

# THE MILITANT

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

## Answer racists

# Unionists condemn antibusing drive

By Cindy Jaquith

WASHINGTON—Black and women trade unionists issued a challenge to the racist, antibusing movement October 28, speaking out at a news conference here in support of busing to achieve desegregation.

The news conference was held in response to an antibusing march on Washington October 25, organized by "United Labor Against Busing" of Louisville, Kentucky.

The march was called as a prelude to Senate Judiciary Committee hearings on antibusing amendments to the Constitution.

"On October 25, we witnessed a spectacle of so-called trade unionists being bused into D.C. to protest the busing of Black children," said Joslyn Williams, Black executive director of Council 26, American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, at the probusing news conference.

"To remain silent is to give the idea these people speak for labor," Williams said. "These individuals in no way speak for the labor movement."

The AFL-CIO, he noted, reaffirmed its support for busing at its recent national convention. "I fully support the position of the AFL-CIO," he said.

William Simons, Black president of the Washington Teachers Union, also addressed the news conference. Desegregation, he said, "is the law of the

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## THE MILITANT

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**BERKELEY STUDENTS FIGHT FOR AFFIRMATIVE ACTION:** More than 1,500 students attended two rallies October 17 protesting the University of California at Berkeley's hiring and admissions practices. The rallies were called by the October Coalition, a group concerned with affirmative action, including implementation of such programs on the campus.

The group's initiator, sociology professor Harry Edwards, told the main rally October 17 that a massive effort is under way to undermine the gains made by the civil rights movement. UC Berkeley's minority enrollment is leveling off and even decreasing, and funding for the minority recruitment and educational opportunity program has been cut in half. The school's affirmative-action plan for hiring, to cite one inadequacy, is based on 1970 census figures, which undercounted the Chicano population in California by more than one million.

The coalition also sponsored workshops on the weekend of the rallies. One resolution called for "a joint action of the October Coalition, NSCAR [National Student Coalition Against Racism] and other groups on November 22 in support of Affirmative Action and school desegregation."

Students at the university's Boalt Hall Law School have also formed a coalition to fight attacks on their affirmative-action program. An October 22 emergency meeting voted to begin informational picket lines and leafleting.

**MILITANT SALES AND SUBSCRIPTION DRIVE:** Members of the newly established branch of the Socialist Workers party in Newark, New Jersey, and the Young Socialist Alliance local there sold 133 copies of the October 17 *Militant*. That was 33 over their goal, and they say the back-page feature on Black frame-up victim Rubin "Hurricane" Carter accounted for their success.

The Carter case was also a topic of considerable interest at Community College of Baltimore, where 46 copies were sold. Baltimore socialists made their goal for the fifth consecutive week with sales of 156 copies. The total reported national sales for that issue were 6,141 sold in local areas and an additional 1,526 by the YSA teams.

In the subscription drive, Philadelphia supporters have sent in 141, just 9 short of their goal. Jon Flanders reports that 41 were sold last Saturday while canvassing for SWP mayoral candidate Terry Ann Hardy in West Philadelphia and Germantown. Hardy's supporters also sold 150 single copies of the *Militant*.

With a goal of 6,000 new subscribers for this fall, subscriptions so far total 2,470. This week was the best so far with 765 subscriptions received in the business office. YSA teams sold 171 of these. A subscription scoreboard will appear in next week's *Militant*.

**PUERTO RICAN PRISONER HAS CANCER RELAPSE:** Andrés Figueroa Cordero, one of the five members of the Nationalist party of Puerto Rico who have been political prisoners in U.S. jails for more than twenty years, is suffering from a relapse of cancer, according to the October 27 San Juan, Puerto Rico, daily *Claridad*. Figueroa is in federal prison in Leavenworth, Kansas, along with two other nationalists, Oscar Collazo and Irving Flores.

Collazo and Flores wrote to Juan Mari Brás, general secretary of the Puerto Rican Socialist party, and to Figueroa's lawyer with information that Figueroa would be transferred to the hospital-prison in Springfield, Missouri. Figueroa had surgery for cancer two years ago but, according to Flores and Collazo, recent X rays again showed indications of cancer.

**MILWAUKEE FORUM DISCUSSES ANTI-NAZI FIGHT:** Michael Murphy, a Black member of the Socialist Workers party who faces disorderly conduct charges for defending himself against a Nazi assault, joined other panelists in an October 17 discussion of a proposed "anti-Nazi" city ordinance. The ordinance would give the city the power to ban literature that "exposes the citizens of any race, color, creed or religion to contempt, derision or obloquy. . . ."

Most of the panelists agreed that the ordinance, while ostensibly aimed at the Nazis, would actually threaten the free speech of all. Any curtailment of democratic rights, explained Murphy, will cripple those fighting racism, not the racists.

Pam Burchett of the SWP pointed out that the assistant city attorney who wrote the law is the one who charged Murphy with disorderly conduct. He "could not distinguish between a storm trooper assaulting a young Black man walking down the street and that person defending himself," Burchett charged.

Dan Carpenter, managing editor of the Black weekly *Milwaukee Courier*, which had previously supported the law, spoke against it at the forum. Recounting numerous acts of vandalism and assault by Nazis, he said, "If the Black Panther party pulled such a stunt it wouldn't be

fifteen minutes before someone was rounded up."

Burchett appealed for support to Murphy's defense and the defense of "every Nazi victim." She also urged support to the efforts of the Student Coalition Against Racism, especially the nationally coordinated demonstrations planned for November 22.

**SAN ANTONIO CHICANOS ARRESTED IN MEXICO:** On October 25, twenty Chicanos picketed the Mexican Consulate in San Antonio, protesting the recent arrests and torture of two local activists by Monterrey, Mexico, police. The two—Ramón Chacón and Salvador Abundiz—have been active in the antideportation movement in San Antonio and in the organizing drive by Texas farm workers.

Both were arrested by Mexican officials and subsequently charged with inciting "the rebellion" in Monterrey and with smuggling arms to Mexican guerrillas of the so-called International Terrorist Alliance.

The protest, called by the antideportation group TU CASA and the Texas Farm Workers Union, demanded an end to the tortures and called for the release of Abundiz and Chacón. Participating in the picket line was Chicano leader Mario Cantú, who has been accused by a daily newspaper in Monterrey, *El Norte*, of being the leader of the United Proletariat party of America, which allegedly supplies arms to Mexican guerrilla and terrorist groups of the "International Terrorist Alliance."

Cantú denied these allegations in a San Antonio news conference October 17 and said they represented an attack on the entire Chicano movement.

**L.A. FORUM ON FORCED STERILIZATION:** Forced sterilization versus a woman's right to choose was the topic of an October 11 Los Angeles Militant Labor Forum. Speakers were Dr. Bernard Rosenfeld and Jo Della-Giustina, speaking for the Socialist Workers campaign committee.

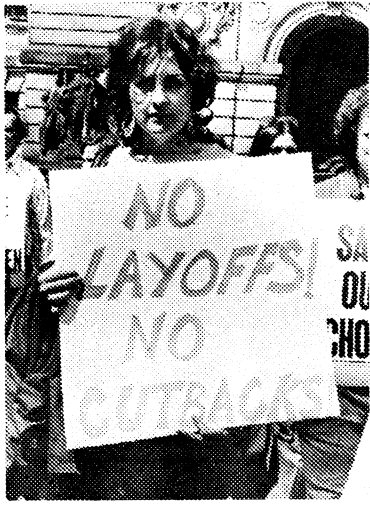
Rosenfeld gave examples of the coercion used by doctors to get the "consent" of women for sterilizations and the practice of performing the operation without the knowledge of the woman involved.

Poor, Black, and Chicana women are the prime targets for involuntary sterilizations, as well as other experimentation done, Della-Giustina told the forum audience. She urged support for a class-action civil rights suit filed by eleven Chicanas who charge they were victims of involuntary sterilizations.

**FILM MAKERS PROTEST TORTURE IN CHILE:** The Emergency Committee for the Defense of Latin American Filmmakers has placed a full-page ad in the entertainment publication *Variety*. The ad is signed by such prominent film personalities as director Francis Ford Coppola, producer Bert Schneider, critic Judith Crist, and actress Candice Bergen. It appeals to their colleagues to join them in protesting the treatment of two Chilean film makers, Carmen Bueno and Jorge Muller, who have been imprisoned without charges and tortured since their arrest in November 1974.

—Nancy Cole

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[The following is from the News Analysis section of Intercontinental Press.]

By David Frankel

What is in store for Spain after Franco?

The *Economist*, Britain's leading financial weekly, gave its assessment in its October 4-10 issue, just a few weeks before the dictator was placed on the "critical" list. "Spain," the *Economist* editors explained, "is a car being driven by a little old man whose eyes are fixed on the rear-vision mirror. He has just taken it through a red light and on to a dangerous crossroads. Can the driver be persuaded to look forward instead of back, or can someone else intervene to slam on the brakes? For if somebody will act—preferably the driver, General Franco, himself—there is still time to avoid a crash."

Now that the driver's hands have dropped from the wheel, a crash is more likely than ever. Marcel Niedergang of *Le Monde* said October 23: "Even a summary balance sheet of the situation is clear. It does not inspire optimism about the short-term prospects for the regime. The number of people who, in spite of everything, are prepared to count on a 'really peaceful' transition of the Francoist regime to a 'post-Franco' period is diminishing. The situation is uncertain and fraught with danger."

Nor is the *New York Times* especially hopeful about the chances of Franco's heir-designate. "From the outset," the editors said in the October 25 issue, "Juan Carlos heavily mortgaged his future to Franco at his designation when he swore on his knees in front of the Generalissimo to uphold Spain's laws and institutions."

In the *Times*'s view, this "might not have become a major liability" if the fascist regime had been able to command more widespread support. "Instead, the Prince will take power after a period in which—with Franco's faculties on the wane—the regime has stumbled from one crisis to another, narrowing its base, intensifying repression and alienating former pillars of support, even in the Catholic clergy and the Army. . . .

"The Prince, in short, finds himself tied irrevocably to General Franco and to a narrow and uncertain right-wing base. . . .

"The outlook for democracy under Juan Carlos is anything but bright. He will be hard put simply to hold together a Spain that once again—as so often in her tumultuous past—has become dangerously polarized."

The bourgeois commentators talk about their concern for democracy in Spain. But the prospect of the Spanish masses actually dismantling the repressive system under which they have suffered for nearly forty years is chilling to the capitalists. They saw what happened in Portugal when Caetano was overthrown; they want no repetition in Spain of the masses taking to the streets to clean out the old regime and install a democracy built along socialist lines.

### Truman's military pact

The fear of what would happen in Spain if Franco were to go has been haunting Washington for decades. It was this that prompted President Truman to negotiate a military pact with Spain in 1951 over the objections of London and Paris. Ford's visit to Spain at the end of May was only the latest gesture of support to the fascist regime there, which has been a recipient of U.S. military and economic aid since the 1950s.

There is no indication that Washington's attitude has changed. A leader of the West German Social Democrats, quoted by Craig R. Whitney in the October 27 *New York Times*, referred to this.

"Polls that have been taken indicate that 80 per cent of the Spanish people would oppose dictatorship after Fran-

co's death," he said. "But the democrats of Spain fear that the United States would tolerate it and support it."

Even Juan Carlos, who swore on his knees to uphold the dictatorship, has tried to pawn himself off as a democrat, in response to the pressure for change building up among the Spanish masses. "The restoration of real democracy is his professed goal," Arnaud de Borchgrave said in a *Newsweek* article based on several interviews with the prince.

However, Juan Carlos insists "that Spain must spare no effort to avoid the disorder and chaos that . . . have been mistaken for democracy in some countries."

Of course, in Juan Carlos's view, "extremists" must be excluded from any "real democracy."

The idea that a progressive monarch might be able to forestall an upsurge of the masses was also advanced by the *New York Times*. In its October 25 editorial the *Times* proposed an alternative to the discredited Juan Carlos.

"Moderate and democratic forces," the editors said, "which might once

have seen in him a new hope for transforming Spain into a modern, Western European state are now talking again of his father, Don Juan, the legitimate heir to a throne that has been vacant for forty-five years and a liberal who strongly favors a parliamentary democracy."

### Stalinists promise their help

Another proposal on how to assure an orderly transition came from Santiago Carrillo, the head of the Spanish Communist party. "We are prepared to leave for Spain immediately," he said in Paris October 24. Speaking for the Junta Democrática, a coalition of the CP, various Social Democratic groups, and the monarchist supporters of Don Juan, Carrillo called for the establishment of a provisional government based on these forces.

In an interview in the October 6 issue of the German weekly *Der Spiegel*, Carrillo stated, "... the construction of a democracy in Spain is still possible if the democratic forces succeed in remaining united to create an alternative to the Franco regime." When asked if the Spanish CP had

"definitely rejected the dictatorship of the proletariat and the hegemony of the single party," Carrillo answered in the affirmative, adding, "It has become part of our program."

The Spanish CP's attempts to sell itself as a reliable prop of capitalist order were obviously patterned on the example of the Portuguese CP, which joined the Spínola government of "national salvation" in 1974. In summarizing the speeches of Carrillo and another CP leader at a mass rally in Geneva in June 1974, correspondent Niedergang said in the June 25, 1974, *Le Monde*:

"According to them, the real line of division [in Spain] is between the extremist politicians who are clinging to the principles codified during and after the civil war, and all those, both inside the Franco regime and outside the system, who aspire to a more modern, liberal regime for their country, adapted to the conditions of the Europe of the Common Market. . . ."

This was a program calculated to appeal to the liberal capitalists in Spain, who see the country's future within the context of the European Economic Community. However, as long as Franco and his system of repression remained, there was too much mass opposition in Europe for the Common Market governments to contemplate admitting the Madrid regime to membership.

This sentiment was indicated by the fact that eight of the nine Common Market governments felt it necessary to withdraw their ambassadors from Madrid during the wave of revulsion that swept Europe in September over the execution of five Spanish political prisoners. On the other hand, the Spanish regime has been afraid that lightening the repression would threaten capitalist stability.

### Fourth International

As the "Resolution on New Rise of the World Revolution," adopted by the Fourth International in 1969, explained:

"The slow decomposition of the Franco regime, which has lasted more than a decade now, has not been able to produce a 'constitutional' or 'European' solution. This is not primarily due to the resistance put up by the remnants of the Falangist apparatus but to the too explosive nature of the social contradictions in Spain, which in the eyes of the Spanish capitalists, make even municipal elections, freedom of the press and trade-union organization seem too great a threat to the survival of the system. Thus we have not seen the gradual 'liberalization' and progressive 'legalization' of the 'opposition' hoped for not only by the liberal bourgeoisie, the petty bourgeoisie, the Christian Democrats, and the Social Democrats, but also by the CP."

The removal of Franco from the political scene does not signify a softening of the social contradictions in Spain. On the contrary, the Spanish masses will take it as all the more reason for following the example of the Portuguese workers and peasants. Moreover, if the Spanish workers move into action, the effect on the Portuguese workers would certainly be to reinspire them in pressing toward socialism.

The effect throughout Europe would be colossal. The Portuguese upsurge, involving a population of nine million persons, was hailed throughout the continent. But Spain has four times that population, and the situation there is far more explosive.

How quickly events move on the Iberian Peninsula remains to be seen. However, one thing is certain: Neither the kingdom set up by Franco as the continuation of his fascist regime, nor a government of "national reconciliation" proposed by the Stalinists and liberals, can meet the needs and aspirations of the Spanish workers and peasants.

After thirty-six years in a pressure cooker, the class struggle in Spain has been building up enormous force.

# After Franco: what road for Spain?





# Canadian rulers impose wage controls

By Ray Warden

TORONTO—"This program of restraints is the heaviest imposed on Canadians since the Second World War." With that forewarning to his nationwide television audience October 13, Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau announced sweeping legislation imposing wage controls on 4.3 million Canadian workers.

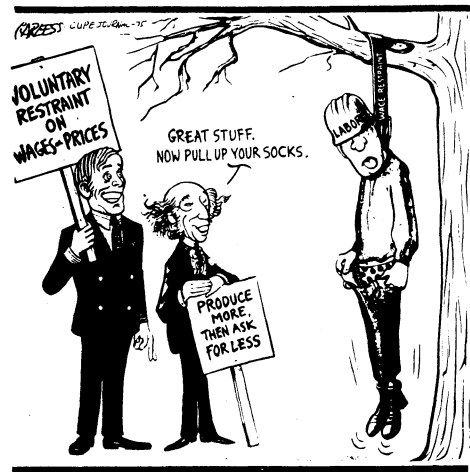
Workers in the country's 1,500 largest companies will be subjected to the wage controls, as well as all government employees. All construction workers in firms employing twenty or more workers are also covered by the three-year scheme.

By the proposed legislation, the combined value of wage increases, cost-of-living protection, and fringe benefits in the first year of new contracts must fall within an 8 to 12 percent range. Controls in the second and third years of the plan are more stringent.

In an effort to make the wage-control scheme more palatable to working people, prices are also supposed to be controlled. But, Trudeau warned in his October 13 speech, "We cannot, for example, control price increases of imported commodities such as oil. In addition, price and wage increases of the last few months have not yet worked their way through our economic system. As they do, these increases will be felt by all of us as they are reflected in a higher cost of living in the future."

## Profits as usual

Companies, moreover, will be allowed to increase their profits as a result of "unusual productivity gains" or "favorable cost developments which could not reasonably have been anticipated." The 1,500 companies affected



CUPE Journal

don't need much more room than that to carry on with their profit making as usual.

Writing in the October 16 Toronto *Globe and Mail*, regular business columnist Ronald Anderson noted the widespread public "suspicion" that price and profit controls would have no effect. "It should be remembered, though, that the government did not introduce controls because of any fear of excessive profits," he chided.

"The control program was adopted because the rapidity of wage and salary gains threatens the competitive position of Canadian goods at home and in foreign markets."

That is the thinking of the Liberal government. The inflationary spiral in Canada has set off a wave of labor militancy. In 1974 a new record was set in time lost through strikes, and the pace of strike activity has steadily increased throughout 1975. According to the calculations of government statisticians, annual wage increases in major contracts are now averaging about 18 percent as workers try to compensate for lost real wages. Living



Public Service Alliance of Canada members during strike last winter. Trudeau's success in forcing PSAC to accept inferior contract under threat of strikebreaking legislation helped pave way for latest antilabor attack.

costs have increased more than 11 percent in the past year.

Countless big-business spokesmen have pointed with alarm to the impact of employers' increased labor costs on Canada's competitive position in world markets. In particular, they have looked with jealous eyes to Canada's largest trading partner, the United States. The Canada-U.S. wage gap has been quickly narrowing, but the productivity of less-efficient Canadian industry continues to lag behind that of the United States.

## 'Wage restraint'

The Trudeau regime has been waging an intensive propaganda campaign aimed at laying the blame for inflation on organized labor. Under the slogan of "wage restraint," the government called for a "national consensus" by which the unions would voluntarily submit to wage guidelines.

At the same time, in its bargaining with public workers, Ottawa has tried to set an example of "wage restraint" for private industry. With the threat of strikebreaking legislation, Trudeau forced an inferior contract down the throats of 19,000 striking Public Service Alliance of Canada workers in March.

The same month, Parliament broke a strike by British Columbia longshore workers. A month later, 2,200 Québec dockers fell under the Liberals' strike-breaking axe.

A major blow was delivered to the labor movement in May when Robert Bourassa's Liberal Québec government placed four construction unions involving 30,000 workers under trusteeship. Caught up in interunion feuding, the Québec labor leadership proved incapable of mounting an active resistance to this assault on union autonomy.

But one of the sharpest blows struck at the labor movement prior to Trudeau's wage-control announcement was dealt by the New Democratic party government of British Columbia. The NDP, Canada's labor party, forms the government in three western pro-

vinces though it is a tiny minority in the federal Parliament.

On October 7, Dave Barrett's British Columbia government introduced legislation breaking or prohibiting strikes in the forest, supermarket, trucking, and railway industries. Almost 60,000 workers were directly affected by the strikebreaking law.

The B.C. Federation of Labour sharply condemned the back-to-work order, but the striking workers were forced to return to their jobs nonetheless. The federation's knuckling under to Barrett no doubt emboldened Trudeau in introducing his wage-control scheme.

The Liberal government, however, should have had no illusions that its wage-control plan would be embraced by labor's leaders. Indeed, in its outlines, the wage-control scheme is nearly identical to the program of "voluntary restraint" rejected by the two-million-member Canadian Labour Congress last spring.

CLC President Joseph Morris charged October 13 that the Trudeau scheme lets the profiteers off the hook and hits hardest at low-income earners. "I am not prepared to go along," he stated.

Federal NDP leader Ed Broadbent likewise condemned the wage-control program. "The only truly effective part of the prime minister's proposals will be the control on ordinary people's salaries and wages," he told the House of Commons. The NDP leader has undertaken a cross-country tour speaking against the wage-control plan.

Time will tell whether the CLC brass will retreat from their initial opposition to the controls just as the U.S. AFL-CIO leaders did in the face of Nixon's August 1971 wage freeze. But the current level of labor combativity militates against close cooperation with Trudeau's program by union leaders.

Moreover, U.S. workers had no vehicle for mass political opposition to Nixon's freeze, their leaders having subordinated the union movement to the big-business Democratic party. Canadian workers, on the other hand,

will look to the labor-based NDP to carry on a battle against the controls.

The effectiveness of Canada's wage controls can have immediate implications for U.S. labor, all the more so as about 60 percent of Canadian workers belong to international unions.

The United Automobile Workers, with 120,000 Canadian members, declared on October 14 that it would defy the controls. About 50,000 of the union's Canadian members join with U.S. auto workers next summer in bargaining with the Big Three auto companies.

William Mahoney, Canadian director of the United Steelworkers of America, spoke for the union's 180,000 Canadian members in pledging to fight the legislation.

R.C. Smith, president of the Associated Rail Unions, which bargains jointly for sixteen unions representing 93,000 workers, has stated that railway workers will continue bargaining as if the controls did not exist. Contracts with the two major railroads expire December 31.

The October 20-24 cross-country convention of the Canadian Union of Public Employees, Canada's largest union, voted to defy the controls. About 125,000 CUPE members face negotiations before the end of 1975.

On the front line of the battle against the controls are 22,000 postal workers who launched a cross-country strike on October 21. Giving the militant postal workers "special consideration," the government already was forced to make them a wage offer in excess of the guidelines. But Postmaster General Bryce Mackasey has stated categorically that he will not budge from his final offer.

*Labor Challenge*, a biweekly newspaper reflecting the views of the League for Socialist Action/Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière, Canadian section of the Fourth International, responded to Trudeau's measures with a front-page editorial.

## Special CLC convention

"The labor movement urgently needs to hold a special convention of the Canadian Labour Congress to consider how to respond to Trudeau's 'wage and price' controls," the paper said.

Its task would be to map out a strategy of active support to unions in negotiations "so that they can win their wage demands, breaking through Ottawa's controls as they see fit. Action is required if Trudeau is to be thwarted in his aim of isolating each group of workers, and forcing them to accept inferior settlements," the editors warned.

The timeliness of the call for a special CLC convention was indicated when the demand was raised by CUPE Local 79, representing 6,000 Toronto city hall workers, in an emergency resolution to the union's convention. The Saskatchewan Federation of Labour has called a provincewide emergency convention to consider its response to the controls.

## 'Model' for the U.S.?

The U.S. ruling class is watching Trudeau's antilabor offensive closely. On October 24, the editors of the *New York Times* hailed the program as "tough" on wages while being "flexible" on prices.

"If this tough but flexible Canadian approach works, it could serve as a model for a program in this country," the *Times* declared.



# ...unionists condemn antibusing drive

Continued from page 1

land, and we intend to enforce it."

Simons was joined by Patrice Gancie, president of the D.C. Coalition of Labor Union Women, who told reporters, "CLUW supports the right of minority children to attend the school of their choice in safety."

The October 25 antibusing march was organized by trade-union officials from the Louisville area, a center of racist opposition to desegregation. It drew about 2,500 people and ended in a rally at the capitol estimated at 6,000 to 8,000 people.

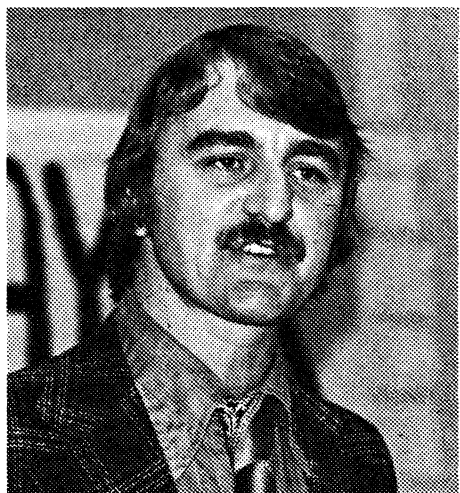
Among the most prominent unions in the racist demonstration were Local 761 of the International Union of Electrical Workers and the Sheet Metal Workers. Signs carried also identified locals of the United Auto Workers, International Association of Machinists, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, Pipe Fitters, Communications Workers, Steelworkers, Textile Workers, and Tobacco Workers.

The Louisville marchers were joined by smaller contingents of racists from Texas, Indiana, West Virginia, and, of course, Boston. Along the march they chanted: "Forced busing means war"; "We are the red-necks, the mighty, mighty red-necks"; and "ROAR united will never be defeated." ROAR (Restore Our Alienated Rights) is the national antibusing organization centered in Boston.

## Meany defends busing

On the day of the march, AFL-CIO President George Meany released a statement attacking the demonstration and reaffirming the union federation's stand in support of busing.

Meany called on Kentucky labor officials "to make the busing system



Militant/Jon Flanders

SWP's HEISLER: 'Unions must fight for equal rights for all.'



Militant/Cindy Jaquith



Militant/Ed Mattos

Union leaders hold news conference (top) to answer 'union' antibusing demonstration (bottom). Speaking at news conference are (left to right) Joslyn Williams of AFSCME, William Simons of Washington Teachers Union, and Patrice Gancie of CLUW.

work as it was intended to work." He pointed out that "in America today fully 40 percent of all children in public schools are bused every day, and . . . only 3 percent are bused in order to implement the [1954] decision of the Supreme Court. . . .

"The position of the AFL-CIO is and remains as follows:

"The AFL-CIO has consistently supported both quality education and integrated education. We have just as staunchly supported mass investment of federal funds to improve substandard schools. We have fought for legislation to achieve open housing as the most effective way to achieve integrated education.

"The AFL-CIO Executive Council categorically reiterates this position and adds:

"1. We wholeheartedly support busing of children when it will improve

the educational opportunities of the children.

"2. We deplore the actions of the individuals or groups who are creating a divisive political issue out of America's vital need for quality integrated education.

"... we will oppose the constitutional amendment approach because it will do a disservice to the quality integrated education which we support."

## Socialist speaks out

Ed Heisler, who has been touring the country to organize labor support for the Socialist Workers party presidential ticket of Peter Camejo and Willie Mae Reid, issued a statement October 29 condemning the "union" antibusing demonstration.

"Thousands of labor union members in Louisville and elsewhere are being taken for a ride," said Heisler. "They

have been hoodwinked by politicians who represent big-business interests and racist organizations into opposing the just fight of Blacks for equal educational opportunities.

"The issue isn't 'forced busing' but forced segregation of Black people into second-class status," Heisler said.

"The unions ought to be fighting for the goal of equal rights for all, including the right of Black students to attend desegregated schools. Every international union, every union local, ought to take a stand against the racist forces, who include in their midst the Ku Klux Klan, the Nazis, and other labor-hating outfits."

At the October 28 probusing news conference, Simons stressed that further action by supporters of desegregation, trade unionists in particular, is necessary. "We intend to keep the issue alive and keep pressure on the White House until something is done to correct the situation," he said.

## November 22 actions

The Washington Teachers Union, Simons added, is now discussing how it can help build a probusing picket line at the capitol on November 22. The picket line, initiated by the D.C. Student Coalition Against Racism, is one of many local desegregation actions slated for November 22. That date was selected at the recent convention of the National Student Coalition Against Racism, held in Boston.

The probusing news conference coincided with the opening of hearings by the Senate Judiciary Committee on busing. On the eve of the hearings President Ford gave his personal boost to antibusing groups by "leaking" a statement on busing through Sen. John Tower (R-Tex.). Tower is one of the senators who has submitted a constitutional amendment to halt busing.

Tower told the media October 27 that while Ford would not "at this time" endorse such an amendment, the president is taking steps to curb "forced busing" through other means. Ford is ordering the Department of Health, Education and Welfare and the Justice Department to look for "alternatives to busing" that would allow for "reasonable" desegregation.

## Stacked hearings

At the hearings, committee head James Eastland (D-Miss.) stacked the witness list in favor of the racist forces, permitting only a few Blacks and other supporters of busing to

Continued on page 30

# ROAR gets boost from Senate hearings

By Jon Hillson

BOSTON—More than 6,000 racists, boosted by the flurry of antibusing activity developing in Washington, took to the streets of South Boston October 27 in this city's largest march against court-ordered busing in more than a year.

The demonstration, called by ROAR (Restore Our Alienated Rights), came on the heels of an eruption of racist assaults on Black students in South Boston High School October 24, which forced closing of the school ninety minutes early.

The explosion in South Boston High had been simmering near the surface for weeks. On October 23, white students, hurling first obscenities, then rocks, turned the end of a South Boston vs. Dorchester high school football game into a free-for-all. Fights in the stands spilled onto the playing field as white hooligans beat up a Black sports reporter. It took an hour for eighty police to quell the distur-

bance. No arrests were made.

The next day, scores of white students blocked the steps of South Boston High to Black students disembarking from buses. Racist taunts precipitated a battle. Eleven Black and four white students were arrested.

