

# THE MILITANT

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

# ERA YES! BAKKE NO!

Women's fight for equality, page 13. Other coverage, pages 3-7.

## Bakke ruling guts civil rights

After the crime, the coverup.

"Affirmative Action Upheld," read the headline on the *Washington Post*.

A *New York Times* editorial announced

### An editorial

that "the movement to expand opportunity for blacks and other minorities has been ruled legal. . . ."

The Carter administration hailed "a great

gain for affirmative action."

They were all talking about the U.S. Supreme Court ruling on the *Bakke* case. The court struck down as illegal the minority admissions program at a University of California medical school and ordered it to admit Allan Bakke, who claimed the affirmative-action plan "discriminated" against him as a white.

It was the most devastating blow the Supreme Court has dealt to civil rights in many years. The outlawing of affirmative-action quotas will have repercussions not only in education but also in employment, where thousands more "reverse discrimination" lawsuits are in the works to roll back job gains of Blacks and women.

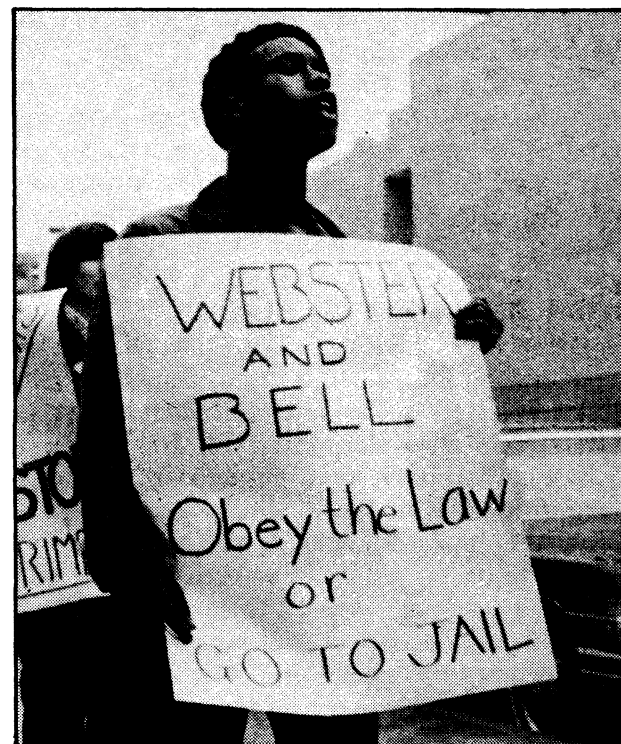
Yet news commentators, lawyers, and liberal Democratic and Republican politicians are trying to disguise and downplay the real significance of the *Bakke* decision. They insist that the court upheld the "principle" of affirmative action because it outlawed only racial quotas. The deciding opinion by Justice Lewis Powell said race could be given "competitive consideration" as one factor in school admissions.

In portraying this legal distinction as a victory for affirmative action, the court's defenders pretend that colleges and employers *want* to give equal treatment to minorities. In this liberal view, the question is what "remedies" schools, businesses, and government are legally "allowed" to use.

This turns reality upside down and tears the *Bakke* case out of its real social and political context.

For decades Blacks, Chicanos, and Puerto Ricans were *excluded* from higher education, the professions, and skilled, better-paying jobs. The employers discriminate—not only in the past but today as well—because it is highly

*Continued on next page*



## Judge cites Bell for contempt in SWP suit

—PAGE 9

## Text of ruling on spy files

—PAGES 23-25



NEW YORK, June 30—Five hundred protesters say, "Affirmative action, YES! Bakke, NO!"

Militant/Reiko Obata

## ...Bakke ruling

Continued from front page

profitable to pay lower wages to minorities and women and to restrict them to the worst jobs. Schools discriminate because they are run to suit the needs of big business and to perpetuate social divisions.

The government—including the Supreme Court—for decades held this overt segregation to be perfectly legal and constitutional. But mobilizations by the Black and women's movements compelled the government to enact limited civil rights legislation. Under mass pressure the courts discovered that segregation was illegal.

But discrimination remains as profitable and necessary as ever to American capitalism. Far from searching for "remedies," employers, universities, and the government have searched for every excuse to *perpetuate* discrimination. Progress toward equality has come only where it is enforced. Without quotas, schools and employers are free to continue segregating minorities and women through rigged tests, biased "qualifications," personal prejudice by interviewers, and myriad other devices.

Examined from the standpoint of the real practices of American capitalist society—not liberal fantasies—the implications of the *Bakke* decision are chilling.

*New York Times* columnist Anthony Lewis—applauding the decision—observed that it allows universities "a good deal of discretion." He added, "Whether universities will use their discretion to continue bringing more black and other minority students into the stream of higher education will be *entirely up to them*" (emphasis added).

Drew Days, assistant attorney general for civil rights, suggested a "rethinking" of affirmative action on the job. "I think all employers should be determining *on their own* to what extent they have engaged in past discrimination, and try to devise remedies," he said (emphasis added).

Up to now what have universities and employers done with their "discretion"? Blacks make up about 11.4 percent of the U.S. population—but only 4.4 percent of the total law students enrolled and only 6.1 percent of medical students. The proportion of Black medical students has been steadily falling since 1974.

Blacks suffer an unemployment rate more



than twice as high as whites. On the average Blacks receive only \$171 for a week's work, compared to \$217 for whites. Women are more than 40 percent of the work force, but receive only 25 percent of the total wages earned.

This is evidence of discrimination in *fact*. It shows that to achieve equality for Blacks and women will require *more* strict enforcement of quotas, not less. That's why the *Bakke* decision does not "preserve" affirmative action—it tears the guts out of affirmative action. It sends employers and universities a clear message that the government will do nothing to force them to end discrimination.

But *Bakke* means more than a halt to civil rights progress. By legitimizing the hoax of "reverse discrimination"—the rallying cry of the new racist and sexist assault—the Supreme Court encouraged efforts to roll back every step taken toward equality in housing, education, and employment.

The question remains, why did the Supreme Court disguise its intentions? Why are the Carter administration and the news media covering up the effect of the *Bakke* decision?

Despite all the confusion fostered by the "reverse discrimination" myth, there is more sentiment than ever among working people—including whites—for equality and against discrimination. For example, a poll last year

found a big majority—nearly three-fourths of those questioned—opposed "extra consideration" for Blacks or women. But *an even bigger majority* said the government should pass laws "to guarantee equal job rights" for Blacks and women.

The ruling rich are proceeding cautiously in their effort to dismantle civil rights gains. They are careful to mask their real aims and to test the public response at every step. This cautious approach was underlined a few days after *Bakke* when the Supreme Court declined to overturn the affirmative-action program imposed on American Telephone and Telegraph by a 1973 court order.

The rulers fear that if they move too fast or too openly they may provoke widespread protests by Blacks, women, students, and the labor movement. In the past year thousands have taken to the streets to defend affirmative action, including an anti-*Bakke* march of 10,000 on Washington last April 15. A number of unions voiced opposition to *Bakke*.

What is needed today is a campaign of education and action for civil rights. By explaining the truth about the *Bakke* ruling and how it threatens all working people, mass opposition can be organized to block the implementation of this reactionary decision and eventually to reverse it.

## Militant Highlights This Week

- 4 Young Socialist Alliance & Bakke
- 5 Gov. Brown supports Prop 13
- 6 Women workers on the move
- 7 Women & Bakke
- 8 Five years of FBI suit
- 10 Blanco on Peru constitution
- 27 L.A. rally on Mexican repression
- 28 In Brief  
What's Going On
- 29 The Great Society  
Women in Revolt
- 30 Our Revolutionary Heritage  
Letters
- 31 Learning About Socialism  
If You Like This Paper...

11-22 International Socialist Review



### Rebellion against Mexican cops

Thousands of students in the border city of Matamoros have struck a blow against police repression. **Page 32.**

### Will steel merger save jobs?

What do Youngstown steel workers think about LTV's takeover of Youngstown Sheet & Tube? **Page 26.**



### Carter's war threats & detente

What are the goals of Washington's cold war missile-rattling? **Page 12.**



## The Militant

Editor: MARY-ALICE WATERS  
Managing Editor: STEVE CLARK  
Business Manager: ANDREA BARON  
Southwest Bureau: HARRY RING

Editorial Staff: Peter Archer, Nancy Cole, David Frankel, John Hawkins, Cindy Jaquith, Shelley Kramer, Ivan Licho, Omari Musa, José G. Pérez, Dick Roberts, Andy Rose, Priscilla Schenk, Peter Seidman, Diane Wang, Arnold Weissberg

Published weekly by the Militant, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014. Telephone Editorial Office (212) 243-6392; Business Office (212) 929-3486. Southwest Bureau: 1250 Wilshire Blvd., Suite 404, Los Angeles, California 90017. Telephone: (213) 482-3184.

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

Second-class postage paid at New York, N.Y. Subscriptions: U.S. \$15.00 a year, outside U.S. \$20.50. By first-class mail: U.S., Canada, and Mexico: \$42.50. Write for surface and airmail rates to all other countries.

For subscriptions airfreighted to London then posted to Britain and Ireland: £2.50 for ten issues; £5.50 for six months (twenty-four issues); £10 for one year (forty-eight issues). Posted from London to Continental Europe: £4 for ten issues; £8 for six months (twenty-four issues); £13 for one year (forty-eight issues). Send checks or international money orders (payable to *Intercontinental Press* account) to: *Intercontinental Press* (The Militant), P.O. Box 50, London N1 2XP, England.

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



# Greetings to ERA marchers

Following are greetings to participants in the July 9 national march for the Equal Rights Amendment from Glova Scott, the Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Washington, D.C.



Sisters and Brothers:

On behalf of the Socialist Workers Party candidates across the country, I welcome the members of the National Organization for Women, members of unions, of civil rights groups, the students, and many others who have come to Washington today.

We have gathered here at a critical time for the equal rights struggle.

We face an emergency in the battle for the ERA. We are still three states short of victory. The ratification deadline of March 1979 is fast approaching and must be extended.

We face an emergency in the battle for affirmative action. The Supreme Court's *Bakke* decision has dealt us a stunning blow, denying the

affirmative-action quotas we need to undo centuries of race and sex discrimination.

As our voices resound today in a united demand for *Equal Rights Now!* we will be expressing our anger and the anger of millions of others. The women denied Medicaid for abortions. The working mothers denied child care. The young people denied jobs and adequate education. The gay people denied civil rights. The workers denied a decent standard of living.

Today we are telling Congress, President Carter, and politicians across the land that the majority of the American people support equal rights for women.

The Democratic and Republican parties, and the wealthy minority they represent, have resisted women's demand for the ERA—for more than fifty years!

We have fought an uphill battle to win women's rights. Nothing has been given to us without struggle—and now the gains we have won—the gains of all working people—are under attack.

But the minority that runs this country cannot hold back the majority—which we represent—if we organize, if we march, if we speak out, if we build a united movement that refuses to give up until we have won.

We are building such a movement for the ERA

today in this demonstration. Contingents of steelworkers, auto workers, public employees, and civil rights groups have joined with women's groups in a dramatic display of united action.

This movement can grow if it is based on mobilizing the independent power of women, labor, civil rights groups, students—all equal rights supporters.

We cannot afford to give an inch to the politicians who advise us to be quiet, to be patient, to leave the matter of equal rights up to them.

The record speaks for itself. It is the Democratic and Republican parties that have voted down the ERA in state after state.

It is the Democratic and Republican parties, acting in the interests of profits not human needs, who have carried out the cutbacks on social services, the attacks on union rights, the destruction of our environment.

The Socialist Workers Party is running candidates against the Democrats and Republicans to put forward an alternative to their racist, sexist, anti-working-class policies.

And we're actively involved in building the women's rights movement and demonstrations such as this one today.

Let's take the unity we all feel here to go forward to build a bigger, broader movement that can win the ERA.

## Protests hit high court on Bakke

"Affirmative action, YES! Bakke, NO!"

That was the militant chant of more than 500 people who picketed outside the federal courthouse in New York June 30. Emergency protests such as this were held in many cities in the wake of the Supreme Court's *Bakke* decision.

Called by the New York chapter of the National Committee to Overturn the Bakke Decision (NCOBD), the lunchtime protest in Manhattan included a contingent of twenty members of the United Tremont Trades Construction Workers, a group of mostly Black and Latino construction workers from the South Bronx.

Other participants came from the National Organization for Women; the Coalition for Lesbian and Gay Rights; Young Socialist Alliance; Aspira, a bilingual education agency; and the Socialist Workers Party.

Larry Holmes, a New York coordinator of the NCOBD, denounced the *Bakke* decision in a speech to the protesters. Holmes declared:

"The highest court in the nation has now given legitimacy to the . . . racist, abominable notion of reverse discrimination. The victims of over 400 years of racism have somehow become the perpetrators of racism. What we have now is that racism is legal."

In Philadelphia, nearly 300 people turned out for a picket line on less than a day's notice. Chanting "Defend affirmative action, no more Bakkes!" the

demonstrators were joined by dozens of workers during their lunch breaks. The June 30 action was called by the Philadelphia Coalition to Overturn the Bakke Decision.

Endorsers included the National Lawyers Guild; National Conference of Black Lawyers; School Employees Action Caucus of the Philadelphia Federation of Teachers; Socialist Workers Party; Philadelphia Workers Organizing Committee; and Young Socialist Alliance.

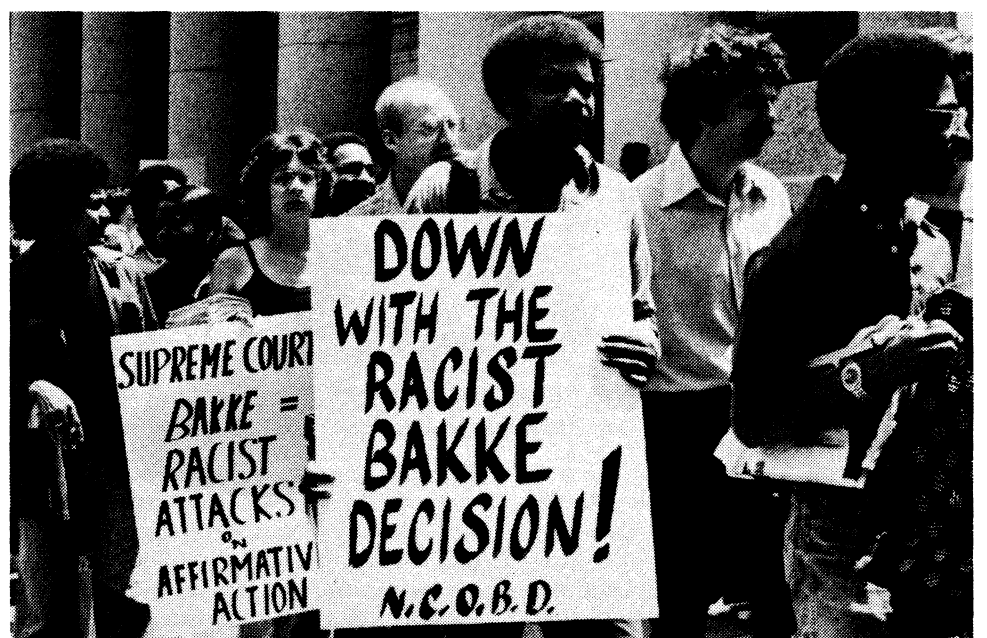
Five hundred people demonstrated in San Francisco July 1, marching from the federal building through the Black community to Jefferson Square. Roughly three-quarters of the crowd were Filipinos, Chicanos, Chinese, Blacks, and members of other oppressed nationalities.

The protest was called by a June 29 meeting of about 250 from the San Francisco affiliates of the NCOBD and the Anti-Bakke Decision Coalition.

In Newark, New Jersey, 150 people protested in response to a call by local affiliates of the National Student Medical Association and the Medical Committee for Human Rights.

In Denver, the Colorado Coalition Against the Bakke Decision held a news conference June 29. Speakers included the president of the Colorado Federation of Teachers and representatives of the Colorado Migrant Council and Black Women for Political Action.

The following day 125 people atten-



Militant/Reiko Obata

'Affirmative action, YES; Bakke, NO!' was chant of New York pickets June 30

ded a picket line sponsored by the Metropolitan State College MEChA. The main speaker was Rodolfo "Corky" Gonzales, head of the Crusade for Justice.

In Tallahassee, Florida, forty to fifty people picketed the federal building June 29. Participants included the student government president from Florida State University and members of the Young Socialist Alliance, Revolutionary Communist Youth Brigade,

FSU Black Student Union, FSU Women's Center, Center for Participant Education, and Feminist Women's Health Center.

In Phoenix, Arizona, sixty people chanted, "We want justice" and, "Raza sí, Bakke no!" outside the federal building. The protest was organized by members of Chicano and women's student groups.

Protests were also held in Washington, D.C., Chicago, St. Louis, Minneapolis, Baltimore, and other cities.

## Special offer to new readers

### The Militant 10 weeks/\$2

The battle for the Equal Rights Amendment is heating up as the deadline nears. To keep on top of the fight for women's rights, protests against the *Bakke* decision, issues in the labor movement, and international news, you need to read the *Militant* every week.



### Subscribe today

( ) \$2 for ten issues (new readers only)  
( ) \$8.50 for six months ( ) \$15 for one year  
( ) New ( ) Renewal

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

City \_\_\_\_\_

State \_\_\_\_\_ Zip \_\_\_\_\_

14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014

## Say no to Bakke

# YSA urges drive to defend affirmative action

The following statement was issued July 3 by the Young Socialist Alliance National Executive Committee.

An emergency campaign of education and action is needed to counter the reactionary aims of the Supreme Court *Bakke* ruling.

Coming on top of massive youth unemployment, far-reaching education cutbacks, and continued attacks on the Equal Rights Amendment, the *Bakke* decision is a cruel blow to millions of young Blacks, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, and women.

The foes of equality for minorities and women have powerful forces on their side. Big business and its Democratic and Republican servants in Washington have joyously welcomed this ruling. They claim that affirmative-action quotas amount to "reverse discrimination."

This is also the theme of innumerable articles and broadcasts in the capitalist media.

All this false propaganda has had an impact, as the *State of Black America 1978* report published by the National Urban League points up:

- only one-third of all whites believe that Blacks still face discrimination in housing;
- only one-fifth of whites believe that Blacks still face discrimination in getting a decent education;
- only 26 percent believe that Blacks are still discriminated against in getting skilled jobs;
- and only 49 percent believe that unemployment for Blacks is higher than for whites.

At the same time, however, the majority of American students and working people—white and Black, men and women—remain committed to the idea of equality.

That is why the court and the Carter administration uphold affirmative action in "principle" with one hand, while dashing it to the ground with the other by declaring quotas unconstitutional.

And that is why supporters of affirmative action

must mount an effective counteroffensive to the "reverse discrimination" propaganda.

Our best weapon against this false notion is the truth about race and sex discrimination today.

Over the summer and when campuses reopen this fall, opponents of the *Bakke* ruling need to organize teach-ins, forums, and other public meetings to discuss and debate affirmative action. Demonstrations, picket lines, and other visible protests can bring the issues before millions of people.

We must reach out to all those who have everything to gain and nothing to lose by supporting this cause—to women's rights groups, to organizations of the oppressed nationalities, and to the trade unions—in order to begin organizing a powerful opposition to the rulers' drive against equality.

Defend affirmative action!  
Demand full equality!  
Say no to *Bakke*!

## Join the YSA

The fight to defend affirmative-action programs . . . to ratify the Equal Rights Amendment . . . to defend the African revolution . . . The Young Socialist Alliance is actively involved in all these struggles and in the fight for a socialist America. If you agree with our goals . . . Join us!

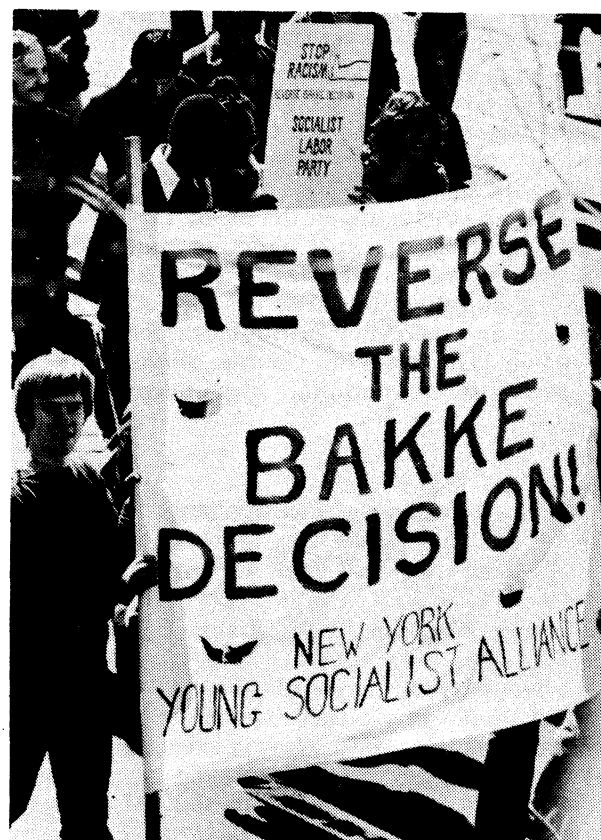
- ☐ I want to join the YSA.
- ☐ Send me more information.
- ☐ Enclosed is \$1 for a six-month subscription to the 'Young Socialist,' the YSA's monthly newspaper. (50¢ for high school students).

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

City \_\_\_\_\_ State \_\_\_\_\_ Zip \_\_\_\_\_

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



## NAACP discusses Bakke, Prop 13, Africa

By Tony Thomas

PORTLAND, Ore., July 3—The *Bakke* decision is one of the main questions facing the national convention of the NAACP, which opened here today.

Executive Director Benjamin Hooks announced yesterday that the NAACP is calling a "Post-Bakke Conference" to be held in St. Louis or Detroit at the end of July.

He said the conference would bring together "outstanding educators, administrators, lawyers, affirmative-action officers, and labor leaders to discuss the implications and fallout, the possibilities and potentialities of the *Bakke* decision."

In her keynote speech tonight, Margaret Bush Wilson, chairperson of the NAACP National Board of Directors, condemned the Supreme Court's decision to admit Allan Bakke to the University of California at Davis medical school, overturning as illegal the affirmative-action program there.

However, Wilson downplayed the importance of this assault on civil rights. "Despite the decision on Bakke the man," she said, "we take hope in the fact that we won the court battle on affirmative action. Indeed, when we look at Justice Lewis Powell's opinion on the constitutionality of affirmative action, we will see that a great principle was preserved."

Earlier Hooks said he interpreted the court ruling as meaning that "affirmative action is alive and well."

At the same time, he implicitly admitted the ruling will encourage the racist campaign against affirmative action. He said he expected "a full blast of lawsuits that will be filed by those who would use the *Bakke* case as a means of rolling back the top on minority progress."

Hooks linked the *Bakke* decision and the victory of Proposition 13 in California to a growth of "neo-conservatism."

He said racist opposition to social services for Blacks and Chicanos as well as discontent with higher taxes was behind the victory of the California tax initiative.

Hooks called for an educational program to get out the truth about Proposition 13. He explained, for example, that out of "the \$7.7 billion tax reduction, \$5.5 billion will be tax reductions realized by businesses and owners of large apartments and rental complexes, not by so-called little people who own individual homes."

He called for financing social services by exempting such businesses from the tax reductions.

Still another concern of the NAACP convention is Africa. In her keynote speech, Wilson attacked "recent suggestions from within the Carter administration that the CIA should be set loose in Africa once more to destroy people and governments."

She said that Carter's complaints about the Soviet and Cuban military presence in Africa are only a "pretext," since Washington has ignored the "thousands of French troops throughout Africa" and "the gross and extensive violations of human rights by white minority governments in southern Africa, especially in South Africa."

Wilson called for complete U.S. corporate and financial withdrawal from South Africa. Up until last year the NAACP had accepted the argument that American investment aids South African Blacks.

Both NAACP leaders expressed dissatisfaction with the Carter administration. Hooks called the White House policies toward Blacks "unsatisfactory taken as a whole," while Wilson attacked the administration for abandoning the unemployed.

Both, however, affirmed their support to the Carter administration. So it is not surprising that neither they nor any other NAACP leaders appear to



Militant/John Hawkins

NAACP national chairperson Margaret Bush-Wilson and executive director Benjamin Hooks.

have a strategy to safeguard Blacks from today's high unemployment and racist assaults.

Both Hooks and Wilson rejected a return to the demonstrations and other direct actions by Blacks that won civil rights gains in the 1960s. They stressed instead continued reliance on the Democratic Party and cooperation with big business.

One of the key features of Wilson's speech was her call for greater support for private industry as the solution to Black unemployment. She echoed a position taken last year by the NAACP Board of Directors supporting the energy profiteers in their drive to expand nuclear power and whip up hysteria against foreign oil imports.

However, the big banks and

corporations—and the Democratic and Republican parties that they control—are the enemies, not the friends, of Black people. It is on behalf of this wealthy minority that mass unemployment, rising inflation, and racist attacks are being used to roll back the living standards of American workers.

The way forward for Blacks is to rely on our independent power in the streets, as in the 1960s. That will have to mean breaking from the two big-business parties and forming an independent political party of working people, on our own or together with the labor movement.

This is the challenge before the NAACP and other organizations that seek to defend the rights of Black people.



## Presses antilabor offensive

# Brown hops on Prop 13 bandwagon

By Joanie Quinn

LOS ANGELES—"Proposition 13 is going to require some fundamental changes," Gov. Jerry Brown told a statewide television audience June 23. Brown added that he hoped the property tax initiative would help California become "the model for the nation" in how state spending could be cut.

"We're going to see cutbacks because people voted for that," Brown says. The governor even boasts that passage of Prop 13 proves the people are finally coming around to his own "era of limits" philosophy of cutbacks and austerity.

Claiming to be following the popular will, Brown announced his support for an amendment to the state constitution that would put a ceiling on state spending—dealing yet another blow to public employees and to all California working people, who rely on vital state services.

Actually most hardpressed working-class homeowners and small business owners were not voting for layoffs and cutbacks when they approved Prop 13 by a two-to-one margin June 6. Hoping for an immediate tax break, most believed claims by Prop 13 backers that passage of the measure would not require any cuts—that lost income would simply mean less "fat" in the state budget.

But this was a lie. Right-wing demagogues used it to put over a swindle that cuts jobs and social services for working people, while forking over a multi-billion-dollar tax giveaway to California's giant corporations and landlords.

Brown knows that massive discontent with Prop 13-inspired cuts could hurt his chances in next fall's gubernatorial election. Thousands of state em-



'Prop 13 is going to require some fundamental changes,' California Gov. Jerry Brown told a statewide television audience.

ployees gave him a taste of this June 29, for example, when they booed him at a Sacramento rally. One demonstrator carried a sign that said, "Era of Limits Means One Term."

To forestall such politically costly protests, Brown got the state legislature to release some \$5 billion out of a surplus in the state treasury.

This maneuver provides a one-year shelter from at least some of the most drastic cutbacks Prop 13 would have otherwise unleashed immediately. But even with this relief, county revenues are expected to shrink by 10 to 20 percent this year.

Most cities made immediate budget cuts of 10.5 percent. When the state surplus expires, these cuts could zoom as high as 50 percent!

And Brown's state aid comes with strings attached. Counties must use it

to maintain police and fire departments before they can do anything to ease the squeeze on schools, social welfare spending, or public employee jobs.

While ensuring in this way that cuts in police funding will be no more than 1 percent, the legislature voted to postpone indefinitely a previously scheduled cost-of-living hike for California's 2.2 million welfare recipients.

The majority of those affected are children on aid-to-dependent-children programs. The balance consists of the mothers of these children along with some 70,000 blind, disabled, and old-aged welfare recipients.

On June 27, the Los Angeles Board of Education approved a one-year plan to phase out all the city's day-care centers. These centers serve nearly 10,000 children and employ some 2,000 teachers and school workers.

The same day, the city council here voted to deny pay raises to 44,000 city workers.

Summer schools for elementary and secondary students had already been closed here. Schools face a 5 percent budget cut when they reopen next fall.

Summer sessions for Los Angeles city colleges have also been canceled. Fall city college budgets have been slashed 15 percent.

In San Francisco, the board of supervisors has approved a city tax increase to go into effect when the state surplus expires. Meanwhile, they trimmed the city budget by 8 percent.

## Socialists will discuss fight for women's rights at conf.

By Bernie Senter

The emergency facing the Equal Rights Amendment . . . the crisis around abortion rights . . . the recent Supreme Court *Bakke* ruling . . . all these spotlight the mounting attacks on women's rights.

Discussing what women can do to roll back these attacks and regain the offensive will be one important part of the upcoming Active Workers and Socialist Educational Conference. The conference, sponsored by the Socialist Workers Party, will be held August 5-12 in Ohio.

Some of the issues the conference will take up were explained in a recent interview with Willie Mae Reid, SWP women's liberation director, and Helen Schiff, a member of the United Steelworkers Local 12243 in Union, New Jersey. Both are members of the National Organization for Women.

"We will be discussing how to continue the momentum of the July 9 ERA demonstration," said Schiff. "How we can involve the labor movement in further struggles for women's rights."

"I am looking forward to talking with others at the conference who helped get their unions to participate in the march on Washington."

Reid explained that "July 9 demonstrates the potential for uniting powerful social forces in actions to defend our rights."

"The ERA is an issue that is important for the Black community, for the unions, for all working people," she said.

"The conference will also offer an opportunity," Reid added, "to step back from day-to-day activity and examine the roots of women's second-class status; the role that the family plays in the lives of women; Stalinism versus women's liberation; the relationships between the women's, Black, and labor movements; and the relevance of socialist ideas to winning women's rights."

The conference will feature a full week of talks, classes, workshops, and panel discussions on these issues and many others: the labor movement and labor political action; the current stage of the Black, Chicano, and Puerto Rican movements; the fight against nuclear power; taxes; the African revolution; gay rights; and much more.

The central theme of all these will be the SWP's proposals for mobilizing working people to defend their democratic rights and living standards, and winning them to the socialist movement.

If you would like to participate, contact the SWP branch nearest you (see page 31), or clip and mail the coupon on this page to: SWP, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014.

Bernie Senter is coordinating plans for the Active Workers and Socialist Educational Conference.

I am interested in attending the Active Workers and Socialist Educational Conference. Send me more information.

Name \_\_\_\_\_  
Address \_\_\_\_\_  
City \_\_\_\_\_ State \_\_\_\_\_  
Zip \_\_\_\_\_ Phone \_\_\_\_\_

## San Jose protest

By Sandi Sherman

SAN JOSE—Some 150 county workers here protested any cutbacks in social services that would result from Prop 13 at a June 22 rally.

