

THE MILITANT

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

WILMINGTON 10: STILL NO JUSTICE

By George Dolph

RALEIGH—The Wilmington Ten held a news conference here January 24 to blast the refusal of North Carolina Gov. James Hunt to pardon them. The defendants pledged to continue their fight for justice and urged supporters worldwide to intensify the campaign to free them.

The evening before, Hunt had delivered a television address in which he brazenly claimed the ten civil rights activists had received "a fair trial."

"The jury made the right decision and the appellate courts reviewed it properly and ruled correctly," he said.

"I cannot and I will not pardon these defendants."

Growing international outrage over the case had forced Hunt to make a public statement. Having no intention of righting the injustice against the ten, Hunt sought to cover his decision by promising to reduce the sentences of the nine defendants—all Black men—still in jail. Anne Shepard Turner, the tenth, has already been released.

But Hunt's decision means that the first of the prisoners will not be eligible for parole before June. And Rev. Ben Chavis, who is serving the longest sentence, will not be eligible before January 1980.

The defendants' news conference took place at Raleigh Central Prison. Three hundred reporters, many from foreign news bureaus, attended.

Chavis declared that by his action Governor Hunt had joined "the racist persecution and frame-up of the Wilmington Ten." He urged supporters to intensify protests "to let President Carter know there are some serious violations of human rights in North Carolina."

Chavis called for demonstrations at the White House on March 25 and at U.S. embassies around the world.

The Wilmington Ten were convicted of arson and conspiracy in 1972. The charges stemmed from 1971 white vigilante attacks on the Wilmington, North Carolina, Black community, designed to intimidate the growing struggle for school desegregation there.



Wilmington 10. North Carolina governor refuses to pardon civil-rights activists despite international protests. See editorial on page 2.

Last May, at a post-conviction hearing called to hear new evidence in the case, all three major prosecution witnesses recanted their testimony. They described how the state prosecutor forced them to lie through bribery and threats.

More than 100 people attended a protest rally at the First Baptist Church here on January 19. Under the banner "Human Rights Begin at Home; Free the Wilmington Ten," the rally was held to demand that Hunt grant a full pardon of innocence.

Hunt had been invited to attend the rally, cosponsored by the local Wilmington Ten Defense Committee and the North Carolina Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression. He refused to appear.

However, those who spoke and sent greetings to the crowd reflected the broad support for the case

and the mounting pressure for their release.

A special message sent to the rally said: "We, former Soviet dissidents, voice our support for the appeal of Amnesty International for the release of the Wilmington 10."

The signers were Lyudmilla Alexeyeva, Andrei Amalrik, Pavel Litvinov, Leonid Plyushch, Boris Shragin, Valentin Turchin, and Alexander Esenin-Volpin.

Greetings were also received from Daniel Berrigan; Ruby Dee and Ossie Davis; Nobel Prize winner Salvador Luria; former Iranian political prisoner Reza Baraheni; Angela Davis, Communist Party; Willie Mae Reid, Socialist Workers Party; National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression; political refugee Héctor Marroquín; and U.S. representative Don Edwards (D-Calif.)

Iranian rights activists arrested on N.J. campus

CAIFI leaders face prison
in 'disruption' frame-up

—PAGE 6

MAGAZINE SUPPLEMENT
INSIDE
socialist
JANUARY

Two Views of Evelyn Reed's 'Woman's Evolution'

Our new look

Something has changed.

If you are a frequent *Militant* reader, you will be surprised to see this and other editorials on page two, rather than on the customary page ten. And as you leaf through the rest of the paper, you are in for some other surprises too.

Briefly, here is what the changes in our format amount to:

- By shifting "In Our Opinion" to page two, the *Militant* will have substantially more space for editorials. They will be more prominent in the paper, improving our ability to present the socialist perspective on the big political issues each week.

- The redesign of the weekly index ("Militant highlights this week") will help draw attention to articles in the paper of special importance to our readers.

- Most of the *Militant's* other columns and departments have been moved and grouped together at the back of the paper.

- We have added two new columns that will enhance the *Militant's* treatment of the history and fundamental ideas of the Marxist movement: "Our Revolutionary Heritage" and "Learning About Socialism." These two columns will appear weekly, together with the letters to the editor and a directory of Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance headquarters.

- On the two pages before this will appear two of the *Militant's* rotating topical columns ("Women in Revolt," "National Picket Line," "By Any Means Necessary," "Great Society," etc.), along with "In Brief" and the weekly calendar of events ("What's Going On").

- The more prominent location of the calendar is intended to make it more useful to *Militant* readers—both those interested in publicizing events in their areas, and those who consult it to find out about important political meetings.

- The format of "In Brief" has been changed as well, allowing for more news coverage, pictures, and illustrations.

The *Militant* hopes that readers will enjoy and benefit from these changes. We are eager to hear your comments.

Wilmington 10

North Carolina Gov. James Hunt's refusal to free the Wilmington Ten should be answered with redoubled demands for the immediate release of the civil rights activists.

In his television address Hunt had the nerve to state there had been "a fair trial," although all of the government's main witnesses have recanted under oath, describing how authorities bribed and blackmailed them into giving false testimony.

This case has become a symbol of the American system of frame-ups and has sparked protests around the world.

The Wilmington Ten are not criminals. Amnesty International, winner of the 1977 Nobel Peace Prize for its human rights work, calls them "prisoners of conscience." Their real "crime" is that they participated in struggles to end school segregation and white vigilante attacks. And everything we have learned from Watergate shows the U.S. rulers consider such activity the worst of crimes.

In their six-year fight for freedom the ten have gone before every possible court, but they have found no justice. President Carter claims great concern about human rights, but he has refused even to comment on the case, much less free these activists who should never have been imprisoned to begin with.

American justice isn't justice, but vengeance—the vengeance of the rich and powerful against those who would challenge oppression.

Governor Hunt complained that "those from outside" had become involved in the case. That's because what the rulers really fear is the massive protest of "outsiders"—women, Blacks and other minorities, and all working people—that can force them to release the ten.

We urge our readers to join in organizing such a movement.

Free the Wilmington Ten!

FBI informers

According to newly released FBI files, 5,000 FBI informers swarmed over Chicago between 1966 and 1976. The bureau paid \$2.5 million of our tax money for the spies' services.

That's just in Chicago. And it's just the FBI.

How many thousands more informers were hired by military intelligence, local police, the CIA, the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms, and other secret police agencies?

How many unions, civil rights groups, anti-war organizations, socialists, and women's groups were victimized in other cities?

The new documents were pried out of the FBI through a lawsuit brought by the American Civil Liberties Union on behalf of twenty-seven Chicago individuals and organizations. The FBI admitted that in an eleven-year period it used 725 informers against those twenty-seven plaintiffs.

The new evidence also shows that the FBI broke into the offices of the Chicago Committee to Defend the Bill of Rights and stole lists of financial contributors. The bureau then used those lists to open files on forty-six people.

Since Watergate, of course, such harassment is supposed to have stopped. Actually, the capitalists have come up with a slicker way of intimidating potential contributors to dissenting political groups. Congress has passed disclosure laws forcing political campaigns to publicly list contributors—a move aimed not at the big corporations that bankroll the Democrats and Republicans, but at independent parties like the Socialist Workers Party.

Last year the lawsuit filed by the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance against government harassment showed that the FBI paid \$1.6 million to 300 informers used against those two groups.

The new revelations prove once again that the use of informers is standard procedure. Not only socialists, but all who might disagree with government policies, are targets of the FBI.

The Carter administration has no intention of upsetting this system, as can be seen in the appointment of Judge William Webster as new FBI chief. Webster's record as a judge shows him to be a defender of the utmost secrecy that keeps the spies' work hidden from the American people. (See article on page 8.)

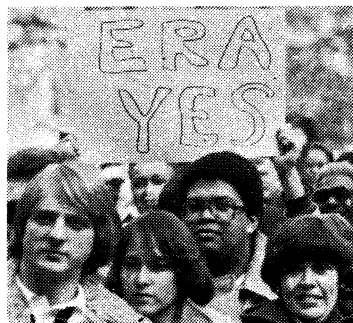
Revelations about informers' activities in Chicago, massive as that evidence is, provide only a glimpse at what the FBI does. The files of the political police must be opened so that the full truth can come out.

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Labor march for ERA

In Richmond, Virginia, 3,200 people joined the first union-initiated demonstration for the Equal Rights Amendment—an inspiring example for the labor and women's movements. **Back page.**

Politicians vs. miners

Striking coal miners are getting no help from the Democrats and Republicans. And some of them are getting mad about it. **Page 10.**



Italy in crisis

What's behind the Italian Communist Party's bid for a 'historic compromise'? The Stalinists say only they can save capitalism. **Page 9.**



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Carter's '78 promise

'Gov't won't meet workers' needs'

By Peter Seidman

When Jimmy Carter was sworn in as the first Democratic Party president in nearly a decade, he promised a "new beginning" for America.

One year later, Carter gave a State of the Union message whose anti-working-class economic and social proposals could just as easily have been made by Richard Nixon or Gerald Ford.

At the heart of Carter's message was his call for working people to lower

MORE ON CARTER'S FIRST YEAR:
see columns on pages 27, 29.
The 'human rights' fraud—see
Month in Review, page 22.

their expectations of what government can and should provide.

"Government cannot solve our problems," Carter stressed. "It can't set our goals. . . . Government cannot eliminate poverty or provide a bountiful economy or reduce inflation, or save our cities, or cure illiteracy, or provide energy. And government cannot mandate goodness."

Carter's insistence that government cannot meet the real needs of the American people is just a backhanded confession that his administration has no intention of trying to do so.

The president's rationale is that "private business and not the Government must lead the expansion in the future."

Carter claims that the corporations' drive to increase their profits will result in a trickle-down effect of more jobs, higher wages, and improved social services.

But this argument is only a cover-up for the president's real goals: belt tightening for the American workers in order to boost profits for big business.

By what other yardstick could Carter possibly make the outrageous claim that "last year was a good one for the United States"?

Unemployment

Carter boasted of an economic recovery in which "there was a good growth in business profits and investments." He said that "not since World War II has such a high percentage of American people been employed."

These statistics will be little comfort for the *ten million* workers who still cannot find a job!

Carter offered these workers no hope for the coming year. "In our free society private business is still the best source of new jobs," he insisted.

But it is private business that has thrown people out of work. It is private business that is profiting from the downward pressure that mass unemployment exerts on wages and union struggles.

Carter told Congress he would not



'Born again'

spend another penny to create more urgently needed public service jobs next year.

Instead he "will propose a new program to encourage businesses to hire young and disadvantaged Americans"—that is, new giveaways to businesses that hire a few young people at minimum wages, provide them no useful training, and then fire them as soon as the subsidies end.

Rights of Blacks & women

Carter barely tipped his hat to Blacks and women, who have been hardest hit by unemployment, and who have benefited least from the "recovery." He conceded that "additional jobs for the disadvantaged deserves special attention. . . . What we inherited from the past must not be permitted to shackle us in the future."

Carter had nothing to say about the need for affirmative-action quotas to insure that hiring and promotion policies overcome these shackles of the past.

He made no appeal that 1978 be the year in which the Equal Rights Amendment be passed.

He offered no promise to end federal attacks on a woman's right to choose abortion.

He said nothing about the right of Blacks to secure an equal education through busing.

Carter said nothing on these mea-

sures needed to overcome the effects of years of discrimination—because his Democratic administration is leading the offensive against them.

Carter's message offered nothing to farmers either. In the cold snow outside the Capitol building, members of the American Agricultural Movement picketed the president's address, demanding increased government price supports for their crops.

Yet Carter's proposed budget for fiscal year 1979 calls for as much as a 33 percent reduction in government agricultural price supports.

The president's message to welfare recipients was even more chilling.

Under the guise of "reform," Carter

threatened to institute a plan to force welfare recipients into menial jobs paying starvation wages with no union rights.

In addition to driving thousands of the poor off welfare altogether, this "reform" plan is a dagger aimed at the job security, wages, and union rights of public employees.

Energy

The president was more generous with the giant coal and oil monopolies.

"Now we know what we must do," Carter said. "Increase production . . . cut down on waste, and . . . use more of those fuels which are plentiful and more permanent."

This is a recipe to feed corporate profits by jacking up oil and gas prices, wrecking the environment, and trampling on the safety and rights of coal miners.

Taxes

A proposal to make taxes "simpler" and "fairer" also aims to please the palate of big business.

Carter claimed he would reduce taxes for 96 percent of all taxpayers, promising a typical family of four annual savings of more than \$250.

But the president failed to mention that the tax reduction is wiped out by increases in social security taxes, energy taxes, and the impact of inflation in bumping taxpayers into higher brackets.

Things will be different for the corporations, however. Carter proposes a real slash in their taxes—\$6 billion.

Protectionism

Carter brandished a big stick at the European and Japanese imperialist rivals of American corporations.

"Free trade must also be fair trade," he proclaimed. "I'm determined to protect American industry, and American workers against foreign trade practices which are unfair or illegal."

But the real meaning of Carter's trade policies is shown by his recent

Continued on next page

'Business as usual' budget

"It's a budget that a Republican President could have put together."

That's how one cabinet official described the 1979 federal budget President Carter sent to Congress January 23.

The *Wall Street Journal* termed the \$500-billion proposal a surprisingly "business-as-usual budget."

It's true. Carter's budget will ensure business as usual for the corporations—while giving working people the business, as usual.

With millions unemployed, Carter

proposes to increase spending for jobs by less than the \$1.7 billion he's budgeted for constructing one Trident Missile submarine next year!

But the budget will increase real spending on war (after adjusting for inflation) by 3.1 percent.

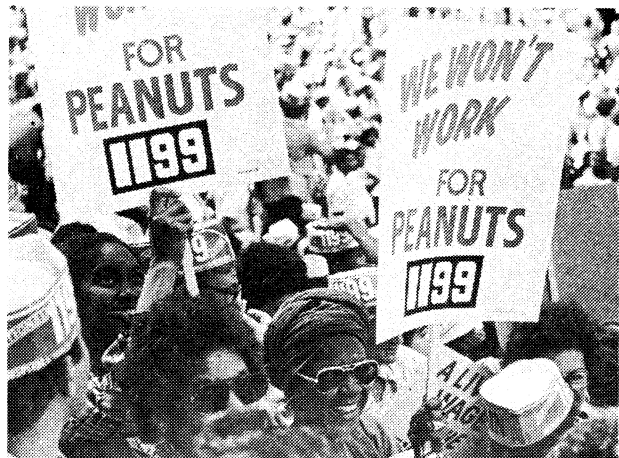
As the *Wall Street Journal* notes, this "breaks [Carter's] campaign pledge 'to reduce present defense expenditures by about \$5 billion to \$7 billion annually,' a statement that led many voters to expect an actual decrease in defense spending."

—P.S.

Special offer to new readers

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Why has Carter abandoned his promises to labor, women, and Blacks? Is the Democratic Party any better for working people than the Republicans? What's the alternative? For political news and analysis that puts the interests of the working class first, read the *Militant* every week.



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...Carter

Continued from preceding page

moves to "protect" American steel companies.

A Federal Trade Commission report leaked to the press in early January estimates that the president's steel import restrictions will cost consumers more than \$1 billion a year!

This federal largesse to the steel barons has not convinced them to save a single job either.

Job safety

Carter also shook a stick at the federal regulatory agencies that are supposed to protect workers' health and safety. "Bit by bit," he declared, "we're chopping down the thicket of unnecessary Federal regulations by which Government too often interferes in our personal lives and our personal business."

Using this rhetoric, the president will protect millions of dollars in profits of polluting corporations and operators of unsafe plants and coal mines by weakening even more the Occupational Safety and Health Administration, the Environmental Protection Agency, and the Mining Enforcement Safety Administration.

But Carter had nothing to say about the illegal "interference in our personal lives" carried out daily against the Black, labor, women's and socialist movements by the FBI and CIA.

This hypocrisy was carried over in the president's remarks on foreign policy. Carter claimed to be for a "world at peace," but his proposed \$126 billion war budget would be the highest ever.

'Unity'?

The president claimed he was able to create a "sense of unity" during his first year in office, that "for the first time in a generation, we are not haunted by a major international crisis or by domestic turmoil."

But all indications are that Carter's policies are being rejected by increasing numbers of Americans.

A *New York Times*/CBS News survey released the day before his speech, for example, showed the president's most recent approval rating at 51 percent, a first-year decline sharper than that of any recent president except Ford and Nixon in his second term.

People voted for Democratic candidate Carter because they believed his campaign promises to create more jobs, defend equal rights, restore honesty in government, cut war spending, and more.

They wanted a change from the performance of the Republican Nixon and Ford administrations.

But during his first year in office, Carter's campaign promises have given way to policies that are fundamentally the same as the Republicans.

That's because the Democratic Party, like the Republican Party, is a political instrument of the ruling capitalist minority.

In his State of the Union message, Carter made it clear he plans to intensify the profit drive of this wealthy handful at the expense of working people.

Carter knows there is growing opposition to his policies. But he is counting on the misleaders of the labor, Black, and women's movements to stifle these protests by restricting them to futile maneuvering within the two-party system.

He knows the oppressors have little to fear as long as the oppressed have no independent political power of their own.

This lesson will be learned by millions, however, as the administration's policies foster growing disillusionment with and struggles against the government.

That will help lay the basis for the labor movement to break with the two capitalist parties and build an independent party of its own.

NSCAR-BALSA appeal

Students urged to protest 'Bakke'

By John Hawkins

In a joint statement released to the media and sent to student organizations across the country January 19, the Black American Law Students Association (BALSA) and the National Student Coalition Against Racism (NSCAR) called on students to organize support for the April 15 March on Washington called by the National Committee to Overturn the Bakke Decision (NCOBD).

The statement, issued by James Harris, NSCAR national coordinator, and Charles Ogletree, BALSA national president, calls on "student governments, Black, Asian, Chicano, Puerto Rican, women's and other groups" to join in organizing student participation in the actions.

The *Bakke* case, the statement says, is "at the forefront of the many racist attacks on our civil and human rights. If *Bakke* wins, it will not only be a devastating blow to preferential admissions programs on the college campuses, it will call into question every affirmative action program in the country—including those affecting employment, health care, legal services, and many other areas."

The statement goes on to urge student organizations to begin immediately organizing activities for the February 19-25 week of educational activities called by NCOBD, and for the April 8 regional protests, as well as the April 15 March on Washington.

"What's needed on campuses across the country to help make the demonstrations a success," Harris told the *Militant*, "is broad coalitions of all student groups and student governments that want to defend affirmative



Thousands demanded overturn of 'Bakke' decision in last October's demonstrations

action and reverse the *Bakke* ruling.

"Such coalitions can play a big role both on the campuses and in reaching out to involve other forces—Black, Chicano, and Puerto Rican organizations, women's groups such as the National Organization for Women chapters, and unions."

NSCAR chapters, Harris said, plan to help initiate such coalitions on many campuses.

Close to twenty individuals and representatives of organizations attended an initial planning meeting in St. Louis January 18 to begin organizing for the April 15 March on Washington.

Among those attending, reports *Militant* correspondent Renita Alexander, were representatives of the People's Alliance, New American Move-

ment, Ad Hoc Committee to Overturn the *Bakke* Decision, and the St. Louis Student Coalition Against Racism.

Ray Otake, a national coordinator of NCOBD, addressed the meeting and urged the participants to go all out to build the April 15 march.

Recognizing the need for a broad coalition of forces in St. Louis to organize participation in the march, participants agreed to further concretize plans for anti-*Bakke* activity at a January 25 meeting called by the Ad Hoc Committee. Initial endorsers of that meeting include Eldora Spiegelberg, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom; William Gilispie, pastor, Cotebrilliant Presbyterian Church; and Dr. James DeClue, education director, St. Louis NAACP.

March on Washington April 15

The January 15 issue of the 'NCOBD Bulletin,' newsletter of the National Committee to Overturn the *Bakke* Decision, contains items of interest to all anti-*Bakke* activists.

The newsletter reports on the November meeting of the NCOBD National Coordinating Committee.

Special attention is given to the February educational activities and the April 8 and 15 protests against the '*Bakke*' ruling called by the NCOBD meeting.

The newsletter also contains another important item for anti-*Bakke* activists, "A Call for National Action Against the *Bakke* Decision and Racism." The text of the call, issued by the NCOBD, is reprinted below.

Activists in the campaign to reverse the '*Bakke*' ruling will find the call helpful in gathering endorsers for the protests and in organizing support for the actions.

Copies of the newsletter can be ordered from NCOBD, P.O. Box 3026 South Berkeley Station, Berkeley, California 94703.

In the coming months, the U.S. Supreme Court is expected to rule on the landmark *Bakke* case—potentially the most significant civil rights case since *Brown vs. The Board of Education* 25 years ago. The *Bakke* case, with its reverse discrimination argument, is the spearhead of the current attack on minority rights in the U.S.

At issue in the case is the California Supreme Court's ruling that the University of California medical school's special admission program,

designed to admit minority students, is unconstitutional since it "deprives" the rights of the "majority" (i.e. reverse discrimination). This argument is being used to attack many special programs in education, employment which use race as a criterion to ensure equal participation of minorities and women. In upholding the California court decision, the U.S. Supreme Court could turn back many of the most important gains of the civil rights movement of the 50's and 60's. Such a decision would spell the end of affirmative action and other programs for minorities. Under the guise of opposing discrimination the courts may outlaw the very programs designed to rectify past and continuing discrimination.

The devastating blow which the *Bakke* decision will have on minority rights if upheld, places an immense responsibility on the people's movement to mount a renewed and massive protest against racism and the *Bakke* decision. We must bring together a united movement of minority communities and all those opposed to racial inequality and discrimination. We must make the Supreme Court aware that millions of people in this country are opposed to racism, and are becoming increasingly concerned about the outcome of the *Bakke* case. To exert pressure on the Supreme Court to overturn the decision, people's anger and opposition must be organized and channeled through well coordinated and effective nation-wide actions.

The N.C.O.B.D. calls on all those dedicated to the fight against racial inequality to join in major nation-wide action to—OVERTURN THE BAKKE DECISION!!!

February 19-25

National Week of Education and Action Against the *Bakke* Decision and Racism.

April 8

Nation-wide Protest Actions in major cities across the country.

April 15

National Mobilization to Washington D.C.—Protest at the U.S. Supreme Court.

These actions will be united around the N.C.O.B.D. demands:

- (1) Overturn the *Bakke* decision
- (2) Implement, maintain and expand special admission and other essential services for minority students.
- (3) Implement, maintain and expand affirmative action in employment and minority social service programs.

The active efforts of thousands of individuals and organizations will be required to carry out these vital plans. You or your organization's assistance can be channeled through any or all of the following ways:

- 1) You can endorse the N.C.O.B.D. call for any or all of the national actions;
- 2) You can disseminate information on the *Bakke* issue and on the national action to your friends, co-workers, or members of your organization;
- 3) You can participate in a regional or local coalition in your area and help to plan the national actions; and
- 4) You can make any size donation to help cover the immense cost of our organizing efforts.

Please contact us as soon as possible to get further information and pledge your support.

'Militant' renewal drive opens

'Talking socialism' with our new readers

By Nelson Blackstock

When you get right down to it, the main job of members of the Socialist Workers Party is to talk to other people about socialism and socialist proposals for changing society.

We are out to convince people of our point of view and win new members to the Socialist Workers Party.

Two periodicals are unsurpassed in explaining what socialists think. These are the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial*, the biweekly Spanish-language news magazine. As a result of the fall subscription drive, the *Militant* and *Perspectiva* have 15,500 new subscribers.

High on the list of people socialists should talk to are these new readers. And that's exactly what SWP members will be doing this month.

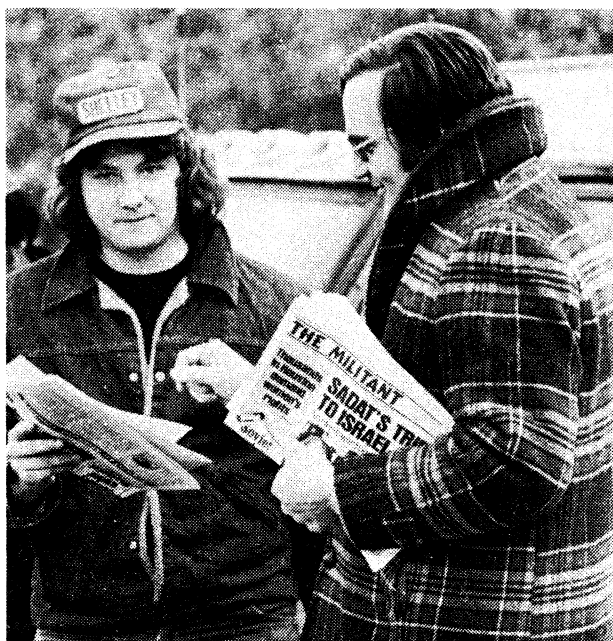
February is being set aside as a time to get to know our new readers. During this time the SWP will be on a systematic, nationwide campaign to talk to as many new readers as possible.

The axis of this project is a subscription renewal campaign. All new readers will be encouraged to renew their introductory subscriptions at a special reduced rate.

While we want to get as many renewals as we can, this will be more than a renewal campaign. It's a unique opportunity to sit down and talk to thousands of our readers—to find out more about who they are and what their concerns are. We'll be talking to them about the *Militant* and about socialism.

The socialists in the first decades of this century had a phrase—"talking socialism"—which described what they liked to do in their campaign for new recruits to the movement. "Talking socialism" will be what the contemporary socialists will do a lot of during the month of February.

The idea for such a renewal effort flows logically out of our experience during the subscription drive



Militant/Howard Petrick
'Militant' staff writer Dick Roberts, on recent trip to West Virginia, discusses the paper with coal miner.

last fall. We found ourselves getting into frequent political discussions with the people we were talking to about subscribing to the paper. Often they would invite us into their homes to talk at length about what was on their minds and to ask our views.

This indicated something about the present state of mind of American working people. While they are not engaging in protest actions in large numbers, they are nonetheless deeply dissatisfied with the state of affairs in this country—unemployment, racism, inflation, cutbacks, attacks on women's rights. And, most significantly, they are receptive to socialist ideas.

A good share of the subscriptions were sold through door-to-door canvassing, largely in the Black community.

For the first time in such a drive many of the subscriptions were sold through call backs. This involved visiting a prospective subscriber twice. Once to sell the person a single copy and introduce the subscription offer. A second time to actually get the subscription after the individual had a chance to become familiar with an issue of the paper. In this way we got to know these subscribers better than we would have otherwise.

Now, the renewal effort will allow us to go back and visit them a third time, after they've been reading the paper for a number of weeks.

In conjunction with the renewal effort, local SWP units will be organizing special classes on socialism. The classes will be aimed at new readers and their questions. As a result of the classes the party hopes that many new readers will decide to join.

Socialists in some areas will be launching election campaigns for public office. Many *Militant* readers

will want to know what they can do to assist the election campaign.

It will be important to talk to each reader about the activities they can become a part of. Some might be interested in doing something to help the striking miners. Others will want to join the work to defend Héctor Marroquín.

In short, the SWP sees the new subscribers list—each city will get a list of readers in its area—as a list of potential activists and new members of the SWP.

The first step is to talk to them and get to know them better. That's the purpose of the February drive.

Getting to know our subscribers

In addition to asking new readers to renew their subscriptions, SWP members will be talking to them about becoming involved in a variety of activities. In some areas the SWP has already done this. In other places the party has begun to map plans for February. Here are some examples:

- Morgantown, West Virginia, SWP Organizer Ken Shilman says socialists there have contacted many subscribers, especially coal miners, about helping to build an upcoming meeting in support of the mine strike.

- "We ask their ideas about how to publicize the meeting. We ask if they want tickets, leaflets, or posters. If they say yes—and many do—we try to get together with them to go and get the material out. This gives us a chance to get to know one another better."

- Chicago circulation director Barbara Matson says, "We know that many of our new readers are interested in the *Bakke* case. We will want to talk to them about local activities around this issue."

- San Francisco socialists are tying in the launching of the California state SWP campaign with the renewal effort. New readers are being urged to come to events opening the campaign.

- Detroit socialists have sold quite a few subscriptions to auto workers. A few weeks back, twenty-five of these subscribers attended a party organized so they could get to know each other better.

