

THE MILITANT

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



Italy & crisis of European capitalism

Winning the Equal Rights Amendment

What political road for women's movement?

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Carter-Begin 'feud': no quarrel over Lebanon slaughter

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How miners blocked bosses' union busting



Militant/Nancy Cole

Rank-and-file battle against coal operators and government has strengthened United Mine Workers union. See pages 4-6.

Defend the transit workers!

New York socialist urges united action to stop cutbacks, layoffs

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Sell the 'Militant'

At its meeting in late February, the Socialist Workers Party National Committee voted to undertake an ambitious drive to step up sales of the *Militant* to working people across the country.

Focusing on *Militant* sales to co-workers in industry and sales at plant gates, the drive is a central part of the overall goal projected at the meeting—a stepped-up effort to talk socialism with the new generation of radicalizing industrial workers.

In response to the capitalists' offensive against working people—now directed squarely at the industrial working class—this new generation of workers is looking for answers that only socialists can provide.

The role of the *Militant* in this effort is underscored by the part it played in supporting the United Mine Workers strike against the coal operators.

During the strike the *Militant* was the only paper that consistently countered the propaganda of the coal bosses and the government. We told the miners' side of the story—the *truth* about the strike—and explained how the miners' determination showed the road forward for other working people.

The *Militant*, more than any other publication, helped organize solidarity with the miners by reporting on support activities across the country. This aided in encouraging others to take up the miners' cause.

Now in the wake of the strike, the *Militant* is drawing the lessons of this battle for all the exploited and oppressed.

A central focus of our sales drive is stepped-up efforts to get the *Militant* into the hands of industrial workers who face the same union-busting offensive as the miners—at steel mills, rail yards, auto plants, and other workplaces.

Socialists are also bringing the *Militant* to others fighting the capitalist offensive against the living standards and democratic rights of working people. To the New York City employees coming under attack. To the working farmers, women, oppressed nationalities, and students.

By organizing sales of the *Militant* at workplaces and plant gates, on campuses and at political meetings, and by undertaking a broad campaign of public street sales, we will be able

to introduce thousands of newly radicalizing workers to the ideas of socialism and win many of them to the socialist movement.

Carter's city swindle

President Carter, New York Gov. Hugh Carey, and New York City Mayor Edward Koch all have the same strategy for "saving" the cities: line the pockets of big business.

That came clear March 27 as the White House announced its "proposals for a comprehensive national urban policy."

Carter said his proposals "aimed both at making cities more healthy and improving the lives of the people who live in them." Actually, the proposals will both make corporations more wealthy and improve the lives of the people who own them.

"Much of the President's program relies on federally guaranteed loans or tax incentives to encourage businesses to remain in central cities and create jobs for the hard-core unemployed," reported the *New York Times*.

"Mayor Koch said he agreed with this approach," the *Times* continued, "but he was not sure that the money involved would be sufficient to encourage the desired actions."

Koch's predecessor, Mayor Abraham Beame, granted businesses \$100 million in tax cuts in New York's 1977-78 budget and \$1 billion through elimination of the stock-transfer tax over the next four years.

Earlier this year Governor Carey proposed some \$230 million in tax cuts for big business to improve "New York's competitive standing among states as a desirable place to do business and to live."

What has Carter offered the barons of finance and industry in this latest shakedown of the working-class taxpayer?

- Up to \$1.5 billion each year in tax credits, supposedly for hiring the "hard core" unemployed;

- Up to \$11 billion in long-term loans, often at very low interest rates, through a new urban development bank; and

- An additional 5 percent investment tax credit, on top of the existing 10 percent credit, for investing in "distressed areas."

But won't the benefits of these giveaways "trickle down" to working people and the unemployed, as the politicians claim?

No.

On the one hand, slick corporation tax lawyers will find dozens of ways to take the money and go right ahead with business as usual. In fact, these tax breaks only encourage big corporations to demand even more ransom, threatening to flee to "friendlier investment climates." By that they mean states with lower taxes and union-busting "right to work" laws.

On the other hand, local, state, and federal governments use the excuse of lower tax revenues to justify more layoffs of public employees and cutbacks in vital social services.

So these policies *do* provide big business with an incentive—an incentive to worsen the problems such policies are supposed to solve.

Practically the only funds that Carter has not earmarked directly for big business are the \$1 billion for each of three years that are supposed to create 60,000 jobs per year. With 6,090,000 people officially listed as unemployed, that's less than one job for every 100 people in need of work. Not to mention the millions underemployed or otherwise not counted by government statisticians.

Carter also generously handed out \$150 million a year for child care and meals for the elderly. That's less than half the *cost overrun* on one Trident nuclear submarine in his war budget.

Any real program to solve the urban crisis would start by doing away with the \$126 billion war budget altogether. Those billions could be rechanneled to build decent housing, hospitals, schools, and public transportation.

That kind of massive, federally financed program could put everyone who needs a job back to work—at full union-scale wages, and doing something useful for society as a whole.

But Carter, Carey, and Koch will never make that kind of proposal. Because like other Democratic and Republican politicians, they serve the interests of the powerful capitalists who profit from cutbacks, layoffs, and tax bonanzas.

The fight to save America's cities must be taken up by the trade unions, and by the organizations of the oppressed nationalities, who are trapped in crumbling urban ghettos.

At the top of the agenda in that fight is the need for a total break with the capitalist parties and politicians responsible for the crisis. Only independent working-class political action can mobilize the social power necessary to stop the pillage of America's cities.

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Asylum for Marroquín

Civil libertarians, Soviet dissidents, and movement activists speak out to save the life of Héctor Marroquín. **Page 24.**

Gay rights protests

New York march for gay rights bill set... 350 attend San Francisco meeting against antigay Briggs initiative. **Page 26.**



British ban on fascists backfires

Recent events in Britain prove that the government is no ally in the fight against fascism. **Page 12.**



The Militant

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

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

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

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'Militant' sales drive underway

By Nelson Blackstock

This week we print the results of the first week of the national spring sales drive.

The drive is being conducted by the Socialist Workers Party. It was set at a meeting of the SWP National Committee in late February. Following that, branches of the SWP in cities around the country adopted quotas for the drive. The aim is to meet these quotas every week.

Both the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial*, the biweekly Spanish-language socialist newsmagazine, are included in the drive.

Young Socialist Alliance chapters are also helping to boost sales of the *Militant* and *PM*, in addition to selling the YSA's own monthly newspaper, the *Young Socialist*.

At a February meeting where the sales campaign was set, the SWP National Committee took note of some important new political realities in this country.

The socialists believe that a new layer of radicalized young workers are in the plants and factories today. The most visible evidence of this development today is the coal miners' strike.

The SWP is out to reach these workers with socialist ideas. Many more SWP members will be getting industrial jobs in the months ahead.

A central aspect of the SWP's effort to talk socialism with workers is through sales of the *Militant* and *PM*.

A big focus of the drive is to step up sales at plant gates, and to co-workers on the job. At the same time we will be expanding public sales of the paper on street corners and at shopping centers in communities, particularly the Black, Puerto Rican, and Chicano communities.

Political meetings and campuses are also places where we will be increasing sales.

The drive was set to begin with issue

number 11 of the *Militant*, dated March 24. That's two issues before this one. The results of those sales are listed on this page.

What the sales scoreboard shows is that in many cities socialists were not prepared to begin the drive with that issue. Many cities did not order enough papers to meet their goals that week.

While overall sales of issue 11 were much lower than they should have been, there is some encouraging news in the drive. For one thing, early reports on sales of the last issue, number 12, indicate considerable progress is now being made in the second week of the drive.

In addition, a look at those cities that did well on issue 11 shows the kind of results other cities can expect.

Eight of the cities on the scoreboard this week hit their goal, and several other cities came close to reaching theirs. What distinguished these cities from others is that sales were carefully planned out and organized in advance.

New York City is one such example. After the SWP National Committee meeting, a city-wide gathering of New York socialists heard a report on what the national committee had discussed and how the sales campaign fits into political tasks in the coming weeks.

They decided that since the *Militant* was the only paper telling the truth about the miners' strike—both what the miners were fighting for and its significance for every single working person—among the most important things they could do was to expand sales in New York.

There are six SWP branches in New York. Circulation directors from each branch met to detail plans for the drive. Each socialist in the city was encouraged to take part.

The results of the first week in New York reflect the impact of the decisions. Of the 616 *Militants* sold, 129 were sold at plant gates.

About half the papers were bought in community sales, mostly by Blacks and mostly during Saturday sales.

Another 106 were bought at political meetings of various sorts.

Few were bought on campuses in New York—the same was true in most other cities—since campuses are usually closed around Easter.

The headline on issue 11 protested the Israeli invasion of Lebanon. Brooklyn has a sizable Arab community, and that was the scene of many sales.

Phoenix, Arizona, also made its goal. More than forty of their papers were bought by workers at a huge copper mine located in Arizona. This shows the importance of traveling some distance, if necessary, to reach workers in a major industrial facility.

Another good place to sell is at union meetings, even if you're not a member of the union. Dave Wulp sold eleven *Militants* and two *PMs* at a meeting of a steelworkers local in Los Angeles.

Another sure spot for sales is at political demonstrations. Washington, D.C., sold thirty-eight papers at a picket line protesting Israeli Prime Minister Begin's visit.

Weekly sales results

CITY	MILITANT		PM		TOTAL		
	Goal	Sold	Goal	Sold	Goal	Sold	Percent
Phoenix	75	110	10	17	85	127	149.4
Morgantown	100	139			100	139	139.0
Salt Lake City	90	120	10		100	120	120.0
Miami	95	93	5	11	100	104	104.0
Pittsburgh	125	129			125	129	103.2
New York	575	616	75	36	650	652	100.3
Indianapolis	100	100			100	100	100.0
Louisville	100	100			100	100	100.0
Cincinnati	75	69			75	69	92.0
Washington, D.C.	230	200	20	29	250	229	91.6
Baltimore	100	91			100	91	91.0
Chicago	277	253	18	6	295	259	87.8
Albuquerque	115	103	10	2	125	105	84.0
St. Paul	40	31			40	31	77.5
Portland	90	67			90	67	74.4
Houston	270	173	30	40	300	213	71.0
Dallas	115	67	10	18	125	85	68.0
Kansas City	100	68			100	68	68.0
Philadelphia	250	150			250	150	60.0
Newark	150	86		4	150	90	60.0
San Antonio	100	55	10	10	110	65	59.1
Albany	60	35			60	35	58.3
San Jose	115	62	10	4	125	66	52.8
Minneapolis	100	52			100	52	52.0
Tacoma	90	52	10		100	52	52.0
Boston	165	96	25		190	96	50.5
Cleveland	150	74			150	74	49.3
Berkeley	138	72	12		150	72	48.0
San Diego	100	60	25		125	60	48.0
Los Angeles	400	198	100	32	500	230	46.0
San Francisco	220	100	15	5	235	105	44.7
Oakland	150	67			150	67	44.7
Atlanta	300	130			300	130	43.3
Denver	105	37	5	2	110	39	35.5
Seattle	150	49		1	150	50	33.3
Milwaukee	125	16			125	16	12.8
New Orleans	125	15			125	15	12.0
Raleigh	75	*	**		75	*	*
St. Louis	200	*	**		200	*	*
Toledo	75	*	**		75	*	*
Detroit	300	**	**		300	**	**
TOTALS:	6,315	3,935	400	217	6,715	4,152	61.8

*Results not available.

**Not participating in drive this week due to petitioning to put SWP on ballot.

These figures are for sales of *Militant* number 11, dated March 24, and for the first week's sales of *Perspectiva Mundial* number 6, dated March 27.

Louisville sales

Louisville socialists sold sixty-four of their 100 papers at plant gates. Fifty-nine of these were sold at plants organized by the United Auto Workers.

They sent out four teams of two people each to the UAW plants. Some of the teams included workers on the way to their own jobs. Since they had to report in a little later than the auto workers, they were able to put in some time selling.

Most of the papers were bought by workers driving into the parking lots. There was much interest in the coal strike. The socialists also distributed literature for Jim Burfeind, the SWP candidate for U.S. Congress in the Third C.D.

Louisville socialists plan to make these plant-gate sales a regular feature of the drive.



Militant/Gary Mansbach

Selling in New York City. Community sales have been one important way to reach working people with lessons of miners' strike.

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Michigan socialist speaks out

'Auto workers know importance of coal strike'

Printed below are major excerpts from a speech delivered March 12 by Robin Mace, Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of Michigan, at a West Side Detroit Militant Forum. Mace is a member of United Auto Workers Local 900.

We're hearing a lot about the effects of the miners' strike on our lives these days.

We get specials on the TV news about unplugging our refrigerators when the utilities begin turning off our power.

In the auto plants the foremen have been going around collecting our phone numbers so they can call us to let us know when we're laid off. They're also telling us we should blame the miners if the companies take away our jobs.

Governor Milliken has gotten into the act too. Pretending to protect us from energy shortages, he has declared, "No coal to Ohio or Indiana." According to latest reports, however, this declaration has been revised. It's now, "No low-cost energy to Ohio or Indiana."

Like the representative of big business he is, Milliken is voicing the desires of Michigan utilities, which are more prone to feel neighborly if they can sell their power for two or three times the going rate.

The one thing we're not hearing much about is the response of Michigan workers to the coal strike. According to a recent poll, 54 percent of Detroiters were opposed to the use of Taft-Hartley against the striking miners.

I don't know where they found the other 46 percent. But if you go to the auto plants and the steel mills around this state, the response is 100 percent in support of the coal miners' strike.

Just about every auto worker I've talked to knows the importance of this strike, even though a lot of people aren't aware of every single issue the miners are fighting for.

They know that if the operators are successful in forcing the miners back to work, the power of the UMW will be weakened. Because the miners are

generally viewed as the most militant trade unionists around, auto workers know full well that if the miners are dealt a defeat, it could be us next time.

One issue nearly every auto worker thinks is important is the right to strike. Auto workers know what speed-up and unsafe working conditions mean. We also know just how ineffective the grievance procedure is in protecting our lives and limbs on the job.

The coal miners are fighting right now for the right to shut down unsafe mines. They're fighting to keep their safety on the job out of the clutches of an ineffective grievance procedure. And in fighting for the right to strike, they're fighting for all of us.

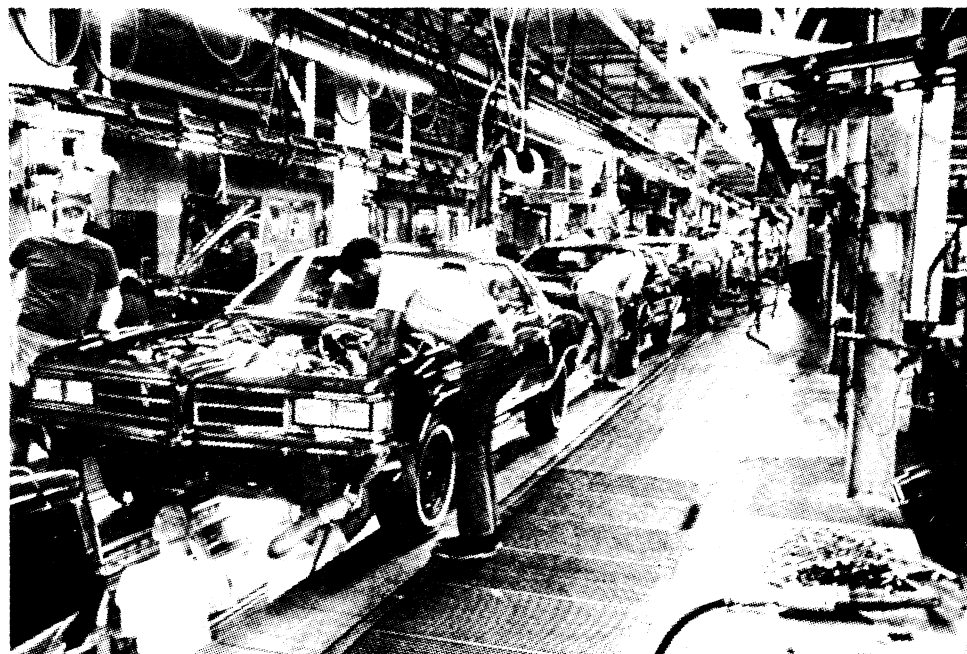
This is a time when workers everywhere—certainly in auto—are being forced to fight to protect every gain we've made in our living standards and our working conditions. We're seeing on a day-to-day basis how a contract in the hands of the bosses is nothing but a scrap of paper if you don't have the means to enforce it.

What a difference it would have made last summer—when three auto workers lost their lives and dozens of others lost their jobs as the heat rose to more than 100 degrees in the plants—if we had had local safety committees with the power to shut down the plants, instead of having to resort to isolated heat walkouts.

Take another example. Plans were recently announced at my plant for a speedup of the assembly line from sixty-two to seventy-eight cars an hour. The foremen openly brag that this is breaking a local agreement that says no work can be added to any jobs as of January.

Everyone knows that filing grievances won't stop these violations of the contract by the company. At a time when more and more auto workers are looking for a way out of the grievance procedure and a way to really protect themselves on the job, they view the miners' fight to maintain the right to strike as their fight.

Just the fact that the miners are fighting so hard—standing up to every kind of political blackmail, slander and threat—has been an inspiration to



Speedup and safety—two reasons auto workers back miners' fight for right to strike

workers here. If you go to any plant around the city you'll hear the same sentiment. Working people are saying, "We hope the miners stay out until they've won everything they can."

What's needed throughout the labor movement right now is a massive, active, organized expression of this sentiment of solidarity.

The UAW recently donated \$2 million to the UMW strike fund, and the USWA donated \$1 million. The money will undoubtedly help the UMW's ability to hold out against the coal bosses and the government.

But what's more important than the monetary value of those donations is the *political effect* they have had. People see this as an important act of support from powerful sources.

The logical follow-up is the initiation of actions that could show the whole world exactly where Michigan workers stand on the miners' strike. What we need are meetings, demonstrations, rallies, and other solidarity actions that can set in motion the widespread support for the miners among Michigan workers.

At USWA Local 2659, for example, 250 steelworkers and other unionists turned out for a rally to show their

support for the Stearns strikers. It's meetings like this that will show the miners that government threats and media lies are not going to isolate them from their brothers and sisters—the rest of the American labor movement.

One comment you hear a lot lately is, "Carter sure made a mistake in invoking Taft-Hartley. That's going to cost him a lot of votes."

I think this sentiment is right—that working people will remember Carter's antilabor role in this strike. They will think twice before going out to support him or campaign for him again.

Carter has shown himself—and his party, the Democratic Party—to be in collusion with the bosses. His attempt to help break the miners' strike has shown once again that every time working people put faith in the Democrats or Republicans their interests go down the drain in favor of the so-called needs of profit-hungry big business.

The union-busting actions of Democratic and Republican officials from Carter to Milliken should send a message loud and clear to all working people—that we need our own party, an independent labor party, organized outside the two boss parties and organized to fight them.

Texas socialist urges AFL-CIO to support miners

By Deborah Higdon

HOUSTON—After distributing 150 copies of an open letter requesting endorsement of her campaign, Sara Jean Johnston, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Texas governor, was barred from the state AFL-CIO COPE convention here March 13. Johnston is a member of United Steelworkers Local 1742.

In addition to urging endorsement of

her campaign, the open letter called on the 850 delegates representing 270,000 unionists to back the United Mine Workers strike.

Prior to the opening of the convention, Johnston had made a written request for time to address the delegates as accorded other candidates for governor. Convention organizers denied her request.

"State conference organizers claimed

time to hear requests for endorsements from so-called major party candidates only." Johnston told reporters at the convention before she was forced to leave the floor. "So they prevented the only trade unionist who is a candidate from addressing the delegates."

"When labor officials prefer millionaire 'right to work' law supporters to union members, then you know they have lost touch with the average working person."

"Labor should stop voting for millionaires, and should stop voting for their parties—the Democratic and Republican parties."

In her open letter to convention delegates, Johnston urged them to "vote 100 percent against Taft-Hartley and 100 percent behind the striking miners."

When Carter invoked the Taft-Hartley Act, Johnston pointed out in her open letter, he "declared war on striking coal miners. . . ."

"As unionists, we all know that this attack isn't limited to our brothers and sisters in the coalfields," her statement continued. "This attack on the UMW is only the first step in an all-out assault on organized labor. The outcome will deeply affect the lives of working people in Texas."

"The strength of the miners lies in their united action. And their strength

comes from the broad support their struggle has won from working people throughout the nation."

Johnston also pointed out in her statement the important decision confronting delegates in deciding which candidates to endorse in the upcoming elections.

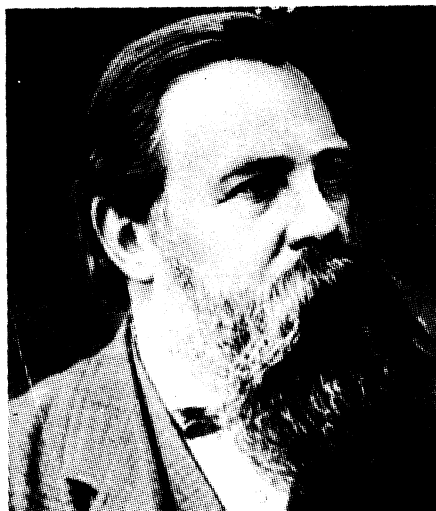
Answering conference organizers' call for "A Clean Slate in '78," Johnston stated: "I urge the delegates to clean the slate by breaking with the Taft-Hartley parties of the rich—the Democrats and Republicans."

"We all remember the elections in '76. Labor supported Democratic nominee Jimmy Carter. Labor contributed thousands of dollars and volunteer hours ensuring his election. In that election, working people lost."

"The power of the labor movement and all working people needs to be organized politically. We need an *independent* party of labor, based on the power of the unions. A party of miners, steelworkers, refinery workers, communication workers, and farm workers would not be a party controlled by big business."

"Voting for me, the Socialist Workers gubernatorial candidate, and for the other state SWP candidates, means voting in favor of this strategy of independent labor political action."

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Outcome of coal strike

By Nancy Cole

Having shattered the coal operators' dream for a housebroken work force, miners returned to work March 27 after an historic 110-day strike.

They overwhelmingly rejected two contract offers. They defied Carter's Taft-Hartley back-to-work order. They won massive support from other working people across the country.

On the third contract proposal, the ranks of the United Mine Workers finally voted 57 percent to 43 percent for acceptance.

"I would have to assume a lot of people voted for a job instead of a contract," said Ray Marshall, president of UMWA District 28 in southwestern Virginia.

"Although the agreement falls short of our expectations, the rank-and-file can take a lot of credit for blocking management's efforts to destroy our union," declared Jack Perry, president of southern West Virginia's District 17. "To that extent, miners have won a major victory."

And Jim Nuccetelli, head of Local 1197's safety committee in Cokeburg, Pennsylvania, told the *Militant*, "A lot of people from other unions just couldn't believe that we stayed out that long, turned down two contracts, went against the president—and got away with it."

"We didn't get what we wanted, but we still did a pretty good job. The only way they beat us was they starved us out."

The voices of big business in the news media are now trying to convince miners that their strike and their sacrifices were all for nothing.

The *Wall Street Journal* claimed March 27 that the strike "demonstrated that UMW coal miners can't easily bring the nation to its knees any longer. Fears that a protracted strike would force serious power curtailment and massive layoffs never materialized."

"Rather," the *Journal* wished on, "the strike mainly dealt another serious blow to an already shaky union and left in doubt the prospects for future national bargaining in coal."

'Humbled operators'

The *New York Times* offered a more down-to-earth assessment: "Although its leadership and its reputation and its treasury have been ruined, the rank and file of the United Mine Workers have emerged as unexpectedly, stubbornly, even heroically strong men and women. They overcame their own inept hierarchy and, to an extent that [UMWA President Arnold] Miller obviously never believed possible, humbled the operators."

The fact is that the determined rank-and-file battle against the coal bosses and government strengthened the miners' union.

The miners fought back against the bosses' drive to cripple the union.

The miners used the steps they had won toward union democracy—especially the right to read, discuss, and vote on their contract—to force the coal operators to back down.

The miners stood up to strikebreaking action by the president of the United States.

And the miners defeated the attempts to pit other workers against them and went on to win the solidarity and material aid of unionists across the country.

This example dramatically altered the expectations and consciousness of millions of other working people.

It's true that after fifteen weeks on strike the majority of miners voted for an agreement that did not meet their needs and demands. They did so because they were hungry and because "it didn't look like anything better was

'Although the agreement falls short of our expectations, the rank and file can take a lot of credit for blocking management's efforts to destroy our union. To that extent, miners have won a major victory.'

—Jack Perry, president, UMWA District 17



Turmoil in coalfields will continue because contract failed to meet miners' needs

coming," West Virginia miner Don Jones told the *Militant*.

UMWA President Miller did little to dispel their worries with his statement that if the last contract offer wasn't ratified, "I don't know where we go. I don't think there's anywhere to go."

The coal bosses were also relieved when the strike finally ended. But an unnamed industry executive told the *Wall Street Journal*, "The contract is really a major disappointment for us."

When negotiations began last October, the Bituminous Coal Operators Association pointed to the "unparalleled" growth awaiting the coal industry if "labor instability" could be replaced by "discipline." BCOA President Joseph Brennan threatened the UMWA with "extinction" unless the next contract provided mechanisms for curbing wildcat strikes and stepping up productivity.

Never mentioned was what this "unparalleled" growth would mean for miners.

Figures from the National Institute for Occupational Safety and Health—and you can bet they lean to the conservative side—estimate that on-the-job deaths will rise by nearly 100 miners each year if doubled production is met. Disabling injuries will rise to 16,195 in 1986. By the year 2000, 45,000 miners will have black lung.

These statistics were noticeably absent from Brennan's briefcase of charts as contract talks opened. Instead, he pointed to the rate of coal miners' strikes, claiming it was sixty times greater than that for all other industries.

"No one could really say why there were wildcats," Labor Secretary Ray Marshall asserted when explaining the problems in negotiating an agreement.

But Marshall and Brennan—along

with 160,000 coal miners—know perfectly well why there were wildcat strikes.

The coal operators never liked the 1974 contract, so they ignored it. Except when it came to the time-consuming grievance procedure and the rigged arbitration setup.

Faced with this stalling, the miners were often forced to strike to try to settle grievances—most of them critically important safety, health, and job rights issues.

"I filed one grievance four years ago, and it's still pending," explained West Virginia miner Stanley Hunter, head of his safety committee.

The ranks of the miners union set out to win a right-to-strike clause, along with improved health and safety provisions and expanded benefits.

The coal industry set out to strip the union of its power and "tame" the miners with "stability" and "productivity" provisions.

Bosses' first offer

The first contract offer accomplished the coal operators' goals. It promised fines for miners respecting picket lines and threatened wildcat strikers with dismissal or suspension.

It dismantled the UMWA health fund, turning medical care over to private insurance firms with deductibles up to \$700 a year.

It eliminated the absolute right of elected union safety committees to close mines posing "imminent danger."

It provided for seven-day workweeks and "absenteeism control" programs. It established a probationary period before newly hired miners join the union. It allowed employers to process nonunion coal.

Every one of these provisions was a major retreat from the 1974 agreement.

Miners responded with fury to this attack on their rights. The union bargaining council voted it down, despite its recommendation from Miller.

By the second contract proposal, many of the worst features were gone. But enough remained to spur its two-to-one rejection by the rank and file.

The contract approved three weeks later represents a roadblock in the industry's union-busting drive but no gain in rights and benefits for UMWA members over the 1974 contract. For miners it will mean:

- **Inferior health care.** The union's "womb to tomb" free health-care plan is ended. Private insurance firms will now charge miners up to \$200 a year. The coalfield clinics and hospitals that brought medical care to Appalachia face extinction without subsidies from the union fund.

- **Inadequate and unequal pensions.** Pensioners who retired before 1976 will receive only \$275 a month; those after 1976, an average of \$425.

- **Unsafe working conditions.** An incentive plan—even though it must first be approved by each local—will mean speedup and more miners maimed and killed. The contract also cuts the training period for new miners from ninety days to forty-five days, endangering the lives of all mine workers.

- **No right to strike to force the companies to abide by safety laws and contract provisions.** The contract leaves intact the grievance machinery, with cumbersome and costly arbitration as the only authorized recourse for miners denied their rights.

Continued turmoil

Miners and coal operators alike predict continued turmoil in the coalfields.

Uppermost in miners' minds as they return to work are the problems they must grapple with over the three-year life of this contract:

- How to force the coal bosses to abide by union rights and safer working conditions;

- How to carry out the needed drive to organize nonunion mines;

- How to develop a union leadership that can lead the miners to victory.

Miller's support among miners plummeted during the strike. His uncritical praise for the company contract offers, complete with Madison Avenue ad campaigns, only turned more UMWA members against him.