The rally was called by Service Employees International Union Local 535. Close to 75 percent of those who participated were Chicanos and Blacks.

SEIU Local 535 President Dennis

O'Neal urged the creation of a coalition to unite working people, unionists, and poor people to fight against cutbacks. "Proposition 13 was an insidious fraud perpetrated on us by millionaires and real estate interests," O'Neal explained. "The media calls it a revolution but make no mistake, it's a shifting of the tax burden back on our backs and off rich peoples' backs."

## L.A. gay rights march

# Thousands demand 'Stop Briggs!'

By Joanie Quinn

LOS ANGELES—Thousands marched here July 2 to demand, "No on the Briggs initiative!" The ballot initiative, sponsored by State Sen. John Briggs, would drive lesbians, gay men, and all those who advocate gay rights from California public schools.

The demonstration, L.A.'s ninth annual Christopher Street Day Parade, was sponsored by the Christopher Street West Association.

As the demonstration proceeded down Hollywood Boulevard, the 10,000 marchers urged an equal number

For more coverage of gay rights protests, see page 28.

crowding the sidewalks to join in the demonstration. And many did, in spite of a local ordinance prohibiting "spectators" from leaving the sidewalk.

Those who did join the march were greeted by waves of cheers from the crowd, both on and off the sidewalks.

The newly formed Lesbians of Color

led off the march. Following them were the Women United Against Briggs, nearly 1,000 women.

By far the largest contingent in the demonstration was that of the Committee Against the Briggs Initiative and NO on the Briggs Initiative Committee. It included representatives from sister organizations around the state, including a noisy representation from Briggs's home turf of Fullerton.

The rally after the march filled De Longpre Park to capacity. The crowd heard nineteen speakers representing a broad range of organizations.

One of the best received was Harvey Milk, San Francisco city supervisor, who warned the crowd not to listen to those who urge gays to hide in the closets during election years. Milk drew loud applause when he said, "I say to you that Black people did not win their rights by sitting quietly in the back of the bus. And lesbians and gay men will not win our rights by sitting quietly in the closet. We are coming out!"

Virginia Garza, speaking for the minority women's task force of the

National Organization for Women, also stressed this point. "You have to depend on yourselves, not politicians," Garza said. "Look at Jerry Brown. Before the election he said Proposition 13 was a rip-off. Now he thinks it's a great idea."

Garza urged the crowd to "educate the public and win them over."

Gloria Alred, the coordinator of Los Angeles NOW, pledged NOW's support to the fight to defeat the Briggs initiative.

Other speakers included Judy Solkivits, vice-president of the California Federation of Teachers; Robin Tyler, a feminist comedienne; gay activists Ivy Bottini and Morris Kight; Grace Davis, deputy mayor of Los Angeles; and the Rev. Elder James Sandmire of the Metropolitan Community Church.

Anthony Corbett Sullivan from the NO on the Briggs Initiative Committee and Bernadette Cormier of the Committee Against the Briggs Initiative/Los Angeles outlined future activities, including a massive campaign to distribute educational material opposing the initiative.

# Women workers on the move

By Shelley Kramer

Thousands of women workers are marching for the Equal Rights Amendment July 9—in the delegations of women's groups, in trade-union contingents, and under the banners of Black and other civil rights organizations.

Their increasing identification with and participation in the women's movement is sending chills down the spines of the enemies of women's rights.

More and more women are working outside the home today—49.3 percent—because of the influence of the women's movement and the pressure of worsening economic conditions. But they are accepting their bottom-rung jobs and unequal wages less and less.

Traditional attitudes toward women's role have also been shaken.

The "norm" that women belong in the home, raising children and keeping house, is less and less accepted by young workers, both men and women. According to a *New York Times*-CBS News poll, only 27 percent of people aged eighteen to twenty-nine prefer a marriage where the husband works and the woman stays at home.

More than half the working women of all ages interviewed in the survey rejected the idea that they are "worse" mothers if they hold jobs.

These new attitudes are giving rise to important changes in the labor movement. Women are turning to their unions to defend their needs—equal pay for equal work, affirmative action in hiring, maternity benefits, and child care. They are demanding equal representation on union leadership bodies, support for grievances against sex discrimination, the right to set up women's committees and caucuses to ensure that their needs are a union priority.

One example is the Women's Caucus in United Steelworkers District 31. Women activists in the district formed the caucus in 1977. Over the past year it has initiated fights for pregnancy benefits, the ERA, and women's health and safety on the job. The caucus is now an official body of the union.

Support for the caucus indicates a new mood among women steelworkers. When Chicago's Republic Steel Company tried to fire nine women on probation recently, the victims, who are mostly Black, filed a complaint with the government and won their



United Auto Workers contingent marching in Chicago demonstration on April 29 for the Equal Rights Amendment.

jobs back. The caucus supported their fight.

Protests by women workers at Chicago's South Works forced the company to remove a degrading slide show presentation for apprentices that included pictures of nude women. After two women apprentices walked out of the class in disgust, the union intervened and the pictures were withdrawn. "Programs like that reinforce the idea that we're a big joke or somebody's plaything," one of the women explained.

The District 31 Women's Caucus announced in its June *Bulletin* that members will attend the September USWA convention to press for two goals—strengthening affirmative action and union democracy.

"If union democracy is important to anyone, it is important to women," the *Bulletin* declares. "We must change the situation where we have no voice in the highest levels of the union. . . . We must have a department of Women's Affairs to focus attention on our special needs. Our Civil Rights Committees in our locals must be beefed up and given more power."

The ferment among women unionists is not limited to the steel industry. At the recent convention of the

Coalition of Black Trade Unionists, Black women played an active role. The CBTU approved a resolution endorsing the July 9 ERA march, backing extension of the ERA ratification deadline, and urging local chapters to work for an end to sex discrimination on the job.

In mid-May a Tennessee women's group called the Coal Employment Project, along with several chapters of the National Organization for Women, filed a complaint with the Labor Department against discriminatory hiring policies in the coal industry. The women pointed out that nearly 98 percent of all mining employees are male. They demanded that the federal government revoke coal contracts unless effective affirmative-action quotas for women and minorities are implemented.

Although women fighting to get into the mining industry is relatively new, the role of women in coalfield battles is not. As millions saw in the documentary *Harlan County, U.S.A.*, miners' wives, daughters, sisters, and friends picketed, marched, and were jailed to help win the fight for a union at the Brookside, Kentucky, mine.

As one Brookside woman explained, they were inspired by watching "all

those women's libbers picketing on television. . . . We didn't see why we couldn't do it too."

That same confidence and combativity was expressed in the Elwood, Indiana, strike by United Auto Workers Local 1663. Led by women, the strikers held out for almost nine months against the union-busting attacks of Essex Wire.

They fought against company scabs, goons, and cops—with minimal help from UAW's Solidarity House. Although finally forced to settle for only two cents above the minimum wage—by 1980!—the women strikers vowed to continue their struggle to "make the UAW a fighting union again."

For growing numbers of women workers, making their unions "fighting unions" cannot be separated from committing them to the struggle for women's rights. And today the cutting edge of that involvement is labor support for the ERA.

Widespread support for the ERA among both male and female unionists has brought significant changes from the days when George Meany and the AFL-CIO officialdom campaigned against the amendment. It was under the pressure of this sentiment that the AFL-CIO changed its tune and gave formal endorsement to the ERA in 1973.

Unions have been in the forefront of this year's ERA protests. In January a coalition of unions—Labor for Equal Rights Now—led a march of 3,200 in Richmond, Virginia, demanding ratification. In Chicago, where 2,500 rallied for the ERA on April 29, steelworkers and auto workers organized prominent contingents in the march.

But the most dramatic expression of women's rights sentiment in the unions has been the response to the July 9 national ERA march.

Auto workers, steelworkers, communications workers, hospital workers, rail workers, and teamsters have worked to build the march. State and local AFL-CIO councils have gone on record in support of the action.

From women steelworkers to the Elwood strikers to the women of Brookside, new forces are entering the battle for equal rights. More and more they see the women's rights movement as *their* movement; its demands as *their* demands.

That's what July 9 shows. And July 9 can be just the beginning.



Pathfinder Press books on

## WOMEN'S RIGHTS

Reading on the labor movement, Black struggle & socialism

**How to Win the ERA**, by Ginny Hildebrand and others. \$.50.

**Affirmative Action versus Seniority**, by Linda Jenness and others. \$.50.

**Black Women's Struggle for Equality**, by Willie Mae Reid \$.25

**Abortion Rights in Danger!** by Nancy Brown and others. \$.35.

**Woman's Evolution**, by Evelyn Reed. 490 pages, cloth \$20.00, paper \$5.95.

**Sexism and Science**, by Evelyn Reed. 192 pages, cloth \$12.00, paper \$3.45.

**Women and the Socialist Revolution**, by Mary-Alice Waters. \$.50.

**Which Way for the Women's Movement?** by Cindy Jaquith and Willie Mae Reid. \$.50.

**FBI vs. Women**, by Cindy Jaquith and Diane Wang. \$.75.

**The Origin of the Family, Private Property, and the State**, by Frederick Engels. Introduction by Evelyn Reed. 192 pages, \$2.95.

**Gay Liberation Today**, Introduction by Michael Maggi. \$.65.

**Women and the Family**, by Leon Trotsky. 80 pages, \$1.95.

**Prospects for Socialism in America**, Edited with an introduction by

Jack Barnes and Mary-Alice Waters. 256 pages, cloth \$14.00, paper \$2.95.

**What Socialists Stand For**, by Stephanie Coontz. \$.50.

**By Any Means Necessary**, by Malcolm X. 192 pages, cloth \$10.00, paper \$2.95.

**Malcolm X on Afro-American History**, 74 pages, \$1.95.

**The 110-Day Coal Strike**, by Nancy Cole and Andy Rose. \$.75.

**Labor's Giant Step**, by Art Preis. 538 pages, cloth \$20.00, paper \$6.95.

**Teamster Rebellion**, by Farrell Dobbs. 192 pages, cloth \$10.00, paper \$3.95. First of a four-volume set. All four volumes in paper, \$12.00.

Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, New York 10014. Send for a free catalog. Please include \$.25 for postage and handling; \$.50 if order of more than \$5.00.



# Bakke ruling: closing doors to women

By Diane Wang

For all the women who are looking for better-paying jobs, the Supreme Court has a message. The high court's ruling in the *Bakke* case against affirmative-action quotas tells not only Blacks but women too: "Stay in your place."

The Supreme Court said racism and discrimination are deplorable. But not nearly as deplorable as the affirmative-action quotas women and Blacks have demanded to remedy past discrimination. These are unconstitutional, said the court.

Blacks, other oppressed minorities—and women—are now supposed to rely on "good faith" and conscience to open the doors that have been closed to them. But why should women trust their bosses' "goodwill" to provide them job opportunities, when those same employers have closed the door and kept it shut all these years?

More than 41 million women have jobs in this country today. Many have gone to work to cope with inflation. After all, families with two wage-earners have incomes 35 percent higher than families with only one "breadwinner." And 7.7 million women are the sole support of their families. Women work for the same reason men do, to earn needed money.

Yet even though women are more than 41 percent of the labor force, they take home only 25 percent of the wages earned in this country. According to the latest figures, women on an

average earn almost \$100 less each week than men. The median weekly income for men is \$253; for women, \$156.

In part, this is because of unequal pay for equal work. The U.S. Labor Department reports that during the last fiscal year 19,141 workers alone were underpaid \$15.5 million because of unequal pay.

But in large part, women earn less because they are kept out of higher-paying jobs. Seven out of ten employed women have clerical, service, or operative jobs.

Affirmative action has opened a few doors in recent years.

In Kentucky several coal companies were ordered to hire one woman for every two men until women had 20 percent of the jobs.

Finally—thanks to affirmative action—some women could get into jobs that paid more than the minimum wages earned by secretaries, waitresses, and assembly line workers.

But now the Supreme Court has ruled against the use of affirmative-action quotas. And without quotas, what's left? Only promises and so-called good intentions.

The *Bakke* case dealt specifically with a white, male, thirty-eight-year-old engineer who claimed he was kept out of medical school by a special admissions program for minorities. The outcome of the case will affect more than graduate and

professional schools. Women and Blacks are threatened with being shut out of jobs.

The ruling class has been quick to use the *Bakke* case to promote the slander that affirmative action is "reverse discrimination." That's a handy wedge for dividing working people—male against female and white against Black. It weakens the entire labor movement.

And it is a convenient cover for the bosses' failure to provide education, jobs, and decent living standards for everyone.

The employers are encouraging other, similar lawsuits. At Bethlehem Steel's Sparrows Point plant, for example, four steelworkers are trying to challenge the 1974 consent decree that provided plant-wide seniority to help upgrade the status of Black and women steelworkers.

Women need to protest the *Bakke* decision and these further attacks on affirmative action. Women have already won over a majority of people—including organized labor—to support the Equal Rights Amendment. That took patient education and organizing.

Labor's support must also be won to defend affirmative action. We need to explain that the fight for the Equal Rights Amendment and legal equality goes hand in hand with the battle for affirmative action. Both are needed to ensure equality in the work force—the first step to building a united labor movement.

## Feminist runs for Senate on SWP ticket

By Diane Wang

NEWARK, N.J.—There is nothing unusual about seeing Alice Connor under a women's rights banner. She has been a hard-working feminist and a socialist for a long time.

Connor has been a member of the National Organization for Women (NOW) for eight years and was a NOW-New Jersey board member for the abortion task force in 1977. She put a lot of energy into building NOW's last national march for the Equal Rights Amendment in 1976. And she is urging everyone to attend the July 9 march for the ERA in Washington.

Now, Connor is running for U.S. Senate from New Jersey. And on the evening of June 24, at the rally here to launch her campaign as the Socialist Workers Party candidate, Connor was again pointing to a banner that declared, "Defend women's rights!"

Connor cautioned against thinking women can make use of the Democratic or Republican parties to change society or win their rights. "In reality," she said, "it is the system that uses us. No capitalist candidate will give us any real solution, because they are tied totally to those who profit from our oppression."

"Women are tired of being sold out and ignored," insisted Connor. "We are realizing again that our strength is in our numbers."

Connor pointed to examples of politi-



New Jersey NOW leaders Connie Gilbert-Neiss (top left) and Rosemary Dempsey addressed rally for socialist senatorial candidate Alice Connor (right).



Militant/Joanne Murphy

cal action independent of the Democrats and Republicans, the kinds of actions she thinks are necessary: the United Mine Workers militant strike, the demonstrations for jobs and against the *Bakke* decision, the campaigns on campuses against ties with South Africa, the anti-nuclear power mobilizations, and—especially—the July 9 national march for the ERA called by NOW.

She challenged her opponents in the senatorial race, Democrat Bill Bradley and Republican Jeffrey Bell, to attend the march.

Leaders of the New Jersey women's

movement appeared as guest speakers at the rally.

Connie Gilbert-Neiss, secretary of NOW-New Jersey, described the campaign to win the ERA. "It's up to us to do something about the dire straits the ERA is in," she said.

"Remember the lip service—and the absence of real, political muscle—afforded the ERA by both the Democratic and Republican parties in this country, over these last six years," she said. She urged the crowd to remember that on election day.

Gilbert-Neiss commended the *Mili-*

*tant* for "the best in-depth weekly coverage of women's movement activities available" and described what is going on in New Jersey to win the ERA. She urged everyone to attend the national march on July 9.

Rosemary Dempsey, a coordinator of NOW-New Jersey's lesbian task force, explained how the fight for gay rights is related to the fight for all women's rights. "The women's movement has to remember it is a movement to change society, a movement fighting for everyone," she said.

Leon Glower, a student at Arts High School in Newark and a member of the Young Socialist Alliance, also spoke.

Tony Austin, the SWP candidate for U.S. Congress from Newark, said "We've been taught to believe that the only way you can win is by getting the most votes." But whenever people stand up and fight for their rights it is a victory.

As working people continue to fight for their own interests, explained Austin, it will lead to "breaking with the Democrats and Republicans, who have consistently betrayed our struggles."

"The next step would be running independent candidates from the unions," he said. What is needed is "a labor party that could unite the power of the unions with the Black struggle and women's movement, a party to organize the defense of working people's rights."

"There is no doubt in my mind that we will win," Austin concluded. "The future is ours."

## Join the Socialist Workers Party

Disillusioned by big talk and little action from Democratic and Republican party politicians?

The Socialist Workers Party is a different kind of political party—a party that campaigns day-in and day-out for women's rights, against racism, and for the interests of all working people.

If that sounds like a welcome change, then join us in the fight for a better world—a socialist world—where human needs come first.

To find out more about us, send in this

coupon, or contact the SWP headquarters nearest you listed on page 31.

- ☐ I want to join the SWP.
- ☐ Send me \_\_\_\_\_ copies of *Prospects for Socialism in America* at \$2.95 each. Enclosed is \$ \_\_\_\_\_.
- ☐ Please send me more information.

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

City \_\_\_\_\_

State \_\_\_\_\_ Zip \_\_\_\_\_

Telephone \_\_\_\_\_

Send to: SWP, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014

# Historic lawsuit enters fifth year



## By George Novack

The Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance initiated a landmark suit against the surveillance and harassment activities of the government on July 18, 1973. We did not then anticipate that five years would be consumed in discovery proceedings even before the case would go to trial.

Why this crawling pace? On one side the federal authorities have "stonewalled" all along the way, raising obstacles and causing delays aimed at exhausting the plaintiffs or derailing the suit. On the other side the prolonged discovery efforts have pried more than 100,000 pages of documents out of the FBI and other agencies. As the *New York Times* noted, "Most of what is now known about the 15-year Cointelpro program has been made public as a result of the SWP suit."

The suit has uncovered authenticated proofs of FBI burglaries; spying on the plaintiffs as well as on Black, antiwar, women's, and Chicano movements' activities; poison-pen letters; agent "visits" to landlords, employers, and relatives, leading to loss of jobs and housing; conniving with administrators to get college and school teachers fired; agency attempts to foment dissension within and among their target groups; the use of hundreds of informers to spy on people, steal records, and instigate provocations. It has brought to light CIA break-ins against Americans overseas, and much, much more.

## Foremost civil liberties case

That is why this ongoing \$40 million litigation has taken center stage as the foremost civil liberties case of the post-Watergate era and won so much publicity and endorsement. The constitutional issues involved in its unprecedented revelations make it the legal trailblazer in testing the transgressions committed by the entire federal "intelligence community." Two appeals have already been taken to the U.S. Supreme Court.

For the past year, the lawyers have been battling to secure the files of a cross-section of the informers who have infested the two organizations over the decades. This contest has now reached the point where U.S. Attorney General Bell, one of John Mitchell's successors, is risking punishment for contempt of court by refusing to obey the federal judge's order to hand over eighteen of the informer files to the SWP's attorneys. This is an unheard-of defiance of the law by the nation's top law enforcement official.

The political significance of this showdown be-

tween the judicial and executive branches of the government and between the plaintiffs and the powers-that-be can be gauged by contrasting the circumstances in 1948, when the cold war witch-hunt took off, with the present situation. Back then the SWP was placed without a hearing on the attorney general's "subversive list" together with scores of other groups. The FBI was sacrosanct and its head, J. Edgar Hoover, a national hero.

Today the subversive list has been scrapped, at least formally, and can no longer be invoked as a punitive instrument for hounding dissenters. The attorney general has been forced publicly to issue an order that the FBI should cease investigating the plaintiffs after admittedly spending \$1.6 million and employing 1,300 informers without yielding the slightest shred of any wrongdoing. "You've been looking at this group for thirty-five years and you haven't produced one single solitary crime or incitement to violence in the U.S. by anyone in this organization," Judge Thomas Griesa observed in a bench opinion.

On the other hand FBI agents are under indictment for illegal break-ins; Hoover's memory is in disgrace as added evidence of his vendetta against Martin Luther King, Jr. has been disclosed. There is less and less trust in the credibility of the White House. And Carter's Georgia friend, the attorney general, is openly censured in federal court for "a naked exercise of power beyond the rule of law."

## What a turnabout!

As the June 18 *New York Times* commented: "It seemed incongruous, but the tiny Socialist Workers Party had the chief law enforcement official in the United States boxed into a corner last week."

"What a turnabout is there, my countrymen!" an orator of the old school might well proclaim.

And what light this act of defiance throws upon the hollowness of the boast that President Carter is the sturdy champion of human rights and has put behind him the criminal deeds of the Nixon years. In fact, the administration keeps chipping away at civil liberties in its striving to recover the untrained exercise of executive privilege that was crippled after Watergate.

In the Humphrey-Truong espionage conviction last month, the Justice Department sought "to impose an Official Secrets Act on the country by stealth," protested *New York Times* columnist Anthony Lewis on June 19. "This is only the latest of many disturbing positions taken by the Carter Justice Department—disturbing for freedom of expression and information. The department has

pushed gag orders to new extremes, and this week it brings Frank Snapp to trial for publishing unclassified information about the C.I.A."

The latest dramatic episode in the SWP suit exposes to full view how little consideration the executive branch gives to constitutional rights and legal procedures when these threaten its spy system.

It is important to understand why the government has stalled for over a year and is so adamant on shielding its informers at all costs. Informers are as essential to the operation of the repressive agencies of a capitalist regime as the police or armed forces. As the new FBI Director William Webster says, informers are "the most effective tool of law-enforcement today." However, in respect to political dissidents these snoopers do not simply supply information; they concoct it for their employers to earn their pay. Lies are their stock-in-trade. I can vouch for that after reading the manufactured materials in the FBI and IRS reports about myself.

## Undercover mercenaries

Informers likewise work to frame up opponents of government policy and disrupt their organization. They are mercenaries in an undercover army of spies that do the "dirty tricks" forbidden under the law. These embrace burglarizing homes and offices, planting illegal wiretaps, sending poison-pen letters, physically assaulting demonstrators and leading them into police traps. Ample hard proofs of such skullduggeries have already turned up in the course of the five-year litigation—and the judge has intimated that further damaging evidence is to be found in the eighteen disputed informer files.

The government is afraid that its entire informer network will be endangered if these files are made available even to a few lawyers. The attorney general asserted as much in his affidavit opposing the court order. Such action would indicate that informers could no longer count on anonymity to conceal their crimes and absolve them from being brought to account. Release of the files, it is claimed, would set a precedent that could blow the cover in other pending cases.

Two other major issues are at stake in the development. Is the national administration above the law? This is what Carter's officials contend, just as Nixon's did before them. And are dissidents to be spied upon and harassed by a legion of informers who are granted immunity from their misdeeds under governmental protection?

What an irony this confrontation presents! Democratic and Republican administrations from Roosevelt to Ford sought to squelch opposition to their policies by spying on and trying to disrupt the legitimate political activities of the SWP and YSA. Their extensive and expensive efforts failed to uncover any illegality.

On the other hand, the suit has succeeded in exposing a long train of gross violations of the constitutional and civil rights of our members. We were not the only victims. Others included the NAACP, the Urban League, Black Panthers, and other Black organizations, National Organization for Women, the United Church of Christ, the Communist Party, trade unions, the women's movement, antiwar activists, and many more.

At this climactic point we see the principal law enforcement officer of the United States, sworn to uphold and protect the law, declaring himself above the law and being held in contempt of a federal court order!

## Bold move

This dramatic turn of events lends added importance to this already historic court action. We took a bold move five years ago in challenging the imperial power at Washington on such grounds. The litigants were unequally matched. For a political party such as ours to sue the federal colossus that has unlimited resources at its command appeared as foolhardy as for a small business to sue IBM or General Electric for patent infringement. Such a step could not have been contemplated before Watergate.

It has taken considerable tenacity and unremitting money raising and publicity work by the Political Rights Defense Fund, which is organizing support for the suit, to arrive at this critical juncture. In a press conference at the start of the case, the noted constitutional attorney Leonard Boudin, fresh from his victory in the Ellsberg defense, told reporters it could be "a major step in reversing the erosion of political and civil liberties." And he added: "This case is winnable." That is the persevering spirit in which, after five years, all of us who are connected with this fight—the plaintiffs, the attorneys, the SWP and YSA members, and our many loyal supporters from coast to coast—are resolved to carry it through to a victorious conclusion.



## Judge rules on informer evidence

# Bell in contempt if he withholds FBI files

By Larry Seigle

JULY 4— The clock is running out on Attorney General Griffin Bell. Barring a sudden about-face by the Carter administration, Bell will be the first attorney general ever held in contempt of court, at 5:00 p.m. on July 7.

After that date, the Socialist Workers Party will renew its motion in federal court that Bell be locked up. The party is demanding that Bell be confined to prison until he obeys a court order to turn over files on eighteen FBI provocateurs and spies used against the SWP and the Young Socialist Alliance.

President Carter's Georgia buddy, a former federal appeals court judge, will thus gain the distinction of becoming the nation's number one law-breaking official.

The judgment against the attorney general came in a sweeping sixty-four page decision handed down June 30 by Federal District Court Judge Thomas Griesa, who is presiding over the SWP and YSA suit against government spying and harassment.

The American people, Griesa declared in his opinion, have a right to be "protected against the illegal and unconstitutional use of informants to interfere with the exercise of basic political rights and to invade the privacy of persons and organizations."

Griesa raked Bell over the coals for creating an "unjustified delay and obstruction to the production of evidence in a case involving serious charges of illegal use of informants."

Responding to Justice Department pleas that holding Bell in contempt would be unprecedented, Griesa said, "No one can deny that it is a grave step to enforce a court order to the extent of holding the Attorney General of the United States in contempt. However, the issues in this case are grave in the extreme, involving charges of abuse of political power of the most serious nature."

### 'Essential evidence'

Griesa upheld the party's contention that the files on the FBI spies are "a unique and essential body of evidence regarding the allegations of wrongdoing in this case."

He ruled that the case involves "the most fundamental constitutional rights . . . the right to engage in political organization and to speak freely on political subjects, without interference and harassment from governmental organs." (Excerpts from the ruling appear on pages 23-25.)

"This decision has far-reaching implications for everyone involved in political activity. It will be drawn on for years to come—if it is upheld on appeal," said attorney Mary Pike.

Pike, along with Margaret Winter and SWP chief counsel Leonard Boudin, has fought the issue



Militant/David Frankel



Militant/Diane Wang

**Holding Attorney General Bell in contempt of court will have 'far-reaching implications for everyone engaged in political activity,' says socialists' attorney Mary Pike.**

out in numerous legal briefs leading up to the historic June 30 ruling.

SWP National Secretary Jack Barnes hailed the ruling as "a milestone in the fight to uncover the truth about FBI political spying."

In a statement sent out over the wire services and quoted on the front page of newspapers across the country, Barnes said, "The attorney general's flagrant defiance of Judge Griesa's order is part of the government's continuing cover-up of the criminal acts of the FBI's secret army of stool pigeons and provocateurs."

"We demand that President Carter immediately direct Bell to comply with the court order."

"We will take this case to the American people and join with all supporters of democratic rights to demand that the Carter Administration stop stonewalling and hand over the files."

### Fundamental contest

Behind the legal conflict between Bell and the socialists lies a fundamental contest over the government's right to use spies and finks as weapons against socialists, against labor, and against the Black and women's movements.

Throughout the history of the workers movement, capitalist governments have used secret agents to sow dissension, create provocations, and engineer frame-ups of class-struggle victims. Political police have always constructed their repressive machines on the foundation provided by subterranean networks of informers.

Without its army of rats, the FBI would be severely handicapped in its job of disrupting movements that seek to challenge government policies.

However, after years of revelations about FBI and CIA crimes—including many sordid details about the role of FBI snitches—the American people are not sympathetic to government efforts to protect the FBI's informer network behind a curtain of secrecy.

On June 27, at a court hearing convened to hear arguments on whether Bell should be found in contempt, United States Attorney Robert Fiske complained strenuously that handing over the files "would have a major adverse effect on law enforcement in general and also on foreign counterintelligence."

In the past, such an appeal from a high government official would have carried considerable weight. Today, it rings as false as did Nixon's sniveling pleadings about "national security" to conceal the Watergate crimes.

Judge Griesa brushed aside this defense argument, insisting that turning over the files would be "in the broad public interest."

Summarizing the central issues in the case, Griesa wrote: "Plaintiffs [the SWP and YSA] allege, among other things, that the FBI used its very considerable power to conduct a systematic covert campaign to manipulate and disrupt the plaintiff organizations and interfere with their lawful activities."

"Plaintiffs allege that a prime device used in this campaign was to infiltrate the plaintiff organizations with paid, undercover informants, who were instructed to take various actions designed to harm the organizations, and to furnish the FBI information so that the FBI could take additional steps to

harass and hamper the organizations and their members. . . .

"Plaintiffs contend that there was no valid law enforcement or crime-detection purpose involved in the FBI surveillance and the other activities carried out by the FBI against the SWP, the YSA and their members."

"In this connection," the judge added pointedly, "it should be noted that in September 1976, some three years after this action had been commenced, and after a Senate subcommittee had severely criticized the FBI with respect to its activities against the SWP and the YSA, Attorney General Levi terminated the investigation of the SWP."

### Sharpening clash

The sharpening clash between the Carter administration and the federal judge poses a risk of conflict between two branches of the capitalist government that the ruling class would obviously prefer to avoid.

"The Attorney General has no 'right' to defy a court order, . . ." declared Griesa.

"The Court possesses, and must possess under our system of law, the authority to enforce an order for the production of evidence, . . ."

However, Carter and Bell have shown no sign of relenting in their defiance of Griesa's order. A spokesperson for Bell responded to the judge's ruling by announcing, "I know nothing that changes the attorney general's previous statements about the merits of his position."

No one in Washington would answer reporters' questions about whether Bell would be willing to go to jail rather than comply with the law.

The confrontation reflects continuing divisions within the ruling class over how far to go in making concessions to the public outrage over FBI crimes.

Griesa has spent the last year or so reviewing these top-secret files and has made it clear that while they show not a solitary illegal act by the SWP or the YSA, they document massive criminal deeds by the FBI and its stool pigeons. His far-reaching decision on the files reflects the conviction that airing the truth about these crimes is necessary to force the FBI to act more in tune with current political realities, and restore public confidence in government institutions.

But the Carter White House has decided the opposite. The administration is prepared to fight hard against any moves that would let the American people know even a small part of the dirty truth about the government's informer system. And it is prepared to go to war to prevent any breach in the wall of secrecy known as the "informer privilege." Such a breach, they correctly fear, would weaken the political police apparatus.

### Next steps

Judge Griesa wrote in his opinion that if Bell does not respond to the contempt ruling by handing over the files, the court would "entertain a motion for more drastic sanctions." Attorneys for the socialists will refile their motion that Bell be sent to jail.

