

# THE MILITANT

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

**NO  
NUKES**



**HOW TO  
STOP  
NUCLEAR  
POWER**

—PAGE 8

**New York City  
transit workers  
block contract  
vote fraud**

—PAGE 9

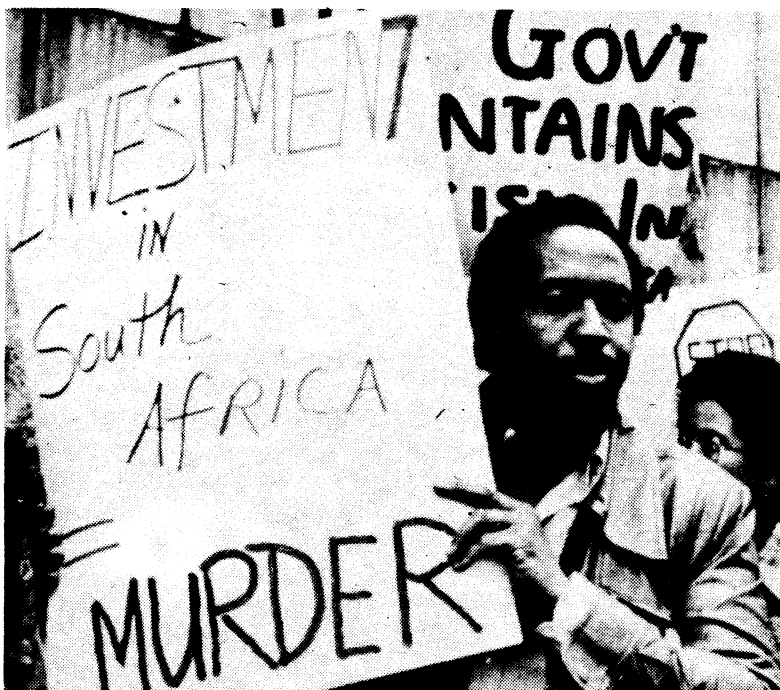
**Gay rights  
law repealed  
In St. Paul**

**Setback for  
human rights**

—PAGE 7

## End campus complicity with apartheid

Student protests demand: 'Divest now!'



Militant/Lou Howort

The following statement was released by the Young Socialist Alliance National Executive Committee on April 26.

The Young Socialist Alliance hails the growing movement on campuses across the country demanding that universities divest all stock in corporations doing business in South Africa.

A national spotlight was focused on the issue of campus complicity with apartheid earlier this year when 4,000 people marched in Nashville to protest the U.S.-South Africa Davis Cup tennis match, hosted by Vanderbilt University. Vanderbilt also has extensive investments in South Africa.

Divestment is not simply a symbolic gesture. American universities have sunk hundreds of millions of dollars into companies that profit from the brutal exploitation of South Africa's Black majority.

In doing so, these universities are  
*Continued on page 3*

**Frank Lovell on Transitional Program**

## Strategy for the Unions Today

**Special May Day Feature**

**Labor's Struggle for a Shorter Workweek**

**MAGAZINE SUPPLEMENT**  
**International  
Socialist  
Review**

## Wiretap 'reform': new threat to rights

The U.S. Senate has just passed a dangerous new bill that gives a legal blessing to the kind of "black-bag jobs" for which former FBI Director L. Patrick Gray and two other ex-FBI officials were recently indicted.

The bill, S. 1566, masquerades as a "reform" measure. Its true purpose, however, is to authorize wiretaps and FBI break-ins to install bugs in so-called national security cases.

In a show of overwhelming bipartisan enthusiasm, the Senate passed this new assault on democratic rights ninety-five to one. Democratic Party liberals such as Edward Kennedy led the charge.

The bill had the full backing of the Carter administration, since it gives an explicit go-ahead to the kind of electronic spying the government has been doing all along.

Up until now, Washington relied on the "inherent power" of the president to justify electronic snooping in "national security" cases. Over the past few years, however, public outrage has mounted in response to revelations of government burglaries and prying into people's lives.

This has caused government officials to seek a more solid legal basis for their operations while at the same time publicly portraying such changes as safeguards.

The Senate bill aims to accomplish these goals.

According to the bill, the government can get secret approval to install a bug or tap from any one of a hand-picked panel of seven federal judges.

The bill's provisions are so broad and vague as to cover almost anyone or anything the government disapproves of.

For example, S. 1566 says that wiretapping must have as its aim the collection of "foreign intelligence information."

What is that? Among other things, information "necessary to the successful conduct of the foreign affairs of the United States." In other words, just about anything the CIA wants to know.

The government's use of the "national security" dodge to justify its crimes against domestic dissenters was exposed last month by J.

Wallace LaPrade, former director of the FBI's New York office. "We have matters today . . . under investigation which, five, six years ago, were considered to be domestic investigations—and now . . . have been put into the category of foreign intelligence," LaPrade admitted.

The bill, for example, lets the government label U.S. citizens or groups—without their knowledge—as "agents of a foreign power" or a "foreign-based political organization," and therefore targets for snooping.

In the case of people who are neither U.S. citizens nor resident aliens, the bill does not even require secret approval by a judge before taps can be ordered.

The bill also authorizes the attorney general to conduct, without court approval, "emergency" twenty-four-hour wiretaps.

Senate passage of S. 1566 has been accompanied by a public-relations campaign to convince the American people that this wretched bill will protect their rights. In an editorial headlined, "Closing the Black Bag" the *New York Times* falsely claims that the bill will stop the use of the "vague platitude 'national security' . . . to legitimize investigation of . . . political enemies" of the government.

Unfortunately, the American Civil Liberties Union has joined the chorus singing the praises of S. 1566. A statement issued by the ACLU's Washington office "hailed" the bill. "While the ACLU opposes all wiretapping as an invasion of privacy," the ACLU said, "the bill adopted by the Senate is better than current law."

Organizations that claim to champion civil liberties have no business supporting repressive legislation with the lame excuse that things could be worse. With that approach, the ACLU—which opposes capital punishment—could endorse a bill for death by firing squads on the grounds that it is more humane than electrocution.

The ACLU's support for S. 1566 has even led it to cover up the real terms of the law. "Civil Liberties Alert," a newsletter put out by the ACLU Washington office, says that the bill requires that proposed targets be engaged in "clandestine intelligence gathering." This conveniently overlooks provisions authorizing electronic spying on those charged with "aiding and abetting" people who "may be in preparation" of acts "dangerous to human life."

Senator Kennedy, the main Senate backer for S. 1566, is also known for his role in pushing through S. 1437—the antidemocratic criminal-code bill, also known as "Son of S.1." The purpose of both bills is the same—to dress up as "reforms" measures that provide the government with legal justification to do whatever it deems necessary to uphold capitalist rule.

Like S. 1437, S. 1566 is an attempt to chop away at the democratic rights won by working people and the oppressed through centuries of struggle. Both these reactionary bills should be defeated.

## Cops of the world

It was the end of April. The president of the United States went on television to tell us he had just ordered the invasion of a small country to stop communism, to protect American lives and property.

That was the Dominican Republic, 1965. Cambodia, 1970. And it could have been Panama, 1978.

As the Senate was completing its debate on the canal pact a couple of weeks ago, President Carter and the Pentagon were busy demonstrating the kind of Panama-U.S. relationship the treaties are designed to preserve.

Faced with the possibility that the treaties might lose, Carter prepared to crush Panamanian protests demanding that the U.S. get out of their country and let them run their own affairs.

The 15,000 American troops in the Panama Canal Zone were placed on alert and deployed for action. *New York Times* columnist James Reston reported on other contingency plans: "An air- and sealoft of military reinforcements was planned in case the United States troops in the zone were not able to handle massive demonstrations or acts of sabotage."

The U.S. high command was to convene in the White House—Carter, Senate leaders, the Joint Chiefs of Staff, and the heads of the National Security Council and the CIA.

And, of course, "The President planned a brief televised statement to the nation. . . ."

Lyndon Baines Johnson . . . Richard Milhous Nixon . . . James Earl Carter. Only the names change. The policy remains.

And so does U.S. domination over Panama.

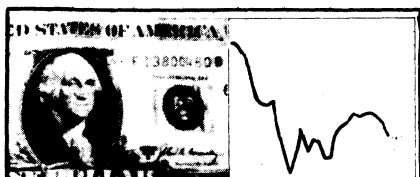
## Militant Highlights This Week

- 3 'Divest now!'
- 4 'Militant' sales
- 5 W. Va. socialist campaign
- 7 Rhodesia talks
- 8 Stopping nuclear power
- 9 NYC transit workers
- 10 SWP in Albany
- 23 Decline of the dollar
- 29 Zionism: trap for Jews
- 26 Marroquin wins backing
- 32 July 9 ERA march
- 2 In Our Opinion
- 6 Campaigning for Socialism
- 25 Injury to One . . .
- 27 Capitalism Fouls Things Up  
Women in Revolt  
By Any Means Necessary
- 28 In Brief  
What's Going On
- 29 The Great Society  
Union Talk
- 30 Our Revolutionary Heritage  
Letters
- 31 Learning About Socialism  
If You Like This Paper . . .
- 11-22 International Socialist Review



### Socialist campaign in West Virginia

Rosalinda Flint will be taking the lessons of the recent miners' strike to working people throughout West Virginia. She is the Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senate. **Page 5.**



### How to defeat anti-Semitism

Is Zionist oppression of the Palestinians a solution to anti-Semitism? Or is Israel a trap for the Jews? **Page 24.**



### Behind the dollar's decline

In the first of six articles, Dick Roberts explores the implications of the decline of the dollar for working people in this country and around the world. **Page 23.**

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# Students say: Divest now!

## Harvard

By Omari Musa

More than 1,000 students demonstrated in front of Pusey Library at Harvard University April 24 demanding that the school divest its stock in U.S. companies operating in South Africa.

The protest was called by the United Front, a coalition of Black, Chicano, Asian-American, and other campus groups to coincide with a meeting of the Harvard Corporation.

The action began with a march of 200 from Radcliffe Quad and swelled to more than 1,000 by the time it reached the Harvard Yard.

During the demonstration, Harvard President Derek Bok tried to slip into his office without being seen. Protesters surrounded him, demanding that he make a statement explaining what Harvard planned to do with its stock. Bok refused and was hustled away by campus cops.

The Harvard protest was the largest during a week of coordinated antiapartheid activity called at a conference of the Northeast Committee for the Liberation of South Africa March 31-April 2.

Rallies, meetings, and sit-ins involving hundreds more took place at Princeton, Brown, Amherst, Wesleyan College, Yale University, Williams College, and the University of Massachusetts in Amherst.

## Columbia

By Peter Ember

NEW YORK—Chanting "Divest Now!" 350 Barnard and Columbia students rallied at Low Library here April 20 to protest university investments in companies doing business in South Africa.

"[Columbia] President McGill does not even care about Black people here in New York," said one protester. "How is he going to be behind Blacks in South Africa?"

Another student said, "Columbia can set a moral precedent by divesting."

The protest began after a panel discussion on the spring 1968 student upsurge against Columbia's complicity with the Vietnam War and its racist policies toward the surrounding Black community. During that discussion, current Columbia student



Crispin Gregoire announced another demonstration on May 1 to demand divestiture. The protest is being organized by the Committee Against Investment in South Africa, the Caribbean Students Association, Gay People at Columbia, and the Barnard/Columbia Young Socialist Alliance.

## Indiana U.

BLOOMINGTON, Ind.—Nearly 100 students rallied at Indiana University here April 17 to demand that the board of trustees immediately divest the \$1,960,000 invested in corporations operating in South Africa.

## African Liberation Day

On May 13 a march and rally will be held in Washington, D.C., in solidarity with the liberation struggles in South Africa, Zimbabwe, and Namibia. Called by the All African People's Revolutionary Party, nearly 8,000 people participated in the protest last year.

The demonstration is scheduled to assemble at Malcolm X Park.

The National Coalition to Support African Liberation is organizing a march and rally May 20. It will also step off from Malcolm X Park.

These and other protests will mark the fifteenth anniversary of African Liberation Day, first called at the founding meeting of the Organization of African Unity May 27, 1963. —O.M.

The Bloomington South Africa Committee organized the rally.

During the rally, exiled South African poet Dennis Brutus explained that the significance of the protest went beyond Indiana University. He said the action was part of a movement sweeping the nation's campuses in a way unparalleled since the Vietnam War.

The previous day students had held a "South Africa After Soweto" conference. Speakers included Dennis Brutus; American Committee on Africa President William Booth; Tim Smith from the National Council of Churches Interfaith Committee on Corporate Responsibility; South African exile Professor Winston Nagan; and Gabe Magamola, a former member of the Pan-Africanist Congress of Azania, who was imprisoned on Robben Island for five years.

Conference sponsors included the Indiana University African Studies Program, Student Coalition Against Racism, Cummins Engine Foundation, and Indiana Memorial Union Board.

More than 100 people attended one or more of the four conference sessions, including activists from the campus divestiture struggles at Ohio University and DePauw University in Greencastle, Indiana.

Results of a student referendum on divestiture were released April 10. Students voted 2,263 to 2,113 in favor of divestiture.

## ...YSA

Continued from front page

complicit in upholding the apartheid system. They are complicit with Washington and U.S. corporations in providing vital financial backing to a system that denies all human rights to 22 million Blacks.

On many campuses, the recent divestment demonstrations have been the largest political protests in years. They have involved activists from the anti-Bakke movement, Black and Latino groups, women's liberation organizations, gay rights groups—as well as students who have never before been active in any political movement.

The protests have challenged the right of big-business dominated boards of trustees to make university decisions that affect students and working people throughout the country, and throughout the world.

Divestment activists on some campuses have already begun to coordinate their efforts with other schools. This can lay the basis for linking up with forces off campus—groups such as the NAACP, National Organization for Women, trade unions, and others—to demand an end to all U.S. ties with apartheid.

An important focus for action this spring will be the African Liberation Day marches on May 13 and May 20 [see above].

June 16, second anniversary of the Soweto student rebellion in South Africa, will be another important focus.

*Free all South African political prisoners!*

*End all U.S. military, economic, and diplomatic support to the South African government!*

*End all university and corporate ties to South Africa.*

*Black majority rule now!*

## JOIN THE YSA

If you want to end U.S. support to apartheid, join an organization that is helping to lead the fight against it.

The Young Socialist Alliance is organized in more than fifty cities across the country. Our members include college students, high school students, and other young people.

The YSA has helped organize demonstrations, teach-ins, and speaking tours to expose the U.S. role in South Africa. We are also active in struggles against the 'Bakke' decision, for the Equal Rights Amendment and abortion rights, against nuclear power, and for jobs for all.

We are fighting for a socialist society, where human needs come first. Join us.

- ☐ I want to join the YSA.
- ☐ Send me more information on the YSA.
- ☐ Enclosed is \$1 for six months of the 'Young Socialist' newspaper.

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Clip and send to: YSA, Box 471 Cooper Station, New York, New York 10003.

## Special offer to new readers

### The Militant—10 weeks/\$2

The *Militant* provides weekly news and analysis of important developments in the national liberation struggles in South Africa, Zimbabwe, and Namibia, as well as timely coverage of the fight here to end U.S. government and business support to southern Africa's racist regimes. Don't miss an issue.



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'Militant' circulation drive

Campaign week spurs progress in nat'l sales

By Harvey McArthur

Houston had sold 300 papers, including sixty copies of *Perspectiva Mundial*, as of April 26.

New York passed the 1,500 mark April 25, and ordered more papers for the rest of the week.

The Miami SWP went to a rally of the United Teachers of Dade County and sold forty-five *Militants*.

A team of socialists from Atlanta sold ninety-one *Militants* in Birmingham, Alabama, and then had to stop only because they ran out of papers.

Albany sold sixty-six papers in one Saturday in Schenectady, New York, mostly to workers from the giant General Electric plant there.

What does it all add up to?

These are some of the initial results in our special sales week for the *Militant* dated April 28. This issue features the nine-page spread on the meaning of the miners' strike and its important lessons for all working people.

Full results are not in yet, and many of the big sales are planned for the April 29-30 weekend. We will carry a complete roundup of the results for *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* sales in the next issue.

Those cities reporting so far found that the *Militant's* coverage of the anti-Bakke march on Washington, the union conference for a shorter work-week, and the Equal Rights Amendment were all good selling points, in addition to the analysis of the coal miners' struggle.

The special sales week has helped increase and regularize sales of the

*Militant* and *PM*. Important steps toward this goal were already evident the previous week with sales of the April 21 *Militant*. Twenty-one of the forty cities reporting made their quotas. A total of 5,104 papers were sold, 81.3 percent of the goal.

Atlanta is one city that made its quota for the first time with the April 21 issue. Sales director Janice Prescott told us the branch held a special discussion of the political importance of the *Militant*, which helped set the sales campaign on the right footing. "Then it was a question of selecting the sales spots we wanted to go to regularly," she said, "and making sure that we had enough teams signed up to cover them all and to make our quota."

Bobbie Spiegler reports from Baltimore that most salespeople are now going out two or three times a week.

"We have had a lot of enthusiasm generated by the response we find from workers at some of the big steel mills and auto plants here," she says. "Several workers have told us that the *Militant's* articles on the shorter work-week have been passed around and read by a lot of people inside. And several of these workers have already taken out subscriptions to the paper."

One important accomplishment has been the ability of cities to carry out sales while petitioning to get Socialist Workers candidates on the ballot. Salt Lake City socialists collected 500 signatures last week and were also able to meet their regular sales quota of 125. And St. Louis and Newark sold 116 and 78 papers respectively while also petitioning.



Selling the 'Militant' at Morgan State University in Baltimore

Militant/Salm Kolis

How San Jose socialists organize to meet quota

By Nelson Blackstock

SAN JOSE—The Socialist Workers Party branch in this city is among those that increased their volume of sales for the April 28 issue of the *Militant*. Socialists here have gone far over their normal weekly quota of 100.

Through the special sales week they are setting new patterns of circulating the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial*. This has established the basis for hitting their quota each and every week until the drive ends.

Key to the success here is the campaign spirit that now surrounds the circulation drive. The branch sees itself engaged in a national political campaign to reach out to thousands of new readers with the ideas of socialism.

Initially the branch considered setting a goal of 175 papers during the expanded sales week. They decided to ask each member to take an individual quota for the week. The quotas varied, depending on skills and experience, but when added up they came to 230, the quota finally set for the week.

The branch found that the concept of individual quotas is a spur to sales. It is useful in setting a campaign atmosphere around the drive. Now members of the branch are considering setting their own individual quotas for each week in the remainder of the campaign.

The sales week was launched at a Saturday morning gathering at the SWP headquarters. Over coffee and donuts, the branch reviewed what it is out to accomplish and how to most effectively interest people in the current issue.

A big Saturday sales mobilization will be a regular feature of the drive from now on out.

When the totals were all in for the day's results, they found they had sold ninety-nine *Militants* and eleven *PMs*. Some of the most successful sales came from combining the SWP election campaign with sales of the *Militant*.

Sandi Sherman was stationed at a campaign table near a busy grocery store entrance. She is the candidate for city council in the June 5 elections.

The socialists here intend for the remainder of the drive to link *Militant* sales and campaigning for both Sher-

man and the mayoral candidate, Claudette Begin, as well as for the statewide SWP slate for this fall's elections.

San Jose is nearly 25 percent Chicano, and many sales are in areas where Chicanos live.

Increased *PM* sales during the week were a basis for expanded circulation for the Spanish-language magazine here.

In addition to the Saturday sales, teams are returning to street corners and shopping areas each night during the week.

The focus for plant-gate sales is on two plants organized by the steel union and one by the machinists union and the transit workers. In addition, a big GM plant in Fremont and a Ford plant in Milpitas are nearby. The socialists intend to use big sign boards to attract the attention of entering workers.

Throughout the week they are also visiting campuses in San Jose. One team will make a trip to the large state university in nearby Santa Cruz.

By mid-day Tuesday San Jose socialists had sold 140 papers. Prospects appear bright for continuing the successful campaign right until the ten-week drive ends.

Brisk sales of 'PM'

By Catarino Garza

"We could have sold more if we had had them." That's what many people are reporting about sales of our Spanish-language magazine, *Perspectiva Mundial*.

At one New York concert of the exiled Chilean folk group "Intillimani," three friends sold forty *PMs*. They feel they could have doubled that number had they had more copies. Other salespeople attended a concert of the Puerto Rican group "Haciendo Punto En Otro Son" and sold ten.

Issue number 7 of *PM*, containing the article on "Cuba's Presence in Africa," sold out at a New York concert of the Cuban group "Moncado."

Weekly sales results

CITY	MILITANT		PM		TOTAL		
	Goal	Sold	Goal	Sold	Goal	Sold	Percent
St. Louis*	100	116			100	116	116.0
Albany	60	68			60	68	113.3
Milwaukee	120	125	5	15	125	140	112.0
San Jose	90	108	10	3	100	111	111.0
Raleigh	75	83			75	83	110.7
Baltimore*	100	110			100	110	110.0
Indianapolis	100	110			100	110	110.0
Miami	90	98	10	11	100	109	109.0
Chicago	282	304	18	21	300	325	108.3
Toledo	60	65			60	65	108.3
Portland	90	97			90	97	107.8
Newark*	65	68			65	68	104.6
Tacoma	90	94			90	94	104.4
New York	575	609	75	59	650	668	102.8
Boston	165	183	25	12	190	195	102.6
Kansas City	90	102	10		100	102	102.0
Denver	105	109	5	3	110	112	101.8
Atlanta	250	254			250	254	101.6
Cincinnati	75	76			75	76	101.3
Salt Lake City*	115	122	10	4	125	126	100.8
Morgantown	100	100			100	100	100.0
Seattle	150	141		4	150	145	96.7
Albuquerque	115	118	10		125	118	94.4
Minneapolis	100	93			100	93	93.0
New Orleans	150	130		2	150	132	88.0
St. Paul	80	59			80	59	73.8
Washington, D.C.	230	169	20	12	250	181	72.4
San Diego	100	80	25	7	125	87	69.6
San Francisco	220	152	15		235	152	64.7
Louisville	100	62			100	62	62.0
San Antonio	100	64	10	1	110	65	59.1
Houston	270	175	30		300	175	58.3
Dallas	115	72	10		125	72	57.6
Pittsburgh	125	72			125	72	57.6
Los Angeles	400	242	100	39	500	281	56.2
Oakland	150	76			150	76	50.7
Detroit*	40	20			40	20	50.0
Philadelphia	250	93			250	93	37.2
Berkeley	150	55	12		162	55	34.0
Cleveland	150	37			150	37	24.7
Phoenix**	75		10		85		.0
TOTALS:	5867	4911	410	193	6277	5104	81.3

\*Petitioning  
\*\*Petitioning, not reporting



## W. Va. socialist runs for Senate

# 'Coal miners' demands will be my issues'

By Danny O'Neill

MORGANTOWN, W. Va.—Since 1958 the same two men from the same political party have claimed to represent the people of West Virginia in the U.S. Senate.

The reign of Democratic senators Jennings Randolph and Robert Byrd has brought little progress for the working people of this state. In fact, the quality of life has degenerated.

The median family income is above that of only three other states in the nation. The official unemployment rate is nearly 8 percent.

Housing is shockingly inadequate and increasingly hard to find, especially as the promise of a new coal boom lures West Virginians back to their home state for jobs.

The state which once was and still bills itself as "wild and wonderful" has been irreparably scarred by strip mining.

The senate seat now held by seventy-six-year-old Randolph is up for election this November. And for the first time since 1936, a socialist is in the race.

