

THE MILITANT

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

Huge turnout for ERA march

Biggest action ever for women's rights



Militant/Lou Howort

WASHINGTON, July 9—Tens of thousands of demonstrators assemble for mass march and rally called by National Organization for Women to demand ratification of Equal Rights Amendment. See pages 3, 16-18.

Shcharansky trial

**MOSCOW
stages
anti-Semitic
frame-up**

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**'RELEASE FILES
ON INFORMERS'**

Victims of FBI spying
back socialist lawsuit

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Unite against gov't spying and secrecy

Right now, a battle is taking place. A battle whose outcome will affect the lives of all Americans and of working people all over the world.

At issue is whether the U.S. government can veil in secrecy its illegal operations and its lies.

On one front, the Carter administration is on the defensive. As a result of the Socialist Workers Party's five-year-old suit against illegal government harassment and spying, Attorney General Griffin Bell has been found in contempt of court for refusing to hand over FBI informer files to attorneys for the SWP.

But on several other fronts, Carter is moving forward in his assault on the right of the American people to know the truth about what the government is doing, both at home and abroad.

• On July 7, David Truong and Ronald Humphrey were sentenced to fifteen years in prison on charges of spying for Vietnam. Administration officials have admitted that they seized this case as a means of asserting the right of the White House to order warrantless phone taps and electronic surveillance against anybody or any group they deem a danger to "national security."

Even more ominous is the fact that one of the charges against Truong and Humphrey was theft of government property—that is, government information. *This was precisely the charge used by the Nixon administration to prosecute Anthony Russo and Daniel Ellsberg for releasing the Pentagon Papers.* Nixon also talked about "national security," but his real fear was that the American people would find out the truth about what the U.S. government was doing in Vietnam.

As John Shattuck, the Washington director of the American Civil Liberties Union noted, "By arguing that government information is government property, the Carter administration is claiming the power to make almost anything it does an official secret."

• On the same day that Truong and Humphrey were sentenced, a federal judge upheld the government's challenge to former CIA agent Frank Snapp's right to publish a book about his experiences in the CIA. The Carter administration did not contend that Snapp released any classified information.

Rather, it maintained that the government has the right to forbid former employees to publish *anything* about their government work.

• Carter followed up these two legal victories by summoning key congressional leaders to the White House July 11 to complain about an "epidemic" of unauthorized disclosures of classified information.

Senate Republican leader Howard Baker declared after the meeting that "too many people on [Capitol] Hill have too much access to too much classified information."

The only specific example of the type of leaks that are bothering Carter was provided by Barry Goldwater, who cited the Pentagon Papers.

In light of its propaganda campaign to prepare the way for U.S. military intervention in Africa and for new attacks against the Cuban revolution, the American ruling class has good reason to fear such disclosures. Carter and his superiors on Wall Street know from the bitter experience of Vietnam that they cannot carry out their imperialist aggressions without the cloak of secrecy.

At the same time, Carter is trying to prevent more revelations about the crimes of the FBI and CIA—everything from burglary to murder—carried out in their attempts to sabotage the struggles of the American people against war, for racial and sexual equality, and for a decent standard of living. The latest revelations about the direct participation of FBI informer Gary Rowe in Ku Klux Klan terrorism are a good indication of why Carter is refusing to release FBI informer files. (See article on page 10.)

Carter's offensive against democratic rights reflects the pressures of the economic crisis facing the capitalist system worldwide. It is designed to pave the way for new military adventures abroad and for cracking down on the working class here at home. All working people have a vital stake in opposing Carter's assault.

This means uniting behind all those being singled out for victimization by the government, whatever our political differences may be. It also means uniting behind the SWP's challenge to government spying, harassment, and secrecy. As the articles on pages 7-9 show, the response of solidarity from victims of government repression and dirty tricks has been heartening.

The SWP suit has hit the weakest spot in Carter's armor. It is at the center of the fight against Carter's offensive. And if enough

pressure is brought to bear, it can force Carter to retreat.

Big spenders

Democrats and Republicans alike are talking big these days about cutting government spending and providing tax relief for ordinary Americans.

Education, health care, housing, public transportation, child care, parks, and libraries all feel the budget cutters' axe. First to go are funds for busing, abortions, affirmative action, or any other programs needed to advance equality for victims of discrimination.

On July 11 the U.S. Senate took a short break from lambasting "big government" and slashing aid to the needy. On that date it voted overwhelming, bipartisan approval to giving the Pentagon \$36.1 billion of our tax dollars for one year's weapons spending. This is one of the biggest chunks of Carter's record \$126 billion war budget.

Washington has already stockpiled enough nuclear warheads to wipe out life on earth several times over. Yet this year the government will spend \$12.5 billion for research and development of still more fiendish instruments of destruction.

It is almost impossible to comprehend the vast amounts that are poured down the rat-hole of "defense" spending. One item in this year's budget, for example, is a nuclear-powered aircraft carrier at \$1.9 billion.

If you are a skilled worker earning \$10 an hour, you would have to work forty hours a week, fifty-two weeks a year for 91,346 years to make \$1.9 billion. And that's before taxes.

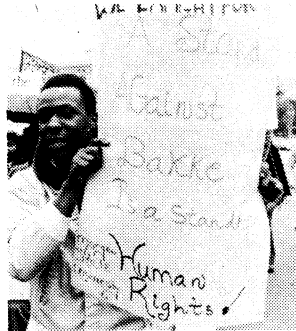
Looked at another way, that \$1.9 billion is more than six times as much as Carter has budgeted for establishing and aiding community health centers. It is also six times as much as the budget for all the senior colleges in the City University of New York.

As the *Wall Street Journal* smugly noted, the Senate vote showed that "the Pentagon is immune to antispending fever spawned by Proposition 13."

More accurately, it showed that the Democrats and Republicans are squeezing workers from both sides—higher taxes and declining social services—to build up the Pentagon's murderous arsenal. There can be no meaningful tax relief for working people so long as this massive squandering of society's resources continues.

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Did Court uphold affirmative action?

Many liberals and press commentators say the 'Bakke' ruling was not a serious blow to equality for Blacks and women. A look at the court decision belies this claim. Page 4.

Racism in Marquette Park

A Black man was beaten by a crowd of Chicago racists who turned out to hear Nazi leader Frank Collin. Page 6.



China's slanders against Vietnam

Why has Peking cut off all financial aid to help reconstruct war-torn Vietnam? Page 21.



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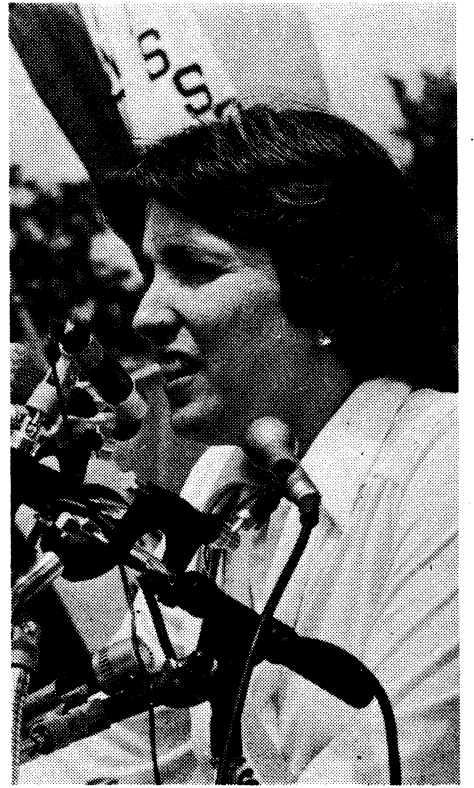
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July 9 National ERA March

'We are the many, we are the majority!'



Militant/David Frankel



Militant/Lou Howort

'This is just the beginning. We will have bigger and bigger demonstrations,' NOW President Eleanor Smeal told marchers.

By Cindy Jaquith

WASHINGTON—She had come on a bus from Chicago: "I always thought the Equal Rights Amendment would sound so reasonable to people that there would be no question of its passage. When I realized the trouble it was in, that's when I decided to become more involved."

She was a middle-aged Black auto worker from Detroit: "I never went on any of the civil rights marches. Wish I had. This is my first time on a women's march. I'm proud to be here."

She rode the bus from New Jersey: "I used to go to marches against the war when I was a student. When I left school I wasn't interested anymore. Then recently I heard about this march, and I knew I had to come."

He was marching in the Baltimore steelworkers contingent: "This is my first demonstration for women's rights, but I came here for jobs a few years ago. And I drove one of the trucks with food for the miners last winter."

She belonged to the Newark chapter of the National Organization for Women: "This is my first demonstration since the state International Women's Year march. I don't trust the government to pass the ERA, and that's why I'm here."

Contributing to this article were 'Militant' staff writers Shelley Kramer, José G. Pérez, Priscilla Schenk, and Diane Wang.

First they gathered by the hundreds, then by the thousands, and soon tens of thousands of marchers, most dressed in white to commemorate the suffrage movement, stretched up and down the Mall, with their purple-gold-and white banners fluttering overhead.

They felt they were making history—and they were right. The July 9 National March for the ERA—the first march on Washington for the ERA—was the biggest demonstration for women's rights in U.S. history.

Called by NOW

Early this spring, the National Organization for Women had called the march to win ratification of the ERA and extension to 1986 of the ratification deadline. NOW is the country's largest women's rights group.

As the action drew closer, the urgency of marching sharpened. On June 7, the Illinois House defeated the ERA, leaving three states still needed to win ratification by the March 1979 deadline.

On June 28, the Supreme Court delivered another blow to equal rights, striking down affirmative-action quotas in the *Bakke* case.

The marchers here were angry and determined: "One-two-three-four, We won't take it any more! Five-six-seven-eight, Ratify in every state!"

The march proceeded down Constitution Avenue to the beat of the Columbia Drum and Bugle Corps and the chants of veteran suffragists who rode in a trolley car.

The Illinois NOW contingent came first.

"What do you want?" yelled a woman.

"ERA!" they answered.

"When do you want it?"

"NOW!" they shouted, as hundreds of fists shot up in the air.

State by state, the NOW contingents passed by. There were hundreds in each and thousands marching behind NOW banners from states such as Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and New York.

The NOW-New York Minority Women's Committee marched under a banner in Spanish, Chinese, and English, chanting, "ERA, sí! *Bakke* no!" And that was just the beginning.

Dozens of people scrambled to the top of a statue at the rally site to survey the scene. Below them, Constitution Avenue was filled with marchers for eleven blocks. And thousands were still at the assembly point.

As each contingent passed, it drew applause. But the applause turned into a resounding cheer when the labor delegations passed by.

Thousands of unionists

The largest was from the United Auto Workers, with hundreds of members, many of them Black, from Detroit, Chicago, and Toledo.

There were steelworkers, chanting, "U-S-W-A, We're for the ERA!"

There were communications workers.

Teachers and members of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME) marched, along with hospital workers from Local 1199 and distributive workers from New York's District 65.

Orange-helmeted Brooklyn Navy Yard workers marched by under a "Shipbuilders for the ERA" banner. "I didn't know they were for us!" exclaimed a woman on the sidewalk. "I thought they were against us!"

Two women members of the United Mine Workers proudly carried a "Miners for the E.R.A." banner.

Thousands of Blacks and Puerto Ricans were in the labor delegations, and many men. Like the rest of the demonstrators, the unionists were overwhelmingly young women. And like the rest of the march, they had come from all over the country, from hundreds of different organizations.

There were students from Yale, Barnard, University of Maryland, Vassar, University of California, and many other campuses.

There were nurses, doctors, scientists, and hundreds of members of the American Association of University Women.

Behind a large banner reading, "Hispanos Unidos," marched members of the National Association of Puerto Rican Women, Comisión Feminil Mexicana, the National Association of Cuban-American Women, and many others.

Continued on page 16

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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.



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Did Bakke ruling uphold affirmative action?



10,000 protesters marched in D.C. on April 15 for Supreme Court reversal of Bakke ruling

Militant/Lou Howort

By John Hawkins

The Carter administration, the liberal big-business press, and some Black leaders have joined in praising the U.S. Supreme Court's *Bakke* ruling as a victory for equal rights.

They contend that even though the court struck down the minority-admissions program at a University of California medical school—ordering it to admit white engineer Allan Bakke—nevertheless a “careful reading” of the decision shows that it upholds the “principle” of affirmative action.

“We were heartened by the action . . .” said Stephen Horn, vice-chairperson of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, “because the Court expressed its unequivocal support for the consideration of race and ethnicity in admissions programs.”

Carter called the ruling confirmation of his administration's commitment to affirmative action.

Benjamin Hooks, executive director of the NAACP, called the decision a “clear-cut victory for voluntary affirmative action.”

And Joseph Rauh, vice-president of Americans for Democratic Action, stated, “The Supreme Court's decision that race is a proper factor in admissions decisions is the legal concrete on which further affirmative-action progress can be made.”

‘Reverse discrimination’

Although these public figures have different reasons for their praise of the *Bakke* decision, the effect is the same:

To downplay the most stunning legal blow in decades to the fight against race and sex discrimination.

Far from upholding affirmative-action programs for victims of discrimination, the Court's ruling has erected a new legal barrier to implementing and enforcing such programs. That's what a “careful reading” of the majority opinion, written by Justice Lewis Powell, really shows.

At the heart of Powell's opinion is

acceptance of the false, racist notion of “reverse discrimination.”

Powell lashes out at the University of California Davis Medical School for its minority-admissions program, which reserved sixteen places in its entering class for students of oppressed nationalities.

“Petitioner [the school administration] prefers to view it as establishing a ‘goal’ of minority representation in the medical school,” says Powell. “Respondent [Bakke] . . . labels it a racial quota.”

“This semantic distinction is beside the point: the special admissions program is undeniably a classification based on race and ethnic background. . . . White applicants could compete only for 84 seats in the entering class, rather than the 100 open to minority applicants. . . .” (emphasis added).

Powell asserts that the Davis affirmative-action program—whether it is considered a quota or a goal—violates the Equal Protection Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution. This was an amendment

designed to guarantee equal protection to freed Black slaves!

“Although many of the Framers of the Fourteenth Amendment conceived of its primary function as bridging the vast distance between members of the Negro race and the white ‘majority,’ . . . the Amendment itself was framed in universal terms, without reference to color, ethnic origin, or condition of prior servitude,” Powell insists.

“Petitioner urges us to adopt for the first time a more restrictive view of the Equal Protection Clause and hold that discrimination against members of the white ‘majority’ cannot be suspect if its purpose can be characterized as ‘benign’” (emphasis added).

No defense

Is this a defense of “affirmative action in principle”?

Far from it.

In fact, Powell is striking a blow against the very heart of affirmative action—the idea that government, big business, and other institutions have the obligation to take action to end the

second-class status of Blacks, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, Native Americans, Asian Americans, and women.

Instead, Powell's slick legal abstractions give credence to the myth that anti-Black discrimination is a thing of the past and that the real problem today is “discrimination against whites” through affirmative-action programs.

He twists reality to the point of equating the assimilation of various groups of white immigrants into the American “melting pot” with the 400 years of slavery and legalized segregation suffered by Blacks! Powell states:

“The concepts of ‘majority’ and ‘minority’ necessarily reflect temporary arrangements and political judgments. . . . The white ‘majority’ itself is composed of various minority groups, most of which can lay claim to a history of prior discrimination at the hands of the state and private individuals.”

Therefore, Powell argues, “Not all of these groups can receive preferential treatment and corresponding judicial tolerance of distinctions drawn in terms of race and nationality, for then the only ‘majority’ left would be a new minority of White Anglo-Saxon Protestants.”

Powell may have trouble distinguishing between the plight faced by Blacks and other oppressed nationalities and that of the various “ethnic groups” that comprise the white majority. But the facts show that the state, employers, and colleges make precisely that distinction in everyday life—always to the detriment of the Blacks and other racial minorities.

Real-life discrimination

This can be seen in the unemployment rate for Blacks—which is twice that for whites.

It is shown by the low percentage of Blacks who are doctors, lawyers, and other professionals.

It is evident in the inferior education foisted on Black school children and in the miserable living conditions of the country's Black ghettos.

The only way to right this unequal situation is through preferential treatment—affirmative action—in employment, college admissions, and other spheres of life in order to achieve equality.

Those who say the court's *Bakke* decision upheld affirmative action make much of the fact that it allowed for race to be considered as one factor in school admissions.

What Powell actually wrote is that a “diverse student body” is a “constitutionally permissible goal.” He specifically ruled out preferential treatment for Blacks to compensate for the systematic pattern of day-to-day racist discrimination in this society:

“ . . . The purpose of helping certain groups whom the faculty of the Davis Medical School perceived as victims of ‘societal discrimination’ does not justify a classification that imposes disadvantages upon persons like respondent [Bakke]. . . . To hold otherwise would be to convert a remedy heretofore reserved for violations of legal rights into a privilege that all institutions throughout the Nation could grant at their pleasure to whatever groups are perceived as victims of societal discrimination. That is a step we have never approved.”

In short, the court decision denies the existence of generalized racist discrimination in American society.

‘Intent’ doctrine

Affirmative-action remedies to make up for past discrimination are legal, Powell says, only if the specific employer, school, or government body has been proven guilty of discrimination. Considering that there is hardly any employer, school, or government body in this country that has not discriminated, that distinction seems minor at first.

But this is where the *Bakke* decision dovetails with other recent Supreme Court decisions under the court's new doctrine of “intent.” The court now

Ruling prompts new cutbacks

The disastrous effects of the *Bakke* ruling are already beginning to be felt across the country as more affirmative-action programs are struck down or jeopardized:

- In Ohio, the Associated General Contractors, Inc. has obtained a preliminary injunction against the state setting aside some construction projects for minority contractors.

- In New York, a state appeals court has thrown out an executive order by Gov. Hugh Carey requiring all companies doing business with the state to adopt affirmative-action programs.

- At the Newark Law School of Rutgers University, acting President

Paul Pearson says it will be necessary to “review” the school's goal of 25 percent minority students.

- At the University of Illinois Law School at Urbana-Champaign, Dean John Cribbet says a program to admit twenty “culturally deprived” students each year may be scrapped.

- In California, the *Bakke* decision is expected to make it harder to block discriminatory layoffs of women and minority public employees as Proposition 13 cutbacks are implemented. Of the employees already laid off by Pasadena, for example, 65 percent were from minority groups, and 41 percent were women.

maintains that just because, for example, an employer's hiring practices lead to an all-white work force, that does not mean that employer discriminates. The burden of proof is put on the victims. They must prove that the employer *intended* to discriminate.

In the court's *Arlington Heights* housing decision, Blacks were required to prove that they had suffered intentional abuse. Similarly, in the *Austin* and *Dayton* school desegregation rulings, strict limits were set on how far courts could go in ordering the perpetrators of discrimination to correct their actions.

Together with *Bakke*, these rulings have placed severe new limits on those seeking relief in the courts from race discrimination. *Bakke* tops off this string of reactionary rulings in three ways:

- It relieves the government, employers, and institutions of any enforceable obligation to end discrimination in hiring and admissions.
- It virtually outlaws the use of quotas and goals—preferential treatment—in affirmative-action programs, and
- It legitimizes the false notion of "reverse discrimination."

Although the court majority declined to state explicitly that its new code on affirmative action applies to women as well, the implications and legal precedents are clearly aimed at such programs also.

Political impact

Even more important than the legal implications of the decision is the political impact it is bound to have.

Even before the Supreme Court handed down its ruling, employers and universities had placed a virtual freeze on new affirmative-action programs. Many, anticipating the ruling, had already moved to dismantle such programs.

With the backing of the highest court in the country, these forces will move even more rapidly to dismantle such programs and will offer stiffer resistance to attempts to establish new ones.

The right-wing opponents of racial equality will also be emboldened by this new legal blow. They will step up their actions in the courts against affirmative-action programs. Moreover, sensing a victory in the *Bakke* ruling, they will also step up their campaigns against school desegregation, the Equal Rights Amendment, abortion rights, and other gains won by the movements of the oppressed.

The Democrats and Republicans in the White House and Congress will feel even more free to enact legislation denying funds for the enforcement of affirmative action.

However, supporters of preferential treatment to achieve equality—the Black movement, the women's movement, students, and trade unionists—can mount an effective counterattack to this reactionary decision.

Through teach-ins, demonstrations, picket lines, and other visible protests the courts, the big-business politicians, and the right wing can be slowed down and stopped in their tracks. The massive July 9 march for the ERA gave an inkling of the powerful social forces that can and must be mobilized.

The court in which the *Bakke* ruling and the future of affirmative action will be decided is the court of political action. That is where the oppressed nationalities, women, and working people of this country, mobilized in massive numbers independent of the ruling rich and their two parties, can have the most impact.

Preparing that movement is the order of the day. And the first step is getting out the *truth* about the meaning of the *Bakke* decision—not covering up for it or hiding our heads in the sand.

Clerk confronts Burger

While liberal politicians and lawyers downplay the reactionary impact of the *Bakke* decision, one person who has spoken out clearly against it—and gained nationwide attention for doing so—is Audrey Hair.

Hair is Black, twenty-two years old, and works in a Washington bookstore. She spotted Chief Justice Warren Burger when he came into the store June 30 to buy some paperbacks.

She introduced herself and asked if Burger would answer some questions about the *Bakke* ruling. He tried to duck the discussion, saying the issues were too "complicated."

Hair said she didn't think it was so complicated—she just wanted to know how Blacks and other oppressed minorities could get fair treatment without affirmative-action quotas.

The forty-minute debate that followed was reported by United Press International July 6. It quoted Hair as recalling: "He said his grandparents had come from Europe and were illiterate and it had taken 150 years for his people to improve themselves."

"I asked him if he didn't think 300 years was enough time for my people."

At one point Burger said he thought Florida—where Hair's family lives—was one of the most liberal states in the South. Hair disagreed, telling him that her grandfather was lynched in Fort Pierce, Florida, in 1931.

"I told him I remember the Ku Klux Klan used to meet on a field behind the high school I attended."

Burger tried to say that racism was also a problem in the Soviet Union.

"I said I was not concerned with the Soviet Union," Hair replied. "If he agreed that racism influences people, did he think that [college]



AUDREY HAIR: 'Isn't 300 years enough?'

recruiters would on their own go into the minority community out of the goodness of their hearts and recruit people who were not as academically strong and who did not have money to pay for college?"

Burger said yes.

Hair knows better. She hopes to go to law school and says the *Bakke* decision is sure to make it harder for her.

On July 11 Hair was interviewed by NBC-TV on the "Today" program. The interviewer tried to suggest that Hair had merely been voicing her own personal opinions.

No, she said, she was expressing what thousands of demonstrators had said when they marched on Washington last April: "No to *Bakke*, yes to affirmative action."

Shcharansky trial

Moscow stages new anti-Semitic frame-up

By David Frankel

Anatoly Shcharansky, a Jewish dissident, went on trial in a closed Moscow courtroom July 10. Like the French Captain Alfred Dreyfus in 1894, and the Americans Julius and Ethel Rosenberg in 1953, Shcharansky is the victim of an anti-Semitic political frame-up.

Charged with "high treason in the form of espionage," Shcharansky faces the possibility of a death sentence.

The charges against Shcharansky are absurd on their face. As an open member of the dissident group set up in 1976 to monitor the Kremlin's compliance with the Helsinki accords on human rights, and as a Jew who applied to emigrate to Israel, Shcharansky was the target of intensive police harassment and surveillance. How could he possibly have been in a position to obtain secret "scientific-technical and military intelligence," as Moscow charges?

The anti-Semitic aspect of the case is equally clear. *Izvestia*, the Soviet government newspaper, even resorted to the use of anti-Semitic stereotypes and a heavy-handed anti-Semitic play on words when it first reported the charges against Shcharansky and four other Jewish dissidents in March 1977.

Collaboration with foreign intelligence services is a charge that has been directed against every Soviet oppositionist since the infamous Moscow trials of the 1930s. But in the Shcharansky case, there was somebody who actually did contact the CIA. Sanya Lipavsky, the provocateur who accused Shcharansky and the other dissidents, volunteered his services to the CIA in 1975.

Since Lipavsky was Shcharansky's roommate, the Soviet regime has linked Shcharansky to the CIA by the sleazy technique of guilt by association. Meanwhile, no sanctions have been taken against Lipavsky—a fact that raises questions about his ties to the Soviet secret police. As one dissident pointedly asked, "How does it happen that a real spy walks around free and is not being charged?"

One reason the Shcharansky case has attracted such widespread attention in the West is that it has been singled out by President Carter as an example of Soviet violations of human rights.

The fact that the CIA was willing to take Lipavsky up on his offer to work for it in the first place is an indication of the cynical manner in which American imperialism is prepared to use the movement for democratic rights in the Soviet Union. The CIA's action was a stab in the back of the entire dissident movement, which continually faces the slander that it is nothing but a front for imperialist interests.

So the truth is that Carter's intervention—far from aiding Shcharansky—helped to isolate him and set him up for victimization.

Carter himself followed up on his original statements about the Shcharansky case with a campaign of threats and cold war rhetoric aimed at the Soviet role in Africa. Thus, Carter handed the Kremlin a ready-made opportunity to place the victimization of Shcharansky not in its true context of the Stalinist oppression of the Soviet masses, but rather in the context of Washington's threatening stance in recent months.

Moscow emphasized this aspect of the case by opening Shcharansky's trial—along with that of Aleksandr Ginsburg, a second dissident—just two days before Secretary of State Cyrus Vance was scheduled to meet with Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko.



SHCHARANSKY: Espionage charges against dissident activist are absurd.

Of course, Moscow's miserable pretense that it is defending the Soviet Union against imperialism by cracking down on democratic rights and encouraging reactionary national chauvinism and anti-Semitism is as hypocritical as Carter's claim that he is concerned about human rights.

The truth is that the martyrdom of dissidents such as Shcharansky *undermines* the defense of the Soviet Union against imperialism. Such show trials make it easier for the imperialists to whip up anticommunist sentiment and to slander socialism as a system of police dictatorship.

By the same token, the Stalinist regime's use of anti-Semitic propaganda and its persecution of Jewish dissidents under the cover of anti-Zionism does nothing to advance the genuine struggle against the Israeli state and its oppression of the Palestinian people. On the contrary, Stalinist anti-Semitism drives the Soviet Jews into the arms of Zionism and helps the Zionists to smear anti-Zionism as anti-Semitism.

Only one purpose is served by the Kremlin's reactionary frame-ups and its attempts to brand the dissident movement as foreign inspired. The aim is to stifle all demands for democratic rights in the USSR, to maintain the political monopoly of a privileged bureaucratic caste.

Solidarity with those who fight for democratic rights in the USSR, no matter what their political views, is a basic obligation of the world working class. Such solidarity can help to advance the struggle for democracy in the USSR and the other bureaucratized workers states, and expose the self-serving maneuvers of imperialist politicians such as Carter.

Right now, it is imperative that Anatoly Shcharansky's life be saved. We must demand, "Free Anatoly Shcharansky!"

As Chicago Nazis rally

Racists attack Blacks, Jews in Marquette Park

By Michael Gillespie

CHICAGO—Frank Collin's dozen or so brown-shirted, swastika-bearing Nazis finally rallied in this city's Marquette Park July 9, following months of courtroom maneuvers.

The day's most ominous event, however, was not the Nazi rally itself, but the actions of the 3,000 racist whites who quietly listened to Collin and his cohorts spew anti-Black and anti-Semitic venom for forty-five minutes.

- The crowd cheered and applauded a car bearing a Confederate flag, that symbol of slavery and racism, while waiting outside the Nazi headquarters before the rally.

- A group of several hundred young white punks chanted, "Jews suck!" "6 million more!" "Gas the Jews!" and "White power!" at a small group of rabbis, Jewish veterans of World War II, and other white antiracists and antifascists who had gathered in the park to protest the rally.

- Several hundred white youth—chanting "Get the nigger!"—chased and beat the only Black in the entire park before he was rescued by bystanders and the police.

- These same scum, many wearing "white power" t-shirts with swastikas, also chased a young Jew, shouting, "Into the ovens!" and jeered Black bus drivers on a nearby street.

The day before the Nazi rally, the Chicago *Sun Times* interviewed residents of the all-white Marquette Park area. An eighty-year-old man sitting in the park said, "We'd rather have the Nazis through here than Jessie Jackson."

Chuck Siedlecki, twenty-three: "The Nazis are pretty much a joke around here. It's the Blacks that people are worried about."



Nazi leader Frank Collin's appeals for 'white power' did not fall on deaf ears among 3,000 racists who turned out to hear him.

Bob Kishkunas, twenty: "We'll be here to make sure they [Blacks] don't get in. . . . You let them in and in a week there'll be nothing but coloreds in this park."

It was in the Marquette Park area last fall that Black schoolchildren participating in Chicago's token school desegregation plan were stoned, jeered, and threatened.

It was in the Marquette Park area

that several Black families have been fire bombed out of their homes.

Although Chicago city officials have done nothing to halt this racist violence over many years and have refused to provide the slightest protection for the victims of such violence, more than 1,400 cops turned out to protect Collin's Nazis. Meanwhile, the city denied a permit to anti-Nazi counterdemonstrators, and Mayor Michael

Bilandic warned them to stay out of the park.

The large mobilization by racist whites in the park was clearly aimed at making Bilandic's warning stick.

Chicago cops prevented a demonstration of 1,500 Black, Latino, and white opponents of racism and the Nazis from marching toward the park, halting the protest more than two miles away (see accompanying story).

Under the spotlight of a large corps of city, national, and foreign press, cops were forced to arrest some seventy racists, mostly for assaulting Jewish protesters in the park.

