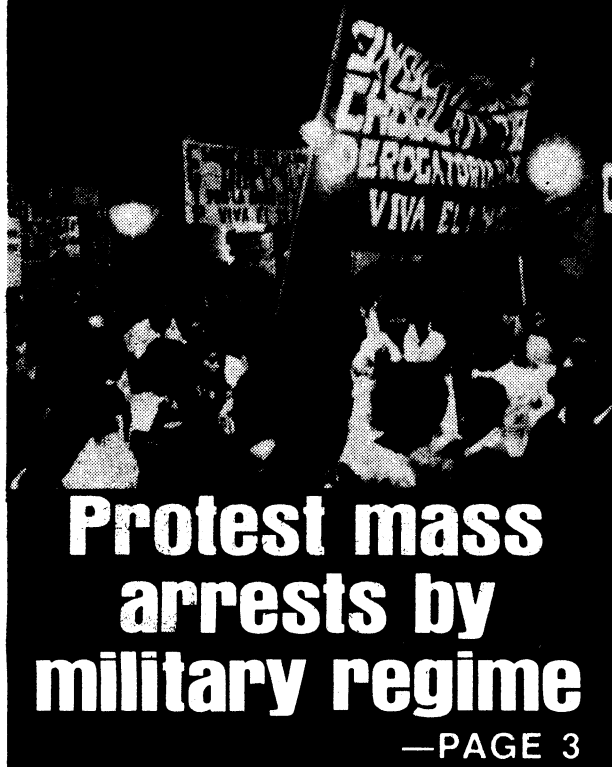


# THE MILITANT

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

## WORKERS UPSURGE SHAKES PERU



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arrests by  
military regime**

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# SAY NO TO CARTER'S WAR THREAT IN AFRICA



The real face of imperialist 'rescue mission' in Zaïre. French paratroopers terrorize Zaireans in Kolwezi. See page 4.

**Why American  
workers need  
a labor party**

THIS SUPPLEMENT  
International  
Socialist  
Review  
INSIDE

## Free the Peruvian political prisoners!

Dozens of workers have been killed and wounded and hundreds more jailed without charge or trial by Peru's military regime (see facing page).

The Peruvian government launched this assault on the political rights of the Peruvian people to suppress mass protests against sharp increases in food prices. In Peru, where many workers earn thirty-five dollars a month, these price increases mean hunger, malnutrition, and even starvation.

The crackdown has been carried out by President Francisco Morales Bermúdez. But it was dictated by imperialist institutions such as the International Monetary Fund, which insist on brutal austerity measures as the price for renegotiating Peruvian debt payments.

American banks, which are Peru's main creditors, are prepared to see children there go hungry rather than forego a single interest payment. It is no accident that Peruvian officials, seeking extensions on loan payments, had to go hat-in-hand to Wall Street.

Just as in so many other cases of oppression and misery around the world, the crackdown in Peru was "Made in the U.S.A." The political candidates and trade-union leaders crowding Peru's jails are really American political prisoners.

The U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners has announced a campaign demanding the immediate release of these prisoners. The USLA campaign deserves the active backing of every supporter of human rights—especially those of us in the United States, who have a special responsibility to fight for justice in this case.

## A dangerous verdict

On May 19 a federal jury declared David Truong and Ronald Humphrey guilty of espionage, conspiracy, stealing United States property, failing to register as agents, and unauthorized possession of documents relating to national defense.

But what was really on trial? Not the two men's alleged spying for Vietnam, but the Carter administration's latest attacks on democratic rights. As a top State Department official explained, the case was "a test of

presidential power and nothing else."

Carter had personally ordered mail openings and TV surveillance of the two without a court warrant. Attorney General Griffin Bell had directed the FBI to record fifty-seven reels of wiretapped phone calls—also without a warrant.

The intent was to win a conviction based on these violations of civil liberties and thus to legitimize their use in the future. If the Truong and Humphrey convictions are upheld by the Supreme Court, it will be the first time a president and his political police have won authorization to do secret warrantless wiretaps.

To justify this gross violation of the Bill of Rights the government claimed that "national security" was at stake.

But the documents Truong and Humphrey were convicted of passing had absolutely nothing to do with national defense, as the trial itself proved. On the witness stand, a State Department analyst admitted that there was "little of a sensitive nature in the documents."

One document, for example, reported that a Hanoi hotel played Frank Sinatra music. Air Force Gen. Billy Forsman testified that such information was crucial to national security—that it would help determine whether the Vietnamese might attack the United States in the next five years.

What an insult to add to the decades of injury and death the U.S. government inflicted on Vietnam!

Another dangerous precedent is the guilty verdict on charges of "stealing" something "of value" from the United States. The prosecutor has already declared that this charge could also be used against journalists. It would be a powerful weapon against anyone who might leak the truth about government crimes and coverups.

Despite the seriousness of the charges and the openly stated intentions of the Carter administration, protests against this frame-up have thus far fallen short of what is needed.

This can only embolden Carter in his "spy scare" probe. The Justice Department has already announced a search for more of Truong's supposed "accomplices."

And just the day after the conviction, the FBI suddenly arrested three Soviet citizens on espionage charges. The three had been followed for months. But the government delayed

arrests, timing them to follow on the heels of the Truong and Humphrey conviction.

Truong and Humphrey have appealed their conviction. They face maximum sentences of life imprisonment.

All supporters of civil liberties have a stake in this case. If the convictions are allowed to stand, they could open the door to new attacks against union militants, Blacks, women, socialists, political dissidents of any kind.

The *Militant* urges all its readers to join in defending Truong and Humphrey—and the democratic rights of all citizens.

## Skokie ordinances

A federal appeals court has struck down as unconstitutional three ordinances restricting the right to demonstrate in Skokie, a Chicago suburb. The Skokie City Council plans to appeal the decision to the Supreme Court.

The Skokie ordinances were passed last year in response to plans by a Nazi outfit to march there. The extremely harsh restrictions on the right to demonstrate, however, have already been used to bar a march by the anti-Nazi Jewish War Veterans.

Despite the initial target of such laws, working people have nothing to gain by supporting any bans or restrictions on constitutionally guaranteed rights. Not only do such restrictions do nothing to put a halt to the terrorist activities of racist thugs such as the Nazis, but these laws end up being used primarily against movements of working people and the oppressed.

Had the federal appeals court upheld the Skokie ordinances, city, state, and federal governments would have been encouraged to enact similar laws as a weapon against dissent. A bill patterned on the Skokie ordinances is already being considered by the Illinois legislature.

A coalition of Jewish groups in the Chicago area has called for a massive demonstration at the same time and site as the Nazi march in Skokie, which is currently scheduled for June 25.

Unions, civil rights groups, students, and other supporters of democratic rights should actively work to make this counterdemonstration as large and powerful as possible. That is how to make it clear to the Nazis that their anti-Semitic and anti-Black activities will not be tolerated.

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### Mockery of justice in the Soviet Union

A 'trial' where no defense witnesses are allowed? That's how a Soviet court convicted dissident Yuri Orlov. Page 7.

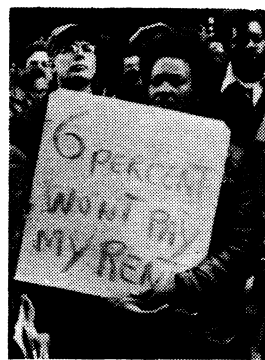
### New York to the brink . . . again?

Democratic and Republican politicians are whipping up a new 'bankruptcy' scare—the better to ram through their takeaway contracts for city workers. Page 5.



### Iranian students under attack

From Chicago to Beeville, Texas, U.S. authorities are victimizing Iranian students who oppose the shah's bloody regime. Page 23.



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

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

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

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



# Workers upsurge shakes Peru

By David Frankel

Industry and commerce ground to a halt in Peru May 22, as workers across the country joined in a general strike to protest government-authorized price increases. Banks, schools, factories, shops, and public transportation were shut down.

In an attempt to head off the strike, the military regime declared a state of emergency May 20 and arrested hundreds of labor leaders. Constitutional guarantees were formally suspended, the army was ordered to suppress strikes and demonstrations, and opposition newspapers and magazines were closed.

But such measures failed to intimidate the masses. Strike activity was reported in twenty-eight cities and towns. Armored personnel carriers were stationed in the streets of Lima, the capital, and the military regime admitted that at least twenty persons have been killed since the price increases were announced May 15. Five of the deaths occurred on May 22.

When the strike was called May 18 by the General Confederation of Peruvian workers (CGTP), the country's main labor federation, the action was declared illegal by President Francisco Morales Bermúdez.

However, a number of candidates in the Constituent Assembly elections used the opportunity of campaign appearances on television to call for support to the general strike. Morales Bermúdez ordered six candidates arrested and announced that the election would be postponed from June 4 to June 18.

Among the candidates arrested was Trotskyist leader Hugo Blanco. Ten secret police agents raided Blanco's house at 4:30 a.m. on May 19 and told

Blanco that the Minister of the Interior wanted to talk to him.

Blanco spent eight years in prison for his part in leading a mass peasant movement in the 1960s and was exiled two times by the Peruvian government. He had only been back in Peru for five weeks when he was taken from his bed to prison. Until now, he has not been allowed visitors, unlike other prisoners.

The day following the candidates' arrests, the regime jailed hundreds of other figures in the labor and radical movements.

The military regime has tried to blame the mass protests on "professional agitators" and an "organized subversive movement." But even *New York Times* correspondent Juan de Onís had to admit in a May 20 report that when the price increases decreed by the regime went into effect, "women were seen crying in supermarkets."

Many Peruvian workers make the minimum wage, equivalent to about thirty-five dollars a month. Teachers and most urban industrial workers make about seventy dollars a month. Yet the price of cooking oil was raised more than 100 percent, from 57 cents to \$1.31 a quart. Staples such as milk, bread, noodles, and kerosene went up by about 50 percent.

These price increases come on top of an inflation rate currently running at 80 percent a year, and at a time of widespread unemployment. In Peru, as elsewhere in the world, the real "subversive" is the capitalist system itself!

Morales Bermúdez decreed the price increases only under heavy pressure from the International Monetary Fund. U.S. banks and U.S.-dominated financial institutions such as the IMF

## Protest mass arrests

On May 23 the U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA) announced a campaign on behalf of six candidates for Peru's Constituent Assembly who have been arrested by the military regime.

The six candidates, who were jailed for their support to protests against the government's economic policies, are:

Hugo Blanco, a Trotskyist leader and a candidate of the Workers, Peasants, Students, and Poor People's Front (FOCEP); Genaro Ledesma, a well-known lawyer and a candidate of FOCEP; Ricardo Letz, editor of the popular opposition magazine *Marsha*, and a candidate of the Democratic People's Union (UDP); and Dias Chávez, César Lévano, and Carlos Malpica, of the UDP.

Barry Fatland, National Coordinator of USLA, noted that these six, and as many as 1,000 other people arrested by the military regime,

"have had no charges placed against them and will have no day in court, since the government has suspended constitutional guarantees."

"With no legal recourse these prisoners have no chance to win their freedom unless public opinion is rallied. . . ."

According to Fatland, the campaign on behalf of the Peruvian prisoners has already won support from human rights groups in Mexico, Canada, Sweden, Britain, France, Belgium, and Spain. Blanco in particular is well known in North America where he recently completed a five-month speaking tour for USLA.

USLA is urging that letters and telegrams demanding freedom for Blanco and the other political prisoners be sent to President Francisco Morales Bermúdez, Palacio de Gobierno, Lima, Peru. Copies should be sent to USLA, 853 Broadway, Suite 414, New York, N.Y. 10003.

and the World Bank hold the lion's share of Peru's \$4.5 billion debt to the imperialist powers. And the U.S. ruling class wants its pound of flesh, even if the Peruvian workers have to starve.

Estimates of Peru's total income from exports this year vary from \$1.6 to \$1.8 billion. About \$1 billion of this—55 percent to 62 percent—will go directly to the imperialist banks as payments for previous loans.

A new team of Peruvian negotiators

is currently in New York begging for a rescheduling of debt payments so that, in Morales Bermúdez's words, Peru will have to pay "no more than 20 to 25 percent of our annual exchange earnings."

Meanwhile, the Wall Street banks, their representatives in Washington, and Morales Bermúdez are all in agreement that whatever is decided, the Peruvian workers and peasants should be the ones to pay.

# Dominican Republic: will gov't respect the vote?

By José G. Pérez

One week after the May 16 elections in the Dominican Republic, it is still unclear whether the repressive government of President Joaquín Balaguer will respect voting results that seem to have given a crushing victory to Balaguer's main challenger.

With Antonio Guzmán of the Dominican Revolutionary Party leading three-to-two after one-third of the vote had been tallied, the military stopped the counting in the predawn hours of May 17. This was generally regarded as the beginning of a pro-Balaguer coup.

But the military backed down. Apparently many top officials felt that preventing Guzmán's election wasn't worth the risk of provoking a popular uprising.

Balaguer went on TV the night of May 18, ordering resumption of the counting and promising to respect the outcome. Guzmán and other top leaders of the Dominican Revolutionary Party took Balaguer at his word. They urged people to stay calm despite continuing reports that the government was intimidating election officials into falsifying returns in Balaguer's favor.

On May 22 Balaguer's party, obviously seeking a pretext for disregarding the vote, charged that the Guzmán forces had carried out massive election

fraud. While election officials privately concede Guzmán has won, publicly they insist that final returns won't be ready for several days.

The U.S. corporations and government have long dominated the Dominican Republic. From 1916 to 1924, the country was directly ruled by the U.S. military. Balaguer himself became president in 1965 with the backing of the U.S. Marines, who landed in April of that year to crush a popular uprising against military rule.

In reaction to Balaguer's repressive, anti-working-class policies, the Dominican masses have pinned their hopes on Guzmán's Dominican Revolutionary Party. But the top leaders of that party do not propose any fundamental social changes. Guzmán is a wealthy landowner who ran on a procapitalist program. At one point in 1965, he was U.S. imperialism's choice for president.

MIAMI—Members of Miami's Dominican community responded to the coup threat with two demonstrations demanding that the United States end all support to the Balaguer regime and that the Dominican military keep its hands off the elections.

The actions were initiated by the local affiliate of the Dominican Revolutionary Party, and supported by the Socialist Workers Party, Haitian Refugee Center, and others.



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# Stop Carter's war threats in

By Omari Musa

The bloody imperialist operation in Zaïre—thinly disguised as an evacuation—shows the need for an immediate outcry against the Carter administration's maneuvers to deepen U.S. intervention against the African liberation struggle.

Carter seized on the events in Zaïre's Shaba province (formerly Katanga) to intensify his efforts to remove any obstacles to employing U.S. military might to protect its corporate interests around the world.

As a May 22 *New York Times* editorial put it, Carter's moves in Zaïre are "plainly to test the nation's tolerance for involvements that it has bitterly opposed since the final escape from Southeast Asia."

And, say the editors of the *Times*, "we confess to a certain sympathy" for Carter's aims.

This fear of mass protests by the American people is what lies behind Carter's complaints to Democratic and Republican congressional leaders that his "hands are tied" in dealing with situations such as Zaïre. According to the *New York Times*, Carter puts the blame on "restraints on foreign policy imposed by Congress in reaction to the Vietnam war."

Any restraints on Carter were imposed by the American people, not by Congress. And now congressional leaders from the Democratic and Republican parties are cooperating with Carter in trying to scrap even the minimal formal limits that have been placed on the White House, Pentagon, and CIA.

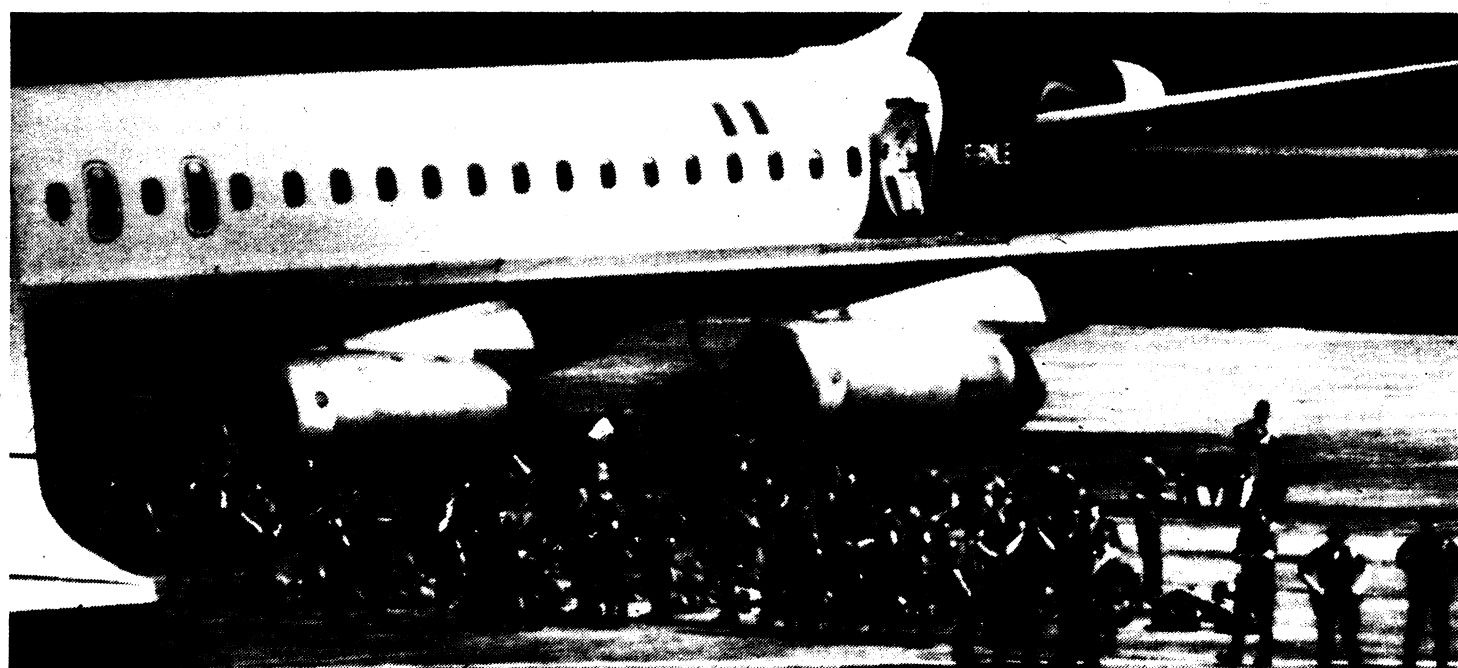
Carter's most ominous complaint yet came in his May 23 meeting with a bipartisan group of U.S. senators. According to the *New York Times*, Carter said that "because of Congressional restraints, the United States was unable to provide assistance to anti-Government rebel forces led by Jonas M. Savimbi that are operating in Angola." Savimbi heads the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA).

This amounts to an explicit threat by Washington to seek the overthrow of the current Angolan government.

That would mean a direct U.S. military assault on Cuban forces in Angola, posing the threat of U.S. military action against Cuba itself.

## Carter's red scare

In fact, Carter has already stepped up threats against Cuba. On the day Washington announced its airlift operation to Zaïre, State Department official Tom Reston charged that "Cuba had trained the Katangan rebels who invaded Zaire from Angola



French troops land in Zaïre

and equipped them with Soviet weapons."

The Carter administration made this charge despite explicit Cuban denials and without producing a shred of evidence.

Carter's threats against Cuba are real and should not be taken lightly. The presence of Cuban troops in Africa poses a major obstacle to U.S. imperialism's plans to preserve its exploitation of Africa's resources in the face of mounting liberation struggles. U.S. corporations have billions of dollars in profits at stake.

The big-business media has dutifully helped promote Carter's goals, cranking out hysterical and racist stories to sow confusion about the true character of the imperialist intervention in Zaïre.

When the fighting began in Shaba in mid-May, the press began a hypocritical chorus of concern for the safety of U.S. and European nationals living in the province.

This laid the basis to portray any imperialist intervention as a "mission of mercy" to "rescue" whites in the area. Under this cover, Carter, on May 16, put the Eighty-second Airborne Division and Military Airlift Command on alert.

## Joint operation

Then Washington and its European allies planned and carried out a joint intervention. The Belgian government, the former colonial masters of Zaïre, provided an estimated 1,750 paratroops; France provided 1,000 Foreign Legion troops; Britain supplied planes and other logistical support.

And Carter provided eighteen planes

and released \$20 million in military aid to Zaïre's Mobutu regime.

All the while, headlines screamed about the "massacre" of Europeans by Shaba rebels.

There is nothing new about imperialist claims that such military interventions have only humanitarian goals.

That was the excuse for the U.S.-Belgian airlift in Zaïre (then called the Congo) in 1964, which ended in the slaughter of thousands of Black Africans who opposed the imperialist-backed regime of Moïse Tshombe (see "Our Revolutionary Heritage" on page 30).

The Katangan rebels were justifiably fearful of a replay of this imperialist trick. In fact, according to the *New York Times*, "Several European refugees returning here from Kolwezi confirmed . . . that the killing started only when word of French and Belgian intervention reached the mining center last Wednesday," and that Zaïrean troops were also involved in the killings.

While the U.S. media was screaming about the "white man's burden" to protect Europeans and defend Africans from themselves, the French and Belgian invaders killed Blacks indiscriminately. The imperialists say that up to 200 Europeans may have died during the fighting, but they didn't even bother to keep an accurate count of the number of Blacks killed.

Nonetheless, one report from Kolwezi said that "the bodies of blacks appeared to be three or four times as numerous as those of whites."

French troops were shown on national television going door to door searching out "suspected rebels."

The truth is that the Katangan rebels are not "invaders." They are of the Lunda nationality—like the majority of people who inhabit Shaba province. The rebels have mass support among the population there.

This is even admitted by the invading imperialist forces. "Belgian and French officers said that the rebels, formally called the Congo National Liberation Front, had had support among the people of this town [Kolwezi]," reported the May 23 *New York Times*. "The officers expressed the fear that the rebels would again rise against President Mobutu and his Government from bush hideouts once the foreign troops withdraw."

Given this mass support for the rebels, the imperialist intervention took on the character of Washington's "pacification" program in Vietnam. That is, in order to terrorize the population, anyone in Shaba was liable to be killed as a "suspected rebel."

In fact, according to Belgian soldiers, the French Foreign Legionnaires killed so indiscriminately that they even gunned down six whites whom they supposedly had come to save!

After an uprising in Shaba last year, Zaïre's Mobutu regime took reprisals against the local population, including aerial bombardment. According to a UN estimate, 220,000 refugees fled to Angola.

## Rhodesia slaughter

The hypocrisy of the "mercy mission" in Shaba is also exposed by the indifference of Washington and its European allies to the slaughter of ninety-four Blacks in Rhodesia only a few days before the Shaba intervention began.

On May 14 Ian Smith's Rhodesian government opened fire at a meeting in the Gutu district near Fort Victoria. The government itself admitted that fifty "curfew violators" were killed.

Where were the screaming headlines denouncing Smith's massacre?

Where were the screaming headlines in early May when the racist South African regime murdered 500 Namibian refugees, including children, during its invasion of Angola?

Clearly the press doesn't consider the death of Black Africans very important.

## Scrambling for resources

Although the French, Belgian, and U.S. imperialists were united in their desire to crush the Shaba uprising, their intervention was marked by an acrimonious scramble to beat each other to the punch in grabbing a share of Shaba's copper and other mineral wealth.

Last year Belgium's social democratic Premier Leo Tindemans had warned France not to interfere with its "privileged links" with Zaïre, its former colony.

During the current invasion, another Belgian official complained that France "is trying to forge links with mineral producers everywhere. Now is their chance in Zaire."

According to the *New York Times*, "The head of a major Belgian mining company . . . noted that Belgium still received most of Zairian copper and that while the Shaba mines now belonged to the Government, the Belgian trust that once owned them still provided technical assistance. 'The French want to change that,' he added, 'They would love to get some of their companies in there instead. . . .'"

The French government, for its part, did little to allay Belgium's fears. The French military commander in Kolwezi announced that "he regarded his mission in Zaire to be of indeterminate duration." And Belgium charges that France refused to allow it permission to fly over French territory, and landed legionnaires in Shaba first, later preventing some Belgian troops from landing there.

This disgusting display of greed exposes the real aim of the Belgian-French-U.S. operation. Far from a

## U.S. protests hit invasion

Sixty people demonstrated in midtown Manhattan's Herald Square May 19 against U.S., Belgian, and French intervention in Zaïre. The picket line was sponsored by the New York Student Coalition Against Racism.

The demand of "U.S. hands off Zaïre!" was raised that same day as seventy people rallied in Salem, Oregon, calling on state universities to sell their stocks in companies doing business in South Africa.

A Zaïre picket line called by Dallas SCAR at the federal building there was covered by the *Dallas Times Herald*.

In Washington, D.C., 3,000 people took part in a May 20 march and rally in support of African liberation. Speaking before the march, a Maryknoll nun who had been imprisoned in South Africa denounced the invasion of Zaïre. Socialist Workers Party members marched under a banner demanding that the United States stay out of Zaïre.



Militant Jon Britton

New York protest



# Africa!

mission of mercy, the cold-blooded purpose was to protect and extend the imperialists' profitable investments in Africa.

A more flagrant example of what imperialist "diplomacy" is all about can hardly be imagined!

Belgium has investments totaling \$1 billion.

French firms have \$20 million invested there.

And U.S. companies have \$200 million in direct investments, with U.S. banks holding about \$1 billion in outstanding loans.

## Need for protests

The Carter administration's escalating war threats in Africa—aimed at protecting investments such as these—should sound an alarm in the U.S. labor movement, in the Black communities, and on the campuses.

The American people have had bitter experience with Washington's wars. We saw the Kennedy, Johnson, Nixon, and Ford administrations send tens of thousands of GIs to die in Vietnam. We witnessed the slaughter of millions of Vietnamese and the ravaging of their country.

Outrage at the Vietnam War brought millions of Americans into the streets, in a social movement that eventually drew broad support from the ranks of organized labor. That movement and the heroic struggle of the Vietnamese finally halted Washington's bloody aggression in Southeast Asia.

Protests are again needed today—from unions, Black organizations, students, and others—to let the warmakers in Washington know that the American people will not stand for a new Vietnam. Our demands must be loud and clear:

No U.S. intervention in Africa!  
End the threats against Cuba!  
Stop all U.S. economic and military ties to the racist South African regime!

## Socialists in 4 countries say, 'Hands off Zaire!'

The following joint statement was issued May 19 by the International Marxist Group of Britain, Revolutionary Communist League of France, Revolutionary Workers League of Belgium, and the U.S. Socialist Workers Party. All four groups are supporters of the Fourth International.

The so-called "protection of the evacuation of Europeans" is nothing but a pretext—utilized by the imperialists many times in the past—to cover up for a colonialist intervention. The aim of the international bourgeoisie is to prop up the Mobutu regime, in a country that occupies a strategic place in Africa and contains fabulous natural riches.

The undersigned organizations appeal to the working class, the youth, and all anti-imperialists to actively oppose this intervention by mobilizing immediately in the factories, in the schools, and in the streets to demand the immediate withdrawal of all imperialist troops from Zaire and a halt to the sending of all war matériel and to military support operations. They will try to initiate appropriate united protest actions in the coming days in their respective countries.

Not one soldier, not one weapon, not one penny for Mobutu!

# Bankers seek new 'terror' in NYC

By Peter Seidman

NEW YORK—An atmosphere of crisis is being whipped up here since state and city politicians and union officials—under heavy pressure from the Carter administration—failed to meet a May 20 deadline.

A complex package of union contracts, credit legislation, and extension of the Emergency Financial Control Board was supposed to be in place by that date.

The new package boils down to a second round of cutbacks—replacing arrangements made when the New York City crisis first erupted in 1975.

Under those now-expiring arrangements, unelected bodies like the EFCB and the Municipal Assistance Corporation ordered massive layoffs of city employees, a wage freeze, the imposition of tuition for the first time in the 129-year history of the city university, and a 43 percent jump in the transit fare.

MAC Chairman Felix Rohatyn says that as a result of those cuts, the city is now in better financial shape. But, Rohatyn says, he is concerned that the city may be "politically and psychologically worse off."

"We no longer have this brotherhood of terror we had in 1975," he complains.

So now Rohatyn—and the rest of the bankers and business executives who rule New York through MAC and the EFCB—hope to terrorize city employees into accepting deep new cuts in their real wages, jobs, and union rights.

And these wealthy dictators hope to terrorize millions of working people into accepting more slashes in vital social services.

Just like in 1975.