"If the coal mines of West Virginia were democratically controlled by working people, the fabulous wealth extracted from the ground could be used for the benefit of the people who produce that wealth instead of lining the coffers of a few rich bankers and industrialists," Rosalinda Flint told a well-attended news conference April 4 in Charleston, the state capital.

Flint was announcing her campaign for U.S. Senate as candidate of the Socialist Workers Party. Running on the socialist ticket with her is Brian Williams, for the state house.

Flint went on to score the coal companies and other corporations for paying only a "few cents an acre in property taxes." Continental Oil, parent company of Consolidation Coal, paid "no federal earnings tax at all last year."

She called for taxing the huge corporations, not working people.

### 'Why I'm running'

All but one TV station in the state covered the news conference, as did many radio stations and major newspapers. From seeing the TV coverage alone, three people called the socialist campaign office to offer their help in the campaign. A support group is in the making in Charleston, as well as in Morgantown, where Flint and Williams live.

Flint is a clerical worker at West Virginia University and a member of



ROSALINDA FLINT Militant/Bill Hovland

Laborers International Union Local 840.

"When people ask me why I decided to run," she explained to the *Militant*, "I point to the coal miners' strike."

"The miners did working people a service by showing how it's possible to stand up and fight for your rights. Their battle was over problems and concerns shared by all West Virginians—free and adequate health care, decent pensions, and safe, healthy working conditions."

"The miners didn't win all their demands, by a long shot. But they did save their union, and they forced the coal companies to back down. The problems they wanted to solve with a new contract are still around. I plan to make these issues a focus of my campaign."

When five men were killed in a Virginia mine April 4, Flint issued a news release blasting the coal companies' drive for profits before safety.

"It wasn't another week before three more miners were killed in a rock fall in another Virginia mine," Flint says. "Several other miners have died in individual accidents that are a part of the day-to-day life of coal miners."

Right here in West Virginia there is a grisly reminder of what greed by the coal companies can mean for miners and their families. Seventy-eight miners were killed in November 1968 at Consol No. 9 mine in Farmington. Last month the Consolidation Coal Company decided to seal the mine and abandon recovery of the nineteen bodies still inside.

"They claim they've spend \$11 million on the effort," Flint says, "and that they'll never be able to bring out

the bodies or 'discover' the cause of the explosion. Well, as much as they'd like to seal the evidence of their crimes inside that mine, the survivors and the women made widows by that blast know the cause. It was Consol's push for production at the expense of safety, and it still goes on."

### 'Laws laxly enforced'

Flint says the federal and state mine safety laws offer the coal companies too many loopholes. "And they're so laxly enforced that the penalties the coal companies end up paying are practically a joke."

It boils down to miners having to enforce the laws themselves through their safety committees, she continues. "I support 100 percent the miners' right to strike to enforce safety laws and contract provisions."

The right to strike, Flint adds, is still a central issue for the UMWA. "Already miners in Virginia were forced out on a so-called wildcat strike for two days because the companies don't want to abide by the contract unless it suits their plans."

Some 1,140 miners in Virginia's Russell and Dickenson counties walked out April 11 when a miner was fired for three days' absence. An arbitrator ruled in favor of the company.

"While we unconditionally support the miners' right to strike to enforce their contract, the Socialist Workers Party believes that miners will find that to ensure safety, they need to win full control over their working conditions."

"That means a political fight to nationalize the mines—to take them out of the hands of private-profit operators and put them into the hands of the workers."

"That is never going to happen as long as our political 'representatives' are Democrats and Republicans. Their loyalty to the coal companies and other big-business interests was most clearly shown in the miners' strike. Not one Democrat or Republican politician stood up for the miners."

"So the coal operators have their parties—the Democrats and Republicans. Miners and other working people need our party—a labor party. We need our own political voice, a party that will stand up with us in our strikes and other battles for a decent life."

### Health care

Another central theme of the strike that remains unresolved, Flint goes



'No more Farmingtons!'

on to explain, is health care. "The coalfield clinics, built for the most part by the UMWA, are in big trouble because of what the coal operators did with this contract."

The UMWA health fund was abolished, and the miners now have to pay up to \$200 a year in "deductibles" for health care that used to be free. The subsidies that the fund used to pay to the Appalachian clinics and hospitals are ended.

"For nearly thirty years miners had free medical care, and they believe it is their right. It is," the socialist candidate declares. "The private medical business in this country should be replaced with a national, socialized health plan that provides care for all."

"As an emergency measure, the federal government should guarantee the continued existence of the coalfield clinics and hospitals. Instead of the few grants and loans that various federal agencies are doling out, there

*Continued on next page*

## Stearns miners: 'We're going to get a contract!'

By Nancy Cole

"We're still on strike for a United Mine Workers contract. We're still right here, and we're not going anywhere until we get that contract," says Darrell Vanover, one of about 145 coal miners on strike in Stearns, Kentucky.

Since July 1976 the miners have walked the picket line fighting to win recognition of a union that can in turn fight for their lives. It is a strike over safety, the miners contend.

The Blue Diamond Coal Company continues to resist the United Mine Workers with every weapon at its disposal—and it is a considerable arsenal. Backing Blue Diamond are hired gun thugs, state police, the courts, and Kentucky Gov. Julian Carroll.

For more than a year now, the company has refused to bargain with the miners. In response to a renewed request by the UMWA for talks, Blue Diamond Executive Vice-president R.D. Cornwell said recently, "Perhaps as a matter of courtesy, we may re-

spond and agree to go back . . . but I really don't know what we'd accomplish by that."

"It is quite obvious that the Blue Diamond Coal Company has no intention of ever signing a contract with its employees," Stanley Inman told reporters in Lexington, Kentucky, April 17. Inman is an international representative for the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees.

Inman, along with a representative of the Blue Grass Area Central Labor Council, spoke at a news conference sponsored by the Lexington/University of Kentucky Stearns Strike Defense Committee. The unionists and a committee spokesperson reaffirmed support for the Stearns strikers and urged renewed public support.

Support for the miners is especially critical now that Blue Diamond claims to have resumed production—for the first time since the strike began nearly two years ago.

More than thirty scabs enter the

mine each day. One scab was killed April 20, but no arrests have been reported.

On Saturday, April 29, the Stearns

ball park will be the scene of "A day of solidarity with the Stearns miners." The day-long event will feature speakers, music, and dancing.

## Socialist urges aid to strikers

The following is a statement by Jim Burfeind, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Congress from Kentucky's Third District.

For nearly two years miners have their families in Stearns, Kentucky, have been fighting to win the basic human right to a safe workplace.

The Blue Diamond Coal Company—the same company responsible for twenty-six deaths at the Scotia mine in 1976—has refused to even talk with the United Mine Workers for more than a year.

Now Blue Diamond claims to have resumed mining coal and boasts of plans to step up productivity at the struck mine.

It is time that Blue Diamond—whose strikebreaking is being aided by government officials at all levels—was shown once and for all that the majority of working people stand with the Stearns strikers.

I urge unionists, students, women's and Black groups, civil libertarians—all who support human rights—to redouble their efforts in support of the striking miners in Stearns.

# Mandel, noted Marxist, to speak in United States

By David Russell

Ernest Mandel, a leader of the world Trotskyist movement and internationally recognized Marxist economist, is scheduled to speak at several U.S. universities beginning May 1.

Mandel's *Introduction to Marxist Economic Theory* has sold more than 200,000 copies worldwide. His other books include *Late Capitalism*, the two-volume *Marxist Economic Theory*, *From Class Society to Communism*, *Decline of the Dollar*, and *Critique of Eurocommunism*.

Designated Alfred Marshall lecturer



Militant/Brian Shannon

Mandel speaking in 1968

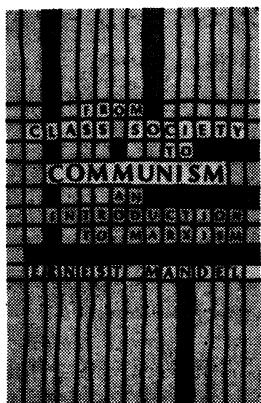
at Cambridge University this year, Mandel has also taught economics at the Free University of Berlin.

Solely because of his Marxist political views, the U.S. government has twice barred Mandel from entering the country, once in 1969 and again in 1976. The French, West German, and Australian governments have also banned Mandel in hopes of quarantining his ideas.

As of this writing, the U.S. government has not yet granted Mandel's visa.

Mandel has been invited to the United States by the economics departments of a number of universities. He is scheduled to speak in the following places:

May 1	Cornell University, Ithaca, New York
May 2	Amherst College, Amherst, Massachusetts
May 3	University of Massachusetts, Amherst
May 4	Hampshire College Amherst New School for Social Research, New York
May 13	University of Washington, Seattle



**From Class Society to Communism**

An Introduction to Marxism

By Ernest Mandel

What are the economic roots of social inequality? Where do profits come from? How did the modern labor

movement develop? Why is a socialist revolution necessary to liberate the working class? How does bureaucracy develop in the labor movement? What is the nature of states such as the USSR, China, and those in Eastern Europe? How would a society managed by the workers run itself? What is the role of the revolutionary party? What are the scientific methods of Marxism—dialectical and historical materialism?

*From Class Society to Communism* is a comprehensive yet simply written book that gives clear answers to these questions.

190 pages, cloth \$14.00, paper \$3.95. Available from: Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, New York 10014. Enclose 50 cents with payment for postage and handling.

## ...W. Va. campaign

Continued from preceding page

should be full federal subsidies for these vital services."

Flint talks about one other nightmare faced by West Virginians—floods. "The most tragic case was Buffalo Creek, when in 1972 a Pittston Coal Company slag heap gave way, and 125 people died in the flood that followed.

"My major Republican opponent, Arch Moore, was governor at that time. He closed the area to reporters, charging 'irresponsible news coverage.' Then he proceeded to appoint an investigative commission heavily weighted with coal industry officials.

"Thousands of West Virginians live in fear each spring that they and their homes will be swept away. Strip mining leaves the land defenseless, and the federal government does little to regulate it or to prevent the floods."

Eight hundred people from eastern Kentucky and southern West Virginia demonstrated in Washington, D.C., April 11 demanding federal aid for flood-prevention projects.

After a five-hour session where politicians got to do all the talking, one woman from Williamson, West Virginia, said she hadn't come all this way just to hear talk.

"Can anyone tell us how long we

must wait, how long we must live in fear? We are human beings. We have human rights," she said.

"Unfortunately, Democratic and Republican politicians don't recognize such rights any more than coal operators do," Flint explains.

"The Socialist Workers Party does. Under the slogan, 'No more Farmingtons! No more Buffalo Creeks! Human needs before corporate profit!' we plan to take our campaign to every corner of the state to let working people know that there is an alternative to the Democrats and Republicans."

MORGANTOWN, W. Va.—West Virginia election laws make it difficult, if not impossible, for any one but the Democrats and Republicans to qualify for the ballot.

The Socialist Workers Party filed suit in federal court April 5, challenging the filing fee and burdensome signature-gathering requirements.

The socialists asked for a temporary court order preventing the enforcement of the laws while the legal arguments were being decided. This way they could begin petitioning without abiding by the law's strict limitations. The request was denied.

# Campaigning for socialism

## Utah socialist meets railroad workers

Bill Hoyle, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Congress in Utah's Second District, spoke to the quarterly meeting of Lodge 1227 of the Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employees in Ogden April 9.

The 200,000 BMW members nationwide have worked without a contract since January. The twenty unionists at the Ogden meeting unanimously passed a resolution calling for the right to vote on their contracts.

Hoyle noted that this right was one of the great strengths of the mine workers union. It had been vital in their ability to hold off the union-busting offensive of the government and the coal operators, Hoyle said. He also described the Right to Vote Committee of the United Transportation Union, which led a fight in 1969 and 1971 for the right to vote on contracts.

Three copies of a pamphlet on the Right to Vote Committee were sold at the meeting, and some workers expressed interest in getting more copies.

Hoyle spoke about the need for rail and other workers to break from the Democratic and Republican parties and form an independent labor party. He also discussed the case of Héctor Marroquín, a member of the SWP seeking political asylum in the United States.



BILL HOYLE



PAT WRIGHT



JIM BURFEIND

## Burfeind hits GE profits

Jim Burfeind, SWP candidate for Congress in Louisville, has responded to President Carter's call on working people to limit their wage demands to 5.5 percent to help "fight inflation."

Burfeind noted that General Electric, which employs him as a machinist, had just announced \$248 million in profits—a 15 percent increase in its third-quarter profits over 1977. "Why should workers get only a 5.5 percent raise when profits are up 15 percent?" Burfeind asked.

## The right to decide on nukes

An editorial in the March 21 *Albuquerque Tribune* praised Carter's proposal to relax licensing procedures for nuclear power plants. Eight days later the *Tribune* printed a reply by Carole Newcomb and Floyd Fowler, SWP candidates for U.S. Senate and Congress, under the headline, "Let people decide."

The socialists noted that for the *Tribune*, "the public's concern over the multitude of unsolved safety problems of nuclear plants is a 'roadblock.' "The public's persistent and increasing questions about the risks to all our lives are a 'roadblock.' Public hearings are a 'roadblock.' "

"Your editorial sternly rebuked all the 'nitpickers' who actually have the nerve to question the wisdom of being pushed headlong into the noose of nuclear power.

"But shouldn't the people have the right to decide? For our part, we stand up for the 'nitpickers.' "

## Stop campus complicity with apartheid!

"The 1978 Socialist Workers campaign supports the University of Washington Out of South Africa Committee and joins with students, staff, and community people in demanding the UW Regents divest the university of the approximately \$2.4 million invested in corporations doing business with South Africa." So reads a statement from Harold Schlechtweg, SWP candidate for Congress from Seattle.

Schlechtweg, who announced his candidacy April 15, is a production worker at Northwest Metal Products and a member of United Steelworkers Local 3112. He formerly served on the executive board of Local 1488, Washington Federation of State Employees, AFL-CIO.

## Wright campaigns with coal miners

Pat Wright, SWP candidate for governor of Ohio, spent two days in April campaigning in the coal mining towns of southern Ohio.

Many miners were unhappy with the recently signed settlement and pointed to the strikebreaking role of the government. "It's the same thing, Democrats or Republicans," said one pensioner. A working miner added, "You get these big politicians, they're always against the union man. They're always against the worker."

Wright spoke to a young woman in Bellaire whose thirty-year-old brother was recently killed in a mine. After telling Wright about the unsafe conditions in the mines, the woman urged Wright and her supporters to continue spreading the truth about the coal operators' disregard for safety.

—Arnold Weissberg



## Setback for human rights

# Gay rights law repealed in St. Paul voting

By D.J. Simerson

ST. PAUL, Minn.—Antigay bigots scored a victory against human rights in an April 25 referendum here. By a vote of 54,096 to 31,694, sections of this city's human rights ordinance protecting the rights of gays and lesbians were repealed.

"I think the election results made a mockery of the democratic process that claims to provide equal protection under the law and equal rights for all people," Craig Anderson, a spokesperson for St. Paul Citizens for Human Rights, told the *Militant*. SPCHR was launched last fall to defend the gay rights provisions.

Anderson noted that "the opposition pretty much based its campaign on misinformation and fear, on unfounded accusations."

Libby Moser, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of St. Paul, pointed out that more than just gay men and lesbians will suffer from the referendum's results. "What is at stake here are the rights of all working people," Moser said. "This setback is just one aspect of an attempt to roll back all the gains won through struggle in the past fifteen years."

"When a similar ordinance was voted down in Miami last year," Moser said, "supporters of gay rights mobilized by the hundreds of thousands all across the country to protest that attack on human dignity."

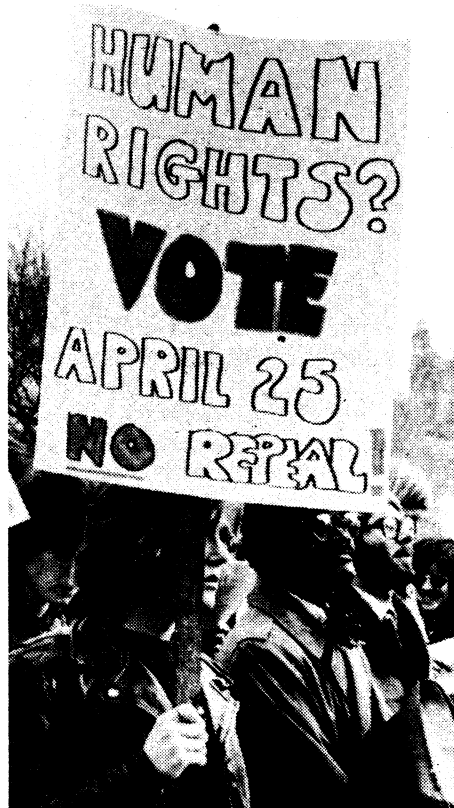
"After this defeat too, we must redouble our efforts to explain the issues in this fight, and to mobilize public support for gay and lesbian rights in employment, housing, and all aspects of life."

The issue will soon be posed in other cities as well. Repeal of gay rights ordinances will be on the ballot May 9 in Wichita, Kansas, and May 23 in Eugene, Oregon.

In St. Paul broad support exists for gay and lesbian rights. That was shown at a demonstration the weekend before the referendum.

Between 1,500 and 2,000 human rights supporters gathered at the state capitol on April 19, marched to city hall, and released 1,000 balloons that said, "Vote No." Then they returned to the state capitol steps for a spirited rally.

Ora Lee Patterson, chairperson of the St. Paul Human Rights Commission, compared the current battle to the



Militant/Mike Moser  
April 19 rally in St. Paul urged vote against repeal of gay rights provisions.

Black civil rights movement. "We fought a long, hard fight in the sixties," she said. "You are going through it now. Let this be the place where the challenge to human rights was met and overcome."

Rosalyn Carroll, who is Black and president of the St. Paul School Board, put it this way: "Anita [Bryant] and those who follow her also believe Bakke is right. This is a very serious matter. If gay people are defeated now, someone will be next—Blacks, or women, or the handicapped, or the aged."

Other speakers included Mayor George Latimer; gay State Sen. Allan Spear; Rev. Marvin Grunke of Lutheran Social Services; Rev. Ted Ahrens; Joe Weilor of Parents of Gays; Dorothy Murphy, a lesbian mother; Jack Adams, a trade unionist; and Patty Schamus of the Lesbian Feminist Organizing Committee.

The SWP mayoral candidate was introduced and applauded for her campaign's defense of gay rights.

The SPCHR has filed a lawsuit challenging the referendum procedures and the concept that democratic rights can be repealed.

# Vance holds secret talks on Rhodesia's future

By Ernest Harsch

During his visit to Nigeria, President Carter declared April 2 that Washington "now will move as quickly as possible to call together the parties who are in dispute in Zimbabwe."

As usual, Carter tried to assume the mantle of an unbiased intermediary concerned only with achieving "peace" in southern Africa. But his announcement, along with the subsequent flurry of American and British diplomatic activity, reflects an acute fear among the imperialists that the struggle of the Zimbabwean masses against the racist Rhodesian regime could yet spiral out of control, endangering the substantial Western interests in that part of the world.

The Carter administration was impelled to launch a new diplomatic initiative by the establishment on March 21 of a coalition regime between Rhodesian Prime Minister Ian Smith and three prominent Zimbabwean figures: Abel Muzorewa, Ndabaningi Sithole, and Jeremiah Chirau. The agreement that forms the basis for the new regime aims to preserve significant white privileges for many years to come, even under a "majority rule" government that will supposedly take power at the end of the year.

The imperialists are of course not opposed to the provisions of the accord that seek to safeguard white privilege. But they are worried that the new regime is too narrowly based to be successful in diverting the struggle for real Black majority rule in a neocolonial direction.

Thus the White House, in close collaboration with the British government, has been seeking to broaden out the agreement to include at least some of the Zimbabwean nationalist leaders involved in the guerrilla campaign against Smith.

American Secretary of State Cyrus Vance and British Foreign Secretary David Owen began a series of discussions in southern Africa April 14.

They met for two days of secret negotiations in Tanzania with Joshua Nkomo and Robert Mugabe, who are allied within the Patriotic Front. Also present were officials from a number of African regimes that support the Patriotic Front.

The participants said afterward that they had discussed aspects of an ear-



U.S. Secretary of State Cyrus Vance flanked by guerrilla leaders Robert Mugabe (left) and Joshua Nkomo. Vance tried to negotiate broader base for neocolonial regime in Rhodesia to stave off civil war.

lier British and American proposal that called for a direct imperialist role in any agreement leading to the establishment of a Black regime. The Anglo-American plan, as originally outlined last year, called for the sending of a United Nations "peacekeeping" force to Zimbabwe and the appointment of a British administrator to run the government for a period.

Making major concessions to the imperialists, Nkomo said April 16 that he and Mugabe had agreed to a UN military force in the country, but only if it had a "strict mandate" not to suppress the population.

In a separate news conference, Mugabe raised some objections to the plan, not to UN involvement, but to the overtures it makes to the Patriotic Front's rivals, Muzorewa and Sithole. He insisted that the front play a "predominant" role in any settlement. He also rejected a parliamentary system as a "luxury" and said he favored a one-party state.

Both Nkomo and Mugabe agreed to attend a future round-table conference involving all the parties in the conflict,

although they insisted that the talks center on the Anglo-American plan and not on Smith's "internal" settlement.

From Tanzania, Vance and Owen flew to South Africa, where they won cautious support from Foreign Minister Roelof F. Botha for the projected conference.

Their next stop was Salisbury itself, where Vance and Owen met with Smith, Muzorewa, Sithole, and Chirau. Little was revealed about those talks, except that the coalition regime would consider the Anglo-American proposals.

Vance's willingness to actually go to Salisbury and talk with Smith, thus formally violating the UN sanctions against the regime, was an indication of how concerned the White House is with the situation there.

Summing up the imperialist fears, correspondent Bernard Gwertzman reported in the April 15 *New York Times*, "The Americans and British believe that unless a conference of all parties and a compromise can be arranged, a major war will break out, possibly

involving Cubans and Russians and threatening to spread to South Africa."

They are also worried that the struggle of the Zimbabwean masses could reach massive proportions, possibly escaping the control of both the imperialists and the nationalist leaders themselves.

To head off such an outcome, Washington and London have been trying for several years now to steer the conflict toward the negotiating table, from which they hope to see a stable Black neocolonial regime emerge. But Smith's reluctance to abandon effective white control or the substantial privileges of the settler community has thus far hampered these efforts.

The rivalries among the various Zimbabwean nationalist leaders, while a complicating factor to an extent, at the same time gives both Smith and the imperialists greater room to maneuver. Smith has already played on these rivalries to win the backing of Muzorewa and Sithole for his "internal" settlement. It now appears that the imperialists are trying to split the Patriotic Front as well.

Gwertzman reported in the April 19 *New York Times* that Vance "is pinning American hopes in southern Africa on somehow enticing Joshua Nkomo, the more flexible of the two Rhodesian guerrilla leaders, to join in a negotiated settlement with the Salisbury Government even if Robert Mugabe, the other guerrilla leader, refuses."

Unlike Mugabe, whose own guerrilla forces are faction-ridden, Nkomo controls a tightly organized and disciplined military force; a valuable asset for any future neocolonial regime for maintaining "law and order."

On April 12, Smith publicly declared that he would welcome Nkomo's participation in the coalition regime.

It remains to be seen whether the imperialists and Smith will be successful in reaching a broader agreement that includes Nkomo, if not Mugabe as well. But in the meantime, the war continues.

In late March, a battle between Rhodesian forces and hundreds of guerrillas was reported in the eastern part of the country, and on April 8 the regime announced that twenty-eight persons had been killed in the previous twenty-four hours.