At one point near the end of the strike, miners charged relief money donated to the UMWA was being withheld from strikers to pressure them into ratifying the contract. The Miller administration denied it.

The petition drive to recall Miller, put aside for unity's sake at the start of the strike, picked up steam after news of the first contract offer hit the coalfields. Miners are also discussing a special union convention that could oust Miller.

The capitalist news media gleefully harp on the "weak" leadership of the union and the "chaos" it brought to collective bargaining.

But contrary to these antiunion reports, the strike was not leaderless. Leaders stepped forward to organize the countless mass meetings, picketing, and demonstrations that helped bring the union together to fight the coal bosses.

"A lot of young people are now involved in the union that I don't think would have been involved before," explains Nuccetelli. "They learned a lesson. They understand now what their dads are talking about when they talk about the union and strikes in the thirties and forties."

"If we didn't prove anything else, we brought the rank and file together."

And that holds the promise of a better future.

Labor solidarity

Helping the miners 'vote their conscience'



Lois Scott, leader of Brookside Women's Club featured in 'Harlan County' film, speaks to Chicago miners' support rally sponsored by women's groups.

By José G. Pérez

Despite the March 15 announcement of a proposed settlement between the United Mine Workers and the coal bosses, solidarity activities with the embattled miners continued in many areas.

The sentiment behind this was expressed by Charles Parker, Harlan County, Kentucky, UMW member. He spoke to a Baltimore news conference through a telephone hookup March 22 and said food collected by Baltimore-area unions had just been received by miners in Harlan. It would "help the miners vote their conscience" on the proposed contract, he said.

The news conference, held at the Baltimore Metropolitan Labor Council offices, also heard Ernie Greco, administrative assistant to council Director Tom Bradley, and David Wilson, president of United Steelworkers Local 2609 at Bethlehem Steel's Sparrows Point plant. Wilson is also chairperson of the Baltimore Miners' Relief Committee.

The Baltimore union representatives thanked the people of Baltimore for donating an estimated \$25,000 in food and clothing, which was taken by car caravan to striking miners on March 12. They pledged to keep UMW District 19 (eastern Kentucky) miners fed until the strike was over and urged other union bodies across the country to make similar pledges to other mine districts.

Also in Baltimore, United Auto Workers Local 239 at the General Motors assembly plant trucked \$5,000 worth of food to striking miners on March 19. More than \$3,200 was collected in one day at the plant to pay for the supplies.

In Chicago, 175 people attended a March 25 miners' solidarity benefit and tribute to UMW women's clubs sponsored by area women's groups.

The rally heard Lois Scott, a leader of the Brookside Women's Club, of *Harlan County, U.S.A.* fame; Goldie Curry, president of the Cumberland, Kentucky, UMW Women's Club; and Melba Strong, a woman who appealed

for support for her sex discrimination suit against U.S. Steel for refusing her a job in the mines.

Other support activities in the Chicago area included a March 22 rally attended by 150 unionists held at the headquarters of United Steelworkers Local 1010 in East Chicago, Indiana. The rally was sponsored by the Lake County Central Labor Union, which has 104 affiliates with 70,000 members, most of them steelworkers. The Lake County CLU also held a news conference earlier the same day.

USWA locals have also continued organizing food caravans to miners in southern Indiana. Steelworkers District 31 Director Jim Balanoff urged unionists at the March 22 rally to continue this activity even if the strike were settled, since it would be a month after the miners returned to work before they got a paycheck.

The Cleveland Federation of Labor sponsored a March 17 rally attended by 175 people at Public Square. Speakers included federation President Mel Witt and other area labor leaders, as well as Jim Russell, a member of the executive board of UMW District 6. He told the crowd, "Our union is showing your unions how to fight."

Then, led by several miners, the crowd marched to the offices of the Cleveland School Board, where they joined teachers who were picketing in protest of a payless payday.

In addition, there have been plant-gate collections at virtually every large plant in the area in the past few weeks. The city-wide federation kicked off this campaign with a donation of \$1,000.

In New York City, 250 people attended a rally at Union Square March 25 to send off a truckload of food to striking miners. Speakers included officials of Teamsters Local 111; American Federation of Government Employees Local 3369; the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists; and a member of the UMW. The event was sponsored by the New York Committee to Support the Mine Workers, the same group that organized the March 1 benefit attended by 1,400 people.

Although the strike is now over, organizers of two especially significant support rallies have announced the rallies will be held.

One is scheduled for Los Angeles March 30, under the auspices of the Los Angeles County Federation of Labor and the UMW. Scheduled speakers include United Farm Workers President César Chávez.

The other is scheduled for Denver on April 1, sponsored by the Colorado AFL-CIO; American Agriculture Movement; UMW Western Region Office; UMW District 15; and many local unions. The event will be held at the Denver Labor Center, Hall Two, 360 Acoma. Speakers will include Steve Galati, director of the miners' Western Region Office and other UMW officials.

Iron Range leader: 'time is ripe' for a labor party

MINNEAPOLIS—Two leaders of the United Steelworkers on the Mesabi Iron Range expressed their solidarity with striking coal miners at a Militant Forum here March 3.

Speaking were Willard Anderson, president of USWA Local 2660 in Keewatin, Minnesota, and Gene Skraba, vice-president of USWA Local 6860. Both were leaders of the long iron workers' strike that ended last December.

Skraba recalled that he had flown to Houston during that strike to speak to supporters there. "We have to keep spreading our story," he said. "And the people up on the range and the people in the coalfields are going to have to stick together."

Anderson said that in the Steelworkers union the Experimental Negotiating Agreement (ENA) "is a device to separate one local from another." Under the ENA, steelworkers can strike only over "local issues" at individual plants.

"The difference between our union and the United Mine Workers is that they can vote to go back totally, their votes will be counted totally, and this is the way it should be."

Also addressing the meeting was Dick Roberts, staff writer for the *Militant*. "A victory for the coal miners is a

victory for all of us," he said, "and right now there is nothing that we need more."

In response to a question on building an independent labor party, Anderson said, "I think the time is ripe because of the tremendous amount of dissatisfaction."

"The problem is getting a leader to step forward, because in anything you do you have to have leadership. Certainly, you've got to have grass roots."

"If you're looking for leadership from the leaders within our union, they are not going to make a step forward because they are damned happy where they're at."

"It's tough [for them] to identify with laboring people when the laboring people are paying them in the neighborhood of \$70,000 a year. They start identifying with people in that wage group."

"Certainly I would be happy to see that [a labor party] started. Right now, with the parties we have, we've got a two-party system. We have other parties that run, but basically, for what it's worth, it's a two-party system because that's what you end up voting for."

"But you could throw them both in a hat and roll them out, and when they get out you can't tell the difference."

...an injury to all

The fight against political repression and police brutality

Little appeals extradition ruling

Lawyers for Joanne Little have appealed a Brooklyn lower court ruling that she must be extradited to North Carolina to complete a seven-to-ten-year sentence for breaking and entering.

On March 24 a judge in Brooklyn refused to block the extradition and canceled Little's \$51,000 bail. She was put in a New York jail pending outcome of the appeals.

Little successfully fought murder charges in North Carolina in 1975 after she defended herself from a white jailer who tried to rape her. She is willing to serve out her sentence in New York. But the lower court judge refused to even hear a witness who can testify that North Carolina prison guards have threatened Little's life.

Shakur wins a round

Assata Shakur (Joanne Chesimard), a Black woman activist currently appealing a New Jersey murder conviction for which she received a life sentence, won a round in New York courts March 21. The government admitted having denied Shakur the right to a speedy trial on 1971 robbery charges, and the charges were dropped. Earlier she had been cleared in six other New York criminal cases.

In another development, attorneys for Shakur recently obtained U.S. Secret Service documents showing that agency took part in investigations of Shakur and in efforts to falsely link her to crimes committed all over the country. The attorneys also announced that the FBI has agreed to hand over seven volumes of files on Shakur—none of which were made available to Shakur during her murder trial.

Gov. Brown can block Indian leader's extradition

On March 20 the California Supreme Court overturned a lower court ruling on the extradition of American Indian Movement leader Dennis Banks to South Dakota. Banks fled South Dakota after being convicted on trumped-up charges stemming from a police attack on a 1973 Indian demonstration in Custer, South Dakota. A California lower court ordered Gov. Edmund "Jerry" Brown to extradite Banks.

The state supreme court said the courts can't order Brown to extradite someone if he doesn't want to.

There have been several protests demanding that Brown not extradite Banks because his life would be in danger in South Dakota prisons.

New facts show death penalty still racist

A new study of death sentences in Florida, Georgia, and Texas—the three states that account for more than half the death-row population of the entire country—confirm that the use of the death penalty is still racist, despite supposed safeguards dictated by the U.S. Supreme Court.

Not only are Blacks sentenced to death in disproportionate numbers, but 90 percent of the Blacks sentenced—and all the whites—are on death row for allegedly killing whites. Most murder victims are Black.

Deborah Leavy, head of the American Civil Liberties Union anti-death penalty project, said the study showed that writing a nondiscriminatory capital punishment law "can't be done."

—José G. Pérez

Iron Range

VIRGINIA, Minn.—United Steelworkers Local 1938 collected donations for striking coal miners March 17 at the gates of U.S. Steel's huge Minntac plant.

More than \$2,300 was raised from one shift alone. Collections were also slated for the other two shifts.

"Coal miners are fighting a battle similar to the iron range steelworkers' 138-day strike last year," said Local 1938 President Joe Samargia. "A show of union solidarity will help in the coal miners' settlement."

Transit workers first target

New union-busting offensive in NYC

By Vivian Sahner

NEW YORK—Despite the Easter holiday and a steady cold rain, 4,000 members of the Transport Workers Union packed into the New York Hilton March 26 for a rally to vote on what the union should do as their March 31 contract deadline draws closer.

Banners and signs throughout the room proclaimed, "No Contract, No Work," and that was the overwhelming sentiment of the workers present.

Every union official who spoke was greeted with widespread boos and calls from the audience for a raise and for the end of benefit givebacks.

TWU Local 100 President John Lawe told the audience to be quiet. Members shouted back, "No, we've been quiet for the last two years."

Matthew Guinan, international president of the TWU, tried to attribute the yelling to "a small handful of thirty-

five people" trying to make trouble.

But the anger of the workers was clear to everyone in the meeting. The union leadership is being held accountable for the way they handled the negotiations in 1976.

Only when the speakers talked about the need for unity in the labor movement against the employer attacks was there a favorable response.

Militant reporters asked workers at the meeting to compare their situation with that of the coal miners. A typical response was: "If the miners can hold back for a good contract, then so can we. It's not going to take the city 100 days to figure out that they need the subways and buses."

The meeting ended with an overwhelming vote empowering the bargaining council to do "whatever is necessary," including calling a strike, to win a decent contract.

It was clear that strong sentiment



Markey wins election appeal

NEW YORK—Ray Markey has won his appeal against election violations in his campaign for president of Local 1930, American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees.

Markey was declared the loser of that election last December by fourteen votes. He appealed the decision to the AFSCME Judicial Panel be-

cause of violations of election procedure.

In a March 13 decision, the judicial panel upheld Markey's protest, set aside the election results, and ordered the local to rerun the election. Ballots will be mailed to Local 1930 members later this month.

Local 1930 represents more than 1,400 library workers in Manhattan, the Bronx, and Staten Island. Ray Markey has been a member of the local since its founding in 1968.

He is a member of the local executive board, a delegate to the AFSCME District Council 37 delegate assembly, and a delegate to the New York City Central Labor Council.

Markey is well known in the New York labor movement as a spokesperson for socialist views. He is a member of the national committee of the Socialist Workers Party. —V.S.



existed for a strike vote. Many members were disturbed that a clear-cut resolution to strike if negotiations fail was not taken.

The transit workers are the first of more than 200,000 city workers whose contracts expire over the next few months.

A coalition of union officials—including the heads of the United Federation of Teachers, Teamsters Local 237, and District Council 37 of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees—is bargaining for these workers in contract negotiations with a June 30 deadline.

In past years the TWU has set a pattern for the other union contracts as well. Its 33,000 members have the strategic power to shut the city down tight. They can lead the fight for better contracts and an end to the cutbacks that have devastated living conditions for working people in New York.

The 1976 settlement was a setback for the TWU. The union got no wage

increase, and the membership suffered layoffs and speedup.

Then the state's Emergency Financial Control Board—an unelected, banker-dominated body with dictatorial power over city finances—whittled the contract down even further.

The Transit Authority hopes to repeat—and extend—the attack this year.

Underlining its belligerent stance, the TA has already obtained a court injunction against a possible strike. And Mayor Koch has called on New York Governor Carey to have the National Guard ready for strikebreaking duty.

Meanwhile, the city administration, big business, and the news media are working together to convince the unions that more sacrifices are necessary to "save the city." If all New Yorkers—bankers and workers alike—"pull together," they say, maybe Washington will give back some federal tax

Continued on page 9

Socialist candidate backs city workers

The following statement by Di-anne Feeley, Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of New York, was distributed at the rally of 4,000 transit workers in New York on March 26.

The demands of the Transport Workers Union for a fair contract deserve the support of all working people in New York.

With their old contract expiring March 31, the transit workers are long overdue for a decent wage increase and other gains. Like other city employees, they have faced a wage freeze, layoffs, and speedup over the past three years.

This year the Democratic and Republican politicians—acting through city hall and through "independent" bodies like the Transit Authority—have escalated their attack. They demand an end to paid lunch hours, lower starting salaries, and big employee payments for health care.

They say any wage increase must be financed by the workers themselves—by giving up benefits such as vacation days or sick leave.

What the transit workers win—or lose—will set the pattern for more than 200,000 other city employees.

Divide-and-rule strategy

All year the big-business news media, the politicians, and the bankers have worked overtime trying to blame New York City employees for the city's fiscal problems.

Transit workers are portrayed as lazy, greedy, and irresponsible. By making transit workers the scapegoats for fare hikes and cuts in transportation services, the city administration hopes to pit other working people against them.

We should all stand together with the transit workers and say no to this divide-and-rule strategy.

These workers—whose average yearly pay is barely \$13,700 and who have not had a general wage increase for three years—are fighting against the same people who have imposed layoffs and drastic cutbacks on all working people in New York. The same bankers, corporate executives, and corrupt politicians who have wiped out day-care centers, devastated our schools and hospitals, and let garbage collection and street repair fall apart.

No money?

When transit workers fight against cutbacks in transportation they are fighting for a safer, cleaner transit service for all of us. The bankers and politicians do not care about these cuts in service: they don't ride the crowded subways. Their children don't go to public schools. And they would never dream of setting foot in a city hospital.

The Transit Authority, Mayor Koch, and Governor Carey all say there is "no money" for these services or for wage increases for city employees. But they find plenty of money for other purposes:

- The biggest item in the city budget is interest payments to the Wall Street bankers—more than \$2 billion a year. The Transit Authority is paying millions to bondholders whose original investments have already been repaid many times over.

- The city and state governments are falling all over each other to provide hundreds of millions of dollars in tax cuts for corporations and the rich. Just last week Carey and the state legislature agreed on a plan to give the biggest tax benefits to those making more than \$75,000 a year!

- During his campaign, Carter promised to cut military spending and provide aid to the cities. In office he has done just the opposite. He has provided not one penny of new aid to city services for the poor, while raising the war budget to the highest level in history—\$126 billion.

War spending is the biggest drain on resources that could be used to provide jobs and improve life in the cities. The cost of just one Trident submarine—\$1.7 billion—is more than New York City's projected budget deficit for the next two years.

United action

The Socialist Workers Party has a different set of priorities. We say that human needs should come before profits.

- Funds for jobs and services, not war!

- Stop the tax giveaways and interest payments to the superrich!

- Open the books of the Transit Authority so workers can see who is really ripping us off through high fares and poor service!

- Repeal all union-busting laws—including Taft-Hartley and New York's Taylor Law—that restrict labor's right to strike!

We believe working people *do* have the power to fight back. The coal miners have shown the way. They stood up to the government's strike-breaking and said, "Taft-Hartley can't mine coal." Well, the Taylor Law can't run the buses and subways either.

One of the main reasons the miners won gains was that they appealed and got support from workers all over the country. In New York, too, city employees can win through a *united* fight with other unions and community groups against the cutbacks and layoffs.

The Democratic and Republican politicians all agree that city workers must be forced to pay the price of the so-called New York crisis. To fight against them, working people need our own political party—an independent labor party, based on a revitalized and militant union movement.

That's what the Socialist Workers Party stands for. I and other New York SWP candidates will be campaigning in defense of public employees and against social service cutbacks. I urge all unionists, students, and Black, Puerto Rican, and women activists to join in this battle.

Carter's feud with Begin: no quarrel over

By David Frankel

Headlines in the big-business-owned press are proclaiming a crisis in U.S.-Israeli relations.

"Carter and Begin fail to resolve problems," the *New York Times* declared March 23. "Talks called 'grim,'" reported a subhead.

A *Times* editorial the following day said, "Mr. Begin was sent home from Washington with criticism from the President and influential members of Congress ringing in his ears."

"Vance cites 'fundamental' differences with Israel" was the page-one headline in the March 25 *Washington Post*.

There is no question that differences between President Carter and Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin do exist. But there is also no question that these differences are far less serious than the capitalist media is pretending.

Silence on Lebanon

Any assessment of the frictions between Washington and Tel Aviv must be put in the context of their fundamental alliance against the aspirations of the Arab masses.

In the last analysis, American imperialism relies on naked force to maintain its worldwide economic and political hegemony. The Israeli state—armed by Washington with the third most powerful air force in the world and with more tanks than France—is the keystone of imperialist domination in the Middle East.

For the U.S. ruling class, any attempts to woo the Arab regimes always take a back seat when these come into conflict with the basic needs of the Israeli colonial settler-state.

Perhaps the most vivid illustration of how narrow the differences between Washington and Tel Aviv really are, despite the sensational newspaper headlines, was what was *not* cited as a point of contention.

After all, Begin arrived in Washington on March 20, while his tanks were still rolling over southern Lebanon. More than a *quarter of a million people* had been driven from their homes—200,000 Lebanese, and 65,000 Palestinians, according to a report by Marvin Howe in the March 24 *New York Times*. At least 1,200 more had been murdered.

H.D.S. Greenway, reporting on a tour of southern Lebanon in the March 25 *Washington Post*, said that "hardly a town is left undamaged. Some have been all but totally flattened by air



This mother and daughter were among the nearly 30,000 people who fled the Lebanese town of Nabatiyeh after March 18 Israeli bombing. Arab masses, not 'terrorists,' are targets of U.S.-supplied Israeli bombs.

strikes and explosive shells. . . .

"The scope and sweep of the damage here makes a mockery of Israeli claims to have staged surgical strikes against Palestinian bases and camps.

"... It is clear that the Israelis have used the same tactic that the Americans used in Vietnam: concentrated and heavy firepower and air strikes to blow away all before them—be they enemies or civilians—in order to hold down their own casualties."

But on this score, Carter registered no disagreement with Begin. Both insisted that events in Lebanon need not stand in the way of "peace" talks. In fact, *the slaughter in Lebanon wasn't even on their agenda*.

Carter, according to *New York Daily News* correspondent James Wiegart, "was reported to be anxious not to let the deep Israeli penetration into Lebanon dominate the talks, but to force Begin to concentrate instead on the broader question of Middle East peace. . . ."

A more telling example of the reality behind capitalist diplomacy would be hard to find. Carter says he doesn't want to discuss the war in Lebanon because it will get in the way of discussing "peace."

Root of differences

What is behind the falling out between Carter and Begin?

At the root of the friction is a difference over diplomatic posture, not political substance. In its day-to-day diplomacy, Washington requires a more varied repertory than merely the threat of force. Since the June 1967 war, it has insisted that it favors the return of territory occupied by the Zionist state in that war as part of an overall Middle East deal.

Although the amount of territory to be returned has always been purposely left vague, this stance has enabled Washington to make important diplomatic gains over the past few years among the bourgeois Arab regimes. These gains culminated in November with Egyptian President Anwar el-Sadat's trip to Jerusalem.

Previous Israeli governments gave lip-service to Resolution 242, which was adopted by the United Nations Security Council in November 1967. That resolution called for "withdrawal of Israeli armed forces from territories occupied" in 1967 and for the right of every state in the area "to live in peace within secure and recognized boundaries." (No mention was made of the rights of the Palestinian people, whose land was stolen by the Zionist settlers.)

While accepting Resolution 242 in theory, in practice the Zionist regime proceeded with the de facto annexation of the occupied territories. In the ten years following the 1967 war, the Labor Party governments that preceded Begin spent some \$500 million on Zionist settlements in the occupied territories.

Washington, of course, was well aware of this. It had no objection as long as diplomatic appearances were kept up.

Promise them anything

Following the election of Begin's government, an article in the June 3,

1977, *Militant* explained: "Having kept the Arab regimes on a string for the past three years with nothing but promises, and at virtually no expense to themselves or their Israeli client state, the American imperialists have now been handed a new excuse [for delay]."

Delay. Procrastination. Preservation of the status quo. That is the real U.S. policy in the Middle East. As the editors of the *New York Times* spelled out March 7:

"No one expects an Israeli military withdrawal from the West Bank strongpoints in the foreseeable future. Hardly anyone denies that Israel requires some alterations in the precarious 1967 lines before they could become borders. Even Mr. Sadat envisions a five-year interim agreement, leaving the frontiers to be determined and the Israeli Army in effective command of the entire region. . . . Nothing could be settled without Israel's agreement."

Carter wants the Zionist regime to continue the old policy of conceding the general principle of Arab sovereignty in the occupied territories, while maintaining veto power over the implementation of even the most modest practical steps in that direction.

But Begin, by refusing to acknowledge the *possibility* of future Israeli withdrawal from the West Bank, the Gaza Strip, and parts of the Sinai, threatens to overturn the whole applecart. Even Sadat will have trouble negotiating under such conditions.

That is the nub of the dispute between Carter and Begin.

Hopes raised in Cairo

Carter's quarrel with Begin has raised high expectations in Cairo. Sadat, according to a report in the March 23 *Wall Street Journal* by Ray Vicker, "is said to have become depressed at times in recent months over the progress of peace talks. . . . But he and his aides see what they regard as satisfactory developments."

"For example, they believe that American policy has shifted towards Egypt and away from Israel recently. The dim view of the U.S. towards Israeli settlements in occupied Arab lands is an important reason for this reading."

One diplomat in Cairo was quoted in the March 25 *New York Post* as saying: "For the first time in 30 years a U.S. president supported by Congress has really reprimanded Israel. This is progress."

Sadat himself joined in the chorus. "I intend to continue my march on the road to peace in the weeks ahead," he declared in a column in the March 21 *New York Times*. "Events of the past few days should not deter us."

It will take more than such declarations to overcome the impact of the Israeli invasion of Lebanon, however.

'Foreign Legion' arrives

Israeli officials insist that their invasion force will be withdrawn from Lebanon once United Nations troops are in place. Even if this promise is carried out, it will represent a continuing violation of the rights of the Lebanese people and lay the basis for further attacks on the Palestinian masses.

Having invaded Lebanon, laid waste a tenth of its territory, and driven nearly a tenth of its population out of their homes, the Zionists demand that UN forces keep Palestinian "terrorists" from returning *as a condition* for their withdrawal! If the UN detachments were really a "peacekeeping" force, then the place to put them would be in Israel, not Lebanon.

But there is no reason to believe that UN troops will play a progressive role in Lebanon, any more than they did in

'No U.S. aid to Israel'

About seventy-five people marched from the United Nations to the Israeli consulate in New York City March 28 demanding "Israel out of Lebanon" and "No U.S. aid to Israel." The protest, called by the Committee for a Democratic Palestine, was supported by the Socialist Workers Party, Young Socialist Alliance, and Youth Against War and Fascism.

A week earlier, some 250 people demonstrated in Los Angeles to demand, "U.S. get out of the Mideast." The Palestine Arab Fund was among the Arab community organizations participating in the protest.

On March 25 between 75 and 100 people gathered on the Boston Common for a picket line called by the Ad Hoc Committee for the Defense of the Lebanese and Palestinian People. The demonstrators protested the Israeli invasion of Lebanon and called for an end to U.S. military support to Israel.



Washington, D.C., protest during Begin's talks with Carter.

The demonstration was covered by all three major Boston-area television stations and by several newspapers and radio stations.

Israeli slaughter in Lebanon

Korea or the Congo. In fact, the UN force includes troops from imperialist countries such as France and Sweden.

Among the first arrivals were French paratroopers from a unit that had fought against freedom fighters in Indochina and Algeria. *Washington Post* correspondent Thomas Lippman described the French commander, Col. Jean Salvan, as "a dashing, one-eyed veteran of France's colonial wars. . . ."

The deployment of French troops in Lebanon is in keeping with the more active role French forces have been playing in areas of Africa such as the Sahara, Morocco, and Zaïre. It represents a dangerous opening wedge for further imperialist intervention.

At the same time, it remains to be seen whether the Israeli regime chooses to withdraw its own army from Lebanon. It is doubtful that they will.

Zionist threats

Although Israeli officials have repeatedly asserted that they intend to withdraw their forces from Lebanon, they would say the same thing if they intended to annex the area they now occupy.

Moreover, frequent threats have been issued along with the promises to withdraw. Thus, Israeli Defense Minister Ezer Weizman warned March 27 that if shooting in Lebanon did not stop within forty-eight hours, "the Israeli army will take the situation in hand."

According to Agence France-Presse, Weizman said, "We have warned all concerned parties, the Syrians, the Palestinians and the United Nations, that if the UN does not gain control of the situation in the next forty-eight hours, we will intervene to put an end to this firing."

Similar threats have been repeated several times. On March 24, Weizman said: "If the UN does not carry out its task, the Israeli defense force will go back to resume its task."

In light of such threats, it is worth recalling that at first the Israeli regime announced that its intention in Lebanon was to clear a six-mile-deep "security belt" along its border.

According to a report by Drew Middleton in the March 27 *New York Times*, Israeli officials had "an 'understanding' with the United States that the operation would not penetrate more than six miles beyond the Israeli-

Lebanon border. . . . The 'understanding' was not a formal stipulation laid down by the Carter Administration, these sources said, but an agreement tacitly accepted by both Governments once it was known that the Israelis had decided to take retaliatory action. . . ."

Such an "understanding" would explain why the Carter administration moved so quickly to arrange for a UN force in Lebanon when the Israelis pushed beyond the original six-mile limit. It could also provide the basis for Israeli retention of a six-mile "security belt" in Lebanon.

Certainly there is nothing new about the Zionist territorial ambitions in Lebanon. As an article in the November 25 *Militant*—which appeared right after Israeli bombing raids that killed more than 110 people—pointed out:

"By driving out as much of the population as possible from southern Lebanon—an object that was helped by the latest raids—the Israeli regime can more easily expand the borders of the enclave that it controls. At the same time, this makes the option of Israeli annexation of the area south of the Litani River a more tempting one from the Zionist point of view."

Protests hit Sami Esmail frame-up

By Peter Seidman

Protests in New York; Boston; San Francisco; and East Lansing and Dearborn, Michigan, marked the March 14 opening of the trial of Sami Esmail in Tel Aviv.

Esmail, twenty-three, is an American citizen of Palestinian descent. He is a student at Michigan State University at East Lansing.

Esmail has been in an Israeli prison since December 21. He was arrested at Tel Aviv airport while on his way to visit his dying father in the Israeli-occupied West Bank.

Esmail faces a penalty of up to twenty-five years in prison. Israeli officials charge that he is a member of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (an illegal organization in Israel), and that he received terrorist training during a visit to Libya in August 1976.

Esmail denies the charges. His supporters have formed the National Committee to Defend the Human Rights of Sami Esmail. They say that Esmail's outspoken defense of the Palestinian struggle is his real "crime" in the eyes of the Zionists.

Protests against the frame-up of Esmail have thrust his case into the national spotlight.

The *Christian Science Monitor*, for example, felt obliged to ask in a March 23 editorial, "Has Mr. Esmail been treated as he should have been in a democracy, let alone one closely allied with and dependent on his own country?"

And U.S. Senator James Abourezk (D-S.D.) charges that the FBI improperly gave information to Israeli authorities leading to Esmail's arrest. "What you have is the FBI throwing an American citizen to the wolves for something which is not a crime in this country," the senator said.

The impact such protests can have was shown January 19. Israeli authorities were forced to release political prisoner Taysir al-Aruri, a physics professor at Birzeit College. Aruri had been held without charges under "administrative imprisonment" since April 23, 1974.

Aruri's case was one of the first two adopted by the Palestine Human Rights Campaign when it was founded last fall.