## Secret talks

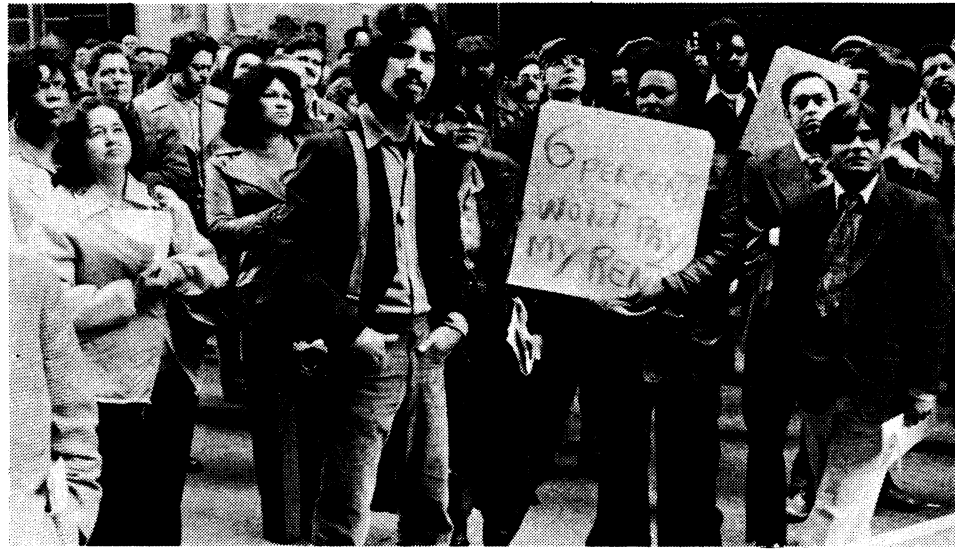
Despite these high stakes, New York union officials are telling workers to stay cool—while they conduct secret negotiations with a handful of politicians.

Victor Gotbaum is executive director of District Council 37 of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (the city's largest public workers union). He even went so far as to attack city hall when details of the secret talks began to appear in the media.

"I keep my word when I say I'm going to be silent," he growled to the *New York Post*.

Given this silence by union officials, workers can only find out about these behind-closed-doors discussions by sifting through "leaks" reported in the city's labor-hating daily press.

Based on these admittedly incomplete and self-serving reports, it appears that union negotiators are now within 1 percentage point of accepting a paltry 8 percent, two-year package of



NEW YORK—Four hundred transit workers and their supporters rallied near city hall May 18 to demand a decent contract and an end to further cutbacks in services.

Henry Lewis, a leader of the Coalition of Concerned Transit Workers, told the demonstrators that "city workers are facing severe times. Our unions are no

wages and givebacks the city claims is worth \$622.

Gotbaum won't initial this pact however, until agreement is reached in Albany on extension of the EFCB and a proposed expansion of its powers.

New York Mayor Edward Koch, with the blessing of the Carter administration, wants the EFCB extended for at least thirty years. The mayor is also insisting that the board's power be expanded to include a veto over contract settlements secured by the unions through arbitration.

Gotbaum concedes "there has to be a board." But he says, it should last for only "ten or fifteen years." He opposes an EFCB veto over arbitrated settlements.

*A wage increase that won't even keep up with this year's projected 10 percent inflation, let alone next year's. Fifteen years—or thirty—during which the unelected EFCB will be able to rip up union contracts.*

No wonder city hall doesn't want its employees to know about these negotiations until they are all tied down in a complex package that supposedly must be accepted to "save" New York from bankruptcy!

But why are Gotbaum and other union officials going along with this maneuver?

## Democratic Party

"The reason is that these union misleaders are tied to the Democratic Party," says Dianne Feeley, the 1978 gubernatorial candidate of the Socialist Workers Party.

"How can Gotbaum and Company

longer negotiating contracts. They are negotiating cutbacks."

Other speakers included: Marty Rosenblatt, AFSCME Local 371; Ray Markey, AFSCME Local 1930; Michele Sands, AFSCME Local 1482; Joe Carnegie, Brooklyn Fight Back; and Dr. Rackow from Metropolitan Hospital.

lead a struggle against the same politicians on whom they waste the union's resources at election time?" Feeley asks.

"They can't. Rather than drawing the correct conclusion from the current negotiations—that we need to break with the two parties of big business—Gotbaum and other union officials continue to beg for favors from the Democrats. They think they can gain some political influence by hustling votes for the capitalist politicians and helping them suppress struggles by the workers."

Feeley explains: "It is because of their subordination to Democratic Party politics that the union officials are refusing to challenge the city's big lie—that there is 'no money.'"

"There is plenty of money," the socialist candidate asserts. "More than \$126 billion is being squandered on the war budget this year alone. And billions more goes to tax giveaways to the rich."

"It will take a massive fight by the working people of New York to regain these precious resources now ripped off by the capitalists and their politicians."

## Right to know

"That fight will never be waged—or even begun—by locking the union ranks out and hanging a 'top secret' sign over negotiations. The union membership has a right to complete and timely information about every aspect of the talks. And they have a right to vote and decide any settlement."

"One of the main reasons for this 'crisis' hysteria," Feeley charges, "is to prepare to stampede city workers into accepting a miserably inadequate contract without a full discussion or democratic vote."

"Gotbaum complains that it's the weakness of state and city officials that is responsible for stalling the talks. 'We don't know where the power is,' he complains—demanding that Governor Carey must take the lead in resolving the differences."

"But Gotbaum is turning reality upside down," Feeley says.

"The power to win economic and social justice for working people will not be found in the woodpaneled suites where union bureaucrats meet in secret with the politicians and bankers," she says.

"That power will be found by mobilizing the workers' power in the streets."

"Koch says the unions are selfishly putting the needs of a few hundred thousand members ahead of millions of New Yorkers. But by fighting for an end to layoffs, hospital closings, fare increases, and cuts in public

Continued on page 23

## Speak-out at Militant Forum

By Vivian Sahner

NEW YORK—The Militant Forum sponsored a speakout against cutbacks and attacks on city unions May 19 at Teachers College here.

Speakers included John Black, Coalition of Concerned Transit Workers; Ray Markey, American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, Local 1930; Ron Mandel, Hostos College; and Marvin Titus, York College. Both schools are part of the city university system currently menaced by cutbacks.

Greetings were read from the Teachers College Employees Association. An affiliate of District 65, the association went out on strike May 16. Its members are demanding no cutbacks in medical and tuition benefits, an adequate pension, and a decent salary.

The union's message cited the

speakout as the kind of activity needed to win support for all struggles against cutbacks—including its own. Outside the building, District 65 members urged people not to go inside unless it was to attend the Militant Forum.

Ray Markey received 40 percent of the vote in a special election for president of AFSCME Local 1930, according to results announced May 26. Sally Campbell won the election with 60 percent of the votes.

Markey is a leader of the Socialist Workers Party. As a delegate to the AFSCME District Council 37 delegate assembly, he has been an outspoken opponent of the pro-Democratic Party policies of the AFSCME officialdom.

Local 1930 represents some 1,400 library workers in Manhattan, the Bronx, and Staten Island.

## Persistence pays off

# Selling 'Militant' at Houston plant gates

By Nelson Blackstock

HOUSTON—Hughes Tool Company is a big plant here organized by the United Steelworkers. A large proportion of the workers are young Blacks and Chicanos.

During the spring circulation drive for the *Militant*, Hughes was one of the industrial workplaces focused on by the Socialist Workers Party in Houston.

On the average, twenty-eight Hughes workers bought the *Militant* at the plant gates each week.

John Sarge, the SWP local circulation director, has worked at Hughes for a number of years.

He says that over time both the SWP and the *Militant* have become widely known in the plant. Workers know that it's a socialist paper, one that carries solid, hard-hitting articles on a wide range of issues.

"I think that the long-term presence of the *Militant* is important," Sarge says. "There are other radical papers sold at the gate, but workers don't buy these the way they do the *Militant*."

Last fall, twenty-five workers at Hughes bought introductory subscriptions. Some who did not renew their subscriptions still pick up a copy from time to time.

Diane Sarge has also worked at Hughes for several years. "One day I came to work and found a clipping from the *Militant* lying on a table in the room where we take our breaks. Someone on the previous shift—I have no idea who—had read the article and clipped it out and brought it in to discuss."

"You never know exactly what will capture workers' attention," John Sarge comments. "We sold a lot of papers at plant gates around the mine workers' strike. But the most papers we sold was of an issue with a headline on the Mideast."

Three women in the shop where Diane Sarge works are particularly interested in the struggles to halt nuclear power and to overturn the Bakke decision.

Sara Jean Johnston, the SWP candi-

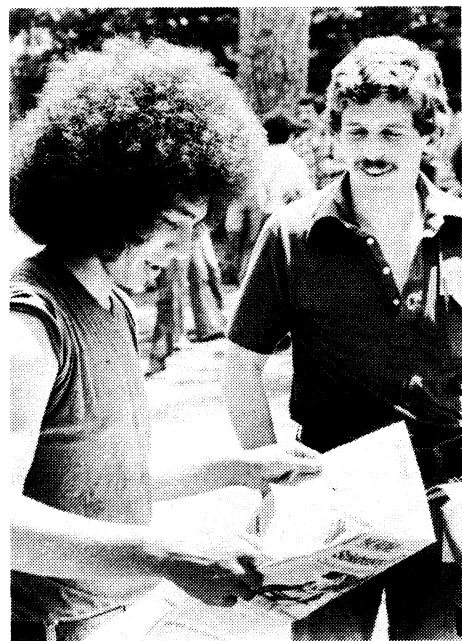
date for governor of Texas, also works at Hughes. After campaigning and selling the paper at a gate before reporting for her shift one day, she found that several workers she didn't know came up and talked to her about what she was doing.

"I think it's a good idea to try to sell outside the plant where you work," she says. "It's a good way to meet interested people you might not run into otherwise."

At another small USWA-organized plant, Debby Vernier estimates that one out of every four workers reads the *Militant* each week. "Five have subscriptions," she says, "and on the average another five will buy it from one of us working there."

Even though the circulation drive is ending and socialists here must scale down sales while petitioning to put the SWP on the ballot in Texas, they are making sure to maintain regular sales both inside and outside the plants.

Their success points to the potential for increasing the readership of the *Militant* among industrial workers in many cities in the coming months.



Militant/Nelson Blackstock

Selling the 'Militant' in Houston

## Weekly sales results

(Reporting Issue #19 of the Militant Dated May 19, 1978)

CITY	MILITANT		PM		TOTAL		
	Goal	Sold	Goal	Sold	Goal	Sold	Percent
Louisville	100	200			100	200	200.0
Minneapolis	100	121			100	121	121.0
Los Angeles	300	379	50	39	350	418	119.4
Houston*	200	233		5	200	238	119.0
Albany	60	70			60	70	116.7
Indianapolis*	30	34		1	30	35	116.7
Pittsburgh*	25	29			25	29	116.0
Salt Lake City	115	125	10	9	125	134	107.2
Cleveland	150	157			150	157	104.7
Philadelphia*	30	31			30	31	103.3
Toledo	75	77			75	77	102.7
Albuquerque	113	113	7	10	120	123	102.5
Portland	90	92			90	92	102.2
San Diego	100	102	25	25	125	127	101.6
Morgantown	40	40			40	40	100.0
Raleigh	85	85			85	85	100.0
Tacoma	90	88			90	88	97.8
San Jose	100	100	10	7	110	107	97.3
Chicago	282	252	18	22	300	274	91.3
Miami	90	79	10	10	100	89	89.0
Boston	165	130	25	35	190	165	86.8
Kansas City	90	82	10	3	100	85	85.0
New York	575	457	75	88	650	545	83.8
Seattle	150	111		1	150	112	74.7
Milwaukee	120	86	5	4	125	90	72.0
Baltimore	100	71			100	71	71.0
Detroit	300	175			300	175	58.3
Denver	105	57	5	2	110	59	53.6
Berkeley	138	80	12		150	80	53.3
Oakland	150	79		1	150	80	53.3
Newark	130	43	20	23	150	66	44.0
Washington, D.C.	230	92	20	15	250	107	42.8
St. Louis	200	80			200	80	40.0
San Francisco	220	74	15		235	74	31.5
St. Paul	80	20			80	20	25.0
Atlanta**	250				250		.0
Cincinnati**	85				85		.0
Dallas*	115		10		125		.0
New Orleans*	150				150		.0
Phoenix*	75		10		85		.0
San Antonio*	100		10		110		.0
<b>TOTALS:</b>	<b>5703</b>	<b>4044</b>	<b>347</b>	<b>300</b>	<b>6050</b>	<b>4344</b>	<b>71.8</b>

\* Petitioning

\*\* Not Reporting

# Houston Chicanos hit repression by city gov't

By Rick Berman

HOUSTON—At a city council meeting here May 17, members of community groups denounced the city administration's wholesale assault on democratic rights in the wake of the May 7 Chicano rebellion against cop terror.

Meanwhile, the Democrats at city hall intensified their crackdown, adopting an ordinance that severely curtails the right to demonstrate and indicting twelve more persons on felony rioting charges.

Speaking before the council on behalf of the Moody Park Barrio Defense Coalition, Frank Alvarez and Emily Sánchez blasted Mayor Jim McConn for conducting a witch-hunt against "outside agitators." McConn's aim, they charged, is to turn attention away from the real issue, the police occupation of the Moody Park area—the heart of the North Side Chicano barrio.

Frank Alvarez, a member of the National Lawyers Guild, said the cause of the May 7 rebellion was anger against police fueled by the case of Joe Campos Torres. The rebellion took place on the first anniversary of the police murder of Torres, and only a few weeks after a federal judge handed out token one-year sentences to Torres's killers. Earlier the cops had also been found guilty in state courts and fined one dollar.

"In effect," Alvarez said, "[the

courts] have added a new offense to our penal code in Harris county. It is called 'misdemeanor murder.' It is defined as the killing of a 'meskin' or 'nigger' by a cop."

The coalition demanded that all charges stemming from the May 7 rebellion be dropped.

Other coalition supporters also spoke before the city council, including Sister Victoria Zuñiga of Hermanas, a Ca-

tholic nuns' organization; Mike Welch and Alicia Olivarez, two high school students; and Arturo Ramírez of the Socialist Workers Party.

The previous day, the city council had adopted an ordinance forbidding the use of sound equipment within fifty yards of any residential building. In effect, it outlaws all but silent outdoor marches and rallies.

On May 17, a grand jury indicted

twelve more persons on felony riot charges. Under Texas law, a person convicted of being part of a "riot" can be held responsible for any crimes committed during the event, even if she or he had nothing to do with a particular action. All twelve are being charged with responsibility for aggravated assault against cops, a crime that carries a maximum penalty of ten years.

The twelve are: Adam Juarez García, Rudolfo Ramos, Rey Garza, Warren Greer Ritter, Mary Elizabeth Estrada, Frank Diaz Camacho, Daniel Gámez, John Lucio, Beatrice Cabazos, Christina Acosta, Rodolfo Hernández, and Norman Eugene Mizell. Nine were held on \$1,000 bail. Bail for three others was set at \$5,000, \$10,000 and \$50,000. All twelve were among those arrested at the time of the rebellion.

Earlier, three members of People United to Fight Police Brutality, a small group initiated by the Revolutionary Communist Party, had been charged with felony rioting in connection with crimes that could bring up to twenty years imprisonment. At a May 22 hearing, a state district court judge reduced the bail for the three from \$500,000 to \$25,000 each.

In a related development, the federal justice department announced May 18 that it would ask higher courts to stiffen the token one-year sentences given to Torres's killers by a federal judge.

## Forum exposes cop terror

HOUSTON—Some sixty people attended a Militant Forum held here May 19 on "What Really Happened at Moody Park and Why—the Untold Story of Police Violence."

Miguel Pendás, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senate, opened the meeting with an account of the Moody Park events. He explained that the real "outside agitators" were the Houston cops who waded into a traditional celebration of a Mexican holiday at the park.

Arturo Ramírez, another SWP member, recounted the struggle to obtain justice for Joe Campos Torres, a young Chicano murdered by Houston cops a year ago.

During the discussion period, a member of a group called People

United to Fight Police Brutality appealed for solidarity in face of the indictment of three members of that group on trumped-up rioting charges.

Sara Jean Johnston, a member of United Steel Workers of America Local 1742 at Hughes Tool, explained that the Houston labor movement must rally to the defense of the Chicano community. Johnston, who is also the SWP candidate for governor, pointed to a newly enacted city law virtually outlawing all demonstrations. "What began as a police invasion of the Chicano community has mushroomed into an offensive by the Democratic Party-controlled city administration against the political rights of all working people," she said.



## Morgantown leads the way

# Socialists set plans for sales of coal pamphlet

By Anne Teesdale

Earlier this year, 160,000 coal miners stood up to the bosses and to government strikebreaking, blocking a major union-busting drive.

The *Militant* brought its readers weekly news reports on the strike, along with background articles on the issues at stake and the history of the United Mine Workers. When the strike was over, the *Militant* summed it up in a special nine-page feature.

Now that feature has been reprinted in a pamphlet from Pathfinder Press called *The 110-Day Coal Strike—Its Meaning for All Working People*.

"The greatest accomplishment of the miners' fight was not the contract they ended up with, which is far from adequate to meet their needs, but the example they set. An example not only to unionists but also to Blacks, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, women, students, to everyone striving for justice and social progress," write Nancy Cole and Andy Rose, authors of the pamphlet.

Branches of the Socialist Workers Party are making plans for a special effort during the next couple of months to distribute the pamphlet. These include selling it at plant gates along with the *Militant*, selling it and talking about it with friends and co-workers, and selling it on campus and on street corners. Many socialist bookstores will feature special displays of the pamphlet.

In Morgantown, West Virginia, socialists aim to sell 100 pamphlets going door-to-door in the city and surrounding mining communities.

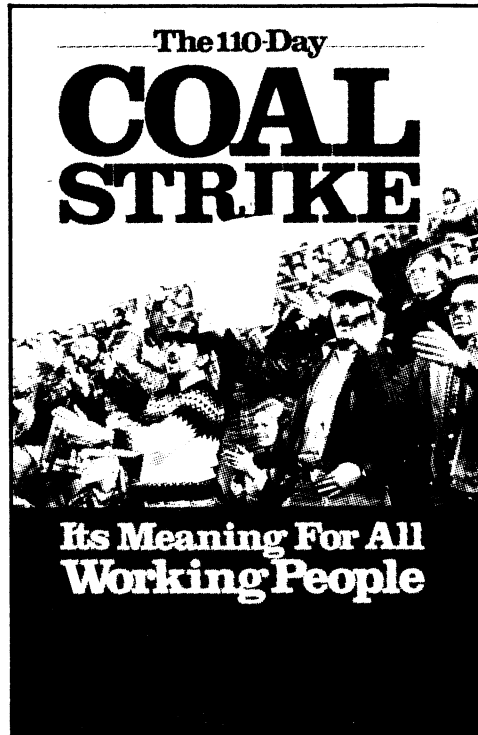
"The strike is still very much on people's minds," says SWP organizer Ken Shilman. "Miners are still talking about what it meant for their union and how they're going to defend their rights with the contract they have over the next three years. We expect to find a welcome response to the pamphlet."

Morgantown socialists have just printed literature on the SWP campaign for U.S. Senate and state legislature. They plan to combine sales of the pamphlet with a special effort to get out word on their election campaign.

We urge readers of the *Militant* to join in distributing the pamphlet by

selling it to co-workers, friends, and activists in the Black, women's, and other social movements.

Pathfinder Press is offering a special 25 percent discount on orders of five pamphlets or more. If you want to help get out the pamphlet, send in the coupon on this page.



## Help get it around

The coal strike shook up the government and corporations and inspired working people across the nation. Join the effort to circulate Pathfinder's new pamphlet on the lessons of the miners' fight.

*The 110-Day Coal Strike: Its Meaning for All Working People.* By Nancy Cole and Andy Rose. 40 pages. Single copies 75 cents. Discount of 25 percent on orders of five or more.

Please send me:

\_\_\_ 1 copy (\$ .75) \_\_\_ 5 copies (\$2.75) \_\_\_ 10 copies (\$5.50)  
\_\_\_ 15 copies (\$8.25) \_\_\_ 25 copies (\$13.75) \_\_\_ other

Enclosed is \$ \_\_\_\_\_

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

## No defense witnesses allowed

# Kangaroo court finds Soviet dissident 'guilty'

By Marilyn Vogt

Yuri Orlov, chairman of the Helsinki Monitoring Group in Moscow, was sentenced May 18 to a twelve-year term on charges of "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda," following a three-day trial in Moscow. The term—seven years in prison plus five years' internal exile—was the harshest that could have been given under the charges.

Orlov was one of eleven civil-rights activists who formed the Helsinki Monitoring Group in Moscow in May 1976 to oversee the Soviet government's implementation of the humanitarian provisions of the Helsinki accords. Subsequently, similar groups were formed in the Armenian, Georgian, Ukrainian, and Lithuanian republics. The groups collected and made public in the form of informational documents facts showing specific instances of human-rights violations in the Soviet Union.

Orlov's role in the Moscow group served as the basis for the charges against him. As "evidence," the prosecution produced the documents issued by the group.

The Soviet news agency TASS claimed Orlov's trial was open, as it should have been according to Soviet law. In reality, the courtroom was closed to the public, as it had been filled in advance each day with fifty spectators handpicked by the authorities. No one else was allowed inside except Orlov's wife, Irina, and his two sons, Dmitri and Aleksandr. Irina Orlov reported that at one point guards, under the pretext of searching her, stripped her naked in front of three men.

About twenty foreign correspondents and fifty supporters of Orlov, denied entrance to the courtroom, assembled outside every day and heard reports of the proceedings Irina Orlov gave when she emerged from inside. This group was surrounded by a crowd of secret-



Guards barred Andrei Sakharov (right) and other dissidents from Orlov trial

police agents who presented themselves as indignant "simple workers" and by uniformed militia personnel.

On May 18, the day the verdict was to be announced, seven of Orlov's supporters were arrested when they sought entrance to the courtroom. Among those arrested were Andrei Sakharov, dissident Soviet physicist and Nobel Prize winner, and his wife, Elena Bonner. Sakharov and Bonner were later freed.

According to Irina Orlov, the court refused to allow any witnesses for the defense. Testimony was heard, however, from fifteen prosecution witnesses who tried to refute the Helsinki group's documentation of human-rights violations so as to bolster the prosecution's charge that Orlov had spread "slandorous fabrications."

Orlov, a fifty-three-year-old physicist

and corresponding member of the Academy of Sciences of the Armenian Republic, was arrested February 10, 1977, in Moscow. His arrest came shortly after President Carter expressed his "concern" over political persecution in the USSR and the Kremlin rulers began their crackdown on Helsinki group members. Two other members of the Moscow group arrested in February and March 1977, Aleksandr Ginzburg and Anatoly Shcharansky, are still awaiting trial. Shcharansky has been charged with treason, which is punishable by death.

Orlov's first clash with Soviet authorities came in 1956. At that time he and others presented a program for democratic reforms in the Communist Party at a party meeting of the Institute of Theoretical and Experimental Physics, where he worked in Moscow.

As a result of this initiative, Orlov was expelled from the party and lost his post. He later moved to the Armenian Republic, where he continued his scientific work as a specialist in elementary particle accelerators.

He returned to Moscow in 1972, where he worked at the USSR Academy of Sciences' Institute of Terrestrial Magnetism and Propagation of Radio Waves. But he lost his post in 1973 after he protested the persecution of Sakharov.

Between 1973 and his arrest Orlov, unable to find a full-time post, worked as a private tutor and continued to defend publicly persecuted civil-rights activists. He played a key role in drawing together activists from various movements, including those protesting religious persecution, those demanding the right to emigrate, those opposing Russification, and those demanding broader intellectual freedoms.

While Orlov was being sentenced in Moscow, two members of the Georgian Helsinki Group were tried and sentenced in Tbilisi, the capital of the Georgian Republic. Although few details are yet available about this trial, it is known that Zviad Gamsakhurdia and Merab Kostava both received five-year terms.

To date, nine Helsinki group members have been sentenced to terms totaling seventy-five years. Eight others are still imprisoned awaiting trial.

In addition, three members of the Working Commission to Investigate the Use of Psychiatry for Political Purposes have been arrested. Two of them, Felix Serebov and Kirill Podrabinek, have been sentenced. The third, Aleksandr Podrabinek, the head of the commission, was arrested May 14 in Moscow. The commission is associated with but is not officially a part of the Moscow Helsinki group.

From Intercontinental Press/Inprecor

## By Willie Mae Reid

The National Organization for Women (NOW) has called for supporters of the Equal Rights Amendment to converge on Washington, D.C., by "the tens of thousands" on July 9. In the ranks of these demonstrators will be many Black women, since we are among the staunchest supporters of the Equal Rights Amendment.

Contrary to what the capitalist media often try to tell us, sentiment for women's rights is strong in the Black community and still growing. In fact, polls show that support for women's rights continues to be higher among Black women than women in general.

Over the past several years, escalating government attacks on affirmative-action programs, abortion rights for poor women, and child care have helped bring home the importance to the Black community of women's rights issues.

Another significant development has been the increased outspokenness of many Black leaders on these issues.

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) supports the ERA. (See box below.) The Coalition of Black Trade Unionists (CBTU) voted to support the ERA at its 1977 convention. The Urban League has endorsed local ERA actions.

At the National Leadership Summit Conference sponsored by the NAACP May 5-7, NAACP Executive Director Benjamin Hooks explained the importance of uniting with the women's movement around affirmative action. Joseph Lowery, president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, spoke out against a system that provides abortion rights choices for well-to-do women and denies those same choices to poor women.

### Debate continues

Along with this growing support, there is also a continuing debate in the Black press and in many Black organizations over whether to support the fight for women's rights.

A recent example is an article in the *Bilalian News*, national newspaper of the World Community of Islam in the West (formerly the Nation of Islam). The April 28 front page announced a major article on "Women's Rights: A close-up view of the ERA."

The two-and-a-half-page article inside presents arguments in favor of, as well as against, the ERA. The attitude of the World Community toward the amendment is revealed when the article quotes from Ayesha Khutbah, a member of the World Community's Committee Enhancing the Role of Women in Society. Khutbah, according to the article, "said the committee supports those provisions of the [ERA] which are good but opposes those which are against the benefit of society."

But what does the amendment say? The ERA simply states: "Equality of rights under the law shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state on account of sex."

The truth is that Black women have everything to gain from an amendment that asserts that women have "equality of rights." We can only benefit from legislation that stands on the side of job equality, that opposes discrimination in hiring, that supports equal pay and equal educational opportunities.

What reason could there be for not wholeheartedly supporting the ERA?

Khutbah argues that "... evolution, and the effects of time and nature, have given both the male and the female their nature and role. ...

"We feel that it is necessary that a sister have a male in her life so that he can carry on those responsibilities, and that she will maintain her nature so she won't have to go beyond herself to get her basic needs taken care of."

Contrary to what Khutbah implies, the ERA is not counterposed to the right of women to decide their personal relationships. Moreover, in saying that



Militant/Charles Ostrofsky

# Why Black women support ERA

An answer to 'Bilalian News'

men and women must maintain certain traditional "roles," Khutbah brings up the very arguments used by reactionaries to deny women equal treatment on the job and elsewhere.

### Facts of life

The facts of life in the Black community dispute Khutbah's view of Black men and women. Fifty-three percent of Black women are in the work force today. This is part of the overall trend toward a larger percentage of females, Blacks, Chicanos, and youth in the work force.

Black women need the income from these jobs to support themselves, to supplement the income of Black male wage earners, or to provide for the necessities of life in the one-third of all Black families headed by women.

At the same time, the gap between women's earnings and wages paid to men is widening. Black women receive fifty-three cents for every one dollar paid to white men; seventy-three cents for every one dollar paid to Black men; and ninety-four cents for every one dollar paid to white women.

Black women, like all women, need to close this gap! We must be in the forefront of the struggle for equal pay, job opportunities, and education. We have the most to gain from this. Ratification of the ERA can serve as a weapon for us in this fight.

### Another question

There is another question raised in the debate over Black women's participation in the struggle for equality: Should Black women actively join with others in the fight for the ERA?

Dr. Inez Smith Reid, a Black deputy general counsel for the Department of

Health, Education and Welfare, posed this question at a meeting on "Black Women and the ERA" held at New York University April 20. Reid warned against common struggle with "white women" for women's rights, claiming that "the political climate means Black people should be stingy about their priorities."

What Reid did not see is that the political climate of today argues in favor of full support to the struggle for the ERA.

The climate of today is one of one attack after another on the rights of Blacks, of women, and of working people in general. Desegregation efforts, affirmative action, the right to decent schools and housing are all under attack. Workers—such as the coal miners—are being asked to give back gains they won in previous years. Child care and abortion rights are under fire.