—Intercontinental Press/Inprecor

By Doug Jenness

The occupation of the Seabrook nuclear site in New Hampshire last May dramatically catapulted opposition to nuclear energy into a prominent place in American politics. While legal suits and similar activities have been going on for years, it was this direct action that sparked the formation of hundreds of committees in towns and cities across the country.

Tens of thousands of people have been drawn into antinuclear activity for the first time. They have rallied, picketed, and occupied nuclear plant sites; organized debates and forums; and published and distributed large quantities of literature.

This spring many antinuclear activists are focusing their efforts on a series of important local and regional actions. These include the demonstrations against the Rocky Flats Nuclear Weapons Facility near Denver; the Barnwell, South Carolina, reprocessing plant; a proposed nuclear plant in Taft, Louisiana; and the naval base in Bangor, Washington, where Trident nuclear submarines are built. And on June 24 the Clamshell Alliance is organizing another action against the proposed Seabrook nuclear power plant.

Following these protests, many activists at regional conferences and local meetings will be taking stock of what the movement has accomplished so far. They will assess its present course and discuss where it should go next.

### The accomplishments

The movement so far has been remarkably successful. For one thing, millions of people have been reached with facts about the dangers of nuclear power. Hundreds of thousands have been won over to opposing it, and many more now have doubts about its use. The March 1 *New York Post* reports a recent Harris poll showing that those favoring a crash nuclear development program dropped from 61 percent to 47 percent in nine months.

A national debate is emerging around this issue. Considering the twenty-five-year propaganda barrage expounding the wonderful future of "atoms for peace," this is indeed a step forward.

Another measure of the movement's influence is the slowdown in licensing and construction of new plants. According to Secretary of Energy James Schlesinger, there were only 4 nuclear units ordered in 1977, in contrast to 41 in 1973. Utilities have also canceled 25 plants and announced delays involving some 130 units in the past three years.

Just a few years ago federal officials were predicting the construction of 1,000 new reactors by the year 2000. Now they have considerably lowered their sights.

In addition, an increasing number of states and cities are adopting restrictions on storing and transporting nuclear wastes in territory under their jurisdiction.

While other factors, including the increased use of coal, have influenced this shift, the rapid growth of the antinuclear movement is clearly a significant element.

The defeat of two nuclear proposals in California in the past two months underlines this. A proposed Kern County plant was rejected by voters in a county referendum in March. Then, in April, the legislature killed a bill to exempt the proposed Sundesert plant from a state law barring construction of nuclear facilities until a national waste disposal system is set up.

### Big tests still ahead

In spite of the growing popular opposition, however, the government and the energy trust are not about to give up on nuclear power. Three actions, each by a different branch of the

federal government, recently drove home this bitter truth.

- On March 17 the Department of Energy announced a bill—part of Carter's energy plan—to cut the licensing and construction time of nuclear power plants from twelve to six and a half years. This fits in with Carter's publicly stated objective of stepping up construction of nuclear power facilities.

- On April 3 the U.S. Supreme Court, in a unanimous decision, ruled that policy decisions on nuclear power determined in Congress and the state legislatures are not subject to reexamination in the federal courts. Specifically, this removed curbs on constructing two nuclear plants in Michigan and Vermont imposed by lower federal courts. This green light was given in spite of the lower courts' view that these plants will have an adverse environmental impact.

- And Congress stubbornly refuses to budge in its support for the Clinch River, Tennessee, breeder reactor, which would "breed" more nuclear fuel than it consumes. Despite a veto by President Carter last year of a bill authorizing the project, the House Science and Technology Committee this month allocated \$172.5 million to continue it as planned.

But the Carter administration's "opposition" is purely hypocritical, since, according to Schlesinger, it "believes that the breeder program should be reoriented to evaluate designs for a larger advanced fission facility."

These actions at the highest levels of government show that the biggest tests for the antinuclear movement are still ahead.

### Local orientation

A sign of the young antinuclear movement's vitality is the lively discussion and wide range of views expressed inside it, including on the question of how the movement can most effectively achieve its goals.

One view, which has some following, is that the movement can be most successful if it relies on a local, rather than a national, orientation.

A strong proponent of this perspective is Sam Lovejoy, a founder of the Clamshell Alliance in Seabrook. In an interview in the November 17-23, 1977, *Portland Scribe*, Lovejoy says that he fights "the idea of the antinuclear movement becoming a national organization. I support the idea of networking, communication coordination, but not a national movement."

"If you set up a national organization what you get is a national orientation. Pretty soon, you start tapping away from that local focus and you start looking more and more to state capitols for demonstrations; Washington, D.C. for demonstrations—and you haven't stopped the nukes. I believe the only way you stop the nuke is to take the site, take the nuke. Stop the actual, physical machine."

The weakness of this perspective is that it underestimates the strength of the capitalist rulers, who are committed to continuing and extending the use of nuclear power. They control the government at all levels—federal, state, and local. They can keep arresting, jailing, fining, and ultimately demoralizing activists who occupy sites. Meanwhile, nuclear facilities will continue to operate and be constructed. Unfortunately the movement does not have the mass support at this time to succeed in really shutting down the nukes by direct action.

And as the *central* feature of a strategy for the antinuclear movement, occupations aren't able to win the broad support and participation necessary for the movement to become a really powerful force.

This is not to say that occupations such as Seabrook haven't played an important role in publicizing opposi-

# How to stop nuclear power



Intercontinental Press/Fred Murphy



Militant/Arnold Weissberg

Some 2,000 people marched on the site of a planned nuclear power plant at Seabrook, New Hampshire, last year (top), while another 1,300 rallied in their support (bottom).

tion to nuclear power and advancing the antinuclear movement. But these positive results must be recognized for what they are—a way to reach people with our ideas, not an expression of power capable of halting the use of nuclear energy.

### A strategy for winning

Lovejoy is absolutely right that our goal is to halt the nukes and that power is needed to do it. The question is *how* can the greatest amount of political power be organized?

To begin with, the use of nuclear energy is a *national* problem. While many decisions about nuclear power are made on the local and state level, the basic policy decisions are made

and driven through in Washington. It is a national political issue.

Therefore, the key to an effective strategy for the antinuclear movement is to mobilize a political force strong enough nationally to compel the government to halt the use of nuclear energy.

Many activists in the movement believe direct action is necessary and that the Democratic and Republican politicians and the courts can't be relied on to adopt beneficial laws or make favorable rulings. This is absolutely true. We can only count on the mass forces that we can win to our perspective and mobilize in action.

We especially must seek out and win support from the labor movement—



## Block election fraud

# TWU ranks win new contract vote

By Vivian Sahner

NEW YORK—Top officials of the Transport Workers Union, faced with a rank-and-file challenge to election fraud in voting on a proposed contract, agreed April 25 to throw the ballots out and hold a new referendum.

The move came one day after an injunction by federal Judge Charles Brieant blocked the union from beginning to count the mail-in ballots. TWU leaders had accepted the contract April 1, when the previous one expired.

The court order was requested by the Committee of Concerned Transit Workers, a caucus in the TWU. The dissidents charged that the union leadership had distributed misleading ballots and established improper vote-counting and poll-watching procedures.

TWU members could not simply vote for or against the contract offer. The choices on the original ballot were "I accept" or "I reject and vote to strike."

Members of the caucus pointed out that this wording—which violated union by-laws—was just one more attempt by TWU officials to intimidate the membership into accepting the pact.

Union officials had bought newspaper ads and radio spots to demand that members vote yes and to denounce all opposition as the "hysterical ravings" of radical groups.

The TWU leadership sent a letter to members warning that defeat of the contract would mean an immediate strike that would force the city into bankruptcy, "seriously impair the pension rights" of transit workers, and "leave the union impoverished for years."

Despite this red-baiting and intimidation, opposition to the proposed contract has grown during the ratification period. Several meetings and pickets, including a rally of 500 transit workers outside the TWU headquarters on April 11, have protested its miserly terms.

## 'A victory for all NY city workers'

NEW YORK—The announcement of a new contract vote by transit workers was hailed as "a victory not only for transit workers but for all city employees" by Ray Markey, candidate for president of Local 1930, American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees.

"The city administration and the top officials of the Transport Workers Union were trying to force a miserable, inadequate contract down the throats of TWU members," Markey said, "using improper ballots, intimidation, and a rigged vote."

"Rank-and-file protests have succeeded—at least for now—in blocking this undemocratic scheme."

Markey is a longtime leader of Local 1930, which represents 1,400 New York public library workers, and a delegate to AFSCME District Council 37 and to the New York City Central Labor Council.

He noted that the settlement reached with the TWU—the most powerful union of New York public employees—will have a great impact on the kind of contract all other city workers can win.

"The new vote can make it easier for the transit workers to democratically decide whether the proposed contract is adequate to their needs," Markey said.

"All indications are that the TWU ranks want to reject this settlement and fight for better terms. In doing so, they are fighting for the interests of all city workers."

"Unfortunately," Markey said, "the head of District Council 37, Victor Gotbaum, has joined hands with the TWU officials in trying to paint up the



Militant/Anne Teesdale

New York transit workers demonstrate against inadequate contract offer

The offer includes only a 6 percent wage increase over two years, along with a shaky promise of a cost-of-living adjustment in the second year that transit workers themselves would have to pay for through "productivity savings"—that is, speedup.

It also allows the Transit Authority to hire part-time workers who might not be covered by the union contract or receive union benefits.

Membership sentiment was strongly indicated as bus drivers and mechanics in Queens—organized in the Amalgamated Transit Union—overwhelmingly rejected the same contract by a vote of 739 to 157 on April 25.

The hard-sell approach by TWU officials increased fears of the Committee of Concerned Transit Workers that the mail-in vote would be tampered with to impose the unpopular contract.

In addition to the ballot wording, the committee objected to the fact that members get no copy of the contract before voting, that there is no member-

ship meeting to discuss the terms, and that monitoring of the ballot counting is inadequate.

The new referendum, which is expected to take a month, opens up a new phase in the fight by transit workers for a decent contract.

The ranks have won a significant victory by halting the rigged vote and securing a new election. The Committee of Concerned Transit Workers, which has been leading the fight for an honest vote and a better settlement, has grown in prestige and authority among transit workers.

The demonstration that rank-and-file pressure can force a change in union policy is sure to inspire further efforts by transit workers to ensure a democratic discussion and vote.

In addition, the TWU ranks will be discussing how to force the Transit Authority and their own union leadership—which publicly insists it cannot and will not seek better terms—to negotiate an improved settlement.



Militant/Henry Snipper

AFSCME leader Ray Markey urges solidarity with fight of transit workers for decent contract.

contract as better than it really is."

Markey pointed to a column by Gotbaum run as a paid advertisement in the April 24 *New York Times*. In it Gotbaum called the proposed TWU contract "a good settlement" and said he would be "prepared to recommend its general outlines to our members as a realistic contract for this time."

Gotbaum lamented that "confusion and uncertainty descended on the [TWU] voters and at this date no one can predict their decision."

Gotbaum has blamed this "confusion and uncertainty" on Mayor Koch, saying the mayor should have claimed

the settlement represented a 9 percent wage increase instead of 6 percent.

"I don't think the members of the TWU are 'confused' or 'uncertain' about what they need," Markey said. "They want an adequate wage increase, a cost-of-living allowance not tied to speedup, job security, and repayment of deferred wages owed them from the last contract."

"Instead of advising Koch about how to sell an inadequate contract, AFSCME leaders should be organizing the membership to show support for the transit workers," Markey said.

"As a matter of elementary union solidarity, we should be saying loud and clear that the transit workers have a right to vote their conscience, free from threats and intimidation. They have a right to take whatever action is necessary—including strike—to win a decent contract."

"And as a matter of self-interest, everything we can do to help the transit workers win a better deal is helping ourselves as well."

"Statements by Gotbaum that he would settle for the proposed contract cut across the union solidarity that is needed," Markey said.

"And it is certainly premature to be saying that AFSCME will accept the miserly offer made to the TWU. Our members have the right to decide that."

"Both our union and the TWU can take a lesson from the coal miners. We should have the right to a copy of the actual contract, a full and open discussion, and then a democratic vote. Those are the necessary first steps for the union membership to show our determination and our power to win what we need."

—V.S.

potentially the most powerful force for social change in the country.

The ruling class attempts to pit working people against the antinuclear movement by holding up the relatively "low risks" of nuclear power as a lesser evil to unemployment. But this is a false counterposition.

Labor has a big stake in the fight against nuclear power, just as it does against all forms of environmental pollution and dangerous working conditions. The changing attitudes in the working class, most dramatically illustrated by the recent coal strike, are a sign that antinuclear activists will find a receptive ear from a great many union members.

### Getting out the truth

Winning mass support also means increasing and making more systematic the excellent job, already begun, of getting the truth out about the hazards of nuclear power. It means effectively refuting the arguments of those who champion nuclear energy and winning the battle for the minds of the big majority of American people.

An important part of securing this support will be increasing the kinds of actions already being carried out on a local and regional scale—rallies, demonstrations, picket lines, debates, speaking at public hearings, and participating in referenda. These activities help to attract the attention of potential supporters, inspire active partisans, show the extent of opposition, and exert increasing pressure on the capitalist government.

They can attract the broadest support if they are organized on a nonexclusive basis, welcoming everyone who agrees with the demand to halt the nukes.

The impact of these activities can be amplified many times over if they are part of a national orientation. Through nationally coordinated actions, the movement can show the entire country how widespread antinuclear sentiment is.

If agreement can be reached on a common date for antinuke actions across the country, and the word can get out widely enough, fresh forces will be inspired and organized. New coalitions will be set up in cities and towns from coast to coast, working together on a coordinated date.

A good idea would be to also establish contacts with antinuclear groups in other countries and explore the possibility of international coordination.

Lovejoy's worry that a national focus diverts attention from local activity is not well founded and is not the experience of most other national protest movements. Rather than being sapped by a national focus, local committees will be inspired with a greater sense of accomplishment and strength when they can see themselves as part of a larger movement.

The scope of local and regional activity during the past year suggests that sufficient antinuke feeling exists for organizing a genuinely large action, far larger than any that have occurred so far.

A national day of protests would be a step forward. Such an action would not require a great deal of national coordination and corresponds to the present stage of the movement. All that is necessary is for one of the more prominent local or regional committees—the Clamshell Alliance, Palmetto Alliance, Catfish Alliance, May 22 Coalition, and so on—to propose this to other committees in the rest of the country, set a date, and put out a call.

While the approach of building a national movement may seem to take longer than the strategy of local occupations, it is the only road to achieving the goal we are fighting for—an end to all forms of nuclear energy.



KEVIN KELLOGG

# Building the socialist movement in Albany



SWP plans to take its ideas to people who work at the GE plant (above) and Empire Plaza (right).

By Diane Wang

ALBANY, N.Y.—Kevin Kellogg's grandfather, uncles, and father all worked in an Ohio coal mine. They all died of black lung.

When the mine closed in the 1950s, Kellogg's family moved to upstate New York. Kellogg worked at several places, participating in six union organizing drives. For a while that made it hard for him to get a job. Now he is a textile worker, turning cotton into felt.

Kellogg describes the place he works as "clean" compared to some textile plants. Nonetheless, when the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union did a study of his kind of work, it found that four out of five people doing it for more than a year developed respiratory trouble. Kellogg has been making felt for a year and a half.

"So my father died of black lung, and I get to die of brown lung—I guess that's the capitalist version of progress," says Kellogg.

Since that sums up what capitalism offers for a future, Kellogg is a socialist. In 1974 he joined the Young Socialist Alliance. Last year he helped start a branch of the Socialist Workers Party in Albany.

## Hudson valley

Albany, capital of New York, is the largest city in this area along the Hudson River. Up and down the river there are General Electric plants, steel mills, railroads, and textile mills.

A militant working-class tradition goes way back in this area. In 1906 GE workers held one of the country's first sitdown strikes. In the 1950s thousands of GE workers picketed when Joseph McCarthy brought his witch-hunt hearings to the area.

Nearby Schenectady had a Socialist Party mayor in the early 1900s. And during the 1920s and 1930s, women organized strikes in the textile mills.

But the Democratic Party—in its "machine" or "reform" varieties—has kept a tight hold on politics here for many years. Albany Mayor Erastus Corning, for example, is in his tenth term of office. His grandfather was Albany's first mayor.

Now the Socialist Workers Party is in Albany. It operates the Militant Bookstore, the only place in Albany, Troy, or Schenectady where you can get literature about labor history, the Black struggle, women's liberation, socialism, and other such topics.

The bookstore is busy on Saturdays, with people dropping in to browse and talk. A local Puerto Rican student group was so pleased with the book-

store that they put an unsolicited ad for it in their paper.

Many political events also happen where the socialists can take their literature. In recent weeks, for example, a regional conference of the National Organization for Women, a speakout against the Bakke decision, and a coal miners' solidarity meeting all took place in Albany.

## 'Couldn't believe it'

Last year Kellogg ran for mayor of Albany on the SWP ticket. He recalls the reaction at work when the announcement of his campaign came over the radio during lunch. Some of his co-workers placed a bet on whether it was really their friend who was running.

"Nobody believes someone they actually know would run for mayor," Kellogg says. The idea of a worker running for office is new to most people. In fact, getting more workers to think about this idea was one of the main reasons Kellogg ran for mayor.

It's not just a question of individual working people running, he explains, but of moving toward a political party based on the power of organized labor.

A few weeks ago Kellogg explained it this way at work. Several people were talking about the union grievance procedure. It's not enough to have two grievors, Kellogg explained. Those two have to be backed up with the clout of the whole union.

In the same way, he continued, workers need to back up their union with the clout of political action, with a party based on the trade unions.

## Solidarity

Independent labor political action would be part of a whole new course for the unions—a course of uniting all working people to fight the employers. Kellogg has a lot to say about that, too.

Last fall, for example, the ACTWU joined with the garment workers union in nationwide demonstrations and shutdowns to back the textile industry's campaign against overseas products. The union leadership echoed the bosses' arguments that foreign workers are causing unemployment in this country.

Kellogg argued against that idea. He pointed out that more textile jobs had been lost to runaway shops in the South than to overseas goods. The way to deal with that, Kellogg said, is to help southern labor—such as the J.P. Stevens workers—to unionize.

In the same way, he said, the response to foreign workers should be one of solidarity.

Kellogg's union local did not take part in the anti-imports action.

## TV debate

During his mayoral campaign Kellogg debated his opponents before an audience of 250 people at a meeting organized by the League of Women Voters. The debate was broadcast on local TV.

Housing was one of the big issues. One out of five apartments in Albany needs repair. There are many fires, some of them deadly. A grand jury has been investigating the failure to enforce fire and housing codes.

Kellogg proposed a solution to the problem: the government should take over buildings that land-

lords refuse to fix and provide safe, cheap housing for everyone. Mayor Corning responded that that would be illegal.

But safety code violations are also illegal, Kellogg answered. "Which laws do you enforce—the ones that protect lives, or the ones that protect property?"

With positions like that, Kellogg won a good hearing in Albany public housing projects. Residents held two meetings for him. One was hosted by a Black steelworker the socialists had met while selling the *Militant*.

## New campaign

Kellogg plans to talk to an even larger audience now that he is running for a statewide office. He is the SWP candidate for lieutenant governor.

The SWP will be taking its ideas to the 27,000 people working at the huge GE plant that is thirty minutes from Albany. Just a few weeks ago, 3,000 GE workers walked off the job over a grievance there.

In addition, there are the many state employees in Albany. About 30,000 people work at the Empire Plaza, one of two state office complexes.

"These state employees have an opportunity to vote on their own boss," Kellogg says. "Why not vote for someone who represents their own interests?"

Kellogg will also campaign on the dozen local campuses. There are more than 30,000 full-time undergraduate students in Albany, more than 9,000 at the big state university campus.

The Young Socialist Alliance will help boost the campaign there.

## Different sort

SWP candidates are not like Democrats and Republicans. They don't promise that they as individuals will solve people's problems. Instead, they explain that only working people and the oppressed themselves have that social power and must use it to change society. And socialist candidates are active in movements for social change.

Diane Shur, the SWP candidate for U.S. Congress from the Albany area, is an example. She is a coordinator of the Capital District Coalition to Overturn the Bakke Decision.

A month ago Shur debated the Bakke decision at the State University of New York in Albany. The audience of more than 150 people was divided on the question, with about one-third favoring affirmative action, another third opposing it, and the rest undecided.

"I think we really won over some people," Shur says. "It was one of the best experiences I've had."

Shur is also active in the National Organization for Women and is a YSA member.

## Not unique

"Albany has never before seen anything like the SWP," says Kellogg. The socialists plan to make sure their party is seen—at all the plants and mills, housing projects, and campuses in the area. Seen taking part in all the struggles to put human needs ahead of profits.

The SWP expects to grow in Albany. Kevin Kellogg is not unique. There are many others like him in Albany who will be eager to join.



DIANE SHUR

Militant/Lou Howort



# international **socialist** review

## **The Transitional Program: A Strategy for the Unions Today**

**By Frank Lovell**



**May Day Feature**

**Labor's Struggle for a Shorter Workweek**

**A Speech by Henry Foner**

# THE MONTH IN REVIEW

## Carter Plan Aims to 'Zap Labor'—Not Inflation

This issue's column was written by guest contributor William Gottlieb.

On April 11 President Carter announced his program for "controlling" inflation. The April 12 *New York Times* summarized it in a front-page headline: "Carter Asks Sacrifice by Industry and Labor to Help Curb Inflation."

The part about asking industry to sacrifice is typical Carter softsoap. In reality, Democrat Carter's goal is the same as those of his Republican predecessors Nixon and Ford. This was summed up by a Nixon administration adviser in two words: "Zap labor."

The president made only a minimal effort to conceal this fact. "Let me be blunt about this point," he stated. "I am asking American workers to follow the example of federal workers and accept a lower rate of wage increase. [Carter is pressuring federal employees unions to settle for a 5.5 percent increase.] In return they have a right to expect a comparable restraint in price increases for the goods and services they buy."

Carter demands that workers accept wage increases far below current inflation rates. He offers them, in exchange, the "right" to expect the employers to limit price hikes. Carter's pitch centered on the myth that wage increases cause inflation.

But the experience of recent years demonstrated that limiting wage increases, or even cutting wages, does not prevent prices from skyrocketing. Several years of wage controls after 1971, imposed with the cooperation of top union bureaucrats, did not block the double-digit inflation of 1974-75.

The claims of Nixon-Ford-Carter that the government can control prices if wages are held down is false. Wages can be restricted because they are set in contracts involving thousands of workers—and the government can count on employers' help in pressing workers to "obey the law." Prices are set every day at many stages of production and distribution and in countless market transactions. The employers provide no help in controlling prices, even if the government wanted this.

All that was accomplished by the Nixon-Ford policies was to cause wages and salaries to *fall behind* price increases, cutting the real income of working people. The difference was pocketed by the employers. Carter's promise to "control" inflation through mutual sacrifices by business and labor has the same purpose: to enrich big business at labor's expense.

This is demonstrated by the joint opposition of government and big business to

including cost-of-living increases in union contracts. The Democrats and Republicans never question the "right" of big business to protect profits by "passing along" increased costs in the form of higher prices.

But when workers try to protect living standards by "passing along" increased costs to employers in the form of cost-of-living escalator clauses, they are denounced for promoting inflation. Profits are sacred to big business and its government, but workers' living standards are expendable.

The real cause of the plague of inflation lies in the mammoth war budget and the dependence of the decaying capitalist economy on increased government, corporate, and private indebtedness.

To pay for the Pentagon arsenal and meet the massive interest payments on government bonds, the federal government borrows money. The final effect is just about the same as if it simply printed more paper dollars. The amount of paper dollars in circulation increases—it increases *faster* than the production of goods. Each dollar buys less than before.