As it turned out, however, only a handful of the city's papers and TV stations reported—and then downplayed—the crowd's racist chants or the attack on the Black man at the end of the rally.

In his speech, Collin said the Nazi rally was an answer to two years of sporadic open-housing marches and rallies in the Marquette Park area. "Marquette Park will be a battleground for white power and the graveyard of integration," he said. "It will not be taken over by the Blacks."

Few, if any, of the white residents at the rally disagreed with him.

Chicago remains one of the most segregated cities in the United States. But there is a Black community immediately adjacent to Marquette Park, and this fall Black schoolchildren, in slightly larger numbers than last fall, will return to area schools.

Unless a movement of Blacks, trade unionists, and other opponents of racism is mobilized to defend school desegregation and open housing the danger will not be a rally of twenty Nazis but a "battleground" of thousands of racists in Marquette Park.

1,500 demonstrate against Nazis and racism

By John Studer

CHICAGO—Fifteen hundred people demonstrated here July 9 against Frank Collin's small band of Nazis and to voice support for the Black community against racist attacks.

The demonstration was the culmination of a series of events held over the past week. On Thursday, July 6, representatives of forty-two organizations joined in a press conference at the downtown Pick-Congress Hotel. "Because of the kinds of threats that nazism has historically posed to all people of goodwill, Jews, Catholics, Protestants, Blacks, Brown, Asian, Native American, and white, we are compelled to join together and speak out against Nazis, nazism, and Nazi-like actions of any kind," the group said.

Participating organizations included the Jewish Council on Urban Affairs, Urban League, Operation PUSH, Chicago Southside NAACP, United Steelworkers District 31, Coalition of Black Trade Unionists, Equal Rights Council, and others.

Unfortunately, the participants were unable to join together either in pinpointing racism as a real threat in Marquette Park, or in their attitude to the planned anti-Nazi demonstrations that weekend. This was due mainly to the insistence by organizers of the news conference on including representatives of the Southwest Parish Neighborhood Federation, the main community organization in Marquette Park. This group has consistently alibied for the racist attacks in that area, and vehemently opposed any counterdemonstration against the Nazis on July 9.

The inability of this coalition to project any clear, unified response to the Nazi rally in the racist stronghold of Marquette Park represented a default by leaders of the civil rights and labor movements in this city. Those who wanted to stand up against racist attacks received no clear call for action.

On Saturday night, July 8, 250 people attended a rally held at the West Englewood Methodist church. The rally and demonstration the next day were sponsored by the Equal Rights Council. Endorsers included the Julia Gay Memorial Methodist church, the Socialist Workers Party, Mail Handlers Union Local 306, NAACP, United Block Clubs of Englewood, West Methodist church, Westown Economic Development, as well as the right-wing Jewish Defense League.

Speakers at the rally included State Sen. Harold Jackson, Eddie Robinson of the NAACP, Rabbi Marx of the Jewish Council on Urban Affairs, Willie Barrow of Operation PUSH, Bob Lucas of the Kenwood-Oakland Community Organization, a representative from Detroit's Labor-Community Interfaith Coalition Against the Nazis, and president of the West Englewood Block Club. West Englewood, the site of the rally, is the Black community adjacent to Marquette Park. Its residents have borne the brunt of racist attacks over the past few years.

The rally was marred by a physical attack on Geoffrey Stewart, a Black pacifist, carried out by thugs from the Jewish Defense League. Stewart was distributing a leaflet condemning the state of Israel.

Sunday's demonstration was ha-

rassed and prevented from reaching its destination by more than 1,000 Chicago cops. As the march started, two separate groups—the Progressive Labor Party and the Martin Luther King Jr. Movement—split off from the main body of demonstrators and attempted to charge the police lines.

Using this provocation as an excuse, cops refused to allow hundreds of other demonstrators to march. Only after an hour of negotiations were the marchers able to follow a different route to demonstrate their opposition to nazism and racism.

After marching six blocks, the protesters were again confronted by the cops and refused the right to march closer than two miles from Marquette Park. This flagrant denial of the right to protest peaceably stood in stark contrast to the thousands of cops stationed at Marquette Park to protect the Nazis. The behavior of the cops was especially outrageous in view of their refusal to protect the Black community of West Englewood from racist attacks over the past two years.

Unable to march farther, the protesters picketed and chanted under the Marquette Street viaduct for half an hour and then dispersed.

At a meeting in a church after the march, demonstrators relaxed and discussed future plans to publicize the real situation in Marquette Park and to build actions in defense of Black rights. The five speakers were Bill Watkins, Chicago Equal Rights Council; attorney Aldus Mitchell, president of the Southside NAACP; Eddie Robinson, pastor of the church and an NAACP activist; Rabbi Marx of the Jewish Council on Urban Affairs; and

Steve Wright from the Socialist Workers Party.

"This fall, school desegregation will begin again," said Wright. "Black children will be bused to Stevenson and other schools in the Marquette Park area. The racists will be there to meet them."

"To build a movement that can effectively meet and defeat the racists and their Nazi stepchildren requires continuing to educate and build our movement. We must go to the trade unions, the Black and Latino communities, and all other defenders of civil rights."

The Fight Against Fascism in the USA

Forty Years of Struggle Described by Participants

by James P. Cannon, Farrell Dobbs, Joseph Hansen, Vincent R. Dunne, Malik Miah, and others

How should workers and oppressed nationalities defend their rights against racist and terrorist attacks? Should opponents of racism and fascism call for denying "free speech" and other democratic rights to fascists and racists? 56 pp., 8½ x 11 format, \$1.35.

Education for Socialists publication distributed by Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014.

FBI victims demand spy files

By Diane Wang

NEW YORK—Prominent leaders in the fight for democratic rights spoke out here July 7 against the government's use of informers to disrupt political activity.

At a news conference at the offices of the American Civil Liberties Union, speakers condemned Attorney General Griffin Bell's defiance of a federal court order to produce FBI informer files for the Socialist Workers Party lawsuit.

The day before, federal Judge Thomas Griesa had found Bell in contempt of court for refusing to give eighteen informer files to attorneys for the SWP's \$40 million suit against government harassment.

"This is a fight that can strike a blow for all of us against the government's network of informers and provocateurs," declared SWP leader Linda Jenness. "Everyone who stands up to struggle for his or her rights has a stake in the outcome of this battle."

The wide range of speakers who followed Jenness demonstrated that fact.

Aryeh Neier, executive director of the ACLU, deplored the attorney general's defiance of Griesa's order. "The American Civil Liberties Union calls on the attorney general to comply now with the order of the court," he said.

Charlene Mitchell, executive director of the National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression, pointed out that the SWP and Young Socialist Alliance have not been the FBI's only victims. "The Communist Party-USA, the Black Panther Party, the Puerto Rican Socialist Party, individuals who belong to no party, have all been targets of this police-state machinery," she declared.

A statement by David Livingston, president of District 65, Distributive Workers of America, was read by Kevin Lynch, editor of the *Distributive Worker*.

Reporters asked Neier whether the FBI has a legitimate concern preserving the secrecy about informers' activities.

"Informers is the word," Neier answered, "but they weren't people who were just informing. The FBI's purpose was to disrupt the activities of the Socialist Workers Party."

"The use of informers continued over a period of a great many years, long after the government knew fully that only peaceful, political activity was taking place," Neier explained. "I don't think there is any comparison between the use of informers for these purposes and the use of informers for purposes of investigating crime."

Walter Schneir, coauthor of *Invitation to an Inquest*, also appeared at the news conference. Statements were sent by many others: Noreen Connell, president of the National Organization for Women-New York; Michael and Robert Meeropol, sons of Ethel and Julius Rosenberg; the Grand Jury Project; Edith Tiger, executive director of the National Emergency Civil Liberties Committee; Lillian Hellman's Committee for Public Justice; and former U.S. Sen. Eugene McCarthy.



PRDF News Conference. Top: Aryeh Neier of ACLU (left) and Roger Rudenstein of PRDF. Bottom: Charlene Mitchell of NAARPR (left) and Linda Jenness of SWP.

News conference statements on Socialist Workers suit

Aryeh Neier, executive director of the American Civil Liberties Union:

After full and fair appellate review, up to and including the United States Supreme Court, Judge Griesa's authority has been upheld to direct the Attorney General to produce informant files. Mr. Bell's contention that further review should be provided is frivolous. The American Civil Liberties Union calls on the Attorney General to comply now with the order of the court.

By resisting the court's order, Attorney General Bell has created a confrontation between the executive branch of the government and the courts. The government's top law enforcement officer should be first in line to uphold the rule of law. Instead, he is attempting to use the power and prestige of his post to force the courts to back down.

The FBI covertly acted as a law unto itself in the many years that it burglarized the offices of the Socialist Workers Party and spied on, manipulated and disrupted its peaceful political activities. By defying the courts, the Attorney General is doing the same thing, only overtly.

Charlene Mitchell, executive secretary of the National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression:

Attorney General Griffin Bell has broken the law and he is in contempt according to the Federal District Court. The National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression has held Mr. Bell in contempt for a long time—from his refusal to seat Julian Bond in the Georgia State Legislature to his refusal to act on behalf of the Wilmington 10.

At this very moment, Rev. Ben Chavis lies in a bed in Central Prison Hospital, where he has been the victim of criminal neglect. Yet Griffin Bell, who has the power to intervene in cases of denial of civil rights, has not uttered a sound.

Former Assistant Attorney General Robert Mardian was directly involved in the prosecution of Rev. Ben Chavis and the Wilmington 10. Yet, Mr. Bell has steadfastly refused to investigate the role of that Watergate criminal.

The case brought by the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance is symbolically only the tip of the iceberg. The Communist Party-

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Appeals judge bails out Bell—temporarily

By Larry Seigle

NEW YORK—A federal appeals court judge has temporarily lifted a contempt of court citation against Attorney General Griffin Bell.

Bell was ruled to be in contempt on July 6 for defying a court order to turn over files on FBI informers to attorneys for the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance.

The stay was issued the following day by Judge Murray Gurfein of the U.S. Court of Appeals. The ruling represents a temporary victory for the Carter administration in its attempt to cover up the truth about crimes committed by FBI spies and provocateurs.

Only days after Bell won his stay, the *New York Times* began publishing startling new revelations about one FBI informer, Gary Rowe, responsible for a series of murders of Blacks in Birmingham in the 1960s. (See story, page 10.)

Will Bell now fight to keep the FBI files on this racist killer secret, claiming "informer privilege" as he has done in the SWP case?

Legal obstruction

The contempt citation against Bell had been originally scheduled by U.S. District Court Judge Thomas Griesa to

take effect at 5:00 p.m. on July 7. However, when government lawyers asked Griesa to postpone the order, submitting an affidavit from Bell stating that he would not comply with Griesa's directive, the judge moved up the effective hour of the contempt citation.

It is the first time in history that an attorney general has been found in contempt of court.

In his decision, Griesa sharply criticized Bell for repeated delays and stalling. "There is no legitimate ground for seeking further appellate review, and the attempt to do so constitutes a totally unjustified attempt to obstruct and delay," Griesa wrote.

He went on to add, "In a recent address to a bar association, President Carter strongly warned about delays in litigation occasioned by litigants who have the power and resources to create obstructions. In the judgment of this Court, the Attorney General's actions in the present case are virtually a classic example of this problem."

Bell had little difficulty locating an appeals court judge willing to allow still more stalling.

In arguing against the stay before Judge Gurfein, Margaret Winter, one of the attorneys for the socialists,

stressed that under the rules of the federal courts no appeal is allowed from a civil contempt ruling until after the whole case is over.

However, Gurfein brushed this fact aside. It is "a matter of common sense to recognize that this is an exceptional case." It is, he said, "an historic confrontation." Established rules must give way before the right of the government to appeal Griesa's unprecedented decisions, he ruled.

In granting the right to appeal, however, Gurfein emphasized that he was not ruling on the order to hand over the files. "I do not prejudge the merits in any sense," he said.

Major confrontation

The stage is thus set for a major confrontation in the appeals court over whether informer files documenting criminal and unconstitutional acts can be kept hidden forever under the protection of "informer privilege."

On July 11, *New York Times* columnist Tom Wicker, writing under the title "Three Vital Appeals," linked the Carter administration's obstruction in the SWP case to two other cases now on appeal.

In the case of former CIA official Frank Snepp, author of the book *De-*

cent Interval, the administration is asserting its right to "impose secrecy on certain Government employees, even when they no longer work for the Government and even when classified national security information is not at stake," wrote Wicker.

In seeking to have the courts uphold the "spy" trial conviction of Ronald Humphrey and David Truong, Carter is aggressively trying to establish for the first time the right to use wiretaps without warrants in so-called national security cases:

And in the SWP case, explained Wicker, the question is, "Are police informers to be given an immunity no one else can claim? Recently discovered evidence in Alabama suggests, for instance, that F.B.I. 'informers' there actually were *agents provocateurs* in civil rights bombings and other cases. And anyway, what gives the Attorney General, any more than the rest of us, the right to decide which court orders to obey and which to spurn?"

These are the issues that will be fought out in the appeals court this fall. A subsequent appeal on these issues to the U.S. Supreme Court is virtually inevitable.

...statements

Continued from preceding page

U.S.A., the Black Panther Party, the Puerto Rican Socialist Party, individuals who belong to no party, have all been targets of this police state machinery.

In testimony for the National Alliance at the Bell confirmation hearings, I reminded the Senate Judiciary Committee that Bell would oversee the F.B.I. During the F.B.I.'s 50-year history, it has spied on, infiltrated, bugged, framed and burglarized those who fought for democracy, peace and justice.

Clearly, by refusing to turn over the names of the 18 F.B.I. informers, Mr. Bell has decided that he is more concerned with the privacy of informers than he is concerned for the victims of those who would spy on their mothers for financial gain.

The *New York Times* editorialized that, "It is unlikely that Mr. Bell will actually end up in the custody of his own Bureau of Prisons."

Mr. Bell is in contempt and should be imprisoned until he complies with the laws he is sworn to uphold.

Linda Jenness, representing the Socialist Workers Party:

The Socialist Workers Party takes this opportunity to appeal to the American people—to the labor movement, the Black and Latino communities, to the women's rights movement—to join us in this historic fight against the F.B.I. this is a fight that can strike a blow for all of us against the government's network of informers and provocateurs.

Everyone who stands up to fight for his or her rights in this country has a stake in the outcome of this battle.

Whether we are organizing working people to defend our standard of living and our right to a job;

Whether we are marching to win ratification of the ERA, as we will all be doing the day after tomorrow in Washington, D.C.;

Whether we are protesting the racist and sexist *Bakke* decision;

Whether we are petitioning for the freedom of political prisoners in this country, such as the Wilmington Ten;

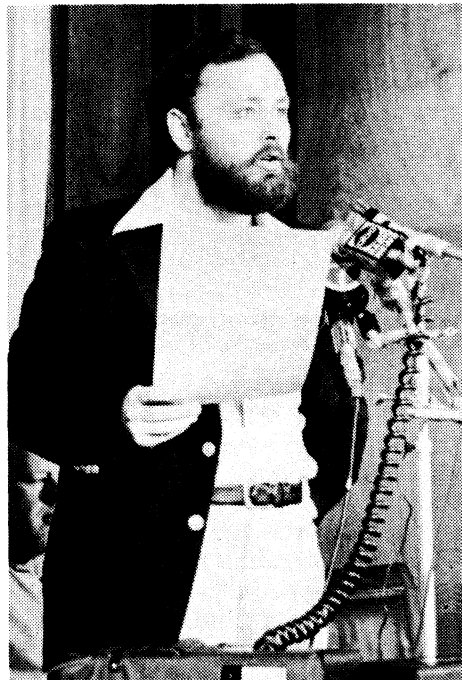
Or whether we are building a move-

ment to stop the Carter administration from dragging us into a new war on the side of white minority regimes in southern Africa—

Whatever causes we are active in, we face attempts by the nation's political police to disrupt and destroy our efforts. Their chief weapon in doing this is their army of finks, spies, provocateurs, and disrupters—those the FBI calls informers.

Our fight with Attorney General Griffin Bell is over the fundamental democratic rights of the American people to know the truth about FBI crimes and to be secure from infiltration and disruption by FBI secret agents.

Now is the time to let President Carter hear our simple demand that he order his attorney general to stop stalling and hand over the files.



Militant/Diane Wang

Kevin Lynch, editor of the *'Distributive Worker,'* read a statement from David Livingston, president of District 65 Distributive Workers.

David Livingston, President of District 65, Distributive Workers of America:

Since defense of Constitutional rights remains the highest duty of citizenship, Attorney General Griffin B. Bell should immediately purge himself of his contempt of court and turn over to Federal Judge Thomas P.

Griese all documents necessary to ascertain the extend of illegal political spying in this country.

The security of our nation depends on the ability of our leaders to uphold the Constitution which provides the basis for our national unity and our prestige and moral authority in the eyes of the world.

Protecting those whose abuse of authority has compromised the American principles of free political expression runs directly counter to the national interest. The trust placed in the office of Attorney General is poorly served by disobeying court orders to cover up for individuals who have arrogantly functioned outside the law.

Walter Schneir, coauthor of 'Invitation to an Inquest' about the frame-up of Ethel and Julius Rosenberg:

I am a writer who has had an opportunity to read many FBI files, including a few pages of my own.

I have learned that the term "informer" is an extremely broad one. It includes all manner of individuals who assist the FBI—both formally and informally, paid and unpaid, volunteer and recruited.

I think it is very important to remember how broad the term is. Very often in FBI files you see euphemisms like "very good friends of the FBI," or "contacts," and so on. And all of these people really come under the rubric of informer.

The position of the attorney general is that informers are entitled to absolute immunity from disclosure of their acts and identities. Informers may thereby commit illegal deeds surreptitiously against their fellow citizens who, in turn, are afforded no possibility for redress. Such informers function, in effect, as auxiliary policemen who cannot be held accountable for criminal behavior. That is, in a word, vigilantism.

I put this question to you: how secure are my First Amendment rights as a writer if they can be violated—as they have been, as I've seen in my own FBI files—by faceless persons against whom I have no means of defense?

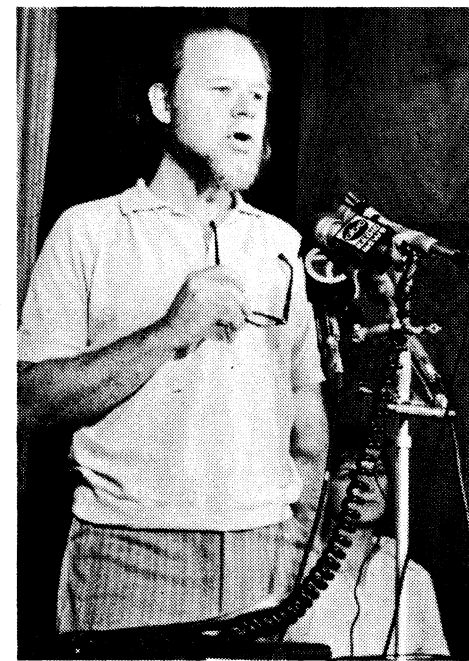
I brought along with me a few examples of the ways in which the FBI uses this term "informer" to protect mis-

deeds and conspiracies against civil rights.

I'd like to mention just one. I have a file memo in which top officials of the FBI, including the late Mr. Sullivan, met with an informer to discuss a conspiracy to keep Miriam Schneir and me off television, to deny us our First Amendment rights.

Presumably, if we file suit in this matter the attorney general will say that we cannot know the name of the informers who were party to this illegal action, if the attorney general is sustained in this particular [SWP] action.

I think that the fight the Socialist Workers Party is making here is one that everyone interested in civil liberties must support.



Militant/Diane Wang

Walter Schneir, coauthor of 'Invitation to an Inquest.'

Edith Tiger, director of the National Emergency Civil Liberties Committee:

The Attorney General is not above the law. In recent history we have had a president that thought he was above the law and we as the American people did not condone it. We will not condone the nation's highest law enforcement officer breaking the law.

We urge the Attorney General to stand by his oath of office and give the files to the Socialist Workers Party attorneys as ordered by the court.

Targets of FBI harassment agree: end the

The dramatic confrontation over informer files in the Socialist Workers Party lawsuit sparked widespread comment from others who have a stake in this fight. Below are excerpts from comments made about Attorney General Griffin Bell's attempt to withhold the files. They were obtained in telephone interviews by 'Militant' staff writer Diane Wang and from articles and editorials in other newspapers.

Socialist Labor Party:

The government's attitude in the SWP case makes it clear that instead of protecting the rights of people to organize and engage in political activity, free from government harassment, it has chosen to protect its right to send hired spies, infiltrators, and provocateurs into the ranks of any of its critics. Its position makes a mockery of President Carter's human rights pretensions. The SWP case is but the latest example of the growing incompatibility of democratic rights and capitalism. It becomes clearer every day that political repression will not end as long as control of society remains in the hands of a small ruling class and that only a total socialist reorganization of society by the U.S. working class can securely guarantee the democratic rights at stake in this case.

Jack Clark, national secretary of the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee:

The government's record in using paid agents as agents provocateurs and informers is shameful and a threat to all our civil liberties. The "rights" of

anonymity for informers now claimed by the attorney general must be denied. All radical organizations and, in fact, all legitimate political organizations have an interest in the Political Rights Defense Fund's suit.

José Alberto Alvarez, first secretary of the U.S. section of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party:

The infiltration of agents and any other type of harassment or meddling with the functioning of a political organization is an attack against the democracy that is supposed to exist in this country.

When it comes down to applying justice towards Blacks or Mexicans or Puerto Ricans or workers fighting for their rights, they are willing to use illegality, frame-ups, and all types of plots to put those people in jail or to harass people. They have done that over the years.

Since the U.S. invasion of Puerto Rico in 1898 they have been constantly doing that kind of illegal action to the Puerto Rican independence struggle.

Joel Miller, Socialist Party-USA

candidate for U.S. Senate from Wisconsin:

It's pretty clear that the FBI law enforcement officials violated the democratic rights of the Socialist Workers Party. All information pertaining to those violations should be made open for public scrutiny, so that the people who are responsible and helped implement those violations can be brought to justice.

Bill Hampton, whose brother, Black Panther leader Fred Hampton, was murdered by Chicago cops with the aid of an informer in 1969:

They should be acting to turn over the files because they are wasting taxpayers' money on spying on the lives of people who are trying to make things better for society. Why should people who are not criminals be spied on and watched twenty-four hours, if this is supposed to be such a free country? They're going to spend all this money to have informers stop progressive movements. And that money should be taken to feed hungry people, for better housing, and better education for people. It shows the hypocrisy in this country.

Martin Sostre, a Black Puerto Rican who became a prison rights fighter while spending eight years in jail on political frame-up charges:

Bell, of all people, is supposed to be the top law enforcement person. He definitely should be forced to obey the law. Otherwise it is all a mockery. He stands for the law, so therefore he should be the example.

From the law that I know, as a jailhouse lawyer, the court has the power to order the marshals into his office to take those files, to take whatever they need under a court order. Just like they come into your house and break down the door when they want to search.

It is very important that we know who these informers are, these frame-up artists, these people who pose as comrades, friends, when they're actually the enemy. We have to know who they are so that we can exercise our rights of assembly and the other constitutional rights of free speech.

William Kunstler, attorney for many frame-up victims of capitalist 'justice':

To me the use of informers, particularly in situations involving First Amendment rights, is heinous. Informers have been used by the Federal Bureau of Investigation and other governmental organizations and local police forces against such groups as the American Indian Movement, the NAACP, Dr. Martin Luther King's Southern Christian Leadership Conference, and many others.

I think the attorney general is afraid



Noreen Connell Militant/Jean Vertheim

Noreen Connell, president, National Organization for Women-New York:

The interest that feminists and all groups concerned with human rights have in this case is that the government be made to comply with its own laws.

Over the years, the Socialist Workers Party has been under surveillance and has been infiltrated by informers, despite the fact that this organization has not been involved in any violations of laws.

It is the abuse of police power that is on trial in this case. What is at stake is whether movements for social change can organize without government intervention.

Michael and Robert Meeropol, sons of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg:

The Attorney General's flagrant disobedience of the lawful court order points up the double standard of justice—or rather, injustice—that exists too often in this country. If it were any of us in this room who had done such a thing, we would be in jail already.

In our Freedom of Information Act lawsuit to force the release of government files in the case of our parents, it took two-and-a-half years to demonstrate conclusively that the FBI was in flagrant disobedience of a court order to turn over anything and everything that they had in their files. Their recent agreement to pay \$195,000 in attorneys fees is proof that the government should have turned over the

material two years ago.

Similarly, the citing of the Attorney General for contempt is a necessary first step in forcing the release of the files on eighteen undercover provocateurs (they are not mere "informants" as the FBI would have us believe).

Whether it is the Freedom of Information Act or illegal disruption of a legal political party, every citizen of the United States must recognize that government agencies of repression continue to hold themselves above the law.

We've got to get together to change that.

The Grand Jury Project:

During the past eight years, dozens of political activists, their friends and families have been subpoenaed to federal grand juries. More times than not, local United States Attorneys or Washington-based Justice Department officials have used these grand jury investigations not to indict alleged "criminals", but to gather domestic intelligence information, to "neutralize" political movements and to jail people—people who have neither been charged, tried or convicted of any crime, people known as "civil contemptors." The intent and result of these jailings has been to further disrupt political activity.

As journalists, if you are subpoenaed to a grand jury—and reporters often are—and if you refuse to cooperate after being ordered to do so, chances are you will face a jail sentence until the time you agree to disclose sources

or turn over documents, or until the grand jury's term expires. You might then be subpoenaed again.

And, if the investigation to which you've been called is politically motivated—linked to alleged searches for fugitives or to an anti-war demonstration or to symbolic bombings—history shows you will be jailed quickly, often without a chance to appeal before being jailed and with no opportunity for bail.

Which brings us to Griffin Bell's refusal to obey a court order in the Socialist Workers Party case. There is a similarity between Bell's refusal to turn over information about government informers and the silence of a grand jury witness. Both actions amount to contempt of a judge's order to disclose information.

But the similarity ends there. A grand jury witness is almost always jailed immediately.

Griffin Bell, on the other hand, is not a political activist, not an anti-war demonstrator, not a supporter of Puerto Rican independence, not a gay rights proponent, not a labor leader. He is the Attorney General of the United States, and unlike these people—all victims of grand jury abuse—Bell has not been jailed for his lack of cooperation. While citizens are jailed when they refuse to inform on friends or associates (or, in the case of journalists, on news sources), government officials like Bell go free for covering-up illegal government spying.

Bell's own Justice Department claims as justification for jailing grand

jury resisters its right "to every citizen's evidence." But Bell refuses to turn over the government's evidence to the American people.

The contradiction is obvious. The law is meant for certain people. And Griffin Bell, the nation's highest "law enforcement" official, is proving that, at least, it's not meant for him.

Former U.S. Senator Eugene McCarthy:

The Socialist Workers lawsuit against the government is a most important test case. At issue is the question of whether a political group may effectively defend itself against government harassment.

It is my understanding that the files of informers requested by the Socialist Workers, and denied them by the Attorney General, have direct bearing on the lawsuit.

I urge the Attorney General to provide the files as directed by Judge Griesa, and thus affirm that the government is a servant of the law.

Dorothy J. Samuels, executive director of the Committee for Public Justice, which is chaired by Lillian Hellman and Orville Schell:

It is a sad day when the Attorney General of the United States chooses to be held in contempt of court rather than obey a court order to hand over documents concerning illegal FBI surveillance and disruption of the lawful, constitutionally-protected political activity of the Socialist Workers Party. Attorney General Bell has exhibited a disrespect for the law that can only help further erode public confidence in the Department of Justice and other government institutions. Again, it seems, we have the spectacle of an Attorney General acting as though he is above the law.

Bell's argument that revealing the names of Socialist Workers Party informants will jeopardize confidentiality for other Government informants holds no water. In equating the planted agitators used to disrupt SWP activities over a 40 year period with informants involved in legitimate investigatory work, the Attorney General does a grave disservice to the cause of law enforcement he is purporting to defend.



Robert and Michael Meeropol

gov't cover-up now!

that the informers' files will reveal information as to, one, the informers' mental stability or lack of it; two, what pressures were applied to them to become informers; and three, whether they fabricated or exaggerated much of the material so it would be acceptable to their masters. And then, of course, it would destroy their usefulness as informers, because their identity would be revealed.

I think it shows the consummate disrespect for the law which the highest law enforcement officer of the land has.

An editorial in the July 12 issue of the 'Guardian' newspaper summarized the issues in the case. It concluded:

The SWP suit raises a mass issue and a left issue. The mass issue is the exposure of bourgeois democracy with its dual legal standards that allow maintenance of special bodies of police solely for the purpose of suppressing dissent. The suit also affords the left the opportunity to study the techniques that the police employ—and will continue to employ, legal challenges notwithstanding. To become skilled in the art of combating the political police is a task of every serious revolutionary organization.

As the case continues to unfold, the left should make use of it to expose the fundamental issue at stake—the claim by the government, as represented by

Bell, that it has the inviolate right to engage in domestic espionage in contempt of the rights of its citizens.

An article in the July 8, 'Daily World,' newspaper of the Communist Party USA, was headlined, 'Griffin Bell indicted for refusing to turn over files on FBI spies.' According to the article:

"Bell is stonewalling with a federal judge and is in contempt of a court," said Peggy Shaker, a spokesperson for the Committee To Stop Government Spying. "He is putting himself above the law in a way ordinary people could not. This is abhorrent and we're working to let people know what's really going on. In as much as Bell represents the policy of Carter, it shows that the administration is not really committed to reform, giving people full protection of the Bill of Rights."