It is a time when the combined strength of all those under attack is needed to fight back.

## 'ERA is a human rights issue'

At its May 5-7 National Leadership Summit conference in Chicago, the NAACP released a statement reaffirming its support for the Equal Rights Amendment. Portions of that statement follow:

We, as members of the oldest Civil Rights organization in the United States, reaffirm our strong support for the ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment. ...

The question of equal rights for

Affirmative action is one example. Affirmative-action programs are designed to end unequal treatment based on racism and sexism. Blacks, women, and all working people should unite, as was pointed out at the NAACP convention, to fight for such programs. Winning the ERA can only help in such a fight.

On the other hand, a defeat for the ERA will hurt the struggles taking place on all fronts. It will embolden the racists who attack busing and open housing, because these very same racist groups are in the forefront of the fight against ERA. It will make it harder for working people to stand up to the employers and fight for their rights.

There is another reason why it is very important to be clear in stating support for passage of the ERA. Confusion on this question can open the door to alliances with right-wing opponents of the ERA, such as Phyllis Schlafly.

The *Bilalian News* quotes Schlafly in its article uncritically, as an impartial "Alton, Illinois homemaker-law student" who is opposed to the ERA. The paper does not mention that Schlafly is not just anti-ERA, she is anti-abortion, anti-welfare, anti-social security, anti-child care, antiunion, antibusing, and anti-Black.

### What next?

The July 9 demonstration called by NOW offers an opportunity to show the power and determination of those fighting for the ERA. We are in a majority. We need to take advantage of this chance to unite all those who support the ERA. Blacks and Black organizations must be mobilized, labor must be enlisted in the fight, as well as women's groups, students, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, and Asians.

A decisive force in this battle is the labor movement. It will be through their unions that many Blacks become involved in ERA actions.

At the 8,000-strong pro-ERA demonstration in Springfield, Illinois, in 1976, the United Auto Workers, teachers unions, public employee unions, and other unions with sizable Black memberships brought large contingents.

Black women have been heavily involved in women's caucuses in the unions, and have turned out in large numbers at conventions of the Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW). Black women in the Amalgamated Meat Cutters union in Virginia played an important role in initiating the 3,200-strong march for the ERA in Richmond last January 22.

When the movement for women's rights began to grow rapidly in the late 1960s and early 1970s, the media hammered away at the idea that this was a "white, middle-class movement." But history is showing them to be wrong. Every year brings deeper involvement of the unions, of Blacks, of working people as a whole in this struggle.

This is of great significance because these are the big battalions that not only have the most to gain from this fight, but which have the power to bring victories.

That is why the July 9 march is so important. It can be another step in the process of bringing these forces into action, strengthening the fight for women's rights.

women is not a black or white issue—or a rich or poor issue—nor is it a suburban or inner-city issue. It is a fundamental Human Rights issue which should be resolved once and for all—so that the total human resources of this nation can be fully developed and applied to the task of improving living conditions for the millions of Americans who are excluded from the mainstream of American life because of unfounded prejudices based on race, sex or religious origin.



# Labor support grows for equal rights march

By Diane Wang

The New Jersey AFL-CIO council has endorsed the July 9 March on Washington for the Equal Rights Amendment called by the National Organization for Women (NOW). The council asked for 1,600 leaflets to send to its affiliates.

Support for the ERA demonstration has also come from the New Jersey Industrial Union Council and United Auto Workers District 9.

The UAW District 9 women's committee is planning to charter a bus to Washington. And the Women's Affirmative Action Committee of the Industrial Union Council, as well as the Newark Federation of Teachers, have discussed organizing buses for the march.

The *Militant* talked to two trade unionists who are active in New Jersey NOW's labor outreach committee. Helen Schiff is a member of United Steelworkers of America Local 12243, and Chris Hildebrand is a member of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers Local 827.

"Getting the Equal Rights Amendment passed is important for the labor movement," Schiff said. "And I think that involving trade unions in the struggle is the way we are going to be able to win the ERA."

It's easy to explain to unions why they should help win the ERA, Schiff said. "One of the most important benefits the ERA can help us win is equal pay for equal work. And that is important for all working people, not just women. If women are not given equal pay it drives down the wages of everyone who works for a living."

"Treating women like second-class citizens is a way to divide the labor movement," she said.

Hildebrand added another reason. "Every single day the unions are faced with the challenge of defending workers' rights on the job," she pointed out. "That is the reason unions exist—to defend the worker. ERA will be a valuable tool for doing that."

The ERA will not only help expand the rights of women workers, who make up an increasing proportion of the work force, Hildebrand said. "Women have won some benefits, such as rest periods, that should be extended to men. ERA will also help in that fight."

And ERA will be an important wea-

pon in the fight being waged to win disability and sick leave for pregnant workers.

Moreover, Schiff pointed out, unions need to unite with women's groups against ERA opponents, who are also antilabor.

"Many of the union groups I've talked to seem eager to do more than just add their names to the support list," Hildebrand said. That was her experience, for example, when she spoke to the Women's Affirmative Action Committee of the Industrial Union Council.

The 500 leaflets Hildebrand had brought to the meeting were quickly taken to be distributed to unions. Several people offered to help write a leaflet for the ERA action aimed specifically at the labor movement. And the committee voted to take part in a news conference of labor supporters for ERA.

Schiff and Hildebrand pointed to recent experiences—the Virginia demonstration for the ERA last January organized by a labor coalition, and the union contingents at the April march for the ERA in Chicago.

"It shows unions will pitch in when women call on them to," concluded Hildebrand.



Members of Steelworkers union Local 65 women's committee leafleting at plant gates for recent ERA march in Chicago.

## 500 pack hearings on ERA extension bill

By Shelley Kramer

More than 500 supporters of the Equal Rights Amendment jammed into a congressional hearing room, some pouring out into the adjacent halls, on May 18—the second day of House hearings on HR 638, the bill to extend the ERA's ratification deadline.

Thirty-five states have ratified the ERA since 1972. Three more are needed if the ERA is to pass by its March 22, 1979, deadline. The proposed House bill would extend the ERA's deadline seven years. A similar resolution was introduced in the Senate May 17 by Sen. Birch Bayh (D-Ind.).

Eleanor Smeal, president of the National Organization for Women, was among the speakers testifying for extension. If the ERA is defeated, "the gains women have obtained in the past two decades" would be threatened, Smeal argued. And it would open the door to court rulings further limiting women's rights.

Phyllis Schlafly, leader of the anti-ERA forces, complained that extension would be "unfair," that the Constitu-

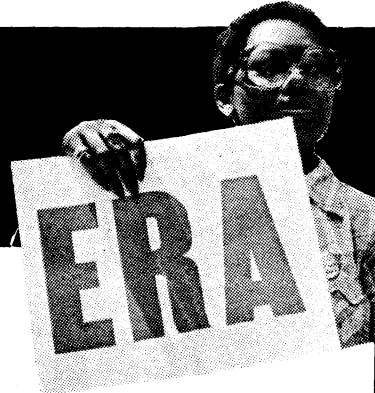
tion is "sacred" and cannot be "tampered" with. Other speakers answered that what is really unfair is tampering with women's rights by placing an arbitrary time limit on ERA ratification.

The debate over the ERA is still very much alive. Active support for the amendment is growing. As Virginia delegate Dorothy McDiarmid testified, labor unions are only now beginning to throw their weight into the debate on the side of the ERA.

This new support is exactly what the anti-ERA forces fear. They want to cut the debate short because they know they're losing ground.

State Sen. Robert Egan of Illinois—who has voted for the ERA under pressure in the past—testified that he is "tired" of the issue. Tired of the demonstrators, of voter retaliation at the polls, and of the economic boycott of unratified states like Illinois. An extension of this debate would "seriously impede the orderly process of state government in Illinois," Egan said.

## Marching toward July 9



The National Organization for Women is sponsoring a national march on Washington for the Equal Rights Amendment on July 9.

### St. Paul news conference

The four chapters of the National Organization for Women (NOW) in the Minneapolis-St. Paul area held a news conference on May 22 to announce plans for the July 9 March on Washington.

Linda Lavender, Minnesota state coordinator of NOW, reminded people that "the ERA remains unratified, lacking passage in only three states. This is the time for Americans to show Congress their overwhelming support for basic human rights. . . ."

Ginny Burke, a member of the NOW State Board who is coordinating transportation to Washington, said that NOW is planning a major fund-raising activity to publicize July 9 and raise money for transportation. NOW also plans a send-off rally the day women leave.

### Labor leaders appeal for support to ERA

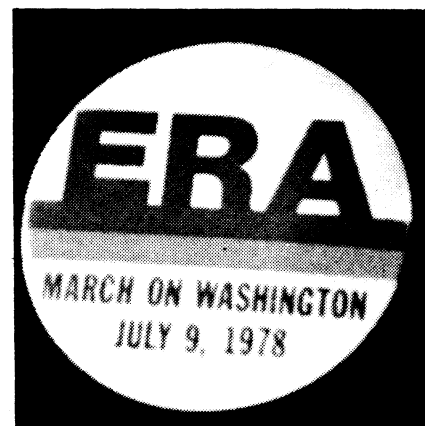
Labor leaders in the Baltimore area have signed a letter urging unionists to attend a May 31 meeting sponsored by NOW on "Labor and the ERA."

The appeal has already been signed by David Wilson, president of United Steelworkers of America Local 2609; Martha Mirnill, president of Communication Workers of America Local 2110; Jerry Menapace, president of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of America Local 117; Joseph Townsley, president of the Teamsters Joint Council; and Peter Moralis, executive director of American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees Council 30.

### Button available

The Essex County NOW chapter has put out a purple-gold-and-white button for the July 9 March on Washington. It is available for fifty cents from Essex County NOW July 9 Committee, 516 Prospect Street, Maplewood, New Jersey 07040.

The NOW National Action Center has a leaflet for the march, suitable for reprinting locally. To get the leaflet or more information about the demonstration write the National ERA March Office, Suite 548, 425 Thirteenth Street NW, Washington, D.C. 20004.



### Boston teachers organize

At its May 16 meeting the women's committee of the Boston Teachers Union discussed the July 9 demonstration. The committee decided to put an article in the union newspaper explaining the ERA and why the deadline for ratification should be extended. They plan to include a flyer about the July 9 action in a mailing to the union's nearly 6,000 members. And they will take a resolution of support for the demonstration to their June local meeting.

### Have we come a long way?

A conference on women's issues, entitled "Have we come a long way?" was held at the University of Cincinnati May 19-20. Several of the 150 women who attended signed up at the NOW table to help on the ERA campaign, and some bought tickets for the bus to Washington. The conference voted to support the march and hold a send-off rally July 8.

### Pittsburgh Coalition for ERA Extension

The Pittsburgh Coalition for ERA Extension sent a mailing to 200 unions, Black and women's organizations, and community groups urging them to support the July 9 march, charter buses, and contribute funds. The coalition is made up of several local NOW chapters, Americans for Democratic Action, the YWCA, Women's Political Caucus, Pittsburgh Neighborhood Alliance, American Association of University Women, and the women's committee of the Thomas Merton Center.

### Tacoma: 'ERA will not go away'

More than 100 ERA supporters attended a rally in Tacoma, Washington, on May 13 sponsored by NOW.

Grace Van Horn, Washington state NOW president, urged extension of the deadline for ratifying the ERA. "We are not going to go away," she declared, "the ERA will not go away." Other speakers included Jerry Dargitz, secretary-treasurer of the International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers, District 751.

The rally was endorsed by other NOW chapters, the Tacoma Urban League, NAACP, the Black Women's Caucus Area League, Asian-American Alliance, Socialist Workers Party, presidents of American Federation of Government Employees Local 1504, president of the Tacoma Association of Classroom Teachers, and others.

### 'New York Post' reports

The May 15 *New York Post* reported, "Wearing the colors their foremothers wore in the suffrage movement 58 years ago, supporters of the Equal Rights Amendment will march on Washington July 9."

—Diane Wang

# California tax initiatives: relief only for the rich

## Socialist demands corporations pay, not working people

By Harry Ring

LOS ANGELES—The California Socialist Workers Party is urging a "no" vote on both Prop. 13—the Jarvis-Gann "Tax relief" initiative—and Prop. 8, another tax scheme.

Fred Halstead, SWP candidate for governor, says that both measures seek to pit overtaxed working-class homeowners against other working people who are badly in need of social services.

"California workers are justifiably mad about all the taxes they have to pay," explains Halstead. "The average taxpayer had to work 126 days this year to make enough money to pay his or her taxes. And it's especially hard on homeowners. Taxes on single-family homes have been going up 14 percent per year."

But Halstead says that in the name of "tax reform," both Prop. 8 and 13 would shift even more of the tax burden off the rich and onto the poor.

Instead of these phony "reforms," the California SWP campaign proposes a socialist alternative to the current inequitable tax structure:

- Eliminate all property taxes on small owners. Tax the big corporations.
- No tax on incomes below \$30,000, and a 100 percent tax on those above \$50,000.
- Abolish all sales taxes.
- Stop the billions of dollars in nontaxable interest giveaways to the rich on state, city, and federal bonds.
- Place a 100 percent tax on the profits of polluting corporations and war profiteers. Fund schools, not the Pentagon.

### 'Bill of Rights'?

Backers of the Jarvis-Gann initiative refer to it as a "Bill of Rights for All Taxpayers." A better name would be, "Fat Bonus for All Landlords and Corporations."

Prop. 13 would cut property taxes by about 60 percent by limiting tax assessments to 1 percent of market value. Howard Jarvis, its principal sponsor, is a Los Angeles landlord and director of the Los Angeles Apartment Owners Association.

"The most essential human right,"

Jarvis declares, "is the right to own property."

Since landlords and big property owners own two-thirds of the state's taxable property, they would get \$5 billion of the projected \$7.5 billion tax reduction.

If Prop. 13 passes, a family with a home valued at \$60,000 would save several hundred dollars on its property taxes. But Pacific Telephone, the biggest property owner in the state, stands to save \$130 million.

To make up for revenues lost under Prop. 13, Gov. Edmund Brown and other California capitalist politicians are already discussing alternative tax sources that will hit hardest against those least able to pay—working people, the elderly, and anyone in lower income brackets.

One measure, for example, would increase the sales tax 1 percent, and extend it to such services as haircuts and auto mechanics' fees. A second measure would hike state income taxes 20 percent.

### Racist and antilabor

The antilabor, racist character of Prop. 13 is clear from a pamphlet distributed by Jarvis's group, the United Organization of Taxpayers. The pamphlet explains how California can get along without the \$7.5 billion in lost tax revenues:

"By abandoning phony sick leave grants to public employees who are not sick"; "by eliminating prevailing wage schedules which . . . provide salaries far in excess of private employment"; "bar illegal aliens from getting welfare, medical and dental care costing millions of dollars annually"; "by eliminating grandiose government plans for forced busing of school children. . . ."

Passage of Prop. 13 would definitely mean an immediate and deep slash in education and other public services. According to most estimates, a half million public employees would be laid off. Officials predict that 18,000 Los Angeles County school teachers would lose their jobs, and that county health services would be cut 44 percent.

This devastating result of Prop. 13 was debated at a meeting of the San



FRED HALSTEAD  
Militant/Susan Muysenberg

Francisco Militant Forum, where socialist candidate Fred Halstead confronted Bill Handelsman, a vice-president of the Bay Area Jarvis-Gann committee. Handelsman appealed to the justified public outrage against legislators who loot the treasury.

Prop. 13, Handelsman asserted, would put the "bandits in Sacramento" on notice: "You bums, live on a budget like we do!"

"But what's going to get cut," Halstead responded, "is not top administrators' salaries or legislators' privileges. It will be schools and such things as aid to the blind and the needy."

### Prop. 8 no alternative

But Prop. 8, which is being pushed by Governor Brown and other Democratic and Republican party politicians, offers no alternative to the Jarvis-Gann initiative, Halstead stressed.

While rent-hungry landlords are whooping it up for Prop. 13, he said, powerful capitalist interests such as the Bank of America are behind Prop. 8. This financial giant says that Prop. 8 would be "a rational, orderly first step to achieve greater efficiency in the use of public funds."

The proposition would amend the state constitution to permit taxation of owner-occupied property at a lower rate than business or commercial property. However, it specifically bars raising corporate taxes to cover the loss of revenue from reduced homeowner taxes.

Prop. 8 would put into effect the Behr bill, which has already been passed by the state legislature and signed by Brown. This bill reduces tax on private homes by 30 percent, and increases the yearly renters' tax rebate from thirty-seven to seventy-five dollars.

Prop. 8 would not mean such an immediate and precipitous cut in spending as Prop. 13.

But government spending will still be slashed, since the Behr bill limits the total amount that the counties and the state can raise through taxes. These limits will mean a freeze in the real wages of public employees and cutbacks in necessary services.

The California Assembly Revenue and Taxation Committee estimates that cutbacks will total \$2.4 billion.

State Sen. Peter Behr, author of the bill, boasts about these spending limits. "These are revenue limits you can search for in vain in Prop. 13," he says.

As a result of the Behr bill's formula for setting new tax rates, corporate property owners will receive about a \$900 million windfall over the next five years.

### 'Billing wrong people'

Outlining his opposition to both ballot measures, Halstead explained at the San Francisco forum that the problem is not that the government is spending too much, but that it is spending for the wrong things and billing the wrong people.

"Not one penny should go to Washington for the war budget," Halstead declared.

"Not one penny should go to pay for racist cops, who are responsible for shooting down Blacks and deporting Mexican workers."

"On the other hand," he emphasized, "we're not spending nearly enough to increase the quality of education. We're certainly not spending too much on health care, or decent low-rent housing."

"And we're not spending too much on aid to dependent children, on child care, on creating jobs for the unemployed."

Neither Prop. 8 nor Prop. 13 will do anything to change this.

But the leadership of the California labor movement has failed to fight for a tax and spending program that would benefit working people. For example, the AFL-CIO and virtually all public employee unions oppose Prop. 13, but support Prop. 8.

"The reason for this," Halstead said, "is that the labor officials remain tied to the capitalist two-party system—especially Democratic Party 'friends of labor.'"

What working people need, Halstead said, is a party of their own—a labor party, basing itself on the power of the organized labor movement.

Such a party, he explained, would fight for a tax structure and social expenditures that benefit working people, not wealthy landlords or the Bank of America.

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## Schools would suffer

By Jeff Mackler

What would happen to California schools if Prop. 13 were to pass?

Local school districts would lose \$3.7 billion, an average of 31 percent for each school district in the state. This would cripple the ability of local school districts to provide "matching" funds needed to qualify for existing federal and state aid. The result could be an additional loss of up to \$1 billion.

The school programs that would be cut would include bilingual/bicul-

tural education; "right to read"; environmental education; education for the handicapped; occupational, vocational, and adult education; child nutrition; Indian education; library services; and more.

"The magnitude of the cuts imposed by Jarvis-Gann would make New York City look like paradise in comparison to California," said one Alameda County teacher.

Estimates of the number of teachers who would lose their jobs range from 50,000 to 100,000.

Most school districts, however, have announced that they will simply close down as soon as existing funds are exhausted. Closing dates around the middle of next school year have already been set by hundreds of districts.

Jeff Mackler, a member of the executive board of the Hayward Unified Teachers Association, is the Socialist Workers Party candidate for superintendent of public instruction.



# international **socialist** review

## The Labor Party

- Why American Workers Need One
- Revolutionists and the British Labour Party



# THE MONTH IN REVIEW

## Actions Show Blacks Want to Fight Back

Recent months have seen a series of demonstrations around issues of deep concern to Black Americans.

- On March 18, 4,000 people marched, under the auspices of the NAACP, outside the U.S.-South Africa Davis Cup tennis matches in Nashville to protest U.S. complicity with apartheid.

- On the same day in Washington, D.C., 8,000 gathered to demand freedom for the Wilmington Ten. This rally was called by the National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression.

- 4,000 young people demanded jobs in a Washington, D.C., march held April 8 by the Youth March for Jobs Committee.

- On April 15, 10,000 marched in Washington to protest the *Bakke* decision and defend affirmative action. The march was initiated by the National Committee to Overturn the *Bakke* Decision.

- On May 13, one of several actions commemorating African Liberation Day drew 4,000 persons to the U.S. Capitol.

- During this period, demonstrations and protests took place on many campuses against university investment and other forms of complicity with the South African regime.

These events point to the growing desire for action among Blacks and other supporters of Black rights. The Black community was especially hard hit by the 1974-75 depression and the resulting escalation of the ruling class assault on the rights and living standards of working people. The outbreak that occurred last July during the power blackout in New York City signaled the anger that was building up.

Disillusionment with the Carter administration is a factor in this changing mood. Following the advice of labor and civil rights leaders, Blacks helped put Carter in office. His promises to "put America back to work" and his rhetoric about human rights stirred some hope.

Now it is becoming clear to Blacks that Carter is doing nothing for them. The plague of Black unemployment, the threat to equal rights posed by attacks on affirmative action, and U.S. support to racist South Africa have been fostered by Carter's policies. His promises and perpetual look of pained innocence could not hide these facts for long.

The desire for struggle is stymied by the lack of independent Black leadership. Lead-

ers of major Black organizations such as the NAACP, Urban League, and Operation PUSH backed Carter. Their response thus far to Carter's treachery has been to make some friendly noises about the equally racist Republican Party.

The size of the recent actions, although modest, is particularly impressive because none were built by a broad spectrum of Black organizations (civil rights organizations, unions, churches, etc.). Many were called by a single organization, or by relatively narrow coalitions.

These protests show that many tens of thousands could be brought into action if broad, nonexclusive coalitions were built. No one group has the following of the overwhelming majority of Black people (not even the largest such as the NAACP).

It is therefore vital to bring a wide range of organizations together for actions demanding jobs, Black rights, and the end to U.S. support for racist regimes in Africa.

Black union members can play a particularly important role both in winning union support for the Black struggle, and in mobilizing the Black community.

Broad-based actions around the key issues facing Black people can deal crippling blows to the ruling-class drive against the Black community and give powerful momentum to the fight for Black liberation.

## Nuclear Power: Carter vs. Human Safety

The recent demonstrations at Rocky Flats, Colorado, and Barnwell, South Carolina, reveal the growth and spread of popular sentiment against nuclear power and nuclear weapons.

Together with an overwhelming vote against building a nuclear plant in California's Kern County in April, the demonstrations show that the antinuclear movement now has the ear of tens of millions of Americans.

Involving more than 6,000 people, the two actions were the largest antinuclear protests since the rise of the new movement in the United States. They can trace their lineage directly back to last year's antinuke action at Seabrook, New Hampshire.

The participants at these two actions were there for the same reasons: because of the real threat to human survival posed by nuclear power plants and nuclear weapons.

The link between the two is real.

Plutonium, the fiercely radioactive byproduct of nuclear power plants, can be recovered from them. It goes straight into the heart of atomic and hydrogen bombs.

That is precisely why the U.S. government so strongly encouraged utilities to build nuclear plants in the 1950s—to assure a continuous supply of plutonium for Washington's A-bombs.

Because nuclear power is both dangerous and expensive, the utilities hesitated. The government had to sweeten the pot. The first lump of sugar was the Price-Anderson Act, which, by law, limited liability in the event of a nuclear accident to \$560 million—a tiny fraction of the possible damage.

The federal government is still the mainstay of the nuclear power program. The Tennessee Valley Authority, for example, has more nuclear plants on order than anyone else.

Encouraging the construction of nuclear power plants has become a keystone of the Carter administration's energy policy.

- Carter has sought to make intervention by environmentalists in the nuclear plant licensing process more difficult.

- He has agreed to have federal tax dollars pay for trying to solve the insoluble problem of nuclear waste disposal.

- Worst of all, the Carter administration has offered Congress a deal on the Clinch River breeder reactor. Clinch River, which is based on an already obsolete technology, gets the axe. In return, Carter starts work on a breeder two or three times the size of Clinch River.

Despite their enormous initial costs, nuclear power plants are highly profitable for the energy industry. Utility companies are guaranteed a profit by state "regulatory" agencies. The more they spend, the more they make.

Washington is more concerned with protecting the profits of the energy giants than with the serious health problems resulting from nuclear power.

And that is exactly the same reason Washington has put together a nuclear arsenal that can kill everyone in the world many times over—to protect the far-flung investment empires of American corporations.

Nuclear power and nuclear weapons are national problems, and they can only be solved by coordinated national action. The antinuclear movement must continue to educate the American people.

There are millions of people who already have serious doubts about nuclear power. They can be won over to active opposition.

Just as activists opposed to the Vietnam War tried to involve allies from all parts of society, so should the antinuclear movement. Working people, especially the most oppressed groups of workers—Blacks and Latinos—are natural allies of the movement. They are the ones who can least afford cuts in essential social services to feed the bloated "defense" budget more and more nuclear bombs. They are the ones who can least afford utility bills inflated to pay for nuclear power plants.

The Barnwell and Rocky Flats demonstrations were an important step in building a truly mass movement against nuclear power and nuclear weapons. Such a movement is the only thing that will end them once and for all.

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

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# Why American Workers Need a Labor Party



Coal miners picket White House during national strike

Militant/Nancy Cole

## Letter from a Reader

**Editors:** Your coverage of the coal miners' strike has been outstanding, and your careful analysis of the Carter-coal bosses' fraudulent contract terms has been right on time.

But your solution to the miners' problems, in my opinion, is way off base. Your oft-repeated suggestion that "miners and other workers" form "their own party, a labor party based on the trade unions" simply depletes workers' energies by sending them down another primrose path of bankrupt union leaders who are almost as bad as the Democrats and Republicans.

Your articles properly denounce [AFL-CIO President George] Meany and [United Auto Workers President Douglas] Fraser for selling out the miners, but then, paradoxically, ask the workers to back these labor traitors since they are the ones who would lead a "labor party based on the trade unions."

How naïve can you be? Isn't it obvious that the Meanys and Frasers would merely exhaust the workers in another diversionary, reformist struggle to "make the system work"?

Besides, even if a labor party with some worker input were formed, would it support the workers *as a class*? It would not! It would only push for gains for its richest financial backers, the most powerful unions—at the expense of the rest of the workers.

So why do you call for a "labor party based on the trade unions" when you *should* be calling for the workers to join a party committed to *their* interests and the interests of the *entire* working class—the Socialist Workers Party?

Why aren't you calling for the miners to form their own SWP chapters *right now* out there in the coal fields, chapters that could be created around demands that all penalties for activists be stricken from the contract, that the bosses be forced to open the books and show the workers their bloated profits, demands that worker-controlled safety committees be formed at each mine, demands for no layoffs and for a worker's inviolable right to a job, and finally but yes, clearly, the revolutionary demand for workers' control?

Aren't the above demands the very demands Leon Trotsky called for in the prerevolutionary period in his visionary Transitional Program? Isn't the "call for a labor party" merely, as Trotsky warned: "conciliatory politics" which "dooms the working class to impotence and clears the road for fascism"?

Walter Pietsch  
Freeport, New York

## Reply by Andy Rose

The objection raised by Walter Pietsch can be summed up this way: Why does the Socialist Workers Party call for the formation of a labor party based on the unions, even though it says that the policies of the union officialdom are procapitalist, treacherous, and a dead end for workers?

Socialists who discuss the labor party idea on the job and in their unions often run into similar questions, formulated in different ways.

Aren't union bureaucrats such as George Meany to the *right* of some Democratic Party politicians? workers may ask. So how would a labor party headed by the likes of Meany be a step forward?

Socialists believe that the need for independent working-class political action is the central axis of a class-struggle strategy in the labor movement today—that is, of any strategy for workers to effectively defend their rights and living standards. That makes it important to take up these questions and explain precisely *why* and *how* we call for a labor party.

### Where We Start

The starting point of our program is not the present consciousness of the workers, much less the conservative mentality and reactionary policies of the union bureaucracy. We begin instead from *the objective needs of the working class and how to win them*.

What is the objective situation today? In the first place, working people are under attack—the sharpest antilabor attacks in decades.

Millions are unemployed. Inflation shrinks the value of paychecks every week. Employers are boldly demanding "givebacks" of union gains won in the past. Outright attempts to bust unions are on the rise.

At the same time, health care, education, and other social services are being cut back. Right-wing forces are escalating their drive against the rights of women, Blacks, and Chicanos. The environment is polluted and laid waste.

In the face of this many-sided assault, the unions are retreating in disorder and confusion.

Union membership is declining. Every week brings news of setbacks—broken strikes, wretched contracts, or "givebacks" conceded without a fight. When it comes to such broad social problems as rising prices, unemployment, and discrimination, the labor movement seems even more helpless.

Andy Rose writes on the labor movement for the Militant and is a member of the Socialist Workers Party National Committee.