On the same day, white students in Charlestown High presented demands to the school administration including recitation of the Pledge of Allegiance and singing of "The Star Spangled Banner" in the school.

The demands were made to protest the administration's verbal agreement to demands made several weeks ago by the school's Black, Latino, and Asian students. These revolved around more Black teachers and aides, protection from assaults by whites, the removal of racist scrawls on school walls, and "being treated like adults."

Clearly, the organizers of the October 27 ROAR march and rally felt new wind in their sails. Dozens of South Boston stores closed for three hours to

mark the event, and Charlestown and South Boston schools were virtually empty of white students.

Eight of Boston's nine city council members—all Democrats—addressed the rally, as well as a stream of Democratic state senators, state representatives, and Boston School Committee members.

A strong theme of the rally was the winning over of trade unionists to the antibusing cause. Three unionists spoke, from the Sheet Metal Workers, the Building Trades Council, and the state AFL-CIO Committee on Political Education. All of them blasted George Meany's recent probusing statement.

South Boston State Sen. William Bulger reflected the combative mood of the bigots. "There is not a shred of intellectual support left for forced busing in America," he shouted. "The signs of collapse are all around, including the Senate. We are here to say that if you are not with us you are

against us, and if you are against us we will fight you."

A group of high school students chanted, "We don't want no boneheads!" ("Bonehead" is a racist term of abuse popular among Boston bigots.)

Black students left South Boston High early that day as a safety precaution. At Gavin Middle School, Black students were evacuated through a rear exit to avoid an angry crowd that gathered as the demonstration ended.

The events of the past several days are the boldest threat yet posed this fall to the implementation of desegregation and the safety of Black students.

The commander-in-chief of the antibusing forces, President Ford, will be speaking in Boston November 7. The National Student Coalition Against Racism has called a picket line for 6-8 p.m. at the Museum of Science to show Ford that probusing sentiment is alive and kicking in the "cradle of liberty."

## Board tries to divide and conquer

# Atlanta school unions rebuff split maneuver

By Tony Dutrow

ATLANTA—A maneuver by the Atlanta Board of Education to split the alliance between teachers and non-teaching school employees was sharply rebuffed by both unions October 25.

In separate meetings, the Atlanta Association of Educators, which is the local affiliate of the National Education Association (NEA), and American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees Local 1644 reaffirmed their mutual support.

Each union also empowered its executive board to call a strike at any time during the current school crisis.

AFSCME and the AAE have joined together in the Coalition of Atlanta Public Employees to seek union recognition and signed contracts.

The October 25 meetings came one day after expiration of a ten-day court injunction against the two unions. The ruling had barred AFSCME and the AAE from continuing the strike they

let the board force us into a strike," Burns explained. "We'll strike when we're ready." The vote on the recommendation was unanimous.

Not far from the AFSCME meeting, 700 teachers were taking similar action. Dale Robinson, NEA staff representative working with the local negotiating committee, opened the meeting by reporting that some progress had been made in negotiations.

He quickly added, "If you are looking for something in writing, we have nothing. And until the board puts it in writing, we will have nothing."

The AAE is seeking negotiation of ten "priority items" that range from a "no recriminations" pledge for all teachers who struck October 14 to dues checkoff for the organization.

The minor concessions offered to the AAE were recognized as a crude maneuver by the board. Many teachers rose to speak in favor of the recommendation to honor any future AFSCME picket lines.

"The board frowned on AFSCME and smiled on the AAE," said Nathaniel Ingram. "Anyone can see that their purpose is to divide and conquer."

One Black woman teacher summed up the sentiments of those who spoke. "We have helped AFSCME a lot," she said. "AFSCME has helped us a lot. I'm sure that they would do the same for us. No, they would do more."

Before voting on the proposal, the teachers received word of AFSCME's decision. After a thunderous round of applause, the chair called for a vote. The teachers responded with a long standing ovation.

The teachers closed the meeting by taking a collection to purchase a full-page ad in the Atlanta *Journal-Constitution*. Virginia Tate, president-elect of the AAE, told the meeting that the ad would answer claims that teacher demands were hurting the education of Atlanta schoolchildren.

The two groups' decisions came in the face of extensive strikebreaking preparations by the board. School Supt. Alonzo Crim has canceled all leaves of absence for school employees, ordered the confiscation of teachers' keys and roll books over the weekends, and notified all substitute teachers to report to school.

School principals have begun harassing union supporters by calling in longtime teachers for sudden "evaluations," spending hours "observing" classes of teachers active in the strike, and filling out forms on those they saw picketing October 14.

The school superintendent has also publicly solicited PTA members to volunteer to work in school cafeterias.

One AFSCME member pointed out the board's hypocrisy on this, telling the *Militant*: "The board says it's



Steve Morganstern

AFSCME's BOLDEN: 'My progress report to you is no progress at all.'

began October 14. It also directed the board to sit down and negotiate.

Three hundred members of AFSCME's school board chapter heard the report from their negotiating committee October 25. "My progress report to you," said staff representative Willie Bolden, "is no progress at all."

Bolden went on to explain that during an eighteen-hour negotiating session the previous day the school board had rejected all of AFSCME's demands.

Discussion at the meeting centered on the lessons of the October 14 walkout and the need to prepare for the battles yet to come.

Willie Burns, school board chapter chairperson, made the recommendation to empower the executive committee to call a strike. "We're not going to



Militant/Cindy Jaquith

Some students joined picket lines of teachers and AFSCME during October 14 walkout. Now unionists are drawing lessons of strike, preparing for battles yet to come.

illegal for us to strike, even though we know it's our right. Well, I know damn well it's a Georgia law that all food workers have to be certified by the health department."

On October 24, the evening before the union meetings, a panel of community leaders addressed the Militant Bookstore Forum and pledged their support to AFSCME and the AAE. The forum was filmed by a television news crew and prominently featured in a later newscast.

Eugene Duffy, head of the student

council at the Atlanta University complex, warned about the board's attempt to recruit scabs from the education department at his campus. He reported that the student council will leaflet students and urge them to join teacher picket lines.

Miesa Patterson, a coordinator of the Atlanta Student Coalition Against Racism, pledged the support of her organization.

Brian Riffert, a member of Atlanta Typographical Union No. 48 and apprentice delegate to the Atlanta Labor Council, reported on the council's October 8 decision to condemn the AFSCME-AAE alliance. This public attack was made at the behest of the American Federation of Teachers, national rival of the NEA. The AFT has only a handful of members in Atlanta.

Riffert blasted the council's resolution as a "stab in the back on the eve of a strike." He reported that the Typographical Union has voted to reopen discussion on this point at the next Atlanta Labor Council meeting.

Also speaking was J.C. Reynolds, a chief steward in Amalgamated Transit Union Local 732 and a leader of the Black caucus that spearheaded a walkout of bus drivers two years ago.

Reynolds pointed out that "bus drivers are faced with an intransigent MARTA [Metropolitan Atlanta Rapid Transit] board, like the teachers and maids and custodians. MARTA workers are 60 percent Black, and the Board treats them in a similar way, like children."

## Unionists like the 'Militant'

Atlanta teachers and school employees are reading the *Militant* in growing numbers—and liking what they read.

During the week of their one-day walkout for union recognition, some 250 school unionists bought copies, most of them at a union rally the weekend before the strike.

Since the next week's issue carried a full-page report and evaluation of the strike, Atlanta *Militant* supporters upped their bundle to 700 copies. They report selling 611 of these, including nearly 100 at union meetings.

The *Militant* stories are clipped and posted on a bulletin board, along with other press coverage, at the teachers' union headquarters.

By Dave Welters

BELLEVILLE, Ill.—In an extraordinary display of judicial vindictiveness and union busting, a local judge here jailed one-third of the teachers in the Cahokia, Illinois, school district for violating his antistrike injunction.

The wholesale arrests were ordered October 24 by Associate Circuit Judge Richard Goldenhersh, who signed warrants for 123 teachers who continued to picket Cahokia's thirteen schools despite his back-to-work order.

The Cahokia school district is a largely white rural area on the outskirts of East St. Louis.

On October 25, the teachers marched en masse to surrender themselves at the county jail in Belleville, where they were arraigned and released on \$1,000 bond each.

That night, 500 union members and

supporters rallied outside the jail to protest the arrests. Support came from the East St. Louis Central Trades and Labor Council, meatcutters, steelworkers, ironworkers, and postal workers.

Already under arrest and held *without bail*—as though they were dangerous criminals—are the four top leaders of Cahokia Federation of Teachers Local 1272. President Ed Geptert and three vice-presidents were jailed October 23 and charged with contempt of court.

At the same time, Judge Goldenhersh hit the union with a fine of \$4,000 plus \$1,000 per day for each day the strike continues.

Cahokia's 375 teachers and 5 nurses, also represented by Local 1272, have been on strike since October 2. They are seeking wage increases of 6 and 9 percent in a two-year contract, along

with improvements in pension and medical plans.

The harsh strikebreaking measures seem to have had little effect on the teachers' determination to hold out.

At six o'clock on Monday morning, October 27, 150 to 200 other unionists gathered for picket duty in place of the Cahokia teachers. Most came from other Illinois Federation of Teachers locals in the area. National Education Association members from nearby Mascoutah, Illinois, also joined the picketing.

In addition, some 100 people from the Cahokia community marched on picket lines in a show of support for the teachers.

Building and Service Employees Local 383, whose own strike has been settled, continue to honor the teachers' picket lines.

## Ill. judge jails 123 striking teachers



## Protest closing of centers

# Elderly rally against New York cutbacks

By Steve Beck

NEW YORK—Retirement means loneliness, sickness, and even hunger for many of New York's elderly. In recent years they have found some comfort in the more than 150 senior citizens' centers, which provide hot meals, courses, crafts, and a place to meet friends.

With the announcement of a \$37 million cut in social services, however, most or all of the centers are under threat of being shut down.

On October 22 an estimated 10,000 to 15,000 older people rallied near city hall to protest the cuts. Affected centers sent busloads of participants to the noon rally, which was called on only three days' notice by the Emergency Coalition of Concerned Seniors.

Ironically, were it not for the centers, many of these old people would have to be institutionalized, at much greater government expense.

"These people will end up in a mental hospital or a nursing home, and they do not belong in either," charged Samuel Kushner, who came with a contingent from the Kings Bay Senior Center in Brooklyn.

At one point in the rally Department of the Aging Commissioner Alice

Brophy, speaking for Mayor Abraham Beame, announced that five centers at most would be closed.

"I think it was a most effective and relevant rally," said organizer Susan Kinoy, who is program director of the Community Council of Greater New York, which lent offices to the coalition. "If it hadn't taken place," she said, "we would not have had a promise like that."

There was no assurance that this promise will be met, and even less that funds will be restored to provide adequate care for the aged. Nevertheless, the rally was one of the largest to protest the cutbacks in recent months.

Kinoy said she was proud of the turnout, noting the financial and physical strain it entailed for the elderly to participate.

Protests also forced the federal Department of Health, Education and Welfare to postpone by six months its regulations requiring a humiliating "means test" (an income check) on senior center users. Aid to the centers under Title 20 of the Social Security Act was the excuse for this added red tape.

Retirees face attacks on their living standards and dignity from other

quarters. Supplemental Security Income (SSI), begun in 1974, transferred the aged, blind, and disabled from state welfare to the jurisdiction of the Social Security Administration.

In exchange for the "dignity" of being off "welfare," SSI took away the periodic adjustments for rent hikes and special grants for emergencies. A new applicant or recipient whose check was lost or stolen is told to wait, or bounced back to welfare.

Older people who escape the difficulties of a single existence by moving in with others are penalized by having their checks reduced (from \$218 to \$118 per month in New York State).

Food stamps are another benefit under attack. According to Kay Kosow and Jeff Kirsch of the Food Research and Action Center, a nonprofit, public-interest law firm, the U.S. Department of Agriculture plans new coupon allotments that may reduce or eliminate stamps for millions.

"The people most harmed by the proposed regulations are the people most vulnerable and least powerful: women with small children and elderly women," Kosow said.

Just two days before the rally by New York's elderly, the Ford adminis-

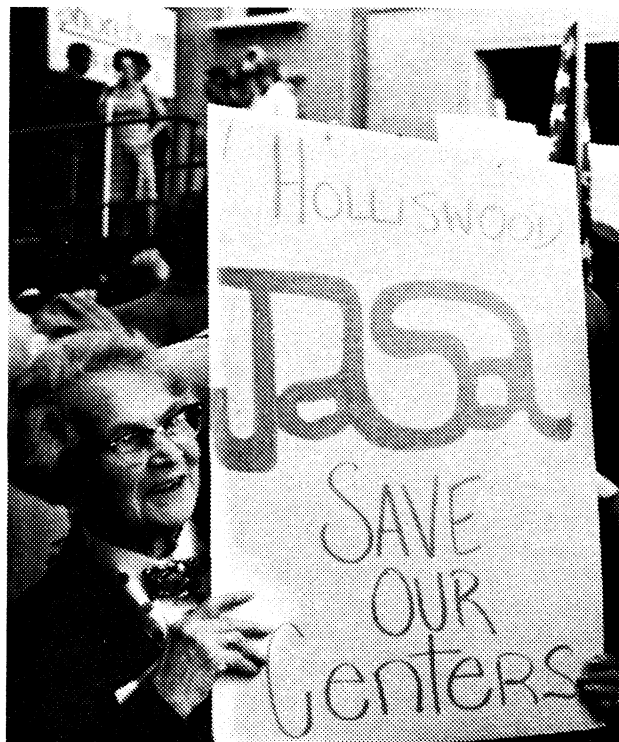
tration introduced a bill in Congress to gut the food stamp program altogether. Ford's plan would eliminate 4.9 million people from the program and slash benefits for 6.4 million more.

Ford would also bar strikers from receiving food stamps and force newly laid-off workers to wait three to six months before receiving stamps.

The Ford bill joins two others already pending in Congress, one sponsored by Sen. James Buckley (R-N.Y.) and Rep. Robert Michel (R-Ill.), the other by Sen. George McGovern (D-S.D.) and Sen. Robert Dole (R-Kans.).

"All the bills pending in Congress are cutback bills," Kirsch emphasized. He estimated that the Buckley-Michel bill would knock ten million people off the food-stamp rolls, while the "moderate" McGovern-Dole bill would aid some recipients but eliminate others.

Ford and other reactionary demagogues have tried to whip up sentiment against alleged abuses of food stamps by students and upper-income families. But the government's own figures show that 87 percent of the households receiving stamps have incomes less than \$6,000, and that most of those with higher incomes have large families.



Militant/Steve Beck



Militant/Lou Howort

Young and old protest New York budget cuts. Left, participant in October 22 rally to save senior citizens' centers. Right, some of 1,500 City University students who demonstrated October 27 against drastic cutback plan proposed by Higher Education Chancellor Robert Kibbee.

## Students hit CIA recruitment drive at UCLA

By Arnold Weissberg

LOS ANGELES—In the midst of ongoing revelations about illegal CIA activity, the University of California at Los Angeles *Daily Bruin* has revealed that the UC system has been enlisted in a covert recruitment drive by the assassination agency.

The story, which broke in the paper's October 22 issue, revealed that the drive is aimed at recruitment of Black and Chicano students.

In a front-page article by James Richardson, the *Bruin* laid bare the complicity of the University of California in assisting the dirty tricks of the CIA.

The story cited a letter sent by CIA Director William Colby to UC President David Saxon, dated August 23, 1975.

The text of the letter was not available. However, a summary was released the same day at a news conference initiated by the campus Young Socialist Alliance. The summary read as follows:

"Subject: The CIA's efforts in recruiting minority students to become involved in the CIA's foreign intelligence work.

"This year the CIA is focusing

recruitment on public universities.

"The CIA plans to hold a two day conference October 23 & 24 in Washington, D.C. to help bolster recruitment to the CIA.

"Colby invited representatives from three UC campuses: UC Berkeley, UCLA, and UC San Diego to come to the conference.

"Suggested campuses send a faculty member, a college dean, and perhaps even a student."

Saxon forwarded the invitation to administrators on the three campuses.

UCLA sent Winston Dolby, a Black administrator, and Charles Sundberg, a dean in the placement center, which handles student job seekers.

Dolby told the *Bruin* he was not sure it was proper for the university to cooperate with the CIA, but said that part of the reason he was going to the conference was to find out. He added, "I'm very open to finding out what the CIA's needs are."

Sundberg said he would treat the CIA "no different than any other employer who wants to employ UCLA students."

He also said the conference was probably an attempt by the CIA to repair its damaged image, but he

"wasn't sure."

Why the university is willing to help repair the "image" of the admittedly lawbreaking agency was not explained.

According to the CIA, the *Bruin* reported, the conference was nothing more than an agency effort to abide by affirmative-action guidelines.

Campus protest regarding the revelations was quick. The news conference called by the Young Socialist Alliance drew a large number of media representatives including the three major Los Angeles television stations.

Scoring the UC-CIA ties, YSA spokesperson Ken Davey said, "The supposed purpose of this conference is to determine ways to increase recruitment of Blacks, Chicanos, and other oppressed nationalities to the CIA.

"Judging from the revelations regarding previously secret CIA activity, it is no wonder they are having trouble. Assassinating African political leaders and overthrowing elected governments in Latin America are hardly ways to convince Blacks and Chicanos to aid racist regimes such as South Africa and military dictatorships along the model of the Chilean junta."

Davey emphasized that through its cooperation with the CIA, the UC administration was contributing to the promotion of such illegal, reactionary activities.

The YSA spokesperson called on UCLA to immediately sever all ties with the CIA.

Bill Warrick, a Los Angeles representative of the Political Rights Defense Fund, noted that CIA recruitment on campus raised the issue of what such recruits might do before graduation. Warrick asked, "Will [such recruits] participate in any government attempts to 'disrupt and neutralize' organizations like the Black Student Alliance, MECHA, and others?"

This concern was also expressed by José Rodríguez, a member of the campus MECHA.

Peter Teraga, a Chicano student government official at UCLA, said that he thought the CIA's role in the world was inimical to the interests of the Chicano people. Emphasizing the bonds between Chicanos and the peoples of Latin America, he said that Chicanos would not be involved with an agency that carried out such activities as promoting the right-wing military coup in Chile.



## New York answers

"It was necessary to destroy the city in order to save it." That could well be the motto of the congressional committees now deliberating "aid" to New York City. The Democratic-party-dominated Congress is showing itself to be just as determined to cut back social services and lay off city workers as the Republican administration.

None of the plans under discussion in Congress would allocate one penny to restore city jobs and services. On the contrary, in return for guaranteeing interest payments to the *Wall Street banks* on city bonds, the Senate Banking Committee legislation backed by Democrats William Proxmire and Adlai Stevenson would:

- place New York City finances under total control of a three-person federal board;
- empower this board to lay off city workers, cut the budget, end rent control, and take whatever other austerity measures it deems necessary; and
- reduce the city's pension fund payments by either reducing pensions or increasing employee contributions (that is, cutting wages).

*The antilabor drive in New York is a bipartisan offensive carried out by both capitalist parties and every level of the capitalist government.*

To defend working people from these attacks, the New York Socialist Workers party candidates are campaigning for an emergency city-wide conference of unions and community groups to unite all those who oppose the cuts and to plan action to fight back. In a statement published in last week's *Militant*, the socialist candidates emphasized the need to:

- halt U.S. military spending and use the \$100 billion a year now spent for war to meet our urgent need for jobs and social services;
- halt government interest payments to the rich;
- repeal all antilabor laws, such as the Taylor Act in New York, which limit the right to organize, bargain collectively, and strike; and
- break with the Democratic and Republican parties and form an independent labor party based on the trade unions.

The SWP candidates—Catarino Garza, Pat Wright, and Robb Wright for Congress, and Ruthann Miller for state assembly—are working people deeply involved in struggles for social and economic justice in New York.

Their proposal for united working-class action against the cutbacks and layoffs has been reprinted from the *Militant* as a four-page flier. In the weeks ahead, the socialist candidates and their supporters will be distributing tens of thousands of copies of this proposal. They will be raising and discussing their ideas in the unions; in the Black, Puerto Rican, and Chinese communities; and on the campuses.

The socialist candidates are soliciting the reactions, comments, and suggestions of fellow New Yorkers, and they want to work with everyone else who is interested in fighting back. To help in this important campaign effort, or to get a copy of the socialist proposal on the New York crisis, write to the New York 1976 Socialist Workers Campaign, 706 Broadway, Eighth Floor, New York, New York 10003; or telephone (212) 982-4966.

## Vote 'yes' on ERA!

On November 4 voters in New York and New Jersey can cast a ballot for equal rights for women.

Up for a vote in both states are amendments to the state constitutions nearly identical to the proposed Equal Rights Amendment to the U.S. Constitution. The drive for speedy ratification of the national ERA will get a powerful boost from resounding "yes" votes in New York and New Jersey.

Along with this benefit, the two state ERAs, if passed, would take effect in January 1976, while the federal amendment, even if ratified in 1976, would not take effect for two years.

Working women, who face discrimination in hiring, pay, and treatment on the job, are among those who will benefit most directly from passage of the state amendments. Their support for this legislation has resulted in broad union endorsement of the New York ERA.

The Amalgamated Clothing Workers; the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees; the New York state AFL-CIO; the Coalition of Labor Union Women; the United Federation of Teachers; and many others have taken a stand for the amendment. District 1199 of the hospital workers' union featured the New York ERA on the front cover of its monthly *1199 News*.

We join with these unions and all others fighting for women's rights in urging a "yes" vote on November 4.

### Whose 'educational neglect'?

Last June, Siba Baum, a thirteen-year-old Blackfoot Indian from Long Island, New York, wrote a book report on a "biography" of Geronimo. One of the points she raised in criticizing the book was the fact that the biographer, a white, portrayed the Apache chief as a villain.

Siba's English teacher downgraded the paper, writing, "I agree with your feelings of anger, however, I have an uncle who is a Wampanoag Indian and his point of view is that the Indians got what they deserved." Then in class the teacher added to the insult by characterizing Indians as "lazy."

Siba, an honor student, was incensed. So was her mother, Jeanne Baum, who refused to send Siba to school this fall. Now Mrs. Baum is being charged with "educational neglect" and must stand trial. If she loses, Siba could be taken from her.

Near extermination of the Indians apparently isn't enough for this racist society. In even the most basic of institutions—the schools—Indians must continue to face racial oppression on a day-to-day basis.

H.C.S.

Coram, New York

### Nobody's safe

Recently, another member of the Upper West Side branch of the Socialist Workers party and myself went to the unemployment office at Ninetieth Street and Broadway in Manhattan to pass out copies of the *Militant* reprint "Why can't everyone have a job?" and to sell the current issue of the paper.

The people we talked to are, understandably, really angry about what's going on in New York City. The reprint was well received and we sold twelve copies of the *Militant* in a short time.

After we had been there a while, one of the *employees* invited us to sell inside the office. Things being what they are in New York City, I guess people who are working in unemployment offices today can see themselves collecting checks there tomorrow.

Janice Lynn

New York, New York

### Off to a good start

On Saturday, October 25, supporters of my campaign for Congress in Brooklyn's Fourteenth District organized a full day of campaigning and sales of the October 31 issue of the *Militant*, which contains the Socialist Workers program for New York City, "Why working people should not pay." Supporters also distributed my statement urging a "yes" vote on the referendum for the New York Equal Rights Amendment.

Teams of campaigners were dispatched to shopping areas such as Fulton Street in downtown Brooklyn. Others visited housing projects in the Bedford-Stuyvesant, Williamsburg, and East New York sections of the borough. I campaigned in Linden Houses in East New York along with five supporters.

The response to my candidacy and to the Socialist Workers program for solving the New York crisis was excellent. I had a chance to talk to a number of residents in one building. Many asked questions about the causes of the crisis and what I thought could be done about it. They all agreed wholeheartedly with my proposals and wished me luck with my campaign.

The *Militant* now has six new subscribers there. Fifty single copies of the *Militant* and *Young Socialist* were sold. The other teams also did well. A total of 249 *Militants* and eighteen subscriptions were sold, along with 52 copies of the *Young Socialist*.

After a full day of campaigning, one of my supporters, a student at Staten Island Community College, joined the Young Socialist Alliance.

Many community residents signed up to help out. The Socialist Workers 1976 campaign is off to a good start in Brooklyn.

Pat Wright

Brooklyn, New York

### Missouri abortion rights

"Missouri has done more to evade and thwart the Supreme Court abortion decision than any other state." This statement was cheered by the Missouri Citizens for Life at an anti-abortion rally held October 12 on the steps of the Old Courthouse in St. Louis.

Despite numerous large paid advertisements, media buildup, and free bus transportation, this rally drew fewer than 3,000 people.

Two Missouri Socialist Workers party candidates, Barbara Bowman for U.S. Senate and Helen Savio for governor, were present, campaigning in defense of women's right to abortion.

There were others present demonstrating in favor of a woman's right to choose. One brave young couple faced the crowd with their signs, on one of which hung a clothes hanger with the caption, "Is this what we have to go back to?"

The present Missouri abortion law requires that a woman get her husband's permission or, if she is unmarried and under eighteen, her parents' consent.

Bowman, Savio, and the other Missouri Socialist Workers party nominees are the only candidates in Missouri who consistently fight to maintain the right to abortion.

Laura Griesedieck

St. Louis, Missouri

### Misplaced credit

The October 20 *New York Times* carried an article entitled "Island Rejoices as Navy Departs." It referred to the cessation of U.S. Navy target practice on Culebra, which has been going on since 1899.

Culebra is a 2,000-acre island belonging to Puerto Rico. Statistics show that Culebra's population was 1,500 in the 1960s. By 1970, only 650 residents remained. The rest of the population emigrated to the United States looking for jobs, higher wages, and relief from U.S. Navy bombardment.

It is surprising the way the Puerto Rican government has handled the matter, taking credit for the withdrawal of the navy. Puerto Rico's Gov. Rafael Hernández Colón, Mayor Ramón Feliciano of Culebra, more than 100 government officials, and U.S. Democratic Sen. Henry Jackson celebrated the event with a big fiesta in the town plaza, making grandiose speeches to Culebrans about their heroic resistance.

The *Times* portrays American and Puerto Rican politicians as heroes of the people. It claims that Jackson "played a key role in Congress to force the Navy's departure." Has the *Times* forgotten the mass demonstrations held since 1960 by students and militant workers? The confrontations

# international socialist review

## PROSPECTS FOR SOCIALISM IN AMERICA

### Resolution of the 1975 Convention of the Socialist Workers Party

60,000-strong march for jobs in Washington, D.C., April 26, the first national protest demonstration ever sponsored by the AFL-CIO.

Dennis Scarla

The effects of the combined social and economic shocks of the last half-decade, coming on top of the changes in attitudes wrought by the movements of social protest and the radicalization of the 1960s and 1970s, have brought us to the threshold of a new period in the transformation of the political consciousness of the American working class.

A different stage in the process of radicalization is opening; new types of struggles are coming onto the agenda.

This resolution examines on a world scale the roots and the various components of the crisis of American capitalism. These are compared and contrasted both to the post-World War II period of capitalist economic boom and political reaction, and to the depression and labor radicalization of the 1930s. The goal is to explain the dilemma faced by the ruling class, the structural and ideological changes taking place in the American working class and among its allies, and the revolutionary perspective inherent in the radicalization of the working class that is just beginning to unfold.

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### I. Growing Contradictions of World Imperialism

In the three decades since World War II recessions have occurred in each of the major capitalist powers. Each of these separate slumps, however, was cushioned by the fact that industrialization, productivity, employment, and trade continued to run their expansionary course in at least several other capitalist countries. The current American depression is not only the longest and deepest of the six U.S. postwar slumps; more important, it is a component part of the first world recession since 1937-38, simultane-

ously affecting all the major capitalist economies.

This recession on a world scale is a product of the increasing exhaustion of many of the motor forces that fed the quarter-century world capitalist boom—for instance, the reconstruction of European and Japanese industry, the massive growth of the automobile and related industries in the 1950s and 1960s, the mechanization, automation, and computerization of whole new branches of industry.

The expansionary stimulants of deficit financing and massive credit growth, used to help bring capitalist economies out of slumps in the last quarter of a century, have turned into perilous measures. Government engineered inflation is less effective and more dangerous than ever before as a means of bringing capitalist economies out of a recession. It can threaten to soar out of control even in the midst of a depression.

The war in Indochina brought clearly into the open the shift in the world relationship of class

*Continued on page 3*



# ABOUT THIS SPECIAL ISSUE

This special issue of the *International Socialist Review* is devoted to a single document, the resolution approved by the twenty-sixth national convention of the Socialist Workers Party entitled "The Decline of American Capitalism: Prospects for a Socialist Revolution." We felt that despite the resolution's length, the readers of the *Militant* and *International Socialist Review* would be interested in taking the time to read and study this important document.

A political resolution of a revolutionary Marxist party is different from any other type of document. What it attempts to do is 1) to pinpoint the main economic and social forces that are shaping developments in the country, and 2) based on that objective assessment, to project the most effective course of action for those workers and oppressed people who have already come to see the injustice of capitalist society and want to work to win over the majority of people to replace it with socialism.

A first draft of the resolution published here was approved by the SWP National Committee at its plenum last May. The committee, made up of sixty leading members of the SWP from across the country, heard a report by Jack Barnes, the SWP national secretary, summarizing the most important conclusions of the resolution about the coming crisis for U.S. capitalism. SWP Organization Secretary Barry Sheppard made an additional report proposing a major turn by the party in its day-to-day work in line with the conclusions of the resolution; a turn toward new opportunities for involvement in mass struggles and recruitment to the revolutionary socialist movement.