These developments are rooted in the decline of capitalism over several decades.

The depression of the 1930s, followed by World War II, shook world capitalism to its foundations. The victory of the USSR in the war and the overturn of capitalism in Eastern Europe, China, and elsewhere following the war were big setbacks for imperialism. In the colonial world, nationalist and democratic struggles forced the imperialists to accede to formal independence in most cases. American imperialism reacted by building up a gigantic military machine to preserve capitalist domination where it was threatened and to attempt to restore capitalist rule where it had been overthrown.

Large-scale arms spending became a permanent institution of U.S. capitalism. The huge public debt built up to finance World War II was not reduced, as occurred after earlier wars, but vastly increased.

The bosses feared that another great depression could lead to the downfall of their system. They increased government spending—and borrowing—whenever an economic recession threatened to deepen into depression. The government stood ready to bail out big banks and monopolistic corporations if they got into trouble. The rulers grudgingly allowed some economic benefits to trickle down to working people as well.

These circumstances, combined with economic boom after World War II, led to a huge expansion of private indebtedness as well. Between 1946 and 1976 private and public debt in the United States rose from \$396 billion to \$3.35 trillion—a jump of more than 800 percent!

Prices rose even during recessions. Inflation accelerated during the Korean and Vietnam wars with stepped-up deficit spending by the government. Eventually the boom gave way to a deepening economic crisis.

A turning point was the 1974-75 depression. In the past economic crises were marked by monetary deflation and lower prices—accompanied by chain-reaction

bankruptcies, falling wages, massive unemployment, and misery for most people.

The capitalists fear that a deflationary depression would spur radicalization of the working and middle classes. It would also lead to a sharp decline in government revenues, making it difficult to sustain the expanding armaments budget that imperialism requires.

The U.S. rulers thus far have dealt with the developing crisis by seeking to "control" rather than abolish inflation. They are cutting back government services for working people and trying to roll back the living and working conditions of the masses while simultaneously allowing the public debt to mushroom, escalating the arms race, and stepping up government assistance and tax breaks to big business. Procapitalist economists have named this situation "stagflation" because it combines economic downturn with inflation.

Closely related to these developments is the tendency to devalue national currencies against one another and gold, in part as a deliberate policy of capitalist governments. (The U.S. position in world trade benefited from the recent decline of the dollar, which lowered the price of U.S. goods abroad.) Devaluations are inflationary, raising the prices of imports and thus encouraging U.S. capitalists to raise their prices.

Inflation is a massive tax on the working class to pay for the costs of preserving the decaying capitalist system, including its built-in drive towards war.

By lowering real wages and other benefits it redistributes wealth from the working class to the monopolies and the capitalist government.

Workers should not follow Carter's instruction to moderate wage increases. Their restraint won't stop inflation but only subject their living standards to deeper erosion by inflation. Workers need big wage increases to make up for past inflation and for the fact that they are being paid in devalued dollars.

Union members and other workers have a right to escalator clauses in contracts to ensure their wages rise with every increase in prices. They should fight for the inclusion of cost-of-living escalators in pensions, welfare payments, and unemployment compensation. Cost-of-living escalators do not cause inflation—they are a weapon of self-defense to block the capitalists from using inflation to plunder workers.

Workers should reject the claim that some need to be consigned to the poverty and demoralization that accompany unemployment in order to stop inflation. Inflation isn't caused by workers doing their jobs and producing more goods. It's the product of capitalism's profit hunger. Workers need a shorter workweek with no cut in pay so that everyone can have a decent job.

Instead of cutting money for schools, hospitals, child care, and other necessary social services in the name of fighting inflation, the government should junk the war budget.

The bosses and their system are responsible for inflation. Let them pay for it. All working people want is a decent life—not mountains of profits—and they are entitled to it.

## CONTENTS

The Month  
In Review ..... 2

The Transitional  
Program: A Strategy  
for the Unions Today  
by Frank Lovell ..... 3

The Labor Movement's  
Struggle for a Shorter  
Workweek  
by Henry Foner ..... 6

Menachem Begin's Real Record  
by Leonard Glazer ..... 10

Letters ..... 11

'Democracy and Revolution'  
reviewed by Bob Bresnahan 12



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# The Transitional Program: A Strategy for the Unions Today



100,000 participated in union-sponsored march for jobs in Washington, D.C., on April 26, 1975

Drafted in April 1938 as capitalism was mired in economic crisis, the proposals in the Transitional Program are even more relevant for union members today. They offer a way for unions to combat the big business drive to extort "givebacks" from workers.

By Frank Lovell

## I

When Leon Trotsky drafted the Transitional Program in April 1938 for consideration and adoption by the Fourth International, he discussed it with leading members of the Socialist Workers Party. In preparing the program Trotsky drew on his decades of experience in the working-class movement including his role as coleader with Lenin of the 1917 Russian revolution.

### The Political Context

The SWP was then the largest and most experienced group in the revolutionary socialist movement. It had successfully fused with leftward-moving political tendencies of workers and youth, including the American Workers Party and the youth of the Socialist Party. It was part of the resurgent mass movement against social neglect and repression. It had led mass unemployed demonstrations. Members of the SWP had organized and were leading the Teamsters union in Minneapolis, the only union formation with a consistent class-struggle leadership. The party was involved in struggles against government strikebreaking in the maritime unions. It was actively helping to build CIO (Committee of Industrial Organizations) unions in auto, steel, rubber, and other industries.

The new CIO unions were the focus of the class struggle in this country.

The class-struggle policies of the Socialist Workers Party were winning rank-and-file sup-

port and gaining some ground against the Social Democrats and the much larger Stalinist Communist Party, who sought collaborative peace with the employers and the Roosevelt administration.

The problems confronting the new unions at that time were mounting due to the deepening economic crisis that followed a brief "recovery" in 1937. The political limitations of the CIO unions blocked their continued growth and threatened their existence.

The fascists were in power in Germany and Italy, and growing fascist formations, financed by corporate wealth, were a threat to working-class organizations in all major capitalist countries, including the United States.

World War II was then an ominous cloud on the political horizon, moving closer and casting its shadow upon governments and the governed.

This is the way the world looked to the leaders of the Socialist Workers Party. Both they and Trotsky welcomed the opportunity to collaborate on a program that could unite the workers of the world in struggle against capitalist barbarism. The document they discussed sought to summarize the essential experience of Marxist politics from the Communist Manifesto of 1848 to the first victorious working-class revolution led by the Russian Bolsheviks in 1917 to the worldwide economic crisis of the capitalist system in the 1930s.

### Purpose of the Program

The purpose was to reveal the *method* of Marxist politics.

The problem was to bridge the gap between the daily social demands of workers and other victims of capitalism and the winning of government power by mass working-class parties everywhere in the world.

The SWP leaders and Trotsky agreed that the solution was a system of transitional demands, properly understood and selectively used.

The *Transitional Program*, when adopted by the founding congress of the Fourth International in September 1938, was titled *The Death Agony of Capitalism and the Tasks of the Fourth*

*International*. It was adapted to the needs of the workers and exploited in the three economic sectors of the world—the imperialist nations (those under fascist rule and the so-called democracies), the colonial and semicolonial countries, and the bureaucratized workers state, the Soviet Union.

Along with the system of transitional demands, linked to immediate demands for improved living standards, the defense and use of democratic rights (often denied by capitalist and bureaucratic rulers) was an integral part of the program.

Struggles for democratic rights have a special importance in uniting all parts of the working class for effective struggle against the employers. Workers need to support the demands of Blacks and women for equality, for instance, or else foster divisions that aid the capitalist enemy.

The same demands and the same organizational means are not useful at all times and in all places, and this was taken into account. But the world economy then was dominated by imperialism. This influence was felt in all countries (even the Soviet Union), each with its own peculiarities. Trotsky cautioned that "real live politics must begin with these peculiar conditions in each country, and even in each part of the country."

The program as he envisioned it was "only the first approximation." It was meant to be used, adapted to particular circumstances, and elaborated. Trotsky suggested a program of transitional demands for farmers in the United States, "connected to that of the workers."

### Effects of World War II

Much has happened since the Transitional Program was drafted and adopted forty years ago. Most especially World War II occurred, with the terrible destruction it wrought and the economic and political consequences that ensued. That war changed almost everything on the face of the earth. It unleashed new technology, including atomic power that has created the possibility of a nuclear holocaust.

Yet following the war, social relations throughout the world remained basically unchanged,

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Growth of industrial unions made them the focus of class struggle in the 1930s

despite shifts away from the old order.

Capitalism was displaced in Eastern Europe, China, and Cuba. Inconclusive colonial uprisings ushered in a new era of formally independent countries still economically oppressed by imperialism. Despite these social upheavals, imperialism still dominates the world market. The United States remains the preeminent imperialist power. The class struggle between employers and workers continues unabated. The capitalist economy on a world scale is again in crisis, a crisis of overproduction with all its prewar features.

For two decades in the wake of World War II (from 1950 to 1970) capitalist prosperity prevailed, more so in the United States than elsewhere. This rested on reconstruction of war-shattered countries and expanding armaments industries. No year passed without war, beginning in Korea and continuing in Indochina.

### Social Protest

In the 1960s two mass protest movements exploded, one on a world scale and the other in the United States. The first was the demonstrations by student youth in each of the world's three economic sectors. Second was the Black struggle here.

Both resulted from and spurred on a deepening radicalization, a process of disenchantment with old social values. The poor, disfranchised, and disaffected were demanding of the rulers more material benefits, more civil liberties, more political freedom, and a better quality of life. Those without voice in the management of society suddenly demanded change.

The United Secretariat of the Fourth International responded to the rise of a new radicalized generation by drafting "A Strategy for Revolutionary Youth," a guide to anticapitalist action. The Socialist Workers Party, based on the experiences of the civil rights movement and the ghetto uprisings in major U.S. cities, published "A Transitional Program for Black Liberation." Both documents, prepared in 1969, were applications and extensions of the 1938 Transitional Program.

Together with the Transitional Program, these documents can be studied in *The Transitional Program for Socialist Revolution* by Leon Trotsky, published by Pathfinder Press. A new, third edition of this book includes transcripts of the discussions Trotsky had with SWP leaders around various aspects and implications of the program.

### Roots of Capitalist Crisis

Since 1969 a new economic crisis has developed, and the radicalization has begun to affect the industrial working class. The political situation in the United States today is vastly different than in 1938, but there are some remarkable similarities.

The economic crisis in all fundamental respects is a rerun. World War II did not and could not resolve the basic contradiction of capitalist economy described by Marx more than a century ago: *the socially destructive contradiction between socialized production and private ownership and appropriation.*

Capitalism depends upon markets. The capitalist organizes production to make profits, and profits are invested to make still more profits.

Profits are derived from the exploitation of labor; that is, by devising ways (the use of machinery and speedup) to make workers produce more than they receive back in wages. Sooner or later the market, which in the final analysis depends upon the ability of the workers to buy back what they have produced at a price that will assure capitalists a substantial profit, is glutted with commodities that cannot be sold. Finally this process grips the entire system. Factories close. Unemployment rises, and banks fail. A new cycle then begins after a period of terrible destruction caused by economic depression, war, or both.

Trotsky assessed this process in 1938, during the Great Depression in the aftermath of World War I. "Many say it was a result of the war, but the war was a result of the fact that society exhausted its possibilities . . . and must be replaced by a new society or the old society will go into barbarism just as the civilization of Greece and Rome because they had exhausted their possibilities and no class could replace them."

Forty years and another world war later, this description of twentieth-century capitalism rings even more true because the experiences of the interim period confirm it. "Scientific technology develops," Trotsky said, "but the material forces are declining." Today technological development has put men on the moon, but capitalism has no way to provide work for the unemployed. Society is becoming poorer and poorer.

What is the solution?

The working class must reorganize the economy, bringing the distribution of goods into harmony with socialized production. This means that the main productive resources of society, raw materials and machinery, must be socially owned and operated. The mines, mills, and factories must be used for the needs of all people, not for the profits of a very few. In other words, socialism must replace the capitalist mode of production. This is the only way the productive potential of technology can be used to satisfy the needs of humanity.

### Origin of Working Class

In the historical development of productive forces, succeeding social systems have been replaced as each in turn proved incapable of satisfying the material needs of society. Slavery was replaced by feudalism, which in turn was overthrown by capitalism. Each succeeding social system was more productive than its predecessor.

Capitalism became the dominant mode of production in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The use of wage labor, upon which it depends, made possible the rapid expansion of the competitive system of commodity production. The invention and development of power-driven machinery in the nineteenth century's Industrial Revolution released the productive potential of capitalism. This potential was completely exhausted by the turn of the century. Twentieth-century capitalism is socially counterproductive, surviving by means of artificial scarcities in the market place, the development of technology that is increasingly destructive rather than productive, and the wanton destruction of warring

nations for control of the world market.

Capitalism produced a new social class peculiar to it, a class that developed with capitalism and did not exist in any previous society: the class of wage earners, the modern industrial working class. This class—the largest class in our society—is destined to replace capitalism with socialism, as the capitalist class previously replaced the old feudalism.

Under feudalism the traders and merchants gained control of the forces of production, acquired knowledge in the management of industry, gained control of the monetary system, and developed a new philosophy for the reorganization of society. All this transpired *before* they challenged the rule of their oppressors, the aristocracy of the Old Order. The revolutions that ushered in capitalist society were led by an experienced and accomplished class, one already accustomed to the exercise of power and schooled in the art of government. Jefferson, Washington, Franklin, and Adams were men with supreme confidence in their ability to organize a new government in America. This was because they derived their authority from a social class already in control of the essential means of production.

The modern working class does not have control of industry, nor does it have experience in the art of government. It has all the necessary skills without which industry cannot operate, but it lacks knowledge of administration. Workers do have complete self-confidence in their ability to reorganize production for the needs of society and to establish a government for their own protection. In this respect they are different from their revolutionary predecessors.

## II

The Transitional Program provides the means for the working class to acquire the necessary experience and self-confidence to establish a workers government, which can come about only through struggle against the encroachments of the employers.

The class conflict between workers and employers in this country is sharper today than at any time since World War II. In this respect the current social and economic crisis is similar to that of 1937 except that it is even more deepgoing and explosive. The system of transitional demands is, therefore, more applicable now than when it was originally drafted.

### The 'Giveback' Scheme

The employing class has launched a broadside offensive against the living standards of workers and poor people. Their purpose is to preserve the high profit rates attained in the past. The employer attack is prompted by the chronic economic crisis, characterized by inflation, unemployment, and stagnating industrial development.

The employers make no secret of their antilabor goals, seeking to explain and justify them on social and economic grounds. The workers must sacrifice, they say, to save the present system of society. In a flagrant display of this attitude, the mine operators provoked a coal strike by demanding that miners give up their health insurance, their safety protection, their pension rights, their cost-of-living wage escalator, their five-day workweek, and their right to strike. The operators wanted to eliminate the United Mine Workers of America as an effective defense organization for miners. They sought to establish a new relationship between coal miners and mine management and in the process lower the quality of life in the mine regions. This was necessary, they said, to insure a "stable labor force." The Carter administration supported the operators' demands, presenting them as a solution to the "energy crisis."

All sectors of industry, city and state governments, and the political structure controlled by the Democratic and Republican parties are supporting a new campaign demanding "givebacks" from the union movement. Their argument is that in past years union members were granted high wages and such "fringe benefits" as free medical care and pensions, advantages that unorganized workers never had. Because of the economic crisis, private employers and city administrators claim, there is no longer any money to meet their past commitments under union negotiated contracts.

A report in the March 26, 1978, *New York Times* boasted about the success of this anti-union strategy. "In the coal industry's recent



negotiations," the report said, "the mine operators demanded a rollback of health-care benefits. The long strike against the Lockheed Aircraft Corporation this winter was tied to the company's demand for the giveback of plant seniority rights. New York City and the Metropolitan Transit Authority demand givebacks to compensate for pay increases sought by unions. Construction unions, under pressure from the growth of non-union contractors, have given back items ranging from coffee breaks to so-called 'make work' rules.

"The railroads are pushing to take away crew-size guarantees," the report continues, "and New York newspaper publishers have presented the Newspaper Guild with a booklet full of giveback demands."

This is a sampling of the antiunion drive, which is encouraged (and in some instances directed, as in the mine strike) by federal agencies.

### State of the Unions

The unions are the only mass organizations in the United States that exist for the protection of workers' rights. The employers hope in the next period to destroy some unions and bring others under crippling government regulations.

The existing industrial unions have been bureaucratized. Their independence of government controls has been greatly weakened since their formation in the great class-battles of the 1930s. Nevertheless, they are working-class organizations, and in this respect they differ from all other established institutions in capitalist society. The union movement is more than 20 million members strong, comprising a quarter of the work force.

Unions are organized in all the basic industries and could control the nation's productive machinery. Their potential economic and political power stems from the membership, who have the advantage of numbers, a class-struggle heritage, and a viable organizational structure. What is possible for the unions in self-defense against the employing-class offensive was demonstrated by the members of the United Mine Workers in their determined strike and by the solid moral and financial support they received from other unions and other oppressed groups, including farmers.

*The union movement is again the focus of the class struggle in this country.*

### Leadership Problem

The weakness of the union movement is lack of leadership. Top union officials, without exception, defend the outmoded capitalist system and support the political parties of the capitalist class. Every contract they negotiate includes a clause on "management prerogatives" in which the profit motives of the employers supersede the needs of the workers. These leaders fear the consequences of the current economic crisis but feel powerless and helpless to do anything about it.

When unemployment hits an industry, the union officials look to the employers for guidance and join the industry lobby for curbs on foreign imports, hoping "times will get better." Rising prices, which are boosted by trade restrictions and monopoly controls, are deplorable. But union

officials absolve themselves of all responsibility. "What can the unions do about that?" they ask. Their interest in political action is limited to seeking favors in the two-party swamp of capitalist politics. Their social horizon does not extend beyond the confines of "their" unions.

The union movement is, in one respect, a vanguard of the working class. Every struggle for higher wages and a better standard of living helps the unorganized, as well as those who lead the struggle. The union movement also depends upon the entire working class for support in these struggles. It is therefore obligated to champion the needs of all workers for jobs, housing, health care, education, pensions, and a better life generally in a society of equals.

The working class is historically destined to make all these necessary changes. In order to do this it must have its own democratically controlled organizations, zealously independent of

**'Those who have been trapped in a company union and then broken out through a strike that established a genuine union will know what the organization of a labor party will do to change relations with the employers on the political arena.'**

all government restrictions. It must have leaders who at least recognize that the unions were created in struggle to defend the interests of workers against the employers. The future existence of these unions depends upon new leaders who will put the needs of the membership and of the working class above the problems of the employers and the needs of the capitalist system.

The struggle to satisfy the needs of the working class is the road to solving all the problems stemming from capitalism and its crisis. This is the attitude and approach of class-conscious leaders, the kind of leaders who helped build the unions.

The crisis of the capitalist system demands a decisive break with the Democrats and Republicans by the workers and their class organizations. If humanity is to survive and move forward, the working class must have its own mass party, a party that intends to win government power, establish a workers administration, and bring about socialism.

### Program for Unions

These are objectives the Transitional Program was designed to serve. It is a program of action for the union movement and for a mass party of the working class. It is a working-class answer to the present impasse of the unions and the chronic crisis of capitalist society.

In September 1938 Trotsky was visited at his

home in Mexico by a CIO official from New York. Their discussion about the unions revealed the limitations of most union officials (then and now) and indicated how some problems faced by the unions can be overcome. The CIO organizer asked Trotsky, "What do you consider a correct program?"

The answer was brief, and to the point. "You know that I am a Marxist; more precisely, a Bolshevik. My program has a very short and simple name: *socialist revolution*. But I don't ask that leaders of the union movement immediately adopt the program of the Fourth International. What I do ask is that they draw conclusions from their work, from their own situation. . . ."

The situation included massive unemployment, rising prices, lack of membership attendance at union meetings, and the deep involvement of the top union officials in the Democratic Party. Trotsky made an interesting observation about small union meetings. The CIO organizer had complained that "the past history of the United States with its unlimited opportunities, its individualism, has not taught our workers to think socially. It's enough," he said, "to tell you that at best 15 percent of the organized workers come to union meetings. That's something to think about."

Trotsky thought about it. "But perhaps," he asked, "the reason for the absenteeism of 85 percent is that the speakers have nothing to say to the ranks?"

Later in the discussion Trotsky answered his own question. "When the speakers talk in the language of workers' leaders and not of White House agents, then 85 percent of the members will come to meetings, while the 15 percent of conservative oldsters, worker-aristocrats, and careerists will stay away," he said. "The masses are better, more daring, more resolute than the leaders. The masses wish to struggle. Putting the brakes on the struggle are the leaders who have lagged behind the masses. Their own indecisiveness, their own conservatism, their own bourgeois prejudices are disguised by the leaders with allusions to the backwardness of the masses. Such is the true state of affairs at present."

### III

The Transitional Program deals specifically with the most crucial economic and social problems, including the effects of mass unemployment coupled with continuously rising prices. In the simplistic equations of capitalist economists it is assumed that with the rise of unemployment, purchasing power declines, automatically causing a decline in prices. Even now the fixers in Washington claim inflation can be halted by freezing wages; and conversely that wage raises cause inflation. This is a lie.

Union research staffs know that inflation is largely due to the huge military budget, deficit government spending, and the enormous national debt—now more than \$700 billion. (In 1938 the national debt was less than \$40 billion.)

Trotsky paid special attention to this combined, seemingly contradictory condition. He pointed out that "two basic economic afflictions, in which is summarized the increasing absurdity of the capitalist system, that is *unemployment* and *high prices*, demand generalized slogans and methods of struggle."

The generalized slogan in the Transitional Program for dealing with these afflictions is a *sliding scale of hours and sliding scale of wages*. The workers need full employment and weekly pay checks adjusted to constantly rising prices. This ought to be a primary concern of the unions.

In the postwar years most unions have demanded cost-of-living clauses in wage contracts. The purpose of the clause is to keep wages abreast of rising prices. It is a variation on the sliding scale of wages concept. However, the cost-of-living formula, pegged to the Labor Department's price index, allows wages to continually slip behind prices. Even so, this clause is one of the important gains of recent years that the employers are demanding unions "give back."

There is a growing layer of long-term unemployed, especially young people and people of the oppressed nationalities. This is a cause of growing manifestations of social misery (such as drug addiction). It exercises a strong downward pull on the living standards of all workers.

The demand for a sliding scale of hours with no pay cut, the purpose being to guarantee full employment at all times, has been translated into the slogan for a shorter workweek. Many unions have demanded the thirty-hour week at

*Continued on page ISR/8*

## For Further Reading...

### The Transitional Program for Socialist Revolution

By Leon Trotsky

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

### Prospects for Socialism in America

By Jack Barnes, et al.

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

### Leon Trotsky on the Trade Unions

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

To order, write: Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, New York 10014.

The following speech, dealing with the struggles of American workers for a shorter workday (struggles that led to the establishment of May Day as an international worker's holiday) was given by Henry Foner to the founding meeting of the All-Unions' Committee to Shorten the Work Week in Detroit on October 25, 1977.

Henry Foner is the president of the Joint Board of the Fur, Leather and Machine Workers Union (a component of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America).

Foner's presentation was based on research by historian Philip Foner. Foner is the author of 'History of the Labor Movement in the United States,' published in four volumes by International Publishers. Among Foner's recently published works are 'The Great Labor Uprising of 1877' and 'The Autobiographies of the Haymarket Martyrs,' both published by Monad Press.