It's not that workers are unwilling to fight. The militancy of the coal miners' strike proved that. The coal strike also dramatically showed the strength that the unions can wield—especially the unions in basic industry—flowing from their ability to stop production.

But even the miners—while they blocked the coal bosses' drive to break their union—were compelled to accept a settlement that included grave concessions to the employers.

Why aren't the unions fighting back successfully?

### Political Subordination

What cripples the use of labor's immense potential power is, above all, the subordination of the workers' only mass organizations—the unions—to the political parties of the class enemy.

The capitalists are not just carrying out their antilabor assault as individual employers. More and more *they use the government*, which they control through the Democratic and Republican parties, to impose antilabor measures.

Union officials devote millions of dollars every year from the members' dues payments to electing Democratic politicians and an occasional Republican. This gives the illusion that labor is a political force. But the same politicians who pocket union funds with a smile are in the forefront of the anti-working-class offensive.

President Carter is a prime example. He tried to break the miners' strike with the slave-labor Taft-Hartley Act. Now he is campaigning to hold wages down while prices skyrocket.

By now it's a familiar pattern. Judges readily hand down injunctions against picketing and order strikers back to work. Scabs get police protection while the civil liberties of unionists are trampled on. Democratic and Republican officeholders join in deploring "disruption" of the economy and urge a "compromise" settlement—on the bosses' terms. If necessary they enact emergency strikebreaking laws.

### Not a Lost Cause

This doesn't mean that strikes are a lost cause. It does mean that to conduct effective strikes *right now* the unions have to stop limiting their actions to what the Democrats and Republicans—that is, the political agents of the bosses—will tolerate.

It means that *right now* any strike can rapidly escalate into a political confrontation.

It means that for the workers to exert their full strength in those confrontations—to break the stranglehold of legalized strikebreaking—they will have to organize politically.

Independent working-class political action is even more necessary for workers to solve such

problems as lack of jobs, miserable health care, deteriorating schools, racist and sexist discrimination, and monopoly price-gouging.

Take a simple example. Early this year the AFL-CIO Executive Council proposed a modest economic stimulus program—an income tax cut of \$10.9 billion, a Social Security tax cut of \$5.4 billion, and job-creating programs costing \$13.25 billion. These measures, the AFL-CIO said, would create 2 million jobs.

Yet not one of labor's "friends" in the Democratic or Republican parties has introduced these proposals in Congress. No one is even talking about them. They are a dead letter without union representatives in Congress.

But that's not the worst of it.

*Instead of the Democrats or Republicans taking up labor's program, the union officialdom accepts the reactionary program of the capitalist parties.* The effects of this are far-reaching and poisonous.

The AFL-CIO hierarchy, for example, was one of the diehard supporters of the war in Vietnam. It continues to back U.S. escalation of the arms race and to demand that more of workers' tax dollars be poured into the war budget.

This pro-imperialist stand undercuts the fight to create jobs and defend social services. The billions wasted on the Pentagon arsenal are the greatest drain on the resources that should go to the needs of working people. When the capitalist politicians insist that workers must either accept higher taxes or see schools and hospitals closed down—and exactly that choice appears on more and more ballots—the union hierarchy can offer no way out of the dilemma.

Consigning the struggle to achieve jobs for all to Labor Day speeches, union officials embrace all kinds of reactionary schemes that the employers claim will provide jobs for at least a privileged few.

- They call for deportation of immigrant workers without papers.
- They demand anti-import quotas and tariffs, which lead to higher prices that all workers have to pay.
- They champion the building of life-threatening nuclear plants.
- They oppose affirmative-action quotas to achieve equality for women and minorities, echoing racist and sexist propaganda about "reverse discrimination."

For the labor movement to be identified with these reactionary stands cuts it off from other fighters for social progress who ought to be its allies. It repels workers who can be the best union fighters—young workers, women, Blacks, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans.

This is the dead end in which the unions are trapped by their "alliance" with the political parties of the bosses.

### Self-defense

Independent labor political action is a matter of elementary self-defense for the working class today. Continued reliance on the Democrats and Republicans means sharpening divisions among the workers and their allies, continued decline in living standards, erosion of democratic rights, and eventual destruction of the unions.

The Socialist Workers Party doesn't advocate a labor party in the abstract—that is, divorced from the real needs and struggles of workers today. Rather, we put forward answers to the burning problems facing working people, answers that point toward uniting the working class and mobilizing its power against the bosses. Answers such as:

- Jobs for all through a shorter workweek with no cut in pay.
- End the squandering of resources on the war budget—use those funds for free, universal health care, education, transportation, child care, and other social services.
- For affirmative action, equal rights for women, and desegregation of schools, housing, and employment.
- For safe and clean conditions in the workplace and throughout the environment.
- For cost-of-living escalators to protect all wages and social benefits from inflation.
- Open the books of the corporations.

We explain that these measures cannot be fully achieved through union action alone—they require independent political action.

This kind of radical social program is obviously a far cry from the conservative, narrow-minded policies of the union officials today. To carry out this program the unions will have to be

transformed. The question is—how?

Certainly not by absolving the existing unions—under their present leadership—of the obligation to defend the working class.

The problem should be put in broader perspective: Socialists are convinced that to resolve the economic and social crisis and prevent the destruction of humanity, the working class will have to take power away from the capitalists and institute democratic, planned production for human needs. But we are still a small minority on this question. We can't force other workers to accept our views.

Only a combined process of education and experience in struggle will win the majority of workers to the revolutionary perspective. Workers have to learn for themselves that capitalism—and procapitalist misleaders in the labor movement—offer no solutions.

The job of revolutionaries in the labor movement today is to provide clear answers and explanations of *where* the antilabor offensive comes from, *why* the unions are being driven back, and *what the unions should do now* to defend the working class. Around that action program a class-struggle left wing will be assembled that can sweep aside the bureaucrats, transform the labor movement, and challenge the capitalists for governmental control.

The call for a labor party is not just one of many demands in our action program. *It represents the fundamental strategic break from political enslavement of the working class by the employers.*

### Bureaucrats & Democrats

Walter Pietsch worries that a labor party would just be a way for Meany, Fraser, and other union bureaucrats to keep workers under their thumb. This is unlikely, to say the least. It assumes that a labor party will be created without any changes in the union movement.

In the first place, the bureaucrats are dead set against any rupture with the Democrats—and that is no accident. Deathly afraid of mobilizing the union ranks, the top union officials hope to prop themselves up by *greater* reliance on the capitalist parties and government.

A prime example is their drive this year for "labor law reform," under which they dream the government will agree to respect the institution of collective bargaining. In fact, this legislation would be a blow to the independent power of the union ranks. It would strengthen the antilabor National Labor Relations Board and enhance the strikebreaking authority of the courts.

One of the main reasons the union bureaucrats are capitulating to the antilabor drive without a fight is precisely because they know and fear that any serious struggle will bring them into a confrontation with the Democratic Party. They are ready to see big defeats inflicted on the workers rather than break with the Democrats.

The union officialdom's profound commitment to the Democratic Party has been the specific form of its political class-collaboration for more than four decades. It will take a powerful rank-and-file upsurge to blast apart that "alliance" and launch a labor party. Such an upsurge is not

likely to leave Meany and Fraser seated firmly atop the unions.

Of course, support to capitalist parties is not the only form of political class-collaboration. Faced with a mass upsurge of the union ranks demanding independent political action, a section of the union officialdom might launch or join a labor party in hopes of preserving their influence and steering it toward procapitalist policies. But it is absurd to assume in advance that they would succeed. We have to consider—what will happen if a labor party is formed to oppose the Democrats and Republicans?

### Political Upheaval

It would provoke a political upheaval, shattering the two-party system under which the capitalists have ruled for more than a century.

It would arouse immense expectations and political ferment among millions of workers, who would see the new labor party as *their* party and look to it to take up their pressing needs.

The capitalists would unleash ferocious efforts to crush the new party, including violent, illegal assaults the moment they thought it could really threaten their rule.

Within the labor movement, all questions of program, strategy, and tactics would be posed with new sharpness.

In this tumultuous situation, no one can predict exactly what a labor party would look like. What is *least* likely is that it would emerge as a stable, bureaucratized, procapitalist labor party like the British Labour Party. The economic conditions necessary to consolidate reformist control of such a party—prolonged capitalist strength and prosperity—no longer exist.

It is far more likely that a labor party would be the arena for contending forces—union bureaucrats, Stalinists, and revolutionary socialists—under circumstances favorable to growth of a revolutionary left wing.

Pietsch asserts that a labor party "would only push for gains for its richest financial backers, the most powerful unions—at the expense of the rest of the workers." Revolutionary workers would argue, on the contrary, that the divisive policies of the union bureaucrats *originate with the capitalists* and are not in the interests of *any* workers in any unions, including the most powerful.

With a correct policy, a labor party could attract and unite far broader masses of workers than the 20 percent who belong to unions. It could be the rallying point for the unemployed and the unorganized, as well as such allies of the workers as farmers, Black community organizations, women's groups, and students.

It could mobilize the workers' strength against the bosses not only in election campaigns but also in strikes, demonstrations, and other mass actions. That's what revolutionary socialists would be fighting for.

We can make no promises about what a labor party *will* do. We say what it *can* do and what it *should* do. We explain that without their own party, the workers are trapped and cannot move forward.

Pietsch says that instead of calling for a labor

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## For Further Reading...

### The Transitional Program for Socialist Revolution

By Leon Trotsky

With introductory essays by George Novack and Joseph Hansen, this new edition also includes for the first time all the discussions leaders of the Socialist Workers Party held with Trotsky on the Transitional Program before its adoption by the Fourth International. Also included are "A Transitional Program for Black Liberation" and "A Strategy for Revolutionary Youth," resolutions of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance. 252 pages, \$3.95.

### Prospects for Socialism in America

By Jack Barnes, et al.

A strategic line of march for American workers against the sharpening attacks of big business. Adopted by the Socialist Workers Party in 1975, this resolution describes the developing crisis of American and world capitalism and the beginning of the radicalization of American workers. Also included are reports on the Black struggle and on perspectives for building the revolutionary working-class party in the United States. 265 pages, \$2.95.

### Leon Trotsky on the Trade Unions

Articles by and discussions with Trotsky on the role of trade unions and how to defend the gains workers have won through them. Includes "Trade Unions in the Epoch of Imperialist Decay" and "Discussion with a CIO Organizer." 80 pages, \$1.95.

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



# Revolutionary Socialists and the British Labour Party

What attitude should relatively small groups of revolutionary socialists in Great Britain, Canada, Australia, and elsewhere take toward reformist and bureaucratically run labor parties that have mass support? In thinking out this question, the early British communists had the help of Lenin, Trotsky, and the Communist International.

By Ian Angus

The following article is based on a series that appeared in the May 9, June 6, and June 20, 1977, issues of 'Labor Challenge,' published in Toronto, Ontario, in Canada. 'Labor Challenge' was the English-language journal of the League for Socialist Action/Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière.

The LSA/LSO fused in August 1977 with the Revolutionary Marxist Group and the Groupe Marxiste Révolutionnaire to form the Revolutionary Workers League/Ligue Ouvrière Révolutionnaire. The RWL/LOR, which publishes 'Socialist Voice' and 'Lutte Ouvrière,' is the Canadian section of the Fourth International.

Seventeen years after its formation, the New Democratic Party of Canada remains a subject of debate within the Marxist left. Labor parties of the NDP type—with liberal programs but deeply rooted in the union movement—exist in other countries as well (Great Britain, Australia, and New Zealand are examples). Socialists have had to decide how to act toward them.

Should socialists support parties such as the New Democratic Party at any time in any way—or should they refuse to have anything to do with them? If it is correct for socialists to support the NDP, what forms and what limits should this support have? What attitude should be adopted toward NDP governments (provincial or, possibly in the future, Canadian) that carry out procapitalist policies?

In evaluating these problems it is useful to consider the experience of the Communist Party of Great Britain (CPGB). In its revolutionary youth, this party had to confront the massive and reformist Labour Party, a powerful opponent of the anticapitalist mobilization of British workers.

## I

World War I destroyed the Second International, the association of socialist parties that had seemed so promising before 1914. In almost every country the socialist leaders who had preached internationalism and universal brotherhood in times of peace beat the drums of patriotism and war. Workers parties with millions of supporters betrayed the principles they had claimed to support.

In every country a minority remained faithful to revolutionary Marxism despite the war, and began regrouping the international movement while battles raged across Europe.

### Third International

The effort to reestablish a revolutionary international was given a tremendous impetus by the Russian revolution of 1917. Inspired by the revolution, thousands of working-class leaders rallied to the internationalist cause. In March 1919, thirty-five representatives of the international revolutionary left met in Moscow to launch a new organization—the Third International. They issued a call to revolutionists of all countries to break from the bankrupt parties of the Second International, to form new Communist parties, and to join in building the new Communist International.

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The capitalist blockade of Russia prevented any British delegates from attending the founding congress of the new International—but that did not mean that British revolutionists were unsympathetic to the Bolshevik cause. The Russian revolution had struck a deep and responsive chord in the British working class. Attempts by the British government to intervene against the revolution had been met by mass protests, including strikes by dockworkers against loading munitions onto Russia-bound ships.

By 1920 substantial number of organizations had declared themselves for the Third International, including the British Socialist Party, the Socialist Labour Party, the South Wales Socialist Society, and the Workers' Socialist Federation. In May 1919 these four organizations began negotiations toward the formation of a united British Communist Party.

### British Labour Party

As negotiations got underway, however, it became clear that important differences in policy divided the groups. A subject of particular contention was the Labour Party.

The Labour Party was founded in 1900 as the Labour Representation Committee by the joint efforts of the Trades Union Congress and reformist groups such as the Fabian Society and the Independent Labour Party. In 1906 the LRC changed its name to Labour Party. Like the New Democratic Party in Canada, the Labour Party was organized labor's chief political expression.

Like the NDP, the Labour Party made periodic affirmations of adherence to socialist principle, but in practice remained firmly within the framework of capitalist politics.

Unlike the NDP, the Labour Party was a federated organization. Its constitution permitted socialist and labor groups to join as organizations and to press for their own views to be adopted by the party as a whole. The debate among British Communists on what attitude to take toward the Labour Party took the form of a debate on whether or not to apply to affiliate to it.

The largest Communist group, the British Socialist Party, had been affiliated to the Labour Party for several years. The BSP leaders proposed that the new Communist Party continue this policy. As BSP leader J.F. Hodgson said:

"... You meet on the industrial field in the trade union certain trade union leaders, you are fully aware that, whether or not through sheer rascality, duplicity and corruption, they are misleading the working class. You meet them there with the intention of destroying their influence, and of winning the confidence of the rank and file to that end. That is exactly the kind of tactics I believe in. But may I remind you that you meet the same people in the Labour Party, and that you meet them on a much larger field than you do in the trade unions?"

George Beer of the BSP pointed out that millions of workers voted Labour: "these were the people we had to show the way to; if we could not win them, we could not win anyone."

This was the policy adopted by the BSP's 1919 convention, which resolved to "give expression to Marxian Socialism, voice the class struggle, and attack the reactionary elements from within the Labour Party itself."

The other Communist organizations could not swallow this policy. They wanted a total break from the traitors of the Second International, including the Labour Party. How could Communists join such a liberal, reformist party? Tom Bell, a leader of the SLP, insisted:

"The first essential to rally together all the

elements in the country in favour of Communism was to make it clear that we have no associations with and did not stand for the same policy as the Labour Party. ... we wanted a Communist Party clear and distinct from any associations with reformism or the Labour Party."

William Paul, also of the SLP, warned that the workers "judge us by the company we keep, and in the moment of crisis, when the indignant masses rise to sweep the Labour Party away, we may be swept away too."

Sylvia Pankhurst, leader of the Workers' Socialist Federation, took a similar view:

"... Comrade Inkpin, (the General Secretary of the British Socialist Party) refers to the Labour Party as 'the main body of the working class movement. ...'

"We do not take this view of the Labour Party. The Labour Party is very large numerically though its membership is to a great extent quiescent and apathetic, consisting of men and women who have joined the trade unions because their workmates are trade unionists. ..."

"The British Labour Party, like the social patriotic organizations of other countries, will in the natural development of society, inevitably come into power. It is for the Communists to build up the forces that will overthrow the social patriots, and in this country we must not delay or falter in that work."

"We must not dissipate our energy in adding to the strength of the Labour Party; its rise to power is inevitable. We must concentrate on making a communist movement that will vanquish it. The Labour Party will soon be forming a government; the revolutionary opposition must make ready to attack it."

"The Communist Party must not compromise. ... The Communist Party must keep its



Lithograph by C. R. W. Nevinson of a mass meeting during the British railway strike of 1919. This was one of the struggles after World War I that sparked massive growth of the Labour Party.

doctrine pure, and its independence of reformism inviolate; its mission is to lead the way, without stopping or turning, by the direct road to the communist revolution."

(Pankhurst, a member of the famous family of leaders of the women's suffrage movement, carried her views further than the SLP did: she was also opposed to any participation in parliamentary elections.)

Today, after more than fifty years' experience, it is clear that Pankhurst's policies would have been disastrous for the fledgling movement, isolating the Communists from the very people they sought to win. The SLP, which maintained its "purity" and isolation from the Labour Party, was quickly reduced to an inconsequential sect.

These conclusions were not at all obvious in the 1920s. The revolutionary left could see thousands of workers flocking to the banner of Bolshevism. To activists used to speaking to a few hundred supporters at a time, it seemed that the revolution was imminent. They were temporarily blind to the fact that while thousands were turning to Communism, millions remained as supporters of Social Democratic parties such as the Labour Party. Ignoring that fact would be fatal to the new Communist movement.

### Unity Discussions Shattered

The Labour Party question shattered the unity discussions. The majority of the Socialist Labour Party pulled out of the discussion entirely. One SLP leader declared: "There must be no compromise with the BSP. . . . Better a Communist Party without the BSP than a party with the BSP trailing with it a spirit of compromise to hamper the party or its revolutionary character."

What they got instead were three communist parties.

In June 1920 the Workers' Socialist Federation and seven smaller groups formed the Communist Party (British Section of the Third International) on an anti-Labour Party, anti-parliamentary action platform.

The British Socialist Party and a split-off from the Socialist Labour Party, together with some smaller groups, united in August 1920 to form the Communist Party of Great Britain. Fully half of the founding convention was taken up with the debate on the Labour Party, and the affiliation position won by only a slim majority—100 votes to 85. One-quarter of the BSP delegates had voted with the ex-SLP members and others against having anything to do with the Labour Party.

The Scottish newspaper *The Worker* denounced the decision as an "unpardonable mistake." Its supporters, primarily organized in the syndicalist Shop Stewards' and Workers' Committee Movement, proceeded to form the Communist Labour Party; at its October 1920 founding convention the CLP voted forty-one to nine against any form of parliamentary action, including affiliation to the Labour Party.

Only the intervention of the leaders of the International, particularly Lenin, brought unity to British Communism and won the majority away from ultra-left sectarianism.

## II

The Communists who opposed any support to the Labour Party were quite aware that Lenin disagreed with them. The Communist International, under the leadership of Lenin and Trotsky, was profoundly different from what it became under Stalin's control. Where Stalin insisted that the Communist parties obey his instructions without question, Lenin and Trotsky wanted to build an International of intelligent, thinking revolutionists. These men and women were not to be dictated to—if they were wrong, they would have to be convinced.

As William Paul said at the founding convention of the CPGB: "There is no one in this audience to whom I yield in admiration for Lenin but, as we said yesterday, Lenin is no pope or god. . . . On local circumstances, where we are on the spot, we are the people to decide."

The local Communist leaders were the people on the spot—but that did not mean that their decisions would be correct. Many of them were inexperienced; others had been misled by involvement in sectarian or opportunist parties. The Bolsheviks had gathered the most dedicated militants into a new International. Now they faced the far more difficult task of educating these militants in the art of revolutionary politics.

What was at stake was not just a difference over affiliation to the Labour Party, but a much more important question: What kind of party would the Communist Party be?

J.T. Murphy, a former leader of the Socialist Labour Party, expressed the essence of the question in his account of his experiences at the Second Congress of the International, held in Moscow from July 23 to August 7, 1920:

"My experience in Russia . . . had shown me the real meaning of the struggle for political power. Instead of thinking that a Socialist Party was merely a propaganda organization for the dissemination of Socialist views, I now saw that a real Socialist Party was merely a propaganda organization for the dissemination of Socialist views, I now saw that a real Socialist Party would consist of revolutionary Socialists who regarded the Party as a means whereby they would lead the working class in the fight for political power."

From that point of view, it could be seen that much of the discussion on the Labour Party had taken place in the wrong context entirely. The central question was not what opinion Communists held of the Labour Party, nor whether affiliation by itself was a good policy. The question was: How were communists going to win a hearing from millions of workers who were loyal to the Labour Party despite its program and leadership?

A group that sought only to make propaganda for socialism could ignore that question, but a group that seriously sought to win mass support had to put it at the top of the agenda.

### 'Left-Wing' Communism

Lenin sought to win the British Communists (and the rest of the International) to this point of view in his pamphlet *Left-Wing Communism: An Infantile Disorder*, first published in June 1920.



Sylvia Pankhurst, a leader of the movement for woman's suffrage, became a founder of the British communist movement. She opposed any support to Labour Party candidates.

In it he polemicized against sectarian and ultra-left policies that were coming to the fore in many countries, most notably Germany and Britain. The section on Britain, focusing on the Labour Party, remains a basic text on the Marxist approach to parties of this type.

The key point in the pamphlet—Lenin stated it over and over again—was later summed up in the slogan of the Third Congress of the Third International: "To the masses!"

"If you want to help the 'masses' and to win the sympathy and support of the 'masses,' you must not fear difficulties, you must not fear the pinpricks, chicanery, insults and persecution on the part of the 'leaders' . . . but absolutely must work wherever the masses are to be found. You must be capable of every sacrifice, of overcoming the greatest obstacles in order to carry on agitation and propaganda systematically, perseveringly, persistently and patiently in those institutions, societies and associations—even the most ultra-reactionary—in which proletarian or semi-proletarian masses are to be found" (emphasis in all quotations in this article is in the original).

The parties of the International, Lenin wrote, should learn from the history of the Bolshevik Party, which won the allegiance of the Russian working class precisely because it learned "how to work legally in the most reactionary parliaments, in the most reactionary trade unions, cooperative societies, insurance societies, and similar organizations."

"For the whole task of the Communists is to be able to convince the backward elements, to work among them, and not to fence themselves off from them by artificial and childish 'Left' slogans."

The Communists are convinced that Parliament and the Labour Party are institutions that only hinder the fight for socialism—but the vast majority of workers don't agree, Lenin wrote. And the workers will not give up their faith in these institutions just because the Communists propagandize against them: "Revolution is impossible without a change in the views of the majority of the working class, and this change is brought about by the political experience of the masses, and never by propaganda alone."

The Communists know that the Labour Party, in power, will inevitably betray the faith that the workers have in it. The task of Communists, then, is to hasten the day when the workers of Britain learn this, through their own experiences:

"If we are the party of the revolutionary class, and not a revolutionary group, if we want the masses to follow us (and unless we do, we stand the risk of remaining mere windbags), we must, first, help [Labour leaders] Henderson or Snowden to beat Lloyd George and Churchill . . . ; secondly, we must help the majority of the working class to convince themselves by their own experiences that we are right, that is, that the Hendersons and Snowdens are absolutely unsuitable . . . ; thirdly, we must bring nearer the moment when, on the basis of the disappointment of the majority of the workers with the Hendersons, it will be possible with serious chances of success to overthrow the government of the Hendersons at once. . . ."

### Tactical Proposals

In *'Left-Wing' Communism* Lenin made concrete proposals for British Communist tactics toward the Labour Party. The British Communists, he suggested, should propose an electoral alliance with the Labour Party—an agreement not to oppose each other's candidates, with each party having full freedom to put forward its own program.

If the Labour Party agreed, then the Communists would gain a wider hearing among workers sympathetic to the Labour Party and would be able to hasten the day when the Labour Party leaders demonstrated their political treachery in office.

If the Labour leaders rejected an alliance, then too the Communists would gain, by demonstrating to the masses in practice that the Labour leaders prefer their close relations with the capitalists to unity of all the workers.

If Labour refused an electoral alliance, Lenin suggested, the Communists should run candidates only in constituencies where their candidacy would not cause defeat of a Labour candidate.

"We would take part in the election campaign, distribute leaflets in favour of communism, and in all constituencies where we have no candidates, we would urge the electors to vote for the Labour candidate against the bourgeois candidate."

By following this approach, Lenin argued, the Communists would be able to gain a hearing from workers who supported the Labour Party. They would gain the opportunity to explain to these workers what Communists think is wrong with the Labour Party and its program. The revolutionists would, in effect, be saying to the British working class: "You believe that the Labour Party can satisfy your needs—we disagree, and here's why. Let's work together to put Labour in power and then we'll see which of us is right."

The Communist Party ought, Lenin said in a conversation with CPGB leader William Paul, to issue "an official manifesto in every constituency . . . urging the workers to vote for the Labour Party in order to prove that the Hendersons, Thomases, MacDonalds and Snowdens, could not solve the manifold problems confronting society through the Parliamentary machine."

"In a word, the Communist Party in Britain ought to assist the Labour Party to demonstrate its own futility."





British troops (seen here in Vladivostok with Czech and Japanese forces) invaded Russia in an effort to crush the Bolshevik-led soviet regime. Sympathy for the revolution among British workers helped defeat the invasion and gave an added impulse to the founding of the Communist Party of Great Britain.

### Affiliation

In *'Left-Wing' Communism* Lenin took no position on the question of affiliation to the Labour Party on the grounds that he did not have enough information to decide the question.

Conversations with British revolutionaries soon made up his mind; in a letter published in England less than two weeks before the founding convention of the Communist Party of Great Britain he declared: "Personally I am in favour

of participation in Parliament and of affiliation to the Labour Party, given wholly free and independent communist activities."

Lenin took this policy to the Second Congress of the Communist International, and debated it at length with the British delegates. After several weeks of intense discussion—the Labour Party question was one of the most contentious at the congress—the International adopted Lenin's approach by a vote of fifty-eight to twenty-four. It called on the British Communists to unite on the basis of this policy. In January 1921 the major Communist forces united into a single party.

### III

Between 1920 and 1924, the Communist Party of Great Britain (CPGB) applied for affiliation to the Labour Party at least five times. Every application was rejected.

Historians unsympathetic to Communism have generally interpreted this as a sign that Lenin's policies towards the Labour Party were a failure. In drawing this conclusion, they reveal that they themselves have little understanding of the objectives of the policies the Communist International adopted for Britain.

### Sectarian Heritage

At its founding convention in August 1920, the Communist Party of Great Britain voted by a narrow margin to apply for affiliation to the Labour Party. But the party still had a long heritage of sectarianism to overcome. Not only was a large section of the party opposed to affiliation, but the majority had only the most superficial understanding of the policy they were adopting. A more thorough debate on the Labour Party was taking place at the congress of the International held in Moscow at the same time as the CPGB convention; the results of that debate did not reach England until mid-September.

The CPGB applied for affiliation to the Labour Party on August 10, 1920. The application stressed the sharp divisions between the policies of the Labour Party and the Communist Party: it virtually invited rejection.

The Labour Party leaders lost no time in answering the letter, refusing affiliation on the grounds that the objectives of the Communist Party "did not appear" to be in accord with those of the Labour Party.

The deep-rooted sectarianism of the British Communist movement is evident in the CP's response to this rejection, published in the September 16 issue of *The Communist*. Instead of calling for reversal of the decision, it all but expressed relief at being turned down. Now, said the CPGB:

"We can fight where we like and whom we like. We can oppose Labour candidates as freely as we oppose ordinary capitalist candidates, and since the Labour Party Executive admits that our objects are not in accord with their own they cannot have the slightest cause for complaint. So be it. It is their funeral, not ours."

This was not the policy Lenin had recommended. If continued, it would have completely divorced the CPGB from the mainstream of British working-class politics.

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## The Communist International and the First Labour Government

The statement below was issued jointly by the Communist Party of Great Britain and the Executive Committee of the Communist International on February 6, 1924. It is reprinted from the March 29, 1924, issue of the Canadian Communist Party newspaper, *'The Worker.'*

A Labour government is in power in Great Britain. This is not the result of a victorious struggle of the working class against the capitalists. As before, the bourgeoisie reigns in Britain. Factories, mines, railways and banks are in its hands. Large colonies, as well as the army and the navy, are at its service. The Labour Party has come into power because the consequences of the criminal war instigated by the ruling classes of the whole world have proved too onerous for the British bourgeoisie to cope with. Having split into two hostile camps, it was compelled to let the Labour Party assume power. But the Labour Party, which during the war supported the British bourgeoisie and after the war was unable to organize the working class for the defense of its own interests, receives this power from the hands of the bourgeoisie, and as a government depends upon the support of the Liberals. And this is not all. For the Labour Government has in its ranks not only those who during the war recruited for the army and showed after the war their incapacity to conduct a decisive struggle against the bourgeoisie, but also people who even today adopt a bourgeois attitude and openly defend the interests of the exploiting classes. All this does not augur well, either for the British working class or for the toiling masses of the British colonies which expect that the Labour Government will better their intolerable conditions and will carry on a bold fight for the realization of the tenets of socialism.

