

# THE MILITANT

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

## HOW THE MILITANT UNMASKED RIGHT-WING SPIES

—PAGE 5

## TEXAS RAZA UNIDA

CHICANO ACTIVISTS DEMAND FBI FILES. PAGE 27.

## ABORTION

COURT OVERTURNS BAN ON MEDICAID FUNDING. PAGE 3.

## SWP VS. CIA

JUDGE TELLS SPIES: 'BRING FILES TO COURT.' PAGE 5.

## PROP. 14

UFW FIGHTS FOR FAIR UNION ELECTIONS. PAGE 9.

## CHINA

PEKING CONFIRMS PURGE OF FOUR TOP LEADERS. PAGE 28.

## IRAN

700 PROTEST SHAH'S TORTURE OF DISSIDENTS. PAGE 28.

## YOUNG SOCIALIST CONVENTION

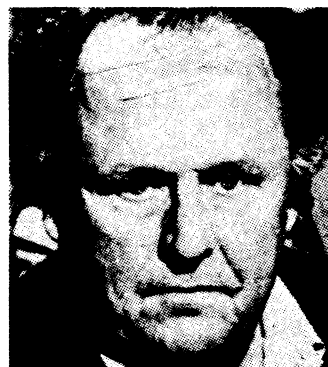
NINE TEAMS TOUR NATION'S CAMPUSES. PAGE 25.

## WHY WE ARE BACKING CAMEJO AND REID

—PAGE 4



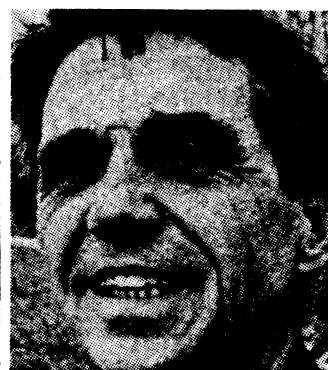
Robert Allen  
Editor, 'Black Scholar'



Emile de Antonio  
Film maker



Yvonne Golden  
Black activist



Daniel Berrigan  
Peace leader



Abelardo Delgado  
Chicano poet



Salvador Luria  
Nobel laureate

## WOMEN & SOCIALISM



MAGAZINE SUPPLEMENT  
**International Socialist**  
INSIDE

## THIS WEEK'S MILITANT

- 3 'Militant' sub drive on schedule
- 4 'We back Camejo-Reid'
- 5 How 'Militant' uncovered two right-wing spies
- 6 Steelworkers Fight Back name Balanoff
- 7 New demands to end violence in movement
- 8 Camejo and Reid campaign for socialism
- 9 UFW fights for union representation elections
- 25 Young socialists tour campuses
- 26 'Finally, a party I can relate to'
- 27 Texas Chicanos demand FBI files
- 29 UFT penalized for '75 strike
- 32 No to racism! Boston to S. Africa
- 2 In Brief
- 10 In Our Opinion Letters
- 23 National Picket Line Women in Revolt
- 24 The Great Society La Lucha Puertorriqueña By Any Means Necessary
- 11-22 International Socialist Review

## THE MILITANT

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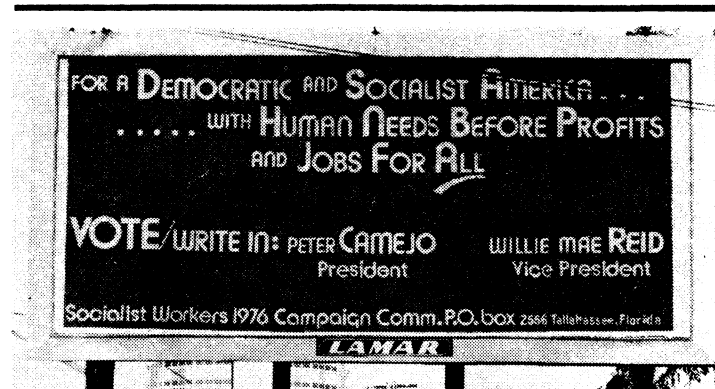
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**COPS HARASS CONTINENTAL WALKERS:** Back in January protesters in California began marching east. They didn't stop until they reached Washington, D.C., where they met up with nineteen other contingents of the Continental Walk for Disarmament and Social Justice. The march dramatized the demand to shift war dollars to social services. The October 15-18 finale to the long trek included a rally of more than 2,000 and a march of 700 to the Pentagon. At the Pentagon, cops arrested 55 peaceful demonstrators.

Police harassment was a regular feature along the southern route of the walk. Cops arrested protesters in Louisiana, Mississippi, and Alabama. The cases were tossed out of court. However, charges of "parading without a permit" and "blocking a roadway" stemming from the Pentagon action and three separate arrest incidents in North Carolina are still pending.

Ed Hedemann, a member of the Continental Walk's staff, commented to the *Militant*, "It's the Pentagon that should be arrested and placed on trial."



Look what's replacing the 'Marlboro Man' on a Tallahassee billboard. Restrictive election laws may keep SWP presidential candidates off the Florida ballot, but they can't stop Young Socialist Alliance members from urging a write-in vote for the socialists on November 2.

**RUSH TO EXECUTIONS:** Georgia is moving rapidly toward becoming the first state to carry out executions since the U.S. Supreme Court okayed the death penalty. First, authorities set October 26 as the execution date for Anthony Machetti. However, after being moved to death row, Machetti received a temporary stay of execution when a superior court agreed to consider a writ of habeas corpus. Meanwhile, the state has announced it will electrocute Timothy McCorquodale on November 10 and Willie X Ross on November 12.

Death penalty advocates recently held a news conference demanding that the state continue setting dates for executions.

But protests against the impending state murders have forced Gov. George Busbee to announce that he will grant ninety-day stays of executions so that the Board of Pardons and Parole can consider clemency for condemned prisoners.

**HALT IRISH LYNCHINGS!:** Socialist Workers party presidential team Peter Camejo and Willie Mae Reid have joined the international outcry to stop the hangings of Noel and Marie Murray. A special government tribunal convicted and sentenced the Murrys for the killing of an off-duty police officer. The tribunal, set up to handle political cases, denies defendants the usual guarantees, including the right to a jury trial.

In an October 26 letter to the Irish Supreme Court, Camejo and Reid demanded that the sentences be set aside, saying, "The use of the death penalty against this young couple is an act of official terror whose aim is to demoralize the movement against British domination of Ireland."

*SWP presidential candidate Peter Camejo will wind up the socialist campaign at a rally in New York City October 30. The event will begin on Saturday at 7:30 p.m. at the Hunter Playhouse at 68th Street and Lexington Avenue.*

**NAACP AVERTS CRISIS:** On October 20 the NAACP won a preliminary injunction preventing enforcement of a \$1.25 million award against it. Previously, the group had been ordered to either pay the award or post a \$1.6 million bond before appealing.

Both alternatives threatened the very existence of the oldest civil rights organization in the United States. In granting the preliminary injunction, a federal district judge also lowered the bond to \$110,000. Now the NAACP can appeal the judgment, which stems from boycott activities directed at racist white merchants in Port Gibson, Mississippi.

**ARSONISTS HIT BUSING LEADER:** Between 5:00 and 6:00 a.m. on Sunday, September 26, someone set fire to

five cars in the predominantly Black Southwest area of Louisville. One car belonged to Anne Braden, a leader of prodesegregation forces in that city.

"I'd had a whole string of threatening calls late Saturday night and early Sunday morning—that's not very unusual," Braden told the *Militant*. A few hours later, she awoke to see "leaping flames" gutting her car.

Braden said the incident could be connected to a rally the previous day organized by the reactionary States Rights party. The rally drew less than 100 people. "The lunatic fringe is still active, but they don't have a mass following anymore," Braden commented. Last year the Klan drew hundreds to antibusing rallies. The decline in this movement, Braden added, "makes the rabid people more violent."

At Saturday's rally, speakers singled Braden out for verbal abuse. In the past they have burned her in effigy.

Louisville fire officials were quick to close the case, saying no clues indicated the arson was politically motivated.

**PRESS OPERATORS GET NEW SUPPORT:** The Washington-Baltimore Newspaper Guild has decided to back fifteen indicted press operators of International Printing and Graphic Communications Union Local 6. The guild also voted October 21 to contribute \$300 for legal expenses. The press operators face a total of 268 years in jail on charges arising from their strike at the *Washington Post*. In a unanimously adopted resolution, the guild charged *Post* owners with victimizing the press operators "as a lesson to other unions including our own."

The Local 6 Legal Defense Committee has called for picket lines November 8 and 9 when the defendants appear in Superior Court at Fifth and E Street NW at 8:30 a.m.

**H. RAP BROWN IS FREE:** H. Rap Brown has won a parole in New York after serving five years on a robbery conviction. But when he left a New York jail October 21 he thought he still faced one more legal battle. He was wrong. Just as guards turned him over to U.S. marshals, Brown learned that 1967 gun charges against him in New Orleans had been dropped. Brown walked out onto New York City's streets leaving his captors behind.

**CAN BLACKS BE 'BORN AGAIN'?:** Down in Plains, Georgia, there's a white-framed Baptist church where white-faced folks worship and Jimmy Carter serves as a deacon. When asked why there are no Blacks enrolled in his Bible class, Carter was puzzled: "I can't answer that question." The answer just might be linked to a vote twelve years back when worshippers decided to keep their church for whites only. Carter is quick to point out that he voted against the segregationist policy. However, he was not moved to quit this den of holy bigotry. Carter must subscribe to the Ninth Beatitude: Blessed are the hypocrites, for they shall inherit the White House.

—Ginny Hildebrand

# 20,000 NEW READERS WANTED

20,000

12,128

## SUBSCRIBE TODAY 10 weeks for \$1

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Where  
we are

## More areas raise goals

# 'Militant' subscription drive on schedule

By Harvey McArthur

The subscription drive is back on schedule!

Subscriptions sold at Socialist Workers party campaign events boosted this week's sales to 2,472 new subscriptions. This brings the total to 12,128—right where we should be. Twenty-one out of fifty-eight areas are now on schedule. Others are planning extra sales this week to catch up by election day, November 2.

Socialists in Minneapolis are doing so well that they decided to raise their subscription goal from 700 to 775. Tacoma and Albany raised—by 15 each. Washington, D.C., raised by 50, Miami by 30, and Kansas City by 25 (see scoreboard).

Washington, D.C., reports consistent and successful door-to-door canvassing. "We have more opportunities that we can possibly cover," says Mark Ugolini. "We spend every Saturday canvassing the Black community. Everyone who goes out sells subscriptions. Many of us sell four or five or more in a couple of hours."

"We also find time to spend talking with the people we meet. We discuss the socialist candidates and what the SWP is doing. Some new subscribers were so interested that they came to our big rally with Peter Camejo."

"The election campaign has been a big help to our subscription sales. But we are also planning more sales after November 2 to follow up on the interest we have found so far."

"Subscriptions are going very well," reports Mimi Pichey from the new SWP branch in Kansas City. It has just raised its goal from 125 to 150. "Through the drive we are meeting people and looking for the best place to open up a bookstore here."

"We've been setting up campaign tables at two local supermarkets every week. I went to the community college one evening and sold three subscrip-

tions and seven single copies in less than an hour. And Willie Mae Reid was great when she was here. We sold twelve subscriptions at her meeting."

California socialists had a big week as Peter Camejo made his final tour before the elections. From San Francisco to Los Angeles to San Diego, they sold 453 new subscriptions.

San Francisco alone sent in nearly 100 subscriptions. That included 33 sold at a rally for Camejo at San Francisco State College and another 22 sold at a city-wide campaign rally.

Media coverage has boosted sales in Houston, according to Stu Singer, SWP organizer there. "We found a remarkable response to the campaign issue with Camejo and Reid's pictures on the cover, since so many people had seen Reid in the local media when she was on tour here."

"The drive is also helping us win new members," Singer said. "Two NAACP members we met through the subscription drive have just joined the SWP."

\* \* \*

Chicago socialists have been steadily canvassing public housing projects. They sent in 130 new subscriptions this week. One of their top salespeople is Bryan Sharp. He just joined the SWP last month. He sold 17 subscriptions to people in his neighborhood. One of these new readers, a young Puerto Rican woman, has already decided to join the SWP.

Nancy Brumback reports from Vermont that fourteen new readers bought subscriptions at campus meetings at Goddard College and the University of Vermont where Ann Teesdale spoke on feminism and socialism.

\* \* \*

Some readers have asked what the "general" category on the scoreboard represents. These are subscriptions that are not credited toward any goal

listed on the scoreboard.

Some come from places that have no goal at all. Others come from cities where there is an SWP or Young Socialist Alliance unit with a goal, but the subscriptions were not sold by the socialists there. The biggest example of

such subscriptions is the 929 received in response to Peter Camejo's recent appearance on the NBC "Tomorrow" show two weeks ago.

The "general" figure was incorrectly listed as 2,003 last week. It should have been 1,103.

## Subscription scoreboard

	Goal	Sent in	%			
Kent, Ohio	30	40	133.0	Pittsburgh	450	233 51.8
Louisville	150	122	81.3	Chicago	900	464 51.6
Portland, Ore.	350	264	75.4	Allentown, Pa.	20	10 50.0
Toledo	100	75	75.0	Atlanta	600	291 48.5
San Jose	300	224	74.7	Denver	600	291 48.5
Washington, D.C., Area*	750	545	72.7	St. Paul	175	84 48.0
Cincinnati	150	108	72.0	St. Louis	425	202 47.5
Ithaca, N.Y.	50	36	72.0	Cleveland	450	199 44.2
Phoenix	50	36	72.0	State College, Pa.	30	13 43.3
Richmond, Va.	125	89	71.2	Indianapolis	100	43 43.0
Newark	400	278	69.5	Detroit	800	324 40.5
Kansas City, Mo.*	150	104	69.3	Tallahassee, Fla.	25	10 40.0
Champaign, Ill.	25	17	68.0	Boulder, Colo.	20	8 40.0
Seattle	475	320	67.4	Newark, Del.	5	2 40.0
San Antonio	175	118	67.4	San Francisco	800	318 39.8
Baltimore	300	199	66.3	Milwaukee	650	257 39.5
Dallas	150	99	66.0	Albany, N.Y.*	55	20 36.4
Oakland, Calif.	350	230	65.7	Charleston, W. Va.	10	3 33.3
Tacoma, Wash.*	115	72	62.6	Miami*	80	24 30.0
Berkeley	400	247	61.8	Binghamton, N.Y.	25	6 24.0
San Diego	400	240	60.0	Sarasota, Fla.	25	5 20.0
Boston	800	466	58.3	Arlington, Tex.	30	3 10.0
Madison, Wis.	100	58	58.0	Knoxville, Tenn.	10	1 10.0
New Orleans	225	130	57.8	Campaign teams		
Philadelphia	650	371	57.1	New Mexico	85	85 100.0
Houston	900	513	57.0	Ohio	400	202 50.5
Salt Lake City	50	28	56.0	Rocky Mountain	215	75 34.9
Buffalo, N.Y.	25	14	56.0	Northeast	400	119 29.8
Los Angeles	1,000	555	55.5	California	300	84 28.0
Minneapolis*	775	420	54.2	Michigan-Indiana	400	89 22.3
Bloomington, Ind.	50	27	54.0	Midwest	165	21 12.7
Edinboro, Pa.	30	16	53.3	Southeast	250	18 7.2
New York	2,000	1,040	52.0	General		1,484
Lexington, Ky.	50	26	52.0	Total	20,000	12,128 60.6
Kingston, R.I.	25	13	52.0	Should be	12,000	60.0

\*Areas raising their goals

## Women's right still in jeopardy

# Court overturns ban on Medicaid abortions

By Ginny Hildebrand

NEW YORK—The federal government must provide Medicaid funds for abortions. A federal district court issued this ruling here October 22. Judge John Dooling found the Hyde amendment, a congressional measure to end federal funding for nearly all abortions, unconstitutional.

The ruling is an important initial victory in the ongoing battle over the right of women using Medicaid to obtain safe, legal abortions.

The judge's decision came in response to a suit brought by Planned Parenthood and others. It applies to all states and supercedes an unfavorable ruling by Judge John Sirica in a similar suit in Washington, D.C.

Both suits showed that the discriminatory amendment would deny hundreds of thousands of women their right to abortion. Congress enacted the amendment September 30 as part of an allocations bill for the Departments of Labor and Health, Education and Welfare.

Government lawyers claimed the provision was purely a fiscal, not a constitutional, matter. State governments, they argued, could pick up the full tab for Medicaid abortions, thus continuing to provide access to them.

Judge Dooling rejected this argument, saying that the amendment "is calculated to stop the provision of abortion services from public funds."

Sponsors of the amendment would certainly agree. Rep. Robert Bauman, for example, sermonized during the House debate: "Make no mistake about it, this language makes the intent of Congress very clear. We are not going

to permit the federal government and its taxpayers to support wholesale murder."

Jimmy Carter has sounded off with a similar approach: "I don't think we ought to tax people like myself who feel very strongly against abortions, to finance abortions through the federal government."

The judge reminded anti-abortion



New York protester

Militant/Caryl Loeb

crusaders "that the constitutionally protected personal rights of women include the right to terminate pregnancy," according to the 1973 Supreme Court ruling. Under the Hyde amendment, he said, "needed medical assistance is denied solely because the woman has chosen to exercise a constitutionally protected right."

This ruling reflects majority public opinion. It also echoes the sentiments of demonstrators who have protested attacks on abortion by the Catholic church hierarchy, Carter and Ford, and the Democratic-controlled Congress.

Many women's rights supporters were shocked when liberals such as Representatives Bella Abzug and Shirley Chisholm voted for the Hyde amendment. Some of these politicians said that they could vote for the measure because they were confident that the courts would declare it unconstitutional.

In other words, to get the social services bill passed, they were willing to use the amendment as a gambling chip regardless of the high stakes—the rights and lives of women.

No one knows how many women have already lost in this gamble. HEW allowed a week to elapse before informing its regional offices of the October 1 temporary restraining order on the amendment. Even after this, many hospitals and clinics refused to perform abortions.

Among the Hyde amendment's casualties, reports the *Village Voice*, are two women currently hospitalized in New York City. Their symptoms? Bleeding, fever, infection. The cause?

Botched kitchen-table abortions performed after both women heard that Medicaid wasn't paying anymore. One woman may never be able to bear children.

Even Judge Dooling's ruling doesn't settle the Medicaid question. In all likelihood, the government will appeal the decision. Also, cases from three states on this question will come before the Supreme Court in December.

The right-wing, anti-abortion minority sees a chance to score the biggest rollback yet in abortion rights. This inspires them to intensify pressure to stop Medicaid abortions.

Women's rights supporters are already moving to counter this drive. They have held rallies and demonstrations in many cities this fall. Just last week, seventy-five people picketed near the Department of Health, Education and Welfare office in New York. They demanded, "Restore the funds tonight! Abortion is our right!"

The October 19 action drew together chapters of the National Organization for Women, Healthright, the Socialist Workers party, the Committee to End Sterilization Abuse (CESA), the Young Socialist Alliance, and women's centers from City College, Barnard, and New York University.

Earlier in the day a "Speak Out on Abortion" at New York University featured Betty Friedan; Nancy Borman, copublisher of *Majority Report*; Sylvia Law, attorney; Noreen McGill of Sisterhood of Black Single Mothers; Maritza Arrastia of CESA; and Marcia Gallo, SWP senatorial candidate.

Continued on page 30



# 'We back Camejo-Reid'

By Dick Roberts

Socialist Workers party candidates have received unprecedented backing from independent activists across the country. It's a heartening sign of the times.

Growing numbers of those fighting for a better society see that the two capitalist parties offer no solutions to the problems of working people.

"We are supporting Camejo, Reid, and [New York senatorial candidate Marcia] Gallo and urge those seeking a positive alternative to the Democrats and Republican parties to consider a vote for these or other socialist candidates."

So write Miriam Schneir and Walter Schneir, the well-known authors of *Invitation to an Inquest*, the exposé of the Rosenberg frame-up.

"I consider Camejo and Reid infinitely more noteworthy than the major candidates and worthy of support," declared Phillip Berrigan, the anti-Vietnam War leader.

"The SWP's suit against the FBI has been a major service to the American people. More power to you," wrote Dr. Salvador E. Luria, winner of the 1969 Nobel Prize for medicine.

Similar feelings have been expressed by hundreds of other SWP campaign endorsers. Many of their names are listed on this page.

They include women who are leaders of the Coalition of Labor Union Women or the National Organization for Women in their areas, leaders of the Raza Unida party from New Mexico and Texas and other Chicano activists, leaders of the Black movement such as *Black Scholar* editor Robert Allen and Robert F. Williams.

Endorsement of the SWP campaign has also been expressed in the thousands of letters written into the campaign headquarters in New York by those who have seen Peter Camejo on television.

## Vote independent!

There are others who have broken with the Democrats and Republicans. "Many people always say a vote for a minor party or an independent is a 'wasted vote,'" writes Anne Braden, the long-time civil rights fighter. "This year it seems to me a vote for either of the major parties is a wasted vote."

While serving as a Kentucky elector for Communist party candidate Gus Hall,

Braden pointed to Camejo's campaign as a meaningful alternative.

Still others cling to the hope that voting Democratic might help on a national level but at the same time express a new respect for the SWP. Actress Ruby Dee wrote that she would vote for Carter but finds Willie Mae Reid "a dynamic and beautiful political figure."

There is impressive endorsement for the SWP in local campaigns.

This ranges from the eleven women staff members of the *Village Voice*, a New York weekly, who are going to vote for Marcia Gallo because of her stand on women's rights—to two union locals in San Francisco (civil service

vision articulated by the party—is what it calls a 'Bill of Rights for working people,' which includes the right to a job, to an adequate income . . . to 'know the truth about economic and political policies that affect our life,' and to decide the nation's economic and political policy."

• The October 23 *New York Post*, in a similar spread on "The Other Parties," declares that "the most successful of the left-wing parties on the ballot in terms of recent elections is the Socialist Workers. . . .

"The party platform includes proposals for free education and medical care through college, busing to achieve school desegregation,

## 'Voice' women for Gallo

The following letter from eleven women staff members of the 'Village Voice' appeared in its November 1 issue.

### Senate Endorsement

Dear Editor:

Last week Geoffrey Stokes suggested in these pages voting for the Socialist Workers Party candidate for Senate, Marcia Gallo. This week Nat Hentoff endorses Buckley over Moynihan as the lesser of two evils.

We are agreed in our refusal to support Moynihan. As women, however, we cannot vote for Buckley. His sponsorship of the "human life" amendment, opposition to the ERA, and votes against day care show his utter disregard for the rights of women. Our right to choose abortion is too recently acquired for us to be sure we will keep it. The Equal Rights Amendment has still to be ratified by enough states to become part of the Constitution.

Voting for Buckley as a protest against Moynihan inevitably submerges women's complaints against Buckley. Once again we are being asked to put aside our own interests for the sake of some "greater good": in this case, stopping a potentially dangerous demagogue. Instead, we suggest that those wishing to vote against Moynihan show disavowal of both major party candidates and vote for Marcia Gallo.

—Audrey Berman  
Janna Davis  
Karen Durbin  
Pegi Goodman  
Helena Hacker  
Linda M. Perney

Sonia Jaffe Robbins  
Diane Scileppi  
Davina Wells  
Theresa West  
Dorothy Yule

The signers are members of the staff of The Village Voice.

workers and painters) who are going to vote for SWP school board candidate Sylvia Weinstein because of her strong defense of working people's needs.

## Publicity of SWP

In recent days coverage of the SWP's campaign in the national press has increased.

• The *Progressive* magazine, in an article on the alternative candidates in its November issue, describes the SWP's lawsuit against the government and its program.

"The key to the SWP's campaign—and the social

ratification of the [Equal Rights Amendment], an end to military aid to Israel and elimination of what it calls America's 'war budget.'"

• The November 1 *Village Voice* had a lengthy, generally favorable article largely on Peter Camejo. Author Tom Smucker concluded that Camejo "probably convinced me to vote SWP."

Smucker described the SWP as a "standard-bearer for rapidly growing minority parties." He thought it had a "coherent, thought-out ideology."

"The number of [SWP] chapters in New York City has doubled to eight in the last year. And three-fourths of the membership is 30 and under."

• *Majority Report*, in its October 30 issue, examines the SWP's and other parties' stands on women's issues: "If there is a 'women's vote,' look for it to show up, not with the Democrats or Republicans, but with minority candidates. Camejo comes the closest to combining a repeal position [on laws restricting a woman's right to abortion] and compassion."

*Majority Report* also reprints the *Militant's* exclusive report on what it's actually like to work for Carter: "Mr. Jimmy's Maids," by Greg Cornell.

## How Gutierrez will vote

José Angel Gutiérrez, a founder of the Texas Raza Unida party, expressed strong criticism of the ruling Democratic and Republican parties in a statement released to the *Militant*.

"People should definite-

ly vote against Carter and Mondale and Ford and Dole," Gutiérrez said. Gutiérrez was elected judge of Zavala County on the RUP ticket in 1974.

"The things we stand for and hope to accomplish," said Gutiérrez, "Ford and Carter stand directly in opposition to."

"Anyone with any progressive orientation ought to look to the other names on the ballot—particularly Camejo's name—as probably the most viable choice offered to people. I personally will be looking at voting for him as opposed to other people."



JUDGE JOSÉ ANGEL GUTIERREZ

## Win broad support



Phillip Berrigan  
peace activist



Robert F. Williams  
civil rights leader



Howard Zinn  
author



Ralph Schoenman  
former director  
Russell Foundation

The following individuals—not members of either the Socialist Workers party or Young Socialist Alliance—and organizations have endorsed the Camejo-Reid campaign as a positive alternative to the Democrats and Republicans.

Robert Allen, editor, *Black Scholar* magazine; Harry G. Backer, San Diego City College Federation of Teachers; Kirk Baddley, secretary-treasurer, Ogden, Utah, Sierra Club; Tony Baez, Milwaukee Bilingual Parents Committee; Doug Barber, editor, Allegheny County Community College *Vue*, Pittsburgh; Jim Benton, NAACP Legal Defense Fund, Richmond, Va.; Daniel Berrigan, New York; Phillip Berrigan, Baltimore; Black Graduate Student Association, Cornell Univ.; Rev. Warren Booker, pastor, St. Matthew's United Methodist Church, Cleveland; Nancy Brumback, Goddard College Experimental Program in Further Education, Vermont; Ann Cirkseena, National Executive Board member, CLUW; Coalition of Black Students, Faculty and Staff, Cornell Univ.; Efriam Collado, Puerto Rican Student Union, Univ. of Massachusetts, Boston; Valda Combs, director of Ethnic Affairs, Univ. of Houston; Theresa Conte, student trustee, Univ. of Massachusetts, Boston; Emile de Antonio, film maker; Rick Ehrmann, organizer, District 1199E, National Union of Hospital and Health Care Employees, Baltimore; Mahmoud El-Kati, history department, Macalester College, St. Paul; Carol Feeny-Witon, Milwaukee NOW; Don Freed, screenwriter; Yvonne Golden, San Francisco Black Teachers Caucus; Louise Grisham, People's Tribunal, Toledo, Ohio; Lenny Herrman, SEIU State Executive Board, Local 535, Los Angeles; Larry Hills, counsel, New Mexico Raza Unida party; Deborah Jones, Communications Workers of Amer. Local 11574, Los Angeles; Dan Kaplan, Executive Board, SEIU Local 535, San Francisco; Omar Muteen Kenyata, vice-president, Virginia Commonwealth Univ. NAACP; Paul Krueger, contributing editor, *San Diego Reader*; Danni Leiderman, chairperson, Associated Women Students, Metro State College, Denver; Dr. Salvador E. Luria, Nobel laureate, Massachusetts Institute of Technology; Beth Marschak, chairperson, Third District Women's Political Caucus, Richmond, Va.; Jo Marsh, coordinator, East Bay (California) NOW; Prof. Albert Marston, psychology department, Univ. of Southern California; Mel Mason, student activities adviser, Monterey Peninsula College, Monterey, Calif.; Peter Memenyi, visiting lecturer, Univ. of Wisconsin, Madison; Peg McCarter, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, Boston; Dr. Jesse McDade, philosophy department, Morgan State Univ., Baltimore; Michael McGee, Milwaukee United Black Community Council; Robert Ourlian, managing editor, *State News*, Michigan State Univ.; Diane Pallat, coordinator, Ogden, Utah, NOW; Ed Powell, sociology department, Buffalo State Univ.; Bernard Roth, Wisconsin Student Alliance; Jesús Sánchez, editor, Hunter College *Envoy*, New York City; Steve Sandvig, steward, American Postal Workers Union, Tacoma, Wash.; Ralph Schoenman, former director, Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation; Larry Schwartz, board member, San Diego ACLU; Phillip H. Scribner, department of philosophy, American Univ., Washington, D.C.; Marty Shaw, field representative, SEIU Local 535, Los Angeles; Paul N. Siegel, author; Tom Simpson, history department, St. John's College, Santa Fe, N. Mex.; Mark Small, student government president, DePauw Univ., Greencastle, Ind.; Beverley Stewart, co-president, First Pittsburgh chapter of NOW; Merilee Taylor, Assoc. Students, Metro State College, Denver; David Thorstad, gay activist, author; Paul Trafficante, San Francisco; James Turner, director of Africana Studies and Research Center, Cornell Univ.; Howard Wallace, Bay Area Gay Liberation, San Francisco; Naima Washington, former West Coast coordinator, Attica Brothers Defense Comm.; Joan Watson, art department, Virginia Commonwealth Univ.; Lupe Watt, Human Relations Consortium, Indianapolis; Robert F. Williams, civil rights leader, author; Pat Wiman, president, Vallejo, Calif., Federation of Teachers; Claude Wynn, Bay Area Gay Liberation, San Francisco; Isidore Ziferstein, M.D., Los Angeles; Howard Zinn, author, political science professor, Boston Univ.

(Organizations are listed for identification only.)

## Chicanos say: Vote SWP

The following leading Chicano activists have signed an ad calling on Chicanos to vote for the SWP. The organizations are for identification only.

Miguel Angel, instructor, Laney Community College, Oakland, Calif.; Manuel Archuleta, San Miguel County chairperson, New Mexico Raza Unida party; John Bermúdez, president, Chicano Business Students Assoc., Metro State College, Denver; Isabel Blea, editor, *La MEChA*, Las Vegas, N. Mex.; Ernesto Borunda, New Mexico Raza Unida party candidate for U.S. Senate; Ted Buzis, chairperson, Union of the Poor, Salt Lake City; Jessie Cardona, San Antonio American Federation of Teachers; Ann Chavez, Denver Concerned Citizens for Equal Education; Everett Chavez, Denver Concerned Citizens for Equal Education; Mario Compeán, San Antonio, founding member, Texas Raza Unida party; Abelardo Delgado, poet, Chicano studies professor, Univ. of Utah; Martín Delgado, United Mexican American Students, San Antonio College; Cecilio García-Camarillo, editor, *Caracol*, San Antonio; Mia García-Camarillo, editor, *Caracol*, San Antonio; Juan José Peña, chairperson, New Mexico Raza Unida party; Irma Morales Richie, San Antonio Federation of Teachers; Elena Rodríguez, chairperson, Pasadena (California) City College, MEChA; Alfredo de la Torre, writer, *Caracol*, San Antonio; Joe Treviño, secretary, Council 60, League of United Latin American Citizens, Houston; Oscar Treviño, co-coordinator, Chicano studies department, University of California at Berkeley.



Mario Compeán  
former chairperson  
Texas RUP



Ann Chavez  
Denver Chicano  
activist



Juan José Peña  
chairperson  
New Mexico RUP



# How the 'Militant' uncovered two right-wing spies

By Diane Rupp

BALTIMORE—It was the only house on the block with bars on the window and a "No trespassing" sign. My friend and I rang the bell and waited.