The resolution was then discussed for three months in each SWP branch across the country and through a discussion bulletin open to written contributions, amendments, or counterresolutions by any member.

The discussion culminated at the party's national convention in August, attended by 1,600 delegates and observers. Reports on the resolution, and on the tasks for the party flowing from it, were given by SWP National Committee members Mary-Alice Waters and Elizabeth Stone.

Forty-eight delegates took the floor in the discussion, contributing their criticisms and insights concerning the resolution. After the document was approved by the delegates, the newly elected Political Committee was charged with editing it to incorporate the suggestions and ideas that were developed in the course of the preconvention and conven-

tion discussions.

The Socialist Workers Party adopted other important resolutions in 1969, 1971, and 1973, analyzing the implications of the Vietnam War, the radicalization of the 1960s, and Nixon's 1971 New Economic Policy.

This resolution is different from those of the recent past, although it builds on them. The resolution steps back and looks at the momentous changes that have taken place in the size, characteristics, attitudes, and organization of the American working class and its allies over the past quarter century. And it examines the meaning of the recent depression for the prospects of the American capitalist economy.

The central conclusion reached is that we are on the threshold of a new era: that the economic motor forces that produced the relative prosperity of the past decades are becoming more and more exhausted, and that we are in for more and deeper crises, inflation, unemployment, erosion of democratic rights, and threat of war. For the first time since the Great Depression, working people as a whole are feeling the crunch. Many are beginning to fear that we are in for worse times, not better; that the "American Dream" may have a nightmare in store.

Answers to many crucial questions are provided in the document: How can the divisions inside the working class be overcome? How can the unions be transformed into organizations that represent and fight for the rank and file? Should the unions defend only the privileges of better-off workers, as George Meany and Albert Shanker propose, or defend the rights of those who are worst off? How can we fight for a government that would put the needs of working people first, rather than forcing the workers to pay for every economic crisis?

## Send Us Your Views

Regular readers of the *Militant* and *International Socialist Review* will be aware of the many struggles going on right now, and along with them a search for answers to the types of questions addressed in this resolution. A short survey of headlines from the *Militant* this fall gives a good indication: "Mine strike: human lives versus profits"; "Berkeley teachers set example of united action"; "Black high school students let Boston racists know: 'We're here to stay!'"; "Bankers ram new union-busting bill through New York legislature"; "Campaign to ratify ERA launched in Georgia"; "UFW fights for justice in fields"; "Puerto Ricans in Mass. rebel against racist police murders"; "Mideast deal sets stage for new Vietnam."

We know readers of the *Militant* and *International Socialist Review* are activists in these and other struggles, confronting the political problems addressed in the SWP

resolution on a day-to-day basis. We would like to hear your views, questions, or criticisms of this document.

The editors of the *Militant* and *International Socialist Review* will try, as far as we are able, given our space limitations, to print contributions that will help enrich the understanding of this resolution. We will also try to answer questions from readers. For a fuller grasp of the perspectives before socialists today, readers will be able to consult a forthcoming book from Pathfinder Press, which will include reports and resolutions (including a separate resolution on the Black liberation struggle) from the SWP May plenum and August convention.

## Join the Socialist Workers Party

The revolutionary socialist movement is not made up of people different from you. Those who join are working people, students, housewives, unemployed people, retired people, Black, white, Chicano, Puerto Rican, Indian. What they have in common is the desire to devote themselves—to whatever degree their personal situation permits—to the fight for a socialist future.

If you are a socialist and agree with this resolution, you should join with others to let your ideas have an impact on actually changing this society; you should join the Socialist Workers Party. Your contributions can be especially effective in the coming presidential election year, when millions of Americans will be looking for an alternative to the bipartisan hypocrisy of the Democratic and Republican parties. On their speaking tours already, the SWP presidential and vice-presidential candidates, Peter Camejo and Willie Mae Reid, have found a new interest in socialism among many people who never considered it seriously before.

So read the resolution, let us know what you think of it, and, if you agree with it, join the Socialist Workers Party!

Clip and send to: SWP, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014.

☐ Send me more information about the SWP.

☐ I would like to join the SWP.

☐ Please notify me of publication of the Pathfinder book containing, in addition to this resolution, the SWP resolution on the Black liberation struggle and reports by party leaders on these documents and on party tasks.

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

**PETER  
CAMEJO  
FOR  
PRESIDENT**

**WILLIE REID  
FOR  
VICE-  
PRESIDENT**



## Support the '76 Socialist Campaign Help distribute the 'Bill of Rights for Working People'

Peter Camejo and Willie Mae Reid are campaigning around a platform called 'A Bill of Rights for Working People.' They say working people have a right to a job, an adequate income, free education and medical care, and a secure retirement.

Volunteers are needed to help distribute the 'Bill of Rights for Working People,' to staff campaign offices, to set up speaking engagements, and more. For information on how to get involved, send the coupon below to: Socialist Workers 1976 National Campaign Committee, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014.

- ☐ Send me more information.  
☐ I can volunteer; please contact me.  
☐ Send me a free copy of the 'Bill of Rights for

Working People'; ☐ Send me \_\_\_\_\_ copies to distribute (Spanish ☐ or English ☐, 3 cents each).

☐ Enclosed is a contribution of \$\_\_\_\_\_.

☐ Enclosed is \$1 for two months of the *Militant*, the socialist newsweekly.

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Business address \_\_\_\_\_  
Occupation/School/Union Local \_\_\_\_\_

Committee Officers: Chairpersons: Fred Halstead, Ed Heisler, Linda Jenness, Andrew Pulley—Treasurer: Andrea Morell. A copy of our report is filed with the Federal Election Commission and is available for purchase from the Federal Election Commission, Washington, D.C.



## ...Prospects for Socialism

Continued from page 1

forces against imperialism. It demonstrated the new limits imposed on the use of American imperialism's massive military machine. The imperialist giant today finds itself increasingly hobbled not only by the nuclear power of the Soviet Union, but by the absence of semicolonial allies and clients with solid popular support in their own countries, by the drain on U.S. capital that propping up dictatorial regimes entails, and by political opposition from the American people.

The defeat in Southeast Asia was a setback of historic proportions for U.S. capitalism.

Meanwhile, in Europe, the powerful working-class offensives registered in the May 1968 prerevolutionary upsurge in France and the "creeping May" in Italy in the autumn of 1969 demonstrated the growing trend toward broad social crises in the heart of the imperialist powers of Europe. This trend has been reconfirmed by the revolutionary ferment that exploded in Portugal in the spring of 1974.

From being an allied reserve, offering military, political, and economic support for embattled American imperialism vis-à-vis the colonial revolution and the workers states, sectors of European capital are becoming an additional source of weakness.

As the oil crisis, the prelude to the 1974-75 depression, demonstrated anew, American imperialism remains by far the single most powerful force in the world capitalist arena. Its economic output alone is as great as all the other major capitalist powers put together.

Furthermore, the competitive pressures of the unfolding social and economic crisis eliminated all pretense that the European Common Market countries would establish a single currency and state structure as a counterweight to U.S. imperialism and an effective challenge to its hegemony.

However, all these events of the end of the 1960s and beginning of the 1970s coincided not only with the end of the long wave of the post-World War II capitalist economic expansion; they also reflected a major decline in the productivity edge American capitalism had over its most powerful competitors.

The edge in labor productivity had enabled the dollar to play its role as the world currency, exporting inflation and allowing modest but real wage increases for American labor. It had also enabled U.S. imperialism to make massive investments and military expenditures abroad simultaneously. The peaking of the postwar international capitalist boom in the 1968-1971 period thus signaled the opening of a period of increasing interimperialist competition and conflict, of further shifts in the relationships among the imperialist powers, and a new long wave of economic stagnation and explosive inflation.

Before the nuclear arms age, such shifts in the relationship of forces would have precipitated an interimperialist war for the redivision of the shrinking world market, as in 1914 and 1939. But the qualitative military superiority of American capitalism within the imperialist camp, and the

deterrent presence of the Soviet nuclear arsenal, have radically altered the framework in which these classical interimperialist contradictions have to be resolved.

The policy of détente, too, is based on a mutual recognition of these new economic and military relationships of forces. While Moscow counts on economic aid from the capitalists to boost Soviet industrial and technological capacities, American imperialism, through a tacit political understanding, is assured of assistance from the Soviet bureaucracy in the form of counterrevolutionary intervention against the independent actions of the world working class. The Stalinist parties around the world are called upon to collaborate in this task. This *quid pro quo* constitutes the essence of the policy of détente and is brought to bear in every new revolutionary upsurge of the oppressed.

The convergence of these factors has precipitated a major crisis of world capitalist leadership.

## II. Crisis of Perspectives of the American Ruling Class

The American ruling class that was so confident and arrogant from 1945 on is now floundering in search of a new world strategy. This is reflected in the pessimism expressed by the bourgeois statesmen and commentators as they seek to assess the prospects of American imperialism from a broader historical perspective. To them the collapse of the "American century"—which they were so sure of thirty years ago—evokes visions of declining empires and a coming "dark age." They see the world as careening toward a new "era of scarcity," or suggest decades of zero economic growth as the only alternative to the destruction of the life-supporting capacity of the earth's environment. They "philosophically" weigh the probability that "democracy" cannot be maintained much longer if inflation and social unrest continue.

Such pessimism stems from a recognition of the shift in the world relationship of class forces to the disadvantage of capitalism, the shift in relative weight among the imperialist rivals themselves, and the scope of the problems generated today by a decaying world capitalist order.

This crisis of leadership and orientation is not confined to the American bourgeoisie. Despite the relative decline of the American dollar and Washington's power, there is no other capitalist power, not even the strongest, Germany or Japan, capable of stepping in and replacing Wall Street's hegemony.

However much the lesser capitalist powers may chafe under U.S. domination, they cannot free themselves from dependence upon Washing-

ton. Singly or collectively, they cannot afford, nor are they able, to police the world. Yet they cannot afford not to have it policed.

These are the sources of the disarray in the American and world bourgeois leaderships and the increasing divisions among them. As these divisions become intensified, they lead to further loss of confidence among the ruling classes in their own ability to rule. These conflicts, and the crisis of capitalist leadership, deepen the general malaise in the population.

Under these circumstances the *real* perspectives that continued capitalist rule presents to the American workers are cuts in the standard of living, new military adventures, and curtailment of democracy.

1. The ruling class will seek to boost profit rates by squeezing even more out of the American workers. This means holding down real wages, whittling away working conditions, lowering the standard of living, and slashing social welfare programs. It means seeking to increase divisions among the workers through the use of racism and sexism especially, and trying to prevent the development of international working-class solidarity.

It also means cutting down on the social legacy to be bequeathed to future generations—the natural environment, schools, hospitals, housing, organization of the cities, and the entire productive system. And it means increasing social dislocation—crime, alcoholism, drug addiction, mounting social and psychological pressures, and deepening alienation. This is the quality of life capitalism has in store for the great majority.

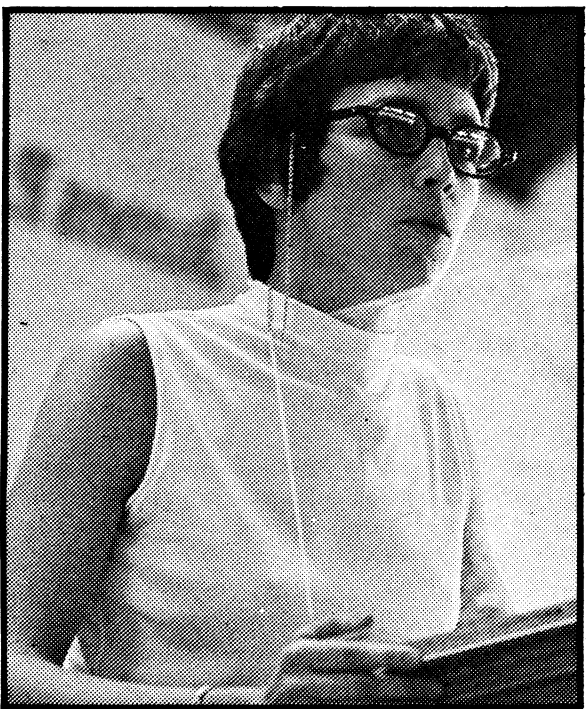
In their struggle against the relative advance of German and Japanese capital, the American bourgeoisie call on the masses to be "realistic" and accept the doleful fact that American capitalism cannot sustain the relatively high and growing standard of living the working class has come to expect as a right. The capitalists call upon the workers to sacrifice to make up for "excessive" wage increases and consumption of social services, and to lower their expectations in order to "keep America strong."

2. The threat of military adventures, and along with them the possibility of nuclear annihilation, will continue. Rivalries among the imperialist powers will sharpen as they compete for markets and raw materials. There will be increased efforts to impose American imperialist needs and perspectives on the masses of the colonial and semicolonial world with the inevitable resistance this will generate.

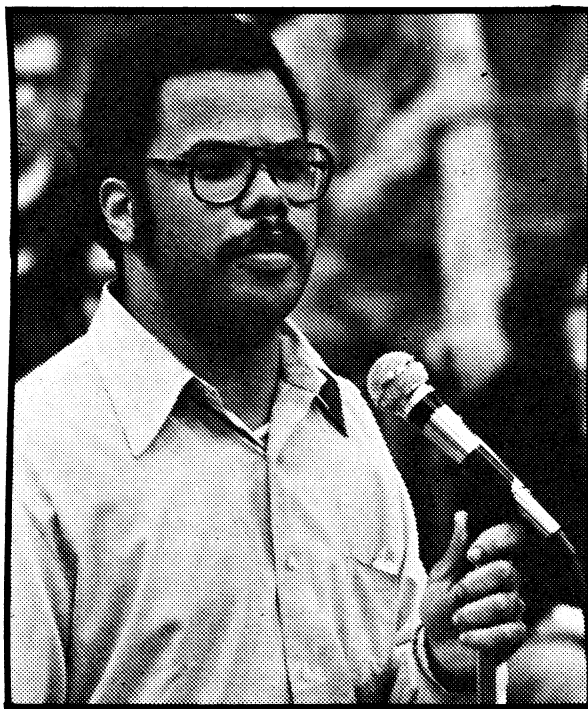
Washington will continue to come up against the limits of the Stalinists' capacity to control the outbursts of class struggle on a world scale. Since détente was proclaimed, events in Greece, Cyprus, Portugal, the Arab East, and Indochina have amply shown how impossible it is for Moscow and Peking to prevent the masses from disrupting the status quo.

At every opportunity, the ruling class will push as far as it can, testing the limits on the use of its massive military power and nuclear blackmail, trying to see how much of an edge it can get through threat of military action. The danger of miscalculation is always inherent in this bellicose probing.

**The economic and social shocks of the last five years—wage controls, the meat shortage, oil crisis, famine, Watergate, layoffs—have combined with the radicalized attitudes from the protests of the 1960s, to bring us to the threshold of a new mass consciousness. Growing numbers of working people sense that what we face is not just a temporary depression of the economy, but an enduring, worldwide crisis involving all aspects of society.**



Howard Petrick



Lou Howort

Mary-Alice Waters reported on the general political resolution printed here, and Tony Thomas reported on the Black liberation struggle resolution at the August SWP convention.

3. The ruling class will seek to curtail the democratic rights of the American workers, to undercut their ability to learn the truth about the actions and activities of the big corporations and the government, to hamper them from entering the political arena in an independent manner. They will strive to drive back both the social gains and the new rights won by the oppressed minorities and women in recent years.

Driving down the living standard of the masses of American workers, maintaining American economic positions abroad by deploying U.S. military might, curtailing the rights and liberties won by the American people on the job and in society as a whole—these are the realities America's imperialist rulers hold out for the coming period.

## III. Changing Consciousness of the Working Class

### Black Struggle

A mounting skepticism toward what was vaguely seen as "the American system" began in the 1960s. It took the form of a *moral* questioning by young people as they came to see "the system's" refusal or incapacity to meet the just demands being made by Black people. Little Rock, the sit-ins, Mississippi and Selma, then Watts, Detroit, and Newark became symbols of the social injustice and inequality pervading America. Bourgeois democracy was not based on liberty and equality for all as the schools taught.

From the Black struggle and all it revealed about the racist inequalities of American democracy, this questioning spread to other benighted outlooks and institutions upholding capitalism and upheld by it—religion, the "work ethic," unequal education, anticommunism, the "organization man" and hierarchical authority, marriage, and the family.

A new stage was opened by the Vietnam War as outrage over the aims and methods of American imperialism became a mass phenomenon reaching beyond the campus and the youth. The resulting radicalization extended to new arenas of struggle and challenged more of class society's sacred cows. Other oppressed nationalities, soldiers, women, gays, prisoners, the elderly, began to vocally and actively demand their full human rights.

### Legacy of Vietnam

The experience of the Vietnam War produced a profound change in the attitude of masses of American workers.

The strength of what the bourgeois pundits call the "new isolationism" constitutes the heritage of the overwhelming opposition of the American people to the government's intervention in Indochina, and their skepticism toward Washington's military adventures.

The American people have been sensitized to threats to use American military power. The credibility gap makes it more difficult to stage provocations like the Tonkin Gulf incident.

"Revisionist" reassessments of Washington's role and designs in the origins of the cold war, the Korean War, and even World War II are gaining a wider audience.

There is more awareness that increasing escalation of the military budget brings something besides jobs for those employed in the war industries—it brings death, destruction, senseless maiming and killing, and misery to the world, to American GIs, and to workers' families here at home.

Among the radicalizing effects of the Vietnam War and the antiwar movement was the dawning realization that war, war preparations, and the accumulated burden of the costs for past wars are central parts of the rulers' "answer" to world capitalist competition and its periodic crises.

In the last half decade an alteration has also occurred in the American workers' understanding of the reality of American democracy.

The working of American "democracy" abroad has been revealed in Vietnam and Chile, in Cuba and the former Belgian Congo, as a part of the real story has been unearthed from the records of the Pentagon, the CIA, the State Department, the White House, and Congress. But even more than the foreign operations, it was the extensive violations of democratic rights at home that were profoundly shocking to so many Americans as Watergate unraveled and the domestic crimes of the CIA, the FBI, and the Internal Revenue Service were exposed.

As the Watergate scandal unfolded, American workers began to see this spectacle not as an isolated case of crooked politicians being caught, but as proof of a general mode of operation that constituted a threat to fundamental democratic rights. These methods were initiated, carried on, and covered up by a ruling class determined to halt and eventually roll back the social and economic gains made in recent years by the working class and its allies. The real targets of the Watergate methods—as revealed by the Huston plan, Cointelpro documents, the Ellsberg case, the murder of the Chicago Black Panther leaders—were the Blacks, the Chicanos, the women, the youth, the prisoners, the antiwar GIs, the undocumented immigrant workers. The Watergate methods were part of the "law and order" response by the ruling class to the spread of the very idea that working people have a right to a say over war, a right to basic human necessities, and a right to fight for them.

More Americans came to suspect that references to "national security," like anticommunism, racism, and sexism, were intended to hide the real actions and motivations of the rulers.

The "credibility gap" that began with Vietnam and escalated to unprecedented proportions with Watergate represents in reality a crisis of political confidence in the government, the beginning of a crisis of legitimacy. For the first time since the 1930s tens of millions of American working people not only disbelieve what the rulers tell them but question the goals and values of the ruling class.

### Changing Social Values

Significant and progressive shifts in cultural patterns and values have already taken place in broad layers of the population, even though some of these have been expressed in escapist and subjective responses.

This is reflected in such developments as the rise of the gay liberation movement, the independence displayed by juries in political cases, the politicalization and mood of rebellion in the prisons, the readiness to reveal secrets that led to exposures of such scandals as the Pentagon papers and Cointelpro program.

Social norms and relationships are being newly examined from the standpoint of the historically oppressed or exploited. The critical reappraisals testify to a loosening of the bonds of bourgeois ideology and its conservative assumptions.

Modern means of communication, especially television, have played an unprecedented role in the rapid spread of news, ideas, and action, making more vivid the realities of wars and crises, and spreading innovative trends.

### Spread to Working Class

The actions connected with the radicalization of the 1960s took place by and large outside the framework of organized labor. This absence of the organized power of the working class was the strongest limitation upon the development of the radicalization.

But by the beginning of the 1970s the young workers especially were beginning to be significantly affected. They responded not so much as producers or unionists but as young people sensitive to the injustices of society.

Between the wage-freeze offensive of August 1971 and the economic depression of 1974-75 the workers began to discover that, in addition to being morally questionable, the system as a whole was just not giving them what they expected and needed. They reacted against the strong doses of wage controls, speedup, food shortages, the energy crisis, cutbacks in social welfare, double-digit inflation, double-digit unemployment in some sectors of industry and layers of the population, and large-scale layoffs.

Today growing numbers of American workers

sense that they are faced not with just a temporary economic depression, as serious as that may be, but with a more enduring *social* crisis that is worldwide. It is not simply that they hear such admissions from prominent figures on television; the working class can see the evidence all around. They can see it in the decline in education, public facilities, health care, and housing and in the growing pollution of the environment.

They are beginning to sense that the economic problems they face are much greater than before, that the prolonged period of relative prosperity has definitely come to an end; and while the period now opening may have its ups, the ups won't be high or last long and the downs will be really deep and long.

The forebodings of the workers are accurate. We face a period in which stagnation will predominate over boom and in which the employers will seek to tighten their control over job conditions, speed of the line, health and safety conditions, the organization of the work.

Combinations of breakdowns and shortages, slumps and inflation, speedup and degradation of labor, new wars—that is what American capitalism promises for the future.

Fed by unrest over the current depression, the greatest collapse in public confidence since the Hoover administration has accelerated the crisis in leadership faced by America's rulers.

### Reform and Revolution

The only program capable of blocking eventual radicalization of the unions would be massive social reform—that is, large-scale concessions in the form of job-creating public works programs, unemployment benefits, housing, medical care, education, protection against inflation, and similar reforms.

While the ruling class is capable of making concessions and may even at some point initiate a number of highly publicized projects as part of a new "New Deal," social reforms of the scope that could meet today's expectations are beyond their reach. That course would necessitate the stabilization of the world capitalist economy, renewal of its expansionary course, and a vast strengthening of America's dominant position.

Three major obstacles block a perspective of reform so far-reaching as to assure an extended period of social and political stability.

First, the international evolution of the class struggle itself will touch off new explosive convulsions throughout the world. An imperialist foreign policy able to block further advances of social revolution is beyond Washington's reach. It was the transformation of the "New Deal" into the "War Deal" that rescued the capitalist economy from the crisis of the 1930s and defused the radicalization of those years. Any attempt to emulate that course today would spark massive political opposition.

Second, the state of the international capitalist economy following the end of the long boom precludes social and economic concessions to the working class on a scale sufficient to close their minds to radical ideas. The more likely perspective is continued convulsive developments in the world capitalist economy, sharp fluctuations, unexpected breakdowns, renewed inflation and shortages, with some of the satellite regimes skirting bankruptcy. A new massive increase in the already bloated war budget of the Pentagon, far from helping to resolve the crisis as it did at the end of the 1930s, would rapidly set off another round of rampant inflation, triggering new social struggles by the American people.

Third, American capitalism's real economic perspectives will make it increasingly difficult for the ruling class even to maintain concessions and advances already won, let alone meet the heightened expectations of the oppressed and exploited.

There will be no willing patriotic sacrifices for some supposedly higher "national interest." While appeals to racist and sexist attitudes to offset the radicalization will evoke a response in some sectors of the working class, they will be qualitatively less effective than before and will stiffen the resistance of their victims.

The United States is not heading back to the prolonged prosperity, reaction, and quiescence of the 1950s and early 1960s. The road ahead is one of increasing class consciousness, class struggle, and class polarization, leading from radicalization toward a revolutionary situation, regardless



of the oscillations along the way.

The world crisis of capitalism does not favor extensive and effective long-term capitalist reform in the United States but development of the prerequisites for a revolution.

## IV. Changing Character and Composition of the Working Class

Contrary to the widely trumpeted myth of bourgeois sociology, class differences did not vanish during the postwar boom nor was the American proletariat dissolved into a generally comfortable new petty bourgeoisie. In fact, the opposite occurred.

Wealth and economic control have become concentrated in the hands of a smaller and smaller percentage of the population. At the same time, the extensive industrialization, automation, and monopolization of factory, farm, and office in the 1950s and 1960s led to a massive increase in the size of the American working class, both in absolute terms and in relation to other classes.

Spurred on by the needs of monopoly capital in a period of accelerated expansion, these changes of the last three decades have produced major alterations in the composition and placement of the class:

- Agricultural industrialization and mechanization drove millions of farm families off the land while simultaneously increasing the key role played by the agricultural proletariat on the farms.
- Industrialization of the South brought about the proletarianization of the majority of the Southern population.
- These two processes, together with the large-scale northern migration of the Black population, produced a rapid proletarianization of Afro-Americans.
- Chicano and Puerto Rican labor entered the urban work force, as well as the agricultural proletariat, in large numbers. Like Blacks, the Chicano and Puerto Rican people have become more urbanized than the white population.
- The expansionary boom brought millions of women into the labor market.
- The growing utilization of "part-time" workers absorbed additional large numbers of women as well as youth into the work force.

Alongside this extensive proletarianization of the population, there have been important changes produced by the automation and monopolization of American industry in the placement, disposition, and character of American labor.

• The percentage of workers employed as craftsmen, operatives, and laborers, what government statistics call "blue collar workers," has fallen.

• As in all advanced capitalist countries, there have been sharp increases in the service sector of the economy, the percentage of clerical workers,

and the number of public employees working for the various departments of the federal, state, county, and municipal governments (none of whom the ruling class statisticians call "blue collar workers").

• The mechanization of many trades has eroded the skill levels and standing of a growing number of crafts. For example, in the building trades, the skills of masons, carpenters, and painters are even less needed as prefabricated construction increases.

• The "industrialization" and automation of a large amount of white collar office and sales work, and even what is referred to as "intellectual labor," has created a new reservoir of proletarianized and alienated labor.

This monopolization and industrialization, extending up and down the line from farms and mines, processing and transportation to storage and distribution, have sharply reduced the classical petty-bourgeois dreams and illusions of even skilled sectors of the American workers. Proletarianization has altered the workers' concepts of themselves in comparison with earlier generations. American workers think of themselves nowadays more as permanent workers than as potential independent producers. Fewer believe they will one day be able to have a shop, farm, or small business of their own, assuring them an independent livelihood. They are more interested in wresting some degree of control over the machinery, work decisions, and health and safety environment they are subjected to, than in aspiring to own a small business or escaping back to the land.

At the same time, while they do not expect to be able to rise above their own social class, they believe their children are *entitled* to a better education and a better life than they had. With fewer traditional petty-bourgeois illusions than any previous generation of American workers, they nonetheless feel they have a *right* to what are considered "middle class" standards of living. These encompass a guaranteed income, rising as productivity increases; expanding medical and retirement guarantees; adequate transportation; a decent and continuing education; peace; and a healthy environment for their children. They believe that the American economy, if run correctly, can produce this standard of living for all. These convictions are a revolutionizing—not a conservatizing—factor.

The changes in the composition of the working class and in the mass organizations of the workers, the unions, deserve a closer look.

### Blacks

The Black population is today more proletarianized and more urbanized than the white. A significantly higher percentage of Black women are in the labor force than white women.

A higher percentage of Blacks than ever before are engaged in basic industry, especially auto, steel, and transportation. Through affirmative action suits and quotas they have made gains in jobs, upgrading, pay, and job security.

Blacks comprise about 22 percent of all workers employed in manufacturing and in construction. At the same time Blacks make up a disproportionately large percentage of the lower-paid service jobs and lower rungs of public

employment. About 27 percent of all employed Blacks are service workers.

The unionization of Black workers reflects this employment pattern. In the United Automobile Workers, the Steelworkers, American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees, Letter Carriers, and Postal Clerks, Blacks comprise about 20 percent of the union membership. In many locals it is significantly higher. In the Longshoremen the percentage rises to nearly half.

The unions today are the organizations having the largest Black membership in the country. In auto the percentage of Black union-local officials is higher than the percentage of Blacks in the industry, and many locals are run largely by Blacks. The Coalition of Black Trade Unionists is an initial reflection of this development.

The rapid expansion of the service and public employee sectors of the economy; the proletarianization of Black and female labor; the significant concentration of Blacks and women in these sectors; and the fact that these are also the most rapidly growing sectors of union organization are all interrelated phenomena.

### Women

The increase in the percentage of women in the work force has been one of the biggest changes brought about by American capital in the postwar period.

In 1930 women constituted only 20 percent of the work force, and less than 25 percent of all women of working age were employed. By 1945, largely because of the needs of the war industry, women constituted 30 percent of the work force, and more than a third of all women of working age were employed. But by 1972 women constituted 37 percent of the work force, and 44 percent of all women were employed.

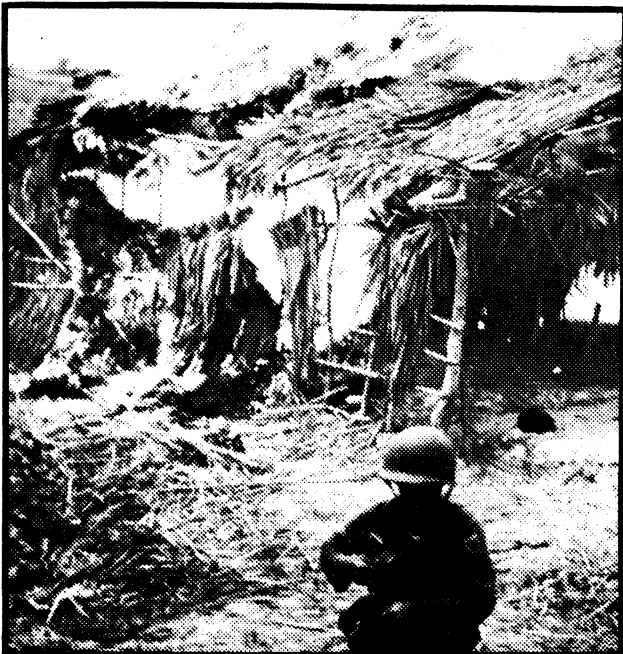
While the decade following World War II saw a small decline in the number of women in industry and employment, reversing some of the gains established during the war years, by 1955 the curve of employment began to climb again. The last twenty years have seen a steady rise in female employment. During the boom of the 1960s two-thirds of all new jobs created were taken by women. This rate of increase in female employment occurred because of the rapid rate of expansion of the economy as a whole.