A thread that runs through the entire history of the American labor movement has been the struggle to reduce the hours of work. A little more than a century and a half ago, the average American worker was at the job from "sunup to sundown." In summer this meant a workday of from fourteen to sixteen hours, with two hours or less off for meals. In winter it meant from nine to twelve hours, with one hour or less off for meals. Since wages were usually paid by the day rather than by the number of hours worked, employers were tempted to get their work done during the late spring, the summer, and the early fall, when they could secure more hours for the same wages. For the rest of the year, the working class lived under the constant shadow of unemployment.

#### Striking for a Shorter Workday

The first labor demand for the shorter workday was expressed in the movement for the ten-hour day. It began even before the first permanent trade unions were formed in the late 1790s. As far back as 1791, the Philadelphia carpenters went on strike for a ten-hour day and additional pay for overtime. We do not know the outcome of the strike.

In 1827, Boston and Philadelphia carpenters "turned out" for the ten-hour day. They believed, in the words of the Philadelphia carpenters, "that all men have a just right, derived from their Creator, to have sufficient time in each day for the cultivation of their mind for self-improvement." Other workers in Philadelphia viewed the strike as their own, saying that "thousands yet unborn" would reap its advantages.

The ten-hour movement was bitterly opposed by employers in Boston and Philadelphia. The carpenters were told that a ten-hour day was bad for the workers, because it would "exert a very unhappy influence on our apprentices, by seducing them from that course of industry and economy of time, to which we the employers are anxious to enure them" and that it would "expose the Journeymen themselves to many improvident temptations and improvident practices." Thus, the employers were actually doing the workers a favor by compelling them to stay on the job, by preventing them from wasting their time and money in taverns.

These early strikes for the ten-hour day failed, but the struggle continued. In 1835 Boston workers issued a circular urging all to fight for a ten-hour day, declaring:

"We have been too long subjected to the odious, cruel, unjust and tyrannical system which compels the operative mechanic to exhaust his physical and mental powers. We have rights and duties to perform as American citizens and members of society, which forbid us to dispose of more than ten hours for a day's work."

It was this Boston circular that stimulated the great Philadelphia general strike of 1835. The strike started when the Irish workers on the Schuylkill River coal wharves "turned out" for increased wages and a ten-hour day. So militant were these workers that no scabs dared to take their places. Their strike inspired others to join. Each new day groups of workers joined the coal heavers in the fight for a ten-hour day, and soon every union was on strike. Preceded by a fife and drum corps and by banners reading, "From 6 to 6, ten hours work and two hours for meals," the workers paraded in the streets. On June 22, 1835,

## A Speech by Henry Foner Labor's Struggle for a Short

barely three weeks after the coal heavers had begun their strike, the general strike was won. The ten-hour system and a corresponding advance of wages for pieceworkers was adopted throughout the city, including the city government.

The victory in Philadelphia was reported widely in the labor press and stimulated strikes for the ten-hour day in other cities. A wave of such strikes swept the country, most of which were successful. By the end of 1835, with the exception of Boston, the standard day's work for skilled mechanics was ten hours.

#### Employer Blacklist

The economic depression that began with the panic of 1837 and continued until 1841 wiped out most of these gains, and the vast majority of workers were forced to return to a work day of twelve to fourteen hours. This was a theme that was to be repeated over and over in American labor history. Once the depression was over, the struggle for the ten-hour day revived. It was encouraged by the fact that in 1840, the ten-hour day was established for federal government employees by executive order of President Martin Van Buren.

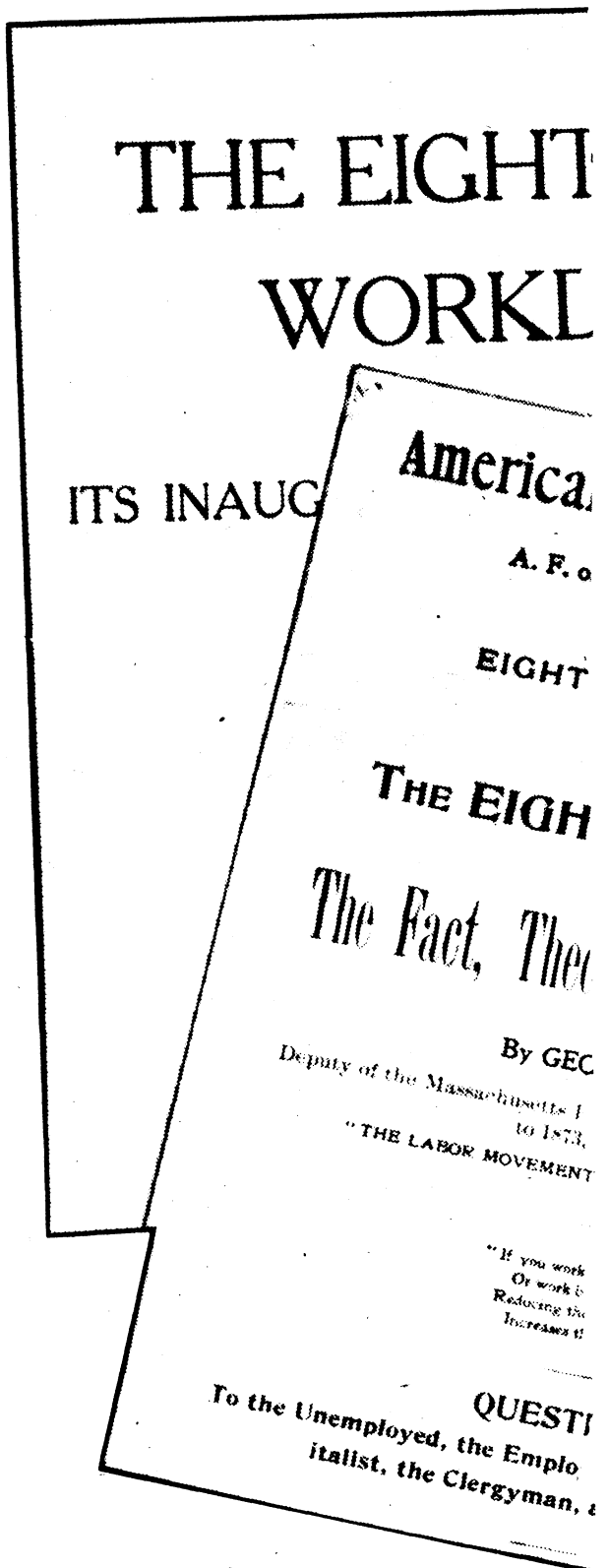
The movement for the ten-hour day in the 1840s was spearheaded by the New England Workingmen's Association formed during the fall of 1844. Contrary to what its name implied, a major role in the association's campaign was played by the women workers in the textile factories of New England and Pennsylvania. These women formed the first unions of factory workers in the United States—the Female Labor Reform Associations—and sent delegates to the conventions of the New England Workingmen's Association. They joined with the men in the drive for the ten-hour day. Petitions carrying the signatures of thousands of workers were sent to the legislatures in various states urging the passage of ten-hour laws. Several states yielded to the workers' demands for legislation to reduce the working hours. The first ten-hour law was passed by the legislature of New Hampshire in 1847. A year later Pennsylvania and Maine passed similar laws. However, clauses were inserted into the statutes at the insistence of the employers permitting employers to draw up special contracts with workers calling for more than ten hours' work. Even before the laws were passed, employers were already submitting these contracts to their workers and informing them that they had the alternative of signing and continuing to work or refusing to sign and going jobless. They threatened to send the names of those workers refusing to sign to all the corporations in the district so that it would be impossible for them to gain employment in other factories.

In spite of the terror of the blacklist, the workers fought valiantly to preserve the ten-hour laws by agreeing among themselves not to sign the special contracts. But the power of the corporations was too great. Workers who refused to sign were discharged. When they went elsewhere seeking employment, they found all doors closed to them.

The struggle for the ten-hour day continued. By 1860, ten hours had become the standard working day for most skilled mechanics. In most factories, hours were reduced from thirteen to eleven. In 1830 the average working day in America had been twelve and one-half hours. Thirty years later, as a result of the workers' militant campaigns, it had been reduced to eleven hours. With shorter hours, the workers were now able to devote more time and energy to strengthening their organizations for future campaigns to achieve a still shorter working day.

#### After the Civil War

Although some unions had raised the demand for an eight-hour day before and during the Civil War, the movement really began in earnest with



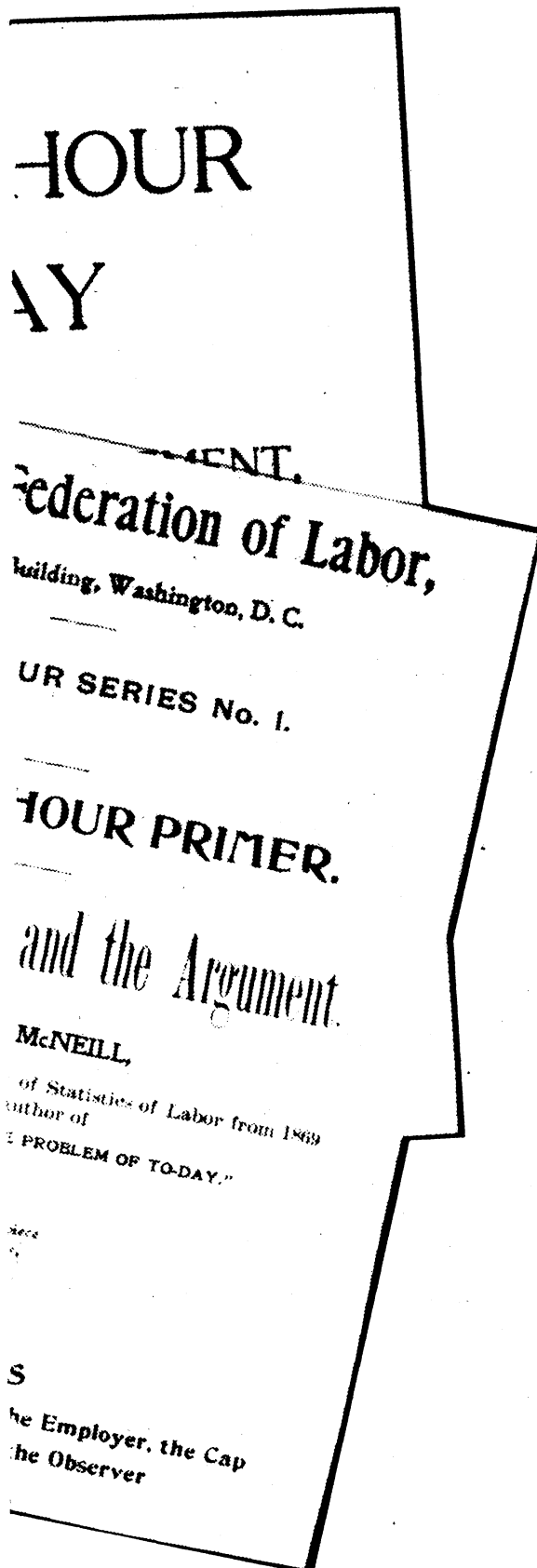
the end of the war and the return of the soldiers to their jobs. This raised the need for shorter hours in order to reduce unemployment. During this period, the movement was led by Ira Steward of the Machinists and Blacksmiths Union, who was called the "father of the eight-hour day." It received wide support from all national and local unions and from the National Labor Union, the first postwar national labor federation.

Steward's strategy was to secure the eight-hour day through legislation. To further this goal, he organized a network of Eight-Hour Leagues, which mobilized workers during elections to apply pressure on candidates and obtain their pledges to support eight-hour legislation once they were elected. This campaign made rapid headway during the mid-sixties. Several states passed eight-hour laws, and by the end of 1868 six states and several cities had adopted such legislation. Congress passed a law on June 25, 1868, that provided an eight-hour day for laborers, mechanics, and all other workmen in federal employ.

After 1868, the eight-hour movement declined. For one thing, the national law proved to be



# Workweek



ineffective. As the shorter workday was put into effect, the wages of federal workers were reduced. The government took the position that the eight-hour law did not cover contractors on government jobs. The state laws, too, were vitiated by the insertion of nullifying clauses. Thus, the Illinois law was to be effective only where there was "no special contract to the contrary." After the passage of these laws, employers informed their workers that only those who signed contracts agreeing to work longer hours could hold their jobs. With the onset of the panic of 1873 and the long depression that lasted for six years, even the eight-hour day gained by workers through strikes was swept away.

## Origin of May Day

In the 1880's the eight-hour movement revived. By 1886, hundreds of thousands of workers were joining together to carry out the resolution adopted by the Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions of the United States and Canada (the predecessor of the American Federation of Labor) at its 1884 convention. The resolution proclaimed that "eight hours shall constitute a legal day's labor from and after May 1, 1886,

and that we recommend to labor organizations throughout the district that they so direct their laws as to conform to the resolution by the time reached."

Newspapers and other spokesmen for the employers wailed that the eight-hour day was "Communism, lurid and rampant"—that it would encourage "loafing and gambling, rioting, debauchery, and drunkenness." They claimed it would only bring lower wages, more poverty, and social degradation for American workers. The workers were not impressed.

On May 1, 1886, about 350,000 workers in more than 11,000 establishments throughout the country went on strike for the eight-hour day. About 40,000 workers went on strike in Chicago alone, and more than 45,000 were granted a shorter working day without striking. A contemporary Chicago paper commented: "No smoke curled from the tall chimneys of the factories and mills, and things had assumed a Sabbath-like appearance."

On May 4 a protest meeting was called in Chicago's Haymarket Square by the Social Revolutionaries (anarchist leaders) to condemn police brutality against workers at the McCormick Harvester factory who were on strike for the eight-hour day and a two-dollar daily wage. Toward the end of the peaceful meeting, a bomb was thrown by an unknown person. Its explosion killed one policeman instantly, wounded five others so severely that they later died, and inflicted less serious wounds on some fifty people. The Haymarket tragedy provided employers with an excellent opportunity to kill off the eight-hour movement by associating it with anarchism. Newspaper headlines equated the eight-hour agitation with "bomb throwers."

After a series of police raids on workers' homes, eight men were arrested, charged, and brought to trial. They were all anarchists. They were responsible for the fact that Chicago had made a great contribution to the struggle for the eight-hour day on May 1, 1886.

The employers wanted to have them removed from the scene. On the other hand, many workers and trade unions—including the AFL—rallied to the defense of the men even though they condemned anarchism. These workers firmly believed that the eight were being persecuted not for their anarchist beliefs but for their militancy in the eight-hour movement.

After a travesty of a trial—in which they were accused, not of having thrown the bomb at the Haymarket meeting, but rather of having said or written things which *might* cause someone to throw a bomb—the eight men were found guilty. Four of them were hanged on November 11, 1887: Albert Parsons, August Spies, George Engel, and Oscar Neebe.

The Haymarket tragedy and the general employers' counteroffensive after May 4, 1886, slowed but did not end the struggle for a shorter workday. At its 1888 convention, the AFL decided that organized labor should concentrate all its efforts on inaugurating the eight-hour workday on May 1, 1890.

## Gains and Setbacks

In 1890 the carpenters and joiners led the movement for the eight-hour day. The union reported that it had won the eight-hour day for more than 46,000 workers in 137 cities and that nearly 30,000 had reduced their hours from ten to nine.

After 1891 the AFL left the task of achieving the eight-hour day to individual unions. On May 1, 1898, the United Mine Workers launched their drive for an eight-hour day. Meanwhile the fight in other trades and industries continued for the ten-hour and nine-hour day, and during the opening decade of the twentieth century, struggles were waged on all three fronts—for the ten, nine, and eight-hour day. Successes were achieved by a number of building-trade unions, who won eight- or nine-hour days in many cities. The International Typographical Union, which had lost a previous fight for the nine-hour day, launched a campaign for the eight-hour day in January 1906 with strikes in book and job printing. The union spent over \$4 million on these strikes. It not only won the eight-hour day but paved the way for a similar gain for other printing crafts, which did not have to strike for it.

After World War I employers, as part of their "open shop" movement, attempted to wipe out previous gains in the struggle for a shorter working day. The ITU, faced with a massive

attempt to eliminate the forty-four-hour week, fought back with strikes throughout the country. From May to December 1921 the union collected over \$6 million in assessments and spent about \$5.5 million in strike benefits. By June 1924 the union's victory was complete and the forty-four-hour week was retained. Several months earlier the twelve-hour day had been abolished in the steel plants and the eight-hour day introduced.

While the major battle in the 1920s was for the forty-four-hour week, one union raised the demand for a forty-hour week. This was the Fur Workers union of New York, under the leadership of Ben Gold. The fur workers went on strike in 1926 for the five-day, forty-hour week, and the strike call closed with a stirring appeal:

"A new era is dawning upon the working class. New vistas open before the laboring masses. Let us all unite in raising the banner of the FORTY-HOUR WEEK. Let it become the battle-cry of labor all over New York, all over the country."

"LONG LIVE THE 40-HOUR WEEK!"

"LONG LIVE THE SOLIDARITY OF THE WORKING CLASS!"

After many weeks of bitter struggle, the strike ended in a spectacular victory, and the New York fur workers became the first group of American workers to win the five-day, forty-hour week.

Despite this victory, most American workers still worked long hours. In 1929 only 19 percent of the wage earners in manufacturing were scheduled for fewer than forty-eight hours per week. The United States lagged behind virtually all the industrialized nations of Europe and Australia, where workers enjoyed the eight-hour day.

## Solution to Unemployment

The Great Depression, which got under way in October 1929, stirred a great deal of both feeling and thinking about the need for new campaigns for a shorter workweek. The advocates of shorter hours reasoned that the depression had been caused by the rate of technological advance, which exceeded that of either wage increases or reduction in hours. The inevitable result was technological unemployment—the displacement of workers by machines. The solution was to cut the hours of work with no loss in earnings, thereby increasing the number of jobs. This would lead to expanding purchasing power and ultimate economic recovery.

National hunger marches and unemployment demonstrations during the Great Depression raised the demand for immediate unemployment insurance and a seven-hour day, with no reduction in wages, and with six hours for miners, railroad workers, and young workers. The AFL refused to accept the demand for unemployment insurance, arguing that it was part of the un-American principle of the "dole." However, as unemployment rose to the figure of between 18 and 20 million, the Federation did come out for a thirty-hour week. At its 1929 convention, the "Committee on Shorter Workday" concluded its report with these words:

"The time has arrived when the American Federation of Labor should vigorously and definitely declare itself in support of a sharp reduction in the work-day and of the work-week. It must come. There is no other way. In keeping with the best thought of the time on this subject, we therefore recommend that this convention hereby records itself in advocacy of and as proposing to the country the universal adoption without delay of the six-hour day and the five-day work week.

"We further recommend . . . that such reduction in labor hours should carry with it no reduction in pay, but on the contrary wages should be maintained and steadily increased in keeping with the expansion of productive efficiency.

"We further recommend that this convention declare that this objective of the shorter workday and work-week be now declared its paramount purpose and that the officers of the American Federation of Labor be directed to spare no effort in giving purpose and direction to this program, and that they call upon the people generally in support thereof as the only means whereby the prosperity of our beloved country can be restored."

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted, and the executive council was instructed to take all necessary steps toward "having proper legislation . . . presented to the incoming session of Congress." On December 21, 1932, less

Continued on page ISR/12

## ...unions

Continued from page ISR/5

forty hours pay—"thirty for forty." Except for some building-trades unions representing small groups of skilled workers under the special circumstances of a tight labor market, none have seriously tried to reduce the hours of work since the eight-hour day was established.

The tendency on the part of the employers is to extend the working day by means of enforced overtime. This is yet another "takeback." In most industries the employers demand a free hand to operate seven days a week and to adjust the workday to suit their production needs.

The purpose of a generalized slogan for guaranteed full employment and living wages is to make life more secure for everyone, not just union members. Unions ought to lead the fight for these goals. In so doing, they can expect to win the support of unorganized workers. It is a good demand to fight for in each industry. The demand must also be addressed to the U.S. Congress. Basic changes should be fought for in the present wages-and-hours law, including a strict thirty-hour week for all industry. This would eliminate most of the present unemployment.

### Public Works

Another demand that should be directed to Congress today is the call for a massive public works program. This is often suggested by capitalist liberals and union heads as a way to help the unemployed, "so long as it doesn't interfere with private enterprise."

A serious public works program would provide many jobs; but its purpose ought to be rebuilding and cleaning up the decayed cities of this country, constructing a public transportation system, building low-cost public housing, planting new forests, clearing streams and lakes of industrial pollution, and creating badly needed schools and hospitals. Public works programs should carry out the socially necessary tasks that the "private sector" refuses to do because there is no prospect of big profits in it for the capitalist investors.

Projects such as these are often *talked about* at union meetings. Resolutions are adopted demanding public works programs, but nothing happens. The reason is obvious. The leaders depend on the willingness of capitalist politicians to draft the necessary legislation, private contractors to support the program, and the banking institutions to put up the money. The unions ask the employing class to do what is necessary for the workers, but the employers decide. And employer decisions depend entirely on how much profit there is in it for them. They have nothing to do with social needs.

### Open the Books!

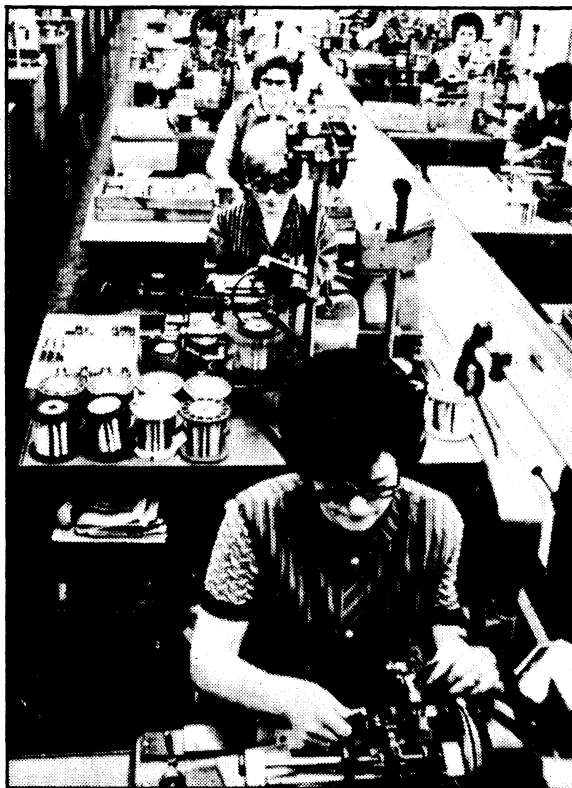
The employers often clamor for federal help—strictly controlled by bankers and other profiteers—to save so-called sick industries suffering from insufficient capital investment.

There is no lack of private capital seeking investment markets. However such industries as railroad, steel, and construction are presently less promising than other areas as arenas for profitable investment. Banks want federal guarantees for loans to such industries or even direct subsidies to assure profits. Increasingly they want price-protecting tariffs and other regulations that limit competition.

The Transitional Program offers the alternative to these swindles. In industries where the employers claim low profits, or where plants are closing due to poor management and insufficient demand for the products (as in the steel industry), the workers, through their unions, should demand that the books be opened to public inspection. They should propose that these industries be nationalized and reorganized under workers' control and that they produce for the needs of society.

This is closely linked to the demand for necessary, constructive public works, in contrast to boondoggling "make work" projects. A public works program that undertook, for example, to repair and replace worn out bridges, build a new rail transportation system, and construct public schools, hospitals, and libraries as needed would require a vast new output of steel and steel products. Steel mills would reopen, and the prices of steel could be reduced instead of raised.

