley has been under pressure from Colorado civil liberties supporters to reopen the Redfearn case.

On February 9 he was visited by Ruth Getts and Alan Gummerson of the PRDF; James Reynolds of the Colorado Civil Rights Commission; Rod Smith, a representative of Representative Schroeder's office; and Bruce Farnsworth, Denver YSA organizer. The delegation demanded that Tooley look more closely at the FBI's role in the July 7 burglary.

Continued on page 30

Political Rights Defense Fund



The Socialist Workers party and Young Socialist Alliance lawsuit against government spying and disruption has already exposed many FBI and CIA attacks against democratic rights.

The Political Rights Defense Fund is organizing support and raising money for this historic lawsuit.

Will you help? Return this coupon with your contribution to PRDF, Box 649 Cooper Station, New York, New York 10003.

☐ Enclosed is a contribution of \$_____

Name _____

Address _____

City _____

State _____ Zip _____

National Student Ass'n backs CMU defense

By Chuck Petrin

WASHINGTON—The National Student Association (NSA), the country's oldest and largest student organization, is joining the defense campaign for three Michigan Young Socialist Alliance members.

A national conference here of 150 representatives voted to endorse the efforts of the Committee for Free Speech to alert the public to the case of Brigid Douglas, Jim Garrison, and Tom Smith.

The three were arrested last October 20 at Central Michigan University while distributing socialist literature on campus. Each faces charges of

trespassing and "disruption" of a university function, which carry penalties of up to six months in jail and a \$1,650 fine.

The Committee for Free Speech, a nonpartisan group of students, professors, and civil liberties advocates, is protesting the arrests as a violation of political and academic freedom and is demanding that all charges be dropped.

"It is disturbing to note," commented NSA President Tom Tobin, "that First Amendment rights are still not recognized on some college campuses. A university, above all, must be a meeting place for ideas and a forum for

their free discussion, without the repression and intimidation found in this case."

Tobin, along with NSA Vice-president Ed Kennedy, had urged the NSA's National Supervisory Board to place a special point on their preconference meeting agenda to discuss the case. The board adopted a resolution of support and brought it before the conference for ratification.

The resolution draws attention to a federal court suit filed by the American Civil Liberties Union of Michigan on behalf of the three defendants, the CMU chapter of the YSA, and other CMU students.

The suit challenges the constitutionality of university regulations, policies, and practices that restrict free speech on campus.

No date has been set for a trial of the three socialists. The trial may be postponed until after a ruling on the constitutional issues by the federal court.

Meanwhile, the Committee for Free Speech is going all out to publicize and build support for the case.

For more information contact the Committee for Free Speech, Post Office Box 626, Mt. Pleasant, Michigan 48858.

Internal passports for U.S. workers?

Carter aide announces crackdown on 'illegals'

By Harry Ring

LOS ANGELES—The Carter administration is planning a massive crackdown on Mexicans who have entered the United States without immigration permits, according to Secretary of Labor F. Ray Marshall.

An editorial on this subject appears on page 10.

The plan calls for barring undocumented workers—the so-called illegal aliens—from employment. To enforce this, Marshall said, the administration intends to introduce a system of “counterfeitproof” identification cards for all working people.

Traditionally associated with police states, such compulsory identification—or internal passports—would constitute a heavy blow to civil liberties.

The Carter plan was outlined by the secretary of labor in a February 21 interview with Harry Bernstein, labor writer for the *Los Angeles Times*.

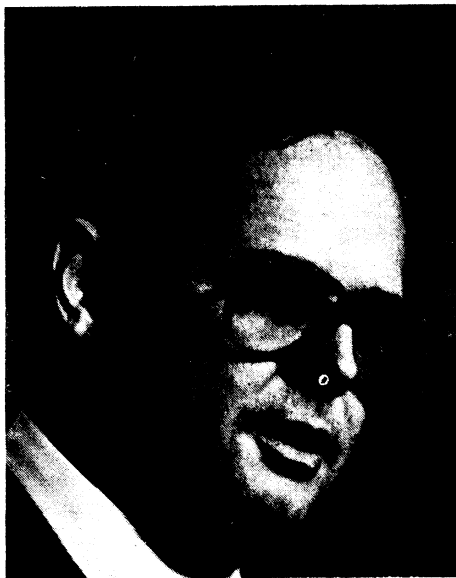
Marshall told the *Times* that Carter had created a cabinet-level committee to deal with the issue. The committee includes Marshall, Attorney General Griffin Bell, and Secretary of State Cyrus Vance.

The committee is not just a study group, Marshall said. The crackdown on undocumented workers is a “high priority item for this administration and it doesn’t need any more studies,” he explained.

The administration intends to “get everything together and be sure we are ready, and then we can move in a hurry.”

The Carter plan

According to Marshall, the plan includes: “Making it illegal for employers to knowingly hire illegal aliens.” And “counterfeit-proof cards for all workers, similar to Social Security cards.”



F. RAY MARSHALL

Marshall said he agreed with the “goals” of the Rodino bill, currently pending in Congress, which would penalize employers for “knowingly” hiring undocumented workers.

But, he added, the Rodino bill is not “comprehensive enough.”

He said the Carter program would also include “an amnesty plan for people who have been in this country for a reasonable period of time and have no criminal record.”

He did not say what the administration would consider to be a “reasonable period of time,” or what constitutes a “criminal record.”

The government presently considers all undocumented workers “criminals” because they are here without official permission.

To further tighten the noose around the necks of undocumented workers, Marshall said that a “meaningful penalty” against them would be to permanently deny the right of legal entry to “workers who come in illegally.”

This would be particularly grave for undocumented people with relatives, such as a spouse or children, who are U.S. citizens. Under present law such “equity” gives them the basis for legalizing their own status.

The Carter plan would force them to either leave their citizen relatives here or take them back also.

ID cards

Marshall admitted that there were problems with issuing ID cards for all workers. “I agree with the civil libertarians and others who do not want a national identification card with everyone’s picture on it so that people could be stopped and checked on the streets,” he said.

“But,” he added, “if they can make a card that gives me money at the bank at night when nobody is there, and I can buy goods in the store with the card . . . then I think we can make a



LEONARD CHAPMAN



CARTER TO ‘ILLEGALS’: Get lost

noncounterfeitable Social Security card for workers to use when they are getting jobs.”

This argument simply overlooks the obvious fact that use of credit cards is voluntary, not obligatory.

Praise from ‘la migra’

At a February 24 press conference in Los Angeles, Leonard Chapman, director of the Immigration and Naturalization Service of the Justice Department, praised the Carter plan.

He said he is persuaded that Carter is “prepared to move quickly and vigorously” to crack down on undocumented workers.

Chapman also announced that beginning in March, new ID cards would be issued to legal resident aliens.

The cards, he said, would be “counterfeit-proof, alter-proof, impostor-proof.” The cards would include signature, photo, and fingerprints of the bearer.

In addition, each card will bear coded numbers, which assertedly will reveal “physical characteristics” of the rightful bearer when run through a computer.

The numbers could, of course, equally well provide political or other information about the bearer. The INS already maintains up-to-date files on the residence and employment of all legal residents and actively seeks out information about the legal political activities of these noncitizens.

The alien cards offer a preview of what all American workers will be required to carry if the Carter plan goes through.

Behind the attack

Why is the government planning such drastic moves at this particular time?

Along with the racist victimization of undocumented *mexicanos*, it is aimed squarely at the rights, wages, and living conditions of all U.S. workers.

Until now, the government has been content to let undocumented workers slip across the border when unemployment is low and step up deportations when a supply of domestic cheap labor is available.

The Carter administration clearly assumes there will be no need for imported cheap labor for years.

To begin with, Marshall noted, the need for imported farm workers has decreased to the point where “it is no longer a major preoccupation of agriculture.”

He said an estimated two-thirds of undocumented workers are now in urban occupations.

Moreover, he added, if employers

should find themselves in a situation where they can’t get sufficient domestic labor at starvation wages, “we could let more foreigners in.”

“The crucial question,” Marshall said, “is whether those illegal aliens are taking jobs that domestic workers will not take.”

He added: “I say domestic workers will take them. You can make a self-fulfilling prophecy on this issue by saying over and over that the domestics will not take these jobs.”

Take it—or else

Labor should take a long, hard look at that statement. The Carter administration is serving notice that it won’t tolerate American workers refusing miserable jobs at substandard wages.

The bosses and their government count on having plenty of unemployed U.S. workers that they can force off unemployment compensation and welfare and into sweatshop jobs—jobs that up to now only hungry, harassed undocumented workers would take.

If the Carter plan is carried through it will bring mounting pressure to scrap existing unemployment compensation laws that say workers are not required to accept jobs not comparable to their previous ones.

The Carter plan is a cruel, reactionary blow at undocumented immigrants. It will also intensify discrimination and oppression directed against Chicanos and other Latinos.

But its ultimate target is the entire working class—white, Black, or brown; “legal” or “illegal.”

Calif. ‘alien’ hiring ban

LOS ANGELES—Hard on the heels of the revelation of Carter’s antialien plan, a California attorney general’s task force recommended enforcement of this state’s Dixon Arnett law. Under legal challenge since its passage several years ago, the law has so far not been enforced.

The Dixon Arnett law is similar to the Rodino bill now before Congress, which purportedly would punish employers who “knowingly” hire undocumented workers.

In fact, such laws would only lead to further victimization and superexploitation of undocumented workers. They would also be used by employers to discriminate against Chicanos and other Latinos on the pretext that they could be undocumented workers.

Civil rights fight of 1980s?

LOS ANGELES—In his *Los Angeles Times* interview, Secretary of Labor Marshall offered one candid reason why the Carter administration wants to draw an iron curtain across the Mexican border.

“I believe we are now building a new civil rights struggle of the 1980s by having an underclass of people come into this country,” he said, “unable to protect themselves, easily exploited, dissatisfied with their status and yet fearful of being exported.”

“Their children will be even more dissatisfied and likely to revolt against such conditions, and they will demand their civil rights in the

fashion of the civil rights struggles which began in the 1960s.”

Marshall compared the situation with “that of the blacks who moved out of the South into the urban North. At first, the people who went out of the South tended to be relatively satisfied with the jobs which were not very good by the standards but which seemed to be good compared to those available in the rural South.”

“But their children do not make that kind of comparison, and they joined in the revolt against their conditions. The children of the illegal aliens will be doing the same thing in time.”

High spirits, dismal weather

800 ERA supporters rally in St. Louis

By Diane Rolling

ST. LOUIS—Amid alternating bouts of snow, sleet, and rain, more than 400 determined supporters of the Equal Rights Amendment marched through downtown here February 26.

The march and the rally of 800 that followed were organized in six weeks on an emergency footing by more than forty women's organizations, campus groups, and labor unions.

Participants were spurred on by the recent visibility of anti-ERA forces and the brief time left before the vote of the Missouri legislature. The senate is expected to consider the ERA during the first week of March.

The dismal weather failed to dampen the spirits of the prights demonstrators. Enthusiasm mounted as contingents arrived from as far away as Indiana, Kentucky, southern Illinois, and all over Missouri.

The Riverfront Trolley—a commercial tourist vehicle familiar to most St. Louisans—brought up the rear of the march draped with an ERA banner.

As marchers rounded the corner to the rally site, they greeted television cameras and reporters with thunderous chants demanding ratification.

A counterpicket of Nazis waved posters saying "White Power" and "ERA is ERRATIC." The prowomen marchers responded with louder cheers of "ERA, ERA, ERA!"

More than 800 women then filled the seats and stood in the aisles of the Christ Church Cathedral. ERA chants reverberated throughout the church for more than a half hour before the rally could begin.

To cheers and a standing ovation, the Indiana "victory contingent" marched down the center aisle to open the rally. (The ERA was ratified in Indiana January 18.)

A diverse list of speakers included representatives from the National Organization for Women, the Missouri ERA Coalition, the Coalition of Labor Union Women, and campus groups. A United Church of Christ minister and Missouri State Sen. Harriett Woods also spoke.

Frankie Freeman, from the NAACP Civil Rights Commission, opened her remarks by noting that the ERA affects Blacks because 50 percent of Black Americans are women.



Contingents from Indiana, Kentucky, and Illinois joined February 26 march

Militant/Pat Hayes

"Only through Black liberation and women's liberation will Blacks gain their freedom," she said. "If one section of our society is oppressed then none of us are free."

Socialist Workers party comptroller candidate Mary Pritchard urged the women's movement to "take on a new face" that can attract working and Black women in larger numbers.

"Let's not be afraid to take on other issues," Pritchard said. "Women have been dealt some heavy blows, such as denial of Medicaid funds for abortions and denial of pay for maternity leaves."

"We must not sacrifice abortion rights for the ERA or the ERA for affirmative action."

Twelve-year-old junior high school student Rachel Rosen told the rally that her classmates sometimes

ask her about what would happen if women were drafted. She answers, "You would see a larger antiwar movement to end wars." The crowd agreed, giving Rosen a standing ovation.

One of the last speakers was Carol Coates, Louisville NOW ERA Task Force director. Coates warned that "the only way politicians will listen to us is if we are bigger, louder, and better organized than the right wing."

Efforts to continue the fight for the ERA in Missouri were aided by a \$500 contribution from the Muncie, Indiana, NOW and by \$520 collected at the rally.

The ERA activities received wide TV coverage from all local stations and a front-page story in the weekend *Post-Dispatch*.

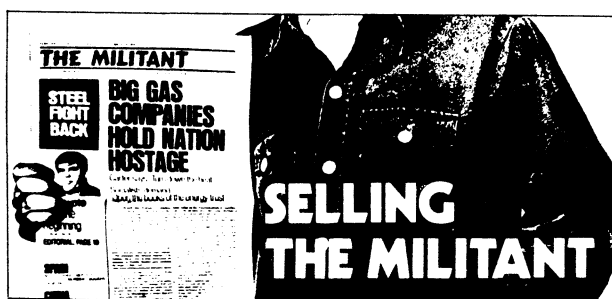
Missouri marchers 'glad to see Militant'

By Elizabeth Lariscy

ST. LOUIS—A fighting spirit marked the demonstration for the Equal Rights Amendment here February 26. (See above story.) Adding to that spirit was the *Militant*.

We sold papers out of plastic bags stuffed under our coats to protect them from the downpour of freezing rain and sleet.

What did the demonstrators think about the



Militant? When the marchers reached the rally site, I decided to find out by asking some of them.

The *Militant* was the only national or local newspaper to give very much publicity to plans for the ERA action. And several people praised the paper for this.

Many of the women who helped organize the march and rally had first seen the *Militant* at planning meetings. They were eager to see what news of ERA actions and other women's activities were in the current issue.

As one young woman said, "The other papers just don't seem to care about women's rights. I didn't even know about a lot of things happening around the country until I read the *Militant*."

The same thought was echoed by a librarian who said she was "so glad to see the item on the ERA in Nevada." She had tried to find out about the amendment's defeat in the legislature there from other sources, but with no luck.

"It's good to know the *Militant* considers it important enough to report on," she added.

A high school teacher marching with her two daughters said she was disappointed that the St. Louis papers had not told people about the march.

"I think the *Militant* is an important vehicle for news of this kind," she commented. "I'm concerned about these issues, especially because I have children."

One item that people seemed interested in was the resolution proposed for discussion at the April convention of the National Organization for Women. These women, who were demonstrating their own commitment to the fight for women's rights, were happy to learn that NOW will be discussing how to step up that fight in the face of growing attacks.

A working woman was attracted by the paper's coverage on abortion rights.

A college student, who said she had been a feminist for some time, told me she liked "the way the *Militant* covers the women's movement. It seems concerned with all women and their needs."

Mary Speno, a law student and an organizer of the demonstration, had once subscribed to the paper. She said she likes the articles on oppressed minorities and their struggles.

One woman said she'd always thought of herself as "into human liberation," and had recently

You can help

YOU CAN HELP the *Militant* make its goal of selling 10,000 or more a week by ordering a bundle of five or more at twenty-five cents each. Order from: Militant Business Office, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014.

become involved in women's issues.

She thinks the *Militant* "brings together a variety of important issues with different connections and ties them to one big issue."

A Black woman, who bought the paper for its review of *Roots*, said she knows the St. Louis daily papers "point out what they want to point out and don't tell the truth." She thinks the *Militant* is different.

Ora Malone, president of the St. Louis chapter of the Coalition of Labor Union Women, wants to see a page every week in the *Militant* devoted to St. Louis news.

What did I conclude from my little survey? The *Militant* is hitting a responsive chord among female activists. The seventy people who bought the paper seemed to like it.

Sales scoreboard

Area	Goal	Sold	%	Area	Goal	Sold	%
Kansas City, Mo.	100	119	119.0	San Jose	200	149	74.5
Indianapolis	100	110	110.0	San Diego	250	185	74.0
Phoenix	100	110	110.0	Los Angeles	650	472	72.6
Dallas	100	109	109.0	Atlanta	400	278	69.5
Raleigh, N.C.	40	40	100.0	St. Louis	300	208	69.3
Tacoma, Wash.	70	70	100.0	Boston	520	330	63.5
Newark	225	207	92.0	San Antonio	125	77	61.6
Oakland, Calif.	250	230	92.0	Cleveland	200	121	60.5
Salt Lake City	100	91	91.0	Louisville	125	75	60.0
Miami	75	64	85.3	New York City	1,100	653	59.4
Richmond, Va.	75	62	82.7	San Francisco	550	304	55.3
Cincinnati	125	95	76.0	Chicago	650	357	54.9
Philadelphia	400	302	75.5	Houston	400	207	51.8
				Pittsburgh	175	88	50.3
				Denver	200	96	48.0
				Portland, Ore.	200	90	45.0
				Seattle	215	96	44.7
				Washington, D.C., Area	400	177	44.3
				Baltimore	150	64	42.7
				St. Paul	80	34	42.5
				Berkeley, Calif.	250	101	40.4
				Minneapolis	300	121	40.3
				New Orleans	200	75	37.5
				Detroit	395	138	34.9
				Milwaukee	250	81	32.4
				Toledo	100	27	27.0
				Total			
				Feb. 25 issue	10,000	6,213	62.1

NSCAR maps March actions on Africa

By John Hawkins

NEW YORK—More than 100 people gathered here February 26 for a steering committee meeting of the National Student Coalition Against Racism. NSCAR chapters from as far away as New Orleans and Atlanta sent representatives. West Coast chapters will meet in San Francisco March 5.

Discussion centered on NSCAR's campaign against U.S. support to the white minority regimes in southern Africa. Chapters around the country are now busy publicizing the March 25-26 local protests called by NSCAR at its fall conference in Boston.

The steering committee also discussed mounting attacks on Black rights by the federal government and NSCAR's educational campaign in defense of school desegregation and busing.

In his report on the southern Africa campaign, Vince Eagan explained why NSCAR rejects a "wait and see" attitude toward the Carter administration.

"The platform committee that drew up Carter's election stand on southern Africa projected continued U.S. trade and investment," Eagan said. "Carter's interview with the South African press—published after the election but given before it—outlined the same policy."

"His appointment of James Schlesinger as a key adviser also pointed to no change in policy. It was Schlesinger who helped set up the South African naval base at Simonstown, with equipment and codes identical to NATO's."

United Nations ambassador Andrew Young's tour to Africa should be seen the same way, Eagan said.

"If Young were a real supporter of Black rights in southern Africa, he'd support a mandatory UN arms embargo on South Africa. He'd tour American campuses to halt the training of South African cops there."

"Instead, Young engages in shoe-shuffle diplomacy for white interests in southern Africa."

Eagan also reported on NSCAR's speaking tours for Tsietshi Mashinini and Khotso Seatlholo, two leaders of the June 1976 student demonstrations in Soweto, South Africa. Seatlholo, Eagan said, is probably the most important South African leader to leave that country since Mashinini.

On the two evenings before the Saturday steering committee meeting, Mashinini and Seatlholo had spoken to crowds of 500 and 350 at New York University and Teachers College. They had also appeared on the nationwide ABC television program "Good Morning America."

From that appearance, Eagan reported, the television station received several dozen phone calls asking for more information on the tours.

Mashinini and Seatlholo will speak at broadly sponsored meetings across the country. At a rally in Los Angeles Mashinini will share the platform with

Hundreds cheer Soweto student leaders

NSCAR kicked off its national steering committee meeting with a successful rally against U.S. complicity with southern Africa's white minority regimes. The teach-in was held February 25 at Teachers College here.

More than 350 people crowded into the auditorium of the Horace Mann Building that evening. Some had come to attend the steering committee the next day, some just for the rally.

But everyone had come to show their opposition to the white minority regimes and to hear from South African student leaders Tsietshi Mashinini and Khotso Seatlholo.

Sharing the platform with Seatlholo and Mashinini were Hattie McCutcheon, the rally chairperson; Elombe Brath and Ken Johnson of the Patrice Lumumba Coalition, one of the driving forces behind the successful New York boycott of the South African musical *Ipi Tombi*; Adrienne Chong, a leader of New York SCAR; Leon Harris, president of the Village-Chelsea area NAACP; and Tony Austin, NSCAR national coordinator.

As McCutcheon introduced Mashinini the crowd stood and applauded.

And they gave another standing ovation when Mashinini called Seatlholo to the podium.

Seatlholo spoke of the brutal repression by the racist Vorster regime—the murder of unarmed civilians who stood up for their right to be treated as human beings. He spoke of the determination of the Soweto students and others like them throughout South Africa to throw off their oppression and regain control of their country.

And he told the audience that they could play a powerful role in Black South Africa's ultimate victory by forcing the United States to get out

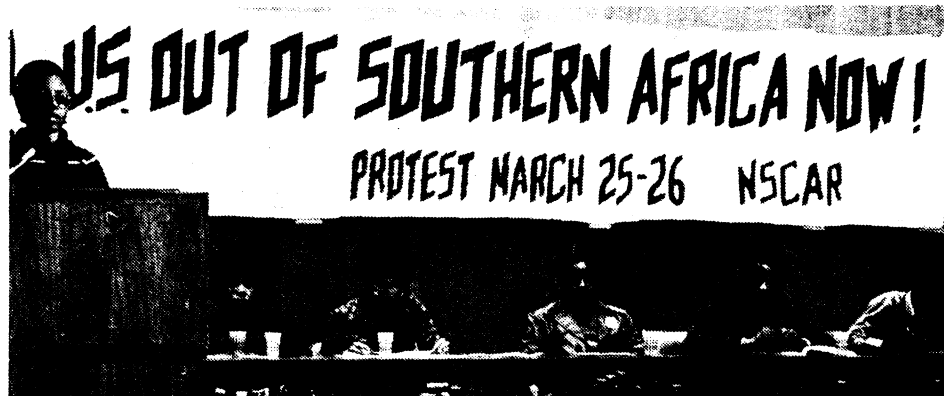
of his country.

After the rally everyone who passed me on the way out seemed a bit more inspired and determined to help force an end to racism in southern Africa.

Some of the most inspired were those who gathered around the exiled student leaders on stage.

Among them were several South African actors. They had recently left the cast of *Ipi Tombi* and refused to return to their country. As exiles they have begun production of their own *Soweto Review* to dramatize the truth about South Africa.

—J.H.



Speakers at New York rally (Hattie McCutcheon at podium)

Militant/Lou Howort

Rep. Charles Diggs (D-Mich.). Operation PUSH is cosponsoring receptions for him in Los Angeles and Chicago. In New York the Village-Chelsea branch of the NAACP and District 65 of the Distributive Workers union are organizing a reception for the Soweto student leaders.

The tours will take Mashinini and Seatlholo to more than forty cities. Black Student Unions, student governments, and other campus organizations are cosponsoring meetings for them at many universities and community colleges.

Through the tours, Eagan pointed out, "thousands will get a chance to hear the truth about the Soweto rebellions and conditions in South Africa. And that has Washington and Pretoria worried." That explains the mounting slanders against Mashinini in the U.S. and South African press, Eagan said.

He pointed to recent articles in the *Christian Science Monitor* and *Johannesburg Sunday Times* that misquote and distort Mashinini's views. Both articles attribute to him harsh criticisms of the African National Congress and Pan-Africanist Congress, two South African liberation groups.

"Mashinini and Seatlholo were part of the Black Consciousness Movement that has been active in the recent period. While they have differences over some questions with the ANC and PAC, these have nothing to do with

their U.S. tours," Eagan said.

"They see their tours as a way to educate Americans on what is happening in South Africa and to help build a movement here to get the U.S. out of their country. That's how we view it too."

The *Johannesburg Sunday Times* article, Eagan pointed out, also red-baited Mashinini and NSCAR.

"Unfortunately," he said, "red-baiting has also cropped up here inside the movement against U.S. complicity. Some organizations have responded to these rumors by withdrawing from active participation in the tours."

"Red-baiting is a corrosive influence in the movement," Eagan said. "It is used to keep us divided at a time when maximum unity is essential in solidarity with the fight for majority rule in southern Africa."

Eagan said that NSCAR is preparing an answer to the slanders and red-baiting against Mashinini and Seatlholo.

After Eagan's report, NSCAR activists spoke about the March 26 protest actions in their areas. In many cities coalitions including NAACP chapters, trade unions, women's organizations, and Black community groups are planning marches, rallies, and picket lines for that date.

NSCAR national coordinator Tony Austin reported on the growing attacks on busing and other Black rights. Recent Supreme Court decisions on

school desegregation, affirmative action, and open housing, he said, strike at the heart of gains won by the civil rights movement.

Austin recalled NSCAR's leading role over the past few years in helping to deal a defeat to Boston's antibusing bigots. In response to these latest attacks, he said, NSCAR will step up its educational campaign around busing.

Austin also reported on NSCAR's campaign against the death penalty, its work in defense of victims of racist frame-ups, its antideportation activities in the Southwest, and its leading role in the fight against the Bakke decision in California (see article on facing page).

Noting the continued growth of West Coast SCAR chapters, Austin reported on plans for the steering committee meeting to be held the following weekend in San Francisco.

The steering committee heard a report on the April 9 Atlanta demonstration against the death penalty by Pedro Olivari, an activist in the death penalty coalition there; an organization report by Gregory Banks of New York SCAR; and a financial report presented by Chris Horner of the NSCAR staff.

The meeting also voted to move the NSCAR national office to New York. Austin explained that SCAR would remain active in Boston with offices on an area campus.

Phila. newspaper strikers demand no reprisals

By Hillary Nolan

PHILADELPHIA, March 1—Despite court injunctions, fines, and threats of jail sentences, solid support for the Newspaper Guild of Greater Philadelphia has continued into the fourth week of the guild's strike against the *Philadelphia Inquirer* and *Daily News*.

While negotiations with Philadelphia Newspapers Incorporated (PNI) continue, Teamsters, mailers, press operators, and nine other newspaper craft unions are honoring guild picket lines.

A statement issued by federal mediator Robert Kyler on February 27 said that a "basis for settlement" had been reached. But a news blackout has kept the details from anyone other than the

negotiating committee.

The issues that brought about the strike concerned wages and health benefits. Now, however, freedom from reprisals has become a major point in negotiations.

Federal District Judge Herbert Fogel issued back-to-work orders against the Teamsters and mailers unions on February 21. Members of both unions refused to cross picket lines, despite the coercion.

Fines against the mailers have been raised from \$3,000 to \$5,000 per day for the union and \$200 to \$500 for the leadership for every day that the union stays out.

In addition, Fogel impounded a \$25,000 bond and threatened to collect

a \$400,000 deferred fine. This fine was incorporated into a 1975 consent decree with the mailers. It was initially \$500,000 and was slated to be decreased by \$100,000 for every year that the decree was upheld. Fogel maintains that the mailers are violating a no-strike clause in the decree by honoring picket lines of the guild.

After Fogel issued a similar back-to-work order for the Teamsters, the leadership of that union tried to tell the members to cross guild picket lines. Rank-and-file Teamsters refused and made it clear to their leadership that they would not be intimidated by the courts.

On February 27 the guild membership voted not to return to work

without assurances that no action would be taken against the other unions.

Representatives from the guild, PNI, Teamsters, mailers, and other unions honoring the picket lines met with Judge Fogel February 28 to negotiate the terms of protection from reprisals. Lowering of fines and the dropping of jail threats had been offered by Fogel.

This strike has taken on special importance because of the solidarity among the newspaper craft unions, which have been under harsh attacks from publishers across the country. The inability of these unions to cooperate in united action has seriously weakened them in the past and led to a number of defeats.

2,000 rally in Berkeley

Calif. students defend minority admissions

By Ernie Mailhot

BERKELEY, Calif.—More than 2,000 students and activists from throughout the San Francisco Bay Area gathered at the University of California Berkeley campus February 25 to protest a September 1976 state supreme court ruling against minority admissions in the UC system.

Three days earlier, the U.S. Supreme Court agreed to review the decision. The case stems from a lawsuit against the UC Davis medical school by Allan Bakke, a thirty-six-year-old white engineer. Bakke claims that he was twice denied acceptance to the medical school in Davis because he is white and therefore suffered reverse discrimination.



Robert Allen of 'Black Scholar' addresses protest rally

Militant/Eric Simpson

nation.

The first speaker at the Berkeley rally was Harry Edwards, a noted Black sociology professor and author. He linked the university's recent denial of tenure for him to the Bakke case.

"Both are attacks on affirmative action, and both must be fought by all of us," he said. Edwards was originally hired at Berkeley six years ago because of affirmative-action programs there.

The next speaker, Antonio Velasco, from the Raza Medical Association at the UC Davis medical school, spoke of the need for extending minority-admissions programs and continuing the fight against Bakke.

The Bay Area Coalition Against the Bakke Decision, a group made up of a broad range of student and community groups and individuals, sponsored the protest. Reiko Obata, representing the coalition, referred to the complicity of the university administration with Allan Bakke (see article on this page).

Other speakers at the rally included Lee Brightman from United Native Americans; Angela Davis; Robert Allen, editor of the *Black Scholar*; Ericka Huggins of the Black Panther party; and Rev. Johnny Brown of the People's Temple.

As the outdoor rally ended, more than 1,000 of the participants moved to the student union building. There they heard messages of support from American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees Local 1695; East

Bay National Organization for Women; Assemblyman Willie Brown; the National Student Coalition Against Racism; Associated Students at UC Berkeley; Julie Simon, Socialist Workers party candidate for Berkeley City Council; the Committee for Economic Democracy; and others.

A panel of speakers, including Harry Edwards, Lee Brightman, and Reiko Obata, answered questions from the audience.

L.A. protest

Seventy-five people, mostly Chicanos, protested the Bakke ruling with a noon picket line and rally at the Los Angeles federal building February 25.

Speakers included representatives from Sisters United at Cal State Los Angeles; Cal State Northridge MEChA (a Chicano student group); Student Coalition Against Racism chapters from Los Angeles and San Diego; and the Cal State Northridge Coalition to Reverse the Bakke Decision.

The action was sponsored by student governments in the Los Angeles and San Diego areas, as well as Black, Chicano, and women's student groups.

University official aided racist Bakke lawsuit

By Joanne Tortorici

LOS ANGELES—The University of California collaborated with Allan Bakke in a lawsuit that struck down minority admissions in the UC Davis medical school.

The *Los Angeles Times* brought the facts to light in a story published February 4.

The Davis campus special admissions program reserved 16 out of 100 first-year student slots for minorities.

Bakke, who is white, was turned down by the school when he applied in 1973 and again in 1974.

After the first rejection, Bakke wrote to the admissions office at Davis and proposed a legal strategy to end the special admissions program.