Esther Herst, Washington coordinator of the National Committee Against Repressive Legislation, said Bell's contempt of the court is another example of his callous disregard for civil liberties which also includes "his refusal to act on behalf of the Wilmington 10 and his support for Criminal Code Bill S. 1437."

"Bell is fully wedded to the intelligence establishment and unwilling to recognize the Watergate crimes and other spying that has been committed against the American people," she added.

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 cover-up 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

FBI informer in Klan confesses murder

By Diane Wang

When the FBI is challenged on its informer network—by the Socialist Workers Party lawsuit, for example—it points to the supposedly “good” work informers have done against the Ku Klux Klan.

After all, didn’t an FBI informer help convict the Klansmen who murdered civil rights worker Viola Liuzzo? Didn’t an informer help find the bodies of three civil rights workers killed in Mississippi?

Now the truth is coming out: the reason informers could find the bodies so easily is that they put them there.

Gary Rowe, the FBI’s best-known informer in the Klan, has confessed to murdering a Black man. And, Rowe says, the FBI knew about it and told him to keep quiet.

Rowe has confessed to Alabama officials that in 1963 he shot a Black man during a Black community rebellion against Jim Crow segregation in Birmingham. The informer says he called Byron McFall, his FBI contact agent, and told him, “I’m an excellent shot, and I hit this nigger right in the chest.”

According to Rowe, McFall told him to “just sit tight and don’t say anything else about it.”

Rowe made the confession in a bid for immunity from prosecution. He is under suspicion for several other crimes committed while he was an FBI informer.

A renewed investigation of the 1963 Birmingham church bombing that killed four Black children has turned



FBI informer Gary Rowe wore hood to testify before Senate committee. Earlier, he wore hood of KKK to do government’s dirty work.

the spotlight on Rowe. The FBI informer has failed two lie detector tests when he denied any role in the 1963 bombing.

Rowe is also under suspicion for setting off two shrapnel bombs only ten days after the bombing of the

church. The informer called in a “warning” to the FBI about the bombs a few minutes between the first and second explosions. He was seen only four blocks from the site. And he again failed a lie detector test when he denied direct involvement.

Rowe previously testified that one-third of his 1964 income came from the FBI. And the FBI paid “piecework wages”—the price depending on the quantity and quality of information. So Alabama investigators are asking: Did Rowe set the shrapnel bombs so he could collect money for reporting them?

Rowe failed the lie detector test yet another time when he denied taking part in the fire bombing of a Birmingham Black man’s home.

Rowe gave up his career as an informer after he went public in 1965 to testify against two Klansmen who murdered Viola Liuzzo. At the time, Rowe testified that he had been in the car at the time of the murder but had only pretended to fire his gun.

But Alabama investigators now have statements from two policemen who quoted Rowe saying he had in fact helped commit the killing.

These latest revelations are even more incriminating against the FBI than Rowe’s charges in 1975. Rowe made national news then when he testified before the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence.

According to Rowe’s testimony before that committee, the FBI had told him to take part in the Klan’s “missionary work”—violent crimes—in

order to get information about them.

But even when Rowe did get information, the FBI did not use it to prevent the anti-Black violence. In 1961, for example, Rowe told the FBI about plans by the Klan and Birmingham cops to attack civil rights Freedom Riders. The FBI had three weeks’ warning. But even though bureau agents watched and even filmed the attack, they did nothing to prevent it.

As a result of Rowe’s testimony, several of his victims have sued the government for its responsibility for these crimes. Jim Peck, a Freedom Rider who required fifty-eight stitches for the head injury he suffered in Birmingham, has sued. Walter and Frances Bergman have sued the FBI for \$1 million. Mr. Bergman suffered a stroke as the result of a 1961 Klan attack on Freedom Riders in Anniston, Alabama. He has been paralyzed since then.

Viola Liuzzo’s family has sued the FBI for \$2 million. Anthony Liuzzo commented on Rowe’s latest confessions. “It’s right on the line,” he said. “We’ve still got about forty questions, though, about the whole thing and what the role of the government was.”

Robert Chambliss, the Klansman convicted for the 1963 bombing of the Birmingham church, has been quoted praising Rowe: “You can trust Rowe to kill a nigger and never talk.”

Hoping to save his own skin, Rowe is finally talking. But otherwise, it looks like Chambliss sized up the FBI informer just right.

Nation’s press debates socialist lawsuit

By Diane Wang

Across the country headlines proclaimed the event. Editorials debated it. For the first time in history the U.S. attorney general was in contempt of court—all because he was covering up evidence about FBI informers. The evidence is crucial for the Socialist Workers Party lawsuit against government harassment.

The New York *Daily News* reported that Attorney General Griffin Bell had gone to Camp David to review the case with President Carter. The *Washington Post* quoted a Justice Department official assuring the press that Bell and Carter “see eye to eye” on the issue.

The *Christian Science Monitor* compared the case to Judge John Sirica’s showdown with President Nixon over the Watergate tapes.

When a court of appeals judge granted a temporary stay of the contempt order, the *New York Times* quoted SWP attorney Margaret Winter: “She argued that the Government’s informers had used burglaries and other ‘criminal tactics’ against the Socialist Workers, adding that the informer files contained indispensable evidence because ‘we don’t know what kind of harm the Government was inflicting on us.’”

News reports and analyses were prominently featured on national TV networks and covered in *Newsweek* magazine and *U.S. News & World Report*. Syd Stapleton, national secretary of the Political Rights Defense Fund, which is organizing support for the SWP suit, was interviewed on TV’s “MacNeil/Lehrer Report.”

Some major capitalist dailies tried to compare the government’s insistence on informers’ secrecy to the confidentiality of newspaper reporters’ sources.

“Now it happens that freedom of the press is guaranteed by the United States Constitution, which is more than can be said for the FBI,” editorialized the *Chicago Tribune*. “So it is more than a little strange to find the Attorney-General claiming a privilege for the FBI that his department would

deny to the press. . . . Surely the Justice Department should be at least as solicitous of the confidentiality of newspaper files as it is of FBI files.”

Several other newspapers—from upstate New York to Greenville, Michigan—accepted this false comparison of FBI informers and newspapers’ sources. They ran a common editorial entitled “Welcome to the club.”

None of these editorials, however, noted that FBI informers—unlike newspaper sources—use their cover to burglarize, to disrupt, to try to provoke violence, or even to carry out violence.

Most other newspaper editorials also sided with Bell. The *Arizona Republic* called his refusal to produce the evidence on informers “Vital Defiance” against an “unfortunate, if not devastating, attack on law enforcement.”

The Mobile, Alabama, *Press Register* complained that the judge “seems intent on giving the socialists their damages and the FBI scalp as a bonus.”

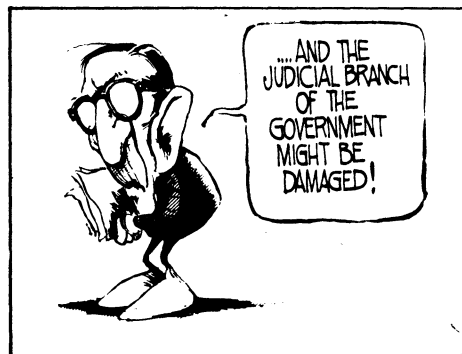
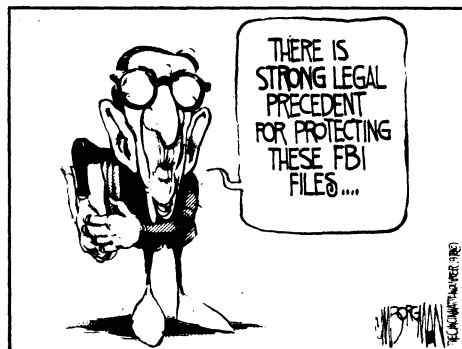
As the SWP’s fundamental challenge to the government’s right to use secret agents becomes sharper, major voices of the ruling rich—even those who previously decried FBI crimes—have lined up behind Bell. Both the *Washington Post* and the *New York Times*, for example, have backed Bell’s defiance.

In its second editorial on the issue, the *New York Times* admitted that the judge who ruled against Bell has the law on his side. “As he points out,” says the July 6 editorial, “most of the informants he wants named were not public-spirited whistle-blowers or casual tipsters; nor were they agents hunting for illegality (there was none). They were planted agitators sent to break the law to disrupt the party.”

But, the editorial continues, “The Judge may be right, but he should not want to prevail by these ‘High Noon’ theatrics.”

The *Los Angeles Times* even urged the government to give up on the \$40 million lawsuit rather than release the informer files, concluding:

“Whatever one may think of FBI



Borgman

informer used against the Socialist Workers Party, they were given a pledge of confidentiality. That pledge must be honored. If necessary, rather than comply with the disclosure order, the government has the right to forfeit the case. The burden of government wrongs—and they were many—against this minuscule political party must be borne by the government.”

The *Louisville Courier-Journal* tried to strike a pose sympathetic to both sides. Defying an order upheld by the Supreme Court would be “out of the question,” said the editorial. But it goes on to suggest:

“For all our sympathy with the victimized members of the Socialist Workers Party, we can’t help hoping that the Supreme Court will agree with Mr. Bell and allow the FBI to keep its informant files secret. We also hope that the Socialist Workers can make a powerful case even without the list of informants.”

Other newspapers concluded that Bell will eventually have to obey the

law. The *Richmond Times-Dispatch* editorialized, “But if all available legal steps are taken and the order for release of the information cannot be overturned, then there will be no proper alternative but to comply. The attorney general of the United States, like all other citizens, must abide by the law.”

Newsday’s editorial, entitled “Heeding the Judge on the FBI,” said, “The FBI argues that revealing the identities of even a few of its informants would badly damage its law enforcement efforts. But it’s hard to see how those efforts could be compromised any more than they already have been by the agency’s own illegal activities.”

The *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* argued that “Mr. Bell could hardly have chosen a case less suited to supporting his contention that the privilege of confidentiality is absolute. . . . The FBI’s surveillance of the Socialist Workers Party was an exercise in political repression devoid of connection with law enforcement.”

By Larry Seigle

(Second of a series)

"Our informants are concerned, people in the field tell me, about a number of things that are happening today," lamented FBI chief William Webster in a recent public address.

"One case in New York," said Webster, referring to the Socialist Workers Party lawsuit, "which I shall not discuss but which is sort of a symbol of the open question of whether or not informant information will be disclosed, is known to informants around the country, and they are asking this question of our agents in the field, 'Are you really going to keep this information confidential?'"

This is a very gratifying picture: thousands of present and former finks all across the country quaking in their boots as the battle progresses over whether or not the FBI can keep secret the truth about its illegal informer operations. These stool pigeons know that their livelihoods may be ruined by the outcome of the case known as *Socialist Workers Party v. Attorney General*.

This historic case will have great significance for the massive spy networks maintained by federal, state, and local cops all over the country. Can the cops continue to use informers as disrupters and provocateurs, direct them to commit all kinds of criminal acts, and then cover up these activities by invoking the claim of "informer privilege"?

Bismarck's spies

The fight to defend political and trade-union activity against infiltration and sabotage by government agents goes back to the very beginnings of the labor and socialist movements.

In 1887, the German Social-Democratic Party, harassed and hounded by spies in the pay of German Chancellor Bismarck, decided to fight back. The party's newspaper, the *Sozialdemokrat*, published in full the names of Bismarck's police spies.

So much for their "informer privilege."

The mighty force of the Russian revolution of 1917 also poked a few holes in the "informer privilege" of the Tsarist police agents.

The FBI of those days, the hated *Okhrana*, was a special target of the insurrectionary workers. When the March 1917 revolution broke out, Tsarist stool pigeons took drastic measures to keep the *Okhrana*'s informer files from falling into the hands of the people.

In his book *Memoirs of a Revolutionary*, Victor Serge recorded the events: "In the first days of the March 1917 Revolution, the Petrograd Palace of Justice had gone up in flames. We knew that the destruction of its archives . . . had been the work both of the criminal underworld, which was interested in destroying these documents, and of police agents. At Kronstadt a 'revolutionary' who was also a police-spy had carried off the Security archives and burnt them."

Despite these desperate efforts to conceal the identities and crimes of the *Okhrana* spies, the Bolsheviks did gain possession of extensive files.

The police archives recorded the activities of between 30,000 and 40,000 agents-provocateurs over the previous twenty years. The records of the year 1912 chronicled the work of 55 police agents active in revolutionary groups in Petrograd. These included 20 among the Social Democrats (both Mensheviks and Bolsheviks), 17 among the Social Revolutionaries, 3 in anarchist groups, and the rest scattered among student societies and among the Liberals.

"For the first time" wrote Serge, "the entire mechanism of an authoritarian empire's police-repression had fallen into the hands of revolutionaries."

The case of Malinovsky

Among those whose identities were contained in the secret files was Roman Malinovsky. Malinovsky had

Battle over FBI informers

Police spies vs. the working class



been the head of the Bolshevik group of deputies elected to the Tsarist Duma (legislature) in 1912. The files proved that he had been an informer for the police all along and that the cops had, in fact, worked vigorously to get him elected.

Because of the Tsarist repression, the Bolsheviks organized much of their educational and agitational work through their Duma deputies, who were less vulnerable to arrest. Malinovsky was thus in a particularly good position to turn over to the cops details on upcoming meetings, addresses where literature was stored, and the real and assumed names of revolutionists working underground.

He turned over to the cops lists of subscribers to the Bolshevik newspaper *Pravda* and names of contributors to the paper's fund drives. His treacherous deeds delivered countless revolutionaries into the bloody hands of the Tsarist police.

However, even this strategically placed informer was incapable of altering the course of events in a major way. Malinovsky—and all the other Tsarist spies—could not prevent the Bolsheviks from becoming a mass party and establishing the first workers state the world had ever seen.

Lenin later described the situation this way: "It is obvious that by helping to elect an *agent-provocateur* to the Duma and by removing, for that purpose, all the competitors of the Bolshevik candidate, the secret police were guided by a vulgar conception of Bolshevism, or rather, a distorted caricature of Bolshevism. They imagined that the Bolsheviks would 'arrange an armed insurrection.' In order to keep all the threads of this coming insurrection in their hands, they thought it

worth while departing from their own standpoint and having Malinovsky elected both to the Duma and to our Central Committee.

"But when the police achieved both these aims they found that Malinovsky was transformed into a link of the long and solid chain . . . by which the party influenced the masses, namely *Pravda* and the Duma fraction. The *agent-provocateur* had to protect both these organs in order to justify his vocation.

"Both these organs were under our immediate guidance. Zinoviev and myself wrote *daily* to *Pravda* and its policy was *entirely* determined by the resolutions of the Party. . . ."

Thus, concluded Lenin, "Malinovsky could and did ruin individuals, but he could neither hold back nor control the growth of the Party nor in any way affect the increase of its importance to the masses, its influence over hundreds of thousands of workers. . . ."

In 1918, Malinovsky was put on trial before the Revolutionary Tribunal in Moscow. In the face of testimony against him from former superiors in the *Okhrana*, and documents from police archives, this snitch—responsible for the death and torture of many revolutionists—was found guilty and executed.

Informers' true role

In the world of police spies, not a great deal has changed since the days of the *Okhrana*. Even the advent of sophisticated electronic surveillance equipment has not diminished the role of informers.

Why? Because the real purpose of stool pigeons is not to gather information but to sow dissension, provoke inexperienced activists into illegal

acts, engineer frame-ups, and the like.

Even the most advanced electronic listening device can't suggest that a bomb be thrown or plant faked evidence naming a loyal activist as an FBI snitch.

Informers can. And do.

That is why informers are so crucial to the FBI's political disruption schemes. The statistics bear this out. A 1976 study by the General Accounting Office found that paid informers are by far the FBI's most widely used technique in so-called domestic intelligence cases. Informers were used in 85 percent of the "domestic intelligence investigations" surveyed by the GAO. In contrast, electronic surveillance was used in only 5 percent of the cases.

Of course, informers do collect massive amounts of information. What they compile, however, has nothing to do with criminal plans or "national security." FBI spies are directed to obtain the most intimate personal details about activists—details that can themselves be used to devise Cointelpro-type disruption schemes.

One ex-informer in the Vietnam Veterans Against the War summed it up this way: "I was to go to meetings, write up reports . . . on what happened, who was there . . . to try to totally identify the background of every person there, what their relationships were, who they were living with, who they were sleeping with, to try to get some sense of the local structure and the local relationships among the people in the organization."

Inside the Communist Party

One FBI memo, from 1956, details the disruption plans of FBI informers inside the Communist Party. The document, obtained by the Senate Intelligence Committee, includes the following passages:

"During its investigation of the Communist Party, USA, the Bureau has sought to capitalize on incidents involving the Party and its leaders in order to foster factionalism, bring the Communist Party (CP) and its leaders into disrepute before the American public and cause confusion and dissatisfaction among rank-and-file members of the CP.

"Generally, the above action has constituted harassment rather than disruption, since, for the most part, the Bureau has set up particular incidents, and the attack has been from the outside. At the present time, however, there is existing within the CP a situation resulting from the developments at the 20th Congress of the CP of the Soviet Union [where Khrushchev made his famous speech admitting some of Stalin's crimes, an admission that sent shock waves throughout the Stalinist movement] and the Government's attack on the Party principally through prosecutions under the Smith Act of 1940 and the Internal Security Act of 1950 which is made to order for an all-out disruptive attack *from within*. . . ."

"ACTION: . . . submit to the Bureau the identities of certain informants who will be briefed and instructed to embark on a disruptive program within their own clubs, sections, or districts or even on a national level. These informants will raise objections and doubts as to the success of any proposed plan of action by the CP leadership. They will seize every opportunity to carry out the disruptive activity not only at meetings, conventions, et cetera, but also during social and other contacts with CP members and leaders. . . ."

Here we have irrefutable proof that the FBI uses its informers not merely to obtain information, but, in the words of the SWP's lawsuit, as "offensive weapons employed to . . . sow and exploit discord within the organizations, thereby fundamentally affecting plaintiffs' rights to free association, speech and lawful political activity."

This is the truth that the Carter administration is going to such extreme lengths to conceal from the American people.

(To be continued)

Bakke at center stage as NAACP meets

By Tony Thomas

PORTLAND, Ore.—More than 1,000 delegates and others gathered here July 2-7 for the sixty-ninth annual national convention of the NAACP, the country's largest civil rights organization.

The center of attention was the Supreme Court's *Bakke* decision. NAACP Executive Director Benjamin Hooks told the convention that the decision was "both a victory and a defeat for affirmative action." It was a victory because "the majority of the Court has approved the consideration of race in the selection of students," and a defeat because the Davis medical school's affirmative-action plan was ruled unconstitutional.

Hooks's tendency to minimize this blow to equality for women and minorities was backed by Eleanor Holmes Norton, head of the federal Equal Employment Opportunity Commission. She told the convention that the decision had "left intact the fundamental basis for affirmative action." She and other federal officials who spoke to the convention claimed that the Carter administration would continue to support and enforce affirmative action.

Nonetheless, Hooks and other NAACP leaders warned that the admission of Allan Bakke to the medical school will be used as a pretext to push back affirmative action. Hooks called on the Association to counter such challenges "whether they come in the form of hostile legislation . . . foot dragging by the private sector, or apology and double-talk of government bureaucrats."

In his address to the convention, Hooks called for a conference of lawyers, affirmative-action officers from universities and corporations, civil rights activists, and labor leaders "to consider the meaning, significance, and implications of the *Bakke* decision." At a pre-convention news conference, Hooks made it clear that the conference would be an invitation-only gathering of "experts," rather than an open conference of activists. Later it was announced that the conference will be held July 22-23 in Detroit.

Hits Prop 13

NAACP leaders also denounced California's Proposition 13. Hooks said that "Proposition 13 and other tax revolts around the nation knock out the last hired and reduce the delivery of human and essential services to minority and poor people." He said it was part of the racist, "neo-conservative wave sweeping the nation."

At his news conference, he called for a reduction of taxes on individual homes while retaining them on businesses and owners of apartment and housing complexes.

Another positive stand taken by the NAACP was on South Africa. Margaret Bush Wilson, chairwoman of the NAACP board of directors, closed her keynote speech to the convention by saying that "American corporations, banks, and other financial institutions must be made to withdraw their exten-



Campaign of mass actions, such as this 1963 march on Washington, is needed to answer attacks on Black rights and make further gains.

sive investments in South Africa." This was a switch from an earlier position of the NAACP that claimed such U.S. involvement would help liberalize the apartheid regime.

The convention's Freedom Fund dinner heard exiled South Africa journalist Donald Woods, who pointed out that Blacks in Zaire, Angola, South Africa, and other African countries see Cuban troops as liberators from colonialism and oppression that the United States is trying to maintain.

Greatest challenge

In her keynote address, Wilson summed up the predicament of the NAACP leadership. "One of the greatest challenges we face today," she said, "is the widespread attempt to destroy our faith in the ability of the nation to develop the programs and means to permit all of us to enter the mainstream of society."

Hooks, Wilson, and other NAACP leaders catalogued the problems facing Black people today.

- Rising unemployment, double that of whites and as high as 60 percent among Black teen-agers in some areas;
- Rampant inflation and low wages;
- Court decisions and legislation rolling back the gains of the 1960s;
- Police brutality, such as the murder of Arthur Miller in Brooklyn;

- The Hyde amendment and other attacks on women's rights;
- Government and corporate attacks on labor unions;
- And the need to ratify the Equal Rights Amendment.

If all of that isn't enough, Andrew Brimmer, a former member of the Federal Reserve Board who is chairperson of the NAACP's newly created Economic Advisory Council, predicted a recession by mid-1979. In a press conference held during the convention, Brimmer said that "an already grim situation for Blacks will get grimmer" with higher inflation and a rise in unemployment.

Hooks reflected the heat that NAACP leaders are feeling from the Black community in his address to the convention. He indicated that the NAACP—which has traditionally opposed direct action—might have to call street demonstrations unless more concessions were granted to Blacks.

He also warned that while the NAACP opposed violent tactics, continued attacks on Black rights might lead to "violent confrontations."

But did Hooks or other NAACP leaders have any new proposals to get Blacks out of this situation? No.

Democrats and Republicans

Instead, as they have done for decades, NAACP officials emphasized voter registration and education—a euphemism for supporting Democratic and Republican candidates, since the organization takes a formally "nonpartisan" stance. Wilson told the Voter Registration and Education Workshop that "this is the key to all the other things we are talking about at this convention."

In 1975 and 1976 NAACP leaders said that defeating Ford would be a victory for civil rights. At this year's convention several speakers pointed out that it was the Black vote that was responsible for Carter's victory. Yet the conditions facing Black people have gotten worse under Carter.

Both Hooks and Wilson still claim Carter is better than Ford. Yet Hooks was forced to say that the Carter administration's policy toward Black people is "unsatisfactory taken as a whole," while Wilson attacked Carter for his "abandonment" of unemployed Blacks. They also pointed out that the Democratic-controlled Congress is whittling away at rights.

Turn to business

Another answer the Association's leadership came up with at this convention is a greater turn to cooperation with business, corporate, and financial interests. Hooks made this point during his speech when he noted amidst all the setbacks "a small ray of hope that is seemingly growing larger."

"I have met and talked with more than 200 leading business executives," he said, "and I am convinced that more and more of them are becoming aware of the necessity for their involvement in the racial problems existing in our nation today."

He pointed to the cooperation between Detroit's Black Democratic Mayor Coleman Young and the big automobile companies in making a "new Detroit." Hooks failed to note than one feature of the "new" Detroit has been inhuman speedup and compulsory overtime in the auto plants, along with large-scale layoffs of Black and white auto workers.

This policy is also typified by the NAACP's energy policy, which is basically a rehash of the line pushed by the oil trust about the need to loosen government regulations and to expand nuclear power.

Wilson explained it by saying, "Unless America is assured of ample and reasonably priced energy supplies in the future, the economy will not expand at a rate to provide a job for every person willing and able to work." New jobs, she said, "come from economic growth in the private sector."

She also stated that the fall in "productivity growth" by U.S. capitalism in relation to Japan and Western Europe "should be a prime concern for the NAACP." She did not note that attacks on safety and other job conditions for Black workers—as well as the unemployment she correctly pointed to as the "number one priority" for Black people—are rooted in the corporate drive for greater productivity.

Real problem

On these issues Hooks and Wilson were responding to a real problem: the fact that the attacks on Afro-Americans are rooted in the deepening economic crisis of American capitalism. Their mistake is to believe that the interests of Black people in this crisis lie on the side of big business. For it is the need of the corporations to cut real wages, boost productivity, and divide workers along Black and white lines that is at the root of these attacks.

This is one reason why the NAACP should drop its support to Democratic and Republican politicians. These parties are subservient to the interests of American capitalism and will continue on behalf of the employers to carry out attacks on Afro-Americans and other working people.

The real path toward Black rights requires the mobilization of the independent power of Black people in the streets, in the plants, in the communities, and in the universities. This is the way all our gains were won in the 1960s.

What is really needed is independent political action based on Blacks and other working people to fight for a government that serves our interests, not those of the capitalists.

That is how the NAACP's goal of Black equality will be won.

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Brown's Prop 13 cutbacks under way

Wages, welfare frozen in Calif. budget

By Joanie Quinn

LOS ANGELES—Gov. Jerry Brown signed a new \$14.7 billion California state budget July 6. But not before vetoing \$96.8 million in cost-of-living hikes for 224,000 state workers and some 1.4 million recipients of aid to families with dependent children.

The governor slashed these and other expenditures totaling \$388.5 million proposed by the state legislature. He boasted that this "marks the first time in seventeen years that the budget has gone down instead of up."

The Democratic Party-controlled legislature itself had already made cuts in proposed programs including: \$500 million for developing alternative energy resources; \$82.6 million for mental health; and \$3 million for controlling toxic substances at the work place.

"The budget I now present to the people," Brown claimed, "reflects the mandate for an austere, lean budget," resulting from passage of the California tax initiative, Proposition 13.

But the governor knows that Proposition 13 carried by a two-to-one margin primarily because hard-pressed working-class and middle-class homeowners and small businesspeople wanted *tax relief*—not the sweeping



Los Angeles teachers protest Prop 13 budget cuts

attacks Brown and the legislature want to carry out against their standard of living, union rights, environment, and health.

Brown fears the political price he may have to pay next November when the victims of these cuts show their anger at the polls over the Proposition 13 swindle.

That's why he tried to soften the immediate impact of the cutbacks by releasing \$5 billion in surplus state funds to California counties. The governor also allowed a token eleven-dollar-a-month cost-of-living raise for 700,000 blind, disabled, and elderly people.

"The vise will tighten next year," when this surplus is exhausted, Brown warned, "and in the year after. This is not business as usual."

The squeeze is already on, however, for public employees and welfare recipients.

Counties receiving funds from the \$5 billion surplus had to agree that no local employees would receive wage increases while state employees' wages

remained frozen. Brown's veto of a catch-up wage increase for state employees thereby also doomed the chances of 1.2 million county and city workers for relief from inflation.

Across the state, 3,252 public employees have already been laid off as a result of Proposition 13. Another 16,125 workers have been temporarily idled by the cancellation of summer schools.

Among other cuts Brown made before signing his "era of limits" budget are:

- \$8.3 million for hospital construction;
- \$4 million for the University of California system;
- \$2.5 million for disability training programs; and
- \$1 million for child-care programs for migrant workers.

These cuts are only the beginning of the Proposition 13 offensive now under way against California workers.

To make up for tax revenues lost under Proposition 13, more than one-fourth of California cities have already announced increases in fees.

In San Mateo, for example, park and recreational fees will go up an average of 50 percent. A hotel and visitors tax will go from 6 to 8 percent. Sacramento will start charging a 5 percent theater admissions tax. Parking meters there now cost 150 percent more per hour.

Oakland has removed all of its fire call boxes. Officials argued that the boxes are too costly. After all, they said, only 10 percent of the fires are reported this way.

One exception to the wave of cuts has left many people in smog-choked southern California wondering. The state freeway agency, Caltrans, got \$1.24 billion when it asked for \$1.23 billion in the new state budget.

This didn't sit well at a time when the San Diego County transit district raised its fares by five cents, laid off seventy-five workers, and curtailed nearly all night service.

Abortion rights attacked

Anti-abortion forces scored a big victory here with passage of the new California budget.

An all-male committee of the state legislature approved tight new restrictions on funding abortions for poor women under the Medi-Cal program.

Last year, Medi-Cal paid for an estimated 77,000 abortions. After Congress cut off federal funding for abortions under the Hyde amendment, these state funds were all that

stood between poor women and unwanted pregnancy or dangerous back-alley abortions.

Now those funds have been severely slashed. Medi-Cal will cover abortions only when continuing the pregnancy will endanger the life of the mother, if the child is likely to be severely deformed, or if the pregnancy was the result of rape or incest.

Several women's groups have staged emergency protests against the decision. —J.Q.

Long Beach cops attack Chicano community

The following article is a shortened version of a press release sent to the 'Militant' by the East Long Beach Neighborhood Centro de la Raza.

LONG BEACH, Calif.—On July 3, a fire fighter's interference in a domestic quarrel led to an altercation between fire fighters and Chicano youth. Police responded with indiscriminate arrests, beatings, and raids on the East Long Beach Chicano community. Forty-six youths, some of whom were more than a mile from the scene, were rounded up by police.