The Justice Department has said it will appeal the contempt ruling. But, explained attorney Pike, "There is no appeal allowed from a civil contempt

*Continued on next page*

## Emergency fund appeal

It isn't easy to take the FBI and attorney general to court.

But the effort has been worth it. In the past five years the lawsuit has documented FBI burglaries, Cointelpro disruption plots, and other crimes of Washington's political police.

Now the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance are in an historic showdown with the FBI to end the coverup of political informers' activities.

It has taken hard work and lots of money. We spent more than \$3,000 to print our legal brief to the Supreme Court explaining why Attorney General Griffin Bell should produce the evidence. We expect to have nearly \$18,000 in expenses over the next three months.

Will you help fight this important battle in defense of democratic rights? Please send your contribution to the Political Rights Defense Fund, which is organizing support for the lawsuit.

Political Rights Defense Fund  
Post Office Box 649 Cooper Station  
New York, New York 10003



# Press on ruling: 'Mind-boggling'

By Diane Wang

"Release FBI Files or Else, Judge Warns Bell." That's how a New York *Daily News* headline summarized Judge Thomas Griesa's June 30 ruling in the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance lawsuit against the FBI.

The *New York Times* declared that Griesa's ultimatum to the attorney general to either release the FBI informer files or be in contempt of court was an "extraordinary decision," even "mind-boggling." The front page of the *Washington Post* called it "unprecedented."

In Los Angeles Fred Halstead, Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of California, blasted Bell's illegal attempts to cover up government crimes. In a statement aired by several radio stations Halstead noted that the Los Angeles Police Department, like the FBI, has spent millions to spy on and disrupt political activities.

"Judge Griesa's ruling should serve as a warning to police officials here in California, as well as nationally, that this kind of operation must come to an end," he said.

The local CBS-TV affiliate in Phoenix questioned Jessica Sampson, the SWP candidate for governor of Arizona, a few days before Judge Griesa's ruling. Why is the attorney general risking a contempt of court citation? they asked.

"Bell is afraid that if these files are uncovered, other informers will be reluctant to commit illegal acts for the government," Sampson answered. "They will no longer believe the FBI when it assures them that their crimes will be covered up and their identities kept secret."

In Boston SWP spokesperson Lisa Potash was interviewed on television.

The confrontation over the informer files was front-page news around the nation; it was featured in the *Atlanta Constitution*, *Boston Globe*, *Detroit Free Press*, *Los Angeles Times*, *New Orleans Times-Picayune*, *Philadelphia Inquirer*, *Arizona Republic*, and other papers.

Many of these stories, including the *New York Times*, quoted Jack Barnes, national secretary of the SWP, who called the ruling "a milestone in the fight to uncover the truth about FBI political spying."

Most stories noted, as did the *New York Post*, that "this is the first time the nation's top law enforcement officer has faced a contempt citation for defying a court order."

The *New York Times*, in addition to its front-page news story about the court ruling, ran an article about the Justice Department's reaction, a "Man in the News" column about Judge Griesa, and a short background piece on the lawsuit.

## ...contempt of court

Continued from page 9

finding until after the whole case is decided. Legally, Bell can't appeal."

Pike noted that this is set forth clearly in Griesa's decision, which asserts flatly, "It is a settled rule that a party to a civil case does not have a right of appeal from a civil contempt citation until final judgment."

"Of course," Pike added, "the fact that an appeal would be totally frivolous may not prevent the government from trying it. They have large staffs of lawyers and inexhaustible supplies of money to do it with."

In arguing against the contempt citation in court, United States Attorney Fiske expressed shock and concern that the SWP and YSA would actually have the audacity to press the demand that Bell be sent to the slammer. Such a thing has never happened before, he whined.

"There has never been a case yet," he said, "where the court or the plaintiff's counsel said the government official must be held in contempt because there is no way that the parties and the court can work out an appropriate [compromise]."

That may be true.

But there has never been a case before where the SWP and the YSA had the attorney general of the United States on the ropes.

On July 2 the *New York Times* summed up the impending showdown by speculating that Bell might actually be ordered to jail "unless someone on either side blinks."

Said SWP leader Barnes: "It's up to Bell. We won't bat an eye."

# Hugo Blanco proposes new constitution for Peru

On June 18 elections for a Constituent Assembly were held in Peru. Despite repression by the military regime and the deportation of several of its candidates, an electoral front based on three Trotskyist parties and various trade-union and peasant organizations came in third (see June 30 and July 7 issues of the 'Militant').

Hugo Blanco, one of the exiled candidates and an internationally known revolutionary socialist peasant leader, was elected along with eleven other members of the front. They had run on a program calling for the political independence of the working class, opposition to any pact with capitalist parties or politicians, and for socialism.

The 100-member Constituent Assembly is now supposed to draft a new constitution for Peru. The following proposal for a constitution was drafted by Blanco and widely circulated during the election campaign by the Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores (Socialist Workers Party).

The Constituent Assembly, considering:

- That the historical and cultural roots of Peru demonstrate that socialism is the source of general well-being;

- That the importation of feudal methods and various capitalist models has brought hunger, unemployment, and poverty to our people, and has meant the subordination of our country to imperialism;

- That the present crisis of capitalism is becoming catastrophic for our country; and

- That radical emergency measures must be taken to save ourselves from disaster—

Resolves to adopt the following bases for the social and economic organization of Peru:

## Government

- Local governments shall be made up of delegates democratically elected by the organizations of workers, peasants, employees, *pueblos jóvenes* [shantytown dwellers], soldiers, students, and other popular sectors.

- The national government shall be made up of delegates of those organizations at the national level.

- Any member of government at any level whatever may be removed by the ranks at any time.

- The wages of government functionaries shall be no more than those of workers.

This is the only form of government that can orient the economy and all aspects of national life to serve the majority and not to serve the exploiters in increasing their wealth. Only this can liberate us from imperialism.

## The judicial power

Shall be exercised by popular tribunals elected by the masses.

## The armed forces

Shall be made up of armed defense committees of the workers, peasants, employees, *pueblos jóvenes*, students, and so on.

## The foreign debt

The Peruvian people renounce the debts contracted by their oppressors. We will not repay to the imperialists the loans that were used to suppress us.

## Banking

Shall pass in its totality into the hands of the state.

## Foreign trade

Shall pass in its totality into the hands of the state.

## Domestic commerce and transportation

- Commercial enterprises and public transport shall pass into the hands of the state.

- Small shops tended by their proprietors and public service vehicles owned by their drivers shall remain in the hands of their owners.

## Industry

- Manufacturing, fishing, agricultural, and other industries shall pass into the hands of the state.

- This sector of the economy, along with other nationalized sectors, shall be administered by the workers involved in it.

- Workshops owned by the artisans who work in them shall remain in the hands of their owners.

## Agriculture

The land not dealt with under the previous point shall pass into the hands of the peasants without compensation. The peasants shall determine collec-

tively the private or communal forms in which production is to take place on such land.

## Against unemployment: development

- No compensation shall be paid for the nationalized sectors. We cannot reward those who have sucked our blood for centuries and who would use such compensation to continue keeping us down.

That money shall be used to put an end to unemployment and proceed with development. Peru needs many dwellings equipped with electricity, water, and sewer services; roads and highways; irrigation systems; hospitals; schools; and so on. We have the arms and the brains to build these things. If they are idle today, the capitalist organization of the country is to blame; it is not because our people do not want to work.

- To put an end to unemployment and proceed with development, public works shall be initiated on a massive scale.

These public works shall not be planned according to what some functionaries determine, but rather according to what the people themselves say they need. The organs of workers, peasants, employees, *pueblos jóvenes*, students, and so on, shall make known what works are needed and which of them are the most urgent.

- Clinics, colleges, and all other public services now in the hands of the capitalists shall also be nationalized.

## Education

The workers in power shall determine the objectives and forms of education. This shall be done with the participation of the students and teachers.

## Women

Capitalist society maintains women as house servants; relegates them to the lowest-paying jobs; forces them to bear, or else prevents them from bearing, children; casts them into prostitution; and discriminates against them in all sorts of ways, portraying them and treating them as inferior to men and granting them fewer rights than men.

Society in the hands of the workers shall take measures to put an end to these abuses and give impetus to the organization of women. Child-care centers and communal kitchens and laundries shall be created. Women shall be enabled to study and work in any field whatever. Free clinics for women shall be created.

## Culturally oppressed sectors

Peruvian cultures oppressed at present shall be respected and promoted in every way:

- Education of these sectors in the Peruvian languages spoken by them shall be furthered. Use of these languages shall be obligatory in the tribunals and all other areas where it is necessary.

- Literacy shall be promoted, but in no way shall those who do not speak Spanish or some other European language be discriminated against.

- The peoples of the jungle, and other peoples such as the Uros, shall remain free to determine their own future.

## Democratic liberties

All democratic liberties shall be fully respected: the right of organization, freedom of speech, the right to strike, freedom of religion, freedom of the press, and so on.

This is to guarantee that the great majority are not again oppressed by minorities that might monopolize the expression of ideas as a means of monopolizing wealth and power.

## International solidarity

The well-being and development of Peru, once it is in the hands of its own people, will not be durable so long as Peru remains in a world of exploitation and poverty.

Should Peru remain isolated it will again fall into the clutches of international capitalism, or else suffer bureaucratic degeneration.

- Building the Socialist United States of Latin America with Cuba and any other countries that are liberated from imperialism is thus an urgent necessity.

- Solidarity with other countries subjected to colonialism, such as those of Africa and Asia, is also important.

- Finally, it is also necessary for us to devote all possible effort to the extension of well-being and development, so that all peoples may be the masters of their own destinies in a socialist world.

Presented to the Peruvian people.  
April 1978



# international **socialist** review

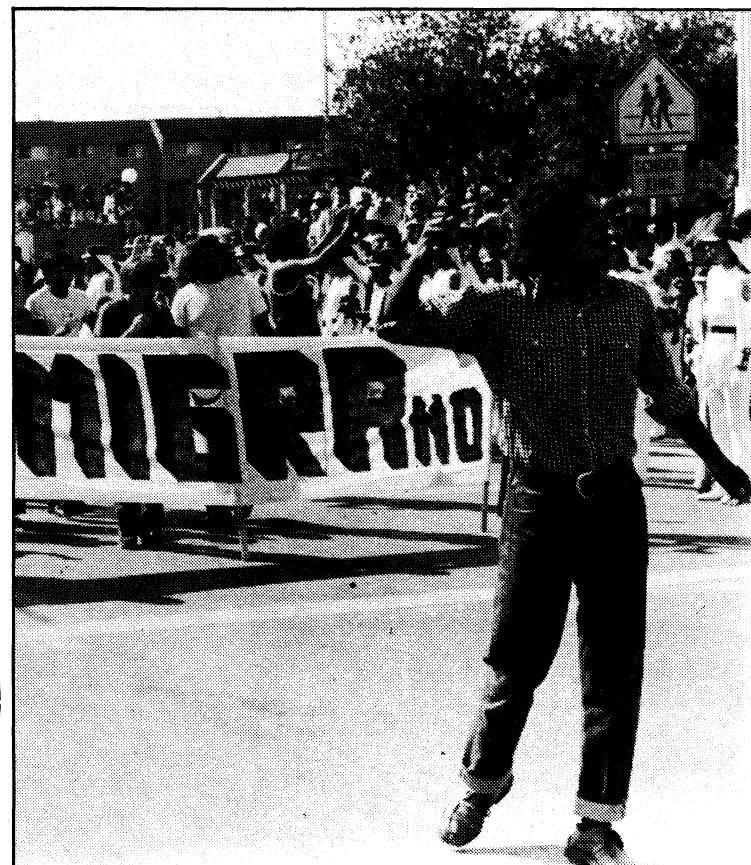


## The Fight for Women's Equality

By Betsey Stone

## Why the Communist Party Ducks the Deportations Issue

By Jose G. Perez



## The Imperialist Squeeze on Peru and Zaire

By Dick Roberts

# THE MONTH IN REVIEW

## Carter's War Threats and Detente

Recently the Carter administration has been disinterring the clichés of the cold war years. "We are not going to let the Soviet Union push us around," the president declares.

Carter's demagoguery is more than an effort to stem the decline in his popularity by wrapping himself in the flag. It is a deadly serious attempt to win public support for further U.S. escalation of the arms race. Carter aims to soften up public opinion for any direct military moves that the rulers may think necessary in southern Africa, the Middle East, or elsewhere. This is shown by actions that have accompanied the speechmaking.

- On May 16, Carter blasted congressional legislation that restricts U.S. ability to intervene militarily in Africa and limits covert operations by the CIA.

- The June 5 *New York Times* reported that U.S. "armed forces have begun a steady expansion" in the research and development of chemical and bacteriological weapons. "Altogether . . . several thousand officers . . . are being assigned to chemical warfare, as against the few hundred retained . . . by President Nixon."

- The Carter administration has placed a new emphasis on civil defense, which sank into obscurity after failure of government efforts in the early 1960s to high-pressure working people into building bomb shelters.

- The June 18 *New York Times* reported that "senior defense and foreign-policy officials . . . are pressing the White House to insure that a proposed strategic-arms accord with Moscow will not rule out a new plan for deploying mobile missiles in the 1980s." The mobile missiles are a cog in the nuclear first-strike strategy favored by Pentagon planners.

- The June 23 *New York Times* announced that the Defense Department planned to go ahead with production of the neutron bomb. In an effort to cover up the conflict with Carter's promises to defer production of this heinous new weapon, the "parts would not be assembled at this time."

- On July 1 the *Times* reported, "The Carter Administration, in a reversal of negotiating policy, has decided that any new agreement with the Soviet Union to ban nuclear testing should still permit very small blasts . . . and that it should run for only three years."

- While all this was going on, plans were being laid for militarily intervention in southern Africa. Secretary General Joseph M.A.H.

Luns of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization announced that "the alliance had completed plans for the defense of the sea routes around the Cape of Good Hope in South Africa," according to the June 21 *New York Times*. Luns, along with U.S. commanders assigned to NATO, "conveyed a sense of urgency about the solution of these problems in view of what Dr. Luns called an 'offensive' Soviet Navy." NATO's strategists no doubt find the growing opposition to South Africa's apartheid regime an even more "offensive" peril.

Each threatening move is justified by dire warnings about a Soviet bloc arms buildup that, according to a Carter speech to NATO defense ministers on May 30, "far exceeds their legitimate security needs." The phoniness of that claim was revealed in Carter's June 7 address to the graduating class at the U.S. Naval Academy:

"Although the Soviet Union has more missile launchers, greater throw-weight and more continental air defense capabilities, the United States has more warheads, generally greater accuracy, more heavy bombers, a more balanced nuclear force, better missile submarines and superior antisubmarine warfare capabilities."

Carter isn't trying to "catch up" with a Soviet military colossus. He wants to build up the U.S. advantage in nuclear and other weaponry to the point where he hopes that no country would dare to defy the will of the U.S. rulers.

Nonetheless, Carter insists that U.S. policy is based on détente with the Soviet rulers. Despite appearances, there is no contradiction between this statement and Carter's military buildup and war threats.

For the imperialists, détente is a policy that seeks to enlist the help of the Stalinist bureaucrats in suppressing or controlling revolutionary outbreaks in the capitalist world in exchange for diplomatic and economic deals. The counterrevolutionary goals of U.S. imperialism have not been changed by détente. Washington continues to aim at the subjugation and economic exploitation of the planet, including the USSR and other workers states.

In the wake of the anti-Vietnam War movement at home and the victory of the liberation forces in Indochina, the U.S. rulers were not able to carry out direct military interventions into colonial uprisings. The goal of the ruling class in détente was to block new Vietnams and Cubas—as well as revolutionary outbreaks in Europe—while buying time to expand the U.S. military arsenal and wear down antiwar sentiment among American working people.

The rulers have evidently decided that their best hope of reversing these deep antiwar feelings is to revive some of the anti-communist and superpatriotic rhetoric of the 1950s, even if this strains détente. Overcoming this antiwar sentiment—which is now deeply engrained in American workers and, with regard to Africa, especially deep among

Blacks—is a central goal of U.S. ruling-class policy.

At the same time, the imperialists are too weak politically and militarily to dispense with détente entirely.

By stepping up the arms race and exerting more pressure on the USSR, the U.S. also hopes to get more concessions from the Soviet rulers in the context of détente.

Détente has not prevented the fall of the Ethiopian monarchy or the deepening of the freedom struggle in South Africa. And the Soviet bureaucrats, in their efforts to win favor with some nationalist leaders in Africa while containing liberation struggles within capitalist bounds, have come into conflict with some imperialist plans, especially in southern Africa. Carter wants to put a stop to that.

In his naval academy speech Carter demanded that the Soviet rulers "join us in seeking a peaceful and a speedy transition to majority rule in Rhodesia and in Namibia." The reference to "peaceful and speedy transition" is Carterese for a settlement that will prop up the apartheid regime in South Africa and protect imperialist holdings in Zimbabwe.

Carter wants the Cubans to stop helping anti-imperialist struggles in Africa. In the same speech Carter intoned that "the non-aligned movement is being subverted by Cuba." He claimed that Cuba is "dependent upon the Soviet for economic sustenance and for military and political guidance and direction." Carter wants the Soviet rulers to exert economic and political pressure on Castro to make him stop blocking imperialist goals in Africa.

If the Soviet bureaucrats prove unable to do this, Carter implies, U.S. trade can be withheld and the U.S. may even use its nuclear arsenal to bring the world to the brink of destruction, as it did in the "missile crisis" of 1962.

Détente does not eliminate the danger of world war. It will never lead to the disarmament of imperialism, nor to the end of its depredations in Zaïre or elsewhere, nor will it lift the shadow of nuclear destruction from the world.

Imperialism can only be disarmed by successes won in the struggle of the masses all over the world against their oppressors. The struggle of the South African Blacks and the peoples of Zimbabwe and South Africa against U.S. and South African imperialism contributes more to the struggle for peace and disarmament than all the summit meetings ever held.

What is true of the anti-imperialist struggles in southern Africa is true here in the United States. The anti-Vietnam War movement, the movement against U.S. involvement in South Africa, and actions such as the May 27 rally for nuclear disarmament in New York City mark the road to be followed. Irreconcilable and independent struggle against the nuclear-armed madmen in the White House and the Pentagon can end the plague of war.

## CONTENTS

The Month  
In Review . . . . . 2

The Fight for  
Women's Equality  
by Betsey Stone . . . . . 3

Why Communist Party  
Ducks Deportations Issue  
by José G. Pérez . . . . . 5

Imperialist Squeeze on  
Peru and Zaïre  
by Dick Roberts . . . . . 6

'The Politics of Chicano  
Liberation' Pathfinder's  
Book of the Month  
by Nelson Blackstock . . . . 12



Editor: Fred Feldman  
Editorial Board: George Breitman,  
Catarino Garza, Cindy Jaquith,  
Bruce Levine, Omari Musa, George  
Novack, Dick Roberts, Cathy  
Sedwick

The *International Socialist Review* appears in the *Militant* that is published the first week of every month.

Copyright © 1978 The Militant





Women working in garment industry

# The Fight for Women's Equality

## What We're Up Against

## How We Can Win

By Betsey Stone

The following is based on a speech given earlier this year to socialist educational conferences held in several cities.

How can women's rights be won? How can we win equality on the job, child care, the Equal Rights Amendment, and safeguard legal abortion? What will it take before women can exist in this world as free and equal human beings?

To answer these questions we should first take a look at how the movement for women's rights has developed in this country. It's been less than a decade since our struggle for equality burst on the scene in a big way. In this short time we've become a powerful force for change.

We have won significant victories. Abortion was legalized in 1973. In conjunction with the Black movement, we won a little more equality on the job and in education through affirmative-action programs.

The women's movement has changed the thinking of masses of people. There is scarcely a person—male or female—whose life has not been touched by our movement. It has influenced every area of society—from sports, to the churches, to the trade unions.

One way to understand the deep impact of the movement is to compare the way women are viewed today with the attitudes prevalent in the 1950s.

When I was growing up in the 1950s, you were taught that woman's role was to be a housewife. If you didn't fit into this mold, then it was generally thought something was wrong with you.

Women whose main interests were outside the home were consistently subjected to scorn. Of course, millions of women worked then. So I remember periodic "juvenile delinquency" scares during which working women were warned that if they didn't stay home and mind the children, a whole generation of maladjusted youth would grow up. Women were also told that if they tried

to compete with men or enter the "man's world" they would then no longer be appealing to their husbands.

All this had a big impact on me. When I got to the seventh grade, I developed a tremendous dread of growing up. I was afraid that some man—my future husband—would come along and determine my life in every way. I remember speculating about what kind of a person he would be. One of my older sisters, who used to advise me on the ways of the world, told me that there were three things required in a husband: first, he had to be smarter than you; second, he had to be older; and third, he had to be taller. In other words, he had to dominate you in every way!

When I went to college, the school had a quota system. More men were admitted than women as a policy. I was told this was in the interests of the women since every woman needed a man to socialize with, while for men this was not as important.

I don't remember anyone questioning this policy. Such prejudices were openly stated and deeply ingrained. Women were assumed to be dumber than men (how else could every woman marry a smarter man?), less athletically inclined, more emotional, and inherently suited to the tasks of house cleaning, dish-washing, and diaper-changing.

The 1950s was a contradictory period, however. Not only was it a time when these backward ideas prevailed, but it was also a time of big changes for women. The economic expansion that came in the aftermath of World War II was pulling more and more women into the labor force. More women were gaining the confidence and feeling of independence that comes from earning your own money.

Women also began to get more education, a development that went hand in hand with the expansion of the economy, the technological revolution, and the need for more skilled labor. In addition, the birth control pill began to provide women with another means of gaining more control over our lives.

So at the very time that women were being told that we were dependent, fragile, relatively dumb creatures, this view was clashing more and more with reality. This growing disparity between what women saw we were capable of doing and

the laws and practices holding us back laid the basis for the women's liberation movement to arise.

So when that movement came along and said to women—"It's okay if you want to do 'men's' jobs, it's okay if you like sports, or if you don't fit into the mold of 'housekeeper-mother-wife'"—there were masses of women ready to listen.

This, combined with the inspiration of the Black movement, the anti-Vietnam War movement, and the student movement—which were all growing in the late 1960s—created a situation where the ideas of women's liberation spread like wildfire. Women began to organize, to demonstrate, and to win some victories.

### Under Siege

Most of the victories were won in the early 1970s. In the middle 1970s, a turnabout began to occur. Instead of victories we began to see defeats and attacks on the movement. These attacks have accelerated recently to the point where we have to say the women's movement is under siege on all fronts.

The Equal Rights Amendment is in danger of being lost. Abortion rights are under attack. The Supreme Court has dealt affirmative-action programs a big blow. The Supreme Court has also ruled that working women don't have a right to pregnancy benefits. There have been systematic cutbacks in child care. Unemployment among women remains high. The gap between the wages earned by men and by women is widening.

These attacks are not happening because support for women's rights is waning. In fact, there is more support for these rights than ever before. The majority of people are for job equality. A majority supports the Equal Rights Amendment. And a majority supports the right of a woman to choose abortion. This is what the polls show.

Women's rights not only have popular backing, but winning rights such as child care, job equality, and the ERA is of immediate concern to masses of women.

Consider this fact: 42 percent of all jobs in this country are now held by women. Close to half. And that refers only to the *paid* jobs. Since women do most of the unpaid work—the housecleaning and child raising—I calculate that women do close to three-fourths of the work in this society!

*Betsey Stone is a member of the Socialist Workers Party Political Committee and coauthor of Feminism and Socialism (New York, Pathfinder, 1972).*

So we have plenty to rebel about. More than ever we need those rights that take the double burden of job and home responsibilities off our backs. We need child care, equality on the job, paid pregnancy leaves. We need the ERA, which can be a weapon in winning these rights.

We find ourselves in a very contradictory situation. The capitalist system continues to pull more and more women into the job market. At the same time, this same system discriminates against us, pays us less, denies us child care, and threatens our right to control our childbearing.

Why is this? Why are the needs and wishes of the masses of women continually denied? Let's take a look at how the system of capitalism we live under functions in relation to women.

### Capitalism and Discrimination

Capitalism is not a democratic system. Everyone doesn't have an equal say on what economic decisions are made. What we have instead are gigantic corporations, banks, and trusts that decide what is produced, who is hired, and who is fired. It is these interests that benefit from and help perpetuate women's oppression.

How does this work? I would like to discuss four ways discrimination against women benefits the employers and fits into the capitalist system of profit.

First is the simple fact that the big corporations and all employers make extra profits because they pay women less. One way they get away with this is by maintaining different categories of jobs—so-called women's jobs and men's jobs. Limiting secretarial work to women, for example, helps the employers rationalize paying secretaries less.

If the simple demand of equal pay for equal work were met, it would cost the employers billions. That's the first way women's oppression fits in with this system.

The second way relates to the question of unemployment and the fact that women suffer higher unemployment than men. Women—along with Blacks, Chicanos, and Puerto Ricans—make up a high percentage of what Marxists call "the reserve army of unemployed." This "reserve army" is a layer of people who are drawn in and out of the labor force according to the needs of the system.

When there is a war, or a big capitalist boom, more people in the reserve army find jobs. It's profitable to hire them, because it's profitable to produce more.

When there is a recession, or the war ends, it's no longer profitable to employ as many workers. The "reserve army" is the first to go.

Prejudices are fostered to rationalize this. We are told that women don't need the jobs, that they have someone else to support them. And anyway, earning money should not be a women's main job. Her job is raising children and housecleaning.

### Capitalist Economy in Trouble

We are told Black people are unskilled or just plain lazy and don't want a job anyway. Of course, no one has ever explained why it is that the degree of laziness goes up and down according to whether we are in an economic crisis or we are waging war. When there is a big capitalist boom, apparently everyone suddenly gets a lot of energy!

Right now, we have relatively high unemployment in this country, despite the fact that we are not in the depths of a depression. The decision to keep this unemployment high is calculated. The Carter administration has no intention of taking steps to end unemployment.

Capitalism on a world scale has entered a period of economic crisis. Several years ago, this country saw the deepest recession since the 1930s. The depth of this downturn, the fact that it was a worldwide recession, and the weakness of the recovery are symptoms of this crisis. Other symptoms are inflation, high unemployment, cutbacks, and austerity programs being instituted in many countries.

This all reflects the end of the period of economic expansion for world capitalism that followed World War II and continued on up through the 1960s. This boom was fueled by the rebuilding of the economies of Japan and Germany and other countries whose industrial plant was destroyed during World War II. Not only have these capitalist economies been rebuilt, but today they're coming back to haunt the U.S. capitalists with fiercer competition.

There is a direct relationship between these

economic problems and the continued use of women as part of the reserve army. Because when U.S. capitalists face intensified international competition, one of the main ways they deal with it is by lowering wages of their workers while speeding up productivity. And one of the best ways to do this is to maintain a high rate of unemployment.

High unemployment allows the employers to say to any worker who complains: "Well, if you don't want to work for these wages, there are ten other workers out there willing to work in your place." And today, growing numbers of those "ten other workers" are female.

High unemployment dampens the wages and undercuts the working conditions of all workers—and this is something the employers need now more than ever. This is a second way in which women's oppression—in this case discrimination in hiring—serves the needs of the capitalist system and hurts not just women but all working people.

The third way the profit system and women's oppression are interrelated is the employers' use of sexism along with racism to pit different sections of the working class against one another. White males, for example, are made to feel that they have a greater right to a job, a promotion, or better education, while joblessness or inferior jobs should be reserved for the more oppressed.

There is a big campaign to convince white male workers that "Blacks are taking your jobs." Or, "Women are taking your jobs." Or, "Undocumented workers are taking your jobs." This campaign is used to get different sectors of the working class fighting one another for jobs and in this way weakening the ability of the working class to unite for the rights of all.

The fourth way women's oppression fits in with capitalism has to do with the role of women in the family as child raisers and housekeepers. Child care in this society remains the job of the women, although attitudes toward participating in these tasks have changed somewhat on the part of some men. If a woman has a child, it's her job to raise the child. Society is not going to do it for her. She's got to do it, or pay someone else to do it, or hope a relative or friend will help out.

The women's movement has put forward the idea that we should have a choice in this matter. Women should have a choice on whether we want children or not. We should have the option of having adequate child-care facilities for our children.

Given the number of women in the labor force today, and the growing number of single-parent

families, it's obvious that there is a desperate and growing need for child care. Yet, child-care facilities are being cut.

Why? The first reason is that it's part of the cutbacks being made in all social services. Secondly, by making child care harder to find, the employers encourage a high level of unemployment among women. During World War II, when they needed all the women they could get into the work force, an extensive child-care system was set up with no delay. But now, the employers and the government plead poverty.

There is a third reason why quality child care is not provided. The reason is that if really good child care were available, masses of parents would begin to make use of it! Parents would think it's good for their children to have the kinds of varied educational experiences child care can provide. This would not only be very expensive for the employers, but it would also undermine the whole rationalization about women's special role in society. If women had the option of having children in child-care centers from an early age, how would the employers rationalize the idea that women are incapable of doing a job as steadily as men?

If our society were based on human needs and not profits, we would provide the very best in care for all children. Socialist Workers Party leader Evelyn Reed once expressed this by saying that what we need is "infant universities." In other words, the best. If we were able to do this, what a contrast it would be to the experience of most small children today who spend their days watching TV or being dragged with mothers shopping and to the laundry, or who are left alone or placed in inadequate child care.

But in this richest country in the world, the government is cutting back on even the inadequate child care that exists. This makes a lot of women feel guilty because they work and cannot give their children the care they need at the same time. Other women are put in the position of being forced to choose between a job or perhaps school and having children, which for many is a cruel choice. Often the frustrations of the whole situation are taken out on the children.

### What We Are Up Against

If you look at the four things I've discussed—at such things as the use of women as cheap labor and as a reserve labor force, at the refusal to provide good child care—we can see how women's oppression is perpetrated by and built into the capitalist profit system.

We can also see that there are extremely

*Continued on page 11/ISR*



April 29, 1978, march for the ERA in Chicago



# Why the Communist Party Ducks the Deportations Issue

By José G. Pérez

Last March the *Daily World*, newspaper of the American Communist Party, printed an article by Lorenzo Torrez on "Mexico and the U.S.—the border issue." Torrez was identified as "chairman, Chicano section, department of nationalities, Communist Party, USA."

A reader might assume from the headline that the article is about undocumented Mexican immigrants—the people the government brands "illegal aliens"—since that is "the border issue" that is being debated right now.

But although Torrez does refer to immigration (in passing), there is not one word about the need to fight racist deportations. This wasn't an oversight.

Last October, 1,500 people attended the National Chicano/Latino Conference on Immigration and Public Policy in San Antonio, Texas. They represented the broadest range of Chicano political forces assembled around a single issue since the height of the anti-Vietnam War movement. The conference demanded an end to deportations, amnesty for immigrants, and defeat of President Carter's anti-alien legislation.