Comrades, the Communist Party has never concealed the fact that it does not believe in the real betterment of the position of the working class, or in the possibility of even a gradual realization of socialism, until and unless the working masses deprive the capitalists of all political rights and power, and establish a government resting on the support of and controlled entirely by, workers' organizations. The Communist Party has never concealed its great distrust of the leaders of the Labour Party as well as of the entire Second International to which they belong.

But the Communist Party can distinguish between workers who honestly believe in the promises of the Labour Party, and the leaders who are ready to break these promises as soon

as they have served their purpose of deluding the workers. We know that the unemployed who voted for the Labour Party want the Labour Party to carry on the struggle for the prevention of the starvation of the unemployed victims of capitalism. We know that the working class is intent on shifting the burden of taxation from the shoulders of the workers to those of the capitalists. We know that the entire working class wishes to have close economic relations with Soviet Russia in the hope of assisting the Russian workers in their economic construction and thus providing work for the unemployed in Britain. We know that the workers behind the Labour Party are enemies of the oppressive colonial Empire in India and Egypt and are opposed to the whole capitalist policy of armaments which means new wars. Therefore we appeal to the workers who support the Labour Party and welcome the Labour Government and we say to them:

The British Communist Party will support the Labour Government in all its efforts to improve the position of the working class and to lessen the peril of armament and war.

But at the same time, we tell you quite openly: the Labour Government, to retain Liberal support, will recede step-by-step from its promises unless you bring pressure to bear on it and unless you make it understand that every concession to the Liberals means rupture with you.

Therefore we call on you to organize joint demonstrations for the old demands of the Labour Party and to establish joint committees which will force the Labour Government to fight for:

1. Full maintenance for unemployed workers at trade union rates.
2. Nationalization of mines and railways with workers' control over production.
3. Full freedom for Ireland, India and Egypt. Revocation of the policy of armaments. Credit for Soviet Russia. Scrapping of the shameful treaty of Versailles.

Workers of Great Britain, no government, even with the best intentions, will be able to better your positions, to break your chains, if you yourselves do not bring pressure to bear on the bourgeoisie and compel it to realize your growing power. We call upon you to close the ranks of the working class, to establish a United Front of labour and struggle. Only thus may the Labour Government not become another disappointment and another failure, but may open a new vista in the struggle of the British working class for emancipation.



# Orwell and the Spanish Civil War

By Peter Archer

"This was in late December, 1936. . . . The aspect of Barcelona was something startling and overwhelming. It was the first time that I had ever been in a town where the working class was in the saddle. Practically every building of any size had been seized by the workers and was draped with red flags or with the red and black flag of the Anarchists; every wall was scrawled with the hammer and sickle and with the initials of the revolutionary parties; almost every church had been gutted and its images burnt. . . . Even the boothblacks had been collectivized and their boxes painted red and black."

The author of these lines was George Orwell, who had come to Spain to fight the fascist forces led by Gen. Francisco Franco.

The experience of Spain stayed with Orwell the rest of his life. In his essay, "Why I Write," which appeared ten years later, he commented, "Every line of serious work that I have written since 1936 has been written, directly or indirectly, *against* totalitarianism and *for* democratic Socialism, as I understand it."

Spain was also the period of Orwell's life when his commitment to actively bringing about social change reached its highest pitch. And it produced one of the masterpieces of modern journalism, *Homage to Catalonia*.

Today, as the Spanish working class again begins to fight for a better society, it is useful to examine the impact the Spanish events had on Orwell and on his subsequent evolution from a socialist critic of Stalinism to a patriotic Social Democrat.

## The Eye of a Journalist

Orwell was born Eric Blair in 1903 in Bengal. His father was a member of the British-run Indian Civil Service. When the family returned to England, Blair was sent to St. Cyprian's, a private preparatory school.

It was here that he had his first taste of class distinctions: "Very early, at the age of only ten or eleven, I reached the conclusion . . . that you were no good unless you had £100,000. . . . For people like me, the ambitious middle class, the examination-passers, only a bleak laborious kind of success was possible."

From St. Cyprian's, Blair went to Eton on a scholarship in 1917.

Peter Stansky and William Abrahams argue in *The Unknown Orwell* that the atmosphere at Eton and other English public schools in the immediate postwar years was such as to stimulate a critical spirit among the pupils. "College in the period immediately after the war gained the reputation of being rather 'Bolshie' [Bolshevik] The new atmosphere, anarchic, questioning and

anti-authoritarian, was one in which Blair thrived: he became . . . 'a notable leader'."

It is curious, then, that upon leaving Eton in 1922, he applied for, and received a position in the Indian Imperial Police in Burma.

But whatever the reason, he hated his job from the start.

"Theoretically—and secretly, of course—I was all for the Burmese and all against their oppressors, the British. As for the job I was doing, I hated it more bitterly than I can perhaps make clear. In a job like that you see the dirty work of Empire at close quarters."

Blair returned to England in 1927 and resigned from the Imperial Police in 1928.

He had resolved to become a writer, but his first efforts were a failure. The poems and short stories he produced dissatisfied him, and those he submitted for publication were almost invariably rejected.

That spring, he went to Paris, where he rented a room in a working-class quarter of the city and continued to write. When his money ran out he took a job as a dishwasher, then as a kitchen porter. His experiences were chronicled in his first book published five years later, *Down and Out in Paris and London*.

When he returned to England in 1929, he began leading a double life of sorts. For days or sometimes weeks at a time, he would put on a weatherbeaten coat and broken shoes and immerse himself in the subculture of poverty—from London's East End as a vagrant, to Kent as a hop-picker.

Then the tramp would return, shed his disguise, and become Eric Blair, cultured Etonian again.

And throughout this, he was developing the sensitive eye of a journalist.

## The Road to Barcelona

The first mention of socialism in Orwell's *Collected Essays, Journalism and Letters*<sup>1</sup> appears in the diary he kept while living in The Stores, Wallington, in the north of England. He had moved there to collect material for a book<sup>2</sup>

1. Most of Orwell's writing has now been published, including the works mentioned in this article: *Animal Farm*, 1984, *Down and Out in Paris and London*, *Homage to Catalonia*, and *The Road to Wigan Pier*. All are available from Harcourt Brace Jovanovich publishers.

In 1968 Harcourt Brace Jovanovich brought out a four-volume edition of the *Collected Essays, Journalism and Letters of George Orwell*. The collection is edited by Ian Angus and Orwell's second wife, Sonia.

I cannot recommend this collection too highly. Reading through it, one realizes that Orwell was one of the greatest masters of journalistic style who ever lived. For clear, concise writing, his work should be a model.

The collection includes a bibliography, extensive footnotes, and a chronology accompanying each volume.

2. The book was published in 1937 as *The Road to Wigan Pier*.

on the condition of the working class in the depressed areas of England, commissioned by Victor Gollancz, who had founded the Left Book Club that same year. The club was set up to spread socialist and antifascist literature and was heavily influenced by the British Communist Party.

When Orwell and his wife set off for Spain in late 1936, he was a far different man from the rather fastidious Eton graduate of fourteen years before.

He had seen the poverty and misery produced by capitalism, both in England and abroad. He knew and admired prominent left-wing figures such as Gollancz. He was a passionate antifascist. But something more was needed to make him firmly commit himself to socialism.

That something was Spain.

He arrived in Spain with letters of introduction from members of the Independent Labour Party in Britain. Because of this he was assigned to a militia of the Workers Party of Marxist Unification (POUM), although he did not agree with their politics and would have preferred to join the International Brigades led by the Communist Party.

## Spain in 1936

Franco's uprising against the Spanish Republic had begun some six months before Orwell's arrival. The treacherous alliance of the Spanish Communist Party with a wing of the Spanish capitalist politicians in the "Popular Front" had paved the way for the fascist rising, backed by virtually the entire Spanish bourgeoisie and the Catholic church. The determination of the Communist Party to maintain this alliance was now crippling the efforts of workers and peasants to deal a decisive blow to Franco and his backers.

Maintaining this coalition meant protecting the property of the bourgeoisie and the landlords, limiting the mobilization and arming of the masses, preserving imperialist rule in Spain's colony of Morocco, and blocking the establishment of a planned anticapitalist economy. This, of course, ran counter to the actions of the masses who had been impelled, in response to Franco's attack, to press for sweeping measures against their enemies.

Leon Trotsky, the exiled Russian revolutionist, had written in July, "Incapable of solving a single one of the tasks posed by the revolution, since all these tasks boil down to one, namely, the crushing of the bourgeoisie, the Popular Front renders the existence of the bourgeois regime impossible and thereby provokes the fascist coup d'état. By lulling the workers and peasants with parliamentary illusions, by paralyzing their will to struggle, the Popular Front creates the favorable conditions for the victory of fascism."

This analysis, which Trotsky made based on

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years of experience in the revolutionary movement, was echoed by Orwell, who deduced it from his own experiences in Spain. "In any serious emergency," he wrote upon his return, "the contradiction implied in the Popular Front is bound to make itself felt. For even when the worker and the bourgeois are both fighting against Fascism, they are not fighting for the same things; the bourgeois is fighting for bourgeois democracy, i.e. capitalism, the worker, in so far as he understands the issue, for Socialism. And in the early days of the revolution the Spanish workers understood the issue very well."

The Aragon front, to which Orwell was sent, was not the scene of serious fighting at that stage of the war. Soldiers on both sides spent the bulk of their time scrounging for firewood, on the barren hillsides. "In trench warfare," Orwell commented wryly, "five things are important: firewood, food, tobacco, candles and the enemy. In the winter on the Zaragoza front they were important in that order, with the enemy a bad last."

His first impression of the Spanish armed forces was that they were flinging handfuls of peas against the walls of the Bastille.

"The Spaniards are good at many things, but not at making war. All foreigners alike are appalled by their inefficiency, above all their maddening unpunctuality." Coming from a former member of the British colonial force, this was not a surprising criticism.

But Orwell began to realize, especially upon arriving at the front, that the revolutionary militias were far superior in many respects to the imperialist army:

"In practice the democratic 'revolutionary' type of discipline is more reliable than might be expected. In a workers' army discipline is theoretically voluntary. It is based on class-loyalty, whereas the discipline of a bourgeois conscript army is based ultimately on fear." Of this revolutionary discipline, Orwell writes, "Cynical people with no experience in handling men will say instantly that this would never 'work,' but as a matter of fact it does 'work' in the long run."

Orwell's first reactions to the political discussions at the front—so prolonged, and filled with a seemingly meaningless stew of initials—was irritation: "I thought it idiotic that people fighting for their lives should have separate parties; my attitude always was, 'Why can't we drop all this political nonsense and get on with the war?'" Thus, when he came to disagree with the CP's popular-front strategy, "it was not altogether upon a point of theory. On paper the Communist case was a good one; the trouble was that their actual behavior made it difficult to believe that they were advancing it in good faith. . . . The thing for which the Communists were working was not to postpone the Spanish revolution till a more suitable time, but to make sure that it never happened."

### Popular-Front Strategy

Initially the Spanish followers of Andres Nin (who headed the POUM) considered themselves Trotskyists, and affiliated with the International Left Opposition. They opposed popular frontism. However, they never took a strong interest in the development of a clear international program or in maintaining close collaboration with other sections of the Fourth International.

In September 1935 Nin's group fused with the Catalan Federation of Joaquin Maurin to form the POUM. This grouping tended to identify with the right wing of the Communist International, which had been driven out when Stalin broke with Bukharin (the former head of the Comintern) in 1929. The fusion took place on the basis of Maurin's opportunist program, and represented a definitive break between Nin and the Trotskyist movement.

Although many, including Orwell, characterized the POUM as Trotskyist, it was opposed to Trotskyist policies. This was most clearly shown in the February 1936 elections, when the POUM gave "critical" support to the Popular Front slate, an action that Trotsky denounced as treacherous.

Against this strategy Trotsky advised that Spanish revolutionists should "condemn and denounce mercilessly before the masses the policy of all the leaders participating in the Popular Front. . . . Be present in every struggle so as to give it clear expression. . . . Insist always on having the fighting masses form and constantly expand their committees of action. . . ."

At the end of April 1937 Orwell returned to

Barcelona, intending to ask for his discharge papers from the POUM militia and to join the International Brigade. But in the first week in May, fighting broke out in Barcelona when the Stalinists attempted to crush the anarchists and the POUM. For the Stalinists the power of workers militias and factory committees in Barcelona had to be crushed to prove to the capitalist "democracies" that the Popular Front could protect capitalism as effectively as Franco.

Wandering through the streets the day the fighting broke out, Orwell came across a group of people building barricades in anticipation of an attack by the Stalinist-backed Assault Guard.

"Long lines of men, women, and quite small children were tearing up the cobblestones, hauling them along in a hand-cart that had been found somewhere, and staggering to and fro



George Orwell in 1943.

under heavy sacks of sand. . . . In a couple of hours the barricades were head-high, with riflemen posted at the loopholes, and behind one barricade a fire was burning and men were frying eggs."

Orwell saw other signs of preparation for the confrontation. But just what the confrontation was about he was not quite sure. "I used to sit on the roof marvelling at the folly of it all. . . ."

The story put about by the Communist Party was that the POUM and anarchists had been storing arms preparatory to an insurrection. The POUMists were accused of being fascists in the pay of Franco.

Shaken by "wildly inaccurate" accounts appearing in the Stalinist press, Orwell felt compelled to defend the members of the POUM against these slanders. "The horrible atmosphere of suspicion and hostility had grown worse now that the fighting was over. In the face of the accusations that were being flung about it was impossible to remain neutral."

The repression, directed by the Communist Party, carried out after the fighting ended also angered Orwell:

"After the fighting was over the Anarchists had, of course, released their prisoners, but the Civil Guards had not released theirs, and most of them were thrown into prison and kept there without trial."

The events destroyed Orwell's intention of joining the International Brigade. "I could not join any Communist-controlled unit. Sooner or later it might mean being used against the Spanish working class. One could not tell when this kind of thing would break out again, and if I had to use my rifle at all in such an affair I would use it on the side of the working class and not against them."

On May 10, Orwell returned to the front. Ten days later, he was wounded in the throat by a fascist sniper. He convalesced for a month, until June 14 when he returned to the front to collect his discharge papers. Two days later the POUM was declared illegal, and mass arrests of POUM members and sympathizers began. Orwell and his wife fled across the French border on June 23.

### From Revolutionary to Reformist

Orwell's experience had confirmed his socialist inclinations. On June 8 he wrote to a friend, "I have seen wonderful things & at last really

believe in Socialism, which I never did before." On his return to England he produced a flood of letters, essays, and reviews recounting what he had seen in Spain and answering the lies of the capitalist and Stalinist newspapers. "Nothing is more hateful to me than to get mixed up in these controversies," he wrote, "but one has got to realise what kind of issues are involved and the very great difficulty of getting the truth ventilated in the English press."

Away from the fighting and the grueling struggle for survival at the front, he could perceive more clearly the issues involved in the struggle. "The real struggle is between revolution and counter-revolution," he wrote, "between the workers who are vainly trying to hold on to a little of what they won in 1936, and the Liberal-Communist bloc who are so successfully taking it away from them."

The danger Orwell perceived was not simply that English people were not hearing the truth about the Spanish civil war, but they were being disarmed in the face of the threat of a fascist rising in Britain. "I think now we're in for a period of slow fascistisation. . . ." he wrote in a letter in October 1938. The coming war, he predicted, would provide the government an opportunity to clamp down on dissenters.

In 1940, under pressure from the prewar jingoism of British capitalism, Orwell began to swing to the right.

Although he had seen correctly in Spain many things about fascism, capitalism, and Stalinism, Orwell had no coherent class perspective to hold to. In a world where the socialist movement had suffered disastrous defeats, he was unable to see any other force than British capitalism that could be mobilized against Hitler and Mussolini.

As a result, he succumbed to the idea that British workers could only be defended against the fascist threat by siding with a section of the British capitalist class—the same popular-front strategy he had earlier denounced.

Two key essays show this change: "My Country Right or Left," written in Autumn 1940, and "The Lion and the Unicorn," written in December of the same year. In the first, he explained his reasons for supporting British imperialism in the war: "Only revolution can save England, that has been obvious for years, but now the revolution has started, and it may proceed quite quickly if only we can keep Hitler out."

In both essays Orwell addressed a theme that he was to return to over and over again for the rest of his life: the deep attachment he felt to England as he knew it. "Patriotism has nothing to do with Conservatism," he wrote in "The Lion and the Unicorn." "It is actually the opposite of Conservatism, since it is a devotion to something that is always changing and yet is felt to be mystically the same. . . . No real revolutionary has ever been an internationalist."

Here Orwell puts his finger on his own failing. The truth is that no real socialist revolutionary has ever *not* been an internationalist. Without seeing the fight against the capitalist class as an international one, it is impossible to carry out that fight.

In an article in the *International Socialist Review* of February 1975, Paul Siegel wrote that "to Orwell the oppressor is always the same, whatever the oppressive society calls itself."

But the oppressors are not always the same. The Stalinist bureaucrat and the corporate imperialist *are* both oppressors, this is true. But the social basis for their oppression is different. And it must be fought with different methods. The former is based upon a privileged bureaucratic caste that parasitically foists itself upon the nationalized property relations of a workers state. It must be overturned through a political revolution that preserves the property relations of the state while changing its political structure.

Capitalist oppression, on the other hand, is based on an outmoded *social* system. It will be overturned by a *social* revolution.

An internationalist perspective is essential to opposing both types of oppression. Orwell's inability to understand the nature of Stalinism led him to adapt to capitalist democracy as an alternative. This in turn negated the effectiveness of his anti-Stalinism.

Orwell was an internationalist when he returned from Spain in 1936. His view of politics became clearer as a result. But his transformation from a revolutionary internationalist to a patriotic Social Democrat drew a veil over his eyes.

## ...British Labour Party

Continued from page ISR/7

Fortunately, during the week following the publication of the statement quoted above, the British delegates to the International Congress returned, bringing with them the resolutions adopted, and more importantly, their reports of days and weeks spent in intense discussions with the leaders of the Russian revolution.

The returning delegates were able to reverse the party's suicidal course without much difficulty. The September 23 *Communist* included a full report on the discussions in the International's Commission on Britain, and the CPGB's conclusion from those discussions:

"The view of the Third International, made quite clear in the various theses, is, that it is the duty of the Communists to work where the masses are. That may mean going into reactionary organizations, but that is better and easier than creating brand new organizations in the hope that the masses will leave the old ones and come to the new."

At the same time the CPGB renewed its application for affiliation, this time in more positive terms. It pointed out that other groups that differed with official policy were affiliated with full right to criticize party policy, and that the Labour Party constitution allowed the affiliation of all groups that supported the principle of independent working-class political action. In a subsequent letter the CP denied charges that they intended to disrupt the Labour Party:

"The agenda for any Labour Party Conference contains resolutions seeking to broaden, modify, or in other ways change the policy and methods of the Labour Party. Are the affiliated bodies responsible for such resolutions charged with 'disrupting the Labour Party'?" The CP emphasized that it was prepared to abide by the provisions of the Labour Party constitution.

This approach was far better calculated to win a hearing from the Labour Party rank and file. By mid-October, fifteen local Labour Party branches had announced that they would refuse to accept the executive's ruling, and would allow the local CPGB branches to affiliate. The London Labour Party Conference in November 1920 defeated a bid for CP affiliation by only 380 to 283 votes—with the aid of a heavy block of votes from conservative trade-union delegates.

Wherever possible, CP members joined the Labour Party as individuals. Some CPGB branches were able to affiliate to their local Labour Parties, and to participate in city and regional conferences. The affiliation issue gave them an opportunity to discuss the Communist Party with Labour Party militants, to sell Communist newspapers and pamphlets, and to win broader support.

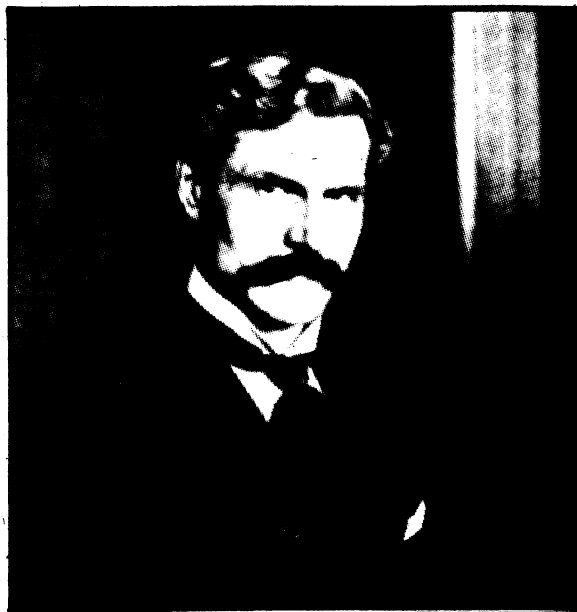
By the time of the June 1923 national Labour Party Conference, it was reported that more than 100 local trade-union branches and Trades and Labour Councils supported CP affiliation. Thirteen resolutions supporting affiliation appeared in the resolutions book. Despite an official ban, thirty-eight members of the CPGB were elected as delegates from local Labour Parties and trade unions.

### 'A Fighting Issue'

The 1919-1920 debate on affiliation had approached the question in a static way—were Communists for or against it? The possibility that the party's bid for affiliation might be rejected does not seem to have been raised at all. Following Lenin's intervention, the CPGB approached affiliation from an entirely different angle. It was made a fighting issue, a focus for Communist work with Labour Party activists. Even though the party never won affiliation, it did gain a hearing and win support from hundreds of thousands of workers.

Affiliation was only one aspect of Communist policy toward the Labour Party. In *'Left-Wing' Communism* Lenin recommended that the Communists approach parliamentary elections with a view to reaching Labour Party supporters. The main thrust of his proposal was that the CP should avoid the appearance of running against the Labour Party. Either the CP should run only where Labour was not running, or it should run only in places where the CP vote would not bring about the defeat of a Labour candidate. In all constituencies where no Communist was running, the CP should call for a vote for Labour.

The first election after the formation of the CPGB was a by-election in East Woolwich in



Ramsay MacDonald became the first Labour Party prime minister in 1924. A typical representative of the party's reformist leadership, he became prime minister again in 1929 and later deserted the party to rule in alliance with the Conservative Party.

March 1921. This was an excellent opportunity for the CPGB to show itself as a supporter of independent labor political action, by campaigning for candidate Ramsay MacDonald while explaining its disagreements with him.

Instead the CP issued a manifesto calling on the workers to boycott the election: "Against the capitalist, the nominee of the Black International of finance and militarism; against the 'Labour' leaders, the candidate of the Yellow International of treachery; we Communists of Great Britain offer you the fraternal support of the Red International, whose program is our watchword: 'All power to the working class!'"

MacDonald was defeated by only 683 votes; the CPGB boasted that its campaign had swung the balance against Labour.

This sounded very revolutionary—but it was no way to win a hearing from workers who voted Labour out of a healthy desire to defeat the capitalist candidate!

It was not until some time after the Third Congress of the Communist International, which concluded in July 1921, that the CPGB began to formulate a genuinely Leninist approach to the Labour Party. That congress, which Trotsky called "the school of revolutionary strategy," took the fight against ultraleft sectarianism as its theme and concentrated on the need for Communists to involve the reformist parties in united actions.

On January 12, 1922, Lenin introduced a motion in the executive committee of the Communist International, proposing that the ECCI adopt "a well-argued resolution demanding of the Communist Party of Great Britain that all Communists campaign and vote for members of the Labour Party with the exception of those very few instances when it can safely be said that voting for a Communist would definitely not entail victory for the bourgeois candidate." The ECCI accepted Lenin's proposal. On March 4 it adopted a "Resolution on the English Question," which posed the question of tactics towards the Labour Party as a particular expression of the united front tactic:

"The Labour Party is the political organization of the trade unions. It includes various political tendencies within the workers' movement, such as those represented by the Independent Labour Party, the Fabians, the Guild Socialists, etc. But the defensive struggle of the working class against the increasing oppression of the bourgeoisie requires that the Labour Party should include within its ranks all the political aspirations of the workers' movement. The Labour Party cannot claim that it unites the working class in the political field if it does not also include the Communist Party which has long become an undeniable factor in the workers' movement."

"The enlarged Executive of the CI suggests that the CPGB seek admission to the Labour Party in order that the unity of the working class in the political sphere can be established with particular reference to the forthcoming general election, the goal of which will be to replace the bourgeois coalition by a workers' government. In seeking admission to the Labour Party the Communist Party will retain for itself complete freedom of propaganda. On the same basis and with the same object the Communist Party is asked to

support the Labour Party in the general election.

Following adoption of this resolution, whose logic and language were in contradiction to the sectarian positions the CPGB had been advancing, the British Communists issued a pamphlet entitled *Who Is Splitting the Workers' Movement?* In it they renewed their appeal for affiliation but stated that they would not allow rejection by the Labour leaders to stand in the way of united working-class action against the capitalist class. The Communist Party, "as an expression of the sincerity of its wish to maintain solidarity with the organized movement," announced that it would not run any candidates against the Labour Party in the 1922 general election.

### Communist Campaigns

Six Communists ran in the election. Two were so prominent in the Labour Party that they received endorsement as official Labour candidates. Two others received the endorsement of the local Labour Parties but not from the national executive, and two ran as Communists in constituencies where no Labour candidate was running.

The party's election manifesto, "A United Front Against the Capitalist Enemy," declared party policy to the voters:

"The large body of the working-class forces in the Labour Party stands for the fight against capitalism, even though they do not clearly understand the implications of the struggle. . . . But, inasmuch as they stand for the fight against capitalism, we are with them in action, even while we point out their mistakes."

"Because we are convinced that, by the struggle against capitalism, they will be compelled to adopt the policy of the Communist Party sooner or later, or perish, we decline to put opposition candidates against Labour candidates, where they are already fighting. . . . We call on the revolutionary workers to give the most active support to every Labour candidate whatever our criticisms among ourselves; in all action against the capitalists, we present a common front."

"But support the Labour Party candidates with your eyes open."

When the votes were counted, two Communists had won two seats. The party promptly announced that its members of Parliament "will co-operate with the Labour Party in every struggle against the capitalist Parties and will not hesitate, when the Labour Party fails to carry through the struggle, to stand and fight alone for the interests of the working class."

The CPGB's 1922 election strategy paid off in more important ways than the election of members of Parliament. The campaign was decisive in winning new support in the Labour Party for affiliation, and in gaining a wider audience for Communist ideas. By the end of 1923 the party newspaper, *Workers' Weekly*, had a circulation of more than 50,000, more than any other socialist or Labour weekly, though party membership was somewhat less than 4,000.

### 1924: A Labour Government

The 1922 General Election had confronted the CPGB with the need to develop a correct policy toward the Labour Party; the Communists passed the test with flying colors. One year later, in the aftermath of the December 1923 general election, the CP faced a new problem: what policy to adopt towards a Labour government. In January 1924 a minority Labour government, dependent upon Liberal Party votes, took office under Prime Minister Ramsay MacDonald.

There was a brief period of confusion in the



Beatrice and Sidney Webb were leaders of the Fabian Society and founders of the Labour Party. Sidney Webb later served as colonial secretary and became a member of the House of Lords.





Striking workers in Manchester at the end of the general strike of 1926. Stalin's policy of supporting the British labor bureaucrats through the Anglo-Russian Committee paralyzed the ability of the British communists to oppose the betrayal of this great labor struggle.

CPGB leadership after Labour took office. R. Palme Dutt, for example, wrote that "the first duty of all is to support it, no matter whether they agree with its programme or not." He called for "patient understanding . . . on the part of the workers" of the difficulties a minority government would face.

This policy, which amounted to apologizing to the working class for the cowardice of the Labour leaders, was quickly rejected by the CPGB. As J. T. Murphy wrote in an article reprinted in the Canadian Communist press:

"... If the voice of working class criticism is silenced because Labour is in office while in a minority in Parliament, and pursuing a Liberal policy, how are we to develop the class consciousness of the workers and free them from the snares of capitalist liberalism? It seems to me that this would be a surrender of the revolutionary movement on a par with MacDonald's surrender of the Labour Party to nationalism. . . .