A letter from President Ephraim Katzir responding to one of Aruri's supporters reveals the pressure Israeli officials can feel as a result of such defense efforts. While defending Aruri's imprisonment, Katzir said he had

forwarded the protest to the minister of defense, who decided to treat the case "with exceptional leniency."

The opening days of Esmail's trial show the need to continue such protests around his case.

The proceedings were closed to the press beginning at 9 a.m. on the second day. Judges upheld a prosecution motion supposedly designed to keep secret the identity of the prison guards responsible for Esmail's "interrogation." (Esmail charges that he was tortured.)

But Azzam Esmail, Sami's brother, has been covering the trial for a Palestinian paper by staying close to the courtroom and talking to participants.

Based on Azzam's reports, Esmail's defense committee supplied the following highlights of the trial to the *Detroit Free Press*:

- After the first two days, defense attorney Felicia Langer labeled the proceeding "a farce."
- Israeli interrogators admitted under oath that Esmail was very tired while they questioned him and that they told him he would not be allowed to see his dying father until he signed a "confession."
- Esmail now says he actually did visit Libya, a charge he earlier denied. But such a visit is not illegal, he insists.
- Judges turned down a request that Esmail be released on bail.

Esmail's trial is taking place during a general crackdown on the rights of Palestinians in towns and villages throughout the occupied West Bank. The target of this repression has been protests against the Israeli invasion of southern Lebanon.

So many people have been arrested that the military tribunal in the city of Ramallah, for example, is working overtime to process the increased case load.

Israeli police arrested well-known Palestinian nationalist poet Raymond Tawil in an early-morning raid March 23.

Tawil, who had been photographing the protest demonstrations, was "being held for questioning concerning terrorist activities and public disturbances," a military official said. Her camera, notebooks, and tape cassettes were confiscated.

...transit

Continued from page 7

money to subsidize the city budget.

The pension fund money that city unions have poured into purchasing city bonds is yet another club hanging over the unions. Metropolitan Transit Authority Chairman Harold Fisher referred to the 1966 transit strike and remarked, "This is not like 1966, the city and the unions have a unity of interest, because the public employee unions have become the bankers for the city."

Echoing city hall, top union officials are telling the workers they should not expect too much, because the city is broke.

AFSCME head Victor Gotbaum disavows any thought of a strike. "When you consider the possibility of bankruptcy and fiscal chaos, there is no necessity to talk about a strike," Gotbaum says.

For the union officials and city administrators alike, the problem is the union ranks. "I don't think the workers are in any mood to give back benefits they've won at the bargaining table over forty years," TWU President Guinan said. "It's not a question of the leadership program. I don't think the workers would stand for it."

TWU Local 100 President Lawe agrees. "Our members are confused," he said, "and they are looking at the miners."

One union leader who thinks the workers are correct—not "confused"—to look to the miners as an example is Ray Markey, candidate for president of AFSCME Local 1930. "I oppose the so-called equality-of-sacrifice concept that Gotbaum and the other municipal union heads endorse," Markey told the *Militant*. "What it means in practice is that when the bankers and capitalist politicians proclaim a fiscal crisis, we are laid off and have our wages frozen while the banks, big realtors, and major corporations get huge new tax reductions. 'It's not a question of 'no money,' Markey said, "but rather a question of who controls the money and how it is spent."

"What the coal miners showed is that workers can stand up against the employer attacks, the news media lies, and even against their own union officials when necessary, and insist on a contract that meets their needs," he continued.

Markey said it was a step forward for the unions to be negotiating together. "In 1975," he said, "they followed what I call a LOSE strategy—each asking the city to Lay Off Somebody Else."

However, he added, the "unity" so far is restricted to closed-door discussions among top officials of the unions. "It would show far more muscle in negotiations for the unions to call a *united action* of all their members in front of city hall. A demonstration of tens of thousands would show that the working people of New York are determined to stop these cutbacks in our jobs, our social services, and our real wages."

"Jerry Wurf, international president of AFSCME, has just announced a million-dollar television campaign to improve our union's image. Well, the best way for all the New York unions to win good contracts and 'improve our image' is to join with the Black and Puerto Rican communities—those who have suffered the most from the cutbacks—in protesting against city hall and the corporate billionaires who control the government."

Those kinds of actions, Markey asserted, can "shake loose a lot more money from Washington than all the quiet begging going on now."

If the transit workers are forced on strike, Markey concluded, it will be "more important than ever to rally *united* labor and community support behind them. In fighting to defend the transit workers, we're fighting to defend ourselves and all the working people of New York."



New York, March 13

Militant/Teresa Laino

Gov't uses kidnapping as pretext

Crackdown on civil liberties sweeps Italy

By Steve Clark

The Italian government has leapt onto the kidnapping of Aldo Moro, a top capitalist politician, as a pretext for stepped-up attacks on democratic rights and legal protections.

On March 21 the government issued a new decree:

- Giving police added powers to conduct warrantless wiretapping;
- Allowing police to interrogate suspects without their lawyer;
- Allowing the detention of people for up to twenty-four hours for "control," even if there is no evidence linking them to any crime;
- Requiring landlords to report the names of new tenants or buyers to the government within forty-eight hours of the transaction; and
- Making life imprisonment the mandatory punishment in cases where a kidnap victim is killed.

There has also been increasing talk among capitalist politicians of reintroducing the death penalty, which has been banned since the end of World War II.

More than 50,000 Italian police and 1,000 soldiers have been mobilized to track down members of the Red Brigade who kidnapped Moro and killed five of his bodyguards March 16.

"Working in relays, three judges at Rome police headquarters signed warrants for searches of houses, offices and warehouses," the *New York Times* reported March 18. "By nightfall, police officials said, more than 3,000 searches had produced nothing."

New York *Daily News* columnist Pete Hamill, reporting from Rome, wrote March 18: "Police and soldiers were everywhere as a taxi moved through Rome last night. They were stopping cars, opening trunks, check-



Armed with machine guns, Italian soldiers patrol roads in massive dragnet following Moro kidnapping.

ing papers. A giant searchlight roamed across the night sky, as if someone was expecting paratroopers."

The Gruppi Comunisti Rivoluzionari (GCR—Revolutionary Communist Group), the Italian sister organization of the Socialist Workers Party, pointed out that the government's ability to get away with this crackdown was made easier by the terrorist strategy of the Red Brigade.

"The emotional reactions that [the kidnapping] unleashed are being systematically utilized to facilitate an outright reactionary turn and an unprecedented step-up in repression," the GCR wrote.

The appearance of terrorist groups such as the Red Brigade reflects the deep economic and social crisis in

Italy. (See article by Caroline Lund in this month's *International Socialist Review*, page 13.)

"The tinder is here for an enormous bonfire," Hamill wrote from Rome.

"Unemployment and inflation are the highest in Europe. . . ."

GCR leader Livio Maitan wrote in the March 20 issue of the French Trotskyist daily *Rouge*: "The students have very little possibility of finding work at the end of their studies. This produces a feeling of rebelliousness and frustration."

"But what has prepared the way for such reactions," Maitan said, "is the fact that since the second half of 1976, these layers—as well as broad layers of the working class—see no real political alternative, no alternative to the pres-

ent regime, no longer believe that the workers parties and unions can effectively struggle to change the situation."

The Italian Communist Party, for example, is not leading a fight against these conditions. Instead, it has sought to win a spot in the government alongside the ruling Christian Democratic Party. To prove its loyalty to the capitalists, the CP pulled out all stops earlier this year to head off pressure in the unions for a general strike against government austerity schemes.

The CP has also supported harsh repressive legislation proposed by the Christian Democrats, even prior to the Moro kidnapping.

"The Italian Communists are among the loudest advocates of law and order," wrote New York *Daily News* reporter Stan Carter March 18.

After the kidnapping, CP-led unions called a general strike against the Red Brigade and marched together with Christian Democrats in a demonstration that, according to the *New York Times*, drew 200,000 people.

The CP's readiness to mobilize workers for these protests, but not to fight for jobs and decent living standards, proves its bankruptcy as a force for fundamental change in Italy.

Unfortunately, the terrorist action by the Red Brigade has helped take the CP off the hook temporarily by diverting attention to the kidnapping.

"Efforts by Italy's Communist Party and the giant labor federation to convince rank-and-file workers that they must aid in the nationwide fight against terrorism have been going on for some time," wrote Sari Gilbert in the March 22 *Washington Post*.

"For the first time, the effort appears to be bearing fruit."

Can bosses 'afford' a shorter workweek?

By Shelley Kramer

On April 11 trade unionists from across the country will meet in Detroit to discuss how to "unite all labor to reduce the work week down to where everyone who desires to work may have a job."

The conference has been organized by the All Unions' Committee to Shorten the Work Week, a group founded in Detroit last October by local union officials from more than forty unions.

The "Founders Resolution" of the AUCSWW states that its purpose is to "help initiate, develop and coordinate, in every local union, a national movement to create jobs by reducing the hours of labor through the processes of education, legislation and collective bargaining."

The goal of ending unemployment by shortening the workweek without loss in pay is not new to the American labor movement, particularly to the United Auto Workers. In the 1940s and 1950s the UAW campaigned and won wide labor support for the popular slogan—thirty hours work for forty hours pay.

It is not surprising that this idea is again gaining ground in the unions. High unemployment—especially among oppressed nationalities, women, and youth—once more threatens the jobs, wages, and unity of the working class.

Business and government also have a long tradition on this proposal—to fight it every step of the way. To claim the companies can't afford such "pie in the sky" measures as full employment. To threaten to zoom up prices if a shorter workweek is ever implemented.

"The cost of a universal 32-hour standard in lost production and higher wages would be so high that even the

most fervent advocates of full employment put that avenue of job creation low on their priority list," A. H. Ras-kin, new editor of the Labor Department's *Journal of International Labor Affairs*, wrote in the January 15 *New York Times*.

In much the same way, the industrial barons of the nineteenth century argued bitterly against shortening the workday from fourteen to twelve hours, then from twelve to ten, then from ten to eight.

Today, the giants of the auto industry—General Motors and Ford—provide a useful example of how dishonest the capitalists' sob story is.

In February, GM and Ford reported their profits for 1977—a record \$3.3 billion for GM (23.2 percent return on investment) and a record \$1.67 billion for Ford (23.5 percent return).

Heady from this profit windfall, the auto barons passed out a record \$320 million in executive bonuses. How did auto workers and consumers share in all this good fortune?

The same month record profits were reported, 20,000 UAW members were on indefinite layoff. Thousands more were working a short workweek—but with the pay cuts that go along with temporary layoffs.

The employment trend shows more of the same in store for auto workers. In 1973 there were 941,000 auto workers; in 1976, only 850,000.

The government projects a further long-term drop in auto employment due to technological change—a 30 percent decline in unskilled auto labor by 1985.

Auto workers are producing more cars for less money. That's the real source of the profit bonanza.

From 1960-76 auto workers increased their productivity at an average an-

nual rate of 3.3 percent—far above the 2.6 average for all manufacturing. In dollars and cents this means bloated profits based on high productivity and lowered labor costs.

At Ford, for example, labor costs accounted for 30.2 cents out of each dollar of production costs in 1976. In 1977 this fell to 28.6 cents. And while Ford's unit sales went up 20 percent over the year, employment rose only 8 percent.

Consumers also sacrificed to enrich the auto giants. Car prices rose in the fall of 1977 an average of \$400 per car. In the past five years they have shot up 59 percent.

It's clear that working people—as producers and consumers—have paid dearly for the billions of dollars in auto profits. It is only fair that those profits should be spent to provide every worker with a job at forty hours' wages.

"We've already earned the shorter workweek through our productivity," one UAW member wrote to the union's journal, *Solidarity*. "Sure, the company will raise its prices. They are so close to being a monopoly that they can name any price they want and control the supply to get it. They don't want to lose that fat profit margin."

There is a ready answer to the bosses' con game: open the books of the corporations so that workers can see what the companies can afford and what prices should be.

If the books of less competitive companies, like Chrysler and American Motors, show deficits and sinking profits, that is no reason for workers to pay with their jobs, their incomes, their safety, and their environment.

Instead of allowing the bosses to lay off workers, raise prices, cut wages, and violate safety and pollution standards to revive their profits, these com-

panies should be nationalized and run by the workers themselves.

The plain truth is that working people—employed and unemployed—cannot do without the shorter workweek. And that must be the unions' first consideration.

"The conditions under which we work are not some hard and fast laws, like the concrete and steel buildings we work in," another UAW member wrote in *Solidarity*.

These conditions are "subject to change, decided by the needs and desires of those who spend their time and lives forming and strengthening the economic backbone of our nation. Together, we will attain the shorter workweek."

With the spread of this sentiment, we will indeed.



With a shorter workweek, unsold cars wouldn't mean laid-off auto workers.

international **socialist** review

European Capitalism in Trouble: The Case of Italy

By Caroline Lund



James T. Farrell, 'Studs Lonigan' & American Radicalism

THE MONTH IN REVIEW

Call to 'Ban' Fascists Backfires in Britain— But CP Doesn't Mind

Virulently racist outfits that profess to model themselves after Hitler's Nazis have been drawing headlines in the United States because of their activities in Detroit, St. Louis, and Chicago.

Such organizations are quite small and exercise no mass influence. Nonetheless, their violent threats and actions pose a threat to democratic rights that cannot be ignored. They are feeling new confidence because of the atmosphere created by ruling-class efforts to whittle away rights won by the labor, civil rights, and women's movements.

Shocked by the aggressiveness of these would-be mass murderers, some opponents of Nazism are calling on the government to suppress Nazi demonstrations, shut down Nazi headquarters, and ban Nazi organizations.

Recent events in Britain show how such demands backfire, undermining the rights that opponents of fascism and racism want to defend.

A group of British ultraracists called the National Front planned to march through the London suburb of Ilford on February 25. The National Front calls for the expulsion of Blacks and Asians from Britain. Its marches are aimed at whipping up white racist hysteria and terrorizing the Black and Asian population.

Antiracist groups organized a counterdemonstration in Ilford to coincide with the National Front action. They coupled this correct move with a demand, supported by some Labour members of parliament and the British Communist Party, that the police ban the National Front march.

On February 22, Metropolitan Police Commissioner Sir David MacNee "responded" by banning *all public processions* in the London area for *two months*.

The Anti-Nazi League, one of the antiracist organizations, hailed the banning of the racist march as an "important victory" even though this meant that the antiracist demonstration and all other marches had also been declared illegal.

A different view was expressed in a leaflet distributed by the International Marxist Group, British section of the Fourth International: "The decision of the Metropolitan Police Chief to ban the National Front march

is *not* a victory for the antifascist movement. "It will *not* stop the Nazis peddling their filth through 'mass canvassing' and other means. It will give them the appearance of being a 'persecuted minority' while, in reality, the ban is a massive attack on the democratic rights of the labour and anti-fascist movement."

Events confirmed the IMG's estimate. The National Front went ahead with its mobilization in Ilford, simply replacing the outdoor march with an indoor meeting. About 1,000 rightists rallied under the protection of 5,000 cops. Using the ban on marches as a pretext, the cops systematically harassed and finally dispersed the 2,000 antiracists who tried to picket the meeting. Several antiracist demonstrators were arrested.

National Front leader Martin Webster assessed the effect of the ban this way: "Of course we are opposed to the ban, but we have still scored a victory. We are meeting, and the red hooligans have been kept away from us."

The Ilford incident demonstrated that the real targets of capitalist government repression—even when it is purportedly aimed at the ultraright—are working people and the oppressed. The "ban" on the fascists provided the British government with cover for denying the antifascists' right to demonstrate.

The capitalist rulers today are not fostering a mass fascist movement either in the United States or Great Britain. They have no interest, however, in ending the racist attacks, antilabor violence, and terror against political dissenters that ultraright gangs perpetrate. Post-Watergate revelations have shown that the government maintains covert ties with reactionary gangs through intelligence agencies and police departments.

Like its British counterpart, the U.S. Communist Party enthused over the ban. The March 4 issue of the *Daily World*, a newspaper reflecting the CP's views, bore the headline, "From London, Skokie, 'Ban Nazis' Cry Rises."

The CP saw the ban as vindication of its demand for laws banning fascist and racist organizations and propaganda. Calling the ban a "major success," correspondent William Pomeroy wrote, "Despite its adverse features, the MacNee ban is regarded as a victory by Britain's anti-fascists who are pressing for further curbs on the National Front." For the CP, the precedent of a two-month suppression of the right to demonstrate was a small price to pay.

The CP's support for the phony ban on the National Front in Britain and its call for similar measures in this country flow from a policy of supporting liberal capitalist governments as the main barrier to fascism and reaction. This requires the CP to keep struggles of labor, women, and the oppressed nationalities within bounds acceptable to potential capitalist allies.

From this standpoint, restriction of the democratic rights of the workers' movement by a capitalist government is acceptable if that government is regarded by the CP as antifascist.

It is suicidal for working people to support the right of a capitalist government to decide who is a racist or fascist and ban them. In fact, the Communist Party itself has not been beyond supporting repression against the workers' movement in the name of "banning fascism."

In 1941 the CP hailed the conviction of eighteen members of the Socialist Workers Party under the Smith Act. The CP defended this treacherous blow to working-class solidarity by slandering Trotskyists as "fascists."

Later in World War II, the CP called for putting Socialist Party leader Norman Thomas and United Mine Workers President John L. Lewis behind bars on similar charges.

The CP has been free with charges of racism as well. In the early 1960s it denounced Black nationalist leader Malcolm X as a "racist" and "enemy agent." If the laws "banning" racism that the CP favors had been on the books, could the CP have been trusted to defend Malcolm X's civil liberties against prosecution for "racism"?

The bureaucratic regime in the USSR—upheld by the CP as a model of "socialism"—also uses charges of "fascism" and "counter-revolutionary activities" to suppress all kinds of dissent.

The CPs' reliance on capitalist governments to block rightist threats has an unbroken record of failure. In Spain and France before World War II, CP support to governments "of the antifascist people's front" facilitated the victory of fascist and profascist regimes. Over the past twenty years CP support to "progressive" capitalist governments in Brazil, Chile, and Indonesia left the masses disarmed and helpless in the face of bloody military coups.

As conflict between working people and the capitalists intensifies in this country, fascist groups will appear that will be considerably more sophisticated in their approach than the vociferously pro-Hitler Nazis who have turned up in Detroit, St. Louis, and elsewhere.

These outfits will begin to receive powerful support from the ruling class—and from the government—as weapons of terror and violence against the rising militancy of the oppressed. At that time, the CP's class-collaborationist strategy for fighting fascism will be nothing less than a prescription for disaster for American working people.

The fight against the racist and antilabor violence of the ultraright is not advanced by calling on the racist and antilabor government to impose new restrictions on democratic rights.

The effective defense of democratic rights against racist and fascist attacks must be based on the massive countermobilization of the potential victims of fascism and racism—unions, civil rights organizations, and others. Unlike the capitalist government, they have both the capacity and the need to confront the Nazis and other racist hate groups with an overwhelming counterforce.

Massive countermobilizations against racism and fascism provide the basis for taking whatever measures are necessary to defend democratic rights against reactionary terrorists.

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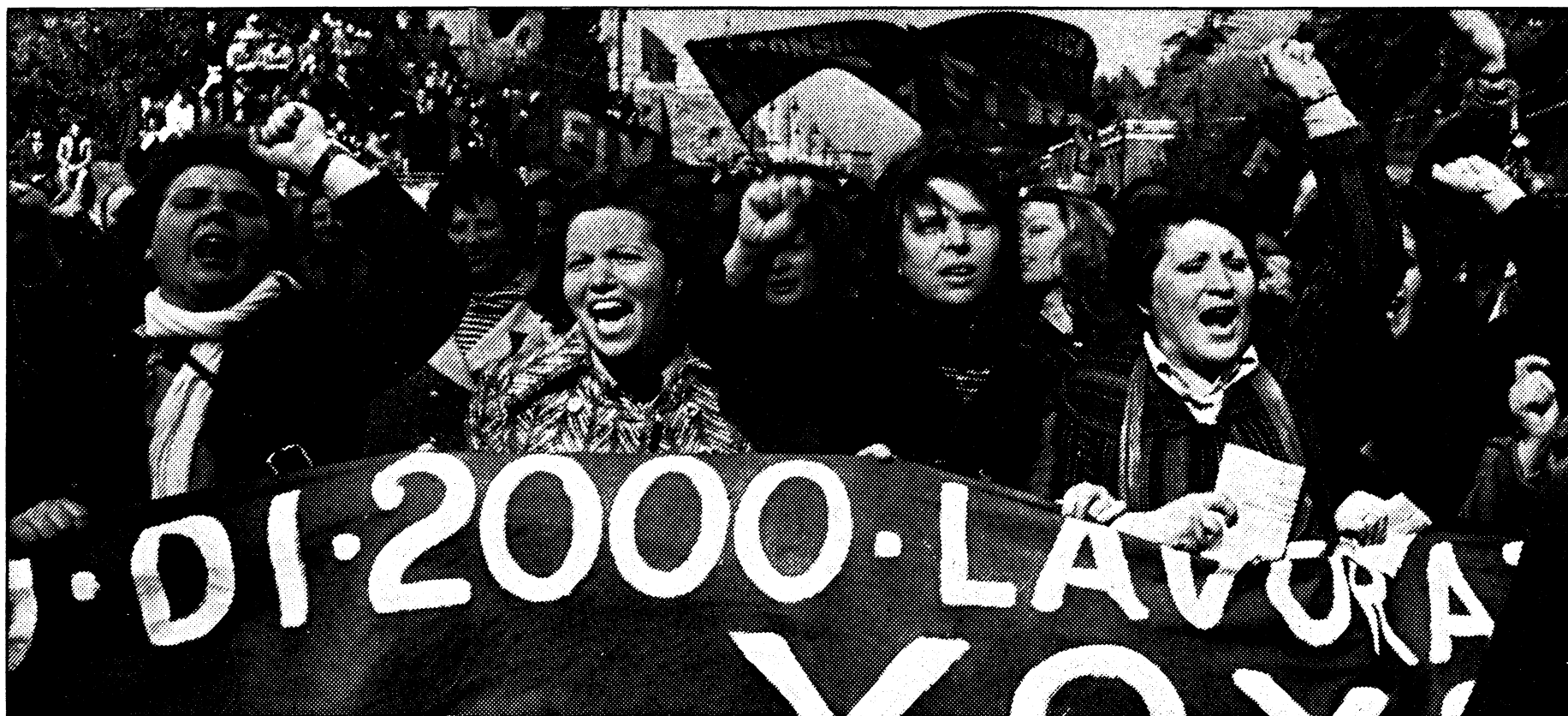


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European Capitalism in Trouble: The Case of Italy



Striking electrical workers in Rome protest rising living costs and firings

European capitalists—like the U.S. rulers—are imposing severe cutbacks on the living standards of workers, and the reformist leaders of the Communist and Socialist parties are helping them do it. The case of Italy shows the need to build a revolutionary alternative to the reformists to reverse these attacks and the deadly dangers that result if such an alternative is not built.

By Caroline Lund

The following is an edited and slightly updated version of a report given by Caroline Lund to a meeting of the national committee of the Socialist Workers Party on February 23, 1978.

Recent developments confirm dramatically the estimates made by the 1975 political resolution of the Socialist Workers Party, "Prospects for Socialism in America." The long post-World War II period of capitalist prosperity is over.¹ Capitalism internationally is in a new period in which the upturns of the business cycle will not go very far up and the downturns will go further down, will be more numerous, and will more often become generalized on a world scale.

Pointing also to the decline in the productivity edge of U.S. imperialism, we said that all of these conditions meant we were in for a long period of economic stagnation and a rise in interimperialist rivalry and conflict. There would be periods of explosive inflation and high unemployment as ruling classes in all the imperialist countries tried to defend their profit rates by taking it out of the hide of the working class.

Where does this process stand today?

The recovery from the worldwide depression of 1974-75 continues to be limited, faltering, and uneven. Among the imperialist countries, only the richest are experiencing significant recovery. Apart from the United States, Japan, and West

Germany, industrial production stagnated or declined in all other advanced capitalist countries in the last half of last year.

Unemployment in the imperialist countries went up from 15.7 million to 16.3 million over the past year and is expected to continue to go up this year.

Hardest hit by the depression and least touched by recovery have been the colonial and semicolonial countries with the exception of some semiindustrialized countries. The speech by Fidel Castro that was printed in the February 6 and 13, 1978, issues of *Intercontinental Press-Inprecor*² gives a good idea of how even a workers state in a former colonial country is drastically affected by the conditions of the capitalist crisis. Castro also pointed out that if Cuba had to sell its sugar at the world market price instead of being able to sell it at stable prices to the Soviet Union, even under the best conditions the foreign exchange they would receive from the sale of their sugar at the current low market price would only barely pay for the oil they need to keep their economy running. It would not cover any of Cuba's other needs for foreign goods such as food, industrial goods, and medicine.

There has been a step-up in aggressive nationalist economic policies by the imperialists. Economic stagnation in most advanced capitalist countries prompted the capitalists to look more jealously toward other countries for markets. The intensified competition is leading more regimes to institute protectionist measures such as tariffs and quotas. Currency manipulation has increased as each country tries to make its goods

as competitive as possible on the world market. The revival of protectionism is leading to further contraction of world trade.

The biggest market of all, of course, is the United States, which has had the strongest recovery from the depression. But this situation has led to the huge imbalance in trade that is reflected in the \$26.7 billion U.S. trade deficit of last year. This was four times the previous record set in 1972.

The increased trade imbalance stemmed in part from the fact that the U.S. economic upturn spurred increased imports. The slower pace of most other capitalist economies did not produce an equivalent increase in the demand for U.S. goods.

The trade deficit means that foreign goods are flowing into the United States while dollars are flowing abroad to pay for these goods and are piling up in a stagnant world economy. The dollar is declining in value, in part because to a great extent the recovery of the U.S. economy itself was stimulated through deficit spending. The depreciation of the dollar has a destabilizing effect on the whole international monetary system.

For the American working class, all of this translates into continuing inflation and rising prices for foreign as well as domestic goods.

On February 8, Carter's director of the Council on Wage and Price Stability, Barry Bosworth, stated that the current inflation picture was "extremely dismal" and that there were "absolutely no signs of progress being made" in reducing the underlying inflation rate in this country.

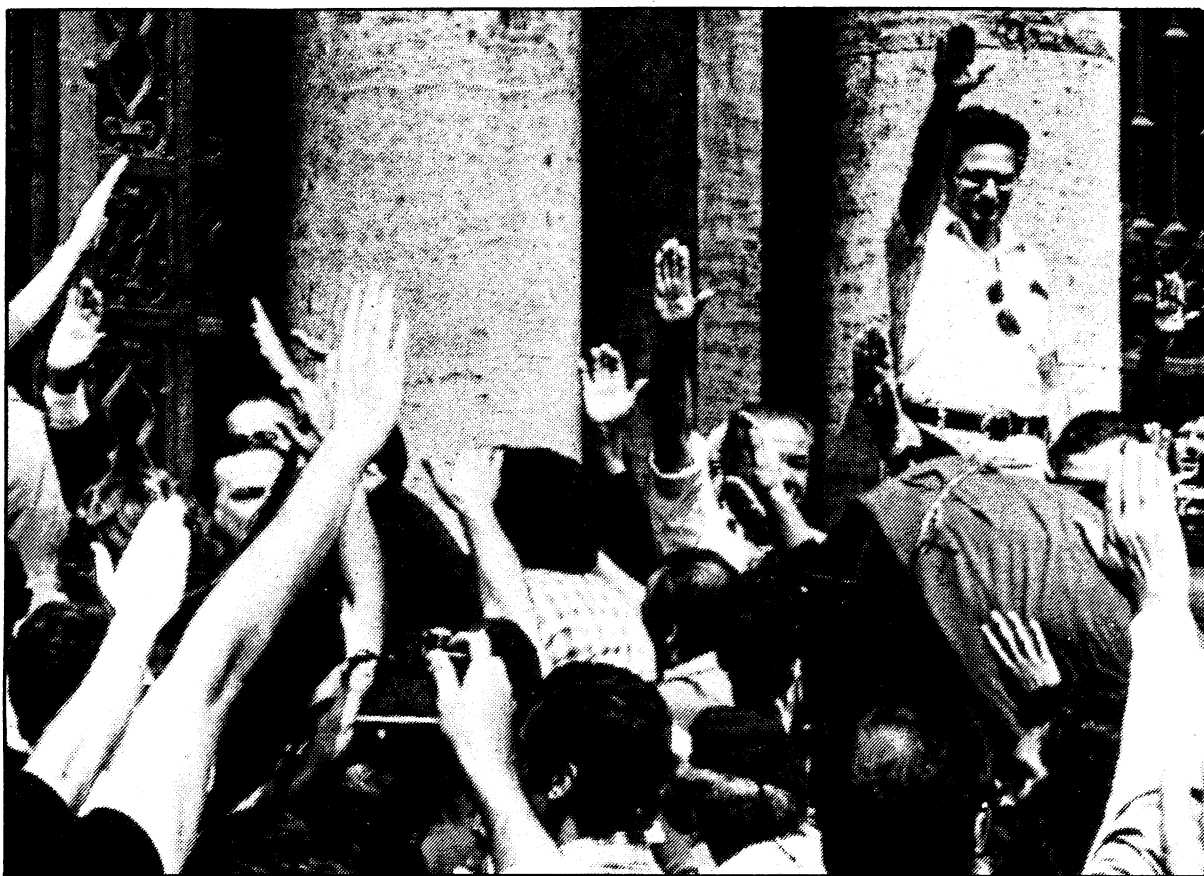
We should remember that the past seven years have been the most inflationary of any seven years in U.S. history, including the Civil War period!