The Communist Party did not endorse or help organize this conference. Neither the *Daily World* nor *People's World* (West Coast CP newspaper) reported on the event.

Just before the San Antonio gathering, the U.S. and Mexican CP leaderships held three days of meetings in New York. After the discussions, they issued a communiqué commenting on just about every conceivable topic—except the struggle against deportations of undocumented Mexican workers.

About three months later the CP finally addressed the issue. Torrez wrote a reply to a question in the *Daily World's* "Ask an Expert" column. The question said, in part:

"If we had a 'hands off' and 'open borders' policy more and more people would come here looking for already scarce U.S. jobs and competing with U.S. workers for these jobs. Seems to me the only ones who'd benefit from that kind of thing would be the employers."

How did Torrez reply? "The problem of undocumented workers is far more complex than simply closing of the borders." Nothing about stopping deportations.

Several weeks later he returned to the subject in a lengthy *Daily World* article on "Unity in defense of undocumented workers." Some things in the piece sound good. He denounces the brutal exploitation of immigrants and opposes Carter's proposed crackdown on these workers. But again, nothing on stopping deportations.

Yet without that, talk about "defense of undocumented workers" is empty rhetoric. Deportation is the main weapon the government uses to oppress people who come here without official permission. Therefore "Stop deportations!" must be a central slogan of those who would defend the immigrants.

## Substitutes Other Struggles

Instead of calling for a massive movement against deportations, Torrez urges the substitution of a whole series of other struggles:

"We call for a program which leads away from the cold war policies of the past 30 years, a program which leads toward peace and detente; a program which ends racism and inequality for women workers; a program which ends discriminatory trade policies among nations; a program which promotes trade with all countries, including Cuba, the Soviet Union and all other socialist countries; and finally a program that permits the transfer of government funds from military use to domestic social use (the Transfer Amendment).

"It is in organizing a massive and a militant fighting movement for these kinds of programs that the Communist Party of the United States plays its major role in relieving the pressure exerted by the Immigration and Naturalization Service upon the immigrant worker."

Some of these proposals aren't what they seem. The "Transfer Amendment" for example, is a Democratic Party fraud. It would have "cut" Carter's proposed war budget by 4 percent, leaving a military budget billions of dollars larger than last year.

But putting aside the merit of one or another idea, what the CP is doing is laying down a smokescreen for its evasion of the struggle against deportations—the specific struggle against the specific forms of oppression that immigrant workers face. This is no more logical or defensible than it would be to propose anti-deportation protests as a substitute for marches for disarmament or the Equal Rights Amendment.

Demands such as "Stop deportations!" have repeatedly mobilized thousands of people against *la migra*, the hated immigration cops. The San Antonio conference was only one of the countless protests organized around this theme. To ignore this demand, as the CP is doing, hampers the defense of undocumented workers.

Torrez's article on "the border issue" opposes the idea that the U.S. border with Mexico should be an open border, with Mexicans free to enter or leave at will. He says "removing the border between Mexico and the United States would tend to subvert the sovereign rights of the weaker nation to the whims and wishes of the stronger nation—the United States." He argues that the border "serves as a buffer, however weak it may be, to hold Mexico's economy and social culture from being annexed totally by the U.S."

But the border does not serve as a buffer protecting Mexico from the U.S. imperialists. No sector of the U.S. ruling class proposes to annex Mexico. On the contrary, the border is one of the main weapons used by the U.S. imperialists to oppress and exploit working people both in Mexico and the United States.

The American monopolies cross the border just as easily as you or I cross a street in our hometown. The FBI and CIA operate in Mexico not only with impunity but with the slavish cooperation of their junior partners in the Mexican government. On the other hand, Mexican workers who cross the border looking for jobs are branded "illegals" and mercilessly hounded by *la migra*.

Torrez is telling Mexicans who come to the United States to escape poverty and hunger that the border really isn't there to keep them from jobs but to preserve their "sovereign rights." This is like telling people in prison that the walls and

bars are there to protect them.

The call for an open border has been raised in a particular context with a particular aim in mind. It has been raised in the United States and addressed to the U.S. government. Proponents of an open border demand that this government do away with its racist restrictions on immigration to the United States from Mexico.

This is not a call on Mexico to surrender its independence but a call on the U.S. imperialists to surrender their "right" to bully Mexicans.

Torrez knows this. He even admits it. After asserting that an "open border" would subvert Mexico's independence, he says: "Is this what these people [who call for an open border] want? Of course not!" Torrez raises specious arguments about Mexico's independence in order to defend the "sovereignty" of the United States. He puts it this way:

"To argue on the basis of so-called meaningless treaties, and imaginary lines is to argue on the quicksand of bourgeois ideology. That ideology is being quickly replaced by workers' respect for each other's sovereignty. . . ."

## Backs U.S. Imperialist Sovereignty

Talk about the "sovereignty" of the American workers is a deception. Working people do not rule this country. The only American "sovereignty" that exists is that of International Telephone and Telegraph, Chase Manhattan Bank, Exxon, U.S. Steel, and General Motors. These corporations control the government, and their interests are diametrically counterposed to those of working people. The U.S. government is an example of what Karl Marx and Frederick Engels meant when they wrote in the *Communist Manifesto* 130 years ago: "The workingmen have no country."

It is this American imperialist "sovereignty" that is oppressing and exploiting Mexico. It is this "sovereignty" that blocks Mexico's national independence and liberation. The rights of Mexico and other semicolonial countries will remain under attack until this American imperialist "sovereignty" is replaced by a workers government through a socialist revolution in the United States.

The ultimate goal of the Marxist movement is not to establish "workers' respect for each other's sovereignty"—complete with immigration laws and policed borders. It is to establish a worldwide union of all peoples, a united socialist states of the world, leading ultimately to the abolition of all nation-states.

The last sentence of the *Communist Manifesto* reads:

"Let the ruling classes tremble at a Communis-

Continued on page 9/ISR



Workers charged with being "illegals" are held by police

José G. Pérez is a staff writer for the *Militant* and author of *Puerto Rico: U.S. Colony in the Caribbean*, published by Pathfinder Press.

# Neocolonialism in crisis

## Imperialist Squeeze on Peru and Zaïre



Copper mine in Kolwezi, capital of Zaïre's Shaba province

### By Dick Roberts

Crises in Peru and Zaïre have placed a spotlight on the stranglehold of imperialism over the semicolonial nations of Latin America and Africa.

As used by Marxists, imperialism refers to the domination of the capitalist world economy by a handful of monopolistic banks and corporations in the main capitalist powers—above all the United States, West Germany, Japan, France, and Britain.

The economies and the politics of the semicolonial world are subordinate to the corporate interests and armed forces of these powerful nations. Imperialist governments police Asia, Africa, and Latin America in order to defend and, if possible, extend their investments there.

Especially important to the imperialists is their ability to exploit the raw materials of the semicolonial world.

Today, nevertheless, a third of the world's people live in countries where the imperialists have been driven out and capitalism abolished—workers states. In the western hemisphere, the Cuban revolution has led to rapid progress in the educational, health, employment, housing, and income standards of its people, who before 1960 were under the heel of Washington and Wall Street.

Meanwhile, most of the former colonies in Asia, Africa, and Latin America have won independence from colonial rule, but have remained within the orbit of world capitalism. Formally independent governments and state apparatuses with their own armed forces have come into being.

In these countries, national bourgeoisies or nascent bourgeois classes vie among themselves to strengthen their own positions and to reduce their dependence on imperialism.

However they are fatally restricted by their commitment to capitalist property relations, their fear of socialist revolution, and the resultant need to keep a tight grip on the masses.

Zaïre and Peru illustrate the problems.

In 1968 a military coup took place in Peru, bringing to power a junta headed by General Juan Velasco Alvarado. Velasco proclaimed na-

tionalist goals. He tried to increase Peru's maneuvering room relative to Washington by playing on the anti-imperialist sentiments of the populace. His regime instituted a partial land reform, nationalized some firms, and demanded a better deal from the big imperialist monopolies (particularly copper) that dominate Peru's economy.

The regime of Mobutu Sese Seko in Zaïre, on the other hand, is rooted in the defeat by imperialist powers and their agents of the mass revolutionary upsurges in the former Belgian Congo.

Two key events marked this defeat: the 1961 murder of Patrice Lumumba, in which the Central Intelligence Agency had a hand, and the occupation of Stanleyville (now Kisangani) by Belgian paratroopers flown in by U.S. planes in December 1964. This was followed by the slaughter of nationalist guerrillas by squads of U.S.-armed white mercenaries. Mobutu took power in a 1965 military coup.

Mobutu, like Velasco in Peru, felt the need to take nationalist stands in hopes of building a popular base. He tried to take advantage of competition among the imperialists to increase the wealth and power of the native capitalist elements who make up his coterie. This included Mobutu's nationalization of the copper industry as well as other firms.

Despite the differences between the two regimes, neither has been able to establish any substantial degree of real freedom from the dictates of imperialism, a fact that recent events have made unmistakably apparent.

Let's take a closer look.

#### Military Domination

The military power of imperialism stands behind the capitalist governments of the semicolonial world. These weak regimes cannot undertake major wars—either to quell internal rebellion, or to defend themselves from external attack—for a very long period of time.

This was demonstrated vividly in recent months when Zaïre's President Mobutu had to call on French and Belgian forces to crush oppositional forces in Shaba province, the center of Zaïre's mining industry.

A comparison between French and Zaïrian military forces indicates the scope of this aspect of Zaïre's dependence.

Zaïre maintains a relatively small armed force: 34,000 in a country of 26,310,000 people. In 1976 Zaïre spent \$76.8 million on its military budget. It has fifty-four combat aircraft.

This compares with expenditures of \$11.72 billion in France, 152 times as much. France's armed forces number 502,100. France has 54 strategic bombers and an additional 868 combat aircraft. Its overseas commands include Antilles-Guyane, West Africa, Djibouti, South Indian Ocean, New Caledonia, and Polynesia.

Peru's population of 16,900,000 is smaller than Zaïre's, but its armed forces are larger—70,000. The Peruvian military regime spends considerably more than Zaïre on weapons—\$406 million estimated for 1977.

The Peruvian army and navy boast a number of small trainer planes and helicopters; the air force has 136 combat aircraft. Peru currently has no less than twelve outstanding orders for fighters, helicopters, cruisers, tanks, and artillery, to be manufactured in France, Germany, Italy, the Netherlands, and the USSR. This huge undisclosed military expenditure is undoubtedly a factor in Peru's financial insolvency, although it is played down by the imperialist press. No figures are available for the actual contracts.

Though this Latin American military force is typically larger than its central African counterpart, it is dwarfed by the U.S. armed forces.

Washington's current military budget of \$120.4 billion is 296 times as large as Peru's. The U.S. armed forces number 2,088,000. The Pentagon maintains a strategic nuclear bomber force of 644 planes and another 5,796 combat aircraft.

Peru, like most Latin American countries, is "protected" by the U.S. military under a number of pacts, including the Act of Havana (1940), the Act of Chapultepec (1945), and the Rio Defense Treaty (1947). There are also secret bilateral agreements between Washington and Lima.

#### Copper

Peru and Zaïre are major exporters of copper, a raw material vital to industrial technology. Both are subject to the effects of the sharp fluctuations of raw material prices on the world capitalist market. One result is the deepening indebtedness of both countries to capitalist banking interests, with disastrous results for the workers and peasants as well as for the cause of national independence.

Peru also produces oil, but not thus far in great quantities, anchovies (used in livestock feeds), zinc, and sugar. The virtual disappearance of Peru's anchovy shoals in 1977-78, and the collapse of the world zinc, sugar, and copper prices spelled economic disaster.

*Dick Roberts is a member of the editorial board of the ISR. An article by Roberts on a related topic, "Imperialism and Raw Materials," appeared in the autumn 1977 issue of the British revolutionary Marxist quarterly International.*



Zaire's mineral-rich Shaba province produces, in addition to copper, industrial diamonds and 60 percent of the capitalist world's supply of cobalt. This metal, essential for hardening steel, is listed by the Pentagon as a strategic material because it is critical in manufacturing jet engines. The United States imports 100 percent of the cobalt it consumes.

In 1967 Chile, Zambia, Peru, and Zaire—the principal copper suppliers to Western Europe and Japan—formed a copper-exporting organization, the Intergovernmental Council of Copper Exporting Countries (CIPEC). But CIPEC has not been able to prevent massive world overproduction of copper and a drastic price decline. A number of factors account for the weak bargaining position of the semicolonial copper producers.

Copper production takes place in many countries, including some imperialist powers. The following are the top copper-producers among capitalist countries, and their percentage shares of the capitalist world's copper production:

1. United States	27.7
2. Canada	14.5
3. Chile	13.3
4. Zambia	12.6
5. Zaire	8.2
6. Philippines	3.9
7. Peru	3.9
8. Australia	3.5
9. South Africa	2.7
10. Japan	1.6
11. Mexico	1.4

Imperialist copper producers such as the United States, Canada, Australia, and Japan have



**Election of Hugo Blanco to Peru's assembly showed masses want socialist answer to attacks on their living standards.**

no interest in entering trade cartel agreements—such as the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC)—aimed at keeping copper prices up for the semicolonial producers. The diversification of copper production not only leads to inevitable overproduction but makes it easier for the imperialists to pit copper-producing states against each other.

The patchwork pattern of ownership in the copper industry of semicolonial nations has made it impossible for them to form an effective cartel to ward off price shocks. Chilean copper is almost completely nationalized. Zambia's copper is produced by the British South African mining firms of Roan Consolidated Mines and Nchanga Consolidated Mines with the Zambian government holding a 51 percent interest. Philippine copper is largely owned by a number of small Philippine corporations.

Most of Zaire's copper mining is nationalized, although foreign influence has remained heavy through loans, the employment of European specialists, and other means.

In Peru there are two big firms dominated by U.S. capital: Southern Peru Copper (52.2 percent owned by Asarco Inc., 21.2 percent owned by Cerro-Marmon Corporation, 16.2 percent owned by Phelps Dodge Corporation, and 10.4 percent owned by the Newmont Mining Corporation) and the Compañía del Madrigal, 57 percent owned by Homestake Mining.

Although overall U.S. investment in Latin American mining has fallen due to the nationalizations that have been carried out in several countries, the profit rate on mining investments

in Latin America for 1974 was a hefty 28 percent. This is considerably higher than the profit rates for mining in the U.S.

### Prices Decline

The difficulties of copper-producing semicolonies have been exacerbated by the sluggish revival of the imperialist economies in the aftermath of the 1974-75 depression.

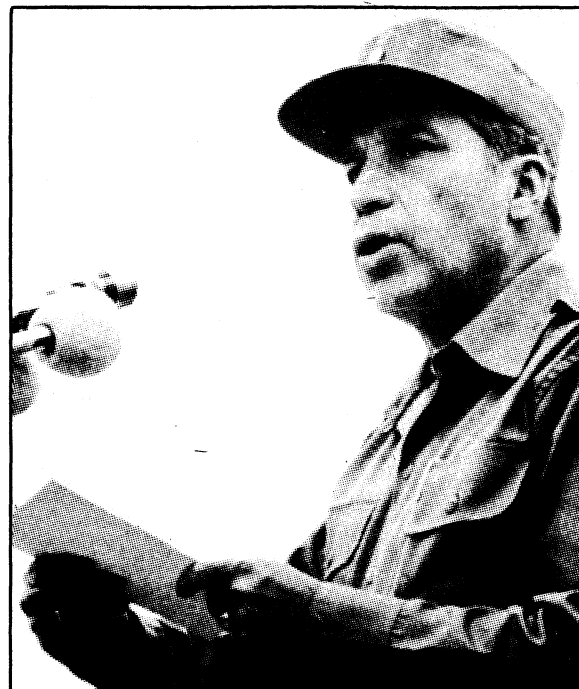
"Copper consumption is up barely 1.1% this year," *Business Week* reported June 5. "The outlook is no more promising. . . . Orders will tumble 140,000 metric tons from last year's 6.9 million to 6.8 million tons in 1978. At the same time, world stocks stand at a price-dampening 2 million metric tons, and, worldwide, mines are averaging just 81.6% of capacity."

On top of this, the semicolonial nations have to keep production at a high level even when prices fall, because they need reserves of foreign currency in order to repay debts and pay for imported products.

Of course, low copper prices affect imperialist firms that own copper just as they do the nationalized or seminationalized firms in the semicolonial world. In fact U.S. copper firms are facing a deepening profit crisis.

Moreover they are losing markets to the semicolonies. Desperate for foreign currency reserves, the semicolonial copper producers are slashing prices at a rate that copper companies in the United States can't afford to match.

"For U.S. producers," *Business Week* stated June 5, "the Zairian mines are part of a growing problem: state-owned mines in nations that must produce the ore to pay international debts. The



**Peruvian military chieftain Morales imposed the austerity measures demanded by imperialists.**

resulting glut has pushed imported ore from 9% to 30% of U.S. domestic consumption since 1974. As a result, U.S. producers have slashed prices, laid off more than 10,000 workers this year, and shut mines in several Western states."

But there is all the difference in the world between these problems in one relatively small sector of a giant imperialist economy, and those of a semicolonial country that is totally dependent on the incomes from a few firms producing a small number of agricultural and industrial raw materials. The former has hundreds of gigantic firms; they produce everything from raw materials to finished goods. The imperialists themselves own stock in a whole range of firms; a bankruptcy may rock the boat but even the downturn of a whole industry—U.S. copper for example—does not sink the economy.

Thus the gross national product of Zaire was \$3.5 billion in 1974. In that same year there were 42 U.S. industrial corporations, 35 banks, 13 insurance companies, 8 retail firms and 11 utilities—109 firms altogether—each of whose sales or assets in 1974 was higher than \$3.5 billion.

Peru is more industrialized than Zaire and its 1976 gross national product stood at \$10.7 billion. But in that year the 500 largest U.S. industrial corporations alone, leaving aside banks, retail firms and smaller industries, sold \$971 billion worth of goods, ninety times Peru's gross national product.

When the capitalist world market is down for the one or several products exported by the semicolonies the results are disastrous. That's

why their economies are so vulnerable and why over a long period of time it is so difficult for them to develop.

### Semicolonial Debts

The capitalist world banking system both underlies and reinforces many of these difficulties. A semicolonial country like Peru or Zaire that experiences economic recession year after year inevitably accumulates a vast debt.

Big-business propaganda often claims that the rapid growth of the debt of semicolonial countries since 1973 is primarily the result of the rise in oil prices. The shah, the sheiks, and the emirs are supposedly holding their semicolonial brothers and sisters for ransom. Readers of the capitalist press are expected to be duly outraged at how devilish these Middle Eastern potentates really are.

Higher oil prices do impose hardships on the semicolonial world, but they are not the main problem. Economies that have only a few export products and that remain oriented towards the world capitalist market are completely subordinate to the fluctuations of the economies of the industrialized countries. The world economic downturn in 1974-75 was the main cause of increased semicolonial indebtedness in the past three years.

This point has been substantiated by two top officials of New York's Citibank in the July 1977 issue of *Foreign Affairs*, the quarterly publication of the U.S. Council on Foreign Relations.

This detailed study of the "deterioration" of semicolonial credit concluded: "The increase in the price of oil contributed to about 30 percent of the deterioration between 1973 and 1974 but only 10 to 15 percent of the deterioration between 1973 and 1975. Thus, the recession in the industrial countries bears the brunt of the explanation" (emphasis added).

### Imperialist Banking Interests

The management of the burgeoning debts of neocolonial lands becomes a further weapon for expanding imperialist penetration.

In 1976, non-OPEC semicolonial countries owed \$76.83 billion to imperialist banks. Of this, \$52.03 billion, 68 percent, was owed to U.S. banks. The loans are highly stratified with the economically more advanced semicolonial countries receiving the overwhelming majority of the loans.

Thus in 1976 Brazil's debt (\$21.22 billion) and Mexico's debt (\$17.85 billion) accounted for 51 percent of the total debt to imperialist banks of all semicolonial non-OPEC countries. Peru's debt was \$2.83 billion, with \$1.92 billion of this, 68 percent, owed to U.S. banks. The Zairian total debt was \$1.9 billion.

Lending money to semicolonial countries is also highly profitable. A report by the Senate Subcommittee on Foreign Economic Policy headed by Idaho Democrat Frank Church describes the importance of overseas loans to major New York banks:

"Only [sic] 57 percent of Citicorp's total assets are classed international, but they generate 72 percent of the bank's after-tax earnings. Chase only had 48 percent of its assets abroad in 1976, but got 78 percent of its earnings from those assets. The banks also got a higher rate of return on their loans to LDC's [Less Developed Countries] than to industrial countries. *Latin America, for example, accounted for 20 percent of Citicorp's total earnings in 1976, but had only 6 percent of its assets*" (emphasis added).

### Dictate Terms

The payment of interest on these loans and the repayment of the principal advanced eats up an increasing share of the export earnings of semicolonial countries.

"Debt service" becomes another serious obstacle to economic development. With the 1974-75 world depression, the drop in raw materials prices, and (in countries like Peru) ever increasing military budgets, the debts of some semicolonial nations became critical. In 1976-77, Argentina, Peru, and Zaire fell into this category. Argentina and Peru were forced under stringent terms to reschedule their debts. Zaire actually defaulted.

In such cases imperialist banks make drastic financial demands on the semicolonial regimes.

In order to repay the banks, these governments are asked to step up production for export by applying austerity measures against workers.

The International Monetary Fund, fronting for

imperialist banks, demands that the semicolonial countries set import tariffs against foreign goods and devalue their currencies. Both measures raise the prices of imported goods and consequently stem the outflow of cash reserves.

But these higher prices of imported products allows domestic producers to raise prices and unleashes spiralling inflation.

At the same time wages are slashed in order to improve the profit margins of the exporters so that they can export more goods more cheaply. The increased sale of export products brings in added cash.

Since, according to this schema, more money is to be earned abroad than is spent abroad, the semicolonial reserves are supposed to pile up so that the bankers can be repaid. The misery of the masses of semicolonial peoples is multiplied.

## Peru

In June 1976 the Peruvian government undertook an austerity program to raise foreign loans that summer. The sol was devalued by 31 percent, there were higher excise taxes and higher prices for transportation and electricity.

Demonstrations broke out in Lima and a national emergency was declared. On August 29 President Velasco was forced out of office by a coup. The new military regime of President Morales Bermúdez extended the same austerity measures. By August 1976 a group of U.S. banks had agreed on a new \$220 million loans.

This provided only temporary relief. Peru's economic situation worsened in 1977. The demonstrations throughout Peru in late May 1977 and the imposition of martial law once again, the arrests and exile of hundreds of leftist political leaders—all of this directly resulted from the new austerity measures demanded by the imperialist banks.

As 1978 opened the Peruvian debt had grown to \$4.4 billion. Interest and amortization would be "about \$1 billion, or 55 % of its expected export income of \$1.8 billion," the *Wall Street Journal* reported May 22. "By 1980, debt service requirements could total 70% of its foreign-exchange."

The Morales Bermúdez government sought to restructure the debt so that a more reasonable portion of Peru's export earnings could be used at home. It was precisely at this point that the International Monetary Fund and foreign banks refused to refinance the debt.

Morales capitulated. The government authorized large price increases for gasoline, wheat products, milk, and cooking oil, which had previously been subsidized to protect low-income consumers.

When the price increases "went into effect," according to the May 21 *New York Times*, "women were seen crying in supermarkets."

A call by Peruvian trade unions for a nationwide general strike immediately followed. The regime responded by carrying out mass arrests and declaring a state of emergency.

According to the May 22 *Wall Street Journal*, Peru's debts to U.S. banks are \$724 million; to Canadian banks, \$173 million; to Japanese, \$136 million; West German, \$81.7 million; British, \$65 million; and Swiss, \$61 million.

The links that lead from these bank vaults to the Peruvian women weeping in the supermarkets to the prisoners in Morales's jails are not well known. They are nonetheless real.

## Zaire

A parallel process unfolded between imperialist banking interests and Zaire. But the Zairian government is much weaker than Peru's and its economy is smaller. The Angola war cut off the Benguela Railway, which was the major carrier of Zairian copper to the sea, all the more disrupting its economy as copper prices fell drastically.

A revealing observation appeared in *Foreign Affairs*: "Zaire's problems," it declared, "were also deeper and more intractable than Argentina's or Peru's. Its per capita income and general level of economic development would not have attracted much lending except for its considerable natural resources, including some of the world's richest copper deposits." This assertion undercuts the pretension that loans to semicolonial countries are supposed to "help them develop."

Zaire's deepening crisis led it to default on loans throughout 1976. The *Washington Post*, in April 1977, during the earlier outbreak in Shaba province, described the agreement the banks reached with Zaire in November 1976:

"Months of secret negotiations led to an un-



Imperialist powers keep the corrupt Mobutu regime in power; they also keep Zaire's workers and farmers in poverty.

precedented agreement signed in the ornate setting of the Bank of England last Nov. 5 by representatives of the world's leading commercial banks and Gov. Sambwa Pida Nbagui of Zaire's Central Bank. In return for a promise of stringent austerity and other tough conditions from Zaire, New York's First National City Bank (Citibank) agreed to lead a 'best efforts' drive to raise \$250 million more in international money markets to revive the African nation's economy."

*Foreign Affairs* made the details more explicit. A special fund would be set up equaling 10 percent of export receipts, which would be set aside for service on a rescheduled debt. "Zaire," further, "would bring current all overdue interest to the banks. . . . It would make the 10 percent fund available to cover interest due on bank debt." *Foreign Affairs* admitted: "Such conditions are usually considered very stringent."

Squeeze the economy to pay the banks—especially the New York banks. . . .

The Zairian events fit into another pattern that is emerging in a whole series of semicolonial nations: nationalized property is being returned to private ownership and foreign investment is being openly reinvented.

According to the May 7, 1978, *New York Times*: "President Mobutu Sese Seko has called upon all former foreign owners of private companies, stores, plantations and even small farms to come back to Zaire to resume control of their enterprises. . . .

When the Government decided in 1975 to seek to lure back the foreigners, it offered the original owners 40 percent of their former businesses. There were few takers. A year later the offer was increased to 60 percent, with the foreigner retaining full management control and able to choose a Zairian partner who would pay the owner the remaining 40 percent.

"These inducements succeeded, so that now most of the major companies and larger palm-oil plantations are back in the hands of foreigners."

The conflict in Shaba province further strengthened the imperialists' position in Zaire, and intensified the scramble among the big imperialist powers for profits and power in Zaire. The Belgian ruling class, former masters of Zaire, who still have the largest foreign holdings in the country, were furious at the leading role played by French forces in crushing the uprising.

"The head of a major Belgian mining company, Union Minière . . . noted that Belgium still received most of Zairian copper and that . . . the Belgian trust that once owned them still provided technical assistance," according to the May 23 *New York Times*. This mining executive told the *Times*, "The French want to change that. They would love to get some of their companies in there, instead, such as Pennaroya." Pennaroya is a mining firm of the French Rothschilds.

In providing military assistance to the French and Belgian military intervention, President Carter was making a bid for greater U.S. influence in Zaire as well as protecting more general imperialist interests in southern Africa.

Following the military operation, representatives of Britain, France, Belgium, West Germany,

and the United States met in Paris to discuss further plans for plundering Zaire. According to the June 7, 1978, *New York Times*, discussion centered on the conditions to be demanded in exchange for "debt rescheduling and long-term aid."

"While most of the diplomats sought to explain this in tactful terms," wrote correspondent Flora Lewis, "some said flatly that it meant acceptance of outside experts and advisers who would, in effect, oversee the country's administration. One said that all participants had agreed that President Mobutu had to be given one more chance because there simply was no alternative to him as the head of state, but also that he would be made to understand that it was his last chance and that he had no choice but to accept supervision, actually a shadow government."

Thus the tattered patches of independence that Zaire possesses are in danger of being torn away as a result of the regime's military and economic dependence on imperialism.

The experiences of Zaire and Peru demonstrate that there is no safe passage that capitalist regimes in the semicolonial world can navigate between imperialist domination on the one side and socialist revolution on the other.

Within the vicious cycle set in motion by the dependence of these regimes on the capitalist world market and resultant subjection to imperialist banking interests, the military dependence on imperialism can only deepen. In fact, throughout the semicolonial world there is a tendency toward the imposition of harsher and harsher forms of military rule.

To genuinely free themselves from imperialist domination, the workers and peasants of the semicolonial nations should study the contrast between the disasters that have befallen Peru and Zaire and the victory of the Cuban revolution.

The Castro leadership came to power aiming at achieving only national independence, land reform, and democratic rights. These determined revolutionists found by experience that accomplishing these goals required confrontation both with imperialism and the native capitalists who depended on imperialism.

Unlike the Peruvian generals and Mobutu, the Castro team turned to the masses. They mobilized the workers and peasants to liquidate entirely the old army and police force that was closely linked to imperialism; to carry out a sweeping agrarian reform; to establish a workers and peasants government; to nationalize industry; and to establish a planned economy and state monopoly of foreign trade; and to repudiate the debts of the old regime and break the strangling grip of the imperialist banks.

This course stands as a shining example for other Latin American countries that see increasing impoverishment of the peasants and the accelerating growth of slum-ridden metropolises. Cuba's socialist revolution marks the road to genuine progress in Asia, Africa, and Latin America.



# ... Deportations

Continued from page 5/ISR

tic revolution. The proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to win.

*"Workingmen of all countries, unite!"*

Instead of Marx and Engels's stirring internationalist call for a world without borders, the CP battle cry seems to be the farmer's homily, "Good fences make good neighbors."

It isn't hard to see through Torrez's false arguments against the open borders slogan. But the CP's reactionary position on this question isn't an isolated mistake. It reflects the CP's opposition to Chicano nationalism and the Chicano struggle.

Torrez believes Chicano nationalism poses a grave threat to American "sovereignty": Chicanos might break off and form their own country. According to Torrez, "The reason these people advocate elimination of the present border is because they perceive a new border sometime in the future in what used to be the border lines of the already annexed states."

"But the question to be asked is, will the U.S. working class accept such a solution? Will it stand still while this new nation is carved out? No, of course not."

Once again Torrez ducks the immediate questions: For or against deportations? For or against the right of Mexicans to freely cross the border and work in the United States?

But the issue of Chicano self-determination is an important one in its own right. Here, the first question to be asked isn't whether the workers will "accept" a Chicano state, but whether working people should support the Chicanos' right to take this step.

Is it in the workers' interest to support the right of Chicanos to control their own destiny as a people, even to the point of supporting Chicanos' right to set up a separate state? Or should workers side with the U.S. ruling class against the Chicanos in the name of "workers' sovereignty"?