"No one expects it to do more than it has the power to do, but a Labour government which fails to rouse the whole working class movement into action for the defeat of capitalism, and turns instead to be an instrument for the suppression of mass activity, not only asks for defeat at the polls in any subsequent election, but betrays the workers in their struggles to defeat the capitalists. Mass activity must be the driving force, pushing the Labour Government into conflict with the Liberals and Tories and strengthening its hands in every conflict with them" (*The Worker*, March 15, 1924).

The Communists could not support the Labour government—it was a capitalist government. They could and did support specific positive

measures enacted by Labour, while attempting to build mass support for demands that would force the government to respond to the pressing needs of the working class. This policy was codified in a joint statement issued by the executive of the CPGB and the executive of the Communist International on February 6, 1924 (see box on ISR page 7).

During its year in office, the MacDonald government enacted a few progressive pieces of legislation, most notably extending diplomatic recognition to the Soviet Union. But in general it acted as a loyal defender of capitalism and the Empire, stopping strikes and defending scabs, supporting the prosecution of rebels against British rule in India, and finally arresting the editor of a Communist newspaper for sedition.

In this context, the Communist Party's policy of organizing mass opposition to Labour treachery won considerable support. In August 1924 a conference of the National Minority Movement, a left-wing current in the unions led by the CPGB, drew representatives of over 200,000 workers. During the October 1924 General Election, in which Labour gained votes but lost office, the circulation of the *Workers Weekly* reached 100,000. On the basis of its work in 1924, the Communist Party was able to organize a National Left-Wing Movement in the Labour Party in 1925, with broad support among non-Communist left-wingers.

Unfortunately, the Communist Party of Great Britain was unable to benefit for long from the clarification that Lenin and the Communist International had helped achieve. The degeneration of the Soviet state, culminating in the consolidation of the Stalinist bureaucracy in the years after Lenin's death in 1924, produced a new

situation. Instead of developing policies directed toward a proletarian revolution in Britain, the Stalinist apparatus insisted that the British CP echo in its political line the twists and turns of Stalinist diplomacy.

When the British and Soviet trade-union leaders reached a pact expressing a desire for Soviet-British peace, the British CP was forced to muffle its criticisms of these labor leaders. In the midst of a general strike in 1926, which the top British labor leaders and the Labour Party were betraying, the Anglo-Russian Trade Union Committee (as the bloc was called) gave cover to these leaders. The outcome was the defeat of the once-promising National Minority Movement and ultimately the destruction of the Communist Party as a potential leader of socialist transformation in Britain.

This tragic outcome does not invalidate the valuable lessons to be learned from the early experiences of the British Communist movement. At its birth the Communist movement in Britain held to sectarian and ultraleft policies toward the Labour Party—policies that, if pursued for any length of time would have reduced the party to an isolated sect. Even Communists who rejected the sectarianism of the majority had little idea of what policy to follow.

With the assistance of Lenin and the leadership of the Communist International, the CPGB overcame this sectarianism, avoided the opposite danger of adapting to the Labour Party's reformism, and formulated a clear revolutionary policy. This is a great heritage for revolutionists and deserves to be studied attentively by those in Canada and elsewhere who need to elaborate policies toward existing labor parties.

## LETTERS

### Farrell & Racism

**Editors:** I enjoyed Alan Wald's piece on James T. Farrell in the April *ISR*, but I was disappointed at Wald's failure to make specific mention of the element that, I believe, elevates *Studs Lonigan* above all the other "proletarian" novels of the period and ensures it a lasting place in American literature. I am referring

to Farrell's recognition of the central role of race feeling in determining the consciousness and direction of the American working class.

For three volumes, Farrell's South Side Irish plot and battle against the expanding Black population of the city; their efforts to defend their white neighborhoods against Black encroachment represent a more persistent theme even than the sexual torments they suffer, about which various reviewers have made so much fuss.

In the scene near the end (Wald refers to it) where Paddy Lonigan watches the crowd of unemployed

marchers go up South Park Way (today, ironically, called Martin Luther King Drive) it is the presence of the Black marchers together with the whites that poses the most formidable challenge to his notions of what is "right" and "decent."

For Farrell to have recognized, back in the early years of the depression, during the period of greatest radicalization of the American working class, the absolutely crucial role of white supremacist attitudes was a monumental achievement. Not only that, it was unique among left-wing novelists, at least among those who attempted to portray white society.

How was Farrell able to avoid the facile and false picture of the working class growing smoothly, without internal conflict, toward socialist consciousness—the picture that prevailed in the left literary production of the period? Perhaps the answer can be found in his commitment to his own formula, cited by Wald: "You shall not lie!"

It is unfortunate that Wald, writing in the epoch of the Black revolution, failed to specifically note Farrell's merit in recognizing and faithfully recording the details of an unhappy, yet crucial, aspect of American life.  
*Noel Ignatin*  
Chicago, Illinois

## The Transitional Program for Socialist Revolution

By Leon Trotsky. Third Edition. Pathfinder Press. 1977. 250 pages.

The problems facing U.S. capitalism are deepening, and so is the determination by the ruling class to solve these problems at working people's expense.

Given the growing importance of the unions as American workers' only mass organizations to defend their living conditions, now is a particularly valuable time to study or restudy *The Transitional Program for Socialist Revolution*.

The centerpiece of this book is "The Death Agony of Capitalism and the Tasks of the Fourth International," a resolution written by Leon Trotsky and adopted by the founding conference of the Fourth International in September 1938. Also included are transcripts of discussions Trotsky held on that program with leaders of the Socialist Workers Party; introductory essays by Joseph Hansen and George Novack; and resolutions extending the program to the Black and international student movements.

Improvements in the book's third edition make a thorough examination of the Transitional Program and its significance both easier and more fruitful. Two items have been added, and the discussions with Trotsky are placed in chronological order. This helps the reader share some of the experience of earlier revolutionary socialists in hammering out the program and coming to grips with its method and application.

The crisis of world capitalism that Trotsky described in 1938 has become more dangerous today. The threat of depression and nuclear war hangs over the world. Only the working class can lead humanity out of the capitalist morass—and workers here in the heart of imperialism have a decisive role to play.

But the procapitalist leadership of the workers movement today imposes a straitjacket of class collaboration on it, extending from grievance procedures on the shop floor all the way up to the fundamental issue of which class will run the government. In the United

# 'The Transitional Program' Pathfinder's June Book Offer

States this role is played by the union bureaucracy, which imprisons workers in the capitalist two-party system and blocks them from resisting employer attacks on basic living standards.

Workers retain colossal power despite this misleadership. This was demonstrated by the recent miners' strike. The miners overcame government-employer strike-breaking and the lack of strong national leadership, forcing the mine operators to give up their main union-busting demands.

Class-conscious workers face a dilemma under these circumstances: How can the full power of their class be brought to bear? How can they establish real solidarity against the employers? How can they forge a new class-struggle leadership, independent of the bosses and the bosses' parties? How do they go about convincing other workers of the need to replace the capitalist government with a workers government? How can the few thousand revolutionary socialists in the United States construct the mass revolutionary party needed to sweep away oppression and exploitation?

The Transitional Program is the Trotskyist strategy for achieving these aims. Starting from the rottenness of capitalism, it proposes a course of action through which socialists can win the working class to the battle for a new society. The program states:

"The strategic task of the next period—a prerevolutionary period of agitation, propaganda, and organization—consists in overcoming the contradiction between the maturity of the objective revolutionary conditions and the immaturity of the proletariat. . . . It is necessary to help the masses in the process of the daily struggle to find the bridge between present demands and the socialist program of the revolution. This bridge should include a system of *transitional*

demands, stemming from today's conditions and from today's consciousness of wide layers of the working class and unalterably leading to one final conclusion: the conquest of power."

The transitional method provides today's militants with an overall political perspective and a tool chest to use in building a class-struggle wing in the labor movement.

The program shows workers how to fight for broad social solutions to their problems. It lays bare the inadequacy of trying to win the basic needs of workers on the level of one factory or one industry without taking on the capitalist class and its government.

*The Transitional Program for Socialist Revolution* proposes no gimmicks or short-cuts to achieving socialist objectives. It rejects the sectarian and ultraleft approach of substituting escalating rhetoric for class-struggle leadership or berating the masses for not being on a sufficiently "high" level. Above all, it recognizes that there is no substitute for participation in the unions and struggles of the

workers, patiently building a mass, class-struggle left wing.

In their discussions with Trotsky, SWP leaders sought advice on how, under American conditions of the 1930s, to best explain the Transitional Program's call for workers to form their own government. Trotsky stressed the proposal that American workers form a labor party based on their unions.

A fine example of the application of this method to the American labor movement today can be found in the afterword to *Teamster Bureaucracy* by Farrell Dobbs. Another is the section of *Prospects for Socialism in America* (a compilation presenting the current political perspectives of the Socialist Workers Party) entitled, "Labor's Strategic Line of March."

This summer many socialist summer schools will be taking up the Transitional Program in a new way, linking it to changes that are taking place today in the American working class and its unions. Such a study is indispensable for maximizing the effectiveness of socialist participation in the labor movement.

—Fred Feldman  
and Paul Montauk

## Special Discount Offer

*The Transitional Program for Socialist Revolution* is available for a special discount price of \$2.95. The regular price is \$3.95. Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, New York 10014. Send check or money order or return this coupon to one of the socialist bookstores listed on page 31. Offer expires July 31, 1978.

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## ...American Labor Party

Continued from page ISR/4

party, socialists should tell workers to join the Socialist Workers Party. We do both. But there is a difference.

The SWP exists as a program and a small nucleus of cadres. Cadres, to be sure, who are confident we can win millions to the revolutionary perspective—but still a small nucleus.

The unions exist as mass organizations of workers. The workers must learn to use their unions as *class* organizations on every level, including and above all the political level.

The choice is not between the SWP and a labor party. The choice is between the powerlessness of the labor movement today and the force it can become once it is politically independent.

### What We Learned From Trotsky

We learned most of this from Trotsky. In 1938 SWP leaders held a series of discussions in Mexico with the exiled leader of the Russian revolution as he was drafting the Transitional Program, which Pietsch refers to.

Until that time the American Trotskyists had not called for a labor party. New developments in the U.S. labor movement—mainly the explosive rise of the CIO—together with the discus-

sions with Trotsky, convinced the SWP to adopt this slogan.

Trotsky explained that under the blows of the capitalist crisis, the unions had to turn to political action "because political action is the generalization of economic action. Political action generalizes the needs of the workers and addresses them not to the parts of the bourgeoisie but to the bourgeoisie as a whole, organized in the state."

"The trade unions as trade unions can have only a defensive activity," he said, "losing members and becoming more and more weak as the crisis deepens. . . . The trade-union bureaucracy becomes more and more disoriented, the rank and file more and more dissatisfied. . . .

"If the class struggle is not to be crushed, replaced by demoralization, then the movement must find a new channel," Trotsky said, "and this channel is political. That is the fundamental argument in favor of this slogan."

Trotsky believed that advocacy of a mass labor party was necessary to building the Socialist Workers Party. He pointed to Minneapolis, where the SWP was in the leadership of the Teamsters union:

"In Minneapolis we cannot say to the trade unions, 'You should adhere to the Socialist Workers Party.' It would be a joke even in Minneapolis. Why? Because the decline of capitalism develops ten, a hundred times faster than does our party. It is a new discrepancy."

"The necessity of a political party for the workers is given by the objective conditions, but our party is too small, with too little authority to organize the workers into its own ranks. That is why we must say to the workers, the masses, you must have a party. But we cannot say immediately to these masses, you must join our party."

"In a mass meeting 500 would agree on the need for a labor party, only 5 agree to join our party, which shows that the slogan of a labor party is an agitational slogan. The second slogan is for the more advanced."

"Should we use both slogans or one? I say both. The first, independent labor party, prepares the arena for our party. The first slogan prepares and helps the workers to advance and prepares the path for our party."

The temporary stabilization of U.S. capitalism after World War II allowed the union bureaucracy to thrive for some twenty-five years on its alliance with the Democratic Party. Those days are gone.

The capitalist system and the capitalist parties are today completely unable to satisfy the economic and social needs of the vast majority of people. The need for a mass labor break with the capitalist parties—and for building a mass revolutionary socialist party—is posed with all the urgency that Trotsky expressed in the 1938 discussions.



# Mass. civil libertarians back Marroquin



NOAM CHOMSKY

HECTOR MARROQUIN

GEORGE WALD

Below are excerpts from support messages sent to a May 2 protest meeting in Boston demanding political asylum for Héctor Marroquín.

Marroquín fled Mexico in 1974 after being falsely accused of murder and of being a member of an illegal guerrilla group. If he is forced to return to Mexico, he faces certain imprisonment and torture, and possible death.

Marroquín is a member of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance. He has been an active trade unionist and an activist in the movement to stop the deportation of undocumented workers.

The May 2 Boston meeting heard Marroquín; Peg McCarter of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom; Rex Weng, a former officer of the state AFL-CIO; and others.

**Guerdes Fleurant**  
Chairperson, Black Studies Dept., Salem State College, and member of Haitian Patriotic Committee

The struggle of Haitian and Mexican undocumented workers for freedom and political expression is a common one. Like Héctor, we have fled torture, harassment, repression, and dictatorship in order to continue the struggle elsewhere and to prepare for our eventual return to aid in the liberation of our homeland.

Asile politique pour Héctor Marroquín!

Political asylum for Héctor Marroquín!

**George Wald**  
Nobel Prize winner; Professor at Harvard University

As one who loves Mexico and its people and who has traveled a great deal through the Mexican villages, it came as a great shock to realize that what I had taken to be one of the few remaining democracies in Latin America is in fact a one-party state with a controlled press and exercising considerable repression upon any group that in any way challenges its authority.

From what I have learned, it might be exceedingly dangerous to return

Héctor Marroquín to Mexico. I think that there is every reason to give him asylum in this country.

**Joe Sims**  
President, Independent Maintenance Workers Union, Wellesley College

Based on the information I have read about the case of Héctor Marroquín and being all too familiar with the plight of American prisoners in Mexico, I feel Mr. Marroquín should be granted immediate asylum in the United States.

**Noam Chomsky**  
Professor of linguistics at MIT and distinguished civil libertarian

I would like to join those who are supporting Héctor Marroquín in his effort to obtain political asylum in the U.S. and to urge people concerned with civil and human rights to lend their support financially and in other ways.

**John Roberts**  
Chairperson, Massachusetts Civil Liberties Union

The United States government may not want to recognize what indeed is happening in Mexico to political dissidents, but we must force it to do so. Supporting the defense of Héctor Marroquín is a very concrete way of doing just that. His hearing before the Immigration and Naturalization Service could provide an important precedent for other political refugees if political asylum were granted.

I urge concerned people to write to Leonel Castillo, the director of the Immigration and Naturalization Service in Washington, in support of Héctor Marroquín, and others like him who face persecution if they are forced to return to the countries from which they have fled in search of political asylum.

You can help defend Héctor Marroquín by making a donation for legal expenses; by writing a letter on his behalf to INS Director Leonel Castillo, Washington, D.C.; and by circulating petitions calling for asylum for him. Contact the Héctor Marroquín Defense Committee, 853 Broadway, Suite 414, New York, New York 10003.

mule and the Republican elephant.

"Working people need a party of our own, a labor party, based on the strength of a revitalized, democratized union movement. That's the perspective that I and the other SWP candidates in this election are putting forward," Feeley says.

"That kind of fighting unity is the answer the labor movement needs to give to the 'brotherhood of terror' Rohatyn and his cronies want to impose in this second round of the New York City crisis."

# Protest gov't attack on Iranian students!

## Chicago

By Peter Thierjung

CHICAGO—Police arrested 176 members of the Iranian Student Association here May 16.

"We had been marching peacefully," ISA spokesperson Sheila Khalili explained. Then one Iranian man attacked the students' downtown picket line, yelling "Long live the shah!"

Khalili said "there were 200 police and sixteen paddy wagons" on the scene "within seconds" after the scuffle began. She blasted the arrests as "a deliberate and calculated plan."

Eleven demonstrators were charged with battery and disorderly conduct. The rest were turned over to the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service.

The INS threatened to begin deportation proceedings against any of the students who could not supply identification and valid visas. More than 150 of those arrested refused to cooperate.

The INS held the students overnight before releasing them. They were ordered to appear at a May 19 hearing for further action on their case. The INS later announced, however, that it was suspending the deportation proceedings indefinitely, pending further investigation.

Chanting, "Free the 100,000 political prisoners in Iran" and "U.S. out of Iran," about 150 people took part in a May 22 demonstration here to protest the incident. Demonstrators demanded an end to the ongoing harassment of Iranian students by Chicago police, the FBI, and Savak (the shah's dread secret police).

## Beeville, Tex.

By Joan Buchanan and Sylvia Lopez

SAN ANTONIO—Speaking at a meeting in Beeville, Texas, May 12, former U.S. Attorney General Ramsey Clark branded the arrest and threatened deportation of Iranian students there as an act of outrageous injustice.

One hundred and three students were arrested earlier this year following a peaceful demonstration against the administration at Bee County Community College.

Fifty-eight of those arrested have since been expelled from school and now face deportation. Deportation to Iran could mean imprisonment, torture, and possible death.

The May 12 meeting was sponsored by the Ad Hoc Committee to Defend 103 Iranian Students; the Committee for Artistic and Intellectual Freedom in Iran; Iranian Students Association—Democratic, from Houston; and the Democratic Association of Iranian Students, from Austin.

Other participants with Clark in the panel discussion included: Bijan Khezri, Ad Hoc Committee to Defend 103 Iranian Students; James Calloway, American Civil Liberties Union; Gertrude Barnstone, former member of the Houston School Board; and Armando Gutiérrez, Texas Raza Unida Party.

Calloway announced that the Texas ACLU had voted to provide the expelled Iranian students with legal counsel.

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## ...New York

Continued from page 5

education—the unions can give the lie to Koch's claims to be defending the public interest.

"The unions can mobilize to bring that 'public' right to Koch's doorstep with demonstrations of hundreds of thousands of workers at city hall.

"That's where the real power is," Feeley insists. "But that power can't be reached so long as the labor movement hitches its wagon to the Democratic

# The role of Black workers in the fight for freedom

*(Second of three parts)*

Massive unemployment unleashed by the Great Depression stalked working people in general across the country, and preyed in particular upon Black workers.

Blacks, however, were among the last to be hired in the war industries. Those who got jobs were still subjected to race discrimination in job assignments.

This bleak prospect did not sit well with the growing number of Blacks who had migrated to the country's cities in hope of getting work. Nor were Blacks simply willing to suffer until the war's end.

## No sacrifice for war

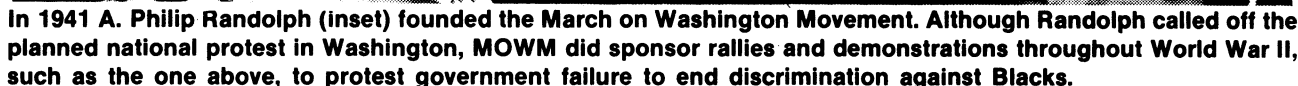
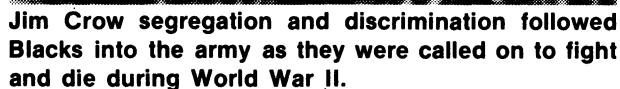
As war preparations began, this campaign was extended to the armed forces—with particular attention on segregation in officer training schools.

Moreover, both organizations had begun to cooperate with the Congress of Industrial Organizations in its drive to organize unorganized workers.

These campaigns won these groups a certain amount of prestige and credibility among the Black working class. But the overall outlook and perspective of the organizations' leaderships remained thoroughly middle-class.

At the same time that the NAACP, for example, was protesting discrimination in government agencies and the armed forces, NAACP officials—along with other Black lawyers, professors, and professionals—found well-paying places for themselves in these agencies. This could not help but add a little ambivalence to their campaign.

By 1941, when the war in Europe had raged for more than a year, the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters was about the only Black organization that



## March On Washington Movement

A. Philip Randolph, president of the Brotherhood, was by then an established and respected leader of the Black community. He had become recognized as the representative of Black workers. He had championed their cause and had tried for most of his life to organize the latent power of their massive numbers.

This placed Randolph in a good position to lead Blacks in their wartime campaign against racial discrimination in the war industry and in the armed forces.

But Randolph had long since abandoned the socialist principles that had led him to oppose the first imperialist world war. From the beginning, he—like all but a handful of Black leaders—was an ardent supporter of the imperialist “democracies” in World War II.

Nevertheless, Randolph expressed more clearly than any other Black spokesperson the deeply felt sentiment among Blacks that they should not have to sacrifice for the war. Instead the “war to save democracy” abroad should be accompanied by at least a skirmish for economic well-being and democratic rights for Blacks here at home.

This idea was popularized in the Black press during the war under the slogan "Double V"—"double victory for democracy, at home and abroad."

It was Randolph and the Brotherhood that did the most to implement this slogan.

In January 1941 Randolph began a series of articles in Black papers across the country announcing the need for a mass march on Washington, later to become known as the March On Washington Movement. He set the date for July 1, 1941, and expected 10,000 demonstrators.

## 'Let the Negro masses speak!'

The call went out May 1, 1941: "On to Washington, ten thousand Black Americans! Let them swarm from every hamlet, village and town. . . Let them come in automobiles, buses, trains, trucks and on foot. Let them come though the winds and rains beat against them. . . If the Negroes fail this chance for work, for freedom . . . it may never come again. Let the Negro masses speak!"

Organizers of the march immediately went to work in most major cities, collected money, and made preparations. All Black organizations endorsed the movement . . . except those controlled by the Stalinists.

The *Daily Worker*, predecessor of the Communist Party's *Daily World*, denounced Randolph at this

time as an agent of imperialism and opposed the march.

This was during the period of the Stalin-Hitler Pact—from August 1939 to June 1941—when the Stalinists were on a sectarian campaign denouncing every movement that did not have halting the war as its main aim. Prior to that time, the Communist Party had been an ardent supporter of Roosevelt's war preparations. This orientation was abruptly dropped when Stalin concluded a non-aggression pact with Hitler in August 1939.

Despite the opposition of the Communist Party—which was a force to be reckoned with in the Black movement of that time—enthusiastic organizers predicted a march of 100,000.

Partly as a way to exclude Stalinist disruption, Randolph called for an all-Black march. "There are some things Negroes must do alone," he said. The Stalinists denounced this as "Black chauvinism," the equivalent then of today's code words, "discrimination in reverse."

## Roosevelt concedes

The Roosevelt administration sought to get Randolph to call the march off on one pretext or another. Finally, on June 25, 1941, Roosevelt signed Executive Order 8802, banning discrimination in the war industries and creating the Fair Employment Practices Committee (FEPC). It was a small concession, hardly more than a token. There was no machinery to enforce the order. But Randolph hailed it as "a second Emancipation Proclamation" . . . and promptly called off the march.

Thousands who had sought to vent their rage were bitterly disappointed, many walked away discouraged. Some claimed that the march had been a colossal bluff and that it would have failed in any event.

This opinion was not shared by the active organizers, especially the youth section of the movement. Bayard Rustin was then a youth leader, having recently quit the Young Communist League at City College of New York and joined the March On Washington Movement. He accused Randolph of selling out to Roosevelt and demanded that the march be rescheduled.

There was no rescheduling of that march, but the March On Washington Movement (MOWM) continued. Throughout the war, protest meetings and demonstrations were organized under its aegis.

The MOWM was not structured to allow for membership participation, policy discussion, or democratic decision making of any kind. The "youth section" was dissolved. The so-called movement remained amorphous, an organization in name only, sustained mainly by the Sleeping Car Porters.



The U.S. Bureau of Employment Security revealed that in the period from September 1941 to February 1942, more than half the available jobs were closed to Blacks. That was a measure of the effectiveness of Roosevelt's FEPC order.

In June 1942 Randolph issued a call for actions to protest the failure of the FEPC. Huge rallies sponsored by MOWM were held in major cities, 18,000 massed in New York and 12,000 in Chicago. Randolph called for a Washington, D.C., rally on August 4, but this was called off. Later, on December 30, he announced plans to employ Gandhian civil-disobedience tactics to break down racial segregation.

In 1943 the MOWM kept pressure on Roosevelt for more jobs, and in May he issued Executive Order 9346 reconstituting the FEPC, which had lapsed. But such palliatives were not enough to satisfy Blacks, nor prevent attacks upon them by city police and other racist elements.

1943 was the year of the Harlem revolt and the Detroit police rampage against Blacks.

In 1944 the national MOWM held a "non-Partisan Political Conference" that declined to support candidates of the capitalist parties.

The Socialist Party nominated Randolph to run for vice-president with Norman Thomas in the general election. Randolph declined with "keen regret," he said.

Throughout the war years, Randolph had kept up his agitation for jobs and civil rights in face of heavy opposition from pro-war jingos. After Hitler attacked the Soviet Union on June 22, 1943, these patriotic hawks were joined by the Stalinists.

The Communist Party now turned its entire energies toward cajoling working people in the unions and other mass organizations into collaboration—at any sacrifice—with Roosevelt and the bosses in the war effort.

### Against the stream

The CP's sudden switch came automatically and without apology to its Black supporters. On May 16, 1941, the *Daily Worker* was contending, "You can't defend Negro rights without fighting against this war." The August 1942 issue of *The Communist* stated, "The Negro people cannot be true to their own best interests without supporting the war."

Henceforth any action by Blacks against discrimination was branded "sabotage," "the work of Hitler's Agents."

Prior to their about-face, the Stalinists had opposed the MOWM because it was not antiwar. Now the MOWM was chastised for insisting on rights and economic improvement for Blacks.

The middle-class NAACP leaders, while less flagrant than the Stalinists, were also uneasy and tried to play down protests by Black workers against the discriminatory conditions of wartime employment. They developed arguments against the MOWM as a "purely Negro organization while the cardinal principle of the NAACP is its interracial composition," and used other devices to separate themselves from mass actions. They were afraid of antagonizing Roosevelt and the war patriots.

It was the persistent demands of Black workers for better treatment, and their spontaneous demonstrations in support of MOWM, that kept the Black movement alive through World War II.

(to be continued)

## Further reading...

**Labor's Giant Step, Twenty Years of the CIO**  
by Art Preis. 538 pp., cloth \$20, paper \$6.95.

**Black Liberation and Socialism**  
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# Wilmington 10 defendant tours NYC to expose frame-up

By Rich Robohm

NEW YORK—Anne Sheppard Turner was the featured speaker at a rally here May 11 to free the Wilmington Ten. The rally was sponsored by the National Student Coalition Against Racism (NSCAR).

Turner is one of ten North Carolina civil rights activists framed up in 1972 on arson and "conspiracy" charges and sentenced to a combined total of 282 years in prison.

Amnesty International has adopted the Wilmington Ten as "prisoners of conscience." Numerous other prominent labor, church, civil rights, and civil liberties organizations have joined in the demand for their freedom.

NAACP Executive Director Benjamin Hooks sent a letter to NSCAR, expressing his regret at not being able to speak at the rally. "I think it is important for civil rights leaders to support public forums about the Wilmington Ten case, so you may use my name as an endorser of the May 11th . . . meeting, . . ." Hooks wrote. In his place, Michael Meyers spoke.

Also speaking were Noreen Connell, president of the New York chapter of the National Organization for Women; Anne Florent, president of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom; Rev. Donald Harrington; Haywood Burns, an attorney in the Attica Brothers and Angela Davis cases; NSCAR National Coordinator, James Harris; Helen Sobell of the Rosenberg United 25th Anniversary Movement; and Dennis Serrette of the New York Committee to Overturn the Bakke Decision.



Anne Sheppard Turner (on right) won good hearing at Brooklyn Navy Yard

Militant/Rich Robohm

Turner is currently on a national speaking tour sponsored by NSCAR. While in New York she gave several interviews to the press and spoke at Grady High School, New York University, City College of New York, and the National Council of Churches' Interreligious Foundation for Community Organization.

A lunchtime rally at the Brooklyn Navy Yard attracted scores of workers there, the great majority of whom are Black. Workers took hundreds of leaflets to help publicize the case, signed petitions demanding freedom for the ten, and donated more than twenty-five dollars for their defense.

Although Turner was paroled last year, the nine other defendants, all Black men, are still behind bars. All three key prosecution witnesses at a post-conviction hearing swore that, under government pressure, they had lied at the trial. Nevertheless, North Carolina Gov. James Hunt has refused to pardon the ten. Instead, earlier this year, Hunt stated his support for their conviction, agreeing only to a slight reduction in sentences. Under that reduction eight become eligible for parole this year, but Rev. Ben Chavis will not become eligible until January 1980.

Turner calls Hunt's action "outrageous" and an "insult." She calls on all supporters of the ten to step up efforts to win their immediate release.