A man opened the door. It was John Rees.

When I wrote the article about John and Louise Rees for the *Militant* I never expected to find myself in his house just three weeks later.

All I had known about the Reeses then was what I had read about and by them:

I knew they had done research for the witch-hunt committees in Congress. They had prowled around as spies in the antiwar movement and National Lawyers Guild. Louise Rees works for Rep. Larry McDonald, a John Birch Society leader in Congress.

I had read some pages of *Information Digest*, the underground newsletter the Reeses put out for police red squads, the FBI, the CIA, and other red-baiting witch-hunters. And I knew that *Information Digest* looked suspiciously like a booklet put out by the FBI.

What I had not known for sure was the answer to the question posed in the *Militant* article: "Who's behind Rep. Larry McDonald and his right-wing spies?"

Soon after that article appeared some *Militant* readers called to say they recognized John and Louise Rees as people they knew in Baltimore left-wing circles. John Rees was using an old alias—"John Seeley." He was listed as "Rev. John Seeley" in the local phone book.

Now here I was going into the Rees house. And tucked inside my purse I had something for each of them—a subpoena.

The subpoena summons the Reeses to testify under oath for the Socialist Workers party lawsuit against government spying and disruption.

Attorneys for the socialists will ask the same question posed by the *Militant*: Who is behind the Reeses?

And the subpoena directs the two right-wing spies to bring records from their contacts with the FBI and other government agencies. Who does *Information Digest* go to? Where does it get its "information"?

My friend, one of the Baltimore *Militant* readers, introduced me to Rees as someone who might like to buy the Reeses' spaniel puppy. Rees introduced me to his cat, Thurm, and went to find the puppy.

The puppy excuse was a chance to meet the Reeses. I was anxious to give both John and Louise Rees their subpoenas at the same time. If only one received it the other might suddenly become scarce.

I was nervous, too, because the Reeses are extreme right-wingers. And these types have been known to use violence.

The Reeses had told the Baltimore *Militant* readers that they were doing research on right-wing groups. That is why the Reeses had a yarn doll they said they had picked up at a recent Ku Klux Klan rally.

Sure enough, just as my friend had told me, there was a shotgun over the kitchen door.

We chatted about the puppy. Rees made tea. He said Sheila (that's the name Louise Rees is using) was upstairs typing an article for a deadline. Was it an article for her boss Larry McDonald, I wondered? Maybe it was for the latest issue of *Information Digest*.

After a while Louise Rees came downstairs, but John Rees left the room.

Now was not the time to produce the subpoenas.

Louise began discussing a book on China she had previously borrowed from my friend.

I noticed that the cat was no longer

just Thurm. The Reeses now called it Thurmond. Thurmond? As in Strom Thurmond, the right-wing senator from South Carolina, perhaps.

Finally John Rees came back. I pulled the two subpoenas out of my purse and put one down in front of each of them.

"What's this?" John Rees asked.

"Just something I was asked to deliver," I answered. Louise went on discussing the book on China.

After he had paged through the legal papers John Rees looked up and asked, "Does this mean you don't want the puppy?"

\* \* \*

By talking to activists in political groups around Baltimore, I found out more about what the Reeses had been up to. Rees had a slightly different cover story for everyone he met and snooped on.

When he came around the Communist party he volunteered to do odd jobs at the bookstore, Tim Wheeler told me. "He'd paint signs, things like that." Rees had attended some bookstore meetings, where he not only listened but also made suggestions.

A man at the CP bookstore remembered that Rees had invited the bookstore committee to meet at his house.

(When Rees had worked for the Washington, D.C., red squad in the

early 1970s he had used this same trick. He had tried to lure Yippies and the Attica Brigade to meet at his office, which the police had wired with bugging devices.)

Rees had always been glad to help, the man at the bookstore told me. Rees was eager to take literature out to campuses in his van or "mind the store" if the proprietor wanted to step out for a cup of coffee.

Rees told the CP he worked for a dog kennel. He told the Baltimore Marxist Group he was a free-lance writer.

"He said he wasn't a joiner," one BMG member told me. "He just liked to talk and would agree with whatever you said."

"He could tell stories forever," another activist told me. Rees liked to gossip. He told stories about people he had known in the movement, about ex-CP leader Dorothy Healy in California, about SDSers in New York.

When the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee put out its diatribe on "The Trotskyite Terrorist International," written by Louise Rees's co-worker on McDonald's staff, Herbert Romerstein, Rees brought over a copy to some BMG members right away. He wanted to see their reaction and gloat, perhaps.

When Rees went to the SWP bookstore last July he told Helen Meyers that he was a British reporter writing on the election campaigns.

Rees has an official Baltimore police press sticker on his auto license plate and an ID for John Rees of "Capitol Reports" on his car visor. But "Capitol Reports, Inc.," which answers its phone as "Washington Credit Letter," says it has never heard of Rees.

\* \* \*

Even while John and Sheila "Seeley" maintained their cover in Baltimore, Louise Rees was known to be continuing her work on McDonald's staff in nearby Washington. Both the Reeses had already been hit with another subpoena. That one called them to testify for a lawsuit by the Institute for Policy Studies, which is based in Washington.

I talked to IPS about the Reeses' activity in that group. Judy Meade told me, "Both the Reeses were in and out of IPS during that 1970 to '72 time and wrote a lot about IPS. So our questions will focus on how much infiltration of IPS they did, whether or not they stole things, and so forth."

Meade added another important and surprising stroke to the Reeses' picture: the Justice Department will be representing the two when they give their testimony for the IPS lawsuit.

That fact alone could clear up a lot about who is behind the Reeses. The Justice Department only represents

**Continued on page 30**



Drawing by Caryl Loeb

'So here I was entering the Rees house, with subpoenas.'

## Judge tells CIA: 'Bring files to court'

By Diane Rupp

NEW YORK—At a court hearing October 18 U.S. District Judge Thomas Griesa ordered the CIA to give him a section of its files on the Socialist Workers party, the Young Socialist Alliance, and the Fourth International.

Griesa ordered the files brought to him in New York. This was a reversal of his earlier agreement to examine the spy agency's files at the CIA headquarters in Langley, Virginia.

Griesa will examine the files so that he can rule on whether they must be turned over to the socialists for their lawsuit against the CIA, FBI, and other government agencies.

CIA Director George Bush admitted in a sworn affidavit last summer that the spy agency had burglarized and wiretapped SWP and YSA members who had traveled overseas. But he refused to turn over CIA documents for the lawsuit, claiming they were state secrets.

The CIA gave the judge a heavily censored version of the records to

examine in private. The files had so many deletions, however, that Griesa felt more information was required.

When the judge demanded more complete files, the CIA insisted that he examine them at the agency's headquarters in Virginia.

At an October 8 court hearing, the socialists' attorney, Leonard Boudin, objected to the trip. "This would not be done in the case of my client, the Socialist Workers party, which I regard as having the same standing in this lawsuit as the CIA," said Boudin.

He scoffed at the CIA's claim that the files were so secret they could not leave the Langley offices:

"I do not believe that anything that touches upon the CIA's violation of the constitutional rights of the plaintiffs—that could be the only material that is given to Your Honor—any of that can possibly affect national security.

"I haven't seen the material," Boudin said, "... but I can tell Your Honor that any espionage on the Socialist Workers party, any break-ins,

any electronic operations against the Socialist Workers party by the CIA cannot be subject to executive privilege. . . .

"Why the CIA? Who are they? Nothing but a group that has violated the constitutional rights of the plaintiffs, and for that reason I object," Boudin said.

At the October 18 court hearing Griesa said he had reconsidered the trip to CIA headquarters and decided against it.

"Unless there is an extraordinary reason why the documents cannot be brought to New York and why the necessary people cannot come to New York to answer my questions," said Griesa, "I would want this done in the courthouse in New York."

Griesa said that the CIA and its Justice Department lawyers should not get special treatment. "The witness or the lawyer really should be in a position that any witness or any lawyer appearing before a court should be at the courthouse."

The government lawyer, Thomas Mosley, suggested a compromise. He asked Griesa to examine the files at the U.S. courthouse in Washington, D.C.

But Griesa said no. "If you can get the documents into the court in Washington, you can get them up here," he told the government lawyer.

The judge did not share Mosley's fear that moving the documents posed a great danger. "I just think that nobody is going to try to plot a robbery of those documents, and I think the CIA can manage to get them up here," he said.

After the hearing Wendy Lyons of the Political Rights Defense Fund, which is organizing support for the SWP lawsuit, commented on the judge's decision.

"We're pleased that the CIA lost this round in its fight to cover up criminal activities in supersecrecy. And we plan to press ahead for our right to a full view of all the CIA files on the socialists."

## District 31 candidate

# Steelworkers Fight Back names Balanoff

By Michael Gillespie

CHICAGO—Jim Balanoff, president of the largest local union in the United Steelworkers of America, announced his candidacy for USWA District 31 director at an October 19 news conference here.

Balanoff is seeking the position being vacated by Ed Sadlowski, who is running for the USWA presidency.

Balanoff, president of the 18,000-member Local 1010 at Inland Steel in East Chicago, Indiana, is the official candidate of Sadlowski's Steelworkers Fight Back campaign organization.

He won the endorsement at a recent meeting of more than 200 Steelworkers Fight Back activists representing some fifty local unions in the Chicago-Gary district.

Balanoff was introduced to the news conference by Local 15271 President Joe Romano, spokesperson for the South Chicago Steelworkers Fight Back. Two dozen union members, including at least seven local presidents, were on hand to cheer their candidate.

The theme running through all of Balanoff's remarks in the hour-long news conference was his dedication to "open, democratic, and militant trade unionism."

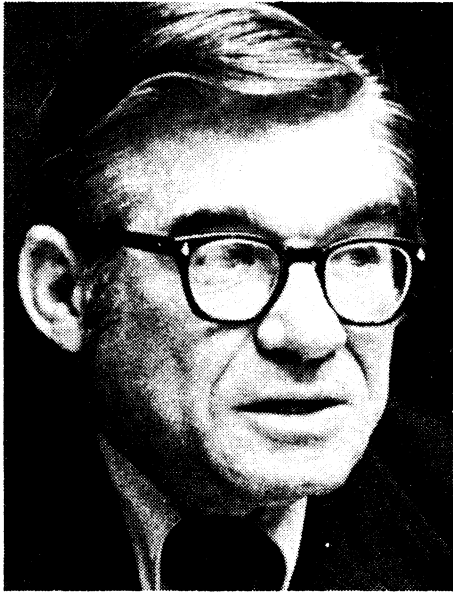
Balanoff said that a major difference between the Sadlowski slate and the bureaucracy's "official family" slate headed by Lloyd McBride is "our approach to the companies and the upcoming negotiations."

"We want to put the companies on notice that we are going to get some real benefits for our members. Our election will be a mandate for an aggressive bargaining stance," Balanoff declared.

### Shorter workweek

"One of the biggest problems facing steelworkers today is layoffs," he said. "It's time we stopped just talking about a shorter workday or workweek and start negotiating seriously for them."

"Another big problem is health and safety on the job. I have seen friends lose fingers and hands in the mill. I know men who are dying from the dust and smoke they are forced to work in,"



JIM BALANOFF: Dedicated to 'democratic and militant trade unionism.'

the veteran steelworker noted.

"Our union must force these companies to put human life ahead of production. We need real teeth in safety clauses that will allow workers to shut down plants until they are safe, healthy places to work."

Balanoff maintained that there is no contradiction between cleaning up the environment and protecting jobs. "If we can put men on the moon and cameras on Mars, then there is no reason why we can't have a clean environment with no cost in jobs," he said.

Balanoff also hit the familiar points of Sadlowski's campaign: against the no-strike agreement in the basic steel industry, for the right of all members to vote on their contracts, and against inequities in the present union dues structure.

### 'Opening up the union'

Balanoff praised Sadlowski for "opening up this union" since he won the district directorship in 1974. "Where for thirty years you couldn't get a candidate [for district director] on the ballot, now there are at least a dozen running," Balanoff said.



ED SADLOWSKI: Credited with 'opening up this union.'

In his campaign for local president last April, and as a delegate to the recent USWA constitutional convention, Balanoff supported efforts to reduce the restrictions on who can run for local union office. He has sought to bring younger members into union activities. Balanoff has also ended a number of appointed positions in Local 1010 and opened them up as elective offices.

Balanoff also spoke out against racism, condemning recent attacks by whites against Black steelworkers going to work.

"These are very dangerous to the unity and strength of the union, and I would put some of the union's muscle behind ending these attacks," he said.

Balanoff also defended the recent partial implementation of an antidiscrimination "consent decree" at Inland Steel. The decree, a voluntary agreement with the force of a court order, has established plant-wide seniority. This allows Blacks and other minorities greater access to promotions and less victimization in layoffs.

The decree has been attacked by some whites in the union who are

angered by the disruption of previous seniority schedules.

"We have to do what is right. It may cost us a few votes, but it's the right thing to do," Balanoff declared.

### Keen competition

Balanoff is competing with at least a dozen other candidates. He must secure the nomination of at least 18 of the district's 234 locals in the thirty-day period that begins November 8.

Locals can nominate only one person for each district and international office, so competition is expected to be keen, even though many District 31 locals elected pro-Sadlowski officers last April.

All but one of the other candidates are international staff representatives who were appointed by former District Director Joseph Germano and are part of the "official family."

At a recent rally for McBride slate member Leon Lynch, many of these staffers and their supporters vowed a "gloves off" campaign against Sadlowski and Steelworkers Fight Back. So the election in District 31 promises to be a bitter one. Already several red-baiting leaflets have surfaced in the district. More are sure to follow.

In closing, Balanoff said he was offering the district's 130,000 steelworkers "twenty-six years of active unionism" and experience in a myriad of different local union offices and activities.

"I have a firsthand understanding of the problems and the needs of people in the mill," Balanoff said, "and I have expressed those in negotiations with the company and on the union convention floor. My record is available for all to see."

"I also bring to this race twenty-six years of active opposition to any policy or program which is not in the interest of democratic unionism."

"While others have spent their lives in appointed positions, I have stood for election."

"I know what it means to take my case to the membership. I have won some and lost others. But I have always relied on the good judgement of the dues-paying member," Balanoff concluded.

## Red-baiting harangue at anti-Sadlowski rally

By Pat Douglas

PITTSBURGH—It sounded like the anticommunist witch-hunts of twenty-five years ago—with Sen. Joe McCarthy behind a rostrum hurling slanders at anyone who dared to hold views with which the senator disagreed.

Unfortunately, this was a meeting of union men and women in 1976. And the red-baiting Joe at the rostrum—waving a sheaf of papers with "proof" that his opponents are "communists"—was none other than Joe Odorcich, director of District 15 of the United Steelworkers of America.

Odorcich is campaign chairperson for Lloyd McBride, the handpicked candidate of the USWA bureaucracy (and the steel corporations) to succeed retiring I.W. Abel as international union president.

I was attending the first campaign rally in the Pittsburgh area for the McBride slate, the self-styled "official family" of the union brass. They are determined to block Ed Sadlowski, the insurgent who is running for USWA president on a platform calling for democratic and militant unionism.

Odorcich chaired the rally. He set the tone for the whole affair with his fifteen-minute red-baiting harangue against Sadlowski and the Steelworkers Fight Back campaign.

Odorcich repeated charges he made at an October 5 news conference—that Jim Balanoff, president of Local 1010 in East Chicago, Indiana, and a staunch Sadlowski supporter, is a "communist."

After that news conference, the Pittsburgh *Post-Gazette* phoned Balanoff to get his response. Balanoff called Odorcich's red-baiting "the ravings of a mad man." He added:

"That charge was around and was used against me in my election [for local president last April] but no one pays any attention to it." Perhaps the bureaucrats haven't heard that Balanoff won that election by a landslide margin of 3,000 votes.

Balanoff continued: "That must be the only issue they can find. Odorcich should seek medical help."

The McBride rally, held October 15 in Local 1397's union hall in nearby Homestead, was built and ballyhooed by "loyal" staff and employees from Abel's headquarters in Pittsburgh.

The attendance of about 200 must have been a disappointment, since the rally was meant to attract steelworkers from all three Pittsburgh-area districts of the union.

Certainly the Abel people were aware that just one week earlier Sadlowski had addressed a meeting of the same size publicized only in Dis-

trict 15. The total attendance at three Sadlowski meetings for the Pittsburgh area was close to 500.

Of course, the audience at Sadlowski's meetings had not included the assorted bureaucrats, lawyers from union headquarters, and other hangers-on of the Abel machine who were much in evidence at the McBride rally.



'OFFICIAL FAMILY'S' McBride: Has hard time justifying refusal to let steelworkers vote on their contracts.

Most of the audience applauded Odorcich's red-baiting. They also applauded when McBride promised them three more years of I.W. Abel's brand of unionism, told them workers in the basic steel industry shouldn't have the right to vote on their contracts, and called for contracts that were "fair to management" as well as to labor.

In response to a question, McBride spent a full fifteen minutes trying to justify why members in basic steel can't vote on their contract. Though his answer seemed well rehearsed, few but the hard-core faithful could have been convinced by McBride's convoluted reasoning on this key question.

They applauded on cue, but a large portion of the audience seemed bored by McBride's lengthy speech. All in all, it was quite a contrast to the spark and enthusiasm of the Sadlowski gatherings.

Those who came to hear "the other side" in the steelworker fight merely heard the old litany of Abel's "business unionism."

Fortunately for those who came to hear McBride with an open mind, the Sadlowski campaign's Pittsburgh headquarters is just blocks away from the Homestead union hall. A number of steelworkers, having heard both candidates, took that short walk and signed up for the Sadlowski team.



## New calls to end violence in movement

By Olga Rodríguez

Fred Halstead and Elfege Baca have sent an answer to Rodolfo "Corky" Gonzales of the Denver Crusade for Justice in response to two letters currently being circulated by the Crusade to movement and community activists in that city and elsewhere.

Halstead is a leader of the Socialist Workers party, and Baca is a member of the Denver Young Socialist Alliance and chairperson of the Metro State College MEChA, a Chicano student organization.

In early October many Chicano and other political activists in Denver and around the country signed a "Declaration Against Violence in the Movement." (See box on this page.) This declaration, addressed to Gonzales, called on him to repudiate the use of violence and physical intimidation to settle differences within the movement. It circulated following a physical assault on Halstead and Denver SWP leader Steve Chainey inside Crusade headquarters. The attack was led by Ernesto Vigil, a Crusade leader. As a result of the unprovoked attack, Halstead suffered a broken nose and face wounds requiring stitches. Chainey's face was bruised and cut.

New names continued to be added to the declaration's list of signers throughout October. They included Judge José Angel Gutiérrez, leader of the Raza Unida party in Zavala County, Texas.

Halstead and Chainey had gone to the Crusade offices to discuss, among other things, a threat of violence by Vigil against Baca.

### Crusade leaders respond

Gonzales and Maria Serna, another Crusade leader, have now issued letters in response to the "Declaration Against Violence in the Movement" and to Halstead's open letter to Gonzales. The letters are dated October 8.

Gonzales accuses signers of the declaration of creating "divisionism, factionalism, disunity and confusion within the Chicano Movement." In an accompanying letter, Serna presents her version of the physical attack on Halstead and Chainey. Serna was present during the beatings.

Unfortunately, the two letters do nothing to ease the concerns of movement and community activists. In a total of seven, single-spaced typed pages, there is no attempt by Gonzales or Serna to dissociate the Crusade from the use of violence against movement activists. On the contrary, one must conclude from their response that such tactics are commonplace for Crusade members.

In their answer to these letters, Baca and Halstead point out:

"In neither letter is there any attempt to deny that Elfege Baca is under threat of violence. Nor is there any attempt to deny that Fred Halstead and Steve Chainey were the victims of an unprovoked assault at the Crusade's headquarters. Instead, both letters seem to try to justify what happened."

Serna attempts to justify the attack

on Halstead and Chainey by stating that they were "intolerably insulting, pompous, and obtrusive in their conduct." This contradicts the claim Ernesto Vigil made at an October 6 meeting that Halstead took a swing at him. Halstead and Chainey flatly deny this assertion.

According to Serna, as Halstead and Chainey were leaving the Crusade office, they "turned to leave a lasting impression by making intimidating threats."

What were these "threats"?

Halstead told Vigil that if anything were to happen to Baca, the SWP and YSA would be forced to make the matter public. This, apparently, was the "intimidating threat."

In her letter, Serna also asserts that "it is the Socialist Workers Party . . . that chose to build a conflict out of a Chicano community situation that

involved two individuals. . . ."

The truth is that Halstead and Chainey went to the Crusade's headquarters on October 1 to try to calm existing tensions and prevent conflict, especially physical violence.

### 'Personal' or political

Crusade leaders maintain that the differences that exist between Vigil and Baca are a personal, not a political matter. Serna insists they are a "Chicano community situation" involving "two individuals," and therefore not the concern of the SWP or YSA.

But as Baca and Halstead state in their response:

"In the first place, we must make it clear that even a personal matter would not justify the use of physical violence to settle differences. In the second place, we do not accept the

*Continued on page 30*

## Complete list of signers

Below are the signers of a "Declaration Against Violence in the Movement" addressed to Rodolfo "Corky" Gonzales, a leader of the Denver Crusade for Justice.

The statement "underlines the urgent need for decisive action . . . to ensure that physical intimidation does not interfere with the free exchange of political views. . . ."

"The forces opposing progressive social change in the United States are very powerful," the declaration says. "The unity necessary to overcome these forces can only be achieved if we respect each other's democratic rights."

Robert Allen, editor, *Black Scholar*; Miguel Angel, chairperson, ethnic studies, Laney Community College, Oakland, California; Geraldine Armijo, student, Metro State College, Denver; Lamberto Armijo, instructor, Chicano studies, Community College, North Campus, Denver; Chuck Arragón, chairperson, MEChA, Community College, Denver; Muriel Ashmore, community activist, Denver.

Elfege Baca, student, Metro State College, Denver; Joe Barros, community activist, Denver; Phillip Berrigan; Karen Buzis, Union of the Poor, Salt Lake City; Ted Buzis, chairperson, Union of the Poor, Salt Lake City; Margarita Carro, Salt Lake City.

Ann Chavez, community activist, Denver; Everett Chavez, Chicano studies, University of Colorado, Denver; Abelardo Delgado, Chicano poet; Darlene Domínguez, community activist, Denver; Luis Fuentes, former director, Utah Society of Ex-Offenders.

Luis Fuentes, former superintendent, New York City School District One; Vera Gallegos, chairperson, United Mexican American Students (UMAS), University of Colorado, Denver; Cecilio García-Camarillo, editor, *Caracol*; Adolfo Gómez, director, Auraria Community Center, Denver; Dr. Armando Gutiérrez, vice-chairperson, Texas Raza Unida party; José Angel Gutiérrez, Raza Unida party, Zavala County, Texas; Luz Gutiérrez, Raza Unida party, Zavala County, Texas; Vickie Herrera, community activist, Denver; Armando Juárez, Salt Lake City.

Severita Lara, Crystal City, Texas; Benjamin Lovato, student, Metro State College, Denver; Froben Lozada,

chairperson, Chicano studies, Merritt College, Oakland, California; Alicia Lucero, community activist, Denver; Patricia Anne Madsen, attorney, Denver; Daniel Martínez, student, Metro State College, Denver.

Edward Martínez, president, Mexican American Youth Organization (MAYO), University of Texas, Austin; Pedro Martínez, chairperson, Raza Student Union, Merritt College, Oakland, California; Juan José Peña, chairperson, Raza Unida party, New Mexico; Miguel Pendas, Socialist Workers party, Denver; Carlos Pérez, community activist, Denver; Josephine Pérez, community activist, Denver.

Marie Quintana, Salt Lake City; Kandy Romero, United Farm Workers Support Committee, Salt Lake City; Kathleen Roybal, Platte Valley Action Center, Denver; Mateo Torres, UMAS, University of Colorado, Denver; Albert Valdivia, former instructor, Escuela Tlatelolco; Rodolfo Valdivia, community activist, Denver; Dr. Wolfgang Yargrau, history department, Denver University; Mike Zárate, National Executive Committee, Young Socialist Alliance. (Organizations listed for identification purposes only.)

## Two Raza Unida candidates on California ballot

By Nick Fuentes

LOS ANGELES—Despite moves by election officials, the Raza Unida party succeeded in placing two candidates on the ballot in the Los Angeles area.

Andrés Torres is running for state assembly in the Thirty-ninth District, covering the San Fernando area.

José Gonzales is the *partido's* nominee in the Sixty-third District, covering the Norwalk area.

Torres, a college professor, is a longtime leader of the RUP. A member of the San Fernando chapter, he is California chairperson of the party. In that capacity he has played a prominent role in the fight to democratize California's extremely restrictive election laws.

In this election, for the first time, the party's name will be listed on the ballot instead of just the name of the candidate.

This is the result of a successful legal challenge by the RUP.

José Gonzales is a well-known activist in Norwalk, where he functions in a number of community organizations.

He is also an active member of United Auto Workers Local 923 and is currently an alternate shop committee member.

Torres and Gonzales were two of four candidates nominated by the Raza Unida party in this area.

Initially only Gonzales's nominating

petitions were accepted by election officials.

Torres's petitions were originally disqualified on the grounds that he had not filed a sufficient number of valid signatures.

This was challenged by the RUP, which made a systematic recheck and proved that in fact Torres had exceeded the required minimum. The officials were compelled to back off and put him on the ballot.

Abel Mendoza, candidate for Congress in the Twenty-first District, had filed well over the required 6,527 signatures.

But after the number was ruled "insufficient," the RUP did not have enough time to make an adequate check. If they had, Andrés Torres is convinced, they would have proven that Mendoza, like Torres, had in fact qualified for the ballot.

Officials found a technicality to disqualify the petitions of Ricardo Pérez, candidate for state assembly in the Fifty-ninth District.

"What hurts about that one," Torres said, "is that he was getting real community support. In the last couple of weeks a whole number of people from the community—some ex-prisoners and others—began working on his petition campaign. Then the election officials got Ricardo on the ground that his brother Miguel, who

signed that he had circulated petitions was not a resident of the district."

On the ballot, Torres and Gonzales have faced the long-standing problems of minority parties—discrimination by the media and limited financial resources.

Both candidates, however, have been working hard in their communities to

reach a maximum number of people on such key issues confronting Chicanos as jobs, housing, and education.

Torres has been speaking at community meetings and talking to people in shopping centers and wherever else he and his supporters are able to reach them.

Gonzales's campaign in Norwalk has found a receptive ear. He has been able to speak at several campus gatherings.

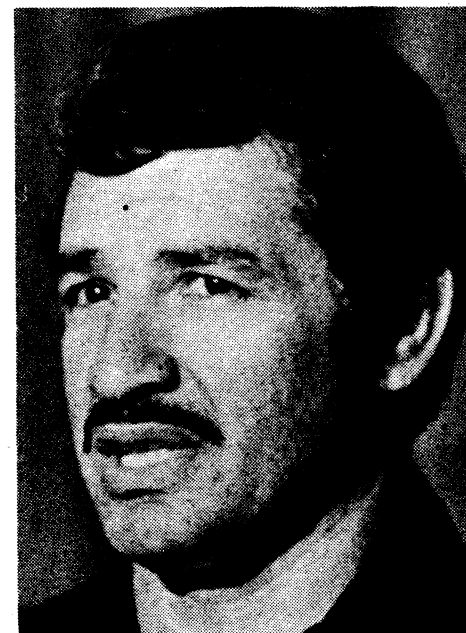
A successful fund-raiser for the two candidates was held October 15 in La Puente. With a contribution of \$2.50 each, about 250 people turned out for the affair.

The *partido* has printed a bilingual policy statement that is being distributed in both Torres's and Gonzales's districts.

It declares, in part:

"We believe that for the political and economic survival of all working people we must remove the blindfold and stranglehold" of the Republicans and Democrats, "masquerading as a two-party system."

The campaign of the Raza Unida nominees is being supported by the Los Angeles Socialist Workers party, among others. Torres and Gonzales were officially endorsed by the recent SWP county convention, which urged all partisans of independent political action to help turn out the vote for them.



Militant/Henry Snipper

Andrés Torres, Raza Unida candidate for state assembly, speaking at October 23 Socialist Workers campaign rally in Los Angeles.



# Camejo and Reid campaign for socialism



Camejo campaigning at San Francisco State University

Militant/Arnold Weissberg

## California

By Arnold Weissberg

LOS ANGELES—When the phone rang in the San Francisco Mission District headquarters of the Socialist Workers party campaign October 20, John Studer had no idea how rewarding the call would be.

The caller had seen SWP presidential candidate Peter Camejo on the NBC "Tomorrow" show the previous week and was interested in finding out more. Studer, the SWP city organizer, told him that Camejo was speaking that night. The caller said he would come. He did—and donated \$300 to the socialist campaign.

In front of an attentive audience, Camejo is off and running, moving around the stage, his rapid-fire delivery often bringing the crowd to laughter as he illustrates the absurdity of the capitalist system.

Camejo's special target this week was the "Great Debates" between Ford and Carter.

"If you had any question after the first debate, the second one should have settled it. Carter got up and said, 'I want the biggest war budget.' Ford said, 'No, I want the biggest war budget.' I do." "No, I do."

"After fifteen minutes, the differences were quite clear on that issue."

"Then they went on to Panama. Ford said, 'I'll keep it forever.' Carter replied, 'I'll never let it go.'"

Camejo's speeches emphasized the need for working people and all the oppressed to break with the Democrats and Republicans. "The working class today is confronted by political problems. And the reason it faces setbacks and defeats is because it doesn't have its own political party."

Camejo's campaign has been widely endorsed in the Chicano movement. One of the most significant of these is the New Mexico Raza Unida party.

Juan José Peña, head of the New Mexico RUP, spoke along with Camejo several times during his California tour. He explained to a crowd of 135 in San Diego that his party endorsed Camejo because the SWP platform stands for many of the same ideas as the New Mexico *partido*. In addition, Peña explained that Camejo is the first Latino to run for president.

Peña also outlined the perspectives of the RUP in New Mexico.

Camejo and Peña shared the platform at East Los Angeles College in the center of this country's largest barrio.

Also speaking was Fred Aguilar of the La Puente, California, Raza Unida chapter. Aguilar spoke in support of the two RUP candidates on the California ballot.

The meeting, conducted in Spanish drew sixty people. Three expressed interest in joining the SWP.

Two nights later Camejo and Peña were joined on the platform in Los

Angeles by Andrés Torres, state chairperson of the California RUP. Torres spoke on behalf of his party's candidates.

That meeting, which drew 250 people, raised more than \$4,400 for the socialist campaign.

## Washington DC

By Bill Scheer

WASHINGTON—Peter Camejo, Socialist Workers party candidate for president, spent October 14 and 15 campaigning in the Washington, D.C., area.

While pollsters point to voter disinterest in the Ford and Carter candidacies, Camejo received a rousing response from the nearly 500 persons who attended his campaign meetings here.

"It was the first time I had ever heard Peter Camejo, and I was really impressed," said Carol Pudliner-Sweeny, a leading activist in the National Organization for Women. "I thought his remarks on the presidential debates were very good in pointing out that they were nondebates." Pudliner-Sweeny was a main organizer of a two-month-long vigil for the Equal Rights Amendment at the White House this summer. She brought greetings to a campaign rally in D.C. of close to 175 people.

"What I really liked about Camejo's speech is that he does not avoid the issue of racism in this country the way the Democrats and Republicans do," said Tony Grillo, an activist in the Wilmington Ten Defense Committee and a new member of the SWP. "He explained Carter's so-called slip on ethnic purity. How can anyone make a slip in saying phrases like 'ethnic purity' and 'Black intrusion'? What else could Carter have been trying to say?"