The highest percentage of working women, while classified by the government as "white collar," went into the fastest growing sectors of the working class—office workers, service employees, sales, public workers, and teachers.

Toward the end of the postwar boom, through the enforcement of quotas and affirmative action suits, women even began to win a slightly larger percentage of jobs in basic industry.

Forty percent of all working women are either the sole or major wage earners in their households. At the same time, working wives are the single largest source of the "affluence" of many American working-class families.

The growing integration of women into the work force has brought with it a heightening of class consciousness among women. As they increasingly see themselves as long-term and permanent members of the work force and are recognized as such by others, the need to protect



U.S. destruction in Vietnam (left); bed of Black Panther leader Fred Hampton, targeted for assassination by secret decision of ruling class, as were Malcolm X, Patrice Lumumba, and Fidel Castro.

**Imperial arrogance, contempt for human values, unspeakable brutality, disregard for the fundamental democratic rights the American people believe in, police-state methods of political spying, provocation, and assassination—these are not only the policies of American capitalism abroad; they are the practices of American capitalism at home.**



their jobs and working conditions by joining unions and bringing their militancy to bear in the labor movement becomes more obvious and urgent. This is part of the process that has given rise to formations such as women's committees in the unions and the Coalition of Labor Union Women.

### Youth

The American working class in the 1970s is younger than at any time since the 1930s. In 1960 only 16 percent of the work force was under twenty-five years of age. Today it is more than 23 percent.

The rise in the formal educational level of the working class as a whole is especially marked in this generation of young workers, male and female, who spent more time in school before permanently entering the labor market. Today more than 27 percent of the labor force has completed one or more years of college education, up from only 16 percent twenty years ago.

This means that more of the American workers coming into industry are subjected to the social, cultural, and ideological influences affecting their generation as a whole for a longer period before their assimilation into the work force.

The young workers of the present generation are different in another sense. They are a completely fresh and undefeated layer that does not bear the scars or the memory of the Great Depression, the witch-hunt, and the cold war. They are imbued with the more militant attitudes of the developing radicalization. Since they came into the labor force when there was close to steady work for all adult members of the household who wished to be employed, they expect more as their rightful due.

It is the young workers who have reacted most militantly to the speedup and deterioration of working conditions in the last half-decade. And they looked least to the ossified union bureaucracies to protect their interests. They were the initiators of several waves of wildcat strikes and local actions. Their deep alienation is often expressed through sabotage on the line, high turnover rates, and absenteeism.

In the decade of the late 1960s and early 1970s the young workers often tended to be hostile to the unions or indifferent to them, not identifying with them as *their* organizations. But, as the struggles with the employing class intensify, the problem of either transforming the unions into instruments of struggle against the bosses, or facing massive defeats, is beginning to appear in a new light.

### Trade Unions

At the beginning of the radicalization of the 1930s barely 5 percent of the working class was unionized. Those who were organized were trapped in the antiquated structures of craft unions led by a conservative bureaucracy that stood in the way of building fighting organizations of the working class.

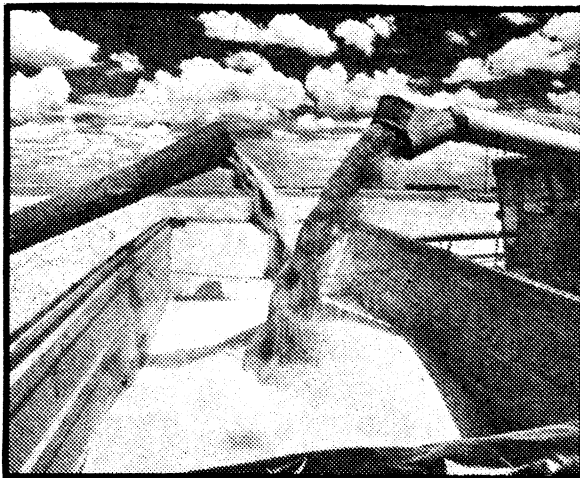
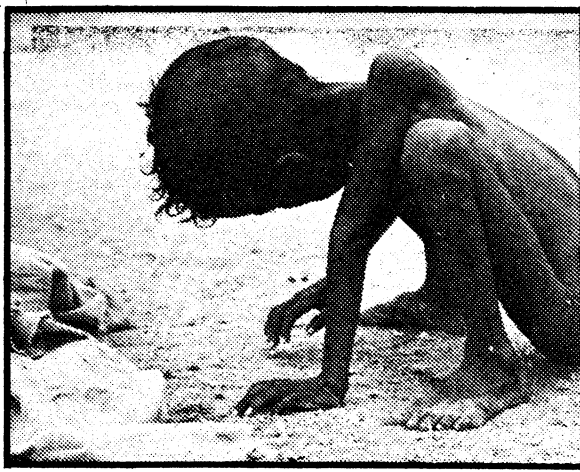
Labor's giant step in the 1930s and 1940s, the organization of basic industry and the establishment of industrial union shops in auto, steel, rubber, and elsewhere, transformed the character of the American labor movement. In a few short years it became one of the most powerfully organized working classes in the world.

By the end of the 1930s close to 16 percent of the labor force was unionized. By the end of the war it had risen to more than 23 percent, and the percentage continued to rise until 1953 when it peaked at 25.5 percent.

The ossification of the union leaderships over the last two decades, their failure to fight to maintain working conditions, to organize the unorganized, to combat antilabor legislation, and to mobilize the unions in behalf of progressive social struggles, and their political subordination to the needs of the employers' two-party system, have led to a stagnation and decline in union membership since then. Today roughly 23 percent of the labor force is unionized.

Among the more striking defaults of the union bureaucrats has been the absence of any sizable advances in unionizing the South, parallel to the growing industrialization and urbanization of that region.

Similarly, they have shown brutal indifference to—and in the case of the Teamster bureaucracy



**A glaring contrast has become evident between the enormous agricultural productivity in the United States and the continuing famines around the world, destroying hundreds of thousands of lives. Growing consciousness of this brutal inequality and irrationality bred by capitalism will be one of the generators of upheavals both in the United States and in other countries.**

even helped lead the attack against—the fight to unionize farm labor.

Big inroads have been made by the construction bosses against the craft unions. Mechanization and prefabrication in the construction industry coupled with the reactionary white-job-trust mentality of the bureaucracies of the skilled trades led to stagnation and a decline in membership among the skilled craft unions and the undermining of union-shop conditions. The weakening of such unions is now being registered in the mechanization of the building trades like painting and carpentry, and automation of the printing trades. Industrial conditions are tearing down the craft-union structure along with its accompanying business-unionism mentality and customs.

But expecting the big boom to last forever, the union bureaucracies set themselves up, not as the leadership of a class with a historic mission in society, but as representatives and defenders of the benefits enjoyed by a small layer of the most privileged white male workers.

## V. Radicalization and Mobilization of the Allies of the Proletariat

The failure of the union bureaucracies to fight for the elementary needs of the masses of workers they represent has already led to the first revolts against some of their most corrupt sectors. The overturn of the Boyle machine in the

United Mine Workers, the establishment of the right of the miners to vote on their contracts, and the growing social consciousness of the miners have given a glimpse of the initiatives to be expected from the powerful industrial proletariat.

The large-scale, rapid unionization of public employees in the last decade, including the unionization of millions of teachers and others who formerly considered themselves "middle-class professionals," has brought significant new forces into the labor movement.

For public employees, every struggle comes up against a series of obstacles. Antistrike and antilabor laws are used against them. They are weakened by the lack of broad labor unity mobilized in their support. They are crippled by the past failures of their leaderships to support the struggles of the oppressed communities. And they must confront not only the government as boss, but the Democratic and Republican parties to whom the unions have been subordinated by the misleadership of American labor.

Public employees are today the main target of the ruling-class offensive to drive down wages, working conditions, social welfare, and social services, and to weaken and demoralize American labor. They are more vulnerable to attack than the powerfully organized industrial workers, who create the profits for America's rulers. Successful efforts by the public workers to fight back and overcome these obstacles could provide an example and constitute a turning point for the entire American working class.

But this will require a new kind of leadership, new consciousness, and new methods of struggle. The transformation of American labor into a class-conscious social and political force will be heralded both by massive social struggles outside the unions and by the rise of a class-struggle left wing in the union movement. Such a formation will strive to provide leadership for all types of social struggles by the oppressed. It will chart a political course of class independence for the unions, breaking millions of workers and their allies away from the two-party system of the bourgeoisie and their agents.

Even in a country like the United States where the workers comprise the vast majority of the population, the working class cannot succeed in wresting power from the capitalist rulers and beginning the socialist reconstruction of society without strong support from their allies. At the same time, these allies—the oppressed minorities, women, small farmers, craftsmen and proprietors, the GIs, the student youth—all have a life-and-death stake in the socialist revolution.

The traditional allies of the workers have been primarily the small independent producers, craftsmen and proprietors, both urban and rural. This still held true during the radicalization of the 1930s when the farm population was about 30 percent of the total. However, the large-scale changes wrought since then in the structure of industry, agriculture, and the labor force through the growth and further monopolization of American capital have radically reduced the size and altered the configuration of these classical petty-bourgeois strata.

The composition and character of the allies of the proletariat have undergone significant changes as the structure and composition of the proletariat itself has altered dramatically. But these changes in no way lessen the importance of understanding the independent needs and struggles of these allies or of winning them to the side of the socialist revolution. To the contrary, clear and concrete answers must be given to their demands if the revolutionary workers are to mobilize full striking power against the forces of capital. In so doing, they will eliminate the central obstacle before the coming American revolution—that is, the divisions within the working class.

### The Oppressed Nationalities and National Minorities

The oppressed nationalities and national minorities have a dual character. They constitute a growing percentage of the working class itself and at the same time they are the most important allies of the working class. In this respect they differ from the oppressed layers of the petty bourgeoisie, and all other allies except the women. To see only one side of this duality, and to ignore the other, would be a fatal error for

a revolutionary party.

Oppressed nationalities and national minorities are exploited as proletarians. This exploitation is intensified by their pariah status since they are at the same time oppressed as a distinct people. The struggle against this twofold oppression is one of the central driving forces of the coming American revolution. It is closely intertwined with all the problems and issues facing the American working class.

Their importance as allies of the proletariat stems from several factors:

National oppression and the racism used to justify it are rooted in the historical development of American capitalism, in the uncompleted tasks of the second American revolution (the Civil War, which emancipated Afro-Americans from slavery but failed to lead to full equality), and in the rise of imperialism with its self-justifying racist ideology.

National oppression is used by the ruling class to divide the working class, to buy off leaders and privileged strata, thus weakening both the class consciousness and political independence of the workers, and bolstering capitalist rule. With or without legal sanction, a major component of the industrial reserve army has been kept in a pariah status.

The overwhelmingly proletarian composition and superexploitation of the oppressed nationalities and national minorities mean that they will be the most consistent and cohesive of all allies of the working class in its struggles. More and more they will furnish leadership in the fight to transform the labor movement into a fighting social movement, using its power to back the struggles of all the oppressed.

## Blacks

The most important changes in the Black population have already been noted:

- The postwar mechanization of Southern agriculture.
- The urbanization and proletarianization of the Black population in the South.
- The massive northern migration of the Black population.
- The big influx into basic industry during and after World War II.
- The increase in the number of years Black youth spend in school and the percentage that receive high school degrees and some post-high school education.

The period since 1945 has also seen a historic advance in the struggle for Black liberation.

### "Jim Crow Must Go"

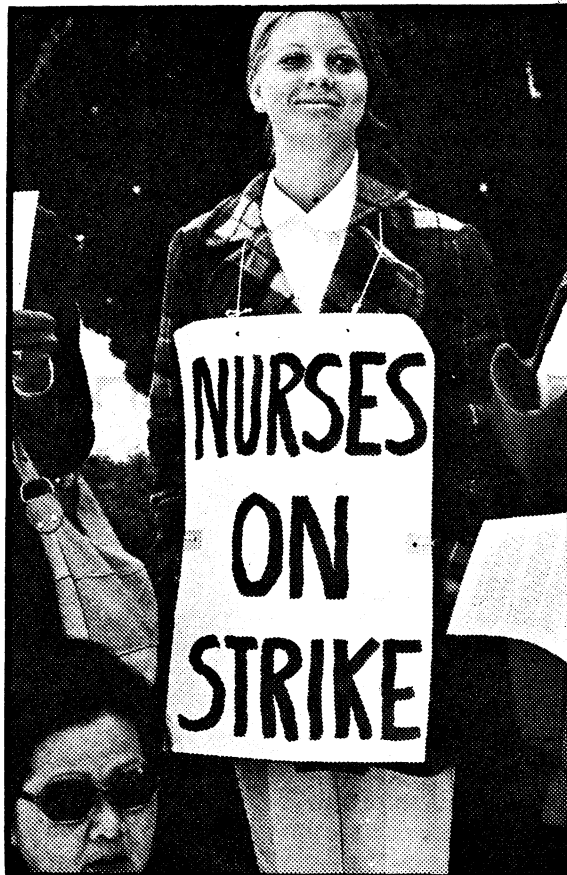
In the postwar years American imperialism drove to expand its domination in Asia, Africa, and Latin America. To do so it needed a new, less racist image. In addition, the changes taking place in the economic structure of Southern society created the need for new forms of social control. The more alert representatives of the American ruling class began to recognize that Jim Crow, the Southern system of legal segregation maintained through legal and extralegal terror, had ceased to be the most effective means of perpetuating the second-class status of the Black proletariat.

Under pressure from growing mass resentment, the U.S. armed forces were formally desegregated during the Korean War and then in 1954 the Supreme Court declared school segregation unconstitutional.

But it was only the decade-long direct-action struggles, mobilizing millions of Blacks and their supporters, that downed Jim Crow. Their power and determination played a decisive role in altering Black consciousness and self-confidence. This was reflected in the rise of Black Power and Black nationalist sentiments; in the popularity of Malcolm X; in the upsurges of other oppressed minorities and social groupings; in the moral questioning that has so deeply motivated the youth radicalization; and in the modification of the opinions of masses of white workers.

The effects of the mass struggle to end segregation, followed by the powerful rise of Black nationalist sentiment, were subsequently seen in the vanguard role played by Black GIs in opposition to the Vietnam War.

The high point in the "civil rights period" of the new rise of the Black struggle came with the battle of Birmingham and the march on Wash-



Howard Petrick

**The postwar capitalist boom brought large-scale industrialization, automation, and monopolization, leading to a massive increase in the size of the working class. The 'industrialization' of a large amount of 'white collar' and even what was considered 'professional' work have turned these employees into a new pool of proletarianized, alienated labor. Even young doctors have begun to use the strike weapon to fight for shorter hours.**

ington in 1963, the passage of the 1964 Civil Rights Act and the 1965 Voting Rights Act, and the Selma, Alabama, confrontation. The impact of the masses in action was even grotesquely echoed in Lyndon Johnson's "we shall overcome" speech before the Congress.

### The Ghettos Explode

Rebellions in the Black communities, beginning in New York in 1964, spreading to Watts in 1965, and Newark and Detroit in 1967, and culminating in the 1968 nationwide outbreaks after the death of Martin Luther King, ushered in a new stage of struggle in which Black nationalist ideas spread rapidly. These spontaneous upsurges, along with intensified struggles by Black students and other sectors of the Black community, forced more concessions from the ruling class and brought forward new leaders who became targets of stepped-up government repression.

Riding the crest of the postwar boom, the ruling class co-opted a layer of the leaders or potential leaders of the rising Black radicalization by granting them economic, political, and social concessions.

The percentage of Black enrollment in the country's colleges and universities tripled in a five-year period at the end of the 1960s and beginning of the 1970s. "Great Society" dollars were poured into poverty program funds, a good part of which went into salaries of "aspiring leaders," Black and white.

The face of the Democratic Party also underwent a significant change. The threat posed by the unconditional opposition of Malcolm X to the Democratic Party and the first halting steps toward independent Black political action, such

as the Michigan Freedom Now Party and the Lowndes County Freedom Organization, was adroitly countered. From the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party to the election of Black mayors in a half-dozen major industrial cities, to the emergence of the Congressional Black Caucus, and the election of more than 1,100 Black officials in the deep South—where less than a decade ago the masses of Blacks were barred even from voting—the lure of "working within the (two-party) system" attracted the overwhelming majority of a generation of potential Black leaders.

The following features should be added to the picture of the crisis of leadership of the Black movement:

1. The total default of the organized labor movement, whose class-collaborationist leadership was unable to rise above its own narrow concern of maintaining its privileged position and refused to mobilize the power of the labor movement in support of the Black struggle.

2. The calculated policy of the powers that be of eliminating any potential individual leaders—such as Martin Luther King, who inspired the Black masses to struggle, or Malcolm X, who was beginning to urge Black people toward independent political action against capitalist oppression.

3. The government harassment and murder of a layer of leaders in the generation of the 1960s. Groups like the Black Panthers, whose ultraleftism turned them away from any mass perspective, were left defenseless before the government's cold-blooded use of agents provocateurs and terror.

4. The numerical weakness of the revolutionary Marxists, which prevented them from providing a revolutionary leadership except in the realm of program and socialist perspectives.

But despite this crisis, the rise of Black nationalism and the massive ghetto explosions brought about a historic advance in the self-confidence of Blacks and their image of themselves as a people. The upsurges also changed the way white Americans viewed Afro-Americans. Despite the lack of adequate leadership of the Black movement, its power won numerous concessions and registered advances throughout the decade of the 1960s. This has been symbolized in the at least token participation of Blacks at every level of society and culture, from TV commercials to sports, from elected union posts to the Supreme Court. In the late 1960s even the income differential between Blacks and white workers narrowed by a tiny, though perceptible, amount. Blacks began fighting for preferential quotas, training, and upgrading in industry and the educational system, as necessary and irreplaceable steps along the road to real equality.

### The Counteroffensive

But the costs of the Vietnam War and the increasing economic crunch brought an end to the Johnson period of concessions and buy-offs as a tactical expedient in coping with rising Black militancy. The Nixon-Connelly 1971 wage controls and economic offensive followed recognition that the new economic realities and world relationship of forces not only precluded continuing increases in real wages and social services, but meant that many concessions already won would have to be reversed. Further progress toward equality became more and more incompatible with maintaining competitive superiority in the world market.

The Black population did not share in the brief economic upturn of 1971-72. From the high point of Black median incomes equaling 61 percent of white median incomes in 1969, the ratio fell to 58 percent in 1973. Black unemployment rose steadily from 6.4 percent in 1969 to 10 percent in 1972.

The 1972-73 Nixon policy of rollback in virtually every area of social expenditures—housing, education, transportation, child care, welfare, etc.—was part of the drive to take back the gains won by the radicalization of the 1960s. These cutbacks, aimed at the working class as a whole, hit Blacks and other oppressed nationalities and minorities the hardest. But instead of reversing the radicalization, the cutbacks helped create the opposition that spurred forward the Watergate crisis and the downfall of Nixon.

These are the present battle lines in relation to





Pasadena, December 14, 1974, probusing march

Walter Lippmann

Black liberation and the labor movement. While the ruling class is forced to try to reverse the drive toward real equality, the Black movement must press forward with demands for immediate government enforcement of concessions already won and for preferential treatment. Especially in a period of economic stagnation, the racist counteroffensive in education, housing, jobs, and other areas puts the Black leadership and the labor movement to a decisive test.

### Chicanos

The late 1960s and early 1970s saw an upsurge of Chicano nationalism. As with Afro-Americans, the new militancy was rooted in the major economic and social changes within the Chicano population that took place during and after World War II—a significant urbanization and proletarianization of the Chicano population and a large influx of Mexican workers to provide inexpensive labor for the expanding agribusiness in the Southwest.

The ascending Chicano movement in the 1960s was influenced by the advances of the Black civil rights movement and the rise of Black nationalism, the colonial revolution, and the student radicalization.

Later the growing opposition to the Vietnam War plus the disproportionately high Chicano casualty rates helped fuel the militancy. The Chicano movement, led by a layer of radical Chicano leaders who were less affected by ultraleftism than those in the Black movement, organized sizable actions against the war.

Starting in the mid-1960s, the focal point of the Chicano movement became the broad campaign developed in support of attempts to organize the Southwest and West Coast migrant farm labor employed by the most advanced monopoly agribusiness in the world. Radical students were rapidly drawn into support activities.

From the beginning *la causa* was conceived not only as a union organizing drive, but as a broad social movement in the interests of all Chicano people. As such, it was—and remains—in marked contrast to the prevailing character of the rest of the labor movement.

While Chicano nationalism partly took its inspiration from the Black movement, several important differences should be noted:

1. While statistics vary, as much as half of the Chicano population may consider Spanish to be their first language. The right to use their own language in school, at work, on the ballot, and in all aspects of life is one of the central demands of the Chicano struggle.

This is closely tied to the struggles of Chicano students who face, in addition to inferior educational facilities, a denial of the right to study and learn in their own language, resulting in an even higher rate of functional illiteracy than among Blacks. Language and related cultural oppression were major factors in precipitating the massive Chicano high school student “blowouts” in Los Angeles, Denver, and several Texas cities in the 1960s.

2. Eighty percent of the Chicano population is located in a well-defined geographical area of the country, and is linked by history, culture, and language to both Mexico and the United States.

3. A racist and xenophobic offensive against foreign labor and particularly “illegals,” who are

easiest to victimize, is one of the central campaigns of the ruling exploiters in every economic crisis. International labor solidarity is fundamental to unifying and defending the working class, its gains, and its organizations. The right to move freely back and forth across the border, the right to work in the United States when and where a worker chooses, without fear of harassment because of lack of work papers or immigration documents, is one of the demands at the very heart of the Chicano struggle. This claim puts the labor movement to a severe test, one that the AFL-CIO officialdom has flunked miserably up to now.

### The Farm Workers

The farm worker organizing drives in California, Texas, and elsewhere face tremendous obstacles. A factory in the fields is more difficult to organize than a factory within four walls. The increasingly seasonal and migrant character of the labor force compounds the difficulties. Farm workers also face some of the most powerful monopolies in the world, whose interests are protected by the federal, state, and local governments. The strikebreaking role of the Teamster bureaucracy and the foot-dragging indifference of the AFL-CIO bureaucracy have created additional problems.

Yet despite these enormous difficulties, the United Farm Workers union organizing drive in California has scored some significant victories. In the elections that followed the August 1975 passage of the California Agricultural Labor Relations Act, the UFW came out ahead despite coercion, intimidation, and widespread rigging. This testifies to the viability of *la causa* and its deep roots among the field workers.

The UFW has also been strengthened by the position it now takes on the undocumented Mexican workers. Recognizing that its earlier demand for deportation of so-called illegal aliens was hurting the farm workers' struggle, the UFW leadership has been working to win the votes of the undocumented workers and fighting grower-Teamster efforts to victimize them.

A sizable proportion of the Chicano labor force is employed as agricultural workers. The fierce exploitation and brutal oppression they suffer will continue to generate renewed struggles. Efforts to mobilize the Chicano community and other allies in support of *la causa* will continue to be a focal point for the entire Chicano movement.

Experience is showing that it will take a determined, independent mass movement to force the growers to terms—even after union elections are won—and to extend the organizing drive to other sections of agriculture. The question of political orientation and the need for independence from the liberal Democrats, or any other capitalist politicians, is sharply posed.

In recent years the Democratic Party has increased its efforts to hold onto the Chicano vote. This has resulted in the election of Chicanos to two state governorships for the first time. While most influential figures in the Chicano community have remained tied to the Democratic Party, the response to various attempts by Raza Unida Party formations to move in the direction of mass independent political action has confirmed that when presented with a viable alternative, significant numbers of Chicanos can be broken from the Democratic machine.

**Labor must recognize the independent needs and struggles of Blacks, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, and women as allies of the working class. At the same time, this solidarity is necessary in order to eliminate the racial and sexual divisions within the working class, the central obstacle to a socialist revolution.**

### La Raza Unida

The Chicano movement has moved ahead of the Black movement on this important front. The various attempts to construct Raza Unida parties—with their strengths and weaknesses—are some of the most advanced initiatives yet made in the direction of political action independent of the two capitalist parties.

A key test for the Raza Unida parties came in the 1972 presidential elections. At the first “National Convention of Raza Unida Parties” in El Paso, Texas, in September 1972 it was clear that a big majority of party activists favored maintaining independence from both the Democrats and Republicans.

The real test came in the actual campaign. The Texas party ran its most ambitious statewide election campaign and, despite programmatic limitations, it was clearly independent of and in opposition to the Democratic Party. In Colorado the Raza Unida Party also ran a clearly independent campaign, although on a smaller scale than the Texas party.

Although there are excellent opportunities for developing a powerful mass Raza Unida Party movement, the growth of the parties remains limited and uneven.

The clearest indication of this unevenness is the smallness of the Raza Unida groupings in Southern California, where there is a Chicano population of more than one million in Los Angeles County alone. Moreover, the Los Angeles Chicanos have repeatedly displayed their combativity, and several independent election campaigns have demonstrated significant support for independent political action. Yet no leadership has emerged capable of organizing that support and consolidating even the nucleus of an independent party.

The Texas Raza Unida Party is the strongest, having enjoyed a growth in organizational and political influence over a period of several years. While even the Texas Raza Unida Party has achieved only a small part of its potential, its survival and progress offer testimony to the viability of the concept of an independent Chicano party.

The accomplishments of the Raza Unida parties remain an example for emulation by the Black and labor movements.

### Puerto Ricans in the United States

Some of the biggest changes in any of the oppressed national minorities since the radicalization of the 1930s have been among the Puerto Ricans. Because of the massive emigration from the island since World War II, 40 percent of all Puerto Ricans now live in the United States, with the largest number in New York City.

The superexploitation of the Puerto Rican colony by U.S. imperialism imposes conditions much worse than those on the mainland even in prosperous times. Prices are higher than in the United States, wages are one-third to one-half those on the mainland, and unemployment is three to four times higher. During a depression, this superexploitation has a catastrophic impact on the Puerto Rican working masses.

The Puerto Rican minority in the United States is concentrated in the hardest, lowest paid, and least organized jobs in industry. However, in some public employee unions such





Miguel Pendas



Suzanne Welch

Los Angeles women (left) demand end to forced sterilization; Tallahassee, Florida, demonstration for ERA.

Basic democratic demands by women such as for the right to abortion and for constitutional and legal guarantees of equality represent a challenge to class society and its entire ideological super-structure. The search for solutions to the issues raised by the women's liberation movement is one of the driving forces of the coming American revolution.

as the hospital employees and service workers, Puerto Ricans make up a considerable part of the membership, and they are a significant and growing percentage of the garment workers on the East Coast. There are also between 50,000 and 100,000 Puerto Rican seasonal farm workers, most of whom are employed on the truck farms and in the tobacco fields of the East Coast.

The struggles of Puerto Ricans living in the United States are primarily directed against the racist discrimination they suffer and toward bettering their living and working conditions in the United States. In this sense they are distinct from the struggles in Puerto Rico. But the connections between Puerto Ricans living in the United States and in Puerto Rico also serve to link them with the struggle for independence in Puerto Rico and to the colonial revolution in general.

The Puerto Rican minority has been deeply affected by the Black struggle and has close contact with it because of the proximity of the Black and Puerto Rican populations in the ghettos and because there is a significant percentage of Black Puerto Ricans. However, the ruling class has tried to find ways, especially through the use of poverty funds, to pit Puerto Ricans and Blacks against each other and prevent them from uniting in struggle.

In a few cities in the Midwest, particularly Chicago, Puerto Rican and Chicano communities exist side by side. Struggles of mutual interest include those against discrimination on the basis of language and against the general racist abuses directed at people of Latino heritage, and the organization and mobilization of migrant farm laborers.

The right to bilingual education, bilingual civil service exams, bilingual ballots; the right to Spanish-speaking personnel in public facilities like hospitals and libraries; and the right to be able to conduct legal proceedings in Spanish are fundamental democratic rights around which significant battles are being fought. The struggle for Puerto Rican, Black, and Chinese community control over the schools in District One in New York City stands as one of the most advanced struggles of this type.

As with the Black and Chicano movements, the ruling class has sought to draw the Puerto Rican radicalization into the two-party system to prevent it from taking an independent route. Herman Badillo's election as the first Puerto Rican in Congress, representing the Bronx, is a case in point. It is important to note that the largest Puerto Rican radical nationalist party in the United States, the Puerto Rican Socialist Party (PSP), opposed Badillo when he ran for mayor of New York on the Democratic Party ticket and stated it was against any work in the capitalist parties.

### Native Americans

Their size, location, and place in industry do not give Native Americans the same social weight as Blacks, Chicanos, or Puerto Ricans. But their moral weight is immense. They stand as a living reminder of the real 400-year history of American capitalist expansion and its attendant degradation. They testify to the fact that class society could advance only on the basis of

extermination of collectivist, egalitarian forms of social organization, and subsequent misery and crushing oppression of Native Americans.