"Would Davis prefer not to be involved in any legal actions I might undertake, or would such involvement be welcomed as a means of clarifying the legal questions involved?" Bakke

asked.

Peter Storandt, then a Davis admissions officer, responded with an encouraging letter on August 15, 1973. The university official wrote, "... the eventual result of your next actions will be of significance to many present and future medical school applicants." Storandt also encouraged Bakke to pursue his legal actions.

In letters written on University of California letterheads, Storandt suggested the names of two experts in medical law. The dean also fed Bakke information on the academic performance of specially admitted minority students, the *Times* reported.

Storandt now claims he acted alone. But when Bakke indicated he would file his suit, Storandt informed his boss, John Tupper, that he had helped Bakke in his official capacity.

Tupper told Storandt he "shouldn't worry" because he had acted in "good

faith."

However, as the case heated up, Storandt was quietly told nobody at the school would object if he chose to look for work elsewhere, the *Times* said.

Bakke won a favorable verdict from the California Supreme Court. The case is now on appeal.

The university presented such a weak defense that many Black and Chicano groups argue that officials were deliberately trying to get a ruling in Bakke's favor.

For example, the courts would never have ruled the program unconstitutional if the university hadn't asked for a ruling on that issue. Bakke himself asked for no such opinion.

Further, the university didn't present any of the arguments or evidence necessary to prove the need for the special admissions programs. It ignored the issue of prior discrimination

by the UC system.

To have illuminated this point would have clearly demonstrated the need for special admissions. All UC graduate and professional schools were overwhelmingly white.

The special admissions programs weren't the university's idea at all. They were forced on the regents by struggles of students and their supporters in the Black and Chicano communities.

Every minority admissions program in the country is threatened by the Bakke decision. The universities will jump at the chance to cut their special admissions programs. There have already been cuts in Equal Opportunity Program funds.

The impact of the Bakke decision goes beyond the campus. For example, in the wake of the ruling, Los Angeles County decided to review its affirmative-action hiring guidelines.

Railroad worker enters Chicago mayoral race

By Pat Grogan

CHICAGO—The Socialist Workers party here announced February 24 that Dennis Brasky will be its candidate for mayor.

A twenty-six-year-old railroad worker, Brasky is waging a determined fight to make sure that working people in Chicago will have a chance to vote for the socialist alternative when they enter the voting booths June 7 to fill the seat left vacant by the death of Richard Daley.

His ballot fight is necessary, Brasky explained, because "the Chicago Board of Elections has set impossible ballot requirements for anyone independent of the Democrats and Republicans. We are going to fight tooth and nail to change these requirements."

The SWP launched this fight after the city council announced ballot requirements on January 13 that literally sought to freeze all opponents of the Democrats and Republicans out

of the mayoral race: The council set an April 4 deadline for the submission of 64,000 signatures that would have to be gathered during eighty-one days of the coldest winter in Chicago's history.

The SWP filed suit against this undemocratic attempt to exclude it from the ballot. As a result, on February 11 the board of elections reduced the signature requirement to 36,000.

The SWP is now fighting the new requirement in the courts. Brasky points out that "even though the board has reduced the requirements under the pressure of our suit, their stalling for one month means that we now have only fifty days to collect the 36,000 signatures. This is still impossible. Their new ruling still excludes us from the ballot."

A number of prominent figures here agree. Chicago city Aldermen Dick Simpson and Martin Oberman; former Alderman Leon Despres; Ron Dorfman, editor of *Chicago* magazine; and Ti-

muel Black, chairperson of the Black Independent Voters of Illinois and a member of the board of directors of the Illinois ACLU, have all signed a statement attacking the ballot requirements as prohibitive.

Robert Tucker, a former lawyer for Operation PUSH, a Chicago-based civil rights organization, has also signed the statement. Tucker briefly entered the mayor's race under the urging of Operation PUSH leader Jesse Jackson, Black newspaper publisher "Gus" Savage, and other Black Democrats who sought a Black primary challenger to the machine left behind by Daley. Tucker recently withdrew from the race, however, saying he did not feel he had enough support to wage an effective campaign.

Former corporate lawyer and Daley loyalist Michael Bilandic is the machine's choice to fill Daley's seat. Bilandic is now acting mayor. Although he is the odds-on favorite,

Bilandic is being challenged in the Democratic primary by Alderman Roman Pucinski; former Cook County State's Attorney Edward Hanrahan; and Black Democrats Ellis Reid and Harold Washington.

Alderman Edward Block and A. A. Rayner are vying for the Republican party nod.

Brasky says that none of these capitalist politicians have a program that can solve the problems burdening Chicago's working people.

Through its campaign the SWP plans to organize against growing attacks on the rights and standard of living of working people—including proposed new cutbacks in the Chicago school budget; efforts by the University of Illinois administration to push out Black, Chicano and Puerto Rican students; and attempts by the Illinois legislature to reinstitute the death penalty.

Atlanta congressional campaign

Democratic party: dead end for the 'New South'

On February 24 Socialist Workers party congressional candidate James Harris's name was officially placed on the ballot. Harris, a longtime activist in the Black rights movement, is running to fill Atlanta's Fifth Congressional District seat in a March 15 special election.

The election was called after Rep. Andrew Young resigned to become chief U.S. representative to the United Nations. Two of Harris's opponents in the race are former civil rights leaders Ralph Abernathy and John Lewis, who are running as Democrats.

Harris won ballot status after the secretary of state waived a \$1,338 filing fee under provisions of Georgia law allowing exemption for those who certify they are unable to pay.

The article on this page is based on a speech by Harris at a February 19 rally held at the Grace Covenant Baptist Church in Atlanta.

"Militant" staff writer Willie Mae Reid also spoke at the rally. Reid was the SWP's 1976 vice-presidential candidate.

Prof. Manning Marabel, chairperson of the political science department at Tuskegee Institute in Alabama, announced his support for the Harris campaign at the rally. The socialist alternative is needed, Marabel explained, because "the system is slowly crumbling before our eyes. The culture of the 'New South' is the culture of decay."

One of the messages that is harped on again and again by my opponents in this campaign is that this is the "New South." The "New South," where candidates don't have to deal with issues like racial discrimination or violence against the Black community—because all that has been settled.

They act as though they do not know the Supreme Court reinstated the death penalty last summer. Sixty percent of the people on death row in Georgia are Black. Out of the twenty men slated to die in Mississippi, seventeen are Black.

Don't they know that in Dawson, Georgia, there is a new Scottsboro case shaping up right now? Five Black youths are being accused of a murder they did not commit.

Don't they know that in New Orleans, eighteen-year-old Gary Tyler has spent two years in prison, convicted for a murder he did not commit?

Do they think the South is separated from the rest of the country? That when the real living standards go down for working people, especially Blacks, it does not include the "New South"?

Running for office in the "New South" is a strange experience. People with familiar names now seem to have become the opposite of what you thought they were.

The very things they once stood for, fought for, and sometimes bled for—the things that made them leaders in the first place—now seem no longer important to them.

A sad thing

It's a sad thing to see.

Andrew Young, who marched with Martin Luther King across the South against Jim Crow, is now U.S.

ambassador to the United Nations. He says openly that he would have no trouble voting against sanctions against the racist apartheid regime in South Africa.

Rev. Ralph Abernathy was second in command to Martin Luther King in the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. Like Andrew Young, he marched through the South exposing racism and the plight of the poor.

But now Abernathy supports Carter, despite the new president's backing for the energy swindle being carried out by the giant corporations. Poor people—Black and white—died because the energy corporations decided to haul in huge profits from the American people. Millions of us lost our jobs.

Abernathy's voice should have been one of the loudest protesting this. But Abernathy has even quit his post as president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference in an attempt to win votes.

John Lewis has also come a long way. At a B'nai B'rith meeting last week, he came out in full support of Israel and its racist land grab in Palestine. I wonder what his colleagues in the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee would have thought if he had done that in the 1960s, when SNCC announced its opposition to Zionist oppression of the Palestinians.

At a recent candidates meeting, State Rep. James McKinney was asked his position on school desegregation. This Black legislator answered that he opposed it in Atlanta and everywhere else!

I was the *only* candidate to speak for school desegregation. Neither Lewis nor Abernathy even responded!

Would anyone have imagined ten



years ago that John Lewis or Ralph Abernathy would remain silent on this issue? I don't think so.

It's the same with other issues. These Democrats want to keep a low profile. Abernathy and Lewis want to win public office. They don't want to antagonize the powers that be of the Democratic party.

Now I ask you. If candidates are afraid to confront major issues before they are elected, when *will* they deal with them?

Falsify history

In order to build up their own image, these Democrats also falsify the history of the Black liberation struggle. They portray the civil rights movement as though it was primarily a lot of maneuvers that they carried out. They keep the fact that this was a massive *movement* in the background.

Lewis and Abernathy both brag about how many times they went to Washington to testify or to confer personally with the president. They almost take personal credit for the elimination of Jim Crow.

Lessons of rights fight

I am not downgrading their achievements. They were among the leaders of the most powerful movement of Black people in this century. And they did many courageous things.

But the civil rights movement was not a series of deals made with the Johnson and Kennedy administrations.

It was a movement of tens of thousands around the demand for full civil rights. That was its real power.

John Lewis, Ralph Abernathy, and Andrew Young could have conferred with presidents and congresspeople all they wanted. Nothing would have happened if it had not been for the massive sit-ins, boycotts, and demonstrations carried out by thousands of Black people. In fact, without these actions Lewis, Abernathy, and Young would not even have been allowed in the front door of the White House.

To make new gains and to defend those won in the past, we need to repeat the successful mass-action strategy of the civil rights movement. That is how we'll win decent housing, equal education, jobs for all, and the Equal Rights Amendment. This conclusion is logical. But it is a conclusion that the Democrats and Republicans don't want us to draw.

The dividing line

They know that when masses of us begin to draw this conclusion, we will begin to break from the two big-business parties. This poses a threat to their system, which puts profits ahead of human needs.

That is the dividing line. The Social-

ist Workers party is telling people to break from the parties of the rich and form independent organizations that will fight for our needs in the electoral arena as well as in the streets. The capitalist politicians are frightened to death by this prospect.

We in the SWP say we need a political alternative to the Democrats and Republicans.

Independent action

By running as candidates of the parties that oppress us, Black leaders like Lewis and Abernathy put the enormous power of our community in handcuffs.

As head of the Voter Education Project, for example, Lewis helped turn out a massive Black vote last fall to help put Carter over the top in the South. What a difference it would have made if he had put those resources and energies to work to mobilize the power of our community behind an independent Black campaign.

Working people, Black and white, need to break from the Democrats and Republicans once and for all and chart a new course. Blacks can play an important role in bringing about such a development. By forming a party of our own, we could set an example of the gains that can be won through independent political action.

This could encourage other workers to break with the bosses' parties and build an independent labor party based on the power of the trade-union movement.

An independent Black party or labor party would not just come around at election time. They would be with us 365 days a year as we struggle for our demands. They would:

- fight against the energy swindle, demanding that the oil corporations open their books;
- fight for the Equal Rights Amendment and champion other women's rights;
- lead struggles for desegregation, against the death penalty, and for equal rights for Blacks, Chicanos, and Puerto Ricans; and
- propose realistic solutions to unemployment, such as shortening the workweek with no cut in pay so that everyone who needs a job can have one, and call for a massive emergency public works program financed through the elimination of the \$115 billion war budget.

In this election, my campaign is the only voice that raises the need for such independent political action. A vote for the SWP is a vote for an alternative to the profits-first policies of the Democratic and Republican parties.

That is why those of you who want to participate in the fight for socialism all year long should join the SWP.



1963 MARCH ON WASHINGTON: Lessons of civil rights movement show need for independent political action.

Raisa Nemikin

Jailed for not testifying

By José G. Pérez

On March 1 a New York federal appeals court ordered the jailing of Raisa Nemikin for failing to testify before a grand jury supposedly investigating the Fuerzas Armadas de Liberación Nacional Puertorriqueña (FALN—Armed Forces of Puerto Rican National Liberation).

If further appeals of the decision fail, Nemikin could be imprisoned until May 9, 1978, although she has been accused of no crime.

Nemikin is an employee of the Episcopal Church's National Commission on Hispanic Affairs. The commission's executive director, Maria Cueto, has also been subpoenaed. She too is refusing to testify and may be imprisoned.

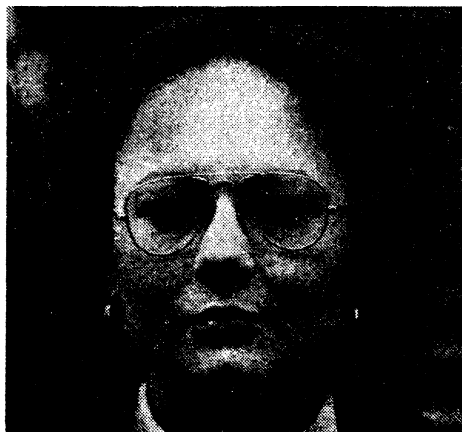
Lawyers for the women say the grand jury has asked them if the commission gave any money to the FALN; if they know anyone who has claimed credit for FALN bombings; and when they last had contact with Carlos Alberto Torres.

Torres is being hunted by the FBI. He has been missing since November, when cops claim they found a "bomb factory" in an apartment they say he rented in Chicago. He had been a member of the commission.

A lawyer for the women says the two told the FBI months ago that they knew nothing about the FALN. They insist they have not had contact with Torres since before he dropped out of sight.

The women say they will not testify before the grand jury because it is conducting a fishing expedition against the Puerto Rican independence movement and is being used to harass and victimize church groups the government does not approve of.

In addition, they say that the First Amendment forbids government snooping into church affairs.



RAISA NEMIKIN

Jeffries Moody

A case of self-defense

By Dennis Carman

LOUISVILLE—Most of the jury found the charges a little hard to swallow in the case of Jeffries Moody, Sr. On February 1 they voted eight to four to acquit him of first-degree assault, ending his week-long trial here in a hung jury.

It all started when Moody, a Black, left home last May 21 to go to his job at American Standard, where he has worked for twenty-nine years. He noticed a Volkswagen trying to squeeze between his truck and the curb.

The VW driver, a white male, started screaming racial insults as he pulled in front of the truck and stopped. He opened the car door, pulled out a gun, and fired at Moody.

Moody returned the shots, maneuvered his truck past the gunman, and headed for the nearest police station.

Two uniformed cops stopped him on the way. They were furious. They

threw Moody into the back seat of their patrol car and beat him brutally. One said, "Nigger, if that policeman dies, I'm going to kill you."

That's how Moody learned that his attacker was an off-duty cop.

The cop, Arthur Elzy, according to an editorial in the *Louisville Defender*, "has a long history of brutalizing blacks and white 'hippie types.'" But Judge George Kunzman refused to allow any testimony on Elzy's character. Twenty of Elzy's victims, both Black and white, were prepared to testify. Defense attorneys are appealing Kunzman's ruling.

There is broad community support for Moody. On February 3, two days after the trial ended, twenty-five supporters met with prosecuting attorney David Armstrong to demand that he drop the charges.

Armstrong said he would review the trial transcript and make a decision in a few weeks.

Hayes-Morales case

Feds indict killer-cop

By José G. Pérez

On February 23 a San Antonio federal grand jury indicted the former police chief of Castroville, Texas, and two others in connection with the September 14, 1975, murder of Ricardo Morales.

Former cop Frank Hayes was charged with one count of violating Morales's civil rights, and he faces life imprisonment. His wife, Dorothy Hayes, and his sister-in-law, Alice Baldwin, are charged with being accessories after the fact for helping to conceal Morales's body.

The indictments are a significant victory for the rights of Chicanos and other minorities.

Hayes was originally tried on state charges of capital murder. But last July a jury dominated by Anglos found Hayes guilty of the least possible charge, aggravated assault.

After the verdict, the U.S. Justice Department said it was closing the file on the Hayes-Morales case, since it was federal policy to not enforce the law in incidents where action had been taken on the state level.

Outraged Chicano community protests met both the verdict and the federal government's do-nothing position. The case was reopened, and on February 11 Attorney General Griffin Bell announced that the old policy of not taking action on civil rights violations was being dropped and that each case would now be considered on its merits.

During Hayes's state trial, testimony showed Hayes had Morales picked up without just cause, assaulted and threatened to kill him, shotgunned him at point-blank range, and arranged to cover up the crime.

Carter rattles saber over Idi Amin furor

By Ernest Harsch

The following is from the News Analysis section of Intercontinental Press.

Under the guise of defending "human rights" and of protecting American "hostages," the Carter administration has raised a serious threat of imperialist intervention in Uganda.

On February 25, after Ugandan President Idi Amin barred all Americans from leaving the country and asked them to meet with him a few days later, the White House expressed "the strongest possible United States concern."

According to a report by Bernard Gwertzman in the February 26 *New York Times*, "Mr. Carter also set in motion the machinery to deal with any deterioration in the situation." Carter met with Zbigniew Brzezinski, his national security affairs adviser, Secretary of State Cyrus Vance, and Andrew Young, the U.S. delegate to the United Nations. A "working group" was set up at the State Department to oversee the situation and the Pentagon considered possible orders to the U.S. nuclear-powered aircraft carrier *Enterprise*, which is stationed in the Indian Ocean.

The editors of the *New York Times* backed up Carter's threat of intervention. In the February 26 issue they declared, "To us, it looks as if President Amin is holding some 200 United States citizens as hostages. . . . We wonder if Mr. Amin understands how seriously it will be regarded by an American public that last year enthusiastically acclaimed the Israeli military raid on Entebbe."

The American threats against Amin, however, began more than a week before his February 25 action.

The pretext was the February 16 deaths of Anglican Archbishop Janani Luwum and two cabinet ministers in Uganda. According to the government-controlled radio, the three, who had been arrested just a few hours earlier on charges of plotting a coup against Amin, were killed in an "automobile accident" while being transported to an interrogation site. Pointing to the many political killings in Uganda in recent years, however, various church figures have suggested that the three were probably murdered.

The tight censorship imposed by Amin, as well as his regime's practice of muzzling even its mildest critics, makes it difficult to learn the full truth of the regime's brutal rule. But in a memorandum released in early February, Amnesty International identified scores of persons by name who had been arrested and killed. It also charged that torture was routine in certain police and army detention centers.

On February 23, Carter launched a virulently racist attack on Amin, stating that his actions "have disgusted the entire civilized world."

The State Department issued a

statement condemning "the horrible murders that have apparently taken place," and the Senate Foreign Relations Committee unanimously passed a resolution February 22 calling for a UN investigation into the deaths and declaring that Amin's actions "deserve condemnation by the world community."

London, the former colonial power in Uganda, also issued a condemnation. Prime Minister James Callaghan told Parliament February 22 that his government would demand an investigation of the deaths by the United Nations Commission on Human Rights.

This sudden "concern" to alleviate the misery of the Ugandan masses under Amin's rule deserves careful attention. After all, Washington finances tin-pot tyrants, torturers, and butchers like Amin in dozens of countries around the globe. As for the British imperialists, they were the ones who ruled Uganda as a direct colony for decades, who installed a neocolonial regime in 1962, and who paved the way for Amin's rise to power.

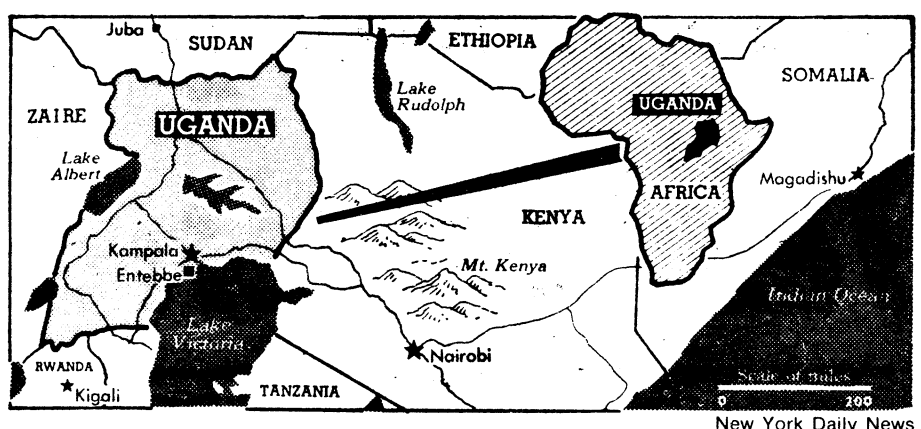
The denunciations, moreover, have been highly selective. When Vorster's police gunned down hundreds of young Black demonstrators in Soweto and other cities, does anyone recall hearing Carter, during his election campaign, declare that the South African massacres had "disgusted the entire civilized world"?

Amin himself pointed to the hypocrisy of the American condemnations in a February 25 letter to Carter. "Regarding the U.S. Government's instruction to its Ambassador to the United Nations to investigate the violation of human rights in Uganda," Amin wrote, "the U.S. Government should instead instruct its Ambassador to ask the United Nations to investigate the crimes which the United States has committed in the name of democracy in the various parts of the world. . . ."

As examples, Amin cited the mass bombings of Vietnam, Cambodia, and Korea; the American-backed Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba in 1961; the dropping of the atom bomb on Hiroshima and Nagasaki; and the assassination of Congolese independence leader Patrice Lumumba.

Far from advancing the cause of human rights, the intention behind the current campaign against Amin is to prepare world public opinion while the Pentagon and CIA weigh a new intervention to replace him with a regime better able to help contain the struggle for freedom which is shaking the African continent.

Such an operation would represent no gain for the peoples of Uganda, who alone have the right to determine their own future. Its most long-lasting effect would be to reaffirm the imperialists' claim to have the final say in the internal affairs of Uganda—and ultimately of every semicolonial country on the continent.



New York Daily News

The Card

It's always the same.

You go to the hiring office and the man sitting in front of the computer terminal automatically says: "Card."

You give him the laminated plastic square with "Work Identification—Social Security" printed across the top. It's The Card. By law, you can't get a job, you can't get a loan, you can't go to school without one.

The man puts The Card in a slot on the computer terminal. He has you fill out the form, says thank you, adds, "We will let you know."

But "we" never do.

And you know the reason. It's The Card. On it are numbers that unlock memory banks in some computer.

Something is there about you that bosses don't like. Associates with socialists. Union organizer. Homosexual. Civil rights activist. Arrested once. Maybe it's true. Maybe not. What's for sure is that you can't get a job, not here, not anywhere.

Blacklisted.

Science fiction? It sounds like it.

But look again at that story on page 4 before you think it couldn't happen here. The one that reports the Carter administration is talking about requiring all workers to carry counterfeit-proof ID cards to make sure they're not "illegal aliens." And if you think Carter's kidding, read twice the part about how the government *has already started to hand out these cards* to immigrants with visas.

And then think of all we've learned the past few years about the government's war against political freedom: The tens of millions of files. The teachers fired for political views. The enemies lists. The Cointelpro plots.

Now this same government is seriously considering moving to fingerprint, photograph, and register everyone with a central computer, and then keep track of everyone through compulsory ID cards.

Government promises notwithstanding, such a national ID card system would be used to extend police-state tactics on an unprecedented scale.

The Carter administration says it's all for our own good—to throw out "illegal aliens" from jobs only "legal" workers should have.

But immigrants without visas aren't the cause of unemployment—the capitalist system is the cause, with its people-be-damned drive for profits.

Undocumented workers are the most exploited and oppressed victims of this system. They have as much of a right to live and work here as anybody else.

Carter's proposal is a stern warning that the drive against "illegals" is a threat to everyone's rights.

Working people—especially Blacks and other minorities—have nothing to gain and much to lose from Carter's idea. The labor movement and Black and Chicano organizations have a big stake in sounding the alarm about this ominous proposal and the 1984ish nightmares it opens the door to.

ERA

The North Carolina Senate killed the Equal Rights Amendment March 1, and then moved to bury it for the next two years.

It was another smack in the face to supporters of women's rights who have exactly two years left to win three more state ratifications. Many ERA proponents were confident of victory in North Carolina—banking on the fact that President Carter sent one of his cabinet members to lobby prior to the vote. Both he and Rosalynn Carter called several legislators that day.

But it will take more than a few presidential phone calls—as if that weren't made clear enough with the recent defeats of the ERA in Georgia and Nevada. Women must exert their own strength in massive numbers before these politicians will budge.

Make no mistake about it: our right-wing opponents recognize the power of mobilizing their troops. Dubbing Illinois the "key state," Stop ERA chief Phyllis Schlafly has called for a "massive demonstration" in Springfield, Illinois, on March 9.

"Please come—and bring your friends," she writes. "Come in buses and cars and make this the biggest rally we have had in Illinois!"

Last May 16 it was the ERA's supporters who came in buses, cars, and trains to Springfield—more than 8,000 strong. We outmobilized another Schlafly-called rally that month of only 400.

On May 16, 1976, feminists, unionists, Blacks, and students promised to march again and again until the ERA is ratified. It's time to make good on this pledge and *force* the politicians to make the ERA law.

More on Healy's slanders

We wish to make two factual corrections in the otherwise excellent article by Fred Feldman, "British sect slanders veteran revolutionists," in the February 25, 1977, *Militant*.

First, the article asserts that the Organisation Communiste Internationaliste (OCI) and its supporters internationally "broke from Healy in 1971." This would suggest that it was the OCI that initiated the split. The opposite is the truth.

In August and September 1971 the press of both Healy's Socialist Labour League (SLL) and his American supporters, the Workers League (WL) published public criticisms of the actions and policies of Guillermo Lora in the Bolivian events that led to the fall of the Torres government. Lora's group in that period was associated with the "International Committee of the Fourth International" (IC), the rump group set up by Healy in 1963, and was particularly close to the OCI.

The OCI answered these public criticisms with public criticisms of the SLL and WL on this issue. At the same time they proposed to Healy an emergency conference of the IC to discuss the question. Healy responded by pushing through a split of the SLL and other groups within the IC that supported him.

Second, Feldman has this to say about the split of the majority of the Greek section of the IC: "At the beginning of 1976, the majority of the Greek section of Healy's 'International Committee' split away. Among the reasons was the frame-up that was then being perpetrated against Joseph Hansen and George Novack." This is inaccurate.

Differences with Comrade Sklavos, head of the Greek section, and Healy appear to date as early as April 9, 1975. At that point Sklavos held differences in approach to Greek politics that placed him in conflict with the ultimatic policies of Healy in a similar way as Alan Thornett in England.

This matter then came to a head at an international school organized by the IC in the fall of 1975 in England. There Sklavos openly attacked Healy's philosophical positions as being idealist and a break from materialism.

Finally, in January 1976, Sklavos resigned from the central committee of his group in order to be free to conduct a struggle against Healy. He was then expelled for so resigning and the entire party membership was reregistered on the basis of support to this expulsion. As a result a little more than half of the 200 members were reregistered out of the party. All this happened while Healy was present in Athens.

The Hansen-Novack matter was not an issue in the dispute, as that campaign was barely getting under way in the period of the struggle. However, one of the charges directed against Sklavos was his refusal to print in his paper the charges against us. Since the split, the Sklavos group has issued a clear, principled statement opposing Healy's slander campaign.

Thus it should be clear that: (1) Sklavos did not split away but was purged and (2) while the split did not occur over the slander campaign it was related to it—as was our break and the expulsion of Thornett—as a cover for Healy's own internal crisis.

Tim Wohlforth and Nancy Fields
Brooklyn, New York

Farm worker update

This is a postscript to an article I wrote about California farm workers that appeared in the *Militant* February 18.

The article reported that the California Agricultural Labor Relations Board had held hearings that found the Teamsters union guilty of violence in a grape strike at the V.B. Zaninovich ranch in Delano last August. After the hearings, an arbitrator recommended to the board that the Teamsters be fined \$50,000 for committing acts of violence.

Commenting on this, I made two points. The first was that, on the basis of the limited facts available, it was not precluded that this particular strike by the Teamsters was a legitimate one.

This would be unusual since the role of the Teamsters officialdom in the California fields has been as an agent of the growers in their fight to keep out the United Farm Workers. Teamsters have signed back-door contracts and, in almost all cases, have functioned like company unions.

The second, more important point was that regardless of the legitimacy of the Teamster strike action, the \$50,000 fine constituted a dangerous precedent that could be used against the United Farm Workers.

In many of its previous strikes, the UFW has faced the frame-up charge of "violence" by the growers and the media. An increasingly hostile ALRB could easily be tempted to apply the Teamster precedent in some future UFW strike.

After the article appeared, I spoke to Eliseo Medina, a national leader of the UFW, who is currently heading the union's organizing drive in the Coachella Valley in California.

Medina said he did not agree that the Teamster strike at Zaninovich was a legitimate one. It was, he said, mainly a case of Teamster business agents beating up on workers who ignored their strike call.

However, Medina added, the ruling is "obviously" a bad one. "The problem," he said, "is that it sets a very antiunion precedent, which could be applied to anyone else, including ourselves."

"I think," Medina added, "that if the ALRB moved as quickly in taking on the growers we certainly would have a lot of growers obeying the law."

Harry Ring
Los Angeles, California

Boycott D.C. 'Post'

I enjoyed your article on the TV version of *Roots* [February 11 *Militant*], with one exception. I think labor and socialist publications have an obligation to keep boycotting the scab *Washington Post* and its scab reporters.

Most unions I know are still refusing to subscribe to the *Post*—and thousands of D.C. residents also are boycotting.

Seeing the *Post* quoted (or seeing a Herblock cartoon, as in the *Guardian*) is demoralizing to those unionists still picketing the *Post* twenty-four hours a day and their many supporters.

Dave Elsil
Detroit, Michigan

Corporate crime

Please feel free to print the enclosed letter, which I sent to U.S. Judge James Parsons in Chicago.

Dear Judge Parsons,

Tucked away on page 30 of the February 19 *New York Times* (business news, not crime news) was the story of your incredible "desentencing" of fourteen executives of different paper-box manufacturing companies who

Continued on page 23

international **socialist** review

INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S DAY



Special Issue

**What
Strategy for
Women?**

**Evelyn Reed
Takes On
Lionel Tiger**

**Women in
South Africa**

THE MONTH IN REVIEW

Challenge to Stalinism

Protests against the antidemocratic regimes in the Stalinist-ruled workers states in Europe have snowballed into an international political issue, posing important questions about socialism, capitalism, and democratic rights. In the Soviet Union, East Germany, Hungary, Romania, Yugoslavia, and Poland, writers, artists, and working people are demanding basic freedoms such as the right to travel and express themselves without official censorship. They are calling for an end to the punishment of people for acts of protest such as those by Polish workers against price hikes.

The Kremlin has responded to the protests with slanders against human rights advocates, accusing them of being "anti-Soviet parasites" who seek to restore capitalism. On February 12 *Pravda*, newspaper of the Communist party of the Soviet union, denounced demands for democratic rights as reflections of infatuation with the "tinsel of the bourgeois way of life" and "fairy tales about the rights and freedoms of people in the capitalist world."

According to the Stalinists, democratic rights are merely the "tinsel" of capitalist rule. When capitalism has been overthrown, they argue, working people should be more than happy to give up such "frills" and turn over political and economic decision making to a self-appointed coterie of privileged bureaucrats. Anyone who would object to such a splendid state of affairs is clearly "mentally ill" or a counterrevolutionist in the eyes of Brezhnev.