Also speaking at the rally were Gene O'Sullivan, one of the fifteen indicted press operators from the *Washington Post* strike, and Eli Green, SWP candidate for D.C. City Council. Green pledged to use his campaign to mobilize support for ending U.S. involvement in South Africa.

Mark Strumps, former student body president at the University of Maryland, was recently a Maryland state coordinator for the ill-fated presidential bid of Fred Harris. In his greetings to a community meeting for Camejo in Prince Georges County, Maryland, Strumps said his involvement in the top levels of the Harris campaign turned him off to the Democratic party.

The Harris forces tried to project a populist image, Strumps said, but, "I don't think they would recognize an ordinary working person if they tripped over one." He urged a vote for Camejo and Reid and said he planned

to join the SWP.

Nineteen people signed up to join the socialist movement during the two-day tour, and many more indicated an interest in classes on socialism and future campaign activities.

## Ohio

By Chris Remple

CLEVELAND—"It's too bad more people can't hear Peter Camejo," a new campaign supporter here recently remarked. "If they could, they'd be sure to vote socialist. It makes so much sense."

The Democrats, Republicans, and big-business-owned media do their best to deny equal time to Camejo and other candidates of smaller parties. But here in the Cleveland area socialist campaign supporters succeeded this fall in getting out their ideas to tens of thousands of Ohioans.

An October 8 campaign rally featuring Camejo drew more than 100 people and was covered on the nighttime news broadcast by WEWS-TV, the local ABC affiliate. Camejo also appeared on a daytime television talk show, and another local television news program covered his news conference. The Akron *Beacon-Journal* also interviewed Camejo.

At the October 8 campaign rally Paul X Moody, victim of a racist frame-up rape charge, thanked the Ohio Socialist Workers party for its support to his defense efforts. He asked for continuing support in his fight for a reversal of his recent conviction.

Paula Savich, SWP congressional candidate in Ohio's Twenty-first District, also spoke at the rally. Savich, an activist in Steelworkers Fight Back, pointed to the importance for the entire union movement of the struggle for democracy in the United Steelworkers union. She explained that she was supporting the candidacy of insurgent unionist Ed Sadlowski for president of the USWA.

Among the other speakers at the rally were Liz Harris of Preterm, an abortion counseling center; Morris Starsky, a plaintiff in the SWP's lawsuit against the FBI and other government spy agencies; Terry Gilbert, from the Committee to Reopen the Rosenberg Case and National Lawyers Guild; Martin O'Brien, a new member of the Young Socialist Alliance in Cleveland; and Melissa Singler, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate from Ohio.

## Texas

By Barbara Mutnick

HOUSTON—Socialist vice-presidential candidate Willie Mae Reid's tour here in mid-October highlighted the determination of the Democratic and Republican parties to preserve their stranglehold at the ballot box.

Reid's two-and-a-half-day visit began with a news conference at the office of Houston Mayor Fred Hofheinz. A few hours earlier, Reid's supporters appeared before the city council to demand that Hofheinz provide her the same "red carpet" treatment he

gave Jimmy Carter at taxpayers' expense last month.

Hofheinz closed off the busiest downtown intersection, installed a platform, and brought in a high school band for Carter's rally in Houston.

After the news conference, Reid and her supporters confronted Hofheinz as reporters and television crews looked on. In addition to the demands for equal treatment, Reid demanded adequate police protection at her appearances in Houston, since the city's violence-prone Nazis planned to show up at socialist campaign activities.

While in Houston, Reid also participated in a demonstration and rally outside the Alley Theater, where the vice-presidential debate between Walter Mondale and Robert Dole was being held. Candidates other than the Democrat and Republican were not only excluded from the debate, but federal courts denied candidates of smaller parties equal time.

"Step across the street and have a real debate," Reid challenged Dole and Mondale at the sidewalk rally.

As expected, three Nazis in full brown-shirt regalia showed up at a city-wide socialist campaign rally in a predominantly Black area of the city.

They carried anti-Black and anti-Semitic signs.

Black residents of the area demanded that the Nazis leave their neighborhood. They told reporters that Blacks could not even walk safely in many all-white Houston neighborhoods—let alone parade around with signs insulting the residents.

Reid also spoke at Lamar University in Beaumont and at Houston's Texas Southern University.

## Maryland

By Gordon Fox

BOWIE, Md.—"The attempt by a Mississippi court to bankrupt the NAACP shows the extent to which the rulers of this country are ready to go in their drive to prevent Blacks and other working people from fighting the attacks on our rights and living standards," Richard Hill told the thirty-sixth annual convention of the Maryland NAACP.

Hill, Socialist Workers party candidate for U.S. Senate from Maryland, was speaking on behalf of the SWP. His speech was part of a "political extravaganza" concluding the convention, which met here October 22-23. Other speakers included Atlanta Mayor Maynard Jackson and representatives of Democratic and Republican campaigns in Maryland.

"All of our previous gains are under attack," Hill said. "Both the Democrats and Republicans attack busing, threatening the 1954 Supreme Court decision." He also pointed to recent court decisions upholding the death penalty and to government spying operations against dissenters such as the NAACP, SWP, and other groups.

"The SWP believes that whether the Democrats or the Republicans win on November 2," Hill said, "the real winners will be the big corporations, and the real losers will be the great majority of the American people."



Militant/Stu Singer

Willie Mae Reid confronts Houston Mayor Fred Hofheinz (left)

## Vote yes on Proposition 14

# UFW fights for union representation elections

By Arnold Weissberg

SAN DIEGO—Joe Digman was vehement: "The volunteers will make it or break it," he emphasized again and again.

Digman is one of the United Farm Workers coordinators working on the drive to pass Proposition 14, the UFW-sponsored farm labor initiative on the November 2 ballot.

The union hoped to have 400 volunteers on San Diego's streets for the week before the election. "If the volunteers don't come out, we're dead," Digman said.

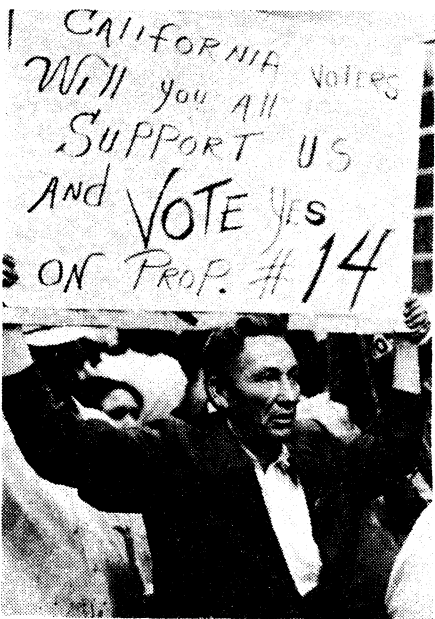
The growers raised a \$2.5 million war chest to defeat Proposition 14, Digman explained, and the union had to rely on its supporters to get the word out on a one-to-one basis.

"It's the same old story," Digman commented. "Money against people."

The UFW in San Diego has organized an ambitious and aggressive campaign to secure passage of the ballot measure. Full-time staff members coordinate the work of the many volunteers. Other full-timers are out on the streets every day, talking to people and handing out

leaflets and bumper stickers.

Digman said the union has focused on beaches, shopping centers, and campuses, "where the people are."



Militant/Joseph Ryan

UFW relies on people-to-people campaign to counter growers' \$2.5 million war chest.

The growers have mounted a slick, high-powered media campaign aimed at frightening the public. They urge people to vote against the proposition "to protect private property." But this isn't the issue.

Proposition 14 is basically the same as California's 1975 law setting up union representation elections among field hands, with provisions to prevent the legislature from changing the rules for holding elections.

Agribusiness is trying to make the "No on 14" campaign appear to be the work of thousands of small farmers, who claim their "family farms" would be threatened if Proposition 14 passes.

In reality, the UFW is interested in organizing the corporate ranches with hundreds of workers, not little farms operated by single families. That is why the drive to defeat the proposition is financed and run by agribusiness.

However, the agricultural monopolies are apparently afraid to let the public know exactly who is paying the bills. Under California law, the

names of contributors to political campaigns must be made public. But in San Diego County, Digman explained, nearly all contributions to "No on 14" are funneled through a group called "San Diego County Farmers, Inc."

"San Diego County Farmers, Inc." has contributed \$50,000 so far. Other big contributors around the state include the ultrareactionary California Farm Bureau, with \$100,000; the Western Growers Association, with \$12,000; and the Southern Pacific Land Company, with \$5,000.

"No on 14" contributions have also come in from the giant Irvine Land Company, Superior Oil, and J.G. Boswell, a member of the Safeway Stores board of directors.

On the other side of the battle, hundreds of people from all over the country have responded to the UFW's call for help.

Another indication of the UFW's support across the country is the fund-raising rallies it has been having in many cities. For example, 1,000 people attended an October 10 rally in Chicago, where \$15,000 was raised for the "Yes on 14" effort.

## SWP urges vote for Milwaukee Black activist

By Delpfine Welch

MILWAUKEE—On November 2 voters in the all-Black First District here will go to the polls to vote in a special election for a new member of the Milwaukee Common Council to replace Democrat Orville Pitts. Pitts resigned several weeks ago to become assistant city attorney.

One of the eleven candidates for the vacancy is Michael McGee, a founder and leader of the United Black Community Council. McGee was defeated by Pitts in last spring's regular election for the position.

The Socialist Workers party in Milwaukee called for a vote for McGee in that race. This fall the SWP is again urging Milwaukee voters to cast their ballots for McGee.

"McGee's campaign for common council offers the Black community an alternative to the racist, antilabor policies of the big-business-controlled

Democratic and Republican parties," says Robert Schwarz, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate from Wisconsin.

"Independent Black and labor political action is sorely needed today to help defend our rights and living standards against attacks from both ruling parties. Independent Black campaigns like McGee's are a step in that direction."

McGee is a well-known leader of the United Black Community Council. Since its founding two years ago, the UBCC has helped mobilize opposition to a series of cop killings in Milwaukee's Black community. Recently the UBCC adopted a position calling for an independent Black political party. The UBCC hopes to join forces with other groups across the country to launch such a party.

This summer the UBCC sponsored a "Black Women's Political Forum." SWP vice-presidential candidate Willie

Mae Reid spoke at the forum, along with two local Democratic party candidates.

McGee believes that the entire electoral system is set up to "crush any third-party movement. Even the court system supports the Democratic and Republican parties," McGee said in a recent interview. "That was shown by the ruling that the third-party presidential candidates couldn't get equal time" in the televised debates.

In the presidential election this fall, McGee is supporting Peter Camejo and Willie Mae Reid. "I've talked to Willie Mae Reid and I've heard her talk a number of times," McGee explained. The SWP candidates, he said, "seem to be more interested in the people's needs."

McGee urges people to vote for any third-party ticket rather than the Democrats or Republicans. "I would rather see people just not vote than

vote for Jimmy Carter—Black people in particular," he said.

This fall a limited school desegregation plan involving some busing was started in Milwaukee. Although the UBCC takes a position opposing busing—counterposing it to community control of schools in Black neighborhoods—McGee favors working with probusing groups such as the SWP to ensure the safety of Black students being bused into previously all-white schools.

McGee is an active opponent of the Milwaukee Police Department's "red squad"—the Special Assignment Squad. He is a plaintiff in a suit that forced disclosure of cop spy files on four local radicals, including himself.

Those interested in finding out more about the McGee campaign can contact the United Black Community Council, 2636 North Third Street, Milwaukee, Wisconsin 53212.

## 'I decided the SWP would have to be my party'

By Louise Armstrong

SEATTLE—Doug Riggs is a thirty-year-old rebel.

After dropping out of high school, and before becoming a socialist, Riggs joined the army. But in 1965 he was kicked out for being "unable to adjust to military life."

"I couldn't stand it," Riggs said. "All the officers did was harass the enlisted

"The best thing that a college education did for me was make me use the library," he said. "I found out that U.S. history is not always written the way it really was. I began to realize that Vietnam was a genocidal war. That we were just there to help big business."

Riggs has worked since he was twelve years old. "I've done everything—paper routes; working in a furniture store, a drive-in, an auto plant; tending bar."

"I taught school for a while in a special program for Detroit's inner city schools. But I wasn't allowed to teach the truth. I met so many brilliant people whose lives are being wasted by this system."

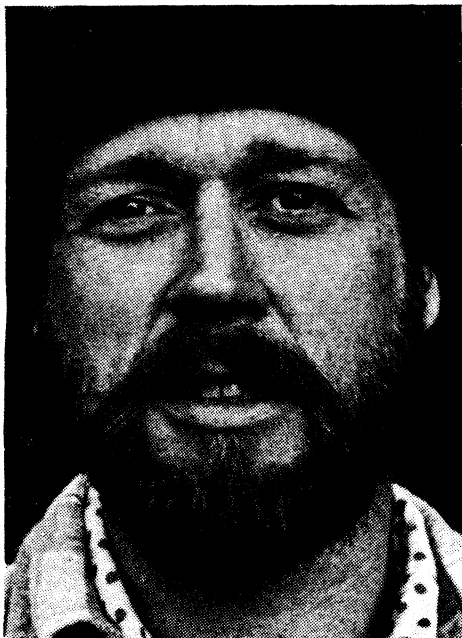
Riggs moved from Detroit to Seattle because he "just couldn't make enough to support my family."

"I was working almost eighty hours a week tending bar and driving a cab. But we were barely scraping by."

Riggs drives a cab in Seattle and also works as a jazz pianist. "You know, a lot of jazz players are radical," he said. "Maybe that's because many are Black—oppressed from the begin-

ning. And they're also oppressed as musicians and artists."

"I think music should be free for everyone to enjoy," Riggs added. "It shouldn't just be for people with lots of money in their pockets."



DOUG RIGGS

Militant/Lindy Laub

Riggs picked up a copy of the Socialist Workers party's election platform, "A Bill of Rights for Working People," while he was still living in Detroit. "I agreed right down the line," he said. "I decided that the SWP would have to be my party."

"As soon as I hit Seattle, I looked up the party. I couldn't just sit back any longer and be outraged on my own without joining forces with other people who feel the same way I do."

Now Riggs is a provisional member of the SWP. This three-month provisional period gives prospective members a chance to become familiar with the party before joining. At the SWP convention this summer, the party launched a drive to win 300 new provisional members by January.

"Now the outrage I feel with the injustices of this system can be channeled into helping to change things."

"If everybody got together in the same direction," he said, "this society would begin to change."

"There's a lot of democracy in this party. I'm sure that I can have a voice in things—that my voice will be heard. "It certainly isn't heard elsewhere."

**JOINING  
THE SWP**

men. I finally realized, What the hell can they do to me? I don't have to put up with always being demeaned.

"My family was poor. And it was in the army that I realized that this was nothing to be ashamed of or embarrassed about."

While in the army, Riggs passed his high school equivalency examination. After his discharge, he attended Wayne State University in Detroit.



## Transkei fraud

The racist South African regime has hired a Madison Avenue public relations firm to peddle its propaganda that the 14,300-square-mile territory of Transkei—declared October 26 to be “independent”—is a legitimate expression of Black rights. But so far there aren’t many takers.

The “independence” sham has been denounced by the Organization of African Unity and by the United Nations General Assembly. Not a single country has extended recognition to Pretoria’s puppet. Even Washington felt compelled to honor the diplomatic boycott.

“Independence” for Transkei is intended to justify continued white minority rule throughout South Africa. Transkei and nine other tiny areas are declared to be the “homelands” of South Africa’s 18 million Africans. Thus 71 percent of the population is allotted 13 percent of the national territory. Outside these “homelands,” Blacks are denied all political rights.

Transkei’s puppet Black leaders recently showed just how “independent” they are by locking up John Kani and Winston Ntshona, renowned Black South African actors, for performing an antiapartheid play. After worldwide protests the two actors were released October 24 and expelled from Transkei.

Meanwhile, South African riot police opened fire with shotguns and submachine guns on funeral processions for martyred Soweto Blacks on October 23 and 24. At least seven more Blacks were killed.

The heroic Soweto demonstrators are proving that South African Blacks remain determined to rule their own country.

All of it.

## Scottsboro ‘justice’

After forty-five years and six months the state of Alabama has admitted that Clarence Norris is innocent. Gov. George Wallace signed a pardon for Norris on October 25.

Norris is the last known surviving defendant from the infamous Scottsboro case. He and eight other Black youths were convicted in 1931 on false charges of rape.

A national defense campaign fought to free the “Scottsboro Boys,” as they were called. In 1933 Alabama Judge James Horton admitted there was no evidence to convict them.

But racism won out. Norris suffered fifteen years in prison, with five years of solitary confinement on death row. When he was paroled in 1946, Norris fled to live as a “fugitive” in New York.

What if Alabama had gone ahead and executed Norris? “They sent me to the chair three times and then each time they brought me back. Any time I could have gone,” Norris recalled.

What about the victims of racist frame-ups sitting today on death row? If the government murders them there will be no chance to admit their innocence years from now.

Norris drew a lesson from his ordeal and victory. It is one that applies with special force to defense of today’s victims of racist injustice and to the fight against the death penalty:

“The lesson to Black people, to my children, to everybody, is that you should fight for your rights, even if it costs you your life. . . .” Norris said. “That’s all that life consists of.”

## Vote SWP

Socialist Workers party candidates Peter Camejo and Willie Mae Reid were barred from the “Great Debates” between their Democratic and Republican rivals. The socialist campaign was denied equal media coverage. But many who did manage to hear its views were persuaded to back the SWP.

We urge all our readers to vote for Camejo and Reid in ’76. In those states where the SWP was kept off the ballot by undemocratic laws, we urge a write-in vote for the SWP.

We also urge *Militant* readers to:

- Vote for Raza Unida party campaigns in California, Colorado, New Mexico, and Texas for offices where there are no SWP candidates.

- Vote “yes” on Question 1 in Massachusetts and vote “no” on Proposition 6 in Colorado to show support for passage of the Equal Rights Amendment for women.

- Vote “yes” on Proposition 14 in California, which will help farm workers win representation by the union of their choice through elections in the fields.

### Leading by huge margin

*Militant* readers may have missed this item that appeared in the current issue of the *National Review*, a right-wing magazine published by William Buckley, in a series of capsule reviews of the 1976 candidates:

“The Socialist Workers Party, Trotsky’s child, is offering Peter Camejo and Willie Mae Reid. The SWP is running against the FBI— and is leading by a huge margin.”

R.M.

*Bronx, New York*

### ERA fight in Colorado

I would like to make *Militant* readers aware of a very important fight being waged in Colorado. Up for vote here November 2 is whether or not to rescind the state Equal Rights Amendment, which was ratified by a two-to-one margin in 1972.

This past summer the League of Housewives and the Wake Up Colorado! Stop ERA coalition petitioned to put a repeal question on the ballot. The way it’s worded, a no vote is required for retention of the ERA.

The ERA coalition (consisting of fifty-two organizations and many unaffiliated individuals) and other local groups are working hard to get that majority no vote.

The fight in Colorado is particularly crucial because we have had the ERA here for four years. You can bet the next move by anti-ERA forces, if the state ERA goes down the tube, will be against Colorado’s ratification of the federal ERA.

One of the things we are doing is mounting an advertising campaign on radio and TV and in the newspapers. But it’s expensive and we are in debt. Please help us keep the ERA in Colorado! Send contributions to: ERA Colorado, 2611 Stout Street, Denver, Colorado 80205.

Nancy L. Reubert

State Media Coordinator,

ERA Colorado

Lakewood, Colorado

### Beer blast

During the editing of my article on the rally in South Chicago for insurgent steelworker candidate Ed Sadlowski (*Militant*, October 15), the event was characterized as a “picnic.” As those of us who were there know, the “beer blast” and rally were held indoors and on a rainy, dreary day. It had none of the usual attributes of a picnic.

An important beginning of the Sadlowski campaign in District 31 it was, a picnic it was not.

Michael Gillespie

Chicago, Illinois

### Supports CP’s campaign

As a communist and not a “Stalinist” I would like to take exception to a couple of surmises in Steve Clark’s article “Gus Hall, detente & ’76 election” (*Militant*, September 24).

It is not apparent that the Soviet Union prefers Ford over Carter. The sole passage dealing with the Kremlin shows Clark is not inclined to substantiate his surmises with facts:

“The CP knows very well that the Kremlin prefers a Ford victory this fall, just as it favored Nixon—the “father” of detente—in 1972. Yet the American Stalinists feel free to criticize Ford—especially for backing

away from detente—because they also know that Moscow could easily live with Carter.”

Which *proves* exactly what? If the Kremlin can live about as well with Carter as Ford, why prefer one over the other?

McCarthy was a capitalist candidate, so is Carter, so is Ford, so was Reagan. But is it really true Clark can’t tell the difference between them? Is it really true Clark can’t tell that an ultraright, ultramonopoly, ultraimperialist wing exists in this country, and that their actions, if in power, would represent a detrimental attack on all kinds of civil rights, to say nothing of wild-man politics abroad? Does he think this is all a con game behind the backs of the electorate, or doesn’t he recognize there are social forces involved?

But does it necessarily follow from this that one has to choose between the offered choices? I for one am glad that the CP is running candidates here precisely because they feel such choices—while real enough in their own merits—are simply not adequate.

It is true that the CP was, and to some extent remains, too close to the Democrats. It is also true that the Hall-Tyner campaign is an attempt to break with this tradition. I believe it is a healthy endeavor, which is why I am supporting it.

David Wulphere

Richmond, California

### Nuclear power

The continued building of nuclear fission power plants threatens vast, irreparable harm to humanity and the ecosystem—from a large increase in low-level radiation, from catastrophic accidents at nuclear power plants, from the vast amount of radioactive garbage created, and from an exponential increase in the number of nuclear bombs in the hands of governments and other terrorists.

The Socialist Workers party and its candidates should state their unequivocal opposition toward the continued building of nuclear fission power plants. In doing so the SWP will come to the attention of the antinuclear movement, which will continue to grow as the hazards inherent in the nuclear fuel cycle become more and more clear.

The capitalist drive toward maximizing profit is destroying the ecosphere. Technology in the control of capitalists is not safe. Only a socialist economy has the potential of adopting technologies in harmony with the ecosystem—technologies which minimize their intrusion on the ecosystem upon which everything depends.

E. Gogol

Chicago, Illinois

### Unconditional amnesty

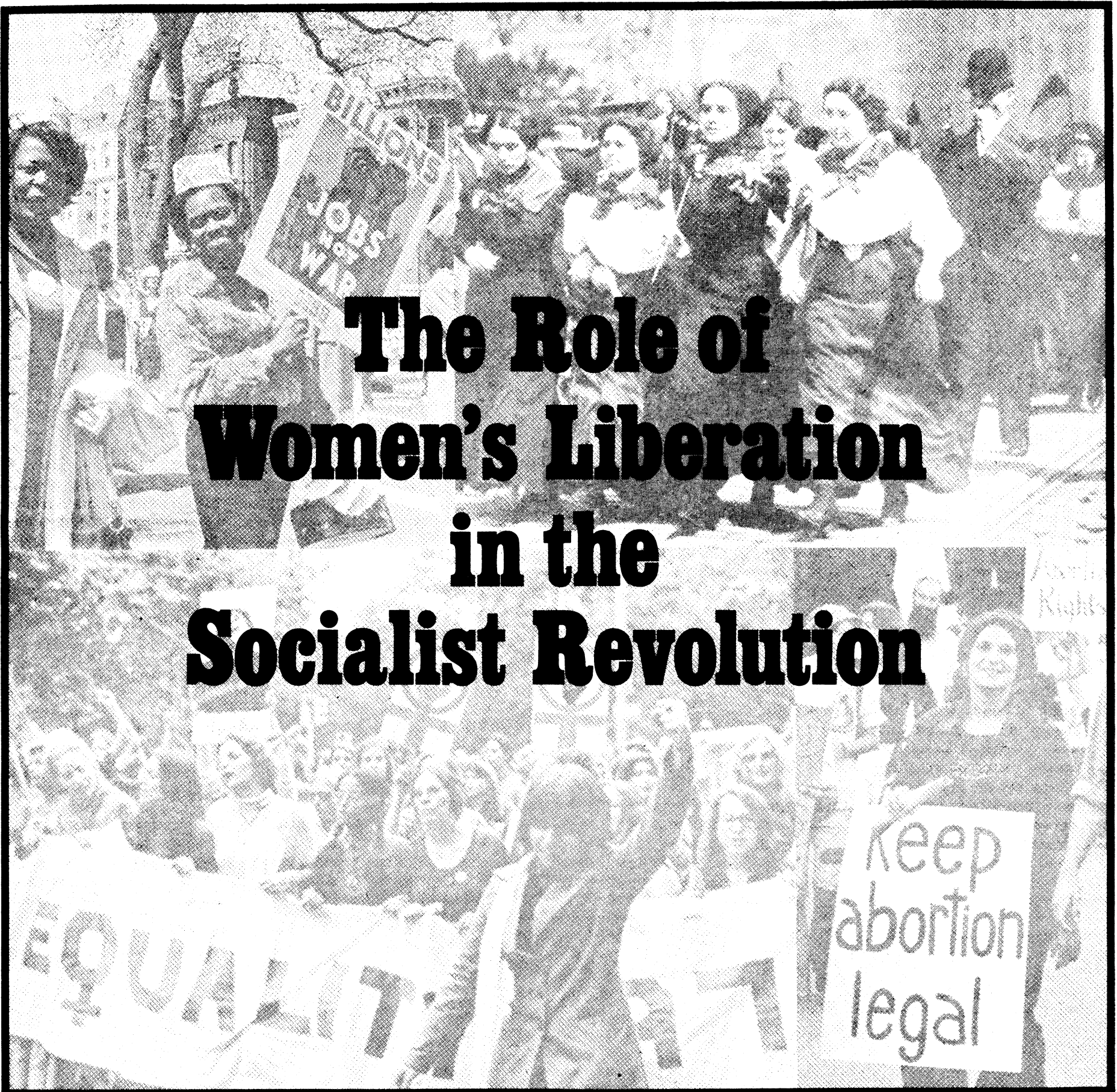
Our committee believes that Jimmy Carter’s proposal to “pardon” Vietnam War draft resisters is deficient and calls into question his oft-stated concern for the minorities and the underprivileged. His exclusion of “deserters” and holders of “bad discharges,” in effect, constitutes class and racial discrimination.

For it was these very men, disproportionately Black, Latin, and white working class who bore the terrible burden of service in Vietnam and who also are so overwhelmingly represented among the over half million deserters and 600,000 less-than-honorable discharge holders.

Continued on page 23



# international **socialist** review



## **The Role of Women's Liberation in the Socialist Revolution**

### **Also in This Issue:**

• **Juan Jose Pena:**  
**Why Chicanos**  
**Should Vote Socialist**

• **Trotsky's Discussion**  
**With a CIO Organizer**

# THE MONTH IN REVIEW

## The Hungarian Revolution

This month marks the twentieth anniversary of the Soviet bureaucracy's crushing of the Hungarian revolution of 1956. When the history of our era is written, the workers and radical students and intellectuals of Budapest deserve a special place of honor. At a time when the cause of human solidarity, freedom, and socialism seemed at its lowest ebb, they came forward and showed how to fight.

In 1956 the world appeared to many to confirm the pessimistic vision of George Orwell's 1984. American capitalism, the leader of the so-called free world, was sunk deep in the morass of McCarthyism.

This bulwark of reaction and stifling conformism was sustained by the riches extracted from hundreds of millions of colonial slaves acquired as part of the spoils of World War II.

Following the war socialist revolutions had swept away capitalist property relations in Eastern Europe and China; but with them came a monstrous new tyranny, a bureaucratic nightmare that fastened itself around the necks of working people.

Humanity was asked to choose between the sham freedom of capitalism, and "socialist" economic progress that could be had only at the cost of abandoning freedom. The workers and students of Hungary showed it was possible to reject both of these alternatives.

The ferment began among Budapest intellectuals grouped in the Petöfi Circle who began in the spring of 1956 to demand greater political and artistic freedom. Then in June, a general strike broke out in Poznan, Poland. The strike was directed against the bureaucratic regime dominated by Soviet Field Marshall Rokossovsky, which had been imposed on Poland by Stalin.

On October 21, this Kremlin satrap was forced out of the Polish CP leadership and replaced by Wladyslaw Gomulka, a dissident Stalinist who was looked upon as a reformer by the masses. This victory was a great inspiration to the people of Hungary.

On October 22, Budapest students demonstrated in the streets in support of the Polish reform movement, demanding the withdrawal of the Soviet occupation forces that had been stationed in Hungary since the end of World War II. They called for the appointment of Imre Nagy, a figure similar to Gomulka, as premier.

The next day large numbers of workers joined the demonstrations in Budapest. Police opened fire on the crowds, but instead of demoralizing the protesters this provoked an outburst of fury that toppled the government. The Hungarian army was called out, but it quickly went over to the side of the rebellious workers.

On October 24 the Khrushchev government in the USSR launched a military attack. But the stubborn resistance of the workers

movement prevented the Kremlin from taking the capital. Armed workers battled the Soviet troops on the outskirts of Budapest and, in impassioned appeals to their Soviet class brothers, won over large numbers of Russian soldiers. In the factories, workers councils were elected and they became the most powerful organizations in Hungary, leading the revolt. On October 25 the Budapest Workers Council called a general strike. This was completely effective.

Imre Nagy, who had been catapulted to the premiership by the revolt, proved incapable of offering leadership to the mass movement. He temporized with the Kremlin and refused to mobilize the armed workers for serious resistance.

The capitalist press outside Hungary insistently claimed that the aim of the revolution was to establish democracy by overthrowing the planned economy—echoing Stalinist slanders that the Hungarian workers were "counterrevolutionaries." This was a lie.

Here is an excerpt from a resolution of the Workers Council of the Eleventh District of Budapest, which was typical of the position taken by the other Workers Councils: "We wish to emphasize that the revolutionary working class considers the factories and the land the property of the working people. . . we demand that a date be set for free elections in which only those parties may participate that recognize and have always recognized the Socialist order, based on the principle that the means of production belong to society."

Finally, on November 4, Moscow hurled sixteen Soviet divisions and 2,000 tanks against the Hungarian workers. After continuing the general strike for several months, the workers councils were finally crushed. Nagy, together with other leaders "guilty" of sympathizing with the Hungarian masses, was arrested and executed.

Like the Paris Commune of the previous century, the workers of Budapest won a victory in defeat. The Paris Commune had shown the world that the working class could take power and organize a new social system. The Hungarian revolution showed that socialism was still a living movement in the working class. It confirmed that the proletarian enemies of Stalinism had no desire to return to capitalism but only to cleanse their society of the bureaucratic tyranny that corrupted it.

Moreover, the Hungarian workers' initial victories proved that the bureaucracy could be fought and defeated by a mobilized working class. This was a body blow to the Stalinist monolith that claimed to speak in the name of the socialist future of humanity.

In the twenty years since the Hungarian October, we have seen the steady disintegration of the once formidable power of world Stalinism. In Czechoslovakia in 1968, and in Poland in 1970 and again this year, thousands of workers, students, and intellectuals battled for their rights against the entrenched privileged groups that rule their countries.

Stalinism, far from being a unified world system of bureaucratic terror, has shattered along narrowly nationalistic lines. The police-state regimes in these countries have steadily become less able to silence the voices of dissent.

Moreover, the growth of industry, with its

accompanying increase in the size and cohesiveness of the working class in the postcapitalist countries, prepares the forces for Stalinism's overthrow. This can be most graphically seen today in China. After twenty-seven years of unchallenged sway over China's political life, the Maoist high command faces gathering mass forces to its left that are demanding a say in determining their country's course.