Maceo Dixon, who heads up the SWP's participation in the Black liberation movement, suggests that socialists invite new readers to join them in viewing the television special on Martin Luther King, set for February 12, 13, and 14. Some in the media are predicting the series will have an impact similar to "Roots." It should spark some lively discussion.

Class series

The Socialist Workers Party national education department has drawn up proposals for party branches to use in organizing classes in conjunction with the renewal drive.

"What is Socialism?" asks the model leaflet prepared for the class series. "The Socialist Workers Party invites you to attend a discussion of this, using *The Bill of Rights for Working People* and the *Militant* for reading and discussion."

The Bill of Rights outlines socialist solutions to the basic problems facing working people in this country.

The class series is aimed at introducing new readers to the ideas of the SWP.

Are you a new subscriber to the 'Militant'?

If you are, you—along with our 15,540 other new subscribers—will soon receive a letter in the mail. It explains how you can receive an important free book when you renew your subscription for a year. The book is called *Prospects for Socialism in America*. Written by five leaders of the Socialist Workers Party, *Prospects* details the socialist view of how working people can take effective action around the problems we face today—action that is part of a broader strategy to achieve socialism.

We're making the same offer here both to readers who haven't yet subscribed and to longtime subscribers. Just clip and mail the coupon below.

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CAIFI charges frame-up

Iranian activists arrested at N.J. campus

By José G. Pérez

JERSEY CITY, N.J.—Six members of the Committee for Artistic and Intellectual Freedom in Iran (CAIFI) were arrested here at Jersey City State College January 19. CAIFI leaders charge the arrests are a clear-cut case of politically motivated persecution.

The six are: Fariborz Khasha, a CAIFI national field secretary; Kateh Zahraie, CAIFI assistant national secretary; Faranak Colon, president of the CAIFI chapter at New York University; and Siamak Zahraie, Massoud Nayeri, and Kianoosh Mahdavi, all longtime CAIFI members.

The official complaints against the CAIFI Six read that they "did disrupt the normal academic procedures of the college"—in four cases "by being on the premises without permission" and in two cases "by being involved in a political dispute with several persons."

The charges are extremely serious. According to the Hudson County Prosecutor's Office, conviction on such violations carries a maximum sentence of three years imprisonment and a \$1,000 fine.

Deportation threat

The situation is especially dangerous because the six are Iranians. The U.S. government could use the trumped-up charges as a pretext for trying to send the activists back to Iran. Since all six have been outspoken opponents of the brutal dictatorship of Shah Mohammed Reza Pahlevi, they would face certain imprisonment and torture, and possible death if forced back to Iran.

Fariborz Khasha told the *Militant* the charges against him and the other five activists were "outrageous."

We neither intended to, nor did we in fact disrupt classes or any other 'academic procedure' at the college," he said. "We went there to set up a literature table and distribute leaflets about the human rights campaigns that CAIFI is conducting. The real issues in this case are free speech and academic freedom."

CAIFI was founded in 1973 to defend victims of the shah's repression. Sponsors of the committee include: singer Joan Baez; Prof. Noam Chomsky; U.S. Rep. Ronald Dellums (D-Calif.); former U.S. Attorney General Ramsey Clark; Irish activist Bernadette Devlin; writer Nat Hentoff; civil liberties attorney William Kunstler; journalist I.F. Stone; Marxist philosopher George Novack; and Nobel laureate Salvador Luria.

Khasha explained CAIFI had called the college the day before the arrests. They were told to come onto the campus where they would be given a permit for a literature table after filling out a form and paying twenty dollars.

The day of the arrests two CAIFI representatives had gone to the student services office to file the application when the trouble started.

A group of Iranian students—who are also political activists but oppose CAIFI's approach of organizing a



The CAIFI Six outside Jersey City Municipal Court. Top (left to right): Siamak Zahraie, Massoud Nayeri, Kianoosh Mahdavi, Fariborz Khasha. Bottom: Kateh Zahraie, Faranak Colon.

broad-based campaign in defense of democratic rights—started harassing committee members. The CAIFI activists were waiting in the cafeteria for the two members who had gone for the permit.

The students called the CAIFI members CIA agents, threatened violence, shoved some activists, and called the campus cops, demanding arrest of the CAIFI members for not being students.

The cops reacted to the situation by escorting two activists who had been special targets of the harassment to the campus security office, telling one he would receive a visitor's permit there.

On the way to the office, the cops ran into two other committee members who were heading for their car and asked them to come along.

Meanwhile, the CAIFI representatives had been told by student services that permit applications had to be filed forty-eight hours in advance. The two had returned to the cafeteria to discuss it with the others.

Kateh Zahraie and Faranak Colon then went to student services. A plainclothes campus guard escorted them, saying it was to prevent further harassment. They got a literature table permit for the following Tuesday.

They headed back to their car. Then the anti-CAIFI Iranians started chasing them.

They caught Zahraie and began beating her. Only then did campus guards, who had been watching the incident develop, intervene, taking Zahraie and Colon to the security office.

At the office Colon was told she had been taken there for her own protection.

According to Kasha, it wasn't until after he had been in the security office for a while that the attitude of the campus cops changed.

"I think the higher-ups figured out we were political activists," he said, "and Ernest Ticky, the head of se-

curity, then told us we would be charged—although he didn't specify what we had done wrong."

"He just said our presence on campus had created a disturbance," Khasha said.

Tired of 'foreigners'

"He said he was sick and tired of 'you foreigners.' He told us not to bring 'Iranian politics' to this country or this campus and threatened to call immigration and the State Department to send us back to Iran."

"We replied that CAIFI was a legal, broadly-based organization, that we had a right to free speech like anybody else, and that what we came to do at this campus we had done at hundreds of other campuses around the country without getting arrested."

"Ticky yelled something like, 'This is not your country—this is our country. You have no rights here!' He also said this was one campus we shouldn't have come to."

After an hour and a half in the security office, Jersey City cops came, frisked the activists, handcuffed them, and took them down to the South Precinct station.

There the four men were subjected to strip searches, and all six had their personal possessions taken away. Meanwhile, a representative of the campus cops was going through the lawbooks with the city cops looking for

a law to use against the activists. Initially the offense was described as "trespassing," but the complaint sworn out by the campus cops and given to the activists at their first court hearing was for the much more serious disruption charge. After several hours the CAIFI Six were released on bail.

Permit canceled

"While we were still in jail, the student services office called the CAIFI office and canceled the permit for Tuesday," Khasha said. "This shows the whole affair is a calculated college administration attempt to gag CAIFI. This is a threat to everyone's rights."

The CAIFI Six went before the Jersey City Municipal Court Judge Zampella January 23.

At first the judge seemed startled by the case: "What is this charge? . . . What does this mean? . . . Is this indictable? . . ."

The judge then declared a recess. He and one of the prosecuting attorneys went into a room marked "Judge's Chambers—Private."

When the judge emerged eleven minutes later he announced, "I'm sorry for the delay—it had nothing to do with this case, you understand." He claimed he had a phone call about double-parking tickets.

However, the judge now agreed with the prosecutor that the charges were "indictable misdemeanors"—that is, serious crimes requiring presentation before a grand jury.

The judge then gave each of the six the official complaint form and set a new hearing date for February 23 so the six would have time to get an attorney.

He also instructed the prosecution to determine whether it would keep the case as one that will be presented to a grand jury or whether it will reduce the charges.

For its part, the Jersey City State College administration seems touchy about the case. Repeated phone calls by the *Militant* over a two-day period found no one willing to comment. The head of security, his assistant, the president's office, and the student services office all referred calls to the public information office. But William Reopoll, head of the information office, was also unavailable.

Send protest messages

The CAIFI Six are asking supporters of academic freedom and civil rights across the country to send protest messages to the Jersey City State College administration.

They ask for messages demanding that the charges be dropped and that CAIFI be allowed to set up literature tables on campus.

These should be sent to college president William Maxwell, 2039 Kennedy Boulevard, Jersey City, New Jersey 07305.

Copies of all messages should be sent to the Committee for Artistic and Intellectual Freedom in Iran, 853 Broadway, Suite 414, New York, New York 10003. Telephone: (212) 673-6390.

Striking farmers march in D.C.

By Marc Strumph

WASHINGTON—Thousands of protesting farmers arrived here January 18 and gave the capital a glimpse of the anger and militancy that has been building up among working farmers across the country.

Saying that they planned to remain in Washington until their demands are won, the farmers, organized by the American Agricultural Movement (AAM), spent their first three days in the city in spirited demonstrations.

Eight farmers were arrested on Interstate 66 in Virginia as they slowly drove their tractors toward Washington at the height of the morning rush hour January 18.

Later that day, the mass of protesters along with about thirty tractors marched down Pennsylvania Avenue and rallied at the White House.

A *Washington Post* report described the mood at a rally on Capitol Hill the following day that was estimated by police at 5,000 to 7,000 people. "Both their increasing frustration toward Congress and growing demands for some symbolic gesture against the government surfaced repeatedly," the report noted.

One Arkansas farmer asked: "There are millions of people around the world who are starving. Why is there a food surplus?"

Two hundred farmers marched to the office of Agriculture Secretary Bob

Bergland and took it over. Bergland, who met with a delegation of farmers the next day, assured them of his sympathy, but said he would not support legislation that would guarantee farmers a decent price for their products.

A group of independent truckers made a demonstrative gesture in support of the farm strikers January 19. More than thirty trucks tied up traffic in Washington in order to make their point.

Bob Green, an organizer of the protest and a reporter for *Overdrive*, the magazine of the Independent Truckers Association, said independent truckers haul about 98 percent of the fresh produce transported by truck.

Marroquin wins fight to speak across US

By Arnold Weissberg

Yielding to a national protest campaign, the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) has granted permission for political refugee Héctor Marroquín to make public speaking appearances around the country.

Supporters of the Héctor Marroquín Defense Committee have already begun to arrange meetings for him on campuses and before labor, community, and civil liberties groups. Marroquín's tour will also include appearances at widely sponsored defense rallies and interviews with the media.

"This is an important victory," Marroquín told the *Militant* in a phone interview. "Now I will be able to present my case to the American people, and, just as important, they will have the right to hear me."

Marroquín is seeking political asylum in the United States. The U.S. government wants to deport him.

In 1974 he fled to this country to escape political persecution in Mexico. He was arrested last September in Texas as he returned from an attempt to see an attorney in Mexico. Jailed for ninety days for "attempting to illegally enter the country," Marroquín was released on an unusually high \$10,000 bond pending a deportation hearing. The INS made a condition of his bond that he be confined to the Houston area.

However, public pressure organized by the U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA) and the newly formed Héctor Marroquín Defense Committee forced the INS to back down.

San Antonio INS District Director Joe Staley granted permission for Marroquín's tour. However, he has insisted on approving Marroquín's travel plans for only two weeks at a time.

Margaret Winter, Marroquín's attorney,



Militant/Susan Ellis

MARROQUIN: 'An important victory'

ney, protested this additional restriction. "This is just one more incident of harassment of my client," she said, "another attempt to make it more difficult for Marroquín to publicize his case."

Marroquín was a student activist at the University of Nuevo León in Monterrey, Mexico. In January 1974 he was falsely accused of taking part in the murder of a university librarian. He fled to the United States to escape certain torture or death at the hands of Mexico's political police.

Since coming to the United States, Marroquín has been active in the anti-deportation movement and took part in a Teamsters organizing drive at a Coca-Cola bottling plant in Houston where he worked.

He joined the Socialist Workers Party in 1976 and was elected to the national committee of the Young Socialist Alliance at its recent convention.

The Marroquín Defense Committee has issued a "Campus Appeal for Political Asylum" that supporters are circulating for signatures around the country.

Addressed to INS Commissioner Leonel Castillo, the appeal asks for political asylum for Marroquín and notes the frame-up nature of the charges against him.

The appeal was issued with sixty initial endorsements from student activists at universities and high schools, faculty members, and campus organizations.

Among the signers are Adebole Ajayi, president of the Howard University Student Association; Kathleen Kamthoefner, editor in chief of *University News* at the University of Missouri in Kansas City; the Latino Law Students Organization at the University of Pennsylvania in Philadelphia; Terry Payne, junior class president at Kashmere High School in Houston; Kenneth Morgan, chairperson of Black Faculty and Staff at the University of Maryland in College Park; and James Harris, national coordinator of the National Student Coalition Against Racism.

An important part of the campaign to win asylum for Marroquín will be labor support for the case. Activists in New York City have taken an important step in this direction by collecting signatures supporting Marroquín's right to asylum from workers at the Brooklyn Navy Yard, where many immigrants are employed. Forty signatures were collected in two mornings.

Militant correspondent Jeff Elliott reports that a January 20 meeting in Houston demanding asylum for Marroquín drew eighty-five people and raised about \$630. Joining Marroquín on the platform were Gertrude Barnstone, head of Women's Equity Action

Tour schedule

Héctor Marroquín's speaking tour to publicize his fight for political asylum begins in Texas on February 14. The first two tour stops are **San Antonio** (February 14-17) and **Dallas** (February 18-21). For more information on the tour, contact the Héctor Marroquín Defense Committee, 853 Broadway, Suite 414, New York, New York 10003. Telephone (212) 254-6062.

Funds are urgently needed for legal expenses in the case. The committee also asks that messages be sent to INS Commissioner Leonel Castillo (Washington, D.C. 20536) calling on him to grant asylum to Marroquín. Copies should be sent to the committee.

League; Isaiah Lovings, past president of one of the Houston NAACP chapters; Father Edward Salazar, regional director of PADRES, a Catholic social action group, Sister Victoria Veniga of Hermanas, a nuns' organization; Arturo Ramírez, of USLA; and a representative of the Ali Shokri Defense Committee.

Dr. Hilda Alcala reported on her firsthand experience with victims of torture in Mexico.

New support for Marroquín's asylum request has come from Herbert Marcuse; Frank Shaffer-Corona, a member of the Washington, D.C., School Board; New York State Assemblyman Herman Farrell, Jr.; Miguel Menchaca, Chicano Studies chairperson at San Diego City College; and Larry Schwartz, San Diego American Civil Liberties Union.

Israeli gov't steps up pressure on Sadat

By David Frankel

Charging that the Egyptian regime had begun "a campaign of grave vilification against the State and Government of Israel," Prime Minister Menachem Begin announced January 22 that he would "postpone" sending a delegation to military talks scheduled in Cairo.

The following day, in a speech to the Israeli Knesset (Parliament), Begin cited nine examples of language in the Egyptian press that he said were anti-Semitic.

"If this kind of obnoxious language is continued," he said, "we shall not be in a position to send representatives . . . to a place in which their people, their country and their Government are so vilified."

It is true the anti-Semitic statements have appeared in the Egyptian press. But the Israeli press and government can be accused with far greater justice of inciting racist hatred against Arabs.

Only a hypocrite can talk about anti-Jewish propaganda in the Middle East while ignoring the fact that the oppression of the Palestinians and Israeli expansion have been carried out by the Zionist state in the name of the Jewish people as a whole. That oppression—and not anti-Semitism on the part of the Arab masses—is the real problem in the Middle East.

In the current diplomatic context, Begin's sudden charges of anti-Semitism were designed only to divert attention from a series of Israeli provocations. These began during the first week in January, when the Zionist regime leaked the news that it was planning to expand its colonization of occupied Egyptian territory.

When this brought the expected protest from Sadat, Begin replied January 8 with the threat to annex part of the

Sinai if Sadat did not agree to the maintenance of Zionist settlements on Egyptian territory. These, Begin insisted, "will remain in place, defended by an Israeli defense force."

Thus, while offering to recognize Egyptian sovereignty over Egyptian territory with one hand, Begin withdrew this "concession" with the other. His plan for the Sinai includes the barring of any Egyptian troops east of the Mitla and Gidi passes—more than 100 miles from the Israeli border. At the same time, the Israeli army would be allowed to maintain installations and troops on Egyptian territory, and Israeli civilians would continue to live on confiscated Egyptian land, under Israeli rule.

On January 10 the Israeli regime carried out a new provocation by approving the establishment of four new settlements in the occupied West Bank. The move came one day before the Egyptian and Israeli defense ministers were scheduled to meet in Cairo.

Sadat—who had earlier signaled his willingness to settle for merely verbal concessions on the rights of the Palestinians and Israeli withdrawal from the West Bank, the Gaza Strip, and the Golan Heights—was dismayed.

"Don't you see that you have got everything?" he begged in an interview with the *Jerusalem Post*. "And now you are starting to bargain with me about my land. . . ."

Sadat followed up this plea with an interview in the Egyptian magazine *October*. "Begin gave me nothing," Sadat complained. "It was I who gave him everything. I gave him security and legitimacy and got nothing in return."

In the Sinai, Sadat said, he was willing to agree to demilitarized zones on both sides of the Egyptian-Israeli



Construction at Israeli settlement in the Sinai. Zionist regime offers Egypt sovereignty over its own territory in name only.

border, with a larger zone in Egypt; a further zone in which only limited Egyptian forces would be allowed; early warning stations; and international patrols on Egyptian territory to police the agreement.

"And if all these guarantees are not enough," asked Sadat, "won't the declaration of an agreement on peaceful coexistence, the opening of borders and the normalization of relations also suffice?"

Sadat did not have to wait long for an answer. On January 17 Begin took the opportunity of a state dinner in honor of Egyptian Foreign Minister Mohammed Kamel to kick Sadat in the teeth.

Using the pretext of Kamel's speech upon his arrival in Israel, which was similar to Sadat's speech before the

Knesset, Begin launched into a bitter attack, vowing never to return to Israel's pre-1967 borders. He denounced the idea of self-determination for the Palestinians as comparable to the demands of Hitler during the 1930s.

Sadat finally responded to the series of Israeli provocations by recalling his delegation to the political talks and appealing for U.S. pressure on Israel—an old plea that hasn't worked yet and won't in the future.

Begin's cancellation of the military talks, and his smokescreen about the supposed hate campaign in the Egyptian press, indicate his determination to force Sadat to back down still further. It is an indication of the type of "peace settlement" the Zionist regime has in mind.

Why Carter picked Webster to head FBI

By Diane Wang

On January 19 President Carter nominated federal appeals Judge William Webster to be FBI director.

Supposedly, Attorney General Griffin Bell recommended Webster after carefully reviewing his history as a federal judge. Bell must have liked what he read of Webster's cases.

Especially reassuring, no doubt, was Webster's opinion on FBI informers, handed down last October in the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance lawsuit against government

spying and disruption.

The SWP and YSA have demanded the complete files of eighteen informers the FBI admits spied on the socialists. Evidence has already shown that informers not only inform, they also carry out burglaries and Cointelpro disruption plots.

When Judge Thomas Griesa, who is presiding over the SWP and YSA case, ordered the FBI to show the files to the socialists' attorneys, the government appealed to a three-judge panel that included Webster.

The three appeals judges decided that they had no legal grounds to reverse Griesa's order. But Webster and Judge Van Graafeiland issued an opinion urging Griesa to reconsider his ruling anyway.

Webster and the other judge felt compelled to "express our concern" that allowing the attorneys to see the evidence on informers would lead "to unnecessary rummaging in government files." They suggested the demand for evidence might be merely "a fishing expedition."

Webster and the other judge warned that allowing anyone to see the informer files "is likely to compromise the fundamental public policy underlying the [informer] privilege."

"Informer privilege" is the legal doctrine which the FBI uses to cover up its informers' crimes. According to this "privilege" informers have the right to complete secrecy—no matter what they do.

After all, the judges recalled, the so-called informer's privilege is "an ancient doctrine with its roots in the

English common law." (That is, the informer's *privilege* is much older and more firmly established than the citizen's *right* to protection from political police.)

Webster and Van Graafeiland claimed to "share the trial judge's confidence in the character and integrity of plaintiffs' [SWP and YSA's] counsel." But they could not resist adding a footnote warning that "one of the four attorneys is also a member of the SWP." It appears they felt that Margaret Winter, the socialist attorney, was especially not to be trusted with the files.

Showing exactly whose side they were on, Webster and the other judge cited a warning about "the serious prejudice to the Government from compromising some or all the informants for all time."

Now that Webster, as FBI chief, will be a defendant in the socialists' lawsuit instead of its appeals judge, he will probably be even more concerned about keeping the informers' records secret.

If informers cannot be called to account for their crimes in a court, they can carry out the dirty work that agents have a hard time doing when the public spotlight is on them.

Perhaps that is what Webster meant when he accepted the nomination to be FBI chief and promised to "maintain the high standards and traditions of the FBI." The bureau may not like to describe its black-bag jobs and wiretaps as "high standards." But most would agree that secrecy is certainly the tradition.

Add to his appreciation of informers Webster's ruling in a controversial police case in St. Louis. When he excused

the cops of wrongdoing, Webster explained that it was "unrealistic" to think police work can be error free.

Webster certainly sounds like the man to explain away any FBI crimes that he doesn't manage to keep secret.

Some people are expected to oppose Carter's nominee because Webster is a member of an elite St. Louis Club, the Mysterious Order of the Veiled Prophets.

Webster's membership in that and another exclusive, all-white club give credence to the charge of one St. Louis lawyer that Webster is not "very sympathetic to civil rights claims."

In addition, if Webster's opinion in the socialist lawsuit is a clue, it looks like the judge will help the FBI to remain the Mysterious Order of the Veiled Finks.



William Webster, proposed new top cop, defends 'informer privilege.'

Political Rights Defense Fund



The Political Rights Defense Fund is organizing support and raising funds for the Socialist Workers Party's lawsuit against government spying and disruption.

Will you help? To get more information about the lawsuit and to send your contribution, write: Political Rights Defense Fund, P.O. Box 649, New York, New York 10003.

Socialists launch NY election campaigns

By Rich Robohm

NEW YORK—The Socialist Workers Party announced January 19 it is running two candidates for U.S. Congress in a February 14 special election here.

Dianne Feeley, a well-known feminist and member of the National Organization for Women, will run in the Eighteenth Congressional District for the seat vacated by Mayor Edward Koch.

Nelson Gonzalez, a bilingual teacher and member of the United Federation of Teachers, is the party's candidate in the Twenty-first Congressional District. The seat was formerly held by Deputy Mayor Herman Badillo. Gonzalez has been active in the fight for community control of the schools in Manhattan's School District 1.

At a news conference announcing their campaigns, the two candidates blasted the "onerous and discriminatory ballot requirements facing independent candidates." Only the Democratic and Republican nominees—and the two smaller capitalist parties, the Liberals and Conservatives—get automatic ballot status. Independent candidates must obtain 3,500 valid signatures of registered voters to get on the ballot.

The signatures must be collected in a twelve-day period during the middle of winter. The petitioning period before regular November elections is forty days—during the summer.

In a telegram to Gov. Hugh Carey, the socialist candidates demanded that they be placed on the ballot. "The SWP has been on the New York ballot for thirty years. It is outrageous that unreasonable petitioning requirements are being used to try and exclude us from this special election," the telegram said.

The candidates announced they were pursuing the possibility of a legal challenge as well as encouraging a protest campaign to Carey.

Feeley's Democratic Party opponent



Militant/Walter Lippmann
Socialist Workers Party candidate
Diane Feeley

will be either millionaire and former city council member Carter Burden or Bella Abzug, the former member of Congress. The two Democrats are currently involved in a legal fight over which has won their party's endorsement. But both Burden and Abzug have backed the drive to slash the standard of living of working people in this city.

Feeley's Republican opponent, S. William Green, presided over the continued deterioration of housing in the city in his tenure as New York regional director of the Department of Housing and Urban Development. While landlords "torched" unprofitable properties and tenants froze to death in unheated tenements, Green joined the pack of slumlords calling for an end to even the limited rent control that remains in force.

Gonzalez is pitted against Democratic State Assemblyman Louis Nine

and Republican/Liberal State Sen. Robert Garcia.

In 1976, in the middle of a heated effort to save Hostos College, the only public bilingual college on the East Coast, Nine warned community activists that they had to choose between saving Hostos or other vital public services, promoting the phony claim of the capitalists that the city is broke.

The Democrats and Republicans are now launching a new offensive on New York working people. After a January 10 meeting with President Carter's treasury secretary, W. Michael Blumenthal, Mayor Koch declared, "The secretary made very clear he expected the city to sacrifice, and he's absolutely correct."

It is not the banks and wealthy bondholders who will be asked to sacrifice, however.

Koch's four-year financial proposal includes across-the-board cuts in every municipal department and a freeze on hiring in order to close a projected budget deficit for next year now estimated at \$500 million. But both the police and prison departments are exempted from the hiring freeze.

Koch has threatened to penalize city workers with even more layoffs if they dare defend their standard of living by demanding more wages and benefits when their contracts with the city expire.

The candidates of the Socialist Workers Party have a different solution to New York's crisis. The SWP campaign platform states: "Working people's jobs and services should come before bankers' profits. All payments on the city's bonds to the banks and rich investors should be stopped."

Feeley and Gonzalez call on working people to form their own party, independent of the Democrats and Republicans, to fight for their rights.

Such a party, basing itself on the strength of the trade unions, could unite and mobilize Black and Hispanic community groups, civil rights organi-

zations, women's groups, and students in a powerful political force.

The SWP candidates call for reducing the workweek from forty hours to thirty with no reduction in pay to provide jobs for all. They call for ending all U.S. war spending and for using the funds instead for a massive public works program.

Feeley and Gonzalez will use their campaigns to publicize the case of Héctor Marroquín and others threatened with racist deportations, to build support for the April 15 anti-Bakke decision march on Washington, and to defend women's right to abortion and work for national ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment.

Help launch California SWP campaign

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Urge 'historic compromise'

Italian Stalinists offer to help ruling class

By David Frankel

Speaking from the point of view of the American ruling class, the editors of the *New York Times* addressed the problems raised by the deepening class polarization in Italy January 18.

"Is it time now . . . to admit the Communists into coalition," the editorial asked, "to make them share responsibility not only for the nation's distress but also for the imposition of unpopular social and economic measures that the situation so plainly requires?"

This question was posed for the capitalists by the collapse January 17 of the thirty-ninth Italian government in the past thirty-five years. But government instability is only one reflection of the much deeper crisis facing Italian capitalism.

Every Italian government since 1946 has been controlled by the Christian Democratic Party. Yet in more than thirty years of uninterrupted rule, the main party of Italian capitalism has proved totally incapable of solving the country's fundamental economic and social problems.

Ten years of crisis

Since the near-revolution in France in May-June 1968, there has been a deep-going radicalization of the Italian working class. In 1969, one wave of strikes after another paralyzed Italian industry, prompting a January 25, 1969, editorial by the *New York Times* expressing "concern lest Italy plunge into the chaos that France experienced last May."

With the help of the Communist Party, the Italian capitalists were able to keep the situation under control, but attempts to push the workers back and establish a more stable right-wing government were met in the fall of 1972 and the spring of 1973 with massive strikes, demonstrations, and factory occupations. The ruling class had to retreat.

Even before the worldwide depression in 1973-74 the Italian economy was in deep trouble. Its rate of inflation was among the highest in Europe, the lira was sinking against other currencies, and there was a huge trade and balance-of-payments deficit.

The reason why Italy's economy has proved more vulnerable than that of France, for example, lies in the division of the country into a highly industrialized and urbanized North, and a backward, peasant-based society in the South. Italian capitalism is incapable of overcoming this division, but as long as the gap between North and South exists, it exacerbates all other economic and social problems.

For instance, since the economy in the South is not able to generate enough jobs, there is a constant exodus to the northern cities, similar to the process in semicolonial countries.

Since the worldwide crisis began, industrial production in Italy has stagnated and unemployment has soared. Cramped into miserable slums, emigrants from the South remain jobless or else wind up with the dirtiest work at substandard wages.

Blaming the workers

The capitalist media has put the blame for Italy's economic crisis on the working class. As *New York Times* correspondent Paul Hofmann put it January 15, "all too many Italian workers are getting too much pay for too little work. The result is that the country is pricing itself out of world markets."

This argument echoes the policy of the Italian government, which, like capitalist governments throughout the world, is trying to solve its economic problems at the expense of the workers.

Not surprisingly, under such circumstances the Italian people have begun



Students march in Rome to demand jobs. Italian Communist Party has supported ruling-class austerity programs and is now seeking direct role in cabinet.

looking for alternatives to the Christian Democrats. The vote of the Communist Party has increased from about one quarter of the electorate in 1968 to more than one third today, while the Christian Democrats have held steady at about 38 to 39 percent of the vote. At the same time, groups standing to the left of the Stalinists and Social Democrats have attracted tens of thousands of followers.