But socialism cannot be built by abolishing the rights that have been won by the masses in capitalist democracies. These rights must be vastly extended by involving the masses directly in political decision making and by extending democracy into the organization and planning of the economy itself. The claim that democratic rights are a capitalist "fairy tale" attractive only to reactionaries is an apology for the Stalinist bureaucracy's role in abolishing the workers democracy established by the October 1917 revolution in Russia.

The Soviet Union has made big strides economically because of its planned economy. On questions of political rights, however, the Soviet masses are far worse off than working people in capitalist democracies such as the United States.

Before Stalin, the socialist movement was universally recognized as fighting for human rights. The Stalinist "example" persuaded many workers that socialism would mean the loss of hard-won democratic liberties which they hardly regard as "tinsel." Far from being counterrevolutionary, the demands for demo-

cratic rights made by Andrei Sakharov and others express the historic interests and aspirations of the Soviet working people. Marxists should support the democratic demands of the human rights activists even though some of the dissenters reject Marxism.

In their brave defiance of the party bureaucrats, the secret police, and the censors, the dissidents have embarked on a trail that millions of working people will eventually take. The human rights advocates are harbingers of those millions who will abolish bureaucratic dictatorship and establish workers democracy.

* * *

One demand raised by some in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe has been for compliance by these governments with human rights provisions in the Helsinki agreement, approved in 1975 by the USSR and thirty-four other governments.

The promises about human rights in the Helsinki compact were actually never intended to be anything more than window dressing for the real objectives of détente. The U.S. imperialists and their European allies sought the support of the Soviet bureaucrats in controlling and suppressing struggles for social change in the capitalist countries. In return, the Kremlin hoped to obtain guarantees of "peaceful coexistence," arms limitation agreements, and stepped-up trade with the capitalist West.

However, the endorsement of the human rights provisions by the Stalinist governments provided an opening for Soviet and East European citizens to throw a spotlight on the totalitarian practices of bureaucrats and their cops.

The Brezhnev regime in the USSR has jailed four leading members of groups formed to monitor compliance with the human rights provisions of the accords—Aleksandr Ginzburg, Yuri Orlov, Mikola Rudenko, and Oleksy Tikhi. Defenders of civil liberties must demand their immediate release.

* * *

Given the State of political rights in the Soviet Union, many Soviet human rights fighters are impressed with the comparatively high level of civil liberties currently existing in the United States. This has led some to hope that the U.S. government and Jimmy Carter, being "democratic," will aid their struggle for democratic rights. Thus, on January 21 Andrei Sakharov wrote to Carter asking him to "defend those who suffer because of their nonviolent struggle, for openness, for justice, for destroyed rights of other people."

Carter replied, promising to "use our good offices to seek the release of prisoners of conscience." He followed this with a flood of rhetoric about human rights.

Carter's hypocrisy is demonstrated by the intimate ties that Washington has maintained with tyrants and torturers in South Africa, Iran, South Korea, Chile, and elsewhere. Appeals to him or other capitalist rulers will accomplish little for Soviet dissidents. The Kremlin slanderers will distort such pleas for

help into "proof" of the "anti-Soviet" nature of demands for human rights, while continuing to persecute dissenters.

Contrary to the impression that capitalist politicians such as Carter seek to convey, the democratic rights that exist in the United States are not a result of the zeal of the capitalist rulers for civil liberties. Historically, they are the product of two bourgeois revolutions—the War of Independence and the Civil War—as well as many smaller-scale struggles.

The capitalists have been able to grant democratic concessions to the masses because of the great wealth of the United States—based in large part on the superexploitation of millions of workers and peasants in Asia, Africa, and Latin America.

Since the Reconstruction period at the end of the Civil War, every struggle for democratic rights in this country has had to confront *opposition* from the capitalist class and its government.

The U.S. rulers have built up a dual system of "justice" for the rich and for the poor, for whites and for Blacks. They have harassed and imprisoned leaders of the Socialist Workers party and the Communist party for their views. They use an enormous police apparatus to spy on and disrupt the labor movement, the Black rights struggle, and other protest movements.

Today the conditions that made a significant degree of democratic rights tolerable to the ruling class are changing. The United States is in the throes of a long-term economic crisis, which the capitalists are seeking to overcome by forcing down the living standards of working people. To do this they need to restrict democratic rights.

Carter is a leading proponent of the death penalty. He has taken no steps to dismantle the existing police-state machinery, but proposes to increase the secrecy of that apparatus. Prisoners of conscience in the United States—such as the five Puerto Rican nationalists or victims of racist frame-ups such as Gary Tyler—get no support from the president.

At the same time, the U.S. rulers need to strengthen their war-making power in order to protect and expand U.S. investments. But they face widespread public distrust following the experience of the Vietnam War and revelations of CIA crimes. Carter's goal in his demagogic campaign on human rights is to rebuild support for imperialist foreign policy among the American people.

The growing incompatibility of capitalism with democratic rights makes Carter *fundamentally hostile to the goals of the human rights movement in the Soviet Union*. Carter needs the Kremlin's disregard for elementary freedoms in order to try to discredit the socialist alternative in the eyes of the masses in the capitalist world.

The allies of the Soviet and East European dissidents are not capitalist politicians like Carter but those who are fighting to preserve and extend democratic rights. It is the opponents of capital punishment, of discrimination against women, of CIA and FBI spying, and of racist frame-ups—not the upholders of such injustices—who can provide real assistance to the battle for human rights in the workers states.

CONTENTS

The Month In Review	2
What Strategy For Women? By Cindy Jaquith	3

Women in India: A New Awakening By Elizabeth Stone	5
Lionel Tiger's 'Men in Groups': Self-Portrait of a Woman-Hater By Evelyn Reed	6
A Union Built by Women By Ethel Lobman	8

Books— For Their Triumphs and For Their Tears, Reviewed by Pat Wright	11
---	----



Editor: Caroline Lund
Associate editors: Nan Bailey, George Breitman, Fred Feldman, George Novack, Dick Roberts, Tony Thomas

The *International Socialist Review* appears in the *Militant* that is published the first week of every month.
Copyright © 1977 Militant Publishing Association

What Strategy for Women?

With new restrictions on abortion, maternity rights denied, child-care centers closing, women's rights are under attack. A bold change of perspectives is needed.

By Cindy Jaquith

Where does the women's liberation movement stand today, and where should it be going?

Over the ten years since the movement came onto the scene in the United States, important victories have been won. The movement has altered the face of American society—inspiring millions of women and radically changing centuries-old attitudes toward their role in society.

But the political situation in this country, and the lives and problems of women, have undergone a big change in the past two years, with the depression of the economy, the cutbacks, the layoffs, and the many-sided worsening of the conditions of life of working people, Blacks, Puerto Ricans, Chicanos, the young, and the old.

These changes have posed big new problems of perspective for the women's movement. And the challenge has become even more acute in the past six months.

Over the fall and winter, women have suffered a series of dizzying defeats, affecting abortion rights, maternity rights, affirmative-action policies, the Equal Rights Amendment, child care, and many other issues. The December 9, 1976, *Christian Science Monitor* accurately summed up what has happened in an article stating that the women's movement "closes the commemorative year, which it had entered with such high hopes, reeling from a series of reversals dealt by the country's economic, political, and legal systems."

These attacks have occurred piecemeal, on many fronts, and often in partial and barely perceptible ways. This has made it hard to see the cumulative impact on the lives of women and their position in society. For women's rights and women's liberation organizations it is crucial to take a cold look at exactly what has happened and what our response must be.

Assault on Abortion Rights

The most serious incursions on women's rights have been the efforts to take away women's right to safe, legal abortion. On the one hand, the right wing has conducted a behind-the-scenes campaign to chip away at legal abortion in states and cities by getting anti-abortion restrictions enacted—laws requiring parental or husband's consent, zoning against abortion clinics, exemptions for doctors who have "moral" objections to abortion, and so forth.

The results? A study by the Allen Guttmacher Institute shows that in 1974, only 15 percent of public hospitals and 29 percent of non-Catholic private and voluntary hospitals performed abortions. No abortions at all were performed in Louisiana and North Dakota, and virtually none in states such as Mississippi and West Virginia.

On a national scale, the right wing has focused on promoting a constitutional amendment to recognize the "rights" of the fetus over those of the woman. But these opponents of women's right to control their own reproductive lives recognize that to attempt to directly overturn the 1973 Supreme Court decision at this time would arouse more opposition from women than these forces can handle. So, instead, they chose to try to divide the women's movement, to attack the

abortion rights of the poorest, most disadvantaged women—who are overwhelmingly from the oppressed nationalities—Medicaid recipients. The right wing made a strong move and succeeded in getting Congress, including liberals such as Bella Abzug, to pass the Hyde amendment, cutting off all Medicaid funds for abortion.

This amendment is being challenged in the courts and has not yet gone into effect. But if it is implemented, the results will be staggering. It will deny safe, legal abortions to an estimated 300,000 women each year. In a city like Washington, D.C., with its overwhelmingly Black population, 85 percent of the women needing abortions would be cut off.

In face of this flagrant attack, only a few, modest-sized protest actions have taken place, primarily organized by rank-and-file members of the National Organization for Women and by student groups. The national NOW leadership, on the other hand, has done its best to avoid the whole abortion issue for fear of embarrassing Jimmy Carter and other politicians who are thought to be "prowomen" on other issues. This was especially blatant during the presidential election campaign, when NOW President Karen DeCrow stated that abortion was not a political issue and did not belong in the election campaign.

Many women, on the other hand, are anxious to fight back on this issue, as shown by the success of the actions that took place in some areas on January 22, the anniversary of the 1973 Supreme Court decision legalizing abortion.

Forced Sterilization

The issue of forced sterilization is integrally linked to the question of abortion. When abortion is illegal or hard to obtain, racist doctors and hospitals frequently demand that women be sterilized as the price for obtaining an abortion. Forced-sterilization practices victimize Blacks, Chicanas, Puerto Ricans, and Native Americans most severely. The most tragic example is Puerto Rico, where the imperialist policies of population control have led to the sterilization of one-third of the women of childbearing age.

In this country also, forced sterilization is on the rise. Chicanas active in publicizing this crime in Los Angeles report a 400 percent increase in forced sterilization at the Los Angeles County Hospital from 1968 to 1972. Chicanas, Puerto Ricans, and Blacks have taken the lead in exposing such sterilization abuses around the country.

Maternity Rights

Next to the abortion defeat, the attack that sent the biggest shock wave down the spines of women last fall was the December ruling of the Supreme Court that women workers do not have the right to disability pay for pregnancy.

Maternity rights have always been a hard-fought issue. They strike a blow at a central pillar of sex discrimination—the idea that women's biology makes them inferior to men, which is used to justify discrimination on the job. The concept of maternity rights points in the direction of making childbearing and child-rearing the responsibility of society as a whole, not of the individual family and individual women. It is because of this thrust, and because pregnancy disability pay costs the employers billions, that the capitalists are now trying to push back the limited gains that have been made. Their opposition to legislation granting maternity rights underscores the hypocrisy of "protective" laws for women. Maternity rights—the one area where women do need special protection—are the least tolerable to the bosses.

Again, the reaction to this ruling by the



Cindy Jaquith is women's liberation work director for the Socialist Workers party and a member of the National Organization for Women. Formerly she was a columnist and writer for the Militant on the women's movement. This article is based on a report she gave to a meeting of the SWP National Committee last January.

leadership of the National Organization for Women reflects the fact that big sections of the movement have been taken unawares by the current attacks and do not have a realistic view of what women are up against and who they can depend on. NOW leader Karen DeCrow admitted to reporters that NOW had been "so sure" of a favorable ruling by the court on the maternity rights question that it had already begun to map out how the ruling would be implemented.

Affirmative Action

The fourth big attack this fall came on the meager affirmative-action guidelines won from the government by the protests of women and Blacks in recent years. One set of proposed new guidelines would allow a large number of government contractors to avoid having to comply at all with affirmative-action programs. These proposed guidelines have met with some protest, organized primarily by women office workers groups and civil rights organizations like the Urban League. But there have been no large-scale protests, and virtually no response from the trade unions on this question.

Equal Rights Amendment

On the surface, the situation with the Equal Rights Amendment ratification drive looks brighter since the amendment's approval by the Indiana legislature on January 18. But here again, the cold facts reveal a weakening of the position of the women's movement.

In all of 1976, not one state voted for ratification. And the right-wing anti-ERA groups are continuing their mobilizations in nonratified states as well as pressing for rescission of ratification in other states.

But even more important to note is the dangerous state of demobilization of the women's movement on this issue.

Despite the inspiring effects of the national march for the ERA held in Springfield, Illinois, last May 16, NOW currently plans no new national action mobilizations on this issue.

According to NOW leaders, Jimmy Carter promised to "give" women three ERA ratifications in 1977. The women's movement supposedly only had to worry about getting the fourth, which would bring the total to the thirty-eight necessary. Many NOW leaders apparently believe this and have decided to do nothing to rock the boat until Carter can deliver.

The fruits of this deception by Carter were glaringly exposed in January in Georgia, one of the states that has yet to ratify the ERA. There, NOW leaders and some other ERA forces made a behind-the-scenes pact with Democratic state legislators, with Carter's complicity. The deal was that the Democrats would pass the ERA in one house of the legislature if NOW would discourage ERA demonstrations and keep the movement in a "low profile."

Once the deal had been made, the politicians turned on NOW, defaulted on the agreement, and tabled the ERA in the legislature.

Most NOW members only learned of the pact when the angry NOW leaders at a public rally denounced the trickery they had fallen for.

The lessons of this experience are vital not only for the ERA fight, but for other fights as well.

NOW's national strategy continues to be a moratorium, not only on organizing massive, visible support for the ERA, but also on any actions in defense of abortion rights or against the Hyde amendment that might embarrass Carter. I have heard the argument that abortion should not even be mentioned at rallies or meetings on the ERA because that would "turn off" ERA supporters—meaning Democratic and Republican politicians.

The position boils down to turning our backs on the women who would be victims of the Hyde amendment in return for a vague promise that these politicians will "give us" the ERA—a strategy that can neither win the ERA nor protect the right to abortion.

Erosion of Women's Rights

The erosion of women's rights is also proceeding in other areas. One major issue is child care, a pivotal question that ties together the fight of women for jobs, the demands of working people and the oppressed nationalities for increased social services, and the general struggle against cutbacks. In New York City, child-care services have been slashed by 20 percent, according to a

recent report. And the New York State legislature is now proposing new cuts that would reduce the city's day-care facilities by another 30 percent.

An astounding report appeared last fall from the Department of Labor showing that since 1955 the gap between what men earn and what women earn has increased by 79 percent. In 1974, women earned 57 percent of men's earnings. This is a drop from 1969, when women took home 60.5 percent of men's pay.

The gap is bigger, of course, for Black women, who earn 54 percent of white men's earnings, 73 percent of Black men's, and 94 percent of white women's.

Unemployment also strikes more severely at women. The current rate for all women twenty and over is 7.9 percent; for Black women it is 10.8 percent. Both figures ignore teen-age unemployment and reflect only part of those women looking for work, since many women are written off by the government as housewives.

There is a contradiction here, however, for the ruling class. At the same time it is trying to push more women out of the labor force and keep those in the labor force in the worst, lowest-paying jobs, the number of women seeking employment is rising at a skyrocketing rate. A survey reported in the December 6, 1976, *Newsweek* showed that the female labor force last year alone increased by 1.6 million, twice the increase in the number of men who entered the work force. Government reports show that women now constitute 40 percent of the work force. Fifty-four percent of women between the ages of eighteen and sixty-four are employed. In 1950 only 34 percent of women worked; they were only 30 percent of the work force.

Newsweek concluded: "... the sheer number of women at work poses urgent economic and social questions. Will the economy grow fast enough to provide jobs for all the women who want them? What will happen to wages as men and women increasingly compete for the same jobs? How will the male-dominated business world assimilate the growing number of career-minded women? And what will become of the basic unit of society, the nuclear family?"

What *Newsweek* is really talking about is the rising expectations of women in this society and women's changed consciousness as a result of their changing role in the economy and society and because of the influence of the feminist movement. The problem faced by the rulers of this country is that more and more women are determined to work—they must work to cope with the inflation—and they are resisting efforts to restrict them to the home.

The glaring contradiction between the rising aspirations of women—their deepening support for women's liberation—and the wave of successful attacks against them has confused many feminists. Why are we being beaten down if the majority of the population supports our movement? they ask. Why haven't we been able to halt these attacks?

Why Are Women Losing Out?

These reversals are rooted in the continuing economic crisis, to which the ruling class has one and only one solution: Make working people pay. Transfer the burden to the individual worker and his or her family. Take it out even harder on the doubly and triply oppressed workers—that is, women, Blacks, Puerto Ricans, Chicanos.

The fact is that the cutbacks and layoffs forced by the ruling rich have been directed most immediately at women and the oppressed nationalities. Why? Because they think they can get away with that more easily. The employer class always tries to reinforce the existence of a section of the working class that has only "second class" status. That is, a section that can be portrayed as "inferior" and who deserve being the last hired and the first fired. By exploiting racist and sexist prejudices, the employers can have a pool of workers who can be pushed out of the work force when not needed and paid less in wages, which helps exert a downward pressure on wages and working conditions of the whole working class.

This second-class pool of working people—a reserve army of labor—consists of women, Blacks, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, the young, and the least-trained workers. For them, the effect of the layoffs, the cutbacks in education and social services, the cutbacks on abortion rights and medical care, and the drop in real wages is a double blow. They always end up less equal and more segregated. Racial and sexual prejudices

and divisions among working people are exacerbated.

Thus the driving back of the gains of women is part of a wider attempt by the ruling class to take more away from the working class as a whole. And, as in other areas, the method they have chosen is the divide-and-rule strategy: go after Black women, welfare recipients, and low-paid working-class women first, in the hopes that the relatively more privileged middle-class women will not respond to the attacks. Take away abortion rights for women on Medicaid. Cut child care in the communities of the oppressed nationalities. Slash affirmative action.

These attacks against the most exploited women have brought to the fore the class and racial face of women's oppression: that is, the fact that sexist discrimination always falls hardest against women of the working class and the oppressed nationalities.

A Fighting Perspective for Women

The victims of the attacks have not been passive: Chicanas and Puerto Ricans are speaking out against forced sterilization; working mothers are marching against cuts in day care; women workers are demanding a greater voice on the job and in union affairs. It is in this rising combativity of the women who are the hardest hit that the future of the women's movement lies. It is by involving and fighting for the rights of these women that the women's movement can be transformed into a mass movement capable of defending our rights and pressing forward to extend them.

American women are up against the most ruthless, racist, and sexist government in the world. As the economic options of the rulers of this country narrow, they are willing to give less and less in terms of concessions, although they may be forced into some.

No new gains for women can be won in this period, and no rights already won defended, without a massive struggle by women and their allies. The struggle must be oriented to the most fundamental issues of women's oppression—abortion, job rights, child care, affirmative action, forced sterilization—issues that have the deepest effect on the lives of working women and women of the oppressed nationalities, but affect all women. Failure to recognize the divide-and-rule strategy and failure to consciously combat that strategy leads away from building a mass feminist movement. For middle-class women it means placing preservation of class privilege above the necessary fight for the emancipation of all women.

The feminist movement must base itself on working-class women and women of the oppressed nationalities, women who—in alliance with the labor movement, the Black movement, and others—have the economic power to bring about change. These are the women who must take the lead in this fight.

Only by building a mass mobilization of women, based on a program that reflects the needs of the most oppressed, can feminists achieve victories. This movement must remain independent of the Democratic and Republican parties. The strategy of subordinating women's struggle to the interest of various politicians, whether it be by lobbying or supporting capitalist candidates, has been proven once again this fall to be a suicidal strategy.

State of the Women's Movement

Discussion is just beginning in the women's movement about the need and importance of this kind of strategy. In general, the feminist movement today is weak, both organizationally and politically, despite the fact that women's liberation ideas are stronger than ever before, particularly in the Black communities and in the working class.

On the campuses, there are numerous feminist groups, but they are relatively small, atomized, and lacking in direction. The abortion rights movement is weak compared with the potential it could command. A number of new Black and Chicana feminist organizations have been initiated, but these are also small at this time.

There is simply no single fighting women's organization on a national scale whose perspective is to unite all the forces in the movement in a campaign against the attacks. Nor is there any vehicle through which all feminists can get together, hold debates, and map out a plan of

Continued on page ISR/10

Women in India: A New Awakening

Hemmed in by centuries-old oppression, young Indian women are demanding the right to decide where to live, who and whether to marry, and what to do with their lives.

By Elizabeth Stone

On a trip to India last year I had the opportunity to learn something about the situation of women in India and the impact of feminist ideas there.

There is no organized feminist movement in India such as exists in the United States, but many educated Indian women are becoming interested in feminism, and I saw numerous signs of a growing mood of opposition to the extreme oppression Indian women face.

I had the most extensive discussions about this with women who are members and supporters of the Communist League, a revolutionary socialist organization in India.

These women are staunch feminists. In explaining what women's liberation meant to them, they pointed out that for women like themselves to be politically active it took a certain degree of feminist consciousness. Despite the fact that India has a woman prime minister as well as female legislators, there is still much prejudice against women becoming involved in politics.

Women socialists also have to overcome various personal obstacles. One of the biggest problems is that they are expected to remain under the tight supervision of either their parents or their husbands. It is not the custom, nor is it easy economically, for unmarried women to have their own apartments. Women are supposed to stay in their parents' home until they are married. And when they are married, it is usually to a man chosen by their parents.

The women in the Communist League are in rebellion against such practices. They were founding members of the Study and Struggle Alliance, a revolutionary Marxist youth organization. They oppose being married off at an early age by their parents. They are standing up for their right to live their own lives and are training themselves to speak publicly, to write, and to do those things necessary to develop themselves as human beings and as fighters for socialism.

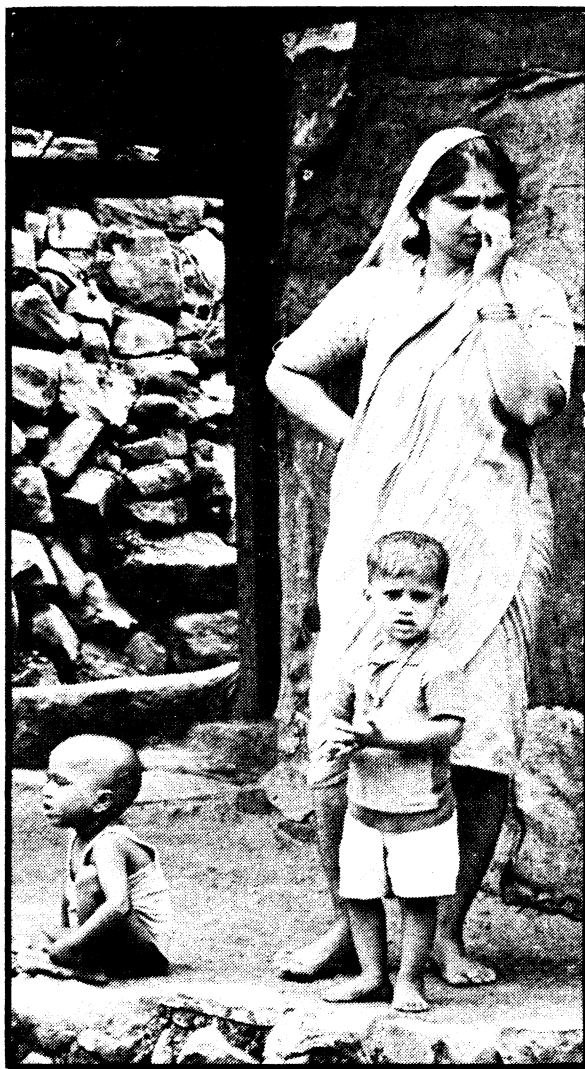
Most of these women do not wear saris (the traditional long dresses) even for special occasions because they feel they are too constricting. "My main means of transportation is my bicycle," one woman told me, and "just try riding a bicycle in a sari. Some women do it, but it's dangerous."

Women in the Communist League told me that an increasing number of young women like themselves are questioning traditional women's roles. Students and working women are in the forefront of this. They described a demonstration several years ago in Bombay of thousands of working women protesting the requirement by some businesses that women employees be unmarried. The slogan of the demonstrators was, "We want jobs and husbands."

They also said that many young women are carrying out individual battles within their own families for the right to go to school, to work, to live in a hostel, or to marry whomever they want.

A recent survey made by a team of professors revealed that most students favored equal rights for women, but there are still many misconceptions about the concept of feminism. One of the Communist League women told me that "even people who claim to support 'feminism' often will still justify the domestic slavery of women. For example, many educated men don't approve of their wives getting a job."

A resolution passed by the Communist League in 1972 lists some of the reasons for this new awakening. There are now increased (though still



Barry Sheppard

very limited) educational and employment opportunities for women. Inflation has forced many men to allow their wives to work. Birth control is more available, giving women who use it more freedom to plan their lives. And increased participation of women in government has given women more confidence in their ability to take part in public life.

The rise of the women's movement internationally has also had some influence. The designation of 1975 as International Women's Year sparked seminars and debates, as well as the publication of articles on women in the Indian press.

I met with a group of around twenty-five women medical students who were very interested in the progress of the women's movement in the United States and internationally. These women told me that it was common in their circles to hear discussions about the changing roles of women and changing relationships between men and women.

At the Women's University in Bombay, a Research Unit on Women's Studies has been set up. Women in this unit, under the direction of Dr. Neera Desai, have published a handbook on women in India which includes valuable information on the status of women and recommendations on what is needed to win women's equality.

One of the most striking facts pointed to in this handbook is the ratio of men to women in the Indian population. Unlike in the industrialized countries, where women tend to outnumber men, in India there are more males than females. Statistics for 1971 show, for example, that for children up to the age of fourteen there were 937 females for every 1,000 males. For the total population, there were 932 females for every 1,000 males.

The authors of the handbook assert that this unfavorable sex ratio is a direct product of discrimination against women from infancy on. Girl babies are not valued or welcomed in India as are boys. Under conditions of extreme poverty this means that the food, medical care, and attention given female infants and children is even more meager than that given boys. Females die in greater numbers. And as women mature,

the hazards of childbearing with inadequate medical attention add to the death rate.

Other statistics included in the handbook are just as graphic in showing the depth and brutality of the oppression Indian women face. Only 18 percent of women in India are literate. This compares to 39 percent literacy for men. Most girls are expected to help out with household chores at an early age and it is common for very young girls to leave school entirely to do work around the house or to help out in an emergency.

Most Indian women are forced into a situation of complete economic dependence on their husbands and families. Although employment of women is increasing, only 13 percent of Indian women work. This means that most women never have the experience of earning their own paycheck. Of those women who do hold jobs, 80 percent are agricultural workers.

Marriage is considered essential for all women. Statistics for 1971 show that only 1.9 percent of the women in India from the ages of 25 to 30 had never been married.

Women are often considered an economic burden on their families and this is one of the reasons for the persistence of early marriages and the dowry paid by a woman's father to her husband at the time of marriage. The practice of paying dowry remains widespread in India although this varies considerably between different castes and religions.

I was told by women in the Communist League that there were scandals involving husbands who murdered their wives so they could marry again and receive a second dowry.

Because of the large population and size of India, there are great divergences in the way women are treated between different areas of the country, different castes and classes, different religions, and between the rural areas and the city.

Among the most exploited women are those of the scheduled (most oppressed) castes. They are subject to the most physical abuse and the hardest, most backbreaking labor and have the least access to education and medical care.

Feudal Traditions

Many of the antiwomen practices in India originated in precapitalist feudal society. In Indian feudal society women had no rights and were considered scarcely human. Polygamy was widespread. A woman's role was to produce sons and to serve as a slave to her husband and family. She was not supposed to participate in public or religious life and "purdah," the custom of women remaining in seclusion under the veil, helped enforce this. The lack of any identity for the woman outside that of servant of her husband was drawn to its logical conclusion in the "sati," the custom practiced by some women of killing themselves at the time of the death of their husbands.

The feudal traditions are reflected in language as well. "There are many idioms that are used to humiliate and degrade women," one of the Communist League women told me. "For example, women are referred to in these idioms as 'beasts,' or as 'trashbaskets.' Women are considered to be less intelligent and lacking in common sense. They are not encouraged to participate in discussions. They can't argue out their case. As far as voting goes, they are expected to vote as their husbands advise."

In the period under British rule, various Indian reformers fought valiantly to end these and other abuses. Some of the most brutal practices such as the sati were undercut and education was made available to a small number of women. But progress was limited.

The struggle for independence from Britain gave a big impetus to the fight for women's rights. Many women came out of domestic

Continued on page ISR/9

Elizabeth Stone, a leader of the Socialist Workers party, was in India last year to observe a conference of the Communist League, the Indian section of the Fourth International.

Lionel Tiger's 'Men in Group'

By Evelyn Reed

At speaking engagements I have had across the country, numerous feminists have expressed indignation at the sexist views espoused by anthropologist Lionel Tiger. Close study of his best-known work, *Men in Groups** shows ample cause for their anger.

Currently a professor at Rutgers University, Tiger came into prominence with the publication of this book in 1969, not long after the feminist movement surfaced. A male-biased viewpoint in the social sciences is not new. But Tiger's two-faced stance puts him in a special niche. Barely concealing his animosity toward women, he poses as their benevolent friend. His is an ultrasophisticated and crafty line of justification for male supremacy.

Tiger's central thesis is that only males have the capacity to form attachments to one another, a trait he calls "male bonding." He declares that this is built into the "biological infrastructure" of the male sex alone and has no counterpart among females. A female can form maternal bonds with her offspring and a sexual bond with the male who impregnated her but, according to Tiger, she is incapable of any bonds with other females.

Tiger attributes this superior trait of males to the fact that they have been the hunters while women are only the breeders. Since men hunt animals "cooperatively," they alone can form the close-knit bonds stemming from this occupation. This is the basis for the admiration and love found among "men in groups." Since women are not hunters, they do not and cannot inspire such solidarity, trust, and affection among themselves. Hence women do not form groups. Moreover, the ties of male bonding are a permanent feature of masculine relations while the sexual tie between a man and a woman is "ephemeral." Hunting and male bonding are at the bottom of eternal male supremacy. Women can do nothing about their deficiency because they have been shortchanged by Mother Nature in their biological infrastructure.

In this effort to make women inferior to men Tiger makes hunting the prerequisite for male bonding, beginning with the primates. This is in defiance of the fact that primates are vegetarian animals, not hunters of flesh foods. Some baboons occasionally eat the flesh of killed animals but this is exceptional; most primates in the wild eat no meat.

Tiger himself admits that "meat-eating constitutes a tiny proportion of baboon diet." According to his own figures they are 90 to 98 percent vegetarian. He further states that "meat-eating is learned behavior" (pp. 34-35). Thus hunting, on which his whole thesis hinges, began only with the advent of the hominids and their development of a carnivorous diet about a million years ago.

This does not prevent Tiger from claiming that hunting has been the decisive factor in prehuman primate evolution going back to fourteen or more million years ago. "The crux of my argument is that male bonding patterns reflect and arise out of man's history as a hunter," he writes, and "man's major evolutionary specialization was an ability to hunt animals cooperatively." He goes on: "So, in the hunting situation, it was the hunting group—male-plus-male-plus-male—which ensured the survival of the entire reproductive community. Thus was the male-male bond as important for hunting pur-

poses as the male-female bond was for reproductive purposes, and this is the basis of the division of labor by sex" (pp. 122, 126).