None of this will happen without the initiative of the working class led by men and women who are workers and who understand the needs of working people and are determined to satisfy



The method of the Transitional Program sees labor support to the struggles of women and oppressed nationalities as necessary for working class unity against employer attacks.

those needs. The capitalists and their representatives have no such understanding or motivation.

The coal industry is a good example of how the capitalists operate. No longer on the "sick" list as it was for many years, coal is booming because of the energy crisis. The private owners of the mines have made no effort to clean them up or put them in proper working order. They are notorious for their disregard of the natural environment and the lives of the people who live and work in the mine regions. Instead of cleaning up pollution, installing new and safer machinery, and improving working conditions in and around the mines, the operators are doing the exact opposite. They try to speed up production, disregard safety laws, and in every way possible get coal out of the ground with little expense in order to rake in big profits on the high price of coal.

### Recovery of Stolen Property

Coal is the classic example of an industry that ought to be nationalized under workers' control, along with all mineral resources. A thorough investigation of the company books will show expropriation of this and other basic industries to be simply a matter of recovering stolen property.

The Transitional Program outlines the steps by which workers can carry out this task. It is a matter of workers controlling industry, acquiring knowledge and self-confidence, and developing plans for the more rational organization of society.

A public works program of the kind that is needed is a giant undertaking, something beyond the scope of "free enterprise." It will have to be undertaken under workers' control and coordinated through a democratically determined overall plan that satisfies basic economic and social needs.

If the bankers balk at financing the public

works program as planned (as they have in recent years refused to loan money to New York City), the need for the plan should be widely discussed to discover if anything is wrong with its goals and whether it should be undertaken without further delay. If money is the obstacle to public works, simply because no provision can be made for the payment of high interest rates, there is no reason why the banks should not be nationalized. This has nothing to do with confiscating small bank accounts, as falsely charged. The savings of working people and others with small incomes would be better safeguarded than now under the private banking system.

### Limitations of Unions

Can the unions undertake such ambitious projects?

Are such broad social needs as public works, universal free medical care, free public education through college, and other socially necessary plans proper issues for union to take up?

Can unions make such demands to the corporations they deal with?

They can make these demands upon the corporations, and they should. They will also need to address these demands to the government that is controlled by the corporations.

More important, the unions can win solid support for these demands from the vast majority of workers and others who will recognize their value. Responsible union leaders will organize educational campaigns and mass demonstrations to publicize these social needs and win the broadest possible support for them.

Unions alone cannot reorganize society. There are limits to what they can do. But they have vast resources and great potential social leverage. If honestly led, they can begin the process of social change. This will redound to the immediate benefit of union members.

The Transitional Program takes note of the limitations of the union movement. Unions represent only about one-fourth of the work force (the predominantly more skilled and better-paid layers); they are not structured to bring other layers of the working class into their councils in times of crisis; and they cannot substitute for the mass political party that will champion the working-class program in the political arena.

The Transitional Program calls for the organization of factory committees to support class-struggle union demands and help bring additional social weight and mass pressure to bear upon the employers and the government. Factory committees have the advantage of forming quickly in response to broad social campaigns organized by the unions. Through them masses of workers, many times larger than those mobilized directly under union control, can be brought into action. Unions tend to sign up workers as dues-paying members first and then call on them to take actions against the employers. The self-organized shop committees have the advantage of moving directly into action for their own defense. In this way they also bring fresh troops to the union ranks, increasing the power of the union movement.

The Transitional Program urges unions to organize defense guards, an extension of roving picket detachments and mass picket lines. This idea did not originate in the Transitional Program. Unions have in the past been forced to organize and maintain defense guards against gun thugs and company police. This is necessary today in some coal mining regions.

Something more was involved when the Transitional Program was drafted. The threat of fascism was imminent. The need for union defense guards to ward off attacks by fascist gangs was urgent.

There is not an immediate fascist threat today. But the activities of small Nazi gangs in Skokie, Detroit, and elsewhere, along with racist thugs who have recently harassed Blacks in Chicago, Boston, and other major cities, are warnings that the employing class has not abandoned its ultimate political weapon. The Transitional Program's proposals for a working-class counteroffensive against fascism may soon be of greater interest to the ranks of the union movement than is the case today.

### Against War

Another section of the Transitional Program deals with the struggle against imperialism and war. This has lost none of its applicability. Questions of "national defense," "security," and "disarmament," which were making headlines in 1938, are still prominent.



While the governments of the great powers talk about world peace, the armaments industry outstrips all others and saps the economies of all countries. Arms sales are a major factor in foreign trade. The United States exported \$11.3 billion in arms in 1977 and expects sales to rise to \$13.2 billion in 1978.

The Carter administration has allocated \$128.4 billion for military expenses this year and plans to spend an annual \$175 billion by 1983.

Against this vast squandering of national wealth, the Transitional Program counterposes the following:

"Not an armaments program but a program of useful public works!

"Complete independence of workers' organizations from military-police control! . . .

"Complete abolition of secret diplomacy; all treaties and agreements to be made accessible to all workers and farmers;

"Military training and arming of workers and farmers under direct control of workers' and farmers' committees;

"Creation of military schools for the training of commanders among the toilers, chosen by workers' organizations;

"Substitution for the standing army of a *people's militia*, indissolubly linked up with factories, mines, farms, etc."

#### IV

These proposals, like the whole system of transitional demands, are appeals for independent political action by the working class. They were intended for use by the unions, but to struggle for them effectively the unions need their own political party. This is why, for the United States, Trotsky linked the organization of a labor party based on the union movement to the Transitional Program.

#### Labor Party

Trotsky said the program was designed in part to prepare the union movement in the United States (the only industrial country where the working class is without its own mass party) for the creation of a labor party. The transitional demands, when seriously raised, require political action. Such action is crippled without a party that seeks to elect working-class candidates and win government power. It is no more possible for the working class to make gains by supporting the capitalist-controlled Democratic and Republican parties than it is to win economic concessions through the good offices of company unions.

Such immediate demands as a cost-of-living allowance in all wage settlements and the organization of consumer price-control committees, both derived from the transitional concept of protecting workers' economic interests in a time of crisis, call into question the motives and market manipulations of the capitalists. They make the employers responsible for the economic crisis and demand protection for the workers against the consequences of it. The workers will demand to know what has gone wrong and will try to do something about it.

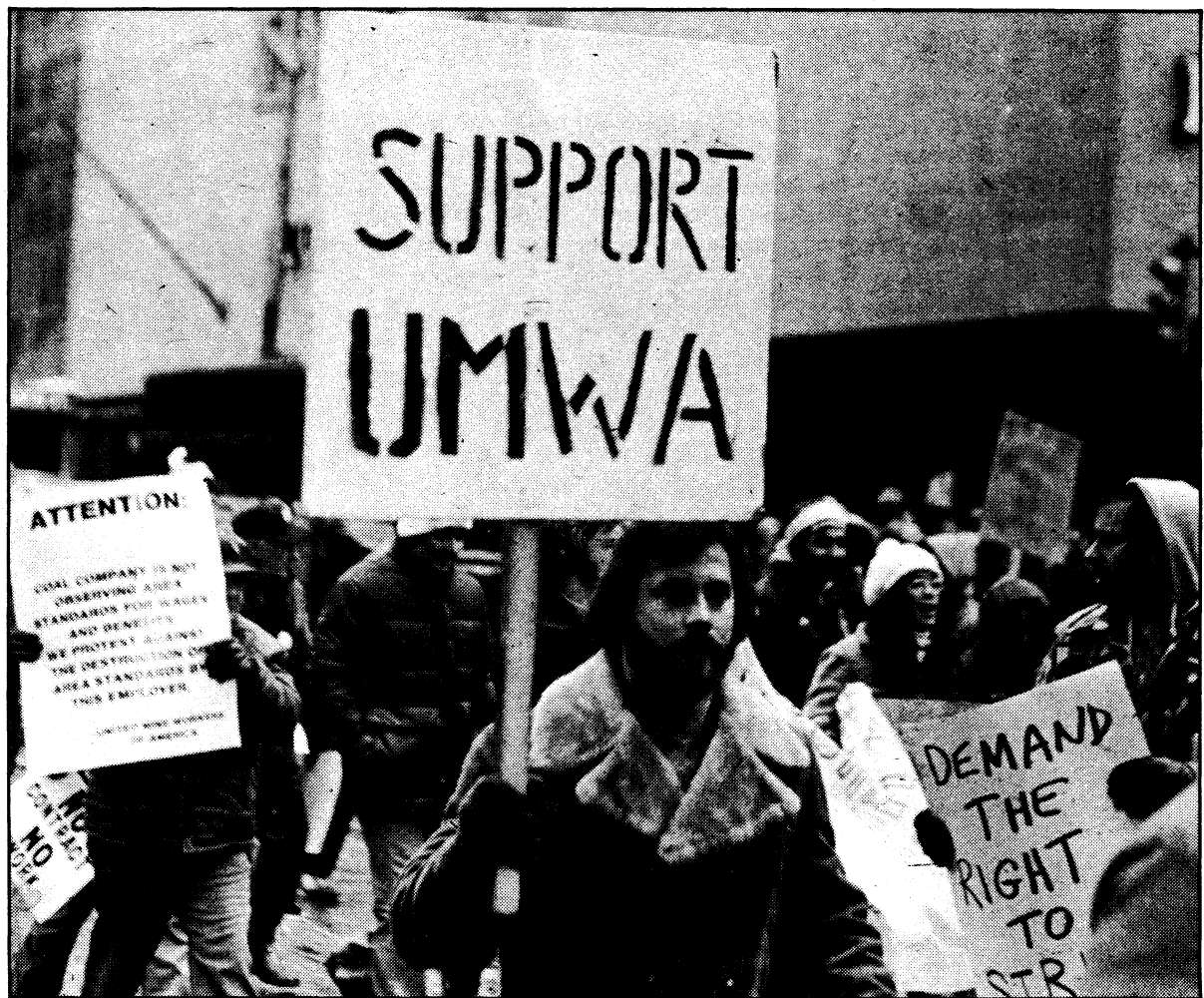
Some union officials are beginning to suggest, very timidly for fear of offending their "friends" in the Democratic Party, that part of the falsely labeled "defense" budget should be used for a small-scale "public works" program or some other socially useful project.

All such suggestions and hints fall on deaf ears in the Democratic and Republican parties. The politicians in those parties are responsive to nothing except what the employing class orders. They perform on cue for their masters, the owners of industry and finance.

#### Political Liberation

The labor party will be a form of political liberation, similar to the new sense of freedom that workers feel after a successful strike when they win recognition for their union for the first time. They then have their own elected representatives to bargain for them, no longer the victims of a company program that was always drafted "for the good of the workers" and explained by some company-picked "worker representative." Those who have at some time been trapped in a company union and then broken out through a strike that firmly established a genuine union will know what the organization of a labor party will do to change relations with the employers in the political arena.

Trotsky thought the labor party would develop



Participants in a February rally held in Pittsburgh to support miners' strike. Miners showed workers can beat back employer offensive.

out of the union movement. It would result from union resistance to demands made by declining capitalism to give up gains already won. That process was interrupted by World War II and the expansion of U.S. imperialism that followed. That expansion is now in the past. The unions are again under great pressure to retreat. This will force union members to form their own political party and choose from their own ranks working-class leaders who will run for public office.

A labor party that develops in this way will be completely different from the old capitalist parties. It will have offices in working-class neighborhoods serving the needs of workers every day, unlike the capitalist parties, which open campaign offices at election time and then disappear for two years.

It will help organize neighborhood committees on prices, campaign for community control of schools, bring hospitals and other health-care centers under the management of local staff people and give them the responsibility of serving their communities. It will urge the formation of local housing committees to help plan construction of low-cost public housing. And it will seek in every possible way to encourage and coordinate broad mass activity to meet the needs of workers and other poor people.

Through these activities a labor party can represent the interests of the working class. In the process it can build the confidence of workers in their own organized power and train them in the social and political use of that power.

The labor party will campaign against the wasteful and antisocial character of militarism and expose the class nature of capitalist economy, which breeds wars among nations and cannot survive without war.

Labor party representatives in public office will explain the meaning and consequences of strikes provoked by antiunion employers. Labor party members of Congress would have spoken in support of the miners in their long and difficult strike.

The labor party will put miners, auto workers, truck drivers, carpenters, and other working men and women in city and county governments, state legislatures, and in the U.S. Congress. These workers will support mass rallies and demonstrations of workers for jobs, universal health care, public education, and all other working-class needs. They will be the legislative representatives of working people, just as the Republicans and Democrats are representatives of employers and other rich people.

#### Program for the Labor Party

The Transitional Program was drafted for the union movement, and it was also drafted for a labor party based on the unions. It was Trotsky's belief that the program would arouse and unify

the working class; win powerful new allies for the working class among farmers, small business-people, professionals, among women and youth, and in the communities of Blacks and other minorities.

This program and its implementation are means of training the new leaders of the working class who will be coming forward in the battles of the next years.

The program is also an instrument for winning union militants to the revolutionary socialist party. These will be the most consistent advocates of the labor party. They will work for the adoption and carrying out of an anticapitalist program by the labor party.

It is a program for preparing and bringing about the transfer of political power from the employing class to the working class. It is not a program for the workers government or for the new socialist society. The Transitional Program is designed to prepare the majority of people to take power and govern for themselves, to give millions who have never been allowed to learn how this society operates a chance to see its inner workings, to instill confidence in working people that they can do better than the employing class has done or will do.

#### Prospects for Socialism

Since the Communist Manifesto sounded the death knell of capitalism 130 years ago and proclaimed the need for socialism, there have always been those who have doubted that the working class can and will achieve its historic mission. What guarantees are there? None. But the alternative is nuclear destruction.

The crisis of capitalism is deeper and more advanced today than at any previous time. The U.S. capitalist rulers have less confidence in their economic and social system. Their world shrinks as their need to expand becomes more compelling. They are frightened of the new mood of independence in the former colonies in Asia, Africa, and Latin America. They also fear social instability in Europe and the United States.

There are good reasons to believe that the working class in the United States will prove capable of building its own independent class organizations, including a mass labor party, in time to avert catastrophe. The workers in this country are better educated, better organized, more combative, and more self-confident than forty years ago when the Transitional Program was drafted.

There is another change that bodes well for the future. The Socialist Workers Party, which contributed to the original drafting of the Transitional Program, is better prepared to explain it, popularize it, and introduce it in the unions and other mass movements of the working class than ever before.

# Menachem Begin's Real Record



Palestinian refugee camp after Israeli raid. All currents in Zionism are committed to oppression of Palestinians. Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin (inset, left) was a disciple of Vladimir Jabotinsky (inset, right), founder of the ultraright Zionist Revisionist movement.

## BOOKS

### The Revolt

By Menachem Begin. 386 pages. \$12.95. New York: Nash Publishing

### By Leonard Glazer

The slaughter accompanying the Israeli invasion of Lebanon spurred doubts among many Americans, including many Jews, about Israel's expansionist policies. For many, these first doubts take the form of opposition to the hard line advocated by Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin.

One person, interviewed in the April 5, 1978, *New York Times* groped for an explanation of Begin's stance: "I don't think anyone can understand Begin without reading his book. He was born in the fire of fighting Nazis, and he fought to create the state of Israel."

"His book" is *The Revolt*, and a new edition has now been published. In keeping with Begin's need to establish a less reactionary image, the foreword to the earlier edition by Meir Kahane, ultrarightist founder of the Jewish Defense

Leonard Glazer writes frequently on Middle Eastern affairs. He was a cofounder of the Middle East Information Service headquartered in Berkeley, California.

League, has been dropped. A ten-page essay written by Begin six years ago ("From the Perspective of a Generation") has been added, along with a brief introduction and some photographs.

Those who hope to gain a serious understanding of Begin's past will be disappointed in the book. The editor declares it to be "a book of personal memoirs" and "NOT a history of the Hebrew revolt."

We learn more about Roxy, Begin's "anti-British" dog, than we do about the real politics and activities of the Irgun Zvai Leumi (the Jewish Military Organization), the terrorist organization that Begin led during the Zionist conquest of Palestine. He gives us a tale of derring-do, sprinkled with lies and evasions.

What follows should make obvious the reasons for Begin's evasions. The man has a lot to hide.

Even many figures in the American Zionist establishment greeted Begin's election as prime minister of Israel with consternation. They knew that Begin's long association with the Revisionist wing of Zionism and his record as a terrorist would be repugnant to world public opinion.

Begin is a disciple of Vladimir Jabotinsky, founder of the Zionist Revisionist movement. Begin calls Jabotinsky "the greatest Jewish personality of our era after Herzl." The Zionist Revisionists were the most right-wing of the major currents in Zionism.

Jabotinsky's ideology took shape between the two world wars when European Jews were especially hard hit by the capitalist crisis.

Many solutions were proposed for their problems—some favored socialist revolution, others hoped that bourgeois democracy could preserve their rights, and still others called for emigration to Palestine. Among the latter, some held extreme right-wing nationalist and pro-imperialist ideologies. The Revisionists fell into this category.

Like all other Zionist leaders, Jabotinsky counted on the support of imperialist powers in establishing a Jewish state in Palestine. Unlike many others, he was explicitly antilabor and antisocialist. The ultranationalism, racial mysticism, and militarism of fascism entranced the Revisionists. They modeled their organization on the Italian fascists. Their solution to the persecution of the Jews was the establishment of a fascistic regime in a Jewish state in Palestine.

Far from being irreconcilable fighters against anti-Semitism, Jabotinsky and the Revisionists favored collaboration with rightist and anti-Semitic forces in exchange for help in reaching this goal.

Here is what the Italian Fascist Party thought of the Revisionists. "For Zionism to succeed," said Mussolini to David Prato, the chief rabbi of Rome, in 1935, "you need to have a Jewish state with a Jewish flag and a Jewish language. The person who really understands that is your fascist, Jabotinsky" (quoted in *Ben-Gurion: The Armed Prophet* by Michael Bar-Zohar).

Other Zionists also had warm relations with Mussolini at first, but their social-democratic connections soon led him to make a shift.

"By 1933 the Fascists had decided to restrict their concrete support for Zionism to the Revisionist wing of the movement. This decision was largely an ideological one, for the Revisionists often considered themselves the 'Fascists of Zionism'—an opinion shared by many of their opponents.

"In 1934, a Jewish section of the *scuola marittima* [naval school] at Civitavecchia was established—the origin of the Israeli Navy. In addition, several young Revisionists were sent to the Party's training schools. At one point in 1935, some thought was actually given at the Foreign Ministry to the plan of making Revisionism into a full-fledged fascist movement" (Michael Ledeen, "The Evolution of Italian Fascist Anti-Semitism," in *Jewish Social Studies*, Winter 1976).

In repayment of these favors, the Revisionists adopted an understanding tone when in 1938 Mussolini cemented his alliance with Hitler and instituted anti-Semitic laws modeled on Germany's. The Revisionist *Amerikaner Yiddishe Zeitung* wrote:

"For years we have warned the Jews not to insult the Fascist regime in Italy. Let us be frank before we accuse others of the recent anti-Jewish laws in Italy; why not first accuse our own radical groups who are responsible for what happened?" (quoted in Paul Novick, "Solution for Palestine," a pamphlet written in 1939).

Despite Hitler's virulent anti-Semitism, the Revisionists managed for a time to live with his regime as well. A report by the Bavarian Political Police dated



April 13, 1935, stated:

"The State Zionist Organization [the Revisionists] received, exceptionally and always revocably, permission to let its members belonging to the 'National Youth Herzlia' and 'Brith Hashomrim' wear uniforms indoors.

"This permission is given as an exemption . . . because the State Zionists have proven to be the organization which has tried in any way, even illegally, to bring its members to Palestine, and which, by its sincere activity directed toward emigration, meets half way the intentions of the Reich Government to remove the Jews from Germany" (quoted in Kurt Grossman, "Zionists and Non-Zionists under Nazi Rule in the 1930s," in the *Herzl Yearbook*, Volume 6, 1962).

Such tolerance was hardly likely to be accorded an organization being forged "in the fire of fighting Nazis."

Begin's memoirs distort the attitude of the Revisionists toward Palestinian Arabs. "We told the Arabs that we had no desire to fight them or harm them; that we were anxious to see them as peaceful citizens of the Jewish State-to-be," he asserts.

Here is the reality:

In *Turkey and the War*, written in 1917, Jabotinsky placed himself firmly on the side of imperialism against the Arabs. "Syria must become unquestionably French," he wrote. Syrian independence "would hinder Europe in her peaceful leadership of the different Arab states toward progress."

By 1920 Jabotinsky had already formed armed groups as part of his scheme to establish a Jewish state on both banks of the Jordan. As Robert Weltsch wrote in "A Tragedy of Leadership": "... Jabotinsky said openly at the [World Zionist] Congress of 1921 that Palestine couldn't be colonized with

the consent of the Arabs and that America would have remained a wilderness if white colonization had been conditional on the consent of the red Indian" (*Jewish Social Studies*, July 1951).

The necessity of crushing the Palestinians if a Jewish state was to be established motivated the formation of the Irgun, the terrorist army that Begin led after Jabotinsky died in 1940.

Begin was the head of the Revisionist youth group, Betar, in Poland. If he ever disagreed with the Revisionists' collaboration with fascists and anti-Semites, there is no record of it in *The Revolt* or anywhere else. We do know that Irgun units, which were closely linked with Betar, received military training from Poland's anti-Semitic military government in the 1930s.

Begin's activities as commander of the Irgun—including the Deir Yassin massacre of 1948 in which 250 Arab men, women, and children were murdered in cold blood—were consistent with Jabotinsky's variant of Zionism.

The hostility to fascism among Jews, the outcome of World War II, and the impossibility of winning broad support for the creation of Israel with rightist and antidemocratic rhetoric blocked any possibility that Revisionism could evolve into a full-fledged fascist movement. Instead, it was integrated into Israeli politics as the right wing of the Zionist mainstream, with Begin as its central figure.

On the other hand, Jabotinsky's view that a terrorist army was needed to suppress the Palestinians was implemented by all the central Zionist leaders and remains their policy today, as evidenced by the invasion of Lebanon. Unlike the blunt-spoken Jabotinsky and Begin, figures such as Ben-Gurion and Golda Meir coated this racist policy with a veneer of socialist rhetoric.



Begin as commander of the terrorist Irgun in 1948

This has been a pattern in the relations between the Revisionists such as Begin and other Zionist currents. The "extremist" stance of the Revisionists has often become the "moderate" stance of the other Zionist leaders over time. That is because the rightists express the chauvinist, anti-Arab, and pro-imperialist logic of Zionism with brutal frankness. Begin's rise to power in Israel—he was, after all,

originally regarded as bordering on the "lunatic fringe" of Israeli politics—has its place in this logic.

Given the real history of Begin's movement, it is not surprising that the Israeli prime minister's book conceals much and tells little. Save \$12.95. The book is in the library. Better yet, save time by passing up this mediocre and mendacious self-advertisement.

## LETTERS

### 'Woman's Evolution'—I

**Editors:** In the debate between Stephanie Coontz and Evelyn Reed, I am nonplussed by Coontz's closing remarks that neither historical materialism nor feminism have any need of a theory of matriarchy to explode the myth of woman's biological inferiority. This conveys the idea that to go beyond Morgan, Engels, and Briffault is not only unnecessary but of no real value.

Saying that one is a historical materialist and then objecting to enlarging and explaining that very materialist approach to the beginnings of the human race, the matriarchy, is contrary to the very meaning of historical materialism. And to say that the feminist movement has no need of this theory is to deny women their greatest asset in understanding the reasons for their subjugation.