In trying to cope with this situation, the ruling class is hampered by its own weaknesses. A January 12 editorial in the *Christian Science Monitor*, titled "Resist the Reds in Italy," had to admit that the Christian Democrats "have become so corrupt, so driven by personal power and gain, that they are unable to govern effectively."

The *Monitor* failed to note that the biggest bribes to Italian politicians come from the CIA and American corporations such as Lockheed.

New York Times reporter Paul Hofmann described the Christian Democratic administration in the dispatch quoted above: "Essential public services function badly or are on the verge of breaking down, from schools and hospitals to the Post Office and airports. In a decade, the authorities haven't been able even to solve the chronic shortage of small change, a daily source of petty annoyance for millions of Italians."

Also fueling the political crisis in Italy are the Christian Democrats' close ties to the Catholic hierarchy. In 1974, for example, the church, the government, and the neofascist Italian Social Movement mounted a campaign for the repeal of the law allowing divorce. The government was rebuffed in a May 1974 referendum in which the divorce law was backed by 60 percent of the voters.

A new political crisis for the regime was precipitated in 1976 when supporters of the right of women to abortion gathered more than 600,000 signatures on petitions demanding a referendum on the repeal of the anti-abortion law.

Again the Christian Democrats and neofascists joined together, modifying only slightly the old law passed under Mussolini.

'Historic compromise'

In this situation of increasing class polarization, the Italian Communist Party has advanced the call for a "historic compromise"—a coalition government of the CP and Christian Democrats.

Instead of presenting a working-class alternative to the capitalist policies that have failed so miserably over the past thirty years, the Stalinists have offered themselves as saviors of Italian capitalism.

CP leaders have pledged their support to continued membership in the NATO alliance and Common Market; they

have joined the demagogic law-and-order campaign of the Christian Democrats and backed legislation to give the state greater police powers; and they have helped to impose cutbacks in social services and wages.

Until January the CP had been content to bide its time, abstaining on parliamentary votes in order to let the Christian Democrats pass legislation. But rising discontent among workers—including those in the ranks of the CP—forced the Stalinists to change their tactics. The CP's demand for inclusion in the cabinet, which brought down the government, came only one week after a demonstration of 150,000 metalworkers in Rome, who shouted: "We have had enough!"

As the *New York Times* editorial quoted at the beginning of this article indicates, the American imperialists are well aware that the Stalinist leadership is willing to help bail out Italian capitalism. But Washington prefers such a solution only as a last resort.

Participation by the CP in the government, regardless of the intentions of the Stalinist leaders, would inspire expectations among the masses that would be difficult to contain. If the CP is brought into the government prematurely, it could be discredited before some alternative method of controlling the masses has been worked out by the ruling class.

On the other hand, it is getting increasingly difficult for the Christian Democrats to govern alone, even with the collaboration of the Stalinists.

The Stalinists themselves are well aware of this dilemma. Their call for a coalition government with the Christian Democrats, as opposed to a government of the working class parties, is designed not only to reassure the ruling class, but also to leave the CP tops an excuse before the workers for the reactionary social program that such a coalition would carry out.

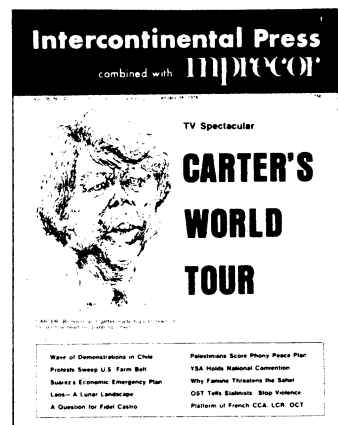
The refusal of the CP to call for a government of the working class parties in the midst of the most profound social crisis since World War II is an indication of the fundamentally reactionary and antisocialist character of Stalinism—"Eurocommunist" or not.

In any case, however the current governmental crisis in Italy is resolved, the class polarization that precipitated it will continue. Italy has been driven into a dead end by capitalism, and the way out can only be found in the struggle for a workers and farmers government that would fight for the true interests of the Italian people.

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Pgh. utilities launch drive against UMWA

By Fred Larson

PITTSBURGH—On January 17 Pennsylvania's major utilities fired the opening salvo of a major campaign against the United Mine Workers.

In a joint news conference, Duquesne Light, Pennsylvania Power, and West Penn Power warned that their stocks of coal had "reached critical fifty-day levels."

Because of this, the utilities announced, they had requested that Gov. Milton Shapp and the state Public Utilities Commission either impose mandatory restrictions on power consumption by the end of January or provide armed state police protection to escort coal trucks delivering nonunion coal to their power plants.

In response, Arnold Miller, president of the United Mine Workers, telephoned Shapp to express outrage over the proposed use of state cops to convoy scab coal.

Shapp reportedly told Miller that he would be studying the power companies' proposal and would give his decision in due course.

At a news conference at UMWA District 5 headquarters January 29, Monsignor Charles Owen Rice, a spokesperson for the Western Pennsylvania Committee to Support the United Mine Workers, charged that the warnings about power shortages were intended to create public panic to pressure Shapp to smash the miners' strike.

"The power companies are trying to use this so-called fuel emergency as an excuse to buy nonunion coal," Rice said.

To win support for the miners' cause in the Pittsburgh area, UMWA District 5, the Allegheny County Labor Council, and community and student groups are organizing Support the Miners Week from January 29 through February 6.

The week will begin with a benefit rally and concert on Sunday, January 29, at 3 p.m. at Soldiers and Sailors Memorial Hall in the Oakland district of Pittsburgh. UMWA President Arnold Miller and country-and-western music star Johnny Paycheck are scheduled to appear.

On Wednesday, February 1, striking miners from Stearns, Kentucky, will speak on two area campuses: at noon at the Community College of Allegheny County and at 7:30 p.m. on the University of Pittsburgh campus. For information on these events, call (412) 281-9300.

The Western Pennsylvania Committee to Support the United Mine Workers has called for a demonstration February 6 in front of Consolidation Coal Company and U.S. Steel headquarters in downtown Pittsburgh. The action call has drawn support from others in the student and labor movements.

Iron range steelworkers support striking coal miners

Steelworkers on the Mesabi Iron Range know the importance of labor solidarity. It was the key to their gains in a hard-fought strike earlier this winter—the longest major strike in the United Steelworkers union's history.

That's why USWA Local 1938 in Mountain Iron, Minnesota—the biggest local on the range—has initiated a campaign in support of striking coal miners.

"Any time you're on strike for a long time, you get the feeling that you're the only one out there," Joe Samargia, president of Local 1938, told the *Militant*. "But when you get all those letters from other local unions and you read them at union meetings, the membership feels they have the union movement behind them."

"That's really important," Samargia continued, "because dollars mean something to you as far as survival goes, but that feeling of solidarity is what it's all about. Toward the end of our strike we started getting unions behind us. It took a long time to get it, but once it started coming, it's really fantastic what it did for people's morale."

Local 1938 approved a resolution in support of striking members of the United Mine Workers at the end of December. So far it has led to



Militant/Andy Rose

SAMARGIA: 'That feeling of solidarity is what it's all about.'

setting up a local strike support committee and printing a bulletin on the coal strike that will be sent to members.

With other locals on the iron range, Local 1938 plans to collect money for the strikers at plant gates and to organize a fund-raising rally where coal miners will be invited to speak.

—N.C.

Workers need their own party

Democrats & Republicans: no friends of miners

By Nancy Cole

Union solidarity with striking coal miners is on the rise, but there's little to be heard from the capitalist politicians' corner.

The fact that miners are without strike benefits and health care and that retired miners are about to have their pensions eliminated doesn't cut much ice with those who claim to represent mine workers in Congress.

Statistics show coal mining the most dangerous of all U.S. industrial jobs, and reports have proven criminally negligent enforcement of safety regulations by U.S. job safety agencies. But this hasn't provoked any statements of outrage by these Democratic and Republican "guardians" of the people's welfare.

Carter's state of the union message January 19 emphasized his energy plan, which hinges on a doubling of coal production. But he failed to mention the fate of coal miners, who will face speedup and other safety violations as a result of such stepped-up production.

Rather, Carter addressed big business, including the coal industry, with his pledge to continue "chopping down the thicket of unnecessary federal regulations."

Just what do members of Congress, especially those with constituencies in the coalfields, have to say about the United Mine Workers' strike?

Not much. The first seven calls by the *Militant* to U.S. senators and representatives found none with a statement or public stand on the strike.

A spokesperson for Democratic Rep. John Slack—the only call that turned up anyone even willing to talk—told us that Slack "never comments on a situation like that." Collective bargaining, you see, is the law, and the strike is "none of his [Slack's] business."

But what about Slack's constituents in Charleston, West Virginia, where the strike is unquestionably of great

interest? When he did his back-home mingling during the holiday recess, didn't people ask him where he stood on the strike?

"The only comment he made," aide Paul Becker told the *Militant* "was of a general nature, to the effect that the strike necessarily is going to create a substantial economic slowdown. There was no comment on the issues, whatever they may be."

Another Democrat with "no statement" is Rep. Carroll Hubbard. Hubbard made it clear which side he's on, however, three days after the strike began when he showed up in Harlan County, Kentucky—to address the local coal operators association!

Some elected officials on the state and local level have more openly sided with the coal bosses in the miners' strike. Kentucky Gov. Julian Carroll, like other governors in coalfield states, has mobilized state police units to harass striking miners and to prevent them from appealing to nonunion miners and coal haulers.

When women from the UMWA Women's Club in Harlan County traveled to the state capital in Frankfort to protest this police harassment, they insisted on meeting with Lt. Gov. Thelma Stovall instead of Carroll.

"Most people had lost faith in the Democratic Party," commented women's club member Nora Howard after the meeting with Stovall. "Thelma Stovall has restored our faith in the democratic process."

But despite their expectations, Stovall later told reporters she "sympathizes" with the women, but there is nothing she can do.

It's a season of frustration for many miners and their supporters. They know that the UMWA, through its political action committee, played a major role in getting a number of these Democratic politicians elected. And now they're stabbing miners in the back.

In McCreary County, Kentucky—site

of the now eighteen-month-long strike by Stearns miners—county voters made their displeasure known on primary election day last spring. Four days after the county judge issued a ruling against the striking miners, McCreary County went to the polls and defeated every officeholder up for reelection, except for one who was unopposed.

Even the county jailer fell victim to the rout. "It was the strike that beat me," the jailer says.

Unfortunately, while the McCreary County voters were kicking out a crew who failed to support them, the Democrats and Republicans they let in have little more to recommend them.

U.S. Representative Hubbard—the one who spoke to the coal operators in the opening rounds of the strike—wants to run for governor of Kentucky next time around. It's not much of a choice between him and strikebreaker Carroll.

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international **socialist** review

Two Views of 'Woman's Evolution'

• Evelyn Reed

• Stephanie Coontz



Letters and a Reply

On Soviet Society Today

THE MONTH IN REVIEW

Carter & Human Rights—One Year Later

Nearly one year after President Carter launched a propaganda offensive around the theme of human rights, his hypocrisy was placed in bold relief by his celebration of the New Year as the guest of the shah of Iran.

Carter told the despot who has imprisoned, tortured, and murdered tens of thousands of Iranians, "The cause of human rights is one that also is shared deeply by our people and by the leaders of our two nations." This cynical remark was appropriate in its own twisted way, since Carter and the shah really do have a common attitude to human rights—they are against them.

At home, Carter gives no backing to victims of political repression such as the Wilmington Ten, and his administration is pressing for passage of S. 1437, legislation giving the government new powers to attack trade unions and political critics.

Carter's human rights demagoguery was intended to clean up the government's image in the wake of the Vietnam War and Watergate. Presidential adviser Zbigniew Brzezinski told an October 25, 1977, gathering of members of the Trilateral Commission in Bonn, Germany, that Carter's exploitation of the human rights question "has . . . played a significant role in overcoming widespread popular disillusion and cynicism about foreign policy." Imperialist strategists such as Brzezinski hope that talk about human rights will gull the American people into accepting future Vietnams as crusades for "democracy."

The phoniness of Carter's passion for human rights, so evident in his enthusiasm for dictators such as the shah, can also be shown by examining the results in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe—the main targets of the public relations campaign.

Carter began the effort to present his administration as a protector of human rights with his response to a January 21, 1977, letter from Soviet physicist Andrei Sakharov. Sakharov asked Carter to help victims of political persecution in the USSR. Carter's reply persuaded many Soviet and East European dissidents that the U.S. government supported their demands.

However, Carter's speeches provided no help whatever to the fight for democratic rights in the Soviet bloc. Even the crudest apologists for the Brezhnev regime in the USSR had little difficulty exposing the claim

that U.S. imperialism is a defender of human rights.

In fact, Carter's rhetoric provided an ideal cover for the Kremlin rulers to step up their slander campaign against dissenters as "imperialist agents" and "counterrevolutionists." A wave of arrests and forced exiles resulted.

The case of Anatoly Scharansky, a scientist imprisoned for months without trial on charges of working for the Central Intelligence Agency, is one example.

Where gains were won in the battle against repression in the USSR—as in the release on December 22 of Crimean Tatar leader Mustafa Dzhemilev from a Soviet prison—it was not because of the good offices of the Carter administration but because of international support from progressive opponents and critics of Carter.

Those dissidents who relied on Carter's promises misunderstood the nature of his administration. This capitalist government has no interest in the expansion of human rights anywhere on the globe.

On the most fundamental level, Carter is not opposed to the antidemocratic practices of Brezhnev and his bureaucratic cohorts in Eastern Europe, but to the *anticapitalist economic foundations* of these states which disqualify them as arenas for massive imperialist exploitation.

In the long run, the U.S. imperialists seek to overturn workers states in the Soviet Union and elsewhere. Achievement of this objective would not mean democratic rights for the masses, but capitalist exploitation under a repressive U.S. client regime such as those the CIA helped install in Iran, Indonesia, and Chile.

For the immediate future, however, the U.S. imperialists see no way of attaining this ultimate goal. They need the assistance of the Stalinist regimes in damming up or misleading workers' struggles in the capitalist West.

Furthermore, the U.S. rulers fear revolutionary upheavals in the Soviet bloc as much as they fear workers' struggles anywhere else. They have learned from the experience of upheavals in East Germany, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, and Poland that struggles for democratic rights in the Soviet bloc are leading not to capitalist restoration but to antibureaucratic revolution and the establishment of proletarian democracy.

Successful upheavals of this type would undermine a major ideological weapon of the capitalists for maintaining stability in their own bailiwick—the fear that socialism means the end of democratic rights. The inevitable intensification of class conflicts during a period of capitalist economic decline makes it all the more important for the capitalists to reinforce this fear.

Under all these circumstances, the U.S. rulers regard the continued domination of the Stalinist bureaucrats over the workers states in the USSR and Eastern Europe as a lesser evil.

Carter's visit to Poland on December 30, 1977, showed the real U.S. policy in action. The regime of Edward Gierek faces a growing challenge from workers, students, and intellectuals calling for improved living conditions

and workers democracy. In June 1976, massive strikes and demonstrations led to the cancellation of price increases in meat and other basic needs. Since then, political ferment has deepened in spite of arrests and other repressive measures.

Carter lauded the Polish bureaucrats in terms that almost—but not quite—rivalled his praise for the shah. "I think that our concept of human rights is preserved in Poland much better than in some other European nations," he said, alleging that "a substantial degree of freedom of the press" is fostered by the regime.

Gierek got what he wanted from the meeting. Michael Getler wrote in the December 30 *Washington Post*, "Gierek's international diplomacy is seen as an attempt to improve his status among Poles, and, at the same time, convince Western leaders that he must be extended more credit . . . if he is to keep the lid on his country." That's why Carter went to Poland—to help the Stalinist bureaucrats "keep the lid on" the Polish workers.

From Carter's standpoint the success of Polish workers in beating back price increases sets a very bad example for American workers who are being asked to tolerate inflation, unemployment, and deteriorating social services.

The record of the past year reaffirms the truth, that appeals to imperialist chiefs like Carter do not advance the cause of human rights in the Soviet bloc countries. The struggle for political and cultural freedom can be won through reliance on the masses of the Soviet bloc—like the Polish workers—and by fostering broad international support among the consistent opponents of repression in the capitalist countries.

Monthly Book Offer

The March issue of the *ISR* will introduce a new monthly feature to our readers—a column devoted to reviewing Pathfinder Press's "Book of the Month" selection.

Each month Pathfinder will offer *ISR* readers a 25 percent discount on a book important for the education of socialists. The new column will include a coupon redeemable from Pathfinder Press or from the bookstores at the addresses listed on page 31 of the *Militant*.

We hope this feature will encourage our readers to read and study these important works, which belong on every socialist's bookshelf.

Correction

On the cover and page 3 of the January *ISR*, the dates of the founding convention of the SWP were given as December 31, 1937 to January 2, 1938. The convention concluded on January 3, 1938.

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Two Views of 'Woman's Evolution'



STEPHANIE COONTZ

Since Evelyn Reed's 'Woman's Evolution' was published by Pathfinder Press in 1975, it has sparked continuing discussion and controversy. Reed sought to interpret the prehistory of the human race in historical-materialist and feminist terms.



EVELYN REED

The Marxist anthropologist argued, as Frederick Engels did before her, that women were not always the oppressed sex.

Like Engels, she held that preclass society was organized along matriarchal lines, with women holding a place of high esteem in a collectivist and egalitarian community.

Reed went beyond Engels in attempting to explain how and why such an egalitarian society arose—how females led in the transition from animal conditions of life to human society.

Reed's views rankled academic anthropologists who believe women have always been the inferior sex. Her criticisms of these anthropologists (some of which appeared originally in the 'ISR') are collected in her new book, 'Sexism and Science.'

Discussion over Reed's thesis and evidence have also occurred among Marxists and feminists. This issue of the 'ISR' publishes an exchange between Stephanie Coontz and Evelyn Reed.

Coontz is the author of 'What Socialists Stand For,' and a contributor to 'Life in Capitalist America' and 'America's Revolutionary Heritage'—all published by Pathfinder Press. A former associate editor of the 'ISR,' she teaches women's history at The Evergreen State College in Washington.

Stephanie Coontz:

Woman's Evolution by Evelyn Reed is one of a growing number of books that attempt to rescue women's history from writers who have ignored women's contributions to human development or have justified male dominance as a universal, biologically determined social relationship. Reed is to be complimented on the role she has played in attacking male bias in anthropology and uncovering neglected evidence about women's roles in primitive and prehistoric societies. The theory of matriarchy she develops, however, obscures the strong points to be made about the egalitarian relations between the sexes under primitive communism and the social causes of the rise of male dominance.

Let me begin by stating some basic areas of agreement between Reed and myself:

1. The mother-offspring bond was primary in hominid and early human society. Although pairing may have become advantageous in later stages of hunting, community bonds still took primacy over mating ones.

2. Early human society can be characterized as primitive communism. The mode of production was simple in the extreme, involving a very limited development of productive forces and a

minimal division of labor. With cooperative food sharing and (rudimentary) production, there was no private property or appropriation. Distribution was not, to be sure, along the lines of advanced communism—"from each according to his ability, to each according to his needs"—but appropriation was collective and distribution followed criteria that developed out of the specific social relations of the band. Among the Tasaday, the smallest children receive the food. In other societies, age or kinship criteria may be used. The distinguishing feature of primitive communism is that there is equal access to the means of production and no private appropriation of any surplus that develops.

3. Primitive communism was egalitarian. As observers of the Tasaday have discovered, "decision making apparently was based on discussion in which men and women expressed views equally, with age and experience determining degree of leadership" (*The Gentle Tasaday: A Stone Age People in the Philippine Rain Forest*, John Nance [Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1975] page 24). Nance reports (page 116) that one of the Tasaday was asked who was the headman. "Nobody," was the answer. The greatest social value was cooperation. The Bushmen, for example, have no word in their language for competition.

4. Within such egalitarian communities women played a vital productive role and partici-

pated fully in communal life. The discrimination against women that developed later was associated not with their biology but with the development of private property out of social surpluses. Comparing four African societies, Karen Sacks found that social, sexual, and political restrictions on women were absent among the Mbuti, a gathering, hunting society where the whole band works the productive resources collectively, and reached their greatest extent among the Ganda, a class society based on agriculture (*Toward an Anthropology of Women*, edited by Rayna Reiter [New York: Monthly Review, 1975], page 223).

5. Finally, Reed and I agree on the male bias of most anthropology and the need for further research into women's roles in primitive culture. Reed has done a service in reexamining hundreds of older sources and gathering a wide-ranging collection of examples of women's roles and status in many societies.

But Reed does not stop at demonstrating the important role of women in primitive society and the association of women's subjugation with the rise of private property. She attempts to combine evidence drawn eclectically from primitive societies at all levels of complexity and observed no earlier than the seventeenth century with assertions about baboons, from whom we diverged at least 15 million years ago, to convince us that the transition from ape to hominid, which occurred 4

to 6 million years ago, was achieved only by the imposition of restraints on males by females, through the institution of the matriarchy.

Reed's Theory

Reed's theory of matriarchy postulates a gigantic trauma in the prehistory of humanity, occasioned by the transition to meat eating, which brought out the aggression latent in males and threatened the species with violent extinction. Women prevented this by instituting the matriarchy.

1. Reed accepts the theory of the centrality of hunting in human development. She believes that "males were particularly adapted to the occupation of hunting. They were not inhibited by any maternal functions or sentiments" (page 70), and they "had evolved the large jaw muscles and canine teeth which pre-adapted them for hunting" (page 71).

Reed argues, however, that the development among males of hunting (which she tends to equate with aggression) affected human society in a way far different from that envisaged by the proponents of male dominance. The idea that hunting led in and of itself to human social organization "leaves out of account the hazards of cannibalism in an epoch when the distinctions between hominids and animals were still unclear" (page 70). "Even the slightest possibility that men hunting animals could turn upon other men in the group to kill and eat them would shatter the solidarity of the 'primal hordes' in which budding society was organized" (page 37). Hunting was the critical difference between apes and humans, but it posed the problem of indiscriminate killing. Widespread cannibalism for food threatened the very existence of the new hominids.

2. Another problem facing early hominids was the violent nature of male sexuality and its striving for dominance. (See *Woman's Evolution*, pages 49-60, for Reed's theory that men are "the combative sex, fighting one another not only for females but also to secure the dominant place in the tract or territory occupied by the females.")

3. Women had a biological advantage against male cannibalism and sexual violence, "the twin hazards that confronted early humanity" (page 73). "Only the females possessed maternal functions and sentiments, and this probably caused them to lag behind in their diet, retaining the vegetable food of the primates" (page 71). Meat taboos are survivals of the women's voluntary exclusion from "a food that repelled them" (page 73). Furthermore, women were able to cooperate because of their maternal functions. Consequently, women instituted food and sex taboos to impose "the necessary restraints upon [men] in their hunt for food and mates" (page 73).

Reed makes it clear she is talking about nothing so mild as women setting the example or socializing their sons. She even implies that the "primeval dawn of human development" saw a

gigantic battle of the sexes in which women brought males under control: "The women were not only biologically endowed to bring this about; through their labor activities they had acquired the decisive means for their victory. They had discovered fire" (page 143).

4. The basic social customs and institutions of primitive society were developed to impose restraints on male cannibalism and sexuality. Kinship, for example, was a way of preventing males from eating each other indiscriminately. "Unable to draw the dividing line between humans and animals through biological criteria, our earliest ancestors were obliged to invent other means for making the distinction. They did this through their social kinship system. . . . The lives of all members of the horde or kin-community were sacred and inviolable; kinsmen could never kill or eat other kinsmen. They could only kill and eat outsiders or non-kin who were regarded as animals" (page 30).

Incest taboos and sexual segregation were women's way of protecting themselves and the young from the violence of male sexuality. "The farther back we go in prehistory, the less we see of the union of the sexes and the more we see of their segregation" (page 142).

5. It was women, then, who channeled male aggression "into useful services in regulated hunting" and defense (page 73). Later, it was women who were able to develop amicable relations with stranger-women (page 262), while men continued to regard male strangers as food. Fortunately, men had always seen women as human (page 280), and women were thus in a position to lead the way "from hostility to hospitality" between groups, through the exchange of food, mates, and gifts. Thus, for Reed, the earliest relations between groups were hostile, and the origin of hospitality is to be sought not in the mode of production of primitive communism but in women's attempts to curb male aggression.

Some Criticisms

There are a number of problems with this construction, having to do with Reed's acceptance of biological determinism and her telescoping of millions of years of development into a single "stage" of matriarchy. I shall list a few of these problems and then suggest an alternative interpretation of human evolution, more consistent, I believe, with the materialist philosophy we both espouse.

1. Reed's theory of violent male sexuality and cannibalism is based on evidence from the very biological determinists she attacks, such as Washburn's baboon studies and the notorious London Zoo episode, caused by the artificial creation of a baboon troop with far too many males in proportion to females. Actually, primate paternal behavior is extremely varied. While some primate fathers attack infants, in others the father assumes the "total burden" of infant

care, while the mother has short periods of contact limited to nursing and learning (Barbara Watson, ed., *Women's Studies: The Social Realities* [New York: Harper and Row, 1976] page 173).

Chimpanzees, with whom we share 99 percent of our genes and from whom we may have diverged as little as 5 million years ago, are highly social animals who display a very low degree of male dominance, hierarchy, or aggression. Females frequently initiate mating, and males wait in turn without overt hostility. Adult males interact peaceably with the young, though mothers have primary responsibility for their care. "Females share plants and meat with offspring but seldom with others; males share plant or animal food with adults of both sexes" (Tanner and Zihlman, "Women in Evolution," part 1, *Signs* 1, 3, 1976, page 594).

2. Reed postulates that "the minds of women developed at a more rapid pace than those of men" (page 126) and that there was "a sharpening divergence in the early evolution of female and male sexuality," marked by a "drastic drop in female sexuality" (page 137) and a different diet, where men ate meat and women retained the vegetable food of the primates (page 71). This biological differentiation explains why women were able to develop social interaction and social customs, while men remained ruled by animal instincts right up until the time those instincts were brought under control by women through institution of the matriarchy.

Neither evidence nor evolutionary logic supports the assumption of increasing dimorphism between the sexes. While the canines of male chimpanzees are 40 percent larger than those of females, the canines of the first known hominids are already small in both sexes, and other physical remains also indicate a *decreasing* dimorphism. The change away from periods of estrus [sexual excitability] meant an *increase* in the amount of time that a female was receptive to sex as did, undoubtedly, the development of orgasmic capacity. This would be an evolutionary advantage, giving the female more direct control over the initiation of sex, and allowing her to select mating partners that were more sociable.