Unfortunately for Tiger's thesis, in the animal world it is not the males but the females who possess the rudiments of cooperation or "bonding." This came about as a result of their maternal functions and the provision and protection they furnish to their offspring. An extension of these maternal functions makes it possible for animal females to band together in maternal broods, herds, or packs. Males, on the other hand, in their competitive striving for dominance, one against the other, do not naturally possess this rudimentary form of cooperation. Solidarity among males is a cultivated trait subsequently learned under human and social conditions. Thus Tiger turns the real situation upside down. Animal "bonding" exists not in the male but the female "biological infrastructure."

To make his case for male superiority Tiger resorts to a distorted anthropology as well as a falsified biology. There have been two major turning points in human evolution: the first a million years ago when our primate progenitors transformed themselves into hominids, and the second a few thousand years ago when primitive matriarchal collectivism gave way to patriarchal class society. Tiger erases both of these qualitative leaps in human development.

Genuine scholars draw a clear distinction between organic or biological evolution and the social/cultural evolution that emerged with human life. The eminent paleontologist George Gaylord Simpson emphasized in *The Meaning of Evolution* that human evolution was of a different kind than purely animal evolution. The biological factors that dominate animal life have been largely displaced in the human world by social factors and cultural conditioning.

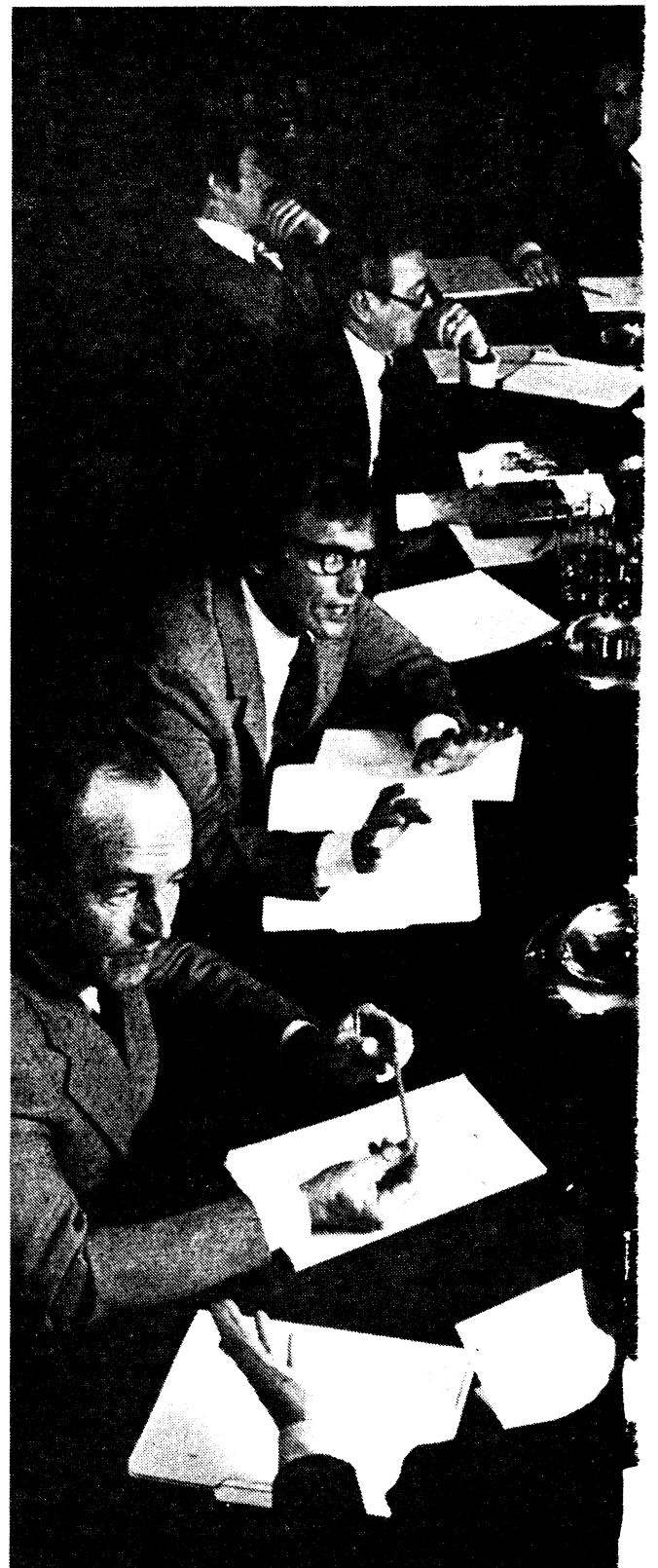
Tiger rejects these decisive determinants of human life and tries to downgrade scrupulous scientists who acknowledge them. In his typically devious way he writes that "socialists and other reformers maintained that human behavior differed in kind from animal behavior" (p. 11). For Tiger all evolution is of one kind—biological. Man is essentially an ape—just another primate—with woman presumably standing even lower, a kind of sub-ape.

The fallacy that man is governed by the same behavior patterns as animals is known as Social Darwinism. This theory came into existence in the late nineteenth century as a justification for unbridled capitalist competition. Subsequently, because of its gross distortions of both human and animal behavior, it fell into disrepute. Tiger himself refers to the "unfavorable reception" accorded to Social Darwinism. At the same time, by reducing social to biological evolution, and man to primate status, Tiger shows his own affinity with this discredited theory. He belongs to the school of vulgar biologism that was made popular in the 1960s by Robert Ardrey, Konrad Lorenz, and Desmond Morris.

Not content with reducing humans to animals, Tiger seeks to elevate animals to human status. He thinks that animals are not only social but "cultured" beings. In all seriousness he acclaims "the discovery that primates develop cultural forms in addition to species-specific 'programmed' behavior" (p. 22). To him the special artifacts, achievements, institutions, and abilities of humans are as much a part of animal as of human life—even without the presence of any ape scientists, artists, writers, and anthropologists to prove it.

This anthropomorphic biology is accompanied by a completely unhistorical anthropology/sociology. To Tiger all societies from the most primitive to the present day have been patriarchal. He refuses to recognize the matriarchal epoch when social and sexual equality prevailed and yet women were preeminent. He dismisses the matriarchy as representing no more than "matrilineal descent patterns." Yet he fails to explain how "the principle of hereditary succession" through the female line could come into existence in the first place if society has always been patriarchal and male-dominated (p. 92).

Such is the rickety methodological structure on



which Tiger bases his assertions of female inferiority and his glorification of male supremacy. Let us examine the two prongs of his position in more detail.

On Female Inferiority

When Tiger speaks of "men in groups," he is not referring to the huge groups of men, organized and unorganized, that comprise the massive modern working class. If he did so, he would be obliged to refer as well to the "women in groups" whose steadily increasing numbers have almost reached the halfway mark in the same work force. This would hardly fit in with his thesis that women, "alas," are incapable of grouping because they do not possess the biological infrastructure of the male bonders. And it would give the lie to his charge that women are so dependent upon men for financial support and the sex they need for bearing children that they easily become "strike-breakers" against other women (p. 272).

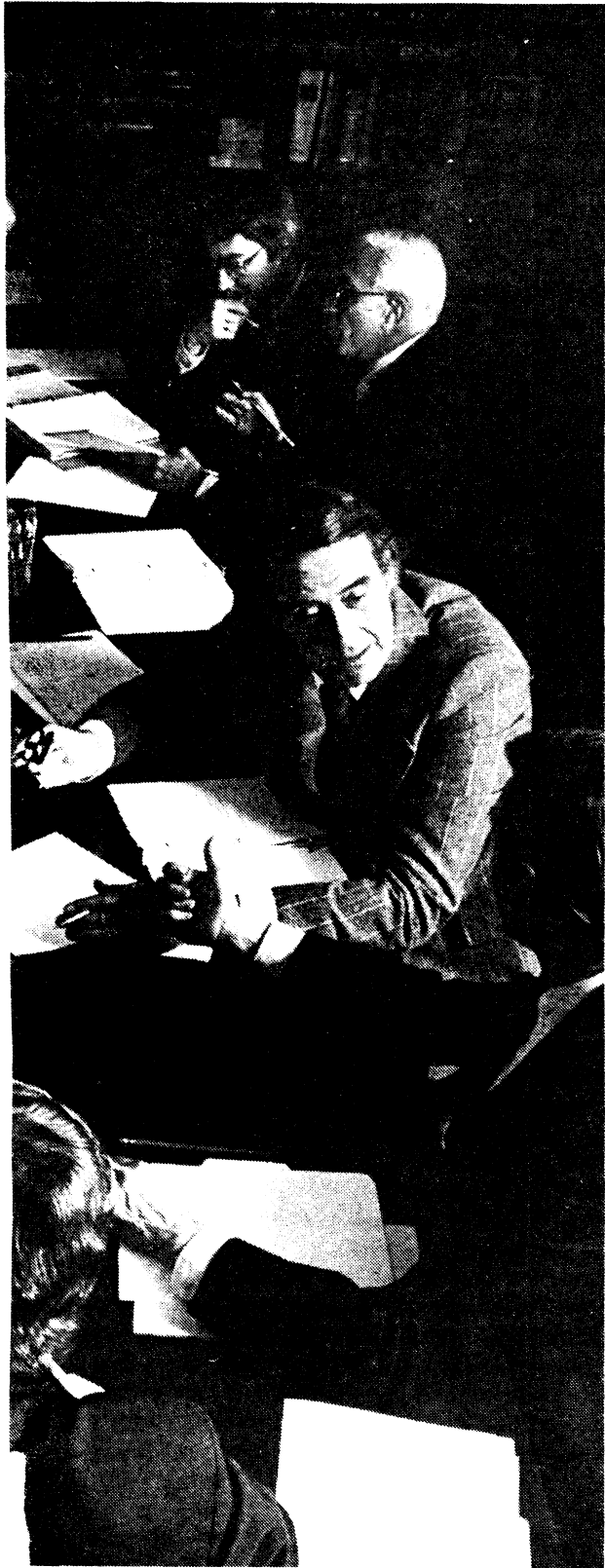
Tiger gets around this difficulty of very visible masses of women grouping and fighting together in labor struggles by downplaying the whole period of capitalism. It is only about two hundred years old anyway, he observes, which is insignificant compared with the many "millions" of years of hunting activities.

Thus when Tiger speaks of "men in groups," he is referring to the resplendent figure of Man the Hunter. "Hunting is the master pattern of the human species," he writes. "Most humans at most times—with the exception of several thousand recent years—have needfully existed with

*Random House, New York, 1969. Quotes in this article are from the Vintage edition, 1970.

Evelyn Reed is an internationally known author and spokeswoman on feminism, anthropology, and socialism. Her latest book, *Woman's Evolution: From Matriarchal Clan to Patriarchal Family* (Pathfinder Press, 1975), is in its fourth printing and has generated widespread discussion.

: Portrait of a Woman-hater



awareness of their symbiosis with animals" (p. 216, emphasis in original).

Tiger the anthropologist shiftily sidesteps the fact that the hunting-gathering epoch began to go out of existence some eight thousand years ago, at which time hunting as a "needful" occupation receded and was finally abandoned. With the advent of agriculture and stock raising, men moved up to the higher occupations of farming, herding, and crafts. A new "symbiosis" with animals then took place as hunting animals for food was reduced to a sport.

But Tiger believes that once a hunter, always a hunter—a corollary of his view that once a primate, always a primate. Both fit in neatly with his central thesis of Man the Hunter, the Superior Animal—and woman the breeder, the inferior creature.

In developing this theme Tiger offers a few embellishments of his own to the standard male-biased line that women are handicapped by their childbearing functions and other disabilities that make them economically dependent upon men and rivet them to nursery and kitchen. To this Tiger adds that women lack the striving for dominance and aggressiveness that endow the male sex with the superior physique and intelligence required for work, play, and politics. To substantiate his point, Tiger refers to the "sexual dimorphism" found among primates—the "set of normal differences between the sexes." Selecting certain monkeys as models, he writes that "both baboon and macaque males are very aggressive and intensely concerned with dominance." On the other hand, female primates do little more

than "minor bickering" without attacking or killing one another (pp. 35, 37). This "dimorphism" separates the men from the girls.

It is true that one of the most pronounced differences between the sexes in the animal world is the aggressive-dominance trait of the males, not simply among baboons and other primates but among all mammalian species. However, this is not so desirable a trait as Tiger represents it to be. Under nature's blind rule, males are antagonistic to other males, competing with one another for dominant place in the female group. Since only a few can win, the rest become peripheral and expendable. Some are killed in the struggles, others become "loners" trying to find a group to which they can attach themselves.

A Learned Trait

This trait of the male sex was overcome only after our branch of the higher apes passed over into human life. Through their newly acquired labor and cultural activities men learned how to hunt together instead of aggressively ousting one another. Thus the "sexual dimorphism" among animals favors not the males but the females, who possess the natural trait of cooperation. Male bonding is a learned trait that was acquired by the male sex in the transition from ape to human. And it was learned from the female sex.

One of the most important tasks that confronted our female ancestors was to moderate and suppress the aggressive-dominance impulses of the males and transform them from antagonistic, competitive animals into a cooperative brotherhood of men. The anthropological record shows how this was accomplished. Through the social regulations laid down by the women, the "fratriarchy" arose as the male counterpart of the matriarchy. This matriarchal-brotherhood was an egalitarian, collectivist society as beneficial for men as it was for the women who took the lead in its creation.

Far from dominating women and degrading them, primitive men held women in the highest respect and esteem. It was not until the collective clan brothers of the matriarchal system were overthrown by the propertied fathers of the patriarchal system that women became the dominated and degraded sex.

In Tiger's mechanical view of the primitive division of labor by sex, men were the hunters-workers and women merely the procreators of children. However, the productive role of primitive women was not minor, as he implies, but major. They were not only the procreators of life but also the chief providers of the necessities and comforts of life.

While men were hunting animals women were the food gatherers and cultivators of the soil; they were the cooks and preservers and storers of food for future use. Their industries included all the crafts from basketry and leather making to pot making and architecture. In the course of their work they developed the rudiments of science, medicine, art, and language. They domesticated plants and animals and built the settlements without which cultural life cannot exist. They were the first ambassadors and peace makers. (see *Woman's Evolution*, by Evelyn Reed, Pathfinder Press, New York, 1975.) All this is unambiguous evidence of the priority of the matriarchy.

Tiger seems to be well aware of this evidence. But in typically dishonest fashion he doesn't openly argue the issues. He refers vaguely to "a carping folklore about 'woman's logic,' " (not her work!) and irrelevantly remarks that men are not as "fickle" as women. Then he adds: "I hesitate to enter a controversy about the comparative skills of males and females. Nor shall I comment here on the felicitous or unfortunate effects of greater female participation in momentous matters of communal life. It is a controversy, anyway, which eludes theoretical solution" (p. 113).

After this cavalier dismissal of women's productive and cultural record, Tiger presents his own theories about women's eternal inferiority. Some of these are downright silly. For example, women "are less able to endure heat than males,"

which "was a disadvantage to women hunting in tropical countries of southern Africa" where the behavioral patterns of *Homo sapiens* were formed. Again, there are differences "in the sexual response cycles of males and females" and in the "development of gender identification" that make men and not women the hunters (pp. 123-124). Elsewhere he has the following gem: "females throw missiles, spears, etc., with much the same motion primates use," unlike males who throw them in the superior manner of human hunters (p. 144).

Hormones to Genetics

If arguments like these are unconvincing, Tiger has more. He leaps about like an agile monkey, from hormones to genetics, to explain the hazards posed for the human species should women engage in hunting. The specialization of males for hunting, he writes, "wired those 'genetic packages' which arranged matters so that males hunted co-operatively in groups while females engaged in maternal and some gathering activity." Any disturbance of this male specialization would have been disastrous to the "genetic packages" that arranged matters this way, and presumably nothing could disturb them more than females taking up hunting.

Moreover, on the other side of the question, females who hunted would be displaying "non-maternal female behavior," and that would be equally bad for the "genetic pool." The latter is safe only with "those females who accepted a clear-cut sexual difference and enhanced the group's survival chances chiefly by full-time maternal and gathering behavior" (pp. 57-59).

All this absurd advice to women is buttressed by similar advice to men—at least those who might be softheaded about letting women hunt. According to Tiger, this "could interfere with the co-operative nature of the group by stimulating competition for sexual access." Male bonding seems to rest upon fragile foundations after all—despite Tiger's assertion that it has been embedded for millions of years in the male biological infrastructure.

In any case, there is an even worse hazard than this sexual competition among males for access to females. Tiger writes that "males who accepted females into their hunting groups would be, like those females themselves, less likely to add to the genetic pool than presumably more efficient hunters who maintained male exclusiveness at these times" (pp. 59-60).

If these arguments remain unconvincing, Tiger resorts to even more vicious devices for intimidating women into accepting his doctrine of exclusion. He writes, "Those females who hunted with males could not reproduce as numerous as non-hunting females," and he points scornfully to "the figure of the dry spinster of Euro-American cultures or the barren woman of Africa and Asia."

He reserves his most horrible examples for North American women. He writes, "There is a contemporary version of the 'genetic impotence' of 'hunting women'—I refer to females involved in relatively high-influence, high-status work. For example, among female executives in North America an unusually high proportion, about a third, are unmarried, while those who are married tend to have no children or a number lower than the average" (p. 127). This is definitely not the kind of women "preferred by men." According to Tiger, while men certainly prefer lovely, talented, and wealthy women, they must above all be "benign forces to involve in the homes of men" (p. 182).

Tiger's flim-flam on the undesirability of allowing women to hunt—an occupation that has long been extinct—is only a cover-up for his rejection of women working at men's jobs or engaging in politics today. He is explicit on the point that woman's place is in the home and not in the social arena sharing decision-making powers with men.

"The public forum is a male forum" in which "females do not participate," he says. Today "it is men who dominate the public and private State Councils of the world; men are the

Continued on page ISR/12

A Union Built by Women



Italian immigrants at piecework

By Ethel Lobman

There are now 143,000 garment workers in New York City. Eighty percent are women and 10,000 of them are newly arrived Chinese immigrants. The majority of the others are Black or Puerto Rican.

Practically all of the Chinese women work in union shops on New York's Lower East Side. This is the area where the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union (ILGWU) was founded seventy-seven years ago, and it is also the place where some of the most militant union struggles occurred.

From the late 1880s until the founding of the ILGWU in 1900, New York City and other eastern cities such as Boston, Philadelphia, and Cleveland experienced wave after wave of strike by the cloakmakers, waistmakers, and other garment workers as they struggled to form unions in order to improve their miserable conditions.

Headlines in the newspapers of that time give a picture of the intensity of the struggle. "Militant UBC [United Brotherhood of Cloakmakers] Reports All Strikes Victorious," from the *Daily Forward*, the Yiddish-language daily published on the Lower East Side since 1897; "Goons Hired by Roth to Assault Strikers; Waistmakers Resolute," *Daily Forward*, January 8, 1900; "Police Club Paraders Before Permit Comes," *New York Times*, October 12, 1894; "Operators Strike When Firm Fires Active Unionists," *Daily Forward*, August 9, 1899.

The founding of the ILGWU (which united workers from the different sections of the garment trade into one union) was followed by years of struggle to win recognition for the union. The sweatshop conditions were notorious. Most of the work was done in small dark tenement rooms or cellars lit by kerosene lamps, where a boss would squeeze in as many sewing machines as possible. Young women, men, and children

would work in these dark, unventilated rooms fifteen hours a day, seven days a week, and earn from three to ten dollars per week.

It was the two hundred striking women of the Triangle Waist Company who in November 1909 sparked the "uprising" of 40,000 garment workers in New York City (this was the same factory where 154 women died in a fire two years later, on March 26, 1911). They had been battling the cops and hired thugs for weeks.

The Socialist party newspaper the *Call* described how on November 22, 1909, after weeks of discussing whether to go out on strike, 30,000 workers, 70 percent of whom were women, voted to strike. They packed into four halls on New York's Lower East Side. At Cooper Union, where Samuel Gompers, then president of the American Federation of Labor, had just finished addressing the workers, a young woman striker named Clara Lemlich, who had been beaten by thugs a few days before climbed onto the platform. She interrupted the meeting with the simple words, "I have listened to all the speakers. I would not have further patience for talk, as I am one of those who feels and suffers from the things pictured. I move that we go on a general strike." The audience rose en masse and cheered. When her proposal was put to a vote there was a resounding roar of ayes.

Many of the strikers were young women immigrants from Russia who had been radicalized by the 1905 revolution in that country. They staffed the picket lines and battled the cops and thugs hired by the bosses. They planned the tactics and spoke at the meetings. For them, this was part of the same struggle for socialism they had participated in in tsarist Russia.

The strike ended in February 1910. The most important result, in addition to recognition of the union, was the new awareness that women could be in the forefront of militant labor struggles.

This strike along with the cloakmakers strike of 1910 resulted in the garment workers winning a six-day, fifty-hour week, weekly pay in cash, the abolition of home work, ten paid holidays, and piece rates established by a joint employer and union committee. But most importantly, these strikes resulted in the building of a combative, predominantly female union—the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union.

Piecework: Superexploitation

Piecework has always been a method of maximizing the exploitation of garment workers. The operators are paid for each garment sewn.

Before the union came into existence, the price the operator received was set solely by the boss. Now, after the victory resulting from the strikes, a joint committee would decide the rate. That meant that each time a new style garment was to be sewn this joint committee would have to reach an agreement.

In the early days and up until the 1940s the settlement of the price took place in the shop. The women would choose one of their fellow operators to sew the initial garment and then the price committee of that factory would argue it out with the boss. If the women weren't satisfied they would simply sit by their machines and refuse to work until an agreement was reached.

After the great strikes of the early 1900s this struggle on a shop level had the backing of the union leadership, who were at that time young workers from the shops and picket lines themselves. But by the 1940s, the role of the union leadership had changed, even though the women on the job remained militant.

In 1948 I worked in a shop where we were getting fifty-five cents for sewing an entire dress that had one zipper. (In order to sew in a zipper the operator has to replace the machine's sewing foot with a special zipper foot and then change it back to the regular sewing foot). When we finished that style we were presented with a new style that had two zippers. The boss demanded that we accept the same fifty-five cents per dress. We refused and everyone remained sitting at their machine, while the boss argued with our shop delegate. She would not accept this atrocious request.

The boss then went to the phone and he called the union headquarters. When the union representative arrived, he didn't even glance at the women seated at the machines but went directly to the boss's office, where they conversed for a long time. Then he came out and strolled over to us as the *mediator*, not as our representative. We were pressured into accepting a two-cent increase for a job that had to take us much longer to sew.

In spite of the gains made over the years, such as the opening of the New York ILGWU Health Center in 1914 and the slow rise in wages (a good part of it resulting from increased productivity due to new and faster sewing machines and not to higher piece rates or higher minimum wage), the conditions in the 1940s remained oppressive.

The union shops I worked in from 1948 to 1950 were dark, filthy places with the most unsanitary toilet facilities imaginable. There was no minimum wage. During my first week on the job in one of those shops I earned twelve dollars. I had worked steadily for forty hours hunched over a sewing machine.

Seventy-Five Years Later

The brochures put out by the ILGWU commemorating its seventy-fifth anniversary in 1975 cite the thirty-five-hour week, the increased minimum wage, the establishment of basic sanitary conditions, and the health care center as some of the union's accomplishments. According to the union leadership's own figures, in 1973 women's wear workers were averaging from \$2.46 to \$3.32 an hour. This is not very much for a backbreaking skilled job in an inflationary period.

I was interested to see how the new wave of immigrants, the Chinese, were making out in the garment shops, after seventy-five years of existence of the union.

The five Chinese women garment workers I talked with all work on the Lower East Side in New York City. Their union dues are eighty-four dollars a year. They were all enthusiastic about the excellent health plan available to them. One of the women told me (through a translator) that she manages to make eighty dollars a week and that the fastest operator in her shop averages about three dollars per hour.

They all work from 9:00 a.m. to 6:00 p.m. with an hour off for lunch. There is no coffee break because in order to make the eighty dollars the women must work steadily. There is no such thing as time-and-a-half for overtime. If there is a lot of work, they work on Saturdays for the same piece rate. At one of the shops I visited, the hours were from 8:30 a.m. to 6:00 p.m. with forty-five minutes for lunch.

There are no real vacations. During the slow periods the shops are closed—but the workers don't get paid. They do get vacation money based upon how much money they earn in a six-month period. The women told me that for every \$4,000

Ethel Lobman was a member of the ILGWU from 1946 to 1950. In recent years she has been active in the struggle of the predominantly Puerto Rican, Chinese, and Black parents in New York City's School District One for control of the schools in the community. She is a member of the Lower East Side branch of the Socialist Workers party.

they earn in a six-month period they get \$90.

When I asked one of the workers about children coming to work with their mothers, she responded very quickly that it was against the law. However, later on she told how often on weekends or during the summer children come and stand by their mother's machine and put the sections of material together in order to help the mother sew faster. But she quickly assured me that the children didn't get paid for this.

In the shops where these women worked, the bosses and all of the workers were Chinese except for one shop where one of the women had worked for twenty years. This was a large shop with sixty-five workers occupying two floors. The boss was Jewish. The workers were Chinese, Black, Puerto Rican, and white. The elected union delegate was an Italian woman and there was also a bilingual Chinese worker through whom the Chinese women communicated with their representative.

Some of the women were not sure how the prices were fixed in their shops, they thought they were settled by the union outside the shop. But one said that the prices in her shop were agreed upon between the union delegate and the boss. If there was no agreement the women would strike on the spot. She said that if she worked steadily she could earn \$140 a week.

All the women agreed that there was only enough work for eight months out of the year.

No Chinese Translation

These women and their Chinese co-workers never go to union meetings, primarily because there is no translation of the meetings into Chinese. They have heard about the union's camp and special trips available to members, but they don't feel comfortable about going.

One of the women has a sister who works uptown in the garment district and earns more than the operators on the Lower East Side. My impression was that the greater the number of English-speaking workers in a shop, the better the conditions. All the women I spoke with felt they were lucky to have jobs at all—since they didn't speak the language and were relatively new in this country.

It was this last sentiment that brought me full circle to the immigrant workers who came here in the 1880s and early 1900s and who also didn't speak English. They too were simply grateful at first to have work. But by 1909 that wasn't enough. They were the ones who demanded shorter hours and more pay and fought on the streets for those demands. The lack of English was no barrier then.

In May 1975, when thousands of Chinese people demonstrated in New York's Chinatown against police brutality, hundreds of women garment workers poured out of the shops and joined the demonstration. Some of these same garment workers have been active in the struggle by parents in New York's School District One to win a say over educational policies in that largely Puerto Rican, Black, and Chinese district.

The ILGWU now has 429,000 members, 80 percent of whom are women. The twenty-six-member executive committee has one woman on it. The union is now to a large extent made up of Black, Puerto Rican, and Chinese workers, but there is only one Black (the same woman) and one person with a Spanish surname on this executive committee.

In the anniversary issue of the ILGWU newspaper, *Justice*, the union leadership writes, "As we inventory the past we must gird for the future. As in the early decades of this century, so too now, in its last quarter, there will be battles to fight and dreams to be fulfilled."

Yes—the battle to shake up this bureaucratic leadership and make way for the women, Black, Puerto Rican, and Chinese workers, the battle against this insidious piecework, which forces the women to compete feverishly against themselves in order to make eighty dollars a week, the battle against the eight-month year and for a guaranteed annual wage, and the battle against the still too long workday.

It will be today's Chinese, Black, and Puerto Rican women, class sisters of the Jewish immigrant women of three quarters of a century ago, who will be the ones to renew this revolutionary struggle in the garment factories.

...India

Continued from page ISR/5

seclusion to participate in this struggle and as a result began to get a vision of a freer life.

After independence, there were more gains. There was an upturn in the education available to both men and women, and women were granted the right to vote and participate in politics. Some women were elected to office.

Women were explicitly recognized as equal in the Constitution, something which is still not the case in many industrialized countries. But unfortunately, along with the equal rights provision in the Constitution came another provision that in effect contradicted it. This was a law stating that the customs of various religious communities concerning marriage and other such personal matters would be respected. This meant that Hindu women, Muslims, Parsis, Christians, and women of other religions would be ruled by old customs, many of which originated in the feudal period.

To this day, there is no civil code in India that legislates for all women on such questions as divorce. An important demand of advocates of women's rights is that such a code be adopted. There is also a need to enforce laws that exist against such abuses as child marriage and dowry.

In 1955, a Hindu marriage law was passed that gave certain rights to Hindu women. It outlawed polygamy, set the minimum marriage age at fifteen, and made some provisions for divorce. Despite this, divorce is still uncommon and is considered highly undesirable and even shameful for Hindu women.

There has been no change in the legal status of Muslim women since independence. According to Muslim law, a man can still have as many as four wives. In Muslim areas it is still common to see women with veils covering their faces.

Christian law also has not been changed since independence. In order to get a divorce a Christian woman must establish more grounds than a man.

Other Demands

Along with agitation for legal equality, advocates of women's rights in India have raised other demands aimed at overcoming social and economic discrimination.

Some of these demands were outlined in a memorandum sent by a group of women in Kanpur to the prime minister and president of India on the occasion of International Women's Year. To provide better education for women, these women called for free higher education for women, free busing for female students, hostel facilities for college women, child-care facilities for student mothers, and an increase in coeducational schools.

To open up more employment opportunities, they called on the government to give as many jobs as possible to women in the fields of education, health, medicine, social welfare, and telegraph services. They also suggested that special service centers be set up to employ women trained at polytechnic and craft schools, with the products produced in this way to be marketed by the centers.

Other demands were for a shorter workweek for women, longer maternity leaves, and hostels for single or employed women in every major city.

They also proposed that a ministry of women's affairs be established by the government to mobilize public opinion against "false concepts, beliefs, traditions and prejudices restricting women's freedom."

Little is being done in India today to meet these and other needs of women. In fact, the policies of the Gandhi government and the ruling class in India have had the effect of maintaining women's inferior status.

The system of private profit, which prevails in India today, does not provide jobs for millions of poverty-stricken male workers, much less open up large numbers of new jobs for women. Women remain peripheral to the labor force, used as a reserve of labor, which can be pulled in and out of the job market seasonally and as the needs of the economy change. The miserable wages for women that result from this are a source of profit for landowners and other employers.

The Indian educational system is abysmal for both men and women, yet there are no signs that

anything is being done to change this. Instead, the government is pouring even more money into its military machine and expanding domestic police.

Even in areas where the government has taken some initiative, such as on birth control, the benefits to women are limited.

The government's birth control program is not aimed at giving women the right to control their reproduction, but toward population control. Thus, along with making birth control more available, the government has a policy of forcing families to have fewer children. Forced population control measures, including forced sterilization, and economic measures against families with more than three children, have been stepped up since the emergency decrees of a year and a half ago as part of the government's policy of blaming economic failures on population growth.

Little has been done to mobilize public opinion against backward attitudes in regard to women. One reflection of the reactionary role played by the ruling class in this regard is the Indian movies. India has one of the largest film industries in the world, and the movies that are churned out perpetuate all kinds of prejudices and reactionary ideas. While in India I saw what was described as one of the best of the new Hindi films. It reminded me of a Hollywood escapist romance out of the 1950s, with the theme being the dependence of a woman on her man.

Women are portrayed in films and magazines as sex objects just as they are in the United States, although the government's puritanical "moral" code forbids any kind of sexual activity (even kissing) on the screen.