That is the meaning of the strikes in Hangchow in the summer of 1975 that paralyzed that industrial city and were suppressed only with the intervention of 10,000 troops of the People's Liberation Army. The regime was shaken again, even before Mao's death, by the spontaneous demonstration of 100,000 people in Peking's Tien An Men Square on April 5. These protesters successfully stood off the repressive forces of the state for a full day as they put up posters honoring Chou En-lai, who they took to be a reformer. "Samizdat" reports on the great impact of this event inside China have begun to come out of the country (see "An Account of China's Tien An Men incident" in the October 22 *Militant*).

With Mao's death the Peking regime has entered a period of crisis. Using Stalinist frame-up methods, Hua Kuo-feng has succeeded in eliminating Mao's chief lieutenants, including his widow, Chiang Ch'ing. The arrested leaders were among the best known, and hence the most unpopular, representatives of the government's repressive policies. But surely the new masters of Peking must be at least a little uneasy at the jubilant mood of the massive crowds they have called into the streets to ratify their purge. These include forces that will be difficult to control in the months and years ahead.

Mao Tsetung supported the crushing of the Hungarian workers in 1956. Indeed, he liked to claim credit for persuading the Kremlin to intervene. The bureaucrats, crudely nationalistic when the interests of the world working class are concerned, become instinctively "internationalist" when they sense their own power threatened. They know that antibureaucratic revolution cannot be contained inside one country.

Teng Hsiao-p'ing, himself a case-hardened bureaucrat, was dismissed from the government two days after the Tien An Men demonstration, accused of being the "Imre Nagy" of China. Mao's fear of a Hungarian-type workers uprising in China exposed the fraudulence of his regime's demagogic claims to rest on "proletarian democracy" and "mass participation."

As in the case of Hungary, the capitalist press accepted Mao's claims to represent militant socialism, describing the mass opposition to his tyrannical practices as "moderate" or even "rightist." They do this in order to reinforce the identification of revolutionary socialism with Stalinist totalitarianism, a lie that mass mobilizations for socialist democracy threaten to expose.

In the coming struggles in China the fighters for socialist democracy will find inspiration in the events of that October in Budapest two decades ago and will see in the workers councils of Hungary their class brothers and sisters in the fight for a socialist society freed of domination and special privilege.

## CONTENTS

The Month  
In Review

2

The Role of  
Women's Liberation  
in the Socialist  
Revolution

By Mary-Alice Waters 3  
Leon Trotsky's  
Discussion with a  
CIO Organizer 9

Why Chicanos  
Should Vote Socialist  
By Juan José Peña 11

Books:  
The American

Revolution,  
Reviewed by  
Stephanie Coontz

12



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# The Role of Women's Liberation in the Socialist Revolution

A socialist feminist explores the fundamental contradiction in the situation of women under capitalism and its revolutionary implications.

By Mary-Alice Waters

In 1844 Flora Tristan was on an organizing tour in provincial France to promote the idea of an international association of workers. Harassed and exhausted, she fell ill and died. Her name became a legend in the French working class.

A short time before her death, she summed up her fate in a letter to one of her friends and comrades. She wrote, "I have nearly the whole world against me. Men because I demand the emancipation of women, the owners because I demand the emancipation of wage-earners."

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Arrest of Emmeline Pankhurst, British suffrage leader.

**'The early struggle for equal rights with men, in which women of property played a leading role, was thoroughly progressive.'**

Seven years later, at a women's rights convention in Akron, Ohio, the former slave Isabella—who is known to history as Sojourner Truth—took the floor to answer a preacher who had ridiculed women as weak and helpless and therefore undeserving of the right to vote. In a stirring speech that turned the entire convention around, Sojourner Truth declared:

"The man over there says women need to be helped into carriages and lifted over ditches, and to have the best place everywhere. Nobody ever helps me into carriages or over puddles, or gives me the best place—and ain't I a woman? Look at my arm! I have ploughed and planted and gathered into barns, and no man could head me—and ain't I a woman? I could work as much and eat as much as a man—when I could get it—and bear the lash as well! And ain't I a woman?"

Between those two events came the historic year of 1848. This was the year that women gathered in Seneca Falls, New York, to adopt their own declaration of independence and to launch a conscious, organized movement of women against their oppression as women.

It was also the year the *Communist Manifesto* was published, proclaiming before the world the birth of scientific socialism. This marked the beginning of the working-class movement as a self-conscious, political movement of the majority of humanity in the interests of the majority.

This coincidence of dates is no real coincidence at all. It reflects the fact that both the proletarian socialist movement and the feminist movement came onto the historical stage with the rise of industrial capitalism. Both were generated by the changes that capitalism brought in the social relations of production and of reproduction, the twin pillars of all human societies.

This is a good point of departure for dealing with the role of women's liberation in the socialist revolution. Of course the oppression of women did not begin with capitalism; to the contrary, it extends back to the dawn of recorded history. But it was the advent of capitalism, with its continuous, revolutionary transformations of humanity's productive capacities beginning with the industrial revolution, that radically transformed the conditions of life for millions of women. In fact, the capitalist system began to create the material conditions that made women's liberation a realizable goal. It, like socialist revolution, was no longer merely a utopian daydream.

Women's liberation became a goal that was in harmony with the future, not the past, of humanity. And it became a goal around which millions of women and men could be mobilized in struggle.

Just as capitalism itself organized the working class as a whole—increasing its size and concentration, skill, educational level, and political consciousness—so too capitalism transformed the conditions of life and the consciousness of women. It brought millions of women out of the countryside, out of the home, and into the industrial labor force. It began the process of socializing the chores of the individual family—"women's work"—such as baking, weaving, and clothesmaking. New social and political horizons were opened for women.

For the first time since the dawn of civilization, not only did masses of women begin to become conscious of their oppression, but, more importantly, they began to see a way to end that oppression. They began to raise demands, formulate a program, and organize themselves for struggle.

## The Revolt of Bourgeois Women

The rise and consolidation of capitalism meant

different things to women according to their social status. The conditions it created for the wives and daughters of the wealthy were far different from the life of a working-class woman.

*This article is a contribution to an important discussion taking place among feminists and socialists. Readers are invited to send us their comments.*

The growth of trade, manufacture, and industrial production created a growing layer of wealthy farmers, merchants, and prosperous craftsmen who over time became the owners of prosperous businesses, factories, and mines employing hundreds and sometimes thousands of workers. The women of this developing bourgeoisie found themselves in a curious situation. When they were less wealthy most of them would have worked alongside their men for a good part of the day (in addition to their domestic chores, of course). They would have helped in managing the farm, running the store, working in the printshop or brewery—that is,



**Sojourner Truth: 'Nobody ever helps me into carriages or over puddles, or gives me the best place—and ain't I a woman?'**



they were engaged in productive labor outside of domestic chores.

But for the new capitalist ruling class—who in this simply aped the nobility and other ruling classes before them—the mark of status and wealth, even more than the man of leisure, was the woman of leisure. The rise of capitalism extended the number of women who were denied a productive role outside the home and imprisoned in domestic isolation, however privileged they might be. These women, who had both the time and the wealth to educate themselves and expand their intellectual capacities, found their access to education extremely limited. A scholarly, knowledgeable woman was looked on as undesirable, abnormal, unfeminine. Instead, women were supposed to learn “the social graces.” The result was the familiar caricature of the pale, fainting, silly Victorian woman.

The denial of the right to an equal education was, in fact, the most flagrant and crippling discrimination that these women faced. An education could have opened the doors to the professions and to the possibility of economic independence.

These women of property saw most clearly the hypocrisy of the refusal of the men of their class to extend to them the rights proclaimed by the bourgeois democratic revolution. They demanded that the legal concept of “person”—as used, for example, in the United States Constitution—be extended to include women. The identification of the struggle for women’s rights with the extension of the bourgeois democratic revolution was graphically illustrated in the Declaration of Principles adopted by the Seneca Falls women’s rights convention. This document was paragraph for paragraph, line for line, a paraphrase of the United States Declaration of Independence.

Thus, as soon as the prospect of education and economic independence became realistic, the women of the new upper-middle and ruling class began to fight for it. They gained ready allies in the young socialist movement, where all but the most obtuse and bigoted could see that any rights won for women in general would benefit working-class women, and the proletarian movement, as well.

The importance of this fight by the most privileged women should not be underestimated. It was totally progressive that women of the ruling class began to challenge some of the most important social and ideological underpinnings of class society. They were attacking the prevailing social norms, many of which survived from a previous epoch and were no longer in harmony with the new economic and social relations. The rights that were won—such as the opening of colleges and universities to women, the right of women to control their own wages or property, and the right to vote—loosened the bonds for all women and inspired them to struggle.

This is not to say that socialists agreed with all the demands raised or actions staged by every feminist group. Often deepgoing differences arose within the feminist movement itself, reflecting the perspectives and interests of different classes. But the early struggle for equal rights with men, in which women of property played a leading role, was thoroughly progressive.

Some in the fledgling socialist movement at that time—and one sometimes even hears the same thing today, unfortunately—maintained that this fight for equality was unimportant because it was “nothing but a bunch of bourgeois women.”

But if one pricked the hide of such “socialists,” it usually became clear that their professed disdain for the class background of these feminists concealed something much deeper: a contempt for all women, and a fear that “their” women might be infected with feminist ideas. It was an attempt to cover their own backwardness and bigotry with a dogmatic and primitive understanding of class society.

Fortunately, such spurious “Marxism” had nothing in common with the Marxism of Marx and Engels or Lenin and Trotsky.

#### Impact on Working Women

On the other end of the social scale, capitalism had quite a different impact on women. For women of the lower classes it brought not leisure, but a crushing and grinding exploitation worse than anything women had experienced before.

As the industrial revolution developed, millions of men, women, and children were drawn off the land and into the cities. Small marginal farms

were wiped out, and these families were forced into the city slums where they went to work in the factories and mines. There was no alternative to laboring twelve to fourteen hours a day; no alternative to sending the children to work at four, five, or six years old; no alternative to the genuinely inhuman exploitation that destroyed body and mind in a few short years.

Several aspects of this historical phenomenon deserve special attention.

First, as family after family was forced off the land and into the mines and factories, it was women and children—not men—who could most easily find work. The employers wanted women and children because they could get away with paying them less. This turned topsy-turvy all the most deep-rooted social mores and traditional relationships between men, women, and children.

As Marx observed in the late 1860s: “Modern industry, in overturning the economical foundation on which was based the traditional family, and the family labour corresponding to it . . . also unloosed all traditional family ties.”

The second notable aspect of this transformation was the sheer numbers involved. In a relatively short period of time, a vast human migration took place, with masses of women torn out of centuries-old social patterns and thrust



Susan Ellis

MARY-ALICE WATERS

into a new world. From the very dawn of the industrial revolution, women were a sizable portion of the labor force. Women and children together constituted a majority in many basic industries.

Thus, women’s labor was by no means marginal to the rise of capitalism. In fact, *the factory system was built on the superexploitation of women.*

For example, if we take England, which was the home of the industrial revolution, statistics show that in the British cotton industry in 1835, less than 30 percent of the work force were male adults; the rest were women and children. Marx cites figures to show that in 1861 the labor force in the British apparel industry was only about 40 percent male. With some modification, the same pattern was true for every other industrialized country.

It should be remembered that the textile-apparel industry was not peripheral to the development of modern industry. It was at the very center. And the English textile factories, which thrived on the superexploitation of women and children, in turn depended on the cotton grown and harvested by Black slave labor in the southern United States. The human victims on whose bones capitalism arose were widely dispersed.

Third, there was nothing unplanned or accidental about this role of women and children in production. The owners *consciously* used them to destroy the male monopoly in previously skilled trades and to drive down wage levels. In *Capital*, Marx points out that the cheapening of labor power is achieved by “sheer abuse of the labour of women and children, by sheer robbery of every

normal condition requisite for working and living, and by the sheer brutality of over-work and night-work.”

#### Divide and Rule

Thus, from the first days of the industrial revolution, the sex division within the working class was deliberately used by the bourgeoisie to weaken the workers’ ability to resist, to divide and rule.

The result was that male workers often saw women and even children as their enemy, rather than the entire system of wage slavery and the tyranny of capital. In a similar manner workers often turned their anger and frustration against the introduction of new machines, which they saw as taking work away from them. Male workers would try to keep women out of skilled trades because their wages would fall if women were allowed to enter their field.

From the beginning, the ruling class justified the superexploitation of women on the basis of their responsibilities in the home. The British feminist and socialist Sheila Rowbotham, in her book *Hidden from History*, quotes a marvelously revealing comment by a Dr. Andrew Ure in his book appropriately entitled *Philosophy of Manufactures*. Dr. Ure piously congratulates his class as follows:

“Factory females have in general much lower wages than males, and they have been pitied on this account with perhaps injudicious sympathy, since the low price of their labour here tends to make household duties their most profitable as well as agreeable occupation and prevents them from being tempted by the mill to abandon the care of their offspring at home.

“Thus Providence effects it purpose.”

Undoubtedly Dr. Ure would have righteously denied that his views could be affected by the personal gain he and his class derived from that wage differential.

The most important point, however, is the fact that the capitalist class had a ready-made wedge to use in dividing and establishing its dominion over the working class. They used the traditional social division of labor in class society based on the subjugation of women. It provided a basis for discrimination that was widely accepted as valid by most male and even female workers. Thus, for the fledgling workers movement to begin to develop *class* consciousness, it had to challenge those centuries-old traditions and assumptions of ruling-class ideology.

At the dawn of the industrial revolution, the idea that women might be *entitled* to equal pay for equal work was a revolutionary, subversive concept. Women were inferior. Everyone knew that. So how could their work be of equal value?

Today, the changes in the social role of women have produced changes in attitudes. In the advanced capitalist world, at least, relatively few people are prepared to argue against equal pay in principle. Nonetheless, women’s wages still average less than 60 percent of men’s—an indication of the fact that superexploitation of women remains an indispensable feature of the capitalist system.

The widespread acceptance of sex discrimination as “natural” is one of the most profitable things capitalism has going for it. Sexual inequality is built into the very foundations of capitalism; thus a struggle against that discrimination on all levels is an indispensable part of the struggle for socialism.

Today this includes the struggle for legal equality for women and for the Equal Rights Amendment. It includes the battle for the right to abortion and contraception. It includes the fight for preferential hiring and job upgrading. It includes the fight to win the ranks of the labor movement to understand that unity can be forged only on the basis of the demands of the most oppressed. It includes the struggle to educate the working class on the basis of its own experience to see the interconnection of women’s oppression, racist discrimination, and class exploitation.

All of these struggles are part of the fight for socialism, and without them socialism is impossible.

#### Marxism and the Family

The special discrimination against women in the labor market is founded on something even more basic to women’s oppression than capitalism. That is the family system, an institution of class rule that existed long before capitalism

came on the historical scene.

The family system is built on the domestic enslavement and economic dependence of women. It is the institution that perpetuates the special oppression of women as a sex.

The Marxist attitude toward the family is one of the most misunderstood aspects of Marxist theory. Many who accept a historical materialist analysis of other phenomena—of the evolution of class society, the character of capitalist production, the progressive historical role of the working class, or the roots of national oppression and racism—will react against the idea that the family system is an institution of class rule and oppression.

This was well known to Marx and Engels. The section of the *Communist Manifesto* that deals with women and the family begins, "Abolition of the family! Even the most radical flare up at this infamous proposal of the Communists."

The reason why many react this way is simple. The basis of capitalist society is dog-eat-dog individual competition—worker against fellow worker, whether male or female. Capitalism teaches that the only way you as an individual can move ahead is at the expense of someone else. In this world of cutthroat competition, the family is the basic social unit, pitted against all other families, with its members considered responsible for each other and only for each other.

Thus each of us learns from childhood that if there is a soul on earth who cares whether you live or die, if there is a single human being who might sacrifice to help you in time of need, that individual is most probably someone in your family. In face of the strain, stress, and antagonisms that capitalism generates, the family is the place where an individual may have a chance of finding some warmth, affection, friendship, or love. To millions it is still the refuge, the haven, the source of strength that helps a person go out and face another day.

This is probably even more true among the oppressed national minorities. At least inside your family you are *partially* buffered against the culturally and psychologically destructive ravages of a racist society.

For these reasons, the idea that the family system is an institution of class and sex oppression can seem all wrong. And it can seem, on the other hand, that socialists must be trying to destroy the one haven left to human beings.

In fact, this is the opposite of what Marxists stand for. Our goal is to destroy the kind of world you need a refuge *from*, just to survive. Our goal is to place all human relations, including those between the sexes, on the basis of mutual respect, equality, and genuine affection by abolishing the economic compulsion and inequality upon which the family system is built.

Of course, the family as an idyllic refuge is rarely the reality. The family as an institution is founded on the domestic inequality of women. No matter what else they do in addition, women are responsible for care of the children and the home. For countless women it is not a blissful abode but a prison from which there is no escape because they have no economic independence.

Even if the woman works and the man (if there is one) helps with the housework, the relationship cannot be one of equality because of the economic inequality of the woman. She is often hindered from striking off on her own for fear of economic hardship or her inability to make a decent living for herself and her children.

Children, too, are tied to the family unit—for better or for worse. They have nowhere else to go because of total economic dependence.

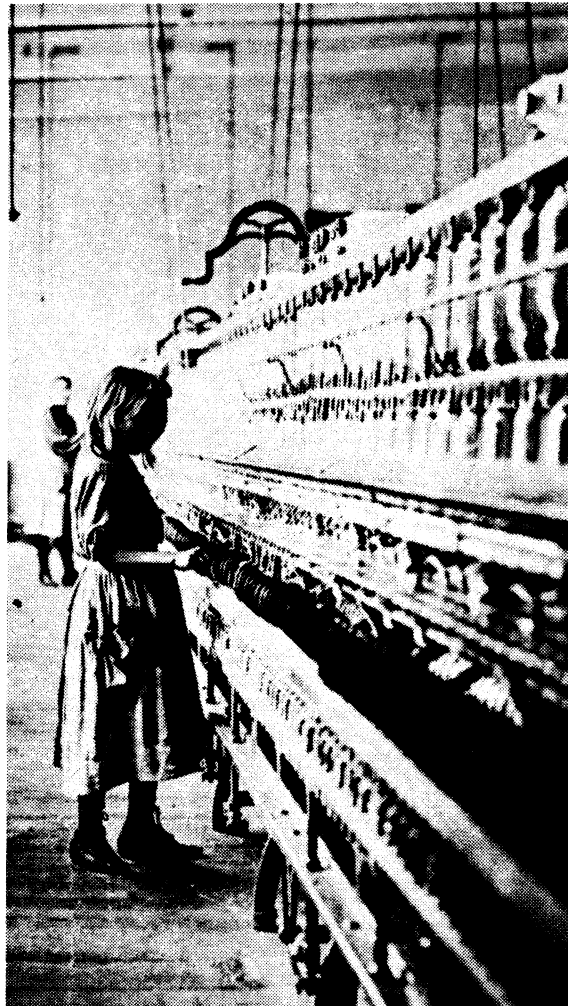
Under the crushing weight of an inability to provide for dependent family members, how many "blissful abodes" turn into hellholes that generate battered wives and children, sexual assault, alcoholism and drug addiction, and thousands of murders a year? The dominant emotion becomes not love or affection, but hatred, mutual recrimination, and despair.

The goal of the revolutionary socialist movement is precisely to remove the economic compulsion that holds this basic unit of society together, thereby enabling superior forms of human relationships to develop. It is impossible to predict today what those superior relationships will look like. But it is clear that if we succeed in establishing a society based on total economic equality between men and women; a society that extends free public education and child development facilities down to include newborn infants;

a society that uses science and technology to provide food services better than what you can cook at home, and quality public laundries; a society that uses its resources to provide healthful and pleasant housing for all—it is clear that the kind of human relations that will grow from such soil will be richer and more human than any we can foresee today.

#### Family and Class Society

With that clarification of the Marxist view of the family, we can look more closely at the family as an institution—where it came from, what functions it serves, and what has happened to it under capitalism. The best place to begin is by trying to answer the question: Why did Marx



**'During the first industrial revolution, women and children were a majority in many basic industries. In fact, the factory system was built on the superexploitation of women.'**

and Engels, the founders of scientific socialism, maintain that the family is an institution of class rule?

Like everything else, the family is not a fixed, immutable entity, but an institution that has evolved. A good first step in trying to figure out what something is, is to look at its origins.

History is clear: The family arose on the basis of the destruction of the egalitarian traditions and structures of preclass society. It arose at the juncture in history when individuals began appropriating for personal property the surplus product created by the collective labor of the community. As private property began to develop, a mechanism or institution had to be created to regulate and uphold the unequal distribution of the necessities of life.

For example, assume that a Mr. Rockefeller has much more grain and cattle than he needs to survive, while you and I have so little we can hardly stay alive. How is it decided that he can hoard his while we starve? The Rockefellers had to create a social mechanism by which they could relieve themselves of any responsibility for the well-being of others; an institution that would get rid of any general *social* obligation for human welfare, especially for children, the old, the sick, and others who produce less than they consume.

The family system is that institution. Mr. Rockefeller takes care of his family, working

people take care of theirs, and supposedly it is all fair and square.

Along with the family, of course, a few other institutions were required. Priests, cops, laws, judges, and jails were necessary to uphold this new division of wealth, by force and violence, because not everyone agreed that this was an equitable situation.

The second function of the family is to perpetuate this unequal division from one generation to the next. When Mr. Rockefeller dies, for example, the family system assures that his wealth is not divided up for the common good, but is passed on to his children only. In this sense membership in a ruling-class family is first and foremost a property arrangement; the social norm is that marriage should increase wealth, not decrease it.

The third advantage the family system holds for the ruling class is that it makes possible the cheapest possible reproduction of new generations of laboring masses, whether it be slaves, serfs, or wageworkers. Placing the total responsibility for care of the young on the parents means that the least possible portion of society's accumulated wealth—expropriated as private property—has to be tapped in order to assure reproduction of the laboring classes. This is why Rockefeller and his class are so stingy today when it comes to child care, welfare, medical care, and education programs.

The family is a well-tooled mechanism for driving down the costs of reproduction of labor to the barest socially acceptable minimum. Furthermore, with each family pitted against all others, atomized and fighting to gain a competitive edge, the most exploited and oppressed are less likely to unite in common action to take on the Rockefellers.

One of the reasons the family system is the cheapest possible means of reproduction is that it is based on—and in turn reinforces and perpetuates—a social division of labor based on sex. The family is founded on the unpaid labor of women in the home, where they work from dawn to dusk to meet the needs of the family members.

In capitalist terms, that work doesn't produce anything of value—that is, something that can be traded or sold on the market to increase someone's wealth. Thus, women's work is valueless or "worthless." It follows that women are also worth less. They are not equal to men, and any work they do is worth less than if men did it.

The system works well to maximize the private accumulation of society's wealth and to perpetuate the oppression of women.

#### Do Women Have Souls?

Sexist aspects of religion, laws, tradition, and social mores do not *create*, but rather *reflect* this basic economic subjugation of women. Their main purpose is to help convince those on the bottom that their oppression is "natural."

Thus for a good many centuries it was only the rare individual, the historical oddity, who even questioned the biological inferiority of women, with their supposed smaller brains and more emotional natures. In the Middle Ages, theologians (all males, of course) even debated whether women are human—do they have a soul, or are they like the higher animals such as horses and dogs? Women themselves internalized these attitudes and believed or accepted them.

A fifth function of the family institution is not as directly economic but no less crucial. That is its ideological role in teaching children from infancy on to accept the basic structures and premises of class society. The family setup helps force children to internalize the social values that they must learn to accept if they are to survive in class society—inequality, competition, authority and hierarchy, prejudice, and male and female sex roles. The system helps curb rebellious and nonconformist impulses and repress sexuality. From infancy to adolescence it helps mold the character and behavior of children.

From this point of view, too, the family system is an indispensable pillar of the state, whatever form of property relations it is based on, from slavery to the nationalized property of the degenerated and deformed workers states.

Leon Trotsky called attention to this function of the family in his analysis of the Stalinist counterrevolution in the Soviet Union of the late 1920s and 1930s. He noted how the cult of the family and of motherhood was deliberately fostered by the Stalinist bureaucracy to try to halt the disintegration of the family system that



had taken place under the impact of revolution and war. He pointed out that Stalin went much further than was necessary for strictly economic reasons. It was certainly true that the poverty of war-devastated Russia made it economically impossible to provide adequate child care, public laundries, and food services. But the family system was reinforced for *political* reasons.

"The most compelling motive" for the cult of the family, Trotsky wrote, "is undoubtedly the need of the bureaucracy for a stable hierarchy of relations, and for the disciplining of youth by means of 40,000,000 points of support for authority and power." This summarizes exactly the ideological role of the family.

The family system has performed all of these five functions more or less rigorously throughout the history of class society, allowing, of course, for the fact that the family—like the state and private property—has evolved through different stages. In fact, it is amazing how flexibly the family institution has served class society.

In looking at what has happened to the family under capitalism, we come up against a question that has generated some debate, especially among women who are both socialists and feminists.

This concerns a basic theme that runs through the writings of Marx and Engels. Frequently, when they touch on questions concerning women's oppression and the family, the assertion is made that the family has virtually disappeared under capitalism, especially in the working class. The *Communist Manifesto*, for example, refers to the "practical absence of the family among the proletarians."

This assertion seems clearly erroneous on the face of it. One hundred thirty years later, it is obvious that the family is still deeply entrenched in the working class, along with the sexism and chauvinist degradation that it entails.

Were Marx and Engels wrong? Is this a question on which Marxism has been way off base from the beginning?

No. Far from it. To draw such a conclusion would betray a very superficial understanding of what Marx and Engels were trying to get at. Their general assessment of the direction of development was totally correct. They certainly telescoped the historical process, and thereby produced some confusion; but they put their finger on a fundamental contradiction of the capitalist system that is crucial to understanding the oppression of women.

Acute observers that they were, they noted that the family system as a means of structuring and controlling the working class *was* being rapidly destroyed by the unregulated and unbridled, brutal exploitation of women and children in the early years of the industrial revolution. And in the process, the bourgeoisie was undermining one of the key props of its own class rule. Central to this process was the fact that under industrial capitalism a family of wage-laborers was no longer a productive unit.

The petty-bourgeois family of the previous era—that is, the family of the peasantry, small independent farmers, and urban tradespeople—worked together in the field or workshop as a productive unit. This was by no means an idyllic setup; men, women, and children worked to exhaustion. But one thing was certain: the individual members of the family had no possibility of economic independence. The family could only survive by sticking together.

But this changed as millions of families were forced off the farms and mass production developed. In the factories and mines, the family was no longer a productive unit; each member was exploited separately, by selling his or her laboring power to a boss as an individual worker. The males were frequently not the economically dominant person in this family unit, as has been noted earlier; often only the women and children could find work.

In his classic study *The Condition of the Working Class in England*, Engels described the results of this complete social upheaval. He noted that the traditional sex roles were turned upside down and "the wife is the breadwinner while her husband stays at home to look after the children and to do the cleaning and cooking." He emphasizes how psychologically and morally destructive this was to both men and women.

### The Black Family in the Ghetto

It could be noted in this connection that what

was happening in the English working class as a whole at the beginning of the industrial revolution helps shed some light on the much-discussed question of the Black family in the ghettos of the United States.

It is worth recalling that the previous claim to fame of Daniel Patrick Moynihan, the crude racist reactionary who spoke for U.S. imperialism in the United Nations, was his "theory of the Black matriarchy." According to Moynihan, the Black family has always been pathologically ill and the main problem is Black women. They are responsible for the problems of Black families, especially for emasculating the men, because they don't allow men to be the breadwinners.

Engels had a different analysis. He held the capitalist system to be responsible for the human suffering produced by racism, poverty, and crushing oppression. He demonstrated that the



Up From Under/Ina Clausen

**'The goal of the socialist movement is to remove the inequality and economic compulsion that the family system is based on.'**

capitalist system itself was destroying the family among the most exploited layers of society. And he further noted that if so much misery results when the traditional sexual roles are turned on their head, then there must be something wrong when they are right side up as well.

"... we shall have to accept the fact," Engels wrote, "that so complete a reversal of the role of the two sexes can be due only to some radical error in the original relationship between men and women. If the rule of the wife over her husband—a natural consequence of the factory system—is unnatural, then the former rule of the husband over the wife must also have been unnatural."

While the brutal destruction of the old social relationships caused terrible misery, Marx and Engels emphasized that the introduction of women and young people into the labor market was laying the basis for a new and superior form of the family and a new basis for sexual relations.

This is where Marx and Engels part company with Moynihan, who is against moving forward to a new and better system of human relations. He supports instead the reinforcement of the system based on domestic slavery of women, because that is in the interests of the class that bought him.

Moynihan and the capitalist class of today are alarmed by exactly the same thing that alarmed the bourgeoisie of Engels's time. The ruling class in the early years of the industrial revolution realized that unless countermeasures were taken, the increasing employment of women under the existing conditions would lead to a total disintegration of the family system and a threat to capitalist rule. With the exploitation of women

and children running wild, how were the household tasks to be done? How were the young children to be cared for, disciplined, and educated? Who was to pay for this?

The disintegration of the family began to pose sharply the *social* responsibility for care of the young, the old, those who cannot work. If the family is unable to take on these functions, the only alternative is for society to take them on; but that would mean a vast redistribution of wealth, ultimately entailing a total reorganization of society on a cooperative basis.

The British ruling class came to the conclusion that the process of disintegration of the family had to be reversed. Lord Shaftesbury, one of the more perspicacious voices of the capitalist class at that time, commented bluntly that if the factory system were allowed to go unchecked, "domestic life and domestic discipline must soon be at an end; society will consist of individuals no longer grouped in families. . . ."

The ruling class came to a realization that there was a contradiction between the long-term interests of the capitalist system and the short-term interests of each individual capitalist in squeezing every drop of blood out of their workers for sixteen hours a day and letting them die at thirty. A more rational regulation of exploitation was called for.

So the capitalist state, which represents the collective interests of the class, stepped in (as it has many times in the past 150 years) to save the system by halting the unbridled destruction of the family system. The ten-hour day was legislated for women to permit them to spend a few more hours a day at their domestic chores. The beginning of a public education system was instituted. Some protective laws were passed concerning female and child labor. A few public health measures were adopted.

Thus exploitation was rationalized and the family system was shored up. The balance of male versus female and child labor was redressed. Over time children became a smaller and smaller component of the work force and the superexploitation of women was partially mitigated by the improvement of working conditions and the reinforcement of the family system. Male-female economic relations shifted back toward the traditional hierarchy.

### Recurring Cycle

In Britain this first redressing of the balance occurred around the mid-nineteenth century. But the same cycle has recurred again and again in the last century because it is rooted in a fundamental contradiction of capitalism. Since women can be employed for lower wages, and therefore squeezed for higher profits, the capitalists are compelled by competition to integrate the maximum number of them into the labor force, especially in periods of war and economic boom. Two recent examples of this occurred in this country, during World War II and then again in the boom of the 1960s. During the 1960s, the Census Bureau reported, two-thirds of all new jobs were taken by women.

But this process always means that an increasing number of women gain a greater degree of economic independence, the disintegration of the family system is accelerated, and as a result, the state is forced to take more responsibility for the functions that were women's domestic chores, especially child care and education.

As the process continues, women begin thinking they have a right to a job and a right to child-care centers for their children. But when the business cycle turns the corner and the recession or depression comes, women are pushed out of the labor market in greater proportion than men. The bosses count on prevailing sexist attitudes to assure that large female unemployment will be less socially explosive than large male unemployment.