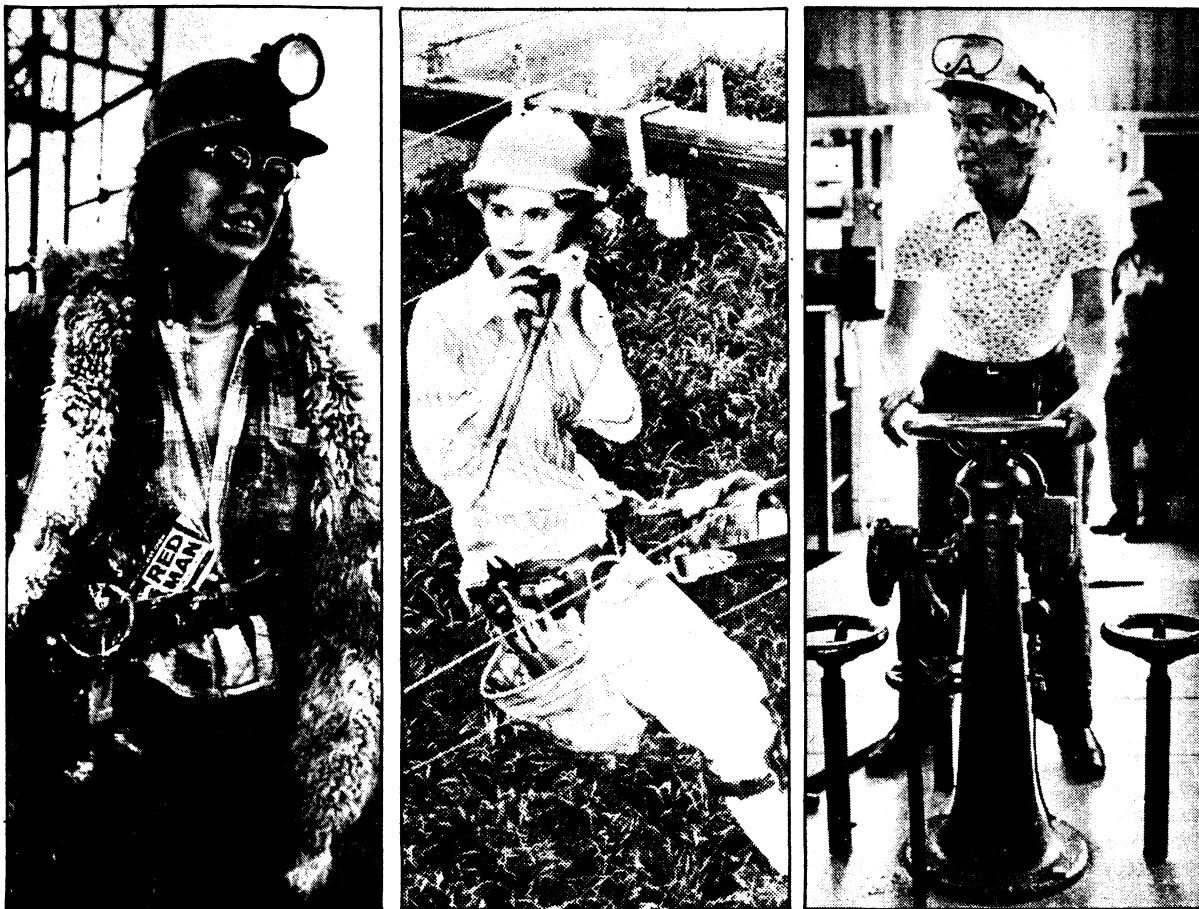
There is, furthermore, no evidence of sexual segregation among the remains of the earliest hominids, and it is found most frequently not among the most primitive hunting and gathering tribes but among rather complex horticultural or agricultural societies, witness the examples Reed cites.

If hominid females *did* abstain from meat eating, it could as logically be argued that male minds developed faster because of their greater access to protein. But there is no fossil evidence of different diets.

3. It is important to distinguish between the fossil evidence for cannibalism among pre-homo sapiens groups and the presence of ritual cannibalism among homo sapiens societies separated from the former by more than half a million years. Before arguing that present-day ritual cannibalism is a survival of hominid males' early gustatory cannibalism, Reed must prove that cannibalism *was* a major source of food for males, who did not distinguish other men from animals (although they *could* distinguish women).

The evidence of gustatory cannibalism in early hominids is miniscule. The African finds may indicate predatory behavior by one species against another (that is, *Australopithecus africanus* eating *Australopithecus robustus*). But most theories of cannibalism among early hominids are based on the finds at Chou kou tien, where the skulls and a few limb bones of forty individuals were found amidst far larger numbers of animal bones. Raymond Dart has built up a gruesome picture of prehistoric cannibalism on the basis of such evidence. But Dart has an axe to grind: "The loathsome cruelty of mankind to man is the inescapable byproduct of his blood lust; this differentiative human characteristic is explicable only in terms of man's carnivorous and cannibalistic origin" (*Adventures with the Missing Link* [New York: Harper and Row, 1959], page 201).

Interpreted by a less interested observer, the Chou kou tien find does not suggest widespread cannibalism. The number of individuals is too few in comparison to animals to indicate any consistent hunting and eating of other hominids. Moreover, the fact that only skulls and a few limbs were present shows a distinction was made between hominids and animals, whose whole



Women at work. Coontz writes, 'Neither historical materialism nor feminism has any need of a theory of matriarchy to explode the myth of women's biological inferiority.'

bodies were brought back to be eaten. We may have ritual eating of the brain or marrow here (which actually argues a well-developed distinction between animals, a source of food, and fellow hominids, whose brains might be thought a source of power), but we also might simply have the use of skulls as drinking cups. As Alexander Marshack sums up the current research: "We do not know. But . . . we are far beyond simple animal aggression [or] carnivorous feeding" (*The Roots of Civilization* [New York: McGraw-Hill, 1971], page 123).

If Reed still wishes to argue that the Chou kou tien find indicates "an epoch of cannibalism" (page 24), she faces a challenge to her belief that women were able to end cannibalism because males regarded females as human: there are female skulls as well as male in the find.

If cannibalism *did* pose a problem for early hominids, it is one that must have been solved *before* the development of large-scale hunting, which is a cooperative rather than an aggressive activity. As Reed admits, evidence of cannibalism is scanty by the time of the Neanderthals, who, in fact, already had a rather developed sense of humanity. The remains of crippled and severely arthritic Neanderthals have been found, who must have been cared for by others in order to survive past adulthood and die of natural causes (*The Human Adventure*, G. Peltó and P. Peltó [New York: Macmillan, 1976] page 81). There is no evidence for cannibalism among Cro-Magnon hunters.

Use of Survivals

4. When we consider that the evidence for widespread cannibalism in these early hominids is so suspect, we must question the argument that the ritual cannibalism observed in some primitive tribes is a survival from a period that predates the emergence of homo sapiens more than 40,000 years ago. In fact, ritual cannibalism and meat taboos are seldom found in the hunting and gathering bands closest to the conditions in which our hominid ancestors lived but in more advanced horticultural and agricultural societies.

This raises a major problem with Reed's use of "survivals." I would be the first to agree that archaic rituals, word meanings, and so forth can point us to earlier institutions and practices, but I cannot believe that such survivals actually strengthen or reappear as a society becomes more advanced. If kinship, for example, were indeed the solution to the primeval problem of cannibalism, the most primitive societies (closest to the cannibal state and therefore most plagued by aggression) should have the most complex and carefully defined kinship systems, which would be simplified as cannibalism and aggression died out. The opposite appears to be the case.

The most primitive hunting societies we know of tend to be the most peaceful, to have the smallest incidence of cannibalism, and to have the least complex kinship systems. The Bushmen, for example, who show no aggression and who will not even eat the baboon, because "he is so like a man," have developed this sociability without benefit of meat taboos for women, strict kinship and residence rules, or sexual segregation. Similarly, other primitive groups, such as the Shoshone of the Basin Plateau, the Nambiquara of Brazil, the Yahgan of Tierra del Fuego, and the Tasaday, do not have meat taboos for women, sexual segregation, or competitive gift giving.

In most cases, the presence of such practices should not be interpreted as survivals from an earlier age where women imposed restraints on male violence but as reflections of prevailing social relationships. Sexual segregation, in particular, with the building of separate lodges for men and women, is obviously a rather late innovation and tends to be associated with a rather highly developed division of labor between the sexes. Similarly, of the four African tribes studied by Karen Sacks, that with the most primitive mode of production and the most equal relations between the sexes, the Mbuti, lacked menstrual and pregnancy restrictions on women's activities. Rather than seeing such restrictions in the more developed tribes as survivals of primitive matriarchy, Sacks convincingly argues that they reflect the subordination of women with the development of private property. They serve "to separate women's reproductive functions from contact with the social production of exchange goods" and "to symbolize a contradiction between social production of

exchange goods and private or familial appropriation" (Reiter, page 226).

5. A final problem with Reed's theory is that it shifts attention away from the mode and the social relations of production to the forms of social organization. Reed seeks the origin of cultural evolution in a form of social organization—the maternal clan—rather than in the social relations of production in a given habitat. She thus finds herself explaining the rise of class society in terms of a social variable, the relation between the sexes, rather than by the social determinant of productive relationships.

Reed does not attribute the role of the sexes in primitive society to the communal relations of production. Instead, she attributes the communal relations of production to the role of the sexes. Rather than explaining social customs in terms of the labor relations of primitive societies, she argues that social customs were the precondition for the development of those labor relations: Women originated social customs such as kinship and taboo in order to subdue male aggression and allow the development of peaceful,

'The theory of the matriarchy Reed develops obscures the strong points to be made about the egalitarian relations between the sexes under primitive communism and the social causes of the rise of male dominance.'



cooperative production and distribution. Her emphasis on male-female relations as the primary dynamic in early society even leads to the contention that "the driving necessity to achieve the one-father family and do away with the divided matrifamily opened the road to private property" (page 406).

Alternative Evolutionary Outline

An alternative interpretation of human evolution would start from the recognition that cooperative food sharing was the critical factor in the development of hominids, and in this mothers undoubtedly led the way. But males were not left out of this evolution. Mothers socialized both male and female offspring to contribute to the well-being of the mother-offspring dyad or bond. The process was accelerated by the loss of estrus, which allowed females to be more selective in mating, choosing the more sociable males.

The incest-taboo contributed to increased social interaction by ensuring that relations would not be confined to the mother-offspring dyad. Reed is right to insist on the social character of the incest taboo, but wrong, I think, in seeing it as a reaction to male aggression unleashed by hunting. Instances of mother-son avoidance have been observed in chimpanzees, and I think we can see it as an adaptive means of establishing the range of interaction with other group members necessary to the survival of social animals. Among homo sapiens, exogamy (the requirement that group members marry out of the group) was undoubtedly an extension of a practice that facilitated the widest possible social interaction.

The incest taboo probably predates and helps pave the way for the cooperative activity of hunting. As Sally Slocum has put it, "Big-game hunting becomes a more logical development when it is viewed as growing out of a complex of changes which included sharing the products of gathering among women and children, deepening social bonds over time, increase in brain size, and the beginning of cultural invention for purposes such as baby carrying, food carrying, and food preparation" (Reiter, page 48).

I am positing a less catastrophic theory of human evolution, in which food sharing facilitated increased neotony (prolonged infant de-

pendence), allowing more social learning to take place, increasing the depth and complexity of social relationships, and leading to even more cooperative labor, which in turn accelerated the trend toward larger brains and more sociable interaction. The female's contribution to this may well have been critical, but both males and females participated in the expanding cooperative activities.

Is it possible, however, that the development of hunting led to a regression, releasing atavistic male aggressions and posing the threat of cannibalism, which was reversed only by feminine intervention? It is an interesting speculation, but not very likely. Reed's evidence for it consists in "survivals" found a million years later—and not in the most primitive groups at that. Observations of meat eating adaptations in chimpanzee and baboon populations indicate the development of hunting *increases* food sharing and cooperation rather than stimulating aggression and cannibalism (Emily Hahn, *On the Side of the Apes*, [Crowell, 1971]); "The Predatory Baboons of Kekopey, Hardin and Strum", *Natural History*, March 1976).

We should not confuse aggressive and predatory behavior. The two are, in fact, counterposed. The development of predatory (hunting) behavior among hominids is closely correlated with the absence of aggression and with a high degree of cooperation. Thus, for example, the Pygmies of the Ituri forest are among the most specialized and efficient hunters in the world, and they are also one of the most peaceful groups known (Colin Turnbull, *The Forest People* [New York: Simon and Schuster, 1961]). In general, very few hunting societies demonstrate aggressive behavior or show any sign of cannibalism.

How do we explain the practices that Reed suggests were developed to control aggression—food taboos, complex kinship systems, ritual sacrifices, and sexual segregation? We should start from the empirical fact that these are found more frequently in relatively complex prestate societies than in the primitive hunting bands closest to our hominid ancestors. This suggests that the source of these practices should be sought in the prevailing social relations, not in the distant hominid past. I would direct attention to changes in production and distribution, particularly to the severe threat that surpluses pose to a primitive collective, and suggest that kinship develops as a means of distribution and social organization as band societies become more complex.

Role of Kinship

The most primitive mode of production and distribution is simple food gathering, with a minimal division of labor. Engels argues that the only division of labor in such a society was between the sexes; studies of groups such as the Tasaday suggest that even this division was absent before the development of hunting. Everyone gathers, and they often eat as they do so. There is no social need for a formal system of distribution, a way of establishing duty relationships. Is it surprising then, that the Tasaday have only very imprecise terms for kinship relations and couldn't understand why their questioners were interested in knowing them?

The most primitive hunting and gathering societies, according to the *Ethnographic Atlas* (Murdock, 1967), are overwhelmingly bilateral in descent, and rules of residence (where a pair lives after marriage) are flexible. In band societies of less than fifty residence is bilocal; a slight majority of larger bands are patrilocal. Kinship calculations, then, do not extend very far back in time, and residence rules are still rather informal. This corresponds to the direct reciprocity of production and consumption that characterizes primitive communism. Complex descent and obligation rules are unnecessary here.

As the band gets larger and a more permanent division of labor prevails, at least between the sexes, kinship formations become a means of organizing distribution. As the society specializes in the exploitation of a particular habitat, more stable descent and residence rules develop. Horticultural societies, where the system of production concentrates women, tend to become matrilineal and matrilineal; in pastoral societies, the need to concentrate men for herding and butchering leads more frequently to patrilineality and patrilocality. The latter is not in and of itself either cause or symptom of female subordination. Among the patrilocal, patrilineal pastoralists of Tibet, women are "independent and outspoken."



Painting of early hunters—defenders of male supremacy claim this activity led inevitably to the dominance of men over women

They spend much of their life on horseback, as do men. . . . They are neither secluded nor compelled to observe particular behavioral patterns in the presence of outsiders," and they are consulted about tribal business transactions (Evelyn Kessler, *Women: An Anthropological View* [New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1976], page 46).

Kinship forms create the possibility, though not the inevitability, of further differentiation—the development of leading lineages, conical clans, and so on. The process of differentiation and the rise of private property is complex, but it is not illuminated by reference to a revolution by the propertied fathers of the patriarchal system against the collective clan brothers of the matriarchal system. Instead, we should look to the internal dynamics of primitive society, as sharing becomes barter and reciprocity becomes obligation.

Reed suggests, for example, that the origin of gift giving is in blood revenge. I suggest it is more simply explained as part of the reciprocity of a primitive collective. Thus the Bushmen consider both gift giving and asking as a fundamental way of expressing love and solidarity. Immediate reciprocation is considered positively "indecent . . . for this makes the exchange appear to be trading which the Bushmen loathe" (Ken Jordan, "The Bushmen of Southern Africa," *Race and Class*, Autumn 1975, page 159).

Competitive gift giving might be viewed as an attempt by a basically egalitarian society to deal with the tensions engendered by the development of a surplus. Potlatches might then be seen not as a way of handling some primitive hostility based on the ignorance of death—a hostility felt only by males (page 262)—but as the attempt to deal with surpluses that collective social relations cannot absorb, surpluses that eventually were to lead to the development of private property, labor services, and class society. As Engels has pointed out in *Anti-Dühring*, private property is not imposed by force but grows out of the primitive commune and thereby transforms it. Cooperation becomes competition; mutual reciprocity becomes unequal obligation.

In this process, the role of women changes. In the most primitive societies, where production and distribution are collective labors, women and men have similar roles and equal status. Men do tend to be more mobile, due to women's prolonged lactation period (which also serves as a means of birth control), so it is men who tend to take on hunting, herding, trading, warring, or other far-ranging activities. The division of labor is not rigid, however. Childless women may accompany men on the hunt. Nor is there any differential status attached to this division. Nevertheless, bearing in mind the origins of private property in the dynamics of primitive sharing and barter, we can see a possible source of unequal power and therefore status for men.

Changing Position of Women

To the extent that the division of labor exposes one sex more frequently to sources of private surplus, it is there that the potential for sexual inequality lies. If male responsibility for hunting and war gives men special access to movable private property in slaves, trade goods, or animals, then the relations of production will change, with the women tending to become processors rather than producers. It is at this point, as Marxists have argued all along, that women lose status and power.

It should be mentioned, however, that this is

not necessarily a unilinear process. Our hardest evidence of high status for women in ancient societies comes not from the most primitive cultures living under paleolithic conditions but from the neolithic period, especially in rather highly developed city-states based on agriculture. Excavations of houses in a neolithic town in Turkey show that the sleeping platform of the female was much larger than that of the man (James Mellaart, *Catal Huyuk* [New York: McGraw-Hill, 1967] page 60). There, and in other city-state societies such as Crete, we find evidence of religions centered around women. Women also had exceptionally high status among the relatively advanced Iroquois, while the matrilineal descent of Egyptian royalty is well known. In the old empire of Egypt, moreover, women were often painted larger than men. Mayan city-states were sometimes ruled by queens.

It seems strange to interpret these findings as survivals of a primeval matriarchy. Could it not be that in some agricultural city-states the contributions of women to horticultural development and the association of women's fertility with the tremendous surpluses on which these cities so heavily depended led to a rise in the status of women? We should also consider whether the increased importance that private property confers upon descent lines might have temporarily strengthened the position of women in societies with a matrilineal heritage. These points need further research, though of course it's dangerous to infer high status for all women from the presence of female rulers, witness Queen Victoria's England.

One final point: Much of Reed's data becomes extremely useful if we reject her model of a universal matriarchal stage bringing an end to an epoch of male violence. Reed's interpretation of Greek drama cannot hold water as long as it is tied to the idea that "the transition from matriarchy to patriarchy left an indelible imprint in Greek mythology" (page 447). We know from Hesiod's writing that Greece was already a patriarchal society in the twelfth century B.C. The Greek dramatists of the fifth century B.C. often added women to old myths, or accentuated their roles. Electra, for instance, is a minor figure in mythology, but Aeschylus elevated her to a central role in his work. Surely he was not reaching into some Jungian collective memory of matriarchy in making this innovation.

Yet so much of Reed's discussion of the Greek plays is persuasive. We can gain remarkable insights from it if we adjust it slightly. Without the logically indefensible idea that these plays represented a memory of a patriarchal "revolution" that must have occurred at least seven centuries earlier, we can profit from Reed's analysis of the plays if we see them as representing a conflict between a kin-based aristocracy, upholding those values such as blood revenge that had helped assure its preeminence, and a new commercial state that wished to subordinate the aristocratic families to civil ties. Women became a center of debate because they symbolized the family ties of a kinship society in opposition to the civil ties of a commercial society. Oedipus would then reflect the confusion of a society trapped, not between opposing kinship systems as Reed would have it, but between the claims of kinship and the claims of the state.

In conclusion, Reed has added to our knowledge of the variety of roles held by women in primitive societies, illuminating their productive record and social esteem. She correctly points to the association of female subordination with the

rise of private property and the growth of the state. Her theory of a universal and unilinear development of female roles remains unconvincing, however. Fortunately, neither historical materialism nor feminism has any need of a theory of matriarchy to explode the myth of women's biological inferiority, to prove the subordination of women in class society, or to show the necessity of socialism for the realization of woman's full potential.

Evelyn Reed:

In her critique of *Woman's Evolution* Stephanie Coontz separates the two major theses upon which my book rests, accepting one but not the other. She agrees that primitive society was based on a communal mode of production featuring egalitarian social relations but rejects the proposition that it was a maternal clan system or "matriarchy." This approach places her in opposition not only to me but also to Frederick Engels.

Engel's class, *The Origin of the Family, Private Property, and the State*, is based on the interlinked propositions that primitive society was both communal and a maternal clan system. He hailed Lewis Morgan's discovery of the maternal gens or clan, saying it "has the same significance for the history of primitive society as Darwin's theory of evolution has for biology, and Marx's theory of surplus value has for political economy."

The discovery by nineteenth-century scholars that primitive society was communal and matriarchal became the most controversial issue in anthropology. It was rejected by twentieth-century academicians, but the repudiation was far more severe in respect to the matriarchy and the high position of women in it. Though it was permissible to mention the egalitarian character of primitive societies, further investigation of the matriarchy ceased. The very word became taboo.

With the recent rise of the women's liberation movement, the total blackout came to an end. Some writings appeared on the subject of the matriarchy, mostly outside university precincts. Engels's book was seized upon by feminists seeking basic answers to the causes of their oppression.

Purpose of 'Woman's Evolution'

My book takes up where Engels left off, applying the same historical-materialist method. Engels dealt primarily with the rise of the basic institutions of class society, showing the course of transition from a previous communal egalitarian system to the oppressive private-property system. My objective was to penetrate further back into prehistory to uncover the origin of the maternal clan system. This would make it possible to confirm the priority of the matriarchy and to cast light on some unanswered questions.

Coontz seems to have missed the main purpose of my book, since many of her criticisms are directed against its historical scope. While she compliments me for "attacking male bias in anthropology and uncovering neglected evidence about women's roles in primitive and prehistoric societies," she is disturbed because I proceed beyond this point. "Reed does not stop at demonstrating the important role of women in primitive society and the association of women's subjugation with the rise of private property."

My book is more than a repetition of the work done by Engels. He gave a masterful exposition of the transitional period that saw the rise of private property and the patriarchal family and side by side with these developments the historical downfall of women. What was required of subsequent scholars was to extend our view backward in time to the matriarchal epoch, before the downfall occurred, when women held the esteemed position in society. This was all the more necessary in view of the massive hostility directed against such a study over the past sixty or seventy years.

From Maternal Functions to Maternal Clan Production

Coontz frequently refers to production, the communal mode of production, and cooperative productive and social relations, suggesting that I have scanted these basic considerations while

concentrating on the institutions and customs of the matriarchy. "Reed's theory . . . shifts attention away from the mode and social relations of production to the forms of social organization. Reed seeks the origin of cultural evolution in a form of social organization—the maternal clan—rather than in the social relations of production in a given habitat." According to Coontz, I try to explain "the rise of class society" in terms of maternal clan relations instead of through the "social determinant of productive relationships."

My objective was not to explain "the rise of class society," as that had already been done by Engels. What I focused upon was the rise of the maternal clan system, which preceded class society and was its opposite.

Of course, productive and social relations do not exist outside of the given social system or "habitat" as Coontz calls it. It should be self-evident that opposite social systems will have diametrically different modes of production and productive and social relations. I therefore analyzed these relations not in the "habitat" of class society but in that of preclass society—the maternal clan system of social organization.

Since Coontz had disqualified the maternal clan system, she is left without the social "habitat" in which the communal mode of production and egalitarian relations existed. She cannot accept the extensive expositions I have made of primitive relations because they form part of the maternal clan system she rejects. Thus, she reduces what I have to say about these maternal clan relations to a single "social variable, the relation between the sexes," and thinks I have shifted attention away from these important productive and social relations to a mere "social variable."

Far from shifting attention away from ques-

tions of productive and social relations I was obliged, by the very purpose of my book, to do a good deal of research on the subject. I had to go back to the birth of the first social system of humankind out of the animal world and trace its main milestones of evolution up to the point, a few thousand years ago, when it was overturned by class society.

This involved coming to grips with some key problems, the following among them: 1. How did production, that is, cooperative labor activities, come into existence, since production does not exist in the animal world? 2. Why was the first social system communal and egalitarian? 3. Why was that communal society based on the maternal clan as its unit rather than the father-family of our times?

Central Role of Labor

I utilized two methodological guidelines. One was Engels's labor theory of social origins, presented in 1876 in his essay *The Part Played by Labor in the Transition from Ape to Human*. He demonstrated that humans departed from animal conditions of existence when they engaged in systematic labor activities and began to produce the necessities of life. Production marks the dividing line between animality and humanity.

In 1927 Robert Briffault presented his matriarchal theory of social origins in *The Mothers*. He demonstrated that the exercise of maternal functions, which reach their apex among animals with the higher apes, played a key role in the transition from anthropoid to hominid. Fifty years after Briffault (and 100 years after Engels) I fused together these two theories as the foundation of *Woman's Evolution*.

I directed attention to the fact that it was not "Man the Tool-Maker," but females who first took the road to tool making and labor activities and thereby brought into being a radically new phenomenon on this planet—the human species. This also explains why the first form of society was the maternal clan system. It grew up out of the maternal brood in the animal world—and at the same time outgrew it.

The maternal brood among animals is only a reproductive unit, composed of mother and offspring. The maternal clan is a productive unit, composed of clan brothers as well as clan mothers, sisters, and children. Through the labor process the maternal functions of the ape mothers became transformed into the social functions of the humanized mothers in the primitive system.

Women not only initiated labor activities but throughout the greater portion of early history were the chief producers of the necessities of life. During the first long epoch of savagery, also called the "hunting gathering" period, while men were primarily occupied with hunting and fighting, women developed the higher skills required for the advancement of production and thereby of society and culture. This primacy of productive labors explains why women became the "highly esteemed" or preeminent sex.

Far from diverting attention away from the fundamentals of social life, my examination of the maternal clan system explains both the birth of production and the leading part played in it by women.

Coontz is somewhat ambiguous on the role of women in prehistoric society. Citing her agreements with me she writes that "the mother-offspring bond was primary in hominid and early human society." Since she rejects the



A festival of the Virginia Algonquin tribes before European colonists settled in America. Women and men dance in a circle enclosed by carved posts depicting women's heads. Women played an important part in Indian festivals.



A chimpanzee mother (rear) and two offspring: male infant and five-year-old female

maternal clan system, it is unclear in what sense she applies the term "primary." Does she mean this only in the procreative sense? If so, this would leave out the key pillar of human life—production.

Coontz's tendency to bypass women's productive role in history may also explain why she is disturbed by my statement that the minds of women developed at a more rapid pace than those of men. I was speaking socially, not biologically. Since both sexes belong to the same genetic species, they have the same anatomical organs; hands to work with and brains to think with. However, the two sexes have not gone through exactly the same experiences. There has been an uneven development of the sexes in both their work and their intellects in the course of human history.

Early Social Relations

Why was the first mode of production communal and its productive and social relations cooperative and egalitarian? Coontz agrees that, unlike the modes of production in civilized society, based on the private ownership of property, the primitive mode of production was based on collective ownership of the means of production. But this leaves open the question of *why* this was the case. To answer it, I had to explore all the primitive institutions, practices, and customs, which occupy a central place in my book.

Coontz thinks that such an exploration of kinship, taboos, rituals, sex segregation, and related matters, is diversionary or beside the point. She writes that "the source of these practices should be sought in the prevailing social relations, not in the distant hominid past." She adds a comment on "the severe threat that surpluses pose to a primitive collective." Are these arguments valid or even relevant?

Is there any other way of arriving at the "prevailing social relations" of the distant past than by examining the institutions of that past? The social relations of the hunting-gathering period cannot be ascertained by examining the role of surpluses of food and other goods. These came into existence as a prime economic factor only with the rise of a higher economy based on agriculture and stock-raising.

Engels has shown how surpluses of food and other products led to the disintegration of the matriarchal commune and its replacement by private-property society. This changed the archaic egalitarian social relations into an opposite kind of social relations. It is irrelevant to bring in surpluses in a presurplus epoch, the hunting-gathering period.

It has often been pointed out, as Coontz does, that this earliest period was based on a very low economic development. With only the most primitive tools and techniques available there could only be a limited development of productivity. Scarcity rather than abundance was the rule. Scarcity in the animal world leads to competitive struggles and strife. How did it come about that there was no fierce scramble for food and other necessities in the human world, with the stronger pushing aside or killing the weaker?

The record shows that generosity and hospitality were paramount values among primitive peoples; a clansman would rather starve himself than let a fellow clansman go hungry. Coontz's illustrations of this primitive cooperation can be duplicated by many similar survivals in other parts of the world. However, it was not only the "smallest children" who received food; the whole community provided for and protected one another.

How was this remarkable feat accomplished and by whom? Some academics argue that *because* there were no surpluses to compete for and fight over, *therefore* primitive society was egalitarian. This is a backhanded way of saying that primitive collectivism didn't amount to much because it rested on a poor economy.

The key question is: why did the scarcities not lead to a brutish struggle for survival? How was it possible to create so remarkable a system of cooperative social relations upon so lowly a material base?

From Animal to Human Behavior

The answer must be sought in the new *mode of survival* that began with labor activities. Unlike animals, which survive under nature's blind laws of competition, human existence depended on the production of the necessities of life. Production requires a social organization in which all the members work together, pool resources and techniques, learn from one another's experience, and

pass their knowledge on to new generations of producers. Animal behavior would have prevented the formation of a productive group and been fatal to humankind.

It was necessary to change animal behavior into human productive and social relations. This was not as simple as it may sound. At that juncture in the transition from animal to hominid there was a polarization of imperative needs; on the one hand the *biological* imperative of satisfying the two basic hungers for food and for mates, which in the animal world breed individualism and conflict, and on the other hand the new *social* imperative to cooperate in labor activities to satisfy these needs or perish as a species-in-the-making.