The films are also racist. The ideal of beauty held up is that of a light-skinned, Western-looking woman—a woman that does not look like most women in India. As if this weren't enough, I was also told that in recent years, under the influence of Hollywood, there is a big emphasis not only on the "beauty" of the facial characteristics of film stars but also on body shape, adding to the insecurities of women not having the "prescribed" shape.

Revolutionary Change Needed

The 1972 resolution of the Communist League on women's liberation points out that it will take revolutionary changes in Indian society to root out the deepgoing prejudices and oppression women face. The present rulers of India will not end women's oppression any more than they can end poverty or wipe out caste and religious oppression.

Although the Indian government has up to now been somewhat successful in maintaining a progressive "socialist" image, the mask is beginning to slip. The uprisings, strike struggles, and electoral challenges, which were on the rise before the declaration of the emergency a year and a half ago, and the repression that followed are signs of this.

Although still not in great numbers, women have played a role in the struggles of the last few years. During the 1974 national railroad strike, wives of railroad workers supported their husbands by surrounding the police vans ready to take them away. There have been demonstrations by women against rising prices and strikes in various industries employing women.

The involvement of women in struggle has also been reflected in the growing number of women political prisoners. Female prisoners often receive worse treatment than males due to the prejudices against women being involved in politics. Thousands of women actively participated in the Naxalite movement (a Maoist-oriented peasant and guerrilla movement) in Bengal and Kerala. Many are still in jail suffering brutal torture.

It cannot be predicted how or at what pace working-class and peasant struggles will develop in India in the future, but there is no question that women will be an important part of these struggles. We can also expect to see more struggles that will raise women's rights issues.

In discussing with Indian socialists about the potential for women's struggles in India, the example of the Chinese revolution was often brought up. In China, the mobilization of women against feudal oppression and capitalist exploitation was an important component of the revolution. Similarly in India, the masses of working women and peasants represent a potentially powerful force for revolutionary change.

...Strategy for Women

Continued from page ISR/4
action.

The organizational weakness of the movement is compounded by its political weakness. The class bias of the attacks on women—that is, their concentration against working-class, Black, Chicano, and Puerto Rican women—has glaringly spotlighted the middle-class bias of much of the current leadership of the women's movement. In the absence of any militant leadership fighting for women's rights in the labor movement, the Black movement, or the Chicano or Puerto Rican movements, what limited response to the attacks there has been has fallen to the Democratic party-oriented misleaders of the feminist movement, in particular the leaders of the largest and most influential group, NOW.

The NOW leadership has so far shown itself unwilling to lead a counteroffensive against the attacks. There has been no lack of sentiment for action on the part of women, including in the ranks of NOW. The failure lies with the incapacity of the national NOW leadership to see the need for and to carry out the kind of counteroffensive needed.

This is the key reason why the ruling class has made headway in its war against women's rights at such an amazing speed. It took advantage of the political weakness of the women's movement, and the disorienting, demobilizing effect of the presidential elections, to drive full steam ahead.

The abortion question is a good example of this crisis of leadership.

The policy of the national NOW leadership has been to attempt to sweep the abortion issue under the rug. This is nothing new. Despite several changes in leadership, never in its history has NOW thrown its national authority and numbers into a sustained fight for abortion rights. The most scandalous example was in the early 1970s, when the NOW leadership refused to work with the Women's National Abortion Action Coalition (WONAAC), the coalition that conducted an action campaign to legalize abortion.

Instead, the NOW leaders generally concentrate on issues and activities of more concern to middle-class and professional women. This is expressed in political terms through their self-subordination to liberals in the Democratic and Republican parties.

Yet NOW is the one women's organization that exists on a national scale and is growing, as a result of the vacuum of leadership. It has about 40,000 members. Because NOW is one of the oldest and certainly the most authoritative feminist organization, it has attracted to its ranks many of the young feminists who have nowhere else to turn. A small but growing number of new women in NOW are workers—office workers, public employees, teachers, nurses. Some are trade unionists. Still, only a negligible number of women in NOW are Blacks, Chicanas, or Puerto Ricans.

But compared with five or six years ago, this new generation of NOW members is more action-oriented, less interested in lobbying and electioneering, and more open to seeing the necessity of defense of the rights of the most oppressed women. Many of them simply pass through NOW, dropping out in frustration after trying to get NOW to engage in meaningful action. NOW's contradiction is in the orientation of its leadership, which, though divided into factions, is united in its commitment to a strategy of winning reforms for women by lobbying "good" politicians in the Democratic party.

Hand in hand with the NOW leadership's strategy of hobnobbing with liberal Democrats goes a consistent outlook regarding which women to orient to and what issues to organize around. NOW has traditionally avoided those feminist issues that cut deepest on class and race lines. In some cases, NOW has taken a stand against the interests of workers and oppressed nationalities. Twin Cities NOW, for example, recently issued a racist study of affirmative action in Minnesota. The report claimed that affirmative-action policies benefit Black men "disproportionately" at the expense of women. It has been roundly condemned in the Twin Cities by Black leaders and by many NOW members, including national NOW President Karen DeCrow.

The lack of understanding—and even the

rejection—of the needs of Black women by the leadership of NOW is a fundamental problem of the organization. This was a major topic of discussion when Black Pennsylvania NOW members organized a conference this summer in Pittsburgh. (For an account of this conference, see the *Militant* of September 3, 1976.)

This Black NOW conference is very significant. It marks the beginning of an awareness by Black women in NOW that the organization must change its priorities. And it reflects their realization that if NOW is ever to recruit large numbers of Blacks, Black women themselves will have to play a role in accomplishing this goal.

The failure of NOW to recruit Black women or large numbers of other working-class women boils down very simply to its failure to fight for a genuine feminist program. Black feminists who refrain from joining NOW clearly do so because they do not see the organization fighting around their needs as women. Why bother to join, if the NOW leadership doesn't think it's necessary to fight the Hyde amendment, doesn't get involved in child-care fights, and makes no attempt to tap the strength of the Black community for the ERA, affirmative action, and equal pay fights?

But despite the anti-working-class orientation of some NOW leaders, the young, militant women who are in its ranks are anxious for action.

Basically, NOW is an organization that reflects the radicalization of the 1960s. Its policies have been influenced by the civil rights and antiwar movements, and many feminists in NOW are looking for a political perspective that shows the way forward.

For this reason the national NOW convention, scheduled for April 21-24 in Detroit, as well as the chapter discussions leading up to the convention, will be an important opportunity for NOW members to come to grips with these problems of strategy.

What is needed is a *political* debate, a discussion around *ideas* for how to build the women's movement.

On the basis of a thorough, democratic discussion, the convention could take steps to change NOW from a relatively powerless but potentially strong organization into a massive movement involving thousands of Black, Chicano, and Puerto Rican women, working women, and students, a movement that campaigns around abortion, forced sterilization, the ERA, affirmative action, child care, and other central issues for women.

The conference delegates need to soberly assess the lessons of waiting for the Democrats to give us our rights, rather than relying on ourselves and fighting with every means at our disposal—including demonstrations, picket lines, conferences, and rallies—demanding that the government meet our needs.

The whole experience of the women's movement shows that for allies we should look to the Black and other communities of the oppressed nationalities, to the unions, and to the campuses—not to the halls of Congress. Of course, we want politicians who support our demands to raise them in the legislatures, but we should refuse to defer to them and remain silent until they do something. We must act now. NOW brought women and their allies into action last year with the May 16 national march for the ERA. More mobilizations of this character are needed today to answer the new wave of attacks.

Socialist women have and will continue to contribute our ideas to NOW—as we have within the feminist movement as a whole. But the above strategy does *not* mean that NOW should become some kind of a socialist-feminist organization. There are many women in NOW who are not socialists—they may be Democrats, Republicans, or independents—but who agree that the women's struggle should not be subordinated to either of the two ruling parties. NOW is, and should remain, open to women of all political viewpoints.

The issues confronting NOW are issues every group in the feminist movement must grapple with. The question of how to respond to the government's attacks is posed to the student movement, traditionally the most militant wing of the women's struggle. Student feminists have played a central role in the feminist movement

from the start and will continue to do so. Teach-ins, rallies, and other public activities on the campuses can be one important starting point for launching the discussion and response that is needed to defend abortion rights, child care, the ERA, and other gains.

Just as there has been an upsurge in feminist activity on the campuses over the last year, we are witnessing a new militancy on the part of Black women, Chicanas, and Puerto Rican women. This has been reflected in the increase in conferences and forums of women of the oppressed nationalities. It's reflected in Black literature and in writings on the Chicano and Puerto Rican struggles. New organizations are taking shape that express the desire of these women to take action around sex discrimination, such as Mujeres Unidas, a Chicana group in Los Angeles, and the National Alliance of Black Feminists, which is based in Chicago.

Women inside civil rights and nationalist organizations are also speaking out on these issues—in the NAACP, the World Community of Islam, the Raza Unida party, and the Puerto Rican Socialist party.

Coalition of Labor Union Women

Another potentially strong organization of the women's movement that needs this kind of fundamental discussion of perspectives is the Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW). Like NOW, CLUW also faces a crisis of perspectives. This organization was formed at a conference in March 1975 of 3,000 trade-union women. But during the past year, the organization has stagnated.

CLUW has not had any action focus since its participation in the May 16 ERA demonstration last spring. Even to endorse that demonstration, the national executive board had to override the objections of CLUW's more conservative leaders.

Some officials in CLUW have the perspective of turning CLUW into a paper organization or a women's auxiliary to the AFL-CIO officialdom. But many CLUW militants do not agree. They sense that there is a crying need for an action-oriented trade-union women's liberation organization. Tens of thousands of rank-and-file union women would be attracted to such an organization if they saw it fighting around their needs—against the Hyde amendment, for the ERA, for affirmative action, for equal pay and maternity rights.

There are other signs of a new militancy in the trade-union movement that spell new opportunities and allies for women's organizations such as NOW and CLUW. The biggest is the impact of the Steelworkers Fight Back movement, which ran Ed Sadlowski for president of the steelworkers union in February. Steelworkers Fight Back demanded democracy in the unions and the return of the unions to rank-and-file control. This ongoing movement is directly in the interests of CLUW, whose purpose is to make the unions more responsible to their female membership.

CLUW should also collaborate actively with the growing women office workers groups that have begun to attract women in many cities.

The CLUW leadership has scheduled a national convention for June 4-5.

The discussions that will take place at the NOW and CLUW conventions will be a sign of whether these organizations will be able to come to grips with the crisis of perspective facing the women's movement. The current debates over strategy for the women's liberation struggle mark the biggest test of the women's movement since the battle over the right to abortion in 1970-73. We face this test with the advantage of much greater support for women's liberation ideas and the potential of bringing in much more powerful class forces on the side of the fight for women's rights.

The division we see more and more clearly is between those who want to fight around the central issues of women's oppression, with the perspective of defending and mobilizing working-class women and women of the oppressed nationalities, and those who shrink back from building this kind of mass movement.

In the process of discussion and action to meet the challenge facing the women's movement, new women militants will join the ranks of this struggle. The women's liberation movement, as well as the fight for socialism, can be carried a big step forward.

BOOKS

For Their Triumphs and for Their Tears: Women in Apartheid South Africa

By Hilda Bernstein.
International Defence and Aid Fund for Southern Africa, Cambridge, 1975.

By Pat Wright

Black women in South Africa today are more determined than they were yesterday. The South African woman has always been in the front if not by the side of her man in the struggle for liberation. . . . Today we see another group of young women from the ages of seven on. Seventeen to seventy, they are there and they are saying, "We're tired, we're tired." So I think their role today is even more prominent than it was before because now we can see the youngest of the women in South Africa rising.

Singer Miriam Makeba states this in an interview in the January-February issue of *Africa Report* on the role of women in the struggle in South Africa.

Women are in the forefront of the antiapartheid struggle because they are the foremost victims of this inhuman system. To understand the oppression of South African women, we first have to understand what apartheid is.

In South Africa the Black population of about 22 million is dominated by a white population of only 4.3 million. Laws deny Blacks all control over their lives.

In South Africa it is illegal for Blacks to be without a pass, even while standing outside of one's home. Blacks cannot vote. Blacks are allotted only 13 percent of the land, called "homelands," "Bantustans," or "reserves." The remaining 87 percent, encompassing all the urban and industrial areas, is classified as white areas, where Blacks can be present only if they qualify under complex regulations. Buses, trains, toilets, waiting rooms, and so on are segregated. Education is grossly inferior for Africans. Even those Black children who can go to school start two years later than white children. Black schools are overcrowded. White children go to school for free, while Blacks must pay.

Government policy stipulates that Blacks can only be "temporarily resident in European areas as long as they offer labour." The average white South African's income is eighteen and a half times that of the average Black South African.

The slightest show of opposition to these racist policies is treated with arrests, detention, torture, and/or death. Age makes no difference; some prisoners are as young as nine years old.

'Superfluous Appendages'

These conditions are bad enough, but they come down doubly hard on South African women, as Hilda Bernstein shows in her valuable book *For Their Triumphs and For Their Tears: Women in Apartheid South Africa*.

While the Black male goes to town to keep the white economy going, the wives and children are forced to remain on the nearly barren reserves, farming small plots. G.F. van L. Froneman, deputy minister of Justice, Mines and Planning, explained this policy in 1969: "This African labour force must not be burdened with superfluous appendages such as wives, children and dependents who could not provide service."

Thus husbands and wives do not even have the right to live with each other. Male workers can visit their wives and children only during their annual leave of about two weeks.

Women, as well as unemployed men, the old, and the sick, are periodically rounded up and forcibly herded back to the reserves or into "resettlement camps." These mass population removals are carried out under various apartheid laws with the aim of wiping out so-called Black spots (ancestral lands still occupied by Blacks in white areas), as well as disposing of people who are deemed useless to the white economy. From 1960 to 1970, 1.6 million Africans were "resettled" by the ruling Nationalist party government.

In 1970, about 25 percent of African women were economically active (this term excludes women on reserves who work on their own plots). Most employed African women are service workers (primarily domestic servants) or agricultural workers.

Four million African women live on the reserves. In these areas the government has tried to forcibly maintain some of the African customs that could serve the oppressors by making these customs into law (under the guise of preserving the indigenous culture of the people). This has had its severest effects on women. Under African customary law, women cannot own property, sue, or be sued, without the assistance of their male guardian. Subordination to men holds true regardless of age or marital status.

A wife or widow with children is often allotted only one or two acres to grow food and live on. This is only half of what a man is given, although women must pay the same taxes.

Land on the reserves, worked for generations by women with the most primitive methods, is practically barren. In the worst areas, women may spend the entire day gathering firewood and water just to survive, if one can call it that.

Diseases due to malnutrition and poverty, as well as starvation, are common, especially for children. Infant mortality rates are so high that in many areas dozens of children's graves are prepared in advance. Children who survive are often mentally and/or physically damaged for life.

Women in the Cities

Women fortunate enough to live in the towns (or white areas) are not really much better off. A woman's stay in the towns is very tenuous. The threat of being "endorsed out" (forced to go back to a reserve) is a constant one. She can be endorsed out if she is involved in political activity, becomes a widow, complains too much, becomes di-



Police beat women spectators at a student demonstration in Johannesburg in 1972

vorced, marries a man who is not qualified to live in the urban area, or becomes unemployed.

More recently, accommodations for African women working in white towns (called hostels) are available; they were previously available only for men. These are sexually segregated. Women live four to a room, eleven to a wash-basin, fourteen to a lavatory, and thirty-five to a shower.

Women who are domestic servants can be arrested for allowing their husbands to stay with them in their servant quarters. If children are caught in the servant quarters they are sent off to the reserves.

Although more African women are working than in the past—15 percent in 1960 and 25 percent in 1970—there has been no improvement of access to higher levels of training and jobs. There are no African women lawyers, judges, magistrates, engineers, architects, veterinary surgeons, chemists, or pharmacists. In 1970 there were only eleven university teachers, four doctors, and thirteen librarians. Sixty-five percent of African women employed in the urban areas are employed as servants.

South African Women in Struggle

Despite all the obstacles, African women have organized and fought back, often playing a leadership role in the struggle for national liberation.

Bernstein reports on many struggles in which women played a significant role, such as the 1943 bus boycott in Alexandra, near Johannesburg. Fifteen thousand men and women walked to work eighteen miles a day for nine days to protest a raise in bus fares. A one-day work stoppage to protest apartheid, called by the African National Congress (ANC) on May 1, 1949, was met with a police massacre of protesters. Eighteen were killed and thirty wounded,

including children. Hundreds of thousands responded with a national work stoppage on June 26, 1950, closing schools, businesses, shipping, and most everything else. That date has since been marked Freedom Day for South Africa.

One of the most significant and prolonged struggles waged by South African women was against the pass laws. Until the 1950s the amount of wage labor by women was so insignificant that they were not required to carry passes (although the government has tried to impose them on women since 1913). Because of peculiarities in the labor laws, this situation had a positive effect for women in union organization. It enabled them to play an active role in the formation of trade unions during the 1940s and 1950s in the garment and textile industries as well as in food canning and processing, where women were a majority of the workers.

The struggle began in 1913, when women were charged a shilling a month, a big part of their wages, for a permit to live in an urban area. In protest they marched 600 strong to the municipal offices and deposited a bagful of passes at the deputy mayor's feet. They declared they would buy no more.

Demonstrations like this one spread, and women were fined, arrested, and jailed for refusing to buy or carry passes. Finally the women won and passes for women were withdrawn.

In 1955, however, the passes were reintroduced and the movement against the pass laws began to grow again. Bernstein explains the effect passes would have on women's lives: "Women had reason to fear the carrying of passes. . . : the night raids, stopping in streets by police vans, searches, jobs lost through arrests, disappearance of men shanghaied to farms, and the prosecutions (nearly 700,000 in 1968)."

In 1955, 2,000 marched in Preto-

ria against pass laws for women. The following year 20,000 marched on August 9, which was thereafter commemorated as Women's Day. On that day, the women stood silent, some with babies on backs, for thirty minutes. As they dispersed, the women sang what became a new freedom song: "Wathint' a bafazi, way ithint' imbolo-do uzo kufa"—"Now you have touched the women, you have struck a rock, you have dislodged a boulder, you will be crushed."

The women continued to protest, but the government only stepped up its repression. They were denied needed birth records, pensions, and employment. They were beaten, shot, cut, and jailed, and their homes were burned down and possessions destroyed.

Throughout the 1950s women continued to play a leading role in the struggle against apartheid. There were protests against poverty, against night police raids, against the oppressive laws against beer brewing by Africans, against forced unpaid labor. Some of the protests were peaceful, others violent, such as the burning of Bantu Education schools.

The 1960s brought increased antiterrorism legislation. Women were among those charged with treason, terrorism, sabotage, membership in or aiding a banned organization, helping people escape from the country, or recruiting guerrillas.

against low wages. The following month, 200 women canning-factory packers walked out demanding higher wages, and then the male workers joined in behind them.

The recent upsurge by students in Soweto saw significant participation of young African women.

A South African women's freedom song: 'Now you have touched the women, you have struck a rock, you have dislodged a boulder, you will be crushed.'

Women in Recent Struggles

Bernstein gives insight into the more recent struggles that have taken place. The illegal strikes of workers for higher wages and better working conditions in recent years have been mostly male because of the limited number of women in industry. Nevertheless, women workers have played an important role. In January 1973, 22 women textile workers in New Germany went out on strike

Tsietsi Mashinini, the first president of the main student group that led the upsurge, commented on the role of women in an interview in the February issue of the *Young Socialist*: "They played a very encouraging role for me and other male students. In some incidents when [the police] started opening fire, most of the males started running away. The women would stand up front."

Bernstein's final chapter reflects

on the future for South African women. She concludes that "the changes in the legal position of women, their conditions of work, and in their own consciousness during the past decade are witness to the new revolution among the women." She further states that the participation of South African women in the antiapartheid movement is "an expression not only of their desire to rid all South Africa of the curse of apartheid, but also of their deep concern for their own status as women."

Bernstein's book is an important contribution to the struggle against apartheid. It takes note of another dimension of the struggle, which has gone unnoticed for too long. Her book gives a detailed explanation of the past and present of South African women, but it also indicates that we have only scratched the surface. There are many other stories that remain to be told. The antiapartheid movement must actively encourage the voice of South African women to come to the fore.

...Woman-hater

Continued from page ISR/7

Ambassadors, the Linguists. . .there are few 'Spokeswomen' " (p. 75). He dismisses the argument that this is due not to any biological disabilities of the female sex but to an oppressive society that deliberately excludes them from public life.

To Tiger politics is war and men are the hunters and warriors—the capable, intelligent, war-making sex and the pillar of social life. He writes that "human nature" is such that it is "unnatural" for "females to engage in defense, police, and, by implication, high politics" (p. 112). Even in work he says that men can do all kinds of jobs, but not women. "Why cannot females become fighter pilots, tank commanders, or police chiefs? When men join armies they become dishwashers, laundrymen, and nurses. Yet when women join armies they do not commonly take jobs which are conventionally defined as masculine" (p. 108).

Perhaps by now, some seven years after he wrote this Tiger has learned that it is social discrimination and male prejudice that has held women back from taking men's jobs. In the few years that the feminist movement has been on the march, women have already broken down many barriers; they have moved into scores of occupations formerly reserved for men only.

There are today women architects and sportscasters, bartenders and engineers, doctors and train operators, stevedores, miners, and drivers of trucks and buses. They are rig operators, coast guards, and hardhats in construction, as well as fire fighters, pilots, and subway operators. They are manhole spicers, ditchdiggers, cops and state troopers. Women have broken down their exclusion from Olympic sports as well as their exclusion from the major male-supremacist universities. They are now being admitted into the military and air force academies of West Point, Annapolis, and Colorado Spring. If they are not yet tank commanders, pilot fighters, or astronauts, this is not because of any feminine frailties.

The handicaps placed upon women are exclusively social and not biological—and for the earliest and longest period in human history there were no such handicaps. Tiger's notions about the innate inferiority of women are as outdated as the horse and buggy is in transportation.

On Male Supremacy

Tiger does not regard production of the necessities of life as the unique attribute of humans that elevated them out of the animal world—that would involve disclosing the prime part played by the women. He begins with the capacity of men to male-bond and writes: "Male bonding I see as the spinal column of a

community, in this sense: from a hierarchal linkage of significant males, communities derive their intra-dependence, their structure, their social coherence, and in good part their continuity through the past to the future" (p.78).

This does not answer the key question: how did the aggressive-dominance trait of male animals that leads to antagonism and isolation give way to the human capacity of men to unite through cooperative bonding? Tiger's answer is somewhat astonishing. Competitive aggression and cooperative bonding are one and the same trait! He writes in all seriousness that "aggression is an intensely co-operative process—it is both the product and the cause of strong effective ties between men" (p. 247).

However, it seems that these "strong effective ties" do not transcend class or racial barriers. A man, says Tiger, will not bond with just anybody; "he will bond with particular individuals because he has certain prejudices and standards in terms of which he is willing to bond" (p. 28). Thus "males will prefer to be with high-status males. . . . They gain status themselves from the positions of their companions. A group of men conscious of its status, power, and security differs in emotional tone from a group in the Bowery" (p. 184). In short, upper-class men preserve their snobbish separateness from low-class men.

The same separateness exists between white and Black men. Tiger writes (parenthetically) that "there will be some who, for various reasons, prefer culturally unpreferred persons." The example he offers is not that of an upper-class man who broke the racial barrier but of a dismal female: "The rich white girl and her poor Negro chauffeur of Richard Wright's *Native Son* is a case in point." He also refers to many of William Faulkner's stories, which "revolve about a similar deliberate violation of socio-sexual norms" (p. 184). Tiger's male bonding is strictly class and race stratified.

Within this elitist framework Tiger gives the "logic" of his argument; that "males are prone to bond, male bonds are prone to aggress, therefore aggression is a predictable feature of human groups of males." He is opposed to changing this feature. He writes, "To reduce opportunities for such aggression is to tamper with an ancient and central pattern of human behavior" (p. 241). In Tiger's view, since animals are killers, human males are bound by the same inherited behavior pattern.

For men who might be repelled by this thesis, Tiger issues a warning: they place themselves in the same impotent position as infertile women. He writes, "Bondless, aggressionless males are in a real sense equivalent to childless females. Of course, childless females are viable and many choose their condition and enjoy its benefits. At the same time [they] may be held to have lacked participation in a massive biological activity and its psycho-social consequences. In the same way, friendless inhibited males are not only friendless

and aggression-inhibiting, but possibly do not experience the male equivalent of child reproduction, which is related to work, defense, politics, and perhaps even the violent mastery and destruction of others" (p. 242).

Glorification of War

This "bonding-cum-aggression," as Tiger dubs it, clears the road for his glorification of the masculine traits of war and violence. War is almost universally an all-male enterprise, he writes, and "other agencies of aggressive-violent mastery are composed of males" (p. 226). Among these agencies he cites the Nazis and the Ku Klux Klan. In passing, he notes the few unspectacular things women can organize: "from charity groups to hairdressing salons to berry-gathering cliques" (p. 218).

The exceptional merit of male bonding-cum-violence is that women are excluded. He writes that "males bond in a variety of situations" that involve power and force, and they "consciously and emotionally exclude females from these bonds" (p. 143, his emphasis). One well-known example, cited by Tiger, is that of the Hitler era in Germany, when Goebbels elaborated the doctrine that woman's place was in the kitchen and nursery—"kinder, kirche, und küchen." He offers this as further evidence of the innate inferiority of the female sex and writes, "Apparently even major changes in political form and ideology can have little effect on the role of women" (p. 90).

To Tiger fascism is merely a change in "ideology" and not a disastrous political defeat of women and workers. This is in keeping with his thoroughly reactionary and racist outlook that sets whites above Blacks and men against women, and glorifies wars and other forms of the "violent mastery of others" as representing the highest virtues of Manhood.

On this basis Tiger has harsh words for women warriors—they are as bad as women hunters. In his opinion women who try to join armies are disparaged as "necessarily often transvestite" (p. 104). On the other hand, Tiger is favorably disposed to homosexuality—providing it is male—and he proposes separate men's houses and all-male societies and clubs where husbands can find enjoyment and relaxation apart from the tedium of wives and domesticity.

When Tiger's book appeared, provoking expressions of outrage, the *New York Times* Sunday magazine generously accorded him a forum in which to defend himself. His article appeared on October 25, 1970, under the caption: "Male Dominance? Yes, Alas. A Sexist Plot? No." This disclaimer did not alter his image as a gross upholder of male supremacy. Rather, it reinforced his book, which, despite its shiftiness and sophisticated pseudoscientific terminology, is essentially the self-portrait of a virulent woman-hater.



Continued from page 10

had pleaded no contest to charges of price-fixing. You not only reduced their sentences and fines but you made a boys' dormitory out of federal prison.

By sentencing them on a nights-only basis, their days will be free to make paper boxes. If price-fixing weren't everyday business—not just in paper boxes but in food, shelter, heat, drink, travel—and if the accused weren't corporate officers, successful charges of conspiracy might have been proved—unless these particular executives were so deeply in tune spiritually, like moonies, that they arrived at the fix without conspiracy.

You are blameless; you simply reflect the class interest that rules our country. In 1968 we elected to the White House the very greatest criminal and his pals. In their crimes, they prospered. A lesson and law for the rich; for other colors, another class, other laws.

Calvin Coolidge said, "The business of America is business." Every corporate officer knows that in his heart, but Cal was laconic and he left out the rest of it: the business of business is profit.

Charlie Chaplin, more perceptive, in *Monsieur Verdoux* logically took it to the next step: the logical end of business is murder. And our ruling classes with the enthusiastic support of the police and the courts have murdered the working class in strikes, have enslaved and murdered Blacks, have committed genocide against Native Americans, have made the places of work the places of death for women and men in factories, mills, mines. Slow death, fast death.

And now in a more sophisticated time the murder and slow death have reached out to include everyone, all the people, through poisoning earth, air, and water for profit.

More people will die from or be abused by corporate crime than any other kind. If a bank robber is a criminal (and he is), he should be punished; but what of those who have killed a river for money?

All that we buy is sold through conspiracies for profit. Those who do it are the enemies of the great majority of our people; so are those who countenance it.

Emile de Antonio
New York, New York

High school reader

Enclosed is \$1.00 in cash. Please send my ten issues of the *Militant*. This is a new subscription. I am fifteen years old and a sophomore at a public high school in Chicago.

Dion Smith
Chicago, Illinois

Relentless pursuit

I hope the Socialist Workers party and the Young Socialist Alliance are relentless in their pursuit of the FBI and CIA violations of their rights.

Your "guts" gives us all the courage to keep fighting for all the people, not only for one segment of the population with which we may be affiliated.

Thanks to the *Militant*, the people are being heard.

M. Mooney
Los Angeles, California

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.

Gas from Carter

It wasn't intentional, I'm sure, but at his February 23 news conference President Carter offered a powerful argument for nationalization of the energy industry.

Carter said it was "understandable" that "natural gas is withheld from the market" by companies seeking higher prices. "If I was running an oil company," Carter said, "I would reserve the right to release or to reserve some supplies of natural gas."

It's quite understandable to Carter because, after all, he himself is a capitalist—although a very small one compared to Exxon, Texaco, and the other energy giants. As a businessman and a Democrat, he is firmly committed to the proposition that profits, not human needs, must determine production.

That may not be so understandable to the hundreds of thousands who were laid off because of the supposed gas shortage, or to the millions who face soaring gas and electric bills they can't afford. The ones who froze to death because they couldn't pay are not available to testify.

Carter's justification of gas withholding is a slight departure from the propaganda line that there is a genuine physical shortage of natural gas. The earlier line was turning into a public relations disaster. People everywhere are distrustful and angry. They saw the "oil shortage" a few years ago turn into an "oil glut" as soon as prices and profits rose enough. Suspicion of the energy trust runs deep these days.

In this kind of atmosphere, it is hard to keep the truth completely secret. Too many people who have evidence—scientists, economists, journalists—are willing to tell what they know. And they find an audience. Even some capitalist-party politicians and government agencies may feel pressure to uncover the truth, or part of it.

On February 17 Interior Secretary Cecil Andrus released a federal study showing sharply curtailed production in four natural gas fields in the Gulf of Mexico. Production in these fields—with proven reserves of nearly one trillion cubic feet—was 64 percent below the maximum rate. Ten of the biggest energy corporations are involved, including Exxon, Texaco, Gulf, Shell, Union Oil, Tenneco, and others.

These gas fields are on federal lands and are leased to the energy companies. By law the companies are required to market gas found there at the federally regulated price. A 1975 law also gave the government

authority to set a production rate on the leased fields. This has yet to be done.

Andrus blamed his predecessors in the Ford administration for closing their eyes to the companies' failure to produce gas. He said their laxity had contributed to the crisis. Andrus said he was "prepared to order production" but drew back from saying the companies would be prosecuted for illegally withholding gas. "Today isn't the day to point a finger of blame," he insisted.

Just a few days later a separate investigation—this one by a congressional subcommittee—disclosed that Texaco alone has reserves in the Gulf of Mexico containing more than 500 billion cubic feet of gas. It has failed to produce the gas because of its "desire to maximize its profits," investigators said.

So far the Carter administration has ordered—not gas production—but still another study. This one may be better tailored to support the companies' explanations and demands.

"There may be good explanations why production in three of the four fields has fallen sharply and why the reservoirs remain shut in," Andrus suggested. But there is one basic explanation, and the companies consider it good enough: they want more money.