Simultaneously, the capitalists drive to cut back on all social expenditures, such as child care. Such cutbacks have a double function. Lack of child-care facilities helps force many women out of the job market; and the bosses use the slashes to force individual families to resume a greater part of the burden of childrearing.

Women are again pushed back into the home. The result is not only a temporary decline in total employment of women, but a decline in the standard of living of the working class and the reinforcement of the stricture "woman's place is in the home." This offensive against women plays a key role in enabling the capitalists to



place the burden of their economic crises on the backs of the working class.

Today we see the ruling class again trying to force enough women out of the labor force to recreate an industrial reserve army (as Marx called it) of unemployed with a large female component. But the capitalists face a problem: women are resisting more than ever before. The struggle takes many forms, including the fight for rights on the job and in the trade unions, the demand that they not be laid off in greater proportion than men, and demands for child care, abortion rights, and the Equal Rights Amendment.

The widespread support for the ERA, for example, is a form of resistance to the whole concept that women are not equal as human beings in every sense. Whatever their opportunistic rhetoric, the bosses don't like the growing popularity of the ERA. The belief that women are not equal is useful to them in countless ways. One small example is their attempt to get away with not counting women in the unemployment statistics. The government economists have been arguing that current unemployment statistics are "artificially" high because of the historically unprecedented numbers of women who are simply refusing to get out of the labor market. The government is not to blame for high unemployment rates, you see. It's all the fault of the women's liberation movement!

The battle of statistics is simply a modern capitalist version of the medieval theologians' debate over whether women have souls.

So the process that Marx and Engels called attention to 130 years ago continues to unfold. More women are working than ever before; the divorce rate is climbing; more women are refusing to marry, or remarry; more and more women are heads of households; the trend is unquestionably toward disintegration of the family.

Thus the founders of Marxism had a profound insight into a fundamental contradiction of capitalism: its need to employ more women in order to increase profits, and its countervailing need to prevent the breakdown of the family system. This is one reason why there can be no women's liberation under capitalism.

#### Two Misestimations

At the same time, Marx and Engels obviously misestimated two things. The first miscalculation applies not only to their assertions about the family but also to a number of other areas. The *Communist Manifesto*, for example, states not only that the family had disappeared, but that national differences had been virtually eliminated, and that the petty bourgeoisie had been absorbed into the working class.

When Trotsky wrote an introduction to a new edition of the *Communist Manifesto* on the ninetieth anniversary of its publication, he commented on this. He remarked that Marx and Engels had made "an underestimation of future possibilities latent in capitalism, and, on the other [hand], an overestimation of the revolutionary maturity of the proletariat." They underestimated the hold of bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideology, the depth of racist and sexist attitudes, and the conservatism of human thought in class society.

Marx and Engels understood that there was no long-term, historical basis for the deep social divisions inside the working class. Objectively, racist, sexist, and national divisions are *contrary* to the class interests of working people. But they underestimated the ability of the ruling class to use such divisions to sharpen competition in the labor market, to prevent workers from uniting in defense of their common interests, and to block the development of genuine class consciousness.

The second miscalculation of Marx and Engels is related to the first. They underestimated the ideological role of the family itself and its centrality to the maintenance of capitalism. They underestimated the ability of capitalism—which had not yet exhausted its productive possibilities—to slow down the pace of disintegration of the family.

Of course, Trotsky and other Marxists who came on the historical scene later than Marx and Engels had a tremendous advantage. Today we can draw on the experiences and lessons of decades of class struggle that they did not see. But we can begin from their astoundingly perceptive insights into the basic processes of capitalism, and build on this foundation to deepen our understanding and prepare ourselves

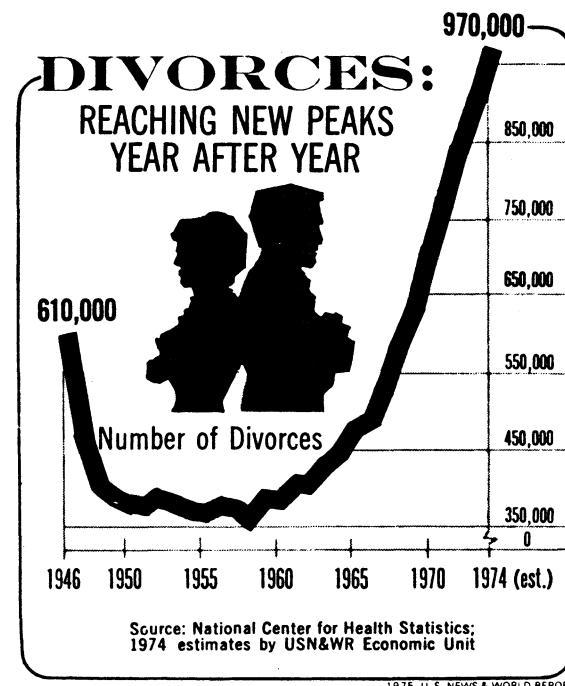
to meet the tasks confronting us today.

The tasks and prospects before the women's movement and the workers movement of today are quite different from what they were at the time of Marx or at the time of the first massive wave of feminism in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

#### Prospects for Revolution

This first wave of the feminist movement on a world scale arose out of the deep contradictions of a capitalist system that was on the ascendency. It was a product of the industrial revolution—of the horrors of exploitation and the tremendous revolutionary changes that it brought for women.

In the United States, this process was marked by the special features of American capitalist development. These included the existence of the frontier, the massive immigration from Europe,



**'The process that Marx called attention to 130 years ago continues to unfold. More women are working, the divorce rate is climbing, more women are heads of households. The trend is toward disintegration of the family.'**

and above all the existence of chattel slavery throughout the South. The latter meant that full development of the contradictions of industrial capitalism was postponed until the defeat of the slave system in the Civil War.

The abolitionist movement of 1830-40 inspired the first radicalization of women. But it was only at the end of the century and in the pre-World War I period—during the deep social ferment that has been referred to as the Debs period—that the early feminist movement, the early labor movement, and the early socialist movement reached their peak.

While our nineteenth and early twentieth century sisters in struggle made great strides in altering social consciousness and opening new doors to women both economically and politically, their possibilities were limited—just as the prospects of the labor and socialist movements of the time were limited. The limitations stemmed not from their own desires, but from the objective conditions they faced, from the stage of capitalist development, and from their lack of experience and understanding.

In retrospect, the surprising thing is not how backward these fighters were, but rather that some managed to be so farsighted about these questions of women's oppression and a program of struggle for ending it.

The first wave of the feminist movement reached its high-water mark with the Russian revolution of 1917, in the sense that the October revolution went further than any other in history toward trying to consciously reorganize society to assure the liberation of women. (This, of course, was before Stalin revived the most benighted notions of medievalism and called

them Leninism.)

To understand the significance of the women's radicalization of today and what it means for the coming American socialist revolution, it is helpful to make some comparisons with the Russian revolution.

In its 1971 resolution, *Towards a Mass Feminist Movement*, the Socialist Workers party emphasized that the second wave of the feminist movement, which began in the late 1960s, was based on, and grew out of, the changes brought by the technological revolution of World War II and the postwar boom. We pointed especially to three developments and their impact on women: the technological advances, the increase in the number of women in the labor force, and the broad radicalization of the 1960s.

How do developments in these three areas compare to the situation in Russia in 1917?

In regard to scientific and technological advances, the impact on women has been above all in two areas: birth control and the mechanization of household chores.

It is hard to overestimate the revolutionary implications of the development of relatively safe, inexpensive, virtually 100 percent effective birth control methods. Women of our generation can take for granted the possibility of controlling our reproductive functions. But that *precondition* for women's liberation has been a reality for only the past fifteen years.

At the time of the Russian revolution, only the most primitive and ineffective means were available. The *right* of women to control their own bodies was a dream of the future. Only the most farsighted (among them was Lenin) saw a woman's right to obtain a safe abortion as a basic democratic right.

In the area of household chores—"women's work"—science and technology have today drastically reduced the number of hours of labor needed to take care of the basic needs of a family. We have electric appliances, prepared foods, throwaway diapers, permanent press clothes, and so forth.

This has meant a staggering change by comparison with conditions in 1917, resulting in the liberation of time and energy that women can channel toward cultural, educational, and political horizons never before possible.

In the second area, participation of women in the labor force, the contrast is equally great. Since World War II in the United States there has been a sizable increase both in the percentage of the total work force that is female and in the percentage of women who work. I don't have figures for the Soviet Union in 1917, but we can gauge the degree of change by taking figures for the United States. In 1910, only 25 percent of women of working age were in the labor force in this country. Today 45 percent of all women sixteen and older are working.

But Russia was a far more backward country than the United States. There were a few large concentrations of industry that employed significant numbers of women (in 1917 women constituted 40 percent of the Russian labor force), but the working class in Russia was very small compared with the total population. The overwhelming majority of women in Russia were peasants who had barely emerged from conditions of serfdom. The social attitudes they lived under were those of feudalism, such as existed in the fifteenth or sixteenth century in Britain or other countries of Europe. The position of the mass of women in 1917 Russia—and the attitude of most women toward themselves—is captured by the old proverb: "I thought I saw two people, but it was only a man and his wife."

Thus, another *precondition* of women's liberation did not exist at the time of the Russian revolution—the massive introduction of women into the labor market, together with the urbanization, education, and cultural advances that such an advance entails.

The third factor behind the feminist upsurge in this country was the involvement of significant numbers of women in the general political activity and radicalization of the 1960s. This brought about a sharpened awareness by women of our own oppression. Many began to realize that our deep feelings of insecurity and rebellion were not personal problems, but social and political. Women began to seek political solutions, to develop a program of struggle, and to organize ourselves to fight back.

This is the area where there was the greatest similarity to conditions at the time of the

Russian revolution. But the character, social scope, and consciousness of the radicalization in Russia was necessarily limited by the backwardness of capitalist development there. In Russia the women's movement was not comparable in size and influence to what had arisen in some other European countries and in the United States.

This backwardness and lack of a more prominent women's movement was reflected in the composition of the Marxist movement. I don't know the exact membership figures for women in the Bolshevik party in 1917, but I know it was under 10 percent. The percentage of women delegates at Bolshevik congresses was even lower.

Even in the American Socialist party at the

socialist movement to try to learn from them and consider the alternative programs and analyses. As the radicalization deepens in this country, we can be certain that this feminist movement will not diminish but will grow.

This is a key difference with all previous revolutions. In no country where a socialist revolution has taken place has there existed a mass feminist movement as one of the fighting components mobilizing forces for the revolution. This is also one of the factors assuring that none of these revolutions were carried through to the end.

History has shown that in some circumstances a revolutionary transformation of property relations can be achieved without a mass women's movement—although I would argue

Unlike the Stalinists and social democrats, the Socialist Workers party does not believe that the working class will "give" women their liberation. Women will liberate women.

We cannot do it alone, of course; and we do not pretend there are no class differences among women. We will liberate ourselves fighting as a component of, and as an ally of, the working class, which is the only progressive class that exists and the only social force capable of knocking the capitalist minority out of the driver's seat.

But women should wait for no one. Those who would be free themselves must strike the blow.

A mass, independent feminist movement is not simply desirable; it is a precondition for a victorious socialist revolution in the United States.

One indication of the truth of this statement is the impact that the women's liberation movement has had throughout this society. Women's demands and consciousness of women's oppression have already become intertwined with every other social struggle that has developed.

In the labor movement, demands for equal pay and preferential hiring for women and national minorities have become the battering ram for challenging the bosses' game of divide and rule, beating back racism and sexism, and laying the basis for real class-conscious unity in struggle against the boss.

Through organizations such as the Coalition of Labor Union Women and women's caucuses and ERA committees in the unions, women are playing a leading role in the fight to transform the unions into revolutionary instruments of class struggle.

In recent years, the civil rights struggle of Blacks in this country was the most decisive single factor in helping to raise women's consciousness of their oppression and inspiring them to fight. The women's movement has in turn helped strengthen the consciousness and combative force of Blacks and other oppressed minorities. The obvious parallels and interconnection between racism and sexism, and between women's liberation and national liberation, have the effect of deepening our understanding of both.

Furthermore, the triple oppression of Black women, Chicanas, and Puertorriqueñas directly ties together the struggles against class, national, and sex oppression, giving their fight an explosive force and great social weight.

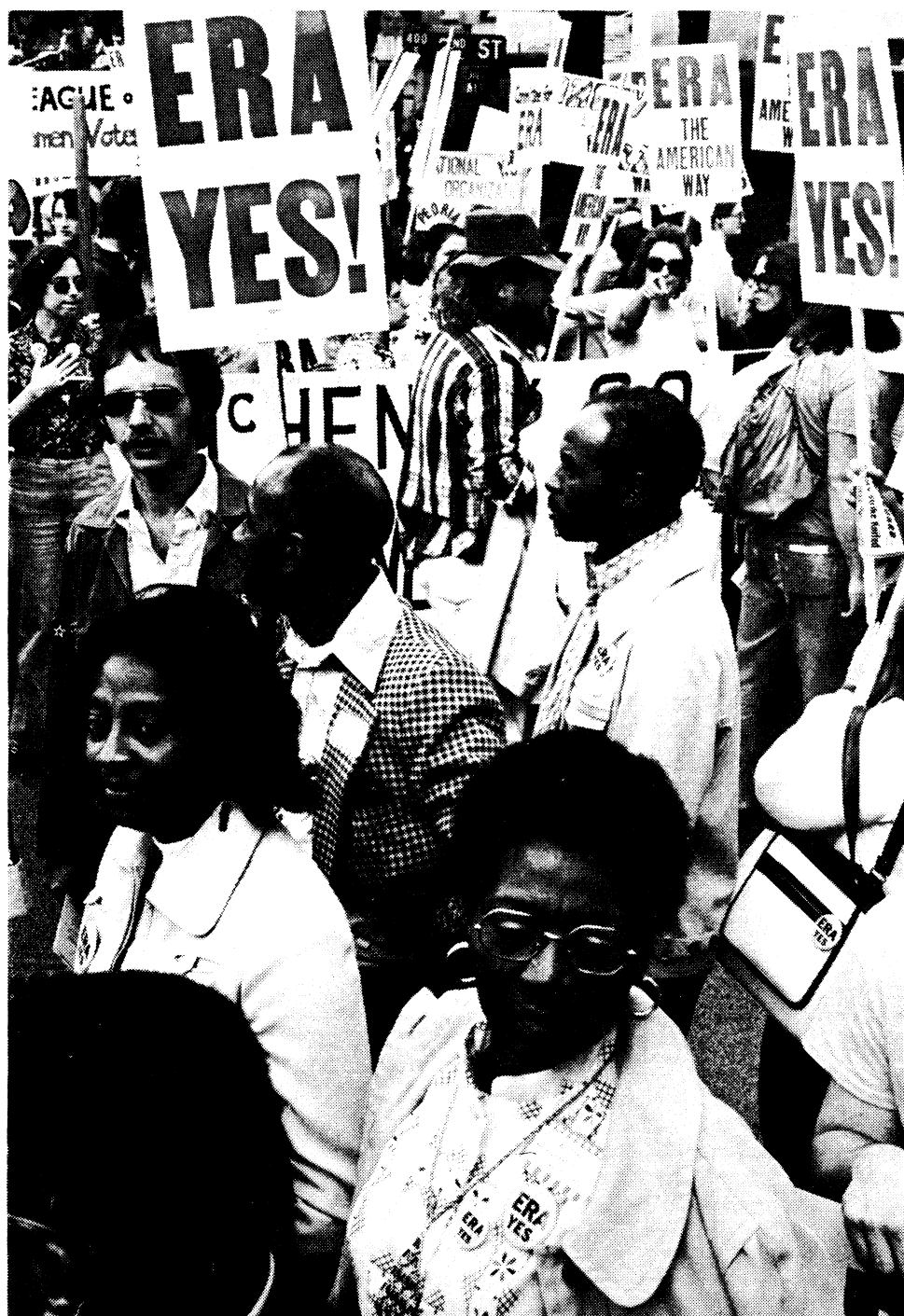
The women's liberation movement has also affected the student movement and social and cultural values among young people in general. From the beginning, it has been closely interrelated with the gay liberation movement. Feminist ideas have deeply affected attitudes on all sexual questions, battering away at sex roles and stereotypes.

Finally, the women's movement has had its impact on the revolutionary Marxist movement as well. It has made the Socialist Workers party vastly more conscious, helping us strengthen our program and sharpen our understanding of our goals and of the kind of proletarian party it will take to achieve them. The feminist movement has aided socialist women in developing confidence and coming forward as leaders. It has released a revolutionary potential that might otherwise have remained locked inside all of us.

The existence of this movement and the impact it has already had on society is among the most promising signs that the conditions and human forces for leading the American socialist revolution are maturing. Whether we can succeed where others before us have failed remains to be decided. But the changes that capitalism has wrought in the status and consciousness of women, and the new confidence of the hundreds of thousands of women who are joining our sister Sojourner Truth in proudly asserting, "Ain't I a woman?"—this permits all of us to be optimistic about the future.

In 1917, when the All Russian Congress of Soviets convened in Petrograd on the evening after the fall of the discredited Kerensky regime, Lenin went to the tribune and announced quite simply but with an acute sense of history, "We shall now proceed to construct the socialist order."

When it comes our turn to begin that colossal task on U.S. soil, we will be glad that a massive, fighting women's liberation movement is here to help lead the way.



Pat Hayes

**'The struggle for the Equal Rights Amendment, for the right to abortion, for preferential hiring and job upgrading for women are all part of the fight for socialism. Without such struggles, socialism is impossible.'**

height of the suffrage struggle and the pre-World War I radicalization, things were not much better. At the SP's 1912 convention, only 9 percent of the delegates were women. And the women were jubilant to be so strong!

The scope of change is clear by comparison with the situation in the Socialist Workers party today. At the 1976 SWP convention, of the delegates elected to set the policies for this party and determine implementation of those policies, 44 percent were women.

The independent feminist movement that has arisen in the United States today is of a scope and depth unlike anything before in history. From its inception, this feminist movement began to pose the general social problems faced by women and to consider what changes in the structure of society would be necessary to free women. Women are studying the history of the feminist movement, the labor movement, and the

that it is no longer possible, in any advanced capitalist country, at least.

*But it is impossible for the working class to carry through the social revolution and the socialist reconstruction of society unless masses of women are mobilized to play a conscious and leading role.*

#### **Women Will Free Women**

The reason for this is simple. What is called the "woman question"—that is, the abolition of domestic servitude and the eradication of economic compulsion as the determining factor in all human relations—is actually a matter of the reorganization of society itself from top to bottom. After the question of ownership and control of factories, mines, banking, and transportation, the social relations of reproduction are the most important factor in the organization of society.



# Leon Trotsky's Discussion with a CIO Organizer

In September 1938, Leon Trotsky discussed problems of the U.S. labor movement with a CIO official who had visited him in Mexico, where Trotsky was living in exile. Their talk was recorded by a stenographer, and parts of it were later published. In the transcript, the letter "A" was used for the union organizer, a member of the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union in New York, and "B" for Trotsky.

We are reprinting this item from the Pathfinder Press book *Leon Trotsky on the Trade Unions* (1975) because of its startling relevance to today. The issues discussed are familiar ones—inflation, unemployment, social crises. Trotsky and the union organizer discuss the need for escalator clauses in union contracts and a shorter work-week at no reduction in pay (which Trotsky refers to as a sliding scale of hours and wages). They discuss why many workers don't attend their union meetings. They discuss the problem of union officials who, as Trotsky put it, "look to those above them instead of those below."

In fact, this pre-World War II discussion reads as if it could have been held today between a revolutionist and one of the young leaders in any of several large unions that are being transformed by the new times and a new generation of workers.

In 1936 Roosevelt had been elected for a second term when it appeared as if his New Deal policies had started an economic recovery from the depths of depression in 1933. This illusion was shattered by 1938, when the economy was again in a downhill slide. There were 10.4 million unemployed, almost 20 percent of the work force. Federal job programs were being cut back. Workers were beginning to lose hope in Roosevelt, and looked to the new union movement to show the way toward a solution of the social crisis.

The economic crisis was worldwide, and World War II was less than a year away. The governments of Europe were coming, one after the other, under the control of fascist gangs and military dictators. Mussolini's fascist regime in Italy, Hitler's Nazi government in Germany, and Franco's Falangists in Spain had formed an alliance. Fascist movements were also developing in France and England.

In this country, demagogues, both in government and out, were building native fascist organizations. These included Gerald L.K. Smith, the Detroit radio priest Father Coughlin, and dictatorial political bosses in several cities.

Mayor Frank Hague of Jersey City, New Jersey, was the prototype of the fascistlike U.S. politician in power. He outlawed CIO unions in his city, arrested union organizers and socialist agitators, and used antilabor veteran groups and city police to smash picket lines and scatter protest demonstrations.

Thus, with the rapid rise of the CIO movement in 1936-38, a countervailing fascist movement was also on the rise.

The warnings by Trotsky against the danger of fascism may not seem so urgent to union militants today as they were forty years ago. But as the unresolved economic and social crisis deepens, the U.S. ruling class will not hesitate to use a fascist movement to try to smash the unions and other working-class organizations here as they have done elsewhere. In this respect, Trotsky's brief contribution on how to defend the unions against fascist assault will probably be recognized in the future as more prophetic than most readers today will realize.

Those who find this discussion stimulating will also find important food for thought in Trotsky's better-known article, "Trade Unions in the Epoch of Imperialist Decay," which is included in the book *Leon Trotsky on the Trade Unions*.

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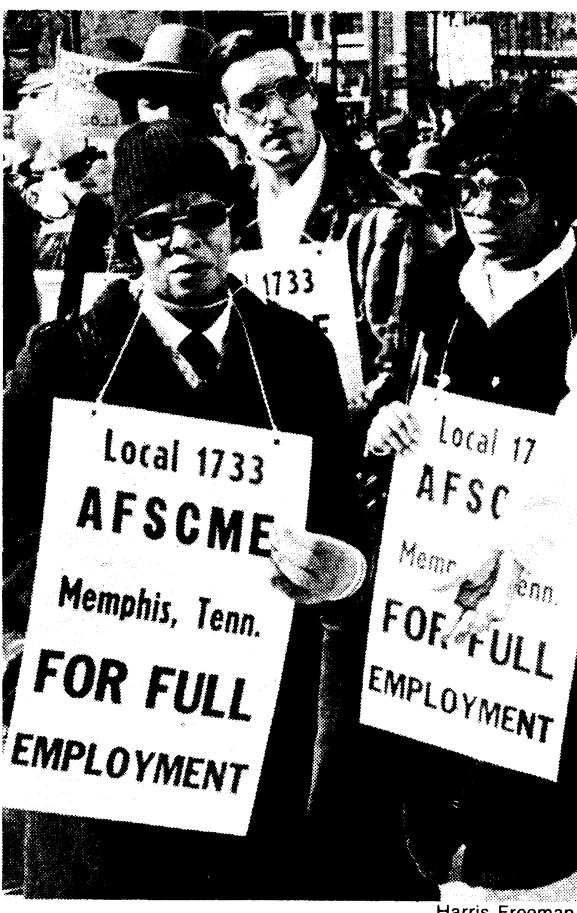
A: Our union's policies are aimed at preventing complete unemployment. We have got the work spread out among all the members of the

union with no reduction in the hourly rate of pay.

B: And what percentage of their former total wages do your workers now get?

A: About 40 per cent.

B: Why that's monstrous! You've won a sliding scale of working hours, with no change in the hourly rate of pay? But that only means that the full burden of unemployment falls with all its weight on the workers themselves. You free the bourgeoisie from the need of spending its resources on the unemployed by having each worker sacrifice three-fifths of his total wages.



Harris Freeman

A: There's a grain of truth in that. But what can be done?

B: Not a grain, but the whole truth! American capitalism is sick with a chronic and incurable disease. Can you console your workers with the hope that the present crisis will have a transitory character and that a new era of prosperity will open in the near future?

A: Personally, I don't allow myself such illusions. Many in our circles understand that capitalism has entered its era of decline.

B: But of course this means that tomorrow your workers will get 30 per cent of their former wages; the day after, 25 per cent, and so forth. Episodic improvements, it is true, are possible, even inevitable; but the overall curve is toward decline, degradation, impoverishment. Marx and Engels predicted this even in the *Communist Manifesto*. What is the program of your union and the CIO as a whole?

A: Unfortunately, you don't know the psychology of the American workers. They are not used to thinking about the future. They are interested in only one thing: what can be done now, immediately. Among the leaders of the trade union movement there are, of course, those who clearly take into account the dangers that threaten. But they can't change the psychology of the masses all at once. The habits, traditions, and views of the American workers tie them down and limit what they can do. All this can't be changed in a day.

B: Are you sure that history will provide you with years enough in which to prepare? The crisis of American capitalism has "American"

tempos and proportions. A sturdy organism that has not known sickness before begins to deteriorate very rapidly at a certain point. The disintegration of capitalism means, at the same time, a direct and immediate threat to democracy, without which the trade unions cannot exist. Do you think, for example, that Mayor Hague\* is just an accident?

A: Oh, no, I don't think so at all. I have had quite a few meetings in the recent period with trade union officials on this subject. My opinion is that in every state we already have—under one banner or another—a ready-made reactionary organization that can become a support for fascism on the national level. We don't have to wait fifteen or twenty years. Fascism can conquer among us in three or four.

B: In that case what is . . . ?

A: Our program? I understand your question. It is a difficult situation; some major steps are necessary. But I don't see the necessary forces or necessary leaders for this.

B: Then does that mean capitulation without a fight?

A: It's a difficult situation. I have to admit that the majority of union activists don't see, or don't want to see, the danger. Our unions, as you know, have had an extraordinary growth in a short time. It's natural for the CIO chiefs to have a honeymoon psychology. They are inclined to view difficulties lightly. The government not only has them figured out, but even plays with them. They are not used to this from past experience. It's natural that their heads spin a little. This pleasant dizziness is not conducive to critical thinking. They are tasting the joys of today without worrying about tomorrow.

B: Well said! On this I agree with you completely. But the success of the CIO is temporary. It is merely a symptom of the fact that the working class of the United States has begun to move, has broken out of its routine, is hunting for new ways to save itself from the threatening abyss. If your unions do not find new ways, they will be ground to dust. Hague is already stronger than Lewis; because Hague, despite his limited situation, knows exactly what he wants, while Lewis doesn't. Things may end up with your chiefs waking up from their "pleasant dizziness" to find themselves—in concentration camps.

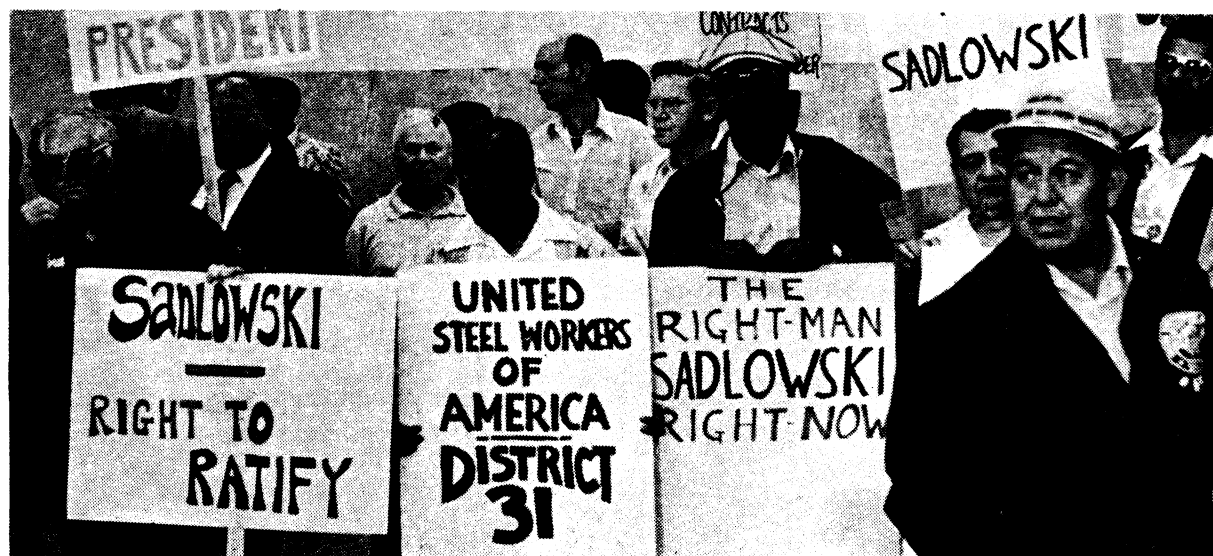
A: Unfortunately, the past history of the United States with its unlimited opportunities, its individualism, has not taught our workers to think socially. It's enough to tell you that at best 15 per cent of the organized workers come to union meetings. That's something to think about.

B: But perhaps the reason for the absenteeism of 85 per cent is that the speakers have nothing to say to the ranks?

A: Hmm. That's true to a certain extent. The economic situation is such that we are forced to hold back the workers, to put brakes on the movement, to retreat. This is not to the workers' liking, of course.

B: Here we have the heart of the matter. It is not the ranks who are to blame but the leaders. In the classical epoch of capitalism the trade unions also got into difficult situations during crises and were forced to retreat, lost part of their membership, spent their reserve funds. But then there was at least the assurance that the next upturn would allow the losses to be made up, and more besides. Today there isn't the slightest hope for such a thing. The unions will go down step by step. Your organization, the CIO, may collapse

\*The mayor of Jersey City, who successfully applied purely fascist methods against workers' organizations. [L.T.]



as quickly as it arose.

A: What can be done?

B: Above all, one must tell the masses what's what. It's inadmissible to play hide-and-seek. You, of course, know the American workers better than I. Nevertheless, let me assure you that you are looking at them through old eyeglasses. The masses are immeasurably better, more daring and resolute than the leaders. The very fact of the rapid rise of the CIO shows that the American worker has changed radically under the impact of the terrible economic jolts of the post-war period, especially of the past decade. When you showed a little initiative in building more combative unions, the workers immediately responded and gave you extraordinary, unprecedented support. You have no right to complain about the masses. And what about the so-called sit-down strikes? It wasn't the leaders who thought them up, but the workers themselves.

**Trotsky: 'The trade unions have two possibilities: either to maneuver, retreat, close their eyes and capitulate bit by bit, or to understand the inexorable character of the social crisis and lead the masses to the offensive.'**

Isn't this an unmistakable sign that the American workers are ready to go over to more decisive methods of combat? Mayor Hague is a direct product of the sit-down strikes. Unfortunately, no one in the top layer of the trade unions has yet dared to deduce from the sharpening of the social struggle such daring conclusions as capitalist reaction has. This is the key to the situation. The leaders of capital think and act immeasurably more firmly, consistently, daringly, than do the leaders of the proletariat—these skeptics, routinists, bureaucrats, who are smothering the fighting spirit of the masses. It is from this that grows the danger of a victory for fascism, even in a very short time. The workers don't come to your meetings because they instinctively feel the insufficiency, the lack of substance, the lifelessness, the outright falsity of your program. The trade union leaders give out with platitudes at the very moment when every worker senses catastrophe overhead. One must find the language that corresponds to the real conditions of decaying capitalism and not to bureaucratic illusions.

A: I have already said that I see no leaders. There are separate groups, sects, but I see no one who could unite the worker masses, even if I agree with you that the masses are ready for struggle.

B: The problem is not leaders, but program. The correct program not only arouses and consolidates the masses, but also trains the leaders.

A: What do you consider a correct program?

B: You know that I am a Marxist; more precisely, a Bolshevik. My program has a very short and simple name: *socialist revolution*. But I don't ask that the leaders of the union movement immediately adopt the program of the Fourth International. What I do ask is that they draw conclusions from their work, from their own

situation; that for themselves and for the masses they answer just these two questions: 1) How to save the CIO from bankruptcy and destruction? 2) How to save the United States from fascism?