The only way to resolve this colossal confrontation between opposite modes of survival and effect the transformation from animal to human nature was by establishing a communal, egalitarian society guaranteeing mutual provision and protection. Even under the most extreme stringency of supplies, food and other necessities had to be strictly shared.

The means by which this was accomplished—through totemism and taboo, the kinship system and the interchange system—are delineated in my book. The women who initiated and developed production also laid down the humanizing and socializing rules embodied in these prehistoric institutions. Humanity survived the earliest threat of extinction because our female progenitors proved capable of taking the lead in changing animal conditions of life into social life and labor. They established the maternal clan system with its egalitarian productive and social relations.

Coontz charges me with "eclectically" combining evidence from an assortment of primitive societies, "observed no earlier than the seventeenth century," with "assertions about baboons" to arrive at my conclusions about the matriarchy. In fact, it is Coontz who is making an invalid combination.

The primitive peoples observed from the seventeenth century on, and the study of prehuman or primate life, represent two stages of transitional development widely separated in time. To be sure, most of our information about aboriginal life was acquired after Columbus, when travelers from patriarchal Western Europe came into contact with aboriginal people on other continents distinctly unlike themselves. Several centuries later, with the founding of anthropology, it was learned that these primitive peoples represented earlier stages of social evolution, retaining matriarchal institutions and customs that had all but disappeared in the civilized centers.

The fact that these survivals were not all on the same "level of complexity," as Coontz puts it, was due to the uneven development of different peoples in various parts of the globe over the ages. They ranged from Old Stone Age savages to cattle-raising barbarians. Precisely because of their uneven development they provided the necessary clues to the chronological reconstruction of prehistoric matriarchal society as a whole, and to understanding the drastic change that had occurred in the transition from matriarchy to patriarchal class society.

This transition took place only a few thousand years ago. The study of primates on the other hand relates to the transition from ape to hominid which occurred a million years or more before that. To say that I combine evidence from both without taking into account the disparate conditions of life and the historical stages involved is somewhat of a caricature of my work.

Moreover, while the study of baboons and other primates furnish some clues to the reconstruction of the transition from ape to human, these have limited value. Despite the biological or "genetic" similarities between apes and humans—stressed by Coontz—the distinctions between us are immensely greater. There is in fact a qualitative divergence between us and all animals which was brought about through our own productive and social achievements.

Significance of Kinship

Coontz's statement about "Reed's acceptance of biological determinism" is refuted by these basic premises of *Woman's Evolution*, as well as the numerous articles I have written exposing vulgar biologizers such as E.O. Wilson and others—which are included in my new book, *Sexism and Science*. Biological determinists see only the biological similarities between humans

and animals and try to erase the qualitative distinctions between them. My labor-matriarchal theory of social origins testifies to a principled rejection of biological determinism. Human life is socially and culturally determined and in the beginning was determined by a communal, egalitarian, matriarchal system.

Coontz fails to grasp the crucial importance of the primitive institutions established by women, which transformed animal relations into communal social relations. She dismisses the primitive kinship system as of little account, whereas it is a key institution.

The "classificatory" kinship of savage society was not genetic or family kinship as we have it today. It was a system of social or communal relationship embracing all the members of the community without regard to their genetic or family ties, which were in any case unknown. In the classificatory system, the members were differentiated by sex, by age, and by occupation, not by families.

Where the means of production are poorly developed, as they were in prehistoric society, the living laborers, the personal force of production, play a far larger role than in developed societies with superior tools and equipment and a correspondingly greater productivity of labor. Primitive kinship relations are so interconnected with productive and social relations that they cannot be torn apart.

Not understanding this economic aspect of primitive kinship, Coontz tends to depreciate it altogether. She writes that the Tasadays, a Stone Age survival recently discovered in the Philippines, "have only very imprecise terms for kinship relations," which she interprets as signifying their unimportance.

Coontz draws this erroneous conclusion from the very imprecise reportage of John Nance, who spent seventy-two days over a three-year period with the group and who displays no recognition of the vital distinctions between the classificatory kinship system and our own. We do not know the views of the few anthropologists who, according to Nance, also spent a brief time with the group. But if they tried to interpret the Tasaday kinship system in terms of our own, they, too, would come out with very imprecise results.

One of my major contributions to anthropology has been to restore the true meaning of the classificatory system, which was discovered by Morgan, as a system of social—not genetic—kinship, and to correct certain earlier inconsistencies with respect to it. Another major contribution is my analysis of the so-called gift-giving institution, which is closely connected with kinship. I designate this as the primitive "interchange system" to indicate its fundamental connection with communal social relations that the term "gift giving" fails to convey. Coontz skips over the special studies I have made on the subject and accepts a superficial view of primitive gift giving.

She is skeptical about the origin of gift giving (interchange) out of blood revenge—which was also a form of interchange. She offers no alternative theory about blood revenge, which was a major custom in primitive society before it withered away under the impact of gift interchange.

She writes that gift giving "is more simply explained as part of the reciprocity of a primitive collective." To be sure. But so "simple" a description does not offer much insight into the fact that gift "reciprocity," as gift giving is also called, is the essence of the interchange system. As such, it is the antithesis of the commodity exchange system just as the primitive matriarchal commune is the opposite of the private-property society of today.

The Role of Men

One of the underlying complaints in Coontz's critique is that I downplay the role of men in primitive society while overestimating that of women. This is not the case. My researches on primitive kinship and interchange enabled me to trace the rise and expansion of the tribal brotherhood, which I call the "fratriarchy" to signify that it is the male counterpart of the matriarchy.

However, I have dealt with men, as with women, historically. Unlike those anthropologists who portray males as eternal primates or hunters, I give a scientific exposition of men in their two main stages of social evolution; first as clan brothers and mothers' brothers in matriarchal communal society, and then as husbands

and fathers in patriarchal class society. Not only woman's work, but man's work and activities are delineated in the primitive sexual division of labor.

Contrary to Coontz's suggestion that I have scanted the fundamental factors of productive and social relations, I have added a new dimension to the labor theory of social origins. While I recognize the importance of male cooperative hunting, I go beyond this and bring out the decisive significance of women's productive labors.

Incest, Cannibalism, and Hunting

Coontz misunderstands two of my basic theories. She states that "Reed accepts the theory of the centrality of hunting in human development." In fact, my theory is based on the centrality of female *production*, not upon the male occupation of hunting. She also states, "Reed is right to insist on the social character of the incest taboo." Actually, I demonstrate there was no such thing in primitive society as an incest taboo. The prohibition of incest is a quite recent development.

'My objective was to penetrate further back in to prehistory to uncover the origin of the maternal clan system. This would make it possible to confirm the priority of the matriarchy and to cast light on some unanswered questions.'



There was a taboo in primitive society. The early scholars noted that the whole of society seemed to revolve around that taboo. However, I show that it was not directed against incest; it was directed against cannibalism and against any return to the male sexual violence of the animal world. The taboo, therefore, is connected with the male occupation of hunting—whether for food or for mates—and not with any imaginary incestuous intercourse among genetic relatives.

With respect to food hunting, I do not wish to disparage the skills and techniques involved in this occupation; it was an essential acquisition in human life. My aim was twofold; first, to show the hazards connected with hunting and meat eating in the human world that were not present among the vegetarian apes. Second, it was necessary to correct the false impression given by male-biased anthropologists that primitive life revolved around the male hunters, when in fact it revolved around the female producers.

As this biased thesis is usually framed, men were "more mobile" than women (a theme that Coontz seems to favor), and this made them the resplendent hunters, while women were so burdened down by lactation and child care that they could only be homebodies, reduced to gathering a few roots and vegetables around the campsite. In fact, there is no abstract superiority in "mobility" as contrasted with stability.

The Settlement Makers

In the first long epoch of human life, stable settlement makers were more important than roaming hunters. After the hunters killed the animal, it was in the campsites that the women processed the food, clothing, tents, tools, and other articles out of the flesh, bones, and hide. They did this in addition to collecting the roots and vegetables that furnished the most stable stocks of food. In addition to all their productive work, they bore the children and organized the social and cultural life of the homeground. Even though these campsites were occasionally relocated on new ground, it was the women settle-

ment makers who created this indispensable arena for social life and culture.

By the same token, the women devised the totemic taboo to regulate the activities of the hunters. Under the rule of exogamy (the other side of the internal taboo) all hunting activities, whether for food or for mates, were expelled from the clan group of mothers, sisters, and brothers. This freed the community from strife among males for access to females, which occurs in the animal world, and it protected the clan members from cannibalism, the new hazard that arose in the human world.

The regulations placed upon hunting were implemented through segregation of the sexes. Clan mothers, sisters and infants of both sexes occupied their sector of the compound, the brothers a separate sector. In other words, the first economic and social unity between the sexes was achieved through their sexual segregation. This explains why society began not with the father-family but with the maternal clan of sisters and brothers.

Early scholars, coming upon this segregation of the sexes, misinterpreted it as an "incest taboo." The incest theory was set forth a century ago by Morgan and others who assumed it was designed to prevent sexual intercourse between "brothers and sisters." This error stemmed from an incomplete understanding of the classificatory kinship system—that it was exclusively a social kinship system without regard to genetic or family ties.

My theory of cannibalism, as expounded in *Woman's Evolution*, is the first cogent replacement of the erroneous incest theory. Because it was new, I carefully documented the evidence. Morgan was right in positing an ancient universal stage of cannibalism—a proposition also accepted by Engels. (*Ireland and the Irish Question*, [New York: International, 1972], pages 198-199.) However, I could not accept Morgan's hypothesis that cannibalism came about owing to the scarcity of other food.

Cause of Cannibalism

Cannibalism resulted from the ignorance of our hominid ancestors of the *biological* distinctions between themselves and animals. Coontz is skeptical about this and thinks the only evidence is that found among the Chou kou tien fossils of about a half million years ago. But that can only show how far back in history the practice can be traced; it is by no means the centerpiece of my evidence and arguments.

Ancient ignorance of the biological distinctions between humans and animals should not be surprising. Even today, expert paleontologists cannot always distinguish between the fossil bones and skulls of higher apes and lower hominids. They draw the dividing line through the criterion of toolmaking.

Our hominid ancestors seem to have applied the same criterion when they invented their totem kinship system. Those who lived together in the same community, made tools and worked together, were the "kin"—the "human beings." Those on the outside were nonkin—"animal." Totem kinship arose as the *social* means for demarcating humans from animals at a time when the biological distinctions were unclear. In the course of time, as these distinctions became clear, the totem kinship system matured into the classificatory system. Even then, it remained a system of social or communal kinship, not family or genetic kinship.

Coontz disagrees with my theory of cannibalism in part because she does not grasp the innocent nature of its origins. She rejects the idea that savage men could have been so cruel as to kill and eat one another—and in this she is quite right. As my book shows, savage men regarded human life as so sacred and inviolable that they put civilized society with its genocidal wars to shame. They were simply unaware of the fact that among the animals they killed and ate were some nonkin humans.

Coontz repeatedly refers to the close cooperation that existed among ancient human hunters without explaining how it came into being. She skips over the problem of male aggression against other males in the animal world, a trait that had to be conquered if they were to become cooperative hunters. This is surprising in view of the vast amount of evidence on the subject of male sexual violence and the statements of various scholars about the handicap this posed to the start of human life.

I utilized this data to show why the ancient taboo was a double prohibition; one clause directed against cannibalism, the other against any return to animal behavior once the ancestral ape had become hominid. The two clauses of the taboo were designed to regulate and socialize the two most imperative biological needs—for food and sex—which are not socially regulated among animals.

This also explains the segregation of the sexes. Not only were the clan sisters and brothers segregated within the community, but originally there were no husbands or wives present in the clans. These mates lived in other, often distant clans where their local status was also that of clan sisters and brothers. The clan system arose as a *nonsexual, social association* of women and men who called themselves sisters and brothers, or kinswomen and kinsmen. Much later in history, beginning with matrilocal marriage, the segregation ended, and the mates began to change their residences from that of their clans to those of their wives and husbands.

The effectiveness of the taboo and the segregation of the sexes, along with all the other institutions created for the conquest of animalism and cannibalism, can be seen in the results. The close-knit brotherhood of men that arose within the maternal clan community saw males who had once fought one another as animals now cooperatively hunting. The conquest of cannibalism took a longer time. But in direct ratio as kinship and interchange expanded, converting more and more former "animals" and "enemies" into new kinds of kin and friends, cannibalism withered away, leaving only ritualistic survivals in a few regions.

Since all this is spelled out in detail in my book, I do not understand the point of Coontz's statement that sexual segregation "is found frequently not among the most primitive hunting and gathering tribes but among rather complex horticultural or agricultural societies, witness the examples Reed cites." I do not know what examples Coontz is referring to, since she gives none, and my own position is clearly stated.

I concur with Morgan and Engels that the first form of the family makes its appearance at the end of the hunting-gathering period (savagery), and the beginning of agriculture (barbarism) some 8,000 years ago. This is also the period that saw the end of the former segregation of the sexes and their union in matrimony.

There is a logical reason for this. Once all the problems connected with the male occupation of hunting had been resolved, there was no longer any reason for maintaining a clan system founded on the segregation of the sexes. The former sister-brother nonsexual union was gradually displaced by the husband-wife sexual union—until ultimately the whole clan system was demolished and replaced by the family system.

Coontz apparently refuses to acknowledge that there were any problems connected with the transition from ape to human or with the carnivorous diet. She writes that my matriarchal theory "postulates a gigantic trauma in the prehistory of humanity." She refers to a legend

cited in my book that could be interpreted to mean that socializing our species may have involved a "gigantic battle" between the sexes before it was achieved. Such a struggle cannot be excluded, although further research is required to demonstrate it. But when the survival of the human species was at stake—as it probably was at the time of its birth and infancy—it was up to the best equipped sex to resolve the issue and to do so by any means necessary. In those times the qualified sex was the female "producer procreator."

My theory, far from representing a "catastrophic theory of human evolution" as Coontz writes, is actually a depiction of the dazzling success of our feminid and hominid ancestors in overcoming a threat of extinction.

The motherhood created the brotherhood, and thereafter it was the sisters and brothers together who built the communal society that carried humankind forward to the threshold of civilization. Perhaps the example set by our savage ancestors will prove of some assistance today, in the nuclear age, when the survival of the species is again at stake.

Coontz's Alternative Outline

Coontz, who mistakenly thinks I have neglected production, does not herself begin with this productive factor. She starts with "cooperative food sharing" as the "critical factor" at the beginning of human life. Although she agrees mothers led the way, she says nothing about their creating a social organization in which to sustain production as the decisive factor in human life. It was simply to "contribute to the well-being of the mother-offspring bond or dyad."

If production, which marks the dividing line between humans and animals, is ignored, how does the procreative bond of the human mother-child dyad differ from the ape dyad? Without the part they played in labor activities, how could our branch of the higher apes become humanized and capable of socializing their offspring? Coontz's suggestion is startling. The females gradually became "more selective in mating, choosing the more sociable males." Apparently, by selecting more sociable males as their mates, the female bore more sociable offspring who then became more cooperative in food sharing.

Isn't this natural selection of the sociably disposed essentially a biological determinist theory, as opposed to the labor theory of social origins? Since I cannot believe that Coontz, who espouses the historical-materialist philosophy, would present a biological determinist theory, I suspect it was only a "slip of the pen."

However, there are other troubling features in Coontz's outline. Primary among these is the fact that she presents no alternative to the maternal clan as the unit of prehistoric society. Those who reject the priority of the matriarchy usually declare that the father-family is eternal and goes all the way back to the animal world. Coontz does not say this, but she gives no alternative thesis, and her remarks about primates lean in that direction.

For example, she states that "primate paternal behavior is extremely varied" with some fathers attacking infants while others assume the "total

burden" of infant care. Such misinformation about primate behavior is being challenged by a growing number of primatologists, among them Jane Beckman Lancaster, who bluntly states in her contribution to *Sex Differences* (New York: Doubleday, 1976, page 27), "There is no such thing as a 'patrifocal,' or a father-focused unit in monkey and ape societies . . . the social role of 'father' does not exist."

The question comes down to this: if the maternal clan never existed, and if the father-family is not eternal, what was the unit of prehistoric society? Coontz fails to fill this vacuum in her alternative outline.

Another troubling feature is Coontz's attempt to find a "social" interpretation of the incest taboo, somewhat along the lines of Claude Lévi-Strauss. I take issue with Lévi-Strauss's absurd attempt to give a "social" explanation for a biological prohibition that he himself largely discredits. (See *Sexism and Science*, pages 127-160.)

The 'Incest Taboo' Fallacy

A firm believer in the eternal father-family, Lévi-Strauss begins human life with this tiny unit. Without alliances with other family units, he opines, they would come into unending conflict with one another, preventing the social interaction so necessary at the start of human life. Thus, all the males of the antagonistic family units got together by some unexplained means to set up an incest taboo preventing them from having sexual intercourse or consanguineous marriages with their own women. Then they established a marriage market for the exchange of women to bring about the desired social interaction. The grandeur of this incest taboo was such that out of it sprang all human life and culture. In short, Lévi-Strauss presents us with an incest theory of social origins in place of the labor theory.

Coontz's thesis differs from his, but she arrives at a similar conclusion. She begins human life not with the father-mother-offspring triad but with the mother-offspring dyad. In her view, the incest taboo was designed to increase "social interaction by ensuring that relations would not be confined to the mother-offspring dyad."

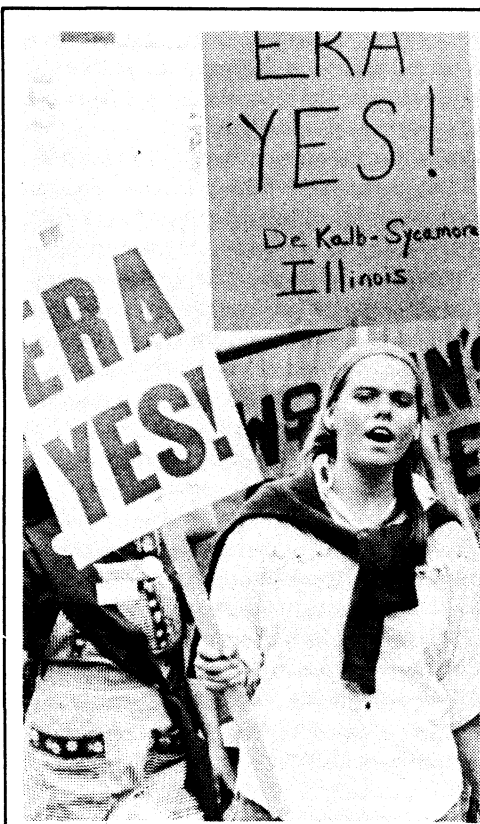
To support this thesis she extends the incest prohibition back to the animal world. She writes, "Instances of mother-son avoidance have been observed in chimpanzees, and I think we can see it as an adaptive means of establishing the range of interaction with other group members necessary to the survival of social animals." She concludes, "The incest taboo probably predates and helps pave the way for the cooperative activity of hunting." In short, antagonistic animals became cooperative human hunters through the establishment of the mother-son incest avoidance.

There is no such thing as incest avoidance in the animal world. There is a general avoidance of males by females when they are in their maternal cycle and do not desire sex. Within the maternal brood, when young males reach puberty and their dominance traits and sexual violence begin to assert themselves, they are expelled from the brood or leave of their own accord. These animal "avoidances" have nothing to do with incest.

In some instances, adult "sons" become the mates of their mothers, if the dominance issue with other males is settled. Then, as Coontz observes, males will quietly await their turn at access to the female. But there is no understanding of mother-son kinship or any other kinship relationship in any part of the animal world. Kinship institutions and relationships are exclusively human and understood only by humans.

Moreover, kinship relationships have changed in the course of history. In the prehistoric period the concept of kinship was so broad that it excluded any concept of incest or its prohibition. Recently I came across an interesting report on this subject.

Masri Singarimbun, an anthropologist who studied the Karo Batak of Malay and Sumatra, writes that "among the most significant aspects of Karo social structure" is the banning of sexual intercourse not only between siblings, but . . . all classificatory brothers and sisters, even to the clan level, so that a clan numbering tens of thousands of members constitutes one exogamous category." This, he says, is "similar to the kinship systems of numerous other peoples." (*Kinship, Descent, and Alliance Among the Karo Batak* [Berkeley, University of California, 1975,



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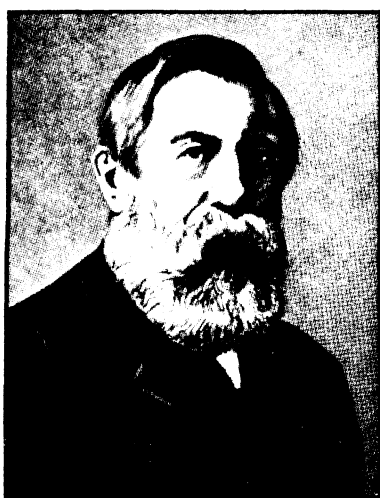
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Engels, Morgan, Tylor, and Briffault represented a materialist and evolutionary trend in anthropological theory. They upheld the theory that the maternal clan system preceded the patriarchal family.

pages xvi, 50-51].)

When tens of thousands of men and women are under a taboo against having sexual intercourse or marrying one another, this can be called a sex taboo but not an incest taboo. An incest prohibition, by definition, covers only a tiny family circle of individuals sired by the same father and stemming from the same mother's womb. The Karo system, properly interpreted, represents a bloated survival of the ancient segregation of the sexes, even if the anthropologist reporting the facts is unaware of its origin and meaning and the peoples themselves have long forgotten or perhaps never knew the real reasons for their segregation.

It was no imaginary incest taboo that brought about the "increased interaction" that goes with cooperative hunting and cooperative labor activities in general. This was accomplished through the *interchange system* by which maternal clans exchanged food and other goods with one another, exchanged sex relations with one another, exchanged hospitality, rituals, ceremonies, dances, and kinship ties—all for the purpose of maintaining and expanding their communal social relations.

Rise of Patriarchy

Another defect of Coontz's alternative outline is her silence on the question of the patriarchal family. She writes that "the rise of private property . . . is not illuminated by reference to a revolution by the propertied fathers of the patriarchal system against the collective clan brothers of the matriarchal system." She adds, "Instead, we should look to the internal dynamics of primitive society, as sharing becomes barter and reciprocity becomes obligation."

In other words, I should not go beyond Engels and, even then, should confine myself to the socioeconomic aspects of the transition, bypassing the part played by the family in the change-over. However, I not only agree with Engels on the priority of the maternal clan, but also on the part played by the patriarchal family in bringing about the downfall and subjugation of women.

Coontz's attempt to bypass this subject can be seen in her curious statement that sexual inequality came about with a change in the "relations of production," with "women tending to become processors rather than producers." She adds, "It is at this point, as Marxists have argued all along, that women lose status and power." This is not correct.

Processing does not stand apart from production; it is part of production and often a term interchangeable with it. For example, when women processed a killed animal, they were producing food, clothing, tents, and tools. What the Marxists have said on the downfall of women, and I concur, is that when women were cast out of their former place in social production and relegated to domestic chores in a man's household they lost their former status and power. The patriarchal family was a major factor and an integral part of the private property system that brought down the women.

Coontz's skirting around this aspect of female subordination leads her into questioning even the basic tenet of the degradation of women through the rise of private property. She notes the high position of women in early agricultural society and then makes this identical to the position of women in the early city-states.

Origins of Women's Oppression

Coontz finds it "strange" to interpret the high

position of women as a "survival of a primeval matriarchy." She writes, "Could it not be that in some agricultural city-states the contributions of women to horticultural development and the association of women's fertility with the tremendous surpluses on which these cities so heavily depended led to a rise in the status of women?" She even suggests that "private property . . . might have temporarily strengthened the position of women in societies with a matrilineal heritage"—that is, a matrilineal descent line.

What Coontz leaves out is the drastic social change that occurred when primitive communism was overturned by class society. The first stage of agriculture, when the matriarchy reached its peak of development and the high position of women is most conspicuous, is several thousand years prior to the patriarchal states of Greece and Rome, which arose only after the matriarchal commune was shattered. A revolutionary overturn stands between the last stage of the matriarchy and the first stage of patriarchal city-states founded on private property. Coontz skips over this revolution as though it had never occurred. She amalgamates private property with a matrilineal descent line to try to indicate a rise in women's status.

One of the first objectives of the new patriarchal city-states, based on slavery, was to get rid of the former matriarchal communal line of descent. The propertied fathers instituted their own private family line of descent from fathers to sons. The state arose to enforce the new social system founded on private property, with its

male supremacy and degradation of women.

Coontz's view is not only contrary to that of Engels, but even to her previous statement about the high position of women in primitive communal society. "Within such egalitarian communities women played a vital productive role and participated fully in communal life. The discrimination against women that develops later is associated not with their biology but with the development of private property out of social surpluses," she writes.

The Debate is Important

Coontz clearly asserts that women's inferiority today is not a biological but a social affliction. However, the mere assertion that women are not biologically inferior to men is not sufficient to convince them. They must be given unambiguous verification.

For centuries women have been brainwashed into believing that the source of their inferiority lies in their childbearing functions. Most of them do not know how capitalism takes advantage of these functions to dispossess them from productive, social, and cultural life, and keep them chained to kitchen and nursery.

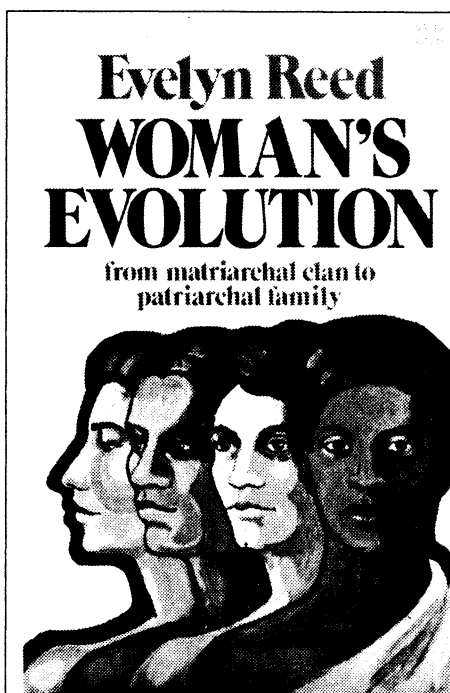
To convince them otherwise requires a full disclosure of the facts about women in the matriarchal society that preceded class society. Women bore children then, just as they do today, but far from being handicapped by it, they were the chief producers and cultural leaders in the egalitarian society they had created. By rejecting the priority of the matriarchy, Coontz rejects the scientific and historical facts needed to convince women that their biology does not consign them to an inferior position.

This is not all. It is remarkable that Coontz nowhere mentions the patriarchal family as a factor in the oppression of women. Although today the family is reduced to its molecular unit of father-mother-child, and is therefore usually called the "nuclear family," it remains a patriarchal family, the legal unit of the private-property system. It does not serve the interests of women struggling for their liberation to omit the family from any analysis of the roots and of the degradation of women, and refer to surpluses and private property alone. This could mislead women once again and leave them vulnerable to the capitalist myth that childbearing makes them forever the inferior sex.

Moreover, feminists want to know how and why, in the revolution that replaced communal society with class society, it was men who won the power, not women. This question cannot be answered with references only to surpluses, private property, and the state. It is necessary to come to grips with the part played by the family in the social upheaval at that time.

For lack of space I have had to forego discussing subsidiary disagreements I have with Coontz to concentrate on the major matters in dispute.

In conclusion, I take exception to Coontz's concluding remarks that neither feminism nor historical materialism has any need for a "theory of matriarchy" to demonstrate the myth of women's biological inferiority. I think otherwise. For feminists, historical evidence is preferable to mere assertion. I agree with the originators of historical materialism, Engels and Marx, that it is incomplete without a recognition of the maternal clan—or matriarchy.



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Letters and a Reply

On Soviet Society Today

Dear editor,

Despite Marilyn Vogt's opening paragraph in which she acknowledges that Hedrick Smith's and Robert Kaiser's books on the USSR [*The Russians and Russia: The People and the Power*] are nonsocialist (December 1977 *ISR*), she turns a book review into a slanderous attack on the economic structure of a workers state, using unconfirmed quotes and statistical figures to bear out the *ISR*'s position of criticism of the USSR.