Why are so many women studying Engels today? Most of them never heard of him before. And how happy Marx and Engels would be with Reed's book, which further explains the very questions Engels poses. For that very reason many women are reading her materialist historical classic—to understand and appreciate the role of women in the prehistoric beginnings of humanity from the animal kingdom.

*Woman's Evolution* is a great departure from the twentieth-century anthropologists and the greatest contribution to the science of human development since Engels and the other materialist anthropologists. It is a great asset to the movement for the liberation of women.

The book contains much historical and scientific information on the origins of humanity that no socialist can do without. I gave the book to a friend who was always under the impression that women were the inferior or second sex. She was so impressed by it that she told me it completely changed her mind. She felt so good that now she is reading everything on the woman question.

Reed's new book, *Sexism and Science*, is a fundamental analysis of the state of anthropology today. It not only documents the reasons for its decay and demoralization but also indicates how the younger anthropologists can restore to its rightful place the historical science that was founded by Morgan, Engels, and others. It is a very timely sequel to *Woman's Evolution*, and it will not only help the women's movement but also serious anthropologists who are trying to find their way out of the morass of pseudo-anthropology and back to the scientific method.

These two contributions to the history of humankind could only be written by a socialist, because as revolutionary socialists we consider every question of great social significance from an historical point of view.

Fannie Curran  
Minneapolis, Minnesota

### 'Woman's Evolution'—II

**Editors:** Congratulations to Stephanie Coontz for her excellent article in the February *ISR*. I am glad to see the *ISR* open a discussion on Evelyn Reed's theories from a Marxist perspective.

Recent fossil discoveries have pushed the origins of the earliest hominids back to 4 million years ago, which makes Reed's assertions about survivals of the transition from ape to human extremely difficult to accept. In addition, the continued accumulation of knowledge about primitive groups since Morgan reveals clear discrepancies between observed social customs and institutions on the one hand, and the stages to which he (and Reed) assign them on the other. As Coontz states, there is no correlation between the level of economic development and the strength of "matriarchal" or matrilineal institutions, nor even with the strength of kinship ties, as would be expected if Reed's theories were correct.

One area that requires close scrutiny is Reed's attempt to revive Briffault's "matriarchal theory of human origins," and couple it to her anthropology.

Reed's construct is dependent upon postulating a gigantic gulf between animal and human life, a gulf bridgible only by the females who were not handicapped by their striving for dominance and aggressive behavior.

In actuality, the development of social relations and cooperative behavior in the animal world clearly began at least with the evolution of the higher mammals and is particularly prominent with the primates. It

was this biological evolution of social animals that laid the basis for the qualitative leap to human labor and cultural evolution, with all of its ramifications for the development of our species. Reed's assertion that the process was the other way around, with the creation of the earliest cultural institutions of totem and taboo by the females creating the preconditions for social cooperation, leads her to accept the unscientific nonsense about aggression, violence, and dominance peddled by the likes of Ardrey, Lorenz, etc.

Reed, who rightly questions each and every assertion about supposed female biological handicaps, doesn't raise an eyebrow at blanket and incorrect statements regarding the male sex.

I believe that a real study of human origins will reveal that Reed's schema of a revolution necessary "to change animal behavior into human productive and social relations," which is central to her whole matriarchal construct, results from a complete misunderstanding of the character and nature of animal life. Such a study is valuable and necessary, and if Reed has done no more than stimulate an interest in this area, she will have made an important contribution.

We must keep in mind that the dialectical-materialist method requires a rigorous appreciation of scientific facts, and an understanding that adherence to an evolutionary approach does not require belief in any particular theory of how human culture and society evolved.

Stephen Bloom  
New York, New York

## Democracy and Revolution

By George Novack. New York. Pathfinder Press. 1971. 286 pp.

*Democracy and Revolution* by George Novack is the only comprehensive history of democracy from a Marxist perspective.

One of Novack's prime objectives is to expose the cult of democracy that exists in the United States. Like socialism, democracy is a widely misunderstood and abused word. In this country, it is a kind of secular creed that is used to bind the workers to capitalist interests in much the same way that religion bound the serfs to the feudal lords.

The key to grasping both the limitations of democracy as it has existed up to now and the promise it holds for the future is the recognition that it is a form of class rule. In a capitalist society, where the means of production are the property of a minority (a minority that therefore makes the most vital decisions regarding the living and working conditions of the masses), formal guarantees of majority rule screen the real dominance of the capitalist class.

The contradiction between formal democracy in politics and private ownership in economic affairs has always been decided in favor of the interests of the propertied class. Novack establishes this as an historical fact by tracing political democracy from its origins in ancient Greece, through the era of bourgeois revolutions beginning in the sixteenth century in the Netherlands, and up to the present.

Although the battle for democratic rights was important for the masses engaged in the struggle to overthrow feudalism, Novack points out, "The fight for unrestricted exchange of commodities was the supreme aim of the early bourgeois revolutionists."

To achieve the free market, land reform, and to create a unified nation, the bourgeoisie had to remove powerful feudal institutions. An armed confrontation was required to do this, and the rising merchants were forced to enlist the aid of the far more numerous petty bourgeoisie—landless or poor farmers, shopkeepers, and artisans.

The need to mobilize the masses pushed the bourgeois revolution

# 'Democracy and Revolution' Pathfinder's May Book Offer

beyond the narrow confines desired by the wealthy merchants and bankers. The battle for free speech, freedom of the press, and other civil liberties began as part of the struggle against feudalism. While they were sometimes granted by the capitalists as concessions to the popular masses, the new ruling class never ceased trying to constrict, pare down, and even eliminate them.

The defeat of the British crown and later the destruction of the slaveowners' regime in the South, accompanied by the triumph of the doctrine of the sovereignty of the people, were the greatest strides that American politics took toward introducing progressive institutions and ideas, according to Novack. He demonstrates that the claims of bourgeois democracy have always been far greater than its achievements.

Today democratic regimes exist in only a few countries in North America and Western Europe, and these treat the rest of the world as a reserve for superprofits. Even in these countries, the capitalists have frequently opted for dictatorial forms of rule. Racial and sexual oppression are features of everyday life that no bourgeois regime has been willing to abolish.

The trend under capitalism is away from democracy. This is intensified by periods of economic crisis. The task of leading the defense of the democratic rights that now exist, and their extension to women, the national minorities, and the colonial world, falls upon the working class today.

Novack asserts that "Marxists are the genuine revolutionary democrats of the twentieth century." The full potential of democracy can only be realized in a regime where industry, raw materials, and the land are no longer held for the private profit of a plutocratic elite. By placing the control of the government and economy in the hands of the working people, who comprise the vast majority of society, a socialist revolution will lay the



Novack shows how capitalist rulers restrict civil liberties. Capitalism must be abolished to eliminate police brutality, oppression of Blacks, and other violations of democratic rights.

basis of truly democratic decision making. Novack describes how workers democracy, based on nationalized property and a planned economy, will become an instrument of majority rule.

*Democracy and Revolution* is a very rich book, which should be read by everyone who values democratic rights. It is a warning that democracy cannot be entrusted to the safekeeping of the capitalists and their "democratic" governments.

The class nature of the state and government are sharply clarified

as the book progresses. Novack's treatment of workers democracy, based on Marx and Lenin, is enriched by insights gained from recent history. In particular, Novack explains the rise of an antidemocratic bureaucratic caste in the USSR and why this poses the need for revolutionary struggles to restore and extend proletarian democracy.

These features, among others, make this a book that is invaluable for winning people to the cause of socialist revolution.

—Bob Bresnahan

## Special Discount Offer

*Democracy and Revolution* is available for a special discount price of \$3.30. The regular price is \$4.45. Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, New York 10014. Send check or money order or return this coupon to one of the socialist bookstores listed on page 31. Offer expires June 30, 1978.

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## ...workweek

Continued from page ISRI/7

than three weeks after the close of the 1932 convention, Senator Hugo Black of Alabama introduced the thirty-hour bill in the Seventy-second Congress. The measure would have denied the channels of interstate and foreign commerce to any articles produced in establishments "in which any person was employed or permitted to work more than five days in any week or more than six hours in any day."

With millions of workers unemployed, and with industry at a standstill, the bill was earnestly debated. William Green, president of the AFL, testified in its behalf and declared that the compulsory thirty-hour week would create 65 million jobs. This position was endorsed by Philip Murray, vice-president of the United Mine Workers, and other labor union witnesses. It appeared that there was an excellent chance that the Seventy-second Congress would enact the bill, but the session ended before the measure could be voted on.

On March 30, 1933, after the newly inaugurated President Franklin D. Roosevelt had summoned Congress into special session, the Senate Judiciary Committee reported the thirty-hour bill favorably with a reservation as to its constitutionality. Debate opened on April 3, and it looked

as if the bill would pass both the Senate and the House. Sen. Joseph T. Robinson of Arkansas introduced an amendment to the bill to raise the maximum number of permitted hours from six to eight daily and from thirty to thirty-six weekly. The Senate rejected it, forty-eight to forty-one. The following day, the upper chamber passed the Black bill by fifty-three to thirty.

However, Roosevelt opposed the bill and joined with big business in fighting it in the House. As a result of administration pressure, the House Rules Committee buried the bill. In its place came the National Industrial Recovery Act (NIRA), with its codes for different industries.

Section 7A of the NIRA recognized the right of workers to organize into unions of their own choosing. In some of the codes, the hours of work were shortened. The fur workers compelled the employers to include in the industry code a thirty-five-hour week with no reduction in pay. In most codes, the workweek was set at forty-four hours.

### High Time for 30-Hour Week

The NIRA was killed by a Supreme Court decree, but in 1938 its essential provisions were recast, broadened, and enacted in the Fair Labor Standards Act. This was the last significant piece of New Deal legislation.

This measure provided, with certain exceptions, that all workers engaged in interstate

commerce or the production of goods for interstate commerce must be paid minimum wages of at least thirty cents an hour and one-and-one-half times the regular rate of pay for each hour in excess of forty hours a week.

Four decades have passed since the five-day, forty-hour standard was established by law as part of the New Deal. Most American workers have had no net gain in their leisure time since then, for the historical patterns of an ever-decreasing workweek did not continue after the passage of the Fair Labor Standards Act. Meanwhile, technology and the computer revolution have increased industrial efficiency and promise future advances in labor-saving devices.

With millions of workers once again unemployed, it is high time that the American labor movement resumed once again its struggle to reduce the working day. In doing so, we shall be continuing the process which brought the hours of work from sunup to sundown, to ten hours a day, to eight hours a day, and to the five-day, forty-hour week.

When we realize that almost a half-century ago, the American Federation of Labor unanimously went on record for the five-day, thirty-hour week, we can certainly agree that the time has come to make this issue once again a central priority for the labor movement and the entire nation.



# U.S. inflation and international finance

By Dick Roberts

(First of six parts)

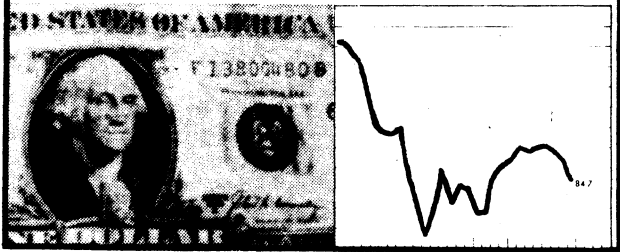
Relentlessly throughout 1977 and until mid-April 1978, the dollar declined sharply in relation to major overseas currencies. It is possible that this trend has now been partially reversed.

Washington's decision on April 20 to sell \$300 million worth of gold reserves to buy up unwanted dollars abroad was greeted overseas as a sign that President Carter was finally defending the dollar.

But \$300 million, spread over six months, will buy precious few of the hundreds of billions of dollars that have piled up abroad.

The new move may give temporary stability to

## Decline of the dollar



the dollar. But a complete reversal of the dollar's decline against the Japanese yen, German mark, and Swiss franc, seems unlikely. By the time of Carter's gold-sale decision, the dollar had fallen about 28 percent against the Swiss franc, 20 percent against the yen and 15 percent against the mark.

The decline of the dollar against these currencies takes place as the major capitalist economies are slowing down and world trade is slowing down with them. Inflation and unemployment are increasing in most capitalist countries.

"A decided move away from international economic and monetary cooperation is under way," *Business Week* magazine warned in a feature article last October. The *Business Week* article was entitled, "Floating Exchange Rates: The Calm Before An Economic Storm."

The message of this article was that the massive investment swings that cause currency exchange-rate fluctuations could jeopardize world trade and trigger a collapse of international credit.

The storm *Business Week* feared last October is now gathering momentum. Not only are the capitalist powers jostling with each other over the diverging exchange rates of their currencies; protectionist measures barring foreign products in national markets are also on the rise. Noteworthy were the "reference price" barriers adopted by the United States last year to keep out cheaper foreign steel.

### Paper money

The immediate cause of changes in currency exchange rates are the investment shifts *Business Week* worries about. An increasing amount of paper money is flowing from country to country and currency to currency.

A considerable amount of this money is flowing into gold and other precious metals.

Powerful banks and corporations that do business in many different countries watch currency exchange differences on a day-by-day and even hour-by-hour basis. If they believe a particular currency is falling against another one, they will try to sell the first currency and buy the second in order not to lose any profits—and perhaps even make profits simply on the basis of the changing currency exchange rates.

These corporations speculate on the political events of the times and on the economic conditions of each country. They often bet against their own countries.

What are the root causes and significance of such international upsurges in currency speculation? Why is the dollar declining? What does this mean for the U.S. and foreign economies?

What role is played in the picture by massive U.S. imports of Middle East oil? What is Washington's actual policy regarding the dollar?

We will attempt to answer these questions in a series of articles. Let's begin in this article by examining the nuts and bolts of the investment decisions that lead to a decline of the dollar in relation to other currencies.

The "nut" is inflation in the United States. The "bolt" is the unpegging of the dollar to gold.

### Bretton Woods

Before 1968 and going back to the 1944 Bretton Woods Accords in international finance, the price of the dollar was set at one thirty-fifth of an ounce of gold. Foreign central banks could get one ounce of gold for thirty-five paper dollars.

Especially in the earlier postwar period, this fixed dollar-gold exchange rate lent a stability to world finance that has subsequently been severely eroded. Other currencies had fixed exchange rates with the dollar, and consequently also with gold.

To see why this stabilized world finance, we must go back to the economic ideas of Karl Marx. Marx explained that the goods (commodities) produced in capitalist society have value solely because they are the products of human labor power.

Prices—that is, the amount of money for which commodities are exchanged—may, and indeed must, oscillate above and below values. The unplanned character of capitalist production ensures such a rise and fall of prices.

No matter what the prices, however, *there is no value in the dollars, marks, yen, and so on, themselves for which the commodities are exchanged.*

How then does valueless paper money gain such an important role in capitalist finance? It does so, according to Marx, because the paper money stands for other money that does have real value. The paper money can be exchanged for metallic currencies, and above all for gold—and gold is a commodity, a product of human labor.

### Gold

Gold has value. In the case of South African gold, it is only too well known that that gold is the product of some of the most exploited labor on this planet.

"Paper money," Marx wrote, "is a symbol of gold, a symbol of money. Its relation to the values of commodities consists only in this: they find imaginary expression in certain quantities of gold, and the same quantities are symbolically and physically represented by paper. Only in so far as paper money represents gold, which like all other commodities has value, is it a symbol of value" (*Capital*, Volume 1, Pelican Marx Library, 1976, page 225).

### U.S. inflation

The continuous inflation of the dollar, especially over the past fifteen years, necessarily broke down the fixed relation between dollars and gold set at Bretton Woods.

Inflation, as American workers can testify, means that the dollar is *losing* value relative to commodities—fewer and fewer goods can be purchased with a given dollar. Not too long ago a Chevrolet that costs over \$5,000 today cost less than \$3,000.

Corporations abroad and foreign central banks increasingly refused to hold onto inflating dollars for fear of their loss of purchasing power. They traded them in for gold—available at that time only through the central banking system.

An inflated dollar was worth less gold, too. But Washington tried to keep the artificial thirty-five-dollar exchange rate imposed on international finance.

Despite Washington's monetary policies, the sharp inflation of the dollar caused by the escalated U.S. attack on Vietnam, and all of the political

instabilities surrounding the Vietnam War, led in 1968 to an international "gold rush." Gold was forced out of the central banking system and onto the free market, where its dollar price was higher.

By 1971, the periodic flights out of inflated dollars and into gold had reached such proportions that President Nixon slammed down the "gold window" at Fort Knox. No longer could anybody trade in their dollars for Washington's gold.

There were then a series of attempts to restore fixed exchange rates for international currencies. But these also collapsed under the impact of global inflation. Beginning in 1973 all currencies were unpegged to each other and to gold. Today curren-



Gold trading in Chicago. Increased speculation in gold has accompanied the downward plunge of the dollar.

cies, as well as gold and other precious metals, are freely traded in international money markets, with their exchange rates—the one to the next—oscillating on a minute-by-minute basis.

Gold, meanwhile, rose all the way from \$35 to just under \$200 an ounce in the 1974 world credit crisis. In late April it was about \$170 an ounce, after touching \$190 an ounce two months earlier during the panic about a possible Socialist Party-Communist Party coalition victory in the French elections.

### Flight from dollar

The dollar decline in 1977 and this year is a direct result of U.S. inflation. It reflects the cold-blooded speculation by international finance, including U.S. corporations, that there will be a new rapid upsurge of inflation in the United States as the present weak recovery inevitably turns toward recession.

The flight from the dollar began as 1977 opened. Before then, as world capitalism recovered from the 1974 depression, inflation had quieted down more in the United States than in all but two of the major imperialist powers, as can be seen from the table on this page.

But it was precisely into the less-inflated German marks and Swiss francs—and out of dollars—that cash began to flow.

One can almost read the forthcoming investment decision in Basel, Bonn, Paris, London, and New York from the figures in this table!

As 1977 progressed not only were marks and Swiss francs purchased but cash also poured into Britain and Japan. The result was the dollar's decline against stronger currencies.

No fixed currency relationships were in sight. The currencies were getting farther apart.

(To be continued)

### INFLATION RATES AS 1977 OPENED

Canada		Germany		Switzerland		United States	
1974	10.9%	1974	7.0%	1974	9.8%	1974	11.0%
1975	10.7	1975	6.0	1975	6.7	1975	9.1
1976	7.5	1976	4.5	1976	1.7	1976	5.8
France		Japan		United Kingdom			
1974	13.7	1974	22.7	1974	16.0		
1975	11.8	1975	12.1	1975	24.3		
1976	9.2	1976	9.6	1976	16.6		

### FOR FURTHER READING

*Decline of the Dollar* by Ernest Mandel  
128 pages, \$2.45.

*Capitalism in Crisis* by Dick Roberts  
128 pages, \$2.45.

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

## By David Frankel

Reality has begun to catch up with the image of the Israeli state.

Ever since its establishment thirty years ago, Israel has held the balance of military power in the Middle East. It has continually expanded its borders at the expense of its Arab neighbors, creating some 1.5 million Arab refugees in the process.

Today, armed with the atomic bomb and the third-strongest air force in the world, the Israeli regime still tries to portray itself as an unjustly persecuted underdog.

Until recently, this distorted picture was rarely questioned by most Americans. However, events in the Middle East have begun to change this.

The shift was reflected in a *New York Times*/CBS News poll released April 14. The poll found that only 43 percent of those who said they followed developments in the Middle East favored strong U.S. support for Israel, compared to 54 percent six months ago.

There has also been a general rise in interest in the Middle East. The number of those who said they followed news from the Middle East increased from 48 percent in October to 71 percent in April.

### Basic change

Two things in particular contributed to this shift. First was the openly annexationist policy adopted by Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin regarding the territories occupied by Israel in the June 1967 war. This has provoked important protests within Israel itself as well as opposition in this country.

Second was the Israeli invasion of Lebanon, with its savage attacks on the civilian population.

Although there will undoubtedly be fluctuations in future polls, this shift represents something basic. Once such

# Zionism: a trap for the Jews

doubts and questions have begun to emerge, they will not disappear. New events, new aggressions by the Zionist state, will deepen the erosion of support for Israel.

Nor will American Jews be immune from this process.

Zionist propagandists have done their best to identify anti-Zionism with anti-Semitism. But the truth is that

Zionism and the Israeli state do not represent the real interests of the Jewish people. On the contrary, they have led Jews into a trap.

### Origin of Zionism

Zionism is a political movement whose origin is generally dated from the publication in 1896 of *The Jewish State* by Theodore Herzl. On a more

profound level, the rise of Zionism coincided with the beginning of the decline of capitalism on a world scale.

By the end of the nineteenth century, capitalism had already entered the blind alley that was leading to the First World War. Growing social tensions were felt most, as always, by the most vulnerable sectors of society—in this case, the Jews.

There were various reactions among the Jewish population to the resulting upsurge of anti-Semitism. Some tried to ignore it or to escape it through assimilation into capitalist society. Others, the socialists in particular, sought to fight for a better society. The Zionists proposed a different alternative.

### A reactionary ideology

As a political ideology, Zionism argues that the persecution of Jews stems not from specific historical and social conditions, but rather from human nature. Since the Zionists viewed anti-Semitism as ineradicable, they proposed withdrawal from gentile society and the establishment of a separate Jewish state.

Herzl, the founder of political Zionism, wrote in his diary that he had "recognized the emptiness, and futility, of trying to 'combat' anti-semitism" (*The Diaries of Theodore Herzl*, page 6).

Herzl's view remains the foundation of Zionist ideology today. For example, J. Bar-Yosef wrote in the January 12, 1968, issue of the Israeli daily *Yediot Aharanot*:

"The minority must realize that human nature is basically evil, that inherent traits of human psychology and biology are such that a stronger majority will always treat the minority according to its whims. Occasional waves of liberalism have only a temporary character. . . . No education, progress, liberalism, Humanism, can

## 'Holocaust': poor memorial for Hitler's victims

NBC-TV estimated April 20 that 120 million people saw its four-part series *Holocaust* either in part or in full.

Many Jewish organizations endorsed *Holocaust* as a serious and worthwhile attempt to depict the reality of Hitler's campaign of extermination against the Jewish population of Europe. The million study guides were prepared with the cooperation of the National Education Association and other groups.

### Television

Unfortunately, *Holocaust* fell far short of its advance billing.

NBC tried to have the best of two possible worlds and wound up without the best of either. On the one hand, using the line, "It is only a story, but it really happened," the network attempted to palm off as a basically truthful documentary a commercial production that happened to have a historical setting.

To bolster this claim, some actual still photographs and film footage of mass executions and death camps were sprinkled through the production.

At the same time, advertisements for a fictional series—which NBC obviously intended as a rival to *Roots*—conveyed the promise that this would not be merely another dry documentary. Sex and violence were clearly hinted at.

During the series itself, the viewer was continually reminded that NBC's interest was neither in historical truth nor in dramatic art, but in cash. One would be jerked again and again from harrowing scenes of the Warsaw Ghetto and Treblinka to

advertisements for Wheat Chex and Underalls.

Concerning *Holocaust* as a drama, even the most favorable reviewers have felt obligated to remark on the second-rate dialogue and a plot that frequently relies on ridiculous coincidences.

The production was not stark enough—it was overstuffed with characters and incidents. A good documentary would have done a better job of conveying the impersonal sadism and horror of the Nazi extermination program. A good drama that sought to make the audience identify with individuals would have focused on fewer people and places. Compare, for example, the dramatic impact of a real "docudrama"—the *Diary of Anne Frank*—to the slush dished up by Gerald Green, who wrote the screenplay for *Holocaust*.

What about the "docu" part of Green's "docudrama"?

As a portrayal of historical fact, Green's script was equally disappointing. The brutality and horror of the "final solution" was toned down substantially—so much so that it ranks as a distortion.