A: What would you yourself do in the United States today if you were a trade union organizer?

B: First of all, the trade unions should stand the question of unemployment and wages on its head. The sliding scale of hours, such as you have, is correct: everyone should have work. But the sliding scale of hours should be supplemented by a sliding scale of wages. The working class cannot permit a continuous lowering of its living standards, for this would be equivalent to the destruction of human culture. The highest weekly pay rates on the eve of the 1929 crisis must be taken as the point of departure. The mighty productive forces created by the workers have not disappeared nor been destroyed; they are there at hand. Those who own and control these productive forces are responsible for unemployment.

The workers know how to work and want to work. The work should be divided up among all the workers. The weekly pay for each worker should be no less than the maximum attained in the past. Such is the natural, the necessary, the unpostponable demand of the trade unions. Otherwise they will be swept away like trash by historical developments.

A: Is this program realizable? It means the certain ruin of the capitalists. This very program might hasten the growth of fascism.

B: Of course this program means struggle and not prostration. The trade unions have two possibilities: either to maneuver, tack back and forth, retreat, close their eyes and capitulate bit by bit in order not to "anger" the owners or "provoke" reaction. It was by this road that the German and Austrian social democrats and trade union officials tried to save themselves from fascism. The result is known to you: they cut their own throats. The other road is to understand the inexorable character of the present social crisis and to lead the masses to the offensive.

A: But you still haven't answered the question about fascism, that is, the immediate danger that the trade unions draw down upon themselves by radical demands.

B: I have not forgotten that for a moment. The fascist danger is already at hand, even before the appearance of radical demands. It flows from the decline and disintegration of capitalism. Granted that it might be strengthened for a while by the pressure of a radical trade union program. One must openly warn the workers of this. One must set about creating special defense organizations in a practical way right now. There is no other road! You can no more save yourself from fascism with the help of democratic laws, resolutions or proclamations than you can from a cavalry unit with the help of diplomatic notes.

One must reach the workers to defend their lives and their future, arms in hand, from the gangsters and bandits of capital. Fascism grows swiftly in an atmosphere of immunity from punishment. One cannot doubt for a moment that the fascist heroes will turn with their tails between their legs when they realize that for each of their squadrons the workers are ready to send out two, three or four squadrons of their own. The only way to save not only the workers' organizations, but also to keep casualties to the minimum, is to create a powerful organization of workers' self-defense in time. This is the trade unions' most important responsibility, if they do not wish to perish ingloriously. The working class needs a *workers' militia*!

A: But what is the further perspective? Where will such methods of struggle get the trade unions in the last analysis?

B: It is obvious that the sliding scale and workers' self-defense are not sufficient. These are just the first steps, necessary in order to protect the workers from death by starvation or the fascists' knives. These are urgent and necessary means of self-defense. But by themselves they will not resolve the problem. The basic task consists in laying the foundation for a better economic system, for a more just, rational, and decent utilization of the productive forces in the interests of all the people.

This can't be attained by the ordinary, "normal," routine methods of the trade unions. You cannot disagree with this, for in the conditions of capitalist decline isolated unions turn out to be incapable of halting even the further deterioration of the workers' conditions. More decisive and deep-going methods are necessary. The bourgeoisie, who hold sway over the means of production and who have state power, have brought the economy to a state of total and hopeless disarray. It is necessary to declare the bourgeoisie incompetent and to transfer the economy into fresh and honest hands, that is, into the hands of the workers themselves. How to do this? The first step is clear: all the trade unions should unite and form their own *labor party*. Not the party of Roosevelt or La Guardia, not a "labor" party in name only, but a truly independent political organization of the working class. Only such a party is capable of gathering around itself the ruined farmers, the small artisans, the shopkeepers. But for this it would have to wage an uncompromising struggle against the banks, trusts, monopolies, and their political agents, that is, the Republican and Democratic parties. The task of the labor party should consist in taking power into its own hands, all the power, and then putting the economy in order. This means: to organize the entire national economy according to a single rational plan, whose aim is not the profit of a small bunch of exploiters, but the material and spiritual interests of a population of 130 million.

A: Many of our activists are beginning to understand that the course of political development is moving towards a labor party. But Roosevelt's popularity is still too great. If he agrees to run for president a third time, the question of a labor party will have to be postponed another four years.

B: There precisely is the tragedy resulting

## **Leon Trotsky on the Trade Unions**

Can unions run by powerful bureaucrats and gangsters be turned into organizations that fight for, and are controlled by, the rank and file? Trotsky answers yes.

Prefaces to each of the two sections of the book by Farrell Dobbs.

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from the fact that Messrs. Leaders took to those above them instead of those below. The coming war, the decay of American capitalism, the growth of unemployment and poverty, all these basic processes, which directly determine the fate of dozens and hundreds of millions of people, do not depend on the candidacy or "popularity" of Roosevelt. I assure you that he is far more popular among the well-paid CIO officials than among the unemployed. Incidentally, the trade unions exist for the workers, not the officials. If the idea of the CIO inspired millions of workers for a certain period, the idea of an independent, militant labor party that aims to put an end to

economic anarchy, unemployment, and misery, to save the people and its culture, the idea of such a party is capable of inspiring tens of millions. Of course, the agitators of the labor party would immediately have to show the masses, by word and deed, that they were not electoral agents of Roosevelt, La Guardia and Company, but true fighters for the interests of the exploited masses. When the speakers talk in the language of workers' leaders and not of White House agents, then 85 per cent of the members will come to meetings, while the 15 per cent of conservative oldsters, worker-aristocrats, and careerists will stay away. The masses are better, more daring,

more resolute than the leaders. The masses wish to struggle. Putting the brakes on the struggle are the leaders who have lagged behind the masses. Their own indecisiveness, their own conservatism, their own bourgeois prejudices are disguised by the leaders with allusions to the backwardness of the masses. Such is the true state of affairs at present.

A: Now, what you say has a lot of truth in it.

B: But let's talk about that next time.

# Why Chicanos Should Vote Socialist

**'While the partido [de la Raza Unida] is not a socialist party, we feel it helps our people to learn that only by organizing themselves, and not by dependence on politicians, will we be able to ensure justice for Chicanos.'—Juan José Peña**

*Following is the slightly edited transcript of remarks made by Juan José Peña at the August 13 rally for the Socialist Workers party candidates for president and vice-president, Peter Camejo and Willie Mae Reid. Sixteen hundred people were in attendance.*

Juan José Peña is chairperson of the Raza Unida party of New Mexico and is head of the Chicano studies department at New Mexico Highlands University in Las Vegas, New Mexico. The New Mexico RUP voted last April to actively support the campaign of Camejo and Reid.

## By Juan José Peña

Compañeros, friends, members of the Socialist Workers party: on behalf of the Partido de la Raza Unida of New Mexico, it gives me great pleasure to address this reunion of so many illustrious and dedicated people who are struggling to advance and improve the human condition.

When I was initially invited to speak at this rally for Campaño Pedro Camejo, I first thought to myself, what do I say? I don't know the man. But then I thought, we're not just talking about a man or a candidate, as the present individualistic, competitive capitalist society teaches us to think. We are talking about a party and a program, a "Bill of Rights for Working People."

But the Socialist Workers party is yet even more. It is a party that in the last few years has helped to advance the cause of the Chicano through its newspaper the *Militant*, which is the newspaper through which a great number of Chicanos get their news about the Chicano movement.

This is in and of itself a great contribution to our cause and to our struggle. For in these times, communication is one of our most critical needs.

Furthermore, at a time when the Partido de la Raza Unida is coming under intense fire by ultraleft, sectarian Chicanos and by other established left organizations for not being "revolutionary enough," or for being "divisive" for singling out Chicanos for organization instead of organizing the entire working class, the SWP has recognized the need for Chicanos to organize Chicanos. It has recognized the need to organize independently of the society that sets such a crushing burden on Chicanos for being "different," the society that stole all of our means of livelihood through a bloody imperialist war, and through long and intensive suppression and exploitation.

It takes great foresight and courage to support a group that is not affiliated with one's own. This foresight and courage has been shown by the SWP in supporting the Partido de la Raza Unida. And we in New Mexico hope we can be worthy of such confidence.

Furthermore, the SWP is not solely a party of theory; it is also a party of practice, which works

diligently to uplift the Black struggle for civil and human rights, which strives to make whites conscious of the fact that racism is as harmful to them in the long run as it is for all of those against whom racism is directed.

For, although the white person may not realize it, he is just as oppressed by the present social, political, and economic system as are his Brown, Red, Black, and Yellow brothers. And it is he who is in danger from the suppressed fury of the people of color, as Frantz Fanon so aptly relates in *The Wretched of the Earth*.

The SWP, as far as we can see, is far and away the broadest thinking, most active, and most developed left organization in the United States of North America, and perhaps in the Americas. (I do not use the term "America" to describe the United States, because America describes two continents, part of the Western Hemisphere, not a country.)

The more I study the program of the Socialist Workers party, the more I am astounded by the breadth and depth of the perspectives to be found in the party. In my contacts with other left organizations, I have found them to be dogmatic, didactic, repetitious, and shallow. And especially with respect to the Chicano and his needs as a people. And while the SWP is perhaps not as informed about the Chicano question as I would like it to be, and perhaps I feel it should be, I was immensely impressed by the reference to the SWP as the party that is willing to learn. This is the mark of the true intellectual and revolutionary, and the SWP is to be congratulated for that position and posture. For none are so wise in knowing that they cannot learn.

## Spanish Language

I was also pleased with your position about having your membership learn the Spanish language. For we, the Spanish-speaking people, are the majority population in the Americas. Spanish is the second language of the United States. Yet this society treats that language as filth, to be disowned and buried—as I have heard is also happening with the French language in Québec. Would it not logically be common courtesy to learn the other major language that shares the continent with us? We have the facilities to do this, whereas in Mexico and in Latin America there exist few conditions to facilitate the learning of a second language; the rate of illiteracy there is extremely high.

Still, all in all, there are many reasons and similarities which make an endorsement of the SWP presidential slate by the Partido de la Raza Unida of New Mexico a logical step.

We both believe that we must work day to day for the real and felt needs of the common people. And we practice what we preach, in such instances as working against police brutality, against the deportations of our *hermanos* (brothers) the *mexicanos*, against racism and oppression, against the cutbacks of social and human services that are required by human beings to begin to have a decent standard of living, for

bilingual and bicultural education to maintain the language and dignity of the oppressed nationality, for preferential and desperately needed hiring minorities in every sector of work in this society to ensure the equality which for so long has been promised by the Constitution and for so long has been denied to us.

We both recognize that while basic human needs are common to all peoples, there are social and cultural needs that are peculiar to the different ethnic and cultural groups. And that these groups require self-determination, community control, and the necessary resources to meet their needs and ensure their dignity and continuance as a people.

It is neither good nor desirable to eradicate those characteristics which give a people their spirit and their access to their culture. And once a just society is established, it will be much richer for the contributions of all languages and cultures.

As members of the *partido*, we realize that it is our duty and our task to work among the Chicanos to help our people organize to deal with our daily needs and against our oppression as a people. And while the *partido* is not a socialist party, we feel that it helps our people to learn that only by organizing and by doing things by themselves, and not by dependence on politicians, will Chicanos be able to meet their needs and ensure justice for themselves.

As we do this, we acquire a higher state of consciousness and a greater self-reliance as a people. Pride comes to a people who struggle long and hard; a people who, as Miguel Leon Portilla puts it, have left behind many broken spears in their struggle for dignity and survival and who have chewed cockroaches and aloe, and have pounded their fists against the adobe walls from the many defeats, indignities, and frustrations that they have suffered.

We are a part of our people, and we must suffer with them, work with them, struggle with them



JUAN JOSE PENA

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toward a better society and the human dignity which they so richly deserve.

### First Learn to Crawl

While some may call this reformist, or nationalist, we see it as necessary. For one must learn to crawl before one can walk, and to walk before one can run. One cannot leap from the bottom step of the stairs to the top; one must walk up, step by step.

Sometimes this is agonizingly painful. And often one slips and loses the ground that one has gained. But the struggle must continue until one is at the top of the stairs.

There is much work that needs to be done among the Chicano people. It is not all exciting. Much of it is grind and drudgery, but it is necessary. For there are no shortcuts to national and human liberation, only hard work of long duration.

In world society today, we are at a crossroad of momentous import. Capitalism has played out its historic role of consolidating and improving the technology of production; now it dehumanizes production. For this system knows no other use for production than to create profit, regardless of the toll this may take in human misery and suffering.

Those who are victimized by this system, though they be long-suffering, will not suffer repression forever. Thus we have the current national and international crises and upheavals. The time of the robber baron is coming to an end—but to what end? To dictatorship? To fascism? To anarchy? Back to the dark ages?

This is the question that we and our compañeros throughout the world must answer. If we should be spared a thermonuclear holocaust and the previously stated dangers, what kind of a

society should we establish? For it is we who have the potential to create a world of dignity for people of all different customs, nationalities, languages, and colors.

Obviously we must create a world in which, where there is now hunger, everyone can be fed; where there is now sickness, everyone can be healed; where there is now ignorance, everyone can have knowledge; where people are now without shelter, they can have that shelter; where people now are without clothes, everyone can be clothed; where people are now divided, they can have unity—to bring mankind down the road to the full realization of his human potential, not solely as an object for production, but as a living, thinking, feeling, growing human being.

We must advance toward a socialist society where all that is produced by all will be shared equitably by all. Where no human being shall be denied the right to meet all of his basic human needs the same as any other member of human society. And where every human being has the democratic right to be an integral part of making the decisions that will affect his and everyone else's political and economic lives.

### Democratic Socialism

There are two points that I cannot stress strongly enough. The first is that a socialist society must be a democratic society, which allows full participation for everyone. Where ideas and creativity are allowed to flow freely, naturally, and without suppression. Where criticism and discussion are the keystones of the society, *along with* the guaranteed right to meet every human need. Where languages and cultures of different peoples are allowed to grow and

flourish and blossom into their full beauty.

For it is the repression of these freedoms which the people of the Western world and the people of the workers states themselves find most noxious and onerous about these states.

The second point I want to stress is the potential that exists in a society planned for people and not for production and machines. This is the vast resource of human potential and humanism which can be unleashed, once it is unbound from the fetters of capitalist society.

This would mean a world where human beings could truly relate to one another as brothers and sisters, not as adversaries across national, ethnic, racial, or class lines.

It would mean cities planned for people, not for cars or factories, cities in harmony with nature. It would mean adequate housing for the people of the world, sufficient nutritious food, sufficient clothing, and a real education, which would release the greatest power plant on the face of the earth—the human mind.

This, then, is our goal. And from what I have seen here in the past week, with so many people dedicated to and working toward these goals, especially in the Socialist Workers party, there are real and excellent possibilities of achieving these goals, through long struggle and hard work.

The candidacy of Pedro Camejo and Willie Mae Reid, under the "Bill of Rights for Working People," is a positive step in that direction. May your campaign and your struggle—our struggle—be fruitful and successful. *¡Por una revolución socialista—y hasta la victoria siempre!* (For a socialist revolution—onward to victory!)

## BOOKS

### The American Revolution

Edited by Alfred F. Young.  
Northern Illinois University Press, Dekalb, 1976. 481 pp.

The most lasting achievements of the American Revolution were those stemming from its predominantly bourgeois character, but that should not blind us to the fact that the American Revolution was a revolution, and that America went through all the dynamics of a revolutionary upheaval. As Isaac Deutscher has commented, no revolution is ever bourgeois to the lower classes who fight in it and carry through its aims, sometimes in opposition to the upper bourgeoisie who started it.

Sir John Potts summed up the dilemma of the bourgeoisie during the English revolution in 1642: "Whenever necessity shall enforce us to make use of the multitude, I do not promise myself safety."

The American merchants and planters faced the same problem. Although the essays in *The American Revolution* do not fall together into a general overview of how and why the American resistance movement transcended its original limited goals, they offer excellent evidence that the American Revolution must be understood in all its complexity—as a movement for radical social change as well as for freedom from British mercantile restrictions.

In fact, the struggle against Britain exploded into revolution precisely because of the intertwining of domestic grievances with national sentiment against Britain.

The American colonies saw increasing class stratification in the eighteenth century. In many rural areas such as North Carolina, more than 40 percent of the wealth was controlled by the top 10 percent of the population, and in the cities, as Gary Nash points out in his essay on urban radicalism, there was an even greater concentration of wealth, with a corresponding growth of the poor.

Hand in hand with class differentiation went class conflict. The strong tradition of lower-class action in colonial America is documented in Nash's article, in Edward Countryman's essay on Northern land rioters, and in Marvin Kay's study of the North Carolina Regulation movement, which is usually incorrectly interpreted as a sectional conflict.

The class struggle fostered radical thought and forms of action that continually broke through the careful limits on anti-British action desired by the merchants and planters, eventually forcing a reluctant colonial leadership into war with Britain and raising the specter of a plebeian revolt within the revolution.

The revolutionary dynamics that transformed a limited resistance movement against specific British laws into a war for national independence and against monarchy itself involved the creation of what Leon Trotsky has called the distinguishing features of a revolutionary situation—the direct interference of the masses in everyday political life and the rise of institutions of dual power.

"Mob" action—the direct interference of the masses in politics—has been a much maligned phenomenon in history, though the English historians George Rudé, Eric Hobsbawm, Christopher Hill, and others have done much to prove that the European crowd had clear political and moral goals, made fine distinctions between possible actions to implement those goals, and provided its own leadership and rules

for operation.

Now Dirk Hoerder has demonstrated the same thing of the revolutionary crowd in America. In his essay on the Boston crowd and in Countryman's description of New Jersey land rioters it becomes clear that the crowds of the revolutionary era were politically sophisticated, well organized, and consciously self-directed. This reflected a crucial change in colonial society from the days when politics were in fact and in theory the concern of a small elite to a time when the *Newport Mercury* of September 26, 1774, could report that a minister in South Carolina had been dismissed "for his audacity in . . . saying that *mechanics* and country *clowns* had no right to dispute about politics."

As masses of people began to debate the issues and act together on their beliefs, they began to create new institutions for implementing their will. The first types of conflict were extrainstitutional in character. Mass actions were not counterposed to the regular organs of government even when they struck out against the operation of government. After 1765, however, the colonists began to act *in place* of the existing government bodies. The Sons of Liberty opened ports, punished Stamp Act officials, inspected papers.

At first they carefully limited themselves to the one act, and took pains to stress their support of the rest of the governmental and legal structure. But in the following years the committees began to function in more and more arenas, breaking down the British monopoly of authority and accustoming people to taking direct control over the institutions around them.

The escalation of dual power was codified in the Continental Congress of 1774, when the boycott agreement of British goods was held to bind "all persons," and committees of safety and courts of inspection were set up to enforce it.

The direct action of the masses

and the development of organs of dual power posed a threat not only to British rule; they also challenged the limits that the colonial upper crust wished to put on the issues and on the actions of their lower-class allies. More organs of dual power sprang up in the ten years following the Declaration of Independence than had existed in the ten years preceding it, and they began to operate against local monopolists and war profiteers as well as against the British. As Eric Foner's essay demonstrates, they also began to turn on their former allies among the colonial elite.

Similarly, the experience of direct intervention in politics could not be confined to the issue of British rule. Ronald Hoffman cites the militia colonel who reported that "the people have been induced to believe they ought not to submit to any appointments but those made by themselves." "I am afraid," mourned the formerly radical Christopher Gadsden of Charleston in 1778, a man who had mobilized many crowds against the British, "we have too many amongst us who want again to be running upon every fancy to the Meeting of [the] liberty tree."

Social radicalism within the colonies reached a high point in 1779-1780, when many observers feared a revolution within the revolution. The weight of the existing social forces allowed the rising bourgeoisie to triumph over the plebeian opposition, and the Constitution represented a consolidation of the American ruling classes.

The fact remains, however, that the American Revolution, like all mass upheavals, unleashed a social dynamic and nourished a radical tradition that went far beyond the desires and expectations of its bourgeois-planter leadership. Alfred Young's collection of essays fills some needed gaps in the reconstruction of that revolutionary heritage.

—Stephanie Coontz



# National Picket Line

Frank Lovell



## How not to fight cutbacks

[The following guest column was written by Lorraine Sockaci, a member of Local 1746, District Council 78, of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees.]

CLEVELAND—Public workers in Cleveland have not yet been hit with massive layoffs in the New York style. This is not due, however, to the strength of the public employee unions here, notably American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees District Council 78.

It's just that Cleveland has managed, up to now, to stave off a major fiscal crisis. Public workers' jobs have been relatively secure, contracts have been honored, and wage increases granted without AFSCME having to mobilize its ranks. But the effects of the economic crisis and the squeeze on social spending are starting to be felt.

The Cuyahoga County (Cleveland) commissioners administer the budget for various social services: hospitals, welfare, food stamps, and clinics. Early last spring they declared that if voters did not approve the renewal and increase of a property tax levy, health and social services would have to be cut by as much as 50 percent.

This levy would have meant an increase in taxes paid by the average working-class homeowner. Cleveland workers, tired of paying higher taxes for fewer services, expressed that sentiment by defeating the levy at the polls last April.

The commissioners, upset by this rebuff, hinted of massive layoffs and cutbacks to come. Their new strategy was to put the levy back on the November ballot and enlist the support of the unions for its passage.

AFSCME officials responded to the layoff threat by becoming the most enthusiastic and vociferous supporters of the tax levy. They tell AFSCME members that if we don't campaign for the levy and for the election of two Democratic candidates for seats on the county

commission, then we have only ourselves to blame for loss of our jobs.

Is this strategy going to work? Not likely. One thing the AFSCME officials forget is that the levy says nothing to guarantee jobs and services will be maintained. All it guarantees is an increase in taxes. And neither tax increases nor election of "friendly" Democrats has stopped the attacks on public employees in New York, Detroit, San Francisco, or dozens of other cities.

In fact, public employees are being set up to take the blame for rising taxes—isolating us from the support of other workers when the inevitable attack on our jobs and wages comes.

There is a good chance the levy will fail again. Even AFSCME members, inundated with prolevy pep talks, are wary of it.

When I told an older union sister at a recent union meeting that I oppose the levy because it places the burden on those who can least afford it, she nodded in agreement.

AFSCME officials argue that if the levy fails, the county will lose more than \$270 million in matching funds from the state and federal governments. "If matching funds are a problem," I said, "then let's have a tax levy on the corporations and banks. They can afford it, with all the profits they make. If the union would propose that kind of levy, that's something I would support."

Some union members raise the plight of welfare recipients. Again I remind them that the levy does not say that welfare checks will not be cut. In fact, things will probably get worse for the many welfare recipients who rent their homes. As property taxes go up, you can be sure that landlords will pass it along in the form of rent hikes.

Support for the tax levy and electing more Democrats is a self-defeating strategy for our union. Instead we need to be discussing how to build the strength of the union and win allies in the community, preparing ourselves for the battles ahead.

Continued from page 10

While the motivations of deserters are not as easily categorized as those of their brother draft resisters, there can be no doubt that the vast majority were deeply revulsed by the Vietnam War.

Can we not presume, given the context of that disgraceful intervention, that the men who *did* serve and later decided that they could stomach no more were as honestly motivated as those who refused the draft?

Mr. Carter's refusal to grant deserters equal treatment is nothing more than kow-towing before a powerful Pentagon. Seen in this light, his rhetoric about the "underprivileged" is as threadbare as the others who've sought the presidency in recent years. We challenge Mr. Carter to prove otherwise. Justice will be served only by extending unconditional, universal amnesty to all Vietnam War resisters—regardless of class or race. *Tod Ensign & Michael Uhl*  
Coordinators, Safe Return Amnesty Committee  
New York, New York

### 'Lesser evil' or not?

Last June the *People's World*, West Coast voice of the Communist party, editorially endorsed Democrat Tom Hayden in his unsuccessful contest against incumbent John Tunney for the California senatorial nomination.

One week later the *PW* ran an editorial declaiming against "lesser evil" politics and the notion that progress can be achieved through either capitalist party.

Maybe this constituted an unlabeled self-criticism of the previous week. Apparently not.

Now the October 9 *PW* featured two articles on the editorial page judiciously but clearly designed to signal their supporters to vote for Tunney against his Republican opponent, S.I. Hayakawa.

And again, as with the Hayden endorsement, the support for Tunney was followed up a week later with an editorial against lesser-evilmism.

The *PW* seems to believe that its readers are incapable of remembering what they read the previous week—or don't give a damn.

Also on the October 16 editorial page is a half-page statement by the Women's Commission of the Communist party, Northern California District. Supposedly an article about the current fight for women's rights, it manages to avoid a solitary mention of the Equal Rights Amendment.

This seemingly astonishing oversight is, of course, not that astonishing. The CP's opposition to the ERA is so indefensible that the women's commission obviously decided it was a lesser evil to simply not mention it.

The statement, by the way, is entitled, "The uphill fight for women's equality." With friends like the Communist party, it doesn't get any easier.

H.R.  
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.

## Women in Revolt

### A new poll

"The feminist movement has taken hold in the United States," reports Barry Sussman in the September 28 *Washington Post*.

"Spurred by leaders who are generally more radical than those to be found elsewhere in American life, feminism has gathered wide and apparently growing support from the public at large, especially from men and from young people."

This is the conclusion of a study on the feminist movement and attitudes toward it conducted by the *Post* and the Harvard University Center for International Affairs. Researchers in the study interviewed 350 women designated as feminist leaders and 850 other women selected at random.

The study probed attitudes of Black leaders, young people, artists, political activists, and others both on the issue of women's liberation and on other social questions.

Of the women interviewed as leaders of the feminist movement, 40 percent were from the ranks of the National Organization for Women, 20 percent from the National Women's Political Caucus, 16 percent from the Coalition of Labor Union Women, 10 percent from Federally Employed Women, and 8 percent from local government-appointed commissions on the status of women.

"Both the leaders and the public at large showed a broad acceptance of feminist goals that many observers until now have felt to be laden with controversy," Sussman writes.

An example is the Equal Rights Amendment. Support for the ERA in the general public ran as high as four to one, the researchers found.

The most adamant supporters of women's liberation are young people. "To say that feminism has caught on among the young is an understatement," said one of the study's directors.

The *Post* traced the evolution of social attitudes toward women's role over the past few decades.

Cindy Jaquith



• In 1936, only 15 percent of the country thought "that married women should have a full-time job outside the house," according to an Elmo Roper-George Gallup poll.

• In 1946, Americans believed by a five-to-three ratio that women had more interesting lives keeping house than holding a job, according to a Roper poll.

• By 1969, however, as the feminist movement was beginning to make its mark, moods had shifted. By a five-to-four ratio, Americans believed married women had the right to go out and get a job.

Today, among young people aged eighteen to thirty, the *Post*-Harvard study found that 63 percent of the men and 57 percent of the women believe women are better off holding a job than staying at home.

Parallel to the spread of feminist ideas is the radicalization of the women who have become feminists. "Of all groups in the leadership study," writes Sussman, "the feminist leaders emerge as the most radical in every measure of social, cultural and economic attitudes and goals."

Feminists stood out in the survey as most outspoken in favor of workers' control in industry and in demanding that the government provide jobs for all.

Feminists, more than any other group surveyed, favored "a sharp redistribution of income." Seventy-five percent of the feminists interviewed "see businessmen as having too much power for the good of the country."

Along with Black leaders, feminists supported nationalization of public utilities and affirmative action to make up for past job discrimination.

Thus it's not surprising that many feminists also want to break with the parties of big business, the Democrats and Republicans. "Women and young people express the most dissatisfaction with the two-party system, and the two are the only groups to favor the introduction of third or fourth party movements in the United States," says Sussman.



**The wonderful world of sociology**—The Denver Post reported the findings of Frank Furstenberg of Planned Parenthood. After a six-year study of 404 adolescent Baltimore mothers, he concluded that a majority of the pregnancies were unwanted. Further, "Some of Furstenberg's conclusions were surprising. His data shows the availability of welfare is not an incentive to childbearing among the poor. . . ."

**The British Way of Life**—British companies will put up a million pounds for next year's celebration of the queen's twenty-fifth year on the throne. Also, the level-headed business

folk are taking out an estimated twenty-five million pounds' insurance in the event the good queen should become ill or expire during the gala.

**Balance of payments**—The Government Accounting Office says the Nixon White House illegally took \$33,656 from a CIA account to pay the cost of replying to people who wrote in about the Cambodia invasion. Also, the GAO says, when Nixon left, fifty-eight typewriters worth \$18,000 were missing. Maybe the CIA was trying to recoup its losses.

**Keep it simple**—In the wake of revelation of deaths induced by the



'It's pathetic. He's lost the will to bribe!'

Kepone discharged by a Virginia plant, a state committee is debating regulations regarding a list of 16,000 toxic industrial compounds. The main concern is not the incredible poison potential but the thought that the list is "too lengthy" and "burdensome" and should be reduced.

**How self-critical can you get?**—The newspaper of the American Medical Association polled a group of doctors whose major work is care for the elderly. A consensus emerged around the flat assertion that the quality of American nursing home care is good but could be better.

## La Lucha Puertorriqueña

### Catarino Garza



## Why vote?

[Catarino Garza is the Socialist Workers party candidate for U.S. Congress in New York's Eighteenth District.]

Why vote? That question is on the minds of millions of working people as the election campaigns draw to a close.

Surveys indicate the biggest winner this year is going to be "no one," with at least half the voting-age population staying away from the polls.

But some of those who may have thought about not voting will instead be voting for the Socialist Workers party.

"I watched your candidate for president, Peter Camejo, on the 'Tomorrow' show this morning," one person wrote to the SWP.

"Thank God for insomnia! I've finally found a candidate to vote for."

That was one of the more than 3,000 letters that arrived at the SWP's national campaign office in response to Camejo's appearance on NBC's "Tomorrow" show at 1:30 a.m., October 14.

What that letter said to me is that there are millions of working people in this country who would support the socialist alternative—if they ever had a chance to hear about it. And it isn't hard to

see why.

Take, for example, Edward Koch, my opponent in the Eighteenth District. Koch is the Democratic incumbent, a liberal. This is what he has been telling New Yorkers during the campaign:

- He is for the death penalty, or what I call legalized murder.
- He is against busing when used solely for school desegregation.
- He supports a war budget of at least \$100 billion and is strongly for continuing military aid to help Israel suppress the Palestinians.

Koch has opposed the struggle of Puerto Rican, Black, and Chinese parents in New York to control the education of their children. Koch is also a card-carrying member of the party that has imposed the savage cutbacks and layoffs in New York City—the Democrats.

Many working people realize that the Republicans are a big-business party. But the positions of Koch and Company show that the Democrats are a big-business outfit too.

When you vote for either of those two parties, you're voting for policies that put private profit above all other considerations. You're voting for tax loopholes for the rich, for multi-billion-dollar

interest payments to the banks, for the \$115 billion war budget.

I'm the candidate of the Socialist Workers party. We stand for precisely the opposite.

We believe Puerto Ricans have the right to bilingual education. We believe oppressed minorities have a right to equal education, decent housing, and equal treatment in all spheres of life. We believe women have a right to an abortion if they want one. We believe all working people have a right to a job.

Our candidates are different from the candidates of big business. There's not a single corporate executive, wealthy lawyer, or millionaire on our ticket. We are a party of working people, and our candidates are just that—school teachers, factory workers, secretaries, waiters.

They're active in their unions, in struggles against cutbacks, in the fight against racism, in the movement for women's rights.

On November 2, there'll only be two real choices on the ballot. You can vote for private profit, racism, cutbacks, and war. Or you can vote for human needs, equal rights, and jobs for all.

It's time working people made their voices heard. Vote for putting human needs above private profit. That's worth voting for. Vote Socialist Workers.