As a Bolshevik, I recognize that progress toward socialism in the USSR is hampered by bureaucratic control of production. However, I cannot accept Smith's and Kaiser's "simple facts" as truth. Nor can I accept Smith's comparison of poor, rural areas in the USSR with American "pockets of rural poverty." American pockets of poverty are not confined to rural areas and are far more abject in every way than any in the USSR as described in Vogt's article.

The socialist press should not dignify capitalist reporters, who are sent to the USSR to distort the image of a workers state, by quoting them or taking any of their observations as resembling truth.

I might add that the veracity of Solzhenitsyn's *Gulag Archipelago* has been given too much weight. It was written in desperation to return to the "old" values of so-called bourgeois democracy. Capitalist apologists, Russian or American, should be given no credence.

Doris Marks
Cincinnati

Dear editor,

I thought the article on Soviet society was of atypically poor quality. I would expect balanced appraisal, not merely criticisms passed off as a fair representation of Soviet society. The USSR is a socialist country in the end, even though its socialism is perverted. You are letting your political viewpoint determine what you see.

Stansfield Smith

Marilyn Vogt replies:

To the extent that they had political goals in writing their books, Smith and Kaiser sought to discredit socialism in the eyes of working people by presenting and "interpreting" facts about the Stalinist-ruled USSR. Revolutionary socialists know that claims of such reporters about the USSR or any other country must be weighed carefully. To this extent, Doris Marks is correct.

However, the fact that these reporters are pro-capitalist does not mean their writings can be automatically dismissed as lies. This would leave few sources of information on the USSR except the government-controlled Soviet press.

Smith and Kaiser related not only observations but relied on data in Soviet publications. Many of their statements are confirmed by Soviet dissenters of many political views, including socialists. I can verify many facts related in these books from my reading of the Soviet press and my experiences as a visitor to the USSR.

The rise in Soviet living standards spurred by the Polish workers' uprising of 1970—noted by Hedrick Smith and included in my review—has continued if we can believe statistics for 1976 reported in the September 5, 1977, *Pravda*. These figures update statistics that Smith and Kaiser took from the 1970 census and other sources but do not at all invalidate the basic description I presented.

The social and economic problems noted by Smith and Kaiser—official privileges, pinched living standards for the masses, shortages of consumer goods, the second-class status of women, and so forth—are part of the daily life of every Soviet worker and poor peasant. Because of the growth of dissent, the bureaucratic rulers

find it increasingly difficult to sweep such problems under the rug.

Recently some Soviet workers made their complaints public, following the example of other dissidents. At two press conferences with foreign correspondents in recent weeks they denounced the corruption and high-handedness of middle-level bureaucrats. One miner focused on the "unrealistically high production quotas" in the mines, which miners must "often" work twelve-hour days to meet (see the section of my review on "storming").

These workers are no figments of anti-communist journalists' imagination. They are as



Soviet women in line to buy shoes

real as the workers who went on strike in Poland and Romania to protest similar wrongs. If the revolutionary socialist press refused to air their conditions and grievances on the grounds that they are reported by capitalist journalists, workers like these would be left to conclude that only the anticommunist press is concerned about their plight.

It is wrong to describe my article as an "attack upon the economic structure of a workers state," as does Doris Marks. She herself does not challenge specific facts, insisting only that "American pockets of poverty are not confined to rural areas and are far more abject in every way than in the USSR."

Poverty in the United States was not the subject of my review. Much will be found on this topic in the *Militant* and the *ISR*. In comparing living standards in the USSR and the United States, I stated:

"The average worker has greater job security than in the capitalist West. . . . But life is still more difficult in important respects for Soviet workers than it is for steadily employed workers in the advanced capitalist countries." For the Soviet rural masses, I explained, living standards are lower than for urban workers.

Do depictions of Soviet reality—a reality that includes gross inequality, lack of democratic rights, and bureaucratic mismanagement of the economy—discredit socialism, as Smith and Kaiser believe? Revolutionary socialists say no!

What exists in the USSR is not socialism, despite the official claim—accepted by Stansfield Smith—that it is. The October 1917 revolution and its aftermath established a workers state, driving the capitalists from power and national-

izing the means of production.

Bolshevik leaders, Lenin and Trotsky in particular, made no pretense that the USSR could build socialism on its own. Unlike the present rulers, they were brutally frank about rural poverty, scarcities, and other social problems that remained to be overcome. They tried to strengthen the Soviet economy, while recognizing that only the spread of revolution internationally, especially to the most industrialized countries, would make possible creation of a socialist society—that is, one based on equality and abundance for all.

The bureaucratic caste led by Stalin, which took power and eliminated all expressions of workers democracy after Lenin's death, reversed this course. It sought deals with capitalist regimes at the price of halting or deterring revolutionary struggles in order to secure and increase its privileged position. Stalin and his successors justified this with the pretense that "socialism in one country" could be attained.

To carry out this reactionary transformation, the bureaucrats committed some of the bloodiest crimes in history—framing up and executing or imprisoning millions including almost all the Bolshevik leaders of Lenin's time. Leon Trotsky and the Left Opposition (later the Fourth International) were among the first to bring these horrors to world attention. Many of these crimes were admitted in Khrushchev's denunciation of Stalin at the Soviet Communist Party's twentieth congress in 1956. Solzhenitsyn's *Gulag Archipelago* is one of the most recent exposures. The accuracy of Solzhenitsyn's description of the prison camps is upheld by prosocialist Soviet dissidents such as historian Roy Medvedev.

The inequity-ridden society I described is the result of fifty years of bureaucratic misrule. The facts cast no discredit on socialism, but on the anti-working-class, antidemocratic, and anti-internationalist policies of the bureaucracy. As a revolutionary socialist, I welcomed the opportunity to reveal the gulf separating the regime of the bureaucracy from the proletarian democracy fostered by Lenin and Trotsky.

The bureaucratic rulers of the USSR do not merely "hamper" progress toward socialism, as Marks puts it, but bar it. By collaborating with imperialism against revolutions in other countries, by suppressing the Soviet working class, and by parasitism on and disruption of the economy, the bureaucracy weakens the economic base of the workers state—nationalized property and associated gains such as full employment, low rent, and free medical care. The privileged bureaucracy is, as Leon Trotsky stated, "the most antisocialist and most antidemocratic stratum of Soviet society."

Without an antibureaucratic revolution of the workers, poor peasants, and oppressed nationalities, there will be no socialism in the USSR. Such a revolution will reinstitute workers democracy and make it possible to resume the progress toward socialism begun after October 1917.

Socialists must expose the realities of life under Stalinist rule, rather than minimizing injustices that exist or identifying them with "socialism." They must support the workers and oppressed of the USSR in struggles against privilege and political tyranny. Together with the battle for socialism against the U.S. ruling class, this is the best way for socialists in this country to defend the surviving conquests of the 1917 upheaval.

The Russians by Hedrick Smith and Russia: The People and the Power by Robert Kaiser are useful books and should be read by socialists. To understand the facts these authors report and misinterpret requires studying the writings of revolutionary socialists on the USSR, notably Trotsky's *The Revolution Betrayed* and *The Third International After Lenin*.*

*Available from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, New York 10014. Write for free catalogue.

Guests from 14 countries attend

Internationalism marks YSA convention

By Peter Archer

DETROIT—Is Carter's foreign policy fundamentally different from that of Nixon or Ford?

"No," answered John Linder in a report to the Young Socialist Alliance national convention held here New Year's weekend. Linder is editor of the *Young Socialist* newspaper.

Linder's report on the world political situation pointed out that despite Carter's hypocritical human rights demagoguery, Washington continues to defend the interests of its capitalist allies against the oppressed:

- the Zionist state of Israel against the Palestinian people whose homeland it occupies;
- the white-minority regimes of southern Africa against the Black majority;
- the bloodstained regime of the shah of Iran against the Iranian people struggling for freedom;
- and the capitalist powers of Western Europe and Japan against the working people of those countries, whose rights and living standards are under attack.

Linder explained that working people around the world are fighting back against the growing offensive on their basic democratic and human rights. These struggles provide big opportunities for the growth of revolutionary parties and youth organizations to help lead these struggles to victory.

The Trotskyist organizations that look to the Fourth International are the beginnings of that leadership, Linder said.

One important campaign for revolutionists during 1978, he continued, will be defending Héctor Marroquín, a member of the YSA and Socialist Workers Party whom the U.S. government is trying to deport to Mexico.

The importance of the Marroquín defense was pointed to in greetings presented by several of the forty-seven international guests who came to the convention from fourteen countries.

Greetings from a representative of the Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire, French section of the Fourth International, were a highlight of the convention.

He reported on an exciting new development in the world Trotskyist movement: the launching of youth organizations in many countries where they previously had not existed.

He said that the United Secretariat of the Fourth International plans to open a discussion on the importance of this work and how Trotskyists can assist it.

Representatives from several Trotskyist youth organizations attended the convention. A member of the Federación de Juventudes Comunistas Revolucionarias (Federation of Revolutionary Communist Youth) of Spain told the *Militant*, "We see the step to establish youth organizations in those places where youth are quickly radicalizing as a very positive step, especially in Western Europe.

"With the formation of youth organizations in Britain, France, Belgium, and other countries, we will become a much more attractive force to youth around the world."

The FJCR, he explained, although still a new organization, is having much success in attracting young people to its ranks.

A member of the Revolutionary Communist Youth of China, a Hong Kong-based Trotskyist group formed in 1974, said, "The discussions on setting up youth organizations are a very important step forward for the Trotskyist movement."

"We feel it's very important to develop Trotskyist youth organizations, because we have found that young people were more militant, more combative, and more responsive to the changing situation. A youth organization can enable our movement to reach out to young people and convince them of revolutionary Marxist politics."

Why did forty-seven people from around the world feel that it was so important for them to attend the YSA convention?

The best answer was given by the representative of the Spanish FJCR in his greetings. Referring to the YSA's twenty years of revolutionary activity, he said, "Your convention—that of the most experienced Trotskyist youth organization—is an example of the vitality of Trotskyism and the seriousness with which revolutionaries treat the problems of the whole society.

"If we continue without hesitation, the future will be ours!"

Join the YSA

You've been reading about the Young Socialist Alliance national convention. So you know what the YSA will be fighting against this year—racism, sexism, unemployment, education cutbacks, deportations, political repression. If all this is your fight too, then you belong in the YSA. Help us win a socialist future for youth and working people. Join the YSA!

- ☐ I want more information about the YSA.
- ☐ I want to join the YSA.
- ☐ I want to subscribe to the *Young Socialist*.
- ☐ Enclosed is \$1 for six months (50¢ for high school students).
- ☐ Enclosed is \$2 for one year.

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

School/organization _____

Clip and mail to: YSA, P.O. Box 471 Cooper Station, New York, New York 10003.



Australian Young Socialists participate in anti-uranium mining demonstration. Convention heard greetings from many youth groups around the world.

Socialist greetings from around the world

Following are some of the international greetings read at the Young Socialist Alliance national convention. Greetings were also received from organizations in Spain, Holland, Québec, and Colombia. Greetings from the United Secretariat of the Fourth International appeared in the January 20 *Militant*.

From the Liga Internacionalista de los Trabajadores—Internationalist Workers League of Puerto Rico.

We have happily discovered that your activities are very similar to our organizations', especially with respect to the masses.

An example is the campaign to free Héctor Marroquín. This will not only gain liberty for this political activist, which is very necessary in order to continue the struggle, but it thrusts the struggle forward in favor of all the political prisoners around the world, and it publicizes our program.

In Puerto Rico we have a very similar and a very important campaign: the campaign for freedom for the four Nationalist prisoners: Lolita Lebrón, Irving Flores, Rafael Cancel Miranda, and Oscar Collazo.

Révolutionnaire—Revolutionary Communist League of France.

We are sure that our work in one country cannot be successfully accomplished without giving it an international dimension, without building the Fourth International.

Accordingly, the Revolutionary Communist League, the Socialist Workers Party, and the Young Socialist Alliance all have a responsibility in this battle.

From this standpoint, we are sure that this convention will be an important factor in strengthening the ties between French and American Trotskyists, between the YSA, the SWP, and the LCR!

From the Young Socialists of Canada.

The Young Socialists and the YSA have a long history of collaboration, going back twenty years to the founding of the *Young Socialist*. I'm sure that as in the past, we'll be able to learn a lot from each other's experiences.

But today we have an important opportunity to extend that collaboration. We have the possibility to establish extensive collaboration between revolutionary youth organizations in many countries for the first time in many years. . . .

In our existence of just a few short years, we have benefited greatly from our collaboration with the YSA. We have learnt from reading of your experience and also through the visits of YSA leaders and other American Trotskyists. And it's not just our movement that has appreciated these speaking tours. Your comrades have helped get the socialist message to many people for the first time. In particular, Black comrades like Andrew Pulley, Nan Bailey, and Willie Mae Reid have promoted interest in socialism among the oppressed national minorities in New Zealand.

From the Revolutionary Communist Youth of China.

In today's Trotskyist movement the YSA is the youth organization with the longest history.

As the class struggle intensifies, the youth movement will have more direct links with the struggle of the working class, and a Trotskyist youth organization can have even more contributions to make. And we believe that we can learn a lot from the valuable experience of the YSA.

Forbund—Revolutionary Socialist League of Denmark.

We send you our best wishes for your conference in Detroit. We take note with a special interest in two points in your agenda: the fight for the rights of immigrant workers, and the work in the women's movement. We are looking forward to see your balance sheet and your decisions for future actions in these areas.

From the Alliance des Jeunes pour le Socialisme—Youth Alliance for Socialism of France.

We are doubly glad to be among you. On the one hand because the activity of the AJS is based on internationalism, and this calls for wide contacts and exchanges between revolutionary youth organizations with the perspective of undertaking common actions against imperialism.

On the other hand, because the United States is the country where imperialism is the most powerful. The American workers movement, in which revolutionists will play a decisive role, holds an overwhelming place in the future of humanity.

We want you to know that for our part, the AJS is ready and willing to get involved in an international campaign to see to it that Héctor Marroquín stays here.

From the Ligue Communiste

From the Young Socialists of New Zealand.

From the Revolutionære Socialister

Its role in Chicano struggle today

The political evolution

By Harry Ring

What is CASA?

Many movement activists have been asking the question since the October 28-30 antideportation conference in San Antonio. There, CASA played a disruptive, red-baiting role in an attempt to wreck the conference.

Within the Chicano movement CASA is well known. Founded in Los Angeles in 1968, it won recognition as an organization that devoted itself to defending the rights of undocumented workers.

But CASA today—although it includes dedicated activists—is not the same kind of organization. It has become a multi-issue political organization, an embryonic party, with a sectarian political approach.

How did this transformation of CASA come about? This article will provide some of the main facts about the politics and history of CASA.

(CASA is sometimes called CASHGT. These acronyms stand for Centro de Acción Social Autónomo/Hermanidad General de Trabajadores—Center for Autonomous Social Action/General Brotherhood of Workers.)

The original Los Angeles CASA was founded by Bert Corona, a veteran of the labor, left, and Chicano movements. As he established it, CASA was a volunteer-staffed community organization that provided social and legal services for undocumented immigrants.

In March 1972 CASA organized an antideportation march of 4,000, broadening the scope of its activity to organizing protest campaigns against anti-immigrant legislation.

Provided legal services

During this period, working in cooperation with the National Lawyers Guild Immigration Project, CASA expanded its legal services to the undocumented.

CASA's membership fee at the time was fifteen dollars a year and included free legal services as needed. The membership reportedly numbered as high as 10,000.

There were weekly membership meetings, with attendance averaging around 150. Sometimes attendance would run as high as 300. At these meetings there were speakers on issues confronting undocumented workers, *mexicanos*, and Chicanos.

Throughout this period CASA tried to work with other organizations active in the *barrios*. Among those it established contact with was Casa Carnalismo, a community group in the Boyle Heights area of Los Angeles.



ANTONIO RODRIGUEZ: CASA's general secretary supports repression of dissidents in the Soviet Union.



October 1977 antideportation conference in San Antonio. Although in early 1970s CASA played leading role in struggle against 'la migra,' its current leadership tried to disrupt this conference.

The principal leaders of Casa Carnalismo were a group of brothers, Antonio, Jacobo, Javier, and Jorge Rodríguez.

The Rodríguez brothers began to play an increasing role in CASA after it underwent a bitter split in 1972. Finally they assumed leadership of the organization.

In the fall of 1974, CASA elected a new board of directors, which included three of the Rodríguez brothers and several of their supporters. This grouping constituted a majority on the board.

Corona's role diminished, and eventually he withdrew altogether. Today he heads a small immigrant workers organization and teaches Chicano studies at California State University at Los Angeles.

Leadership changes

Under its new leadership, CASA began evolving into a different kind of organization, although this evolution was never clearly spelled out.

The new CASA leadership offered its version of CASA's history in the May 1976 issue of *Sin Fronteras*, CASA's newspaper.

Explaining that many readers had asked what the organization stood for, Antonio Rodríguez wrote a response entitled "Our Organizational Heritage." His article demonstrates some of the changes in CASA.

The article announces that CASA is working to raise the consciousness of the Mexican people north of the border "in the struggle for our liberation and socialism."

It does not explain when CASA was transformed from an antideportation organization into a multi-issue group calling itself socialist. The only reference to the central founding leader of CASA, Bert Corona, is a mention of his political role in the 1930s.

No Chicanos?

CASA's principal contribution, says Rodríguez, has been to persuade Chicanos that they're Mexicans, not Chicanos. He gives the issue of undocumented workers' rights only brief mention in his account.

This shift of emphasis away from the antideportation issue was evident in the first issue of *Sin Fronteras* published by Los Angeles CASA. A September 1975 editorial called "Sin Fronteras is Here"

literally didn't say a word about the undocumented. Instead, it said the principal function of the paper would be to convince Mexicans that they "must struggle within a political organization."

During the period of its transformation, Los Angeles CASA came into conflict with CASAs in other cities that had been modeled on the original Los Angeles group. There were splits reflecting the refusal of other CASAs to accept Los Angeles leadership and convert the CASAs into branches of a centralized, multi-issue political organization.

Both the San Antonio and San Jose CASAs suffered splits. In San Diego Herman Baca, a close associate of Corona, was ousted as head of the CASA, and it folded.

Today the largest CASA branch is the central one in Los Angeles. Smaller units exist in Chicago, Oakland, San Jose, San Antonio, and Seattle.

Not the same

The CASA of today is a far cry from the earlier organization.

Although some legal assistance to individuals is available, the organized legal service for undocumented immigrants no longer exists.

In place of the big weekly meetings, there are small classes for "cadre."

As a single-focus organization, the original CASA had the potential to bring together all those who agreed on defense of the undocumented, regardless of their views on other issues. But, by its nature, a multi-issue organization requires broader agreement on the big political questions of the day.

Nobody questions CASA's right to transform itself from one kind of organization to another. But if it is to be treated with seriousness and respect, it has the responsibility to openly present its evolution.

The current CASA leadership, however, has obscured this crucial point, exploiting the authority and respect won by the earlier organization and using it against those they view as competitors in the Chicano movement.

Political program

CASA's political program isn't easy to decipher. Nowhere has the leadership written a comprehensive explanation or overview of its political approach.

But CASA does have a program. It

can best be characterized as a blend of ultraleft sectarianism and pro-Moscow Stalinism.

To those who know the reformist politics of the Communist Party, the largest pro-Moscow Stalinist group in this country, this may seem surprising and contradictory.

But an examination of CASA's politics helps illuminate Lenin's observation that ultraleftism and reformism are two sides of the same coin.

CASA's leaders have a hard time coping with those who don't agree with them. In typical Stalinist fashion, they use bureaucratic tactics to smother differing views and exclude groups that prefer to stand by their own ideas.

It has become routine at CASA-run meetings and demonstrations to try to prevent the distribution of literature by other movement groups.

On what grounds?

It "confuses" people to be offered a variety of ideas.

It "distracts" people to be offered literature at a rally.

CASA has increasingly resisted participation in coalitions unless it is in organizational control. This was one of the reasons why the CASA leadership tried to disrupt the October 28-30 National Chicano/Latino Conference on Immigration and Public Policy in San Antonio.

In terms of general program and ideology, what CASA has offered to the movement is of little value.

Lobbying & resistance

For example, to the extent that it continues to relate to the antideportation struggle, its program is a combination of ultraleftism and reliance on capitalist politicians.

For more than a year, CASA's leaders have been issuing abstract calls on people in the *barrios* and at workplaces to "resist" *la migra* by refusing to produce documents whether here legally or not.

Such a tactic may get some legal residents and citizens tossed across the border along with those who have no papers to produce. But it is hardly likely to become the kind of massive protest that can stop *la migra*.

At the same time, CASA activists have stressed the idea of lobbying Congress to stop deportations.

Lobbying as a strategy—a substitute for independent educational and protest actions—is a dead end. It means, in effect, relying on the same Democratic and Republican politicians who are responsible for the witch-hunt against immigrants to stop deportations.

Ducks desegregation issue

On the question of Los Angeles school desegregation, CASA's leaders have ducked the central question—busing is the only way to break up the segregation of oppressed minorities into the worst schools.

CASA says on this issue it will wait to see what the community wants. One *Sin Fronteras* editorial even wondered aloud if "forced" busing might not result in "forced assimilation"—as if segregation could somehow preserve Chicano or Black culture.

Record on women's rights

Women members of CASA have participated in women's conferences, but the organization has a poor record on defense of women's rights.

CASA has correctly denounced forced sterilization on the grounds it is being used as a genocidal weapon against the oppressed minorities. But CASA doesn't fight for women's right to control their own bodies.

of CASA

Thus CASA has taken no position on the right to abortion. But forced sterilization and abortion both pose the same issue: the right of women to decide if and when they will have children.

CASA has refused to join the campaign for ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment to the U.S. Constitution. Here there are similarities to the position of the Communist Party, which is currently waffling on the ERA. (Until a few months ago the CP openly opposed ratification of the ERA).

CASA claims adherence to the positions of Lenin. But it certainly has given little consideration to Lenin's stress on the importance of revolutionaries posing a working-class alternative in elections.

CASA does not run candidates of its own and, as far as can be determined, has never endorsed other candidates or indicated how it thinks working people should vote.

CASA's leadership did participate for a brief period in the Los Angeles RUP. But that was several years ago. Since then CASA's leaders have acted as if Raza Unida didn't exist—except, perhaps, at the San Antonio conference, where the CASA leadership and its allies tried to smear RUP leader José Angel Gutiérrez and the RUP as a whole with the same red-baiting brush it used against the Socialist Workers Party.

Antinationalist

This refusal to support the independent Chicano party stems largely from CASA's hostility to Chicano nationalism.

The present CASA leadership holds the anti-Marxist view that the sentiment of solidarity among an oppressed people—the nationalism of the oppressed—is somehow in conflict with the struggle of workers.

To bolster this opposition to Chicano nationalism, CASA's leaders came up with the theory that there are no such people as Chicanos, only *mexicanos* living north of the U.S.-imposed border.

Stubbornly insisted on by CASA, this position simply closes its eyes to social and political reality. More than 100 years of Anglo oppression within the border of the United States have forged Chicanos into a separate, distinct nationality from *mexicanos*, with their own culture and social and political outlook. This is shown by the rise of a distinctly *Chicano* nationalist movement.

Similar to CP

CASA's opposition to Chicano nationalism is not fundamentally different from that of the Communist Party. And the reactionary character of the CP's position isn't hard to see.

Writing in the "World Magazine" supplement to the July 23, 1977, *People's World*, Lorenzo Torres, head of the CP's Chicano commission, made this attack on Chicano nationalism.

"The slogan of Aztlán is less in use today than say, in the period of the 1960s. . . . This does not mean that nationalism, which is the root of the Aztlán concept, has been eradicated. Nationalism remains a very serious problem. . . . Nationalism is the last trench of reaction. . . ."

This antinationalist position is partly behind the CP's hostility to the Raza Unida parties. Like CASA, for years the CP's press has consistently ignored the RUPs and the example they have set for all working people by breaking a layer of Chicanos from the stranglehold of the Democrats and Republicans.

But the CP hasn't always been silent on the RUP. In 1972, the *People's World* carried a bitter denunciation of Raza

Unida's opposition to the presidential candidates of both the Democratic and Republican parties:

"To fail to help defeat Nixon is to confuse people and win their disrespect and scorn. The people will ask, and rightly so, what kind of a party is this that, . . . when it comes to the decisive question of curbing the drive toward fascism, insists on yelling from the sidelines like the religious fanatic who can't see past his damnation of a doomed world."

In plain English, the CP wanted Raza Unida to become a Chicano appendage to George McGovern's Democratic candidacy.

Supports 'antimonopoly' line

Another reflection of CASA's pro-Stalinist politics was contained in "The Mexican Left Unifies," a column by Antonio Rodríguez in the June 1977 *Sin Fronteras*.

Rodríguez reports on discussions of possible united action by the Mexican Communist Party and other left groups, saying it could be the forerunner of a "mass antimonopoly movement."

The Mexican CP, like its sister party in the United States, has long promoted the reformist notion of an "antimonopoly coalition." This is based on the false idea that there is a "progressive" sector of the capitalist class with which working people should unite to fight the "reactionary" sector, the "big monopolists."

In the United States, this class-collaborationist policy is usually expressed through support to liberal Democrats. An independent stance by parties such as Raza Unida runs counter to this approach. This is the other reason for the CP's hostile attitude to the RUPs.

An essential part of such an antimonopoly coalition is that it does not advocate abolishing capitalism. Otherwise, how would you get capitalists to join in, "progressive" or otherwise?

And Rodríguez isn't ignorant of this key aspect of the Stalinist "antimonopoly" program. "The antimonopoly struggle," he explains, "is not a struggle for immediate taking of power."

Like other Stalinist ideological apologists, he adds that it is "a school to build consciousness" and so forth.

All this is, of course, is the same "People's Front" strategy first adopted by the Stalinists in the 1930s. In the popular-front strategy the establishment of a workers government is never on the agenda. As the mass Communist parties in countries such as Italy and France have shown, the "immediate" can go on forever.

CASA also accepts the Stalinist claim that socialism has already been achieved in the Soviet Union.

Although *Sin Fronteras* studiously avoids mention of the Moscow-Peking split in the world Stalinist movement, it is clearly pro-Moscow.

The November 1977 *Sin Fronteras* carried the clearest expression of this pro-Moscow Stalinist attitude in an article by current CASA General Secretary Antonio Rodríguez.

In it, Rodríguez tried to justify CASA's attempts to disrupt the National Chicano/Latino Conference by attacking the Socialist Workers Party.

He devoted an entire section to "the struggle against trotskyism"—attacking the fifty-year record of the Trotskyist movement with such slanders as, "Trotsky dedicated himself to undermine the building of socialism in the Soviet Union. . . ."

Sin Fronteras has, on several occasions, repeated Moscow's claims that the Soviet bureaucracy's support has



Militant/Harry Ring

March 1972 CASA-sponsored protest of 4,000 against deportations. Since then, CASA has evolved into a sectarian group with a Stalinist perspective on many questions.

been the key to advancement of liberation struggles around the world.

In doing so, *Sin Fronteras* simply ignores the many situations in which Moscow has traded off such support for the sake of "détente" with U.S. imperialism.

Nor does CASA have a word to say about the crushing of democratic rights by the Soviet bureaucracy—except, that is, when it joins in on attacks on Soviet dissidents.

For example, the "Political Commentary CASA" column in the May 1977 *Sin Fronteras* attacked President Carter because, "He defends the supposed right of the so-called dissidents, enemies of the working class. . . ."

And in his November 1977 polemic against Trotskyism, Rodríguez reaffirms this stance: "They [the SWP] also unify with the anti-sovietism of Solzhenitsyn and his bosses in the Pentagon."

Leaving aside the absurd charge that by demanding socialist democracy in the Soviet Union the SWP is in league with the Pentagon, CASA's leaders fall into a trap by taking this position. They take Carter's demagoguery for good coin. All experience has shown that far from defending democratic rights, the U.S. government is simply using the human rights issue to defame socialism, identifying it with bureaucratic repression.