A motion for a retrial or dismissal of all charges is now pending in federal district court. For more information, or to contribute to the defense, write: National Wilmington 10 Defense Committee, 1851 Ninth Street, NW, Washington, D.C. 20001.

## Gay rights supporters rally against Calif. Briggs initiative

By Laurel Kelly and Harry Ring

LOS ANGELES—1,200 gay rights supporters marched through Hollywood May 9 in an emergency demonstration called by the California Coalition Against the Briggs Initiative. California State Sen. John Briggs says that he filed more than 500,000 signatures with the secretary of state during the first week of May to put an antigay initiative on the November ballot.

Briggs's initiative would bar gays from working for California public schools.

"I don't think there's a teacher in the city that will support the Briggs initiative," said Hank Springer, President of the United Teachers of Los Angeles, at a May 9 press conference. "It's simply unacceptable to us. The next thing you know, you'll be taken off the job because you're bald, or red-headed."

Ramona Ripston, director of the Southern California American Civil Liberties Union, also spoke at the press conference.

Speakers at the May 9 rally called for full civil rights for gays and for unity in the battle against Briggs.

Speakers included Charles Johnson of the Los Angeles NAACP; Morris Kight and Ivy Bottini, longtime leaders of the gay and lesbian movements; Rev. Troy Perry of the Metropolitan Community Church; Lillian Rubin of Parents and Friends of Gays; Robin Tyler, a feminist comedienne and member of the National Lesbian Feminist Organization; and Wayne Hieber of the Socialist Workers Party.

Claudia Long, a student at California State University, Long Beach, told the crowd how she had been hired to forge signatures on petitions for the Briggs initiative.

Long responded to a help-wanted notice on a

campus employment bulletin board. Under "job description," the notice said, "Transferring printed material to hand written. Must be able to write in different styles."

Long was offered five dollars per hundred signatures for transferring names from computer print-outs or registered voter lists onto petitions.

According to Long, a man named Bill Crosby assured her that people had authorized the use of their names on the petitions. But after copying about twenty-five names, she became suspicious.

Long telephoned several names on the lists and reached three people. All three denied authorizing the use of their names.

The Orange County *Register* reported that a second Cal State student said he had also been hired by Crosby to sign Briggs's petitions.

Briggs has replied that Crosby was planted by what he called the "homos" to sabotage the antigay effort. Crosby has not been available for comment.

Meanwhile, several other charges of fraud in the collection of signatures have been filed.

By John Votava

SAN FRANCISCO—About 500 people attended a May 11 speakout here sponsored by the Bay Area Committee Against the Briggs Initiative (BACABI).

Among the speakers were prominent labor leaders: Walter Johnson, president of Local 1100 Retail Clerks; James Ballard, president of the San Francisco Federation of Teachers; and David McDonald, newly elected president of Local 2 Culinary Workers, the largest union in San Francisco.

At the BACABI conference the next day, the 200 participants decided to devote their efforts to making the annual Gay Freedom Day Parade in June a giant demonstration of support for gay rights against the Briggs initiative.

# Foreign investments in U.S.

By Dick Roberts

(Fifth of six parts)

On a global scale, foreign investment is increasingly shifting toward the United States, and to a certain, still limited extent, slowing in Europe.

This is an historic turn in foreign investment patterns, reversing a long post-World War II trend. This shift has been accelerated by the decline of the dollar.

The U.S. economy is the largest in the capitalist world. Over the past two years it has been relatively stronger than the economies of most of its competitors. At the same time, "The economic and social problems in Europe are sharpening, carrying the threat of massive social confrontations," as Caroline Lund wrote in the *International Socialist Review* April 7.

"Unemployment stands at record postdepression levels, especially among the youth. Everywhere austerity programs such as the Social Contract in Britain, the Moncloa Pact in Spain, the Barre Plan

## Decline of the dollar



in France, and the Pact of Six in Italy—are in effect. European capitalism can make less pretense than at any time since the war of being able to provide progress in the lives and welfare of the masses of people."

So European capitalists are increasingly looking toward the United States as a haven for safe investment. In more and more cases, American workers earn less, or are losing ground, compared to their European counterparts. The American union movement is weaker.

The steady drop of the dollar makes U.S. investments that much cheaper and more attractive.

All this occurs as the screws on European and Japanese capitalists to find overseas markets are tightening.

## Centralization

We saw in the last article of this series that the pileup of enormous corporate cash reserves has led to a heightened search by big firms to take over weaker competitors by buying up their stock. European investment in the United States is part of this process.

"Foreign acquisition of American companies is going to continue at a very rapid rate," a New York investment banker recently told the *Wall Street Journal*. "I've just come back from a trip to Europe, and the interest in coming to the U.S. market is as strong as I've ever seen it."

The April 11 *Wall Street Journal* continued, "With the West German mark buying 18% more dollars than it did a year ago, the Swiss franc worth 35% more and the British pound 8.7% more valuable in dollar terms, European companies are in a stronger position when bidding for U.S. corporations."

"Conversely," the *Journal* added, "the strength of their currencies makes it more difficult to sell their products in the U.S., giving them the same incentive to acquire production facilities in the United States that American companies had to buy European plants a decade or so ago."

"European businessmen also are keenly aware of the clamor in the U.S. for import quotas, minimum import prices, higher tariffs and other protection against imports. They have decided that growing barriers against imports will make it increasingly difficult to supply the U.S. market from abroad."

## U.S. disinvestment

U.S. corporations, which had once been expanding rapidly, especially in Europe, have slowed this down and in some cases have disinvested in Europe.

The *Wall Street Journal* reported March 15 that pretax profits of U.S. companies abroad were a record \$19.2 billion in 1974, amounting to 16 percent of all their pretax profits. This had fallen to \$18.9 billion and 13 percent of pretax profits by 1976.

"As a result of the lower profitability abroad, many companies have become more cautious about investing there, and some are even liquidating overseas subsidiaries," the *Wall Street Journal*

reported. U.S. outlays on foreign subsidiaries were cut by 14 percent in 1975 and another 7 percent in 1976, the *Wall Street Journal* said.

## 'Multinationals'

Parallel to this process, a dramatic turnaround in the standings of the most powerful "multinational" trusts is also taking place.

The so-far slight disinvestment of U.S. corporations abroad accompanied by a sharp escalation of European and Japanese foreign investments, has led to a shift in the standings of the most powerful "multinational" trusts. (This frequently used word is obviously a misnomer. Global trusts, no matter how many nations they operate in, remain owned nationally. Exxon, which sells more oil in Europe than in the United States, remains a U.S. Rockefeller trust.)

In a review of the recently published book *The European Multinationals* by Lawrence Franko, the *Economist* states that "The Americans' international competitive position, as measured by their relative size in main industries, has been eroded in almost every sector. The rate and, by some indicators, the volume of the expansion of European, especially continental European, firms into foreign manufacturing came to be higher than that of American ones."

The *Economist* (February 4) cites these statistics:

- "In 1959, an American firm was the largest in the world in 11 out of 13 major sectors into which manufacturing activity plus commercial banking can be grouped; by 1974, in only 7 out of 13. Of the non-American leaders in 1974 two were German, one French, one British-Dutch, one British, one Japanese. . . ."

- "America had 98 (63%) of the 156 largest firms

constructed three plants in South Carolina and plans to build five to seven more within the decade.

According to the *New York Times*, which interviewed Michelin's director François Michelin, "The virtual absence of unions—only 3 percent of industrialized plants in South Carolina are unionized," was a factor in the decision.

"Once [Michelin] loosens up, he talks in a hypnotic manner, railing against unions and Communism," the *Times* said. "His company heads the list of those that would be nationalized if left-wing candidates win the March elections in France."

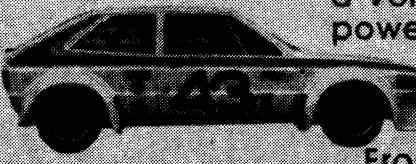
Another investor in the U.S. South is Japan. "The growing Southern market, the brighter energy picture, lower labor, land and construction costs, less unionism," were factors cited by the *Times*, February 1. Japan invested about \$4 billion in the United States in 1976.

"The newcomers," *Times* reporter Ann Crittendon wrote last January, "are drawn by the fact that the United States not only offers businessmen higher profit margins but also is more solicitous of the traditional prerogatives of management. For example, French executives can scarcely believe the discretion their American counterparts have to lay off workers when sales lag."

The April 11 *Wall Street Journal* reported that "some European industrialists think the rapid postwar growth in their domestic markets is a thing of the past. They see continued sluggish growth and tightening regulations by socialist or socialist-influenced governments making it difficult for them to increase profits in their home markets."

There is an occasional hint that a European investor would rather build a new plant in the United States than at home. A West German executive told the *New York Times*, "I don't see

## WE'VE EARNED OUR STRIPES.



While stripes do not a sportscar make, trophies do. And that's just what souped-up Number 43 has been winning for the past few years. This all-out, hellbent-for-leather sportscar is, believe-it-or-not, a Volkswagen. A 170 horsepower, 150-miles-per-hour, Bilstein shocks, transistorized ignition, racing slicks Volkswagen!


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everything that makes a grand-touring car grand. And to get you where you're going in short order, the Scirocco is equipped with a 1.5-liter fuel-injected overhead cam engine that turns 0 to 50 in 8.2 seconds. Front-wheel drive, rack-and-pinion steering and power-assisted front disc brakes steer it and stop it like a champ, too.

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## SCIROCCO VOLKSWAGEN DOES IT AGAIN



Volkswagen sales drive in United States. Foreign competitors like VW are increasingly manufacturing products in the United States instead of exporting them to this country.

in the 13 sectors in 1959. In 1974, it was down to 67 (43%). Britain went from 15 to 17; continental Europe from 25 to 40; Japan from one to 24."

## Buy American

It is into the U.S. market that most of these global firms have expanded their overseas penetration.

Aided by stronger currencies and increasing access to world markets, foreign banks are carving out an increasing share of banking in America. According to a bank expert cited by the April 12 *Wall Street Journal*, "There are at least 20 major foreign banks hawking the U.S." for potential acquisitions.

In March the Hongkong & Shanghai Banking Corporation took over Marine Midland Bank, one of the bigger New York State banks. At the end of April 1977 it was estimated that foreign banks controlled 6.5 percent of U.S. banking, up from 3.3 percent in 1972.

The rationale for taking over U.S. industry is not only the weakened dollar, but also the relatively lower wages and weaker unions of American workers.

Michelin, the giant French tire company, has

terrorists and socialists behind every tree, but look at the situation. Every employee here gets 27 working days vacation a year; we pay 1.60 marks in social benefits for every mark we pay in salary, and the unions have something more to say every year about how we run our business. We wouldn't be getting involved with the United States if the situation were promising here. But we see an opportunity for profit, and one for security. When you're going into America you've got the feeling that it's the one place where it isn't all going to blow away."

(To be concluded)

## FOR FURTHER READING

**Decline of the Dollar** by Ernest Mandel

128 pages, \$2.45.

**Capitalism in Crisis** by Dick Roberts

128 pages, \$2.45.

Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, New York 10014. Please include \$.25 with payment for postage and handling, \$.50 if order is more than \$5.00.



# In Review

## 'Eugene Debs & the American Movement'

Eugene Debs and the American Movement. A forty-two-minute color film. For rental information write Cambridge Documentary Films, Post Office Box 385, Cambridge, Massachusetts 02139.

This film is introduced and narrated by an activist who knew Eugene Debs personally. It describes Debs's development as a union leader, organizer, and socialist.

When Debs began working, wages were less than a dollar a day on the railroads. The craft-union organizations built up in the expansionary

### Film

period after the Civil War were not strong enough to withstand the offensive launched by the employers during the depression of 1873.

Debs learned from this that railroad workers needed a stronger kind of union, one that united everyone in the industry. Towards this end, he began organizing the American Railway Union, best known for its role in the Pullman strike of 1894.

The film uses Debs's own simple but powerful words—accompanied by marvelous nineteenth-century lithographs—to illustrate the conditions that capitalist exploiters such as sleeping car manufacturer George Pullman imposed on workers. Pullman even forced employees to live in his company town.

When the men, women, and children of "Pullman Town" went on strike, the



enormous power of the company and the U.S. government were thrown against them. Again, the film uses lithographs to show how policemen on horses beat workers, dragged them, or shot them at point-blank range.

Debs and other leaders were imprisoned for their role in the strike. While in jail, Debs began to read literature that convinced him that the struggle for socialism was the only answer to the problems facing working people.

Two scenes stick out in my mind. In one, Debs—expressing his indignation at the exploitation of Black and white women textile workers—calls them

"his sisters throughout the world."

In the other, Debs describes his mixed emotions upon leaving the inmates he befriended in Atlanta Federal Penitentiary after spending nearly three years there because of his opposition to the First World War. As he is about to walk towards the automobile that will carry him away, a tremendous shout comes from the prison. Debs acknowledges it with a wave towards the bleak building. Then there are more shouts, and they fade away only when the car is far off.

The film also recounts Debs's solidarity with the Russian workers and

their victorious revolution under the leadership of Lenin and Trotsky.

I saw this film at a meeting in Philadelphia where members and friends of the Socialist Workers Party, the inheritors of Debs's tradition today, were organizing to put their candidates on the ballot in Pennsylvania.

That kind of film showing seemed like a good idea. Because this film will inspire workers not only to learn more about past heroic struggles of the labor movement and its greatest leaders, such as Eugene V. Debs, but also to carry that tradition forward.

—Catarino Garza

## 'William Morris' & 'The Fabians'

William Morris: Romantic to Revolutionary. By E. P. Thompson. New York. Pantheon Books. 1977. 829 pages. \$17.95, paper \$7.95.

The Fabians. By Norman and Jeanne MacKenzie. New York. Simon and Schuster. 1977. 446. \$12.95.

The reformism of the Fabian Society and the revolutionary socialism of William Morris stand at opposite poles

### Books

of the socialist movement of Victorian England.

As histories of this important era in British labor history, *The Fabians* and *William Morris* are worthy of serious study. Of the two, however, Thompson's book is by far the more valuable. It describes Morris's life and work in the socialist movement, giving the reader a better understanding of the great social struggles that wracked Britain during the last two decades of the nineteenth century.

*The Fabians*, on the other hand, is a chatty anecdotal, collective biography, needlessly cluttered with long accounts

of the courtship of Beatrice and Sidney Webb and the love affairs of George Bernard Shaw.

England in the 1880s was a society in crisis. A trade slump, provoked by competition from the United States and Germany in 1879, caused massive unemployment. The Liberal Party government of William Gladstone was unable to alleviate these hardships. As a result of earlier struggles by the Chartists and other radical forces, wide layers of the population had won the right to vote—and were willing to exercise it to fight for a socialist alternative.

In 1881, Henry Hyndman, strongly impressed by the ideas of Karl Marx, formed the Democratic Federation, later renamed the Social Democratic Federation, predecessor of the British Socialist Party.

Two years later, the federation won its most prominent, wealthy, and influential recruit—William Morris.

Morris had been a figure in the pre-Raphaelite movement, an artistic school led by Dante Gabriel Rossetti. A designer, architect, poet, artist, scholar, and all-around craftsman, he was widely known for his utopian poem *The Earthly Paradise*.

Inspired by socialism's promise of a better society, Morris hurled himself into the work of the federation—writing articles; selling the socialist press; speaking at rallies, demonstrations, and meetings—never hesitating to reach into his pocket for a needed contribution.

In 1884, the SDF split over Hyndman's dogmatic sectarianism. Morris then formed the Socialist League and became editor of its newspaper *Commonweal*. The league lasted from 1885 to 1892. In 1890 a small anarchist faction gained control of the organiza-

tion and forced Morris's withdrawal.

Those who witnessed Morris's activities in the socialist movement were always amazed by the reserves of strength the man seemed to carry with him.

Morris died in 1896. When asked to give the cause of death, a doctor answered, "I consider the case is this: the disease is simply being William Morris, and having done more work than most ten men."

The range of Morris's knowledge and activity is truly astounding. Besides his constant propaganda activities, he found time to write a series of articles later published as *John Ball's Dream* and *News From Nowhere*. He continued his designing. And in the last years of his life, he produced a magnificently illustrated edition of Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*, wrote a series of prose romances, and sent forth an unending stream of socialist verse.

In contrast to Morris's wholehearted commitment to revolutionary activity, the Fabians—led by Sidney and Beatrice Webb, George Bernard Shaw, and Graham Wallas—aimed to divert the struggle for socialism into harmless parliamentary channels. The Fabian Society was formed in 1883 to advance this perspective.

Some years later, the society adopted its policy of "penetration"—the idea that by "penetrating" various branches of the government, it could infuse them with "socialist" policies.

The MacKenzies describe the practical effect of this policy: "The Webbs had drifted into the role of lobbyists, pushing their plans for coaching civil servants, devising schemes for politicians, and ghosting reports to feed into the political machine."

The Fabians had an amused con-

tempt for revolutionaries such as William Morris.

One Fabian tract described him as a "shortsighted leader" who "never grappled closely with the problems we have to face."

The commitment of these "practical" Fabians to the perspective of reforming capitalism soon led them to a policy of openly championing British imperialism. A Fabian manifesto issued during the Boer War, for example, proclaimed: "A Great Power, consciously or unconsciously must govern in the interests of civilization as a whole."

In the 1920s, some members of the Fabian Society even began to flirt mildly with fascism. Shaw, after some discussions with fascist officials in Italy, remarked, "We must get the socialist movement out of its old democratic grooves."

Although the Fabians rapidly drew back from such extreme positions, they never did feel comfortable with the consistent defense of democracy advocated by genuine revolutionary socialists.

Hence, the society by and large ignored the liberating triumph of the Russian revolution in 1917. Yet, during the 1930s, the Webbs visited the Soviet Union and returned as apologists for Stalin's dictatorial bureaucracy.

The MacKenzies' history concludes just before the outbreak of World War I. A short epilogue explains that over the next decade members of the Fabian Society became more closely integrated into the mainstream of reformism via the Labour Party.

The Fabians thereby achieved one of their central goals: to be accepted as the principal professional theoreticians for the despicable labor lieutenants of British capitalism. —Peter Archer

## Quote unquote

"We can't have 215 million Americans thinking they know what the United States national security interests are."

—CIA Director Admiral Stansfield Turner.

### BORDER KILLS

Both the United Farm Workers and Texas Farm Workers unions have condemned the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service following the death of Maria Contreras May 16. Contreras was eight months pregnant.

According to Antonio Orendain, a leader of the Texas Farm Workers, an INS inspector was interrogating Contreras at the border when she "became sick and her pleas

were ignored." Orendain blames "the stupid red tape that we Mexicans who use this border crossing are constantly subjected to."

UFW spokesperson José Saldaña declared that "poor people who cross the bridge know of the intimidation and harassment that take place during investigation by bridge officials."

INS Director Leonel Castillo told an angry crowd of farm workers May 21 that the circumstances surrounding Contreras's death were still under investigation. Nonetheless, he assured them that in his opinion the INS inspector had acted properly.

### FBI BREAK-INS KNOWN IN 1973

Two former FBI directors knew of illegal break-ins five years ago, according to Edward Miller, one of three bureau officials charged last

month with masterminding the operation.

Miller said he told William Ruckelshaus, acting FBI director, about the break-ins in 1973. Miller said he also told Ruckelshaus's successor, Clarence Kelley, later that same year.

### BUT THEY HAVE THE 'RIGHT TO WORK'

Children of undocumented workers do not have the right to a free public education, the Texas Supreme Court ruled May 17. The decision will affect an estimated 5,000 children in the Houston area alone.

Children of workers without papers will now have to pay tuition to go to school. Given the extremely low wages of most undocumented workers, the ruling will probably drive many children out of school entirely.

### DEMAND JUSTICE FOR CRIMEAN TATARS

The thirty-fourth year of enforced exile of Crimean Tatars from their homeland was marked by a demonstration in New York City May 20. About sixty demonstrators gathered outside the United Nations building and marched twenty blocks to the Soviet Union's Mission to the U.N. Demonstrators carried banners calling on the Kremlin to end the national oppression of Crimean Tatars and allow them to return to Crimea.

On May 18, 1944, Stalin deported the entire Crimean Tatar population—around 250,000—to makeshift settlements in Central Asia and Siberia. Around half the population perished during the first year of exile. In all Crimea, there are now only 8,000-10,000 Tatars. The Crimean Tatars demand that the Soviet rulers reestablish the Crimean Autonomous Soviet Socialist Repub-

## Free the Wilmington Ten!

As he spoke at the University of North Carolina graduation on May 14, about 225 people urged Gov. James Hunt to pardon the Wilmington Ten. Seventy-five people picketed outside the ceremony, while 150 seniors inside—including the vast majority of Black graduates—wore protest symbols.

The ten are civil rights activists framed up on charges of firebombing a grocery store in 1971 during

an outbreak of anti-Black violence in Wilmington. Hunt has refused to pardon them, despite the fact that the three main witnesses against them have admitted lying at the trial.

Hunt told the graduating seniors that North Carolina's reputation as a progressive state has been wrongly questioned by those who distort such recent incidents as the Joan Little and Wilmington Ten cases.



Militant/Doug Clark

## Judge orders high school desegregated

Federal District Judge John Dooling has given New York City's Board of Education forty-five days to come up with a new plan to desegregate Andrew Jackson High School in Queens. All but one of the school's 2,530 students are Black or Hispanic. Dooling's May 16 order says the new plan must bring Jackson's racial composition in line with the overall 48 percent white enrollment in Queens high schools by next fall. On a technicality, the judge ducked ruling on the constitutionality of an NAACP proposal to include nearby all-white Nassau County high schools in a cross-district busing plan.

The New York Board of Education vows to go "all the way with appeals" of Dooling's order—continuing nearly three years of official opposition to desegregation at Jackson. Queens Borough President Donald Manes and State Senator Frank Padavan also attacked the new order. Giving a green light to possible racist violence, Manes predicted "disruption" in Queens schools next fall if the plan goes through.

But the NAACP says the Jackson ruling creates a precedent. "We will now be able to direct ourselves to the more all-encompassing desegregation problems" in the city, says NAACP attorney James Meyerson.

lic, originally established by Lenin and the Bolsheviks in 1921, but abolished by Stalin in 1946.

The May 20 demonstration was organized by the American Association of Crimean Tatars and the Young Crimean Tatars.

### SPARTACISTS BEMOAN 'QUIESCENT PERIOD'

A front-page notice in the May 19 *Workers Vanguard*—a newspaper reflecting the views of the Spartacist League, a small sectarian group that falsely proclaims itself to be Trotskyist—announces that

the newspaper will soon cut its weekly publication schedule in half.

Although the change is being made in part for financial considerations, the editors say, the main reason is "the quiescent period through which we are passing." Says *Workers Vanguard*, "... our appetites as revolutionary Marxists have run too far ahead of recent objective possibilities and for too long."

While hundreds of thousands marched against America's imperialist war in Vietnam during the 1960s and early 1970s, the Spartacist League stood on the sidelines. When the Black

# What's Going On

## U.S. hands off Africa!

**MIAMI:** "U.S. hands off Africa." Speaker: Tony Thomas, Socialist Workers Party National Committee. Fri., June 2, 8 p.m. 7623 N.E. 2nd Ave. Donation: \$1.25. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (305) 756-8358.

**NEW YORK: QUEENS:** "Stop U.S. intervention in Africa." Speaker: James Harris, National Student Coalition Against Racism; others. Fri., June 2, 7:30 p.m. 90-43 149th St., Jamaica. Donation: \$1.50. For more information call (212) 658-7718.

**TOLEDO:** "Carter's war threat in Zaire." Speakers to be announced. Sun., June 4, 7 p.m. 2507 Collingwood Blvd. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (419) 242-9743.

## CALIFORNIA LOS ANGELES

**STRUGGLE AGAINST REPRESSION IN IRAN.** Speakers: Donald Bray, prof. of political science, Cal State; Farrokh Mahmoudi, Iranian student activist; others. Fri., June 2, 7:30 p.m. Cal State Univ.,

King Hall. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Latin American Studies, New American Movement, Palestine War Victims Society, Socialist Workers Party, Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (213) 482-1820.

## FLORIDA MIAMI

**HEAR HECTOR MARROQUIN.** Also speaking: Rulx Jean-Bart, National Council of Churches, Office of Haitian Refugee Concerns; Ed Cohen, state chair, Concerned Democrats; Warren Hoskins, American Friends Service Committee; Sharlette Holdman, dir., Florida ACLU; Lee Smith, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Congress. Mon., June 5, 7:30 p.m. Temple Israel, 137 N.E. 19th St. Donations: \$1.25. Ausp: Héctor Marroquín Defense Committee. For more information call (305) 266-4381.

## GEORGIA ATLANTA

**ATTICA: A FILM.** Speakers: Rick Reed, Clearinghouse on Prisons and Jails; representative of Socialist Workers Party. Fri., June 2, 8 p.m. Urban Life Bldg., Ga. State Univ., Room 302. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (404) 688-6739.

## MASSACHUSETTS BOSTON

**SOCIALIST WORKERS CAMPAIGN RALLY.** Speakers: Linda Jenness, 1972 Socialist Workers Party candidate for president; Lisa Potash, SWP gubernatorial candidate; Brenda Franklin, SWP candidate for lieutenant-governor; Nelson Gonzalez, SWP candidate for Senate. Fri., June 2, 8 p.m. Cocktail hour: 7 p.m. University of Massachusetts at Park Square, Room 222. Donation: \$2.50. Campaign picnic, Sun., June 4, 1-6 p.m., Houghton's Pond, \$2 dinner. Ausp: Socialist Workers Campaign Committee. For more information call (617) 262-4621.

**SOCIALIST EDUCATIONAL CONFERENCE: STRATEGY FOR THE LABOR MOVEMENT TODAY.** Two classes by Andy Rose, *Militant* staff writer. Sat., June 3, 11 a.m., 2 p.m. U Mass., Boston, at Park Square, Room 222. Donation: \$1 per class. Ausp: Socialist Workers Party & Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (617) 262-4620.

## MINNESOTA TWIN CITIES

**SOCIALIST EDUCATIONAL WEEKEND.** Three classes by Frank Lovell, Socialist Workers Party, speaking on "A socialist strategy for the labor movement." Fri., June 2, 8 p.m.; Sat., June 3, 1:30 & 3:30 p.m. 373 University Ave., St. Paul. Donation: \$1 per class, \$2.50 for weekend. Ausp: SWP & Young Socialist

Alliance. For more information call (612) 222-8929 or 825-6663.

## MISSOURI KANSAS CITY

**SOCIALIST CAMPAIGN RALLY.** Speakers: Peter Camejo, Socialist Workers Party 1976 candidate for president; Shirley Smith, Jim Levitt, and Bill Bolinger, SWP candidates for school board; others. Sat., June 3, 7:30 p.m. 4715 Troost. Ausp: Socialist Workers Campaign Committee. For more information call (816) 753-0404.

**A SOCIALIST STRATEGY FOR LABOR.** Speaker: Peter Camejo, Socialist Workers Party 1976 presidential candidate. Sun., June 4, 1 p.m. 4715 Troost. Ausp: SWP. For more information call (816) 753-0404.

## NEW JERSEY NEWARK

**THE FIGHT TO END U.S. AID TO SOUTH AFRICA.** Panel discussion with representatives from American Committee on Africa, Princeton University student protest against investment in South Africa, and Tony Austin, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Congress. Fri., June 2, 8 p.m. 11A Central Ave. Donation \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (201) 643-3341.

## NEW YORK

**NYC: UPPER WEST SIDE DEMOCRACY IN THE DOMINICAN REPUBLIC?** (Bilingual presentation Spa-

nish/English). Speakers: Juanita Sánchez, recently returned from Dominican Republic with an eyewitness account of the May 16 election; others. Fri., June 2, 8 p.m. 786 Amsterdam (98th St.) Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (212) 663-3000.

## OHIO CLEVELAND

**PROSPECTS FOR SOCIALIST UNITY.** Speaker: Bruce Levine, Socialist Workers Party Political Committee, former leader of Revolutionary Marxist Committee. Sun., June 4, 7 p.m. 13002 Kinsman. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (216) 991-5030.

## TEXAS HOUSTON

**BEHIND THE MASS PROTESTS AGAINST THE SHAH: SIGNIFICANCE OF THE UPSURGE IN IRAN.** Speakers to be announced. Fri., June 2, 7:30 p.m. 6412 C N. Main. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (713) 861-9842.

## WISCONSIN MILWAUKEE

**THE MOVEMENT AGAINST NUCLEAR POWER.** Speakers: Dennis Hayes, Socialist Labor Party; representative of Socialist Workers Party; others. Fri., June 2, 8 p.m. 3901 N. 27th St. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (414) 445-2076.



struggle and women's liberation movements challenged the oppression of these sections of the working class, the SL condemned such struggles as "middle class."