## National Oppression of Chicanos

Chicanos are oppressed and superexploited by U.S. capitalism. By every scale of social and economic measurement, Chicanos are at the bottom of the ladder—low paid and dangerous jobs; high unemployment; poor housing, education and medical care.

Chicanos' culture and language are systematically disparaged. The media promote racist stereotypes such as the "Frito Bandito," the "silent invasion" of "illegal aliens," and the idea that Chicanos and *mexicanos* are suited for little more than "stoop labor."

The social institutions that affect the Chicano community—radio stations and newspapers, banks and supermarkets, schools and cops—are run by Anglo outsiders.

The ruling class—the tiny clique of bankers and big businessmen who run this society—use racism against Chicanos and other oppressed minorities as a way to keep the workers fighting each other instead of their real enemies, the capitalists. For example, the capitalists have blamed undocumented workers for everything from unemployment to venereal disease.

The situation of Chicanos has many parallels to that of Blacks. In the 1960s, inspired by the example of the Blacks, Chicanos rebelled. There was an upsurge of pride in being Chicano. La Raza began mobilizing in large numbers against racist discrimination.

The struggle against deportations is part of this nationalist upsurge. It reflects the sense of solidarity Chicanos feel with their Mexican sisters and brothers. This feeling was captured in a passage from El Plan de Aztlán: "We do not recognize capricious frontiers on the bronze continent."

But more than that, the fight against deportations stems from the recognition by Chicanos and *mexicanos* that *la migra* is attacking them as a people—that the immigration cops don't much care whether those they harass and deport are citizens or not, as long as they are brown-skinned. *La migra* is an enemy of the entire Chicano community.

## Right to Self-Determination

A key aspect of the Chicano struggle has been demands by Chicanos for control over their own affairs, in order to be able to eliminate the

oppression they suffer. Such control is meaningless unless it includes the right of self-determination—the right to separate, to set up an independent country.

The right to separate is the ultimate guarantee that the rights of an oppressed nationality will be respected. It allows an oppressed people to decide whether the fight against oppression would be better served by remaining in a unitary state with Anglos or by setting up a separate nation-state.

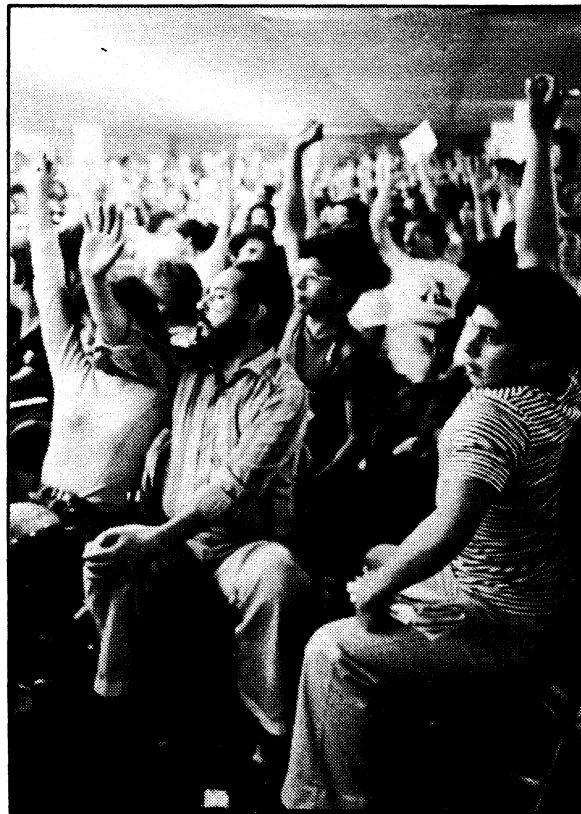
Although the right to separate is not a central demand of Chicano protests today, it has been raised in key documents of the movement such as El Plan de Aztlán. Moreover, the idea of separation tends to be posed sharply in times of social crisis.

Torrez insists that a solution to the problems of workers in the United States and Mexico "must be found by the working classes of both nations within their own present borders." He reinforces this idea by lumping together "those of us who have U.S. citizenship" as one homogenous mass.

By lumping together everyone "with U.S. citizenship" Torrez obliterates the rights of Blacks, Chicanos, and Indians as nationally oppressed people in the United States.

But the national oppression of these peoples is the heart of the issue. Given the history of racism in this country, it wouldn't be surprising if one day Chicanos, Blacks, or Indians decided: "We're fed up with Anglo racism. We're setting up our own country, where we can live without constant discrimination and brutality."

Obviously they would be within their rights to do so. There's nothing sacred about Anglos that



Participants in the October 28-30, 1977, Chicano-Latino Conference on Immigration and Public Policy defended right of Mexicans to cross the border.

makes them the only people entitled to have their own country. If the Anglos could move the U.S. border down into Mexico 130 years ago, why shouldn't Chicanos have the same right to move the border around?

The argument that "the U.S. working class" won't "accept" such a solution is false. Blacks and other oppressed nationalities are likely to understand and support the right of Chicanos to separate. Twenty-two million Afro-Americans are not an insignificant ally.

Moreover, it is in the interests of all working people to support the struggle of the Chicanos against their oppression, and it is especially important that Anglo workers do this. The Anglo workers who back their Chicano sisters and brothers in effect tell the rulers: We're not going to let you play the divide-and-rule game anymore.

This doesn't mean Anglo workers should urge Chicanos to separate. It only means defending—by any means necessary—the right of Chicanos to make their own decision about their future.

In arguing that "the U.S. working class" (meaning—obviously—white workers) won't accept the right of Chicanos to self-determination, Torrez falls back on a stand that has been used against every demand of oppressed nationalities and women. This refrain has been chanted by opponents of affirmative action, busing, bilin-

gual education, and the Equal Rights Amendment.

The duty of socialists is to explain to the working class, including the Anglo workers, why it is in their class interests to support these demands. Torrez instead bows to the prejudices of many white workers.

## Counterrevolutionary Position

Torrez's position is not only wrong, it is counterrevolutionary in the strictest sense of the word.

Chicanos, Blacks, and other nationally oppressed peoples make up roughly 20 percent of the U.S. population, concentrated in major urban areas—the nerve centers of American capitalism. Moreover, these nationalities are concentrated in basic industries—steel production, for example—which are potentially the biggest stronghold of working-class power.

The workers of the oppressed nationalities are superexploited on the job and oppressed in society as a whole. It is these workers who will fight most consistently against the capitalists and who will provide much of the leadership for coming class battles.

Without the active support of the oppressed nationalities, no significant gains for the working class, much less a socialist revolution, will be possible in the United States.

It is utopian to think oppressed nationalities would join a class-struggle movement that does not guarantee them full equality.

Torrez's stance that Anglo workers will not "accept" the right of Chicanos to self-determination amounts to warning Chicanos: "Yes, we will support your rights up to a point. But if you go too far. . . ."

Such hypocrisy would blow up the development of class solidarity across racial and national lines.

It is totally realistic to project winning Anglo workers to support the right of the oppressed nationalities to self-determination. The economic crisis is undermining the belief many workers had in the viability of American capitalism, of which racist oppression is a fundamental part. The resulting questioning of capitalism inevitably produces challenges to racism, U.S. patriotism, and other reactionary ideas fostered by the ruling class.

White workers can and will learn through experience in the course of struggle that it is necessary for all workers to support the demands of the most oppressed in order to create working-class unity against the employers. They will see in life how opposition to busing or affirmative action, or support to deportations in the name of defending "our" jobs and "our" border, leads to divisions and setbacks, while the opposite course leads to victory.

In his article on "the border issue" Torrez blasts Chicanos who advocate separation as "bourgeois nationalists," and calls for "unity against opportunistic individuals who dream of power and control." In the July 23, 1977, *Daily World* he denounced Chicano nationalism as "a very serious problem. . . . Marxist philosophers hold that nationalism is the last trench of reaction."

Torrez is dead wrong. There is absolutely nothing "Marxist" about dismissing Chicano nationalist demands for self-determination as "bourgeois," much less "the last trench of reaction."

Support for the right of oppressed nationalities to self-determination makes good sense from the standpoint of the needs of the working-class struggle today. It is also in complete accord with the approach of the great Marxist thinkers whom Torrez and the CP claim to follow.

## Marx & Lenin vs. Torrez

This approach was first worked out by Marx in relation to the British colony of Ireland. It was codified in a resolution he submitted in 1870 to the leading bodies of the International Working Men's Association, commonly known as the First International:

"Any nation that oppresses another forges its own chains. . . ."

"[Q]uite apart from international justice, it is a precondition to the emancipation of the English working class to transform the present forced union (i.e., the enslavement of Ireland) into equal and free confederation if possible, into complete separation if need be." (Emphasis in original in this and other quotes.)

Lenin systematized this approach in his writ-

ings on the national question: "The proletariat cannot remain silent on the question of the frontiers of a state founded on national oppression, a question so 'unpleasant' for the imperialist bourgeoisie. . . .

"The proletariat must demand freedom of political separation for colonies and nations oppressed by 'their own' nation."

In another article Lenin castigated any self-styled socialist of an oppressor country who abandoned the demand for the right of self-determination as "a scoundrel and an imperialist." Lenin emphasized that this right of oppressed nationalities "is an absolute demand, even where the *chance* of secession being possible and 'practicable' before the introduction of socialism is only one in a thousand."

The Communist International, the worldwide organization of revolutionary parties founded by the leaders of the Russian revolution, further developed these ideas. At the second congress, held in Moscow in 1920, there was a rich discussion of the national and colonial questions.

Lenin wrote a rough draft of some theses. These were revised in a special commission, and Lenin then gave a report on the amended theses to the whole congress.

"First, what is the cardinal idea underlying our theses?" he asked. "It is the distinction between oppressed and oppressor nations. . . . In this age of imperialism, it is particularly important for the proletariat and the Communist International to establish the concrete economic facts and to proceed from concrete realities, not from abstract postulates, in all colonial and national problems."

Did Torrez start from "the distinction between oppressed and oppressor nations" based on analyzing "concrete realities" in his article? No, he started from the "abstract postulate" that all nationalism is bourgeois.

### What's 'Bourgeois' About Nationalism?

The designation of nationalism in general as bourgeois simply means that nationalism—the sentiment of identity among a people—arose during the epoch of the bourgeois-democratic revolutions, when capitalism was replacing feudalism as the dominant social system in Europe. (At that time, nationalism wasn't reaction—it was part of those progressive revolutions.)

However, a historical characterization of nationalism as "bourgeois" has little value as a guide to political action today.

After all, the idea that all people should have equal rights is equally "bourgeois" in this historical sense.

The nationalism of the oppressed and the nationalism of the oppressor are different and counterposed. To jam them both into a pigeon-hole labeled "bourgeois nationalism" does violence to the reality of the class struggle.

The nationalism of the oppressed—the sentiment of solidarity among Chicanos, the idea that as a people they face a common oppression and must seek common solutions—is a progressive force.

"Chicano Power" has been the rallying cry of countless struggles—against the imperialist war in Vietnam, for bilingual education, against police terror.

Frederick Engels, Marx's collaborator, noted the progressive character of the nationalism of the oppressed in 1882: "I therefore hold the view that *two* nations in Europe have not only the right but even the duty to be nationalistic before they become internationalistic: the Irish and the Poles. They are most internationalistic when they are genuinely nationalistic."

The nationalism of the oppressor, however, is truly bourgeois—a pillar of capitalist rule. It is "great nation chauvinism"—as Lenin put it—and is reactionary through and through because it is directed not against oppression but at oppressing others.

Unlike "Chicano Power," the cry for "white power" or "America for Americans" serves to rally the most reactionary elements against the just demands of Chicanos, Blacks, and other oppressed nationalities.

### Working-class Composition

The Chicano movement is not a bourgeois movement led by Chicano capitalists, as Torrez's analysis would lead one to believe. The layer of Chicano capitalists is so small as to be insignificant. Chicanos as a people are overwhelmingly working class in composition. Their oppression

as a people is inextricably intertwined with their oppression as a superexploited layer of the working class.

Take, for example, the struggle against hiring discrimination and the use of discriminatory layoffs against Chicanos and Blacks. Is the demand to abolish the "last-hired, first-fired" syndrome a capitalist proposal? Of course not. The capitalists profit from discriminatory layoffs.

It is a demand of Black and Chicano workers that comes from the struggle against their *national* oppression. It is a working-class demand, which forges solidarity among the workers by opposing the capitalist efforts to divide the working class through racist policies. It undermines the use of oppressed nationalities by the capitalists as a pool of cheap labor to pull down the living standards and working conditions of the entire working class.

Hence, we have an astonishing phenomenon: Torrez's "bourgeois" movement is, in real life,



working class in composition and raises working-class demands.

Moreover, because American imperialism cannot grant full liberation to Blacks, Chicanos, and other oppressed minorities, these nationalist movements have a revolutionary dynamic: a consistent struggle in defense of Chicanos as a people leads toward combating the capitalist system itself.

The nationalism that Torrez denounces as "the last trench of reaction" is actually a component of proletarian class consciousness in a particularly oppressed layer of the working class.

The coming American socialist revolution will have a combined character: it will be both a struggle to abolish capitalist exploitation and to eliminate the national oppression of Blacks, Chicanos, Indians, and others. These two aspects of tasks of the revolution are interdependent and intertwined. Any attempt to separate, downgrade, postpone, or counterpose one task in relation to the other would doom the American working people to a crushing defeat.

The Communist Party's opposition to Chicano nationalism isn't an isolated episode.

### Slandered Malcolm X

For example, in 1963 the CP called the great Black nationalist leader Malcolm X "a conscious huckster of worthless nostrums" and "an agent of their [Blacks'] enemies." Malcolm and his associates were "ultra-reactionary forces" who "do not fight racism, they merely advocate their own brand of the poison."

This position has profound roots.

The CP's opposition to the nationalism of the oppressed flows from the abject subordination of their party to the bureaucratic layer that misrules the Soviet Union. The CP leadership tailors its policies to fit the foreign-policy maneuvers of the Soviet bureaucracy.

For decades this bureaucratic layer has been seeking "détente" with imperialism. In exchange for help from Moscow in containing revolutionary struggles, they want the United States and

other imperialist powers to live with the status quo in the Soviet bloc.

As a result, the American CP proposes not a socialist revolution but "antimonopoly" reforms of U.S. capitalism. On the political level, this policy focuses on support to liberal Democrats.

Supporting capitalist politicians also means that the CP tailors its demands to their needs. That's a big reason for the CP's reticence about the demand to stop all deportations.

And obviously, you're not going to get too far wheeling and dealing with capitalist politicians if you insist they support the right of Chicanos to "carve out" their own homeland from territory now in the possession of U.S. imperialism.

### CPUSA & Soviet Bureaucrats

The CP's stand on deportations and the right of Chicanos to self-determination reflects their need to defend the internal policies of the Soviet bureaucracy. They claim the Soviet Union is a full-fledged socialist society, where things couldn't possibly be better.

The Soviet Union really is a workers state—but one that has been profoundly distorted by a half-century of Stalinist rule.

In the Soviet Union, capitalism—the private ownership of the means of production, such as factories and mines—has been abolished, and with it production for profit.

But instead of workers controlling production and making decisions based on human needs, a privileged bureaucratic layer controls the government. Its actions are aimed at preserving its privileges and power. To keep control, this bureaucracy has brutally suppressed the most elementary democratic rights, including the national rights of oppressed peoples.

For example, last April the bureaucrats published a new draft constitution for the Georgian Soviet Republic, one of the oppressed nations in the USSR. This draft dropped a provision making Georgian the official language. Masses of people—up to 20,000 by some accounts—took to the streets in protests that forced the bureaucracy to back down.

By its program on this question, the U.S. Communist Party shows that it does not want to and cannot lead a socialist revolution. Its course undermines the working-class struggle against the capitalist offensive right now, by strengthening the real bourgeois nationalism that divides the workers—white American chauvinism.

The Socialist Workers Party, on the other hand, does intend to lead the American working class in a socialist revolution. That is why we have adopted Lenin's position of support to the struggles of oppressed nationalities as our own:

"Increased national oppression under imperialism does not mean that Social-Democracy [the revolutionary socialist movement of Lenin's time] should reject what the bourgeoisie call the 'utopian' struggle for the freedom of nations to secede but, on the contrary, it should make greater use of the conflicts that arise in this sphere, too, as grounds for mass action and revolutionary attacks on the bourgeoisie."



# ...Women's Equality

Continued from page ISR/4

powerful forces arrayed against the women's movement. They are not powerful in the sense of numbers, but in their wealth and influence. What I'm talking about is the power of the employing class, or the capitalist class, as socialists call it. This is the class that *owns* the media, that makes the decisions about how the economy should be run, that pulls the strings controlling the Democratic and Republican parties. U.S. society is run on the basis of the rules of this class, the rules of profit.

This does not mean that the masses of working people who make up the overwhelming majority do not have influence. All kinds of gains—all the way from unemployment insurance to abortion rights—have been struggled for and won.

But we have to be aware of what we are up against. Nothing has been or will be given to us. We have to fight for every concession. And as long as capitalism exists, women will not be fully free. Every gain will be in jeopardy.

It's within this framework that we have to look at the struggle—and that's what it will be—for women's liberation.

Those who own the wealth in this country have made it quite clear that they are not about to give women any more rights than they have to. They not only won't—they *can't*. They can't basically restructure society to make room for women's equality without undercutting the profit system, which is based on inequality.

Instead, they are now trying to reduce the rights women enjoy.

The economic crisis the capitalist system is experiencing today means that not only will it be harder and harder to win concessions, but the defenders of that system will try to take back things already won. We see this now in the fight over abortion and the terrible blow dealt to affirmative-action programs by the Supreme Court's *Bakke* decision.

These attacks are not only affecting women. They are hitting Blacks, Puerto Ricans, Chicanos, and they are hitting the union movement and working people as a whole.

Trade unionists are being asked to give back many benefits already won. The mine workers are being told they have to do without medical benefits and other gains won in the past. Public education is deteriorating, and Blacks and Chicanos are being pushed out of colleges. Cutbacks are being made in public hospitals, libraries, health facilities, and recreation programs.

The attacks against women must be seen in this context. The drive against women's rights is part of a more general attempt by the employers to take out the problems of their economic system on working people. It is a part of a general drive to cut down our standard of living.

By understanding this we can see why the Equal Rights Amendment is having such a hard time. The employers would prefer that the ERA not pass, because it will be easier for them to carry out their attacks on women if there is not a clear statement confirming women's right to equality in the Constitution. They fear the impact of a victory for the ERA on other oppressed people who are fighting for their rights.

## A Powerful Movement

What does this mean for the women's liberation struggle? It means that if we are to be successful we must build a powerful women's movement.

Although the capitalist class is powerful, its might is dwarfed by the potential power of the majority in this country—a majority that has everything to gain from women's liberation.

Our strength is in our numbers. We have to mobilize the millions of people who support women's liberation and who are potential activists.

The possibilities for doing this today are greater than before. New forces are entering the struggle for women's rights—forces from the labor movement, from the Black communities, from other oppressed groups.

This was shown in the response to the National Organization for Women's call for a pro-ERA march on Washington July 9. This call met with a good response in the unions. Women's committees, civil rights committees, union locals, and in some cases union districts organized their members to participate. We're also seeing a growing identification with the struggle for the ERA on the part of organizations in the Black

community. Groups like Operation PUSH, the NAACP, the Urban League, and the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists are becoming involved in ERA protests.

This reflects the potential for more closely linking the fight for Black equality, the struggles in the unions, and the fight for women's equality.

These developments are tied to broader changes in the unions—changes that can eventually transform the labor movement as we know it today. There is a new mood of struggle in the unions, a mood we saw expressed in the 110-day coal miners' strike—a courageous battle by the miners that won the support of many other workers.

Part of this new mood involves new attitudes toward women's rights among unionists. More and more workers—women *and* men—are starting to look at the question of women's rights as a *union issue*. They're demanding that the unions—the most powerful organizations working people have today—put their muscle behind the ERA, job equality, child care, and other issues.

As a result, the women's movement is already beginning to take on a new look. We see growing numbers of Black women participating in ERA actions, some as members of their unions and some as members of civil rights organizations. We see contingents of steelworkers, auto workers, meat cutters, and other unionists joining ERA marches.

These initial signs help us envision the kind of mass women's movement we have the potential to build. A movement that can involve millions, a movement that unites the unions, women's rights groups, Black and Latino organizations, students, and others.

## Divide and Rule

From the beginning, the enemies of women's liberation have tried to prevent what is happening today—the spread of our movement to the unions, and to the Black, Chicano, and Puerto Rican communities.

The press has played a divisive role by hammering away at the false idea that women's rights have little to do with Black and working-class women. And the government has calculated each move against women in such a way as to hit the poorest women first, in the hopes of dividing women and blunting the response from the movement as a whole. The best example of this is the cutoff of abortion funds for poor women.

The capitalists are in a minority. They will continue to get their way only to the extent that they successfully play this game of divide and rule.

Up until now, a feeling of isolation and hopelessness has often resulted when defeats, cutbacks, and attacks have come down. For example, the press deliberately tries to paint abortion rights, the ERA, and affirmative action as unpopular causes. This leaves women's rights activists feeling isolated. Blacks also feel they have no dependable allies.

Along with this go attempts to distort what our movement stands for. Affirmative-action programs to win job equality are painted as "reverse discrimination." And through such moves as the reactionary *Bakke* decision, racist and sexist prejudices in society are deepened.

## A Winning Strategy

If we are to win, we need the type of organizations that can argue clearly for our rights. We also need the types of actions and activities that can cut across feelings of isolation and unite and mobilize the power of the majority. The movement we build must also be highly visible. We need the kind of demonstrations, pickets, and rallies that involve large numbers.

The right-wing anti-ERA, anti-abortion forces have used actions such as demonstrations and rallies in an effective manner and they have had an influence far out of proportion to their size. The Democratic and Republican politicians voting against ERA and other women's rights issues have often pointed to the right-wing protests as evidence of mass opposition to women's rights.

The right wing can only masquerade as representing majority opinion as long as the real majority is not pressing its case in vocal and visible actions.

Once we unite women's rights supporters in big public actions, actions that will grow as we demonstrate the support we have, we can hand the right wing defeats.

We can win concessions from the government. The Democrats and Republicans have shown by their actions that they oppose women's equality. But they cannot ignore a movement that brings masses of people into the streets against their policies, a movement that is active in the unions, in the Black communities, on the campuses, that is challenging their policies on every front.

Experience has shown that this type of movement can win concessions. This is how we helped end the war in Vietnam. This is how suffrage was won. How the unions were built. And how the movement against racist oppression has been advanced.

## Toward a Mass Socialist Movement

Concessions can be won by building the broadest possible women's movement, but we also have to take the struggle further. In addition to building the women's rights movement—a movement that can unite women of all political persuasions, including Democrats, Republicans, and socialists—it is also necessary to build the socialist movement. We need a movement directed against the capitalist system itself, since it is capitalism that is at the root of our problems.

The need to build a mass socialist movement becomes clearer as each day goes by. The Supreme Court decision on *Bakke* is one of the most blatant examples yet. It shows that so long as capitalism exists, any gain we win is not secure. Capitalism *will not* give us equality, and the deepening economic crisis of capitalism will make the rulers try even harder to take away what has been won and bar new gains.

This economic crisis forces the capitalists to continue to drive down the standard of living of all working people, and the *Bakke* decision is part of this.

The Supreme Court's ruling against affirmative-action quotas will mean lower wages and higher unemployment for women, Blacks, Chicanos, and Puerto Ricans. It helps reinforce the idea that there are so-called men's jobs, such as the higher-paid industrial and skilled jobs, that women can be excluded from.

We must be prepared for more attacks such as the *Bakke* decision, for more attacks on Black rights, on Chicano rights, on women's rights, and more attacks on the working class as a whole. We must be prepared for continued inflation, high unemployment, recessions, speedup, and worsening job conditions as well as cutbacks in social services.

The nature and scope of these attacks show just how interconnected the fight for women's rights is with the struggles of all those being victimized. It shows the importance of cutting through the divisions in the working class and building a united response to the attacks.

The trade-union movement—which includes all the different sectors of the working class in its ranks—has a key role to play in this.

This gives special importance to the new stirrings in the unions today, such as the labor support for the ERA and the solidarity actions on

Continued on next page

# Reading on women and socialism

**Black Women's Struggle for Equality**, by Willie Mae Reid. \$.25

**Socialism and the Fight for Women's Rights**, by Linda Jenness. \$.25

**Is Biology Woman's Destiny?** by Evelyn Reed. \$.50.

**Problems of Women's Liberation**, by Evelyn Reed. 96 pages, cloth \$7.00, paper \$1.95.

**Prospects for Socialism in America**. Edited with an introduction by Jack Barnes and Mary-Alice Waters. 256 pages, cloth \$14.00, paper \$2.95.

**Women in China**, by Katie Curtin. 96 pages, cloth \$7.00, paper \$1.95.

Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, New York 10014. Enclose \$.25 for postage and handling, \$.50 on order of \$5 or more.

## The Politics of Chicano Liberation

Edited by Olga Rodríguez.  
New York. Pathfinder  
Press. 1977. 160 pages.

It seems hard to believe today that a little more than a decade ago the word *Chicano* was unknown to most people in this country. The term Mexican-American was generally used, including in the barrios. It wasn't until the 1970s that most English-language dictionaries began to carry the term.

The growing preference among activists of la Raza for this self-designation in the late 1960s signaled a new awareness of their oppression as a distinct people.

In the past decade this consciousness and militancy has spread. So too has the general recognition of the growing importance of Chicanos in American political life as a whole.

The *New York Times* recently noted that they are this nation's fastest growing minority. Even the notoriously understated census estimates put New Mexico's Chicano population at 40 percent. Between 1960 and 1970 the Latino population of Los Angeles grew from 9.9 to 18.1 percent, and by 1980 it's projected to be 28.8 percent.

The steady flow of immigrants from Mexico is changing the character of some major American cities.

Once virtually ignored, the Chicano vote was vigorously wooed by presidential candidate Jimmy Carter. One of his first acts in office was to appoint a Chicano, Leonel Castillo, head of the immigration service, charged with stemming the population flow from Mexico.

The Socialist Workers Party was quick to see the importance of this new rise of Chicano nationalism and to identify with it.

At its 1971 convention the party adopted a comprehensive resolution on the Chicano struggle. That resolution is now available, along with related party documents, in *The Politics of Chicano Liberation*.

The resolutions and reports in the book were adopted by delegates to SWP national conventions. Such documents form the framework for the party's analysis of and participation in political developments.

This collection provides a picture of how socialists in this country

# 'The Politics of Chicano Liberation' Pathfinder's Choice for July

apply the Marxist method in examining the deepening consciousness and emerging combativity of an oppressed nationality.

The SWP was in a good position to undertake such a task. The analysis it developed of the character of Black oppression led it to embrace the growth of Black nationalist sentiment in the early 1960s, best articulated by Malcolm X—at the same time that other self-proclaimed Marxists, most notably the Communist Party, were condemning it as a form of racism in reverse.

While there are important differences between the Black and Chicano movements, Marxists utilize the same analytical method in approaching both.

The SWP was able to draw on much more than its own experiences in this country. Among the reasons a revolutionary socialist party is essential is that it provides a conscious link with the accumulated lessons of the struggle against oppression throughout the world, including the lessons of the Russian revolution.

Besides the 1971 document, this volume contains a resolution, adopted by the 1976 SWP convention, taking a fresh look at the problems facing the Chicano movement in light of the economic downturn of the 1970s. In addition, there are reports given to both the 1971 and 1976 gatherings.

There is a brief introduction by Olga Rodríguez, the editor. Currently SWP field organizer in the Southwest, she coordinates the party's work in the Chicano movement and gave the report to the 1976 convention.

An opening essay, "The Forging of an Oppressed Nationality," provides a useful historical overview of the Southwest: from the conquest of the original Indian inhabitants

by Spain, through its seizure by the United States from Mexico, and the subjugation of the Spanish-speaking population, the so-called Zoot Suit riots—a racist hysteria against young Chicanos during World War II—and the formation of organizations to protect Chicano rights after the war.

The rest of the book, too, contains much valuable historical material woven into its analysis of the Chicano movement in the 1960s and 1970s.

The heart of the book, however, is the strategy it puts forward for Chicano liberation. This includes a program of demands in response to the oppression of Chicanos—against deportations, police brutality, and denial of bilingual education, among others. These demands are incorporated into a broader strategy of reaching out to and linking up with potential allies, above all the working class.

This approach opens the road to a socialist revolution, which is the only way to completely eliminate the oppression of Chicanos. For a deeper understanding of the inter-

connection between the Chicano struggle and the struggle of the working class as a whole in this country, this book should be read in conjunction with *Prospects for Socialism in America* (New York, Pathfinder, \$2.95).

*The Politics of Chicano Liberation* describes the dual oppression Chicanos face. They are members of an oppressed nationality and, in their great majority, workers. They are sizable and powerful components of some key unions, including those in the steel and auto industries.

Chicanos will be leaders in the fight to transform the union movement. A revitalized, militant union movement will play a big role in fighting all forms of oppression.

Because of their role in the vanguard of class struggle in this country, Chicanos will have an important part to play in building and leading a mass revolutionary socialist party.

*The Politics of Chicano Liberation* should be studied by all partisans of the Chicano struggle.

—Nelson Blackstock

## 25% Discount Offer

*The Politics of Chicano Liberation* is available at a special discount price of \$1.85. The regular price is \$2.45. Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, New York 10014. Send check or money order or return this coupon to one of the socialist bookstores listed on page 31. Offer expires August 31, 1978.

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

City, State & Zip \_\_\_\_\_

## ...Women's Equality

Continued from preceding page

the part of many different unions in support of the miners' strike.

Members of the Socialist Workers Party have played an active role in building such solidarity actions in the unions. We see these activities as an important step in turning the trade unions into more effective organizations for protecting the interests of working people.

Such activities fit in with our whole socialist outlook. We stand on a program that says that unity of all the oppressed is key to fighting back. We are dead opposed to the concept pushed by the capitalists that opportunity in this society is like a shrinking pie, where sectors of working people must fight each other over who gets the biggest slice.

The capitalists tell us that it's impossible to meet all our needs. They say we can't fight inflation without taking wage cuts. They tell small homeowners they can't get tax relief without having their public services cut back. They tell workers there just aren't enough jobs to go around, so we have to fight over who gets the existing jobs.

The program of the Socialist Workers Party points to a way out of the irrationality and misery caused by the profit system. We say that there doesn't have to be a shrinking pie. We say the cutbacks and attempts to lower our standard

of living are caused by the crisis and wastefulness of capitalism.