The events took place in three separate incidents. The first was the altercation between fire fighters and some young Chicanos. It was quickly broken up by the staff of the East Long Beach Neighborhood Center, which was holding a fundraising event in the area. By the time police arrived several minutes later, the crowd of 200 had dispersed and the situation was under control.

Nonetheless, police launched an all-out attack on whatever Chicanos were left in the vicinity. Cops brandished metal flashlights and clubs and sneered racist comments. They harassed local residents, asking them if they knew English, asking for green cards, and trying to provoke violence.

The police carried out indiscriminate arrests and beatings. Two young women, one thirteen, were stopped on their way home and thrown up against a fence. Police sprayed mace in their eyes and arrested them for "resisting arrest."

One East Long Beach Neighborhood Center staff member who had been asked to mediate with police was seized and severely beaten by five or six officers. The beating continued even after the police had handcuffed him. He was thrown into a police van and received no medical attention after being arrested.

An hour and a half later, police converged on an apartment building a mile away. They broke into and ransacked the home of one neighborhood youth. They also threatened to break down the door to another apartment in the building where some young Chicanos had gathered. Police took the youths to a nearby alley, made them kneel or lie on the ground, and arrested them.

Forty-two of the forty-six youths arrested were booked, mostly for assaulting police or fire fighters. One pregnant teenager was accused of assault with a deadly weapon.

The police terror tactics on the East Long Beach Chicano community shows the blatant racism and repression of the Long Beach police, who claimed they were just responding to "gang activity." In reality, the "gang activity" was a neighborhood-center fundraising event to finance materials for summer classes that had been cut by Proposition 13.


Neighborhood residents, concerned parents, and center staff members have formed a committee in response to the police attack. The committee is demanding:

- Drop all charges against Chicanos

picked up during the mass arrests;

- Stop all police harassment and brutality by the Long Beach Police Department in the East Long Beach community.

- Release free of charge the cars impounded during the mass roundups;
- Investigate the officers and departments responsible for the attack on the Chicano community.



Polemics in Marxist Philosophy

**Essays on:
Engels, Trotsky, Sartre,
Plekhanov, Lukács,
Kolakowski, and others.**

by George Novack

Basing himself on the classical tradition of Marxism, George Novack takes issue with the views of the young Georg Lukács, Leszek Kolakowski, Jean-Paul Sartre, and other thinkers of the European left.

This collection is unified by several consistent themes: the dialectical character of nature; the "young Marx" and the "old Marx"; Engels's relation with Marx; the influence of Hegel in the formation of Marxism; and a burning concern for the freedom of philosophical inquiry.

A popular style and lucid exposition make this work accessible to those just becoming interested in Marxist theory, while its scope and subject matter make it a major contribution to the ongoing debates among radical thinkers.

A Monad Press book, 344 pages, cloth \$16, paper \$4.95. Distributed by Pathfinder Press, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014. Enclose \$.50 with payment for postage and handling.

NYC: ranks challenge new transit pact

By Peter Seidman

NEW YORK—Will the majority of workers who run the Transit Authority's buses and subways here be allowed to vote down the fall-behind contract officials of the Transport Workers Union negotiated for them April 1?

This is the question rank-and-file transit workers are raising in a federal lawsuit.

When a final count of ballots was completed July 6, TA employees had rejected the proposed contract. The vote was 10,825 to 8,506.

TWU members in five smaller units covered by the proposed contract, however, had passed the package. Union-wide, this meant that the agreement had carried 12,489 to 11,509.

TWU officials immediately declared the contract ratified. In a heavy-handed attempt to buy off opponents of the agreement, the union executive board wired the TA July 7 urging it to speed an immediate \$250 payment due under the new contract to TWU members.

But transit workers rushed into state court in Queens that afternoon and got an order blocking the ratification declaration.

George McDonald, head of the Committee of Concerned Transit Workers, said later that day that his group would also file a suit in federal court on July 10.

This suit, McDonald told the *New York Post*, charges that the executive board's ratification of the new contract

violates the TWU constitution and puts union officials in contempt of court.

The CCTW cited an earlier, successful court challenge to the first ratification vote on the TWU contract. At that time, federal District Judge Charles Brieant ordered a revote, with ballots coded to allow the returns from each unit of the TWU to be tabulated separately.

Now, the dissidents charge, the TWU officials are ignoring the unit-by-unit returns in order to claim the contract passed.

Rank-and-file opposition to the miserly 6 percent, two-year wage increase included in the initial April 1 transit agreement has been a thorn in the side of city officials. These Democratic politicians are trying to deepen the attack on the wages and union rights of city employees during the current round of contract negotiations—the first since the New York fiscal "crisis" began in 1975.

At first, city brass and TWU officials tried to rush through approval of the transit contract. They knew that if they could get the powerful TWU to accept the stingy offer, this would help set the pattern for negotiations affecting some 200,000 other city workers.

But when transit workers blocked this maneuver, TWU officials delayed a ratification revote until the complex web of negotiations between the city and the other municipal unions was completed and a package of federal loan guarantees aimed at locking these wages down was more or less in place.

The union tops and capitalist politicians hoped that the TWU rank and file would feel on the spot not "to spoil" this complex arrangement needed "to save" New York.

But the vote against the contract shows that transit workers are willing to stand up and fight for more than their union's current leaders are willing to deliver.

Transit workers are demanding more than the 8 percent increase the city finally wound up claiming it would pay them over two years. Transit employees were already at least 17 percent behind price increases when they began negotiating the new agreement, and prices are going up at a rate of at least 10 percent a year.

Union militants are also alarmed over a part of the new agreement that would allow the TA to hire some 200 part-time, nonunion employees to staff token booths. They see this as a threat to hard-won union gains regarding overtime and seniority.

Mass. workers hit cuts



June 5 protest by AFSCME workers in Boston

By Bob Pearlman

BOSTON—Most of the 4,200 workers who keep the trains, trolleys, and buses of this city's Massachusetts Bay Transportation Authority rolling staged a one-day walkout July 6.

The transit workers massed at the state capitol building, heeding a request by the executive board of the Boston Carmen's Union "to take a day off and exercise their constitutional right to talk to their legislators about [a proposed] MBTA bill."

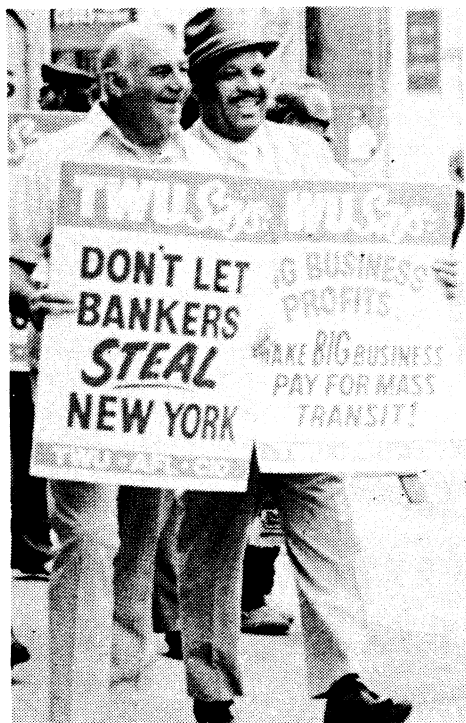
The bill, spearheaded by Democratic Party State Representative Barney Frank, would strip MBTA employees of quarterly cost-of-living increases won in previous contracts. It would also require an arbitrator to take into consideration the "ability" of local governments to pay for wage increases and other union-negotiated benefits.

One day before the transit workers' protest, thousands of member of Massachusetts's largest public employees' union, Council 93 of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, also demonstrated at the state house.

They were protesting payless pay-days for some 50,000 state employees resulting from the failure of the legislature to approve a budget for the next fiscal year.

Checks for half the state's welfare recipients—some 74,000 households—were also held up.

The public workers and welfare recipients are being held hostage by anti-abortion forces in the state legislature who are trying to pass the Doyle-Flynn amendment to the state budget. This measure would cut off state funding of abortions for poor women.



Militant/Linda Jenness

Miners outraged by attacks on health plan

By Kipp Dawson

PITTSBURGH—Anger is growing among coal miners over the sabotage of medical care since last winter's 110-day strike.

Local and district officials of the United Mine Workers of America have predicted massive wildcat strikes if the problems are not resolved soon.

The contract settlement of last March provides that company-paid insurance is to cover all medical costs after the first \$200 a year. But miners and their families are finding it increasingly difficult and costly to get any health care at all.

"One of my guys took his wife for tests and had to come up with \$800 cash," reported Donny Redman, president of UMWA Local 762 in Vestaburg, Pennsylvania. "He needed \$150 before the doctor would even see him."

"Now that just isn't right," said Redman. "It's the companies' obligation under the contract to make this plan work, and they're just not doing it."

Through hard-fought strike battles

in the 1940s, the UMWA established the most comprehensive health plan of any union. A UMWA benefits fund, financed by payments from the coal companies, provided free services for miners and their families at any clinic or hospital that was part of the system. All they had to do was show their UMWA medical card.

With the help of the fund, new clinics and hospitals were built throughout Appalachia. Health care for the entire region improved dramatically.

But the coal companies refused to keep up payments into the fund at a level adequate to maintain this system. One of the top aims of the coal bosses in provoking the lengthy strike was to abolish the UMWA fund, turn health-care coverage over to private insurance companies, and force miners to pay hundreds of dollars a year in "deductibles."

The companies stood to pocket millions of dollars a year in extra profits by destroying the free medical care system. They didn't care what that would mean for the 162,000 miners; the 440,000 children, wives, and widows; or

the other people of Appalachia who benefited from the clinics.

By rejecting two contract offers and holding out as long as they did, the rank-and-file miners were able to get the maximum amount they would supposedly have to pay reduced from \$700 to \$200. They were not able to win restoration of the free medical cards.

The companies promised that under the new setup miners' benefits would be "guaranteed." That was a lie.

What has happened is that many doctors and pharmacies refuse to send in forms to the insurance companies for reimbursement. Instead they insist that miners pay cash up front and then go through the red tape of seeking reimbursement themselves.

"Our people just don't have the cash, especially after that four-month strike we went through last winter," Redman said.

The coal companies show little interest in getting doctors and pharmacies to cooperate, since the less the benefits are used the lower their insurance premiums are.

Joe Corcoran, head of the safety committee of Local 2399, suspects another sinister motive. He suggested the companies may think "that if we have to keep \$300 or \$500 on hand for the doctor, we'll be less likely to strike, or more likely to hold off going to the doctor until it's too late."

To make matters even worse, the coalfield clinics and hospitals—no longer subsidized by the UMWA fund—are being forced to cut back services. Many may have to close.

"It may be that the days of progressive American medicine as pioneered here in the mountains are gone," said the administrator of one Kentucky clinic, which is losing its surgeon and its two nurse-anesthetists.

That is no doubt exactly what the coal bosses have in mind—to wipe out the idea that working people are entitled to free, high-quality medical care.

But sentiment is strong among the miners to protest the latest company abuses and insist on their right to medical care. And the miners have shown they are a force to be reckoned with.

Mich. socialists win fight to appear on ballot

By Arnold Weissberg

The Michigan Board of State Canvassers has backed down from an attempt to keep the Socialist Workers Party off the August 8 primary ballot. The board had claimed that SWP campaign supporters had not collected the required 17,500 valid signatures on petitions.

However, more than 23,000 people have signed to put the SWP on the ballot.

The board refused to make its new decision public until the eve of a hearing before the election commission, which rules on disputed cases.

Despite this victory, the Michigan ballot laws remain among the most undemocratic in the country.

In addition to collecting the 17,500 signatures, "minor" parties—that is, all but the Democrats and Republicans—must win several thousand votes in the August primary in order to qualify for the November ballot.



From left: Michigan SWP candidates Don Bechler, Florence Robinson, Robin Mace

With the main election still months away, the August primary attracts little voter attention. The sole aim of the "minor" party primary is to maintain the ballot monopoly of the two capitalist parties.

This method of restricting voters' right to choose for themselves has begun to spread. The state of Washington has just passed a law modeled on Michigan's.

When the Michigan ballot law went

into effect two years ago, it was challenged by the Socialist Workers, Communist, Communist Labor, Socialist Labor, and Human Rights parties. The court allowed these parties to be on the November 1976 ballot but refused to overturn the law. The ruling declared that none of the parties had been kept off the ballot yet, so no rights had been violated.

At a rally of 100 campaign supporters in Detroit, SWP leader Mac Warren commented that "it's pretty strange logic. Our rights have to be violated first, and only then do we have a case."

The Socialist Workers candidates are Robin Mace for governor, Don Bechler for lieutenant-governor, Florence Robinson for U.S. Senate, and Jo Carol Stallworth for Detroit Board of Education. Stallworth will be on the November ballot regardless of the outcome of the August primary.

Socialist conference to discuss student issues

By Bernie Senter

Members of the Young Socialist Alliance from campuses across the country will participate in the upcoming Active Workers and Socialist Educational Conference. The conference, sponsored by the Socialist Workers Party, will be held August 5-12 in Ohio.

The YSA is a revolutionary socialist youth organization that is in political agreement with the SWP.

YSA leaders Chuck Petrin, Betsy Farley, and Osborne Hart explained some of the discussions that will take place at the workshops, classes, and panels.

"There has been a new rise in political activity on campus," said Petrin—"struggles against university invest-

ments in South Africa, the *Bakke* decision, cutbacks in education, nuclear power, and the struggle for the ERA and gay rights. The YSA is an active participant in all these struggles."

"There is a growing receptivity to socialist ideas on the campuses," Farley added. "Students are thinking about and discussing radical ideas. More and more of them are beginning to protest and demonstrate around important political issues."

"Protests against university complicity with South Africa occurred on dozens of campuses last spring," said Hart. "These struggles will continue when schools reopen in the fall. At the August conference, we will discuss how the YSA can help build these actions."

"We will also discuss the impact of the *Bakke* decision," he continued, "and how to educate people about what's really at stake in defending affirmative action."

Thousands of students and other young people participated in the July 9 ERA demonstration in Washington, D.C. Farley said that the conference will help the YSA prepare to continue that campaign for ERA ratification on the campuses this fall.

The conference will feature a special presentation on the importance of the revolutionary youth movement. "The talk will be given by a YSA leader," Petrin noted. "It will address some of the issues that affect youth, such as war, nuclear power, unemployment, and racist and sexist oppression. The presentation will explain the vital political role of young people and of a revolutionary youth organization."

Hart remarked, "The conference will also give YSA members an opportunity to examine some of the basic theoretical and programmatic aspects of Marxism. It will be a tremendous educational experience."

Petrin explained that important changes are going on in the labor movement. "The conference will examine these changes," he said, "and discuss how students can link up with the struggles of working people."

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

I am interested in attending the Active Workers and Socialist Educational Conference. Please send more information.

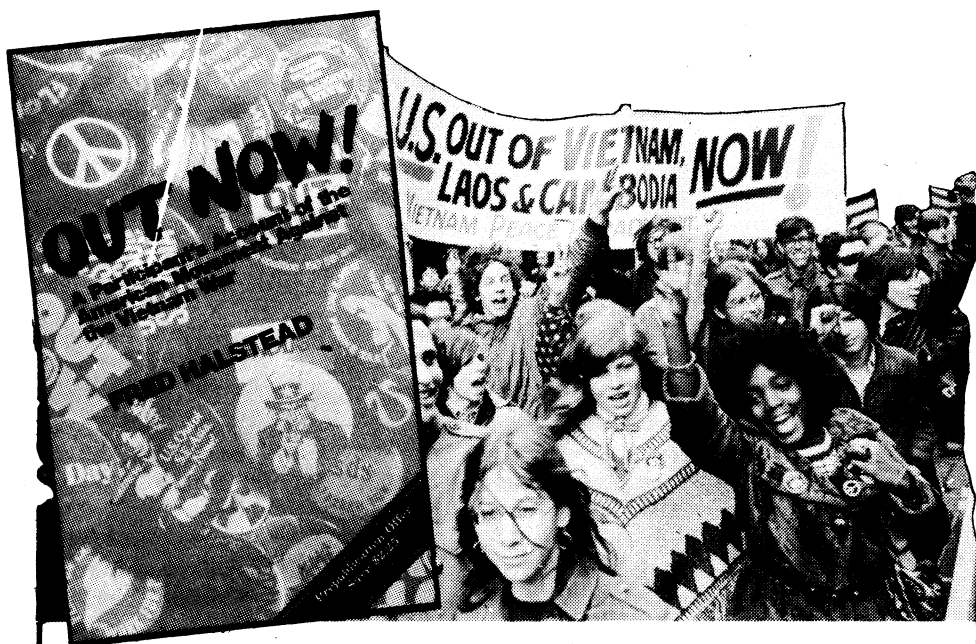
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Steel notes...

CAMPAIGN FOR RIGHT TO RATIFY: USWA Local 1010 at Inland Steel in East Chicago, Indiana, has initiated a campaign for the right of all steelworkers to vote on their contracts. With 18,000 members, Local 1010 is the biggest in the USWA. This effort was first announced last month at the District 31 conference by Local 1010 President Bill Andrews, with the backing of nineteen other local presidents.

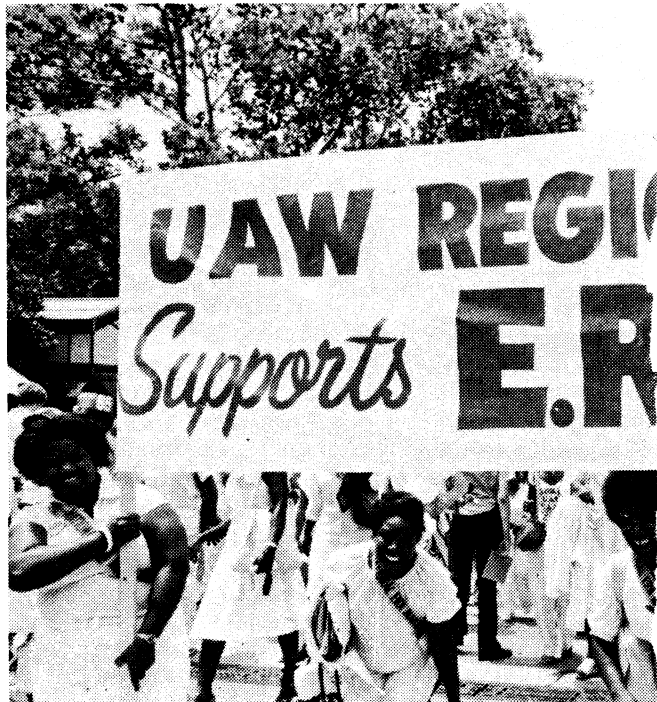
Now petitions are being circulated in Local 1010 and some other District 31 locals. Tens of thousands of signatures on such petitions can be a powerful show of membership support for the right to ratify when the issue comes up at the September USWA convention. Andrews says the local will be happy to provide sample petitions to steelworkers in other areas who wish to join this drive for union democracy. **Write to: USWA Local 1010, 3703 Euclid Avenue, East Chicago, Indiana 46312.**

In addition, Local 1010 has voted to send a letter to every other steel local urging them to introduce resolutions for the right to ratify. But since locals are not allowed access to the international union's mailing list, such a letter can only go out if USWA President Lloyd McBride agrees to send it. McBride adamantly opposes letting union members vote on contracts.

DISTRICT 38 BACKS MEMBERSHIP RATIFICATION: Delegates to the District 38 conference, held last month in Spokane, Washington, voted overwhelmingly to call for membership ratification of contracts. Right now, the 350,000 workers in basic steel are denied the right to vote on their contract, as are USWA members in aluminum, can, and several other industries. District 38 includes ten western states.

The right-to-ratify proposal was adopted over the opposition of the conference resolutions committee. In the middle of the discussion, District Director Robert Petris declared his support for membership ratification. This stand by Petris is a sign of the immense popularity of the right to ratify and the pressure on second-level union officials to back it.

—Andy Rose



The union contingents

WASHINGTON—Margie Ways was sitting under a tree on the Capitol grounds—hot, tired, but happy.

Glancing up at the Capitol, she said, "Now Congress will know labor is in this movement."

Ways, who is Black, came to the July 9 march on a plane organized by United Auto Workers regions 1-A and 1-B in Detroit. It was her first women's demonstration.

Further down the hill, the Toledo UAW contingent was stretched out on blankets and newspapers. Sixty-one UAW members had come on buses paid for by the Toledo Area Community Action Program Council.

One of the organizers of the Toledo contingent was Linda Spears, a member of the Local 12 executive shop committee at Acklin Stamping.

"The unions realize that if women had more rights, it would be easier to organize them," said Spears. "Why, nearly all the states that haven't passed the ERA are right-to-work states."

"The union is basically to help people's livelihoods, so they should help here," added Deacon Griffin, a member of UAW Local 14.

Leroy Garvin came to the march with other members of United Steelworkers Locals 2609 and 2610 in Baltimore.

"This time we had one bus," he said. "Next time we should have five or ten. We should get every steelworker in the country out here."

The USWA International office in

Pittsburgh also sent a bus. One woman on the bus told the *Militant*: "The unions could do a lot. They could get all their membership out, so Congress would know they have to extend the ERA deadline."

Paulette Shine, a member of United Mine Workers Local 4122 and of the National Organization for Women (NOW), compared July 9 to the solidarity she had seen during the miners' strike. "Just as it was important for the UMW to see other unions join our fight, to see we weren't alone in our strike, the same thing is true for women's rights. This demonstration will help pull labor further into the ERA struggle. It will build a sense of solidarity."

Solidarity was also on the mind of a Black woman Teamster who stopped to talk to a *Militant* reporter at a restaurant on the way home. She had come on one of two buses organized by Teamsters Local 115 in Philadelphia.

"This demonstration was wonderful," she said. "Now, when we get back, we're going to tell the men that we picket for the truckers when they go out on strike, so they'd better march when we come down here to march!"

Many of the unionists here—men and women—had never joined an ERA action before. But the women's movement had clearly touched their lives.

"I think all those women's demonstrations have helped," commented Margie Ways.

"And now that I'm in this movement, I'm going to go all the way with it!" —C.J.

...biggest women

Continued from page 3

A Black sorority marched, as did the National Council of Negro Women and the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights.

Gays and lesbians carried many banners demanding civil rights for all.

Priests, nuns, religious groups, Friends of the Earth, Planned Parenthood, and the staff of the Folger Shakespeare Library had come to make their presence known.

Political organizations, including the Socialist Workers Party, Young Socialist Alliance, Democratic Party clubs, Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee, Socialist Labor Party, International Socialists, and New American Movement, carried banners.

Hours after the rally had started, the marchers were still pouring in. "Well shit, this demonstration is as big as the antiwar demonstrations we used to have here," one cop muttered.

The Capitol Police estimated the crowd at 55,000, and the New York *Daily News* reported 65,000. At the rally, the chair announced that the D.C. Park Police estimate was 90,000 to 100,000.

The march was larger than any of the suffrage parades early in this century. And the largest demonstration for women's rights during the past decade took place in New York City on August 26, 1970. Forty thousand marched that day, and thousands marched in other cities.

The July 9 ERA march was not only bigger, but it was the broadest and most geographically widespread action

ever to demand women's rights.

"The women's movement is alive and well," declared Eleanor Smeal, national president of NOW, as marchers poured into the rally. "We represent millions of Americans. Women's groups, labor, civil rights groups, educators, working people, the handicapped—all people are here for justice."

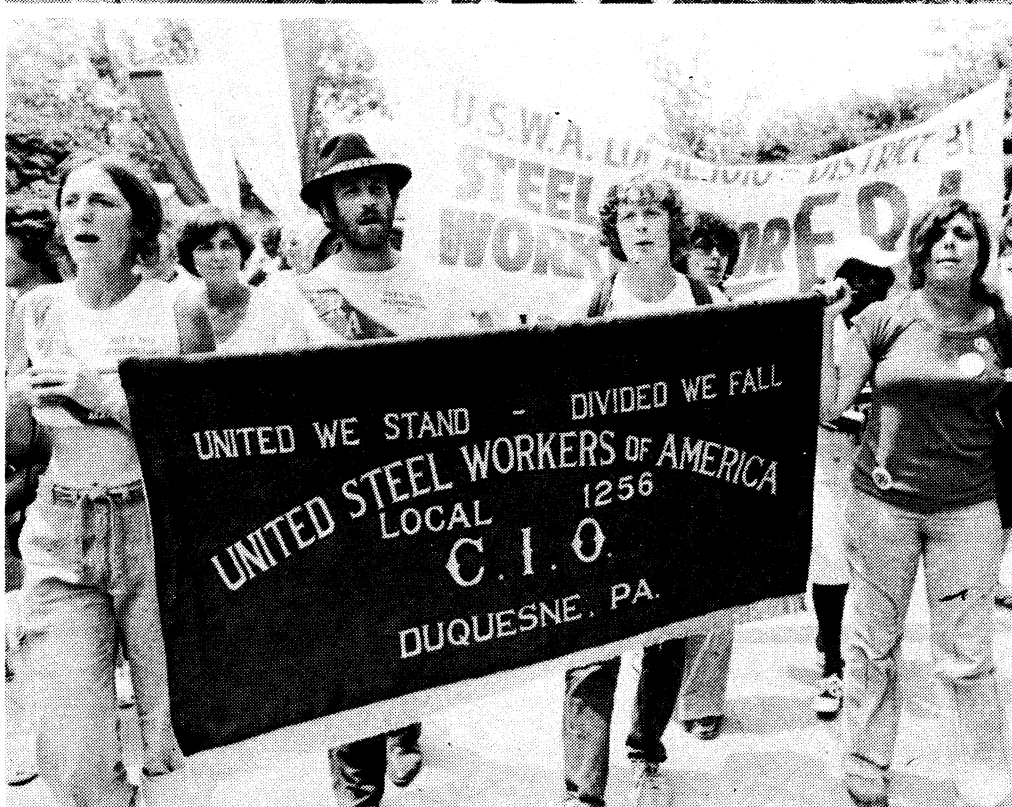
The rally heard from past NOW presidents, members of Congress, and civil rights leaders. A message was read from AFL-CIO President George Meany, and Gloria Johnson, national treasurer of the Coalition of Labor Union Women, spoke.

Several speakers compared the event to the 1963 civil rights march on Washington. "The civil rights movement proved we can come together and not only shake the nation but the world," said comedian Dick Gregory.

He pointed to another civil rights issue—the *Bakke* decision against affirmative action. "The Supreme Court said something to me I hadn't known for forty-six years," he quipped. "Before *Bakke*, I thought that I had been discriminated against because I am Black. Now I come to find out it's whites who've been discriminated against!"

The threat of the *Bakke* decision was also noted by Carmen Delgado Votaw representing the National Conference of Puerto Rican Women. "The *Bakke* case is as germane to women's rights as it is to minority rights," she said.

"This march breaks through all the lies and slanders," declared NOW



Militant photos by Barry Chan, Lou Howort, Charles Ostrofsky, Anne Teesdale, and Diane Wang

Women's action in U.S.

under Betty Friedan. "It says we in the women's movement are no longer the few—we are the many, the majority!"

As her voice echoed out over the trees and buildings, several dozen ERA proponents huddled at the Lincoln Memorial for a "prayer-in" organized by STOP ERA leader Phyllis Schlafly. Schlafly's name got well-deserved oos whenever it was mentioned throughout the day. But many of the marchers were also angry at the Democratic and Republican politicians who have stalled the ERA.

"My opinion is that Carter and the Democratic Party are not doing all they could," said Linda Parks, from JAW Local 900 in Detroit. "They could not forth. If they had, we wouldn't be watching all this static."

"Carter talks about human rights, doesn't he?" said Wilma George, from Ohio's Cuyahoga County Women's Political Caucus. "I don't think he's done anything."

"I think people can write so many letters and donate so much money, but then the bodies have to turn out. I think this march is good."

It was a feeling shared by all. The march had inspired women with a sense of their power.

They had finally gotten together by the tens of thousands to confront the government with their demands in a ringing answer to all the attacks on women's rights—from the ERA, to affirmative action, to legal abortion.

Feminists, trade unionists, Black women, young and old women felt they

were part of a *movement*, a movement in which they had a role to play.

A woman from Chicago commented: "When we come out and demonstrate we bring other people with us—it's contagious!"

"I like to march. I'm a feminist!" said a Boston woman. "I know every person counts."

Donna Wilson, who came from New Jersey, said she wasn't a member of NOW. "But I want to join NOW and get involved again."

A woman from Nebraska told the *Militant* she came with her mother and her cousin. In all, seventy people came from her state. "I don't belong to NOW, but I guess I should, shouldn't I?"

Margie Ways, a member of Detroit UAW Local 317, said she planned to bring up the need for more ERA activities with her district and local women's committees.

"This is just the beginning," Eleanor Smeal told the thousands gathered at the Capitol.

"We will march, we will demonstrate, we will petition—we will work this summer like never before."

"We will have bigger and bigger demonstrations," she pledged.

The marchers agreed.

"We need more demonstrations like this—they show the people are fighting," said a Black hospital worker.

"It may be hot marching today," said a young woman from New Jersey, "but I think we may have to march again in the cold—before March 1979—to win the ERA."

Marchers on Bakke

By John Hawkins

WASHINGTON—As they marched thousands strong July 9 for the Equal Rights Amendment, many of the demonstrators were thinking over the implications of the Supreme Court's *Bakke* ruling.

What would it mean for their own jobs?

How would it affect affirmative action programs as a whole?

What should supporters of affirmative action do in light of the Court's decision?