The weak recovery and sharpening competition for markets means that all the imperialist powers are in a life-and-death drive to increase productivity, lower wages, and decrease social

1. This resolution appears in *Prospects for Socialism in America* by Jack Barnes, Mary-Alice Waters, Tony Thomas, Barry Sheppard, and Betsey Stone (New York: Pathfinder, 1976), \$2.95 paper.

Caroline Lund is a member of the national committee of the Socialist Workers Party and a former editor of the *International Socialist Review*.

2. *Intercontinental Press-Inprecor* is a weekly news-magazine that stands on the program of the Fourth International. Subscriptions or individual copies can be obtained by sending \$.75 (for single copies) or \$24 (for a one-year subscription) to *Intercontinental Press-Inprecor*, P.O. Box 116, Varick Street Station, New York, New York 10016.



Communist Party's support for status quo plays into the hands of Italy's profascist forces, who can benefit from discontent and demoralization of sections of the population.

welfare costs so as to make their products more competitive.

Generalized Austerity

More or less severe austerity policies are today being imposed in all the advanced capitalist countries. *This is only the beginning of the austerity drive.* The austerity plans already in effect have not succeeded in doing what the capitalists need to do to defend their profit rates. The workers, despite lack of leadership, have put up resistance. In Spain, Italy, and France, real wages have not been significantly driven down yet; in Italy they have even increased, if we can believe the official figures. In other countries real wages have been driven down, but not enough.

The capitalists will seek to deepen and extend austerity policies. They will begin to take on the strongest sectors of the industrial working class, as has been happening in the United States today with the assault on the mine workers.

This generalized austerity drive means a dead end, in one sense, for all the misleaders of the labor movement—whether they be pro-Democratic Party union bureaucrats in this country, or Communist Party, Socialist Party, or Labour Party bureaucrats. Their programs are limited to reform of capitalism through class collaboration and acceptance of the basic demands of the profit system. Such policies will not bring significant concessions for the working class. This perspective necessarily leads to collaboration by the reformists in carrying out attacks on the working class.

On the other hand, of course, as long as there does not arise any alternative, revolutionary leadership, the capitalists and their lieutenants in the labor movement have all kinds of methods and possibilities for preserving their positions. Because of the lack of such an alternative leadership, the ruling classes have succeeded in delivering some real blows to the workers internationally, beginning to shift the burden of the economic crisis onto their backs.

The economic squeeze has put pressure on the middle classes. For a number of years we've seen examples of mass protest actions by farmers in Europe, for example. Today there are demonstrations by farmers taking place in the United States for the first time since the 1930s.

The development of struggles by these layers can bring new allies to the workers. However, if the labor movement fails to bring its support and solutions to the desperate middle layers, dangerous developments can result.

Imperialist Military Offensive

In the report by Socialist Workers Party National Secretary Jack Barnes to the party convention last August (published in the September 16, 1977, issue of the *Militant*), he pointed to the new escalation of the arms race opened up by Carter's approval of the development of three

new weapons—the cruise missile, the MX missile, and the neutron bomb.

Six months later, the Pentagon is already on to other innovations for more effective means of destruction. One is the rocket-propelled "hunter-killer satellite," which would blow up Soviet satellites in space. The other project they are working on right now is the development of a special "quick-strike force" of troops and planes that could be deployed within days in case of a major war in Europe.

After promising in his election campaign to cut the arms budget and arms sales abroad, Carter has increased both. Sales of military hardware to other countries are estimated by the White House to reach \$13 billion this year, nearly \$2 billion more than last year's figure. Carter's projected budget for fiscal year 1979 gives \$10 billion more to the Pentagon than in 1978.

Meanwhile, the readiness of the U.S. rulers to use these weapons if they feel they have to was brought home a couple of weeks ago during the war between Ethiopia and Somalia. Carter sent two American warships to the coast of Ethiopia and threatened U.S. intervention if Ethiopian troops, backed by the Soviet Union and Cuba, crossed the Somali border.

Social Crisis in Europe

Carter claims the reason the Pentagon has to get the "quick-strike force" ready is because of the danger of a Soviet invasion of Western Europe. It is likely that he also has another potential opponent in mind: the European working class.

Western Europe is no longer a source of economic and political support for U.S. imperialism, as it was during the postwar decades of prosperity. It is increasingly a source of weakness. The economic and social problems in Europe are sharpening, carrying the threat of massive social confrontations.

In France, Italy, Belgium, and Sweden there was a decline in industrial production over the last half of 1977. Production rose in Germany, but the rate of increase dropped more than the experts had expected. Unemployment stands at record postdepression levels, especially among the youth. Everywhere austerity programs such as the Social Contract in Britain, the Moncloa Pact in Spain, the Barre Plan in France, and the Pact of Six in Italy—are in effect. European capitalism can make less pretense than at any time since the war of being able to provide progress in the lives and welfare of the masses of people.

Europe shares in the crisis of world capitalist leadership. The European capitalists and politicians are divided and lack confidence.

In Italy, the capitalist politicians are divided. They need the Communist Party to help them impose austerity, but at the same time they fear the class-struggle dynamic that could be set off if the Stalinists entered the government. The Christian Democrats have been exposed in scandal after scandal as corrupt, as creatures of Wash-

ington, and as friends of the Italian fascist organizations. They remain in office only through the support of the Communist Party.

Even in a country with as high a standard of living as Sweden (where average wages of industrial workers are higher than in the United States), the politicians are shaken by big contradictions. For the first time last year, mass demonstrations took place in Sweden to protest austerity measures and the closing down of factories. The Social Democratic party felt forced to take the leadership of many of these demonstrations, although its own program calls for an even more drastic austerity plan than the one pushed by the ruling coalition of bourgeois parties.

Rise of Struggle in Eastern Europe

The capitalist rulers of Europe are faced with other problems stemming from the crisis of Stalinism. In Eastern Europe a sharpening of economic and social problems has been accompanied by the rise of advanced forms of struggle by workers and forces favoring democratic rights.

Washington and Bonn are doing all they can to help prop up the regime of Edward Gierek in Poland to avoid a new workers' uprising there. The Catholic church has openly come out in support of the bureaucratic rulers who are trying to restore social discipline and respect for authority.

In early January a group of veteran Polish Communist Party leaders presented a letter of protest to Gierek. They labeled the CP a "bureaucratic machine leadership." Another organized opposition current is the Committee for Social Self-Defense, which grew out of the June 1976 general strike and involves both workers and intellectuals. Semilegal opposition newspapers have arisen in Poland on an unprecedented scale.

In the Soviet Union itself, a group of workers came forward to put before the world some of the grievances of working people inside the USSR, especially opposition to official corruption and unsafe working conditions.

One of the most inspiring developments was the struggle of the Romanian miners. This took place in August 1977, but news of it didn't leak out of the country until five months later.

Tens of thousands of coal miners were involved in a strike against a new and worse pension law. Thirty-five thousand of them mobilized in one mining town. One of their slogans was, "Down with the proletarian bourgeoisie." They held hostage the two Communist Party Central Committee members who had been sent out to negotiate with them and finally forced Romanian President Nicolae Ceausescu to come and negotiate with them.

After defusing the situation by making all kinds of promises, Ceausescu sent 2,000 troops into the area, forced the evacuation of 4,000 miners families, and declared the whole region a "prohibited area," with communication cut off to the rest of the country.

Some of the miners had previously signed a human rights declaration together with several hundred intellectuals, which was the first such statement to surface in Romania.

The imperialists are *with* the Stalinists in wanting to crush all of these developments, because these struggles pose the vision and possibility of a new and different kind of socialism than the bureaucratic deformations that masquerade under that name in Eastern Europe today.

The Example of Italy

In order to grasp the situation of the West European workers movement in this social crisis, it is useful to take Italy as an example. In many ways Italy provides the starkest illustration of some important problems.

Inflation and unemployment rates in Italy are the highest in Europe. The budget deficit doubled over the last year. Attempts to impose an austerity plan have met with resistance from the working class.

The trade-union movement in Italy is strong, based largely on gains and rights that were won during the 1969-70 student and worker upsurge. At that time the whole structure of the unions was transformed, in the direction of making them more responsive to the rank and file. Relatively good cost-of-living provisions were won.

The problems of the Italian capitalists in

imposing austerity were described in a January 31, 1978, article in the *International Herald Tribune*. The author, Claire Sterling, claimed that wages in Italy had gone up by 32 percent over the past year, which, adjusting for inflation, still amounted to a 7 percent increase in real wages. She complained, "Implacable worker resistance keeps blocking redundancy layoffs. Bankrupt state industries keep getting bailed out at colossal cost, on the insistence of riotous workers. The state-owned Alfasud car factory, symbol of so many deluded hopes for the disinherited south, is still losing \$100 million a year, while union leaders were helpless to prevent 713 wildcat mini-strikes there in 1974. Lama [the leader of the CP-dominated trade union] himself could not persuade the workers of Fiat, Italy's biggest private industry and foreign currency earner, to put in six Saturdays of overtime in order to fill a huge export order this winter. Neither could he dissuade 200,000 metalworkers from marching on Rome last November with demands that no Italian government could meet in times like these."

This worker resistance has, however, been kept within bounds by the Communist Party. Through its leadership in the unions and its membership of 1.8 million, the CP dominates the labor movement. This past fall and winter the capitalists have gone qualitatively further in their drive against the workers, for the first time closing down plants and throwing thousands out of work.

The Stalinist Italian Communist Party has done more than go along with this; its leaders have developed a sophisticated defense of austerity.

The current version of the CP's sellout line takes as its starting point the overthrow of the Allende regime in Chile in 1973. The CP chiefs took advantage of the demoralization and disorientation produced by this defeat to put over the strategy of the "historic compromise." Drawing the exact opposite of the true lesson of Chile, they claimed that Allende had been too radical. They said that Chile showed the workers would be cut down if they tried to struggle independently; the only realistic way forward was by making enough compromises to achieve a bloc with the Catholic church and the main "democratic" bourgeois parties.

The Italian Stalinists argue that austerity is not only a necessary evil, but a positive good. This is explained in a book by CP leader Enrico Berlinguer, called *Austerity, an Opportunity to Transform Italy*.

Berlinguer says: "Austerity, depending on its content and on the forces which govern its application, can be used either as an instrument of economic depression, political repression, and perpetuation of social injustice, or as an opportunity for new economic and social development, rigorous pruning of the state, profound transformation of the basis of society, and defense and expansion of democracy."

He goes on to explain what he means: "In fact, it seems obvious to me that these objectives will contribute to forging a social basis and an economic and financial policy organically directed against waste, privilege, parasitism, and dissipation of resources. They will thus embody what must constitute the essence of what is by nature and definition a genuine austerity policy. Better, it may be observed that in decadent societies injustice and extravagance have often been combined, are combined, and will be combined, whereas in ascending societies justice and frugality go hand in hand."

This "ascending society" he is talking about is still capitalism, of course.

The other beneficial function of austerity, says Berlinguer, is to bring about a "new model of consumption,"—moving away from extravagance and decadence in private consumption in the direction of greater public consumption. It's not only the bourgeoisie who are considered by the Stalinists to be decadent in their private consumption. Another Italian CP leader, Giorgio Amendola, gave a speech last month in which he explained: "Today, a moral pollution in equally affecting sectors of the working class, in their drive to accumulate income at all costs. . . . But our needs are increasing, people say, and our salaries are losing value. No. Real wages increased by 4 or 5 points in the last year. And what needs? An austerity policy requires a new scale of values. Why work yourself to death in

order to use the greater income to acquire goods that are not needed—a new car, expensive furniture, or extravagant spending on weddings. . . .

"It is necessary to reaffirm the true values of life—love that has no need for ostentatious ceremonies, the family, education of children. . . ."

According to the CP, austerity is an opportunity for the working class. Berlinguer says: "What is the most significant fact about the present crisis from the political and class standpoint? It is that the capitalist world, and with it the old political personnel who still occupy some positions of power, have been compelled to turn toward us—toward the working class, the toilers, and the Communists—as a force which has now become indispensable in setting things in order, in making the machinery of the economy and the state function, in bringing efficiency to the entire Italian social system. . . . This reveals something which is genuinely new from the historic point of view. The old ruling classes and the old politicians are no longer in position to impose sacrifices on the working class; today they must ask us to do so, and they are asking us."

Berlinguer is ready to answer cheerfully, "Yes, boss, of course we'll do it for you!"

The CP also tends to put forward the conception of "two societies." One is the workers, who are disciplined and ready to sacrifice for the good of the whole. The other is the youth, the women's movement, the students, the unemployed, who are pictured as "marginal," ultraleft, and only out for themselves. That is why, the CP tops explain, these layers seem to have trouble understanding the need for austerity and for suppression of their struggles.

These arguments are explained every day in the CP's many publications and by their 1.5 million members. Imagine the impact that this has on dampening struggles: to justify a struggle over even minimum demands, a worker has to be able to answer this whole theory about why austerity is inevitable and positive.

Don't resist layoffs, the Stalinists say, just look at them from the angle that workers are winning greater "mobility." The shutdown of unprofitable plants is necessary, they claim, in order to develop new, profitable industries that can then provide jobs for unemployed youth and women.

The Italian CP might have the most sophisticated version of this austerity line, but it is basically the same line that is peddled by the Social Democratic and Labor parties as well—that in return for short-term sacrifices, the workers will supposedly get long-term social benefits if they adopt the perspective of remaining within the framework of capitalism.

The one thought these reformists will never entertain is that capitalism is an outmoded social system that needs to be replaced by socialism. They stake everything on a new period of long-term capitalist prosperity. Until this transpires, they are trying to ride out the crisis by helping the capitalists reduce the workers' living standards. Berlinguer's "no frills" capitalism adds up to lower wages, worsened working conditions, greater levels of unemployment, poorer health

care, declining educational opportunities, and fewer democratic rights for the Italian masses—all to secure the profits of the capitalists.

Crisis of Centrist Groups

The success of the Italian CP in putting over these arguments stems from the lack of credible leadership counterposing a class-struggle line.

The Maoist-spontaneist and other organizations that arose in Italy in the late 1960s and early 1970s proved their incapacity to provide this. Politically, most of these groups can be characterized as centrist. While they recruited thousands of revolutionary-minded youth, their programs were a hodgepodge of Stalinist, anarchist, and ultraleft concepts. They never represented an independent revolutionary alternative to the CP and often actually trailed in its wake.

These groups were quite sizeable in 1969 and 1970. According to a revolutionary socialist who works in the Fiat car factory in Turin (a complex including some 70,000 workers), Lotta Continua (the Struggle Continues), one of the main centrist groups, had close to 1,000 members there, more than the CP.

Today, these groups that called themselves the "far left" have fallen apart. Lotta Continua hardly exists as an organization; it is only a vague current around a daily newspaper. Both Lotta Continua and the Partito d'Unità Proletaria (Party of Proletarian Unity—PdUP) suffered mass resignations of their women members. PdUP and a third organization, Avanguardia Operaia (Workers Vanguard) went through multiple splits. Over the past year all of these groups have been openly discussing their own impotence and crisis of perspectives.

At the congress of Lotta Continua at the end of 1976, National Secretary Adriano Sofri tried to analyze the roots of the crisis in the organization. He attributed it to four major "shake-ups."

One was caused by the defeat of the November 25, 1975, putsch attempt in Portugal initiated by a wing of the ruling Armed Forces Movement and the CP and supported by sections of the ultraleft centrist milieu.

This event exploded illusions that the section of the procapitalist Armed Forces Movement backed by the CP was going to help the centrist groups establish soviets in Portugal, leaping over the heads of the majority of workers who followed the Socialist Party. Fostering such illusions helped the Armed Forces Movement deflect the prerevolutionary upsurge that followed the fall of the Caetano dictatorship in April 1974.

The second "shake-up" stemmed from the impact of the women's movement—specifically, the debate caused by the December 6, 1975, women's demonstration in Rome, where a defense guard of Lotta Continua tried to physically break into the march to prevent it from being an action for women only.

The third factor cited by Sofri was the results of the June 20, 1976, elections in Italy, in which the centrist groups were all hoping and expecting that the CP would easily win a majority, that the "far left" would do well, and that this would transform the situation. But the CP, although it



The Proletarian Democracy slate created by the ultralefts in the 1976 elections provided no class-struggle alternative to the Italian Communist Party's collaboration with the government. The poor showing made by the Proletarian Democracy, and the failure of the CP to win the elections, helped spark a crisis in the ultraleft groups.

made gains, did not win the election. The so-called far-left slate in these elections, called Proletarian Democracy, received only 1.5 percent of the vote. This threw them into disarray.

The fourth "shake-up" said Sofri, stemmed from the events in China following the death of Mao and the purge of the "gang of four."

Variations on these four factors had a big impact on Maoist and centrist organizations not only in Italy but throughout the world.

What was wrong with the perspective of these organizations?

Their basic problem was that they went wrong on the key questions of working-class independence from the bourgeoisie and the united-front approach of uniting the class for anticapitalist action in defense of the needs of workers and other oppressed people. Rather than providing any real alternative to the Communist Party, they ended up tail-ending or acting as the mirror image of the Stalinists.

These groups were all for some version of a class-collaborationist popular front. In the June 20, 1976, elections, for example, the Proletarian Democracy bloc formed by these groups called for a "government of the left"—which was understood to include some bourgeois forces—rather than for a workers government.

They tended to turn the "two societies" theory of the Stalinists inside out. The unionized workers were seen as a privileged layer, and the CP and the trade unions were viewed as part of the state apparatus. The youth, the unemployed, and the women's movement were seen as alternatives to, not as allies of and part of, the labor movement.

The perspectives of the CP and of the centrist organizations complemented and reinforced each other.

A serious weakness of the centrist groups was that they were built around the illusion that the revolution was just around the corner. At the time of the 1969-70 upsurge it seemed to many young people that the workers' struggles could spontaneously surge over or around the obstacle of the reformist parties. The centrist groups had no long-term perspective of building a revolutionary, proletarian party with the goal of taking on and defeating the CP politically, and leading the workers to power.

The 'Movement of Bologna'

Last February there was a new explosion of the student movement, which began over opposition to cutbacks in higher education and for the right to employment. Seventy-five percent of the unemployed in Italy today are less than thirty years old.

In Bologna, a city where the CP runs the municipal government, tanks were brought out against the students and cops were ordered to fire on them. In Rome, the leader of the CP-dominated trade union was run off the campus by some ultraleft students after he made statements attacking the demonstrations.

This new movement culminated in a conference of 50,000 young people held in Bologna last September. This gathering expressed the demands of the students, unemployed youth, and the women's movement, as well as a confused opposition to the class-collaborationist policies of the Communist Party.

A strong theme at the Bologna conference was that political organizations are useless or obstacles. The antagonism between the CP and the youth has benefited the bourgeoisie. The weekly magazine *Espresso* commented that in the student demonstrations of last winter, "... the slogans shouted by the student-unemployed at Rome University demonstrate how the ruling class has partially succeeded in shifting the tensions arising in this society onto the Communist Party."

The attempts of the ruling class to divide the oppressed are working. Here is an example of the problem. The demand for a shorter workweek as an answer to unemployment is popular in Italy. The slogan of the union is: "Let's work less so more can work." On some demonstrations of students and unemployed youth this slogan was mimicked by turning it around against the unions to say: "You want to work less so that more of you can work." Many youth don't see the unions as their potential allies but simply as job trusts for a privileged layer.

Also present at the Bologna gathering were supporters of the terrorist organizations, Workers Autonomy and the Red Brigades, which have carried out shootings of CP and trade-union leaders as well as bourgeois figures.

Most recently the Red Brigades kidnapped a top leader of the Christian Democratic Party, Aldo Moro. This provided the Italian government with a pretext for brutal repression and new restrictions on civil liberties.

These terrorist groups are anti-working class. In the process of disintegration of these big petty-bourgeois centrist groups, there is the danger that sections of them can flip over to the right or even become fascist-type movements. This is what happened to the National Caucus of Labor Committees in the United States.

As long as no alternative leadership is built that will fight for the unions to support the demands of the most oppressed and to treat the movements of women, students, and the unemployed as allies, there will be no solutions to the social crisis in Italy. Frustrations and terrorist activities are going to increase. Fascist groups can grow. In the long run, the policies of the Communist Party of setting the working class against its allies threaten to drive petty-bourgeois layers and unemployed youth right into the arms of the fascists.

The blatant procapitalist line of the CP is giving them internal problems. The CP's press has been discussing the "malaise" and loss of identity felt among the ranks of the organization.

The Stalinists admit that recruitment is stagnating, for the first time since 1970. The CP's youth organization lost 20 percent of its members last year. Recruitment of workers to the CP has also declined. Of the 12,000 sections of the CP (the section is the basic unit of the organization) only 800 are factory sections.

Spread of 'Eurocommunism'

Another area in which Italy illustrates a general trend in Europe is in regard to the crisis of Stalinism and, in particular, the spread of the phenomenon often called Eurocommunism.

What is new in this phenomenon inaccurately labeled Eurocommunism (it is neither communist nor exclusively European) is, first, increasing

criticism of some of the repression in the Soviet Union, while still accepting the basic features of Stalinist rule there. This reflects an attempt by the CPs to make cosmetic concessions to the growing mass sentiment for democratic rights and disgust with Stalinist totalitarianism.

Second was further codification of these parties' reformist politics to make themselves more acceptable to bourgeois and petty-bourgeois sectors as candidates for government posts. The latter included such revisions as dropping the term "dictatorship of the proletariat" from their programs. This did not signify a fundamental turn to the right but merely expressed the real program they have been carrying out for decades.

The Stalinists were prompted to make these changes by growing prospects of getting into governments. They were getting more votes as the masses looked to them for solutions to their problems. There were indications that at least some sectors of the capitalists were beginning to look to the CPs as the agents they might need to administer their austerity policies in the face of rebellious workers.

There are limits on the evolution of the European Communist parties either toward Social Democracy or toward centrist policies. The differentiating factor between the Stalinist and Social Democratic parties is not their reformist policies but the link of the Communist parties to Moscow. Despite continuing frictions, there has been no fundamental break between these parties and the Kremlin. Their criticisms of Moscow are not a qualitative break but a continuation of the logic of socialism in one country and the disintegration of world Stalinism.

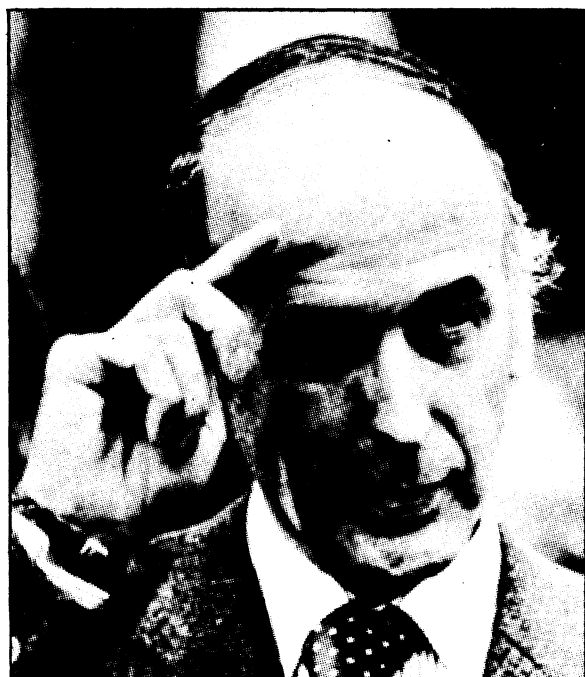
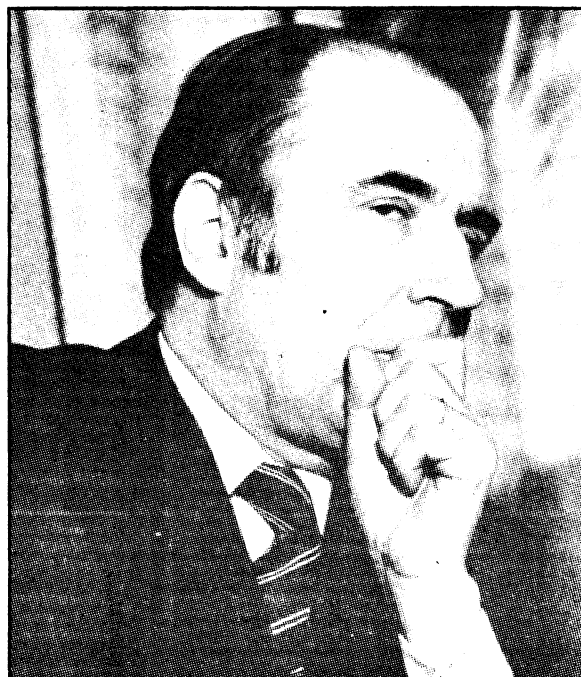
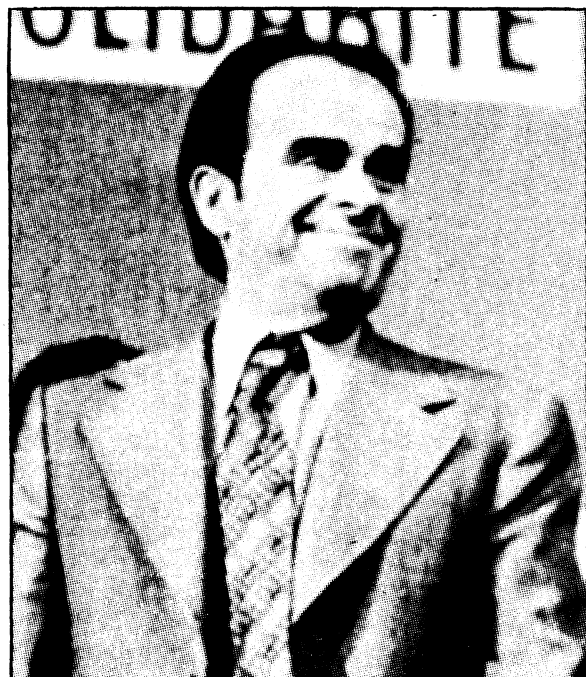
There are basic elements of continuity that all these parties have with Stalinism, such as their rejection of real workers democracy. This was recently confirmed by the silence of the "Eurocommunist" parties in face of the struggle of the Romanian miners. Since many of these parties have special diplomatic ties with the Romanian regime, they had no difficulty ignoring the appeals of the Romanian miners for support.

The Kremlin itself does not view "Eurocommunism" as a fundamental break. The adjustments being made by the European Stalinist parties have advantages for the Kremlin as well as carrying the overhead cost of giving legitimacy to demands for democratic rights inside the workers states. Moscow wants strong CPs, since this helps further its own international diplomacy. So far, judging from the Kremlin's response, the advantages have outweighed the overhead.

This was illustrated by Moscow's sixtieth anniversary celebration of the Russian revolution last November. All the "Eurocommunist" parties attended, and all were allowed to speak except for Santiago Carillo of the Spanish Communist Party, who has gone the furthest in criticizing Moscow.

While the Kremlin attacks Carillo, as an individual, they have not made a broadside attack on the so-called Eurocommunist parties, or even on the entire Spanish CP, even though they all say similar things. Nor have the Eurocommunist parties come out with a joint defense of Carillo against Moscow.

Eurocommunism signifies big openings for revolutionists in Western Europe, as well as for



The procapitalist policies and sectarian bickering of the French Communist Party leader Georges Marchais (left) and Socialist Party head François Mitterrand (center) helped President Valéry Giscard d'Estaing (right) and other bourgeois forces hold a majority in the March 1978 legislative elections.



Italian students have protested education cutbacks, unemployment, and police repression

fighters for democracy inside the workers states. In Western Europe, for example, the Stalinists' new claim to support democratic rights can be turned against their leadership inside the trade unions they dominate, through calls for the right to form trade-union tendencies and other elements of trade-union democracy.

The fundamental sectarianism of the Stalinist parties is reflected in Eurocommunism. The main goal of the Communist parties is to build up their own strength, in competition with the Socialist parties.