A system that puts profits ahead of human needs is inherently wasteful. Think of what could be produced if the energies of the unemployed were put to work. Think about the waste involved when automobiles, clothing, and almost everything we buy are purposely made to fall apart so the capitalists can sell us new ones. And think about the biggest waste of all—the war spending to protect corporate investments around the world.

Socialists believe it is possible to meet the needs of the masses of people in this society if we break out of the straitjacket of the profit system. And we in the Socialist Workers Party believe a mass socialist party is needed to fight for this goal. We have begun to build such a party.

Our party is involved in struggles on all fronts—in the unions, the Black movement, the Chicano movement, the women's movement, and on the campuses. And we are running socialist candidates in opposition to the candidates of the Republicans and Democrats.

Unlike the Republican and Democratic parties, we are not financed or controlled by the capitalists. Our party is made up of and democratically run by working people. Our political program—all the way from our opposition to nuclear power, to our support for child care, to our solidarity with the miners' fight for medical care and

safety—flows from the idea that human needs should come before profits.

More and more people are beginning to see the need for a socialist movement. They are seeing that sexism, racism, and economic insecurity are more a part of the capitalist system than they once thought. And they are looking for an alternative.

### To Win

I'd like to go back to the question I posed at the beginning: how can women's rights be won?

I think there are three answers to this question, all of them important.

First, we have to build the biggest possible movement for women's rights that includes women from different walks of life and political persuasions and that unites many different organizations and groups in action.

Second, we should support and build all the various struggles against this racist, sexist, exploitative system. And we should, where possible, link these struggles together.

And third, we need to build a massive socialist movement that can fight against and change the whole system.

We should be optimistic about the future of the struggle for women's rights. It is possible to win freedom for women. And we are further along the path of building the movements necessary to win than ever before.



# Federal judge's ruling on informer files in socialists' lawsuit

Following are excerpts from the historic decision by Judge Thomas Griesa in the Socialist Workers Party case. For a copy of the full text of the decision, send \$1.00 to: Political Rights Defense Fund, Post Office Box 649 Cooper Station, New York, New York 10003.

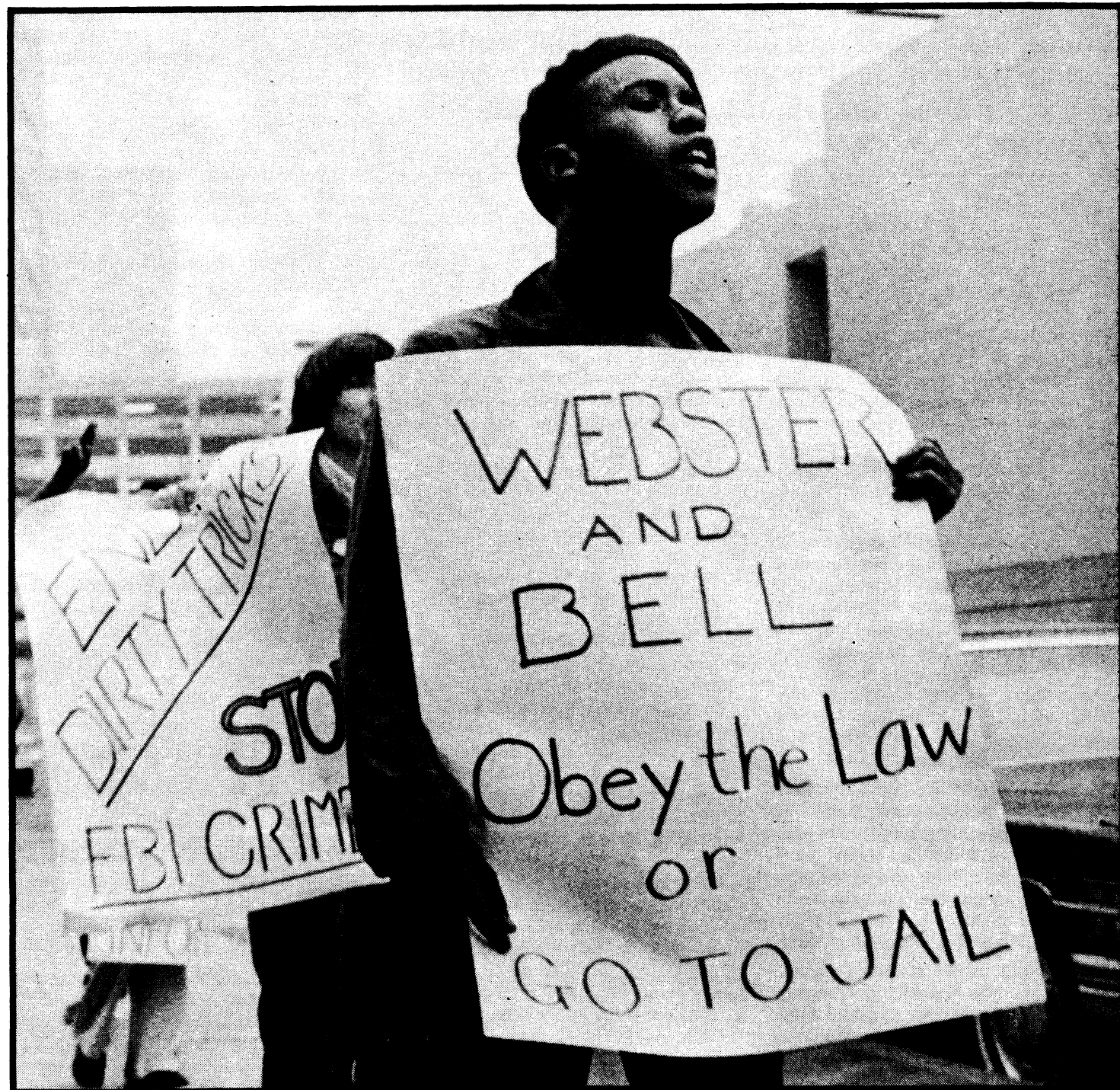
This is an action brought by two related political organizations, the Socialist Workers Party ("SWP") and the Young Socialist Alliance ("YSA"), and members of these organizations, claiming that various agencies and officials of the federal government have violated plaintiffs' constitutional and other legal rights.

Plaintiffs have moved under Fed. R. Civ. P. 37(b)(2)(D) to adjudge the Attorney General of the United States in contempt for failure to obey an order of this Court of May 31, 1977. The latter order directed defendant Federal Bureau of Investigation to produce to plaintiffs' counsel the files of eighteen FBI informants, with the express direction that plaintiffs' counsel were prohibited from revealing the identities of the informants or any other information contained in the files to anyone other than the attorneys specified in the order.

The Second Circuit Court of Appeals, in an opinion dated October 11, 1977 held that the May 31, 1977 order was issued within the District Court's lawful discretion. *In re United States*, 565 F.2d 19 (2d Cir. 1977). A petition for rehearing to the court of Appeals, with a suggestion for rehearing *en banc*, was denied on March 9, 1978, no active judge, or judge who was a member of the panel, voting for rehearing. On June 12, 1978 the Supreme Court denied the Government's certiorari petition, Chief Justice Burger and Justices White and Powell announcing they would grant the petition.

In an affidavit dated June 13, 1978, confirmed by subsequent submissions made to the Court by the United States Attorney for the Southern District of New York, the Attorney General has stated that he will not comply with the order of May 31, 1977, and that neither the Department of Justice nor the FBI will produce the informant files specified in that order.

This Court cannot accept the Attorney General's position. No one can deny that it is a grave step to enforce a court order to the extent of holding the Attorney General of the United States in contempt. However, the issues in this case are grave in the extreme, involving charges of abuse of political power of the most serious nature. Plaintiffs allege, among other things, that the FBI used its very considerable power to conduct a systematic covert campaign to manipulate and disrupt the plaintiff organizations and interfere with their lawful activities. Plaintiffs allege that a prime device used in this campaign was to infiltrate the plaintiff organizations with paid, undercover informants, who were instructed to take various actions designed to harm the organizations, and to furnish the FBI information so that the FBI could take additional steps to harass and hamper the organizations and their members. Plaintiffs also allege that, aside from this campaign to manipulate and disrupt, there was a serious invasion of constitutional rights in the very fact of the pervasive intrusion and surveillance carried out by the undercover informants with respect to the peaceful political activi-



Militant/Robert Allen

Picket line demanding end to cover-up of informers' crimes greeted FBI Director William Webster in St. Louis last month.

ties of the organizations and the personal lives of members, accompanied by the use of these informants to obtain all manner of confidential documents, including membership lists and financial records.

Plaintiffs urge that the activities of the FBI informants were of a radically different character than legitimate use of informants for valid law enforcement purposes. Plaintiffs contend that there was no valid law enforcement or crime-detection purpose involved in the FBI surveillance and the other activities carried out by the FBI against the SWP, the YSA and their members. In this connection, it should be noted that in September 1976, some three years after this action had been commenced, and after a Senate subcommittee had severely criticized the FBI with respect to its activities against the SWP and the YSA, Attorney General Levi terminated the investigation of the SWP.

It is not only in plaintiffs' interest, but in the broad public interest, that plaintiffs be afforded a fair opportunity to obtain and present the essential evidence about this alleged wrongdoing. The issues in this case relate to the most fundamental constitutional rights, which lie at the very foundation of our system of government—the right to engage in political organization and to speak freely on political subjects, without interference and harassment from governmental organs. Since the

allegations relate to the highest levels of government, it is entirely appropriate for a court to enter an order against a cabinet officer, if necessary, for the production of the essential evidence, and to adjudge that cabinet officer in contempt if he refuses to obey the order.

For reasons to be explained hereafter, this Court concludes that the FBI informant files constitute a unique and essential body of evidence regarding the allegations of wrongdoing in this case. The Court further concludes that, although it is neither necessary nor practical to have all such files (numbering over 1300) produced or used as evidence, it must be established as a principle in the conduct of this case that plaintiffs' counsel are entitled to production of a representative selection of these informant files, without deletions or expurgations—such production to be decided upon by the Court, and not to depend upon the unilateral terms and conditions set by the FBI or the Attorney General.

The Attorney General's assertion that the public interest requires ensuring the confidentiality of informants is a reiteration of the position taken by the FBI throughout these proceedings. This Court has consistently recognized the need to give the matter of confidentiality of the informants the most careful consideration. It has been the purpose of the Court, often expressed,

to handle the case in such a way as to keep any public exposure of the identities of FBI informants to an absolute minimum. However, the informant privilege is not absolute. *Roviero v. United States*, 353 U.S. 53, 60-61 (1957). The Government's interest must be weighed against other factors. One factor here is that there is no ongoing investigation of the SWP or the YSA which will be compromised by the production of informant files. Thus, the Government is asserting a "generalized interest in confidentiality" (see *United States v. Nixon*, 418 U.S. 683, 713 (1974))—that is, the concern that informants in other situations may be deterred if confidentiality is not maintained in the present case. Of greater significance is the fact that this is not the normal situation where the problem is the disclosure of information relating to informants who have unquestionably been used in legitimate efforts to detect crime. The present case involves the serious allegation that the FBI informants were used for unlawful purposes—that is, to monitor and interfere with legitimate political and private activities. Thus the questions about production of informant files in the present case cannot be resolved by looking solely at the interest in informant confidentiality, as the Government would have us do. There are countervailing considerations which deeply affect the public good.

Continued on next page

# ...FBI files

Continued from preceding page

These considerations relate to the interest of the citizens of this country in being protected against the illegal and unconstitutional use of informants to interfere with the exercise of basic political rights and to invade the pri-

## The issues in this case relate to the most fundamental constitutional rights—the right to engage in political organization and to speak freely without harassment from governmental organs.

vacy of persons and organizations. One obvious way to protect against such abuses is to allow private plaintiffs fair opportunity to recover for such abuses to the extent legally allowed, with the attendant exposure of any misuse of Government power to public view. These considerations reinforce the conclusion that there is ample justification for the enforcement of an order against the Attorney General which is designed to provide essential evidence in this case to plaintiffs' attorneys.

A principal justification asserted by the Attorney General for his refusing compliance with the May 31, 1977 order is that such refusal is necessary in order to preserve the right to "full appellate review." The Attorney General contends that the Government has been unable to obtain "review on the merits with respect to the Court's order" in the appellate proceedings which have taken place.

The theory that full appellate review has thus far been denied, and that there is some other procedure which will provide an additional quantum of review is repeated over and over again in the Attorney General's affidavit and in the brief filed on his behalf. However, this proposition is simply invalid.

At no point in the Attorney General's affidavit or in his brief is there any attempt to articulate or explain what additional measure of review would be available through some other appellate proceeding. Not one judicial authority is cited to illustrate or define what further appellate review would add or accomplish.

## These considerations relate to the interest of the citizens of this country in being protected against the illegal and unconstitutional use of informants to invade the privacy of persons and organizations.

As will be described more fully hereafter, the Court of Appeals dismissed the appeal, but entertained and ruled upon the mandamus petition. This ruling expressly resolved each relevant question of law—that is, that the informant privilege applies; that it is qualified privilege, which can be overcome by a showing that the need for disclosure outweighs the claim of privilege; and that a district judge, in the exercise of his discretion, may permit opposing counsel to participate in and assist him in the conduct of *in camera* proceedings under a pledge of secrecy. Finally, the Court of Appeals held that the May 31, 1977 order was a valid exercise of discretion under these rules. *In re United States*, 565 F.2d 19, 22-23.

This review responded precisely to the "Question Presented" in the Government's brief relating to the mandamus petition and appeal to the Second Circuit, which was phrased:

"Whether the District Court abused its discre-

tion in directing release to plaintiffs' counsel of eighteen confidential informants' identities and files in a civil action against the Government."

The Government regarded this same question as the proper question both for mandamus petition and appeal.

The problem, from the Government's standpoint was not that the Court of Appeals failed to rule on the issues, but that the Court ruled adversely to the Government.

The authorities are absolutely clear

that, in connection with a discovery problem such as the one involved in the present case, the issue on appellate review, regardless of the form such review takes, is the question of whether the district court abused its discretion. Thus, no additional measure of review would be available to the Government in this case in any further proceedings in the appellate courts.

The Attorney General goes so far as to contend that he would be justified in disobeying the May 31, 1977 order even if it meant his being held in civil contempt, because this would be a legitimate device for obtaining "full appellate review." The argument about the availability of fuller review has been dealt with. Moreover, it is the settled rule that a party to a civil case does not have a right of appeal from a civil contempt citation until final judgment.

The Attorney General argues that he has a kind of option to accept sanctions under Rule 37 short of compliance with the order. The sanctions suggested by the Attorney General, which will be analyzed hereafter, are nothing but attempts to avoid or drastically reduce the effect of the May 31, 1977 order. In other words, the Government seeks to use the weapon of defiance of the order to dictate its own terms as to what it will or will not do in connection with providing evidence in this case.

This position cannot be justified. The Attorney General has no "right" to defy a court order for discovery, and accept sanctions of his selection. *United States v. Costello*, 222 F.2d 656, 662

(2d Cir. 1955), *rev'd on other grounds sub nom. Matles v. United States*, 356 U.S. 256 (1958); *Edgar v. Slaughter*, 548 F.2d 770, 772 (8th Cir. 1977). On the contrary, his duty is to obey the order. The Court possesses, and must possess under our system of law, the authority to enforce an order for the production of evidence, with a view to the interests of all parties in a litigation, and with a balanced view of the public interests involved. The Court must not fashion its orders and remedies solely at the behest of any one party, even if he is the Attorney General of the United States.

The Government asserts that the Attorney General's refusal to comply with the May 31, 1977 order is made in the utmost good faith. While this Court does not doubt for a minute the Attorney General's sincere interest in protecting legitimate informant confidentiality, the effect of the Government's position at this juncture in the present proceedings is to create unjustified

delay and obstruction to the production of evidence in a case involving serious charges of illegal use of informants. In any event, the good faith motive of a party does not justify disobedience of a court order. *McComb v. Jacksonville Paper Co.*, 336 U.S. 187, 191 (1949); *Sawyer v. Dollar*, 190 F.2d 623, 633 (D.C. Cir. 1951), *vacated as moot*, 344 U.S. 806 (1952). For instance, in a case recently tried by this Court, the Department of Justice obtained a civil contempt citation and then a conviction for criminal contempt of a young woman who refused to give testimony when ordered to do so by the court, despite the fact that the refusal resulted from the woman's honest and reasonable belief that she would be killed if she testified. *United States v. Alpert*, 76 Cr. 497 (S.D.N.Y. Oct. 6, 1977).

The Supreme Court has emphatically affirmed the power and the duty of the Judiciary to declare the law in connection with claims of governmental privilege asserted by the highest officials in the country. The Supreme Court has affirmed the power of the Judiciary to enter an order for the production of evidence even against the President of the United States. *United States v. Nixon*, 418 U.S. 683, 704-5 (1974). Surely these rules apply to a cabinet officer.

The power to enter an order against an official necessarily implies the power to enforce that order by appropriate means, including holding the official in contempt of court.

In view of the factual record, and in light of the applicable authorities, the Court rules:

(a) The order of May 31, 1977

## The FBI informant files undoubtedly constitute the most important body of evidence in this case, recording in immense detail the activities of the informants and the instructions by the FBI to the informants.

remains in force, and the Attorney General and the FBI are hereby given notice that they are to comply with that order, and to produce the files as directed, forthwith. In order for the Attorney General and his advisors to have an opportunity to review this opinion, it will be deemed to be compliance with the order if the files are produced to plaintiffs' counsel by 5:00 p.m. July 7, 1978. If such production is made at or before that time, the Attorney General will not be in contempt.

(b) If the production of the files is not made at or before the time specified, the Attorney General will be in civil contempt of court thereafter, until he purges himself of contempt by directing the production of the files.

At this time the Court declines plaintiffs' request for an order of imprisonment. The authorities hold that, in connection with civil contempt, the minimum sanction necessary to obtain compliance is to be imposed. *Shillitani v. United States*, 384 U.S. 364, 371 (1966); *Gompers v. Bucks Stove & Range Co.*, 221 U.S. 418, 450-51 (1911). The announcement by the Attorney General that he will not comply with the court order justifies, and indeed necessitates, specific notice to the Attorney General that he will be in civil contempt of court if he continues in this non-compliance. It is obvious that the status of civil contempt would, in and of itself, be a severe sanction against the highest law enforcement officer in the United States. The Court earnestly hopes that the Attorney General will now carry out the order, and that contempt will be entirely avoided. If this does not occur, and if the Attorney General is in civil contempt

and makes no effort to purge himself, the Court will entertain a motion for more drastic sanctions.

The discovery process has been unusually complex for a variety of reasons. The Government has admitted that it possesses about 8,000,000 documents relating to the SWP, the YSA, and their members. All parties have endeavored to be as selective as possible regarding document discovery, so as to avoid involving millions of documents in discovery and evidence at trial. So far about 65,000 pages of documents have been produced by the Government—less than one percent of the total.

In general, the various Government agencies have been cooperative, and appear to have been candid, in responding to discovery requests. The United States Attorney's staff is entitled to special commendation for their efforts in connection with the discovery in this case.

However, certain instances of misrepresentations by the FBI in connection with discovery have occurred. These unfortunate instances furnish some plausibility for plaintiffs' assertion, in connection with their request for informant files, that they need at least a representative sample of actual, complete files, and that they should not be relegated to summary information or expurgated documents prepared for them by the Government.

One critical instance where the FBI was less than candid occurred in connection with plaintiffs' first set of interrogatories directed to the FBI. These interrogatories were served in December 1973. By the time of these interrogatories plaintiffs had obtained, among other things, a copy of a memo-

randum dated April 28, 1971 from the Director of the FBI announcing the discontinuance of certain "counterintelligence programs"—including programs entitled "COINTELPRO—New Left" and "Socialist Workers Party—Disruption Program." The FBI furnished sworn answers to the interrogatories February 5, 1974. These answers stated, among other things, that COINTELPRO—New Left was not applicable to either the SWP or the YSA; and that the purpose of the Socialist Workers Party—Disruption Program "was to alert the public to the nature and activities of the Socialist Workers Party and thus to neutralize the Socialist Workers Party." The answers further described the tactics employed in the Socialist Workers Party—Disruption Program as consisting of the furnishing of information to law enforcement agencies regarding violations of the law by SWP and YSA members; furnishing the news media pertinent information regarding the objectives and activities of these organizations, and furnishing "information concerning the nature and activities of SWP and YSA to organizations and individuals associated with SWP, YSA or their members."

In March 1975 the FBI produced documents which showed that COINTELPRO—New Left was in part directed to the SWP and YSA. The documents showed FBI plans and activities of both COINTELPRO—New Left and Socialist Workers Party—Disruption Program which were far different from the bland descriptions in the answers to interrogatories. The documents indicate that the purpose of the FBI in these programs was to destroy or cripple the SWP and YSA by a host of covert means—to isolate the SWP and YSA from sympathetic organizations, to turn members against



one another, and to impose burdens and barriers to the functioning of the SWP, the YSA and their members. These are activities which are not countenanced in the prosecution and punishment of actual criminals, under our system of government.

The documents show FBI plans to place informants within the SWP and YSA to split the organization structure and foment dissent. According to the documents, the FBI interfered with travel reservations of members, took steps to cause speaker hall rentals to be canceled, and circulated false information about the times and places of meetings. The documents show that the FBI caused local law enforcement officers to make arrests and break up functions, not for the purpose of assisting in the enforcement of local laws, but for the purpose of disrupting the SWP and YSA. In one instance, the FBI arranged for a raid of a SWP summer camp for alleged state law violations, and considered it a success when the SWP was forced to sell the camp property. According to the docu-

discovery and evidence on the FBI informant issue; (2) that the seven files of informants whose identities had become known were not sufficiently representative and were inadequate to provide discovery and evidence on the issue; (3) that, without waiving the right to request additional informant files, plaintiffs had made what they hoped was a representative election of present and former member informants, informants who had engaged in significant activities, and certain non-member informants.

To return to the subject of the interrogatory answers—following the revelation of false answers in connection with the informant Redfearn, the FBI undertook a review of the answers as a whole. On October 8, 1976, the FBI filed amendments to the answers relating to 22 of the informants. A special review at FBI headquarters in Washington was made with respect to the answers to interrogatories filed with respect to the eighteen informants whose files were the subject of plain-

## The Government seeks to use the weapon of defiance of the order to dictate its own terms as to what it will or will not do in connection with providing evidence in this case.

ments, the FBI attempted to secure the eviction of the Philadelphia SWP office from a public building. The documents show that the FBI sent fraudulent letters, purporting to be from "distraught parents," to school administrators, in order to induce these administrators to discharge SWP or YSA members from teaching positions. According to the documents, the FBI sent and circulated a wide variety of communications and leaflets, purporting to be in the name of various individuals and organizations, and designed to create hostility and dissension within the SWP and YSA, and isolate these organizations from other allied organizations. It appears that in some cases informants directly participated in the carrying out of the disruption activities. In other instances the informants furnished the FBI with information which enabled regular agents of the FBI to conduct the disruption activities. The observations of the informants assisted the FBI in assessing the success or failure of disruption activities.

It is now necessary to return to the summer of 1976, and to the immediate background of plaintiffs' motion for the production of nineteen informant files, the issue on this motion later being reduced to eighteen files because of the voluntary production of one file.

In the summer of 1976 one Timothy Redfearn was arrested by the Denver police. It was quickly revealed that he was an FBI informant against the YSA, and that, among other things, he had committed burglaries of YSA premises. It was apparent that the FBI had full knowledge of these burglaries. Finally, it was clear that the FBI had intentionally falsified the answers to interrogatories to conceal the fact of the burglaries.

Shortly thereafter plaintiffs moved for the production of the informant file on Redfearn and the files on six other informants whose identities had, in one way or another, been revealed to plaintiffs. Following an examination of these files, in August 1976, plaintiffs moved for production of nineteen other informant files. These related to informants whose identities were not known, but who were indicated in the interrogatory answers by number, accompanied by a limited description which was used by plaintiffs as a basis for their selection. Plaintiffs asserted, as reasons for this motion, (1) that the interrogatory answers, particularly in view of the indication of falsification, were inadequate to provide sufficient

tiffs' motion. This review resulted in amendments to the interrogatory answers in ten instances, filed October 15, 1976. Under the circumstances, there inevitably remains some question as to the accuracy and completeness of the interrogatory answers as to the FBI informants.

It should be noted that the 1331 informants used by the FBI against the SWP and YSA during the period 1960-1976 included about 300 member informants and about 1000 non-member informants. According to an affidavit submitted by plaintiffs, there was a total of 73 branches of the SWP and YSA in 1976. The FBI has represented that it had 60 member informants in place in the SWP and YSA in 1976; 85 in 1975; 99 in 1974; 105 in 1973; 116 in 1972; and 109 in 1971. The FBI has given the figures going back to 1960. Somewhat fewer informants had been used in years prior to an apparent step-up of the program in about 1971.

In the Court's ruling of May 31, 1977, dealing with the question of the eighteen files, the Court stated that the evidence contained in the FBI informant files undoubtedly constitutes the most important body of evidence in this case, recording in immense detail the activities of the informants, the instructions by the FBI to the informants, and the FBI's evaluations of informant activity. The Court stated that the extensive infiltration of the SWP and YSA by the member informants raises serious questions under the federal Constitution and under various other theories of federal and state law. The Court further noted that the documents in the files indicate that the FBI may have used informants in certain instances to destroy or weaken chapters of the SWP and YSA, to remove private documents for production to the FBI, and to perform other types of activities whose legality was highly questionable.

The solution reached by the Court was to order at that time production of the eighteen files to specified attorneys representing plaintiffs, with direction that they should not reveal the identities of the informants or any information in the files to anyone else without specific authorization of the Court.

In order to keep publicity to an absolute minimum, the Court directed the attorneys not to reveal even the fact that this order had been entered and this procedure was taking place. The opinion of May 31, 1977 was

sealed. It was unsealed only at the direction of the Court of Appeals in the course of proceedings there.

The Court wishes to state that, in five years of experience with plaintiffs' attorneys in this case, these attorneys have demonstrated beyond any question their total reliability. They have proved that, while they may strongly object to certain directions of the Court, they will obey those directions to the letter, including orders of confidentiality.

## The effect of the Government's position is to create unjustified delay and obstruction to the production of evidence in a case involving serious charges of illegal use of informants.

This Court has studied the eighteen informant files themselves to a substantial extent, and has exhaustively reviewed detailed summaries of these files prepared by the Government. This Court has studied the seven informant files voluntarily produced in the summer of 1976 and the two other quite insignificant informant files voluntarily produced at subsequent times. The Court has analyzed these materials as they relate to certain other documents produced by the FBI—particularly the COINTELPRO and Disruption Program documents, and, of course, as they relate to the various legal and factual issues in this case. After careful consideration, it was and is the firm conclusion of the Court that the eighteen FBI informant files contain evidence which is indispensable to plaintiffs' counsel in order for them to proceed with this action on any fair basis. It was and is the Court's further conclusion that this evidence is so basic and essential that no major issue in the case—whether relating to injunctive relief, claims for damages, or jurisdictional defenses—can be resolved without developing a factual record with evidence from these files.

## If the Attorney General is in civil contempt and makes no effort to purge himself the Court will entertain a motion for more drastic sanctions.

At one point, in a discussion with counsel after the Court of Appeals ruling, this Court voiced the view, in "thinking out loud," that if the damage issue were somehow out of the case, the FBI discovery of the informant files would not be necessary (Minutes October 21, 1977 p. 26). Of course, this was a purely hypothetical statement, because the damage claims were not, and are not, out of the case. However, lest there be any misunderstanding about the Court's position, the Court wishes to make it clear that, upon thorough consideration, it views the informant files as relevant to both the damage and injunction questions in the case. This becomes more apparent as the case progresses.

As to the injunction issue, there is a very live controversy, despite the termination of the investigation of the SWP and YSA in September 1976. The Government has suggested on occasion that the claim might be moot, but this subject has not been followed up seriously; and plaintiffs clearly do not concede mootness. The announcement of the termination of the investigation came three years after the litigation had been in progress. The injunction claim is not rendered moot unless it is demonstrated that there is no reasonable expectation that the wrong will be repeated. *United States v. W. T. Grant*

Co., 345 U.S. 629, 632-33 (1952).

The Government has made it clear that it would oppose any injunction in general terms against the FBI prohibiting the investigation of the SWP or YSA, and that the only possible injunction which could be entered would need to be directed against specific activities (Memorandum October 21, 1976 pp. 13-15). Under all the circumstances it is clear that a thorough development of the facts regarding methods and activities of FBI informants will need to be

developed in connection with plaintiffs' claim for injunctive relief. In this regard, it is important to note that the Government has consistently urged, as justification for some or all of the FBI activities, that the SWP and YSA are affiliated with a worldwide federation known as the Fourth International; and that there is in the Fourth International a strong faction, called the Internationalist Tendency, which espouses violence. See *Socialist Workers Party v. Attorney General*, 510 F.2d 253, 254 (2d Cir. 1974). One essential aspect of the eighteen informant files is that a number of them contain evidence bearing upon the question of whether the Fourth International affiliation led to any criminal or violent actions or plans by SWP and YSA members in the United States.

As to the damage claims, it should be reiterated that plaintiffs are asserting the most serious claim of a plan by the highest officials in the FBI to destroy or cripple the SWP and the YSA and their branches throughout the country.

Plaintiffs must be permitted to develop a full factual record about these matters in order for them to litigate fairly their damage claims against the

### Conclusion

For the foregoing reasons, plaintiffs' motion to cite the Attorney General of the United States for civil contempt of court for failure to comply with the order of the Court dated May 31, 1977 is granted to the extent that the Attorney General is given notice that he must comply with the order forthwith, and that if he does not comply by 5:00 p.m. July 7, 1978, he will automatically be in civil contempt of court thereafter until he complies with the order. To the extent that plaintiffs apply for an order directing the imprisonment of the Attorney General, that application is denied, without prejudice to the making of a renewed motion for that or other specific sanctions.

So ordered.

Dated: New York, New York  
June 30, 1978

THOMAS P. GRIESA  
U.S.D.J.

# Steel merger: 'not a damned thing for workers'

By Shirley Pasholk

YOUNGSTOWN, Ohio—Last month the federal Justice Department approved the takeover of Lykes Corporation, owner of Youngstown Sheet and Tube, by LTV Corporation, owner of Jones and Laughlin Steel.

Attorney General Griffin Bell, overruling a staff report opposing the merger, claimed that Lykes falls under the "failing company" exception to the antitrust laws.

Merger is "the only viable means for maintaining the Lykes' steel producing facilities and for saving the jobs of those concerned," Bell stated. He refused, however, to require that jobs be preserved as a condition for the merger.

"We didn't get a damned thing," said Gerald Dickey, recording secretary of United Steelworkers Local 1462. "They're just trying like hell to shut down." Local 1462 represents steelworkers at the Brier Hill works of Youngstown Sheet and Tube.