At current federal price ceilings, they can sell the same amount of energy for \$12 as oil but only \$4.64 as natural gas. After their great success in jacking up oil prices, the energy corporations see no reason why they shouldn't reap the same superprofits from gas.

Carter agrees. At his news conference he repeated his pledge to work for lifting of price controls on natural gas. "I believe the American people will be willing to make the sacrifices required," he said, "if they are convinced that future reports will be accurate, that supplies will not be withheld. . . ."

But there is little evidence that the American people are growing more willing to sacrifice for the profits of the energy giants. On the contrary.

Growing numbers are likely to decide that the only way to make sure that "future reports will be accurate" is to open the books of the corporations and see for ourselves.

And that the only way to make sure supplies of vital fuels will not be withheld from the market is to nationalize the entire energy industry and run it in the interest of working people.

Women in Revolt

Willie Mae Reid



Why not fulfillment?

There has been a rash of articles written over the past six months on women workers.

After reading a few, you don't have to be an economist or labor expert to recognize that the growing number of women in the labor force is causing quite a stir. A scare would be a more accurate description in some cases. Both the authors and the experts they quote "fear" that the "flood" of women into jobs will expose an economic reality they'd rather keep under wraps.

Labor writer for the *New York Times* A.H. Raskin explains, "Providing a job for everyone who wants one demands a more long-term economic growth than the constraints imposed by foreign competition [and] worldwide shortages . . . make probable."

Harry Bernstein, labor writer of the *Los Angeles Times*, is more direct in explaining the "female scare." "Additional millions of women may well be enticed out of their homes. . . .," he says. "Male 'dropouts' from the labor force also could be encouraged to seek jobs again and increasing numbers of illegal aliens could further complicate the picture." (Emphasis added.)

Columbia University economist Eli Ginzberg describes the increased number of women working today as "the single most outstanding phenomenon of our century." Working women have been charged with torpedoing Washington's plans to lower unemployment.

Many of these authors have to admit, however, that rising living costs and growing layoffs of male heads of households force many women to find work just to pay the bills.

Nonetheless, the peddlers of the "female scare"

always seem to spotlight that handful of women who may not need a job simply to support herself and her family.

One article in the *Wall Street Journal* was devoted to a suburban housewife "searching for fulfillment" in a job. Christopher Evans, the reporter, pointed out that the family had practically two of everything, and that the housewife was unemployed because she was choosy about a job. He complained that her "inclusion among the jobless might make the overall rates seem more alarming than they actually are."

I think it's alarming to ignore anybody's right to a job.

Contrary to the *Wall Street Journal*, that suburban housewife does not represent the majority of the 39 million women in the job market.

Most women are still in low-paying office and service jobs that exclude having two—or in many cases even one—of everything in our homes.

The average full-time working woman today earns fifty-seven cents for every dollar paid to the average man. That's seven cents less than the average paid to women twenty years ago. Sexual inequality puts a fully employed woman with a college degree on the same economic plane as a male high school dropout.

The women's movement will play an important role in making our equality in the labor force more widely accepted.

Women won't be "scared" out of the work force. Our demands for full equality and our worsening living standards are preparing us to make a change.

And I agree with the experts—it's one that will affect the entire society.

Was Sadlowski 'too radical'?

By Andy Rose

Why did insurgent Ed Sadlowski lose the February 8 election for president of the United Steelworkers of America?

The smug assertion of outgoing President I.W. Abel and Lloyd McBride—the “official family” candidate and announced victor—is that Sadlowski’s views were repudiated by the union ranks.

The big-business press takes the same line. *Time* magazine wrote February 21 that “McBride, not Sadlowski, had read the union members’ mood correctly.”

“Sادلowski had become something of a liberals’ darling by portraying himself as a lance bearer for the downtrodden, a champion of militant bargaining with the industry who would also work for social change through unionism,” *Time* said.

“But basic steelworkers average about \$8 an hour, hardly a depressed wage; many live in the suburbs, and few are disposed to left-leaning politics.”

Supporters of the Steelworkers Fight Back campaign know that the election was no vote of confidence in the policies of the bureaucracy. They know thousands of votes were stolen and thousands more coerced through intimidation by the Abel-McBride machine.

Sادلowski has challenged the election results, charging vote fraud and illegal campaign practices by McBride.

At the same time, Fight Back supporters are discussing and drawing the lessons of the campaign.

What was the response to their ideas?

How could the campaign have been organized more effectively?

What does the election outcome mean for the future of the movement for union democracy in steel?

'In These Times'

One viewpoint in this discussion was presented in the February 23-March 1 issue of *In These Times*, a recently initiated weekly that describes itself as “the independent socialist newspaper.”

In These Times notes that “the Sadlowski margin in the big Midwestern locals [in basic steel] was way beneath what anyone expected, including the McBride people, and the automatic protest vote, which gave even a colorless challenger like Emil Narick 180,000 votes in 1969, seems not to have materialized.”

After giving vote totals to show the relatively slim Sadlowski victories in Chicago-Gary and Pittsburgh, the unsigned article continues:

“There was a strike fear on the part of a lot of workers, particularly older workers,” one organizer from the Pittsburgh area told *In These Times*. “They really were afraid that Sadlowski was strike-happy.”

“Another person who worked in the campaign spoke of its having developed a ‘momentum of its own’—of having gone from an intraunion struggle to being a movement in which the issues became broader and the stakes higher.

“While that represented the achievement of the Sadlowski campaign, on which future efforts will have to build, it also contributed to his defeat by scaring away the protest vote.”

Dangerous dilemma

This analysis—which I have heard from other Sadlowski supporters both inside and outside the USWA—leads to a dangerous dilemma.

To win, should Sadlowski have toned down his attacks on the no-strike deal and his stands on social issues such as arms spending, racism, and the environment? Is electoral victory counterposed to militancy?

I don’t believe so. I think *In These Times* is misreading the election results and the mood of the American working class today.



Outside Baltimore polling place in February 8 steel union election

What Steelworkers Fight Back needed to win big, in my opinion, was not a less radical program but a bigger and better-organized effort to get out the program it had.

Most election commentary has had nothing to say about the majority of USWA members—the 60 percent who didn’t vote. In many of the big basic steel locals the proportion not voting was even greater.

The union officialdom discourages voting, where it can get away with it, by locating polling sites far from the plant gates.

It discourages voting even more by its bureaucratic, procompany policies that lead workers to view the union as an alien power—beyond their influence and indifferent or even hostile to their needs.

Who didn't vote?

Who didn’t vote? No precise surveys were done as in the U.S. presidential election, but the impression of poll watchers I have talked to is that young workers and Blacks and other minorities—those most disaffected from the union—turned out in the lowest numbers.

This is a big section of the United Steelworkers. Estimates are that one-third of the union is under thirty years old and about one-quarter is Black. Women are a small but fast-growing percentage of the membership.

These workers are no fans of the conservative, narrow-minded Abel-McBride bureaucracy. To the extent that they were involved in the campaign they overwhelmingly backed Sadlowski.

It may come as a shock to Lloyd McBride and to *Time* magazine, but there is a substantial bloc of young steelworkers who identify more with the aims of the Black movement, the women’s movement, and the ecology movement than with the union movement as it exists today.

It is among the young, minority, and women workers that Sadlowski could have found even more active support—and votes—then he did. How? Certainly not by watering down his militancy.

A drastic change in the unions—a radical change—is what these workers are looking for. And skepticism that a challenger really offers a program that addresses their interests—in society as well as on the job—is the biggest obstacle to their involvement in Steelworkers Fight Back.

Unfortunately, the Sadlowski campaign literature—especially the early literature—tended to be vaguer and weaker than what the candidates themselves were saying.

This may have been out of fear that sharper stands would alienate some

voters. But it let slip a chance to build an early base of support among those most alienated from the bureaucracy.

Black workers

The biggest group of steelworkers who suffer special discrimination on the job, in society, and in the union is Blacks. I think one of the genuinely weak sides of the Steelworkers Fight Back campaign was its approach to Black union members.

Sادلowski’s program for Blacks was far superior to McBride’s. The insurgent called for stronger antidiscrimination remedies than the present consent decree.

He pledged a variety of specific steps to fight discrimination within the union. And he said that the union power should be brought to bear against racism and segregation throughout society—not just in words but in deeds.

Yet Steelworkers Fight Back never put out literature specifically appealing to Blacks for support. Nor—except for a few local initiatives—did it take steps to especially involve Blacks.

One excellent leaflet signed by several Black caucuses endorsing Sadlowski did come out, but it was late in the campaign and got relatively little circulation. Earlier and more widespread distribution of literature like that could have made a big difference, I believe.

Still, some may argue, you have to face the fact that a number of workers were scared off by Sadlowski’s militancy and his reputation as a radical.

That’s true. But you have to face other facts as well.

Answering the slanders

One is that the Steelworkers Fight Back candidates would have been red-baited, strike-baited, and branded as radicals regardless of what they said or did.

The bureaucrats know that any campaign for union democracy is implicitly a challenge to their entire class-collaborationist policy. And they respond with guns blazing.

The only way Sadlowski could counter the red-baiting and slanders was—not by denying he stood for radically different policies—but by energetically getting his real ideas to steelworkers.

Wherever this was done thoroughly, Sadlowski carried the vote. Where it was not—as in big parts of Canada and the South—McBride was able to steal and stampede the vote.

Another fact is that the bureaucracy does not exist in a vacuum. It has a real base among the relatively privileged minority of union members—skilled workers, older white workers, high-seniority workers.

As a longtime union bureaucrat, Abel is quite conscious of appealing to this layer and fostering divisions within the union.

In the current steel negotiations, for example, Abel’s so-called “lifetime job security” plan would give high-seniority workers a guaranteed number of hours per year by taking away benefits from younger workers.

The living standards of all workers are actually depressed by the policies of the bureaucracy. But this is not so evident to those who are relatively better off.

Their tendency toward conservatism is based on their concern to maintain these relative privileges. They fear that a confrontation with the boss may land them back in the status of the young, the Black, the unskilled.

I’m not suggesting that Steelworkers Fight Back should write off a big section of the union as too conservative to win over. But I am saying that Fight Back can’t compete with the bureaucracy for their allegiance by acting “safer.” It just won’t work.

Many of these workers will be won to Fight Back only when they see that the bureaucracy can no longer protect their living standards—and when they see a massive movement of the unprivileged ranks with the power to take on the bosses and win.

Future of union

The Fight Back challenge to the bureaucracy had many limitations.

The campaign started late.

It had no initial base of supporters outside the Chicago area.

The campaign rested on those rank-and-file steelworkers who stepped forward—in a very short period of time—to become organizers, leafleters, speakers.

Despite all the obstacles, Fight Back awakened tremendous support. The vote for Sadlowski was bigger and more significant than the vote for any previous antimachine candidate. It was a more political and more conscious vote.

Fight Back now has the opportunity to build on this success and organize an ongoing movement for militant and democratic unionism.

But Fight Back activists will have to weigh the argument that Sadlowski lost because he was “too radical.” They will have to decide:

Does the future of the movement for union democracy—and the future of the union—lie with those workers who oppose strong identification with the struggles of Blacks, Latinos, and women? With those who are stampeded by fear of a confrontation with the bosses?

Or does it lie with the workers who get the least from the union now and are the most eager for radical change?

Conn. steelworkers back Sadlowski slate

BRIDGEPORT, Conn.—A spokesperson for Steelworkers Fight Back in Connecticut said that insurgent presidential candidate Ed Sadlowski scored an upset victory among the state's 13,000 steelworkers, who are employed mostly in small or medium-sized fabricating shops and diversified industries.

John Del Vecchio, an iron molder at Bullard Castings and vice-president of Local 7528, said that a statewide committee of rank-and-file members had conducted an intensive campaign of leafleting, shop organizing, fund raising, and publicity.

"Where the committee was active and had in-plant contacts, results were tremendous," Del Vecchio said.

In the Bridgeport area, for example, the Fight Back slate carried most locals by wide margins. The 900-member Bullard local went three to one for Sadlowski. The Fight Back team carried the state's largest local, International Silver Company in Meriden, by a wide margin.

Sadlowski won the Jenkins Valve Company by five to one, Handy & Harmon by six to one, Farrel Machine & Foundry by three to one, and

Bronson Company by better than two to one.

Both Sadlowski and Andy Kmec, Fight Back candidate for treasurer, made brief campaign appearances in Bridgeport.

Establishment candidate Lloyd McBride and his running mate Joe Odorcich—who had the support of all the staff and most local officers—also campaigned here.

Pro-McBride votes were recorded in many of the smaller of scattered locals that Sadlowski supporters could not reach.

Across United Steelworkers District 1, covering New England, the Sadlowski team made an impressive showing with about 45 percent of the vote. Fight Back won Connecticut and Boston and broke even in Worcester, Massachusetts, but lost Rhode Island and the scattered locals in the "north country" of Maine, Vermont, and New Hampshire, where no active Fight Back movement existed.

District 1 Sadlowski backers are already planning a meeting to build an ongoing rank-and-file movement in the district.

Meany rides high on B-1



George Meany and the AFL-CIO Executive Council have joined with Pentagon warhawks and other right-wingers in demanding full funding for the B-1 strategic bomber.

This Pentagon boondoggle will cost American taxpayers \$22 billion at a time when social services are being slashed and the government claims to have "no money" to put the unemployed back to work.

From their winter retreat in Bal Harbour, Florida, the top labor bureaucrats issued a statement February 27 declaring they were "firmly committed to a strong national defense program to ensure the security of America and the free world."

Like in Vietnam, Meany remains ever ready to sacrifice the lives and money of American workers to further U.S. imperialism's global aims.

Racine teachers arrested in union-busting drive

By Tony Prince

MILWAUKEE—In a serious escalation of the antilabor offensive in Racine, Wisconsin, sixty-nine members of the Racine Education Association were arrested February 25 as they prevented scabs from crossing picket lines.

Racine teachers have been on strike since January 25. School custodians, organized in Local 152 of the Service

Tony Prince is a member of the Milwaukee Teachers Education Association.

Employees International Union, have also been on strike since February 1.

Both teachers and custodians are defying a court injunction ordering them back to work.

The strike has grown more and more bitter as it becomes clear that the board is out to break the union.

An example of the school board's attitude was provided February 10 when the Rev. Howard Stanton, a school board member, drove his car onto the sidewalk and into a picket line. Two injured teachers had to be taken to a hospital.

Teachers unions in Wisconsin have been working in a hostile atmosphere ever since the crushing of a teachers' strike in Hortonville in 1974. The Hortonville school board got away with firing all the striking teachers and replacing them with scabs.

The Racine school board evidently hopes to follow a similar course.

Events are following this pattern in Milwaukee as well. Teachers here have been working without a contract since

January 14. Articles have appeared in various school journals explaining the methods used in breaking the Hortonville strike.

To respond to this crisis, teachers unions in Wisconsin—including the Wisconsin Education Association and the independent Milwaukee Teachers Education Association—need to go beyond the routine methods of day-to-day union work.

The courts have shown their antilabor bias in Racine, where they swiftly brought an injunction against the teachers while stalling for six months on a suit by teachers charging the board with unfair labor practices.

Nor can teachers rely on the fair-weather-friend politicians of the Democratic and Republican parties. The same Reverend Stanton who ran his car into picketing teachers was pre-

viously considered one of the "moderates" on the Racine school board.

In Milwaukee, the same school board members who are supposedly pro-teacher have shown their true colors in their hardened opposition to school desegregation.

Teachers can only rely on ourselves and on other working people who share our interests.

What is called for now is the mobilization of teacher unions throughout the state to demonstrate solidarity with Racine teachers. Big public actions such as rallies, marches, and demonstrations are needed to show that teachers will stand together.

This is necessary not only as an act of elementary labor solidarity but also as an act of self-interest. If the Racine teachers union is broken, no teachers union in the state is safe.

Steel Fight Back opens up new view in UFT

By Ed Berger

NEW YORK—It was a happy Velma Hill who told me that Ed Sadlowski had lost to Lloyd McBride in the election for president of the United Steelworkers. Velma Hill is head of the United Federation of Teachers Paraprofessionals and right-hand person to UFT President Albert Shanker.

I was selling *Militants* at the UFT Chapter Chairpersons meeting February 9, the day after the steelworkers election.

AS I SEE IT

Later Sandra Feldman, number two behind Shanker, said the same thing to me. They obviously had advance notice of the election results, which hadn't been made public yet.

This crowing over the election outcome by two UFT bureaucrats belies a number of problems for the UFT leadership. It would have been better for

Ed Berger is a teacher at Grady High School in Brooklyn and a member of the United Federation of Teachers.

them if the election had been settled many months earlier—before a growing number of teachers began to realize that Shanker's policies could not protect them from massive layoffs and attacks on school conditions.

Since the beginning of the Sadlowski campaign I had been trying to sell the pamphlet *The Fight for Union Democracy in Steel* at UFT meetings. But most teachers had never heard of Sadlowski or of Steelworkers Fight Back. Sales were not good.

Then on December 26 Shanker, in his union-paid column in the *New York Times*, attacked the Sadlowski campaign as a "danger to union democracy." Suddenly teachers wanted to know who Sadlowski was and what he really stood for.

At the January Chapter Chairpersons meeting I sold all the steel pamphlets I had in ten minutes.

I got the same results at the February meetings. A leaflet was also distributed reprinting a *Militant* article that answered Shanker's slanders and contrasted the programs of Shanker and Sadlowski.

At the next Delegate Assembly I again sold out all the steel pamphlets I had. Then I sold the *Militant*, specifically on the issues in steel.

The role of the Shanker leadership is more and more being called into question by disgruntled

teachers here. They are desperately looking for answers to the attacks on education. The Steelworkers Fight Back campaign opens up a whole new view for them.

Sadlowski says the union movement has to become a social cause again. That it should have fought against the war in Vietnam. That it should stand up for the interests of the most oppressed workers—Blacks, Latinos, and women.

Ideas like this frighten Shanker. He doesn't want teachers to hear and consider what Sadlowski is saying. That's why he resorts to absurd slanders instead of honest debate. He's afraid teachers will conclude that our union must reach out and convince the Black and Latino communities that teachers care about the education of their children. That we should support their right to community control of schools and the right to bilingual-bicultural education.

Shanker and his hangers-on can boast about McBride's victory in a rigged election. But they can't wish Steelworkers Fight Back out of existence. A movement has begun that will grow and spread as the workers fight to take back our unions from bureaucrats like McBride and Shanker. Take back our unions and transform them into organizations that exercise real power in the interests of working people.

Shanker is right to fear such a movement.

N.Y. protest defends Soviet dissidents

By Kendall Green

NEW YORK—On February 25, three prominent defenders of democratic rights tried to deliver a letter of protest (see box) to the Soviet Union's United Nations Mission in New York City. The three were poet Allen Ginsberg, Iranian writer and former political prisoner Reza Baraheni, and Boris Shragin, an exiled Soviet dissident now teaching at Queens College in New York.

Although the three were blocked by police from delivering their protest, their efforts were reported in the news media.

The letter was signed by Ginsberg, Baraheni, and Martin Sostre. Sostre is a well-known Black frame-up victim whose successful fight for freedom won international support.

The letter protests the recent arrests in the Soviet Union of four human rights activists.

Aleksandr Ginzburg, a writer, was a founding member of a Moscow group that monitors the compliance of the

USSR with the human rights provisions of the Helsinki accords. He was arrested February 3.

Yuri Orlov was arrested February 10 after protesting Ginzburg's arrest. He is also active in the Moscow monitoring group.

Mikola Rudenko and Oleksy Tikhi are activists in the Ukrainian Citizens' Group to Monitor the Helsinki Accords. Both were arrested February 5.

Two other Soviet dissidents are mentioned in the letter. Sergei Kovaliev, a biologist, participated in the Initiative Group in Defense of Human Rights in the USSR. For this and other similar "crimes," he was sentenced to seven years in a strict-regime labor camp and three years in internal exile in October 1975.

Mustafa Dzhemilev was sentenced last April to his fourth prison term—two-and-one-half years in a strict-regime forced-labor camp—for his active role in the fight against the national oppression of the Crimean Tatars in the USSR.



Former Iranian political prisoner Reza Baraheni (left) with poet Allen Ginsberg at protest on behalf of Soviet dissidents.

Letter to Soviet UN mission

Mr. Oleg Troyanovsky
Permanent Representative of the
USSR to the United Nations
Soviet Mission
New York

Dear Mr. Troyanovsky:

We understand that the primary goal of socialist society was to provide its people with a far more advanced level of democracy than exists in the capitalist state. Yet the recent arrests of Aleksandr Ginzburg, Yuri Orlov, Mikola Rudenko, and Oleksy Tikhi—four members of the Groups organized to monitor the Soviet government's compliance with the humanitarian principles specifically referred to in the Helsinki Agreements—dramatizes the police repression your government enforces. The Groups have openly stated their purpose, and their activities are not criminal by any standard. In fact, the rights the Group members are defending are rights which are prerequisites for a socialist society.

We denounce your government's continuing political repression. Your repression of dissident intellectuals and workers fuels the anticommunist propaganda of the United States State Department. Recently, Washington has issued pious statements of concern over repression of human rights in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. But we hear hypocrisy in these statements since Washington itself supports the sav-

age police state regimes in Iran, South Korea, Indonesia, South Africa, Chile and elsewhere and actually bears responsibility for these regimes' murderous, antidemocratic practices. The United States government's police forces spy on, harass, frame-up, and even assassinate those who protest against its systematic racist and class oppression within the United States and abroad. But your government's repression has allowed Washington to try to divert public attention from its own crimes by denouncing your government's crimes.

We strongly decry the United States government-sponsored police repression throughout the world against those who fight for human dignity and democratic rights, and we defend its victims. At the same time, however, we equally decry your government's persecution of the members of the Helsinki monitoring Groups and of all those who fight in the Soviet Union for their human and democratic rights.

We demand the immediate release of Ginzburg, Orlov, Rudenko, and Tikhi, and of those they have defended, like Sergei Kovalev and Mustafa Dzhemilev. We call for the immediate release of all Soviet political prisoners as we call for the release of all political prisoners around the world.

Allen Ginsberg
Reza Baraheni
Martin Sostre

Carter feels heat on U.S. travel barriers

The following is from the News Analysis section of Intercontinental Press.

In his press conference February 23, President Carter indicated that his government is considering elimination of the provision in the 1952 McCarran-Walter Immigration Act barring "anarchists and Communists" from the U.S. He said:

"We have, I think, a responsibility and a legal right to express our disapproval of violations of human rights. The Helsinki Agreement, so-called Basket Three Provision, insures that some of these human rights shall be preserved. We are a signatory of the Helsinki agreement. We are ourselves culpable in some ways for not giving people adequate rights to move around our country or restricting unnecessarily, in my opinion, visitation to this country by those who disagree with us politically."

The *New York Times* immediately backed Carter's move.

In an editorial February 24, the *Times* pointed out that the McCarran-Walter bill is a feature of witch-hunt legislation now so hopelessly discredited that most of it has been abandoned: "Yet the McCarthy Era still lives, ticking away in our laws, creating embarrassment and harm to the na-



MANDEL

tional interest."

The editors mentioned two recent applications of the restrictive law. One was barring the prominent Belgian economist Ernest Mandel, who is also a leading Trotskyist. The other was banning Italian Communist party foreign affairs spokesman Sergio Segre. It pointed out that both had been invited to attend scholarly conferences.

The *Times* editors neglected to mention the case of Hugo Blanco, the Peruvian peasant leader and Trotskyist. In September 1975 Blanco was denied entry into the United States under provisions of the McCarran-Walter Act. Blanco—whose book *Land or Death, The Peasant Struggle in Peru* has been widely acclaimed—had been invited to address numerous university audiences.

Washington's obvious embarrassment over its restrictions on the right to travel comes mainly as a result of greatly increased pressure from international public opinion on human-rights questions.

The fact that the protests of human-rights advocates in Stalinized countries have been taken up by major sections of the world workers movement that previously defended Stalinist repression has helped considerably to step up such pressure. As a result, it has become more difficult for the American government to justify laws denying human rights to sections of the workers movement itself.



BLANCO

...CIA

Continued from back page

payments were not personal bribes, but rather were in return for intelligence information. But if this were true, then why weren't the payments made as part of regular American foreign aid programs? Such programs, it is well known, are frequently undertaken with the understanding that Washington will get something in return.

Two possibilities suggest themselves. Either the CIA is lying—something that has been known to happen in the past—and the payoffs were simply personal bribes.

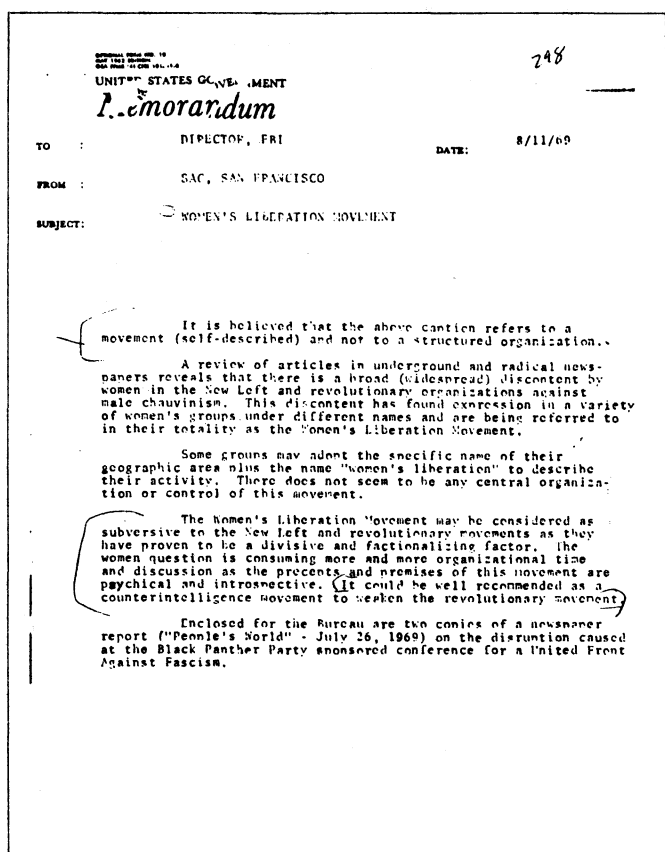
Or else the secret payments were intended to reimburse friendly governments for specific projects undertaken on behalf of the CIA. If this is the case, then whatever was done with the money was so reprehensible that Washington felt it necessary to have no official record of payment at all. Similar cash-on-hand arrangements are familiar to most Americans through movies about the Mafia.

Finally, it should be noted that in

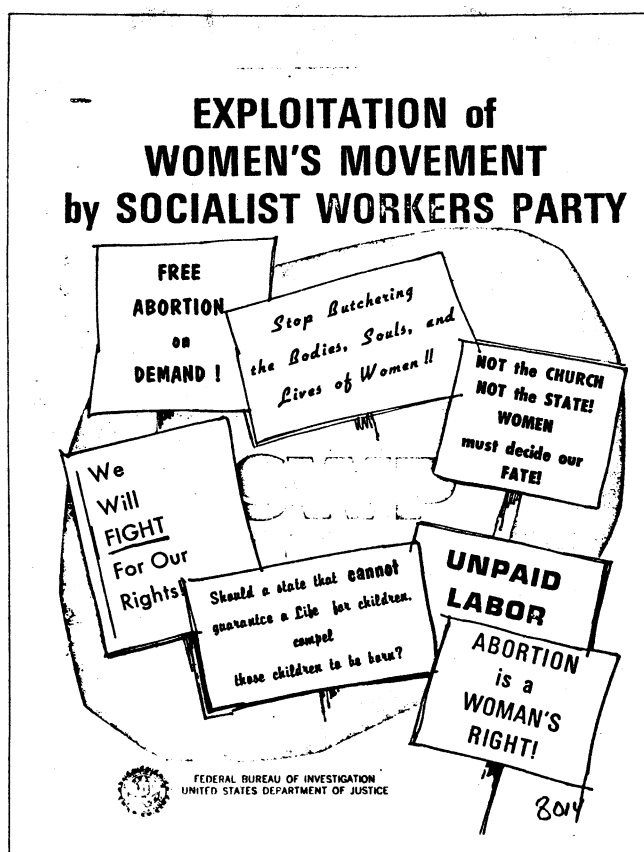
defending secret intelligence activity "to guarantee the security of our country," Carter has returned to exactly the same position as his predecessors, including Richard Nixon. In fact, the White House "plumbers" squad of Watergate fame originated as part of Nixon's attempt to stop what he called "national security leaks."

In this regard, a report by Spencer Rich in the February 26 *Washington Post* takes on special interest. Referring to a White House breakfast February 22, Rich said, "Sen. Daniel K. Inouye (D-Hawaii), according to at least five persons who were present, appeared to hint to President Carter and the House-Senate leaders that members of the [Senate] Intelligence Committee had been placed under surveillance, but he did not say who ordered it or who was conducting it."

"One member who was present said Inouye's remarks implied that the purpose of the surveillance was to determine whether committee members were the source of leaks to the press on Central Intelligence Agency payments to foreign rulers."



San Francisco FBI portrayed entire women's movement as a government plot.



FBI pamphlet targeted both SWP and women's movement.

WOMEN VS. FBI

Feminists can defeat gov't attempts to divide movement

By Diane Wang

Thirteen hundred seventy-seven pages stack up to six and a half inches. In the case of these papers, though, they also stack up to four years of FBI operations against the women's movement.

The government released the 1,377 pages of FBI records last month to the *Los Angeles Times* under the Freedom of Information Act.

In our February 25 issue, the *Militant*, like several other papers, reproduced and quoted excerpts from the files. We saw the exposure of the files as an opportunity to strengthen the women's liberation movement. And we urged everyone to join in demanding an end to such FBI police-state tactics.

The Boston *Phoenix* took a different view. In the paper's February 15 issue, Howard Husock and Dianne Dumanoski use the files of the Boston FBI to attack those feminists they don't agree with—in particular, women in the Socialist Workers party.

The *Phoenix* says, for example, "FBI files indicate that the following year—1971—the group called Female Liberation was targeted for penetration by SWP members who eventually caused a split in the feminist group when members became turned off by SWP's dogmatic politics."

According to the *Phoenix*, Boston feminist Betsy Warrior "shared with many others general doubts about the Socialist Worker's Party and its motives."

Jane Pollock, a Brandeis professor who is a national board member of the National Organization for Women, is quoted: "The Socialist Worker's Party was so effective at disrupting women's political activity. They were widely suspected."

Suspected by who? Why? What did SWP women do that was so "effective at disrupting"? The *Phoenix* articles do not even explain their charges, much less back them up.

Bureau version

The *Phoenix* also quotes Pollock's correct charge that the FBI files are full of "unfiltered information from people with an axe to grind. There was no check on the veracity or importance."

But this snares Pollock in a contra-

diction. She admits that the FBI lies about some feminists, but assumes these same G-men are accurate about socialist women. As if the FBI has no "axe to grind" against the SWP!

It seems Pollock and the *Phoenix's* writers have closed their eyes to what the SWP lawsuit against government police agencies has uncovered.

The SWP has documented that the government has carried out a decades-long vendetta against the socialists with burglaries, poison-pen letters, intimidating phone calls, visits to landlords and bosses, and planted news stories.

Despite all this evidence, Pollock and the *Phoenix's* writers take the FBI's word as good coin.

But if you are going to adopt the FBI's version of what was happening in the women's movement, why rely on just the Boston bureau? Why not swallow the evaluation of some other FBI office—say, the San Francisco bureau?