## By Any Means Necessary

## Not quite a 'people's victory'

CHICAGO—With his hair mushroom-styled, Jesse Jackson led the chant at the victory celebration last March: "Down with Daley, up with Metcalfe. Down with slavery, up with freedom."

Then, mounting the stage with a message as modest as an X-rated movie, Ralph Metcalfe declared, "This is the people's victory. This is the greatest moment in history."

Meanwhile, Metcalfe's beaten opponent in the Democratic congressional primary, Erwin France, the candidate of Mayor Richard Daley's machine, presumably, lay flat on his back somewhere, with gnats and flies circling his head.

That all took place here on election night, March 16, after the results came in. The hosannas were quick to follow.

"Last Tuesday's triumph of the First Congressional District should go down in history as the Day of Liberation for Chicago blacks," wrote the editors of the Black-owned *Chicago Defender*.

"You can't say that Black folks don't know how to walk off the plantation," was how at least one of the sponsors of the National Black Political Convention in Cincinnati in late March viewed the

victory.

From all over, from high Black political circles everywhere, word came out that the Metcalfe victory signaled a new day for Chicago Blacks.

Before the primary, Metcalfe, who for twenty years has been an ardent Daley man, said that "this is a crusade for liberation. If we're not successful, Blacks will be moved further and further back."

But contrary to Metcalfe, Chicago Blacks have been moved further back since the primary.

There is still no plan for desegregation of the Chicago public schools, which were found to be overwhelmingly segregated. Add to that the big open-housing issue that broke over the Marquette Park-Chicago Lawn area. Black homeowners there have been the target of racist attacks. Daley, whom Metcalfe has now termed a "racist," refuses to enforce the right of Blacks to live there peacefully. But Metcalfe has been silent about the attacks.

At least one prominent Chicagoan, Black columnist Gus Savage, has accused Metcalfe of hypocrisy and questioned where his loyalty lies.

After Metcalfe refused to vote against Daley for

reelection as Cook County Democratic chairperson, Savage wrote that this "important test casts doubt on the value to the people of the so-called 'people's victory' in last month's 1st congressional district primary."

"During his recent campaign, Metcalfe said 'the main issue' and his 'real opponent' was Daley. Nevertheless, when the test came Monday, he no longer was in opposition to Daley—he was merely 'present.'"

"Metcalfe's reported excuse,—'I wanted to give the mayor a chance . . .—contradicts his campaign vows," Savage added. "After 20 years, does a 'racist' deserve still another chance?"

Another Chicagoan, the Socialist Workers party's Andrew Pulley, Metcalfe's opponent in November, has also defined where Metcalfe's loyalties lie.

"Metcalfe defeated the machine candidate in the primary, that's true," Pulley explained. "But he won a victory only for the Democratic party—the racist party that has denied and abused Black people and made Chicago the most segregated city in the country."



### Baxter Smith



# Young socialists tour campuses

By Dick Roberts

Students are no longer interested in politics, according to a recent article in the *New York Times*. To prove it the *Times* had sent reporter Jon Nordheimer to Kent State University in Ohio.

"On a campus with more than 20,000 full-time students, most from working-class backgrounds," Nordheimer said, "fewer than 30 students had turned out in a show of support for Jimmy Carter. And even those who came seemed nervous and wary, hesitant to volunteer their time."

But Nordheimer did not look very far. Peter Camejo, the Socialist Workers party presidential candidate, spoke at another rally at Kent State the first week of October. "More than 125 people attended the rally," Betsy Soares said in a telephone interview. "Seventy people signed a sheet asking for more information about the socialist campaign and 5 joined the Young Socialist Alliance."

The YSA, a national organization of socialist youth, has endorsed the Socialist Workers slate.

Soares is a youth coordinator for the SWP campaign. She and eight other coordinators, as well as eight teams with two or three members each, appeared on dozens of campuses across the country this fall.

They are spreading the word about both the Camejo-Reid ticket and the upcoming YSA convention this December.

They found great interest in socialist ideas. Campus meetings where the SWP candidates or the touring socialists speak are often enthusiastic. Many students have asked to join the YSA. From Tougaloo, Mississippi, to Las Vegas, New Mexico, to Sacramento, California, young activists in the Black, Chicano, women's, and other campus movements are deciding that politics means a lot more than stumping every four years for the capitalist candidates.

## 'Out of touch'

The coordinators and team members I talked to in the past week would agree with the *New York Times* on one point: "There is little interest in the Ford-Carter campaign. Students think that they are out of touch with reality,"

said Tom Smith, interviewed from Mt. Pleasant, Michigan.

Smith, who has toured campuses in previous years, believes that "there is a new high level of seriousness about the socialist campaign. Students are looking for a political organization that can and will bring about changes in this society."

Smith and two other team members, Brigid Douglas and Jim Garrison, have been visiting campuses in Michigan, usually for about three or four days at each campus. They helped start two new chapters of the YSA—at the University of Michigan in Ann Arbor and at Michigan State University and Lansing Community College in Lansing. "Four other students joined the YSA at Oakland University in Rochester," Smith added.

Cathy Sedwick finds the same seriousness about socialist ideas on southern campuses. She, Osborne Hart, and Ed Joell are three Black YSA leaders touring campuses in the South.

"Particularly after Peter Camejo appeared on 'Meet the Press' and the 'Tomorrow' show, people wanted to find out what the SWP is all about," said Sedwick.

"We had set up our campaign literature table at North Carolina Agricultural and Technical University. A person who had seen Camejo that night on TV came over and said, 'Everything Camejo said is what I've been thinking!'"

Sedwick believed that "the fact that there's no difference between Ford and Carter makes students feel that they have to become more conscious about politics. And they want to know about socialism—how it would solve their problems and what our program for change is."

In the South, as elsewhere, the traveling socialist group found virtually no organized support for Carter or Ford.

"People were sympathetic to our demand for equal time in the 'Great Debates,'" Sedwick said. "In fact, teachers would turn their classes over to us because they believe that socialists should get a hearing—and the teachers themselves wanted to hear more about us."



BETSY SOARES



NAN BAILEY

Militant/Lou Howort



CATHY SEDWICK

Militant/Lou Howort



MIKE ZARATE

Militant/Lou Howort

The students who are signing up to join the YSA are usually active in various struggles. They join the YSA because they see it as the only organization coordinating their struggles on a national basis.

"Julie Maki, a leading feminist at Michigan State University—in the campus Women's Council and Women's Forum—joined there."

"Donald Farrell, who was previously active in the February 1st Movement at NCA&T, joined."

"Two of the leaders of the Gay Liberation Front joined the YSA at Kent State," Betsy Soares said.

"Colleen Stroh, now the YSA organizer in Albuquerque, New Mexico, joined especially because of our role in women's struggles."

## New Mexico

Mike Zárate, Miguel Pendás, Mike Maloney, and Derrick "Gramps" Adams made up a team that toured campuses in New Mexico and El Paso, Texas.

"We helped to start new YSA chapters at the University of New Mexico in Albuquerque and at New Mexico Highlands University in Las Vegas," said Zárate. "The new Highlands chapter is all Chicano."

"The campus meetings for Peter Camejo were terrific—250 students at Albuquerque and 125 at Las Vegas," Zárate said. "The fact that Camejo's New Mexico tour was sponsored by the New Mexico Raza Unida party and that Juan José Peña, the RUP's leader, spoke along with Camejo, undoubtedly helped us to build our first all-Chicano YSA chapter."

"These new members were also especially interested in helping political prisoners through the United States Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners," he said.

"Further, they think that selling the *Militant* is important because it is the only place people can learn about what is actually happening with the Chicano movement in New Mexico."

## Boston

YSA National Chairperson Nan Bailey had spoken in New Orleans, Tougaloo, Atlanta, and Boston. At two Boston meetings Bailey debated representatives of Ford, Carter, and McCarthy. The audiences numbered 120 at the University of Massachusetts debate and 90 at Boston University.

"As the only Black woman on the panel—in both debates the other speakers were all white men like the candidates they represent—I had a certain advantage," she said. "I spoke in favor of women's rights, against the death penalty, for the freedom struggle in South Africa—issues of interest to students that the capitalist candidates evaded."

Bailey also felt that students who are joining the YSA now have gone through a selection process. "Black students wrestle with the question of whether they should belong only to all-Black groups. When they join the YSA they come to the conclusion that you need a multinational revolutionary organization."

"They join the YSA because of their respect for our serious work and leadership roles in Black struggles such as the fight to desegregate the schools."

Bailey and the others I spoke to have been talking up the forthcoming national convention of the YSA slated for the weekend of December 31 to January 2 in Chicago. Zárate said that coming to the convention was a high priority of the new members in New Mexico. "They are going to scrape everything together to come," he said.

## Come to the YSA convention



The Young Socialist Alliance national convention will take place December 31-January 2 at the Sheraton-Chicago Hotel in Chicago.

The convention is the perfect place to find out more about the socialist movement.

To find out more about the convention or to join the YSA, contact the YSA chapter nearest you (listed on page 31), or fill out the coupon below.

- ☐ I want to join the YSA.
- ☐ I want to attend the YSA convention.
- ☐ Send me more information.

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

City \_\_\_\_\_ State \_\_\_\_\_

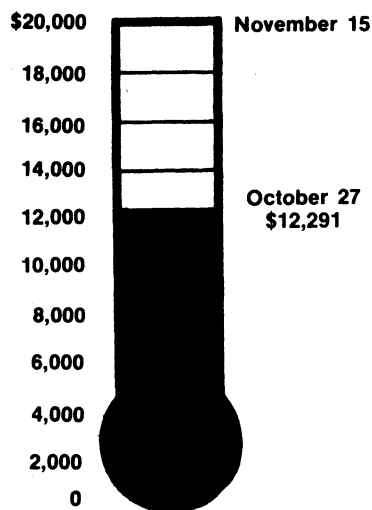
Zip \_\_\_\_\_ Phone \_\_\_\_\_

Clip and mail to: YSA, P.O. Box 471 Cooper Station, New York, N.Y. 10003.

# \$20,000 Camejo & Reid campaign fund

The letters on this page are a part of the overwhelming show of support people have shown for the SWP campaign. Since the previous fund advertisement in the 'Militant' two weeks ago, 'Militant' subscribers have contributed \$2,225! People responding to the 'Tomorrow' show, \$2,346! The remainder came from SWP campaign committees in Houston, Atlanta, Berkeley, Boston, Philadelphia, Milwaukee, New Orleans, St. Paul, Dallas, Denver, and San Francisco. But we have a ways to go to reach the \$20,000 needed and only a little time left. Your help is urgently needed. Any amount will help.

## How we're doing



Make checks payable to the Socialist Workers 1976 National Campaign Committee, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014.  
☐ Enclosed is my contribution of \$ \_\_\_\_\_.

☐ Please send me more information on the SWP campaign.

Name \_\_\_\_\_  
 Street \_\_\_\_\_  
 City \_\_\_\_\_  
 State \_\_\_\_\_ Zip \_\_\_\_\_  
 Occupation \_\_\_\_\_  
 Business address \_\_\_\_\_

A copy of our report is on file with the Federal Election Commission and is available for purchase from the Federal Election Commission, Washington, D.C. Chairperson, Linda Jenness; treasurer, Arthur Hughes.

## Letters to SWP campaign

# 'Finally, a party I can relate to'

[The following letters are some of the many recently received by the Socialist Workers party presidential campaign of Peter Camejo and Willie Mae Reid. [More than 3,000 such letters have been received just in response to Peter Camejo's October 14 appearance on NBC-TV's "Tomorrow" show.]

### 'Born again'

Thanks for that draught of good, cold, clean water! Just saw and heard the talk with Paul Duke on the Public Broadcasting Service station here and was, to quote Governor Carter, "born again." Truth is, I've been convinced of the rightness of the socialist cause since age seventeen, when I was a Norman Thomas follower, and later moved on to the SWP. Now I am a rather tired old thing crowding seventy and not much practical use to the movement. But I know you are on the right track—and here's my small but heartfelt contribution to prove my sincerity.  
*Westport, Connecticut*

### Cost of freedom

Please forward all pertinent information before election day.  
 Enclosed is a check to defray the cost of freedom.  
*Fair Oaks, California*

### Refreshing

I respectfully enclose ten dollars toward the stimulating and refreshing Socialist Workers party.  
*Rochester, New York*

### Active member

I would like to be an active member in the Socialist Workers party. I did receive some literature from you in 1972, but because of circumstances I was guided away from you. Now I wish to become a member.  
 I am enclosing twenty dollars to help the party. Please send me as much information as you can about what is going on and what I can do to get an active movement here in Kansas started.  
*Wichita, Kansas*

### So that's why

After seeing your candidate on the "Tomorrow" program, I am convinced that your ideas are the only sane ones I've ever heard concerning the area of "politics." Please put my name on your mailing list. I regret I can only contribute \$1.50, but I am unemployed. I am nineteen years old and willing to work but am unable to find a job anywhere. After listening to your candidate, now I know why!  
*Chicago, Illinois*

### 'Main man'

I can't convey the great feeling I have, being able to finally relate ideologically to a political party. One may have termed me a "latent" socialist previously, but I have become strong in my beliefs—thanks to the "Tomorrow" show on October 14, which featured our "main man."

This election—my vote is SWP.  
*Windlake, Wisconsin*

### What choice?

Every four years they get on television and tell us how great they are and what they're going to do for this country. But once in office they always end up doing the same thing. Prices keep going up, our buying power keeps going down, and no matter who's in office, the dollar simply can't buy as much as it used to. That's one thing they can't hide or lie about.

Yes, folks, here they are, Gerald Ford and Jimmy Carter. Take your pick. That's like having to choose how you want to die—by a knife in the back or a bullet in the head.

Some people will go to the polls this November 2 and vote for four more years of higher taxes, higher prices, and more unemployment. But for me, I don't care for that. I'd like to see some changes made in that "extremely" White House, and Peter Camejo just might be the person who could do it.  
*River View, Alabama*

### Only a working man

I watched you on the "Tomorrow" show and would like to say I enjoyed your opinions very much. It's too bad the mass

media won't truly acknowledge that you exist.

I'm only a small working man, but you have my vote. I would also like a Carter fact sheet, if you are still giving them out.

Thank you for voicing this person's opinion.  
*Syracuse, New York*

### Devastating

Please be assured that I intend to vote for you in November. I am writing you now to find out how I might do that here in Kansas, where your name will probably not appear on the ballot. I would also like to receive all the material you mentioned last night, especially the information on Carter.

By the way, I thought your presentation last night was the most brilliant commentary by a presidential candidate in an election in a good many years. You were devastating, and right on target. In the name of my workingman father, who is buried under the shadow of Henry Ford's factory in Detroit, I wish you well.  
*Pittsburg, Kansas*

### Common sense

I am going to vote Socialist Workers this year. Not only in protest against the dearth of regular good candidates, but because I feel you have a commonsense approach to government, which no other candidate has shown. Maybe this year we can really make an impression. I have already told a few people of my planned vote, and some have said that they would vote for you also. Thank you for your sincerity, your compassion for all of humanity, and your honesty.  
*Mastic, New York*

### Too bad

In reference to your interview on TV October 14, you mentioned to the viewers that we could have the pamphlets you showed. The program was very interesting and I was sorry my husband and many other men didn't see it. Too bad they couldn't have a good program such as yours on at an early time so more people could have heard it. Will you also send me the book you showed for \$2.95. That should be very good reading.  
*Union, New Jersey*

### Nonpeople

After hearing your presentation this past evening, I felt that I must write and ask for materials further explaining the positions of the Socialist Workers party on the matters concerning us today. I would be happy to pay for these materials. However, I have joined the ranks of the twenty-eight million workers who have become non-workers and nonpeople.

You were very impressive this evening, and I found myself agreeing with a great deal of what you had to say. Be of stout heart; your efforts will not have been in vain.  
*Antioch, Tennessee*

### Everyone I meet

I have just finished listening to your candidate for the presidency. Mr. Camejo came across to me as a very perceptive and concerned person. I would definitely like to receive the pamphlet discussed on the "Tomorrow" show. I'd like to show it to a few people, like everyone I meet, and get some more people concerned.  
*Chicopee, Massachusetts*

### For the people!

You got my vote! Please send me your leaflets. Also send some to those listed below.

Government for the people!  
*Brooklyn, New York*

### Fascinating man

I saw your presidential candidate on "Tomorrow" last night. He's a fascinating man and brought up some very interesting issues. I would very much appreciate your sending me any of the paraphernalia displayed on the show. Thank you.  
*Syracuse, New York*

### Sanitation worker

I am a socialist who recently came into contact with your organization via NBC's

"Tomorrow" show. I am currently employed as a sanitation worker for the city of Waterbury, although my job is endangered by proposed cuts in the city budget.

I would like to examine any information you have that might better acquaint me with the goals of the SWP.

I became a socialist while I was a college student back in the 1960s and have recently been considering joining a party, due to the extreme ineptness of the two major party candidates.  
*Waterbury, Connecticut*

### Open headquarters?

I would like to join your party very much. But the real reason I'm writing you this letter is to ask you if I could open a Socialist Workers party headquarters in Knoxville. I know that it is very close to election day but I really would like to work for the cause. So please, a prompt reply would be greatly welcomed.  
*Knoxville, Tennessee*

### Never before

Never have I responded to any political statements of any kind as I did to Peter Camejo's. Nor have I ever made any political contributions to a party before—mainly because none of them ever stood for anything I believe in, and because I have always been too poor.

Last night's revelations changed all that. I have been unemployed for the last eighteen months and, therefore, I am not in a position to make the kind of contribution I would like to. But to show my good will, I enclose my check for two dollars for now. I am eagerly awaiting whatever publications and/or information you will send me.

I intend to share last night's experience with all my friends and hope to evoke a response from them equal to mine.  
*Los Angeles, California*

### Our party

I am enthused, really enthused, with a candidate this year. I don't think your party (I mean our party) is on the ballot in Tennessee. If it were, I assure you I would vote for our candidate.

Please send me all material you have. I am enclosing a check for ten dollars. I hope it will help.  
*Mansfield, Tennessee*

### At least I know

This is the first time I have thought money could help a candidate change the system. I don't agree with everything you stand for, but at least I know where you stand. I am sorry that I can't help more than the ten dollars, but money right now is quite tight for me.  
*Union Grove, New Jersey*

### Good investment

I'm really sorry that I can't afford to give any more money than is included at the present time. Please use the money enclosed to send me all the possible information you can, and I promise I'll make my monetary contribution through the people I expose to the salvation that socialism offers. Think of it as money in the bank of the future.  
*Peace Dale, Rhode Island*

P.S.—You are free to include my name on that list against the intervention by the FBI into your campaign. I would be proud to be a part of that list.

### Impressed

I must admit that this is the first time I have ever been prompted to write a letter making a request for information after viewing a TV program—so impressed was I over the things your candidate had to say. I would also like to know whether there is a local address for your organization so that I may contact some members of your party in my geographic area.  
*New Orleans, Louisiana*

### Appalling

It was very appalling to me, what with all I hear about equal time for candidates, that this was the first time I ever heard of your candidate—especially since he had what seemed to be some very good views on the issues discussed in the limited time available.  
*Kettering, Ohio*



# CWA strikers appeal for solidarity

By James Roman

OAKLAND, Calif.—Striking communications workers here have appealed to all unionists and supporters of the labor movement to mobilize for a mass rally and picket line on Saturday, October 30.

The strikers face a concerted union-busting drive by one of the biggest corporations in the country, aided by the big-business press, the police, and now the FBI.

Nearly 100 members of Communications Workers of America Local 9455, most of them young Blacks and Chicanos, have been on strike against Focus Cable TV since last July 7.

Focus is a subsidiary of Teleprompter of New York, the biggest cable TV outfit in the country. It is controlled by the Hughes Corporation.

The bitterly fought strike centers on demands for improved pay, better medical coverage, an end to the company's racist employment practices, and a comprehensive affirmative-action program as part of the union contract.

Pickets have been assaulted by security guards with dogs and continually harassed by police. The company has brought in strikebreakers from out of state.

The latest threat to the union's survival is a \$14.7 million civil suit charging the union with responsibility for a September 10 fire at a company warehouse.

The union categorically denies any illegal activity and rejects the attempt to link it to violence. Strikers have countered with a \$15 million libel suit against the company for raising the arson charge.

The FBI has entered the case and begun to harass strikers. Workers have been visited at their homes by FBI agents who tried to interrogate them on strike matters totally unrelated to the alleged arson.

Rumors are circulating that warrants have been issued against some of the strikers.

Newspapers have joined in the company campaign to discredit the union. A few days ago, the *Oakland Tribune* splashed across its front page blazing red headlines claiming "arson" in the warehouse fire.

Meanwhile, the company has broken off negotiations.

Throughout the struggle, strikers have sought to reach out to the community and to cable TV subscribers through door-to-door leafleting and a phoning campaign. Thousands of former subscribers have canceled their service in support of the strike.

The effort to brand the union as violent is obviously aimed at undercutting its growing public support.

But the union is holding firm. The vice-mayor of Oakland has ordered Teleprompter to return to the negotiating table with a better offer or face the prospect of having its Oakland broadcasting license revoked.

The October 30 rally and picketing, which prominent Bay Area union leaders are expected to join, will be an important show of solidarity. The action will begin at 8:30 a.m. at 2102 Livingston Street in Oakland.

## Bare CIA harassment of RUP

# Texas Chicanos demand FBI files

By Harry Ring

LOS ANGELES—Citing the legal precedents established in the federal suit of the Socialist Workers party against government disruption of political activities, the Raza Unida party of Texas has demanded that the FBI immediately make available the complete secret files that it maintains on the party.

In a September letter to FBI Director Clarence Kelley, Dr. Armando Gutiérrez noted that the presiding judge in the SWP case had ordered the FBI to turn over all files without exception. The same thing should be done for the Raza Unida party, Gutiérrez said, without the need for similar court action.

A professor of Chicano studies at the University of Texas at Austin, Dr. Gutiérrez is vice-chairperson of the Texas RUP and head of its Legal Defense Fund, which is handling the disclosure action.

The decision to take action on this issue was unanimously agreed to by the party's September state convention.

At the convention, Dr. Gutiérrez called the attention of the delegates to revelations of FBI harassment of the SWP and others stemming from the socialists' damage suit.

There is every reason to believe, Gutiérrez said, that the Raza Unida party has been the target of a similar FBI campaign.

The first evidence in this direction was already in hand with the receipt of a CIA file by José Angel Gutiérrez, founding leader of the Crystal City RUP and now Zavala County judge.

Last April, Judge Gutiérrez wrote to the FBI and CIA requesting, under the Freedom of Information Act, his own file and that of the RUP.

To date, he has received no files from the FBI. Two letters from Director Clarence Kelley have assured him the request is being processed and only a backlog of similar requests is slowing things down.

### CIA response

The CIA responded on August 17 with some files on Gutiérrez and none on the RUP.

The CIA file is as interesting for what it does not reveal as it is for what it does.

To begin with, the file ends in 1972, two years after the RUP was founded.

Responding to this, Gutiérrez advised the CIA that he would presume from this that surveillance of him ended at that time.

If this was in fact the case, he noted, there was no reason to send him censored and obviously incomplete files. He would appreciate, he said, a full file and confirmation that surveillance of him had in fact ended in 1972. If not, he advised, he would like his file to date.

So far the CIA has not responded.

The dossier that the CIA sent Gutiérrez confirms that the RUP came under the CIA's counterpart to the FBI's Cointelpro. The CIA disruption program aimed at domestic dissidents was christened "Operation Chaos."

Most of the internal CIA memorandums in Gutiérrez's file are headed "Operation Chaos."

A number are from or to "Chief."

After "a thorough search of our files," the CIA sent Gutiérrez two packets, "Tab A" and "Tab B."

"Tab A" consists mainly of newspaper clippings about the RUP and various individuals associated with the party.

"Tab B" consists of about fifty pages of CIA memos, mostly blank.

One bears the cloak-and-dagger title



Militant/Harry Ring

1972 RAZA UNIDA CONVENTION IN EL PASO: Reports turned up in CIA files.

"Priority. Eyes Only. Chaos." This is followed by three pages that are blanked out except for his name, José Ángel Gutiérrez, and his identification as an RUP leader and, at that time, head of the Crystal City school board.

It ends cryptically on page three, "Appreciate any information able provide re this activity."

### El Paso convention

Particularly interesting is the conclusion in "Tab B" of a report on the September 1972 national Raza Unida convention held in El Paso.

The report is clearly a digest of an article by *New York Times* correspondent Martin Waldron.

The article refers, in apparent dismay, to "street children" on the convention floor. It asserts the convention "closed, as it began," with "violence." (The "violence" refers to Ricardo Falcón, a Colorado delegate who was killed by a New Mexico gas station operator en route to the convention. The "closing" violence refers to the still unsolved killing in Juárez, Mexico, of another convention delegate.

The *Times* article is then presented in an abbreviated form in a publication called *Information Digest*. To identify the publication, the dossier includes its title page.

*Information Digest* skillfully extracts the most flagrantly racist points from the *Times* article.

### Delegation to Mexico

One memo in the file deals with the November 1972 visit of a Chicano delegation to Mexico. The delegation was led, according to the CIA report, by José Angel Gutiérrez and Reies López Tijerina of the New Mexico land grant movement.

The copy of the report given to Gutiérrez is censored to conceal the fairly obvious fact that there was an informer planted in the delegation.

The report to the CIA glumly notes that the conferees held a news conference for the Mexican media at which "a succession of Chicano speakers related the history of the Chicanos, the discrimination practiced against them. . . ."

It is also reported that a delegation including José Angel Gutiérrez, Bert Corona of Los Angeles, and Mario Cantú of San Antonio had gone to Mexico City's Lecumberri prison to visit political prisoners. They were denied admission and, the report continues, held a news conference

criticizing Mexican President Echeverría, who had told them during a U.S. visit that there were no political prisoners in Mexico and invited them to come see for themselves.

The CIA report asserted, somewhat angrily, that the Mexico City prison incident was intended to "embarrass" Echeverría.

Some of the CIA internal reports are apparently culled from the press by Anglos who seem to have a bit of difficulty with their assignment.

One twenty-seven-page report, largely censored, refers to the "United Racial Movement" and adds with shrewd intelligence, "probably identical with Raza Unida. . . ."

Another memo to "Chief" is headed, "Chicano Power Movement," and reports on a then slated 1972 New Mexico movement conference, with participants including "the United Race ('Raza Unida').".

The report listed the themes of the slated conference, including "participation of Mexicans" in the Vietnam War. This presumably refers to Chicanos since Mexico did not participate in the Vietnam War.

The partial files released to Gutiérrez are largely a mass of erasures. But not enough to erase the ugly racism. Nor sufficient to erase the fact that the CIA is guilty, at a minimum, of illegal surveillance of a legal political party, the Raza Unida party.

## CIA lies again

The CIA lies again. That is one important disclosure in the files it was forced to hand over to Judge José Angel Gutiérrez. The super-sleuths included in this material an *Information Digest* report on the 1972 El Paso convention of the RUP.

*Information Digest* is a right-wing, red-baiting rag circulated among police agencies and edited by John and Louise Rees.

The CIA told the New York State Assembly Office of Legislative Oversight and Analysis that it receives unsolicited copies of *Information Digest* but never uses them.

Gutiérrez's release of these files therefore makes an important contribution to further exposing the links between the CIA and the sordid world of right-wing informers and their paymasters in the FBI and local police forces.

—H.R.

# China confirms purge of four top leaders

By Les Evans  
From Intercontinental Press

The Chinese government officially confirmed on October 22 the purge of four top Maoist leaders, including Mao's widow, Chiang Ch'ing, as well as the appointment of Hua Kuo-feng as chairman of the Chinese Communist party. The announcement, made by the government press agency Hsinhua, came in the midst of party-organized demonstrations throughout the country that were the largest since the Cultural Revolution of the late 1960's.

The press statement offered no specific allegations against the jailed leaders, but accused them in general of trying to "usurp party and state power." It said that "the party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua

Kuo-feng adopted resolute and decisive measures to crush the counterrevolutionary conspiratorial clique and liquidated a bane inside the party."

The four—who besides Chiang Ch'ing include Wang Hung-wen, the party's second-ranking official; Chang Ch'un-ch'iao, senior deputy prime minister and chief army political commissar; and Yao Wen-yuan, the reputed head of the government press department—were said to have "wantonly tampered with Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought."

The press accused the "gang of four" of tampering with Mao's last directives. No proofs were offered of this or any other charges, while the press produces almost on a daily basis

"new" directives by the dead Mao calling for support to Hua Kuo-feng and warning of a possible usurpation of power by his wife, Chiang Ch'ing. No evidence is offered for the existence of these deathbed utterances.

In the guise of reporting comments by workers and peasants, the Chinese press is continuing to whip up a lynch atmosphere against the fallen Maoists.

Using the ritual Stalinist slander employed by Mao and Chiang Ch'ing herself against Mao's factional opponents in the Cultural Revolution, the government adds to its list of charges the claim that Chiang Ch'ing sought to restore capitalism in China.

No attempt is made to explain how Mao Tsetung could have been married to a bourgeois plotter for almost forty years, elevated her to central party leadership for the last decade, and never detected her alleged political leanings. (Chiang Ch'ing is even described as a "fascist" in one press report.

Ten days of nationwide demonstrations, organized by the Communist party, celebrated the downfall of the Chiang Ch'ing group and hailed the appointment of Hua Kuo-feng to the party chairmanship. These began on October 15 in Shanghai. The October 24 *New York Times* reported:

"Although the demonstrations over the last few days have clearly been organized, many participants appeared genuinely pleased. In Peking, marchers smiled and waved at foreigners, and even invited the children of foreign diplomats and reporters to join in the demonstrations, an unusual gesture in a society where foreigners are kept at a discreet distance."

On October 24, coinciding with a rally of a million people in Peking where the new party leadership appeared on a reviewing stand, the government press agency issued the claim that 50 million people had taken part in anti-Chiang Ch'ing demonstrations throughout China in the previous four days.

Although the party apparatus controlled the slogans and the speakers, both the size and the mood at these massive rallies seemed to confirm that the deposed leaders were widely unpopular among the Chinese working class.

Similar officially orchestrated demonstrations in April, for example, called to repudiate the April 5 spontaneous mass protest in Tien An Men Square and to sanction the dismissal of vice-premier Teng Hsiao-p'ing, were far smaller and were widely reported as dispirited, regimented affairs.

The Chinese Stalinists have, of course, for many years used the device of compulsory mass mobilizations as a form of plebiscite to give the appearance of a popular mandate to government policy. No debate is permitted in the mass meetings, no dissenters from the official line are allowed access to the press, and all critics of the current regime are habitually denounced as counterrevolutionaries.

This procedure is not, however, without its risks, especially when the central leadership is divided within itself. In the Cultural Revolution such controlled mobilizations swept beyond the limits prescribed by the Maoist hierarchy and led to large-scale strikes and factory occupations that were suppressed only by direct military intervention.

The new regime, ostensibly headed by the little-known Hua Kuo-feng, has won an easy victory over some of Mao's closest associates. But without Mao's personal authority it is safe to conclude that there will be uneasiness in Peking at the air of jubilation among the giant crowds celebrating the downfall of the best known and most hated representatives of the Stalinist ruling caste. This sentiment can quickly turn against the victors if they pursue the same policies, which they show every indication of doing, at least on essentials.

In foreign policy, the new leaders have already made clear their intention of pursuing the proimperialist détente initiated by Mao. Peking's ongoing offer of political aid to bourgeois regimes throughout the world against the Soviet Union was reiterated in a major article in the October 14 *Peking People's Daily*:

"This new upstart in the ranks of imperialism [the Soviet Union] is bound to carry out an all-round aggression and expansion against the Third World with tenfold of voracity and hundredfold of madness."