Militant reporters put these questions to a broad cross-section of the marchers.

"I think *Bakke* will kill EEOC [Equal Employment Opportunity Commission]," said Theresa Owen, a young, white member of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers. Owen works for New Jersey Bell Telephone.

"I've been following this case, and it's a defeat for affirmative action. I got my job through EEOC and really had to fight to stay in the job."

Terry Parker, a young, Black employee of Xerox, expressed a similar opinion. "They claim it's going to make it better," he said. "But that's just a lot of rhetoric."

"You're going to still see affirmative action programs by title. But not having quotas is going to hurt, because without some consequence for not hiring or admitting minorities, why should anybody do it?"

Lucy Matthews of Los Angeles was flown here for the march by Local 5726

of the United Steelworkers. "Black women at my plant are particularly upset about *Bakke*," she told the *Militant*. "They see that it has a direct connection with the ERA. But we're still at the very beginning of explaining this thing to everyone in the plant."

Paulette Shine, a member of the United Mine Workers, said she thought that the coal operators would try to use *Bakke* to keep women out of the mines. "Legally and officially they can't. But they're going to use it as an argument anyway."

A number of those interviewed by the *Militant*—including a number of Blacks—were confused about the meaning of the decision. A number also supported the justices' ruling.

"I've been reading about it, and I really opposed it," one woman told the *Militant*. "But now I'm confused. When *Bakke* won, I expected the papers to report it as a defeat for affirmative action. Instead, they said it was a victory."

A young, white lawyer said he agreed with the Court's ruling. "I think doing what Davis medical school did—saying that a certain number of slots have to be reserved for certain specific ethnic groups—is incorrect."

"I support affirmative action," he said, "but you don't have to have quotas. If somebody is disadvantaged—it doesn't matter if they're Black, white, yellow, or red—they should have equal access to a special program."

Continued on page 19

Socialist candidates march for the ERA

By Shelley Kramer

WASHINGTON—Hundreds of supporters of Socialist Workers Party election campaigns came from across the country to march for the Equal Rights Amendment July 9. They came and marched with the different organizations they belong to—the National Organization for Women, trade unions, and campus and community groups.

The SWP's contingent was one of the most spirited on the march.

In its ranks were SWP members and socialist candidates from Georgia, Illinois, Maryland, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, New Jersey, New York, North Carolina, Ohio, Pennsylvania, West Virginia, and Wisconsin.

Arizona gubernatorial candidate Jessica Sampson and Sara Jean Johnston, the socialist candidate for governor of Texas, were there.

All the socialist candidates—unlike their Democratic and Republican

opponents—had actively campaigned to build the July 9 march.

Illinois senatorial candidate Pat Grogan and Pennsylvania gubernatorial candidate Mark Zola—both steelworkers—came on union buses and marched in the United Steelworkers delegation.

Auto workers John Gaige, candidate for lieutenant-governor in Ohio, and Tom Smith, congressional candidate in Michigan, marched with the United Auto Workers delegations from their states. Supporters of Rosalinda Flint and Brian Williams, who are running for U.S. Senate and state legislature in West Virginia, marched with the Mining Women for the ERA contingent.

"We have gathered here at a critical time for the equal rights struggle," Glova Scott, SWP mayoral candidate in Washington, D.C., said in a campaign statement distributed at the demonstration.

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

Dianne Feeley, New York gubernatorial candidate and a longtime member of NOW-New York, staffed the NOW offices late into Saturday night, July 8. "There was a last-minute flood of calls," she said. "People heard about the march at a volleyball game or from a laundromat notice and immediately wanted to join in. It really showed the broad appeal of the women's movement and the potential for drawing the thousands of new people here today into local activities."

"This fantastic outpouring is just a glimpse of the power women, labor, and their allies hold," Mark Zola added. "July 9 is just the beginning—

we need more of these mass actions—even bigger. That's how to force the politicians to pass the ERA."

High school and college students, along with other young people, marched under the Young Socialist Alliance's banner and in the many campus and women's rights contingents. YSA members sold more than 300 copies of their newspaper, the *Young Socialist*, to demonstrators.

Hundreds of SWP members participating in the march also sold the *Militant*, which included a special July 9 feature, "How to win women's equality." More than 1,450 copies were sold in Washington. Many more were sold on buses and planes to and from the demonstration. Five thousand copies of "Why Can't Everyone Have a Job"—a national SWP campaign statement—were also distributed. And Pathfinder Press sold more than \$150 worth of socialist and feminist literature.



Militant/Susan Ellis



Militant/Lou Howort

Where was Communist Party July 9?

By Shelley Kramer

The July 9 march for the Equal Rights Amendment was the "largest demonstration for women's equality in U.S. history" reported the July 11 *Daily World*, the newspaper reflecting the views of the Communist Party. "Demonstrators came in huge numbers from virtually every state in the union."

And they came from virtually every organization pledged to the defense of human rights. Tens of thousands from the National Organization for Women. Busloads of steelworkers, auto workers, retail clerks, and communications workers. Campus, religious, and civil rights organizations of all kinds. Contingents from different socialist organizations.

But the CP itself was nowhere to be seen. It did not actively support or participate in this historic march. For weeks leading up to July 9, the *Daily World* did not report any news about the widespread efforts—most noticeable in the union movement—to build the demonstration.

When CP National Secretary Gus Hall spoke in Philadelphia in May, he was asked by a NOW member where his party stood on the upcoming action. He replied that the CP would only join the march if its organizers would add a demand for the passage of "resolutions of intent" along with the ERA.

According to the CP, these resolutions are necessary to safeguard protective legislation and affirmative action from possible adverse effects of the ERA. The implication is that the ERA by itself is a direct threat to the interests of working women.

Not long after Hall's Philadelphia speech, an article appeared in the June 22 *Daily World* reprinting his presentation to a recent CP Central Committee meeting. In this speech Hall seemed to call for increased involvement in the equal rights struggle—although July 9 was never mentioned.

"Looking back it seems we placed too much

emphasis on the legalities of the ERA and not enough on the struggles and movements," he said.

Hall was looking back on the days when the CP flatly opposed the ERA. As recently as 1975—during the New Jersey and New York state ERA referendums—the CP actively campaigned against the ERA.

But in the past year—particularly in the aftermath of the successful November 1977 National Women's Conference in Houston—the CP has shifted its posture on the ERA. Members of the party and other CP supporters influenced by the women's movement had grown increasingly uncomfortable with the CP's reactionary posture.

So the CP has moved from outright opposition to highly critical support. This is where the "resolutions of intent" come in.

While presented as a way to strengthen the amendment and draw new forces to its side, these resolutions are actually used by CP leaders to repeat the same old slanders against the ERA. And leaders such as Hall can reach for these bills as a handy excuse for keeping the CP out of the equal rights struggle.

But many CP supporters are eager to demonstrate their support for the ERA. In the June 6 *Daily World*, a member of the Young Workers Liberation League, the CP's youth group, cites Hall's speech to the central committee and suggests: "an article on the coming ERA march in Washington July 9." The unnamed reader adds, "Let's see plenty of *Daily Worlds* at that rally."

But there never was a *Daily World* article publicizing the demonstration. In fact, in the same July 6 issue, important news about the action was deliberately screened out.

The *Daily World's* front-page story about the United Steelworkers District 31 convention completely ignored that body's vote to endorse July 9 and its decision to send buses to Washington.

Nor were there plenty of *Daily Worlds* at the rally. A small team of distributors did show up at the rally, but they were clearly unprepared for the massive turnout. Swamped by thousands of ERA supporters, it's no wonder they were uncomfortable when asked by *Militant* salespeople why the CP had boycotted the march. They referred *Militant* supporters to the *Daily World's* special July 9 feature—"Putting teeth in the ERA."

But this piece, by Eliza Bennett, could be more honestly called "Sinking teeth in the women's rights struggle." The article harms the struggle far more than it helps it.

Simply proclaiming equality in a constitutional amendment is "not going to produce it for the average woman," Bennett argues.

But the constitutional recognition of women's equality is an important weapon in the fight for women's rights—as tens of thousands of "average women" in Washington demonstrated July 9.

The CP has often trained its big guns against the ERA around the issue of protective legislation. These laws would be endangered by ERA ratification, the Stalinists claim.

Bennett's article is no exception. "What is at issue is a few benefits for a few women versus necessary protection against increased exploitation for a majority of working women," she says.

The labor officialdom used to agree with this position. But today the CP is the only sizable political tendency in the labor movement that argues that the ERA will worsen working conditions for women. Certainly the thousands of trade-union women who came to Washington do not believe they will give up past gains if they win the ERA. On the contrary, they rightfully see the ERA as a tool for expanding their rights.

Most protective laws that restrict the hours

Continued on next page

Black capitalism?

A dwarf among 'Fortune' 500 industrial giants

By John Hawkins

"This year—as the old cliché goes—there is good news and bad news," writes Earl Graves, publisher of *Black Enterprise*, in his introduction to the magazine's June issue.

"The good news is that black business receipts are up over previous years, this despite inflation. But the bad news is that too many in black America are no better off today than they were ten years ago."

Graves's second statement is well documented in an article entitled "Blacks and the Economy" appearing in the same issue.

But the main feature in June's *Black Enterprise*—the list of the top 100 Black businesses—doesn't appear to be "good news" at all. Not even for so-called Black capitalists.

In fact, the list gives the lie to the idea that Black capitalism can gradually develop within the framework of the American profit system and thereby provide Blacks an avenue toward economic equality.

Shaky business

The drastic changes within the "Top 100" list itself point up the shakiness of Black business. Seventeen of the companies in this year's list are newcomers. They replaced other companies that either folded, merged into larger companies, or fell behind the rest.

Two of the companies in last year's list—the seventh- and ninth-ranked—were taken over by white-controlled concerns. Two others were liquidated.

Compared with the strongest U.S. capitalist corporations, Black businesses in the list are *five times more likely to fail*. Of the top 500 American industrial companies only 18 disappeared in the last year.

But the 100 "giants" of Black private enterprise are not only unstable. They are also extremely small. In fact, taken altogether they barely constitute a medium-sized giant.

Total sales for the entire group amounted to \$896 million last year. *This would place the entire "Top 100" list 265th among the largest 500 U.S. corporations.* That's just ahead of the Brown Group, a St. Louis shoe manufacturer.

A look at even the top ten within the list underscores the smallness of these operations. Motown Industries, an entertainment concern, tops the list with sales of \$61.4 million. The smallest of the ten, an auto dealership, had sales of only \$13 million.

Together the top ten employed only 2,086 workers. The largest number of any of the ten employed was 525; the smallest, 5. Compare this to General Motors—the number-one employer on the *Fortune* 500 list—which employs 797,000 people.

No significant industry

The absence of any significant Black industrial corporations also points up the weakness of Black capitalism.

Among the top 100 there are no companies involved in heavy industry—mining, oil drilling and refining, steelmaking, or railroads—and none involved in major manufacturing—such as automobiles and electrical appliances.

The "Top 100" include only one metal fabrication plant, one producer of electronic equipment, one

producer of industrial chemicals, and one trucking firm.

On the other hand, forty-two of the "Top 100" are auto dealerships—an aspect of the industry that the auto monopoly finds too risky and not profitable enough to operate itself.

Another indication of the weakness of Black capitalism is the hard-pressed financial situation that most of these businesses find themselves in. Almost all are burdened with heavy debts—in most cases short-term bank loans. This can spell disaster for these small operations when even minor fluctuations in the economy occur.

A hopeless dream

Says Graves, "The Black business situation is still very fluid. It took us 300 years to get to the White House. It's going to take us a while longer to master big business."

In reality, however, the notion of Blacks "mastering" big business from within is a hopeless dream. It is about as far removed from reality as the idea that Blacks have arrived at the White House simply because Andrew Young is a UN ambassador and other Blacks have received Carter administration appointments.

The giant corporations that dominate the American economy are not about to allow or foster the development of serious competitors.

In fact, the whole trend of big business today is in the *opposite* direction—toward bigger enterprises that concentrate power and wealth in the hands of fewer and fewer capitalists.

To mount a serious challenge to the domination of these monopolies in *any* branch of industry would require tremendous amounts of capital—something that all the major Black capitalist ventures taken together simply don't possess.

A more powerful force

There is another important reason that Black capitalist development is an idle dream. That is the role that the American ruling class has forced upon Blacks within the capitalist economy.

Blacks are concentrated as wage workers in important services and industries. In the auto and steel industries, for example, they make up between 16 and 18 percent of the production workers.

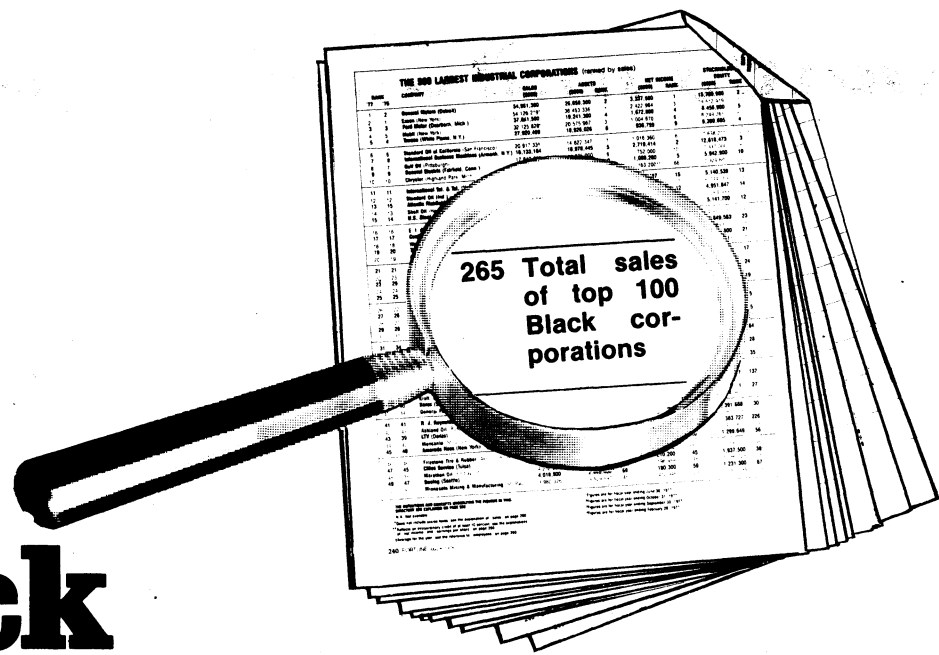
Blacks are concentrated at the bottom of the economic ladder. Their wages form the floor for all wages. They are constantly threatened with being thrown into the ranks of the unemployed.

Keeping Blacks in this oppressed position in the economy is *essential* to the profits of big business, as underlined by the recent *Bakke* ruling. In order to perpetuate their profits, the capitalists must discriminate against the Black nationality as a whole in every sphere of life.

This leaves no room for the development of Black capitalism.

But it opens the door to a far more powerful force for achieving Black emancipation. That is the organization and mobilization of Black workers—along with the rest of the working class—to take the wealth we have collectively produced out of the hands of the capitalists and run it democratically for the benefit of all.

That is the only realistic road for Blacks to "master" big business—not to imitate it, but to overthrow it and create instead a socialist society where human needs are placed ahead of profits.



Altogether, the sales of the top 100 Black corporations would only rank 265 in the 'Fortune' 500.

...CP

Continued from preceding page

women can work, the jobs they can hold, or the weights they can lift have long been used by the bosses to keep women in low-paying, dead-end jobs.

Very few of these laws are even intact today. The passage of Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act recognized equality for women in employment. Every suit filed by union women under Title VII since has been aimed at striking down discriminatory protective laws.

The only way to defend laws that actually benefit working women—and extend these to men as well—is through struggle. The bosses will always try to turn gains working people have won to their own advantage. That's why we need a mass women's movement and trade unions committed to women's equality.

But the CP fears an independent feminist movement and tries to duck actively participating in its struggles. Its patronizing remedy for working women is to rely on "better laws"—such as protective legislation and resolutions of intent.

The CP explicitly warns Black women away from the equal rights struggle. For them the ERA will only mean the "dirtiest, heaviest work," Bennett writes. On the job, they will be "forced 'to be equal' in areas where white women are never sent."

The employers' use of race discrimination is hardly new. Nor is their sex discrimination. These practices existed long before the ERA. It is the *employers* who oppose the ERA, precisely because they know Black women—and all women—can use it to combat discrimination.

Fortunately, as the big labor turnout July 9 indicates, women just aren't buying scare talk about the "dangers" of equality anymore. Not from Phyllis "Stop ERA" Schlafly or from the CP.

To stoke up divisions between Black and white women, Bennett levels the charge that a victory for the ERA will spell defeat for affirmative action. "We fear the effect of the ERA on badly needed affirmative action," she says—as if these complementary struggles threatened one another.

Then, as if to add insult to injury, the July 11 *Daily World*—which carried the paper's first article on July 9—complained that the marchers were mostly white and that the ERA rally had a "significant weakness"—not enough speakers condemned the *Bakke* decision.

But what did the CP do to mobilize support for the July 9 action in the communities and organizations of oppressed nationalities? Next to nothing. And the party national secretary's public position on the eve of the demonstration—as expressed in Philadelphia—was to justify abstaining from it!

And how did the CP help to link the ERA to affirmative-action struggles? It distributed a newspaper to demonstrators that explicitly counterposed the two!

The CP is hardly in a position to throw stones from its glass house. Instead, it should be helping to strengthen the movement for the ERA, to build bigger and broader demonstrations for women's equality. Now's the time to start. And the place to start is *inside* the struggle for the ERA.

...Bakke

Continued from page 17

Though most of those the *Militant* talked to opposed the Court's decision, few had thought over what could be done about it.

Several, however, shared the opinion of a Black member of the New Jersey Women's Political Caucus, who told the *Militant*, "Those men on the Supreme Court claim to be impartial, but they're just like any other politicians. They have to have pressure put on them."

Deacon Griffin, a Black member of United Auto Workers Local 14 in Toledo, said, "They don't want to move too fast, but they're trying to make a big push. We need to make a big push, like we are today."

Bob Robinson, a middle-aged white member of Distributive Workers District 65, said, "I think that there is no way that minorities are going to reach any level of participation in the overall workings of the country if they are not given a quota."

"Bakke was not faced with deprivation, by any means. He already had a degree and a good job. So I can't understand how he can claim in any way that he'd been discriminated against."

"I think there has to be agitation to make it clear that the minorities are not going to sit down and take this. I think that demonstrations like this can help and can influence the politicians."

Let all the Peruvian exiles return!

By Fred Murphy

Gen. Francisco Morales Bermúdez, president of Peru, held a news conference June 23. A reporter asked if the candidates that had been deported three weeks before the June 18 Constituent Assembly elections would be allowed to return to the country.

"The government will respect the will of the people," Morales answered. This was taken by the Peruvian press to indicate that the government would not prevent elected deputies from returning to Peru for the July 28 convening of the assembly.

The final, official results of the elections have not yet been released, so it is not known for certain which of the ten prospective assembly deputies now in exile will benefit from Morales's generosity. Those almost surely elected, according to unofficial returns, include Trotskyist leader Hugo Blanco and socialist attorney Genaro Ledesma of the Workers, Peasants, Students, and People's Front (FOCEP); Gen. Leonidas Rodríguez of the bourgeois-nationalist Revolutionary Socialist Party (PSR); and Javier Díez Canseco of the Democratic People's Union (UDP).



HUGO BLANCO: Will Peruvian generals let him return to serve on Constituent Assembly?

The other exiles who were candidates in the June 18 elections are Ricardo Napurí of the FOCEP, Ricardo Díaz Chávez and Ricardo Letts of the UDP, and Adm. José Arce Larco, Adm. Guillermo Faura, and José Alvarado of the PSR. Several of these may also have been elected. Also in exile at present are Arequipa trade-union leaders Valentín Pachó and Justiniano Apaza and journalists Humberto Damonte and Alfonso Baella.

If Morales Bermúdez's government is to really "respect the will of the people," it must allow all fourteen of the exiles to return to Peru, whether they are assembly deputies or not. Beyond that, the military regime must release the hundreds of trade-union and political activists arrested during the May 22-23 general strike and still being held, and also must lift the orders for arrest and deportation still hanging over the heads of a number of other leftist leaders.

Letters and telegrams demanding the return of all the exiles and the release of the political prisoners should be sent to Gen. Francisco Morales Bermúdez, Presidente de la República del Perú, Palacio Presidencial, Lima, Peru.

From Intercontinental Press/Inprecor

Peru elections—a massive shift to the left

The following appeared as an editorial in the June 26 issue of *Palabra Socialista*, the newspaper of the Peruvian Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores (PST—Socialist Workers Party), a sister organization of the American SWP. The translation is by 'Intercontinental Press/Inprecor.'

The results of the July 18 elections show a sweeping advance for the left. Based on the number of votes, the left is now the second big political force in the country.

This victorious achievement also means an important defeat for the Peruvian right. This is shown by the reverse that the PPC [Christian People's Party] suffered. The PPC received little more than 27 percent of the vote—a rather low figure, considering the PPC's impressive campaign and the help it picked up from the Belaúndistas. [Ex-President Belaúnde's People's Action Party pulled out of the campaign in March; many of its votes probably went to the PPC.]

The vote figures demonstrate these political facts, reflecting the polarization of forces taking place in the country. But the vote shows above all a massive shift to the left among the workers and the population as a whole.

The votes received by the APRA [American People's Revolutionary Alliance] surpassed those of all the other parties. This is a *relative* victory for the APRA; it did not beat the left by more than 5 percent. One thing should be emphasized about the Aprista vote: *It was not a vote in favor of a right-wing solution.* APRA got the most votes because it was able, in part, to capitalize on the antigovernment feelings of the masses. This was especially true among the more backward plebeian sectors in the interior of the country. After ten years under the military regime, they saw in the APRA a chance to restore democracy in the country.

Once the first results showing the high totals for the FOCEP [Workers, Peasants, Students, and Poor People's Front] and for Hugo Blanco became known, bourgeois political commentators and several leftist magazines explained the FOCEP vote as the expression of some psychological attitude, and not as a definite political statement. The commentators have sought in this way to empty our victory of its content, presenting it as the result of the masses' political ignorance.

It is beyond question that we received such a high vote because of what the FOCEP—and Hugo Blanco and his party, the PST—have represented. We have been the ones to most clearly express the program and policy that all the exploited sectors of the nation aspire to.

It was the FOCEP that best reflected the shift to the left and the combativity of the workers, which was expressed most recently in the May 22-23 general strike. It was the FOCEP that had the clearest policy of independence from the military government and the ruling-class parties. And it was the FOCEP that most clearly put forward a socialist solution to the crisis that the country is going through.

The conscious political course of the forces that make up the FOCEP definitely gained the attention of the masses and became a part of their thinking. Hugo Blanco is not some "myth" or "new religion," as certain "political analysts" would have it. He is the representative of a tradition of struggle among our people. At a time when the working people are seeking solutions to their intolerable condition, Hugo Blanco means the refusal to sell out or compromise with the exploiters. He thus represents the real possibility of a solution to the present situation.

The more than a million votes received by the left parties reflects the tremendous working-class and popular upsurge, and the search for an authentic

socialist solution for our country. The FOCEP campaign mobilized thousands of activists. While not fully organized, this expresses the strong support that exists for building an alternative. The basis has been laid for forming a big working-class and socialist party that can give political expression to this underlying need.

As part of the FOCEP, the PST believes that this is the task of all the working-class and socialist currents that participated in the elections. It must be recognized that the workers voted in massive numbers for class independence. They voted against any conciliation with bourgeois figures—civilian or military—and they voted for socialism against capitalist exploitation. If we unite around a program that expresses these aspirations of the mass movement, we can build a big party or movement that puts together in one organization all the thousands of activists and workers in the cities and the countryside who have rejected ruling-class and conciliatory solutions.

We therefore join in Comrade Hugo Blanco's call to lay the foundations for building that big socialist party, starting from the influence that the FOCEP and the UDP [Democratic People's Union] have gained in the mass movement. [For text of Blanco's call, see below.] We also call on the currents inside the PSR* that are for working-class independence and socialism, as well as on the Communist Party and all the workers' political organizations, to take advantage of this new opportunity to build such an alternative.

*Partido Socialista Revolucionario (Revolutionary Socialist Party), a bourgeois-nationalist formation led by ex-military officers. Its leaders and candidates have used much radical and socialist rhetoric, and it has influence in a number of trade unions and peasant organizations.—IP/I

Interview with Hugo Blanco

'We need a big workers party'

The following is excerpted from a June 21 telephone interview with Hugo Blanco that appeared in the June 23 issue of 'Amauta', a leftist weekly published in Lima. The translation is by 'Intercontinental Press/Inprecor.'

Question. What do you think are the immediate tasks at this time?

Answer. We compañeros in the FOCEP have an especially great responsibility now, I think. I have heard that the FOCEP and the UDP are preparing to hold a joint meeting.

The FOCEP and the UDP represent the popular sectors that are struggling and that want to continue to struggle, so I think it is our obligation to form a big party, or front, of the masses—the FOCEP and the UDP together. We should call on other sectors such as the Communist Party, for

example (and if they don't come along it will be because their leaders don't want to), and on the ranks—not the leadership—of the PSR, to form a big mass party on the basis of two or three elementary points: class independence, no pact with bourgeois sectors, support to the people's struggles, and intransigent struggle against capitalism.

I think that a big political organization of the masses must be formed around these points, with the FOCEP and the UDP as its basis. Each of our small parties could be a current inside this party.

It has to be understood that the masses are not going to come in the course of a few months to any of the small groups that make up the left parties. Nevertheless, the masses have shown that they are generally in a combative position, so our obligation is to call for a big workers party where each one of our parties could be a current of opinion.

UAW newsletter reports on Blanco

The following is reprinted from the July 3 issue of 'UAW Washington Report,' a weekly newsletter published by the Washington, D.C., office of the United Auto Workers.

There's a happy footnote to the upheavals in Peru, where a military dictatorship jailed some 500 trade unionists on the eve of new elections. The labor leader Hugo Blanco was thrown out of the country, UAW President Doug Fraser demanded safe passage for him through military-controlled Argentina, and he arrived safely in Sweden. Then during his forced exile he was elected to the 100-member assembly in Peru which will write a new constitution. There's very little real freedom left in Latin America—but the power of world public opinion and the will of the people for freedom and justice is still very potent.

World Outlook

News, analysis, and discussion of international political events

Why China slanders Vietnam

Mao's heirs oppose anticapitalist drive

By Matilde Zimmerman

Peking's saber-rattling over the flight of ethnic Chinese from Vietnam has raised the specter of armed clashes on the China-Vietnam border.

According to Peking's Department of Overseas Chinese Affairs, more than 130,000 Chinese left Vietnam between mid-April and June 14. The Chinese government insists that the refugees were expelled from Vietnam, the victims of racist social and economic discrimination.

The claims of "persecution" and "expulsion" have been used as an excuse to cut off desperately needed aid to Vietnam. All economic development projects including an important bridge over the Red River have been canceled, and almost 1,800 Chinese technicians have been called home. Two Chinese ships have already been sent to Vietnam to evacuate refugees, and Peking intends to send more. On June 17 Peking demanded that Vietnam close its three consulates in southern China.

Pro-Peking newspapers in Hong Kong attack Vietnam as "a new Cuba" and as Moscow's "Trojan Horse" in Asia.

Hanoi's repeated calls for negotiations have been rejected by Peking. Vice-premier Teng Hsiao-ping told visiting journalists in Peking June 7 that there was "still no foundation for such negotiations either with Vietnam or the third country behind the conflict" (an obvious reference to the Soviet Union). In the same interview, Teng said of the trickle of assistance provided Vietnam: "The only thing wrong with our aid to Vietnam, if there is anything wrong in it at all, is that we have given Vietnam too much."

Military threat

Warning the Vietnamese to stop "persecuting" the Chinese or "bear full responsibility for all the consequences," Peking reportedly has added fifteen new army divisions to the troops stationed along its southern border.

The Vietnamese have expressed fear that "all the consequences" might include military confrontation or an attempt by Peking to establish control over contested oil-rich islands in the South China Sea. Hanoi has announced that border and coastal defenses are being strengthened and that plans are under way to mobilize a sizable part of the population into military units.

When Peking unilaterally announced it was sending ships to evacuate all the remaining "persecuted Chinese" from Vietnam, Hanoi reminded them that the days of "the flotilla policy of imperialism" were over. Vietnamese authorities at first refused to give permission for the ships to dock because Peking demanded they admit the refugees were "victims of ostracism, persecution and expulsion." *New York Times* reporter Fox Butterfield commented that "it appeared to some diplomats in Hong Kong that Peking's demands were made as tough as they were in order to present a deliberate challenge to Hanoi rather than a careful negotiating position."

Anticapitalist steps

For all the furor about Vietnam's "persecution" of Chinese, there is no proof that any anti-Chinese campaign is actually under way. Rather, the evidence suggests that the refugees are fleeing the economic measures through which Vietnam recently did away with



Chinese leaving Vietnam in wake of crackdown on small capitalists. Because many merchants in the south of Vietnam were Chinese, Peking bureaucrats have tried to portray consolidation of socialized property there as racial discrimination.

capitalist control over trade and commerce in the south.

There are well over a million ethnic Chinese in Vietnam; some estimates run as high as two million. The great majority live in the south, with about 800,000 in the Cholon district of Ho Chi Minh City. The families of many have lived in Vietnam for generations.