This is nothing new. It is part of their class-collaborationist, popular-frontist perspective. This is the opposite of a united-front approach based on working-class independence from the capitalist rulers—the only nonsectarian approach.

The criminal sectarianism of both the CP and SP was displayed in Portugal and is also reflected in the division of the trade-union movement in Europe between the CP and SP unions.

This fundamental Stalinist sectarianism was vividly illustrated in the breakup of the Union of the Left in France.

A year ago the Union of the Left won a sweeping electoral victory. The CP and SP won control of 70 percent of the major city governments. These results showed that the Union of the Left stood a good chance to win the March 1978 legislative elections.

The fact that the Union of the Left included only a small bourgeois party helped make this an explosive proposition. Many workers looked at the Union of the Left as basically a bloc of the CP and SP. This heightened expectations about what it would do if it could gain power. If big bourgeois forces were involved, it would be easier to suppress workers' expectations. However, the French ruling class is apparently not convinced that it needs a popular-front government yet. They still seek to keep the CP out of the government.

If the Union of the Left parties had won, they would have been forced to take responsibility for administering an austerity policy, directly counter to the rising demands of the workers. Apparently the CP was not eager to put itself in this position, given the relationship of forces between it and the SP.

The CP has found itself losing ground to the SP. In 1972, when the Union of the Left was launched, the SP was way behind the CP, both in the votes it got in elections and in its influence in the trade unions. Through its participation in the Union of the Left, it shot ahead of the CP in

electoral support and was closing the gap in the unions. The CP decided it had to somehow put an end to this trend by taking a more "leftist" posture. The SP, on the other hand, wanted to keep the CP from increasing its strength.

So under these conditions, the Union of the Left was broken up, and the SP and CP lost the elections.

The CP is talking left now; it is the only CP in Europe that makes a pretense of opposing its government's austerity plan. At the same time, it is on a rabidly sectarian campaign against the SP that cuts across any united struggles against the austerity policies.

The breakup of the Union of the Left posed squarely the need for class unity and class independence on the political level. The big debate over the program of the Union of the Left brought to the fore the question of what economic and social policies a workers government should carry out.

The months-long drama of confrontation that has been taking place between the CP, the SP, and the Left Radicals in the breakup of the Union of the Left has given our cothinkers in France, the Revolutionary Communist League, rich new possibilities to explain the role of bourgeois parties in a popular front, the need for a workers government, to demand a CP-SP government, and to explain what program such a government should be pressed to carry out.

Prospects for Party-Building

In face of these developments, there is a broad rethinking going on among many European supporters of the Fourth International, the worldwide revolutionary socialist movement.

For one thing, the problem of the continuing hegemony of the reformist parties in the workers movement has been brought home in a new way in the context of the capitalists' austerity offensive. Even in Spain, where explosive struggles broke out after the death of Franco, the capitalists achieved the Moncloa Pact, a class-collaborationist austerity agreement, without resistance by the working class taking on unmanageable dimensions. This was made possible by the authority exercised by the CP and SP in the labor movement.

There will be no automatic development of prerevolutionary and revolutionary situations in Southern Europe. As long as there is no alternative leadership built, one that is tested and rooted in the industrial working class, the reformists can maintain their positions even while they are

putting over the most blatant attacks on the working class.

Throughout Europe big opportunities exist for revolutionists among the ranks of the Communist and Socialist parties, and above all in the unions. The stress of the "Eurocommunists" on democracy will lead to greater demands for internal democracy in these parties, and dissident currents will crop up. Furthermore, the CPs' and SPs' support to austerity opens the road for us to link up with the massive opposition to austerity that is fighting to break out of the reformist stranglehold.

The level of radicalization and readiness to struggle of the European working class remains high. For example, the national general strike against the austerity plan in France last May was accompanied by the largest demonstration since May 1968. The closing down of factories in Italy has sparked some militant occupations by the workers involved. At the conferences of the biggest British trade unions last summer, the delegates revolted against their leaderships and refused to accept another round of wage restrictions.

All of these conditions—the disarray of the so-called far left, the continued grip of the reformists over the masses, and the eager search for new answers among working people—pose with new clarity the meaning of a long-term party-building perspective. The necessity of building revolutionary parties is clearly posed. Revolutionary socialists must translate mass work into solid recruitment and training of cadres, into an organization with a public face—with a newspaper, with election campaigns, and with the necessary apparatus.

Some of the questions European Trotskyists face are: How can we begin posing a challenge to the reformist bureaucrats where it counts—inside the factories and trade unions? How can we best pose the need for class independence? How can we make our newspapers and other activities orient to talking to and recruiting industrial workers, women, immigrant workers, and youth? How can we get the big majority of our members into industry and into industrial unions today?

In other words, European Trotskyists face many of the same basic political challenges that the Socialist Workers Party is grappling with, but they face them in even sharper forms. It will be very valuable for SWP members to participate in and learn from the discussions that European revolutionary socialists are having.

James T. Farrell and 'Studs Lonigan'

By Alan Wald

The National Broadcasting Company has announced plans to present James T. Farrell's Studs Lonigan trilogy as a television miniseries this fall or winter. Production of the video dramatization of Farrell's 1930s classic of social fiction, scheduled to be six hours in length, will begin in April. It will be produced by Lorimar Productions and directed by James Goldstone. Advance information is not yet available about the quality of the actors or the degree of fidelity to the original text; but the broadcast will introduce many younger viewers to the name of a novelist whose life and work have a special significance for American radicalism.

Such national attention is part of a new turn of events in Farrell's literary career. Prior to 1976 he was often referred to as a "neglected" or "nearly forgotten" author, because most influential critics had refused to pay serious attention to his work after the 1940s.

During the cold war years, Farrell, Theodore Dreiser, and other writers in the realistic-naturalistic school, were displaced from their well-earned positions as major figures in American literature. Other writers whose artistic sensibilities were more in accord with the insulated and repressed atmosphere of the McCarthy years were promoted to center stage by the New Critics (such as Cleon Brooks and John Crowe Ransom) and other literary schools that fostered an elitist or ostensibly asocial aesthetic.

However, during the past two years there has been a steady revival of interest in Farrell. In February 1976, a special issue of *Twentieth Century Literature* was devoted entirely to discussing his novels, short stories, literary criticism, journalism, and political activism.

Soon after, a series of favorable articles about and interviews with Farrell began to appear in leading publications such as the *New York Times*, the *Nation*, the *Village Voice*, *Partisan Review*, *Commentary*, and *Transatlantic Review*. On June 22, 1977, Farrell was the honored guest at the Georges Pompidou Center in Paris, where a special symposium was held on his work. Among the speakers were Pierre Naville and Maurice Nadeau, prominent French intellectuals who at one time had connections with Trotskyism.

The most noteworthy event of the Farrell revival so far came at the time of the publication of his fiftieth book, *The Dunne Family* (New York: Doubleday, 1976). In celebration of this literary milestone a "Salute to James T. Farrell" was held on September 15, 1976, at the St. Regis Hotel in New York City. This gathering was

Alan Wald is a professor of English Literature at the University of Michigan in Ann Arbor, Michigan. His book *James T. Farrell: The Revolutionary Socialist Years* is scheduled for publication in May as part of the *Gotham Library* series published by New York University Press. Wald is a frequent contributor to the ISR.



JAMES T. FARRELL

Chicago Sun-Times/Charles Gekler

In 'Studs Lonigan' and other novels, James T. Farrell exposed some of the reality behind the 'American Dream.' Farrell's development typified those literary figures who were attracted to revolutionary socialism during the Great Depression.

largely comprised of Farrell's friends and acquaintances from over the years who wanted to pay homage to a man who had earned their respect.

Two novelists who addressed the "salute" were Norman Mailer and Kurt Vonnegut, Jr. Mailer stated that he had not known what an American writer could be until he read the Studs Lonigan trilogy in 1939 while he was a student at Harvard. He said that Farrell's works had modified the sensibility of many writers of his generation and that Farrell's relentlessness in pursuing his literary goals in spite of all adversity should be a model for others to follow.

Vonnegut remarked that had Farrell lived in a smaller country such as Bolivia he would have already received the Nobel Prize for literature.

Also among the speakers were composer and music critic Virgil Thomson and former Sen. Eugene McCarthy. Sponsors and notables in attendance included Bruno Bettelheim, Ralph Ellison, Sidney Hook, Bayard Rustin, Celeste Holm, Isaac Bashevis Singer, and Arthur Schlesinger, Jr.

But also among the invited guests were a number of figures whose names have a special importance for the history of New York literary radicalism. These include the Columbia art historian Meyer Schapiro and the *Fortune* magazine journalist John McDonald. Both men participated in the formation of an anti-Stalinist left among intellectuals in New York City in the 1930s. Although the involvement of talented left-wing writers of this current with Trotskyism was in some instances superficial and brief, its activities, among other things, paved the way for the success of the American Committee for the Defense of Leon Trotsky during the Moscow trials.

Albert Glotzer, one of the original members of the Communist Party expelled for Trotskyism in 1928, was also at the Farrell tribute. Glotzer was at one time a leading figure in the Socialist Workers Party and then, under the pseudonym "Albert Gates," in the Workers Party. (In 1938 the Socialist Workers Party was founded as the American Trotskyist organization; in 1940 the Workers Party was formed as the result of the split of a minority from the Socialist Workers Party over the class nature of the Soviet state

and the application of Leninist organizational principles.)

Additionally present were George Novack and Evelyn Reed, Trotskyists since the 1930s, who are today leaders of the Socialist Workers Party. Novack has written many books on Marxist philosophy, while much of Reed's literary work has focused on anthropology.

The attendance of these and several other figures gave testimony to the fact that Farrell had deep-going ties to American radicalism during the time when his most famous works were written.

From the early 1930s until the mid-1940s, Farrell was a devoted revolutionary socialist. In these years he wrote not only the greater part of his series of novels about Studs Lonigan, Danny O'Neill, and Bernard Carr, but he also produced numerous polemics and essays on Marxist literary criticism and the social obligations of the novelist. In his personal life Farrell didn't hesitate to make sacrifices of time and money or to take courageous stands on behalf of the Marxist and working-class movement.

A Radical Odyssey

Although Farrell read socialist classics and was attracted to radicalism during the late 1920s in Chicago, and during 1931 when he was in Paris, he didn't become actively involved with the organized left until he moved to New York City in 1932. Then he began contributing regularly to the Communist Party publications the *Daily Worker* and the *New Masses*. He picketed with other pro-Communist writers on behalf of striking workers, and in 1935 he addressed the Communist-initiated American Writers Congress.

However, Farrell's collaboration with the Stalinists was not to endure. He found himself increasingly at odds with them in matters of literary criticism, theory, and evaluation. Soon Farrell's contributions to *Partisan Review*—at that time an organ of the Communist Party's John Reed Clubs—and his critical reviews of several allegedly "proletarian" novels, had become subjects of heated controversy among Stalinist critics. Finally, all-out literary warfare exploded in the spring of 1936 when he issued *A Note on Literary Criticism*—a book that stands

as a landmark text in the struggle to preserve authentic Marxist aesthetic ideas from the distortions perpetrated by Stalinists and others.

Farrell had read Trotsky's *Literature and Revolution* in 1932, *My Life* in 1933, and soon after he began studying *The History of the Russian Revolution*. In the summer of 1934 Farrell met George Novack, a former Harvard philosophy student and publishing executive who had recently become a Trotskyist. The friendship endured, and in the spring of 1936 Novack read the manuscript of *A Note on Literary Criticism* and judged it consistent with Trotsky's views.

Although only thirty-two years old, Farrell was by this time internationally known as a writer for his Studs Lonigan trilogy. He was on the verge of publishing his first best seller—*A World I Never Made*. When *Partisan Review* magazine was reorganized on an anti-Stalinist basis in late 1937, the editors (Philip Rahv, William Phillips, F.W. Dupee, Dwight Macdonald, and George L.K. Morris) were glad to have Farrell connected with them. He was given a regular column called "The Cultural Front."

As Farrell became disillusioned with Stalinist literary views, he also came to recognize their political deviations from the ideas of Lenin. He observed the Communist Party's opportunist switch from the ultraleft "third period" to the "popular front" era in mid-1935, and he began to argue his views with other writers and intellectuals in the periphery of the Stalinists.

Then in 1936 he issued a public denunciation of the Moscow trials, which had begun that summer. From that point on he was not only an arch-enemy of the Stalinists but also a major figure in organizing the anti-Stalinist left. His role in the activities in defense of Trotsky's right to a hearing during the Moscow trials period has been discussed in several memoirs and studies.¹

Between 1936 and 1945 Farrell remained a dependable ally of the Trotskyists in the Socialist Workers Party. He was especially prominent in political defense activities and served as chairman of the Civil Rights Defense Committee. (This organization was formed to defend trade-union militants in Teamsters Local 544 in Minneapolis and members of the Socialist Workers Party prosecuted under the Smith Act during the Second World War.) Then, after a political dispute in which he defended views similar to those held by the grouping led by Albert Goldman and Felix Morrow, Farrell collaborated with the Workers Party until the spring of 1948. He followed a different course during the cold war.²

Throughout the years of his association with Trotskyism, Farrell continued to elaborate Marxist analyses of literature and politics. Many of these were collected in *The League of Frightened Philistines* (1945) and *Literature and Morality* (1947). It is unfortunate that these two books are no longer in print and that many of Farrell's other essays—which appear in *Partisan Review*, the *New Internationalist* (when it was the organ of the Workers Party) and elsewhere—have never been collected.

Among the most inspiring of Farrell's political writings in the last phase of his left-wing period were those directed against the capitulation of many intellectuals to nationalist hysteria during World War II. In this respect, Farrell played a role similar to that played by the radical critic Randolph Bourne during World War I, whom he took as a model.

A Misunderstood Writer

The new revival of interest in Farrell resembles earlier assessments of his fiction in that it continues to focus on the Studs Lonigan trilogy as his most influential work. While the entire Danny O'Neill pentalogy, the Bernard Carr trilogy, and numerous other important novels from the 1930s and 1940s have long been out of print, Avon books has just released a new, inexpensive one-volume paperback edition of the Studs Lonigan trilogy (which includes *Young*



James T. Farrell speaking at a February 2, 1945, meeting to welcome home eighteen members of the SWP, convicted under the Smith Act, after their release from prison. At left is Benjamin McLaurin, international field organizer of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. At right is Albert Goldman, one of the eighteen.

Lonigan, The Young Manhood of Studs Lonigan and Judgment Day). Vanguard Press is bringing out a new hardcover edition of the trilogy as well; and a special Franklin Library edition of *Young Lonigan* with a new introduction by Farrell is also in preparation.

It is to be regretted that part of the reason that the Studs Lonigan trilogy is Farrell's best-known book is due to some popular misunderstandings about its contents. Farrell's attempt to realistically explore almost every facet of the lives of his characters—including omnipresent sexual concerns and occasional episodes of violence—caused a sensation in its day.

This notoriety gave rise to erroneous conceptions of the book in the public mind—some of which were fostered and reinforced by ignorant critics. Thus the trilogy is still regarded by some to be a portrait of slum life or even a gangster novel, despite the fact that the main character is the son of a prosperous Chicago South Side painting contractor.

The corollary to the erroneous image of the novel in the popular mind has been the perpetration of an equally erroneous image of the author. Farrell has been described in terms that suggest he is essentially a two-fisted man of the streets who writes only with his guts and heart.

In reality, even though Farrell came from a plebeian background, he worked his way through the University of Chicago, where he had a brilliant academic record. In the early 1930s he anticipated devoting the bulk of his adult life to the study of philosophy, and he was well-read in history and world literature. The liberal columnist Murray Kempton wrote of Farrell, "There were ways in which he was the best educated writer of his time."

Although it is still too early to make a final judgment on Farrell's extraordinarily productive literary career, there is a good chance that future generations will regard the Danny O'Neill pentalogy as the superior achievement.³ Marxists will find the five autobiographical books to be of special interest because of the various and subtle ways in which Farrell roots the life experiences of his characters in class and social forces; and also because the novels show the intellectual and emotional development of a future revolutionary writer.

Exposé of False Consciousness

The Studs Lonigan trilogy, however, also deserves a special place in American literary radicalism because of its exposé of the false consciousness created by the institutions of capitalist society.⁴ This is not to say that the Studs Lonigan trilogy should be labeled a "Marxist" or even a "political" novel—although it is true that Farrell was greatly influenced by Marx at the time, and the book has many political

implications and has even exerted some social influence.

Nevertheless, it is important to remember that the origins of the trilogy and much of its composition stem largely from experiences that predated Farrell's association with the Communist Party, and the entire work was completed prior to any connection with the Trotskyist movement. (The first volume was published in 1932; the second in 1934; and the third in 1935.)

Farrell was not a writer who drew inspiration for his novels from reading Marx and Trotsky; rather, he was an authentic artist whose vision of the world was enriched and enhanced by his reading and assimilation of socialist theory. For example, no accurate assessment of Farrell can ignore the fact that a major source of his desire to write was his rebellion against what he called the "biological tragedy" of humanity—the corrosiveness of time and the inevitability of death. On the other hand, complementing this concern was his rebellion against what he called the "social tragedy" created by class society, which has the possibility of being overcome through education and political action.

In a May 17, 1942, interview with the *New York Times Book Review*, Farrell made the following statement:

"My attempt as a twentieth century realistic writer is to give an intensive and detailed report of a certain way of life, of certain characters. . . . We live in a period in which many perspectives are being destroyed and it is necessary for us to forge new perspectives. For me there is the perspective—socialism. But socialism never having been realized at all in this world you can't build up a complete literature in terms of that perspective. A serious writer struggles for a way of seeing life, for a perspective, for making a greater conquest of experience, of human beings."

Such a view was in harmony with the ideas about the role of writers that Trotsky expressed in many places; and it specifically echoed the theme of Trotsky's 1938 essay in *Partisan Review* on "Art and Politics in Our Epoch": "Art, culture, politics need a new perspective. Without it humanity will not develop."

The achievement of new perspectives in art could not, in Trotsky's view, be artificially in-

4. False consciousness is a term generally used by Marxists to indicate the distorted view of reality produced for the masses of people by social institutions serving the interests of the rulers of society. Under capitalism, false consciousness blunts the class consciousness of the working class and assists in maintaining the hegemony of bourgeois ideology.

In recent years, discussions of the nature of false consciousness and hegemony have sometimes resulted in antimaterialist theories by members of the school of Western Marxists who are understandably repelled by the abuses of Soviet philosophy and cultural theory.

For further information see Richard Lichtman, "Marx's Theory of Ideology," *Socialist Revolution*, V (April 1975), 45-76; Perry Anderson, "The Antinomies of Antonio Gramsci," *New Left Review*, No. 100 (November 1976-January 1977), 1-78; George Novack, "In Defense of Engels," *Intercontinental Press*, 14 (February 23, 1976), 258-267.

1. See James T. Farrell, "Dewey in Mexico," in *John Dewey: Philosopher of Science and Freedom*, edited by Sidney Hook (New York: Dial, 1950); George Novack, "How the Moscow Trials Were Exposed," *International Socialist Review*, May 1977; Alan Wald, "Memories of the John Dewey Commission Forty Years Later," *Antioch Review*, November 1977.

2. A presentation of the issues in the dispute between the SWP majority and the Goldman-Morrow grouping can be found in Les Evans's introduction to James P. Cannon's *The Struggle for Socialism in the American Century* (New York: Pathfinder, 1977).

3. Farrell prefers that the five books centering around the life of Danny O'Neill be called the "O'Neill-O'Flaherty" series, because the main characters are derived from those two families. The volumes include *A World I Never Made* (1936), *No Star is Lost* (1938), *Father and Son* (1940), *My Days of Anger* (1943), and *The Face of Time* (1953).

duced by writing according to political formulas or adhering to some particular "revolutionary" style or technique. "Art can become a strong ally of revolution," Trotsky wrote in the same essay, "only insofar as it remains faithful to itself. Poets, painters, sculptors and musicians will themselves find their own approaches and methods. . . ."

In Farrell's particular artistic technique, the element he prized above all was his fidelity to the truth of human experience as he saw it; in this regard he sought to combine theories of the pragmatist thinkers John Dewey and George Herbert Mead with a Marxist class outlook. Farrell recreates the world of Studs Lonigan and other characters by thrusting himself into their social situation, seeing the world through their eyes, and expressing ideas in their own words.

Farrell was very much a practitioner of the view held by Trotsky—which was explained in a letter to the Mexican muralist Diego Rivera—that "the struggle for revolutionary ideas in art must begin once again with the struggle for artistic truth, not in terms of any single school, but in terms of the immutable faith of the artist in his own inner self. Without this there is no art. 'You shall not lie!'"—that is the formula of salvation."

Neither Trotsky nor Farrell conceived of the truth in purely abstract terms. As Marxists, they saw that truth itself evolved from a social context and held a social significance in the struggle of the working-class movement for self-emancipation. In one of his uncollected essays from the 1940s Farrell elaborated on this question:

"The French Jacobin, Robespierre, expressed as the Jacobin aim of the Republic of Virtue, the idea of creating the nation which would lift men to the full stature of humanity. This same ideal is found in the socialist conception of a free, a human, rather than a class culture. The creation of a society which will establish conditions that permit men to achieve their own full stature demands political and social action. Literature is not a substitute for social action. But literature is one of the powerful cultural levers which exposes and reveals to men their own nature. It is out of the nature of men, of millions of men, that there must come to the light of consciousness, this ideal of attaining the full stature of humanity. The novel by its effort to explore and reflect the nature of experience can help to awaken this ideal in the reader. This is the sense in which truthfulness has, here and now, a social significance. And this, I think, is one of the major social obligations of the novelist at the present time."

The Studs Lonigan trilogy is consecrated to the purpose of revealing the truth about American culture and how it prevents humanity from achieving the full stature that can only be attained through the abolition of class society. Nevertheless, the direct inspirers of the Studs Lonigan trilogy were not Marx and Engels.

The spiritual godfathers of the novels could more accurately be said to be two professors of English at the University of Chicago who encouraged Farrell—James Weber Linn and Robert Morss Lovett. They saw the vast literary potential in a character called "Studs" whom Farrell first created in a short story by that name.

However, as Farrell developed the story into three novels over the next several years, the Great Depression was unfolding, and he began to see Studs as not just a character but also as a social manifestation. The work ultimately produced bears a resemblance to Theodore Dreiser's *An American Tragedy*, Sinclair Lewis's *Babbitt*, and F. Scott Fitzgerald's *The Great Gatsby* in that the main character is presented as symptomatic of certain aspects of American life.

In the case of Studs Lonigan, the protagonist does have specific roots in a Chicago South Side neighborhood, but the origin of Studs's tragic destiny is primarily bound up in the course of United States social and economic development from the Woodrow Wilson years to the Great Depression. Studs's fall in the third volume—called *Judgment Day*—is an occasion for Farrell to pass judgment not on Studs Lonigan (as the critic Alfred Kazin and others have suggested) but on American capitalist society. As has been argued in analyses by Edgar Branch, Richard Mitchell, and Josephine Herbst, the book as a whole dramatizes the failure of cultural myth to serve as a program of action.

For example, as the characters live through the boom years of the 1920s, Studs and his family and friends remain true believers in the myths of American society propagated by the schools, businesses, the church and other institutions. These myths cohere in what is commonly referred to as the "American Dream"—a belief that the democratic capitalism of the United States permits all those who have sufficient ambition and ability to become whatever they wish.

Consequently, when the Great Depression hits, not only the economic but also the spiritual foundations of the lives of these characters are demolished. Feelings of profound dislocation are expressed at the end of *Judgment Day* in the ruminations of Studs's father, Paddy Lonigan:

"It was neither right nor fair. He could not see why these troubles must all come to him. What had he done? He wanted to know. Here he was, a man who had always done his duties. Hadn't he earned his place in the world by hard work? Hadn't he always provided for his family to the best of his abilities, tried to be a good husband and a good father, a true Catholic, and a real American?"

As a foil to Studs and the Lonigan family, Farrell also shows us glimpses into the growing consciousness of the rebel Danny O'Neill, who decides to work his way through the university while employed as a gas station attendant. In passages such as the following we are witness to O'Neill's break with the false consciousness of

bourgeois society, starting with the myth of Christianity:

"He conceived of the world, the environment he had known all his life, as lies. He realized that all his education in Catholic schools, all he had heard and absorbed, had been lies.

"An exultant feeling of freedom swept him. God was a lie. God was dead. God was a mouldering corpse within his mind. And God had been the center of everything in his mind. All his past was now like so many maggots on the mouldering conception of God dead within his mind."

Studs Lonigan dies of heart failure at the end of *Judgment Day*; but in part his illness has a social basis—for his health was damaged by the consumption of large quantities of cheap bootleg liquor during the Prohibition era. The final passages of *Judgment Day* are rich in symbolically suggestive episodes.

First, as Studs lies in his hospital room near the end of his life, he experiences a deathbed fantasy. Before him appear many figures who, like characters in a medieval pageant, represent not only various aspects of his life but also objectify the false codes and attitudes he has adopted.

Immediately afterwards we are presented with two other episodes, one following the other: While Studs's mother listens without comprehension to the Latin incantations of the priest giving Studs's body extreme unction, Paddy Lonigan witnesses a Communist-led unemployed demonstration in which the banners bearing slogans for revolutionary political action are clearly visible. Even though Farrell never lectures his reader on political doctrine, the significance of this juxtaposition is clear.

From Revolutionary to Stoic

After the 1940s Farrell rejected the fundamental tenets of Marxist and Trotskyist politics, although he continues to this day to hold a personal admiration for many of the leaders of the French and Russian revolutions. Always sympathetic to the pragmatist method, Farrell concluded, on the basis of his observations of the post-World War II world, that "only American wealth and power has protected freedom in the west of Europe." In an essay published in the *New Leader*, called "Reflections at Fifty," Farrell elaborated on the philosophical significance of his change in views:

"When I first began to write I was full of indignation because of the sorrows of this world. I was angry because of cruelty, because of the exploitation of some men and women by others, because of the coldness with which some people manipulate others, because of dirt, ignorance, aggressiveness, and the other things which ruin and sadden human lives. . . . It is not possible at fifty to feel the indignations of one's youth. . . . Indignation has turned to a stoical feeling. I have come to see that pain and agony are part of the way it is in life."

These sentiments are reminiscent of the ideas Ralph Waldo Emerson expressed in his essays on "Compensation" and "Experience"; and it was also the early pragmatist Emerson whom Farrell cited in a recent statement announcing his decision to join Social Democrats USA (the right wing of American Social Democracy, today inspired by such figures as George Meany and Sidney Hook).

Although Farrell was in many ways far more committed to revolutionary socialism, better educated in theory, and faithful to his convictions for a longer period of time, his evolution in the final analysis can be seen as parallel to those left-wing American intellectuals who wavered between Dewey and Marx and ultimately became deradicalized.

Nevertheless, Farrell's political history after the 1940s—or at any other time—is not a criterion by which one should assess the artistic quality of his most significant achievements. Even in their potential social influence, many of these books remain almost as powerful today as in the 1930s and 1940s. They continue to serve the precise functions for which he intended them—to expand the self-consciousness of humanity and liberate us from the shackles of false consciousness. Radicals can continue to point to the Studs Lonigan trilogy as "one of the powerful cultural levers which exposes and reveals to men their own nature."



Studs Lonigan and Danny O'Neill, two of Farrell's creations, had opposing attitudes toward the 'American Way of Life.'

BOOKS

South Africa: Sharp Dissection

By Prof. Chris Barnard.
New York, Books in Focus,
1977. 122 pages. \$7.95.
South African edition published in 1977 by Tofelberg Publishers.

By Robert MacKenzie

If you were to ask a group of Americans to name some white South Africans, chances are they would include Dr. Christian Barnard on their list. Barnard gained worldwide fame for being the surgeon who performed the first heart transplant.

His *South Africa: Sharp Dissection*, however, has nothing to do with medicine or surgery. It is a political book that aims to utilize his international prestige against critics of white racist South African society.

In itself, Barnard's book is a miserable, small-minded attempt to justify the existence of a reprehensible regime and whitewash its crimes. It is of sociological interest, however, in that it reveals something about the spectrum of political thought among South African whites.

First of all, it is actually two books. The version published in South Africa was apparently judged to be a bit too blunt and harsh for even the right-wing crowd it aims at in the United States. It was therefore extensively revised before being released for the American audience.

Most revealing is that although Barnard's book shows him to be a reactionary and racist, he is not at the far right wing of South African politics. In fact, he argues against the most extreme bigots in calling for cosmetic changes that would at least make South Africa appear more reasonable in the eyes of the rest of the world.