The nationalist cultural awakening of the Native Americans and the growing militancy of their struggles against the abysmal conditions into which they have been driven has added another important element to the upsurge of the oppressed national minorities.

The coldly calculated victimization of the leadership of the American Indian Movement as part of a government plan to destroy it as an organization shows that the ruling class ascribes a political importance to Native American struggles beyond their social weight. Their demands for political and cultural autonomy, for respect of treaty rights, and for restoration of lands stolen from them are a component part of the coming American socialist revolution; and the granting of these demands will be one of the responsibilities of the coming workers government.

### Other Oppressed National Minorities

Chinese-Americans, Filipinos, Japanese-Americans, Dominicans, Haitians, Arabs, and other oppressed national minorities each have their own particular history of emigration, oppression, and superexploitation. American imperialism's white racist ideology has provided justification for discrimination against them as pariah sections of the industrial reserve army.

Lacking a social and political weight comparable to the Afro-Americans, Chicanos, or Puerto Ricans, these national minorities are neither as large in size nor as extensively employed in basic industry. Nevertheless, the radicalization and accompanying nationalist awakening have already increased the militancy of these groups against their oppression as racial minorities.

The emergence of Asian-Americans Against the Vietnam War; the role of Chinese parents in the District One struggle for community control in New York; Asian-American student struggles in California; Chinese struggles against discriminatory hiring policies in the construction industry and police brutality; the role of Filipinos in the California farm workers organizing drive; the actions of Dominicans and Haitians against the deportation of undocumented workers and political exiles; and the demonstrations of Arab auto workers are all signs of this development.

Even national or racial groupings that are not oppressed national minorities or nationalities in the United States suffer from the pervasive racism and xenophobia intensified by the ruling class in periods of social crisis. Anti-Semitism aimed at Jews is the clearest example.

### Women

Women constitute both a growing percentage of the working class and an increasingly important ally of the working class. Women are not a minority. They constitute more than one-half the population and are not restricted to any geographical area, social stratum, or occupation. Like the American population as a whole, they are increasingly proletarian in composition.

Sexism is also one of the main ideological tools by which the ruling class keeps the working class

divided, weakening class consciousness and unity, and reinforcing reactionary religious and obscurantist ideology.

Widespread acceptance of the idea that "woman's place is in the home" is used to promote the myth that women do not seek employment out of necessity but out of choice. The consignment of women to the home keeps a reservoir of extra labor available and reduces the social costs and consequences of large numbers of periodically unemployed women.

The oppression of all women as a sex, like national oppression, creates a pariah section of the industrial reserve army, a labor pool whose superexploitation generates high rates of surplus value, helps drive down the wage level of all workers, and weakens the labor movement.

The oppression of women as a sex does not stem from the particular needs of capitalism alone. Its historic origins go back to the dawn of class society. Sexism is the necessary ideological underpinning of the maintenance of the family as an institution of class rule. The family is a primary mechanism for inculcating authoritarian, hierarchical attitudes into each new generation. It is the institution to which the rulers abdicate social responsibility and care for the young, the old, the sick, and the unemployed, and to which they shift the burden of economic crisis and breakdown—a burden felt especially keenly by the working class. For these reasons, the oppression of women as a sex, like national oppression, is indispensable to the maintenance of the family as an institution of class rule.

The struggle for women's liberation poses the problem of the total reorganization of society from its smallest repressive unit (the family) to its largest (the state). The liberation of women demands a thoroughgoing reorganization of society's productive and reproductive institutions in order to maximize social welfare and bring about a truly human existence for all.

The search for solutions to the issues raised by women's liberation is one of the driving forces of the coming American revolution. The ability of the workers vanguard to provide clear and concrete answers to the questions posed by capitalism's oppression of women and to fight for their realization will be decisive in mobilizing the forces necessary to overturn capitalism.

### Women's Liberation Movement

A women's liberation movement emerged in the late 1960s with a political character and social depth vastly different from that in the last working-class radicalization of the 1930s. Three processes—developing over the postwar decades—led to this resurgence.

- The large-scale integration of women into the labor force and the significant rise in general educational level that accompanied this process.
- The growing realization among millions of people that the development of the productive and technical capacities of industry and science has now made possible unlimited abundance and the socialization of "women's work" if society is rationally organized and planned.
- The challenge to bourgeois social and moral norms, a consequence of the broad radicalization, made it possible for significant numbers of

women to develop as organizers and political leaders.

All of these conditions converged at the end of the 1960s when the antiwar movement and student radicalization were at their height. Many of the initial organizers of the women's groups came out of these movements. The rapid spread of the movement, its deep reverberations through all layers of society, penetrating into the organized labor movement, attested to the ripeness of the conditions that bred it.

Because of women's distribution throughout society, and the radical character of the questions posed, the rise of the women's liberation movement has already deeply affected mass consciousness and every aspect of culture in the broadest sense of the term. Literature, TV, movies, and other avenues have felt its impact. There is a tendency to challenge all values and mores and to review all aspects of existence, every facet of society by looking at them through women's eyes.

The most basic assumptions of class society about women are being carefully scrutinized and rejected by millions of women and men. The ferment over the woman question today recalls the radicalization of the Debsian pre-World War I period, or even the pre-Civil War radicalization, where the specific question of women's role in society was also a distinct component of the general social ferment—although on a much more restricted practical and theoretical basis. The vanguard role of women in other social movements is also parallel.

Struggles by women directed toward their emancipation are among the clearest indicators of the depth of the current social crisis and radicalization. The fact that these struggles began to emerge *before* the effects of a major economic crisis were felt confirms this all the more emphatically.

#### Progress and Reaction

The large increase in the percentage of employed women, in the number of women who are heads of households, and in the unionization of working women, combined with the rise of the women's liberation movement, has created a difficult problem for the ruling class. The acceptability of the use of women as reserve labor—the vast majority of women who drop out of the labor market in hard times are not even counted as unemployed—has been diminished.

As with the oppressed nationalities, the road toward true equality and equal opportunity for women lies through preferential treatment—quotas and affirmative action in industry, education, politics, and society—to correct the inequality of opportunity established by centuries of discrimination.

Thus, the attempt by the ruling class to wipe out the gains that oppressed national minorities and women made through preferential hiring and upgrading victories is an important part of the political and economic counteroffensive mounted by the Democrats and Republicans. And the resistance of women to being shoved out of work on the basis of last hired, first fired is growing. There has been rising opposition among women to having seniority rights broken by maternity leave, being denied access to apprenticeship programs for skilled or "heavy" jobs, receiving unequal pay, or being denied the right to participate in bargaining units because of "part-time" classifications.

The radicalization of women and the examples of direct action by others in the last decade have made housewives react with anger and frustration to the economic squeeze on their budgets and have led them to be more inclined to try to do something about it themselves. The 1973 meat boycott and the popularity of consumer investigations like those of Ralph Nader are harbingers of the protests to come.

The challenge to the bourgeois social order represented by the rise of the women's liberation movement means that the gains won by women have become a major target of reaction, second only to the Black movement. In Boston the antibusing drive, the attempt to reverse the right to abortion, and the anti-ERA demonstrations have provided an instructive example of the combination of targets selected in the country as a whole by the most rabid reactionary forces.

The right to abortion and constitutional and legislative guarantees of equal rights for women, as obvious as they may seem to some, represent a

challenge to class society and its entire ideological superstructure. The protectors of the bourgeois order know this. They will continue to try to chip away at all such gains.

Many of the initial participants in the women's liberation movement rapidly faced a crisis of perspectives. Some were won to revolutionary Marxism. Others went in the direction of ultra-leftism or forms of personal escapism. Still more were drawn into the two-party game of capitalist politics, where the ruling class was again quick to create openings for leaders of the movement.

Like the withdrawal of troops from Vietnam and abolition of the draft, the Supreme Court decision to legalize early abortions was part of the ruling class's general attempt to defuse the radicalization and eliminate some of the issues that had become focal points for mass mobilizations.

But the abortion victory, as with other democratic concessions to women, could not eliminate the roots of the oppression of women or defuse their struggle for long. On the contrary, while such gains may lead to temporary lulls or downturns in mass action, over time they only serve to generate new demands and to create more favorable conditions for building an independent mass feminist movement capable of mobilizing women in struggle against their oppression.

#### Small Farmers

The mobilization of the traditional petty-bourgeois allies of the working class in the United States poses problems far different from those in countries where the working class is a minority and surrounded by large numbers of independent producers, including a massive peasantry.

The extensive monopolization and mechanization of American agriculture in the decades since World War II; the vertical growth of many of these monopolies, giving them control of everything from the land, seeds, fertilizer, and farm machinery to harvesting, processing, packaging, distribution, and giant retail outlets; the generation of a sizable agricultural proletariat that has a significant "nonwhite" composition and is overwhelmingly seasonal and migrant; the transformation of many farmers' cooperative associations into big businesses or subsidiaries of the largest commercial banks; the internationalization of the agricultural monopolies, which play an important role in American imperialism's foreign policy—all this has been one of the biggest economic "revolutions" of the last quarter-century.

The elimination of the less productive small farmers who cannot compete with finance capital's collectivization, mechanization, and monopolization of food production continues. At the end of World War II, 17.5 percent of the population lived on the land. By 1960 this had fallen to 8.7 percent. Today it stands at 4.5 percent and continues to drop. During the same period farm output per hour of labor increased 600 percent. Agribusiness is now the sector of American imperialism with the greatest relative productivity edge over all foreign competitors.

The results of this gigantic explosion in agricultural productivity help highlight the disproportion between the productive capacity of American labor and the limitations and distortions of production and distribution brought about by the capitalist market and national boundaries. The glaring contrast between vast personal wealth for some while millions go hungry or die of famine has become one of the generators of the coming upheavals in both the United States and other countries.

While farm dwellers today constitute a small percentage of the total population, their importance is greater than their numbers would indicate. Disruption of the relationship between agriculture and industry directly affects the quantity, quality, and cost of the food, fibers, and other farm products the working class must buy. Soaring food prices, threatened shortages, as well as militant actions taken by small farmers to dramatize *their* plight, have brought this home to American workers in the last few years.

The Democratic and Republican politicians do their utmost to exacerbate conflicts between the farmer and worker, to set each against the other

in order to maintain the dominance of capital over both. If the workers' vanguard proves capable of pointing to and fighting for solutions to the problems faced by the small farmers, they will be able to win them to labor's side. Thus, the real antagonism—that between the small working farmer, the agricultural worker, and the urban proletariat on one side, and the interests of monopoly capitalism, including the giant agribusinesses on the other—will be understood and will emerge as one of the important elements in the coming American revolution.

#### The "Middle Class"

While the monopolization of American capital has diminished the relative importance of the petty bourgeoisie, it has not eliminated it. In fact, monopolization continually breeds a petty bourgeoisie that occupies the cracks and crevices of production, distribution, and services, where they play an essential role. Some sectors of the petty bourgeoisie—those offering specialized services and technical skills—even increase in significance relative to the population as a whole and relative to their own past weight.

The exact configuration of the middle classes must always be examined concretely since it varies greatly from one country to another and often from one area to another inside a country.

For example, in the United States the independent owner-operator truckers—whose job action in early 1974 attracted national attention to the way they were being squeezed by soaring oil prices—play an important role in distribution. But, unlike France, the small independent baker is a marginal phenomenon.

It is also necessary to examine the spectrum of professionals, technicians, and others situated between wage labor and the bourgeoisie.

At one end, sizable numbers of teachers, technicians, service employees, government employees, etc., are really for the most part skilled or semiskilled, usually salaried, workers. They have no perspective of ever being able to make their living other than by selling their labor power to industry or the government. Their goal, in good times or bad, is not to open their own little school or laboratory somewhere. Growing numbers are willing to consider the idea that the solution to the social and economic squeeze they feel is to organize as part of the union movement and fight collectively—using labor's methods of struggle—to better their condition. The ruling class does its utmost to perpetuate the illusion that they are really "professionals" who belong to the "middle class," not the working class. In reality, however, the distinction between a teacher, or a lower salaried technician, or a municipal employee, and a woman or man on the assembly line at Chrysler is a distinction within the working class itself between skilled, semiskilled, and unskilled, between wage and salaried workers.

To an intermediate category belong the modern small masters, the independent truckers being one example. The small masters are a broad and variegated category, hybrids between capitalist and laborer. Included are those who have accumulated enough capital to begin to hire others to work along with them, those who are on the verge of becoming capitalists. Also included are those who simply own their own tools, even if they are expensive tools, hire no labor, and with each turn of the business cycle find themselves much closer to joining the unemployment lines as "fellow workers."

At the other end of the spectrum of professionals and technicians are the well-heeled doctors, engineers, and lawyers, many of whom are self-employed and whose skills are remunerated by the ruling class at a rate enabling them to live at a standard qualitatively above even the most skilled workers. They are able to make sizable investments assuring them security in old age. This layer as a whole consciously identifies with the employing class, its political command, and ideology.

However, even these professionals, especially the younger members, are not immune to the changes in social values and mores, as actions like resident doctors' strikes in New York and New Orleans indicate. Beginning to react against capitalism's archaic and inhuman organization of medicine as a priestcraft, utilizing labor's methods of struggle, the young doctors are advancing demands that were quite compre-



hensible to the masses of workers (eighty-hour week; no more than forty-eight hours on duty at a stretch, etc.). The more radical young members of such professions can move sharply to the left under the hammer blows of a growing social crisis.

### Allies and Foes

Leaders of the working class also have to distinguish between occupations required to maintain the present *relations of production*, and those needed to maintain and expand the *forces of production*.

Among the former are those whose function is to increase the rate of exploitation (time-in-motion experts, foremen), those whose role is related to the state's repressive apparatus (cops, parole officers, certain social workers), and other social parasites (lawyers, advertising specialists, insurance agents).

Among the latter are many skilled individuals such as technicians, engineers, and statisticians.

History shows that while the vast majority of the former remain enemies of the movements of the workers and their allies, many of the latter can be attracted to a revitalized class-struggle workers movement and are needed in the tasks of establishing workers' control of industry and planned production of the economy.

It is also important to examine carefully the character of protest actions often dubbed "middle class" by the media, that are taken under the pressures of capitalist crisis. Many are not petty-bourgeois actions as such, that is, actions aimed at winning demands that concern and interest the petty bourgeoisie as a specific social class (like the silver standard crusade among the small farmers of the 1880s and 1890s or the fight backed by small merchants to maintain "fair pricing" laws).

While large numbers of middle-class women were involved in and helped spark the meat boycott, for example, this was an action including and appealing to masses of workers as *consumers*, and certainly was not a petty-bourgeois movement.

Interest in and support to consumer protest and environmental protection movements, and muckraking exposés like those initiated by Ralph Nader and his associates are not the concern solely of the petty bourgeoisie and a thin layer of the most privileged workers. The availability and cost of credit for housing, cars, and durable consumer goods; the quality, operating costs, and safety of these goods; and the profiteering in utility rates, medical expenses, transportation costs, pension funds, the oil shortage, and similar items directly affect the great majority of the American working people.

The impact of protests around such problems is limited at present by the absence of a class-struggle labor leadership capable of linking up with them, associating the power of labor with them, and generalizing and leading them in a class-struggle direction. Nevertheless, these protests are bound to increase as the social crisis deepens, and the labor movement will find it more and more difficult to abstain from playing an active role in them. It will be increasingly obliged to participate not as part of the Democratic Party machine or through government agencies but as the independent and unifying organizer of the working people as a whole.

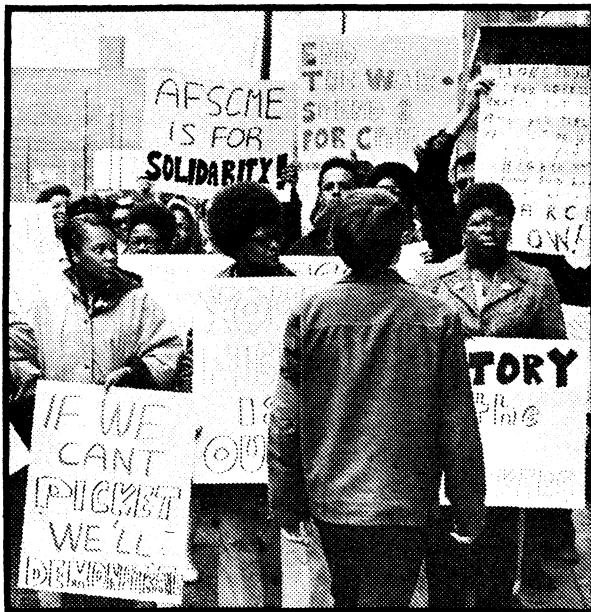
### Students

Under the impact of a virtual technological revolution, the changes in the needs of American industry since World War II have meant vast alterations in the size and character of the student population since the 1930s. As potential allies of the proletariat, college students occupy a place different from the one they held earlier in the century, when they were predominantly bourgeois and petty-bourgeois careerists attending college to better prepare themselves to take on their responsibilities within the bourgeois world.

Today more than 75 percent of teen-age youth in the United States graduate from high school, and of those well over 50 percent go on to some college institution. The average number of years spent in school is one of the biggest differences between today's youth and the generation of their parents. In 1940 the average youth leaving school had not completed the ninth grade. Today



Dave Warren



Charles Ostrofsky

**Public employees are today the main target of the antilabor offensive. The problems they confront directly are the problems facing the whole working class: antilabor laws, the lack of labor unity, the need to build an alliance with the Black, Chicano, and Puerto Rican communities, and the antilabor role of the government and the Democratic and Republican politicians.**

the figure is 12.3 grades.

Another trend toward increasing education is illustrated in New York City, where open enrollment victories, won in the big student struggles at the end of the 1960s, more than tripled the number of Black and Puerto Rican college students.

Each student is of course deeply marked by his or her class origins. The family unit in which they are raised gives a child his or her first class identity, outlook, and expectations. Students are affected by the attitudes of the social class to which they belong, or to which they believe their education will lead them. But students as a social grouping *per se* have no direct specific relationship to production. In terms of their role in the economic structure, students do not function as workers, capitalists, or petty bourgeoisie. They are preparing to assume one of these economic roles. The majority of students today are on their way to becoming wage or salaried workers of some kind; and they anticipate a future in which they will be able to live only by offering their labor power for sale.

Thanks to the vast increase in the number of students, the percentage of workers with some college education is up; the percentage of college students who will become wage and salaried workers is up; the percentage who are working on jobs while going to college is up. The relative homogenization of social and ideological values of youth is increased by the length of time they

spend together in high schools and college institutions.

While there can be a decline in the percentage of students as a proportion of the population because of conjunctural factors—especially economic downturns—there will be no fundamental reversal of the trend or the changes that have already taken place. The overall requirements of capitalist production and accumulation preclude this.

### Students and Political Action

Given the large concentrations of students, their social composition, intellectual stimuli, the anti-authoritarian attitude of many youth, and the relative freedom of student life, the majority of students can be highly sensitive to social and political issues. In large numbers they can be radicalized by and respond to major developments in the class struggle on a national and international scale. The concerns of the majority of students are part of this larger picture, and almost invariably related to it. The tendency of the majority of them today is to ally themselves with progressive social struggles taking place at home and abroad whose goals and values they can understand and appreciate.

The new political importance and potential of students, resulting from the massive post-World War II expansion of the educational system, was admirably demonstrated by the key role the student movement played in developing and maintaining a mass opposition to the imperialist war in Vietnam. This experience drove home the permanent importance of systematic political work among students, organized through a revolutionary socialist youth organization.

The "red university" strategy, on which the Trotskyist youth organization, the Young Socialist Alliance, has been built, is not a narrow "student power" orientation, but an overall strategy intended to help turn the universities into organizing centers at the service of the working class and its allies—including the students—in their struggles. They are bases from which to win large numbers of campus youth to Trotskyism and to the revolutionary workers movement.

In the period since the signing of the Paris peace accords and the withdrawal of U.S. combat personnel from Vietnam there has been a downturn in the intensity of student political activities. But it would be a mistake to confuse a period of relative quiescence with either a basic turn to the right or a long phase of political apathy on the campuses.

The campuses have become permanent centers of dissatisfaction and protest. Many students are losing confidence in the capitalist system and the institutions and future of American bourgeois democracy. But as throughout the rest of society, the coming crises will have a *polarizing* effect on the campuses. This polarization will turn the campuses into an important battleground of competition for political cadres between the reactionary right and radical left, as well as among the various working-class tendencies. There will be no return to the long political quiescence of the late 1940s and 1950s.

### The GIs

The ranks of the armed forces must also be counted as one of the most important allies of the working class. Young, overwhelmingly working class in composition, and with a high percentage drawn from the oppressed nationalities, the soldiers today are deeply affected by all the changes taking place in their generation and their class. Because of their assigned role as cannon fodder for the interests of private property and imperialist oppression and aggrandizement at home and around the world, their attitudes are of great importance.

Unlike World War II when there was general—if at bottom reluctant—support for the "war against fascism," the Vietnam War from the very beginning generated profound suspicion concerning the motives and goals of the rulers, and growing opposition among GIs to being used in Washington's schemes to police the world.

The antiwar radicalization and deepening disaffection within the army itself—reflecting the attitudes prevalent in the rest of American society—was one of the important factors that blocked U.S. imperialism from pursuing the war

of aggression in Vietnam. The emergence of the antiwar GI as a conspicuous and widely popular figure marked a change in thinking of historic import.

The American army, owing to its composition and to today's political climate, is less and less suited to play its assigned role as a world police force. The American imperialists know full well that they must have such an instrument because planes, bombs, and the dragooned troops of a puppet regime are often not sufficient, as Vietnam has again demonstrated. But Washington does not have too many options. The legacy of the Vietnam War and the accompanying radicalization outside and inside the army is one of the new minus factors the ruling class must include in its calculations.

Every social protest movement—women's liberation, the radicalization of the national minorities, gay liberation, etc.—was reflected inside the armed forces.

The radicalization within the army itself inevitably focuses on the struggle to defend and extend the democratic rights of the soldiers. The concept of the citizen soldier as one who gives up none of his elementary freedoms and rights upon entering the armed forces is deeply embedded in American history from the time of the militia forces of the Revolutionary War to the present. Such concepts, which originated 200 years ago in the popular support for the political goals of the militia forces, are anathema to a military caste formed in the Prussian pattern. But they are so closely associated with the fundamental rights the American people believe to be theirs that the ruling class has not dared to risk a head-on confrontation on this matter during a period of rising mass antiwar sentiment.

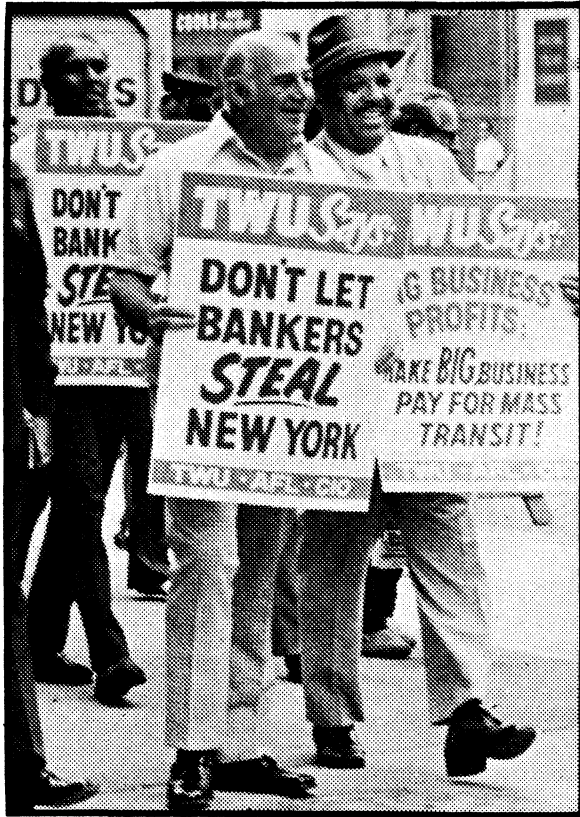
The ruling class's decision to eliminate the draft in hopes of creating a more reliable instrument for implementing its imperialist aims creates two new problems for them. First, the rising percentage of Black troops in the combat divisions leads to a composition of this repressive force that makes it less reliable for use against the colonial revolution or in the suppression of ghetto uprisings and labor battles at home. Second, modern wars cannot be fought without conscription; and attempts to reintroduce the draft in the future, as the ruling class will be obliged to do in new imperialist aggressions, will inevitably call forth a quicker and greater antidraft sentiment than appeared during the Vietnam War.

## VI. Real Course of American Bourgeois Democracy

Bourgeois democracy in America has had an uninterrupted 200-year history. During that time, extensions of democratic rights—beginning with white male property owners—have been gradually won despite reactionary attempts to reverse the process. The gains were made at great cost. To win even elementary rights for nonproperty owners, nonwhites, workers, Blacks, women, and youth, a second revolution and civil war and immense efforts in the class struggle over a prolonged period were required.

But these gains in rights are only one aspect of bourgeois democracy in America. As a form of class rule that only rich capitalist ruling classes can afford, American democracy has always rested on brutal force and crushing exploitation. First and foremost was slavery. There were also other forms of forced servitude, the expropriation and virtual extermination of the native American population, the conquest and incorporation of half of Mexico, the superexploitation of immigrant labor, spoliation of vast natural resources, and the advance into the Caribbean, Latin America, and the Philippines.

As American imperialism emerged in the late nineteenth century, the continuation of bourgeois democracy in America increasingly required the massive superexploitation of other countries, the vast international "slave holdings" of American capitalism.



Linda Jenness

**More and more working people are beginning to feel that not only are our lives our own business, but the business of the corporations and the government is our business too. There is growing assertion of the right to know—from knowing how much of our tax money is going straight to the banks in interest payments, to knowing what international deals and secret commitments are made by the government in diplomacy behind closed doors.**

The economic crisis of the world capitalist system in the 1930s ended the prosperity and ate into the reserves on which dollar democracy rested. Democracy in the weaker imperialist countries (Italy, Germany, Spain, Portugal) went under first. If the capitalists instead of the workers were to have the last say, the political future of the United States was foreshadowed in the march of reaction and fascism in Europe.

### Cold War to Vietnam

Post-World War II democracy in America was based on the uncontested domination of U.S. imperialism, which had vanquished its rivals (both "Axis" and "Allies") and brought whole new sections of the world under its yoke. Much of the former empires of the British, Dutch, French, Italian, German, Belgian, and Japanese ruling classes fell. U.S. imperialism took over the colonial slaves of its competitors. To keep them in bondage financial, political, and military support—American foreign "aid"—were extended to the most brutally repressive and totalitarian "independent" regimes throughout the former colonial world.

The advances of the socialist revolution following World War II were countered with the institutionalization of the cold war at home. The reactionary domestic political climate was intended to support a world anti-Communist "rollback" strategy.

The first phase of the cold war involved utilizing the monopoly of the atomic bomb to put heavy pressure on the Soviet Union. In preparation for war, careful attention was paid to the home front. Efforts were intensified to whip the liberals into line behind the cold war and to strike at the militancy and independence of the CIO. By the end of the 1940s the witch-hunt had largely succeeded in housebreaking the CIO bureaucracy and intimidating the ranks of labor.

With the "loss of China," the cold war was deepened in the United States. A protracted period of conservatism and labor quiescence set in.

McCarthyism, which was the extension of the cold-war antilabor policies and loyalty purges initiated by Truman, had an incipient fascist logic of its own that eventually proved counter-productive to the ruling class. The reactionary Wisconsin demagogue had his wings clipped. But it was only the world capitalist boom of the 1950s and 1960s that provided the economic base for eliminating, for the time being, any serious threat of a fascist advance within the United States. In the post-Korean War period the "normal" methods of bourgeois democratic rule proved adequate.

The qualitative disparity between the economic, financial, and military power of the United States and that of its competitors insured American imperialism's dominance. There seemed to be no limits—military, economic, or political—to Washington's arrogant actions as world cop, although the military stalemate in Korea, and the less than fervent patriotic sacrifices of labor in that intervention on the mainland of Asia, gave warning signals of what was to come.

The rulers were convinced they could provide sufficient quantities of both guns and butter. They believed they could both militarily crush resistance to imperialism abroad and make wage concessions at home ample enough to assure social peace. The capitalist economy, touted to be free of depressions, brought a feeling of relative security to broad layers of the working class to whom the Great Depression was still a vivid personal memory. It also fashioned a "silent generation" of youth in the 1950s. For that entire decade the only significant social struggle was that of Black people, who fought largely on their own, unsupported by the labor movement or other powerful forces.

The decisive turning point came in the second half of the 1960s, following Johnson's decision in 1965 to escalate armed intervention in Vietnam. Primed earlier by the small "ban the bomb" movement and the Cuban revolution, and spurred on by the Black struggle and the student radicalization, Johnson's escalation gave rise to an unprecedented antiwar movement and radicalization. For the first time in American history an imperialist war became the catalyst for mass political opposition to the policies of the regime.

The Vietnam radicalization originated in a growing appreciation of the hypocrisy of the claim that the White House was establishing democracy abroad. The forced evacuation of villages and the My Lai of the Kennedy-Johnson years, the napalming of children, the Nixon-Kissinger carpet bombings, the Tiger Cages, the invasion of Cambodia—these crimes stirred mounting revulsion from 1965 through Nixon's second inaugural in 1973.

### Democracy's True Face

This sentiment was accompanied by the growing conviction that there must be some connection between the actions of American imperialism abroad and the methods applied against domestic critics. The police assaults on the Black civil rights fighters in the South, the habitual police brutality against the inhabitants of the Black ghettos in the North and South, the murderous suppression of the ghetto rebellions, the police rampage against the demonstrators at the 1968 Democratic Party convention in Chicago, capped by the Kent State and Jackson State massacres during the May 1970 Cambodian invasion, drove home the point that the real face of American democracy was something quite different from the pleasant countenance millions of Americans had been taught to revere.