The ethnic Chinese enjoyed a relatively favored position during the colonial period, and Chinese merchants came to control much of the foreign trade as well as the distribution and sale of basic necessities such as rice, meat, and fabrics. Commerce remained largely in private hands after the liberation of South Vietnam, and it is likely that Chinese predominance actually increased because so many Vietnamese capitalists fled with the retreating Americans.

To do away with the hoarding, black-marketing and corruption that were disrupting the economy, Hanoi recently drove through two measures that effectively abolished capitalism in the south. On March 23, 30,000 large and medium-sized businesses were nationalized. About 90 percent of them

had been owned by ethnic Chinese merchants. Businessmen were compensated for their goods, but only for the relatively small portion they could prove was acquired legally.

Deathblow to hoarding

The currency reform of May 3 for the first time united the north and south in a single monetary system and dealt a deathblow to hoarded wealth. Legal savings were simply exchanged into the new currency, but money hidden away became without warning so much worthless paper. (See *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor*, July 3, 1978, p. 792.)

The flight of ethnic Chinese began soon after the March 23 decrees. The director of Overseas Chinese Affairs in Peking referred in an April 30 speech to "those overseas Chinese who for various reasons have in recent days hastily returned to China" from Vietnam. The flow seems to have picked up sharply after the May 3 currency reform; Hsinhua, the Chinese news agency, reported that 11,000 persons crossed the border in a three-day period the week of May 21.

Peking considers the abolition of capitalism in south Vietnam as just an example of anti-Chinese persecution. As part of a list of atrocities allegedly committed in Vietnam, Hsinhua said May 28 that "most Chinese living in Ho Chi Minh City had their property searched and impounded before they left and were in a pathetic state." A June 9 statement from the Chinese Foreign Ministry complains that "properties and possessions which many Chinese residents had accumulated through many years of hard work were illegally confiscated."

Peking denounces as "malicious slander" the idea that the Chinese fleeing Vietnam are capitalists and says that Vietnam's claim to be carrying out a "socialist transformation" is designed only "to cover up their crimes of persecuting Chinese residents in South Viet Nam."

Hanoi has commented on this lack of understanding from a regime that was itself forced to abolish capitalism in order to make economic progress. *Nhan Dan*, the newspaper of the Vietnamese Communist Party, asks: "Must the socialist transformation of private industry and commerce—a universal law of socialist revolution which has been applied in China—stop in Socialist Vietnam before the wealth of a number of capitalists of Chinese origin

(and Vietnamese capitalists too!) [is confiscated], even though this wealth was wrung from the sweat and tears of the Vietnamese working class and people, including quite a few Vietnamese of Chinese descent?"

Postwar reconstruction

Many of the Chinese refugees apparently fled to avoid resettlement in the New Economic Zones. The Vietnamese government has an ambitious program designed to repair war damage and increase food production by resettling ten million people in sparsely populated areas over the next twenty years. So far 1.33 million have relocated, just over half of them from Ho Chi Minh City.

An article in the March 16 *New York Times* entitled "Vietnam's New Look: Green and Growing" describes some of the achievements of the rebuilding campaign: "Roads have been repaired . . . homes have sprung up in areas that two years ago still resembled lunar landscapes. Thousands of acres, abandoned because of the war, are again under cultivation." The reporters saw green rice fields in areas where "two years ago it was like a desert because of the bombing."

Life is hard in the New Economic Zones, however—even harder than elsewhere in the war-ravaged country. Some recent refugees have complained bitterly about being pressured to "volunteer" for the New Economic Zones, and Chinese Vice-Premier Teng Hsiao-ping on June 9 cited the resettlement campaign as one way in which Chinese were being persecuted in Vietnam.

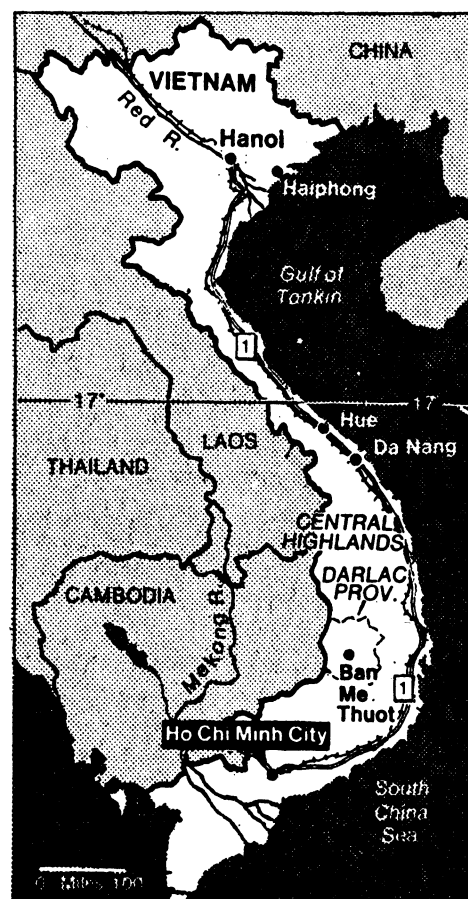
After the nationalizations of March 23, residents of Cholon reportedly held protest demonstrations in which they held up posters of Mao Tsetung and demanded repatriation.

But the Cholon merchants who decided to leave Vietnam tended to choose places more friendly to capitalist trade than China. If they could afford the boat or plane fare or had relatives with the necessary influence,

Continued on next page



TENG HSIAO-PING: Vice-premier of China turns down Vietnamese government's offer for negotiations.



New York Times
Ho Chi Minh City residents are being resettled in Ban Me Thuot and other locations depopulated during war.

...Mao's heirs slander Vietnamese revolution

Continued from preceding page

they fled to Hong Kong, Singapore, Thailand, Malaysia, or Taiwan. Thirty thousand have reportedly applied to Taiwan for entrance visas.

Caught in economic shift

Interviewed by Western journalists, these refugees have been angry about the expropriation of their shops and have said that times are hard for everyone in Vietnam, but they do not claim to be victims of racial persecution. A *Washington Post* reporter in Hong Kong interviewed refugees who "willingly told of longtime Chinese residents suffering food shortages along with many of their Vietnamese neighbors, but they were particularly hard-pressed because their traditional livelihood of small trading has been denounced as capitalism."

New York Times reporter Fox Butterfield says interviews with new arrivals in Hong Kong, Taiwan, and Thailand "suggest that part of the trouble is simply that the Chinese got caught in Hanoi's drastic effort to abolish private business and move middle-class residents out of the country's cities. Many native Vietnamese have also been swept up in this campaign. . . ."

Representatives of the National Council of Churches who spent three weeks in Vietnam in late May said on their return to the United States that they had been given the impression "that the recent flight of Chinese from Vietnam was not based on economic or ethnic persecution, as some reports have said, but had resulted as 'fallout' from necessary shifts in economic policy."

No discrimination

Far Eastern Economic Review reporter Nayan Chanda has concluded that "as far as merchants in south Vietnam are concerned, there is no evidence that the communist authorities have discriminated between Chinese and Vietnamese in their anticapitalist drive."

Most of the refugees who have gone overland into China come from northern rather than southern Vietnam. Some of them, like the southerners, are fleeing stricter control of their economic activity. The *Far Eastern Economic Review* of May 5 says that "controls reportedly have also been stepped up against Chinese traders and shopkeepers who dominate Hanoi's small private sector," and refugees from the north have reported increased attention from tax collectors and security forces.

Another factor is the fear that ethnic Chinese will suffer because of China's support to Cambodia in its border war with Vietnam. Hanoi has accused "bad elements" of spreading false rumors about the danger of retaliation against Chinese in Vietnam.

Some of the overland refugees fled from the region of Vietnam closest to China and had traditional ties to the peoples across the border. They may just prefer to be on the stronger side in the event fighting breaks out.

Atrocity stories

Chinese newspapers run daily accounts of atrocities against ethnic Chinese in Vietnam. A June 10 statement by the Foreign Ministry said these "miseries" were "appalling and rarely seen in international relations." One report, cited in the *Economist* of June 3, claimed things were better in Vietnam under the Thieu regime.

Peking complains at length about the fact that Chinese born in Vietnam are under pressure to become Vietna-



Vietnamese countryside devastated by U.S. war aggression. Instead of stepping up aid to help Vietnam reconstruct, Maoists have canceled all aid projects.

mese citizens; the *People's Daily* has accused Hanoi of "continuing the policies of the traitorous and reactionary clique of Ngo Dinh Diem."

There have been special programs on Chinese television with scenes purporting to be river-crossings by refugees and emotional interviews with "escapees" from Vietnam. The Chinese press claims that ethnic Chinese have been discriminated against in jobs, housing, and education, punished for speaking Chinese or distributing Chinese newspapers, and beaten by gangs of thugs.

This kind of pervasive anti-Chinese oppression has not been reported by refugees who have fled to other countries besides China. But it is certainly the dominant theme of media coverage within China about the Vietnam issue.

This propaganda campaign is designed to turn the Chinese masses against the Vietnamese by portraying them as brutal racists. It is an effort to counter the admiration and solidarity the people of China feel for the Vietnamese revolution, so that they will accept whatever actions their government might decide to take against Vietnam.

Hanoi denies any mistreatment of ethnic Chinese or any attempt to expel them. A Vietnam news agency release May 28 claimed that "the overwhelming majority of the working people, including Vietnamese of Chinese origin, had enthusiastically taken part" in the moves to abolish private businesses. "The Vietnamese people," commented *Nhan Dan*, "are not so stupid as to seek trouble with China."

A Stalinist betrayal

Peking recently "rehabilitated" the overseas Chinese—frequently denounced as "capitalist roaders" during the Cultural Revolution. Some reporters have speculated that Peking is

encouraging the exodus from Vietnam in order to fill its own needs for educated and skilled workers.

The conflict with Vietnam is also a by-product of Peking's propaganda war with Moscow. The Chinese press insists that "Soviet social-imperialism is the behind-the-scenes provocateur and the supporter of the Vietnamese authorities in ostracizing Chinese residents and attacking China." Peking has charged the Soviet Union with setting up a military base at Cam Ranh Bay, although this is denied by the Pentagon—which should know since it has Vietnam under continuous photographic surveillance.

Peking's opposition to the anticapi-

talist steps recently taken in Vietnam, and its misrepresentation of these measures as racial persecution, represent an act of betrayal of the socialist revolution in Vietnam. This betrayal is an extension of the policy that led Peking and Moscow to wine and dine President Nixon while the U.S. war-makers were escalating their murderous bombing of Vietnam.

Oppose reunification?

There are some indications that the Stalinist bureaucracy in Peking has even reached the point of opposing the reunification of Vietnam. *Far Eastern Economic Review* reporter David Bonavia describes Peking's version of the conflict with Vietnam as follows:

The stages of the quarrel with Vietnam, as analysed by Peking, began after the death of former president Ho Chi Minh in 1969. Vietnam decided then to rely on Soviet support against what it regarded as the age-old threat of Chinese domination. Ethnic Chinese were progressively expelled from the Vietnamese party and Hanoi decided to push for forcible reunification of Vietnam, at Soviet instigation, after the withdrawal of American troops.

Imperialists delighted

Peking's propaganda war—and threat of a shooting war—against Hanoi has delighted Washington, which can now add anti-Chinese persecution to its list of excuses for not providing Hanoi the \$4.75 billion in reconstruction aid promised by President Nixon.

The capitalist press has picked up Peking's charges against Hanoi. An anticommunist editorial in the May 31 *Christian Science Monitor*, for example, asserts that "Chinese have been fleeing [Vietnam] under particular harassment, including racially motivated violence and persecution. . . ."

The same editorial includes one of the more cynical remarks to come out of the imperialist press in a while: "After all the help China gave Hanoi during the Vietnam war, now comes the spectacle of Chinese being oppressed in Vietnam."

But the real spectacle is that of Peking attacking the unfolding of a new stage in the Vietnamese revolution, chiming in with Washington's propaganda war against Vietnam, and in effect joining imperialism's economic blockade by cutting off the aid Vietnam so desperately needs.

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Palestinians in Israel face new repression

By Jan Vogt

The Begin regime has recently begun to step up its attack on democratic rights within the "green line" (inside Israel's boundaries). The prime target is the Palestinian population.

One of the first examples of the new wave of attacks was Knesset Member Flatto Sharon's call for banning the Communist Party-Rakeh. Sharon, who is notorious because of his criminal past in France, has also circulated petitions in support of the ban in Israel's major cities.

Another well-publicized incident involved the detention of a member of the CP Central Committee and a Cypriot colleague for buying the *Israel Statistical Yearbook* and obtaining Israeli ministry handouts. They were charged with "collecting information for the PLO."

Witch-hunt proposals

Anti-Zionists are not the only victims of the assault on democratic rights. Supporters of the "Peace Now" movement have been harassed, and the Knesset is drafting a witch-hunt law directed against teachers.

Arab university students are also under attack. The clearest example was a call to ban "PLO-ers" from the campuses. On May 7 the editor of the student paper at Haifa University congratulated the student body president for his promise to "immediately work for the legislation of an act in the Knesset which will order the complete expulsion of elements who openly identify with the PLO from all the country's campuses."

The most serious victimizations followed a May 4 explosion in the central bus station of Acre. Eleven Arabs were arrested after this explosion, two of them students at Haifa University. The arrests were directed primarily against an independent anti-Zionist organization called The Sons of the Village.

All of those arrested were served with detention orders and held for fifteen days—most of it in isolation cells—before being released.

The explosion was used as an excuse to arrest people and search their homes. One of the eleven Arabs arrested was Raif Hammud, who is a member of Sons of the Village. Hammud is an electrician, and the excuse for detaining him was that his tools included wire cutters that "could be used to cut iron nails, which are inserted into bombs." Hammud was beaten severely around the face by police and denied medical attention for his injuries.

Beatings standard procedure

Some of the other detainees also suffered beatings at the hands of police. Hasan Salim went on a hunger strike for three days to protest his detention and conditions in prison. He was beaten in the face and on the back, and one of his interrogators tried to drag him around the room by means of a belt tied around his neck.

Some of those arrested could prove that they were at work, with friends or relatives, or outside the city at the time of the bus station explosion. Nevertheless, they were held in detention. When the attorney Muhammed Na'amneh tried to present evidence that Omar Sihh was in Jerusalem at the time of

the explosion, the judge refused to listen to him, saying, "You are not the investigator, I am."

At least one of those who came forward to substantiate the alibis of those arrested was himself beaten by police. Fiad Amara, a twenty-one-year-old Haifa University student, was severely beaten while trying to give evidence on behalf of Hasan Salim. Afterwards, Amara described how four interrogators had beaten him for more than an hour. He added: "They asked me what organisation hostile to the state I belong to, who I hate, what I think of the regime, and whether I am a CP member or a member of the Sons of the Village. They accused me of placing the bomb in the Acre bus station. I denied this. They said that this was a nice reception they had set up for me, that I must learn a lesson from it, that they can detain me for as long as they want, that if my studies interest me, I must tell the 'truth,' and that they will always know what I do. While beating me, they told me: 'This is our democracy.'"

Political arrests

The detainees were questioned about their political opinions, their membership in the Sons of the Village, their national identity, their stand towards the regime and the state, and only in passing about the explosion. It was obvious that the list of detainees had been drawn up prior to the incident that provided the excuse for the arrests.

Following the detentions, a broad defence campaign was organised, involving the distribution of leaflets at schools and universities and in Arab villages. The campaign was organised by the Action Committee for the Defence of Democratic Rights, a committee recently formed at the initiative of far-left organisations to respond to the escalating assault on democratic rights.

Jewish and Arab students at Haifa University posted placards protesting the detention and providing information about the arrests. (Needless to say, the Israeli newspapers had provided next to no information about the detentions.) The placards stressed the fact that the detainees were being held because of their political views and not because of the explosion.

The detentions are clearly part of a general assault on democratic rights, the main aim of which is to intimidate all those who fight for the vindication of the Palestinian people.

Role of Stalinists

The CP did not speak out in defence of the detainees and did not mobilise people in the struggle for their release. This was because most of the detainees identify with the Sons of the Village, which is systematically attacked, and even defined as "fascist," by the CP.

The CP continues its sectarian policy of defending only those who favour the imperialist settlement and is indifferent to the fate of the Palestinian people in general. The Palestinian people, on the other hand, are becoming more aware every day of the racist character of the Zionist state. There is also a growing awareness that the very existence of the Jewish state is irreconcilable with the Palestinian struggle for national liberation.

From Intercontinental Press/Inprecor

Imperialists alarmed by coup in South Yemen

Aden radio announced June 26 that South Yemeni President Salem Robaye Ali had been deposed and executed for attempting to seize complete control of the government.

The new regime is reportedly dominated by Abdel Fattah Ismail, the general secretary of the ruling National Liberation Front and head of the "People's Militia"; Prime Minister Ali Nasser Mohammed Hasani, who also assumed the presidency after Robaye Ali's death; and Defense Minister Lieut. Col. Ali Antar.

On June 28, Ismail announced that three members of the nine-member Political Bureau of the National Liberation Front had been purged and that the three constituent parties of the front will soon merge into a new formation called the Vanguard Party.

The immediate causes of the power struggle in South Yemen remain obscure. But the imperialists and their allies in the region have expressed displeasure at Robaye Ali's ouster.

According to a report in the June 27 *New York Times*, "Mr. Robaye Ali had indicated through diplomatic channels that he was eager to improve relations with the United States—Southern Yemen broke ties in 1969—and had recently shown unhappiness with his country's growing image as a Soviet

satellite in the Middle East." (South Yemen receives military and economic assistance from the Soviet and Cuban governments.)

Correspondent Richard L. Homan reported in the June 27 *Washington Post* that, according to U.S. analysts in the capital, Ismail was considered "very difficult to deal with."

Following this cue from Washington, fifteen member states of the Arab League agreed July 2 to impose a political, economic, and cultural blockade on the South Yemeni regime. The ostensible justification for the action was the claim that Aden was responsible for the June 24 assassination of North Yemeni President Ahmed Hussein al-Ghashmi. Aden has denied the charges.

At a July 3 news conference in Beirut, South Yemeni Minister of Communications Mahmoud Osheish charged that the regime in North Yemen, which is backed by the reactionary Saudi Arabian government, had sent some troops across the border into South Yemen and occupied two villages. Osheish warned that if such actions continued it could lead to renewed conflict between the two regimes, which had fought a border war six years ago.

From Intercontinental Press/Inprecor

Trotskyist militant dies — victim of Japanese cops

By José G. Pérez

Niiyama Yukio, a twenty-four-year-old activist in the struggle to stop Narita Airport in Japan, died June 13 from injuries suffered during a March 26 demonstration of 20,000 people at the airport.

Niiyama was a member of the Japan Revolutionary Communist League, a section of the Fourth International. He was a founding member of the Japan Communist Youth League, youth group of the JRCL.

Responsibility for Niiyama's death rests solely with the Japanese cops. He and other JRCL members were riding a truck that caught on fire during a clash with police.

An article on Niiyama's death distributed by the JRCL says, "Eye-witnesses report that the comrades, their clothes still in flames, were pounced on by the riot police and were kicked, batoned, and pounded with the edges of heavy metal riot shields until they were obviously unconscious."

The burned and unconscious demonstrators were then dragged to a room in the airport's control tower, where police refused to give them medical treatment. As a result, Niiyama received no treatment for more than six hours.

"He wouldn't have died at all if he had received prompt medical treatment at the time of his arrest," the JRCL article said.

A funeral service for Niiyama was held June 14. Some 500 riot cops surrounded the ceremony in an attempt to intimidate participants.

The struggle against Narita airport goes back to 1966, when the government first decided to build it without

consulting the farmers whose lands would be taken away.

The following year, riot police brutally evicted the farmers, who then became the core of opposition to the airport. They have been joined by students, environmentalists, unions, farmers, political parties, and others.

Besides being an environmental disaster, the airport is unsafe, prompting the International Air Aviation Association and the International Federation of Airline Pilots to send protest messages to the Japanese government.

A poll published in early May showed only 17 percent supported opening the airport. Most people favored postponing the opening and holding talks with the evicted farmers.

Nevertheless, after many postponements, the government opened the partly completed facility May 20. An army of 13,000 cops was mobilized to smash any protests.

Cops staged thirty-five raids against the offices, printshop, and apartments of members of the JRCL prior to the opening. Some 150 members and supporters of the organization have been arrested since February.

A statement issued last spring by the United Secretariat of the Fourth International pointed out the broader significance of this movement. "This fight is part of a mass struggle . . . against the growing dangers to the human environment that have been created by capitalism. In Japan, already the victim of the first atomic bombs and of the Minamata scandal, the masses are particularly sensitive to these dangers.

"As revolutionary Marxists, we believe that mass mobilizations against such crimes of capitalism deserve unconditional support."

Open letter demands: Free Rudolf Bahro!

[Rudolf Bahro, one of East Germany's best-known Marxist dissidents, was sentenced to eight years in prison June 30 following a secret trial. The following open letter to East German chief of state Erich Honecker from fifteen prominent British socialists appeared in the May 11 issue of *Socialist Challenge*, a British Marxist weekly.]

On August 23, 1977, the state security forces of the German Democratic Republic arrested Rudolf Bahro on a charge of 'espionage,' and since that date no further information has been forthcoming on Rudolf Bahro's fate. We, the undersigned, wish to express our grave concern about this case and appeal to you to take immediate steps to secure Rudolf Bahro's speedy release.

What are the facts as known to us West European socialists? Rudolf Bahro's arrest followed the announcement of the publication of his book *Die alternative. Zur Kritik des real existie-*

renden Sozialismus [The Alternative—A Critique of Existing Socialism] by the Europäische Verlagsanstalt, the publishing house owned by the West German trade union federation DGB, and the publication of several interviews with Bahro by various West German news media.

Could it be that this man is an agent of the Federal Republic's intelligence service? We have never heard of 'imperialist spies' openly announcing their dissident views and writing and publishing books which they expect to result in their arrest. And the sad fact is that Rudolf Bahro could and did expect his arrest for publicising his political views, since all previous expressions of any criticism of your party's and your government's policies have been met by immediate police action resulting in long prison sentences or the expulsion from the German Democratic Republic.

Article 20 of the Constitution of the GDR states that 'Every citizen of the German Democratic Republic has, ir-

respective of his nationality, race, his philosophical or religious convictions, his social origins and position, the same rights and duties. The freedom of conscience and belief are guaranteed.'

Why are Rudolf Bahro and others like Robert Havemann and Wolf Biermann then prevented from submitting their views to an open and democratic debate with the same rights as are exercised by the leaders and propagandists of your party? Rudolf Bahro, at the time of his arrest, was a member of the SED (and has been a member since 1952). [The SED is the German Communist Party.]

The Statutes of the SED declare that 'the organisational structure of the party is based on the principle of democratic centralism' and that 'all party organs are democratically elected from the bottom to the top' (Clause 23). But how can genuine internal party democracy function if party members have to fear arrest before they have an opportunity to submit their criticisms to other party members, if they are jailed, expelled from the party, deprived of their livelihoods or expelled from the GDR for the only 'crime' of holding critical views?

We believe that, far from 'defending socialism,' such repressive measures only serve to discredit and therefore weaken it, in both East and West. Socialism is not only the nationalisation of the means of production and a centrally planned economy, it is also a higher form of political freedom than the political freedom even the most liberal bourgeois democracy can offer its working masses.

Unless socialism can be seen to mean the broadest working class democracy, with the freedom of political

expression, debate and organisation at all levels of society, including within the socialist and communist parties, the Western working classes will continue to prefer bourgeois democracy as the devil it does know to socialism, the devil it does not know, and dissidents in Eastern Europe will continue to be forced to look to phoney defenders of human rights such as President Carter in their despair over the absence of meaningful socialist democracy in their countries.

As is clear from the printed evidence, Rudolf Bahro wrote his book as a communist militant committed to genuine socialist democracy. We may not all agree with every aspect of Bahro's views, but we agree that every citizen of the German Democratic Republic should have the right to form his or her own opinion and discuss it freely and openly with the author's participation in such a public debate.

We therefore demand the immediate release of Rudolf Bahro from prison, the publication of his book in the GDR, and a public discussion of his views in the mass organisations, the political parties and the media of your country.

Robin Blackburn
Ken Coates
Tamara Deutscher
Ferenc Feher
Trevor Griffiths
Quinton Hoare
Agnes Heller
Tom Litterick, MP
Denis MacShane [President National Union of Journalists]
Ralph Miliband
Stan Newens, MP
Tom Nairn
Bruce Page, Editor New Statesman
E. P. Thompson
Raymond Williams

Tribunal will investigate Amnesty Int'l says British still using torture in Ireland

By David Frankel

As its contribution to the American bicentennial celebration two years ago, the British government shipped the Magna Carta to the United States. The 700-year-old royal decree is supposed to symbolize the rule of law and the expansion of liberty.

But the Magna Carta has evidently failed to prevent the British government from torturing political prisoners in Northern Ireland.

A decision by the European Court of Human Rights this January condemned Britain for the "inhuman and degrading treatment" of prisoners in Northern Ireland. The British government admitted many of the charges, but claimed that such treatment had been halted in 1971.

Now, Amnesty International has published a report proving that torture is still being systematically used by the British in their Castlereagh interrogation center. Amnesty researchers took detailed testimony from seventy-eight victims, selected randomly, and then compared the testimony with medical evidence. In case after case, the researchers found "there is consistency between the alleged maltreatment and the [medical] signs."

In Case No. 71, a typical example,

the following charges were supported by medical evidence: "... beating, hairpulling, direct trauma to the head, head banged against a wall. Kicking. Thrown to the floor, one of the interrogators jumped on his back. Choking. Penis and testicles twisted. Beaten in kidney area and on his back with a chair."

It should be noted that those interviewed by Amnesty International were not those who were tortured until they confessed to whatever was demanded. Those interviewed by Amnesty were generally picked up, "interrogated," and released without charges in a few days.

The Amnesty report also found that "denial of access to solicitors to persons arrested ... is standard practice."

Roy Mason, the Labour government's secretary for Northern Ireland, rejected Amnesty's demand for a public inquiry. Early in June, under pressure from Mason, the Independent Broadcasting Authority banned a television program on the Amnesty findings.

Technicians who were ordered to replace the documentary with a comedy show went on strike to protest the political censorship. Peter Taylor,



Amnesty report charged torture is standard procedure in Northern Ireland

the reporter responsible for the program, told the British Trotskyist weekly *Socialist Challenge*: "This is the third programme on Ireland which I have had banned or interfered with, but this is the most serious."

An "International Tribunal on Britain's Presence in Ireland" has now been organized to investigate charges such as those made by Amnesty. Sponsors of the Tribunal, which plans to hold preliminary hearings in November, include Herbert Marcuse; Jean-Paul Sartre; Simone de Beauvoir; Angela Davis; Robert and Michael Meeropol; Bernadette Devlin McAliskey; and the National Executive of the Irish Transport and General Workers Union.

Sponsors in Britain include the executive committee of the National Union of Students; Greenwich Trades Council; Hackney Trades Council, Croyden Trades Council; Tameside Trades Council; Lambeth Trades Council; Coventry Trades Council; St. Albans

Trades Council; and Barnet Borough Trades Council.

Members of the British Parliament endorsing the tribunal are: Joan Maynard; Maureen Colquhoun; Tom Litterick; Stan Thorne; Arthur Latham; William Wilson, and Dick Kelley.

Irish playwright Margaretta d'Arcy, one of the sponsors of the tribunal, told the *Militant* in a recent interview, "This is the first time in England in some years that there is some type of significant public action going on in regard to Ireland."

D'Arcy expressed the hope that the tribunal could succeed in drawing in trade-union leaders who have been reluctant to speak out on Ireland "because they're afraid it will embarrass the Labour Party."

In view of the de facto censorship of news about Northern Ireland in the British media, d'Arcy felt that "the role of writers is especially important right now. This type of publicity can really embarrass the British Embassy in the United States."

'Abortion rights for rich & poor'

By Mary Pritchard

ST. LOUIS—More than 200 people demonstrated and rallied for abortion rights here July 1 outside the National Right to Life convention.

Seventy-five anti-abortionists from the convention, marching parallel to the abortion rights protesters, chanted, "All we are saying is give life a chance." They were answered by spirited chants of "Back alleys no more; Abortion rights for rich and poor!"

Other slogans were: "Five years we've had this right; we won't give it up without a fight," and "Our bodies, our lives, our right to decide; up with abortion, down with Hyde." (Rep. Henry Hyde [R-Ill.] is the sponsor of the congressional amendment that took away Medicaid funds for abortions.)

It is not surprising that the anti-abortion forces chose St. Louis as the site of their convention, given the long history here of state and local attacks on legal abortion. Missouri's attorney general has also filed suit against the National Organization for Women for its boycott of states that refuse to ratify the Equal Rights Amendment. And the trade unions in the state are under attack by "right to work" forces.

At the abortion rights rally, Father Joe O'Rourke, head of Catholics for a Free Choice, pointed out that the overwhelming majority of Catholics aged thirty and younger support the right to choose.

Abortion rights advocate Bill Baird said that it is important to continue rallies and demonstrations to keep the "coat hanger days" from returning to plague all women. These days have already returned for Black, Latina, and other poor women through passage of the racist Hyde Amendment.

Other speakers at the rally were Uta Landy, executive director of the National Abortion Federation; Patricia Gavett, national director of the Religious Coalition for Abortion Rights; Karen Mulhauser, executive director of the National Abortion Rights Action League; and attorney Frank Susman.

Questions on women's liberation

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Maoists back imperialist intervention in Africa

By David Frankel

The rebellion in Zaïre's Shaba province in mid-May and the intervention there by French and Belgian paratroopers met with widely varying responses from groups claiming to speak in the name of "Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought."