CASA's support for the Stalinist bureaucracy in the Soviet Union can only discredit it in the same way the CP has been discredited in this country for its obvious double standard of democratic rights.

The membership of CASA includes serious activists who want to build a revolutionary organization. But with the false positions of their leadership, their efforts to advance the Chicano liberation struggle will be thwarted.

Further reading

The Politics of Chicano Liberation, edited by Olga Rodríguez, 160 pp. Cloth, \$8.00, paper, \$2.45. Documents of the Socialist Workers Party.

¡Que Cesen las Deportaciones!/Stop the Deportations! by Pedro Miguel Camejo. 32 pp., 50 cents. A leader of the SWP explains Carter's proposal for a crackdown on immigrants and how to fight it.

Chicano Liberation and Socialism, by Miguel Pendás. 16 pp., 25 cents.

Available at bookstores listed on page 31 or order from: Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, New York 10014.

In Review

Rail workers fight back

Railroadworkers Fightback Newsletter P.O. Box 52, Enderlin, North Dakota 58027.

During January an ad hoc group of local railroad union officers from seven cities and five different unions issued "A call to all railroad workers to defend our unions."

The form of this call is an attractive eight-page publication entitled *Railroadworkers Fightback Newsletter*.

What prompts their alarm is the collective bargaining negotiations now in process between the unions and the rail carriers. These negotiations represent a major shift in the relationship between the rail unions and the railroad companies.

Last June the National Railway Labor Conference, the employer bargaining group representing most of the railroads, issued a list of demands directed against the United Transportation Union (UTU) and the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers (BLE). They included: wage cuts, drastic changes in work rules, reduction in train crew sizes, cuts in existing health benefits, and other measures to reduce the living standards of railroad workers.

Periodicals

The carriers are now extending their attack to twelve other unions representing non-train crew employees.

The top officers of the rail unions were stunned. They had been predicting a new era of labor peace for the industry.

In 1972 Al Chesser, president of the largest of the rail unions, the UTU, announced a program dubbed "Project 70's" under the company-inspired slogan, "Better jobs through industry growth."

Under the deal worked out at that time, rail workers received badly needed wage increases, earlier retirement, and higher pensions. In return the top rail union brass made concessions on work rules and permitted the railroads to eliminate most firemen.

In addition, UTU officials went to bat for the bosses in Congress. They supported the Regional Rail Reorganization Act of 1973, which set up the United States Railway Association. USRA bailed out seven "bankrupt" railroads with federal funds and set up the Consolidated Rail Corporation, or ConRail.

They also supported the Railroad Revitalization and Regulatory Reform Act of 1976, which provided \$3.1 billion in federal aid and loan guarantees for ConRail and other carriers.

Chesser and the other union bureaucrats were convinced they had ushered

in a new stage of partnership between the rail unions and the companies.

The newsletter represents a different view. It alerts all railroad workers to the deadly threat posed by the carriers' current offensive. It calls for massive, united resistance by the rail unions.

The newsletter includes articles by local union officers and rank-and-file members exposing the failures of the "Project 70's" strategy and documenting the stepped-up harassment and intimidation already experienced in various crafts in different parts of the country.

The heart of the newsletter is the call to "defend our unions."

"We believe," says the call, "it is time for all railroad workers from all crafts to unite our forces through the structure of our established unions to resist the carriers' unjust demands. . . ."

"We should begin to meet together and organize ourselves in our different localities."

The call emphasizes the importance of the right to strike, which is today effectively denied railroad workers. "We need to win the right to strike in order to force the companies to honor our contracts and improve our existing agreements."

The newsletter explains that the right of members to know what is happening in the present negotiations is essential if an effective response to the employers' attacks is to be mounted. "All union members and officers should receive detailed and regular reports from our negotiating committees on the status of negotiations with the railroads."

It also explains that "all railroad workers need the right to vote on any contracts that are reached with the carriers in order to strengthen our unions' bargaining power."

In the past the rail companies have effectively used divisions among railroad workers to seriously weaken their unions. They've pitted one craft against another. They've discriminated against Blacks, Latinos, and women in hiring and promotions.

The call states that "railroad workers from all crafts, Black and white workers, men and women, must get together in order to organize a powerful, united movement that can defend our wages, jobs, and working conditions."

The newsletter ends with an appeal. "We'd like to print tens of thousands more copies of the *Call to Defend Our Unions* and newsletter articles. But this will cost a great deal of money and for this we must rely on you."

To order copies and make contributions write to Railroadworkers Fightback Newsletter, P.O. Box 52, Enderlin, North Dakota 58027.

—James Crawford

Railroadworkers Fightback Newsletter

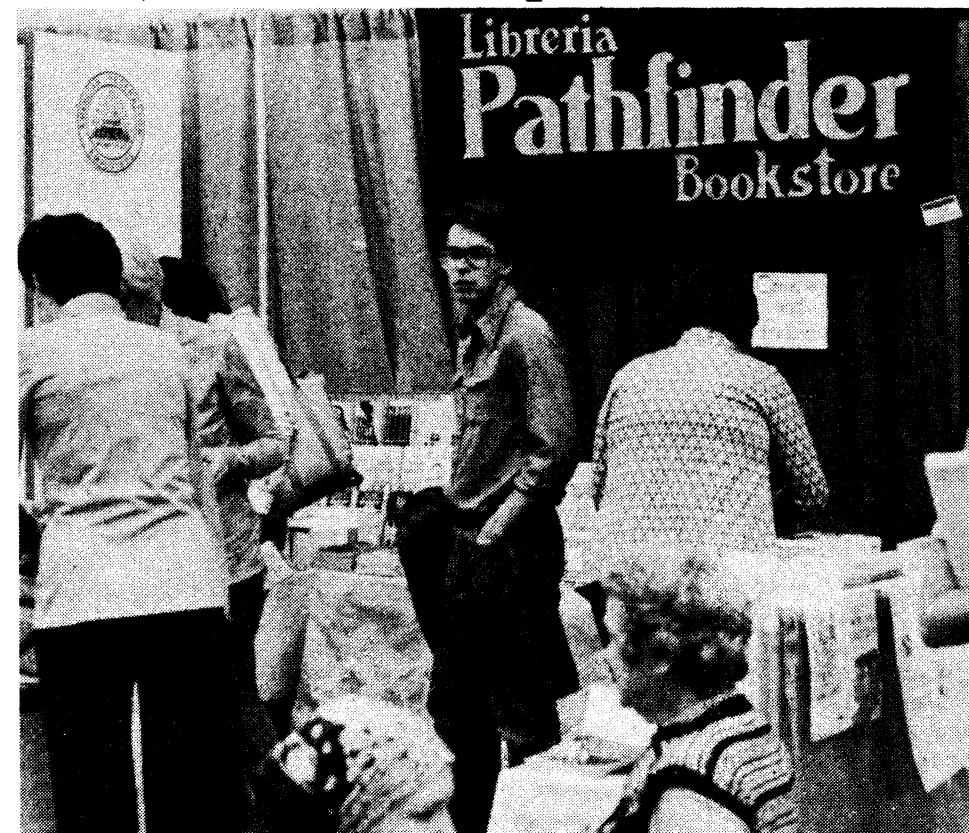
A CALL TO ALL RAILROAD WORKERS TO DEFEND OUR UNIONS

The carriers have issued what amounts to a declaration of war against all railroad labor organizations.

In June, the National Railway Labor Conference, the employers' bargaining arm, announced a major drive to cut wages, abolish jobs, change union work rules, and reduce the health benefits of over 200,000 members of the United Transportation Union and Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers. Since then, Conrail, Chicago Rock Island & Pacific, and several other railroads have pulled out of the national bargain-

shopcraft workers in order to impose speed-up and cut their payroll. 1,400 members of the United Transportation Union on the Long Island Railroad in New York have been working without a new contract for over a year. The railroad wants to cut the size of train crews. A court injunction has outlawed strike action by the UTU to preserve these jobs. These and other recent events prove the carriers are deadly serious about their demands. *The danger is real!*

Rising costs force Pathfinder price hike



Hundreds stopped at the Pathfinder literature table during the Houston National Women's Conference.

By Alex Harte

In an interview with the *Militant* this week, Doug Jenness, managing editor of Pathfinder Press, announced an across-the-board price increase on all books published by Pathfinder Press. He said that Monad Press, whose books are exclusively distributed by Pathfinder, has also announced a price increase. Both increases go into effect on February 15.

"This move is financially necessary," Jenness stated, "and I'd like to explain why. Pathfinder is not a profit-making operation. It never has been and will not be in the immediate future. Most of the books we publish no one else will publish, especially those that are so valuable for winning and educating revolutionary socialists."

"The rate of sales for most of our titles is relatively low, and our runs are very small compared to larger profit-making commercial enterprises. This means the cost per book is much higher for us."

"If we were to price our books so that we could meet the full cost of production, our prices would be totally beyond the reach of most of our prospective buyers. We make up the gap in our budget through contributions from supporters who believe in the importance of what we publish."

"However, due to rising costs of paper, ink, and all other aspects of producing books, and to a modest decrease in our sales, we have serious financial problems. We've made some cuts in our promotional activity and staff that we think will help, but it's not enough."

"So, we decided to look into raising our prices. First, we made a survey of books from other publishers to see how our prices compared. We looked at quality paperbacks on similar subjects (although admittedly there's nothing quite comparable to most of our titles). We discovered that our prices were lower than the prevailing market prices of other publishers. On this basis we decided to raise our paperback prices to the middle range of the market prices."

"Generally this means our paperback prices will be fifty cents to one dollar higher than the price schedule we established in May 1976. This will deter some buyers, but we don't expect it will be significant."

"Another decision we made was to apply the increase to all our books. Previously our price increases have only affected new books and reprints, which means it takes much longer for a price

increase to make a big difference in income. Implementing our present increase means placing stickers over the old price on all our books."

"Since quite a large number of books haven't been reprinted since our last price increase, the present price increase will appear even greater on those books that haven't caught up to the last increase. It will range from \$1.50 to \$3.00. The largest increase is for *Labor's Giant Step*, which will jump from its present cover price of \$3.95 to \$6.95."

"The average increase for all of our paperback books, including those covered by the previous price increase and those that hadn't caught up yet, is 35 to 40 percent."

"We are also making an average price increase of 15 percent on our cloth-bound titles. Virtually all our cloth-bound books are sold to libraries."

"Overall, we anticipate that the price raise on our paperback and cloth books will significantly increase our income."

Jenness was asked if this increase won't be a burden to activists in the socialist movement, who especially need these books for education.

He replied that he didn't think it would seriously affect most working people. He then added, "Of course, there are unemployed and low-paid workers, students, and pensioners who find it difficult to buy many books. We try to take this into account by occasionally organizing special discounts, as we did with the holiday advertisement we placed in the *Militant* a month ago."

"Along this line, we are also planning to initiate a special monthly discount, which will be featured in the *International Socialist Review*," Jenness explained. "Each month we will offer a selected book at a 25 percent discount. An article about the book and a coupon will appear each month in the *ISR* beginning with the March issue. The book for the following month will be announced."

"To obtain the discount the reader can send the coupon directly to Pathfinder or turn it in to any of the bookstores listed in the directory in the *Militant*."

"The book selections," Jenness pointed out, "will include back-list titles as well as newly published ones. They will be books that are especially important and useful for socialist education. For example the first selection will be *The Struggle for Socialism in the 'American Century'* (Writings and Speeches, 1945-47), by James P. Cannon."

Broken promises to Blacks

When Jimmy Carter took office he enjoyed the overwhelming support of Blacks across the country. Expectations were running high that things would finally begin to get better. A Democrat was in the White House once again.

Faith would be restored in the federal government. Concern for human rights would replace the policy followed by two previous Republican Party administrations. A new foreign policy would emerge, placing U.S. diplomatic weight squarely on the side of the freedom struggle in southern Africa. And most importantly, the new president would move swiftly to ease unemployment and inflation.

Today, nearly a year later, confidence in Carter among Blacks has dropped drastically. According to a recent *New York Times*/CBS survey, the number of Blacks who feel Carter cares "not much" about their problems jumped from 13 percent last April to 34 percent today. Only 30 percent feel he cares "a great deal"—down from 44 percent.

When it comes to the economy, the figures speak even more sharply. In April 22 percent of those surveyed thought they were worse off economically; today, 46 percent feel they are worse off.

And when asked to rate Carter's performance as president overall, only 56 percent of Blacks think he is doing a good job—a steep drop from last April.

It's not hard to see why this is so. The reality of Carter's policies on all fronts has proved as anti-Black as that of Ford and Nixon.

Under cover of balancing the budget, Carter has instituted a new wave of cuts in social service expenditures. Like the two previous administrations, he has moved to absolve the government and big business of responsibility to implement affirmative action to end race and sex discrimination in any arena.

Carter's appointment of antibuser Griffin Bell as attorney general, his opposition to Medicaid-funded abortions, and his rebuke of Vernon Jordan at the Urban League convention following the "blackout rebellion" in New York, have made it clear he is the president of the rich who profit from the oppression of Blacks.

The same picture of hypocrisy emerges on Carter's southern Africa policy. After promises of a new direction, in line with a professed concern for

John Hawkins



human rights, the Carter administration cold-bloodedly vetoed United Nations economic sanctions against South Africa following the brutal murder of Steve Biko and the repressive crackdown in that country last fall.

The economic picture confronting Blacks also points out the emptiness of Carter's election promises. Unemployment remains at depression levels—according to official figures above 14 percent for adults. For Black teen-agers the official jobless rate rose over the year from 34.8 percent to 37.3 percent.

So it's no wonder that among many Blacks disillusionment with Carter is growing rapidly, as officials of many Black civil rights groups and Black elected officials have pointed out over the past year.

Having helped turn out the Black vote to help elect Carter, how do these groups and officials view his administration's record? What alternative do they pose to continued patience with Carter? How can the Black movement organize to fight back?

These questions will be taken up in a future column.

¡La Raza en Acción!

Why Carter 'forgot' us

In his State of the Union message, James Earl Carter had not one word—*not one!*—on what he will do to solve the growing problems facing Chicanos and other Latinos in this country.

It was a calculated oversight—because he's done plenty to us during his first year in office. And he even gave us a warning during his election campaign, with his famous "slip" about "ethnic purity."

Now ethnic purity is one area where Carter believes in affirmative action. Although unmentioned in his State of the Union address, Carter is pushing a proposal that will affect not only Latinos but all working people in this country, a plan for stepped-up deportations of immigrants without visas or residence permits.

Carter's package includes several elements:

First, doubling the size of *la migra*, the immigration cops.

Second, legalizing the nonperson status of many immigrants without visas, making them "temporary residents" who would be denied social services and

human rights.

Third, making it unlawful to hire undocumented workers, thereby giving license to employers to discriminate against anyone they think looks or sounds "foreign."

To peddle this plan, Carter bought Leonel Castillo, a Chicano Democrat, to be the administration mouthpiece on immigration.

I use the word "bought" strictly as defined by Webster's. Just days before his appointment, while still a \$15,000-a-year Houston city official, Castillo explained to a newspaper why no Chicano would ever turn in a Mexican immigrant to *la migra*: "It's a gut feeling you can't help but having, that somehow they're my kin, somehow they're my people."

Now that he's the \$50,000-a-year chief cop of *la migra*, he boasts "I enforce the law." Under his command, deportations topped one million last year.

Chicanos and Latinos have been denied even token representation in the government for so long that a brown face in a high place can make almost any

program sound good. This has been used more than once against *la Raza*—but this time, the trick is not working too well.

Last October, 1,500 Chicanos and other Latinos gathered in San Antonio to discuss the Carter plan.

The entire spectrum of barrio political forces was represented—veterans, church groups, moderate civil rights organizations, elected officials, students, and movement activists.

Those of us who went to the San Antonio conference had many disagreements, but there was one thing we all agreed on: the Carter plan is a racist attack on *la Raza* that must be fought.

The State of the Union message supposedly tells the American people what they've accomplished, and what they've got to do.

For the Chicano movement, I think our priority is clear: defeat the Carter deportation plan. The unity achieved at San Antonio provides the basis for an ongoing protest movement that can beat this racist offensive against us.

—José G. Pérez

Capitalism Fouls Things Up

One year of the energy hoax

President Carter says his proposed energy bill is the keystone of his legislative program. In attempting to push it through Congress, he has postured as a champion of the hard-pressed consumer against the giant oil companies.

The truth is just the opposite. Carter's energy plan aims to help the oil trust *increase* its profits. In the rules of the capitalist game, only profitability determines what and how much is produced. So if the oil companies don't get adequate "incentives," we don't get oil, gas, or coal.

Consequently, Carter—the defender of "free enterprise"—has asked Congress to hand oil and gas producers \$100 billion in profits by 1985. The energy giants raked in "only" \$18 billion in 1973, according to Carter.

Where will the money come from? From us. Gas prices and oil prices will go up, raising our utility bills. Gasoline prices will go up.

All this is supposed to rescue us from the menace of "foreign" oil. But the administration neglects to mention that U.S. oil companies produce most—and

transport and market virtually all—the oil imported into this country.

The chauvinist scare campaign against imported oil is merely a cover for Carter's scheme to jack up the price of domestic oil, increase the use of coal, and construct 200 more nuclear power plants.

Boosting coal output means more pressure on coal miners to produce—that is, speed up—making mining accidents even more likely.

Burning more coal will discharge innumerable air pollutants, some of which are suspected of causing cancer. The air doesn't have to be fouled when coal burns—but pollution control equipment is expensive, and the government has shown little interest in forcing the utilities to eliminate pollutants.

The dangers of more nuclear power plants were given lip service by *candidate* Jimmy Carter, who—seeking environmentalists' votes—declared he would turn to nuclear power only as a "last resort." But *President* Carter has a different idea.

To help sell his plan, Carter is trying to whip up a hysterical fear that the world is rapidly running out of oil and gas.

Arnold Weissberg



The official government and industry predictions of imminent energy shortages are by no means universally shared. In fact, some experts estimate that the amount of oil in the ground runs up to 300 years' worth.

John Swearingen, the head of Standard Oil of Indiana, as much as admitted that the energy "crisis" was a fake last June, when he was quoted in *Newsweek*: "What we call an energy crisis in America is really an economic crisis. We can provide ample supplies of energy . . . if the price of those supplies is permitted to go high enough."

Forty-seven percent of the American people believe the "energy shortage" is an invention designed to get higher prices for the oil companies, according to a *New York Times*/CBS News poll.

We need to get a look at all the drilling records and financial records of the big oil companies so we can decide for ourselves what the truth is. If the oil companies try to extort superprofits by refusing to drill for oil, then they should be nationalized and put under the control of working people themselves.

New mayor, new cuts

"If further sacrifices are necessary, New Yorkers are prepared to tighten their belts another notch."

With that cheery pronouncement, newly elected Mayor Edward Koch unveiled on January 20 a four-year financial plan to cut services, eliminate 20,000 city jobs, and drive people off welfare in New York City.

Koch said his financial plan allows for no wage increases of any kind for city employees.

Despite all the sacrifices and belt-tightening by New York workers under former Mayor Abraham Beame, Koch insists more cuts are necessary to close a budget

gap he says will total more than \$3 billion over the next four years.

The new cutbacks may be even worse, however, since the state legislature is reportedly "reluctant" to allocate money for the city.

But all is not bleak. New York Gov. Hugh Carey proposes to cut state taxes by \$755 million. Who gains from this generosity? Mainly business and the wealthy.

Fifty percent of the benefits from state income-tax reduction is to go to taxpayers with incomes over \$25,000—even though they make up only 10 to 15 percent of all taxpayers. Another \$230 million plum goes straight to business.



KOCH: Four more years

Carey explained that the tax cuts are necessary to improve "New York's competitive standing among states as a desirable place to do business and to live."

Court gives nod to racist test

The Supreme Court January 16 refused to hear arguments about the South Carolina teacher qualification test. The test screens out 83 percent of Black applicants but only 17.5 percent of whites.

The court, without issuing an opinion, upheld a lower court decision that using the test did not involve racial discrimination.

The federal government, the National Education Association, and the South Carolina Education Association had all sued to force an end to the test.

Tests that measure more about cultural background and skin color than teaching ability are widely used to legitimize and justify racial bias. This is dishonestly called the "merit" system.

The Supreme Court decision will make the fight of Black teachers for equal opportunity that much harder.

Who runs America?

A recent Senate report reveals that stock voting power in the country's biggest corporations is concentrated in the hands of about twenty large financial institutions, most of them banks.

Morgan Guaranty Trust Company is at the top. It's the largest single stock voter in twenty-seven corporations and among the top five in fifty-six companies, including American Airlines, American Express, and Goodyear Tire and Rubber.

The study also found that family interests—such as Rockefeller and Mellon—control 10 percent or more of the votes of thirteen large corporations.

Because ownership of shares is widely scattered, direct control of one or two percent of a company's stock is generally sufficient to direct the company.

So much for "people's capitalism."

Heavy

Government researchers report that cattle fatten more quickly and produce tenderer, juicier beef by eating cement dust. Although there's no rule against using cement dust as cattle feed, the Food and Drug Administration said it's not allowed to turn up as a residue after the cattle are butchered.

How to beat the rap

Forty to sixty crimes by Americans have gone unprosecuted because a trial would have disclosed government secrets, Sen. Joe Biden said January 12. Biden, a member of the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence, declared that the crimes ranged "from outright murder to major espionage."

The case for affirmative action

A recent study by an MIT economist underlines how Blacks and women are disproportionately hit by unemployment.

Even in a year of "full employment," 1956, when the national unemployment level was 4.1 percent, Black adults suffered from a 7.5 percent joblessness rate, while Black teenage unemployment reached more than 18 percent.

In 1977, with the official unemployment rate at 7 percent, 11.1 percent of Black adults were out of work according to government figures, and so were a whopping 39.5 percent of Black teenagers.

Meanwhile, unemployment for white males between ages twenty-five and fifty-five rose only from 2.6 percent to 3.7 percent.

Reporting these figures, *New York Times* columnist Anthony Lewis noted that "unemployment in the United States is an uneven proposition. . . . Most of the increase in the last twenty years has come among teen-agers and blacks and, to a lesser extent, women."

Easy come, easy go

In 1976 California voters were asked to cast their ballots on a measure that would have enacted some safety regulations for nuclear power plants. As part of a high-powered corporate drive to defeat the initiative, the state legislature passed a three-bill package that Gov. Jerry Brown claimed would accomplish the same safety goals.

In reality, the substitute bills were very weak, but thanks to a \$4 million campaign by the nuclear industry, the stronger ballot measure lost.

Even those limited controls are too much for the profit-hungry nuclear industry, it

seems. Two bills now in the state legislature would repeal them entirely, and a third bill now pending would exempt a proposed nuclear plant from their safety requirements.

Church group OKs gay clergy

A study group of the United Presbyterian Church has recommended allowing gays to become ministers. The proposal will come up for discussion this spring. The study group also called on the church to work for an end to antigay discrimination.



Militant/Lou Howort

U.S. out of South Africa!

In a change of position, the NAACP has called on all U.S. companies to withdraw entirely from South Africa. The NAACP, the country's largest civil rights organization, had previously called on U.S. firms only to stop investing in the apartheid regime.

Direct U.S. investment in South Africa now totals about \$1.6 billion, with another \$2.2 billion in outstanding loans and credits. This aid is an indispensable prop of the racist regime.

What's Going On

ARIZONA

PHOENIX

SOCIALIST CONFERENCE ON CHINA. Speaker: Ted Edwards, SWP. Fri., Feb. 3, 8 p.m.: Imperial China and the second Chinese revolution, 1925-27. Sat., Feb. 4, 10 a.m.: The coming to power of the Chinese Communist Party, 1947-49; 1 p.m.: Slide show on China

today, speaker: Gus Gutiérrez, Chicano leader who traveled to China last summer as part of Trade Union Activist Delegation; 3 p.m.: Maoism in power 1950-present.

First class at 314 E. Taylor, all others in Pinal Room, Memorial Union, ASU. Donation: 75¢ per class. Ausp: YSA, Militant Bookstore Forum. For more information call (602) 255-0450.

CALIFORNIA

LOS ANGELES: SOUTHEAST COAL MINERS' STRIKE ISSUES: HEALTH AND SAFETY. Speakers: Sam Pollack, national coordinator, health care, Amalgamated Meat Cutters; Zella Horseman, steelworker; Jerry O'Connell, steelworker. Fri., Feb. 3, 8 p.m. 2554 Saturn Ave., Huntington Pk. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (213) 582-1975.

THE FIRST TEN YEARS OF AMERICAN COMMUNISM. An educational by Harry Ring, *Militant* Southwest Bureau. Sun., Feb. 5, 1 p.m. & 3 p.m. 2554 Saturn Ave., Huntington Pk. Donation: \$1. Ausp: SWP. For more information call (213) 582-1975.

TROTSKYISM IN THE 1930s—A PERSONAL RECOLLECTION. An educational by Harry Ring, *Militant* Southwest Bureau. Sun., Feb. 12, 1 p.m. & 3 p.m. 2554 Saturn Ave., Huntington Pk. Donation: \$1. Ausp: SWP. For more information call (213) 582-1975.

SAN DIEGO

SUNDESERT: IS NUCLEAR ENERGY THE ANSWER TO AMERICA'S ECONOMIC CRISIS? Speakers: Clarence Pendleton, executive director, Urban League; Marc Rich, SWP; representative, San Diego Building Trades Council; others. Fri., Feb. 3, 8 p.m. 1053 15th St. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (714) 234-4630.

MICHIGAN

DETROIT

SPEAKOUT IN RESPONSE TO THE NAZI PRESENCE IN DETROIT. Speakers: Dr. Jessie Goodwin, NAACP; How-

ard Simon, ACLU; Sol Lachman, Detroit Jewish Workshop; Paul Boatin, UAW Local 600; Rev. Ted Richmond, Metropolitan Community Church; Jo Carol Stallworth, Detroit SCAR; Association of Black Students, SWSU; representative, CBTU. Mon., Jan. 30, 7 p.m. Wayne State University Student Center, Hillberry rooms A & B. Ausp: Detroit SCAR. For more information call (313) 223-3706 or 341-4184.

NEW YORK

NEW YORK CITY

PROSPECTS FOR SOCIALIST UNITY. Speaker: Bruce Levine, former national secretary of Revolutionary Marxist Committee, member SWP Political Committee. Fri., Feb. 3, 7:30 p.m. Horace Mann Auditorium, Columbia Teachers College, 120th & Broadway. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (212) 982-8214.

CHELSEA

WHAT IS SOCIALISM? A series of classes. Sat., Jan. 28, Feb. 4, Feb. 18, 3-5 p.m. 200 1/2 W. 24th St. Ausp: SWP & YSA. For more information call (212) 989-2731.

OHIO

CINCINNATI

A MEMORIAL TO STEVE BIKO. Speakers: Trofomo Sono, member of United Nations delegation of Pan Africanist Congress of Azania; Victor Khabo, member of PAC and executive committee of South African Action Committee of the Americas. Tues., Jan. 31, 7:30 p.m. Room 401B Tangeman University Center, Univ. of Cincinnati. For more information call (513) 961-4484.

TOLEDO

CLASSES ON SOCIALISM. An introduction to the basic ideas of socialism. Tuesdays, Jan. 31, Feb. 7, & Feb. 14, 7-8 p.m. 2507 Collingwood. Ausp: SWP. For more information call (419) 242-9743.

TEXAS

HOUSTON: NORTHEAST

STUDENT TEST SCORES: WHAT THEY MEAN, WHAT TO DO ABOUT THEM. Speaker: Bill Piscicella, teacher at Kashmere High School. Fri., Feb. 3, 7:30 p.m. 2835 Maricopa (near Jensen). Donation \$1. Ausp: Militant Bookstore. For more information call (713) 697-5543.

WASHINGTON, D.C.

WASHINGTON D.C.: GEORGIA AVE. CLASS SERIES ON RACISM, REVOLUTION, AND REACTION: A MARXIST VIEW OF BLACK HISTORY. Class 4: The civil rights movement, 1945-1968. Wed., Feb. 1, 6:30 p.m. Class 5: Black liberation today, 1968-1977. Wed., Feb. 8, 6:30 p.m. Howard University, Locke Hall, Room 236. Ausp: SWP & YSA. For more information call (202) 797-7699.