It is interesting to compare the two versions of the book, to get an idea of what is "acceptable" political commentary in South Africa. For example, in the South African version Barnard writes:

"We live in a world of egalitarian hypocrisy. It is a biological fact that no two animals, whether man or mouse, are born equal. Owing to genetic determination, some have a little more and others a little less. In the animal and in the human world some will be leaders and some will be followers. In all races there are those who will be masters and those who will be servants. This is genetically determined and has nothing whatsoever to do with racial discrimination or racial equality."

In the American toning-down, the last two sentences are replaced by this one:

"Likewise in all societies there have been those who dominated and those who were dominated, quite apart from whether there was racial discrimination or not."

Barnard is particularly upset by the current agitation for human rights in South Africa. In the South African edition, he writes:

"If restraints are not placed on

Robert MacKenzie is an active participant in the struggle against U.S. support to South Africa's apartheid regime.

Anatomy of a South African 'Moderate'



Soweto youths carry injured child from scene of 1976 demonstration fired on by police. Christian Barnard (inset) thinks the racist regime may not be repressive enough.

the freedom of expression and of action, freedom itself will be destroyed and with it, our Christian civilisation. We will have to accept that human freedom is a privilege and not a right."

Sensing that human freedom as an exclusive (white) privilege might be hard to defend, Barnard shifted to a more defensive formulation for his American readership:

"If restraints are not placed on those who would destroy liberty, freedom itself will be destroyed, and with it our Christian civilization. We will have to accept that human freedom must be honored and respected."

In the South African edition, Barnard also bemoans the damage done to South Africa's image abroad "by the freedom of the Press in this country" and predicts confrontations "if restraints are not placed on freedom of speech and expression in South Africa."

In the American version, the harm is not caused by freedom of the press, but by "yellow journalism" and the clashes will come "if the press does not accept an attitude of social responsibility for its acts, in South Africa."

All of this was written before the police murder of Steven Biko and the subsequent banning of organizations and periodicals even mildly critical of apartheid. Barnard's apologetics would be comical if the situation itself weren't so tragic:

"I might mention that despite all the nonsense that is written about South Africa being a police state, there is a great deal of personal freedom and freedom of the Press, so long as this is exercised responsibly by all. It is said by our critics that if one criticises the Government one is locked up. All I can say is that I have on more than one occasion publicly criticised the Government—let alone in private—and I have never been detained for my political views."

How reassuring! What a tolerant

regime! But Barnard does acknowledge that "many people who stealthily plot violence and revolution in dark corners have been detained without trial. . . ."

He finds the degree of freedom in South Africa "quite remarkable," to the point where "the danger exists that this freedom may get out of hand." And the danger of freedom is global in scope:

"It is a tragedy that a total preoccupation with the issues of human dignity and freedom has caused the viewpoint of the Third World, fully backed by the Communist world, to permeate international relationships. Relations between nations are today poisoned as a result."

Again, it would be humorous were it not so disgusting, to see these racist beasts of South Africa passing themselves off as representatives of the highest human culture—what Barnard terms "Christian civilisation."

Barnard defends white supremacy: "It would be as disastrous for the Black man as for the White man if the White man were deprived of, or surrendered, this position of political dominance." Thus he "cannot countenance a multiracial state built on the one man, one vote principle in the immediate future."

Nonetheless he proposes to "do away with institutionalized petty apartheid immediately and phase out all racial discrimination at a steady and orderly pace. Replace it with the right of individuals to discriminate."

He favors shifting to a system where society gives its rewards "based on merit—on a person's ability, not on the color of his skin." The "Black man" could even share "in the running of the country, should he have the ability."

Barnard is suggesting that South Africa learn some lessons from the *Bakke* case and antibusing drives

in the United States. The idea is to dump most legal apartheid while maintaining de facto apartheid. Black demands could then be sanctimoniously rejected as "racism in reverse" and as challenges to the immaculate standard of "merit." Since the white racists hold exclusive control of government, education, and job opportunities, they can be counted on to ensure that "meritorious" remains a code-word for caucasian. The reality would be thinly covered by concessions to some Black showpieces—if Barnard had his way.

If the South African regime were to opt for this course, it might consider hiring Albert Shanker—the United Federation of Teachers president who has carved a career by defending white privilege in the name of "merit"—as a public relations adviser to put over its new-found "color blindness" on world opinion.

But even Barnard's *Bakke*ization program would not sit well with the mainstream Afrikaaner. The recent whites-only election gave the Vorster government a solid mandate for its ultraracist policies. White South Africa has adopted a siege mentality and is digging in for a showdown with the Black majority. Thus Barnard, who almost anywhere else in the world would sound like an extreme right-winger, is a moderate of sorts in the white South African context.

Barnard's book frequently lapses into what seem to be the rantings of a pathological racist. The pathology is not individual, however, but social. To grow up white in South Africa is to face immense odds against mental health. Barnard himself provides an example of a mind capable, on the one hand, of making contributions to medical science, yet on the other hand twisted and diseased with prejudice and irrationality.

BOOK OF THE MONTH

The First Five Years of the Communist International
By Leon Trotsky. New York, Monda Press, Distributed by Pathfinder Press, 1972. Volume 1, 374 pages; Volume 2, 384 pages.

As the labor movement faces new assaults by both the employers and the government, working people are compelled to look for a strategy that will win victories. The lessons for today that can be drawn from the experience and debates of the international socialist movement take on new urgency.

The formation of the Third Communist International (commonly called the Comintern) was made necessary by the collapse in 1914 of the Second International, which had been founded in 1889 to foster international working-class solidarity and collaboration against the capitalist order. Abandoning internationalism, leaders of the French, German, and other Socialist parties gave allegiance to the ruling classes of their countries in World War I.

The revolutionary-internationalist wing of the International, including the Bolshevik Party of Russia, denounced this betrayal. In 1917 the Bolsheviks led the workers to the conquest of power and subsequently abolished capitalism. This victory inspired workers around the world, and considerably expanded the revolutionary-socialist current. In 1919 Lenin, Trotsky, and other Bolshevik leaders called together these revolutionary forces and initiated the Comintern.

The First Five Years of the Communist International spans the first four congresses of the new international. Collected together in two volumes are the major reports, manifestos, and related materials written by Leon Trotsky between 1919 and 1923. Out of print for more than three years, these books have just been re-issued by Monad Press.

Despite the demands of civil war, famine, and a shattered economy, the Bolsheviks convened and guided the first Comintern congresses. They understood that socialism could only be built on an international basis and that this required the collaboration of revolutionary workers parties in many countries.

Democratic discussion and debate marked these early international gatherings—in contrast to

'The First Five Years of the Communist International' Pathfinder's April Book Offer



Trotsky (left), Lenin (center), and Kamenev, leaders of the Bolshevik Party, hold a discussion during the Second Congress of the Communist International in 1920.

Stalin later imposed on the Comintern and its parties.

On the eve of the Third World Congress in 1921, Lenin and Trotsky found themselves in a minority. Many inexperienced parties, as well as a section of the Russian leadership, supported the strategy the bureaucratic straitjacket that of an "uninterrupted revolutionary offensive" against capitalism. Young militants opposed struggling for reforms or united fronts for action with parties that supported the treacherous Second International.

Many revolutionists believed that militant action by a minority could spark a revolutionary upheaval, even if the majority of the workers supported class-collaborationist leaders. When the German Communist Party tried to put this ultraleft concept into action in March 1921, it was dealt a sharp setback.

Many of Trotsky's writings in that period draw the lessons of that setback. Together with Lenin, he patiently explained the decisive importance of the party winning the leadership of the working masses as a prerequisite for successful socialist revolution.

To facilitate winning the masses away from reformist Socialist parties, Trotsky argued for united front tactics. He proposed that Communist parties call on the re-

formists to unite with them in joint actions in defense of basic working-class interests, such as jobs or the rights of the unions. Through the test of struggle for such proposals, the Communist parties would be able to expose the inability of the reformist leaders to fight for the needs of working people.

The necessity of tirelessly building mass revolutionary workers parties is Trotsky's central theme in this collection. In a discussion of the French Communist Party, he wrote: "The party can gain influence in the life of the trade unions only to the extent that its members work in the trade unions and carry out the party point of view there. The influence of party members in the trade unions naturally depends

on their numerical strength and especially on the degree to which they are able to apply party principles correctly, consistently and expediently to the needs of the trade union movement."

These volumes also include discussion of the struggles of colonial peoples and oppressed nationalities, revolutionary participation in elections, the women's movement, the growing strength of U.S. imperialism, the nature of Social Democratic reformism, and the importance of democratic demands in the struggle for socialism.

This rich material fully justifies Trotsky's description of the first years of the Communist International as a "school of revolutionary strategy." —Rich Finkel

Special Discount Offer

The First Five Years of the Communist International is available for a special discount price of \$4.00 per volume or \$8.00 for the two-volume set. The regular price is \$5.45 per volume. Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, New York 10014. Send check or money order or return this coupon to one of the socialist bookstores listed on page 31. Offer expires May 31, 1978.

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LETTERS

On the Communist Party

Editors: In my recent interview about the fortieth anniversary of the Socialist Workers Party (January *International Socialist Review*), I briefly discussed the relative size of the Communist Party and the SWP and how this had changed drastically since the founding of the SWP. In

1938 the CP was at least fifty and maybe seventy-five times as large as the SWP, but now, I said, "the ratio is roughly equal."

This has resulted in questions: "Are you really suggesting the SWP is the same size as the CP?" and "Do you really believe they are the same size?" My answer to both is no.

What I wanted to show was that the relation of forces between the CP and the SWP has changed quantitatively, and I think qualitatively, to the disadvantage of the SWP's chief competitor in the radical movement. When I said the present ratio is

roughly equal, I was trying to emphasize that the CP no longer has an almost crushing numerical superiority.

Since the CP does not publish its membership figures, the ratio has to be guessed at. My estimate is that the CP-SWP ratio is now around two to one, at most three to one. That is, a difference of a few thousand members, which is important but not decisive.

It's not decisive because the standards of membership in the two parties must also be considered. SWP members are younger and

more active and have higher morale than those of the CP. In such circumstances the small numerical advantage the CP still has can quickly be reversed.

I think the main point I was trying to make is incontestable, and I regret the brevity of my remarks on this matter created any misunderstandings. The SWP teaches its members to avoid giving inflated impressions about its strength and discourages the politics of bluff, bluster, and baloney in all their forms.

George Breitman
New York, New York

Women & political action

Is backing Democrats, Republicans 'realistic'?

By Diane Wang

It will take political action to win the Equal Rights Amendment, effective political action. But what kind of political action will work?

Leaders of the National Organization for Women (NOW) gave one answer last year by setting up a NOW Political Action Committee. NOW/PAC's strategy, as explained in a recent mailing, is:

"To show that the members of NOW, through our Political Action Committee, are a political force that elected officials cannot afford to ignore."

That was also the idea behind using NOW's ERA strike force and caravans in unratified states to campaign for pro-ERA candidates.



Winning the Equal Rights Amendment

NOW's strategy for political action was illustrated best in Virginia. Last fall NOW joined with the Virginians for the ERA (VERA) in a major, campaign to defeat James Thomson, the Democratic delegate from Alexandria who had opposed ratifying the ERA.

NOW and VERA put *all* their efforts into calling, writing, and visiting voters to defeat Thomson. In November Republican Gary Myers beat Thomson. And the January *National NOW Times* boasted that chances for winning the ERA in Virginia were good.

'Kingpin' approach

Why? In part, because Thomson was supposedly a "kingpin" obstacle. He was one of what NOW/PAC describes as "A handful of entrenched legislators in a dozen states [who] have succeeded in stalling the drive. . . ."

Second, Thomson's defeat was to be a warning to other politicians. As the *National NOW Times* put it, "the legis-

lators must act with a new political force watching."

But it didn't work. Even though Thomson was no longer its chairperson, the Virginia house committee considering the ERA refused to send it to the floor of the legislature. The other politicians had not been scared by Thomson's defeat. They voted twelve to eight to bury the ERA.

How does this approach to political action work? Or rather, how does it not work?

The argument for this approach often starts like this: "Let's be realistic. The Democrats and Republicans are the ones in office who will vote. We have to get in there and deal with them, play one off against the other, show some political savvy and clout."

But once women get into the arena of Democratic and Republican party politics, it's the *politicians* who turn around and say, "Let's be realistic."

"We only need a few more votes," they cajole. "Legislators don't like public demonstrations. Don't embarrass us and turn them off. Tone things down for a while."

'Low profile'

That is exactly what happened in Georgia last year. There, after the ERA was killed in 1977, NOW leaders blew the whistle on a betrayal by the Democratic Party. Susan Hester, NOW's state legislative coordinator, explained at a press conference how the Democrats had arranged a deal with leaders of NOW and several other women's groups.

The Democrats had asked these women "to keep a low profile" and "use more conventional tactics" instead of public demonstrations for the ERA, she explained. NOW kept its end of the bargain. But the Democrats did not.

'Controversial' issues

Next, the Democrats and Republicans say, "Let's be realistic. We're for the ERA, but abortion is more controversial. And lesbian rights are out of the question. So let's put those aside for now and just concentrate on winning the ERA."

President Carter himself is a prime example of these "pro-ERA," antiwoman politicians. He wooed women voters by claiming at an October 1976 meeting that the ERA would be passed



Carter aide Margaret Costanza (left) taking ERA-grams from New York NOW leader Jo Freeman. Is it realistic to expect Carter to respond?

"in the next four years without any problems." Many women voted for him as prowoman and pro-ERA.

But at the same time Carter was meeting with the National Conference of Catholic Bishops to assure them he was against abortion. Many women campaigned for the man who later declared that abortion can be denied poor women because "life is unfair."

By supporting this anti-abortion candidate did women get his help in winning the ERA? All women got from Carter were a few last-minute, ineffective phone calls.

'Turncoats'

And today women still don't have the ERA. Instead they are left with a bunch of 'turncoats.'

In 1977 eleven Nevada Democrats who campaigned as pro-ERA switched to vote the ERA down. In Florida two switched. In recent months three South Carolina legislators went over to the other side. During the Kentucky debate on rescinding ERA ratification, four supposedly pro-ERA legislators cast their votes against the ERA.

The struggle for abortion rights against the Hyde amendment has also suffered from these "turncoats." Fifty-three U.S. representatives who voted against a Hyde amendment for the 1975 budget voted for it when the 1977 and 1978 budgets came up.

Harsh reality

Actually, the Democrats and Republicans are being realistic, from their standpoint, when they turn against women.

Women's equality costs money. It costs money to provide child-care facilities or decent health care or education or jobs. Giving women rights raises their expectations, so that they begin to demand more—at a time when bosses can't afford to give any more concessions.

The Democrats and Republicans accept as a basic idea that business is what makes America work, that what's good for profits will be profitable for everyone else.

Continued on page 26

Attacks on abortion rights escalate

By Shelley Kramer

Only thirteen states provide Medicaid funds for abortion today. Three more states allow funds only for "medically necessary" abortions.

On March 15 Kentucky joined the list of states denying a woman's right to choose. The state senate voted for a bill even more restrictive than the federal Hyde amendment. A woman in Kentucky can receive state funds for an abortion only if she can prove that her life is endangered by her pregnancy. The Virginia senate voted to uphold the same reactionary law on March 9.

Suffolk, Seneca, and Niagara counties in New York State have banned the use of county funds for abortion—in clear violation of a state law that allows funding when

abortion is deemed "medically necessary."

A major fight is brewing in the New York State legislature over the future of state funding. Abortion rights opponents are seeking to block the state budget with an amendment cutting off funds.

In Maryland right-wing forces were foiled in recent attempts to change state law to conform to the federal Hyde amendment's guidelines. On March 21 a senate committee rejected this house-initiated measure.

The offensive against abortion funds has proven that no woman's freedom of choice is safe if another's is denied.

The real aim of abortion opponents is shown by the Akron, Ohio,

ordinance adopted in February. Under its provisions women must undergo religious and psychological abortion counseling, wait a mandatory twenty-four hours after counseling before having an abortion, and (if the woman is under eighteen) have either husband or parent notified of the abortion request. Women under fifteen must receive parental consent for abortions.

The Akron law is a model for right-wing efforts to restrict abortion rights elsewhere. Similar legislation has been proposed in Kentucky, Illinois, Oklahoma, and Pennsylvania. And the count has risen to eleven states favoring an anti-abortion amendment to the Constitution.

In Washington, D.C., the Demo-

crats and Republicans continue to carry out Jimmy Carter's "life is unfair" policy. The latest national blow to abortion rights is a House amendment allowing employers to refuse medical and sick-leave benefits to women workers who have abortions.

The amendment is attached to a bill designed to reverse last year's Supreme Court decision on maternity benefits by including pregnancy and related conditions under insurance and disability coverage.

These legal assaults on abortion rights have been accompanied by a flare-up of terrorist attacks on abortion clinics. Women who brave all other obstacles to abortion now must risk physical abuse and intimidation even inside their doctors' offices.

New York rally demands

An afternoon rally calling for political asylum for Héctor Marroquín drew 250 people in New York City March 19. Sponsored by the Héctor Marroquín Defense Committee, the affair raised more than \$1,000 for Marroquín's fight to win political asylum in the United States.

The meeting was chaired by longtime civil libertarian Annette Rubenstein. An impressive list of speakers addressed the meeting: Grace Paley of P.E.N. American center (an international writers organization); Soviet dissidents Natalya Sadomskaya and Boris Shragin; State Assemblyman Edward Sullivan; Andrés Mares, Chicano Caucus, Columbia University; Margaret Winter, Marroquín's attorney; John Hawkins, Socialist Workers Party; and Marroquín. Opening remarks were made by Algernon Black of the New York Society for Ethical Culture.

Music was provided by Brazilian composer and guitarist Thiago de Mello, accompanied by Mauricio Smith on flute.

Reprinted below are excerpts from the speeches.

Algernon Black

The man we're here to meet about is from Mexico. I always thought Mexico was a special country . . . I even thought it was a socialist country . . . Apparently that is not so. But I am particularly eager to hear some of this program and to hope that you will do what you can to prevent his deportation.

Annette Rubenstein

Opening remarks



Militant/Lou Howort

Today we have a number of people from different walks of life, different professions, different parts of the political spectrum, but they are all united . . . in wanting to uphold—and I must also say correct—America's record of civil liberties by insisting on political asylum for people who deserve and need it.

Héctor Marroquín



Militant/Arnold Weissberg

I do not want to be deported back to Mexico. Deportation would be just as good as a death sentence, for the Mexican government has accused me of being a conspirator and a terrorist.

Despite the Mexican government's charges, I am not, and I never was, a terrorist or guerrilla. The charges are a crude fabrication to justify political

repression against me, just as the Mexican government has tortured, murdered, "disappeared," or imprisoned hundreds of other activists on similar pretexts. They totally disregard the most elemental human and democratic rights of political dissidents.

For many years I have been a socialist. One and a half years ago I joined the Socialist Workers Party and later the Young Socialist Alliance in this country. It is *this*—my views and activities—not any involvement with terrorism, that is behind the Mexican government's charges against me, and behind the attempts of the U.S. government to deport me back to Mexico.

In 1969, I came to Monterrey, the largest industrial city in Mexico. I began studies for an economics degree at the university and became immediately active in student protests.

We demanded autonomy of the university from the state. We organized mass demonstrations, which eventually involved most of the 20,000 students at the university. The answer of the government was to attack one of our demonstrations in Mexico City on June 10, 1971, murdering more than 100 students.

On January 17, 1972, the police brutally murdered *compañero* Jesús Rivera, who was my roommate and close friend. The police shot him fourteen times, although his hands were up in the air and he offered no resistance.

Later in 1972 we formed discussion groups on campus that evolved into the Comité Estudiantil Revolucionario [Revolutionary Student Committee—CER]. We discussed the economy and politics.

But the CER went off in an ultraleft direction, denying the necessity of the struggle for democratic rights and the revolutionary role to be played by the unions.

Some of the leaders of the CER started to support the idea of guerrilla warfare.

I argued against these ideas. I broke away from this committee in August 1973.

On January 19, 1974, my picture and those of other *compañeros* appeared on the front pages of the newspapers. We were accused of terrorism and conspiracy.

I had discussions with a lawyer. I was certain I could prove my innocence in court if given a chance. But the lawyer told me there was no way I



THIAGO DE MELLO (right) and MAURICIO SMITH

would receive a fair trial and that under no conditions should I turn myself in—that I should go as far away as possible.

I came to the United States on April 9, 1974. And I've been living in this country since then.

The Mexican government has continued to frame me up on new charges.

On August 10, 1974, I had a car accident. I broke my leg and my pelvis, and punctured a lung. Twenty days later I was accused of being a participant in a guerrilla action in Monterrey. At the time I was still in the hospital in Galveston, Texas.

During my long convalescence I learned of the fates of three of the people accused with me the first time. Two were killed in cold blood by the Mexican police in a supposed "attempt" at arrest. The third, Jesús Piedra Ibarra, had been arrested and has disappeared. . . .

After my arrest in September I spent a little more than three months in prison. If the experience was supposed to rehabilitate me, I must confess it was an utter failure. The only thing I'm guilty of is lack of faith in the capitalist system—and my prison experiences only strengthened my resolve to fight this system.

The INS has my case in its hands now, but it will only be won with the support of the American people.

Margaret Winter



Militant/Arnold Weissberg

Héctor, I want to recommend that you plead guilty to being an incorrigible nuisance to the Mexican and the U.S. governments.

After having carefully studied your case, I find that from the age of sixteen you were a

student activist and a vocal critic of the Mexican government. That you worked to organize other students to protest the injustices in Mexican society. And it seems that you progressed from this juvenile delinquency into becoming a hardened internationalist.

Since you came to the United States you have been seen in suspicious places among questionable acquaintances: in a Teamster organizing drive; supporting the feminist movement; working to overturn the *Bakke* decision, to free the Wilmington Ten; and in the ranks of the SWP and YSA. Do you realize that if you go on at this rate the INS might decide you are an undesirable alien?

The U.S. government is friendly with the Mexican government, as it is with some of the other bloodiest regimes in the world. For the U.S. government to admit that there is political repression in Mexico, by recognizing that Héctor is a political refugee, would be a grave diplomatic embarrassment.

As Héctor's lawyer, my job is to prove that he has a legal right to political asylum. That's the easy job. Those of you here today have the hard job. . . .

You have to force the rulers of this country to recognize that right. And the only way to do that is to reach thousands of other people like ourselves. To convince them to join the Héctor Marroquín defense committees that now exist in almost every major city across the country. To collect signatures on petitions to the INS. To get endorsements for Héctor's case. To give money, to fight the hard battle that may go on for years.

The law says that Héctor is an alien. But to the oppressed minorities in this country, Héctor is not an alien. To militant workers fighting for democratic unions Héctor is not an alien. To feminists struggling for control of their lives Héctor is not an alien. To thousands of students who know what happened at Kent State and Jackson State, Héctor is not an alien. He is one of our own.

And only our combined force is powerful enough to stay the hands of the U.S. and Mexican governments and to save the life of Héctor Marroquín.

Annette Rubenstein

Mark Twain once said that in the United States, we have three unspeakably precious things: freedom of speech, freedom of thought, and the prudence never to use either one of them.

I'm very glad to say Natalya Sadomskaya does not have it [that prudence].

Natalya Sadomskaya



Militant/Lou Howort

When I first met Héctor I remembered the expression on the faces of our dissidents when they were in very great danger. Because tomorrow, they could be in jail. And all this depended on you, on us.

I decided to speak about my responsibility for him. I will defend him. And I also have my responsibility to defend him because I know that only the feeling of responsibility of many people in the United States, in Europe, and in the Soviet Union, was the reason why many dissidents in the Soviet Union were saved.

Boris Shragin



Militant/Lou Howort

My emigration from the Soviet Union permitted me not only to be free, but to be myself, to express myself, to write and to speak as I want to speak.

This is why I am here at this podium—to speak in defense of Héctor Marroquín who, I am sure, has the right to have the same destiny.

I know very well the manner of treatment of dissenters in some countries in which human rights are not well respected. And I know from my experience that any time the Soviet government tried to persecute somebody, they accused this person of some crime, which was not committed.

That is because in our contemporary world, it is not so easy to persecute people only

asylum for Marroquin

for their free expression of political or social or religious opinions.

And just because of my experience in the Soviet Union . . . I know this wouldn't be fair to believe in these accusations and to deprive Héctor Marroquín asylum on the grounds of these accusations.

Grace Paley



Militant/Lou Howort

I am here to speak for the Freedom to Write Committee of PEN. . . . We are made up of writers who care about the human rights of all people, not just writers.

We think that any people or country that speaks about human rights must also include the responsibility to give asylum to those whose governments have withdrawn their rights or are seeking vengeance against them.

And it's for this reason we support this young man, Héctor Marroquín, and request that the U.S. government keep him here in this country, safe from the vengeance of his country.

Andrés Mares



Militant/Lou Howort

Héctor Marroquín is a symbol of the desperate situation that undocumented workers find when they are forced to come to the United States.

Marroquin tour

Héctor Marroquín is on a national speaking tour to bring the facts of his case to the American people. Following is the schedule of his tour stops for the next month:

Philadelphia	March 30-April 1
New York City	April 3-5
Pittsburgh/Edinboro	April 6-7
Morgantown, W. Va.	April 8-10
St. Louis	April 11-13
Champaign/Urbana, Ill.	April 14
Toledo	April 17
Detroit	April 18-20
Louisville/Lexington	April 24-25
Boston/Kingston, R.I./	
Amherst, Mass.	April 27-May 2
Albany	May 3

Messages to rally

Michael and Robert Meeropol Sons of Ethel and Julius Rosenberg

When our parents were sitting on death row in the 1950s, people all over the world took to the streets in demonstrations in an effort to force the American government to spare their lives. That struggle came very close to succeeding.

It is in the same spirit of international solidarity that you are gathered here this afternoon to save a brother from almost certain death should he be returned to Mexico.

We as North Americans have a great responsibility since it will be the decision of our government that will either send Héctor back or permit him to live, even if in exile.

We wish we could be here with you today to join in your salute to Héctor's courage and his work and also to take part in an act of international solidarity in defense of political prisoners and other political fighters not yet imprisoned but under pressure from repressive regimes.

Such acts of international solidarity must be repeated whenever any one of our brothers or sisters is placed in jeopardy.

We must all hang together or we will all hang separately.

Michael Harrington

National Chair, Democratic
Socialist Organizing Committee

I support Héctor Marroquín and his struggle to avoid deportation because I know that he has been an eloquent spokesperson against terrorist politics. The charges against him rest heavily on the false assumption that socialists necessarily engage in violence. This is an assumption which all people of goodwill must struggle against.

Roger Baldwin

Founder, American Civil
Liberties Union

It is clear that this young man is entitled to asylum in our country as a political refugee, despite the criminal charges brought against him by the Mexican authorities.

I know enough of Mexican treatment of student radicals to be suspicious of criminal charges, and enough to know how unfair such trials are. Our policy of asylum professes to cover cases where political activities would result in trials involving the death penalty or cruel treatment. Marroquín's fate in Mexico appears to be just that.

I commend your defense committee's efforts, and only regret that absence from the city prevents joining you all in protesting Marroquín's threatened deportation and in appealing for asylum in line with our American tradition. You may count on me to aid you. . . .

Jules Feiffer

Héctor Marroquín apparently exists on the blind side of Jimmy Carter's selectively forthright stand on human rights.

Our government's attempt to deport him is an outrageous act of cynicism and hypocrisy.

It can only be halted by a loud, vigorous and mounting protest.

If we cannot achieve justice through decency, it is time to try justice through embarrassment.

The Marroquín Defense Committee has my whole-hearted support.

It's no accident that when he came to the United States he found employment that paid only the lowest of wages. And that he received racist treatment in the hospital when he had an accident is also no accident.

That he was ultimately caught and jailed by the immigration authorities—all of those experiences are the things that undocumented workers have to go through. People from Mexico, Haiti, the Dominican Republic, other Latin American countries, all these people are pawns in the capitalists' game. And the stakes are greater and greater profits.

Héctor is a link with the popular struggle going on in Mexico and in the rest of Latin America. The success of his case will represent a joint victory for the progressive people here in the United States and the fighters for social justice in Latin America. And it will be a

victory over the plans of those who want to divide the international struggle.

Edward Sullivan



Militant/Lou Howort

I am here to help Héctor Marroquín in his struggle.

Some years ago, I worked as a reporter. It came to my attention that a person by the name of Carlos Fuentes in traveling from Spain to Mexico by ship, had attempted to disembark at San Juan in Puerto Rico and was refused permission by the U.S. government.

So I called up the immigration officer who had refused him permission.

He said, "We had a list of people, and when I noticed Carlos Fuentes's name, which was on the ship's manifest, I called Washington. . . ."

He, being Hispanic, also was aware that Carlos Fuentes was one of the finest writers in the Spanish language.

"They said, 'Yes, by all means don't let this fellow disembark.'"