Peking itself has openly sided with imperialism, echoing the most extreme anti-Cuban and anti-Soviet claims of the big-business media. Thus, Chinese Foreign Minister Huang Hua was approvingly quoted by none other than the editors of the *Wall Street Journal* June 2.

Huang won applause for his speech to the United Nations session on disarmament in which, to the *Journal's* delight, he "lectured the weak-willed among the NATO allies, it is 'necessary to oppose a policy of appeasement.'"

Both Peking and the *Wall Street Journal* agree that opponents of bigger war budgets and weapons such as the neutron bomb are guilty of "appeasement."

But this places American Maoists in a difficult situation. Should they join forces with Henry Kissinger and Ronald Reagan? After all, these are the ones complaining about U.S. "appeasement" in Africa.

Peking's most loyal followers in Europe have drawn precisely such conclusions, agitating for greater war spending and backing the imperialist propaganda—and actions—of their own ruling classes.

'Appeasement'

Here in the United States, Peking has picked the Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist) as its standard-bearer. The June 5 issue of the *Call*, the CP(ML) newspaper, commented:

"In the main, the Carter administration has continued to carry out its appeasement policies towards the USSR even in the face of the Zaïre invasion. But last week, Carter gave a tough-talking speech denouncing the Soviet-Cuban involvement in Africa and called for the lifting of legislative restrictions on his ability to intervene directly in Africa."

Was the CP(ML) in favor of Carter's "tough talk"? Was it in favor of "lifting legislative restrictions on his ability to intervene directly in Africa"?

The *Call* did not say—at least, not in so many words. However, it was careful to direct all its venom at Moscow and Havana. No condemnation of the imperialist intervention in Zaïre appeared in the *Call*.

Finally, in its June 19 issue—a full month after the Shaba rebellion—the *Call* printed an editorial asking, "What lessons can we draw from these experiences [in Zaïre]?"

One lesson they draw is that imperialist intervention in Africa is progressive. As the *Call* put it:

"When the African countries themselves unite to oppose hegemonism, it is a very good thing. And it is also a good thing when the second world countries of Europe provide aid and assistance to Africa's fight against the superpowers, even though such aid is motivated primarily by the European countries' desire to protect their own interests."

Down with superpowers?

According to this line of reasoning, the French Foreign Legion and Belgian paratroopers were sent to Zaïre to "provide aid and assistance to Africa's fight against the superpowers. . . ."

But the *Call* leaves out one little thing. These paratroopers, who were supposedly aiding the "fight against the superpowers," were flown into Zaïre aboard U.S. Air Force transport planes. Did Washington perhaps forget which side they were on?



French Foreign Legionnaires board U.S. transport. CP(ML) pretends that French and Belgian intervention was intended to aid Zaïre against 'superpowers.'

The CP(ML) raises the slogan "Down with the two superpowers!" Even were this slogan meant seriously, it would be wrong, because it fails to draw a class distinction between the United States and the Soviet Union.

The United States is an imperialist power, with vast investments spread across the globe. Its political actions are based on protecting and expanding its foreign investments and markets.

The Soviet Union, on the other hand, is not a capitalist state. Its economic foundations were established by a workers' revolution that expropriated the Russian capitalists. That economic foundation survives, despite the reactionary policies of the bureaucratic regime established by Stalin.

Destruction of the profit system is reflected in the fact that the USSR has no significant economic investment outside of its own borders. It has no need to intervene around the world to preserve profits from such investments.

But the CP(ML)'s use of the slogan "Down with the two superpowers" is merely a cynical ploy. The CP(ML), like its bosses in Peking, aims its real fire at the Soviet Union, giving thinly veiled backing to Washington's anti-Soviet policies.

Another of the main U.S. Maoist groups, the Revolutionary Communist Party, really does uphold the line of "Down with the two superpowers."

RCP position

Like the CP(ML), the RCP repeated the imperialist lie that the Shaba rebellion was instigated by the USSR and Cuba. The June issue of *Revolution* claims that the Shaba rebels were "armed, trained and backed up politically by the Soviet social-imperialists and their Cuban front men."

Unfortunately for the RCP, even Carter was forced to backtrack on this lie at his June 14 news conference. An editorial in the June 15 *New York Times* admitted that Carter's charges were "unprovable except by a kind of guilt-by-association."

However, the RCP insisted in opposition to Peking that the intervention in Zaïre "by the U.S. and the Western powers in its bloc are every bit as reactionary as the Soviet backed invasion and must be opposed."

Opposition to the current regime in Peking among the majority of the RCP leadership led to a split in the group in January. The pro-Peking faction left

with at least a third of the RCP's forces.

One reflection of the changed situation in the RCP was a criticism in the article in *Revolution* regarding the RCP's coverage of an earlier rebellion in Zaïre. According to *Revolution*, its May 1977 article on Zaïre "had a one-sided tilt in opposing Soviet imperialism."

Although it refuses to carry out the line laid down by the Peking regime, the RCP also refuses to publicly criticize Peking's reactionary foreign policy.

Even further removed from its former position of automatic support for Peking is the *Guardian* newspaper. *Guardian* staff writer Irwin Silber asked June 14:

"Can Marxist-Leninists possibly equivocate on the question of U.S. imperialism's war preparations? The pro-China U.S. groups have not gone this far—yet. But their counterparts in western Europe have. . . . And if the 82nd Airborne should be sent to Zaïre, what stand will the CP(ML) in this country take?"

That's a good question.

Tapes on China

MAOISM AND THE CHINESE REVOLUTION, 1949-1978

by Leslie Evans. Two talks. Regular price: \$10. Special offer: \$8.00.

All talks are on cassette tapes and range from 45 to 100 minutes. Order from Education for Socialists Tapes, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014. Catalog available on request.

Education for Socialists Tapes



In Review

Frida Kahlo: painter & feminist

An exhibition of paintings by Frida Kahlo. Reviewed at the Chicago Museum of Contemporary Art. On display at the Phoenix Art Museum (June 9-July 23); University Art Museum, University of Texas, Austin (August 13-October 1); the Sarah Campbell Blaffer Gallery, University of Houston (October 14-November 19); and the Neuberger Museum, State University of New York at Purchase (December 8-January 14, 1979).

For thousands of years women have been the subject of artifacts created by men. It was the prescribed role of women to paint not other people's faces, but their own. Given the strictures against women's participation in mainstream culture, what is notable is not that there have been "no great women artists," but that a few *were* able to supersede their conditioning and assume the social role of artist.

Even then their subject matter was circumscribed. In an age when the subject of most (male) art was the human body, women were forbidden by custom and by law from using nude models.

It is only in the past century that the great art academies of Europe and America have allowed women into their "life" classes. That says as much about the state of the art as about the state of women.

One woman whose work is only now becoming known in America is Frida Kahlo, a Mexican painter. Kahlo's stark depictions of physical and psychological pain read like a litany of women's oppression.

At the age of fifteen, a debilitating accident ended Kahlo's hopes of a career as a physician and necessitated some thirty operations throughout her life. Encased in plaster casts, Kahlo had a mirror and an easel attached to her bed. There she learned to paint. The images she has left form a collective portrait of her changing consciousness and growing sense of selfhood.

Three paintings done within a nine-year period illustrate Kahlo's evolution.

In the first painting (Fig. 1) we see her as she must have seen herself at the age of twenty-one. Dominating the picture is the painter Diego Rivera. Feet planted solidly on the ground, he is holding a palette to show that *he* is an Artist.

Floating at his side with her head cocked deferentially towards her husband is Frida Kahlo. She has portrayed herself not in terms of what *she* does—she also was an artist—but in terms of what she is—the *wife* of the Artist.

The banner at the top says, "Here you see me Frida Kahlo and my lovable husband Diego Rivera. . . ."

Because all existing culture is permeated with male bias, women have been conditioned so see the world, and even themselves, from the point of view of men. This disjointed apprehension, this estrangement from their own experience, often leads women to see themselves in the third person as *she* rather than *me*.

"The Two Fridas" (Fig. 2), painted in the year Kahlo and Rivera separated, expresses this duality. In the painting the unloved Frida cuts off the flow of blood from her own heart, as if to repudiate the part of herself that Rivera no longer loved.

One year later, after Kahlo and Rivera were divorced, she painted "Self-Portrait With Cropped Hair" (Fig. 3).

In it Kahlo sits alone, shorn of the trappings that make women into decorative objects in the eyes of men, her face a mask of rapt defiance. At the top of this painting, done just nine years after the double portrait of herself and her "lovable husband," are the words, "Look, if I loved you, it was for your hair."



I. Frida and Diego Rivera, 1931



II. The Two Fridas, 1939

Now that you are bald, I don't love you anymore."

Most critics in assessing the work of Frida Kahlo cite her "bizarre morbidity," her "fantasies" and "hallucinations" as resulting from and reflecting her inability to bear children. They, like the society that engendered her, presume that procreation, not creation, is the proper realm of women.

They miss the point. Kahlo's physical afflictions may have started her painting, but it was the *social* affliction of being oppressed as a woman that animated her art. The schizoid double portraits, the disembodied bodies, the severed arms and bleeding hearts are the result of psychological repression.

Kahlo worked—as we do today—during the end of the historical epoch of capitalism. Establishment culture seeks to stifle and block new ideas that threaten the old order, but sanctions some forms of self-expression as a substitute for self-realization. As a result, the creative energy that people might use to scientifically satisfy their needs sometimes takes the form of fantasy instead—and is called "art" by the establishment culture.

This pattern is true for most people who live under capitalism. But it is especially true for

*Mira que si te quise, fui por el pelo.
Ahora que estás pelona, ya no te quiero.*



III. Self-Portrait with Cropped Hair, 1940

women, whose development is permanently impaired by their early conditioning.

For many years Kahlo and Rivera were at the center of the artistic and political life of Mexico as participants in both the Trotskyist and surrealist movements. But while Kahlo's art is just as reflective of female experience as Rivera's is of male experience, Rivera is everywhere accorded the status of 'great artist' while Kahlo merits barely a footnote. Nevertheless, Kahlo's paintings today stand as a bitter testament to the social oppression of women and its corresponding effect on personality.

In a culture where women's art has been not so much devalued as ignored, exhibits such as the Frida Kahlo retrospective, which is now touring this country for the first time twenty-four years after her death, are a necessary corrective to the overwhelming male bias in art.

Before an oppressed group can overcome its oppression it has to become visible to itself, and that is the job of both revolutionists and artists. Frida Kahlo's paintings show not only what we were, but what we can be. —Joyce Stoller

A Reader's Notes

We should feel grateful to our Canadian cousins for having published the pamphlet *Socialist Democracy*, which contains the resolution "Socialist Democracy and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat," which was adopted by the United Secretariat of the Fourth International last year (Vanguard Publications, Toronto, 1978, 32 pages, 75 cents; distributed in the U.S. by Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, New York 10014).

It was printed here last year in *Intercontinental Press* (July 25, 1977) but it tended to get lost in the rush of summer, and it is good to have it now in a more permanent form.

Because it deserves attention and study. As the Canadian introduction says, "It shows that Stalinist bureaucracy and the limited 'democracy' of capitalism are not the sole choices available to the working class."

"Thus, the resolution attempts to revive the real meaning of the 'dictatorship of the proletariat' as

the term was used by Marx and Lenin; to describe the exercise of political power by a *social class*, the working class, not a narrow dictatorship imposed upon this class by a privileged party/state bureaucracy. Indeed, real forms of workers power will be infinitely more democratic than the narrow freedoms permitted under bourgeois parliamentary democracy.

"At the same time, the resolution is a real elaboration on this question. It goes beyond the general positions of classical Marxism to address concrete problems posed by a half-century of struggle for socialist democracy."

From that, socialists will see the importance of reading and studying this pamphlet. Some of them will find the going a little slow, as I did, because of a too-common error: trying to cram too much into a given space. But they should persevere, as I did, and they will find a great deal of food for thought and discussion. —George Breitman



A talk with Dick Gregory

Former comedian Dick Gregory has been on the front lines of many battles for social justice for ten years—the anti-Vietnam War movement, the Black liberation movement, the fight for Native American rights, and others.

Last month he was at Seabrook, New Hampshire, to speak to the 20,000 protesters who had come to rally against a nuclear power plant under construction there.

I chatted with him backstage before he spoke.

What brought him to Seabrook?

"I think this is a very important movement," Gregory answered. "It's an outgrowth of what went on in the sixties. As America's consciousness level rises, Americans will start getting involved in more demonstrations. It's time to make this a better place. Period.

"One of these plants goes up, all of them are gonna be closed down. But that's too late. Thirty thousand people dead, a hundred thousand injured, \$20 billion property damage."



Dick Gregory at Seabrook

Militant/Arnold Weissberg

What do you tell Black people about nuclear power?

"I would just try to relate the horrors of it. But they got their own hurts. No other threat to them is as bad as that rat. It's very difficult to tell some mother who's lost babies from rat bites and lead poisoning that this plant, thousands of miles away, is going to harm her.

"But the issue has to be raised—now. There's energy blackmail. They go and say to Blacks, 'If we don't have nuclear energy, y'all don't have a job.'"

Can the anti-nuclear power movement win substantial support among Blacks?

Gregory thought so. "In the long run poor folks will benefit more than anybody else, because the next move will be into the Black community. If they knew airports were gonna be so polluting, they would have been in my neighborhood a long time ago."

Gregory cited the example of the anti-Vietnam War movement. "Blacks used to wear their uniform six months after we got out of the military, because it meant dignity.

"But the anti-Vietnam War movement affected the Black community so much, you wouldn't see a Black in uniform. They wouldn't even wear their uniforms at the airport, they were so humiliated, so embarrassed."

Union Talk

Illinois AFSCME & political action

This week's column is by Linda Thompson, a state representative of AFSCME Local 2000 and shop steward at the Garfield Office of Public Aid.

CHICAGO—Last February, Illinois members of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees were shocked to see headlines in the Chicago papers stating that AFSCME leaders attending an AFL-CIO meeting in Bal Harbour, Florida, had given Republican Gov. James Thompson "high marks" and may endorse him for reelection in 1978. AFSCME International President Jerry Wurf praised Thompson, describing him as a "reasonable and honorable" governor.

Illinois AFSCME members had good reason to be stunned. Thompson has been leading a major attack against state employees and our union.

Understaffing is rampant in state agencies.

A thousand public aid workers have wrongfully been denied a 5 percent longevity bonus.

Thompson has introduced harsh new policies concerning attendance during inclement weather, and time and leave practices.

And Thompson is trying to destroy a public aid

career ladder, won by the union, which has made it possible for thousands of Black workers to make affirmative-action gains unprecedented in the past.

AFSCME District Director Larry Marquardt lost no time in lining up behind the new tactical shift to supporting a Republican "friend of labor."

At the same time Marquardt admitted that a promised pay raise due this summer—"contingent on sufficient state revenues"—was in dire jeopardy.

Instead of attacking the manipulation of budget figures by Thompson and other state officials to avoid granting state employees their rightful raise, the AFSCME leaders implied that the money shortage was caused by striking coal miners and their effect on the state economy!

When these statements appeared in the press, outraged state workers phoned the Local 2000 office to protest.

This reaction from the membership prompted Local 2000 President Max Liberles to publicly denounce the statements by the international leadership. Local 2000 is the largest AFSCME local in Illinois, representing 10,000 public aid workers.

Liberles said, "Our state employees haven't had a pay raise in four years and are hot as hell over

AFSCME's praise and near endorsement of Governor Thompson."

If Local 2000's protest is to be more than a momentary outcry, we need to do more than oppose endorsement of Thompson—we need to discuss and formulate an alternative policy.

Supporting Democrat Bakalis would get us nowhere. It would only be a replay of AFSCME's disastrous policy of supporting Democrats—from former New York Mayor Beame to President Carter—who in office attack public employees and working people in general.

Instead, Local 2000 could discuss using its political and financial resources to begin educating unionists on the need to run independent labor candidates for office.

It could discuss initial steps toward forming an Illinois labor party to speak for workers and fight against the antilabor Democratic and Republican parties.

In addition, Local 2000 should discuss supporting Cecil Lampkin, Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor. Lampkin is the only candidate who unequivocally supports the interests of Illinois state workers and who makes the call for a labor party a major part of his platform.

The American Way of Life

Children in the fields

In 1974 Congress approved regulations making it illegal for children under twelve to work in the fields. But this year ten-year-old children can legally harvest spuds in Maine and strawberries in Washington.

It didn't take agribusiness very long to get Congress to change the law. Senators voted overwhelmingly for lowering the age standard while reminiscing about their happy childhood days milking cows, developing good work habits, and breathing fresh country air. Actually, that good old country air is loaded with poison. Nine-year-old Jimmy Brooks learned that the hard way when he died of chemical pneumonitis three years ago in New Jersey. He was busy in a tomato field while an adjoining area was being treated with insecticide.

Agriculture is one of the three most hazardous industries, along with construction and mining. Dangerous machines are constant threats, and crippling or fatal accidents are frequent. The specific examples are gruesome:

- a twelve-year-old getting her ponytail caught in a potato-digging machine and having her scalp, ears, eyelids and cheeks ripped off;
- a five-year-old getting mangled and killed in a feed conveyor;

- a four-year-old boy getting his right arm caught in a corn auger and torn off.

Why are the growers so set on using child labor? Simple arithmetic. In 1971 the U.S. Labor Department estimated that more than one-fourth (about 800,000) of seasonal agricultural workers were children under sixteen and almost half were between ten and thirteen. In Oregon more than 50 percent of the bean crop is harvested by children under fourteen earning an average of forty cents an hour.

A 1970 study by the American Friends Service Committee in California found children receiving twelve cents a crate for strawberries and an average hourly wage of \$1.12 (and California boasts that its child-labor laws prevent such abuse!) Take hundreds of thousands of child harvesters, multiply by cut-rate wages . . . and it equals superprofits for agribusiness.

To listen to agribusiness, you would never know they were motivated by anything so crude as money. In Louisiana, where children make up as much as 75 percent of the seasonal farm labor force, growers claim that without child labor the crops would rot in the fields, and that migrant family

income would suffer. You see, using child labor is a civic duty!

But a 1972 experiment exposed that fraud. The National Committee on the Education of Migrant Children got the Labor Department to enforce child-labor laws in one parish. The results? The crop was satisfactorily harvested by unemployed adults hired at higher wages than the children had been earning.

At May hearings of the Labor Department, C.H. Fields from the Farm Bureau Federation argued for unrestricted hiring of young girls and boys by claiming that seasonal harvesting "offers an opportunity for local nonmigrant young people to gain a worthwhile work experience in healthy circumstances, while at the same time preventing the loss of some highly perishable crops."

Dorothy Kelley, executive director of the Maine Potato Council, assured the Labor Department that jobless adults were not displaced by the 12,000 children who harvested last year's potato crop in her state.

Those statements remind me of the old song: "Put it on the ground, spread it all around, dig it with a hoe, it will make your garden grow!"

—Evelyn Sell

Quote unquote

"We are resisting the [American Bar Association's] idea of giving every witness in the grand jury a lawyer. This, in my judgement, is an ill-conceived notion. For example, there was no thought given to the fact that most witnesses are indigent and some arrangement would have to be made to provide them with attorneys."

—Attorney General Griffin Bell, speaking to the American Law Institute.

JOB OUTLOOK GLOOMY

Even if the economies of the capitalist world somehow manage to rev themselves up again during the next decade, the number of jobs is unlikely to increase because of automation. That's the gloomy conclusion of a recent report by the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), a group of twenty-four leading capitalist governments.

The study notes that the tendency to cut costs by substituting machines for human labor is likely to accelerate as profits rise.

The study warned that one consequence will be to prolong high levels of unemployment among young people.

'OVERSTAFFED' HEALTH-CARE CENTERS?

While admitting that 45 million Americans don't have ade-

quate access to health care, the federal government also claims that the paltry 112 neighborhood health-care centers around the country are "over-staffed."

The neighborhood health-care centers serve some 1.4 million poor people, mostly in the cities.

According to Congress's General Accounting Office, the centers have hired too many doctors, dentists, and support staff.

3,000 IN SEATTLE MARCH FOR GAY RIGHTS

Three thousand supporters of gay and lesbian rights marched through downtown Seattle July 1. The march and a rally were organized by the Washington Coalition for Sexual Minority Rights and the Seattle Committee Against Thirteen. They focused on Initiative 13, a ballot measure—conceived by two cops—that would repeal sections of the city's fair-housing code prohibiting discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation.

The initiative would also eliminate the enforcement powers of the Seattle Office of Women's Rights.

UNION PROTEST HALTS CHILE ARMS

A U.S. shipment of bomb parts to the bloody military dictatorship in Chile has been prevented by the refusal of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) to handle the deadly cargo.

Although the U.S. State Department claimed the military items would be used only for "practice," ILWU President James Herman declared, "We

wanted to demonstrate our unwillingness to be a party to the shipment of goods which will be used . . . to strengthen a regime responsible for the imprisonment, death, or disappearance of many thousands. . . ."

The State Department agreed to hold up the shipment "pending an investigation of the human rights situation in that country," according to the ILWU *Dispatcher*.

SHINNICK WINS FULL-TIME JOB BACK

Phil Shinnick, falsely accused by a federal grand jury several years ago of aiding fugitive Patty Hearst, has won back full-time status as director of sports studies at Rutgers University. Shinnick was demoted to part-time status after he refused to cooperate with the Hearst witch-hunt in 1974. He was jailed for fifty days for contempt.

Shinnick will also be reimbursed for the cut in pay he took.

AMERICAN WAY OF LIFE

A Texas couple has dissolved their forty-nine-year marriage so the woman can continue to receive Medicaid payments. Ruth King suffers from Huntington's chorea, a rare nerve disease. Her Social Security covered 40 percent of the hospital bills. Medicaid made up the rest.

Eagle-eyed Medicaid bureaucrats discovered that C.W. King had saved about \$2,700 to pay for his wife's funeral. That's about \$300 more than he's allowed, so they told him they'd cut off his wife's Medi-

Abortion arson cases dropped

Claiming, "there were no substantive leads to follow, no defendants or primary suspects," the Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms division of the U.S. Treasury has dropped investigations of bombings and arson at eleven abortion clinics.

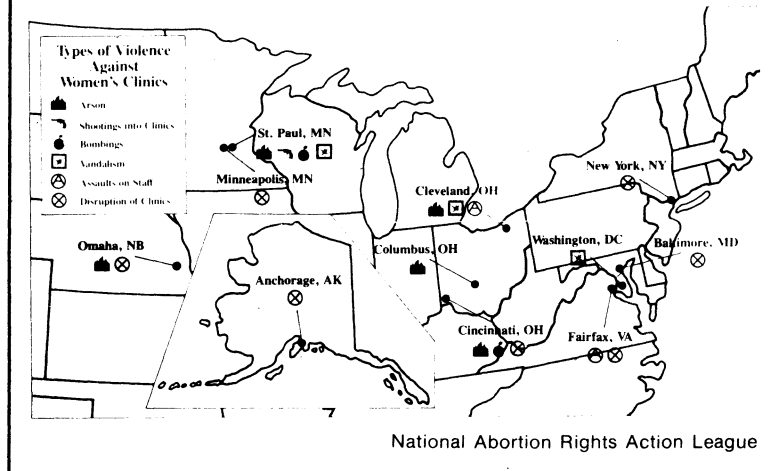
However, information from the National Abortion Rights Action League suggests that the government is not really interested in solving the crimes.

In Omaha, Nebraska, af-

ter an abortion clinic was attacked with gasoline bombs, a local paper and several local groups received *signed* letters reading, "You'd bomb a concentration camp—why not abortion centers?"

In addition, clinic personnel found that someone had bought gasoline from a nearby store the same night and paid *by check*.

That's one of the cases where ATF says it has "no leads."



caid, or at least make him pay \$59 a month from his own \$302 Social Security check. They also threatened to have her thrown out of the nursing home.

After consulting a lawyer, C.W. King found the only way to keep up the Medicaid was to get a divorce, so his wife would have no assets of her own.

"Probably Mr. King did not

fully understand the correspondence we are sending him," said one warm-hearted Medicaid official.

FREE DESSIE WOODS!

A hundred people marched in President Carter's home town of Plains, Georgia, July 4 demanding freedom for Dessie

What's Going On

CALIFORNIA

OAKLAND

WHAT'S HAPPENING IN AFRICA?

Speakers: Douglas Mohlabane, Kopano Unity; Sandy Porter, Socialist Workers Party; Dr. Henry Bryant, chair of ethnic studies, Laney College; Clarence Johnson, KDI news. Fri., July 21, 8 p.m. 1467 Fruitvale. Donation: \$1. Ausp: SWP. For more information call (415) 261-1210.

CUBA, CHINA, THE SOVIET UNION, AND AFRICA. Speaker: Clifton DeBerry, Socialist Workers Party National Committee. Sat., July 22, 1:30 p.m. 1467 Fruitvale. Donation: \$1. Ausp: SWP. For more information call (415) 261-1210.

MEMORIAL MEETING FOR VIRGINIA KIEZEL. A member of the Socialist Workers Party since the early 1950s. Speakers and friends from the United Farm Workers, United Automobile Workers, and SWP. Sun., July 23, 1 p.m. UAW headquarters, 45201 Fremont Blvd., Fremont. Ausp: SWP. For more information call (415) 261-1210.

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.

ILLINOIS CHICAGO

THE CUBAN REVOLUTION: ITS LESSONS FOR TODAY. A commemoration

of the 25th anniversary of the attack on the Moncada Barracks, drawing the lessons of the Cuban revolution. Speaker: Catarino Garza, Socialist Workers Party National Committee; slide presentation on the Cuban revolution. Sat., July 22, 7:30 p.m. St. Vitus Church, 1818 S. Paulina. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Illinois SWP Campaign & 'Perspectiva Mundial.' For more information call (312) 939-0737.

FOUR CLASSES ON MARXIST ECONOMICS. Speaker: Dick Roberts, staff writer for the 'Militant.' Sat., July 22, 1 p.m. & 4 p.m.; Sun., July 23, 3 p.m. & 4:30 p.m. Lawson YWCA, 30 W. Chicago Ave. Donation: 50¢ per class. Ausp: Socialist Workers Party. For more information call (312) 939-0737.

INDIANA INDIANAPOLIS

SOCIALIST SUMMER SCHOOL. 'Struggle for a Proletarian Party.' Tues., July 25, 11:30 a.m. & 6:30 p.m.; Sun., July 30, 11 a.m. Case for socialism, Wed., July 26, 7 p.m.; Sun., July 30, 1 p.m. All classes at 4163 N. College. Ausp: Socialist Workers Party. For more information call (317) 925-2616.

MARYLAND BALTIMORE

THE FIGHT FOR GAY & LESBIAN RIGHTS: A DISCUSSION OF STRATEGY. Speakers: Salm Kolis, Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of Maryland; Harvey Schwartz, member of Maryland Gay Rights Coalition; others. Fri., July 21, 8 p.m. 2117 N. Charles. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (301) 547-0668.

MISSOURI KANSAS CITY

HOW TO DEFEAT 'RIGHT TO WORK.' Speakers: Jerry Zabel, business repre-

sentative, Bakery & Confectionary Workers Local 218; Cindy Neitfeld, Service Employees International Union Local 96; Jim Levitt, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Congress. Fri., July 21, 7:30 p.m. 4715A Troost. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (816) 753-0404.

NEW YORK

NYC: LOWER EAST SIDE

THE LATIN AMERICAN REVOLUTION: THE EXPERIENCE OF CHILE. Speakers: Catarino Garza, national committee, Socialist Workers Party; representative of 'Coordinadora Nacional de Regionales' of the Chilean Socialist Party, U.S. Section. Fri., July 21, 7:30 p.m. 7 Clinton St. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: 'Perspectiva Mundial' Forum. For more information call (212) 260-6400.

OREGON PORTLAND

VIETNAM IN TRANSITION. Speaker: Gary Bill, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., July 21, 8 p.m. 3928 N. Williams Ave. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Bookstore & Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (503) 288-7860.

TWENTY-FIVE YEARS OF THE CUBAN REVOLUTION. Speakers to be announced. Fri., July 28, 8 p.m. 3928 N. Williams Ave. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Bookstore & Young Socialist Alliance. 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. 2215 Cedar Crest Blvd. Donation: \$1 each series. Ausp: Socialist Workers Party. For more information call (214) 943-6684.

SPEAKOUT ON THE MEANING OF THE 'BAKKE' DECISION. Speakers: Robert Medrano, Dallas School Board; speakers from NAACP, National Organization for Women, and Socialist Workers Party. Fri., July 21, 8 p.m. 2215 Cedar Crest. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Socialist Workers Party. For more information call (214) 943-6684.

HOUSTON: SOUTH CENTRAL

SOCIALIST SUMMER SCHOOL. 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: 50¢ per class. Ausp: SWP. For more information call (713) 643-0005.

UTAH

SALT LAKE CITY

SOCIALIST SUMMER SCHOOL. Series of classes on 'Labor's Giant Step.' July 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.

SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY VS. ATTORNEY GENERAL. Speakers: Bill Hoyle, SWP candidate for U.S. Congress; others. Thurs., July 20, 7:30 p.m. 677 S. 7th East. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Bookstore. For more information call (801) 355-1124.

WASHINGTON

TACOMA

GAY RIGHTS: THE MOVEMENT AGAINST THIRTEEN. Speakers: panel discussion. Fri., July 21, 8 p.m. 1022 S. J St. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (206) 627-0432.