Underneath the formal liberties and democratic guarantees, the real decisions were made in secret by a tiny minority with brutal disregard for the needs, interests, or rights of the majority.

President after president from Truman to Nixon pretended to speak in candid terms to the American people, only to be exposed as liars and self-serving hypocrites. The demagogic double-talk of capitalist politics became clearer.

All this developed before there was widespread knowledge, or even suspicion, of the degree of secret government infiltration, surveillance, provocation, and disruption of the Black, anti-



war, and radical movements. It was unthinkable to the majority of the American people that such practices were applied not only to the "radical" or "minority" social protest movements but to the labor movement and even the "loyal opposition" within the two-party system.

When such things began to come to light in the Watergate affair, a chain reaction was set off that has not ended. The Watergate experience marked the opening of a stage in which people are more perceptive and critical in judging the nature of the institutions of bourgeois democracy, the nature of the executive powers, the system of checks and balances, the role of Congress, secret diplomacy, etc.

The Watergate revelations about the application of imperialist policies abroad were new and shocking to millions. But most significant was its deeper impact in altering public consciousness: the feeling became widespread that foreign and domestic policy may be but two sides of the same coin.

Imperial arrogance, contempt for human values, unspeakable brutality, disregard for the fundamental democratic rights the American masses believe in, police-state methods of political spying, provocation, and assassination—these are not only the policies of American capitalism abroad; they are the practices of American capitalism at home.

The single most important ideological gain of the initial radicalization was a loss of confidence in the veracity of the capitalist leaders of the United States. This has been reinforced by the Watergate crisis and the attempted cover-ups, along with the offshoot exposés concerning the FBI, CIA, IRS, and secret diplomacy. They have deepened popular doubt about the rulers' intention to administer a government or to decide domestic and foreign policy in the *interests* of the broad majority.

The confidence of the American working people in their own ability to see things as they are, and their feeling that there is no remedy but to take action in *their own interests* have grown as their trust in the "elected officials" has diminished.

The radicalization of the last decade can be measured in the escalation of the struggle for fundamental freedoms. This includes legal and democratic rights, but goes beyond them. Motivating the struggle is a basic stand in favor of what Malcolm X called *human rights*.

This concept of inalienable human rights has motivated all the social movements of the 1960s and early 1970s—struggles by Blacks, women, prisoners, soldiers, veterans, farm workers, mine workers, "illegal" residents, gays, and the aged.

Concurrent with the growing determination to extend and redefine basic freedoms and to prevent acquired rights from being eroded, millions of Americans sense that American capitalism is heading in an antidemocratic direction.

Such forebodings are well founded. The four classical conditions for the maintenance of imperialist democracy—sustained economic prosperity, a satisfied or docile working class, contentment among major sectors of the petty bourgeoisie and other potential allies of the working class, and a successful foreign policy—all are being eroded.

## VII. Labor's Strategic Line of March

The Marxist model for constructing a revolutionary program in the imperialist epoch is the founding document of the Fourth International, the world party of socialist revolution, founded by Leon Trotsky in 1938. The program is entitled *The Death Agony of Capitalism and the Tasks of the Fourth International*.

This "Transitional Program," as it has come to be known, was adopted by the Socialist Workers Party and presented for discussion and approval to the founding congress of the Fourth International at a time when world capitalism had been undergoing a deep economic and social crisis for nearly a decade. The new economic downturn of

1937 had further deepened political polarization in America. Both fascist currents and labor party sentiments were on the rise in this country. The New Deal was becoming the "War Deal" as the clouds of World War II gathered rapidly, threatening unheard-of slaughter and destruction.

Neither the Stalinized Communist Party nor the Social Democrats, nor the assorted ultraleft, sectarian, and centrist groupings were capable of presenting a program adequate to the needs of the masses searching for a way out of the crisis. In Trotsky's estimation, solidly planting the Fourth International on a correct programmatic foundation was a key requirement.

Today's situation offers some important parallels, both in the objective situation and in the tasks facing revolutionists. After almost a quarter-century of expansionary development, world capitalism has entered a period of economic stagnation—with the threat of debilitating inflation, shortages, famine, unemployment, bank failures, business crashes, world depression, sudden political shifts, and severe crises. Cyclical economic crises in each country tend to be deeper and more synchronized internationally.

This will inevitably lead to a sharpening of the American class struggle in all its forms and to deepening class polarization. While the tempo of this polarization cannot be predicted, its general features are clear. Millions of workers will search for the road to independent political action and will more and more turn to class-struggle methods. On the other hand, rightist demagogues and fascist movements pretending to offer "radical" solutions to the capitalist crises will come forward as candidates for power.

The sharpening of interimperialist competition and conflict, the pressure for a redivision of markets on a world scale, the persistent tendency toward wars directed at halting the colonial revolution—with China and the Soviet Union as the ultimate targets—are all on the agenda. And any military adventure by the White House carries with it the threat of escalating into a nuclear showdown.

The confusion and disorientation generated by the Stalinists, Social Democrats, and the new assortment of ultralefts, centrists, and opportunists demonstrate that the need for clarity on program and perspectives remains decisive.

As in 1938, we can see unfolding on a world scale a prerevolutionary period of education, organization and agitation. After a long period of relative quiescence, the workers in the advanced capitalist countries, beginning with the weaker of the European imperialist powers, are once again beginning to move. Sections of the masses more and more tend to enter into action, and are open to revolutionary alternatives, as they seek a way out of the impasse.

### Method of the Revolutionary Program

In the United States, as elsewhere, the revolutionists of the Socialist Workers Party constitute a relatively small nucleus grappling with two central problems:

- How to help the masses, through their own experiences of struggle, to cross the bridge from general dissatisfaction and demands that stem from their immediate problems, to revolutionary socialist solutions.

- How, in this process, to gather fresh forces and train the cadres who, in the course of their experiences in the class struggle, can build a mass revolutionary party capable of leading millions of working people to victory.

The key to the solution of these problems is the correct and flexible utilization of the method of the Transitional Program, giving clear and timely answers to the problems faced by the working class and its allies in their struggles.

The conversion of the current radicalization into a revolutionary situation will be determined by mass forces beyond our control.

In this situation we must strive to use whatever time we have to win members and gain experience in the class struggle. We must strive to reduce whatever relative advantage the Stalinists or Social Democratic currents have over us in size and position in sectors of the labor movement, organizations of the oppressed nationalities, and other sectors of the mass movement.

Several points must be borne in mind in relation to the method of our program, the transitional method:

- We begin from the *objective* contradictions of the capitalist system and the direction in which these are moving. On that basis we derive our demands, and we formulate them in terms that are, as much as possible, understandable to the masses at their given level of consciousness and readiness for action.

- We do not begin by demanding that the masses understand what "the system" is or that they reject any particular aspects of it. Instead we chart a course, raise demands, and propose actions aimed at shifting the burden of all the inequities and breakdowns of capitalism from the shoulders of the working people onto the employers and their government where it properly belongs.

- We champion the progressive demands and support the struggles of all sectors of the oppressed, regardless of the origin and level of these actions.

- We recognize the pervasiveness of the deep divisions within the American working class bred by imperialism and class society, and we press for revolutionary unity based on support for the demands of the most oppressed. We press the working class to give clear and concrete answers to the problems faced by its allies. And we unconditionally reject any concept that the oppressed should "wait" for the labor movement to support them before entering into their own struggles.

- We raise demands that challenge the "rights" of capitalist property and prerogatives claimed by the government to control the lives of the working masses and the wealth they create. We do not stop with the necessary struggle to defend and extend all democratic rights. We carry the fight for democracy into the organization of the economy and the process of making decisions over the standard of living of the working class. This is the dynamic leading to control by the workers over the institutions and policies that determine the character of their work and life, the dynamic of direct democracy through councils or committees of action, and the dynamic leading to a workers government.

- Our method is one of class-struggle action leading to deeper and clearer class consciousness. We promote the utilization of proletarian methods of struggle where the workers can make their weight count advantageously in direct mass actions in the streets and in the workplaces. In this perspective united-front-type tactics are central. Our goal of mass independent political action by the working class precludes any subordination to the needs of bourgeois parties, figures, or institutions. It necessitates the workers building their own political instrument, a mass party of the working class capable of leading their struggles to their revolutionary conclusion, the establishment of a workers government.

### Think Socially; Act Politically

To meet this revolutionary perspective the American workers will have to learn to think socially and act politically. They must see the big social and political questions facing *all* the exploited and oppressed of the United States as issues of direct concern to them. They must stop placing their hopes in "individual solutions" to capitalism's blows and begin moving toward collective political action independent of the employers and their Democratic and Republican hirelings.

Defensive struggles against the bosses and their government will generate the nuclei for a class-struggle wing in the unions. Striving to defend themselves against the squeeze on jobs, real income, social welfare, and on-the-job conditions, the workers will come into direct confrontation with the entrenched labor bureaucracy and its class-collaborationist perspective. A class-struggle left wing will begin along these lines—a wing that stands for the transformation of the unions into instruments of revolutionary struggle whose independent power will be used on every level in the interests of the whole working class, organized and unorganized, and its allies.

Labor's next giant step will be to break the stranglehold of the bourgeois two-party system to which it is tied and through which it vainly tries to find solutions to capitalism's breakdowns. With a labor party based on the organized power of the unions, all the interrelated social, political,

and economic interests of labor and its allies can be encompassed and fought for. This will reinforce the independent mobilizations of all sectors of the oppressed and help aim their force at the common enemy. And the workers can effectively counter the efforts of the rulers to diffuse and co-opt independent struggles of the masses by using their two-party monopoly.

The precise slogans and demands that will be raised, and the order in which they will appear, will depend on the development of the crises faced by American imperialism and the intensity of the pressures generated by the spontaneous struggles of the oppressed and exploited. But it is along this line of march that the politicalization of American labor will take place. The role of independent political action will begin to become clear to millions, placing on the agenda the decisive question of which class shall govern—the workers or the employers.

### Against the Imperialist War Machine

The task of hobbling and disarming the American imperialist world cops with their vast arsenal of nuclear weapons is a special responsibility of the American workers. No other force can do the job. The survival of humanity rests on their ability to accomplish this task in time. We demand immediate, unilateral, unconditional nuclear disarmament of U.S. imperialism.

The enormous size of Wall Street's war budget is difficult to grasp. The billions in resources consumed by the war budget must be reallocated to help meet the basic needs of the workers and their allies. The first step in that direction should be a 100 percent tax on all profits made from armaments production. Take the profits out of war.

We reject the insidious lie that the workers have no choice but to rely on massive "defense" industry contracts or else suffer large-scale unemployment. The war industry plants must be nationalized and put under the control of workers committees charged with retooling for the production of useful goods.

The U.S. military machine is the key piece in all the imperialist alliances. Our call is: out now—an end to NATO, an end to all the imperialist pacts. Support and link up with the struggles by workers and youth in other countries against NATO. End all the military and diplomatic alliances that are directed against the colonial masses and the workers states. Hands off the workers struggles unfolding in the imperialist countries—no intervention, open or secret, in Portugal.

Labor should insist on the dissolution of all special paramilitary or "advisory" bodies set up to police situations where the use of U.S. troops would be embarrassing to Washington but which often serve as a preliminary step for open aggression. Get out of the Mideast. End the military and CIA police training programs around the world.

No support to reactionary butcher regimes, the puppets of imperialism. End all the fake "food for peace" programs and other so-called humanitarian props to these regimes around the globe.

### International Solidarity

The American workers have a special responsibility toward the colonial revolution because of U.S. imperialism's role as the foremost slave master in the world. The slogan expressing our fundamental line is: HANDS OFF! No intervention anywhere. The half-million GIs stationed abroad must be brought home now.

We pay special attention to the fight against racism, xenophobia, and all forms of chauvinism, which are a powerful ideological prop of imperialist foreign policy and supply implicit justification for colonial aggression. In this respect the fight against racism at home is closely linked with the fight against imperialist aggression abroad.

In the spirit of international class solidarity we champion the rights of foreign students and workers in the United States and uphold their freedom to travel, immigrate, study, work, live, and engage in political activity wherever they wish.

It is the youth, especially its most oppressed and exploited sections, who are called upon to fight imperialism's wars. In the long run the Pentagon cannot raise an army large enough to



**Labor's next giant step will be to break the stranglehold of the two-party system. A labor party based on the organized power of the unions can encompass and fight for the interrelated social, political, and economic interests of labor and its allies. This will reinforce the independent struggles of all sectors of the oppressed and help aim their force at the common enemy.**

meet Wall Street's needs without conscription. Opposition to counterrevolutionary wars is at the heart of our opposition to the capitalist draft.

We take the offensive in regard to democracy within the armed forces. Soldiers have the right to know and to discuss the true aims of the government, to form political associations, to publish their own leaflets and papers.

We fight for the right of the citizen-soldier to exercise every democratic right guaranteed to other Americans, including the right to run for office.

Old enough to be squeezed into the "volunteer" army—old enough to vote and hold office.

End secret diplomacy and backstage deals. Publish all secret international correspondence. The people have a right to know all commitments made by the government.

Take the war-making powers out of the hands of Congress. Let the people vote directly on war.

### In Defense of the Working Class

The starting point of workers struggles is the defense of their standard of living and conditions of work.

### A Decent Life For All

In a society based on exploitation, a decent job is the most fundamental right of every worker.

In a depression, the first requisite in addition to unemployment insurance is a massive program of public works. Another called-for emergency measure is reduction of the workweek, with no reduction in take-home pay, in order to spread the work among those who need jobs.

The trade unions and other mass organizations of the workers and oppressed must take responsibility for organizing workers with jobs, those without jobs, and those with only "part-time" jobs. They should prevent the employers from creating a pariah category of unemployed whom the employed do not regard as fellow workers.

Those out of work must be viewed as part of "us," not as "them."

To protect themselves against inflation, which is a permanent scourge today, the working class needs a sliding scale of wages—an escalator clause—with prompt and full compensation for every rise in the cost of living. A consumer price index drawn up under the supervision of the workers and consumers—not the bosses—is required. Escalator clauses must cover all social welfare payments, such as unemployment benefits and Social Security.

The workers and their families will have to fight to keep social welfare programs from being eliminated and to bring them up to adequate standards. During periods of unemployment, health insurance coverage should be maintained by the government. Mortgages and installment payments on homes, cars, appliances, and furnishings should likewise be underwritten by the government. Child-care facilities must be kept open and expanded.

Unemployment compensation should be at full union scale, and with no time limit.

The threat of being laid off and denied an income because of the bosses' control over hiring and firing is the source of all pernicious "job discipline." The bosses must be prevented from using rising unemployment to reverse gains the working class has won and to divide the working class.

The seniority system won through previous battles by the workers movement is one tool in limiting the bosses from picking and choosing whom they will fire at will, starting with the most militant workers. It, like the hiring hall and closed shop, established a degree of workers control over hiring and firing. In a similar way the workers will have to prevent the bosses' use of "last hired, first fired" to reverse the gains recently made through preferential hiring and affirmative action quotas. Layoffs cannot be allowed to reduce the proportions of minority and women workers.

The trade union movement should also firmly reject all attempts by the monopolists to solve their own profit problems at the expense of workers abroad. Protectionist measures professing aimed at "keeping jobs in the United States" have the central object of permitting U.S. corporations to charge higher prices and reap greater profits in the face of foreign competition. They are no less inflationary than the devaluation of the dollar, which deprives workers of the possibility of purchasing less expensive foreign-made goods. Protectionism, tariffs, devaluations, are all aimed at workers in the last analysis, whether here or abroad.

### Workers Control on the Job

On the job the workers must protect themselves from the attempts of the bosses to make them pay for the capitalists' growing problems by extracting a higher rate of surplus value through speedup, automation, and chipping away at health and safety standards.

Struggles will grow for protection against speedup and layoffs, for safety and health conditions, regulation of and veto power over work rules, and health codes to protect workers against industrial hazards—asbestos fibers, coal dust, and chemical or radiation poisoning.

The workers must have veto power on questions of safety. They should insist that production be shut down at once on demand of the workers and at no loss in pay whenever safety of personnel is at stake. All safety controls and the speed of the production line must be set by the workers themselves. Acceptable levels of chemical pollution, control over purification of waste products, and similar standards must be established by the workers after full access to technical information and consultation with experts of their own choice.

Workers committees must be empowered to decide directly, in consultation with citizens committees responsible to the community, on projects to establish plants or use industrial processes that may adversely affect the environment of cities and regions. Such decisions have to be made on the basis of full and accurate information about the ecological and health effects involved, and with no concern for profits such as motivates the lobbyists and government representatives of big business. Only labor can fight to put science to work as the liberator of



humanity, not its destroyer.

Just as they must reject the false dilemma of having to choose between unemployment or making instruments of mass murder, workers must reject the lies of the bosses that they cannot afford to stay in business unless pollution controls are lifted and safety standards lowered. The workers and the community cannot afford pollution, shutdowns, or bosses who put profits above all other consideration. Any plant closed down by such bosses must be nationalized and reopened under the control of workers committees with complete access to all the financial and technical information required for retooling or meeting the requisite standards on pollution and safety.

#### Open the Books

"Open the books for inspection by the workers" is a necessary provision to protect the public against the shortages, sudden breakdowns, and rampant inflation endemic in the decline of capitalism and to counter any claims of the bosses that they cannot satisfy the needs of the workers, either as employees or consumers.

The claimed "right to business secrecy" is used by the employers' bankers and their politicians in a drive to cut back on wages, working conditions, and public services in every city, country, state, and federal jurisdiction they control through their two-party system.

When monopolies like the utilities, the postal service, the agribusinesses, the railroads, and the aerospace industries cry "bankruptcy," charge exorbitant rates or prices, or refuse services to those who cannot pay, they should be nationalized and run under control of the workers and worker-consumer committees.

In order to make their decisions on a sound basis, the workers committees will have to proceed in cooperation with similar committees throughout their industry on a national scale, and other industries in their region. The facts must be shared nationally and internationally, and the public kept fully informed.

To acquire the needed information and resources of credit and planning, the entire banking system—now the accounting and credit system of the capitalist class—will have to be expropriated and opened up to the committees of workers and placed under their control as well. Only by winning that struggle can the workers begin planning and organizing the economy so as to prevent breakdowns, chaos, and the lowering of the standard of living of the entire working class and its allies. And along this line of march, beginning with individual industry and sectors, the expropriation of the bourgeoisie will be posed.

Even partial steps along this course, imposed by a rising mass movement that is rapidly gaining in social and political consciousness and led by a growing class-struggle wing of organized labor, will meet with stiff resistance from the bosses. To them it is a sacrosanct prerogative to run their business as they see fit—to keep the details of their operations secret from those they exploit, to throw thousands onto the unemployment lines, to charge extortionate prices, to move "their" factories to where the workers are less organized and less experienced in fighting for their rights, to slash the educational system and social services the workers have fought for, to destroy the earth's ecosystem if this will assure high profits today, to use legislatures and "public" agencies to advance their schemes to make a fast buck.

An increase in class polarization will go hand in hand with deepening class struggle. Fascism, along with war, was the ultimate "solution" imposed by the ruling class to the last world capitalist crisis.

To protect their struggles and gains against murderous attacks by goons, cops, and fascist bands, the workers will have to organize and train their own forces and use them in the most effective way. Starting with defense of picket lines and the right to strike, the protection of their demonstrations or those of their allies, and proceeding to workers defense guards, workers militias, and the requisite arming of the working class, the working masses will learn from their own experiences what measures to take. The lessons of history, incorporated into the general strategy of the workers movement, will prove invaluable on this life-and-death question.

#### Human Rights, Not Property Rights

The strong belief of the American people that they are entitled to basic democratic rights has a progressive dynamic. As the capitalist system declines, bourgeois democracy does not gain in vigor but grows progressively weaker. This will lead to struggles that tend to go beyond the limitations of bourgeois democracy and strengthen the radicalization and politicalization of the American working class. Thus a fundamental responsibility of socialist workers and a feature of their program is to defend and strive to extend democratic rights against every attempt by reaction to encroach upon them or to roll them back.

The workers must fight to protect themselves against the bosses' attacks upon the right to organize; the right to strike, including the right to strike against the government; the right to vote on contracts; the right to settle all issues in a dispute without any government interference or government meddling in union affairs. Above all the workers must fight against wage controls proposed or imposed by the government under whatever name or guise.

The workers have everything to gain from taking the offensive whenever possible in behalf of those social and economic rights that they more and more consider their due—decent housing, decent jobs, education, transportation, health, Social Security, freedom from government harassment, etc. In the course of struggle they will learn the necessity of fighting to extend human rights for all the allies of the proletariat. Every such gain reinforces the strength and unity of the working class as a whole.

The struggle to maintain rights already won and to extend them to new areas—economic rights, social rights, rights on the job, rights to a direct say on issues of war and peace—has marked every aspect of the radicalization. This is exemplified in the struggles for abortion rights and the Equal Rights Amendment; the eighteen-year-old vote; civil rights for less than "legal" age high school students; human rights for soldiers, veterans, gays, the elderly, and children; full human rights for all prisoners; language rights; rights of noncitizens.

Still other rights have been redefined in the course of struggle—attempts to impose prior restraint laws on publications have been fought with some success, literary and artistic censorship restricted, and capital punishment curtailed.

There is growing recognition of the right to preferential treatment—quotas, affirmative action in industry, education, politics, and society—to correct the inequality of opportunity established by centuries of discrimination because of race, nationality, or sex. Millions of working people see that without this there can be no true equality or equal opportunity for those historically oppressed and discriminated against by class society.

None of these advances have been won without hard struggle, and each gain has to be defended against attempts to dilute or reverse it.

The vision of the social and economic rights people should have is being considerably widened. They include the idea that every human being has a right to enough food, to decent housing, medical care, education, and well-made products; that tenants and urban residents have rights; and even that future generations have rights—the right to an environment capable of healthfully sustaining human life.

The fight to extend democratic rights into industry means establishing various forms of direct democracy. It necessitates finding ways and means for the workers and their allies themselves to make the fundamental decisions that affect their lives instead of letting the bosses and their political representatives do that for them. It means establishing broad united action committees through which the workers and their allies can fight to impose their solutions to economic and social problems, both at the workplace and in society as a whole.

#### The Right to Know

As demands for *personal* privacy have increased, so have demands to *limit government and industry's* "rights" to secrecy. Not only is there a feeling that our lives are our own business but that "their" business is our business, too.

The exposures of government lies and duplicity in domestic and foreign policy have led to greater acceptance of the idea that the people have a right to *know* what the government is up to, what deals have been made behind closed doors, what commitments contrary to the interests of average working Americans have been made. Such mechanisms of direct democracy as referendums on major policy issues like the war, child care, and environmental questions have become increasingly popular, as the assumed prerogatives of the bourgeoisie to rule through institutions elected under their rules are challenged.

We persistently struggle to extend the frontiers of what the workers consider to be their inalienable economic, social, and political rights that no government has the right to take away from them.

And in all these efforts we advocate proletarian methods of struggle based on the mobilization of the collective strength of the workers and their allies independent of the needs or desires of the rulers and their institutions.

## VIII. The Revolutionary Party

The breakdowns and cyclical fluctuations of the American economy are rooted in the contradictions of world capitalist production and trade. The very ascent of American capitalism to world supremacy has paved the way for a cataclysmic explosion on its home grounds.

In America, a country that has never been carpet-bombed, invaded, occupied, or made to pay war indemnities, capitalism for all its achievements has not been able to assure liberty, justice, and a decent standard of living for all of its people. As the mightiest and wealthiest capitalist power celebrates the 200th birthday of its revolutionary origin, growing numbers of Americans are beginning to ask, "If not here, then where?" If capitalism can't make good in the United States, maybe something is decidedly wrong.

The end of the long postwar boom, and the rise of unrest and social struggles in the United States, once again calls attention to the fact that the victory of the European socialist revolution is not a necessary prerequisite for the development of a revolutionary situation in the United States.

Just as the first workers and peasants revolution could succeed in Russia, where the operation of the law of uneven and combined development thrust the most backward of the major capitalist countries in Europe to the forefront of the world revolution, so those same laws can produce severe shocks in the coming period within the heartland of the most advanced imperialist power.

But even the most devastating breakdowns of American capitalism cannot automatically produce a victory for the socialist revolution. As Lenin pointed out, there is no absolutely hopeless situation for capitalism. However deep the crisis, if enough commodities can be destroyed through war, depression, and bankruptcy, and the standard of living of the working class can be driven low enough, capitalism can recover for the moment.

While powerful *world* forces are laying powder kegs under American imperialism, only forces *inside* the United States can take power away from the American capitalists and disarm them. In the nuclear age this is more decisive for humanity's salvation than ever before; the alternative is between the eclipse of civilization or a worldwide scientifically planned economy.

Various developments in the United States can leap ahead of those in other parts of the world in a rather brief period. In the last decades this happened with the rise of the struggles of oppressed nationalities, the antiwar movement, the youth radicalization, the women's liberation movement, and similar struggles for human rights. At the same time the advanced decay of American capitalism poses problems to these movements that cannot be solved short of a socialist revolution. And at a certain point revolutionary trends within the American work-

ing class can develop at a truly American speed and tempo.

Questions of perspective, program, and party building cannot be postponed with the expectation that they will be resolved by the colossal objective forces of a revolutionary upsurge. On the contrary, even a small propaganda nucleus that intends to become a mass party must be armed with a clear revolutionary perspective that puts the construction of the revolutionary party in first place.

### The Social Democrats and Stalinists

There has been a striking change since the 1930s in the relationship of forces between the revolutionary party, the Socialist Workers Party, and its reformist socialist opponents on the left.

The American Social Democracy retains a base in the labor bureaucracy, where its influence is stronger than its small and fragmented organizations would indicate. The role of the Social Democracy is circumscribed by its perspective of trying to improve capitalism through petty reforms and its political orientation of participating in the Democratic Party in the prayerful hope of its "realignment." But we can anticipate that Social Democratic formations will play a more active and open role in the coming period.

Within the Social Democratic framework differences exist between the reactionary, racist, anticommunist, diehard conservatives of the Meany-Shanker-Rustin wing and the anticommunist, liberal reformers of the Harrington-Gotbaum-Reuther wing. The two wings differ over the tactical course to be followed inside the Democratic Party machine. The differences involve such questions as how to manipulate the weight of the labor movement in order to win some concessions and how to teach the labor bureaucrats to adapt more adroitly to radically changing expectations and attitudes.

Deepening social crises and rising class struggles will lead to further differentiations and splits within the Social Democratic circles, with some moving further to the right and some important forces moving to the left as centrist currents.

### Decline of American Stalinism

The shift in the relation of forces on the left is most strikingly registered in respect to the Stalinists. In 1945 the Communist Party claimed 100,000 members. They dominated several major industrial unions and had a periphery of hundreds of thousands of fellow travelers, intellectuals, Black sympathizers, and so on.

American Stalinism began losing its leading position in the American left from that point on. Their wartime line of speedup and a no-strike pledge, their postwar line of support for the perspective of American-Soviet maintenance of the status quo and of class peace, yielded its first fruits when the ruling class turned against their wartime servitors in the cold-war witch-hunt. The Stalinists looked around for popular support and found they had none. The only permanent factor in their policies—subordination of the class struggle in the United States to the diplomatic needs of Moscow—won a bitter reward from the workers they had misled.

The crushing of the Hungarian revolution and Khrushchev's admission of some of Stalin's crimes further weakened the CP. The inability of the Stalinists to launch a viable youth organization and to recruit broadly out of the radicalization of the 1960s while the Trotskyist movement was making steady gains further altered the relationship of forces in our favor.

Unlike the situation in the 1930s the relative strength of the Socialist Workers Party puts us in position to challenge them for leadership in the struggles of the working class and its allies. But it is important to underline that the pro-Moscow Communist Party remains our single most important and strongest opponent on the left.

The pro-Peking Stalinists have neither the cadres, periphery, nor material base of the pro-Moscow party. They are divided into numerous groupings with deep differences, especially on domestic politics. But the Chinese revolution, which they claim to represent, gives them an international banner that attracts a following, often among youth inclined to ultraleftism. In the climate of deepening radicalization they are growing. For some time to come, our party will be competing with the various Maoist currents for

cadres and influence among the radical youth and oppressed nationalities. It is important to note that the ultraleft mood that arose in the late 1960s was worldwide. It has not yet run its course.

### The Socialist Workers Party

The two-party system of American capitalism remains the greatest shock absorber of social protest. The single biggest anomaly in the American political scene is the absence of a political party of the working class and the lack of a tradition of independent working-class political organizations in the American labor movement. To transcend this political backwardness remains the single greatest leap to be taken in the politicalization of the American working class.

There is, of course, an advantageous side to the political inexperience of the American working class. The class-struggle minded socialist workers confront no powerful traditional reformist party to which the working class remains stubbornly loyal. The workers are not weighed down with the conservatizing force of the class-collaborationist political routinism ingrained in the European proletariat by the mass Social Democratic and Stalinist parties. Although the American union bureaucracy is far stronger than in the 1930s and acts as a formidable surrogate for a mass reformist party, it is less of an obstacle to socialist revolution than the reformist workers parties in the advanced capitalist countries of Europe.

The political education of the American working class does not necessarily have to pass through a reformist labor party or come under the domination of Stalinist or Social Democratic misleadership. Explosive developments, propelling events at extraordinary speed, could bring about a rapid transition to revolutionary class consciousness. A mass revolutionary socialist party could emerge during such a revolutionary upsurge—but only if its cadres are prepared beforehand with a clear perspective and program and only if they are conscious that a *revolutionary party is the historical key to victory*.