This is on a twenty-four-hour pass or something. You can imagine what damage could have been done in that time.

I then called the immigration office in Washington.

They said, "It's one of those things that happens, he filled out the wrong form. . . . By the time we got all the paperwork straightened out, it was time for the ship to start on its way again. It was just one of those unfortunate incidents that the press has blown out of proportion."

I finally had to stop the fellow out of embarrassment as an American citizen that a member of my government was lying to me so baldly.

I just tell you this story to bolster the idea that . . . you can't believe a word they say.

John Hawkins



Militant/Lou Howort

When the Immigration and Naturalization Service decided in September to try to deport Héctor Marroquín, they knew that he faced political frame-up charges in Mexico. They also knew that if he was sent back, he would certainly face jail, if not torture and murder.

What the INS didn't count on, though, was that thousands across the country would respond to this attempt to deport Héctor Marroquín with the demand that he be given political asylum. And that among

these thousands would be the members of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance—two organizations to which Héctor belongs.

The Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance share a well-deserved reputation as organizations that have the willpower and the know-how to mobilize ourselves and others in defense of all victims of racist injustice and political repression.

The INS should have learned this by now. They're defendants in a lawsuit against government spying—along with the FBI, CIA, and other government agencies—that the SWP and YSA are conducting. This suit has placed Washington's political spies and frame-up artists on the defensive.

By forcing the government to release thousands of pages of spy files on its illegal operations against the SWP and the YSA our suit has won an important victory and helped others who want to challenge government spying, disruption, and harassment.

As our record in defending our members and our suit against the government show, the SWP and YSA have spared no effort, no ounce of our resources and none of our energies in turning frame-ups into an expose of the frame-up artists themselves.

Today the INS and other government agencies that are pressing this attempt to deport Héctor Marroquín can rest assured that the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance will spare no effort in Héctor's defense and will do all we can to make them wish they had never dared to take us on.

...women

Continued from page 23

And having accepted that basic idea, the "realistic" choices are clear:

Child care and other social services are cut. Affirmative action and women's access to jobs are cut. Women's right to decide whether to have children is challenged. Anything, such as the ERA, that reaffirms women's rights is sacrificed.

The harsh political reality is that it is not a handful of stubborn kingpins standing in the way of women's rights. The Democratic and Republican parties as a whole, and the interests they represent, stand in the way. They do more than block progress; they try to force women into retreat.

Those parties carrying out the drive against women's rights, against Black rights, against the standard of living for working people are only being "realistic" about what profitable business demands.

That is why the Political Action Committee and ERA strike force campaigns have failed. That is why there have been so many "turncoats."

Women are not powerless

Does that mean women are powerless? That there is no political action that can work? No. It only means women must think about what "realistic" and "clout" mean outside the limits of the Democratic and Republican parties.

To be realistic, women need to look at the recent coal miners' strike. What did the miners do when it came to a contract that would dictate their lives for three years, in a dangerous industry with the highest injury rate in the country?

The mine operators declared they would destroy the union in the name of "productivity" and "labor stability." They demanded major cutbacks on the 1974 contract and penalties for those who struck to shut down unsafe mines.

The newspapers and television portrayed the miners as weak. It was obvious that the White House, Congress, the courts, state legislatures, and governors were all lined up on the side of the coal bosses.

The miners could not confine themselves to the choices offered by the Democrats and Republicans because those politicians offered them nothing. And miners' lives were on the line.

So instead, the miners relied on themselves. They didn't hesitate to put their own interests first and last. They stood firm on their demands. They defied the right-to-work order and displayed their unity and militancy.

They reached out for support to other working people, unions, to the farmers, to students. And they got that support.

The miners were supposed to be weak and isolated. But by standing firm and getting support from other working people, they won concessions. They beat back the worst attacks on their union.

In the same way, women have to be realistic. The only choices being offered by Democrats and Republicans are dead ends. But what if women break out of the framework of those two parties? What if they stand firm on their own demands? Reach out for support from the other victims of the social, economic crisis?

It is political action to build a movement for women's rights independent of the Democratic and Republican parties.

In the short run it is only by building a powerful and self-reliant movement that women will have a tool, a weapon, for forcing concessions from the Democrats and Republicans.

And for the long run also, building an independent women's movement is the next step required toward effective political action at the polls. The question of how to translate the power of an independent movement into action at the polls will be the subject of the next article in this series.

Coalition calls April 16 NYC gay rights march

By Jean Savage

NEW YORK—"Join us! Tell the City Council: The time to pass the bill is NOW!" urges a leaflet put out here by the Coalition for Lesbian and Gay Rights (CLGR). More than forty organizations have joined forces in a major drive to win passage of a gay rights bill.

The bill, first introduced in the city council in 1971, would ban discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation in jobs, housing, and public accommodations.

CLGR is building a march and rally on April 16 to demand immediate passage of the bill. The rally will be a climax of Gay Rights Week activities April 9-16.

Gay rights supporters will gather at 12:30 p.m. at Columbus Circle at 59th Street and march to 81st Street and Central Park West for a 2:30 p.m. rally.

Speakers there will include city council President Carol Bellamy; city council member Ruth Messinger; Joe Sperling, president of the Social Service Employees Union; and Rev. Paul Abels of Washington Square Methodist Church.

CLGR is also organizing an endorser drive and a petitioning and letter-writing campaign for the bill.

The coalition's spokespeople have been meeting with city council members to push for immediate introduction of the bill. Some fifteen council members have agreed to sponsor the bill, targeting the beginning of April for its introduction.

The successful preparations for the April 16 rally and passage of the bill are especially significant in light of recent obstacles CLGR has faced.

Last January Herbert Rickman, an aide to Democratic Mayor Edward

Koch, tried to discredit the coalition by labeling CLGR a "bunch of Trotskyites" who had been "abandoned by all decent gay groups."

The coalition answered in an open letter to the media that "such divisive and destructive allegations including the McCarthyite tactic of 'red baiting' can only have the effect of trying to discredit and destroy a viable, broad-based coalition."

CLGR pointed out that it includes not only the Socialist Workers Party but also Lesbian Feminist Liberation, National Organization for Women, Church of the Beloved Disciple and other religious groups, Christopher Street Liberation Day Committee, gay student groups at several colleges, and other organizations.

CLGR also faced severe opposition from Democrats in the National Gay Task Force and two groups called the Study Group and the New York Political Action Coalition. These groups opposed a demonstration for the gay rights bill, and some members charged in the pages of *Gaysweek* that CLGR members were "agents provocateurs" whose militancy would destroy the gay movement.

But at the same time, the Gay Independent Democrats, the New York State Americans for Democratic Action, and the Executive Committee of the New Democratic Coalition have voted to endorse CLGR and are working to build the April 16 demonstration.

CLGR has maintained its willingness to work with all groups that support lesbian and gay rights.

For more information write CLGR at 156 Fifth Avenue, Room 505, New York, New York 10010, or call (212) 924-2970.

Rally for ERA!

By Shelley Kramer

The National Organization for Women has declared a state of emergency in its drive to win the Equal Rights Amendment. Local NOW chapters have responded by announcing plans for ERA marches and rallies this spring.

Dallas County NOW has joined with other women's rights organizations, civil rights groups, the Communication Workers of America, and the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees in calling an ERA rally Saturday, April 1, at the Dallas City Hall.



At a March 22 press conference to announce the rally, Sue Reeder, representing Women for Change, warned that "women will not be quieted" if the ERA is defeated. "We will settle for nothing less than our full citizenship, which can only be gained with the ERA."

On March 25 more than 100 members of New Jersey NOW and other ERA supporters picketed the federal building in downtown Newark demanding extension of the ERA's deadline and ratification of the amendment. New Jersey NOW has joined California NOW in calling for rallies over Mother's Day weekend with the theme, "Give Mom Equality for Mother's Day."

In St. Louis, NOW is organizing an ERA rally for April 30, and in New Orleans a NOW-sponsored statewide ERA rally is scheduled for May 13. The Chicago Committee for the ERA has announced a downtown march and rally for April 29.

A series of debates between former NOW President Karen DeCrow and "STOP ERA" leader Phyllis Schlafly is also underway. A March 23 debate at West Virginia University in Morgantown drew more than 700 people.

All these activities will build momentum for a national march and rally in Washington, D.C., called by NOW's national board for July 9. NOW leaders are encouraging participants to wear white to mark the spirit of the early suffragists. The Washington action can reach out to the thousands of women and men eager to demonstrate their support for the ERA.

S.F. speakout hits antigay initiative

By David Kaufman

SAN FRANCISCO—More than 350 people here came to a March 17 speakout for gay rights sponsored by the Bay Area Coalition Against the Briggs Initiative (BACABI).

Antigay bigots led by state legislator and gubernatorial candidate John Briggs have been petitioning to put a referendum on the state ballot. That referendum would authorize school boards to fire employees who are gay.

BACABI's March 17 speakout showed what broad opposition to the referendum exists. Msgr. James Flynn, head of the Commission on Social Justice of the Archdiocese of San Francisco, told of his commission's stand against the Briggs initiative.

"We're talking about human rights, civil rights," Flynn said.

Arnold Townsend of the Western Addition Project Action Council, a Black community group, said that "like a lot of issues, looking at who's on the other side" had convinced him

to publicly oppose the Briggs initiative. "Every bigot, every racist of any renown in the state of California" is backing it, he said.

Lee Brightman of the National Association of United Native Americans and Enola Maxwell of the San Francisco Commission on Human Rights also linked the struggle for gay rights to the defense of oppressed nationalities and women.

Greetings were read from Matt Miller of the United Mine Workers, who has been touring the area to explain issues in the coal strike, and from Dr. Benjamin Spock.

Dr. Josette Mondanaro, who recently won back her job as head of a state social service agency, also spoke. Mondanaro, a lesbian, had been fired because she was an "embarrassment" to Governor Brown. She urged gay rights supporters to take their message to as many people as possible, saying that the kind of public support that helped her win her job could also defeat the bill.

James Gaylord, a former teacher fired for "immorality" in Tacoma, Washington, answered charges that gay people seek special privileges. "Gay people demand the rights that most already have, the rights that all are supposed to have," he said.

San Francisco County Supervisor Harvey Milk urged everyone to join BACABI's work. His fundraising speech helped raise \$500 at the rally.

Other speakers included Sylvia Weinstein of the National Organization for Women; Rev. David Rankin of the First Unitarian Church; and David Fishlow, executive director of the Northern California American Civil Liberties Union.



LEE BRIGHTMAN

Militant/Susan Muysenberg

The American Way of Life

News that isn't fit to print

The headline of the March 15 *New York Post* was three inches high: "REVENGE." Subheads proclaimed, "Thousands of Israeli troops swoop into Lebanon; Terrorist camps being overrun; Scores of guerrillas are killed."

The *Post* headline was a bit extreme. Most of the American capitalist news media managed to restrain their glee a bit more.

The terrible human cost of the Zionist terror was carefully downplayed.

On March 12 a two-column headline in the *New York Times* had blared, "20 to 30 die in Israel in blaze and gunfight as invaders seize bus." When a week later the Israeli invasion left 1,200 Arabs dead and more than a quarter of a million homeless, the *Times* editorialized that the Israeli raid was "justified."

To the editors of the *New York Times* and the *New York Post*, Arab lives are simply not worth much. In fact, Arab deaths barely merit reporting.

When thirty Israelis died during the Palestinian raid into Israel, a chorus went up from the media for a blood sacrifice from the Palestinians.

But when Israeli troops stopped a taxi packed with sixteen men, women, and children at Aadlun, twelve miles north of Tyre and massacred the passengers, the editorial writers were silent.

The Israeli troops were looking for a leader of the Palestine Liberation Organization when they stopped the taxi. "Suddenly," correspondents for *Newsweek* magazine later reported, "one of the soldiers fired a rocket-propelled grenade into the car, and the others opened fire with their automatic rifles, killing thirteen of the occupants."

Another taxi passing by was fired upon by the soldiers, killing five of the passengers.

This act of "revenge"—which shows that Israel's real target is the Palestinian masses, not just guerrillas—was buried in the inside pages of the *Times*. Correspondent Marvin Howe casually re-

ported March 17 that some civilians had been killed near Tyre in circumstances that were "unclear."

By the weekend of March 19, the tone of the press reports had changed somewhat. As the invasion continued and more reports of Israeli atrocities filtered back, the real truth became harder and harder to hush up.

But none of the capitalist media have pointed out where the real source of violence in the Middle East lies—with the oppressive and expansionist character of the Israeli state.

Nor will they print the truth. To do so would destroy the carefully constructed myth of the Zionist state as a victim of aggression—surrounded by a sea of bloodthirsty Arabs—that resorts to war only in self-defense.

Considering that the *New York Times* is one of the mouthpieces of the American ruling class, this is hardly the sort of news that's "fit to print."

—Peter Archer

Women in Revolt

Happy New Year

In Iran the new year begins with the coming of spring. March 21 was the first day of the year 1357.

I've been waiting for this since January. Ever since I heard about Jimmy Carter ringing in 1978 at a party with the shah of Iran.

I wanted to mark this new year, 1357, by remembering a woman in the prisons of that shah, Vida Hadjebi Tabrizi. She has been in prison for six years now.

Who knows why? The charges against her and her military trial were never made public. When arrested in 1972 she was a sociologist studying the living conditions of Iran's countryside.

During her first year in jail Vida Hadjebi Tabrizi was tortured so badly by SAVAK, the security police, that she lost feeling in her hands and feet.

For a while Tabrizi was kept at the Qasr prison outside Tehran. Just a few weeks ago, on March 12, 700 to 1,000 inmates at Qasr prison went on a hunger strike. Their simple demand was for a civilian trial.

On March 16 relatives gathered to show their support for those inside. In response, the police attacked, both inside and outside the prison. Many of the relatives were arrested.

But Tabrizi is no longer at Qasr. She was moved to Evin prison, also outside Tehran. That is where Dr. Simin Salehi was tortured so severely that she died, while pregnant, in 1974.

Novelist Kay Boyle has written a poem about Vida Hadjebi Tabrizi. Part of it reads:

... a young woman, vivid as a lantern lit in the dark, returned to this city
Of narrow streets, wide avenues, and there committed research.

Had it been rocks, or the sources of oil,
Or lava moving slowly, slow as the shadows
Of camels with splayed feet, creaking across the sand,
That would have qualified. There would have been no crime.

But she wrote of misery, and the palm-trees whispered the news,
Vultures had the nerve to scream it out. The peasants of Iran

Do not live well is what she said. Hyenas,
Slope-backed in the throne-room, laughed about it.
That's how the royal family, masked by peacock feathers,
Came to know.

Diane Wang



This is urgent. I call out her name to you: "Tabrizi!" It echoes in the city of Blue Mosques, shaken by earthquakes

Yet to come our way. She is the immense music you wrote of,

Heard playing behind a closed and bolted door. Her knuckles

Are skeleton-white as she clings to the edge, and we, Brief-cases in our hands still, mouths sealed, eyes averted,

We are that edge. It may be that a poem will save us From what we fear to know. Tabrizi, research criminal,

Clings to our flesh and bone as though it were our own.

The cause of Vida Hadjebi Tabrizi and of thousands of women like her in the shah's prisons does cling to us. It is our own.

So please send messages demanding Tabrizi's freedom to Mr. Ardeshtir Zahedi, Ambassador of Iran, 3005 Massachusetts Avenue, Washington, D.C. 20008. For brochures and postcards about Tabrizi write to the Committee for Artistic and Intellectual Freedom in Iran, 853 Broadway, Suite 414, New York, New York 10003.

Their Government

Rizzo goes down, but not out

Frank Rizzo picked the Ides of March to go down with a bang.

Philadelphia's little Caesar—the ex-cop who became the mayor and brought his racist, billy-club mentality to city hall—saw the handwriting on the wall. To run for a third term requires a change in the city charter, and the sputtering, Rizzo-run Democratic Party machine is almost out of gas.

Saying the Rizzo regime was tainted with scandal is putting it mildly. All but a couple of hizzoner's inner circle, including big shot campaign supporters, key aides, and pals in the state legislature, are making license plates in various state penitentiaries. The rest have abandoned the mayor's sinking ship.

Rizzo's support of Philly's cops, whose brutality against Blacks and Puerto Ricans has been a big issue for the past year, has helped isolate him. His main base of support among white workers has been eroded due to a big increase in city taxes.

Rizzo chose a March 15 rally of the faithful to drop the bomb of his non-candidacy. Seven hundred diehard bigots were on hand to protest the construc-

tion of a low-income housing project in the Whitman Park area of south Philadelphia. Black residents had been bulldozed out of the enclave twenty-two years ago, and the housing project had been blocked, in no small measure by Rizzo, ever since then.

A week ago the U.S. Supreme Court let the construction order stand and the Rizzo loyalists, finally at the end of their rope, had blood in their eyes.

Rizzo stunned them when he announced his decision not to make the fight for a third term. Yet, in backing out, he made it clear he wasn't about to drop the banner of racism and reaction.

"I am now going to defend the people . . . that I believe have been kicked around too long," he declared. "I'm going to defend the rights of American citizens who happen to be ethnics. The whites have to join hands to get equal treatment."

The *Philadelphia Journal* summed it up with a banner headline: "White Power, Rizzo Urges."

He says he's going to stump for certain kinds of

candidates. The ones who give the right answer to these questions: "Are you for the death penalty . . . public housing . . . busing . . . quotas?"

Rizzo may be changing jobs, but he isn't switching bosses.

His appeal to bigotry, his attempts to palm off the blame for inflation and unemployment on Blacks, Puerto Ricans, and others, play right into the divide-and-rule game of this country's rulers.

But he may have gone a bit far for the immediate purposes of the class he represents.

The social cost of his racist buffoonery in a city that is nearly majority Black and Puerto Rican was too expensive, too explosive for Philadelphia's ruling class right now. And more than a few white workers were beginning to realize that pro-cop and anti-Black demagoguery doesn't create jobs. But Philadelphia's lame-duck mayor just may be of service in the future as the economic crisis worsens. Keep an eye out for Rizzo's white-power road show.

—Jon Hillson

Quote unquote

"Economic hardship among the strikers . . . has finally become one of the precariously hopeful signs of a favorable vote tomorrow, so that payrolls can start again on Monday."

—Ben A. Franklin, reporting in the March 24 'New York Times' on the vote on the coal contract.

THE SEOUL CONNECTION

A top aide to South Korean right-wing evangelist Sun Myung Moon admitted to a congressional committee March 22 that he had taken \$3,000 from the Korean Central Intelligence Agency. The committee is investigating Korean bribery and influence-peddling in Washington.

Bo Hi Pak testified that the money was not for him but for a Japanese woman who had made "stirring" anticommunist speeches in South Korea.

After Pak finished testifying, he led the committee in the Lord's Prayer.

STEELWORKERS RALLY

About 1,500 striking steelworkers and supporters demonstrated on March 19 in Latrobe, a small industrial town forty miles east of Pittsburgh. The demonstrators called on Latrobe Steel, a subsidiary of the Timken Company, to stop its union-wrecking activities and bargain in good faith with their union, Local 1537 of the United Steelworkers.

Local 1537 has been on strike against Timken for more than eight months. Although Latrobe contracts have followed the basic steel pattern for the past forty years, this time the

March supports Grigorenko

More than 350 demonstrators assembled at the United Nations Building in New York City March 18 to support Soviet dissident Pyotr Grigorenko's demand to return to the Soviet Union. The seventy-one-year-old Grigorenko came to the United States in late 1977 on a six-month visa to have an operation and visit his son Andrei. He was deprived of his Soviet citizenship by a decree of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet made public March 10, 1978. Grigorenko has been a prominent figure in the democratic rights movements in the Soviet Union since the 1960s.

After assembling at the United Nations, the demonstrators marched thirty blocks to the Soviet Mission to the United Nations.

In front of the Soviet Mission Grigorenko, speaking



Militant/Peter Seidman

in Russian, addressed the crowd. "The ignoble act of the Soviet rulers in taking away my citizenship," he said, "shows nothing so much as their fear of the human rights movement of which I was a part."

The demonstration was organized by the New York-based Committee for the Defense of Soviet Political Prisoners.

company wants the workers to give up a wide range of benefits and seniority protections.

Despite company attempts to brand the union negotiators as "irresponsible," the latest company offer was rejected by the workers by a vote of 1,068 to 1.

PORTLAND: NO NUKES!

Chanting, "No nukes—shut it down!" 500 people marched through Portland, Oregon, March 18. The action called on Portland General Electric to close the Trojan nuclear power plant. PGE owns 50 percent of Trojan, which is located in nearby Rainier.

At a rally following the demonstration, Lon Topaz, former director of the Oregon Department of Energy, said of nuclear

power plants, "We don't need them, we can't afford them, and we might not survive with them."

Susan Garrett, an intervenor in federal Nuclear Regulatory Commission (NRC) proceedings involving PGE, told the rally that PGE is seeking permission to expand its radioactive waste storage facilities at Trojan. She charged that PGE wants to use the Trojan site to store wastes from other plants. The waste storage facility, Garrett said, is on a small earthquake fault zone. This means an earthquake might release dangerously radioactive wastes into the atmosphere.

The demonstration was sponsored by the Trojan Decommissioning Alliance.

ANTI-NAZI PROTEST

Militant correspondent Jim Garrison reports that 500 people rallied in Detroit March 12 against a Nazi headquarters. The rally, which was held in the auditorium of United Auto Workers Local 600, was sponsored by the Labor-Community-Interfaith Council Against the Nazis.

Speakers included Brad Young, director of UAW Region 1E; Alice Jennings, co-coordinator of the Michigan Coalition to Overturn the Bakke Decision; Father Clement Kern, Catholic Archdiocese of Detroit; and Maryann Mahaffey, Detroit City Council member. Ernest Lofton, president of Local 600, brought greetings.

Following the rally participants joined a 125-car motorcade through southwest Detroit.

On March 15, Detroit Common Pleas Judge Henry Szymanski ordered the Nazis evicted from their storefront headquarters after the landlord brought suit against them on charges of violating their lease. Landlord Eddy Bullock testified that the Nazis had never told him they would use his storefront as a headquarters but had said they intended to set up a printing business.

Szymanski gave the Nazis ten days to vacate.

COPS CONFRONT MOVE

Militant correspondent Shafiq Abdulahad reports that the massive police blockade surrounding the headquarters of Philadelphia's MOVE organization continues into its third week with no end in sight. Two hundred fifty cops brandishing automatic weapons are on twenty-four-hour duty.

The military occupation began in March after a legal

battle won by the racist Rizzo city administration allowed the cops to string their barricades.

The blockade is designed, according to Rizzo, to "starve out" eighteen members of the predominantly Black, counter-cultural organization, so that arrest warrants can be served on them.

MOVE members have been subject to cop harassment and persecution and have been arrested more than 250 times in the past eighteen months.

Local community residents and Black leaders in the city have rallied to defend the democratic right of MOVE to exist without fear of such victimization.

FARM WORKERS' STRIKE

A strike in the South Texas onion fields now involves about 1,000 workers, reports Texas Farm Workers Union leader Jorge Zaragoza. The workers are seeking union recognition and the federal minimum wage of \$2.65 an hour or \$1 per sack. The strike began March 1.

"We have cases of eight people in a family working eight hours a day and being paid a total of thirty dollars for their labor," Zaragoza told Militant correspondent Mark Schneider.

Some strikers have been injured by scab trucks running the picket lines, and two pickets have been arrested for "disorderly conduct."

Most of the people brought in to break the strike have been driven in from as far away as Del Rio, Eagle Pass, and Mexico, explained Zaragoza. "As soon as many of the Mexicans see the picket lines, they jump off the trucks and join us."

"We know the Mexican workers are undocumented," he continued, "but we aren't calling in *la migra*—they'd just turn against us."

What's Going On

ARIZONA

PHOENIX

DISCUSSION ON SOCIALISM. Wednesday, April 5, 5 p.m. 2nd fl. Memorial Union, Arizona State Univ. Ausp: Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (602) 255-0450.

CALIFORNIA

BERKELEY

THE MINERS' STRIKE AND ITS LESSONS. Speaker: Nat Weinstein, Socialist Workers Party National Committee. Fri., April 7, 8 p.m. 3264 Adeline. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (415) 653-7156.

LOS ANGELES: CRENSHAW ISRAEL'S ATTACKS AGAINST THE PALESTINIANS: THREAT OF NEW WAR IN THE MIDDLE EAST. A debate. Speakers to be announced. Fri., April 7, 7:30 p.m. 2167 W. Washington Blvd. (at Western). Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (213) 732-8196.

LOS ANGELES: SOUTHEAST BEHIND THE CRISIS IN NICARAGUA. Speakers: Blase Bonpane, instructor in political science, Cal State Northridge, advisory committee, United States Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners; Dave Brown, Socialist Workers Party; Mayo Toruno, USLA. Fri., April 7, 8 p.m. 2554 Saturn Ave., Huntington Pk. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (213) 582-1975.

ILLINOIS

CHICAGO: NORTH SIDE THE WILMINGTON TEN: HUMAN RIGHTS BEGIN AT HOME. A panel

discussion. Fri., April 7, 8 p.m. 1870 N. Halsted. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (312) 642-4811.

CHICAGO: SOUTH SIDE CUTBACKS AT COOK COUNTY HOSPITAL: YOUR MONEY OR YOUR LIFE. Speakers: Iris Bluestein, cochairperson of Committee to Save Cook County Hospital; Cathy Gutekanst, nurse, member of the Socialist Workers Party. Fri., April 7, 7:30 p.m. 2251 E. 71st St. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (312) 643-5520.

KENTUCKY

LOUISVILLE

MALCOLM X: THE MAN AND HIS IDEAS. Speaker: Ed Warren, longtime Black activist, member of the Socialist Workers Party. Sat., April 8, 4 p.m. 1505 W. Broadway. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (502) 587-8418.

LOUISIANA

NEW ORLEANS

WHAT STRATEGY IN THE FIGHT AGAINST NUCLEAR POWER. A panel discussion. Fri., April 7, 8 p.m. 3319 S. Carrollton. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (504) 486-8048.

GARY TYLER DEFENSE CONFERENCE. Sat., April 8, 2:30 p.m. Dryades St. YMCA, 2222 Dryades St. Ausp: Gary Tyler Defense Fund. For more information call (504) 568-9890.

MASSACHUSETTS

BOSTON

SAVE THE LIFE OF HECTOR MARROQUIN! HIS DEMAND FOR POLITICAL ASYLUM. A panel discussion of why the U.S. government is trying to deport this union activist and socialist to Mexico. Fri., April 7, 7:30 p.m. 510 Commonwealth Ave. 4th fl. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (617) 262-4620.

MINNESOTA

MINNEAPOLIS

THE CRISIS IN THE MIDDLE EAST. Speakers to be announced. Fri., April 7, 8 p.m. 23 E. Lake St. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (612) 825-6663.

ST. PAUL

FUNDAMENTALS OF MARXISM. A six-part series. Class #1: Marxist theory of the state. Thurs., April 6, 7:30 p.m. MacAlester College. Ausp: MacAlester YSA. For more information call (612) 222-8929.

RAILROAD WORKERS UNDER ATTACK: THE TRUTH BEHIND THE CURRENT CRISIS. Speakers: Bill Peterson, conductor, Milwaukee Road, member of Local 911 UTU; Charlie Scheer, longtime activist in the rail union, member, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., April 7, 8 p.m. 176 Western Ave. North. Donation: \$1.25. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (612) 222-8929.

MISSOURI

KANSAS CITY

THE CASE AGAINST THE MANDA-

TORY OPEN SHOP. Speaker: Alice Senturia, staff member, Greater Kansas City Right-to-Truth Committee. Fri., April 7, 7:30 p.m. 4715 Troost. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (816) 753-0404.

NEW YORK

NEW YORK CITY

DEFEND THE MUNICIPAL WORKERS! Socialist Workers Campaign Rally. Speakers: Dianne Feeley, SWP candidate for governor; Kevin Kellogg, SWP candidate for lieutenant governor; Ken Miliner, SWP candidate for Congress 19th C.D.; Ray Markey, delegate to New York City Central Labor Council. Sat., April 1, 7 p.m. social hour; 8 p.m. rally; 10 p.m. party. Millbank Chapel, Columbia Teachers College, 525 W. 120th St. At Broadway. Donation: \$3. Ausp: Socialist Workers 1977 Campaign Committee. For more information call (212) 989-2731. Rally will be postponed in the event of a transit strike.

PENNSYLVANIA

PITTSBURGH

POLITICAL ASYLUM OR DEATH? Speaker: Hector Marroquin, Mexican dissident fighting for asylum in the United States; John Beverley, professor of Spanish at the Univ. of Pittsburgh and member of New American Movement; Thomas Cooley, professor of law, Univ. of Pittsburgh and former member of Board of Immigration Appeals; others. Fri., April 7, 7 p.m. Dining Room A, Univ. of Pittsburgh. Ausp: Hector Marroquin Defense Committee and Public Affairs Committee

of Univ. of Pittsburgh. For more information call (412) 441-1419.