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Rafael writes on Africa

In my last column a few weeks ago, I wrote about the need for Puerto Ricans to come to the defense of the Cuban revolution and African liberation struggles at a time when they are under intense attack from the U.S. government.

Just a few days later the 'Militant' received a letter along the same line from Rafael Cancel Miranda, one of five members of the Puerto Rican Nationalist Party imprisoned by the U.S. government in the early 1950s for actions carried out in support of independence. (One of the five, Andres Figueroa Cordero, is dying of cancer and was released from prison earlier this year. The remaining four are the longest-held political prisoners in the Western Hemisphere.

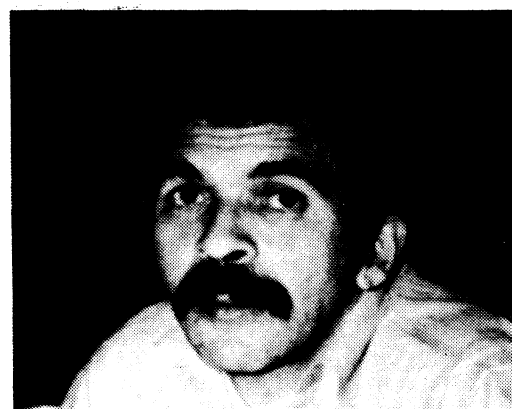
Cancel Miranda wrote the letter in response to a mailing sent to all imprisoned 'Militant' subscribers asking if they had been receiving the paper regularly and wanted to continue doing so. Since prisoners often don't have any money, many of these subscriptions are paid for by the Militant Prisoners Fund. If you would like to make a contribution to the fund, send it to: The Militant, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014.

First of all, let me express my thanks to those who make contributions to the prisoners subscription fund.

A few months ago I very much felt like thanking the people of the *Militant* for a series of articles about the colonial situation of my homeland: Puerto Rico. It was a very solid and truthful report. I'm taking this opportunity to express some thanks, which are overdue.

I have found of interest, too, many other articles in the *Militant* relating to various struggles of the people around the world. I'm following with much interest your reports on Zaire. Yes, we are witnessing there the same old colonial powers getting together, like against Vietnam, to subdue by force of arms the African people. As usual, they try to cover up their plans to disguise their criminal behavior, but the world knows their true faces. It's not "Africa for the Africans" that they want, but Africa for the imperialist profiteers.

I know, I'm a Puerto Rican, and though Puerto Rico is the homeland of the Puerto



Political prisoner Raphael Cancel Miranda

Ricans, right now Puerto Rico is a private property of the United States ruling clique—of the imperialist profit mongers who also control this country. And, unfortunately, Puerto Rico does not belong to its people at the present time. As a matter of fact, too many Puerto Ricans have been forced out of our land. So you can see why it's so easy for me to see their hypocrisy—their cover up of "Africa for the Africans."

I remember how they invaded Santo Domingo a few years back [1965]—they sent tens of thousands of marines to crush "eleven communists." Anyone who knows the plundering of Latin America by the Rockefellers, J.P. Morgans, and all those parasites of the U.S. ruling clique know very well what the imperialists mean by "Africa for the Africans"—just a high-sounding phrase (and Africa should indeed be for the Africans) to hide their criminal designs against the people of Africa.

They have been using the same kind of deceptive rhetoric against the people of Latin America, Asia, and everywhere. Really!

Yes, I would very much like to keep on receiving the *Militant*. And it's my hope to keep on seeing in its pages more articles about the national liberation movements, and, of course, about the struggles of oppressed people everywhere. I think of myself as part of every struggle anywhere in the world in which people struggle for freedom, dignity, and a just socio-political-economic way of life. Oppression is a cancer, to be oppressed and not to fight back is suicidal. May the *Militant* keep on fighting back until victory!

Thanks again,
Rafael

Woods, a Black woman convicted of murdering a white man who tried to rape her in 1975. Woods is serving a ten-year sentence for manslaughter and twelve years for armed robbery.

Twenty-seven people traveled by charter bus from New York to join the protest.

COALITION CONDEMNS ANTIGAY ASSAULTS

Two spokespeople for New York City's Coalition for Lesbian and Gay Rights have condemned a brutal assault on six men in Central Park July 6.

"It is a horrifying example of an escalating wave of violence directed at the gay community in New York City and throughout America," said David Thorstad and Betty Santoro.

"The Rambles [the area of the park where the six were attacked] has for years been a popular meeting area for gay men. Clearly, the message is that anyone who is caught in its vicinity . . . is to be considered fair game for thugs crazed by more than a year of nationwide hysteria whipped up by a campaign against homosexuality and gay rights."

The two called for passage of Intro 384, a bill that would ban discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation.

The antigay nature of the assaults has been almost entirely ignored by the big-business news media.

'HITCH' IN HUMPHREY-HAWKINS

Remember the Humphrey-Hawkins bill? It's the piece of magic legislation that's supposed to "end" unemployment—by setting 4 percent unemployment in five years as a target and calling it "full employment," but without spending a dime to put people to work. It's the fraudulent response of Democratic Party politicians and AFL-CIO bureaucrats to high unemployment levels.

Humphrey-Hawkins has been slowly making its way through the labyrinth of Congress, where its already weak provisions have been gutted even further.

The latest move: the Senate Banking Committee has amended the bill so that none

of its provisions can go into effect if the level of inflation rises above zero, thus guaranteeing that the bill, even if passed, can never be implemented.

The AFL-CIO News characterized this amendment as "a hitch."

COURT OVERTURNS OHIO DEATH PENALTY

The Supreme Court July 3 declared the Ohio death penalty statute unconstitutional because it did not allow special circumstances to be taken into account. The ruling declared that judges and juries should be allowed to take into account such factors as the defendant's age and prior criminal record.

The ruling will take ninety-nine people off Death Row in Ohio. Similar challenges in other states are expected.

COURT RULES ON 'INDECENT' LANGUAGE

In a blow against First Amendment rights, the Supreme Court July 3 upheld the censure of radio station WBAI by the Federal Communications Commission. The FCC had censured the New York City station after its broadcast of a recorded monologue by comedian George Carlin. The monologue discussed what Carlin called "the words you couldn't say on the public airwaves." As a result, the legal battle has become known as the "seven dirty words" case.

The court ruled that the First Amendment did not prevent the FCC from taking action against "patently offensive" language that fell short of obscenity.

BLACK PROTEST THREATENED BY KKK

About 250 Blacks marched through Tupelo, Mississippi, July 8 despite the menacing presence of Ku Klux Klansmen "monitoring" the march. The march was the latest in a series of protests that began last March after white Tupelo cops severely beat a Black man.

The Black community has boycotted downtown stores and demanded an affirmative-action hiring plan to bring Black employment in the city's work force to 30 percent.

During the July 8 march, one Klan truck sported a sign reading, "Black, white or yellow—what are you?"

'No U.S. aid to Somoza!'

About 150 Latin Americans and North Americans took part in a march and rally in New York City July 8 to demand an end to human rights violations in Nicaragua. The action, sponsored by the Association for Human Rights in Nicaragua, also called for an end to

U.S. aid to the Somoza dictatorship and freedom for all Nicaraguan political prisoners.

Eighty copies of the Spanish-language socialist biweekly *Perspectiva Mundial* were sold at the demonstration.



NO NOT COSS
Perspectiva Mundial

Angola

EDUCATION FOR SOCIALISTS
PREPARED BY THE NATIONAL EDUCATION DEPARTMENT SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY

Revolutionists and the Fight Against
Imperialist Intervention in Angola
A Reply to Nahuel Moreno
By Gus Horowitz

THE MILITANT

Black freedom fight
Resistance grows
In southern Africa

SWP leader begins
part tour on Angola
Socialist Workers Party
action to get U.S. out
of Angola
U.S. hands off
Angola: the
next Vietnam?
Mercenaries pour into Angola

JUNE 1978

Revolutionists and the Fight Against
Imperialist Intervention in Angola by
Gus Horowitz, \$.50

How can an effective movement
against U.S. intervention in southern
Africa be built? How did the
SWP help do this during the Angolan
war? These and other
important issues are taken up
in this valuable booklet.

Education for Socialists publication, available from Pathfinder Press, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014. Please enclose \$.25 for postage and handling.

'Why we were indicted'

On July 15, 1941, a federal grand jury indicted twenty-nine leaders of the Socialist Workers Party and Minneapolis Teamsters Local 544. They were falsely charged with advocating "the overthrow and destruction of the Government of the United States by force and violence."

This first peacetime federal prosecution for sedition in American history was part of the Roosevelt administration's preparations for war. It aimed to destroy the Socialist Workers Party and the militant, anti-war wing of the American labor movement, which was spearheaded by the Minneapolis Teamsters.

Despite a defense effort that won broad labor support, eighteen of the defendants were convicted and served prison terms of up to eighteen months.

The full story of the case is told by Farrell Dobbs, one of those indicted and imprisoned, in 'Teamster Bureaucracy' (Pathfinder Press, \$4.45). The court testimony of James P. Cannon, then SWP national secretary, has become a classic presentation of socialist ideas. It is available in 'Socialism on Trial' (Pathfinder Press, \$2.25).

Thirty-seven years later the present attorney general faces jail for refusing to hand over evidence of crimes by FBI informers against the SWP and Young Socialist Alliance. No doubt the Carter administration looks back wistfully to the days when Roosevelt and the FBI could trample on civil liberties with seeming impunity.

But all those who are heartened by the SWP's offensive against government spying today ought to look back with pride to the party's uncompromising defense of its principles and democratic rights under difficult circumstances in 1941.

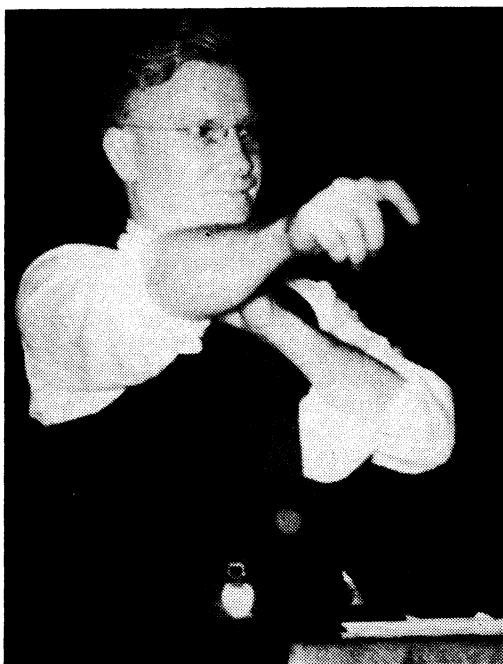
Reprinted below are excerpts from a statement by James P. Cannon on "Why We Have Been Indicted," first published in the July 26, 1941, 'Militant.'

Franklin Doublecross Roosevelt has systematically lied to the American people. He has broken promise after promise. At this moment the army training camps are seething with resentment against Roosevelt's latest broken promise: his solemn covenant with draftees that conscription would be limited to a period of one year. And why is he seeking an indefinite extension of the term of conscription? In order to break his solemn promise of last November that no American soldiers would fight on foreign soil.

Couple with these broken promises Roosevelt's strikebreaking use of troops, his terroristic use of the FBI and other governmental agencies of repression against CIO unions and the Socialist Workers Party, and you have a clear picture of Roosevelt's foul scheme. By a combination of force and fraud he proposes to drag the American masses into a war which they do not want and for which they would never vote.

Roosevelt's typical combination of force and fraud is evident in the indictments drawn up by his Department of "Justice" against the leaders of the Socialist Workers Party. The basic motivation for those indictments was stated by Acting Attorney General Francis Biddle on June 28, when he sought to justify the FBI's Gestapo raids on the St. Paul and Minneapolis headquarters of the Socialist Workers Party. Biddle then cited and quoted from the anti-war sections of the Declaration of Principles adopted by the 1938 convention of the Socialist Workers Party.

But some strategist in Roosevelt's War Party has since realized how unpopular



JAMES P. CANNON

would be a persecution of our Anti-War Party for our anti-war views. Hence, Biddle's assistants have now drawn up an indictment against us which makes no reference whatsoever to the anti-war sections of our 1938 Declaration of Principles—in fact, the word "war" appears nowhere in the indictment!

Roosevelt's agents were not quite able to erase the tell-tale indications of the real motivation for this persecution. They give their game away in charge No. 4 of the indictment, which accuses us of urging, counseling and persuading the workers and farmers "that the Government of the United States was imperialistic. . ."

Yes, we have explained and shall continue to explain to the workers and farmers that the Roosevelt government is imperialistic in its every move.

Imperialism is the motive force behind all Roosevelt's war plans. Like Hitler, he would be master of the entire world. Hitler seeks that mastery as political agent for Germany's bankers; Roosevelt seeks that mastery as political agent for America's Sixty Families, the DuPonts and Morgans and Rockefellers.

As he plunges toward total war, Roosevelt would like first to destroy all leadership and potential leadership of the anti-war forces. Roosevelt and his War Party understand very well that an honest workers' party like ours, with firm principles and cadres steered and tempered in the class struggle, can tomorrow become the accepted spokesman for the great masses in the struggle to put an end to the war. The Roosevelt War Party would destroy us before that tomorrow comes.

We are no pacifists. We Trotskyists have shown, in China, in Loyalist Spain, in the Red Army, that we are ready to fight on behalf of a just cause. But Roosevelt's war is an imperialist war and we shall oppose it, and nothing shall stop us.

We are no pacifists. We shall not turn the other cheek to Roosevelt's attack on our party. On the contrary, we shall see to it that every worker and farmer in this country hears our true views and learns how Roosevelt has engineered this vile frameup against us. This case will be tried by the government in a courtroom in Minneapolis and we shall defend ourselves there. Far more important, however, we shall defend ourselves before our true judges—the workers and farmers of this country.

And we are confident of their verdict, once we break through the fraud and deceit with which the Roosevelt War Party seek to conceal the true issue. The Socialist Workers Party is the Anti-War Party. The workers and farmers have no interest in this war. They want no part of it. The anti-war party and the tens of millions opposed to the war will join hands in the course of our battle to free the 29 defendants from Roosevelt's Gestapo.

Selling 'jobs' issue

I've read the *Militant* nearly every week for six years now. It's the one paper often worth reading cover to cover. I've been selling the paper off and on for almost as long.

Selling the *Militant* is sometimes difficult depending on where you sell, the headline, and the general political climate. That's why I was amazed at selling three copies of the June 30 issue within five minutes. People were running up to me asking to buy one, and literally standing in line waiting to discuss the question of "How to win jobs for all."

Within one-half hour I talked to three people who were unemployed and happened to be job hunting. They were quite anxious to discuss the issue. It seems that in spite of the government's lies, there is quite an unemployment problem.

When I got home I read the article thoroughly. Wow! You've exceeded even your own high standards of journalism. The proposed emergency employment bill is beautiful. I'm proud to have been responsible for several people having the opportunity to read it. Keep up the good work!
Terry Briscoe
Cincinnati, Ohio

Fifty-five and out

In the June 30 issue of the *Militant* the emergency jobs bill seemed to have one important point missing—retirement at fifty-five at full union pay, or "fifty-five and out." Not only would this protect working people from the poverty they are consigned to by social security and paltry pensions, not only would working people be young enough and have enough money to enjoy retirement, but this measure would provide millions of jobs for younger workers who would move into positions vacated by those retiring.

Fifty-five and out could also be linked to some kind of program to assure that retired workers didn't go crazy just sitting around.

Kip Hedges
Somerville, Massachusetts

Palestine vs. Israel

Your June 30 issue carries a letter that denies the right of Israel to exist as a separate state.

Although the atrocities committed by the Israelis might subjectively influence one to such a decision, the history of Israel and Palestine seem to operate in favor of two separate nations, one Palestinian, the other Jewish.

It was in 1947 I believe, that the UN General Assembly passed a resolution revoking the British mandate on Palestine and dividing the region into two independent states: Arab and Jewish. Zionist leaders nominally bowed to the UN decision but immediately began to work on carving a bigger Jewish state, hoping to turn the whole of Palestine into a purely Jewish state.

If I am not mistaken, the Palestine Liberation Organization recognizes the possibility of one democratic Palestine recognizing Jew, Moslem, and Christian equally, or the two separate states of Palestine and Israel.

James Stafford
Ponchatoula, Louisiana

Rosenberg tribute

We are sending this letter to the readers of the *Guardian*, *Militant*, *Seven Days*, and the *Daily World* to thank all of you who supported us and helped make the rally sponsored by the United 25th Anniversary Movement in Tribute to Ethel and Julius Rosenberg a tremendous success. Not only was there a large turnout (the police estimate was 6,700, but as always there were more), but the spirit of the gathering was very special. The diversity of the crowd was particularly important, for it was our intention to bring many groups together in a united action.

During the demonstration, Robby was talking with an old friend by the edge of the speaker's area when a man asked him, "Don't you think most of these people wouldn't be here if they weren't pushing their own thing?" Robby responded that the entire point of the rally was that each group's work was the work of all, that these were not separate struggles. It was our duty to unite and fight together against today's repression and the rising tide on the right. A number of people in the crowd nodded agreement, and the man seemed strangely disappointed.

We wish to thank all who attended for recognizing this need for unity, and we hope that the commemorative rally served to move us all towards more united action. The 200,000 pages [of FBI and other police files] we now have would never have been released without concerted nationwide pressure. We could never have obtained the \$195,000 we forced from the government for our legal expenses without the help of many people from disparate groups.

We will continue the struggle, and we will be victorious.

Robert Meeropol
Michael Meeropol
Springfield, Massachusetts

Canada steel layoffs

Please renew my subscription for the coming year. I first subscribed while working at a mine in Northern British Columbia, and was pleased with your coverage of the United Steelworkers, particularly of the Ed Sadlowski campaign for USWA president.

The USW in Canada is following the same pro-tariff, anti-import campaign as reported in the *Militant*, and the results here are clearly disastrous. Last year Algoma Steel, one of Canada's largest steel producers, decided that imports were cutting into their profits. So they petitioned the

Learning About Socialism

Socialism on tape

government to slap a heavy tariff on wide-flange steel, which is used in building-construction and heavy machinery fabrication. USW District 6 jumped on the company bandwagon, claiming that this would save jobs at Algoma's plant in Ontario.

With the tariff now in effect, building contractors and shops on the west coast have to transport across the country instead of using cheaper Japanese steel. At up to \$5,000 per carload, this means that many plants will be forced to cut back production or even close. The result: up to 1,000 lost jobs in Vancouver.

Some of the steel leaders are now having second thoughts about the tariff. Their solution, however, is to ask the federal government to subsidize railroad freight rates. I think a better approach would be for the unions to decide what is best for the workers, instead of trying to save big business. A shorter workweek with no loss in pay would spread the available work around and save jobs. Plants that close or implement massive layoffs should be nationalized and run by the workers themselves. These demands could be negotiated in the style used by the United Mine Workers against the coal companies and the U.S. government. As we can see now in Vancouver, the alternative is growing unemployment.

Cliff Mack

Vancouver, British Columbia

Corporal punishment

I have been a reader of the *Militant* for over a year now and would appreciate space in this column to expose a very "painful" practice that is truly cruel and unusual in every sense of the term—and which is running rampant and unchecked by public indignation within our nation's schools. Corporal punishment.

I recently completed a book on this subject and found that teachers from coast to coast give very, very severe paddlings as a matter of routine.

I am deadly serious about this issue. I have run across horror stories on school spankings in every state of the union that are mind-boggling. Teenagers are routinely disciplined as severely as those flogged in Saudi Arabia, Argentina, or Afghanistan. I never would have believed what I saw, read, and heard, except that I came across these gory details everywhere.

Richard Pope

Sarasota, Florida

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.

Those who want to learn about socialism will be interested in the Education for Socialists Tapes. Containing talks by leaders of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance, past and present, these tapes provide a wealth of material on the socialist program and the history of the fight for socialism. More than twenty different titles, each containing from one to five talks, are now available.

For instance, one tape has James P. Cannon, a founding leader of the SWP, speaking in 1949 on "The Trend of the Twentieth Century." Cannon gave this talk at a time when the McCarthyite witch-hunt was gathering steam and the long period of post-war prosperity was just beginning.

But Cannon never doubted that new struggles by the working class would break through the McCarthyite straightjacket. As he put it, "The first half of the twentieth century saw the beginning of the necessity of social transformation of the world. The second half . . . will see it carried through to a triumphant conclusion. Socialism will win. . . ."

In another series, Farrell Dobbs, leader of the 1934 Minneapolis Teamster strikes and of the SWP, speaks on "Building the Revolutionary Party." Providing an outstanding example of how a worker Bolshevik leader regards the revolutionary party, Dobbs discusses Leninist organizational concepts. Describing the concept of democratic centralism—the utmost democracy in discussion leading to the adoption of policy, and firm unity in action once a policy has been agreed on—Dobbs states:

"The SWP's structure and its organizational principles derive from the party's political outlook. We perceive an objective trend towards deepening social crisis and sharpening class conflict. That is our political point of departure."

Many of those who have read Evelyn Reed's books, *Woman's Evolution* and *Sexism and Science*, want to hear this outstanding Marxist speak. Two tape titles offer the opportunity to further study her ideas: "Feminism and Women's Biology" and "History of the Family and Marriage." In the latter, Reed takes an in-depth look at the history and development of the family and marriage as an institution, and discusses the role that each has played in maintaining the second-class status of women.

The contributions of Lenin and the Bolsheviks to the struggle for national liberation are discussed by SWP leader Tony Thomas in his talks on "Lenin and the National Question". In another talk, Thomas, author of many works on the Black struggle, provides students of Afro-American history with a study and description of the movement built by Marcus Garvey in the 1920s and the experience of early Black nationalism.

In addition to some old talks, new ones have also been made available. Some relate to today's emerging working-class struggles and the growing need to transform the trade unions into organizations capable of fighting effectively for the needs of the workers.

Today's new generation of union militants will gain much from recent talks given by Tom Leonard on "Trade Unions and the Revolutionary Party—Past and Present." Leonard, a longtime unionist and SWP leader, presents an historical view of how the Marxist attitude towards unions developed—why Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Trotsky regarded them as the primary organizations of the workers. He also discusses the tasks facing trade unionists today in building a class-struggle leadership.

These are just a few of the speakers and talks available on these tapes; there are many more. If you have already begun to build your socialist tape library, you will welcome the new additions. If you are just finding out about these tapes for the first time, they are highly recommended as additional tools for learning about socialism.

—Paul Montauk

NEW FROM EDUCATION FOR SOCIALISTS TAPES

Maoism and the Chinese Revolution, 1949-1978, by Leslie Evans, 1978. Two talks. Price: \$9.

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Trade Unions and the Revolutionary Party: Past and Present, by Tom Leonard, 1978. Two talks. Price: \$9.

American Stalinism and Trotskyism, by Harry Ring, 1978. Three talks on two cassettes. Price: \$9.



All talks recorded on 90-minute cassette tape. For complete catalog or further information contact Education for Socialist Tapes, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014.

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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.

Teachers demand: 'Asylum for Marroquin'

Thousands at NEA convention cheer political refugee

By John Cannon and Rick Berman

DALLAS—The 8,000 delegates present at the National Education Association convention here were voting. NEA Vice-president Willard McGuire, who chaired the session, scanned the massive hall carefully.

"New business item twenty-seven clearly passes," he ruled.

Several thousand teacher delegates responded with a standing ovation. The New Jersey delegation stomped their feet loudly on the bleachers. Green-jacketed teachers from Mississippi waved their arms in the air.

These cheering teachers had just voted to put the NEA on record supporting Héctor Marroquín's fight for political asylum in the United States.

The NEA is the largest teachers organization in the country, with more than 1.6 million members. Its endorsement of Marroquín's right to asylum—the first from a national union—is a big victory not only for him but for the democratic rights of all victims of repression.

In the early 1970s Héctor Marroquín was a political activist in Mexico. Like many other dissidents he was framed up. He fled to the United States, where he became active in the antideportation movement and in a union organizing drive. He is now a member of the Young Socialist Alliance and Socialist Workers Party.

The U.S. government is trying to deport Marroquín back to Mexico, where he faces imprisonment, torture, and possible murder by the Mexican authorities.

Chicano caucus

Marroquín attended the entire NEA convention, held in Dallas July 1-6. He began with the support of only a handful of delegates. Within a few days, however, teachers from many states were distributing literature on his case and discussing it in their state delegation meetings.

Activists from the Chicano-Hispanic Caucus spearheaded the effort after hearing Marroquín speak at their caucus meeting July 2.

Ace Sánchez, a professor at El Paso Community College and president of the NEA local there, initiated a resolution on Marroquín's behalf. New business item number twenty-seven urged "that the 1978 NEA Legislative Assembly reaffirm its strong commitment to human rights by endorsing the right of Héctor Marroquín to political asylum in the United States."

Sánchez and a few other delegates circulated a petition to get the fifty delegate signatures required to place the resolution on the convention floor.

Before the convention a special leaflet had been prepared explaining why "every NEA member has a stake in defending Hector Marroquin." It noted that Marroquín had been a high school teacher in Monterrey while he attended the University of Nuevo León. Thirty-five hundred copies were distributed.

On July 4 the Chicano-Hispanic Caucus voted overwhelmingly to support the resolution for Marroquín. Some caucus members made financial contributions to his defense committee.

After that endorsement, support mushroomed. Chicano delegates



Héctor Marroquín addresses NEA delegates moments before vote backing his fight for political asylum. Giant closed-circuit TV screen allows entire convention to see speakers.

fanned out to seek support in state delegations.

Although state delegation meetings are open only to delegates from that state, the Massachusetts and California delegations voted to suspend their rules to allow Marroquín to explain his case to them.

After a five-minute presentation to the Massachusetts delegation, the teachers gave Marroquín a standing ovation and voted unanimously to support resolution twenty-seven.

The California delegation was the largest at the convention, with more than 1,000 members. After Marroquín spoke, one delegate gave a moving firsthand account of the 1968 massacre in Mexico City. She described how troops murdered hundreds of peaceful student demonstrators.

California voted unanimously to support the resolution. The Wisconsin and Michigan delegations also endorsed.

By the last day of the convention several hundred delegates had personally talked with Marroquín, and nearly 2,000 had heard him speak at caucus or delegation meetings.

Marroquín and his supporters also had individual discussions with many local, state, and national NEA leaders, including NEA President John Ryor and Executive Director Terry Herndon.

Lively discussion

The few attempts to red-bait Marroquín got a poor response. Lydia Lorenzi, a delegate from South San Antonio, commented on another delegate's refusal to support Marroquín because he was "political" and a socialist.

"But I'm political," she replied. "They do the same thing to us in South San [Antonio]. It shouldn't matter if he's a socialist. Everybody has a right to their opinions."

Floor discussion on new business item twenty-seven was one of the most lively of the entire convention.

Ace Sánchez moved the question. It was seconded by a Michigan delegate.

Conservative delegates began a barrage of "points of inquiry" and "points of order" meant to red-bait and discredit Marroquín.

What crimes did Marroquín really commit? someone asked.

Was he Mexican or really a Cuban sent to Mexico by Castro?

Isn't the Socialist Workers Party the only group backing his defense?

Had Marroquín really been a high school teacher in Mexico?

Since he is a member of the SWP, why doesn't he seek asylum in Cuba rather than the United States?

The chair suspended the rules to allow Marroquín to answer these questions.

"We are asking for support to human rights, not my political ideas," Marroquín said. He was interrupted by stormy applause.

"Many people have supported my case—[U.S. Reps.] Ronald Dellums, Parren Mitchell, John Conyers, many people from the Democratic Party." More applause. "Angela Davis has supported me, members of the Communist Party have supported my case. I will take support from anyone for human rights."

An Alabama delegate, Jackie Heath, tried to kill the resolution by proposing to substitute another new business item in support of human rights in general.

Texas delegate Bill Piscella spoke against the substitution. He said both motions should be passed. Delegates from Indiana and New York also opposed the substitution. It was defeated by a sound majority.

Then discussion continued on number twenty-seven. Herbert Russell from Florida urged its defeat. "This gentleman [Marroquín] might be another Fidel Castro," he said.

Russell was drowned out by derisive booing. The chair had to gavel the meeting to order.

Carol Dougherty spoke for asylum in the name of the Massachusetts delegation. She is a vice-president of the Massachusetts Teachers Association. "Thousands of people from Cuba and Vietnam are granted asylum by our government. Thousands from countries friendly to our government are denied that right. We need consistency by the government in granting political asylum," she said.

"Héctor Marroquín is a fellow teacher and union organizer. His asylum is a matter of life and death."

The motion was approved by about two-thirds of the delegates.

After the vote delegates and observers mobbed Marroquín to congratulate him, excited about the victory they had fought for and won.

Twenty-five teachers signed up to organize support for Marroquín's defense in their own cities after the convention.

How you can help

MY STORY By Héctor Marroquín



The Struggle for
Political Asylum in the U.S.

This pamphlet, available in English and Spanish, outlines the facts of Marroquín's case and shows that he is innocent of the charges of terrorism leveled against him by the Mexican government. The price is fifty cents, or thirty-five cents a copy in orders of ten or more.

You can help save Marroquín's life by ordering and selling this pamphlet in your area.

You can also help by:

- Donating money to the defense effort;
- Circulating petitions demanding asylum for Marroquín;
- Endorsing the defense committee;
- Getting your union or other organization to endorse Marroquín's request for political asylum.

Write: Héctor Marroquín Defense Committee, 853 Broadway, Suite 414, New York, New York 10003.