As Trotsky explained in the Transitional Program, "The building of national revolutionary parties as sections of the Fourth International is the central task of the transitional epoch."

### Central Task of Our Epoch

The Socialist Workers Party is internationalist to its core. Not only are world developments shaping the coming struggles at home, but the American workers' enemies are the exploiters on a world scale. The perspective of the *Communist Manifesto*—"Workers of the world, unite"—remains our fundamental goal. While reactionary legislation precludes formal affiliation to the Fourth International, the Socialist Workers Party, since its founding, has been an integral political component of the world party of socialist revolution.

At the heart of the Socialist Workers Party's revolutionary program and internationalist perspective is its proletarian orientation. Only a party that has deep roots in the working class, that is composed primarily of workers, and enjoys the respect and confidence of the workers, can lead the American working class and its allies to power.

The proletarian orientation means concerted, systematic work to root the party in all sectors of the mass movement and to recruit the most capable fighters to the party. It means participation in labor organizations, in industry and among the unemployed, in the organizations of the oppressed minorities, in the struggles for women's liberation, and in the student movement. Over the last eighteen years the Young Socialist Alliance, the Trotskyist youth organization, has established itself as the revolutionary socialist organization in the student movement.

Our proletarian orientation means functioning as a homogeneous campaign party capable of choosing realistic objectives and concentrating our striking power and resources with maximum effectiveness. It means professionalizing our work and adjusting ourselves to the demands and direction of the mass movement in order to help lead that movement forward.

The need to integrate the party into all aspects of the mass movement shapes every activity we undertake. The deepening crises of the American

capitalist system and its reactionary interventions abroad do not imply any esoteric new "tactics" for building the party. They only reinforce the need to deepen our proletarian orientation and to take advantage of the new opportunities opening on all sides.

The perspective of increasing class struggle and class polarization indicates more than ever the need for a disciplined combat party of the working class.

The revolutionary party that seeks to lead the socialist revolution is a voluntary organization. Without a common bond of mutual confidence, experience, and loyalty to the program and goals on which it is founded, it will never accomplish the immense tasks before it. Thus, for us the concept of loyalty to the party we are building, pride and confidence in our collective efforts—what Trotsky referred to as party patriotism—is simply the proletarian orientation and internationalist perspective applied to the construction of the revolutionary instrument necessary to realize our program.

### The Conditions for Victory

The "Manifesto of the Fourth International on the Imperialist War and the Proletarian World Revolution," drafted by Trotsky in May 1940, outlines the following basic conditions for the victory of the proletarian revolution:

"(1) the bourgeois impasse and the resulting confusion of the ruling class; (2) the sharp dissatisfaction and the striving towards decisive changes in the ranks of the petty bourgeoisie, without whose support the big bourgeoisie cannot maintain itself; (3) the consciousness of the intolerable situation and readiness for revolutionary actions in the ranks of the proletariat; (4) a clear program and a firm leadership of the proletarian vanguard."

The manifesto points out that the main reason for the defeat of so many revolutions is that these four conditions rarely attain the necessary degree of maturity at one and the same time.

In the period now opening, we can clearly see the forces building on a world scale that will bring these conditions to maturity in the United States. But the central question, the one over which we will have a decisive say, is that of gathering together the forces that are committed to forging a revolutionary party in time.

For further reading:



## Transitional Program for Socialist Revolution

By Leon Trotsky

paper \$2.45

In addition:

### DYNAMICS OF WORLD REVOLUTION TODAY

Survey of the development of world capitalism, the détente, and the interconnected sectors of world revolution. —paper \$2.25

### TEAMSTER REBELLION TEAMSTER POWER TEAMSTER POLITICS

In three volumes, former Teamster leader and revolutionary socialist Farrell Dobbs tells a hidden chapter of labor history: how in the 1930s the Teamsters built their union into a revolutionary instrument fighting for the rights of all working people. —paper \$2.45, \$2.95, \$2.95

### BLACK LIBERATION AND SOCIALISM

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### FEMINISM AND SOCIALISM

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## 'The five must be freed'

[Following are excerpts from a speech by Catarino Garza, Socialist Workers party candidate for Congress from the Eighteenth Congressional District in New York.

[The speech was given at an October 23 rally to demand freedom for five members of the Nationalist party of Puerto Rico. The rally, sponsored by the Militant Forum, was part of the buildup activities for a November 1 demonstration at the United Nations to demand the release of the five.

[Speaking with Garza were Carlos Feliciano, who was released from prison in July after serving time on a framed-up charge; and José Rivera Sotomayor, first vice-president of the Nationalist party.

[The five nationalists have been in U.S. prisons since the early 1950s. Oscar Collazo has been held since November 1, 1950, when he participated in an attack on the residence of then-president Harry Truman. Lolita Lebrón, Andrés Figueroa Cordero, Irving Flores, and Rafael Cancel Miranda have been imprisoned since they attacked the U.S. Congress in 1954.]

Tonight's meeting is a demonstration of solidarity with Puerto Rican freedom fighters. We might not all agree with their tactics, but we all agree that the five must be freed. These are not criminals, they are political prisoners in jail because they fought to gain their country's liberty. The five Puerto Rican nationalists held prisoner in this country represent the spirit and desire of the Puerto Rican people to be free and sovereign.

We've heard tonight the situation that existed in Puerto Rico in 1950. I'd like to give you a different perspective on it, as I saw it, a Puerto Rican raised in New York and at the time a young militant in the Socialist Workers party.

We must look back at that time and try to understand what was going on. The United States had recently initiated the cold war. It had cleaned the unions of opposition elements. The period of the witch-

hunt was just getting under way and the voice of dissent was being stifled.

The vast majority of Puerto Ricans in New York were new to the city, had no worthy political leadership, were isolated. We were the victims of employers, racketeers, and a decaying city. We had no friends or allies we could turn to for aid and support.

The imperialists of the United States were trying to establish the "American century" and to cash in on their position as the most powerful capitalist country. U.S. policy was to crush all independence struggles among colonized peoples. Puerto Rico, its colony since 1898, was to serve as an example. The industrial development program, "Operation Bootstrap," was the carrot. Repression and jail were the stick.

Against that background we can understand how Puerto Ricans would revolt, why individuals would sacrifice their lives. They were living proof that Puerto Ricans would fight to be free, no matter what the cost.

After their actions, the Puerto Rican nationalists became the object of the entire might of the United States—the press, the radio, the cops, the courts. "Respectable" Puerto Ricans condemned them as "crazies" and "outsiders"—they were virtually defenseless.

The Socialist Workers party and the newspaper the *Militant* were among the few in this country to explain the reasons for the actions of the nationalists and try to win support for Puerto Rican independence.

Now, a new generation of radicals has joined the struggle for human emancipation. A generation that has tasted the fruits of victories. Victories by the Blacks against Jim Crow. The victory of the Cuban revolution. The historic victory of the Vietnamese people. This generation has learned that it is possible to win victories against oppression.

This new generation has also seen how the American people can be aroused to fight against injustice. We have the recent victory of Joanne Little as well as the role played by Americans to end the war in Vietnam. That same sentiment must be rallied to gain freedom for people whose only crime has been to fight for their country's independence.

between Culebra's residents and navy officials? What about the international solidarity actions for the independence of Puerto Rico under the slogan "U.S. Navy out of Culebra—now!"?

Only through independent *luchas* (struggles) like these have Puertorriqueños and their allies brought pressure to bear on capitalist politicians. In 1899 Democrats and Republicans were the same people supporting and voting for military intervention.

Now, when Puerto Rico has been bled dry to the skull and as the 1976 elections draw near—having nothing to offer to the masses of Puertorriqueños—they have decided to call for withdrawal of the U.S. Navy.

Very clever of them to introduce old forms of imperialist exploitation to my people, simply because it will "help attract some industry to the island and establish a recreation area with guest rooms." This will help to line their pockets with profits from tourism and low-paid labor.

Magdalena González  
New York, New York

### Women's Political Caucus

During the weekend of October 4-6, the National Women's Political Caucus National Steering Committee met here in Los Angeles with more than 100 women in attendance. There were 70 delegates from NWPC chapters all over the United States.

On Saturday, October 4, the Democratic party caucus gave a report. The spokeswoman for the caucus began by saying that the general feeling in the caucus meeting was that they were very much dissatisfied with the Democratic party. She said, "We've been had."

She explained that the winners of the recent elections by no means stood up to their expectations, that these politicians had promised to pass progressive legislation for women, but this had not been done.

As far as Democratic candidates for president were concerned, the caucus felt they couldn't support anyone, because none of them represented the issues of women.

The spokeswoman pointed out that if this situation doesn't change, they will seriously consider supporting no candidate, and instead will raise women's issues in the campaign.

On Sunday, the Campaign Support Committee of the NWPC met. At that time, I was able to speak on behalf of Willie Mae Reid, Socialist Workers party vice-presidential candidate. As I began my address, a woman from behind me exclaimed, "Great!" After speaking I received a warm round of applause.

Later, as I was passing out the "Bill of Rights for Working People," a woman from Connecticut turned to me and said, "I think it's just great that she's running for vice-president. I think it's really good."

Jo Della-Giustina  
Los Angeles, California

The letters column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Please indicate if your name may be used or if you prefer that your initials be used instead.

## Women In Revolt

Linda Jenness



## A stab in the back from the CP

At the convention of the Communist party last June, party chief Gus Hall announced that the CP leadership had not yet been able to figure out their position on the Equal Rights Amendment. "The controversy over the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA) continues—including in the ranks of our party," he said.

The "controversy" was referred to a study task force instructed to "try to come up with a resolution."

Four months later, on October 21, a notice appeared in the *Daily World* promising that a statement would finally be printed on October 23. On October 23 what appeared in the *Daily World* was another announcement saying that the statement wouldn't be published until October 25.

Since October 25 was one of the days that several thousand members of the National Organization for Women gathered in Philadelphia for their convention, I thought perhaps the CP timed the statement so they could distribute it to the NOW members. After all, ratification of the ERA is one of NOW's priorities, as it is a priority for most of the women's liberation movement.

I attended the NOW convention (a report will appear in next week's *Militant*) and expected to pick up a copy of the October 25 *Daily World*. But there wasn't a *Daily World* in sight. Not anywhere. Not one. And it's no wonder!

Following an entire page of convoluted, contradictory, and antifeminist reasoning, the CP finally states: "In view of the serious problems and contradictions, we cannot recommend that you vote for the Equal Rights Amendment."

The Communist party is campaigning against ratification of the ERA and urging people to vote

against the state ERAs that will be on the November 4 ballots in New York and New Jersey.

What's the CP's rationale for this reactionary, backward stance? Here's a small sample of their muddled thinking:

"On one hand, its passage would help create an overall atmosphere of equality. It would be a factor for equality in certain areas of life.

"But on the other hand, it would create some obstacles to equality. Many constitutional authorities fear that such an amendment would become a constitutional bar to all future legislative reforms that are needed to establish equality. . . ."

How the creation of an overall atmosphere of equality would be an *obstacle* to the women's struggle is not explained.

The fight over the ERA has become a clear-cut contest between supporters of equal rights for women and those who want to keep women in second-class status. The CP's position puts them in the camp of the latter—and that doesn't make them too comfortable.

But like it or not, the CP is in the enemy camp. The November 3 *Newsweek* notes in an article that "a diverse group of ERA foes—including fundamentalist Protestants, parish priests, John Birchers and the Communist Party—has effectively prevented a handful of other key state legislatures from considering the measure."

Although *Newsweek* may be overstating the CP's influence on state legislatures, supporters of women's rights shouldn't make the mistake of underestimating what the CP is doing. By opposing the ERA the Communist party is confusing many people, aiding the right-wing assault on the ERA, and stabbing the movement for equal rights in the back.



**Theology dep't**—According to the Logan, Utah, *Herald Journal*, Mormon Church President Spencer Kimball declared that motherhood “is the highest, holiest service to be assumed by mankind.” However, with an insight born of theological training, the reverend added, “This divine service of motherhood can be rendered only by mothers.”

**Delicate touch**—Marylou Whitney, spouse of Cornelius, had a dollhouse built for her daughter. A miniature replica of one of the seven Whitney homes, *Newsweek* reports it features “staggering detail, right down to speck size bars of soap and diminutive chandeliers. . . . The clothes hanging in the closets are Lilliputian duplicates

of Mrs. Whitney's dresses and her husband's suits—made, she says, ‘by a seamstress with tiny hands.’” Wonder if the seamstress was specially bred for the assignment.

**No big deal, really**—“WASHINGTON—A full-scale nuclear war would devastate the warring nations, but distant, uninvolved countries could survive and most of the ill effects would be gone a quarter of a century later, a panel of scientists said. . . .”—October 5 *Los Angeles Times*.

**No record better than any**—In a postscript to his victory in that special New Hampshire election, Democrat John Durkin observed, “The fact that I have not served in Congress is, I think,



‘When people say we're still wire-tapping it makes me so mad I feel like talking right back to them’

one of the strongest points I have going for me.”

**You should see the worst**—Nixon was “one of our better presidents.”—Henry Kissinger.

**Think you've heard everything?**—“Black and Brown students in San Francisco are being killed with kindness, a team of Stanford University researchers have concluded. High school teachers, mostly white, are misleading minority students about their scholastic abilities by overpraising them, handing out good grades for poor work and by showering the students with warmth and friendliness but not demanding sound academic performance. . . .”—October 5 *Los Angeles Times*.

## Their Government

### Cindy Jaquith



## The FBI's mouthpiece in Congress

WASHINGTON—“I have here a list of known communists. . . .” The ghost of Joseph McCarthy? No, just Rep. Larry McDonald, Democrat of Georgia, and the FBI's new mouthpiece in Congress.

McDonald sits on the national council of the ultraright John Birch Society. Since his election to Congress in 1974, he has worked nonstop to churn out red-baiting diatribes against liberals, socialists, Blacks, Puerto Ricans, Vietnam veterans, and other “anti-Americans.” His targets range from the *Washington Post* and the Environmental Protection Agency to the Puerto Rican Socialist party, October League, Young Socialist Alliance, and People's Bicentennial Commission.

His attacks take the form of “speeches” printed in the *Congressional Record*, 140 of them in the first six months of this year. His “speeches” are actually just inserted in the “Extensions of Remarks” section of the *Record*; they are never delivered on the floor.

On an average day, McDonald is good for two or three inserts, amounting to about 7 percent of the entire remarks section. Some of these gems include “Save Our Santas from Government,” “Marxism-Leninism-Maoism-Arthur Kinoy Thought,” and

“Chiang Kai-Shek: Defender of Freedom.”

Before you laugh, remember who pays for this garbage—us. Columnist Jack Anderson estimates that the cost of printing McDonald's speeches through June 1975 ran \$40,000. Other estimates run as high as \$70,695.

You only have to read a couple of McDonald's articles to realize that someone is feeding him his material. Each “speech” begins by revealing the “inside dope” on “organization X” and then follows with a list of names McDonald claims are leaders and supporters of the group.

The “inside dope” is often nothing more than information publicized in the radical press. The *Militant* is cited quite often, for example. At other times, the “facts” come from some government source, often the FBI—although McDonald never identifies those who feed him this daily garbage. In typical FBI fashion, each article contains many inaccuracies, distortions, and outright slanders.

One such “speech,” printed in the June 27 *Record*, tried to portray the Socialist Workers party as a “terrorist” organization, even though McDonald had to admit that the SWP's political position is *against* individual terrorism. The “speech” also called for banning Trotskyists in other countries

from entering the United States, charging that they are “foreign terrorists.”

It is no secret that the FBI has a special interest in trying to pin the “terrorist” label on the SWP. The FBI desperately needs to justify its illegal spying against the party in the face of the SWP's broadly publicized lawsuit to end this harassment. That suit will soon be going to trial, and the snoops will need more than the Birchite-in-residence to duck the charges.

When he's not acting as the FBI's mouthpiece in Congress, McDonald attends meetings of the House Armed Services Committee. His placement on this committee was quite a “coincidence” for McDonald's fattest constituent, Lockheed-Georgia, one of the military hardware giants.

In one secret session of the committee, according to Jack Anderson, McDonald made his colleagues a bit nervous by demanding the use of tactical nuclear weapons to “liberate South Vietnam from the Communists.”

Vietnam seems to permeate the congressman's home life as well. In 1971, his wife divorced him, citing his extramarital affairs and his refusal to have sexual relations with her. “We're at war,” patriot McDonald had told her, “and people do not make love in wartime.”

## The American Way of Life

## ‘Were the liberals drugged?’

Were the liberals drugged by Common Cause?

So asks Nat Hentoff, columnist for the *Village Voice*, in a recent two-part series on the dangers of the federal election campaign law, or the “Great Post-Watergate Reform Hoax,” as Hentoff refers to it.

In the first article—“If You Think Election Reform is Good for the People, Think Again”—Hentoff marvels at the law's loopholes, which, for example, permit corporations with government contracts to create and administer campaign chests, so long as they are “segregated funds” collected “voluntarily.”

In the second article, called “Were the Liberals Drugged by Common Cause?” Hentoff rates the suit now before the Supreme Court challenging the constitutionality of the law as “one of the most crucial—insofar as the future functioning of democracy is concerned—in the entire history of the Court.”

He is aghast at the “widespread ignorance” concerning the law, which he attributes to the

failure of the news media to report what was in the bill. “Was the bill too long for reporters to read? Too complicated for them to understand? Did the editorial writers who sang hosannas for this legislation ever read the damn thing themselves? . . .

“Did any Washington political reporters try to find out why Ted Kennedy, for instance, greeted these ‘reforms’ as if Tom Jefferson had come back from the beyond to scribe them? . . . What of all the other liberals in Congress who jubilantly jumped aboard? Were they drugged by Common Cause?”

All of this, Hentoff concludes, “from public financing of the two entrenched parties to intimidation-through-law of supporters of small, dissenting parties—is a most basic change in the American political process. . . .

“But at least, with happenings of this magnitude, one expects some kind of national debate.”

Perhaps one does, but often there are extenuating circumstances. In this case, Democrats and Republi-

cans of all stripes—and their apologists in the capitalist news media—were desperate to have something to neutralize the bad taste of Watergate. When they devised a scheme that could look like a “solution” to government corruption, while actually imposing new restrictions on political activity outside the two ruling parties, they naturally had no time for side issues such as the Bill of Rights.

Now that news of the law's ineffectiveness as an anticorruption reform is beginning to seep through to the public, and warnings of its threat to democratic rights fall on more sympathetic ears, increasing numbers of civil libertarians are speaking out against it. Hentoff is a welcome addition to those voices.

The Committee for Democratic Election Laws, the nonpartisan group that has filed a brief in support of the challenge to the law in the Supreme Court, has reproduced the two Hentoff articles. If you're interested in receiving copies, contact CoDEL, Post Office Box 649 Cooper Station, New York, New York 10003.

—Nancy Cole



# J.B. Johnson lawyers expose prosecution lies

By Nancy Makler

ST. LOUIS—At a hearing here October 16, Assistant Prosecuting Attorney Thomas Dietmeyer asked Judge George Cloyd to set an early November date for the retrial of J. B. Johnson.

Johnson was sentenced to life imprisonment in 1972. He was convicted of being an accomplice in a 1970 murder of a policeman.

Last summer the Missouri Supreme Court overturned Johnson's conviction and granted him a new trial. He is now out of jail on \$25,000 bond.

Defense attorney William Kunstler argued at the hearing that the charges against Johnson should be dismissed, since the prosecution had withheld and fabricated evidence during the first trial. More than 100 J. B. Johnson supporters jammed into the courtroom for the hearing.

Kunstler pointed out that the prosecution had withheld a police report that called into question the testimony of their only eyewitness—Adam Bakos, the owner of the jewelry store where the murder occurred.

Bakos originally told police that the accomplice wore dark clothing. By the time of the trial, however, he had changed his testimony to fit the description of the light clothing worn by Johnson at the time of his arrest.

Second, the prosecution introduced into evidence statements that they claim Johnson made after his arrest. Defense attorneys had not been informed of these alleged statements prior to the trial. The full transcript was not made available until three months after Johnson's conviction. It was on this point that the Missouri Supreme Court overturned the original decision.

Kunstler also accused the prosecution and the police of planting two rings from the jewelry store on Johnson in order to implicate him.

Given the prosecution's history of withholding and tampering with evidence, Paul Hales, another member of the defense team, asked Judge Cloyd to order the prosecutor's office to turn over all files on the case to the defense before setting any trial date.

As of October 27, Judge Cloyd had made no decision on any of the motions.

A resolution calling for the immediate dismissal of all charges against J. B. Johnson was unanimously adopted by the Second National Student Conference Against Racism, held in Boston October 10-12. Support has also come from *Black Scholar* editor Robert Allen, U.S. Rep. William Clay (D-Mo.), Msgr. John Shocklee of the Archdiocese of St. Louis, and many others.



J.B. Johnson and his mother, Mary Watkins, at their home in St. Louis

## Arab-American group: 'U.S. stay out of Sinai!'

By David Canright

CHICAGO—The eighth annual convention of the Arab-American University Graduates (AAUG), held here October 17-19, urged the American people to oppose the sending of U.S. "observers" to the Sinai.

The convention demanded that all secret clauses in the recent Sinai accord be opened to the public, and it called "upon the American people to reject the creeping American entanglement implied by Dr. Kissinger's pledges."

The 1,000 convention participants also urged Congress to cut off all economic and military aid to Israel: "The Association appeals for the rejection of continued squandering of American financial resources to satisfy Israeli conquests."

Among the other proposals approved were:

- a motion saluting "the United Nations for correctly identifying Zionism as a form of racism which the United Nations condemns";
- a motion reaffirming the AAUG's "total support of the just struggle of

the Palestinian people to restore their unconditional national sovereignty over Palestine"; and

- a motion calling on "all Arab states to rescind all legislation which deprives women of the enjoyment of equal social, economic, political, and nationality rights. [The AAUG] calls upon its members to support, encourage, and strongly advocate the involvement of women in the struggle of the Arab people in the U.S. and in the Arab world."

The convention also sent a telegram to Secretary of State Henry Kissinger protesting a State Department decision to bar a representative of the Palestine Liberation Organization from traveling to Chicago to address the convention. The telegram called this action a curtailment of the free flow of information guaranteed by the Constitution and an act of discrimination against Arab-Americans.

A Pathfinder Press literature table at the convention did a brisk business, selling more than \$100 worth of books and pamphlets.

# Calif. protests sparked by racist cop murder

By Jessica Star

NATIONAL CITY, Calif.—The murder of a twenty-year-old Puerto Rican by an unidentified cop has aroused the anger of Chicanos in this small city just south of San Diego.

Luis "Tato" Rivera was shot in the back in the early morning hours of Sunday, October 12, by a cop searching for a purse snatcher. According to witnesses, the cop shouted, "Freeze," and then fired the fatal shot only three to five seconds later.

At an October 16 news conference, Jesús Rivera, the victim's father, announced that he was filing a "wrongful death" suit against the city.

"I think my son was murdered in a cold-blooded manner," he said. "When a policeman uses a gun like this, a .357 magnum, he's shooting to kill."

On October 14, 400 people met at St. Anthony's Church to discuss plans to protest this racist murder. The meeting included Rivera's family, friends, and representatives from the Ad Hoc Committee on Chicano Rights, the Chicano Federation, the Mexican American Political Association, the Spanish Speaking Political Association, the American Civil Liberties Union, and other groups.

At the meeting, Eddie Pérez, one of Rivera's friends, emphasized that this murder fits into a pattern of police harassment and victimization of Chicanos in National City. Pérez said, "Today, just a few days after Tato's

murder, the cops were in the community telling us that he had it coming. We've got to get together and stop these racists."

Police admit that two witnesses of the purse snatching have said that Rivera was not involved. They told police that the man they saw was taller and thinner.

The October 14 meeting unanimously approved a series of demands calling for a grand jury investigation of the killing, a federal investigation by the Justice Department and U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, an independent citizens' commission, the immediate identification and suspension of the cop who committed the murder, and the firing of the police chief.

After the meeting, 150 people marched to a session of the city council to present their demands. Herman Baca, chairperson of the Ad Hoc Committee on Chicano Rights, and Jesse Ramirez, past president of the Chicano Federation, spoke for the group.

After a thirty-minute confrontation with city council members and Mayor Kile Morgan, Baca said, "This kind of thing has been going on too long, and it's going to end one way or another."

A second community meeting has been called to map out further protest activities. Meanwhile, a petition campaign is under way to gather support for the group's demands.

## S.F. march condemns Spanish executions

By Joe Lombardo

SAN FRANCISCO—Four hundred fifty people marched to the Spanish consulate here on October 11, chanting "Free all Spanish political prisoners," "Stop the executions," and "No U.S. military aid to Spain."

The march was called by a number of Bay Area organizations to protest the Spanish dictatorship's recent execution of five political prisoners and its arrest of hundreds of political dissidents, especially in the oppressed Basque region of northern Spain.

Before the march stepped off from the downtown St. Mary's Cathedral, Monsignor Flynn of the San Francisco archdiocese spoke, expressing his support for the demonstration. At the rally outside the Spanish consulate, demonstrators heard speakers from the Spanish Democratic Association of Northern California and the U.S. Committee for a Democratic Spain. The rally was chaired by a representative of the U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners.

The speaker from the U.S. Commit-

tee for a Democratic Spain pointed out that protests against the executions have been lodged by trade unions throughout the world, by more than eighteen governments, and by Pope Paul VI.

One glaring exception to this worldwide outcry, he said, has been the United States government. In fact, the Ford administration recently renegotiated an agreement that guarantees U.S. support to Madrid in exchange for continued American use of military bases in Spain.

Telegrams of support were read to the rally from U.S. Sen. John Tunney (D-Calif.), U.S. Representatives Ronald Dellums and Norman Mineta, and Tom Hayden, candidate in the Democratic primary for U.S. Senate.

Others supporting the demonstration included: the Young Socialist Alliance; the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade; American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees Local 1695; the New American Movement; the Puerto Rican Socialist party; and Non-Intervention in Chile.



Demonstrators at Spanish consulate in San Francisco demand, 'Stop the executions!'

# Phila. socialist gets enthusiastic response in campaign for mayor

By John Ratliff

PHILADELPHIA—Terry Ann Hardy's speech to an October 23 rally of 300 called to support striking maintenance workers at the University of Pennsylvania was interrupted with applause several times. Hardy is the Socialist Workers party candidate for mayor.

Hardy, who took a leave from her job as a typist at the university to campaign full time, is well known as an activist in the organizing drive now under way among clerical and technical workers at the school.

"So far, Terry Ann Hardy's cam-



Charles Hardy  
'Independent Democrat' Charles Bowser proposes increased 'productivity' for city workers as solution to budget crisis.

paign has been low-keyed by the media, but enthusiastically received wherever she's appeared at street rallies and house meetings," wrote columnist Chuck Stone in the Philadelphia Daily News earlier this fall.

Stone went on to quote Hardy: "We've been really surprised at the reception. People say they didn't know this was socialism and think we make sense."

"The odds against Terry Ann Hardy being elected mayor of Philadelphia in 1975 may be too lop-sided to compute," Stone concluded. "But think how astronomical those odds were before the 19th Amendment [granting women the right to vote] was passed."

The issue of police terror in the Black and Puerto Rican communities is an important issue in Hardy's campaign. The biggest item in the city budget is for the police.

At a candidates' meeting September 20 hosted by tenants' groups in the Black community of West Philadelphia, Hardy said, "This city has its priorities totally warped. It spends \$130 million on the police force, which acts like an occupying army in the Black community; it gives tens of millions to the banks as profits on unnecessary loans, while it ignores the severe housing crisis in this city."

Incumbent Mayor Frank Rizzo, an ex-cop, bills himself as the "strongest mayor in the United States," and his Democratic party machine rivals Chicago Mayor Richard Daley's in corruption.

Hardy's Republican opponent, Thomas Foglietta, has undertaken to outflank Rizzo from the right. His campaign features posters depicting a school bus being "X"ed out, and he once called for dumping school buses in the Delaware River to protest desegregation.



Militant/Jon Flanders  
SWP mayoral candidate Terry Ann Hardy says city government's priorities are 'warped' when biggest item in budget is police.

Charles Bowser, who was a vice-mayor under liberal Democratic Mayor James Tate, decided to run as an "independent Democrat" after he failed to get the official Democratic party endorsement for the primary.

His major solution for the city's problems has been a promise to persuade Philadelphia's banks to shift their investment priorities from the commercial district to the neighborhoods.

To solve the city's financial crisis, Bowser proposes increasing the "productivity" of city workers, along the lines of "private enterprise."

"We live in a certain system and have to accept it," Bowser said in the September 20 debate with Hardy and

Continued on page 30

## Cleve. SWP candidate: 'Desegregate the schools'

By Ernest Mailhot

CLEVELAND—Socialist Workers candidate Christine Gauvreau is the only contender for Cleveland School Board who has called for desegregation of schools. There are a total of eight candidates running for the three board slots open in this election.

The Cleveland NAACP has filed suit in federal court charging that the school board has pursued a conscious policy of segregation for the past ten years.

One hundred fifty-two of Cleveland's 170 public schools are either all-white or all-Black in student composition. Arnold Pinkney, a liberal Black Democrat running for mayor of Cleveland, is the chief defendant in the NAACP case. Pinkney has been president of the Cleveland School Board for the past four years.

Racist Republican Mayor Ralph Perk asked to have his name added to the list of defendants in a statement last month denouncing school busing and desegregation.

The discussion at pre-election meetings with school board candidates has focused on this issue of busing and desegregation. A candidates' meeting sponsored by the Cleveland Council of Parent-Teacher Associations October 27 was typical of many meetings of local PTAs and neighborhood groups.