SADAT: IS HE A PEACEMAKER WHO SPEAKS FOR THE PALESTINIAN? Speakers: Tuval Foguel, YSA; Ali Zaghav, president of Univ. of Md. Organization of Arab Students; Fouzi el'Asmar, Palestinian detained by Israelis. Fri., Feb. 3, 8 p.m. Room 105 Douglass Hall, Howard University. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (202) 797-7699.

The deadline for submission of calendar ads has been changed from Tuesdays at 10 p.m. to Tuesdays at 8 p.m.

Prospects for socialist unity



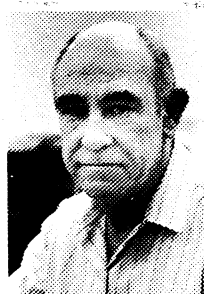
Bruce Levine, member, SWP Political Committee. Former national secretary of the Revolutionary Marxist Committee prior to the RMC's fusion with the SWP in August 1977.

Fri., Feb. 3, 7 p.m. Horace Mann Auditorium, Columbus Teacher College, 120th St. and Broadway.

Ausp: New York Militant Forum

National Picket Line

Frank Lovell



Carter vs. labor

When Jimmy Carter was elected the AFL-CIO hierarchy hailed it as "a watershed victory," implying that the new administration would bring big changes in the lives of working people.

One year later, AFL-CIO President George Meany was not so sure about this.

At the federation's biennial convention in Los Angeles last December he hailed Carter's record on foreign policy because there was no change from the Nixon-Ford policy, which Meany had supported.

But things don't look so good on the home front. Meany said that 1977 was the year the clock stood still for 10 million Americans who can't find work. "Despite all the promises and all the campaign oratory," he said, "they were no better off this year than last."

It is true that Carter kept some of his campaign promises, those made to business and banking. But the promises he made to catch working-class votes have been forgotten.

He promised jobs for all who are willing and able to work. The latest official data show the average unemployment rate down to 6.4 percent in December, or an average of 7 percent for the year 1977. But the millions who are without jobs can't use these optimistic government statistics to pay rent and buy groceries.

He promised to reduce the arms budget. He raised it instead—up to \$130 billion, 8 percent more than 1977.

He promised a tax rebate of fifty dollars to every taxpayer, and special aid to those too poor to be taxed. This was canceled.

He promised to control consumer prices. Prices continue to rise.

He promised industrial expansion. The U.S. economy grew less than 5 percent in 1977.

But candidates must make commitments to get endorsements and raise money. In seeking the support of Meany

and other union officials, Carter led them to believe that he would support their legislative efforts in Congress. This included the common situs picketing bill, which was designed to control the construction industry.

The "cargo preference" bill was another AFL-CIO priority. The hope was that oil companies would be required to use more American-flag tankers and provide jobs for U.S. workers.

Repeal of the Taft-Hartley right-to-work clause was the central aim of the union-backed labor law reform bill.

Anything less than three dollars per hour as a minimum wage puts low-paid workers below the poverty level, and the unions were demanding living wages by law for all workers.

Most unions endorsed the Humphrey-Hawkins bill, expecting that a modest public works program would result. And they asked for a national health program.

After one year in office, what is Carter's performance on these particular bills? He maneuvered to defeat situs picketing in Congress. He also helped defeat the cargo preference bill. He sought to reduce the minimum wage to \$2.50. He supports right-to-work laws and refused to back labor law reform against them.

He demanded revision of the Humphrey-Hawkins bill so that it authorizes no new federal jobs program or other spending. On health-care legislation he had done nothing and says he doesn't intend to do much.

At the AFL-CIO convention, Meany had nothing to say about Carter's back-of-the-hand treatment. No complaints.

Some may think this means that Carter is either a master at deception or union officials are easily duped. Both are partly true, in fact. It is the old story of unions trapped in the skin game of capitalist politicians.

The Great Society

Harry Ring



Supersaver—Tired of those junk premiums offered to new savers by banks? Make it out to the Desert Empire Bank in Palm Springs, and deposit \$1 million. You'll get a \$60,000 Rolls Royce Silver Wraith II. "Let's face it," says the bank president, "the Palm Springs area is not typical. . . ."

To your health!—Diseases related to drinking water had declined over a twenty-year period. But, says a federally funded study, from 1970 to 1974 such outbreaks were nearly double the previous four years with a particular increase in such infections as hepatitis.

Socialism anyone?—To reduce waste in federal spending, the Carter administration has eliminated seconds on milk in the school meals program.

Understatement of the week—The Environmental Protection Agency has permitted the various states to approve 131 products containing twenty ingredients banned by the EPA from interstate commerce. A congressional report speculated: "The American people may not be adequately protected from potentially harmful and dangerous pesticides."



Thousands picket Anita Bryant

Militant correspondent Ed Joell reports that nearly 5,000 gay rights supporters picketed the opening session of the National Religious Broadcasters Association in Washington, D.C., January 22. They were protesting an appearance by antigay bigot Anita Bryant.

The action was called by the Gay Activists Alliance and other groups. Speakers at a rally following the picket included Frank Shaffer-

Corona, a member of the D.C. School Board and Frank Kameney of the National Gay Task Force.

Speakers linked the fight for gay rights to the struggles of women, Blacks, and undocumented workers.

Meanwhile, at a news conference, Bryant told reporters she wants to get "presentation of alternative lifestyles as natural and normal" off the air.

Ford: led three lives?

According to newly released FBI documents, Gerald Ford was an FBI informant, reporting to the bureau on the deliberations of the Warren Commission investigation into the assassination of President John Kennedy. Ford was a member of Congress at the time, in 1963. The arrangement was Ford's idea. He was, according to the documents, dissatisfied with the commission's work.

'Son of S.1' about to pass

The federal criminal code revision, (formerly known as Senate Bill 1, or S.1, and now called S.1437) was rushed to the Senate floor January 19. It is expected to pass by January 27, Esther Herst of the National Committee Against Repressive Legislation told the *Militant*.

"Son of S.1" has been exposed as an assault on basic constitutional rights—including freedom of the press, freedom of speech, and freedom of assembly—by civil liberties groups, unionists, Black acti-

vists, feminists, and many others.

The bill's principal supporter in the Senate is liberal Democrat Edward Kennedy. "Kennedy is telling everyone it's OK," Herst said.

Some amendments to the bill have been accepted in the course of debate, Herst told the *Militant*, "but none of substance. The liberals don't seem to be able to speak coherently. No one is addressing the basic political and social issues in the bill."

Quote unquote

"Government cannot solve our problems. It can't set our goals. It cannot define our vision. Government cannot eliminate poverty, or provide a bountiful economy, or reduce inflation, or save our cities, or cure illiteracy, or provide energy. And government cannot mandate goodness."

—Jimmy Carter, in his *State of the Union* address.

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Our Revolutionary Heritage

Celebrating 50 years of the Militant, 1928-1978

Civil rights sit-ins

This year marks the fortieth anniversary of the founding of the Socialist Workers Party and the fiftieth anniversary of the 'Militant.' 'Our Revolutionary Heritage,' a new weekly column, is part of our commemoration. It will highlight major events in the history of the world working-class struggle and the building of a revolutionary party over the past half-century. The column will be drawn largely from past issues of the 'Militant' and 'International Socialist Review,' speeches by socialist leaders, and historical documents and resolutions. We encourage readers to let us know what they think about this new feature.

The names of the pioneers were Ezell Blair, David Richmond, Franklin McLain, and Joseph MacNeil. But you won't find them in many history books.

They were students at North Carolina Agricultural and Technical College, a Black college in Greensboro, and they had formed a Student Executive Committee for Justice.

On Monday, February 1, 1960, they walked into the F.W. Woolworth's store near the campus and sat down at the lunch counter. To get some justice.

Refused service at the "whites only" counter, they continued to sit quietly until the store closed.

The next day more than thirty students sat in. The day after that it was forty-five, including a few white student supporters.

"If they can sell us merchandise from other counters, we say they should serve us at the lunch counter," said a spokesperson for the Black students.

Some Ku Klux Klaners and white teenagers—with hunting knives strapped to their belts—tried unsuccessfully to intimidate the demonstrators.

By the end of the week, reported the February 15, 1960, *Militant*, "the aisles of the Woolworth store were jammed with Negroes carrying American flags and whites waving Confederate flags." Management closed the store.

The Black demonstrators moved on to the segregated lunch counter at an S. H. Kress store. It also closed.

The Supreme Court ruling against segregated schools . . . the Montgomery bus boycott . . . demonstrations against lynchings . . . the confrontation in Little Rock—these events and others through the 1950s had set the stage for the eruption of a massive civil rights movement. But it was the courageous action of four Black students in Greensboro that struck the spark. It was the right move at the right time.

"A tide of youthful militancy in the struggle against Jim Crow is flooding the South," reported George Weissman in the February 22 *Militant*.

Exactly one week after the first Greensboro sit-in, Black students sat down at lunch counters in Durham, North Carolina. Then Charlotte. Then Raleigh, Elizabeth City, High Point, and Fayetteville.

"At noon in Winston-Salem," Weissman wrote, "a lone Negro sat down at the Kress

lunch counter and, when refused service, continued sitting. The item was broadcast on the radio and within a few hours he was joined by scores of students from the Negro Teachers' College in that city. By the end of the next day they had caused the closing of five lunch counters in the downtown area."

The movement swept into South Carolina, Virginia, Alabama, Tennessee, Louisiana, Texas, and across the South.

"The student movement in the South is giving new inspiration, as well as providing valuable lessons in direct mass action, to the Negro people and their white allies throughout the country," Weissman wrote. "It is the most important thing now happening in the United States."

The racist local authorities were initially taken by surprise. But soon Black students were being assaulted by white mobs and arrested for "trespassing."

The *Militant* editorially called for "vigorous supporting action" for the sit-ins "from opponents of the Jim Crow system throughout the country."

The time was ripe for this, too.

Supporters of the *Young Socialist* newspaper—especially in New York and Philadelphia—moved quickly to initiate student committees to picket Woolworths.

The picketing spread rapidly. Unions began to join in. By April 2, the *New York Times* reported that desegregation pickets marched "in front of a majority of the 3,000 F. W. Woolworth stores throughout the nation."

That day, 5,000 people picketed in New York City, led by the NAACP, the Congress of Racial Equality, and the Youth Committee for Integration.

On April 17, 1960—in the midst of the upsurge—the Young Socialist Alliance was founded at a convention in Philadelphia. Delegates came directly from protests at segregated chain stores, the *Militant* reported. And during the lunch breaks they joined Philadelphia picket lines.

The sit-ins and the northern support actions marked a significant shift in the mood on campuses—the end of the "silent generation" and the beginning of the student radicalization. These were the first nationwide protests against segregation, opening a new era in American politics.

And, on July 25, 1960, the Woolworth's lunch counter in Greensboro opened again.

To anyone.

—Andy Rose

Letters

Hubert Humphrey

The *Militant* has always dealt generously and respectfully with persons who contributed to the battle of the proletariat against oppression and exploitation—even if in later years they turned away from the cause.

But with those such as Hubert Humphrey, who have spent their lives upholding and apologizing for the ruling class, another attitude is called for. I look forward to the *Militant's* exposure of this ruling-class servant's criminal record.

On the January 16 *Today* show, George Meany hailed Humphrey as the outstanding champion of American labor. On the same show, Bayard Rustin ranked Humphrey, along with Martin Luther King, as the most important fighter for Black equality of the past thirty years. What grotesque falsehood!

One of the highlights in Humphrey's career was his role as an anticommunist witch-hunter when American politics was infected with the cold-war cancer of McCarthyism. He was a key figure in making certain that liberals across the aisle from Joseph McCarthy were not outdone by the Wisconsin Republican.

Following is a quotation from Humphrey's preface to *The Communist Party vs. the C.I.O.* by Max Kampelman (Praeger, 1957): "The Communist infiltration of the CIO was a direct threat to the survival of all of our country's democratic institutions. The CIO victory over the Communist party was a significant victory for our nation. It was also a crucial defeat for the international Communist conspiracy."

The "international Communist conspiracy" indeed!

Humphrey's training as a liberal cold warrior served him well when, as vice-president, he defended—vociferously, of course—the genocidal U.S. aggression against Vietnam.

Lee Smith
Miami, Florida

Boycott Winn-Dixie

Members of the retail clerks union are on strike throughout New Mexico against the Foodway chain. The issue is the right of the union to exist.

The conflict has been simmering since Winn-Dixie, the fifth-largest U.S. grocery chain, bought out Foodway more than a year ago. Winn-Dixie has more than 1,000 outlets in nine states, none of them with union contracts. Their strength is in "right to work" states. Such an antiunion law is now pending here in New Mexico.

Winn-Dixie agreed to abide by the 1976 contract, but they quickly broke that pledge, launching a rash of union-busting tactics. They have been cited three times by the National Labor Relations Board for twenty-six violations of fair labor practices. These include refusal to bargain

collectively, interrogating employees about their union sympathies, failure to honor dues collection and grievance procedures, coercing and threatening employees, and interfering with union representatives.

Using such tactics, Winn-Dixie has broken the union in Los Alamos, White Rock, Espanola, and Taos. But resistance is strong in other cities. In Carlsbad—where the strike has been on since June—picket lines were so successful that the store could not do business, so Winn-Dixie closed it down.

The AFL-CIO has called for a nationwide boycott of Winn-Dixie.

Out on the picket line here in Albuquerque, Carlos, a stock clerk, says, "I won't go back to work in a nonunion store."

And a prospective customer, "It isn't much trouble to go to Piggly-Wiggly instead."

Joe Lowe
Albuquerque, New Mexico

Suffrage movement

I would like to express my immense satisfaction with the article, "The Suffrage Battle in Great Britain" by Teresa Wocken [January 13 *International Socialist Review* monthly supplement]. It portrayed the suffrage movement with great truth and realism and conveyed the mood of that movement to the reader. I sincerely urge more pieces of this sort for the *Militant*.

Tim Kornegay
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Joining the YSA

I would like to share some personal good news with you. I recently attended a fund-raising rally for the *Militant* in Tacoma, Washington. I had been asked to speak by the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance.

My speech contained greetings from Olympia, Washington, and The Evergreen State College where I am in my third year. With renewed encouragement, I announced in my speech that I was joining the YSA. I also announced the formation of a socialist study group on campus and my hopes for this group to soon become a chapter of the YSA.

Caryn Swan
Olympia, Washington

Convincing his friends

I've been reading your paper on and off for two years. Recently, your paper has improved greatly. I've especially enjoyed your coverage of the Middle East and the various labor struggles that continue around the United States. In addition, I find "World Outlook" extremely informative. I only wish I could get more of my friends to read your paper—I'm working on them.

Thomas Jacobs
Santa Rosa, California

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Learning About Socialism

Why learn about socialism?

Canadian likes 'Militant'

I just thought I should tell you how much I've enjoyed reading the *Militant*. It has been very helpful in the process of building the Canadian section of the Fourth International.

Our organization is increasing its intervention in the organized workers movements. Many of the lessons learned by the Socialist Workers Party and reported in the *Militant* about how to organize branches and intervene effectively in the class struggle are being used in our own work.

R.O.
Regina, Saskatchewan

Reading us again

I found a November 11, 1977, *Militant* in the "free" box at the Feminist Women's Health Center in Detroit.

I haven't read the *Militant* probably since the late sixties while in college at Central Michigan University. I was fairly impressed with the scope, coverage, quality, pictures, resources, and fairness of that issue. I think I'll start reading it again.

Hopefully, it's indicative of your versatility in supporting various working people's projects across the country, regardless of party affiliation. I would like to keep up especially with the women's health struggles from a socialist perspective, since I do so from a feminist view. I am also interested in the recent mine strike, health security, safety insurance issues.

Enclosed is a check for an introductory subscription. Thanks for keeping up my spirits lately.

Cathy Courtney
Detroit, Michigan

State of unions

If the rank and file in the labor unions actually read Frank Lovell's columns, I am almost sure that the labor bureaucracy (men behind closed doors) would not rule with an iron hand as they do today.

Needless to say, the only cause the labor leaders have today is to control and rule the working class. This is done with the aid of government and management (the three musketeers). Labor unions changed from their original ideals through their union constitutions towards monopoly rule by their leaders. There are no civil rights or human rights under the oligarchy system of today.

Joe Padilla
Brooklyn, New York

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 you prefer that your initials be used rather than your full name.

It is appropriate that this first column on "Learning About Socialism" coincides with the anniversary of the publication of the *Communist Manifesto*. Marx and Engels published that first and most famous statement of the principles of scientific socialism in February 1848, just 130 years ago.

As they explained in the *Manifesto*, "The theoretical conclusions of the Communists are in no way based on ideas or principles that have been invented, or discovered, by this or that would-be universal reformer.

"They merely express, in general terms, actual relations springing from an existing class struggle, from a historical movement going on under our very eyes."

In the 130 years since Marx and Engels first attempted to sum up a general theoretical framework that could serve as a guide to action in the struggle for a better world, the historical movement they talked about has gone through many changes. We have seen the rise of mass working-class parties, the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of workers states in a number of countries, and the appearance of Stalinism.

Over the past ten years we have seen other manifestations of "a historical movement going on under our very eyes"—an imperialist war in Vietnam, the radicalization of youth during the 1960s, the worldwide economic crisis of the 1970s, and the beginnings of a new radicalization of the American working class.

More than ever, it is necessary for those who would change the world to study it, to learn how we got where we are today and how previous generations of revolutionists applied the principles of scientific socialism in varying circumstances. Only in this way can we learn to apply those principles ourselves to each new question and situation.

James P. Cannon, the founding leader of the Socialist Workers Party, wrote about this in a 1944 letter.

"The pioneers and outstanding militants of American Communism," Cannon recalled, "were mainly . . . half-educated workers who lacked adequate formal schooling and had only as much Marxism as they managed to pick up on the fly in all-too-infrequent hours of leisure and freedom from duties and responsibilities. There was nobody to teach them;

there were no schools where they might learn what to study, and how to study systematically. . . . They were thrust into positions of leadership and overwhelmed with responsibilities without having previously acquired the necessary theoretical training and political experience to lead the party properly. As a consequence the early Communist Party made many egregious errors, devoured its energies in factional struggles which it was unable to resolve and finally, with the exception of a small nucleus, succumbed to the Stalinist degeneration."

Cannon insisted: "The older generation must continue their studies, and continually broaden and deepen their knowledge. The cadres of the new generation must be *inspired* to study . . . they must be *aided and guided* in their studies in all stages of their development."

Of course, Cannon was talking about the responsibility of a revolutionary party. The American educational system does not provide instruction in the real principles of scientific socialism or in the true history of the international working-class movement.

From that point of view, it is hard to say who has the most difficult task—those workers who have never had the opportunities of systematic study offered by colleges and universities, or those students and former students who face the necessity of unlearning much of their miseducation in these institutions.

In any case, the *Militant* is launching this column with the hope that all of our readers—from those who are just becoming acquainted with socialist ideas, to veterans of the socialist movement—will find material of interest in it.

Sometimes we will attempt to answer questions sent in by our readers; other columns will be devoted to reviewing books or other materials available for study. Some columns will comment on current events; some will reprint material that first appeared years ago; and others will report on examples of classes and plans for study that others can emulate.

In short, in keeping with the perspective discussed by Cannon, the writers of this column hope to aid and to guide readers of the *Militant* in their studies of the method and program of Marxism.

—Paul Montauk

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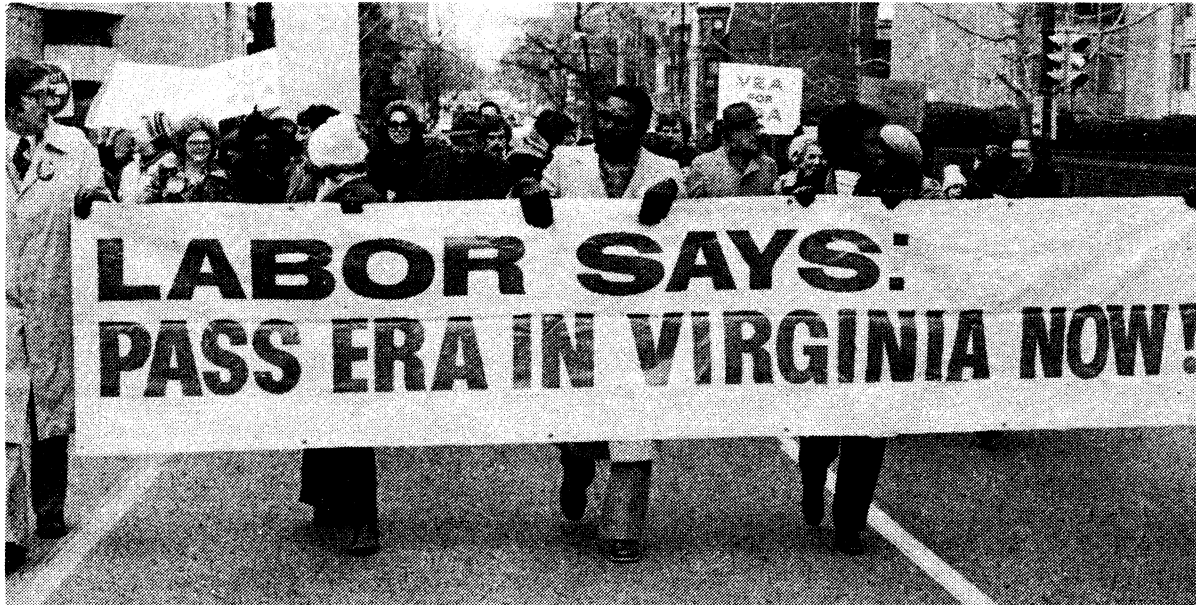
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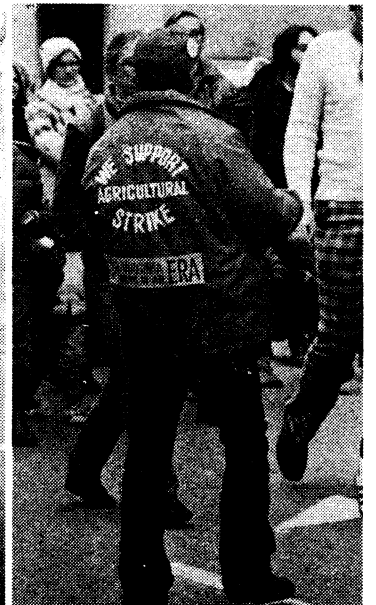
Unions rally for ERA 3,200 march on Virginia capitol



Militant/Greta Hill



Militant/Greta Hill



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January 22 trade-union-organized demonstration in Richmond to demand Virginia state legislature ratify Equal Rights Amendment

By Diane Wang

RICHMOND, Va.—The 3,200 people who marched on the state capitol here January 22 shouted the same chant that has been heard at other demonstrations for the Equal Rights Amendment around the country:

What do we want? ERA!

When do we want it? NOW!

But there was a difference here. Up and down the line of march, contingents from trade unions predominated: Tobacco Workers, Communications Workers of America (CWA), several locals of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME).

There were unionists from the American Federation of Government Employees (AFGE) and United Electrical Workers (UE), teachers from the National Education Association in Virginia and Maryland, hospital workers from District 1199, and others.

Farmers in bright red and blue jackets of the American Agriculture Movement urged support for both the farmers' strike and the ERA.

Women's groups from Virginia and nearby states brought their members.

The Richmond demonstration was organized by Labor for Equal Rights Now (LERN), a coalition of trade unionists called together by locals of the Meat Cutters union. It was the first such labor-initiated ERA demonstration—a powerful example of how trade unions can help take the lead in the fight for women's rights.

LERN won endorsement of the Virginia AFL-CIO. AFSCME and the Teamsters union put out leaflets for the rally. The United Auto Workers organized pro-ERA speakers for its local meetings.

Why they came

Trade unionists who turned out in freezing weather for the women's rights demonstration gave various reasons for coming.

"Sixty-five percent of our union are women," explained a member of UE Local 124. "Many of the union's grievances are about discrimination against women, so passing the ERA will help win grievances."

How does campaigning for women's rights relate to the unions' fight against layoffs and inflation? The unions have to do both, answered an AFGE member. "I don't think ignoring other issues makes us stronger; it makes us weaker," she explained.

Mary McCloskey of Service Employees' International Union Local 668 said she hoped the Richmond experience would "be an impetus for labor to become increasingly involved. This creates a significant coalition."

Linda Wambaugh, a women's liberation activist from Pittsburgh, commented that she had come because she wanted to answer anti-abortion foes who seem to be "more visible and better organized.

Abortion rights are fundamental to women's rights," she said. "I think a victory for the ERA will help along the abortion rights struggle."

Brenda Harvey, a Black woman studying in Pittsburgh, explained, "The more legislation we have to support equal rights for women, the more it will enhance the mobility of Black women and men. Winning the ERA will also be a stepping stone to other things, like reversing the *Bakke* decision [against affirmative action]. You can't separate the fight for women's rights and Black rights."

Anne Shepard Turner, one of the Wilmington Ten defendants, was among the thirty or more people who came from North Carolina. "We need to be where our sisters are and show our support in every way we can," she explained.

Banners showed that support: "Pittsburgh fights for Virginia's rights," "Ratify the ERA—D.C. NOW," "ERA Now—Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance."

Carpetbaggers?

At a LERN news conference before the demonstration some reporters attacked the "outsiders" who came from other states to urge ratification of the ERA.

One busload of ERA supporters answered the charge in a message read at the rally. "We traveled sixteen hours through the snow from Indiana. . . . Two-thirds of the country's population live in states that have said yes to ERA. We are waiting for you. It means so much to all of us!"

Biggest Virginia rally

Jerry Gordon, an international representative for the Meat Cutters union, welcomed people "to the largest pro-ERA rally ever held in Virginia."

Speakers who followed included Julian Carper, president of the Virginia AFL-CIO; actress Barbara Feldon; Mary Hatwood-Futrell, president of the Virginia Education Association and chairperson of ERAmerica; and Richmond Mayor Henry Marsh III.

Joyce Miller, president of the Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW), pointed out, "The same people who oppose the Equal Rights Amendment also oppose the labor movement and labor's goals."

CLUW members know the importance of the Equal Rights Amendment to working women to help us in our fight for anti-discrimination laws and for affirmative-action programs," Miller explained. "CLUW has as its top priority three more states for ratification, and we will win these states!"

Eleanor Smeal, president of the National Organization for Women, said, "We have marched and marched, and we are just beginning to march." At the same time, however, she emphasized NOW's strategy for winning the ERA—a boycott of states that have not ratified, letter writing to extend the

deadline for ratification, and election campaigns to "defeat people who say one thing and do another" in the legislatures.

William Lucy, president of the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists, similarly urged people "to send a message to the legislators that we, like others, will practice punishment of our enemies" when it comes time to vote.

But the march and rally were an inspiring example of a different strategy—that of mobilizing women and their allies in the labor movement in the streets rather than lobbying and relying on Democrats and Republicans.

As a woman from the Fredericksburg NOW holding a "Families for the ERA" sign explained: "We tried the tactic of no demonstrations, of keeping quiet, and we didn't win. It didn't help when we didn't do anything overt."

Rallies and marches such as this are needed "to bring it out of the House, bring it to the public," explained a tobacco worker.

Edith Van Horn, legislative representative for the United Auto Workers, concluded her speech to the rally by assuring the crowd, "You've set a challenge here for the rest of the country. And Illinois will hear you! North Carolina will hear you! Florida will hear you!"

Protests defend abortion rights

Women marked January 22 as the fifth anniversary of legalized abortion with protests to defend the right to choose. In California 150 picketed at a San Diego hospital on January 22; 130 picketed the offices of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare in San Francisco on January 20; and 300 demonstrated at the state capitol in Sacramento on January 23.

A teach-in on abortion drew 350 people in New York City on January 21. In Minnesota 200 attended a prochoice commemoration in the state capitol rotunda on January 23. A women's abortion tribunal took place in Chicago. In Florida there was a picket at Tallahassee Memorial Hospital; in Dallas people picketed the Catholic diocese and federal building.

In Phoenix, Arizona, 150 people attended a January 21 rally for the Equal Rights Amendment organized by the Arizona Minority Women's Conference.

Record-setting snow storms forced postponement of the abortion rights demonstrations planned in Frankfort, Kentucky, and Akron, Ohio.