Dickey expressed a feeling of helplessness, saying he felt like he'd done everything possible and lost. He said he could easily see an attempt to speed up production here by dividing the workers—telling them they must work harder to make up for their outdated facilities or else be shut down.

Jones and Laughlin's modern Aliquippa, Pennsylvania, works produces the same type of seamless rounds as Brier Hill. Even if Brier Hill remains



Youngstown Sheet and Tube closed down Campbell works last year. Will takeover by LTV save jobs?

open, it is expected that production will be cut in half.

Local 1462 has issued a four-part statement on the merger:

1) If the only alternative to merger is Lykes' bankruptcy, they will be better off with the merger since pension rights will be protected.

2) Under the Freedom of Information Act, the local has requested a copy of the Justice Department report opposing merger.

3) The future of the Brier Hill works remains uncertain.

4) If Brier Hill is shut down, the local will work with the Ecumenical Coalition, a group of religious and business figures, in an attempt to purchase and reopen all downed facilities.

In general, older workers here appear relieved by the merger, feeling it will protect their pensions. Younger workers feel that Brier Hill is more likely to shut down now than before the merger.

Many workers feel they've been abandoned by the international union officials. At first the international put forward a list of demands that they said must be included in any merger. But after they became convinced that Lykes really was near bankruptcy, the international officers were willing to go along with the merger without any guarantees.

Leaders of Local 1462 want to meet

with representatives of other locals affected by the merger, since layoffs and speedup will be threatened at other mills as well. When asked what job protection could be expected, an LTV official stated, "We aren't putting this merger together to keep old antiquated mills running."

Many unionists and community activists think the Ecumenical Coalition might succeed in its attempt to reopen the Campbell works, which was shut down by Youngstown Sheet and Tube last year. If Brier Hill closes, it would also be part of this plan.

Melvin Luce, a retired member of USWA Local 1330, told the *Militant* that the Ecumenical Coalition's buy-out plan serves the employers by diverting workers from political action.

Luce said that getting thousands of steelworkers to demonstrate outside the next board of directors meeting would go a lot further to preserve jobs than asking workers to contribute five dollars each to buy Campbell works.

Few workers seem to believe the buy-out scheme can provide a long-term job guarantee. A number of workers support the coalition, however, in hopes of preserving some Youngstown steel jobs a while longer.

At the same time a growing number of Youngstown unionists are coming to agree with Luce that the only long-term solution for saving steel jobs in Youngstown is nationalization of the mills under workers' control.

## Management provokes NY hospital strike vote

By Susan Anmuth

NEW YORK—Confronted with what union president Leon Davis calls a "totally inadequate and completely unacceptable wage offer which doesn't come near meeting the needs of our members," District 1199 of the National Union of Hospital and Health Care Employees has voted to strike beginning July 7.

The cost of living here has gone up 17.3 percent during the past three years according to government figures. But wages for the 37,000 workers represented by District 1199 rose only 9.5 percent during the same period.

In an effort to catch up, the union's elected 167-person negotiating committee is demanding an across-the-board raise of 10 percent or \$25 a week—

whichever is greater—in each year of a proposed two-year contract.

The union is also demanding increases in management payments to the pension fund, pay for unused sick leave, and increases in the minimum hiring rates of each classification.

But the League of Voluntary Hospitals and Homes of New York—representing the management of private, so-called nonprofit health facilities—is offering a meager 5 percent raise for each year of a proposed three-year contract.

The league has refused to even negotiate on the union's other demands. Instead, management has put forward a fourteen-point program of *givebacks* it wants the union to make. These include half-pay for sick days immediately preceding or following a weekend or holiday and suspension of contributions to the training fund, the union's hard-won upgrading and affirmative-action program.

The most dangerous of the league's *giveback* demands is for subcontracting work to nonunion employers whenever an administration deems it "would result in a more efficient or less costly method of performing such services."

Subcontracting could eliminate thousands of 1199 jobs—including whole departments such as laboratory, laundry, and dietary.

This proposal underscores the problem of layoffs—the most important issue now facing hospital workers.

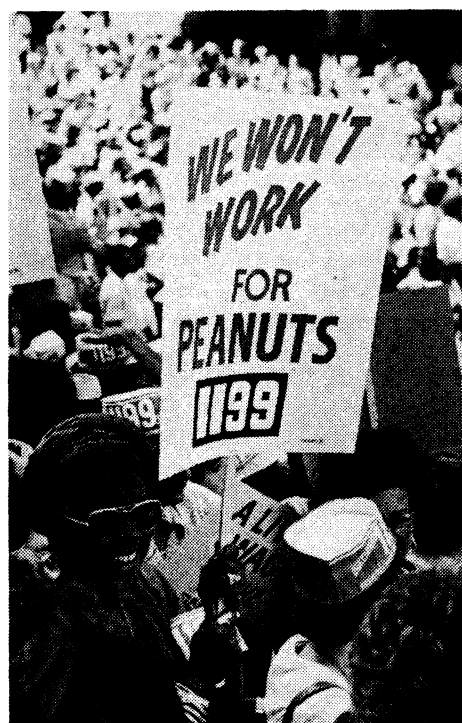
In the past two-year contract period, more than 2,000 members of 1199 have lost their jobs as a result of New York State's Hospital Closure Incentive Plan. This attack on public health care has hit hardest in Black and Hispanic communities such as Bedford-Stuyvesant, the South Bronx, and the Lower East Side.

Its totally inadequate wage offer and new threats against the jobs of union members make it clear that the league

is trying to force 1199 out on strike. Disregarding the welfare of patients, management clearly hopes it will be able to use the strike to deal new blows against the union.

The league's package of *giveback* demands is another front in the general offensive the ruling rich in this city are carrying out against working people.

Hospital workers will need to reach out for support from other unions under attack as well as from the victims of cutbacks in health care in order to stand up successfully to this offensive. Such solidarity, combined with our own mass strength on the picket lines and at rallies, is the only power that can force the league to seriously negotiate.



Militant/Lou Howort



**Out Now! A Participant's Account of the American Movement Against the Vietnam War by Fred Halstead**

Buy now and save \$2.25 from the regular price of \$8.95! A Monad Press book, 850 pages, 32 pages of photos. Your copy will be mailed to you as soon as it comes off the press in early August.

Enclose \$6.70 plus \$.50 for postage and handling with this coupon and mail to: Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, New York 10014. Or inquire at a bookstore listed on page 31.

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

City/State/Zip \_\_\_\_\_

Offer expires August 15, 1978.



## Asylum for Marroquin & Medina!

# L.A. rally will hit repression in Mexico

By Jerry Freiworth

LOS ANGELES—On July 14 the José Medina Defense Committee and Héctor Marroquín Defense Committee will jointly sponsor the first major public address here by Rosario Ibarra de Piedra.

Piedra is a leading spokesperson inside Mexico on the topic of human rights and political prisoners. She is the founder of the Committee to Defend Political Prisoners, the Politically Persecuted, Disappeared, and Exiled.

In her speech, "Repression in Mexico and the right to political asylum in the United States," Piedra speaks eloquently on the plight of Mexican

workers and students whose struggles for democratic rights and decent social conditions have been savagely repressed by the government there.

The two organizations hosting the meeting were established to gather public support for two of the most prominent Mexican political exiles seeking asylum in the United States—José Medina and Héctor Marroquín. Both are scheduled to speak.

José Medina was an activist in the Mexican student movement in 1968 and as a lawyer defended political prisoners there. He fled Mexico in 1973 to avoid assassination by "Los Halcones," a right-wing terrorist organization that operates under government

protection. After working to defend the rights of undocumented Mexican workers as a member of the Los Angeles-based group CASA, Medina was arrested in 1976 by the FBI and turned over for deportation to the Immigration and Naturalization Service.

Héctor Marroquín was a Mexican student activist when, in January 1974, trumped-up charges of murder and "subversion" were leveled against him. Advised by attorneys that he could not get a fair trial, he fled to the United States. Today he is a member of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance.

For either Medina or Marroquín,

returning to Mexico would mean imprisonment, torture, or even death.

The meeting will be held at the Casa Maravilla Community Center in East Los Angeles. A spokesperson for the Héctor Marroquín Defense Committee told the *Militant* that the meeting "will give us a chance to explain to people about the repression in Mexico. Many people know about the torture in such places as Chile or Argentina, but have little knowledge about what goes on much closer to home."

For more information, call the Héctor Marroquín Defense Committee at (213) 828-9324 or the José Medina Defense Committee at (213) 487-3320.

## ...Mexican students rebel against police terror

Continued from back page

The family offered the cops 4,000 pesos (U.S. \$200), but still they refused.

The cops finally relented the following morning, took the money, and sent Barrios Barba to a hospital. But it was too late.

News of the murder outraged the people of Matamoros. There is a long history of police brutality and corruption in northern Mexico, and the issue has received much media attention.

High school and college student leaders demanded the cops responsible for the killing be prosecuted and that Police Chief Emiliano del Toro be fired.

For a week, Mayor Antonio Cavazos Garza steadfastly refused the demands and stood by his political crony del Toro.

### City hall rally

Finally on June 26 the Union of Students of Matamoros, a coalition of students from eleven schools, sponsored a rally of 7,000 at Plaza Hidalgo, across the street from city hall.

Mayor Cavazos Garza was forced to come out to speak to the crowd. He said three cops had been arrested, but again refused to fire the police chief, offering to "restructure" the department instead.

The crowd answered with boos, hisses, and chants of "Lies! Lies! Lies!"

The slain student's teacher took the microphone. He pointed out that a similar incident in the previous administration had led to the firing of the police chief. The teacher added that in Reynosa (another border town nearby) the police chief had recently been fired after a scandal. The people of Matamoros, he said, had a right to expect the same.

Angered by the mayor's refusal to fire the chief cop, the crowd chased the mayor and his bodyguards down the street, pelting them with stones and tomatoes.

The mayor tried to hide in a bar, but it was ransacked. He then fled to the offices of his party, the PRI (Spanish initials for Institutional Revolutionary Party, which has ruled Mexico for decades). The PRI offices were also destroyed.

Then the thousands of angry protesters turned their wrath on the city hall and jail, which are housed in the same building. The crowd freed prisoners, destroyed the police radio, and torched police records. The building was largely gutted in the ensuing blaze.

Five banks and many other businesses had their windows smashed, and many stores were emptied of their contents.

The angry crowd overturned and burned police vehicles and drove the cops from the streets. Many cops took off their uniforms and went into hiding. One contingent took refuge in a nearby hospital, where they exchanged their police uniforms for hospital



Top: Army troops 'detain' youth. Bottom: Forty-three persons suspected of being 'activists' were held lying on floor with hands behind their backs for more than a day.

workers' clothing to avoid detection.

At one point the chief of police of the state of Tamaulipas, where Matamoros is located, was apprehended by the protesters. He was released after convincing the crowd that it was the city cops, not his state force, who were responsible for the student's murder.

### Fire trucks turned back

When the fire department of the Texas city of Brownsville (which is across the border from Matamoros) tried to come to the aid of Mexican authorities, the crowd turned back the trucks.

Within hours of the first incident, Mexico's Secretary of Defense ordered the army to occupy the city. Hundreds of heavily armed troops imposed martial law.

During the rebellion, police killed three people. Thirty-five-year-old prisoner Juan Mares Castro was shot while he was trying to flee from the jail. Cops also shot fifteen-year-old

Ricardo Rangel Niño in the head.

And the day after the rebellion, another fifteen-year-old, Antonio Lungía Lambarri, was found in the burnt-out ruins of city hall. The autopsy showed police had shot him in the back four times before throwing his body into the burning building in an attempt to make it look as if he had been a victim of the protesters.

In addition, authorities wounded fifteen other persons. There were no reports that any cops or troops had suffered injuries.

The following day, Tamaulipas Gov. Enrique Cardenas Gonzales, also of the PRI, came to Matamoros to personally oversee operations. Army sweeps netted forty-three persons, almost all between fifteen and eighteen years of age. Authorities said the forty-three had been "detained" on suspicion of being "activists." They were held for more than a day, lying on the floor with their hands behind their backs.

A local paper reported, "Youth can't

stand around on the street without being abused" by the troops.

The bureaucrats of the government-controlled CTM (Federation of Mexican Workers) also came to the aid of the mayor. Agapito Gonzales Cavazos, a PRI member of the Mexican legislature and head of the CTM's regional affiliate, ordered a progovernment work stoppage June 27 on the pretext that the rebellion made it unsafe to go to work.

Workers did stay off the job, but unwillingly. Interviewing idled workers who gathered in the Plaza Hidalgo in the afternoon, reporters found that everyone spoke out against the authorities and in support of the student rebels.

### 'Sick and tired'

"We are sick and tired of all the abuses, injustices, and atrocities committed by the police," said one worker.

This mass sentiment was reflected in the local press, which pointed out that the mayor could have avoided the rebellion simply by firing the police chief at the outset.

Even Mexican President José López Portillo, also of the PRI, felt forced to make a statement criticizing the brutality of the Matamoros cops.

Under this public pressure, the police chief resigned June 27. Resignations of two police commanders, the head of the city jail, and his assistant, followed.

In addition to the three cops arrested for murdering Barrios Barba, twelve other cops were fired. On June 29 all forty-three demonstrators arrested by the army were released without charges.

Gov. Cardenas Gonzales, who has blamed unidentified "professional outside agitators" for the incident, nevertheless, promised there would be "no reprisals."

But the Tamaulipas attorney general and the Matamoros district attorney insist they will carry out a "full investigation" to find those responsible for "vandalism."

Student leaders from the Matamoros Regional Technological Institute, a junior college, told the *Militant* that while there appears to be a settlement of the issue, they have no confidence in the new police chief "because the interests they serve are the same as the others. Cops are part of the system."

At a news conference, student leaders Andrés Pérez, Antonio Carvajal, José Luis García, and others said that not only police brutality but also living conditions in this impoverished city were responsible for the rebellion.

They pointed to the lack of drinking water, paved streets, and drainage in the workers' neighborhoods as examples of the pervasive poverty.

"The people fear police more than they fear criminals," the student leaders said.

## Setback for Seabrook nuke

The U.S. Nuclear Regulatory Commission voted to halt construction of the Seabrook, New Hampshire, nuclear power plant June 30. The action came five days after 20,000 people rallied in Seabrook against the plant and while several hundred nuclear opponents demonstrated outside the NRC hearing in Washington, D.C.

The NRC decided to lift the construction permit pending a decision by the Environmental Protection Agency on the plant's proposed cooling system. The planned system would use seawater, returning it some forty degrees hotter, leading to destruction of marine life.

Although the EPA once approved the system, a court ordered it to review its decision.

A Clamshell Alliance spokesperson told the *Militant*, "We're happy that the NRC has taken a step in the right direction, but it's happened before. We have to hold off any real enthusiasm until the NRC irrevocably halts construction."

New Hampshire Gov. Meldrim Thomson, a pronuclear fanatic, threatened to sue the federal government to get construction going again.

## PRICES UP, WAGES DOWN

The government's Consumer Price Index leapt 0.9 percent in May, equal to a 10.8 percent—"double digit"—annual rate. Leading the charge were food and housing costs. Retail beef prices were up 2.5 percent.

Giving the lie to the Carter administration's claim that workers' wages cause inflation, real takehome pay in May fell 1.3 percent—an annual rate of 15.6 percent!

## 'NO NUKES'

While 20,000 people at Seabrook, New Hampshire, rallied June 25 for an end to construction of an atomic power plant there, antinuclear activists around the country gathered in other local protests.

In Elma, Washington, 1,300 people demonstrated against construction of the Satop nuclear power plant. After a rally, protesters marched to the construction site. A small group entered the site, and 156 were arrested for trespassing.

The protest was sponsored

by the Crabshell Alliance.

About 750 people rallied in Saugerties, New York, in the Hudson River valley June 24, to protest plans to build a four-reactor complex in the area. Protesters came from all over the Hudson valley and from Albany.

Many area groups had displays, including environmental organizations; the American Indian Movement; Socialist Workers Party; and the Cowrie Alliance, a feminist anti-nuclear group.

Eight hundred people marched and rallied in Burlington, Kansas, sixty miles from Kansas City June 24 against a nuclear power plant under construction.

Two hundred people chanting, "No more lies PSI [Public Service Indiana], stop Marble Hill" demonstrated in Madison, Indiana, June 24 at a nuclear power plant under construction.

Speakers included Pat McCulloch and Mel Thompson, cochairpersons of the Louisville Mobilization for Survival,

who spoke on the relation of nuclear weapons and nuclear power.

## CANCER AT WORK

Anthony Mazzocchi, vice-president of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers union, charged recently that corporations are making it difficult to eliminate cancer hazards from the workplace by withholding needed information.

Companies routinely do studies probing causes of death and illness, but rarely release the results.

"We need this evidence," Mazzocchi said. "We can't refer these reports to scientists for their assessment and advice because industry won't give us the data." As a result, he said, "a worker will walk into a plant and have no idea of the dangers he may be facing."

## 'FREE DELBERT TIBBS'

Forty-five picketers demanded freedom for imprisoned Black poet Delbert Tibbs in Miami June 24. Tibbs was arrested and charged with rape and murder in 1974. Despite a complete lack of evidence putting him at the scene of the crime, he was convicted by an all-white jury and sentenced to death.

Widespread protests have pressured the Florida Supreme Court to order a new trial.

The June 24 picket was sponsored by the National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression.

## PROTEST WINS REHIRING OF BLACK DOCTORS

Two Brooklyn hospitals have agreed to rehire three Black doctors fired from a surgery training program because of alleged poor scores on standardized examinations.

The hospitals' decision came after the doctors filed a federal court suit demanding their reinstatement. More than 100 people had demonstrated in support of the three doctors June 30 outside Brooklyn's

Downstate Medical Center.

Black doctors have been singled out for dismissal from the program. The three who were fired, for example, had higher scores than many whites who were retained. Of the seventy-seven surgery residents, ten of the fourteen Blacks have been threatened with dismissal this year!

The surgical training director, now department head, had described one of the doctors in a 1973 interview as "a tall, thin, neatly dressed, very Black Nigerian."

## THE LONGEST WALK

The Longest Walk, a California to Washington, D.C., march protesting anti-Indian proposals in Congress, will culminate July 15-19.

The walk is scheduled to

arrive in Washington July 15, and will be greeted by a mass rally at American University at 11 a.m. Then the marchers will camp on the Washington Monument grounds, where they will hold traditional Indian ceremonies, workshops, and protests.

## RUSSELL MEANS ORDERED TO PRISON

At the end of June the South Dakota Supreme Court ordered American Indian Movement leader Russell Means to turn himself in by July 11 to begin serving a four-year prison sentence on a trumped-up rioting conviction. Earlier the court had turned down Means's appeal of the conviction.

The charges against Means stem from a 1974 police attack



Militant/Carrie Swanson

## Somoza out of New Mexico!

Protesting a visit by Nicaraguan dictator Anastasio Somoza, fifty people picketed June 23 outside a press conference called by the tyrant to defend himself against charges of human rights violations.

Later, at the state capitol in Santa Fe, another 100 demonstrators confronted him.

The Somoza family has ruled Nicaragua with an iron grip since it was in-

stalled by U.S. Marines in the early 1930s. It has used murder and torture to maintain its rule.

Earlier this year a mass upsurge and general strike challenged Somoza's dictatorial regime following the assassination of a well-known opponent of the government, Pedro Joaquin Chamorro.

Somoza's tyrannical practices have been condemned by Amnesty International.

# What's Going On

## CALIFORNIA

### LOS ANGELES

**REPRESSION IN MEXICO AND THE RIGHT TO POLITICAL ASYLUM IN THE U.S.** Speakers: Rosario Ibarra de Piedra, Mexican human rights activist; José Medina and Héctor Marroquín, both Mexican dissidents seeking political asylum in the U.S. Fri., July 14, 7:30 p.m. Casa Maravilla Community Center, 4909 E. Brooklyn Ave. (just west of East Los Angeles College). Donation: \$1. Ausp: José Medina Defense Committee, Héctor Marroquín Defense Committee. For more information call (213) 828-9324 or (213) 665-1624.

### SAN FRANCISCO

**THE CALIFORNIA TAX SWINDLE: WHAT DOES IT REALLY MEAN?** Speaker: Fred Halstead, Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor. Fri., July 21, 8 p.m. 3284 23rd St. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (415) 824-1992.

**HOW THE UNIONS WERE BUILT AND HOW THEY CAN SURVIVE TODAY—CLASS STRUGGLE VERSUS CLASS COLLABORATION.** Two classes. Sat., July 22, 11 a.m.: Post-World War I; 2 p.m.: Post-World War II. 3284 23rd St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: San Francisco Socialist Workers Campaign. For more information call (415) 824-1992.

## MARYLAND

### BALTIMORE

**WORKING WOMEN, THE UNION, AND**

**THE ERA.** Speaker: Willie Mae Reid, Socialist Workers Party national women's liberation director. Fri., July 14, 8 p.m. 2117 N. Charles St. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (301) 547-0668.

**ALLIES OF THE WORKING CLASS.** Speaker: Willie Mae Reid, Socialist Workers Party. Sat., July 15, 1 p.m. 2117 N. Charles St. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (301) 547-0668.

## MISSOURI

### KANSAS CITY

**SOCIALIST SUMMER SCHOOL.** July 22, July 29: 'The Third International After Lenin.' July 15-16: Socialists and the trade unions; July 13 and the following three weeks every Thurs. at 8 p.m.: 'History of American Trotskyism.' First two class series will be held at Univ. of Mo., 5300 Holmes, Educ. Bldg., Room 33. Third class series will be held at 4715-A Troost. Donation: 50¢ per class. Ausp: Socialist Workers Party. For more information call (816) 753-0404.

## NEW YORK

### CHELSEA

**ZAIRE: IMPERIALIST INTERVENTION IN AFRICA.** Speaker: Omari Musa, staff writer for the *Militant*. Fri., July 14, 7:30 p.m. 200½ W. 24th St. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (212) 989-2731.

## QUEENS

**IVIVA PUERTO RICO LIBRE!** A program on the struggle for independence. Film: "Puerto Rico: Paradise Invaded." Speakers: Alfredo Alvarado, Queens coordinator, Puerto Rican Solidarity Committee; Catarino Garza, Socialist Workers Party National Committee. Fri., July 14, 7:30 p.m. 90-43 149th St., 2nd Fl. (just off Jamaica Ave.) Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Puerto Rican Solidarity Committee and Militant Forum. For more information call (212) 658-7718.

**SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY CAMPAIGN PICNIC.** Sun., July 16, 11 a.m. to 5 p.m. Alley Pond Park. Cars leave from 90-43 149th St., Jamaica, at 10:30 a.m. Donation: \$3. Ausp: Queens Socialist Workers Campaign. For more information call (212) 658-7718.

## OREGON

### PORTLAND

**PROPOSITION 13, THE GREAT CALIFORNIA TAX SWINDLE.** Speaker: Vern Cope, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., July 14, 8 p.m. 3928 N. Williams. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Bookstore Forum. For more information call (503) 288-7860.

## TEXAS

### DALLAS

**SOCIALIST SUMMER SCHOOL.** Class series on "Building the Revolutionary Party." Every Wed. evening, 7:30 p.m.,

thru July 26. Class series on 'American Labor Struggles,' every Sun., 2:30 p.m. thru July 16 (except July 9). 2215 Cedar Crest Blvd. Donation: \$1 each series. Ausp: Socialist Workers Party. For more information call (214) 943-6684.

## HOUSTON: SOUTH CENTRAL

**SOCIALIST SUMMER SCHOOL.** July 11, 14, 18: series on 'In Defense of Marxism'; July 21, 25, 28: series on 'Struggle for a Proletarian Party'; July 22: two classes on Black nationalism with guest speaker Nan Bailey, Socialist Workers Party National Committee. All classes at 7 p.m. 4987 Martin Luther King Blvd. Donation: \$5 for all three series or 50¢ per class. Ausp: SWP. For more information call (713) 643-0005.

## UTAH

### SALT LAKE CITY

**THE ERA AND THE FIGHT FOR WOMEN'S RIGHTS.** Speakers: Representatives from organized labor, National Organization for Women, and Socialist Workers Party. Fri., July 14, 7:30 p.m. 677 So. 7th East, 2nd Floor. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (801) 355-1124.

**SOCIALIST SUMMER SCHOOL.** Series of classes on 'Labor's Giant Step.' July 12, 19, 26, 29, 7:30 p.m. except for July 29 when 2 p.m. 677 S. 7th East. Ausp: Socialist Workers Party. For more information call (801) 355-1124.

## 'Say no to Bakke'

### LOS ANGELES

**HOW TO FIGHT THE 'BAKKE' DECISION.** Speakers: Marnesba Tackett, Southern Christian Leadership Conference; Linda Ferguson, National Conference of Black Lawyers; Mario Velasquez, Organization of Latin-American Students, UCLA; Rev. Garnett Henning, Ward A.M.E. Church; Tomas Omos, Western Center on Law and Poverty; Sam Manuel, Socialist Workers Party; Carter Beavers, Black Student Alliance, UCLA; Dr. Paul A. Gopaul, prof., Cal State Dominguez, Wed., July 12, 8 p.m. Cal. State Dominguez, Recital Hall, 1000 E. Victoria St., (at Avalon Blvd.). Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (213) 482-1820.

### ST. LOUIS

**THE MEANING OF THE 'BAKKE' DECISION.** Speakers: Earl Brown, Black Students Association, Webster College; Elbert Walpon, Jr., Democratic Party candidate for state rep., District 80; Glenn White, Socialist Workers Party candidate for state rep., District 79. Thurs., July 13, 8 p.m. Forest Park Community College, Room T203. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (314) 725-1570.



# The Great Society

## Harry Ring



on peaceful Indian spectators in a South Dakota courtroom. Following the 1973 occupation of the South Dakota reservation town of Wounded Knee, Means faced forty state and federal charges in twelve different trials. The rioting charge was the only serious crime he was convicted of.

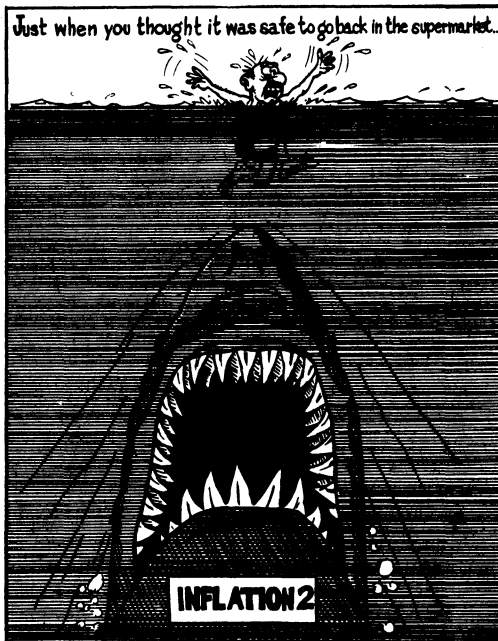
Means will file for a stay of execution of the imprisonment order and continue appeals of the original conviction.

### Quote unquote

"I use it on my own kids. It gets to be instinct."

—A New York City cop commenting on the "rear restraining choke hold" that killed Black businessman Arthur Miller.

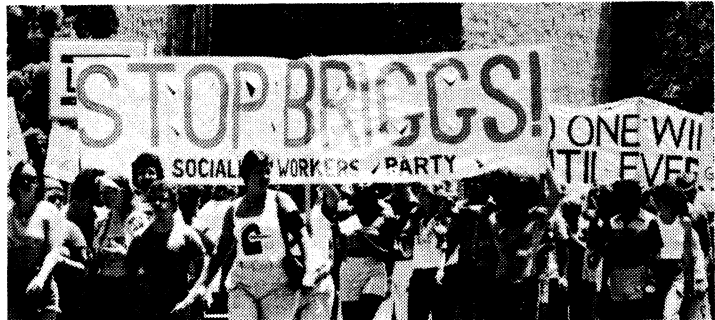
**Birds of a feather**—Asked in a *Ladies Home Journal* survey to choose a man and a woman "who have done the most damage to the world," junior and senior high school students selected Adolf Hitler and Anita Bryant.



**The new austerity**—To greet the president, army officials at Ft. Hood staged a thirty-minute display of tank and plane warfare. The cost was approximately \$1 million. Initially, officials said, the display was planned for an hour and a half at a cost of \$2 million. But it was trimmed down when they found the president was pressed for time. "Why blow up a million dollars when you don't have to?" said an army PR person.

**Balanced program**—A manufacturer of roach powder advertises that the formula was developed in collaboration with researchers at UCLA. Perhaps this was intended to balance off the university's long-standing secret cooperation with the CIA and other agencies of extermination.

**Not to worry**—A hundred gallons of radioactive water escaped through a leaky pump at the Rancho Seco nuclear power plant near Sacramento. Officials assured the water had leaked into a "confined" area. The plant was shut down at the time to repair leaky valves.



San Diego, June 25

Militant/Manny Romero

## Gay rights actions

Supporters of gay rights around the country went into the streets June 24-25 as part of the annual Christopher Street actions. As reported in last week's *Militant*, the biggest demonstrations were in San Francisco, where 250,000 marched, and New York, where 50,000 marched.

In San Diego, 1,200 gay rights supporters demonstrated June 25, focusing on opposition to the Briggs initiative, a ballot measure that would bar gay and lesbian teachers and ban advocacy of gay rights in the schools.

The action was endorsed by the California Federation of Teachers and many other organizations. Speakers at a rally included representatives of the American Civil Liberties Union, Las Hermanas, San Diego Human Relations Commission, San Diego Lesbian Organization, and Save Our Teachers.

Six hundred people marched in Miami chanting, "We're here to stay—we won't go away!"

Joining the protest was Lee Smith, Socialist Workers

Party candidate for Congress. Smith distributed a statement declaring, "It is only by building an independent movement for lesbian and gay rights that a large majority of the population will be convinced."

Two hundred people rallied for gay rights in downtown Cincinnati June 24. The rally heard greetings from the American Civil Liberties Union, Black Women's Leadership Caucus, University of Cincinnati Women's Affairs Council, National Organization for Women, Socialist Workers Party, and International Socialist Organization.

Cincinnati gays have been under attack since April when cops arrested seventy people in a public park.

About 2,000 people took part in a Gay Pride Day parade and rally in Chicago June 25.

The previous weekend, 250 people demonstrated for gay rights in Kansas City. Leonard Matlovich, who gained national prominence in 1976 for fighting his dismissal from the air force because of his homosexuality, joined the action.

## Women in Revolt

### Diane Wang



## Brutalizing experiences

Rape is always an ugly and terrifying experience, no matter who it happens to or where. But the experience of a twelve-year-old victim in Camden, New Jersey, was especially horrible.