TEXAS

NORTH HOUSTON

GRAND OPENING OF NORTH HOUSTON SOCIALIST WORKERS CAMPAIGN OFFICE. Speakers: Deborah Vernier, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Congress, 18th C.D.; Sara Jean Johnston, SWP candidate for governor; greetings from Isaiah Lovings; O.P. Dewalt; NAACP; others. Sat., April 8, 7 p.m. buffet and cocktails; 8:30 p.m. program; party to follow. 6412 N. Main (near Cavalcade next to Seven-Eleven). Donation: \$2. Ausp: North Houston Socialist Workers Campaign Committee. For more information call (713) 697-5543.

SAN ANTONIO

THE BEEVILLE CASE: IRANIAN STUDENTS UNDER ATTACK. Speaker: Bijan Khezri, representative of Committee to Defend 103 Iranian Students recently arrested in Beeville. Fri., April 7, 8 p.m. 1317 Castrovilla Rd. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (512) 432-7625.

WASHINGTON, D.C.

POLITICAL REPRESSION IN MEXICO. Speaker: Afrodita Constantinidis, Hector Marroquin Defense Committee. Fri., April 7, 8 p.m. 3106 Mt. Pleasant St. NW. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (202) 797-7706.

Correction

The March 31 'Militant' incorrectly listed J. Jafar as a speaker at the March 31 Washington, D.C., forum on 'War in the Middle East.' Jafar was not scheduled to speak at the event.



Gov't to appeal in SWP suit

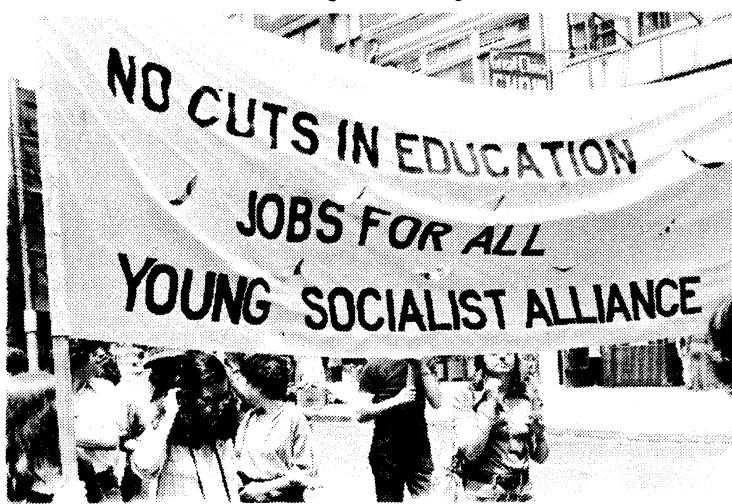
The Justice Department announced March 27 it would appeal to the Supreme Court an order to turn over eighteen FBI informer files to attorneys for the Socialist Workers Party.

The SWP is suing the FBI and other government agencies for \$40 million, charging years of illegal harassment. In the course of the suit, Federal Judge Thomas Griesa ordered the bureau to turn over the files of eighteen informers who spied on the SWP.

The government asked the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Second Circuit to overturn Griesa's order, but the court twice refused. However, the judges did grant the government a delay until April 3 to allow time to file an appeal with the Supreme Court.

FBI officials have already indicated they might ignore a court order to turn over the files even if the Supreme Court upholds Griesa's ruling.

YSA backs April 8 jobs march



An April 8 demonstration in Washington, D.C., will demand "Jobs for Youth!" Several New York chapters of the NAACP are organizing buses to attend the action, which was called by the Youth March for Jobs Committee.

Demonstrators will gather at noon at the Lincoln Memorial. The march will proceed to the west side of the Capitol Building for a 2 p.m. rally.

"A march in Washington against the staggering youth unemployment in this country is a good idea," Chuck Petrin told the *Militant*. Petrin is national secretary of the Young Socialist Alliance.

"This year Carter plans to spend \$126 billion on things like the Cruise missile, Trident submarine, and other items in his war budget.

"Yet his 1979 budget would not even provide one

job for every thirty young people who need work."

Petrin explained that the Humphrey-Hawkins "full employment" bill, just passed by the House of Representatives, "doesn't include a nickel to create jobs.

"It's just an empty promise to try to reach full employment—which it defines as 4 percent unemployment!"

Petrin said that marchers on April 8 should demand an end to all war spending. "Those billions could be put to plenty of good use building schools, hospitals, public transportation, housing, and other things people really need," Petrin said.

"Washington should launch a massive, federally funded program to provide a job for everyone who needs work—and at full union-scale wages, no matter what your age."

Timely comment—According to a letter writer in *Newsweek*, the following statement was made by Abraham Lincoln in 1848: "An honest laborer digs coal at about seventy cents a day, while the president digs abstractions at about \$70 a day. The coal is clearly worth more than the abstractions and yet what a monstrous inequality in the prices!"

People before profits? Crazy!—Joseph Engelbreger, president of Unimation, a company selling robots, comments: "U.S. companies always require robots to make sense economically—while Communist nations are more ready to accept robots simply because they might help avoid employee exposure in dangerous work environments, for instance."

Great, how about adults?—The staff of the Federal Trade Commission recommended that the agency consider banning TV advertising aimed at children.

Remember the oil "shortage"?—"An oil glut has arrived in California. Storage tanks are filling to the top. . . . The oil glut is not unique to California. In fact the entire industrialized world has more oil now than places to put it."—The March 12 *Los Angeles Times*.

Remember the coffee "shortage"?—"It was a 1975 frost in Brazil that touched off the surge in coffee prices. Fear of a shortage—which never actually developed—caused the price . . . to rise more than fivefold."—The March 13 *Los Angeles Times*.

Bon appétit!—The following "defect levels" are considered "acceptable" by the FDA: Canned or frozen asparagus, ten asparagus beetle eggs in a 100-gram sample; popcorn, either one rodent pellet or hair per sample; tomato paste, either thirty fly eggs or fifteen eggs and one larva per 100-gram sample.

No muckin' around—An advertisement from an outfit called "Associated Landlords of California" advises: "You can collect your past due rent or . . . GET RID OF UNWANTED TENANTS. Cost never more than \$95. All tenants are out on or before 35th day after complaint. . . . Let us do your dirty work!"

Catch-5'10"—Demonstrating its commitment to equal rights for women, the administration has advised that female members of the military will be eligible to serve in White House honor guards. They will, of course, have to meet specifications—including a height of 5'10". Three percent of Army women are that tall.

Union Talk

Harassment in rail

This column was written by John Isenhower. He works for the Chicago and Northwestern railroad and is a member of Local 478, International Association of Machinists.

CHICAGO—What happens on the Chicago and Northwestern railroad is of importance to all rail workers. Over the years the CNW has served as a pilot road in the Midwest for antilabor practices. Among the most notable was the introduction of two-person operating crews, a first for the industry.

The CNW's most recent contribution to "labor-management relations" has been a series of "investigations" and gestapo-like searches directed mainly against Black, women, and young workers in the Chicago shops.

This harassment campaign is designed to muzzle discontent among rail workers about the deterioration of work conditions. These attacks come at a time when the carriers are proposing across-the-board cuts in wages, jobs, and benefits at the national negotiations for our contracts.

The purpose of these "investigations"—as the rail companies refer to their kangaroo courts—is to start pushing out and kicking out those workers that they consider undesirable.

In these "investigations" the company is prosecutor, judge, jury, and executioner. The defendants are considered "guilty until proven innocent" and have few legal rights. The appeal procedure is long and few cases are being overturned at the Rail Labor Board in favor of workers these days.

At the CNW's California Avenue coach yard there were fifteen "investigations" in December alone out of a union work force of some 225. All of the defendants were Black, including one woman. Sentences ranged from four firings to suspensions without pay from thirty to forty-five days.

Charles Smith, one of the Black workers who was fired, was elected president of the Carmen's lodge on a Tuesday and dismissed the next Friday.

The speed and vengeance with which the company went after these Black workers is an indication of their assault on all rail workers. It is no accident that many of the other victimized workers had supported Smith.

In January the company started in on younger whites. In February they went after older workers.

Two young white workers got long suspensions for the "crimes" of first, sitting down, and second, not wearing safety glasses for the "eight hour tour of duty."

One worker with more than thirty years seniority was hit with an "investigation" for refusing to sign a blank accident form. Recently the company started proceedings against a Chicano with twenty-five years seniority for "rule G"—the company's rule against drinking.

During the three months when national rail negotiations have taken the center of the unions' attention, at the California Avenue yard alone nearly 10 percent of the workers have been victimized by the CNW.

The CNW's offensive has another aspect as well. On the Friday before Christmas at the California Avenue yard the CNW marched fifteen workers upstairs and searched their lockers and personal belongings. This Christmas greeting was accompanied by the claim that the company had a "hot tip" that there were massive quantities of dope and other contraband stored there.

Despite the humiliating and illegal searches not one shred of "contraband" was found.

The unions, as part of a strategy to roll back the bosses' offensive, should take head-on these challenges at the shop-floor level.

We should look to the striking United Mine Workers, who are setting an example for all workers on how to counter the bosses' attacks. Their tradition of no contract, no work and their struggle for the right to strike to resolve grievances show the way forward for rail workers.

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Our Revolutionary Heritage

Celebrating 50 years of the Militant, 1928-1978

Int'l Left Opposition

April 6 is the forty-eighth anniversary of the founding of the International Left Opposition (ILO), the revolutionary tendency led by Leon Trotsky that was the predecessor of the Fourth International.

The Left Opposition started out in 1923 as a group inside the Communist Party in the Soviet Union, fighting to prevent the bureaucratic degeneration of that party, the Communist International, and the Soviet state.

The privileged bureaucratic caste led by Stalin expelled the Left Oppositionists from the CP and the Comintern in 1927 and deported Trotsky to Turkey in 1929. But by that time small Left Opposition groups were being formed in various capitalist countries.

In 1930 they decided to get together on an international basis. So a meeting was held in Paris on April 6, attended by representatives of eight Left Opposition groups—France, Germany, Belgium, Spain, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, the United States, and a Jewish group in France.

Representatives of seven other groups were unable to attend—the Russian, Chinese, Austrian, Mexican, Argentine, and Greek Oppositions, and a student group in Czechoslovakia. But they endorsed the decisions made in Paris and became part of the ILO. All but the outlawed Russian section were only a year or two old and quite small.

The Paris meeting decided to work for an international conference and set up an International Bureau to publish an international discussion and information bulletin. Even these limited objectives were reached slowly and with difficulty because of the numerical weakness and political inexperience of most of the ILO sections, which were plagued by factional crises and splits as well as an unfavorable political environment.

The International Bureau did not function and had to be replaced by an International Secretariat, but the international bulletin began to appear and it, together with Trotsky's public writings, helped to educate its members and to consolidate a cadre.

The year 1933 marked big changes for the ILO. An international conference was finally held in February. Six months later it decided to work for the creation of a new international. This change in orientation created new problems but also opened new opportunities.

The going was still slow, but the movement now was able to transcend the faltering beginning made in 1930 and to start breaking out of its isolation. Along this road came the founding of the Fourth International in 1938.

The ILO was not the only international center created in the 1930s. In fact, there were two others.

One of these was the International

Communist Opposition (ICO), which was created at a conference in Berlin in March 1930. The ICO, also called the Right Opposition, brought together various groups expelled from the Comintern after Stalin's purge of his former allies Bukharin and Rykov in the USSR during 1929-30. The Swedish Right Opposition alone had more members than the entire ILO.

The other rival was best known as the London Bureau or London-Amsterdam Bureau, established at a conference in Berlin in May 1932. It was a loose association of parties and groups that had quit or been expelled from the Second and Third Internationals and, later, of groups that had broken from the ILO or the ICO. In 1936 its Spanish affiliate, the Workers Party of Marxist Unification (POUM), was many times the size of the whole ILO.

Although the ICO and the London Bureau are little remembered today, they were formidable rivals of the Trotskyists in the 1930s. Their leaders were better known and more experienced than those of the ILO (except Trotsky), and they boasted that they were free of "Trotskyist sectarianism" (their name for the ILO's stubborn adherence to revolutionary principles).

Throughout the decade the pioneers of the Fourth International had to spend considerable energy fighting them as well as the two major Internationals; otherwise they never could have survived politically.

World War II brought severe crises to the Fourth International, the London Bureau, and the remains of the ICO. Only the Fourth International overcame its crises and survived the war. The other two vanished.

The Fourth Internationalists must have been doing something right when they insisted from the start on political and ideological clarity and inoculated their members against the opportunism that finished off their centrist rivals.

On this anniversary it is also worth noting that the First International existed for only twelve years, 1864-76. The Second International lasted twenty-five years—1889-1914—before betraying its socialist principles in World War I. (Later it was reconstituted on a completely reformist basis.) And the Third International existed for twenty-four years—1919-43—before Stalin dissolved it, but its revolutionary phase, before Stalin turned it into a counterrevolutionary force, was not much more than five years.

This means that the Fourth International, now forty years old and with roots going back to 1930, is the oldest revolutionary International in history, having longer continuity on a revolutionary basis than any of its predecessors.

—George Breitman

Letters

Women's jazz festival

Hundreds of women jazz musicians from thirty-eight states converged on Kansas City for the first Women's Jazz Festival over the March 18 weekend.

They took part in clinics, joined jam sessions with local musicians and each other, and listened to a number of accomplished female jazz artists in concert.

"There's never been anything quite like this before," the *New York Times* quoted pianist Marian McPartland as saying after she had conducted a clinic on jazz piano. "This is a mark in jazz history. It is proving that there are more than enough women jazz musicians of high caliber to carry off an event of this kind."

Michael Smith
New York, New York

Probation & union rights

Your March 3 publication contained an article by Tom Tomasko of the Steelworkers union Local 5649 ["Incentive pay—molten brass for lunch"].

He stated: "For melters the standard is nine ingots a day. But this doesn't stop the company from setting a higher standard, fourteen a day. They do this by firing probationary employees who pour less than fourteen. *The union doesn't do anything about this because the company can fire a probationary employee for any reason*" (emphasis added).

It is apparent to me that all too many union members are laboring under the erroneous belief that the exclusive bargaining agency owes no obligation to probationary employees. Even though I have been an active union member and officer I was only recently disabused of that belief.

Labor law has established that the "duty of fair representation" extends to all members of the collective-bargaining unit, not just union members.

It would be well if you would advise your readers as to the full responsibility of a given union to the employees working within the ambit of their jurisdiction.

Helen Ambrose
Minneapolis, Minnesota

national origin or sex or because of membership in the Union" (emphasis added).

This setup offers great benefits to the boss, none to the workers. Its acceptance by the union officialdom is a hallmark of class-collaboration and bureaucracy.

Workers whom the boss deems "troublemakers," "misfits," or just plain "uppity" can be fired with the assurance that the union leadership will look the other way. And despite the pious disclaimer in the contract, women, Black, and Latino workers are routinely victimized while on probation.

What recourse do these workers have? The courts? To file suit against a company like U.S. Steel—without the



backing of the union and perhaps against its opposition—is quite an undertaking, offering little hope of success.

It's not only the new workers who suffer. The probation system divides the work force. It creates a pool of second-class union members who can be more readily intimidated against standing up for their rights, complaining about unsafe conditions, reporting contract violations, and so on. The entire union is weakened.

That's exactly why the coal bosses tried to introduce a probation period in their "ball and chain" contract offer to the United Mine Workers. The union ranks rebelled.

The labor movement will be strengthened when the probation system is finally branded for what it is—a divisive trick of the employers—and wiped out of every union contract.

'Militant' staff writer Andy Rose replies

Under the "probation" system, the employer and the union leadership agree that new employees will have little or no right to union protection until they have been on the job a specified time.

The basic steel contract, for example, says that new workers must join the union and start paying dues after thirty days. But they remain on probation for the first 520 hours of actual work—about three months.

The contract states: "Probationary employees may initiate complaints under this Agreement but may be laid off or discharged as exclusively determined by Management; provided that this will not be used for purposes of discrimination because of race, color, religious creed,

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Learning About Socialism

What is imperialism?

The word "imperialism" is frequently used to describe the exploitation of poor countries by rich countries, the policy of a state bent on territorial expansion, or the racist or chauvinist policy of a big nation toward a small one.

All of these are characteristics of imperialism. But Marxists give a precise economic content to the term. This can be summed up by the words "monopoly capitalism."

In the early days of capitalism there were hundreds of competing industrialists in each branch of production. This situation is often referred to as "free competition" or "industrial capitalism." Combinations of capitalists aimed at boosting profits through cornering the market were of limited effectiveness and unstable, due to the great numbers of enterprises in any given field.

In the late 1800s, however, a considerable change came over capitalism. Huge corporations such as the Standard Oil Company and U.S. Steel arose. They were able to completely dominate specific industries on a national level, either alone or in combination with a handful of similar giants.

Under these conditions, the monopolists were able to check competition among themselves, divide up markets, and artificially limit production. This resulted in high prices for consumers and extraordinary profits for the monopolists.

At the same time, the role of banks expanded greatly. Banks had been essentially middlemen between different industrial capitalists during the age of "free competition." Now they emerged as powerful monopolies in their own right, concentrating vast sums of capital in their hands.

The banks merged with the industrial monopolies—sometimes taking them over from outside, sometimes creating their own, and sometimes being absorbed by the larger monopolies. This merger of financial and industrial monopolies is known as "finance capital." Just as the capitalist class towers over all other classes in society, those capitalists who represent finance capital are the commanding stratum within the ruling class.

Today, the power of finance capital has reached unprecedented heights. Ann Crittenden, writing in the January 19, 1978, edition of the *New York Times* describes the results of a Senate subcommittee study as follows:

"The power to vote stock in the nation's largest corporations is concentrated in fewer than two dozen institutional

investors, the majority of them banks. . . ."

The age of finance capital and the parasitic financial oligarchy is also the age of the division of the world into a few industrially advanced areas—the United States, Canada, Western Europe, Japan, Australia, and New Zealand—and a vast number of colonial or semicolonial countries.

The ruling classes of the advanced industrial countries divide up the market and supplies of raw materials between themselves. They export capital to the colonial and semicolonial world in the form of loans, and by building industrial enterprises. At the same time, a vast increase in the export of capital among the various imperialist countries themselves occurs.

This process leads to the so-called multinational corporations we are familiar with today. Actually, these corporations are controlled by the ruling class of one or another specific country, although they operate on a global scale.

Since the monopolies operate on an international scale, so must the national states that protect them. The result is aggressive wars—either wars among competing imperialist powers, as in the case of World War I and II, or wars against the uprisings of oppressed nations, as in Korea and Vietnam.

The superexploitation of the semicolonial countries carried out by the looting of their national resources and the starvation wages paid to their workers becomes a source of vast superprofits for finance capital.

Finance capital therefore becomes dependent on a whole system of exploitation and oppression. In the age of imperialism, the monopolists are forced to oppose virtually all demands for democratic rights and national liberation in the countries exploited by monopoly capitalism, since these demands strike at the very base of the system. Thus, while the U.S. government gives lip service to human rights, it continues to arm and subsidize dictators all over the world.

Lenin, whose book *Imperialism* is still the classic description of this phenomenon, pointed out that imperialism is the highest stage of capitalism and will be overthrown by the socialist revolution. The very existence of monopoly and the massive international export of capital indicates that the productive forces have outgrown both the fetters of capitalist private property and the nation-state. The contradictions inherent in capitalism have been pushed to the breaking point.

—William Gottlieb

Death penalty

I'm writing you concerning a back issue of the *Militant* concerning the death penalty. I heard that it had a beautiful two-page article that showed statistics proving the death penalty is racist and not a deterrent. I am an inmate on death row. Myself and the rest of the inmates here on death row are anxious to see that article.

I also heard that you have free subscriptions for prisoners. So if you do send subscriptions out to prisoners please sign me up for one.

A prisoner
Colorado

[In reply—The article on the death penalty appeared in the December 31, 1976, issue of the *Militant*. It was entitled "Death penalty: deterrence, vengeance, or legal murder?"

[Through the *Militant's* special prisoner fund, free subscriptions are sent at reduced rate to prisoners who can't afford to pay for them. A subscription will be sent to you.

[For readers who want to help out with this fund, send your contribution to: **Militant Prisoner Subscription Fund**, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014.]

'Keep us informed'

Love your paper, feel it's truthful. I especially like to hear about Chicanos and am very interested in the welfare of Héctor Marroquín. Please continue to keep us informed about *Bakke*, the Palestinians, and affirmative action, labor, and education.

Olga Estrade
Ann Arbor, Michigan

'Honest paper'

Please renew my subscription to the *Militant* for two more years. I didn't realize that my subscription had run out, and I sure wouldn't want to miss a single issue of such an honest paper as the *Militant*.

Glenn Smith
Pueblo, Colorado

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

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THE MILITANT

D.C. speakout: overturn 'Bakke', march April 15

By Erich Martel

WASHINGTON, D.C.—One hundred twenty people attended a speakout against the *Bakke* decision and in defense of affirmative action at Howard University here March 17. The speakout, sponsored by the Washington Teachers Union (WTU), was the first in a series of protests against the *Bakke* decision scheduled to take place here this spring.

The *Bakke* case, currently before the U.S. Supreme Court, stems from a California court decision declaring an affirmative-action program at a state medical school unconstitutional. The court upheld the false charge that special-admissions programs for students of oppressed nationalities equal "reverse discrimination."

The speakout was organized by the WTU Ad Hoc Committee to Reverse the Bakke Decision. Its aim was to help build support for the April 15 March on Washington called by the National Committee to Overturn the Bakke Decision (NCOBD).

William Simons, WTU president, chaired the speakout. In his introductory remarks, he pointed out the importance of the outcome of the *Bakke* case for the union movement, and the major role unions have to play in the fight to reverse *Bakke*.

The keynote speaker at the meeting was Dr. Kenneth Tollett, director of the Institute for the Study of Educational Policy at Howard University. Tollett called the concept of "reverse discrimination" absurd, pointing out that oppressed nationalities were in no position to discriminate against whites.

Tollett backed his argument up with figures showing that the miniscule percentage of Black doctors, lawyers, and other professionals was far below

the Black percentage of the U.S. population. Only 1.6 percent of all physicians and 1.3 percent of all lawyers are Black.

According to an estimate of the American Association of Law Schools, Tollett said, the numbers of minority students in graduate schools will drop by at least two-thirds if the Supreme Court upholds *Bakke*.

Sharon Parker of the National Organization for Women (NOW) Minority Task Force explained that women would suffer a major setback should affirmative-action programs be declared unconstitutional or curtailed in any way. Women make up more than 40 percent of the paid work force and work out of necessity, she said, noting that a large percentage of working women are the sole supporters of their families.

Rev. David Eaton, pastor of All Souls Church, blasted "objective" tests, such as those used by Allan Bakke to bolster his claim to superior qualifications. Such tests, Eaton pointed out, are culturally biased and are, therefore, of very limited value in measuring intelligence and knowledge.

Frank Shaffer-Corona, a member of the D.C. School Board and a leader of the antideportation movement here, explained how Latinos' rights are doubly threatened—both by the *Bakke* case and by the hysteria against undocumented workers.

Howard University professor and NCOBD representative Jimmy Garret urged everyone to participate in the April 15 march.

Also addressing the speakout was Anne Sheppard Turner, one of the Wilmington Ten defendants, who outlined the latest developments in their case.



Militant/Wayne Glover

Protests last fall to overturn 'Bakke' ruling drew thousands into action.

April 15 march route

Plans for the April 15 national march on Washington against the *Bakke* decision were released this week by the National Coalition to Overturn the Bakke Decision.

Marchers are scheduled to assemble at 10:30 a.m. in Washington, D.C., at the Ellipse. The demonstration will step off at noon, proceed down Pennsylvania Avenue past the White House, and up Constitution

Avenue to the Supreme Court.

After circling the Supreme Court building, the march will go to a rally site at the west side of the Capitol. The rally is scheduled to begin at 1 p.m. March organizers plan to release a final speakers list next week.

For more information on the march contact NCOBD, 324 'H' Street NE, Washington, D.C. 20002; telephone (202) 544-8030.

Join April 8 anti-'Bakke' protests

In response to the call by the National Committee to Overturn the Bakke Decision for April 8 protests, supporters of affirmative action in a number of cities have scheduled rallies, demonstrations, and teach-ins. These actions will lead up to the April 15 March on Washington called by the NCOBD.

New York City: Teach-in on the *Bakke* decision, April 7, 7:30 p.m., City University Graduate Center, 33 West 42 St. Speakers include Bryant Rollins, executive editor, *Amsterdam News*; Dr. Margie Henderson, NAACP; Attorney Barbara Rockmen, New York NOW; Steve Onne, Organization of Chinese Americans; Dennis Serrette, NCOBD; and James Harris, National Student Coalition Against Racism.

Sponsored by the Village-Chelsea NAACP and New York SCAR, the teach-in is endorsed by New York State Conference NAACP; Harlem Fight Back; Organization of Chinese Americans; Noreen Connell, president, New York NOW; and others.

Newark, N.J.: Speakout Against the Bakke Decision, April 7, 7:30 p.m., Essex County College, Mary Burch Auditorium. Speakers include Norman Threadgill, president, Ne-

wark NAACP; Carole Graves, president, Newark Teachers Union; Nancy Stultz, state coordinator, New Jersey NOW; Grizel Ubarry, director, Aspira, Inc.; Alfonso Roman, director, Congreso Boricua; and Connie Woodruff, founder, Black Women United.

Endorsers include Essex County College Student Government Association; Region 9 United Auto Workers; Essex County NOW; New Jersey ACLU; Rutgers SCAR; Chapter Four Essex State Employees Association; and Clyde Magarelli, delegate Passaic County Labor Coalition.

Philadelphia: Rally, march, and conference April 8. Assemble and rally at city hall 11:00 a.m.; march to Antioch College, 401 N. Broad St.; Conference on the Bakke Decision, 1:00 p.m.

Endorsers include Philadelphia NOW; Teachers NOW; Philadelphia Community College AFT; Fr. Paul Washington, Church of the Advocate; and University of Pennsylvania Black Student League, MEChA, and Black Pre-Health Society.

Minneapolis/St. Paul: March and rally to defend affirmative action and reverse the *Bakke* decision,

April 8. Assembly 1:30 p.m., State Capitol, St. Paul; march to YWCA Auditorium, 65 E. Kellogg Blvd., St. Paul; rally at 2:30 p.m. Speakers include Matthew Little, NAACP; Nellie Stone-Johnson, Urban League; Virginia Watkins, NOW; and Frank Guzman, Migrants in Action.

Endorsers include Bob Killen, sub-regional director, United Auto Workers; Don Hill, president, Minnesota Education Association; Paul Goldberg, area director, AFSCME; Minnesota-Dakota Conference of NAACP; Twin Cities NOW; and Minnesota Lawyers Guild.

Tacoma, Washington: March and rally to reverse the *Bakke* ruling, April 8. Assemble City-County Building 1:00 p.m.; march to Bethlehem Baptist Church, 1725 South 'I' St. for 2:00 p.m. rally. Endorsers include Asian American Alliance; Mexican Friends Association; Martin Luther King Center; Tacoma NOW; Student Coalition of Indian Natives; Tacoma Urban League; Peter Henderson, Local 3421, Washington Federation of Teachers; and Joe Cloquet, chairperson, Cowlitz Indian Tribe.

Baltimore: Panel discussion on

the *Bakke* decision, April 6, 7:30 p.m., Morgan State University, Jenkins Building, Room 109. Sponsored by the Baltimore Coalition to Overturn the Bakke Decision.

Houston: Debate on the *Bakke* ruling, April 7, 7:30 p.m. University of Houston Engineering Building Auditorium. Sponsored by Houston Coalition to Reverse the Bakke Decision.

San Antonio: March and Rally to overturn *Bakke* decision. Assemble 10:30 a.m. at Milan Park; march to Alamo Plaza for noon rally. 3:00 p.m. *Bocky*, a play, at Carver Cultural Center on Hackberry.

Denver: Picket at the Federal Building April 8, noon.

Detroit: Noon rally April 8 at Kennedy Square. Sponsored by the Michigan Coalition to Overturn the Bakke Decision.

Kansas City: Picket at the Federal Courthouse, 811 Grand St., April 8, 11:30 a.m. to 1:00 p.m.

Milwaukee: Picket at the Federal Building, noon, April 8.

Seattle: March and rally April 8. Assemble 1:00 p.m. Hing Hay Park; march to Federal Building; picket line followed by rally at 2:30 p.m.