Small wonder, then, that in the wake of the 110-day coal strike, and demonstrations in Washington, D.C., of 4,000 youth demanding jobs and 10,000 against the *Bakke* decision, the sectarians of the Spartacist League pull the covers over their heads.

#### TEMPORARY VICTORY IN IMANI CASE

The Alabama Supreme Court refused May 16 to set a new date for the execution of Black prisoner activist Imani (Johnny Harris), rejecting a request from the state attorney general. The court ruled that a new date should await the outcome of Imani's appeals.

Imani was put on death row after a guard died in a prison rebellion, although there was no direct evidence linking him to the guard's death.

The jury, however, was instructed by the judge to convict Imani if it found he had partic-

ipated in the rebellion and was therefore "as guilty as if he had stabbed the guard himself."

The recent court ruling "is a temporary procedural victory which we of course welcome," said Susan Schneur of the Committee to Defend Imani and Stop the Death Penalty. "We have seen more and more support for Imani as public awareness of his case has grown here and throughout the world. We will continue to publicize and protest Alabama's attempt to execute an innocent man."

#### PRESBYTERIANS BAR GAY MINISTERS

The general assembly of the United Presbyterian Church has declared homosexual acts "sinful" and voted to bar homosexuals from the ministry. The assembly voted for a report declaring ordination of self-confessed practicing homosexuals to be "wrong."

Apparently hoping to fend off criticism of this bigoted decision, the assembly supported a compromise proposal backing civil rights for gays.

### 3,000 demand jobs

Three thousand people jammed a South Bronx factory May 19 to apply for 500 job openings that won't become available until July. Some of the mostly Black and Latino applicants lining up the night before. Fifty cops were called in to "maintain order."

Most of the jobs will pay three dollars an hour, said Jack Taub, president of Consolidated Industries of America, which is opening the factory.

Taub labeled the crowd of job seekers a "panicky mob"

and warned, "I know there may be those looking for a free ride—they'll be fired."

Meanwhile a thousand high school students demonstrated in Brooklyn for more summer jobs.

Protest organizers charged that Mayor Koch had cut the number of summer jobs for minority youth, noting that the number of jobs allotted for Bedford-Stuyvesant has been slashed in half—from 3,000 last year to 1,500 this summer.



Job seekers scramble for applications thrown to them.

## LIBROS EN ESPANOL

¿Qué Hacer? by V.I. Lenin	\$1.50
Democracia y Revolución by George Novack	3.50
Introducción a la Lógica Dialéctica by George Novack	1.75
Reforma o Revolución by Rosa Luxemburg	1.50
En Defensa del Marxismo by Leon Trotsky	2.75
Sobre la Liberación Nacional by Leon Trotsky	2.60
La Dialéctica Actual de la Revolución Mundial, edited by Will Reissner	3.45
Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, New York 10014	

# The Great Society

## Harry Ring



**Not born again**—The Soviets won't do well in Africa, Carter advises, because they're "atheistic and most of the leaders of Africa are deeply religious people. They may be Christians or Moslems or otherwise. But I think they have a natural distrust of atheists."

**Cops spiritual plea**—The Very Rev. Guido Carcich drew eighteen months probation after pleading guilty to embezzling \$46,454 of the estimated \$175 million he raised for the Pallotine Fathers. (The money was to feed the hungry in foreign lands. They received a fat 3 percent of it.) Initially, Carcich was charged with personally ripping off \$288,000. The judge ordered probation because he saw no "useful purpose" in jailing the good father.

**Comedian**—After protests, Los Angeles's new police chief, Daryl Gates, apologized for calling Latino cops lazy. At a Chicano police luncheon, he had suggested more of them would be promoted if they weren't so lazy. He later explained it

was just a joke to encourage them to try harder. The chief was surprised anyone considered it an ethnic slur.

**Penal health**—Florida officials want to end free distribution of prison-made cigarettes to inmates. (A pack a day per person, except on death row where you get ten packs a week.) Authorities say the freebies should be stopped to promote "good health habits." Also, they fear that some relative of an inmate who dies of lung cancer may sue.

**Socialized medicine, anyone?**—In 1976 MDs enjoyed a median income of \$63,000. And, says a federal report, their high fees have nothing to do with supply and demand. In fact, fees are sometimes higher where there is an oversupply of doctors. "One possible explanation for this," the report surmises, "is that physicians have a target level of income. And when demand for their services is insufficient to achieve that income level they raise their fees. . . ."

## Union Talk

### Discontent among draftees

This week's column is by Steve Beck, secretary of Local 3369, American Federation of Government Employees.

NEW YORK—President Carter couldn't round up any volunteers in his war against inflation. So he drafted us, the 1.9 million white-collar federal employees, by vowing to place a 5.5 percent ceiling on our next pay increase.

This was followed by some tough talk by the leaders of federal workers' unions. "Considering that Federal employees have already suffered massive losses in the past, we say to you that Federal workers should not forego even one penny. . . ." read a statement by the Federal Employee Pay Council, a government advisory body composed of union heads.

In April, all five members of that council resigned in protest. Kenneth Blaylock, president of the American Federation of Government Employees, warned that "if pay isn't going to be comparable, then perhaps productivity shouldn't be comparable either," alluding to a possible slowdown. AFGE is the largest nonpostal federal union, with more than 300,000 members.

So far the tough talk has been only that. AFGE called for a national day of protest on May 17 but did little to organize anything for it.

One possible reason is the leadership's shock at this sudden betrayal by their "friend" in the White House. An open letter to Carter in a recent AFGE publication says this aptly.

"Dear Boss," it begins, "Remember us? Back in the days when you were looking for a job, you came to us for help. You told us that you believed we should be paid the same as our counterparts in the private sector. You promised that if you won the White House job, you would abide by the law—the Federal Pay Comparability Act of 1970.

"We believed you. We trusted you. We voted for you. . . ."

"We" should have known better. During his presidential campaign, Carter never hesitated to repeat the deceitful myths about government employees being over-

paid sloths, except when asking us for our votes.

Unfortunately, Blaylock did more than urge that we waste those votes on Mr. Jimmy. He became chief spokesman for the very legislation Carter introduced to make it easier to fire and discipline us!

At a March 2 press conference, Blaylock announced AFGE's full support for Carter's personnel reorganization plan, on the grounds that Carter also supported legislation permitting collective bargaining for federal workers.

Since then, Blaylock has had to qualify that stand in the face of criticism, but only so far as to "point out concerns" with some clauses of the Civil Service "reform" plan.

But the damage had been done. The willingness of Blaylock to compromise the rights of all federal workers in exchange for a questionable offer of collective bargaining must have led Carter to assume he had little to fear from any attack on our pay or rights. And our union's current failure to mobilize our members against these cuts can only bolster the arrogance of management.

What of the much-vaunted promise of collective bargaining? This has now been incorporated into the Civil Service "reform" bill, but it is a ghost of real negotiation. If passed, we still could not bargain for wages or hours or have the right to strike.

No president or Congress will ever hand us the strike weapon, whether in a back-room deal or as a reward for a vote. But this has not kept federal workers from considering its use without the kind permission of our masters.

AFGE established a strike fund at its 1976 convention. And the April 17 *Federal Times* reported that at least one national vice-president of AFGE plans to propose that the national executive committee call a "national strike if legislation is enacted which deprives us of pay or due process of law or other substantial benefits."

In 1970, our brothers and sisters of the Postal Service took this step, and legislation granting them collective bargaining materialized rather rapidly after that. If federal white-collar workers are further aroused by Carter's broken promises, they may follow that example.

# Our Revolutionary Heritage

Celebrating 50 years of the Militant, 1928-1978

## 1964: 'Hands off Africa!'

As Belgian and French paratroops—backed up by U.S. logistical support—attack insurgents in Zaïre, the news media are already comparing their intervention to the 1964 “rescue” operation in that country by Belgian paratroops.

It's an apt comparison.

Then as now, imperialist armed forces were sent in to crush any threat to neocolonial domination of Africa.

Then as now, the invasion was covered up with heavy doses of racist propaganda about “rescuing” whites from rebellious African “savages.”

Few in this country raised their voices against the imperialist assault. One who did was Malcolm X, who gave a series of talks in Harlem to expose the lies of the American press and to rally support for the Congolese freedom fighters.

The ‘Militant’ and the ‘Young Socialist’ printed the truth about the African struggles, campaigning against the U.S. role and for solidarity with the national liberation movement.

The following is condensed from an article by Dick Roberts in the March-April 1965 ‘Young Socialist’:

On November 24, 1964, the combined forces of United States, Belgian, and British imperialism desperately attempted to stem the tide of the African revolution by an unprecedentedly brutal attack on the stronghold of the Congolese liberation struggle in Stanleyville.

On June 30, 1964, the four-year period of UN occupation of the Congo ended, and Moïse Tshombe, who had been in exile for a year, returned to the Congo as premier. [Tshombe, a wealthy plantation owner, served as the puppet of Belgian imperialism. In 1961 he had murdered Patrice Lumumba, leader of the independence struggle in the Congo and the country's elected prime minister.]

In order to crush the Lumumbists, Belgium and the United States decided to reinforce the Leopoldville army with the contingent of racist white mercenaries which Tshombe had used to defend the secession of Katanga. These hired killers had been recruited from terrorist organizations throughout the West and Africa.

Two days after Tshombe returned to the Congo, the mercenaries were sent into the struggle—newly financed and armed with U.S. money and guns. During the next months, they were supplied with U.S. planes, rockets, machine guns, and other heavy equipment.

Beginning in late August the mercenary column drove north on Stanleyville, bombing and pillaging every village in their path, murdering every man, woman, and child in sight.



The [Belgian] paratroop attack on Stanleyville that culminated this drive served Western imperialism in several ways, the least of which—if it was a consideration at all—was the “rescue” of foreign nationals in the Congo.

None other than Belgian Foreign Minister Paul-Henri Spaak admitted that no so-called hostages were killed before the November 24 attack. The racist propaganda of the necessity of “saving the white man from the cannibal” served as a cover for the actual operation.

In Stanleyville, the combined imperialist forces slaughtered so many thousands of people that no accurate estimate is possible. They left so many bodies on the streets that a typhoid epidemic broke out—in spite of the thousands of bodies burned in mass funeral pyres and other thousands dumped into the river. Such carnage almost staggers the imagination.

The American press has very nearly obliterated these facts from publication.

In the UN Security Council debate, a number of African delegates read mercenaries' and Belgian soldiers' first-hand accounts into the records, such as the following:

“We arrived at the village [on the outskirts of Stanleyville] before nightfall. The women were carrying water, and the children were playing and laughing in the streets. We stopped for a while and watched.

“Then came the order to open fire. Our new Belgian machine guns began to fire. Women screamed and fell. Small children were shot down. We just continued to fire. Some of our people threw petrol against the huts and set fire to them. Others threw phosphorous grenades, which transformed the victims into human torches. . . .”

Within a week of the attack, the mercenaries stationed in that city were able to crush all opposition. They rounded up hundreds, if not thousands, of those suspected of being in any way connected with the liberation movement, and held mass kangaroo court trials, followed by mass executions.

# Letters

### Houston cop terror

Again and again we see the all too familiar brutal terrorizing of Chicanos in the barrios. It happened in Los Angeles in August 1970 at the Chicano Moratorium protesting the heavy losses of Chicano lives in the Vietnam War, and it has happened repeatedly in barrios throughout the Southwest.

Now the same brutal gestapo tactics are being used against Chicanos in Houston. Why? Because Chicanos in the North Side barrio have the audacity to get angry and protest the police murder of Joe Campos Torres! [See “Police invade Houston barrio” in May 19 Militant.]

The same ugly gestapo tactics—heavy arming of masses of specially picked and trained police goons, hundreds of squad cars, helicopters, tear gas—all the latest technology—paid for with our tax dollars—is used to kill Chicanos.

Why? The message is clear: Keep your mouths shut! We the police, the strong arm of the government, have the right to kill all the Joe Torreses we want! And you, Mrs. Torres, all of the other Mrs. Torreses, swallow the bitter gall that chokes your throat, wipe the blinding tears every time you think of your son's blood-spattered body. And be a good Mexican, be quiet. For after all, wasn't your son's life worth a whole dollar?

Olga Estrada  
Ann Arbor, Michigan

“I do not envy your apologetic stance in support of an ‘ancien regime.’”

Stan Hahn  
Portland, Oregon

### ‘Middle income’ workers

I think it would be important for the Militant to analyze the growing feeling among “middle income” people in the United States that they are the group that is suffering the most today. This could analyze the reasons for this feeling, and what is needed to help win their support for the unemployed and workers who have a lower standard of living than themselves.

At this time, they seem to be turning most of their attention and anger toward welfare programs and less fortunate workers, instead of on the people who control this country according to what makes the most profits for them.

Tania Shakura  
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

### Polished paper

I would like to compliment the Militant, a polished paper and one of the best on the left. In addition to the news coverage, the Militant has a logical layout that makes it easy for the reader to follow and read.

As a subscriber to both the Militant and the Guardian, I would also like to compliment you on the editorial decisions—what news and analyses to run in the limited space available.

The Militant is and I'm sure will continue to be the best way to counter the “objective” reporting of the ruling-class press and explain the socialist

### Defends Ernest Mandel

What follows is the text of a letter I wrote to the chairman of the economics department at



I can't take it anymore . . . the burglaries . . . the break-ins . . . running from the cops . . . hiding out in flea-ridden motels . . . Charlie, you've got to quit the FBI.

the University of Washington in Seattle. I attended a conference where he was a speaker:

“Your participation in last week's ‘Future of Capitalism’ conference was the grossest display of professional disrespect I have ever been witness to! Your callous attempt to discredit as noted and monumental a scholar as Ernest Mandel was just that—an attempt—and one that failed miserably.

“Perhaps this is because his arguments were more scientifically convincing and comprehensive than yours and those of the lackey in your department of ‘economics’ at the U of W!

alternative to people in the United States.

M.B.  
Tucson, Arizona

### Clinic firebombed

I thought the article on abortion in the May 19 Militant was excellent. [See “Abortion rights in crisis” by Diane Wang.]

I also thought readers of the Militant might be interested in an article that appeared on the front page of the Burlington Free Press on the latest attack on abortion rights here in Vermont.

According to the Free Press, the Women's Health Center in Burlington was firebombed in

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# Learning About Socialism

## Studying Marx's 'Capital'

the early morning of May 16. The clinic provides abortions and other health services for women. Its prior offices were destroyed by fire in May 1977.

A state police investigator, Earl Martin, said it appeared that a molotov cocktail was thrown into the main entrance of the clinic, damaging the porch and front door of the clinic. Fortunately no one was hurt. "There is a similarity between this and other recent arsons," Martin said. The motive "is probably because the clinic is involved," he added.

Kay Harrold of the National Abortion Rights Action League, blamed the incident on organized "right to lifers." She said, "I didn't think they'd do anything that violent. I think I consistently underestimate the violence of right-to-lifers." A clinic counselor said this was "a warning or a threat" by abortion opponents.

While denying his group's responsibility for the incident, Joseph Schiedler of Friends for Life, a national anti-abortion group, added, "We have coverts [spies] in the clinics. We know exactly what's going on in the clinics."

Harrold explained that national anti-abortion groups have denied involvement in violent attacks on clinics offering abortion services, but also have declined to publicly denounce violent tactics.

Vermont abortion rights activists have planned meetings to discuss protests against this violent attack. Vermont ACLU Director Lynn Heglund said, "The women who are advocating choice [on abortion] have to develop some sort of defensive strategy if they don't want their places burned down."

Jon Flanders  
Winnooski, Vermont

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.

### Correction

A letter appeared in the May 26 *Militant* from F.S. (Frank Sisci) in Beckley, West Virginia. Sisci now informs us that he did not intend this letter for publication.

### Correction

Two typographical errors appeared in the article "UFW signs grape contracts," by Harry Ring, in the May 26 *Militant*. The sentence reading "Eliminating the union hiring hall was widely regarded as a major obstacle of the growers" should read "Eliminating the union hiring hall was widely regarded as a major objective of the growers."

The sentence that read "... the contracts will permit employees a five-day period to determine if a worker is qualified for the job" should read "the contracts will permit employers a five-day period. . . ."

Of the classics of the socialist movement, Marx's *Capital* has the reputation of being the most obscure and difficult. While it would not be truthful to describe *Capital* as an easy work, it can be mastered by any person who is willing to put in the time and effort.

Why make the effort?

The answer is that the whole socialist program and perspective is based on the theory developed in *Capital*.

The conservative defenders of the status quo point out that civilized society has always been divided into rich and poor. Why waste time trying to change this, they say. It can't be done.

Marxism cuts through this familiar conservative argument with the sharp knife of historical materialism. Through this approach, Marx was able to explain that history is not simply a succession of one unjust regime after another. Little by little, humanity has advanced its control over nature and developed its capacity to produce the necessities of life.

Every society, and every political regime, rests in the last analysis on the extent to which human productivity has advanced and on the economic and social relations that are built up on the basis of this productive apparatus.

By far the greatest growth of human productivity has occurred during the past 200 years under capitalism. But the social relations that characterize capitalism are now working against the further development of human civilization. The system of private ownership of the means of production is the underlying cause of wars, depressions, and the destruction of our environment.

To see why this is true, it is necessary to understand how capitalism actually functions. And the book that explains this is *Capital*. It is for this reason that *Capital* is still read more than 100 hundred years after it was written.

*Capital* consists of three volumes of analysis, plus another three volumes on the history of economic theory that have been published under the title *Theories of Surplus Value*. The first volume in particular is important reading for all socialists.

Marx pointed out that the beginning is the most difficult part in the study of any science. In the case of *Capital*, it is certainly true that the first three chapters are the hardest. The student must learn to think of categories such as "commodities," "money," and "capital" not as objects but as social relationships.

The first chapter analyzes the commodity. Marx explains that only under certain conditions do the products of labor assume the form of commodities—things that are bought and sold.

In succeeding chapters, Marx reveals the arch-secret of capitalism: How does the boss make a profit and grow rich while paying us what we are "worth"? The source of the boss's profit—unpaid labor—is described with startling clarity.

We discover that the particular boss we happen to work for is not simply a pathological case who tries to make us work as fast as possible while paying as little as he can get away with. He is simply acting as every capitalist must. The irreconcilable antagonism between the working class and the capitalist class becomes clear.

Marx gives vivid descriptions of the nightmarish conditions that existed in nineteenth-century factories, and in mastering *Capital* we come to understand that if the bosses had their way, such conditions would still exist. In fact, in many countries they still do.

It is possible to study *Capital* by oneself, but study groups can be a tremendous help. A study group should realistically assess the time at the disposal of the students and not bite off more than it can chew.

One idea that has been tried with success by the Chelsea and Lower East Side branches of the Socialist Workers Party in New York City is to have a class on the first three chapters of *Capital*. These three chapters, which deal with commodities and money, are the most difficult part of *Capital* and are crucial to grasping the rest of the work.

Such classes need not be limited to beginners. Someone who has already studied *Capital* can get new insights from reviewing Marx's argument. *Capital*, after all, is an illustration of the dialectical method by its greatest master.

Like every serious project, studying *Capital* takes a certain amount of effort. As Marx pointed out, there is no royal road to science. People should therefore be prepared to do the readings regularly and with close attention to each thought.

Such study will help participants to better understand socialist ideas and to find new ways of explaining socialism to other workers. In this way, *Capital* will continue to serve its most important purpose—hastening the downfall of capitalism and shortening the birth pangs of a new and better socialist society.

—William Gottlieb

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# THE MILITANT

## UCLA law students strike to save minority admissions 'University couldn't even wait for Bakke'

By Jerry Freiwirth

LOS ANGELES—The University of California at Los Angeles Law School was virtually shut down starting May 16 by striking law students. Sparking the strike was the decision by school authorities to cut Chicano enrollment for next year's entering class by at least one-half.

In response, members of the Chicano Law Students Association (CLSA) entered classes May 16 and convinced approximately 70 percent of the students to boycott classes. The next day, representatives of the CLSA, Black American Law Students Association (BALSA), and other student groups called for an extension of the one-day boycott into a full-fledged strike.

As many as 400 law students and their supporters have begun a daily sit-in along the main corridor of the school building.

Only last spring school administrators had pledged to maintain current levels for minority admissions under the Law Educational Opportunity Program (LEOP). Nevertheless, on May 11 the Faculty Admissions Committee recommended that only thirty-three Chicano applicants from a pool of eighty-five be admitted and that no waiting list be established. Four days later, despite protests by minority student groups, the faculty approved this recommendation.

By way of comparison, last year forty-five Chicanos were accepted and twenty-five placed on the waiting list. Since many of those accepted chose to go to other schools, a total of thirty-three actually enrolled. If the recent faculty decision is allowed to stand, less than fifteen Chicanos are expected to enroll next fall.

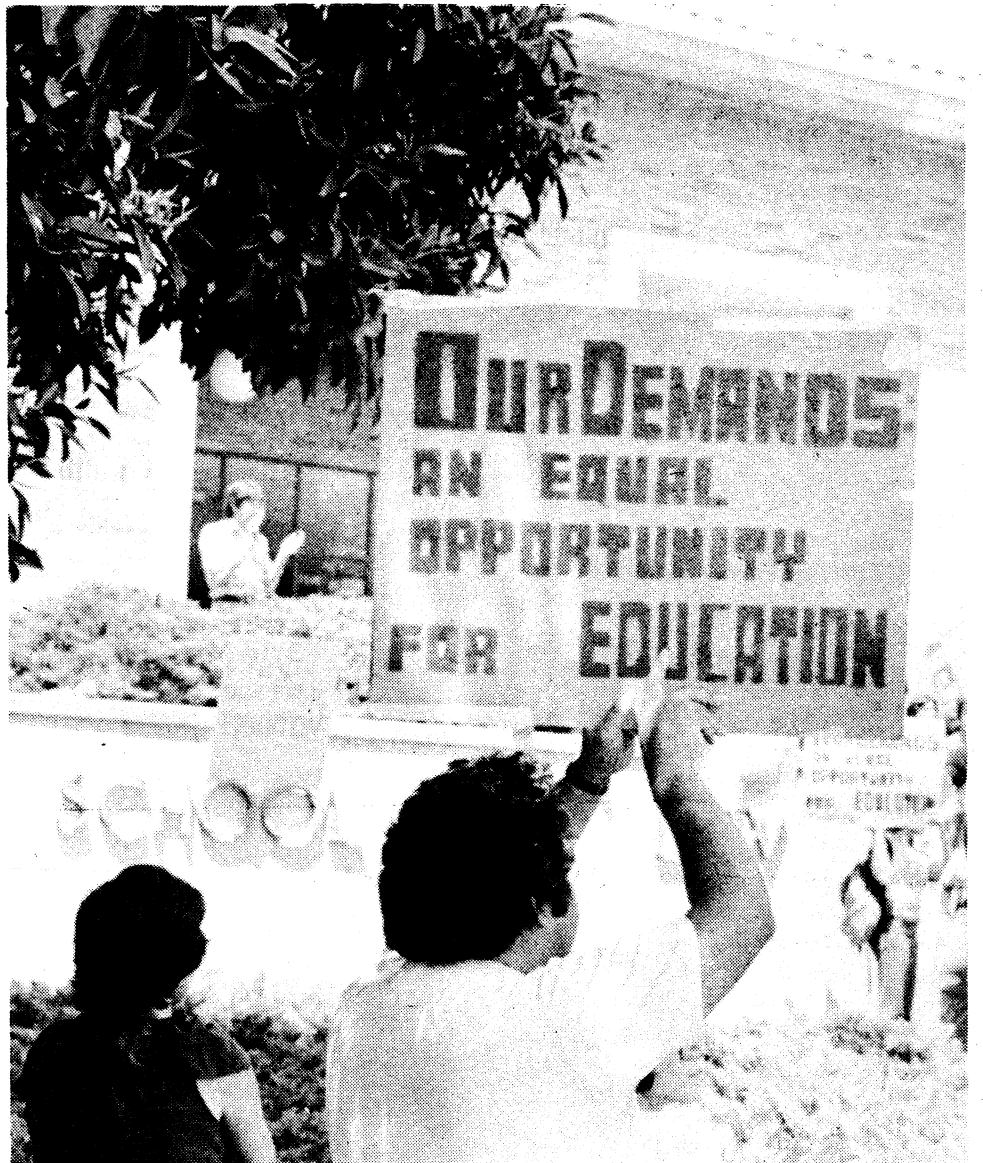
As René Campbell, a strike leader and member of the BALSA Executive Board told the *Militant*, "It's like they just out and said to us, 'We really don't care how many minority students we end up with next year.'"

According to Campbell, the admissions committee is scheduled to decide on Black applicants in the next week, and "given what has happened, we suspect a similar, if not more devastating, outcome for us. This decision was a direct attack on the entire LEOP and on affirmative action across the country."

The clear feeling among the striking students is that the faculty decision was intimately tied to the assault on affirmative action represented by the *Bakke* case now before the U.S. Supreme Court.

"They couldn't even wait for *Bakke*," was the bitter slogan on one strike placard.

So far there have been no solidarity activities by other UCLA students, although there is substantial support



Militant/Laurel Kelly

### 'Two percent just won't do'

LOS ANGELES—All day the striking law students sit along the glass-lined corridor of the UCLA Law School. Sometimes 300, sometimes 500 people. Clapping. Chanting. Listening to speeches and poems.

A member of the strike steering committee gets up to let people know about the progress of negotiations. Guitars appear and students join in the singing of old Mexican songs—songs of the revolution, songs of struggle. Free tacquitos are handed out, donated by students in the Graduate School of Management.

The issue behind which they have

all united is clear and simple. It's reflected in a hand-lettered sign decorating the otherwise gray, drab hallway: "Defend affirmative action." "Education is our right." "Two percent minority admissions just won't do."

They sit along the corridor, four-, five-, sometimes six-deep in front of the classroom doors and against the walls. Somehow it seems symbolic of a comment I heard over and over again in talking to the students:

"The faculty and administration backed us right up against the wall. It was either shut the school down or do nothing at all." —J.F.

for the strikers' demands.

Even the campus newspaper, the *Daily Bruin*, which has taken a pro-*Bakke* stance, nonetheless editorialized in favor of the strikers.

The central demand of the striking law students is for full reinstatement of previous minority levels. They are calling for this level to be maintained no matter what the ultimate outcome of the *Bakke* decision.

Negotiations with the law school administration are proceeding, but so far school officials are taking a hard line. While making vague promises of "additional steps" to obtain more Chi-

cano students, law school Dean William Warren was quoted in the campus newspaper as saying, "We will not capitulate to the strikers."

Gabriel Zidas, a spokesperson for the Chicano Law Students Association, told the *Militant* that the administration had explicitly threatened to arrest the strikers, hit them with disciplinary actions, and subject them to criminal prosecution.

But as Zidas explained, "We have exhausted all the official procedures, but nothing has changed. We aren't willing to lie down and die, so we have to stand up and fight."

## 5,000 say no to Trident nuclear arms

By Wes Weinhold

SEATTLE—Five thousand people demonstrated May 21 outside the Trident nuclear-submarine base at Bangor, in northwestern Washington.

Protesters came from as far away as Michigan and from several foreign countries.

The Trident system is a nuclear missile and submarine combination. The U.S. Navy currently says it will buy thirteen Trident systems—at a cost of more than \$21 billion.

Trident is a key aspect of the Pentagon's worldwide collection of death

weapons. Having no value for defense, Trident is designed to bolster U.S. capitalism's "first strike" capacity.

Construction at the base in Bangor began in 1974. The first Trident sub will be delivered in 1981.

The demonstration was organized as part of a three-day series of activities marking the beginning of the United Nations Special Session on Disarmament.

Terry Provance of the American Friends Service Committee told protesters that there must be more and larger demonstrations until all nuclear build-

ing is ended. He said that the antinuclear movement should seek to win support from the labor movement.

Two hundred ninety people were arrested at the base May 22 after they climbed a fence in a nonviolent civil disobedience action. Outside the base, 1,000 people rallied in support.

The coalition that sponsored the protests is made up of several groups, including Live Without Trident, Crabshell Alliance, American Friends Service Committee, Mobilization for Survival, and Trojan Decommissioning Alliance.

A statement distributed by supporters of Harold Schlechtweg, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Congress, declared that "today's demonstration is an historic step forward in the campaign to end the arms race and protect our environment."

"Socialists say that the whole U.S. war budget should be eliminated and the money spent instead to provide jobs, education, housing, child care, and other things people really need."

Following the arrests, Schlechtweg called on state officials to immediately drop all charges and release the demonstrators.