Being raped was frightening enough. But then she was forced to go through another brutal ordeal.

New Jersey law forbids Medicaid funding for all abortions unless a woman can prove the pregnancy might kill her. That is a more restrictive law than the Hyde amendment passed last year by the U.S. Congress. It is the same as the restriction recently approved by the U.S. House of Representatives.

So the twelve-year-old, five months pregnant, had to go to court to "prove" her need for an abortion. There Judge David Furman listened to the victim's mother and others tell about the trauma of the rape, what the pregnancy was doing to the young woman.

It didn't matter that childbirth might injure her. It didn't matter that having a baby at the age of twelve could ruin her life. Unless the pregnancy would cost her life, the young rape victim could not have funds for the abortion.

Only after doctors again confirmed the obvious, that the twelve-year-old's life would be endangered by the pregnancy, did Judge Furman grant her approval for the abortion.

Few cases show so clearly what vindictive hypocrites the anti-abortionists are. They prate about the sacredness of life and beauty of childhood. They carry roses and parade children with signs against women's right to choose.

But when it comes to actual young women, whose lives are at stake, these hypocrites shrug it off.

Of the women who depended on Medicaid to pay for their abortions before the Hyde amendment, 15,000 were under the age of fourteen. The anti-abortion bigots didn't care.

During the congressional discussion of the Hyde amendment last year the twenty-seven men working out the details

of the law openly displayed their contempt.

Discussing whether abortion should be available to teenage women who are the victims of statutory rape as well as of forcible rape, one of them sneered, "It's not a question of consent; the question is whether she enjoyed it."

Would he say that to the twelve-year-old New Jersey rape victim? Say it to her face?

Yes, he probably would.

In fact, when the law forced that young woman through the ordeal in court it was a sneer, and worse.

The twelve-year-old rape victim was "lucky" in Judge Furman's court. So was a young Newark mother who was allowed funds for abortion because the X-rays and medication she had taken for an injury might have damaged the fetus and hurt her.

But a twenty-one-year-old woman with two children living on \$310 a month was denied help. So was a thirty-year-old mother. A forty-two-year-old woman from Millville and a fourteen-year-old from Bridgeton were ordered to have further medical examinations.

Finally, on July 3, Judge Furman ruled that the New Jersey law threatens poor women with "severe and lasting damage." He suspended the harsh New Jersey restrictions—temporarily. In August he will hear further arguments for the law. And meanwhile, in all but a few states, poor women's lives are still on the line.

It is going on around the country, in courtrooms and clinics and doctors' offices. Right now it is only poor women who must "prove" their need for an abortion to get help. But can anyone doubt that the goal of the anti-abortionists is to take the right to choose from every woman and make forced pregnancy the law of the land?

It is time to raise even louder than before the demand of the women's movement for abortion rights:

"Our bodies, our lives,  
"Our right to decide!"



### Special Offer

TO CELEBRATE THE COMPLETION OF THE 12-VOLUME SET OF WRITINGS OF LEON TROTSKY

- 20% off for three or more volumes (regular price, \$5.45 per volume).
- 25% reduction for entire twelve-volume set of *Writings of Leon Trotsky* (1929-40).

For all twelve volumes, send \$49 plus \$1 for postage and handling to Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, New York 10014. For other orders, please include \$.50 for postage and handling.

## A fighter for women

When she died on July 2, 1946, Dr. Antoinette Bucholz-Konikow had worked for almost six decades as a Marxist and fighter for women's rights.

Born in Russia in 1869, Konikow became a revolutionary socialist at age seventeen. She joined Russia's first Marxist organization, the Emancipation of Labor group, led by George Plekhanov.

After she was exiled to the United States, Konikow worked in the Socialist Labor Party. Later she joined with socialists such as Eugene V. Debs in founding the Socialist Party. She was a member of the SP's Women's Commission.

Konikow helped found the Second International. During World War I she saw it capitulate to the war hysteria; she recalled vividly the assassination of revolutionists such as Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht, who opposed that imperialist slaughter.

Konikow went on to help launch the Communist Party and Third International. But with the rise of an entrenched conservative bureaucracy in the Soviet Union, she was among the first to rebel against Stalin. She participated in the ten years of activity that culminated in 1938 with the founding of the Socialist Workers Party and Fourth International.

Konikow was also an early advocate of birth control. As a doctor, she wrote two handbooks on the subject and maintained a correspondence with other pioneers for birth control, such as Havelock Ellis and Mary Ware Dennett. In 1928 Konikow was arrested for exhibiting contraceptives.

The following speech by Dr. Konikow was given at a tribute paid her on her fiftieth anniversary in the revolutionary movement. It was printed in the November 5, 1938, issue of the 'Socialist Appeal,' a forerunner of the present-day 'Militant.'

In 1888, fifty years ago, I joined the Social Democratic Party of Russia. Life was as dark and hopeless as it may seem to many today. I was delighted to hear the words of Plekhanov at the first congress of the Second International: "Only the working class will lead the Russian revolution!"

But the working class of Russia was spiritually even further away from us than the workers of the United States today. If anyone had told us at that time that 15 years later a strike of one and a half million workers would almost overthrow Czarism, and that 15 years after that the Russian soldier would turn his gun not only against Czarism but against the Russian bourgeoisie, we would not have believed it. We would have laughed.

But it happened—and it will happen again. Only this time it will not take 30 years.

I have had to sponsor so many new organizations that I have often jokingly told my comrades that I feel like a mother always rocking a new cradle—and that is all wrong for me, for I am known as an advocate of birth control.

But I did rock the cradle of the Russian Social Democracy and out of it came a great giant, the Russian Bolshevik Party. After being expelled in the United States from the Socialist Labor Party, I soon began to rock the cradle of the Debs party, later the Socialist Party. It seemed to contain a healthy baby, but the war and the Russian revolution proved that there was a weak spot in its spine.

I then helped to rock another cradle, the cradle of the young, vigorous Communist Party. The glory of those days of the great Russian Revolution shall never be



Militant/Drawing by Evelyn Reed  
**ANTOINETTE KONIKOW**

forgotten—the tremendous enthusiasm for Lenin and Trotsky—the ten days that shook the world!

But again things went wrong. "Socialism in one country" became the slogan. This meant not only socialism in no other country, but no socialism in any country.

I began to rock another cradle and today the baby is ten years old. Who can deny that it is a sturdy, strong young fellow? The Socialist Workers Party is the only bright ray that today penetrates the horror of present-day nightmares.

I saw the beginning of the Second International and its fall. I saw the beginning of the Third International and its fall. Now together we launch the Fourth International which will accomplish the tasks betrayed by the Second and the Third.

We live now in the atmosphere of impending war. My war memories remind me of many encounters. I was sent on tour by the German-language federation of the S.P. to speak in German at anti-war meetings. That was no easy task at the height of the war frenzy.

Many times comrades would approach me, pale and trembling, begging that I speak on another subject. They pointed to German detectives and the sheriff sitting in the crowd. Often I felt like weakening—but there was one magic word that gave me strength to do my duty. I tell it to you comrades—it may again help you. The magic word was Liebknecht.

Before I conclude, let me say a few words to the youth. No sermons or admonitions, for you do not need them! I am proud of you. I want to tell you that I envy you, your youth and vigor. I would like to be 50 years younger to work with you, for your task in the coming years will be the most important in human history.

You have great monsters to fight, Fascism, Stalinism. It was easier to work under the Russian Czar than under Stalin, easier under the German Kaiser than under Hitler.

But you have better weapons than we had, more knowledge, the experience of 50 years of the leadership of the greatest living genius of the revolution, Leon Trotsky.

We place in your hands a banner unsoiled. Many times it was dragged into the mud. We lifted it up and lovingly cleansed it to give it to you. Under the red banner of Marx, Lenin, and Trotsky, you will conquer.

And when that great moment arrives, pause for a moment and think of us, who will not be with you at that glorious time, and say: "Comrades, sleep in peace. The work has been done."

## Women discuss 'Bakke'

"AFFIRMATIVE ACTION UPHELD," the *Washington Post* had the nerve to scream in its banner headline announcing the *Bakke* decision on June 29. But only the day before the decision came down, there was at least one group of women in Washington, D.C., who didn't believe that a victory for Bakke would uphold affirmative action.

I am one of the applicants to a union apprenticeship program that this year for the first time sought females. At a meeting of the women applicants to help prepare us for the interview, two women already in the program talked honestly about sexism we would face in the application process and later on the job site.

It was emphasized later by the male union members who head the apprenticeship program that although there was a guideline or "goal" of a 20 percent female entering class for fall of 1978, this was not a "quota" and the union would not be forced to accept any woman who did not meet their standards. There was a noticeable amount of skepticism among the women there about such a wishy-washy commitment.

The real worry in our minds came out only after the meeting ended, however. Immediately, several women said that all this is well and good, but once the *Bakke* decision comes out, the whole affirmative-action program can be dropped quietly and the incoming class for 1978 may not have 20 percent as its "goal", but perhaps 2 percent as in 1976, or even 0 percent as in 1977.

So, to those who will now try to convince us of the narrowness of this decision—how it is a landmark decision in upholding affirmative action while at the same time making a positive ruling for the future Dr. Bakke—I can only say that although the EEOC may not be dissolved tomorrow, the implications will be more far-reaching than any of us can now imagine.

I really hope that the *Militant* can spread the word about the danger of this decision and that a public outcry can be mounted.

A reader  
Washington, D.C.

## Exposes prison racism

First let me say the *Militant* is an outstanding newspaper in every way. Its news coverage and analysis are great.

The time for the prison system to be exposed has come. The degradation, ill treatment, and harassment of the Black convicts by the prison guards should be known. The prison officials have put into effect a master plan to divide, conquer, and rule. In doing so, the Black convicts have, are, and will be the victims of the ruthless plan. The first step to ending this oppression is for the truth to be known to the public.

The prison officials' main weapon is lockup. However, when a white convict and Black convict are charged with committing an offense, the

Black convict's punishment is much more severe. Just to name a few:

A white convict armed with a knife and zip gun attacked a Black convict. The white convict received ninety days' punishment. A Black convict caught with a zip gun received a one-year punishment on lockup.

You can clearly see the unjust punishment handed down to the Blacks. Whenever Blacks are the victims, they are made to look as though they are the criminals.

A prisoner  
Tennessee

## Debs review

Thank you for your review of our film "Eugene Debs and the American Movement." Since its appearance in the June 2 *Militant*, we've had several rental orders from community groups and schools all over the country.

We will be happy to let you know about any future projects, and we were very happy to discover the *Militant's* far-reaching influence.

Margaret Lazarus  
Cambridge Documentary Films  
Cambridge, Massachusetts

'Eugene Debs and the American Movement' is a forty-two-minute color film. For rental information on this and other films write Cambridge Documentary Films, Post Office Box 385, Cambridge, Massachusetts 02139.

## Gay rights

I began reading your paper recently and want to continue to do so, as it covers news I don't hear of anywhere else from a perspective that is, in some ways, sympathetic with my own. However, there are two things that irritate me so much that I don't know how long I'll be able to stand reading the paper.

One is your consistent use of sexist language. In the May 19 issue you constantly referred to the chairperson of an organization as the chairman, unless that person happened to be female, in which case you used the more general term. By preferring to use the term chairman, you are revealing your underlying assumption that male dominance and male leadership are standard norms that the reader is comfortable with.

The second problem I have with your paper is that you give very little and then, in my opinion, inadequate coverage to gay issues. To refer to the May 19 issue again, the only article in the entire paper dealing with gay people is urging them to demonstrate in California against the Briggs initiative.

I think this shows a very superficial sensitivity to the struggle for gay rights. I agree that we need to demonstrate, but the real issue behind discrimination against gay people is so immediately personal that mass-movement action can't touch it. We need to speak to confused heterosexuals who are willing



# Learning About Socialism

## Marxists and the women's struggle

to listen so we can defy the stereotypes they use as their justification for discriminating against us. My feeling after reading your article was that you are trying to co-opt gay people by emphasizing the similarity between our struggle and those of other oppressed workers. Focusing on the similarities allows you to put forth your own views about what constitutes successful political action, but it's questionable how much it does for the struggle for gay rights. **Margaret Stewart**  
*Amherst, Massachusetts*

[In reply—The Militant uses the term chairperson except in those cases when a capitalist institution or reactionary organization retains the sexist use of the term chairman. For example, we would not refer to the chairperson of General Motors or the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

[The Militant fully supports the struggle for gay rights and against antigay bigotry. Articles in the June 30 and July 7 issues discuss how socialists think gay rights can be won.]

### York struggle not over

The June 9 Militant reports success in the fight to save York College in Queens, New York. This is a bit misleading. It is true that York students won a victory when the Board of Higher Education voted to appropriate \$80 million for the construction of York College. However, this sum is over \$40 million short of the projected amount needed.

At this point, any funding whatsoever, and hence the future of York College, rests with Mayor Koch, who must authorize release of the money.

The Board of Higher Education is also planning to convert York from a four-year liberal arts school to a four-year technical/vocational school. This decision goes directly against the needs and desires of the majority of York students. While it will satisfy the politicians and businessmen, who don't care what type of school York is, it will force many students to either change their educational plans or go to school elsewhere.

The fact that York College was not closed and that the BHE was forced to grant building appropriations is the result of many demonstrations and protests. However, the fight to save York College is far from over. By attempting to divide the forces that support York and by granting some concessions, the BHE is attempting to maneuver into a position where it can indeed close York College. Only continued protests can prevent this.

**Jerry Gardner**  
*New York, 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.

What is the relationship between the revolutionary socialist movement and the women's movement? What role have socialists played in the struggle for women's liberation?

These are questions of great interest to growing numbers of women considering socialist ideas for the first time. A good place to begin exploring the answers is in two pamphlets by Militant editor Mary-Alice Waters: *Feminism and the Marxist Movement* (\$.60) and *Women and the Socialist Revolution* (\$.50). (Both pamphlets can be ordered from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, New York 10014.)

In *Women and the Socialist Revolution* Waters traces the origins of the socialist and women's movements back to the rise of industrial capitalism in the nineteenth century.

In 1848—the same year the American suffrage movement was launched in Seneca Falls, New York—the founders of scientific socialism, Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, published their *Communist Manifesto*.

"This coincidence of dates is no real coincidence at all," Waters explains. The revolutionary changes in production introduced by capitalism transformed the lives of women and of the whole working class.

The works of Marx and Engels—particularly Engels's *Origins of the Family, Private Property and the State*—analyzed this historic development and in doing so provided the women's movement with its most important theoretical weapons.

First, they showed that women's oppression is not "natural" or rooted in any inherent inferiority, but grows out of specific historic conditions—the rise of class society and the social divisions it produced.

Second, they explained how the oppression of women is institutionalized through the family system.

And finally, they showed that the struggle for women's liberation can only be won through the socialist revolution—the overthrow of capitalist rule and all the exploitation it engenders.

In *Feminism and the Marxist Movement* Waters examines the revolutionary socialist record in the struggle for women's rights—from the First International of Marx and Engels to the Socialist Workers Party today. Precisely because socialists refuse to compromise on women's rights, she explains, they have been and remain the most consistent champions of women's liberation.

She describes how the German Social Democratic Party (SPD) helped build an independent women's movement in the pre-World War I years, forming separate organizations

of women and publishing newspapers for working-class women, such as *Gleichheit* (Equality).

In 1911, the Second International—at the suggestion of Clara Zetkin and other leaders of the SPD left wing—issued a call for coordinated international protests in March to demand universal female suffrage. On March 8 thousands of women took to the streets across Europe. These socialist-led demonstrations established the tradition of International Women's Day.

Waters also documents the activity of the American Socialist Party in the suffrage struggle. SP legislators introduced suffrage bills; female leaders of the SP ran for public office; in some states SP sections substantially led the right-to-vote campaign.

But the acid test for socialists was in Russia, where the 1917 Bolshevik-led revolution ushered in unprecedented rights and opportunities for women: full political freedom; equal pay for equal work; the right to child care, divorce, abortion, and socialized laundries and cafeterias.

The Third (Communist) International, initiated by the Bolsheviks, had a "more advanced, revolutionary analysis of women's oppression and the road to liberation than any previous organization in world history," Waters states.

This was the tradition Leon Trotsky and the movement he founded stood upon in fighting to reverse the Stalinist degeneration of the Russian revolution. For Trotsky, the status of women was "the most graphic and telling indicator for evaluating a social regime and state policy." Trotsky wrote extensively on the degradation of women under Stalin's regime as proof of its counterrevolutionary nature. Fighting to reestablish the gains women won in 1917, he argued, was a central task of the political revolution in the Soviet Union.

Today the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance are in the front ranks of struggles for the Equal Rights Amendment, abortion rights, child care, and affirmative action. We have consistently advocated and worked to build an independent women's movement that wages an uncompromising struggle for women's rights.

And, as in the past, the rise and impact of the women's movement have enriched socialist thought and practice. As Waters explains, they have "made the Socialist Workers Party vastly more conscious, helping us strengthen our program and sharpen our understanding of our goals and the kind of proletarian party it will take to achieve them."

*Women and the Socialist Revolution* and *Feminism and the Marxist Movement* are two excellent examples of this point.

—Shelley Kramer

## If You Like This Paper, Look Us Up

Where to find the Socialist Workers Party, Young Socialist Alliance, and socialist books and pamphlets

**ARIZONA:** Phoenix: SWP, YSA, 314 E. Taylor. Zip: 85004. Tel: (602) 255-0450. Tucson: YSA, SUPO 20965. Zip: 85720. Tel: (602) 795-2053.

**CALIFORNIA:** Berkeley: SWP, YSA, 3264 Adeline St. Zip: 94703. Tel: (415) 653-7156. East Los Angeles: SWP, YSA, 1237 S. Atlantic Blvd. Zip: 90022. Tel: (213) 265-1347. Los Angeles, Crenshaw District: SWP, YSA, 2167 W. Washington Blvd. Zip: 90018. Tel: (213) 732-8196. Los Angeles: City-wide SWP, YSA, 1250 Wilshire Blvd., Room 404. Zip: 90017. Tel: (213) 482-1820. Los Angeles, Southeast: SWP, YSA, 2554 Saturn Ave., Huntington Park, 90255. Tel: (213) 582-1975. Oakland: SWP, YSA, 1467 Fruitvale Ave. Zip: 94601. Tel: (415) 261 1210. San Diego: SWP, YSA, 1053 15th St. Zip: 92101. Tel: (714) 234-4630. San Francisco: SWP, YSA, 3284 23rd St. Zip: 94110. Tel: (415) 824-1992. San Jose: SWP, YSA, 942 E. Santa Clara St. Zip: 95112. Tel: (408) 295-8342. COLORADO: Denver: SWP, YSA, 916 Broadway. Zip: 80203. Tel: (303) 837-1018.

**FLORIDA:** Miami: SWP, YSA, 7623 NE 2nd Ave. Zip: 33138. Tel: (305) 756-8358. GEORGIA: Atlanta: SWP, 471-A Flat Shoals Ave. SE, P.O. Box 846. Zip: 30301. Tel: (404) 688-6739. YSA, P.O. Box 433, Georgia State Univ. Zip: 30303. Tel: (404) 627-6265.

**ILLINOIS:** Champaign-Urbana: YSA, 284 Illini Union, Urbana. Zip: 61801. Chicago: City-wide SWP, YSA, 407 S. Dearborn #1145. Zip: 60605. Tel: SWP—(312) 939-0737; YSA—(312) 427-0280. Chicago, North Side: SWP, 1870 N. Halsted. Zip: 60614. Tel: (312) 642-4811. Chicago, South Side: SWP, 2251 E. 71st St. Zip: 60649. Tel: (312) 643-5520. Chicago, West Side: SWP, 10 N. Cicero. Zip: 60644. Tel: (312) 261-8370.

**INDIANA:** Bloomington: YSA, c/o Student Activities Desk, Indiana University. Zip: 47401. Indianapolis: SWP, 4163 College Ave. Zip: 46205. Tel: (317) 925-2616.

**KENTUCKY:** Lexington: YSA, P.O. Box 952 University Station. Zip: 40506. Tel: (606) 269-6262. Louisville: SWP, 1505 W. Broadway, P.O. Box 3593. Zip: 40201. Tel: (502) 587-8418.

**LOUISIANA:** New Orleans: SWP, YSA, 3319 S. Carrollton Ave. Zip: 70118. Tel: (504) 486-8048.

**MARYLAND:** Baltimore: SWP, YSA, 2117 N. Charles St. Zip: 21218. Tel: (301) 547-0668. College Park: YSA, c/o Student Union, University of Maryland.

Zip: 20742. Tel: (301) 454-4758.

**MASSACHUSETTS:** Amherst: YSA, c/o Rees, 4 Adams St., Easthampton 01027. Boston: SWP, YSA, 510 Commonwealth Ave., 4th Floor. Zip: 02215. Tel: (617) 262-4621.

**MICHIGAN:** Ann Arbor: YSA, Room 4321, Michigan Union, U of M. Zip: 48109. Detroit, East Side: SWP, 12920 Mack Ave. Zip: 48215. Tel: (313) 824-1160. Detroit, West Side: SWP, 18415 Wyoming. Zip: 48221. Tel: (313) 341-6436. Detroit: SWP, YSA, 1310 Broadway. Zip: 48226. Tel: (313) 961-5675. Mt. Pleasant: YSA, Box 51 Warriner Hall, Central Mich. Univ. Zip: 48859.

**MINNESOTA:** Minneapolis: SWP, YSA, 23 E. Lake St. Zip: 55408. Tel: (612) 825-6663. St. Paul: SWP, 373 University Ave. Zip: 55103. Tel: (612) 222-8929.

**MISSOURI:** Kansas City: SWP, YSA, 4715A Troost. Zip: 64110. Tel: (816) 753-0404. St. Louis: SWP, YSA, 6223 Delmar Blvd. Zip: 63130. Tel: (314) 725-1570.

**NEBRASKA:** Omaha: YSA, c/o Hugh Wilcox, 521 4th St., Council Bluffs, Iowa. 51501.

**NEW JERSEY:** Newark: SWP, 11-A Central Ave. Zip: 07102. Tel: (201) 643-3341.

**NEW MEXICO:** Albuquerque: SWP, 108 Morning-side Dr. NE. Zip: 87108. Tel: (505) 255-6869.

**NEW YORK:** Albany: SWP, YSA, 103 Central Avenue. Zip: 12206. Tel: (518) 463-0072. Binghamton: YSA, c/o Andy Towbin, Box 7120, SUNY-Binghamton. Zip: 13901. Ithaca: YSA, Willard Straight Hall, Rm. 41A, Cornell University. Zip: 14853. New York, Bronx: SWP, 2271 Morris Ave. Zip: 10453. Tel: (212) 365-6652. New York, Brooklyn: SWP, 220-222 Utica Ave. Zip: 11213. Tel: (718) 773-0250. New York, Chelsea: SWP, 200 1/2 W. 24th St. Zip: 10011. Tel: (212) 989-2731. New York, Lower East Side: SWP, YSA, 7 Clinton St. Zip: 10007. Tel: (212) 260-6400. New York, Queens: SWP, YSA, 90-43 149 St. Zip: 11435. Tel: (212) 658-7718. New York, Upper West Side: SWP, YSA, 786 Amsterdam. Zip: 10025. Tel: (212) 663-3000. New York: City-wide SWP, YSA, 853 Broadway, Room 412. Zip: 10003. Tel: (212) 982-8214.

**NORTH CAROLINA:** Raleigh: SWP, YSA, P.O. Box 5714 State Univ. Station. Zip: 27607.

**OHIO:** Athens: YSA, c/o Balar Center, Ohio University. Zip: 45701. Tel: (614) 594-7497. Cincinnati:

SWP, YSA, 970 E. McMillan. Zip: 45206. Tel: (513) 751-2636. Cleveland: SWP, YSA, 13002 Kinsman Rd. Zip: 44120. Tel: (216) 991-5030. Columbus: YSA, Box 106 Ohio Union, Rm. 308, Ohio State Univ., 1739 N. High St. Zip: 43210. Tel: (614) 291-8985. Kent: YSA, Student Center Box 41, Kent State University. Zip: 44242. Tel: (216) 678-5974. Toledo: SWP, 2507 Collingwood Blvd. Zip: 43610. Tel: (419) 242-9743.

**OREGON:** Portland: SWP, YSA, 3928 N. Williams. Zip: 97227. Tel: (503) 288-7860.

**PENNSYLVANIA:** Bethlehem: SWP, Box 1096. Zip: 18016. Edinboro: YSA, Edinboro State College. Zip: 16412. Philadelphia, SWP, YSA, 218 S. 45th St., Zip: 19104. Tel: (215) 387-2451. Pittsburgh: SWP, YSA, 5504 Penn Ave. Zip: 15206. Tel: (412) 441-1419. State College: YSA, c/o Jack Craypo, 132 Keller St. Zip: 16801.

**RHODE ISLAND:** Kingston: YSA, P.O. Box 400. Zip: 02881. Tel: (401) 783-8864.

**TENNESSEE:** Knoxville: YSA, P.O. Box 8344 Univ. Station. Zip: 37916. Tel: (615) 525-0820.

**TEXAS:** Austin: YSA, c/o Mike Rose, 7409 Berkman Dr. Zip: 78752. Dallas: SWP, YSA, 2215 Cedar Crest. Zip: 75203. Tel: (214) 943-6684. Houston: City-wide SWP, YSA, 6412-C N. Main St. Zip: 77009. Tel: (713) 861-9960. North Houston: SWP, 6412-C N. Main St. Zip: 77009. Tel: (713) 861-9842. Houston, South-Central: SWP, 4987 Martin Luther King Blvd. Zip: 77023. Tel: (713) 643-0005. San Antonio: SWP, YSA, 112 Fredericksburg Rd. Zip: 78201. Tel: (512) 735-3141.

**UTAH:** Logan: YSA, P.O. Box 1233, Utah State University. Zip: 84322. Salt Lake City: SWP, YSA, 677 S. 7th East, 2nd Floor. P.O. Box 461. Zip: 84110. Tel: (801) 355-1124.

**WASHINGTON, D.C.:** SWP, YSA, 3106 Mt. Pleasant St. NW. Zip: 20010. Tel: (202) 797-7699.

**WASHINGTON:** Seattle: SWP, YSA, 2200 E. Union. Zip: 98122. Tel: (206) 329-7404. Spokane: SWP, P.O. Box 672. Zip: 99210. Tel: (509) 535-6244. Tacoma: SWP, 1022 S. J St. Zip: 98405. Tel: (206) 627-0432.

**WEST VIRGINIA:** Morgantown: SWP, P.O. Box 1484. Zip: 26505.

**WISCONSIN:** Madison: YSA, P.O. Box 1442. Zip: 53701. Tel: (608) 255-4733. Milwaukee: SWP, YSA, 3901 N. 27th St. Zip: 53216. Tel: (414) 445-2076.

## Mexican youth rebel against police terror

### Force purge of Matamoros police, arrest of killer cops

**Miguel Pendás**

MATAMOROS, Mexico—A rebellion sparked by the police murder of a high school youth has ended in a victory for the students of this border city of 300,000 people.

Following two days of massive,

*Miguel Pendás is the Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senate from Texas.*

angry demonstrations, top police officials have resigned, all students arrested during the rebellion have been freed, and twelve cops have been fired and three others arrested for murder.

In an attempt to suppress the rebellion, the cops had murdered three people.

The events that led to the mass explosion began June 19, when Matamoros cops arrested fifteen-year-old Salvador Barrios Barba while he was sitting on a park bench on the pretext that he "looked suspicious."

Later, at a holding cell, three cops savagely beat Barrios Barba until he began vomiting blood.

When his family arrived and tried to get the cops to send him to a hospital, they refused. They said he was faking.

*Continued on page 27*



El Bravo/Angel Rodriguez

June 26 protest of 7,000 in Matamoros confronts mayor (older man with white shirt and glasses in foreground)

## Marroquin hails Matamoros students

The following statement was released by Héctor Marroquín July 5. Marroquín is a member of the Young Socialist Alliance National Committee and of the Socialist Workers Party. He was a student leader in Mexico until forced to flee his homeland to escape political repression. Although in Mexico he faces imprisonment, torture, and possible death, the U.S. government has so far refused to give him political asylum.

The barbaric police murder of Salvador Barrios Barba, a fifteen-year-old Matamoros student, is nothing out of the ordinary in that city or anywhere else in Mexico.

I was born and grew up in Matamoros. All my life I have known of the brutality of the cops there. When I was eight years old, my uncle—who was a Matamoros police officer—beat a seven-year-old child to death. The authorities did nothing except transfer him to a police job in a different city—and that only because the child's father was a reporter and the case became a scandal.

I have had more than my share of direct experience with Mexican cops. In 1972, I saw police murder my friend Jesus Rivera in cold blood. To

cover up their crime, the police posthumously accused him of being a terrorist, but this was a lie.

When police falsely accused me of



Militant/Susan Ellis

HECTOR MARROQUIN

being a terrorist two years later, I had to flee my homeland and come to the United States to escape a fate similar to my friend's.

In the United States cop terror is a grim fact of life for Blacks, Chicanos, and other oppressed nationalities.

In Brooklyn, New York, cops recently strangled to death Black civic leader Arthur Miller. Although there were scores of witnesses to the crime, no cops have been charged for Miller's murder.

In Houston, police beat Chicano army veteran Joe Campos Torres and then drowned him in a canal. At the state trial, the cops got a one-dollar fine. At the federal trial, they received a token one-year sentence. When Houston Chicanos rebelled against this outrage, hundreds of cops were brought in to terrorize the community.

So the victory won by the students of Matamoros is an inspiration to everyone fighting police brutality.

But now, Mexican authorities are threatening a "full investigation" to find those responsible for "vandalism."

I have seen what similar "investigations" have meant for many student activists in Mexico. They have been sentenced to long prison terms after being tortured into signing

false confessions. They have been killed in alleged gun battles, or shot "while trying to escape." They have been kidnapped by police and never heard from again.

We must not let that happen to the Matamoros students. I appeal to the student movement in the United States, to Blacks and Chicanos who are fighting police terror, and to all supporters of human rights to remain vigilant against any attempt by the Mexican government to victimize the Matamoros students.

An important part of exposing political repression in Mexico is my own fight for political asylum in the United States and that of José Jacques Medina, another compañero forced to flee Mexico to escape repression.

What is involved in our cases is not only repression in Mexico, but the U.S. government's complicity with that repression. Despite President Carter's human rights rhetoric, he has so far refused to grant either Medina or me asylum in the United States. Carter's immigration cops are still trying to deport us—to hand us over to the torturers and assassins of Mexican students.

A victory in our cases would not only be a victory for us, but a victory for the struggle against political repression in Mexico.