## 'Guardian' neutral on purge

The New York weekly *Guardian*, in the paper's first comment on the current purge in China, takes a carefully neutral tone while referring to the fall of Chiang Ch'ing and other of Mao's closest associates as one of the "most significant political realignments since liberation in 1949."

Last spring the Maoist *Guardian* adopted a position critical of Chinese foreign policy. But the paper has maintained until now that despite China's procapitalist "mistakes" in foreign relations, the country's internal regime remained one of revolutionary socialist democracy.

An October 27 article by *Guardian* Managing Editor Jack Smith, labeled "First of a series," states that the four purged leaders "were associated with the Shanghai left group which played an important role in conducting the cultural revolution against the rightist line of Liu Shao-chi and in antiright political struggles since then."

It grants that Wang Hung-wen was "elevated apparently by Mao to be party vice chairman and second highest member of the Politbureau," and says that "the four accused . . .

obviously have some support throughout the country and within the party central committee—some say as much as up to 30% of the 119-member body."

Does the *Guardian* believe that these people are "capitalist-roaders in the party," an accusation that it repeats without comment? And if the accusation that Chiang Ch'ing plotted the restoration of capitalism is a frame-up, wouldn't it be in order for the *Guardian* to rethink its acceptance of similar accusations by the bureaucracy in the past?

After all, none of those denounced in the past were given any more opportunity to present their side of the case than Chiang Ch'ing is being given today.

The *Guardian* evades these crucial questions by referring to the "historic struggles within the Chinese Communist Party" as "exceptionally complex and shrouded in analogy and subtlety." They are shrouded indeed, because they are carried out behind the backs of the party ranks and the Chinese people.

Can the *Guardian* offer any other explanation for what has happened in the last few weeks in Peking?

## 700 protest repression in Iran

By Mark Harris

CARBONDALE, Ill.—A crowd of 700 people turned out October 7 for a meeting on "Political Repression in Iran" at Southern Illinois University. The gathering was organized by the Committee for Artistic and Intellectual Freedom in Iran (CAIFI) and featured Pentagon papers defendant Daniel Ellsberg and Iranian poet Reza Baraheni.

Baraheni, a CAIFI chairperson, spoke of his own experiences while jailed for 102 days in Iran in 1973. He provided a moving description of the torture methods employed by SAVAK, the shah's secret police.

Since the creation of SAVAK in 1957, Baraheni explained, as many as 300,000 people have been locked up as political dissidents.

During the last two years the repression has intensified. In March 1975 the shah closed down 95 percent of the press and imposed a one-party system. In the first five months of this year, the state carried out eighty official executions. Baraheni estimates that there are 1,500 persons arrested every month for political reasons. The total number of political prisoners is estimated at 100,000.

Baraheni stressed the importance of international public opinion and actions in defending democratic rights in Iran. He urged everyone "to work together so that we can create a public opinion that no administration overlooking the human rights of the people will be able to disregard."

Baraheni announced that Ferydoun Tonakaboni, an Iranian short-story writer, was recently released from prison as a result of the efforts of PEN (an international association of writers), CAIFI, and Amnesty International.

Daniel Ellsberg's remarks explored the similarity of U.S. policy toward Iran and Vietnam. In both cases, Ellsberg noted, U.S. policy was "not an

accident" but a "policy implemented by a number of presidents."

"Does the United States torture political prisoners?" Ellsberg asked. "I would have to say yes—in Iran, Brazil, South Korea, and a number of other countries that serve as regional proxies for us in carrying out the dirty side, the dirty work of American policy."

In addition to the wide coverage given the meeting by local media, the event was also taken note of 6,000 miles away. In Tehran, the *Kayhan*, a government-controlled newspaper, reported on the upcoming CAIFI rally in its August 25 issue. Commenting on "the meeting of Iranian communists in Carbondale," the article insinuated that the meeting organizers were in league with Hubert Humphrey and the Senate committee on arms sales in an attempt to stop the sale of weapons to Iran.

Unfortunately, this was not the only attack on CAIFI. A group of students from the Iranian Students Association came to Carbondale in an attempt to disrupt the meeting. When given the opportunity to speak, they repeated the scurrilous charge that CAIFI is CIA controlled and that Baraheni is a SAVAK agent.

But efforts to smear the defense meeting were largely futile as shown by the wide support for the gathering. Sponsors included the Iranian Student Organization; Student Government; Young Socialist Alliance; departments of history, sociology, and philosophy; University Christian Ministries; Psychology Women's Caucus; and Muslim Student Association. Solidarity messages were also sent to the meeting from Suzanne Haig, Socialist Workers party candidate for governor of Illinois, and from Bill Meyers, Illinois coordinator of the Eugene McCarthy campaign.

## 'Old days'?

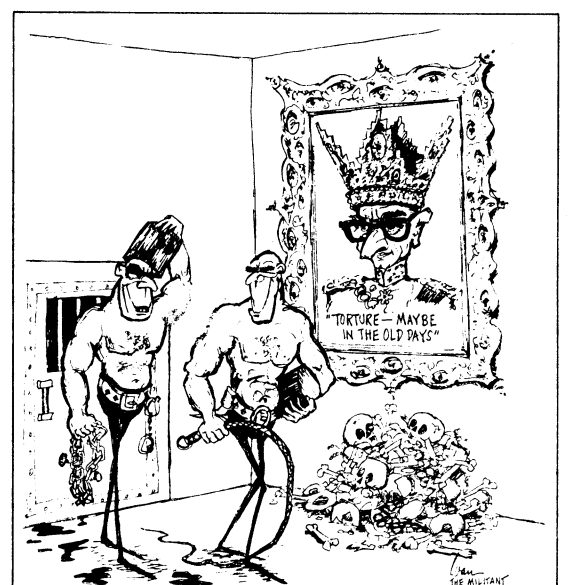
Question: [Do] you torture?

Answer: Not the torture in the old sense of torturing people, twisting their arms and doing this and that. . . .

Q: Well, they [the International Commission of Jurists] talk about psychological and physical torture.

A: Physical I don't believe. . . . Not any more. Maybe in the old days, maybe.

—The shah of Iran answering a reporter's questions on torture in Iran in a CBS-TV broadcast October 24.



"Another good old day's work done"



## Shanker offers 'cooperation' with budget-cutters

# NY teacher union penalized for '75 strike

By Frank Lovell

The United Federation of Teachers, the 60,000-member New York City affiliate of the American Federation of Teachers, has lost for the second time its automatic dues checkoff.

The Public Employment Relations Board, a state agency, revoked the UFT's checkoff privileges October 13 as punishment for a five-day strike at the beginning of the 1975 school year. The ruling was made under the state's Taylor Law, which prohibits strikes by public employees.

The checkoff privilege may be suspended for as long as two years, the board said. Or it may be restored sooner if the union renounces its traditional "no contract, no work" policy, gives up the right to strike, and otherwise proves subservient to the board of education and other government agencies.

The UFT lost its dues checkoff once before, but that was in 1968 under different circumstances, as a result of a series of strike actions that closed New York City schools that fall for ten weeks.

The 1968 strike was against community control of schools in Black and Puerto Rican districts. It was conducted in collusion with the central board of education.

The strike settlement rewarded teachers for their services to the central board by arranging for longer school days and the cancellation of certain holidays, so that the teachers received overtime pay in addition to their regular salaries. The stated purpose was to allow students to catch up schooltime lost during the strike and allow teachers to regain pay that could have been lost under Taylor Law penalties.

Little money was actually withheld from individual teachers because the board of education claimed it would take four to six weeks to revise its payroll lists. It continued to pay regular salaries during the greater part of the strike.

The UFT, however, did not escape penalty under the antiunion Taylor Law. But UFT President Albert Shanker considered at that time that the advantages of close collaboration with the central board of education far outweighed the temporary loss of union dues checkoff.

It is estimated that the union lost about \$1 million in dues for the twenty-two months after the 1968 strikes when it was denied the checkoff privilege.

The losses it suffered in other re-



Militant/Brian Shannon



Militant/Martha Harris

**STRIKING CONTRAST:** 1975 walkout against cutbacks (right) drew community support, school board wrath. After racist 1968 strike (left) against Black and Puerto Rican rights, teachers were rewarded for services rendered to central board. ('Race hatred' on sign refers to teaching Black and Puerto Rican culture.)

spects from the racist strike were far greater. The vast majority of Black teachers left the union because it was clear that the Shanker leadership did not represent their interests.

The union was further alienated from the Black and Puerto Rican communities.

To the present day Albert Shanker has continued to use union funds and influence against all efforts to improve educational opportunities for minorities. He has consistently endorsed and helped to elect their racist political opponents.

The present ruling against the UFT is different from the first. Times are different. Back in 1968 there was a scarcity of teachers, but not today.

Shanker was confident then that collaboration with the central board would allow him to dispense favors to teachers through the UFT and ensure dues payments from the vast majority. And that was how it all worked out—until recently.

There are no more favors to be handed out by Shanker and others like him. The school bureaucracy is now engaged in the grisly business of taking away most of the gains of previous years. The UFT has fallen upon hard times.

The notoriously antiunion Judge

Irving Saypol of the state supreme court has found the UFT guilty of violating the Taylor law. He has yet to impose a fine.

Last July the city's corporation counsel, W. Bernard Richland, urged Saypol to go easy on the UFT. "We have no wish to render the union penniless and powerless," Richland said. But there is no indication that this vindictive judge will follow such advice.

Shanker is now prostrate before unfriendly state and city agencies, begging for formal recognition and official aid. He reminds them of past services rendered and promises them future support.

He has announced publicly that he was not in favor of the five-day strike last year. It was all the result of confusion and uncertainty in the bargaining process caused by the city financial crisis.

He reminded the Public Employment Relations Board that money saved in teacher salaries during the five-day strike enabled the board to keep nearly 2,000 teachers on staff.

In the short 1975 strike, unlike 1968, individual teachers lost ten days' pay—two for each day of the strike—totaling about \$31 million.

According to Shanker, the UFT sought in other ways to help solve the

city's financial problems. The Teachers Retirement System, upon Shanker's urging, agreed to invest more than \$1 billion in Municipal Assistance Corporation bonds. This is one of the agencies that is insisting upon cutbacks in schools and reduction of teacher salaries.

Shanker's final plea for a return to the former times and restoration of the old union-management relationship is "the fact that a union which is expected to cooperate with its employer in emergency times has to have the resources to help its membership so that it can exercise leadership."

"No union can lead," Shanker says, "when its resources are curtailed and it must expend its energies on collecting dues."

It is true that a union officialdom that does nothing for the membership will have trouble collecting dues. The members will naturally want to know if they are getting their money's worth.

Those members who continue to pay dues because they want to rebuild a strong organization will likewise want to choose a leadership that responds to their needs and carries out their will.

In either case, Shanker is in trouble. It is small wonder that he looks to the enemies of the union for help. He has no place else to look.

## S.F. union leaders welcome gay support

By John Studer

**SAN FRANCISCO**—At a widely covered news conference here October 19, leaders of San Francisco's gay liberation movement pledged to campaign for the defeat of antilabor propositions on the November ballot.

Leaders of Bay Area Gay Liberation's Labor Committee said they would mobilize their members to distribute 60,000 fliers exposing the antiunion propositions.

The eight measures placed on the ballot by the San Francisco Board of Supervisors—Propositions B, D, E, I, J, L, M, and O—would eliminate the right to strike for public employees; open the door to discrimination based on sex, nationality, union activity, or political beliefs; slash retirement benefits; and allow increased patronage.

Prominent union officials also spoke at the news conference,

thanking the gays for their support. Gay groups have mobilized in the past to defeat previous antilabor ballot measures, and in support of the labor boycotts of Gallo wine and Coors beer.

Present at the news conference were Jack Crowley, secretary-treasurer of the San Francisco Labor Council; Stan Smith, secretary of the Building and Construction Trades Council; Richard Chavez, national executive board member of the United Farm Workers; Joan Dillon, president of Service Employees Local 4100; Walter Johnson, president of Department Store Employees Local 1100; Doug Cuthbertson, assistant executive-secretary of the San Francisco Newspaper Guild, Lodge 52; and Jack Rasmus, president of Communications Workers of America Local 9455.

The union officials pledged to

seek nondiscrimination clauses in union contracts to protect gay workers.

Some recent successes were reported. Allan Baird, president of Teamsters Local 921, issued a release saying he had obtained the first Teamster contract barring discrimination based on "race, religion, creed, color, national origin, ancestry, or sex orientation."

Claude Wynne of the Bay Area Gay Liberation's Labor Committee spoke on the importance of gay activists aiding the labor movement in the elections.

"The forces of bigotry, ignorance, and economic privilege in this society are on the offensive," Wynne said. "They are attempting to reverse the gains made by women, racial minorities, and gay people. They're out to break the back of labor."

"We must fight back! Defeat the

antilabor propositions! Vote yes on Proposition 14 [the pro-UFW initiative on the California ballot] and Proposition T [a proposal for district elections of the San Francisco Board of Supervisors]!"

San Francisco has one of the largest concentrations of gays in the country. Political observers believe that when gays have voted as a bloc, they have made the difference in some local elections.

The gay movement here has also shown an ability to mobilize massive public support for homosexual rights. Last June 27 an estimated 90,000 people turned out for a march commemorating the birth of the gay rights movement seven years ago.

It was the largest gay demonstration ever held in this country, and one of the largest demonstrations of any kind in San Francisco history.

# ...abortion

Continued from page 3

Four days later, placards affirming women's right to choose confronted Jimmy Carter as he campaigned in Alexandria, Virginia. Members of the National Abortion Rights Action League and Planned Parenthood were among the protesters.

An important opportunity for protest will be the January 13 "women's state of the union" events planned by NOW in many cities. These activities, called to dramatize women's unequal status, can help focus national outrage against the assault on our right to choose.

# ...spies

Continued from page 5

people who work for the government.

Would the Justice Department also represent the Reeses in the SWP suit? To find out I called William Brandt, the government's lawyer in the SWP case. He would not admit nor deny that the government was representing the Reeses.

Brandt asked me to call back in five minutes. But when I called again he refused to make any comment at all.

Apparently the Justice Department hadn't figured out how to handle this. Next I called Robert Havel. He's in charge of answering newspapers' questions for the Justice Department about the SWP lawsuit.

"Why on earth would we represent them?" was Havel's first response. Would the government give Louise Rees counsel because she works for McDonald? I asked. "No, I would think not," Havel replied. He said he would call back.

But another Justice Department official called. "Down here we're not too clear on it right now," he said. "They have asked us to represent them and right now we're studying whether it serves the interests of the United States to represent them."

I asked why they would even consider the request. His answer was, "Well, it would involve their employment, you know, in the government."

When I pressed him about exactly who they worked for, he would only say he was not really familiar with the Reeses.

But we will get more definite answers when attorneys for the socialists finally get to question John and Louise Rees. We may find out: Who's behind these right-wing spies?

# ...violence

Continued from page 7

implication that a physical threat against a member of the socialist movement is none of our business simply because that member is a Chicano who is involved in activities in the Chicano movement."

Such methods, they pointed out, should not be used against anyone.

Political debate, of course, is a

necessary part of building movements for social change in this country. Such debates, however, must take place in an atmosphere free from physical intimidation and name-calling designed to cut off discussion.

In this regard, the Serna and Gonzales letters are very disturbing. In trying to justify the threats of violence against Baca, Serna recounts an incident of a beating by Crusade members of yet another person. She asserts that this person is a "drug pusher"—a charge not backed up with a shred of evidence.

Serna then charges that Baca somehow caused the arrest of two Crusade members alleged to have been involved in the incident.

This is a lie. Baca did not speak to the police about the beating. The beaten person took the matter to the police entirely on his own.

Baca and Halstead ask Gonzales: "What assurances do others who may express a difference of opinion with members of the Crusade have that they too will not be falsely labeled a 'pusher,' an 'agent provocateur,' a 'puppet,' a 'drug traffic sympathizer,' or a 'disturbed person' and then be set upon physically?"

All of these epithets are used by Serna in her letter. They do nothing to ease tensions. They single out the person they are applied to as someone not to be discussed with. The danger exists that hotheads will view persons labeled in this way as fair targets for violence.

Thus, such epithets create a situation in which fruitful discussion and common activities become impossible.

Baca and Halstead end their letter with an appeal to Gonzales:

"We urge you once again to clarify the position of the Crusade regarding these incidents. We urge you to take all necessary steps to assure that this violence is not repeated and to join us and others in redoubling our common efforts against government repression."

Hopefully, Gonzales and other Crusade members and leaders will respond favorably to this appeal.

## Women in China

By Katie Curtin

95 pp., \$6.00, paper \$1.45  
Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014

Calendar and classified rates: 75 cents per line of 56-character-wide typewritten copy. Display ad rates: \$10 per column inch (\$7.50 if camera-ready ad is enclosed). Payment must be included with ads. The Militant is published each week on Friday. Deadlines for ad copy: Friday, one week preceding publication, for classified and display ads; Wednesday noon, two days preceding publication, for calendar ads. Telephone: (212) 243-6392.

## Class-Struggle Policy in the Rise of the Labor Movement

By Tom Kerry

A forty-year veteran of the labor and socialist movements shows how class-struggle ideas spurred the growth of American unionism, including: the Seattle general strike of 1919; the struggles of West Coast maritime workers in the 1930s; the role of the Communist party; and the part played by revolutionists in left-wing trends in the unions.

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# Calendar

**BALTIMORE**  
**MAOISM VS. SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY IN CHINA.** Speakers: Steve Watson, China scholar; Rick Higgins, SWP. Fri., Nov. 5, 8 p.m. 2117 N. Charles St. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum Series. For more information call (301) 547-0668.

**BOSTON**  
**ELECTION NIGHT RALLY.** Speakers: Carol Henderson Evans, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate; Camejo and Reid on telephone hook-up. Tues., Nov. 2, 8 p.m. 510 Commonwealth Ave. Fourth Floor. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Socialist Workers Campaign Committee. For more information call (617) 262-4621.

**DALLAS**  
**ELECTION NIGHT CELEBRATION.** Hear Camejo and Reid on national telephone hook-up. Watch election returns on TV. Refreshments. Tues., Nov. 2, 7:30 p.m. 2306 Salerno #C. Ausp: Socialist Workers Campaign Committee. For more information call (214) 941-2308 or 943-6684.

**LONG BEACH**  
**COMMUNITY MEETING TO PROTEST LA MIGRA.** Speakers: Bert Corona, anti-deportation leader; Eugene Hernández, San Fernando RUP chairperson; Virginia Garza, SWP; Juan Avila, leader of July 31 Coalition. Fri., Nov. 5, 8 p.m. 2600 E. 7th St. Ausp: SWP, RUP, Centro de la Raza.

**LOS ANGELES**  
**ELECTION NIGHT CELEBRATION.** Speakers: Omari Musa, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate; Camejo and Reid over national telephone hook-up. Tues., Nov. 2, 5 p.m. to 11 p.m. Dinner served. 4040 W. Washington Blvd. Donation: \$1. Ausp: 1976 California Socialist Workers Campaign. For more information call (213) 732-9196.

**NEW YORK**  
**DEBATE.** Peter Camejo, SWP presidential candidate; and Michael Harrington, national chairperson, Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee. Mon., Nov. 1, Queens College, 4th Floor College Union, 65-30 Kissena Blvd. 12:00 noon. The debate will also be broadcast on WBAI (99.5 FM) radio on Nov. 1, starting at 7:30 p.m.

**HEAR PETER CAMEJO ON RADIO.** Sun., Oct. 31, 12 noon. 107.5 FM.

**ELECTION NIGHT VICTORY RALLY.** Tues., Nov. 2, starting at 7:00 p.m. 47 E. 65th St. Ausp: Socialist Workers Campaign Committee. For more information call (212) 982-4966.

**PITTSBURGH**  
**ELECTION NIGHT CELEBRATION.** Speakers: Carla Hoag, SWP candidate for U.S. Congress, 14th C.D.; live telephone hook-up with Camejo and Reid.

Refreshments. Tues., Nov. 2, 8 p.m. 5504 Penn. Ave. (East Liberty). Ausp: Socialist Workers Campaign Committee. For more information call (413) 441-1419

**ST. LOUIS**  
**STOP LEGAL LYNCHING: SPEAK OUT AGAINST THE DEATH PENALTY.** Fri., Nov. 5, 8 p.m. 4875 Natural Bridge. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (314) 381-0044.

## Puerto Rico: U.S. Colony in the Caribbean

José G. Pérez

## PUERTO RICO: U.S. COLONY IN THE CARIBBEAN

BY JOSÉ G. PÉREZ

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## Bernadette DEVLIN Speaks on IRELAND



Bernadette Devlin McAliskey, a former member of Parliament and a prominent spokesperson for the Irish struggle for civil rights and independence, will begin a thirteen day tour of the United States on November 8. Below is her tour schedule; call the telephone number listed for information on her meeting schedule.

Monday, Nov. 8, Kingston, R.I. Call the Student Activities Info. Desk, Univ. of R.I.  
Tuesday, Nov. 9, Philadelphia. (215) EV7-2451  
Wednesday, Nov. 10, Washington, DC. (202) 797-7699  
Thursday & Friday, Nov. 11-12, Los Angeles. (213) 732-8197  
Monday, Nov. 15, Berkeley and San Francisco. (415) 653-7156 or 285-4686  
Tuesday & Wednesday, Nov. 16-17, Minneapolis and St. Paul, (612) 332-7781 or 222-8929  
Thursday, Nov. 18, Chicago. (312) 939-0737 or 427-0280  
Friday, Nov. 19, Boston. (617) 262-4621  
Saturday, Nov. 20, New York City. (212) 982-8214 or 741-0690

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# Election night rallies.

## Hear Camejo and Reid live Nov. 2 over national telephone hook-up

Socialist Workers campaign committees across the country will host election-night rallies and celebrations. Peter Camejo, in New York, and Willie Mae Reid, in Chicago, will address the rallies via a national telephone hook-up. To find out about the election-night rally in your neighborhood call the Socialist Workers party campaign headquarters listed below.



**Peter Camejo**

Will speak at 10:40 p.m. EST from New York at Roosevelt House, Hunter College, 47 East 65th Street.



**Willie Mae Reid**

Will speak at 9:00 p.m. CST from Chicago at the Midland Hotel, 172 West Adams.

## Socialist campaign headquarters:

**ARIZONA: Phoenix:** SWP, P.O. Box 10772, Phoenix, Ariz. 85064. Tel: (602) 956-1181.

**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 Blvd., Long Beach, Calif. 90804. Tel: (213) 597-0965.

**Los Angeles, Crenshaw District:** SWP, YSA, Pathfinder Books, 4040 W. Washington Blvd., Los Angeles, Calif. 90018. Tel: (213) 732-8196.

**Los Angeles: City-wide:** SWP, YSA, 4040 W. Washington Blvd., Suite 11, Los Angeles, Calif. 90018. Tel: (213) 732-8197.

**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, P.O. Box 4456, Panorama City, Calif. 91412. Tel: (213) 894-2081.

**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, 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, 123 S. 3rd St., Suite 220, San Jose, Calif. 95113. Tel: (408) 295-8342.

**East San Jose:** SWP, 1192 E. Santa Clara, San Jose, Calif. 95116. Tel: (408) 295-2618.

**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, Militant Bookstore, 1379-81 Kalamath, Denver, Colo. 80204. Tel: (303) 623-2825.

**Fort Collins:** YSA, Student Center Cave, Colorado State University, Ft. Collins, Colo. 80521.

**FLORIDA: Miami:** YSA, Box 431096, South Miami, Fla. 33143.

**Tallahassee:** YSA, c/o Suzanne Welch, 765 El Rancho St., Tallahassee, Fla. 32304. Tel: (904) 224-9632.

**GEORGIA: Atlanta:** 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.

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**INDIANA: Bloomington:** YSA, c/o Student Activities Desk, Indiana University, Bloomington, Ind. 47401.

**Indianapolis:** YSA, c/o Student Activity Office, IUPUI, 925 W. Michigan St., Indianapolis, Ind. 46202. Tel: (317) 631-3441.

**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) 266-0536.

**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.

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**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 Mark Cerasoulou, 13 Hollister Apts., Amherst, Mass. 01002.

**Boston:** SWP, YSA, 510 Commonwealth Ave., Boston, Mass. 02215. Tel: (617) 262-4620.

**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.

**Roxbury:** SWP, 1865 Columbus Ave., Roxbury, Mass. 02119. Tel: (617) 445-7799.

**Worcester:** YSA, Box 229, Greendale Station, Worcester, Mass. 01606.

**MICHIGAN: Ann Arbor:** YSA, Room 4103, Mich. Union, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich. 48104. Tel: (313) 663-8766.

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**Milwaukee:** SWP, YSA, 3901 N. 27th St., Milwaukee, Wis. 53216. Tel: (414) 442-8170.

## 'NO TO RACISM' From Boston to South Africa

By Susan LaMont

BOSTON—Student leaders gathered here October 23 to finalize plans for a National Student Conference Against Racism to launch a major campaign against U.S. involvement in southern Africa.

Slated for November 19-21 at Boston University, the conference is being hosted by the National Student Coalition Against Racism (NSCAR).

The theme of the conference will be "No to Racism: From Boston to South Africa."

The all-day gathering was a national steering committee meeting of the student group.

Addressing the students, national coalition coordinator Maceo Dixon traced the history of the coalition since its origin two years ago in the struggle to defend school desegregation in Boston. Dixon said that the student organization had gone on to become involved in the struggle for Black rights "wherever racism rears its ugly head."

Dixon said other campaigns to be discussed at the conference include participation in the movement against the death penalty, defense of victims of racist frame-ups, and busing.

The steering committee approved a resolution that will be presented to the conference on the southern Africa campaign.

"As student leaders opposed to American racism," the resolution reads, in part, "we feel a special obligation to aid our South African brothers and sisters in their battle for freedom and equality. We therefore call upon all American students to join and build a mass movement in support of Black majority rule and against U.S. governmental and corporate complicity with the white minority regimes in southern Africa."

"We urge student governments, Black Student Unions, Puerto Rican and Chicano student organizations, and other progressive people to organize a national day of student protest against U.S. complicity with racist regimes in southern Africa in February at campuses across the country."

"Teach-ins, rallies, forums, pickets, and marches can be organized on that day. Telegrams and letters from student, community, and union leaders can also be sent to the White House."

"We should demand loud and clear: No U.S. aid to South Africa! Boycott South Africa—U.S. corporations out! No campus complicity with South Africa! Free all South Africa political prisoners! No to apartheid—Black majority rule now!"

The date for the proposed actions will be finalized at the NSCAR conference if the resolution is approved.

"NSCAR chapters don't have to wait until February to begin moving around South Africa," Dixon said. "The February actions will be stepping-stones to further actions in the spring. In the meanwhile SCAR chapters should get involved in activities around January 15, which is Martin Luther King's birthday, and January 20, which is inauguration day. Begin to check out your campus to see if there are ties to South Africa. We want to begin now to expose campus complicity with these racist regimes."

The discussion around Dixon's report revealed the wide-ranging activities in which SCAR chapters are involved—from participation in the Georgia Committee Against the Death Penalty to raising funds for Gary Tyler's defense.

Lisa Potash, financial coordinator for NSCAR, then presented a proposal to launch a \$3,000 Conference Building Fund drive to raise the necessary

money for the conference.

Funds are needed to put out conference building publicity, to help cover the cost of speakers, to publish educational materials, and to pay for the security and janitorial fees being demanded by the Boston University administration. NSCAR is protesting the exorbitant fees being asked for by BU.

Potash urged campus chapters of NSCAR to bring speakers to their campus from the NSCAR speakers bureau, to ask professors to make donations to NSCAR, and to sell the new NSCAR button, "No to racism from Boston to South Africa."

Because of NSCAR's limited finances the special fund drive has an emergency character and must be met if the national conference is to happen successfully.

The group is asking that protests against the \$1,300 security fee be sent to: Prof. Lou Carey, director of the George Sherman Union, Boston University, 775 Commonwealth Avenue, Boston, Massachusetts.

Funds to build the conference and requests for more information about it can be sent to: National Student Coalition Against Racism, 612 Blue Hill Avenue, Dorchester, Massachusetts 02121. Telephone: (617) 288-6200.

## 'No arms, no trade'

By Mark Ugolini

WASHINGTON—One hundred twenty-five persons protesting U.S. support to the apartheid regime in South Africa picketed the White House October 25. They chanted: "No guns, no aid, no arms, no trade," "Self-determination for southern Africa," and "Aid to the cities, not to the settlers."

The protest was organized by the June 16 Coalition in response to an international call by the Organization of African Unity for actions in solidarity with the liberation struggles in southern Africa.

The June 16 Coalition includes a broad range of D.C. groups. The D.C. Student Coalition Against Racism was among the participating organizations.

At a rally in the AME Church after the picket line, speakers scored

the apartheid regime's attempt to appear to be granting Black self-rule by setting up an "independent nation," known as Transkei, in an impoverished region of South Africa.

"The Transkei scheme merely gives credence and legitimacy to the racist Vorster regime," said Gingilwe Nthali, president of the Organization of African Students at Howard University. "This is a U.S.-inspired scheme to keep the masses divided and maintain imperialist rule. . . . Mr. Kissinger is not a wizard. He cannot stop our struggle for full liberation."

Other speakers included Dick Gregory; Everett Forsman, president of the International Printing and Graphic Communications Local 6; Josephine Butler, D.C. Statehood party; and a representative of the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists.

## Boston schools target of bombing attempt

BOSTON—An attempted dynamiting and fire bombing of desegregated schools appears to have been one result of an October 24 "Children's March Against Forced Busing" at which 300 young whites were exhorted to boycott schools and otherwise thwart court-ordered desegregation.

White students at the march were told that they should stay out of the school the following day because it was Veterans Day, a federal holiday, and South Boston High School is under federal receivership for blocking desegregation.

Six bottles of gasoline and oil mix, and a burning highway flare were thrown into a window of a home economics class at the school the next day. Police said the flare failed to set off the liquid.

"By rights, it should have gone

off," said one police officer. "It had all the ingredients of a bomb."

Twenty-two white students boycotting the school were later arrested in the area. Most were charged with disorderly conduct.

The same day at Charlestown High School a stick of dynamite was found outside the front door. A faulty fuse had prevented the explosive from detonating.

Earlier, on October 22, 100 white students staged a boycott at Charlestown High.

Meanwhile, the Boston School Committee continues to obstruct the implementation of desegregation.

This was demonstrated by a controversy in the courtroom of U.S. District Judge W. Arthur Garrity on October 22.

Garrity, who handed down the

historic desegregation order in June 1974, continues to closely monitor how the order is being carried out.

Recently, school Supt. Marion Fahey, who acts as the federal receiver for South Boston High, ordered that standby vans be available at the school for Black students who are dismissed early. The alternative would be to send the students home by public transportation or to have them taken away in police vans.

The school committee, which never misses an opportunity to degrade or jeopardize the safety of the Black students, refused this modest proposal. As a result, Garrity had some harsh words for the committee.

In backing up Fahey's order for the vans, he said, "White students can walk safely home on the streets of South Boston. Is it equitable treatment

to allow Black students to suffer the indignity of being transported to their home neighborhood in police wagons?"

Pointing to the school committee's refusal to cooperate with efforts to improve conditions at the high school, Garrity said, "The court is coming very close to calling individual members of the committee [into court] to account for their responsibilities to cooperate with the receiver [Fahey] rather than throwing roadblocks in her path, and to carry out their affirmative obligation to rid the school system of the various evidences of unlawful segregation."

Garrity also rejected the school committee's motion to end federal receivership of South Boston High School, which has been in effect since December 1975.

—S.L.