The San Francisco agents suggested that the entire women's movement could be a useful disruptive tool:

"The Women's Liberation Movement may be considered as subversive to the New Left and revolutionary movements as they have proven to be a divisive and factionalizing factor."

FBI reports described women organizing separate anti-Vietnam War contingents and feminists criticizing some Black leaders who did not support women's rights. Was the entire women's movement just a Cointelpro ("Counterintelligence Program") plot?

Of course not. But once you start taking the FBI's version and analysis as fact, you can end up with absurd conclusions.

Who defines who's 'real'?

In the course of fighting for women's rights there will be discussion and disagreements about how to win those rights. These discussions are not "disruption"—they are part of the process of arriving at the most effective strategy to move the struggle forward.

But the *Phoenix's* writers go so far as to claim that in one debate one side was held by real feminists and the other by FBI-manipulated women. "Thus FBI files appear to indicate that conflict was created between two

feminist groups," says the article, "one of which may have had infiltrators working with it."

But who in the women's movement has the right to define who is a "real" feminist and who is a "manipulated" woman? Using these dog-eat-dog tactics, anyone could make such charges against other women.

In 1975, for example, one New York feminist group, Redstockings, accused Gloria Steinem of being associated with the CIA.

Steinem answered that years ago she had worked on two international student conferences that were partially funded by foundations that received CIA money. "I naively believed then that the ultimate money source didn't matter," Steinem wrote.

"It's painfully clear with hindsight," Steinem admitted, "that even indirect, control-free funding was a mistake if it couldn't be publicized, but I didn't realize that then."

In the midst of its indictment against Steinem, Redstockings revealed the real reasons for its charges. In its view, "a look below the surface shows that Ms. is putting forth an antiwoman ideology."

The SWP also disagrees with Steinem on some important questions. But we choose to discuss ideas, not smear their author. The *Militant* has debated Ms. articles that urged women to rely on Democrats, for example.

It is unfortunate that instead of debating their differences, Redstockings resorted to the CIA charge.

A witch-hunt for agents has the same poisonous impact on the movement as a "red scare" against socialists. It all comes down to refusing to discuss ideas and substituting name-calling for debate.

The FBI files contain many references to the SWP and Young Socialist Alliance, because socialists actively built the women's liberation movement. And in the course of that work, socialists faced "manipulation" charges similar to those in the *Phoenix*.

In 1971, for example, a report compiled by NOW leader Lucy Komisar titled a "Confidential Report to the N.O.W. Governing Board on the Activities of the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance" was

circulated in the women's movement.

Komisar charged that SWP women were "using the feminist movement as a means of recruiting women to their beliefs."

It is true that SWP members made no secret of our socialist ideas. We wanted to talk about those ideas

But that does not mean, as Komisar claimed, that socialists were "using the feminist movement to promote their own goals and interests rather than dedicating themselves to the growth and success of the feminist movement itself."

To the contrary, the SWP works to build a strong feminist movement. We are confident that women winning victories will build the feminist struggle and inspire other oppressed people and working people to fight for their human rights too.

The real basis of Komisar's attack was a disagreement over *how* the women's movement can win those victories. "Linda Jenness [the SWP's 1972 presidential candidate] urges women to reject the goals of the Women's Political Caucus and instead support the parties of poor blacks, chicanos and workers. The notion of the solidarity of *all* women is alien to the Trotskyist view; [they think] we should submerge ourselves in groups whose chief aims are *not* feminist ones," Komisar wrote.

The SWP disagreed with Komisar that women should submerge themselves in the big-business-dominated Democratic party, because *its* chief aims "are *not* feminist ones." We said our allies would be found among women and men in the Black and Chicano communities and in the working class as a whole.

Komisar also stated, "Lobbying may be the most effective way of getting a law passed . . . However, [the SWP and YSA women] push for mass rallies and demonstrations. . . ."

The purpose of attacks like Komisar's was to avoid discussing these opposing strategies for the women's movement. The effect was to divide and weaken the entire movement.

Feds followed

The FBI put together many charges similar to Komisar's in a vicious pamphlet called "Exploitation of Women's Movement by Socialist Workers Party." This McCarthy-style propaganda piece was used to witch-hunt not just the SWP, but the whole women's movement.

The newly released records also show that the FBI eagerly watched for such divisions in the movement, looking for ways to keep alive the myth that "women just can't work together."

They noted—that the huge August 26, 1970, demonstration in New York City was attracting and uniting women of many different views:

"Although there were conflicts between NOW-oriented and left women regarding politics, all present agreed to continue with the three basic demands of the August 26th Action," lamented the FBI reporter. The three demands were for abortion rights, child care, and equal opportunities for women.

The G-men were also unhappy to report that when Komisar launched an attack against SWP and YSA women at the 1971 NOW convention, Betty Friedan opposed the move.

The FBI files report that Friedan "denounced the red-baiting as a 'MC CARTHYITE tactic.'"

Reaching out to involve women of all kinds in campaigns to win our rights is the best way to answer the FBI's police-state tactics.

Sisterhood is powerful because women face a common oppression. Women from all kinds of backgrounds and with different experiences. Women who have all sorts of ideas about how we can win liberation.

These ideas should be discussed democratically without slanders and false charges. Such discussion will help build, not disrupt, our movement.

And what happens in practice will finally prove which ideas work.

Wash. ERA foes push to reverse ratification

By Jeannie Reynolds

SEATTLE—Enemies of women's rights are trying to rescind Washington's ratification of the federal Equal Right Amendment.

On February 15 they filed papers with the secretary of state to place a voter initiative on the November ballot. It would instruct the legislature to reverse its ratification of the ERA and to urge all other states to either reject the ERA or rescind their ratification.

The state attorney general is now

weighing the legality of the measure. There is doubt that such an initiative can be legally binding on the state legislature, which much act on ratification of the federal ERA.

If the attorney general okays the initiative, anti-ERA forces will launch a 128,000-signature petitioning drive to put the question on the ballot.

The day after the Committee to Rescind the ERA made its move, ERA supporters responded. At a news conference in Olympia, the state capital, Ceceilia Dominique, speaking for the Washington ERA Coalition, called on women's rights advocates to show their support for the ERA at a march and rally in Seattle, March 5.

Activists in Washington see the rescision drive as part of a nationally coordinated campaign by right-wing forces who have targeted Northwest states. They succeeded in overturning Idaho's ratification on February 8. Rescission attempts recently failed in Oregon, Montana, and Wyoming.

An editorial in the *Tacoma News Tribune* gave the anti-ERA campaign a boost. Both the editorial and the Committee to Rescind the ERA object to the ERA on grounds that it will lead to tangled litigation.

It is true that women's rights supporters will use the ERA to challenge in court discriminatory laws and practices. But, when ERA's opponents claim that this would be a complicated way to change discriminatory laws, they are trying to create a smoke screen to veil their right-wing opposition to women's rights.

Phyllis Schlafly, the mentor of the national anti-ERA movement, claims that women already "have the most rights and rewards, and the fewest duties."

Her nationally circulated newsletter reads like a digest of right-wing causes. In it she rants against women's right to abortion, child care, busing, affirmative-action programs, unionized workers, and the "communist conspiracy."

Schlafly plans to help kick off the rescision drive here with an appearance at Eastern Washington State College.

If the state attorney general says the voter initiative is legal, Washington ERA supporters will face a big challenge. They see it as a crucial test of strength with national repercussions.

A big vote for the rescision measure would strengthen the drive to stop ratification in other states and embolden other rescision attempts. But, a clear majority vote against it would help demoralize the enemies of women's rights and inspire the ERA movement everywhere.

Will rescision count?

Thirty-eight state legislatures must ratify the ERA by March 1979 for it to become law. So far, thirty-five have done so. However, three of these states—Idaho, Nebraska, and Tennessee—have voted to reverse their earlier approvals. This is called rescision.

Do these rescision votes erase the earlier ratification votes? Ruth Bader Ginsburg, a Columbia University professor and legal authority on the ERA, told the *Militant* that every precedent says no.

- Fourteenth Amendment (equal protection under the law for Blacks): New Jersey and Ohio voted first in favor then against ratification. But when it came time to tally the results, Congress counted both states as ratified.

- Fifteenth Amendment (Black male suffrage): New York voted to rescind its ratification. As it turned out, the amendment would have passed even without New York's vote. Even so, Congress listed New York among states in the ratified column.

- Nineteenth Amendment (women's suffrage): Again Congress rejected a rescision attempt, this time by Tennessee.

These precedents will work in favor of the ERA. However, Congress won't base its view of rescision on historical precedents alone—but chiefly on the relationship of the pro- and anti-ERA forces.

Remember, ratification of the Fourteenth, Fifteenth, and Nineteenth amendments were accomplished by powerful forces: A rebelling Black population and victorious Northern army in the first two cases. And a massive women's suffrage movement in the other.

High school women's victory against censors

WASHINGTON—Regulations at Hayfield High School in suburban Fairfax County, Virginia, prohibit the teaching of contraception. When Laura Boyd wrote an article on contraception, and Gina Gambino, the editor of the school newspaper, decided to print it, the two seventeen-year-old women found their article censored by the school principal.

But on February 24 Judge Albert Bryan overruled the principal and the Fairfax County School Board. The school board had claimed that the student newspaper is a school activity "subject to the same administrative controls as other educational programs."

Judge Bryan disagreed. The newspaper, he said, "was conceived, established, and operated as a conduit for student expression on a wide variety of

topics. It falls clearly within the parameters of the First Amendment."

He also answered school board charges that if students could write what they want in the paper they would become "irresponsible" and "chaos" would result. Bryan noted that "no evidence of it [irresponsibility] has surfaced in the past or in the article here in question, nor has there been any demonstrated likelihood of it in the future."

Boyd and Gambino were represented by attorney Chris Fager of the Student Press Law Center. The center hailed the decision as "a warning to high school administrations in Virginia and elsewhere." It added that Judge Bryan's ruling means that high school newspapers are "not editorial puppets of school officials."

Women's Day protests

By Gale Shangold

- On March 1 the North Carolina Senate rejected the ERA.

- On February 17 the New Jersey State Assembly voted to call for a national constitutional convention to add an anti-abortion amendment to the U.S. Constitution.

- On February 8 the Idaho Senate joined the house in voting to rescind the Equal Rights Amendment.

- On January 25 the Massachusetts Supreme Judicial Court voted that unmarried women under eighteen must get the consent of their parents before having an abortion.

And 1977 has hardly begun!

But on March 8—International Women's Day—this chain of attacks will be answered in many cities across the country. Plans are under way for rallies, marches, and picket lines to defend women's rights.

Among those making plans for these activities are women in Utah.

On February 25 the Utah House of Representatives joined the New Jersey legislature in calling for a convention to draft an anti-abortion amendment to the U.S. Constitution.

Not stopping there, the Utah legislature voted out of committee a state version of the federal Hyde amendment, which would outlaw Medicaid-funded abortions if upheld.

In response, the new chapter of the National Organization for Women has called for a March 8, noon rally in front of the state capitol.

Across the country, diverse organizations have come together to sponsor International Women's Day actions. These include local units of NOW; National Alliance of Black Feminists; Urban League; American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees; Coalition of Labor Union Women; Concilio Mujeres; and Socialist Workers party.

Among the cities where actions are planned are:

Washington, D.C.: Picket line to protest the Hyde amendment. Tuesday,

March 8, noon to 6:00 p.m. Health, Education and Welfare headquarters, 200 Independence Avenue SW.

Tacoma, Washington: International Women's Day—A Day for All Women. Tuesday, March 8, 7:30 p.m. McIntire Hall, Room 216, University of Puget Sound.

Oakland/Berkeley: Celebration of International Women's Day. Wednesday, March 9, 7:30 to 10:30 p.m. Sailboat House at Lake Merritt, 568 Bellevue Avenue, Oakland.

New York City: March and rally to stop attacks on women's rights. Saturday, March 12. Assemble at noon, Herald Square, Thirty-fourth Street and Broadway, Manhattan; rally 2:00 p.m. at Union Square, Seventeenth Street and Park Avenue South.

Toledo: Picket line, march, and rally to defend a woman's right to abortion. Saturday, March 12. Assemble at noon, Hill Crest Hotel, headquarters for the National Foundation for Life; march to the federal building at Madison and Summit Streets for a rally.

Chicago: Afternoon for the ERA. Saturday, March 12, 1:00 p.m. Loop YWCA, 37 South Wabash.

Pittsburgh: Women's Unity Festival. Saturday, March 12, noon to 5:00 p.m. University and City Ministries, corner of Fifth and Bellefield in Oakland.

San Diego: International Women's Day Speak-out for Our Rights. Saturday, March 12, 1:00 to 4:00 p.m. Balboa Park.

Philadelphia: "Look What They Have Done Lately." Saturday, March 12, 12:30 to 3:00 p.m. Strawbridge and Clothier, Eighth Floor Auditorium.

San Francisco: The Second Annual Day in the Park for Women's Rights. Sunday, March 13, 1:00 to 4:00 p.m. Marx Meadows in Golden Gate Park.

San Jose: Picket line to protest bills introduced to restrict abortion rights. Tuesday, March 15, 4:30 p.m. 1595 East Santa Clara Street (Alister McAlister's office).

Books From Pathfinder Press

Women's Liberation

WHY WOMEN NEED THE EQUAL RIGHTS AMENDMENT

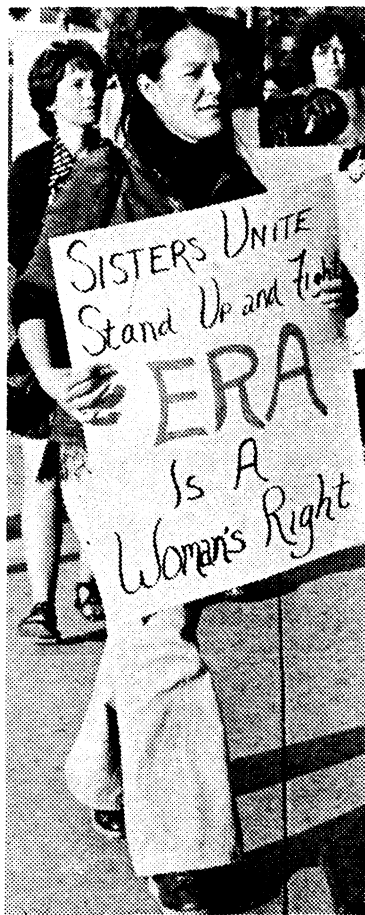
by Dianne Feeley. New edition, 24 pp., 35 cents

FEMINISM AND SOCIALISM

Edited by Linda Jenness. 160 pp., paper \$1.95

WOMAN'S EVOLUTION: From Matriarchal Clan to Patriarchal Family

by Evelyn Reed. 491 pp., cloth \$15, paper \$4.95



BLACK WOMEN'S STRUGGLE FOR EQUALITY

by Willie Mae Reid, others. 16 pp., 25 cents

ABORTION RIGHTS IN DANGER!

by Nancy Brown, others. 24 pp., 35 cents

AFFIRMATIVE ACTION VS. SENIORITY

Last Hired, First Fired
by Herbert Hill, Willie Mae Reid, others. 32 pp., 50 cents

CHICANAS SPEAK OUT—Women: New Voice of La Raza
by Mirta Vidal. 16 pp., 35 cents

WOMEN & THE SOCIALIST REVOLUTION
by Mary-Alice Waters. 30 pp., 50 cents

WOMEN IN CHINA
by Katie Curtin.

95 pp., cloth \$6, paper \$1.45

Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014. Write for a free catalog.

By Olga Rodríguez

Chicanas are among the hardest hit by the current high-speed drive against women's rights.

Especially ominous is the Hyde amendment—Congress's attempt to block Medicaid-funded abortions. The cutoff measure is now frozen by an emergency court injunction. But the Supreme Court will ultimately decide whether the federal government can legislate away the right of poor women to safe and legal abortions.

Both President Carter and Joseph Califano, his new secretary of health, education, and welfare, have made it clear that they back the amendment or similar legislation.

This threatens the rights of up to 300,000 women on Medicaid, at least half of them Chicana, Puerto Rican, or Black.

It is a retreat from the 1973 Supreme Court victory that legalized abortion. That ruling meant for the first time that Chicanas and other nationally oppressed women could have some measure of control over our reproductive lives.

Prior to 1973 we were the prime victims of butcher abortionists, because we could not muster the \$1,000-plus needed to get safe abortions.

Officials estimate that as many as 900,000 women were driven each year to back-alley abortionists before the high court ruling.

Hundreds died—as many as 300 each year in the 1960s—from botched abortions. Countless others are doomed to live with the crippling effects of quack and kitchen-table operations. Many of those who died or were maimed were Chicanas.

Triple whammy

The attacks on abortion, as with the countless other assaults on our rights, have the greatest impact on Chicanas and other women of oppressed national minorities.

Chicanas get the triple whammy—that is, we are oppressed because of our sex and because of our nationality, and we are exploited as part of the working class.

This means that we are among the most impoverished and least educated sections of the American working class.

In 1973 the median income of Chicanas was only \$2,270—well below the poverty level. That same year 58.5 percent of families headed by Chicanas had incomes below the officially established poverty level. Today's sagging economy has resulted in even lower incomes and a staggering unemployment rate.

In March 1974, for example, joblessness among Chicana workers stood officially at 9.7 percent. The real figure is undoubtedly much higher.

As indicated even by these figures, it is virtually impossible for Chicanas to obtain safe and legal abortions without Medicaid funding. What the rulers of this country intend with the Hyde amendment is nothing less than a return to the days of forced motherhood, unwanted children, and coat-hanger abortions.

Forced sterilization

There is another aspect of the threat the Hyde amendment holds for us. Cutoff of Medicaid funds would only exacerbate the plight of Chicana, Black, Puerto Rican, and Native American sisters held hostage to demands of racist doctors and hospitals to "consent" to sterilizations.

Spurred on by "unofficial" policies of selective population control, doctors would be given a freer hand to put their "personal philosophies" into action.

For some racist physicians, the solution to the poverty of Chicanos and other oppressed minorities is to deny us the right to have a child. Many of them argue that Chicanas and other poor women forfeit this right by virtue of our "ignorance" and poverty.

It's the time-worn racist argument that the depressed social, economic, and political status of oppressed minorities stems from too many babies. This philosophy, of course, conveniently ignores the capitalist system that profits from our oppression.

One of the most tragic examples of these racist population control theories is the massive sterilization of women in Puerto Rico. Since 1950 the colonial administration, under the tutelage of its U.S. masters, has pushed sterilization as the chief means of birth control.

The results are that fully 35 percent of all women of childbearing age in Puerto Rico have been sterilized.

An article on sterilization in the September 7, 1974, Mexican daily *Excelsior* offered a clue as to why programs like that in Puerto Rico are being established throughout Latin America.

The story quotes J.M. Stycos's *Ideology, Faith, and Family Planning*. Stycos is a U.S. economist

CHICANAS

Attacks on abortion rights, increased sterilization abuse demand united response



Militant/Lora Eckert

and a proponent of mass sterilization programs. He writes:

"The proletarian masses are the most susceptible to communist propaganda, and if we do not do something to avoid their growth, we will find ourselves in a situation like that of Cuba."

It is these same racist, anti-working-class fears that guide the policies of many doctors and government institutions that provide medical care to Chicana and other nationally oppressed women.

Black, Chicano, and Puerto Rican women have been in the forefront of the fight against sterilization abuse. In 1973, for example, several young Black women in Montgomery, Alabama, and South Carolina brought suit against welfare authorities and racist doctors in those states. They charged they had been sterilized without their consent—and in some cases without their knowledge.

These cases brought similar instances to light involving Chicana and Puerto Rican women in the Southwest and the Northeast. These women's stories showed forced sterilization to be the *norm* for Chicanas and other nationally oppressed women who rely on Medicaid-funded hospitals.

More than any other issue that has emerged in the fight for women's rights, forced sterilization has galvanized Chicanas into action against our oppression as women.

Chicanas fight back

In 1974, Dr. Bernard Rosenfeld, then a resident physician in the obstetrics and gynecology unit of the Los Angeles County-University of Southern California Medical Center, publicly released findings of his investigation into sterilization practices.

The Rosenfeld exposé of forced sterilization and sterilizations without informed consent of Chicanas at the hospital—which serves the huge Chicano community in East Los Angeles—spurred picket lines and rallies by Chicana activists and their allies in Los Angeles and other California cities.

In addition to these actions demanding an end to such practices, several lawsuits were filed on behalf of Chicanas who had been sterilized.

The first involved a \$6 million suit by three Los Angeles Chicanas who were sterilized without their consent or knowledge.

Another action was brought by the Comisión Femenil Mexicana Nacional, a Chicana feminist group in Los Angeles. It was a class-action suit on behalf of eleven Chicanas sterilized at the L.A. County Hospital.

Many of these women only learned of their

sterilizations during the course of interviews with Antonia Hernández, a Chicana attorney now representing the Chicana plaintiffs.

The legal action seeks damages for the *hermanas*, as well as a court order establishing federal guidelines to try to prevent such practices in the future. For example, many of those sterilized did not read or speak English and could not possibly understand the consent forms they were pressured to sign. Others were led to believe the effect of the procedure was temporary.

The National Coalition Against Sterilization Abuse is one group in Los Angeles helping to build support for the Chicanas' suits and to organize activities against sterilization abuse.

Rosenfeld 'rewarded'

For his efforts to expose sterilization abuse in California, Dr. Rosenfeld was recently "rewarded" with attempts by medical officials to revoke his license to practice medicine in the state.

California officials contend that Rosenfeld is guilty of "moral turpitude" because he "violated" patient-doctor relations. His "violation"? Rosenfeld referred to the medical files of patients who had been sterilized in order to establish who was sterilized without knowledge or informed consent!

Meanwhile, the racist doctors—the ones guilty of the real crime of forced sterilization—continue to practice "medicine."

United fight

Chicanas must join with their Black, Puerto Rican, and Indian sisters in leading the women's movement in a resolute fight against government and right-wing attacks on the right to control our own bodies.

Just as Chicanas were among the first to raise sterilization abuse in the feminist movement, so must we now sound the alarm for the women's movement to unite in a fight against the Hyde amendment, pregnancy benefit cutoffs, and other attacks on women.

What is needed is an educational campaign that can alert women to the racist nature of this offensive and that can draw in the broadest numbers of Chicanas and our allies in defense of the right to determine our reproductive lives. Through such united efforts, we can begin to reverse the tide.

Chicanas have a special role to play in leading this fight, because we have the most to lose and the most to gain by the outcome of such a battle.

Filipino nurses face fabricated murder rap

By Debbie Benjamin

ANN ARBOR, Mich.—Filipina Narciso and Leonie Perez, two Filipino nurses working at the Veterans Administration hospital here, will go on trial March 1 on trumped-up charges of murdering patients by injecting them with a paralyzing drug.

In August 1975 several nurses, including Narciso and Perez, told the hospital administration that an unusually high number of patients were suffering respiratory arrests.

The FBI launched an investigation. Narciso and Perez cooperated fully with the inquiry, believing that hospital policy required them to submit to interrogation and knowing they had nothing to hide.

But while pretending to be sifting through dozens of possible suspects or other plausible explanations, FBI agents were systematically constructing a frame-up of the two. FBI agents began accusing Narciso of murder the very first day of the investigation.

The two nurses were followed everywhere for six weeks and were repeatedly questioned. Hospital administrators and FBI agents constantly urged them to "confess."

During the pretrial hearings in January 1977, the defense showed that FBI agents violated the nurses' constitutional rights and withheld evidence that a judge had ordered them to make available. This led to the removal of the original government attorneys handling the case.

The government also withheld FBI interviews showing that their key eyewitness, Richard Neely, for months could not identify anyone who could have injected him. Neely is one of at least fifty-one patients supposedly injected with a paralyzing drug by the two nurses. The government says thirteen persons died as a result.

It was only in December 1975 that Neely "remembered" that nurse Perez was in his room right before he suffered respiratory arrest. He remembered this after being put in a trance by a \$1,600-a-day hypnotist the government brought all the way from Boston.

Defense lawyers contend that Neely's "recollection" was subtly planted by FBI agents who questioned the man under hypnosis.

Dr. Dennis Walsh, a psychiatrist put on the stand by the defense, explained that Neely is an alcoholic who suffers from extensive memory lapses. The psychiatrist also described Neely's paranoid racism, particularly his belief that there is a national conspiracy of 1,800 Filipino nurses to murder veterans.



FILIPINA NARCISO

The psychiatrist said Neely believes the Philadelphia "legionnaires' disease" that killed twenty-nine people last July was the work of this conspiracy.

In the wake of pretrial hearings, the government dropped three of five murder charges against the nurses and two of ten poisoning charges. In addition, a charge of conspiracy to murder was reduced to a charge of conspiracy to injure patients by poisoning.

A week before the trial was to begin, the government dropped charges that the nurses had poisoned Neely, and announced the man will not be called to testify. Defense attorney Thomas O'Brien said this meant the only evidence left was totally circumstantial—of the dozens of survivors, no others claim to have seen what happened.

Both nurses have excellent reputations as unusually caring and conscientious. Other nurses at the hospital believe the two are innocent, and there is widespread feeling in the community that the two are victims of overzealous FBI agents. As the Ann Arbor *Observer* noted, "To leave the case unsolved would be a humiliation to the beleaguered FBI, another spectacular failure. . . ."

Feminists in Support of Narciso and Perez are doing fund-raising and publicity for the defense. They can be contacted at: 326 Michigan Union, Ann Arbor, Michigan 48109.

St. Paul tenants strike against rent increases

By Ralph Schwartz

ST. PAUL—Provoked by 15 to 30 percent rent increases, many tenants at 1247 St. Anthony, an urban-renewal high-rise here, have been withholding rent since January 1.

The building is a 500-unit government-backed apartment building for low- and middle-income people. The tenants are demanding reversal of the rent increases and better upkeep of the building.

Pam Wieloch, cochairperson of the 1247 Tenants Rights Committee, explains that the building management, Sentinel Corporation, defaulted on its federally guaranteed mortgage a year ago and let upkeep slide.

"The Tenants Rights Committee wants HUD [Department of Housing and Urban Development] to foreclose," she said, "which means that the mortgage would be paid, and then turn

the building over to us to manage."

Pressure from the strike has forced management to rescind many of the rent increases, which were illegal under some leases, and to limit the others to ten dollars a month, compared with the original nineteen- to twenty-eight-dollar increases.

But strikers have refused to accept this as the basis for ending the strike because management says it intends to put through the full increases when leases expire.

Management has been forced to negotiate with the tenants, and dispossess orders, which management had sought in court, have been held off while negotiations are in progress.

The strike movement is growing among the tenants. In January, 80 withheld rent. During February 100 refused to pay.

Calendar

BOSTON

REPRESSION IN PANAMA: BEHIND THE CANAL ZONE DISPUTE. Speakers: Miguel Antonio Bernal, exiled Panamanian dissident; Rafael Rodriguez-Dax, director, Office of Latin American Affairs, Episcopal Diocese. Fri., March 11, 8 p.m. St. Stephen's Church, 413 Shawmut Ave. Ausp: USLA and Office of Latin American Affairs, Episcopal Diocese of Massachusetts. For more information call (617) 262-4620.

DETROIT: WEST SIDE

DECENT HEALTH CARE: A PRIVILEGE OR A RIGHT? Speakers: Ella Bragg, West Side Mothers; Doug Pensack, SWP. Fri., March 11, 8 p.m. 18415 Wyoming. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (313) 341-6436 or 273-4313.

HEMPSTEAD, N.Y.

LABOR SALUTES THE UNITED FARM WORKERS: Irish folk festival benefit for UFW. Master of ceremonies: Jimmy Breslin, author and journalist. Performers: Liam Clancy, Tommy Makem, and the Balladeers. Thurs., March 10, 8 p.m. Hofstra University field house. Admission: students & senior citizens, \$5; general: \$6.50; Friends of the Farm Workers: \$15; patrons: \$25. Checks or money orders should be made out to Labor Salutes the United Farm Workers, and mailed to: UFW, 549 Broadway, Massapequa, New York 11758. For more information call (516) 541-6006 or 242-5205.

KANSAS CITY, MO.

THE FIGHT FOR WOMEN'S RIGHTS: A PANEL DISCUSSION ON STRATEGY. Speakers: Norma Scapellati, Free Choice Coalition; Kathy Shields, NOW; Mimi Pichey, SWP. Fri., March 11, 7:30 p.m. 4715A Troost. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (816) 753-0404.

LOUISVILLE

THE ORIGINS OF WOMEN'S OPPRESSION. Speaker: Debby Tarnopol, SWP. Fri., March 11, 7:30 p.m. 3rd and Chestnut YWCA. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (502) 895-6376.

MIAMI

PERSPECTIVES FOR WOMEN'S LIBERATION. Speaker: Mary Zins, cochairperson, Virginia Commonwealth Univ. ERA Coalition and chairperson, Richmond, Va., YSA. Fri., March 11, 8 p.m. Center for Dialogue, 2175 NW 26th St. (22nd Ave.). Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (305) 271-2241.

NEWARK

SOCIALISM AND WOMEN'S RIGHTS. Speaker: Kipp Dawson, SWP. Thurs., March 10, 8 p.m. Main Lounge, Robeson Student Center, Rutgers Univ., 350 High St. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (201) 482-3367.

NEW YORK: THE BRONX

WHICH WAY FORWARD FOR THE WOMEN'S MOVEMENT? Speakers: Evelyn Casellas, SWP; representative of International Women's Day Coalition; representative of Bronx NOW. Fri., March 11, 7:30 p.m. 2271 Morris Ave. (near 183rd St.). Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Bookstore/Libreria Militante Forum. For more information call (212) 365-6652.

CLASSES ON THE TRANSITIONAL PROGRAM. Wednesdays, 8 p.m. 2271 Morris Ave. (near 183rd

St.). Ausp: SWP. For more information call (212) 365-6652.

NEW YORK: CHELSEA

FEMINISM AND SOCIALISM. Speaker: Dianne Feeley, SWP. Fri., March 11, 7:30 p.m. 200 1/2 W. 24th St. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (212) 989-2731.

NEW YORK: LOWER EAST SIDE

PUERTO RICO: INDEPENDENCE VS. STATEHOOD. Speakers: Andrea Lubrano, YSA National Committee; others. Fri., March 11, 8 p.m. 221 E. 2nd St. (between Ave. B and Ave. C). Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (212) 260-6400.

NEW YORK: QUEENS

ROOTS AND THE SEARCH FOR BLACK HERITAGE. Speaker: Robert Des Verney, SWP candidate for NYC comptroller. Also a tape of Malcolm X speaking on "Message to the Grass Roots." Fri., March 11, 8 p.m. 90-43 149th St., Jamaica (just off Jamaica Ave.). Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (212) 658-7718.

PHILADELPHIA: WEST PHILADELPHIA

NEW ATTACKS ON WOMEN'S RIGHTS. WHAT STRATEGY TO FIGHT BACK? Speakers: Sandra Williams, Penna. Human Relations Commission; Rhonda Rutherford, member SWP and NOW; others. Fri., March 11, 8 p.m. 218 S. 45th St. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (215) EV7-2451.

PITTSBURGH

BUILDING THE WOMEN'S MOVEMENT: THE CURRENT DEBATE OVER STRATEGY. Speaker: Olga Rodriguez, member NOW and SWP National Committee. Fri., March 11, 8 p.m. 5504 Penn Ave. (near Negley). Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (412) 441-1419.