The meeting was attended by 200 officers of local PTAs, and Gauvreau's stand in favor of desegregation drew fire from the predominantly white audience.

All three questions in the short discussion period following the presentations were addressed to Gauvreau. In response to one question, Gauvreau commented, "I support whatever means are necessary, including busing, to desegregate Cleveland schools. And the tax burden for achieving equality in education should not fall on the overburdened shoulders of working people. Those most able to pay, the wealthy and the corporations, should be taxed."

This statement met with healthy applause from young people and Blacks in the audience. After the meeting Gauvreau was surrounded by a group of Black PTA officers. One remarked, "I like your stance. You made very good points. I would prefer it if every child could get a good education in his own neighborhood. Unfortunately, in this city, that's not possible for Black children."

The prodesegregation position taken by Gauvreau and Socialist Workers mayoral candidate Robert Bresnahan has been a line of demarcation between the socialist campaign and the campaigns of the Democratic and Republican parties throughout the election.

This was acknowledged in an article on the school board race by Thomas Gaumer in the October 26 Cleveland Plain Dealer.

"In the next four years the winners of the election will make some decisions that will affect the school system for years. Less than a week after the election, trial will begin in U.S. District Court on charges a school system is guilty of segregating pupils. . . .

"All but two of the candidates have said they would oppose a busing order if one were issued as a result of the desegregation lawsuit. . . .

"Mrs. Arnodo [Gauvreau's ballot designation], of the Socialist Workers party, is the only candidate whose platform calls for desegregation of the school system."

## Unions solid in U. of Penn. strike

By Jon Flanders

PHILADELPHIA—Three hundred University of Pennsylvania students, faculty, and staff rallied on campus October 23 in support of striking university employees.

One thousand campus workers are either on strike or honoring picket lines, making this walkout the largest in the university's history.

The strike began October 15 when members of Operating Engineers Local 835 voted overwhelmingly to reject the administration's last wage offer. The administration proposed a 6 percent raise on January 1, 1976. Since the wage offer is not retroactive to July, when the union's previous contract expired, this amounts to only 3 percent over the whole fiscal year.

The union had already given the university a three-and-a-half-month extension of the old contract.

The Operating Engineers, representing skilled maintenance workers, were soon joined by the two unions representing the janitorial staff and animal caretakers in the medical school, who also voted to strike.

Locals 590 and 54, American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, representing library and cafeteria workers, promptly decided to honor the picket lines and walk off the job.

The university has been carrying out an austerity campaign aimed at cutting back the campus work force and reducing real wages. A \$255 million "development drive" has been announced, but not one penny of this projected income is budgeted to compensate workers for inflation.

At the rally, representatives from the campus unions and their supporters

stressed the need to win broad backing among students, faculty, and non-unionized workers on campus. They stated opposition to any scheme to make students pay for wage increases through tuition hikes.

After more than a week of federal mediation, the administration still refuses to budge from its original offer. Injunctions against the striking unions stopping garbage removal have been used to threaten the leaders and members of Local 835 with arrest.

But if the morale the strikers showed at the rally can be sustained, the workers will give the administration a

stubborn battle.

"I'm only making ninety-one dollars a week," striker Bobby Corbin told the Militant. Corbin, a young Black man, works as a gardener at Penn and belongs to Local 835.

"How can a man live on ninety-one dollars a week? That's nothing. The number of guys in my shop who aren't working two jobs you could count on one hand. I work in a theater at night, cleaning up. That's the only way I can make it."

"You can be pushed so far," Corbin added, "but then you get to a point where you've got to fight."



Militant/Jon Flanders  
Walkout by campus workers is largest in university's history. 'You can be pushed so far,' one striker said, 'but then you get to a point where you've got to fight.'



# S.F. socialists campaign against city bosses' antilabor crusade

By Sara Gates

SAN FRANCISCO—While the national spotlight centers on New York's budget crisis and that city's union-busting campaign, San Francisco officials are trying their own version of a drive against public workers. And it has become an important issue in the municipal elections.

Mayor Joseph Alioto and the board of supervisors have placed a number of antilabor propositions on the November ballot. Labor reaction has been strongest against Proposition B, which would have the effect of lowering wages of some 3,000 building-trades workers and nurses employed by the city.

Currently, the city charter stipulates that painters, carpenters, and other craft workers employed by the city be paid the prevailing rate used in private industry. Proposition B would repeal this section, requiring these workers' unions to negotiate wage contracts with the city.

Last year—after the massive strikes here that virtually shut the city down—working people were faced with Proposition L, which would have cut the pay of all city workers. But it was defeated.

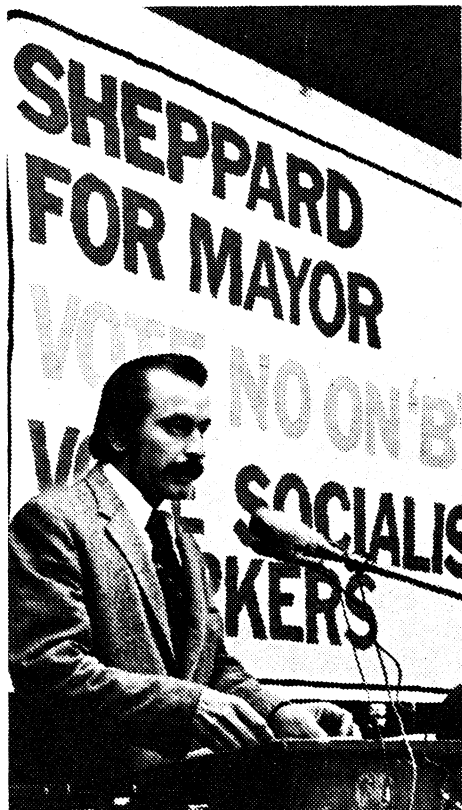
This time around, the city administration has taken a different tack, singling out the relatively better-paid craft workers.

Roland Sheppard, Socialist Workers candidate for mayor, has campaigned vigorously against Proposition B. Sheppard is designated on the officially nonpartisan ballot as a "Socialist Worker."

## Making workers pay

Sheppard contrasts Proposition B—designed to make working people pay for financial crises—with the failure of the city to tax the corporations. This past summer the city boosted the assessed taxable value of homes by as much as 60 to 300 percent. At the same time, it decreased taxes on many of the downtown businesses during a period of record corporate profits.

"The city is increasing the tax burden on working people, small business people, and homeowners, instead of taxing the profits of the downtown



Militant/Susan Muysenberg  
SWP's SHEPPARD: Vote 'No!' on Proposition B.

banks and corporations," Sheppard says.

The San Francisco labor movement has taken a stand against Proposition B. Unfortunately, however, in arguing against it, labor officials are using the self-defeating argument that the proposition "will probably increase strikes."

"City craft workers are opposed to strikes," says a leaflet distributed by the Citizens Opposed to Unnecessary City Strikes, the group formed by labor officials to oppose Proposition B.

## Changing politics

The antilabor drive of the Democratic party politicians has shaken up the usual political relationships in this city.

For the first time in years, the San Francisco Central Labor Council has not endorsed a single incumbent for the board of supervisors. Nine of the eleven present board members were elected with the support of the labor officialdom.

This fact alone shows the bankruptcy of supporting "friends of labor" in the Democratic party, Sheppard argues. He points to the need for a labor party, based on the unions, which would run candidates who genuinely represent the interests of working people and would fight in support of those interests.

In the race for mayor, the central labor council is repeating its past errors by endorsing George Moscone, a Democrat and state senate majority leader. Mayor Alioto is not eligible for another term.

Moscone is on record in opposition to Proposition B, but he says so only when asked. His soft-pedaling of this position contrasts sharply with Sheppard's campaign to build the movement to defeat the proposition and to explain its implications for all workers in the city.

Because of the role of the board of supervisors in the attacks on the rights of union workers, some unionists have been taking a fresh look at the socialist candidates.

The membership of the San Francisco Department of Social Services chapter of Social Services Union Local 535 voted to endorse the Socialist Workers candidates for the board of supervisors: Valerie Libby, Juan Martínez, and Jon Olmsted.

The membership vote upheld a decision by the union's executive board to endorse the candidates because of their stand against Proposition B.

Olmsted, a member of Service Employees' International Union Local 400, representing city clerical workers, addressed the October 21 general membership meeting of his union, although the local had already given its endorsement to other board candidates.

Sheppard has spoken to the Building Trades Council, Retail Clerks Local 1100, Carpenters Locals 22 and 2164, and his own union, Painters Local 4.

In Local 4, a motion to endorse Sheppard resulted in a tie vote. Another meeting has been scheduled to resolve the tie.

## Other propositions

There are five other antilabor propositions on the ballot, "O" through "S," all inspired by the reaction against the police and fire fighters' strike in August. These measures would make strikes by cops and fire fighters illegal, subject strikers to dismissal, cut their pay, and impose other restrictions on them.

"These measures," says Sheppard, "are really aimed at all public workers. If passed, they will strengthen the antilabor offensive."

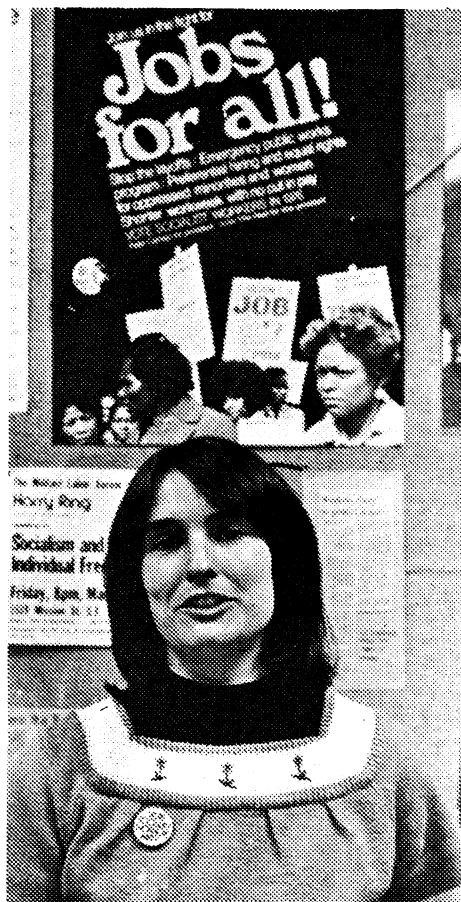
"However, the interests of working people have nothing to do with the interests of the cops. Contrary to what we are taught, the police are not to help or protect working people and the general public."

"People in the Black community whose children are shot down by trigger-happy cops, farm workers who have been attacked by police protecting the growers, and strikers whose picket lines are attacked by police—all understand the cops' repressive role."

"The cops' function is to protect the capitalists' property and profits."

"We are urging a 'no' vote on Propositions O through S not to defend the so-called rights of cops, but to defend the right of fire fighters and all other city workers to strike and bargain collectively."

Sheppard's campaign has received extensive media coverage. For example, the CBS local TV affiliate filmed him campaigning at California State University at San Francisco before his appearance at a candidates' day there. And two stations have filmed him at work as a house painter, intrigued by the fact that he is the only mayoral candidate who works for a living.



Valerie Libby, SWP candidate for board of supervisors, has been endorsed by San Francisco chapter of Social Services Union Local 535.

# Vote Socialist Workers Nov. 4

[Socialist Workers party candidates in this year's municipal elections have campaigned energetically against the antilabor, probusiness policies of the Democrats and Republicans, from President Ford down to local school boards. They have protested cop terror and attacks on democratic rights. They have fought for school desegregation and for the rights of women and minorities on the job. They have offered realistic proposals to solve the crises facing working people.]

[We urge our readers in those cities where there are SWP candidates running in the municipal elections to cast a vote for the socialist alternative on November 4. Those candidates running write-in campaigns are indicated with an asterisk.]

## CLEVELAND

Robert Bresnahan\*—mayor  
Christine Gauvreau Arnodo—school board

## HOUSTON

Pedro Vázquez—mayor  
Betsy Farley—controller  
Dan Fein—school board, position 3

## MINNEAPOLIS

Mary Hillery—mayor  
Ralph Schwartz—city council, ward 2  
Gary Prevost—city council, ward 5  
Joanne Murphy—city council, ward 8  
Holly Harkness\*—school board

## PHILADELPHIA

Terry Ann Hardy\*—mayor  
Derrick Morrison\*—city council, at-large  
Dick Osborne—city council, at-large  
Josephine Otero—city council, at-large  
Duncan Williams—city council, at-large

## PITTSBURGH

Neil Berns—county commissioner  
Stephanie Brooks—county commissioner  
Christina Adachi—county controller  
Howard Beck—city council  
Susan Beck—city council  
Virginia Burke—city council  
Paul LeBlanc—city council  
Thomas Twiss—city council

## SAN FRANCISCO

Roland Sheppard—mayor  
Valerie Libby—board of supervisors  
Juan Martínez—board of supervisors  
Jonathan Olmsted—board of supervisors

Vote "no" on Proposition B and on Propositions O, P, Q, R, and S.

## SEATTLE

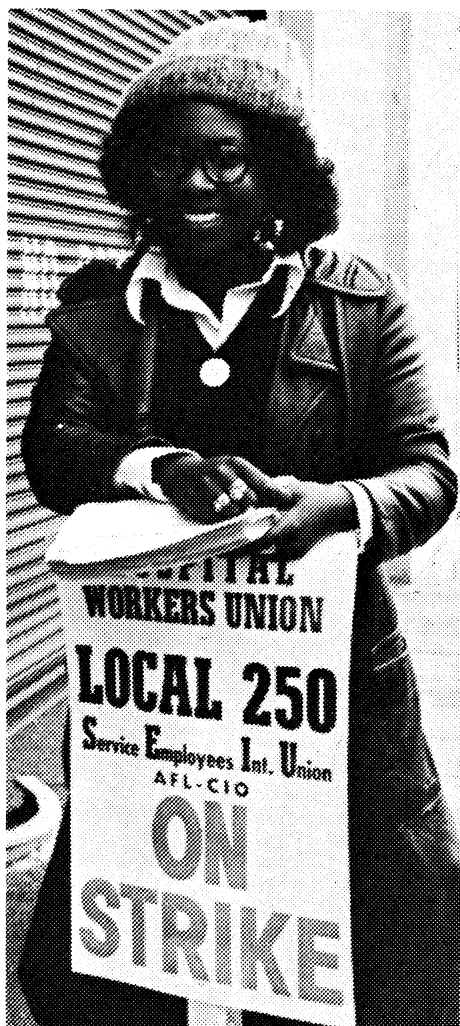
Patricia Bethard—city council, position 5

Vote "yes" on Initiative 314, which would tax corporations to pay for education.

Vote "no" on Initiative 316, which would restore the death penalty.

## WASHINGTON, D.C.

Brenda Brdar—school board, ward 1  
Erich Martel—school board, at-large



Militant/Howard Petrick  
1974 municipal employees' strike nearly shut San Francisco down. Proposition B would lower wages of city workers.

# Calendar

## BERKELEY/OAKLAND

**PORTUGAL.** A Trotskyist analysis and report of events in Portugal. Speaker: Barry Sheppard, SWP national organization secretary. Sat., Nov. 8, 8 p.m. 1849 University Ave., Berkeley. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (415) 548-0354.

## CHICAGO: SOUTH SIDE

**THE FIGHT AGAINST POLICE REPRESSION.** Speakers: Bill Hampton, December 4 Committee and brother of slain Black Panther leader Fred Hampton; Morris Starsky, plaintiff in SWP suit against government harassment; Richard Gutman, attorney in suit against Chicago red squad. Fri., Nov. 7, 8 p.m. 1754 E. 55th St. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (312) 643-5520.

## NEW YORK: LOWER EAST SIDE

**'TEN DAYS THAT SHOOK THE WORLD.'** A film. Fri., Nov. 7, 7:00 p.m. and 8:30 p.m. Party to follow. 706 Broadway, Eighth Floor. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (212) 982-6051.

## NEW YORK: UPPER WEST SIDE

**SOCIALIST WORKERS 1976 CAMPAIGN BANQUET AND RALLY.** Speakers: Robb Wright, SWP candidate for U.S. Congress, 19th C.D.; Ruthann Miller, SWP candidate for U.S. Congress, 70th A.D.; Norman Oliver, recent SWP candidate for mayor of Boston. Sat., Nov. 8. Social hour: 6:00 p.m. Dinner: 7:00 p.m. Rally: 8:30 p.m. Party to follow. 2726

Broadway (at 104th St.). Donation: dinner and rally, \$5; rally only, \$1. Ausp: West Side '76 Socialist Workers Campaign Committee. For more information call (212) 663-3000.

## PHILADELPHIA

**STRIKE: UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA WORKERS VS. THE ADMINISTRATION.** Speakers from the striking unions. Fri., Nov. 7, 8 p.m. 1004 Filbert St. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (215) WA5-4316.

## SAN FRANCISCO

**PORTUGAL AT THE CROSSROADS.** Speaker: Barry Sheppard, SWP national organization secretary. Fri., Nov. 7, 8 p.m. 1519 Mission St. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (415) 864-9174.

## TWIN CITIES

**SOVIET DISSIDENTS AND THE FIGHT FOR SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY.** Speakers: Andrij Karkoc, Univ. of Minn. Ukrainian Students Organization; Dan Kuschke, recent visitor to Soviet Union, YSA; Peter Archer, *Young Socialist* staff writer. Fri., Nov. 7, 8 p.m. 25 University Ave. S.E., Mpls. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (612) 332-7781.

## WASHINGTON, D.C.

**COMMEMORATE THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION.** Film: *Potemkin*. Fri., Nov. 7, 8 p.m. 1345 E St. N.W., Fourth Floor. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (202) 783-2391.

# ...Phila.

**Continued from page 28**

Foglietta. "People have tried to change it before and it hasn't happened. We have to work within it."

As the election draws nearer, Bowser has removed any doubt there may have been about his candidacy being independent of the two capitalist parties.

At the October 17-18 convention of Bowser's Philadelphia party, a full slate of candidates was endorsed, including several Democratic candidates who are committed to Rizzo.

Each plank in the Philadelphia party's program was carefully and consciously watered down with escape clauses, so as not to "tie the mayor's hands."

The Communist party in Philadelphia is not running candidates in this election. At the Philadelphia party convention, members of the CP and the Young Workers Liberation League

played active roles in drafting the program and chaired several of the subcommittees responsible for sections of the platform.

Rather than support Hardy's socialist campaign for mayor, the YWLL on campuses in the city has dissolved itself into "students for Bowser" committees, often taking primary responsibility for the campaign.

CP activists in community struggles have tried to turn tenants' and welfare groups into all-out support groups for Bowser.

The SWP campaign has taken exactly the opposite course. Campaign supporters have helped organize and have participated in demonstrations against police brutality, cutbacks in day care, and attacks on the Puerto Rican community.

Hardy has campaigned in support of striking public employees and the University of Pennsylvania workers.

At the socialist campaign windup rally October 18, attended by 110 supporters, Howard Deck, president of Local 590 of the American Federation

of State, County and Municipal Employees, summed it up. He called Hardy's campaign the "only alternative for working people with any solution to their problems."

# ...unionists

**Continued from page 5**

speak. Those in attendance heard a steady stream of Democratic and Republican politicians from Kentucky and elsewhere attack "forced busing," claiming that "violence" and "disruption" are brought about by allowing Black children to attend white schools.

Kentucky's Gov. Julian Carroll even charged that busing was reducing worker productivity and was responsible for a decline in contributions to the United Way.

Senators William Roth (R-Del.) and William Scott (R-Va.) argued for taking the power to order busing out of the hands of federal courts and placing it in the hands of local courts, a transparent ploy to get more compliant judges.

Senator Eastland, a longtime segregationist, lit up at this proposal, saying, "Seems to me that you have hit pay dirt."

Conspicuously absent from the hearings were committee members Birch Bayh (D-Ind.), a presidential aspirant who claims to be for civil rights, and Edward Kennedy (D-Mass.), who claims to favor busing but refuses to take action to defend Black students.

A busload of Black parents, ministers, and other supporters of busing attended the hearings from Louisville. In interviews with the *Militant*, they lashed out at the committee for deliberately obscuring the issue of violence in the schools.

"Black students are attacked daily," said Benetha Ellis, of United Black Protective Parents. Ellis, who regularly rides the school buses and monitors classrooms, was scheduled to testify at the hearings.

She and Rev. Robert Letcher explained that increased protection is needed for Black youth. Letcher said that a recent meeting at his church heard from Blacks attending Fern Creek High School, where more than 100 incidents of white violence have occurred in recent weeks.

Letcher said that the school princi-

pal ignores the racist provocations, while white teachers actively join in threatening Black students.

He also reported that school buses traveling on the highways have been waylaid by racists who in some cases have succeeded in forcing the buses off the road.

"We are here for equal opportunity education," he said. "Black students need some degree of protection."

# ...Seattle

**Continued from back page**

He was referring to people like former antiwar activist Chip Marshall, the Democratic party-endorsed candidate for Seattle City Council position two.

A contingent from the Marshall campaign committee was present at the rally and listened closely to this section of Camejo's talk.

"What is the Democratic party?" Camejo continued. "It's a party that was founded by the slavocracy. . . . It's the party that supported lynching and fought to maintain Jim Crow segregation in the South.

"It's the party that took us into every war of this century. . . . When the American workers radicalize, do you think they're going to look for leadership to people who have gone into the Democratic party?"

"They'll call them traitors. They won't have anything to do with that party."

Nick Licate, Marshall's campaign director, told the *Militant* afterward that he was "very impressed" by the rally.

One of the Marshall campaign supporters asked to join the Young Socialist Alliance, and all who were present said they were supporting Bethard for position five, although they admitted that Marshall himself would not support her because of his ties to the Democratic party.

Also present at the rally were students from Seattle and outlying campuses, members of a number of unions, including AFSCME, International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, and Boilermakers. More than \$1,700 was raised after a fund appeal by Susie Berman to help fuel the last leg of Seattle's socialist campaign.

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brooke Ct., Kalamazoo, Mich. 49007. Tel: (616) 375-6370.

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LOS ANGELES

## Socialist educational weekend conference

NOVEMBER 7-8, Cal State at Los Angeles Fri., November 7, 8 p.m. 'The Fight For Black Rights Today.' Speaker: Malik Miah, national chairperson of Young Socialist Alliance. South Hall, room E184.

Sat., November 8, 11 a.m. 'Portugal and World Revolution.' Speaker: Barry Sheppard, national organization secretary of Socialist Workers party. Student Union, room 313.

Sat., November 8, 2 p.m. Classes on socialism. 'Unemployment & Layoffs: How Labor Can Fight Back.' Speaker: Fred Halstead, cochairperson of Socialist Workers 1976 National Campaign Committee. Student Union, room 413. 'Socialism & Democracy.' Speaker: Harry Ring, 'Militant' Southwest Bureau. Student Union, room 431. 'Chicano Nationalism & Marxism.' Speaker: Virginia Garza, SWP. Student Union, room 438. Donation: \$1 per session, \$2.50 for conference. Ausp: YSA. For more information call (213) 483-0357.

UPPER WEST SIDE, NEW YORK

## Socialist Workers campaign banquet

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 8. Banquet for the Socialist Workers 1976 Campaign. Featured guests: Robb Wright, SWP candidate for U.S. Congress, 19th District; Ruthann Miller, SWP candidate for New York State Assembly, 70th District. Social hour, 6: p.m., dinner, 7:00 p.m.; rally, 8:30 p.m.; party, 10:00 p.m. 2726 Broadway (near 104th St.), New York City. Donation: \$5 for dinner and rally; \$1 for rally only. Ausp: West Side '76 Socialist Workers Campaign Committee. For more information call (212) 663-3000.

Officers of West Side '76 Socialist Workers  
Hermes—treasurer: Steve Beren.

Committee: chairperson: Helena

# THE MILITANT

## 'Human needs, not profits'

# Socialist fights for seat on Seattle city council

By David Salner  
and Harold Schlechtweg

SEATTLE—With less than an hour to meet her deadline, the *Seattle Post Intelligencer* reporter was conducting a last-minute interview with Socialist Workers party presidential candidate Peter Camejo in the kitchen of Immaculate Church.

In an adjacent auditorium the SWP campaign committee was opening a rally of 135 supporters, where one of the featured speakers was to be Patricia Bethard, SWP member and a candidate for city council position five in the November 4 elections.

"We're running to raise the most urgent issue of our epoch—that we need a society based on human needs, not profits," Camejo told the reporter.

After jotting down a few more answers, she thanked Camejo for the impromptu interview and left to file her story. In the auditorium, a camera crew from KIMG-TV (NBC) was shooting footage of Bethard and other rally participants. The crew was also pushing a deadline and asked for a few shots of Camejo before heading back to the newsroom.

### Final push

Camejo's busy four-day tour here backed up the final push by Bethard's campaign supporters to get out news of the socialist alternative to Seattle voters.

In the "nonpartisan" primary election in September, Bethard won 18 percent of the vote. Her second-place showing guaranteed her a place on the general election ballot against City Council President Sam Smith.

Bethard is secretary of Local 1488 of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME) and a member of the Coalition of Labor Union Women. She is backed by the King County Women's Political Caucus, as well as by the Young Socialist Alliance and the Socialist Workers party.



SWP presidential candidate Peter Camejo joins Patricia Bethard in getting out word of her campaign for Seattle city council position five.

Smith, a Democrat, has the endorsement of the Police Guild, the Civic Builders Association, and the United Republicans of Washington.

Aggressive campaigning by Bethard and her supporters has forced Smith into the open on many of the issues facing Seattle voters in the election.

For example, at a candidates' night sponsored by the National Organization for Women on October 21, Bethard blasted Smith's opposition to Initiative 314, a proposal on the November ballot calling for a tax on corporations to help pay for education. Seattle corporations have launched a huge advertising campaign to defeat Initiative 314.

Arriving late at the meeting, Smith tried to answer Bethard with a counter-attack of his own. He stated his support for income taxes as a way of shielding the big corporations from an "unequal" tax burden.

"That went over like a lead balloon," reported a Bethard supporter present at the NOW-sponsored meeting.

On Saturday, October 25, at a candidates' breakfast sponsored by the

NAACP, Smith, who is Black, admitted that he supports the death penalty for certain crimes.

### One more weapon

The move to reinstate mandatory death sentencing has aroused the anger of many Blacks, who know that it would be one more weapon in the hands of the racist judges and prosecutors.

In contrast to Smith's stand, Bethard declared her total opposition to the death penalty and urged a "no" vote on Initiative 316, which would reinstitute the barbaric practice of execution by hanging.

Bethard has also campaigned to expose the complicity of the city government in the racist "redlining" policy of the banks—the practice of refusing to loan money to homeowners and small businesses in the Black community.

Bethard told a Mount Baker community council meeting October 20 that "bankers who redline should be prosecuted and, if necessary, jailed."

She also called for quality, low-cost housing to meet the needs of the Black community, paid for by federal funds.

### New forces

The October 25 campaign rally, capping the tour of socialist presidential candidate Camejo, signified the new forces becoming actively involved in the socialist campaign effort here.

David Garcia, president of AFSCME Local 1488, spoke at the rally, following greetings from Nancy Welsh of the United Farm Workers and from Carmen Maymi of the Student Coalition Against Racism.

Garcia is a working union president, a tool-and-die maker at the University of Washington, the second-largest employer in the state of Washington.

He supports Bethard, Garcia said, because of her record as a union builder, especially as a fighter for affirmative action at the University of Washington.

"The real question posed by elections is what class should govern," Camejo, the last speaker at the rally, declared. "At this point, the capitalist class governs. Our answer is that the working class should govern."

"Some people who helped build the antiwar movement now say we should accept the Democratic party for political expediency," Camejo said.

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## Vote 'no' on death penalty

SEATTLE—The Socialist Workers party is making the following recommendations on initiatives that will be on the November 4 ballot:

- Vote "no" on Initiative 316, which would reinstitute the death penalty in Washington.

- Vote "yes" on Initiative 314, a proposal to tax corporations to help pay for public education.

## UFW protests stalling by Calif. labor board

By Arnold Weissberg

RIVERSIDE, Calif.—Nearly 100 United Farm Workers members and supporters began picketing the offices of the California Agricultural Labor Relations Board (ALRB) here October 21. The action is to protest the board's failure to certify the results of twenty-four farm elections the UFW has won in the Riverside area.

No union can be declared the bargaining agent on any given ranch until the board certifies it has won a majority of the votes in a representation election. Consequently, the 3,500 workers who voted here are being denied the right to have the UFW begin contract negotiations on their behalf.

Besides ALRB stalling, the UFW has faced harassment by local growers.

Organizers have been systematically

denied access to company property. Since many workers live in company-owned housing, such denial makes it impossible to reach them. Those who do not live on company property often live in widely scattered housing, which makes it difficult to visit many of them.

In refusing to allow UFW organizers on the ranches, the growers are violating an ALRB ruling that provides all union organizers the right to talk to workers on the ranches at certain specified times. Thus far, the ALRB has shown little interest in enforcing its own rules, which have been upheld by the state supreme court.

Ranchers have also threatened to fire workers and to close ranches to intimidate UFW supporters.

Another common act of intimidation

used by ranchers is the threat to call the Immigration Service to deport undocumented Mexican workers.

On one ranch, McAnally Enterprises, five workers were fired and two evicted from company-owned housing for supporting the UFW.

Five UFW organizers have been illegally arrested in the fields.

The demonstrators demanded the removal of Walter Kintz, general counsel for the ALRB, because of his "continued refusal to insure prompt and effective enforcement of the law"; that the election results be certified; and that the ALRB put an immediate stop to the intimidation and firing of UFW supporters.

The union plans to continue the demonstrations daily until the board acts.