PORTLAND, ORE.

IRELAND: 800 YEARS OF STRUGGLE. Speaker: Patricia Bethard, 1975 SWP candidate for Seattle City Council. Fri., March 11, 8 p.m. 3928 N. Williams. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Bookstore. For more information call (503) 288-7860.

ST. PAUL

FEMINISM AND SOCIALISM. Speaker: Susan Vass, member of SWP and activist in feminist movement. Fri., March 11, 8 p.m. Room 201, Macalester Student Union, Grand and Snelling Avenues. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (612) 222-8929.

SAN FRANCISCO

BLACK WOMEN SPEAK ON BLACK HISTORY. Part 1: Profiles in Black, Brown, and Beige. A slide show by Niema Washington outlining the contributions of Black women to American history. Tues., March 8, 8 p.m. **Part 2: The Hidden History of Racism in San Francisco.** Speaker: Elena Alberts, member of African-American Historical Society. Fri., March 18, 8 p.m. 1441 Ocean Ave. (near Granada), four blocks west of City College. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (415) 333-6261 or 285-4686.

SEATTLE

STOP ATTACKS ON WOMEN'S RIGHTS: A SOCIALIST VIEW. Speaker: Margaret Trowe, Socialist Workers candidate for mayor. Fri., March 11, 8 p.m. Ethnic Cultural Center, 4141 Brooklyn NE. Donation: \$1. Ausp: YSA, Militant Forum, Socialist Workers Campaign. For more information call (206) 522-7800 or 329-7404.

...burglar

Continued from page 3

Syd Stapleton, national secretary of the PRDF, was skeptical that either the Denver police or the Justice Department probes will produce evidence or indictments. "Time and time again, the Justice Department has refused to prosecute FBI and CIA agents involved in burglaries, mail openings, and secret assassination plots," Stapleton said.

Tooley and the Denver grand jury had plenty of evidence last summer implicating the FBI in Redfearn's activities. Redfearn's FBI file included letters to his control agent enclosing material he said was "stolen" from the socialists. Yet the grand jury indicted no government agents.

Last summer Pottinger began a well-publicized investigation into burglaries by FBI agents in the early 1970s. But nearly all forty agents who committed break-ins in New York were given immunity from prosecution.

Last November the *New York Times* reported that "Justice Department lawyers have reportedly concluded that they have evidence to support criminal charges against 10 to 20 past and present [FBI] officials." Yet there have been no indictments.

"In fact," Stapleton said, "the government has simply used Pottinger's

investigation to close off other scrutiny of the crimes. When we tried to get evidence for the SWP lawsuit about the 1970s burglaries, the government claimed the material had to be kept secret for Pottinger's probe.

"Until we get full revelation of FBI records, people will not know the truth about what these political police have done. We have a right to know what is behind Redfearn's charges," Stapleton concluded.

**Abortion:
a woman's
right to
choose.**

ysa

NOW AVAILABLE

ABORTION: A WOMAN'S RIGHT TO CHOOSE Button, 1 3/4 inches diameter, red and black lettering on white background. \$35 each. Order from: Young Socialist Alliance, P.O. Box 471 Cooper Station, New York, New York 10003.

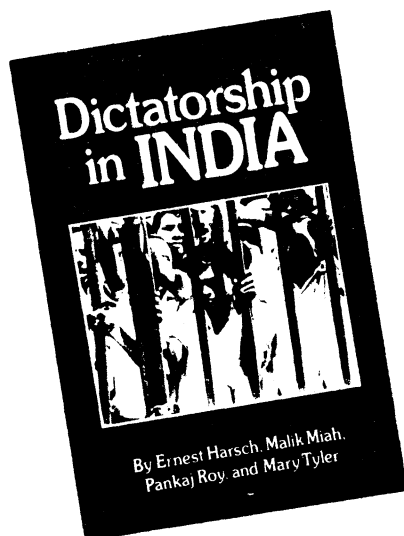
**Secret Documents Exposed
FBI Plot Against the
Black Movement**
by Baxter Smith
with reprinted FBI memos
\$.35
PATHFINDER PRESS
410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014

Chicano Liberation and Socialism

By Miguel Pendás

16 pages 25 cents

Order from Pathfinder Press, 410
West Street, New York, New
York 10014.



On June 26, 1975, Indira Gandhi imposed dictatorial rule on one-seventh of humanity, the Indian people. This pamphlet discusses the significance of Gandhi's coup, the social conflicts that led up to it, and the conditions in India since the declaration of emergency. Also included is a resolution by the Communist League of India outlining the tasks facing Indian revolutionists.

32 pp., 50 cents
Order from Pathfinder Press, 410
West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014.

**If this is your kind of
newspaper, we're your
kind of bookstores!**

**Militant/Libreria Militante/Pathfinder/
Granma/Labor/Libreria Socialista**

See the Socialist Directory below for the bookstore in your area.

Samizdat Voices of the Soviet Opposition

An anthology of dissident writing circulated clandestinely in the Soviet Union, edited by George Saunders. This collection includes memoirs of the early struggles against the growing Stalin bureaucracy; accounts of personal experiences in the prison camps; and speeches, writings, and petitions of the recent dissident movement. A Monad Press book.
464 pp., \$15, paper \$3.95

Order from: Pathfinder Press, 410
West St., New York, N.Y. 10014

Socialist Directory

ARIZONA: Phoenix: SWP, 314 E. Taylor, Phoenix, Ariz. 85004. Tel: (602) 255-0450.

Tempe: YSA, Box 1344, Tempe, Ariz. 85281. Tel: (602) 277-9453.

Tucson: YSA, SUPO 20965, Tucson, Ariz. 85720. Tel: (602) 795-2053.

CALIFORNIA: Berkeley: SWP, YSA, Granma Bookstore, 3264 Adeline St., Berkeley, Calif. 94703. Tel: (415) 653-7156.

East Los Angeles: SWP, YSA, Pathfinder Bookstore, 1237 S. Atlantic Blvd., East Los Angeles, Calif. 90022. Tel: (213) 265-1347.

Long Beach: SWP, YSA, Pathfinder Bookstore, 3322 Anaheim St., Long Beach, Calif. 90804. Tel: (213) 597-0965.

Los Angeles, Crenshaw District: SWP, YSA, Pathfinder Books, 2167 W. Washington Blvd., Los Angeles, Calif. 90018. Tel: (213) 732-8196.

Los Angeles: City-wide SWP, YSA, 1250 Wilshire Blvd., Room 404, Los Angeles, Calif. 90017. Tel: (213) 482-1820.

Oakland: SWP, YSA, 1467 Fruitvale Ave., Oakland, Calif. 94601. Tel: (415) 261-1210.

Pasadena: SWP, YSA, Pathfinder Bookstore, 226 N. El Molino, Pasadena, Calif. 91106. Tel: (213) 793-3468.

San Diego: SWP, YSA, Militant Bookstore, 1053 15th St., San Diego, Calif. 92101. Tel: (714) 234-4630.

San Fernando Valley: SWP, 10508 Haddon St., Pacoima, Calif. 91331. Tel: (213) 899-5811.

San Francisco: City-wide SWP, YSA, 3284 23rd St., San Francisco, Calif. 94110. Tel: (415) 285-4686.

San Francisco, Ingleside: SWP, 1441 Ocean Ave., San Francisco, Calif. 94112. Tel: (415) 333-6261.

San Francisco, Mission District: SWP, Socialist Bookstore, Libreria Socialista, 3284 23rd St., San Francisco, Calif. 94110. Tel: (415) 824-1992.

San Francisco, Western Addition: SWP, 2762A Pine St., San Francisco, Calif. 94115. Tel: (415) 931-0621.

San Jose: SWP, YSA, 957 S. 1st St., San Jose, Calif. 95110. Tel: (408) 295-8342.

Santa Barbara: YSA, P.O. Box 14606, UCSB, Santa Barbara, Calif. 93107.

Santa Cruz: YSA, c/o Student Activities Office, Redwood Bldg., UCSC, Santa Cruz, Calif. 95064.

COLORADO: Boulder: YSA, Room 175, University Memorial Center, University of Colorado, Boulder, Colo. 80302. Tel: (303) 492-7679.

Denver: SWP, YSA, Pathfinder Books, 916 Broadway, Denver, Colo. 80203. Tel: (303) 837-1018.

Fort Collins: YSA, Student Center Cave, Colorado State University, Ft. Collins, Colo. 80521.

FLORIDA: Miami: SWP, YSA, Box 431096, South Miami, Fla. 33143. Tel: (305) 271-2241.

Tallahassee: YSA, c/o Linda Thalman, 1303 Ocala Rd. #140, Tallahassee, Fla. 32304. Tel: (904) 576-5737.

GEORGIA: East Atlanta: SWP, 471A Flat Shoals Ave. SE, P.O. Box 5596, Atlanta, Ga. 30307. Tel: (404) 688-6739.

West Atlanta: SWP, Militant Bookstore, 137 Ashby, P.O. Box 92040, Atlanta, Ga. 30314. Tel: (404) 755-2940.

ILLINOIS: Champaign-Urbana: YSA, 284 Illini Union, Urbana, Ill. 61801.

Chicago: City-wide SWP, YSA, 407 S. Dearborn #1145, Chicago, Ill. 60605. Tel: SWP—(312) 939-0737; YSA—(312) 427-0280.

Chicago, North Side: SWP, Pathfinder Books, 1870 N. Halsted, Chicago, Ill. 60614. Tel: (312) 642-4811.

Chicago, South Chicago: SWP, Pathfinder Books, 9139 S. Commercial, Room 205, Chicago, Ill. 60617. Tel: (312) 734-7644.

Chicago, South Side: SWP, Pathfinder Books, 1515 E. 52nd Pl., 3rd Floor North, Chicago, Ill. 60615. Tel: (312) 643-5520.

Chicago, West Side: SWP, Pathfinder Books, 5967 W. Madison, Second Floor, Chicago, Ill. 60644. Tel: (312) 261-8370.

INDIANA: Bloomington: YSA, c/o Student Activities Desk, Indiana University, Bloomington, Ind. 47401.

Indianapolis: SWP, YSA, c/o Mark Severs, 3610 Whittier, Indianapolis, Ind. 46218. Tel: (317) 545-3428.

Muncie: YSA, Box 387 Student Center, Ball State University, Muncie, Ind. 47306.

KENTUCKY: Lexington: YSA, P.O. Box 952 University Station, Lexington, Ky. 40506. Tel: (606) 233-1270.

Louisville: SWP, YSA, Box 3593, Louisville, Ky. 40201.

LOUISIANA: New Orleans: SWP, YSA, Pathfinder Bookstore, 3812 Magazine St., New Orleans, La. 70115. Tel: (504) 891-5324.

MARYLAND: Baltimore: SWP, YSA, 2117 N. Charles St., Baltimore, Md. 21218. Tel: (301) 547-0668.

College Park: YSA, c/o Student Union, University of Maryland, College Park, Md. 20742. Tel: (301) 454-4758.

Prince Georges County: SWP, 4318 Hamilton St., Rm. 10, Hyattsville, Md. 20781. Tel: (301) 864-4867.

MASSACHUSETTS: Amherst: YSA, c/o Sally Rees, 4 Adams St., Easthampton, Mass. 01027.

Boston: City-wide SWP, YSA, 510 Commonwealth Ave., Boston, Mass. 02215. Tel: (617) 262-4621.

Cambridge: SWP, 2 Central Square, Cambridge, Mass. 02139. Tel: (617) 547-4395.

Dorchester: SWP, 584 Columbia Rd., Room 309, Dorchester, Mass. 02125. Tel: (617) 282-3850.

Fenway-South End: SWP, YSA, Pathfinder Books, 510 Commonwealth Ave., Boston, Mass. 02215. Tel: (617) 262-4620.

Roxbury: SWP, 1865 Columbus Ave., Roxbury, Mass. 02119. Tel: (617) 445-7799.

MICHIGAN: Ann Arbor: YSA, Room 4103, Michigan Union, U of M, Ann Arbor, Mich. 48109. Tel: (313) 663-8306.

Detroit, East Side: SWP, 12920 Mack Ave., Detroit, Mich. 48215. Tel: (313) 824-1160.

Detroit, Southwest: SWP, Militant Bookstore, Libreria Militante, 4210 W. Vernor Hwy., Detroit, Mich. 48209. Tel: (313) 849-3491.

Detroit, West Side: SWP, Militant Bookstore, 18415 Wyoming, Detroit, Mich. 48221. Tel: (313) 341-6436.

Detroit: City-wide SWP, YSA, 1310 Broadway, Detroit, Mich. 48226. Tel: (313) 961-5675.

East Lansing: YSA, First Floor Student Offices, Union Bldg., Michigan State University, East Lansing, Mich. 48823. Tel: (517) 353-0660.

Mt. Pleasant: YSA, Box 51 Warriner Hall, Central Mich. Univ., Mt. Pleasant, Mich. 48859.

MINNESOTA: Minneapolis: City-wide SWP, YSA, 808 E. Franklin Ave., Room 3, Mpls., Minn. 55404. Tel: (612) 870-1284.

Southside Minneapolis: SWP, Militant Bookstore, 23 E. Lake St., Mpls., Minn. 55408. Tel: (612) 825-6663.

Westbank Minneapolis: SWP, Militant Bookstore, 510 20th Ave. So., Lower Level, Mpls., Minn. 55454. Tel: (612) 338-5093.

St. Paul: SWP, Labor Bookstore, 176 Western Ave., St. Paul, Minn. 55102. Tel: (612) 222-8929.

MISSOURI: Kansas City: SWP, YSA, 4715A Troost, Kansas City, Mo. 64110. Tel: (816) 753-0404.

St. Louis: City-wide SWP, YSA, 6223 Delmar, St. Louis, Mo. 63130. Tel: (314) 725-1571.

Northside St. Louis: 4875 Natural Bridge Rd., St. Louis, Mo. 63115. Tel: (314) 381-0044.

Westend St. Louis: 6223 Delmar, St. Louis, Mo. 63130. Tel: (314) 725-1570.

NEW JERSEY: Newark: City-wide SWP, YSA, 256 Broadway, Newark, N.J. 07104. Tel: (201) 482-3367.

Newark, Broadway: SWP, 256 Broadway, Newark, N.J. 07104. Tel: (201) 482-3367.

Newark, Weequahic: SWP, 403 Chancellor Ave., Newark, N.J. 07112. Tel: (201) 923-2284.

NEW MEXICO: Albuquerque: YSA, University of New Mexico, c/o Student Activities, New Mexico Union, Albuquerque, N.M. 87131. Tel: (505) 277-2184.

Las Vegas: YSA, Highlands University, c/o Felipe Martinez, 1010 Douglas, Las Vegas, N.M. 87701. Tel: (505) 425-9224.

NEW YORK: Albany: YSA, c/o Michael Kozak, 395 Ontario St., Albany, N.Y. 12208. Tel: (518) 482-7348.

Binghamton: YSA, c/o Andy Towbin, Box 7120, SUNY-Binghamton, Binghamton, N.Y. 13901.

Ithaca: YSA, c/o Ron Robinson, 528 Stewart Ave., Rm. 13, Ithaca, N.Y. 14850. Tel: (607) 272-7098.

New York, Bronx: SWP, Militant Bookstore, Libreria Militante, 2271 Morris Ave., Bronx, N.Y. 10453. Tel: (212) 365-6652.

New York, Brooklyn: SWP, Militant Bookstore, 220-222 Utica Ave., Brooklyn, N.Y. 11213. Tel: (212) 773-0250.

New York, Chelsea: SWP, Militant Bookstore, Libreria Militante, 200 1/2 W. 24th St. (off 7th Ave.), New York, N.Y. 10011. Tel: (212) 989-2731.

New York, Lower East Side: SWP, YSA, Militant Bookstore, Libreria Militante, 221 E. 2nd St. (between Ave. B and Ave. C), New York, N.Y. 10009. Tel: (212) 260-6400.

New York, Queens: SWP, YSA, Militant Bookstore, 90-43 149 St. (corner Jamaica Ave.), Jamaica, N.Y. 11435. Tel: (212) 658-7718.

New York, Upper West Side: SWP, YSA, Militant Bookstore, 786 Amsterdam, New York, N.Y. 10025. Tel: (212) 663-3000.

New York: City-wide SWP, YSA, 853 Broadway, Room 412, New York, N.Y. 10003. Tel: (212) 982-8214.

NORTH CAROLINA: Raleigh: SWP, YSA, P.O. Box 5714 State Univ. Station, Raleigh, N.C. 27607.

OHIO: Athens: YSA, c/o Balar Center, Ohio University, Athens, Ohio 45701. Tel: (614) 594-7497.

Cincinnati: SWP, YSA, P.O. Box 8986, Hyde Park Station, Cincinnati, Ohio 45208. Tel: (513) 321-7445.

Cleveland: SWP, YSA, 2300 Payne, Cleveland, Ohio 44114. Tel: (216) 861-4166.

Cleveland Heights-East Cleveland: SWP, P.O. Box 18476, Cleveland Hts., Ohio 44118. Tel: (216) 861-4166.

Columbus: YSA, Box 106 Ohio Union (Rm. 308), Ohio State Univ., 1739 N. High St., Columbus, Ohio 43210. Tel: (614) 291-8985.

Kent: YSA, c/o Bob Laycock, 936 Carlisle Ct., Kent, Ohio 44240. Tel: (216) 678-2489.

Toledo: SWP, 2507 Collingwood Blvd., Toledo, Ohio 43610. Tel: (419) 242-9743.

OREGON: Portland: SWP, YSA, Militant Bookstore, 3928 N. Williams, Portland, Ore. 97227. Tel: (503) 288-7860.

PENNSYLVANIA: Edinboro: YSA, Edinboro State College, Edinboro, Pa. 16412.

Philadelphia, Germantown: SWP, Militant Bookstore, 5950 Germantown Ave., Philadelphia, Pa. 19144. Tel: (215) V14-2874.

Philadelphia, West Philadelphia: SWP, 218 S. 45th St., Philadelphia, Pa. 19104. Tel: (215) EV7-2451.

Philadelphia: City-wide SWP, YSA, 218 S. 45th St., Philadelphia, Pa. 19104. Tel: (215) EV7-2451.

Pittsburgh: SWP, YSA, Militant Bookstore, 5504 Penn Ave., Pittsburgh, Pa. 15206. Tel: (412) 441-1419.

State College: YSA, c/o Lynda Joyce, 169 W. Prospect, State College, Pa. 16801. Tel: (814) 234-2240.

RHODE ISLAND: Kingston: YSA, c/o Box 400, Kingston, R.I. 02881.

TENNESSEE: Knoxville: YSA, P.O. Box 8344 Univ. Station, Knoxville, Tenn. 37916. Tel: (615) 525-0820.

TEXAS: Austin: YSA, c/o Student Activities, Texas Union South, Austin, Tex. 78712.

Dallas: SWP, YSA, Pathfinder Books, 2215 Cedar Crest, Dallas, Tex. 75203. Tel: (214) 943-6684.

Houston, Northeast: SWP, YSA, Pathfinder Books, 2835 Laura Koppe, Houston, Tex. 77093. Tel: (713) 697-5543.

Houston, North Side: SWP, YSA, Pathfinder Bookstore-Libreria Militante, 2816 N. Main, Houston, Tex. 77009. Tel: (713) 224-0985.

Houston, South-Central: SWP, 4987 South Park Blvd. (South Park Plaza), Houston, Tex. 77021. Tel: (713) 643-0005.

Houston: City-wide SWP, YSA, 3311 Montrose, Houston, Tex. 77006. Tel: (713) 526-1082.

San Antonio: SWP, 1317 Castrovilla Rd., San Antonio, Tex. 78237. Tel: (512) 432-7625. YSA, P.O. Box 12110, Laurel Heights Sta., San Antonio, Tex. 78212.

UTAH: Logan: YSA, P.O. Box 1233, Utah State University, Logan, Utah 84322.

Salt Lake City: SWP, YSA, P.O. Box 461, Salt Lake City, Utah 84110.

VIRGINIA: Richmond: SWP, YSA, Militant Bookstore, 1203 W. Main St., 2nd Floor, Richmond, Va. 23220. Tel: (804) 353-3238.

WASHINGTON, D.C.: Northwest: SWP, 2416 18th St. NW, Washington, D.C. 20009. Tel: (202) 797-7706.

Washington, D.C.: Georgia Avenue: SWP, c/o 1424 16th St. NW, Washington, D.C. 20036. Tel: (202) 797-7699.

Washington, D.C.: City-wide: SWP, YSA, 1424 16th St. NW, Suite 701B, Washington, D.C. 20036. Tel: (202) 797-7699.

WASHINGTON: Seattle, Central Area: SWP, YSA, Militant Bookstore, 2200 E. Union, Seattle, Wash. 98122. Tel: (206) 329-7404.

Seattle, North End: SWP, YSA, Pathfinder Bookstore, 5623 University Way NE, Seattle, Wash. 98105. Tel: (206) 522-7800.

Seattle: City-wide SWP, YSA, 5623 University Way NE, Seattle, Wash. 98105. Tel: (206) 524-6670.

Tacoma: SWP, Militant Bookstore, 1022 S. J St., Tacoma, Wash. 98405. Tel: (206) 627-0432.

WISCONSIN: Madison: YSA, P.O. Box 1442, Madison, Wis. 53701. Tel: (608) 251-1591.

Milwaukee: SWP, YSA, 3901 N. 27th St., Milwaukee, Wis. 53216. Tel: (414) 442-8170.

THE MILITANT

Carter & the CIA

THE SHAMELESS COVER-UP

By David Frankel

WASHINGTON—"A despicable lie," former Chilean President Eduardo Frei declared after reports branded him a recipient of money from the CIA.

An aide to Ramón Magsaysay, the late Philippines president, called similar allegations "a pack of lies."

President Makarios of Cyprus said the charge against him was "unfounded and malicious."

And President Carter himself defended former West German Chancellor Willy Brandt against "the reckless allegations . . . that are appearing in our press."

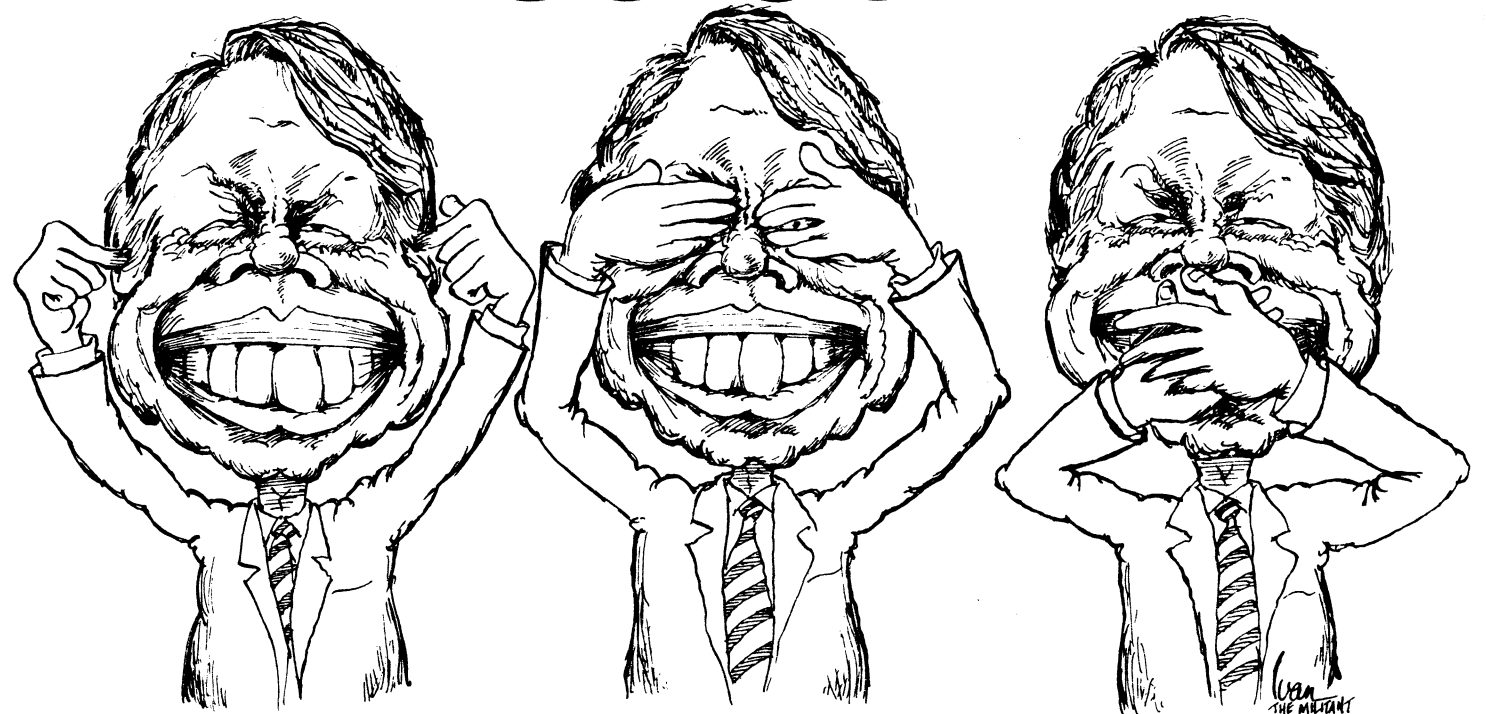
While presidents and ministers around the world are running for cover, Carter defended the CIA bribes. "I have not found anything illegal or improper," he told reporters at a February 23 news conference.

Promising that he would keep CIA operations within the bounds of "propriety and legality and American attitudes," Carter proceeded to argue for greater secrecy. "I'm quite concerned about the number of people now who have access to this kind of information," he said.

To those who suggested that perhaps the American people would like to make up their own minds about what is proper and in keeping with their attitudes, Carter replied, "I'll do the best I can not to ever make a mistake."

Four days later, Secretary of State Cyrus Vance followed Carter's lead. Appearing on the CBS network news program "Face the Nation," Vance declared that "there was nothing improper or illegal" about CIA payments to King Hussein of Jordan and others.

Meanwhile, Associated Press reporter Peggy Simpson broke the news that Carter had tried to pressure the *Washington Post* not to publish its information about CIA bribes paid to King Hussein. Simpson described a February 22 meeting between Carter and congressional leaders in which the president said he had looked over the CIA's arrangement with Hussein and found "nothing whatever wrong with it."



Carter told the congressional leaders that he had called *Post* executive editor Benjamin Bradlee and reporter Bob Woodward to the White House after learning of the story on Hussein. Publication of the article was "irresponsible," Carter said.

Having failed to keep the news from the American people, the Carter administration tried to keep secret its attempts to suppress the facts. According to a February 28 United Press International dispatch, White House press secretary Jody Powell told reporters "that President Carter regretted that members of the Congressional leadership had told the press that the President had met with *Post* reporters before the article was published."

"How the President felt about that editorial decision is a matter the President considered to be private and intended to remain private," Mr. Powell said.

Broken promises

Five weeks after he took office amid promises to abolish secrecy and open up the workings of the U.S. govern-

ment to the American people, Carter has shown what his vaunted honesty is worth. Nevertheless, Carter's pro-Democratic party admirers are still trying to evade the truth.

One especially brazen example was the February 27 Jack Anderson column. In the midst of the headlines generated by Carter's defense of secret bribes, Anderson insisted that the President "seems determined to keep the FBI within the law and to keep the CIA away from covert activities."

But in the same column, Anderson provides information that, if it is correct, catches Carter in an outright lie.

Anderson refers to a May 5, 1974, column in which he described the secret CIA fund. According to Anderson, this "contingency fund apparently provided the cash used to bribe world leaders."

"We named West Germany's Willy Brandt as one of the leaders who had taken money from the CIA. Brandt developed such a close relationship with his CIA contact, we reported, that he asked the White House to invite the

agent to a state dinner in Brandt's honor."

Carter, however, has publicly denied that Brandt had any link with the CIA. "I wish it were in my power to prevent these groundless accusations about you," Carter wrote to Brandt in a letter made public February 24.

There can be little doubt that Carter would like to prevent such accusations, groundless or otherwise. But the point remains: if Anderson's information is accurate, then Carter is lying when he calls the charges against Brandt "groundless" and a "canard."

Why so secret?

A more important point than Carter's personal dishonesty is also involved. That is, why was the government so intent on maintaining secrecy of its cash gifts to Hussein and others? All the countries named so far in articles on CIA payoffs have also received large amounts of open American aid, including military grants.

CIA sources have nevertheless been adamant in insisting that the secret

Continued on page 26

Arsonists hit St. Paul abortion clinic

By Ginny Burke

ST. PAUL—At 10:39 p.m. February 23, the manager of the Burger King in the Highland Park area here called the fire department. The building next door was in flames.

At about 10:48 p.m. an unidentified man called WCCO radio. "We've finally got rid of that abortion clinic in Highland Park," he said.

As the blaze grew into a two-alarm fire, it seemed that the anonymous caller was right.

But the next day Thomas Webber, director of the Planned Parenthood clinic, announced that the facility will be rebuilt. Safe, legal abortions will again be available in Highland Park.

Meanwhile, women's rights supporters made plans to focus the March 5 International Women's Day demonstration on the fire—a clear case of arson.

Fire fighters found an empty can of gasoline in the clinic. The back door had been forced open. "Somebody set

the fire. There's no question about that," said Fire Marshal Walter Shim-ek. The fire caused at least \$60,000 in damages.

The arson fits into a pattern of escalating violence by anti-abortion forces aimed at driving the new clinic from the Highland Park community.

Last September while the building was being remodeled, abortion rights foes painted "death" and "Dachau" on the front of the building.

Over the fall, eight windows at the clinic were broken in four separate attacks.

There have also been bomb scares and kidnapping threats against members of Planned Parenthood Board of Directors.

Just hours after news of the fire broke, fifty supporters of the clinic picketed at the building to protest the arson. Picketers included members of the University Community Feminists from the University of Minnesota, Macalester College Feminists, Twin

Cities National Organization for Women, and Socialist Workers party.

Also on the picket line were activists from the Concerned Neighbors Coalition. For ten months this Highland Park group has organized support for the clinic to counter the activities of its right-wing opponents.

The coalition called a meeting the evening after the picket line to discuss further action. Forty-five people attended and decided that a Concerned Neighbors Coalition contingent will lead the March 5 International Women's Day demonstration. On Friday, February 25, seventy-five people crowded into a room to confront St. Paul Mayor George Latimer. The local CBS and NBC television affiliates covered the meeting live on their 6:00 p.m. newscasts.

Connie Waterous, a Planned Parenthood board member, blamed the fire on an atmosphere of anti-abortion hysteria. She told the mayor, "A woman's right to choose will not be burned

down" and demanded that he use the full power of his office to see that those responsible are apprehended and prosecuted.

Sue Vass, coordinator of the March 5 demonstration, also spoke at the meeting.

In response to this pressure, Mayor Latimer promised to launch an investigation. But he rejected the idea that anti-abortion forces were involved in the arson. "I do not intend to accuse people of wrongdoing when they are not implicated," he stated. "I do not think it is an expression of ideology."

The March 5 demonstration will show the right-wing anti-abortion movement that it will not succeed in stopping safe, legal abortions in St. Paul. It will also keep up the pressure on the mayor and fire officials to track down the arsonists.

The demonstration will step off from the commons of Macalester College at 1:30 p.m. and march to the State Capitol Rotunda for a 3:00 p.m. rally.