*Holocaust* was billed as a production striving for "a dramatic truth that may be as important as any historical truth." It provided neither.

In this regard, it is impossible not to take note of outright falsification designed to show the Zionist movement in the most favorable possible light.

The most glaring example of this is the portrayal of the Jewish Fighting Organization, the main resistance group in the Warsaw Ghetto rebellion, as a purely Zionist affair. In fact, the Jewish Fighting Organization was a coalition that included



Warsaw Ghetto, 1943: Jews, forced out by fire, being led to execution.

the Polish Workers [Communist] Party, the strongly anti-Zionist Polish Bund (an organization of Jewish Social Democrats), and various independent socialists, as well as Zionist groups.

The Revisionist Zionists—the party of Menachem Begin, the current prime minister of Israel—were so despised for their extreme right-wing ideology that they were excluded from this coalition.

Surely NBC was aware that the final part of *Holocaust* was shown on the thirty-fifth anniversary of the Warsaw Ghetto uprising. A line in the script even calls attention to the date.

Don't Green and his bosses at NBC think that the martyrs of the Warsaw Ghetto deserve a better memorial than one lacking in either art or respect for the truth?

—David Frankel



save the minority when the terrible hour comes."

This is the real core of Zionism. Israel was to be the final refuge for Jews "when the terrible hour comes."

Thus, the Zionists demanded not just the right to live in Palestine but also the "right" to carve their own state out of an overwhelmingly Arab country. And this could only mean systematically violating the rights of the majority.

Zionists argue that the Jewish people suffered such terrible oppression historically that their movement was justified in its dispossession of the Palestinians.

In other words, since the Zionists view religious and national oppression as inevitable, they conclude that it is necessary to put the Jewish people in the position of being the oppressors.

### Refuge or trap?

The first thing that should be said about this perspective is that even on its own terms, it cannot work.

By attempting to solve the plight of the Jews through the dispossession and oppression of another people, Zionism laid the basis for thirty years of war in the Middle East.

Is there really any reason to believe that the Israeli Jews will succeed in maintaining their colonial enterprise indefinitely? This century has witnessed the defeat of European settler-colonies in one country after another, and Israel will not be the exception to this historic trend.

Another question should also be considered. If fears of resurgent anti-Semitism engulfing the United States were realized, would Israel prove to be a refuge? Despite its pretensions as a haven for the Jews, the Zionist state cannot maintain itself without massive economic and military aid from Washington.

There is simply no escape from the fact that *the future of the Jewish people will be decided not in the Middle East, but in the United States and the Soviet Union*, where two-thirds of world Jewry currently lives.

Thus, Jews must address themselves to precisely the issue that Zionism seeks to evade: a program for action against racism and national oppression. It is impossible to escape this issue by running to some other country or by claiming that the fight for social justice is hopeless.

### A suicidal course

Unfortunately, the Zionist movement does not merely ignore the struggle for progressive social change. It is actively opposed to that struggle.

This is especially clear in the Middle East. The Israeli regime, in keeping with its colonial character, sided with French imperialism during the brutal colonial war in Algeria and with British and French imperialism following Nasser's nationalization of the Suez Canal.

In cases where the option of direct imperialist control no longer exists, the

Zionist regime has consistently backed the most reactionary forces in the Arab world—from King Hussein in Jordan to the Phalangists in Lebanon.

Nor is this reactionary role confined to the Middle East. As a client of American imperialism, the Israeli regime gave its backing to the war in Vietnam and to Nixon's invasion of Cambodia.

Even to the extent that the Zionist movement exists independently of the Israeli state, it cannot help but reflect this hostility to social revolution elsewhere in the world. At the same time, the racist ideology of Zionism has tended to dovetail with opposition to the demands of oppressed nationalities in the United States. Pro-Zionist groups such as the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith have been among the most vocal opponents of affirmative-action programs.

Such a political stance is suicidal for American Jews, and for Jews elsewhere in the world. It divides the Jewish people from their potential allies in the struggle for progress, and it leaves them dependent on precisely those capitalist forces that will not hesitate to whip up anti-Semitism, along with other forms of racism, if it will help them to prolong their rule.

### Two visions of future

It is hardly surprising that many Jews, who correctly sense the possibility of the capitalist rulers turning on them at some point in the future, hang on desperately to the illusion of refuge held out by Israel. But the idea that the Israeli state offers Jews security is false, and it will lose ground not only in the United States but in Israel itself.

In *Israelis Speak*, a book based on a week of round-table discussions by prominent Israelis that was arranged by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, one participant gave the following assessment of Israel's future:

"I don't say this happily, but I think really we are now reaching a position in which we would be fighting for the right, unlike Jews in the Second World War, to die with honor."

Referring to Israel's nuclear arsenal, the speaker concluded, "If worse comes to worst, the whole Middle East will this time go to the grave together with us."

Socialists have a different vision of the future. It is a vision not of mutual annihilation but of human solidarity and cooperation.

Such a perspective is not utopian. It can be forged by a common struggle against oppression and injustice. In the Middle East, this means first of all the struggle for the right of the Palestinian people to return to their homeland, the struggle for a united, democratic Palestine in which both Jews and Arabs could live free of oppression and discrimination.

It is true that this vision of the future will not be easy to realize. But it is the only solution that's realistic, and the only vision worth fighting for.

# An injury to one...

## Banks gets political asylum in California

American Indian Movement leader Dennis Banks won his fight against extradition April 19 when California Gov. Edmund Brown formally refused to send him back to South Dakota. In a letter to the governor of South Dakota, Brown said he had "probative information, including sworn statements, that raises a substantial question of the likelihood of danger to Mr. Banks if he were returned."

Banks was convicted in July 1975 on trumped-up charges stemming from a police attack on a peaceful Indian demonstration two and a half years earlier in Custer, South Dakota. Fearing he would be killed in prison, Banks left the state.

After his arrest in California the following January, there were several demonstrations on his behalf, and 750,000 people signed petitions demanding that Governor Brown refuse extradition.



April 1976 rally of 2,000 in San Francisco against extradition of Dennis Banks

## Indian woman wins custody fight

A Suffolk County, New York, family court judge ruled at the end of March that Jeanne Baum can keep custody of her daughter Siba Baum, despite a May 1976 "child neglect" conviction for pulling Siba out of school. The judge said no attempt would be made to take Siba while the two remained outside Suffolk County.

Jeanne withdrew Siba from a Long Island junior high school after school authorities refused to discipline one of Siba's teachers who made racist comments such as, "Indians got what they deserved."

Following Jeanne Baum's conviction, she fled New York State to prevent Siba from being put in a foster home. Appeals of the original "child neglect" conviction are continuing.

## Jerry Paul—and free speech—win a round

Jerry Paul, a North Carolina civil rights lawyer, won a partial victory in his fight against disbarment April 19 when a North Carolina Superior Court judge agreed to drop three charges and part of a fourth. There were a total of seven charges against Paul.

Charges centered on statements Paul made in 1975 while defending Joanne Little. During that trial, which received worldwide attention, Paul pointed out that the "quality of justice in this country is directly related to the pocketbook."

At the April 19 hearing the judge also agreed to suspend proceedings on the remaining charges pending a U.S. Appeals Court decision on a case raising similar issues.

## Baltimore Black killed by cops

A protest meeting held April 1 in Baltimore scored the police murder of Robert Thomas, a twenty-year-old Black who had been jailed pending a trial on burglary charges.

Arlene Thomas, Robert Thomas's aunt, described how a cop shot Thomas while he was handcuffed and being transferred from the penitentiary to the Baltimore jail. After wounding him, the cops didn't call an ambulance but instead carried him to the jail, where he was left to die. Eight additional robbery charges and two murder accusations were posthumously leveled against Thomas to justify the murder.

## Light sentences for killer cops upheld

A Houston, Texas, U.S. District Court judge reaffirmed on April 18 the one-year sentences he gave to three former Houston cops on federal civil rights charges for killing a Chicano prisoner, Joe Campos Torres.

The original sentencing on March 28 met outraged community protests and criticisms from some local elected officeholders. Following these protests, the Justice Department filed a motion saying that the sentences were illegally soft. In its motion, the department explained that if the one-year sentences stood, this "will cause citizens of all races and backgrounds to believe that the sentence was a result of the continuing inequality of treatment accorded to minorities." —José G. Pérez

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## ISRAEL: A COLONIAL-SETTLER STATE?

By Maxime Rodinson. This analysis of the nature of Israel has valuable material on the theory and practice of the early Zionist movement. 128 pages, 2.45.

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

# ...is an injury to all

# Marroquin wins wide backing in Detroit

DETROIT—"We're here tonight to hear about Héctor Marroquin's fight for political asylum and to show our support for that fight," Susan Apstein told 100 people at Wayne State University here April 19. Apstein is coordinator of the Detroit Héctor Marroquin Defense Committee.

Others sponsoring the event were: Detroit National Lawyers Guild; the Chicano-Boricua Studies Program and Association of Black Students at Wayne; Maryann Mahaffey, Detroit city council president; and Salvador Mendez, a leader of the Chicano caucus of Local 1299 United Steelworkers of America.

Marroquin, a member of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance, told the meeting that his life is in danger. The U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service is trying to deport him to Mexico where the government has falsely accused him of terrorism and "subversion."

"Despite the charges, I am not and never was a terrorist or guerrilla," Marroquin said. "The Mexican government has tortured, murdered, 'disappeared,' or imprisoned hundreds of other activists on similar pretexts. They totally disregard the most elementary human and democratic rights of political dissidents."

Torrance May told the meeting that the Wayne State Association of Black Students supports Marroquin. "We the people must once again stand up," he said, "and confirm that the right to speak and assemble and publicize our political beliefs will not be threatened by the clandestine and malicious forces of the government. And this is what brother Héctor did."

Abdeen Jabara, an attorney for the Sami Esmail Defense Committee, called Marroquin's case the "other side of the coin" from Esmail's. Esmail is an American citizen and student at Michigan State University who is being held in an Israeli jail on frame-up charges arising from his activities in support of Palestinian rights.

"In the case of Marroquin," said Jabara, "U.S. authorities are seeking to deport a non-U.S. citizen who will undoubtedly face political persecution in Mexico."

"In the Sami Esmail case, the U.S. has refused to protest or use its influence with Israel in regard to an American citizen who is being tried essentially for his political beliefs."

Other speakers at the rally were Ron Reosti representing the Detroit Na-



Marroquin (left) with Salvador Mendez, vice-chairperson of grievance committee of United Steelworkers Local 1299 and leader of local's Chicano Caucus. Mendez has endorsed Marroquin's asylum request and cosponsored Detroit rally.

tional Lawyers Guild; Jo Carol Stallworth of the Young Socialist Alliance; and Susan Fink of the Héctor Marroquin Defense Committee.

Messages from several prominent individuals were read to the gathering (see box). A total of \$800 was raised for

the defense, including \$400 at a reception sponsored by Detroit City Councilman Clyde Cleveland and attorney Leonard Grossman.

An April 18 meeting at the University of Michigan at Ann Arbor was attended by ninety people.

## Boston

### Héctor Marroquin's fight for political asylum.

Hear: Héctor Marroquin; Peg McCarter, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom; Rex Weng, past officer of state, Mass. AFL-CIO Council; Renato Vera, Chilean refugee; Tuesday, May 2, 7 p.m. Blackstone Square Community School, 50 West Brookline (in the South End). Donation: \$2. For more information call (617) 262-4621.

## Rally hears messages of support

Following are excerpts from messages read at the April 19 Héctor Marroquin defense rally in Detroit.

**Pete Camarata, a national leader of Teamsters for a Democratic Union and member of Teamsters Local 299.**

Some personal experiences while in the Teamsters union have given me the insight to see why Héctor must be given asylum. Be confident that I have and will continue to carry Héctor's story to all who will listen.

**U.S. Rep. John Conyers (D-Mich.)**

The appeal for Héctor Marroquin goes to the heart of America's human rights policy and presents a major test of the administration's commitment to that policy.

When nations such as Mexico have flagrantly violated human rights through torture, forced detention, and homicide, it is the responsibility of nations that profess to defend human rights to offer asylum to individuals who are denied them.

I shall do all I can to support the

appeal of Héctor Marroquin for political asylum.

**Zoltan Ferency, former chairman of Michigan Democratic Party and candidate for governor in the current Democratic primary.**

Marroquin is to be admired and respected for the struggles that he has waged on behalf of economic and social justice for his people. Rather than deport him, our country ought to hold him up as an example of personal courage and dedication.

## A Reader's Notes

Some books are so poor that there's no point in discussing them. Generally speaking, *The Prophet's Army: Trotskyists in America, 1928-1941* by Constance Ashton Myers (Greenwood Press, 1977. 282 pages) fits into that category. But since it claims to be "a narrative account through the 1930s of the events and personalities" in the Socialist Workers Party and its predecessors, the Communist League of America and the Workers Party, it may save time for some readers of the *Militant* if we say what it's worth.

Myers is a teacher and oral historian, who wrote this thing as her Ph.D. thesis, and then revised it for publication as a book. In a paper on the same subject, printed in a magazine last year, she said that she had reassessed some of her opinions since the book was written but didn't specify which ones.

It doesn't really matter, because her opinions are as trite as can be: standard liberal rejections of Marxism based on gross misunderstanding and intense dislike of revolutionary politics.

Some writers try to conceal their biases by pretending to be objective. Myers doesn't conceal hers. Here's one example out of hundreds: In 1935 the Workers Party moved into new quarters in New York, of which Myers says, "Comrades soon had the place humming. . . . Headquarters rang late into the night with strident declamations and Marxist bombast."

Myers doesn't know and doesn't need to know what those people actually said; if it was Marxist, then of course it was bombastic. She similarly knew that the "Trotskyists" were asinine utopians before she looked up old newspapers and bulletins and before she interviewed people who had been in or around the movement in the thirties.

Altogether she spoke with twenty-five people one or more times. One of them has a name unknown to me; twenty are political opponents of the SWP, some very bitter or even fanatical; and four are SWP members. The testimony she cites from the

latter is about secondary or trivial things, while the opinions of the SWP opponents on the most crucial questions are accepted as gospel and echo throughout the book.

Some books are biased to the point of distortion but can be useful anyhow because of the factual information they supply. *The Prophet's Army* doesn't fit into such a category because it is riddled with factual errors and misinformation. For example:

- Speaking of James P. Cannon, the principal SWP leader in the thirties, whom Myers dislikes most of all:

"In 1915 he [Cannon] was general secretary of the IWW. . . ." But Cannon never was IWW secretary, in 1915 or any other year.

- "J.B. Salutsky-Hardman [was] head of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers. . . ." That would have been news to the union's president, Sidney Hillman.

- In 1935, "One of the French Trotskyist leaders [was] Marceau Pivert." Although Myers says this twice, it was never true.

- C.L.R. James, the West Indian writer, was a "faction supporter" of A.J. Muste in the Workers Party in 1936. But James was then living in London and did not come to this country until 1938, two years after Muste withdrew from radical politics.

- In 1936, when "Cannon went to Tijuana, California, to publish . . . *Labor Action*," he was aided by Paul Montauk, among others. But at that time Montauk had never been west of the Hudson and was only fourteen years old.

- Joseph Hansen, Trotsky's secretary in Mexico, was a "twenty year old" in early 1940. Myers is almost two-thirds right in this case, which is higher than her usual average.

- The Non-Partisan Labor Defense "put together" labor and other support for the defendants in the Minneapolis "sedition" trial in 1941. But the NPLD was dissolved in 1936, so a new group, the

Civil Rights Defense Committee, had to be organized to do that work in 1941.

Is the entire book as sloppy with facts as these examples? Not every sentence, but enough to serve as a warning. When a book can't get the simplest facts straight, the reader should be wary over how it deals with more complex things.

When I read this book, I was trying to do research on how the CLA, WP, and SWP developed their analysis of the American Black struggle during the same years Myers covers in her book. So I paid particular attention to what she said on this point.

But it was a complete waste of time. She doesn't have the slightest understanding of what the CLA thought about the Black struggle at its inception in 1929 or how the position of the movement changed in the next decade. She is so confused that she says, "Trotsky vacillated for ten years, at length accepting the integrationist approach of C.L.R. James," when actually Trotsky defended a self-determinationist policy throughout the period and finally persuaded James as well as the SWP to adopt it too. (See *Leon Trotsky on Black Nationalism and Self-Determination*, Pathfinder Press.)

In one place Myers speaks of a "resolution in 1935 on the Negro question," and then summarizes it as though it was an official expression of position. As usual, she doesn't have the facts quite right. It was, first of all, a 1934 document, written by a sectarian national committee member, Hugo Oehler, never discussed by the party leadership or membership, and therefore never submitted to a vote. On the other hand, she never even lists the SWP's first official resolutions on the Black struggle, unanimously adopted at its 1939 convention, or tells where they are in print. (As appendices in the Trotsky book cited above.)

So I can only feel sorry for the unfortunate student or researcher who has to depend on this book to learn about the history of the SWP, or anything else.

—George Breitman



Arnold Weissberg



## Stopping nukes: how the Basques do it

The two largest anti-nuclear power demonstrations ever held both took place in Euskadi (as the Basque people of Spain call their homeland). Last July, 200,000 people marched in Bilbao, the main city of Euskadi. Then, on March 12, 150,000 rallied at the site of a nuke that's under construction at Lemóniz, outside Bilbao.

These two actions dwarf even the large antinuclear protests in the rest of Europe and Japan.

A powerful driving force behind the demonstrations was Basque nationalism. The Basque people have been denied the right to use their own language, the right to their culture, and the right to control their own destinies.

The central government's attempt to stuff a nuclear power plant down their throats was too much. Thousands of Basque flags punctuated the demonstrations, and a popular chant sarcastically urged building the nuke at the government palace in Madrid instead of in Euskadi.

Nationalist sentiment helped the Antinuclear

Committees of Euskadi, which organized the March action, to involve Basque working people. Fishermen from several Basque ports joined in.

The July 1977 demonstration also involved workers from Westinghouse. Westinghouse has the contract to build the 1,800-megawatt Lemóniz plant.

The size of the demonstrations shows the breadth and depth of opposition to nuclear power in Spain. The Antinuclear Committees of Euskadi is a coalition of some twenty-nine groups—including trade unions, political parties, and youth groups. Antinuclear activists in Euskadi understand the need to involve as many different groups as possible.

This approach has paid off. The antinuclear movement is seen as a movement on behalf of all victims of the Spanish regime. For example, a women's contingent marched in the July demonstration chanting, "Patriarchal society plus capitalism equals rape of the environment."

And many marchers took up the cause of Basque political prisoners.

Thus, the antinuclear movement in Euskadi has become a major social cause. It has directed a powerful challenge against Iberduero, the electricity monopoly in Euskadi, and the government.

So deep has the opposition to the Lemóniz nuke become that Iberduero has been forced to ask for a big public debate on nuclear power. Of course, Iberduero won't stop building in the meantime. It's already put four years into its pet project. There are a lot of things American antinuclear activists can learn from our sisters and brothers in Euskadi. One important lesson is the possibility—indeed, the necessity—of involving those sections of the population that carry the most social weight and have the most to gain from stopping the nukes.

This means reaching out to the labor movement in particular, and to forces in the Black community, in the women's movement, and on the campuses. This is the road to building a genuinely mass movement.

## Women in Revolt

### Comstock to Kennedy

How's this for obscenity? On January 30 the Senate passed S.1437, the revised criminal code. Before the bill was passed, it was amended to restore the current law about "obscene" literature.

According to the law, any item or written material about "abortion, or for any indecent or immoral use" is declared "nonmailable matter." Specifically:

"Every written or printed card, letter, circular, book, pamphlet, advertisement, or notice of any kind giving information, directly or indirectly, where, or how, or from whom, or by what means . . . abortion will be done or performed, or how or by what means abortion may be produced . . . is declared to be nonmailable matter."

If a person sends out information about where women can obtain safe abortions, she or he risks a \$100,000 fine and as much as five years in prison.

Sen. Edward Kennedy, sponsor of the bill, agreed to this outrage. "I urge the Senate to accept the amendment," he said on the floor. He tried to explain it away as harmless, claiming "No cases have ever been prosecuted under this provision."

But women have had enough experience with censorship laws to be worried. The old "Comstock laws" similarly declared information about birth

control "obscene" and unfit for the U.S. mails.

Anthony Comstock was so zealous that after he got the law passed in 1873, he took the post of special agent to the postmaster general.

Near the end of his life, Comstock claimed he was responsible for convicting enough people to fill a train sixty-one cars long. He had destroyed 160 tons of "obscene" material. He also once bragged that he had driven fifteen people to suicide.

Margaret Sanger, founder of the birth-control movement in this country, felt Comstock's fury. In the days before World War I, Sanger was a member of the Socialist Party of Eugene V. Debs. She wrote a column for an SP newspaper called, "What Every Girl Should Know." One week under the heading there was no column—just the words, "Nothing! By order of the Post Office Department."

In April 1914 the post office again censored Sanger. It refused to handle her paper, *The Woman Rebel*. The paper did not really have any birth-control information. But the post office still considered its ideas obscene. The paper carried slogans such as "No Gods, No Masters!"

Emma Goldman, the anarchist who fought for women's rights, spent fifteen days in jail in 1916 for

a birth-control lecture.

And Dr. Antoinette Konikow, a pioneer in birth control and a founding member of the Socialist Workers Party, was arrested in 1928 for displaying contraceptives.

But that is all history, Senator Kennedy might try to reassure us. Who would try that kind of censorship today?

Just this month, in Kennedy's home state of Massachusetts, officials at Boston College, a Roman Catholic school, ordered a weekly student newspaper to move off campus. The paper had printed advertisements for two abortion clinics.

With abortion clinics being fire bombed, abortion funding cut off, and anti-abortion regulations being passed throughout the country, there is every reason to expect bigots to use censorship laws on the books against abortion information.

There is no such thing as a harmless obscenity law. Unpopular, radical ideas have always been labeled "obscene," and the laws have been used against women.

That is one of the reasons women will be opposing the bill when it goes to the House of Representatives as H.R. 6869.



Diane Wang

## By Any Means Necessary

### State of Black Politics—III

In the March issue of its magazine *Focus*, the Joint Center for Political Studies (JCPS) puts forward a rosy assessment of the state of Black politics today.

But just how much—or how little—real political progress has been made is indicated by several facts cited by JCPS.

Black voter participation in elections—like voter participation generally—has declined by about 10 percent since 1968.

Most importantly, JCPS points out, the vast majority of Blacks have benefited little from the election of a greater number of Blacks to office.

Blacks in ever greater numbers are growing less and less patient with Black elected officials and with the Carter administration, which promised Blacks many things but has delivered nothing.

Seeking a way out of this within the framework of the two-party system, some Black leaders have taken to advocating a partnership between Blacks

and the Republicans. This strategy was spelled out recently in interviews with *U.S. News and World Report* given by Jesse Jackson, Operation PUSH president; Vernon Jordan, National Urban League executive director; and Massachusetts Sen. Edward Brooke.

They reason that Blacks would have more political weight if neither the Democrats nor Republicans could count that Black vote as in the bag.

But the fact is that neither the Democrats nor the Republicans—in the White House or in Congress—have done anything fundamental to achieve Black equality.

Both capitalist parties are owned and controlled by the wealthy bankers and businessmen who profit from the exploitation and oppression of Blacks.

That is why no matter which party has held office, Blacks have won social progress—elimination of legal segregation, passage of civil rights and voting rights laws, and opening of job

opportunities—only through the mobilization of the Black masses in demonstrations, sit-ins, pickets, and other forms of protest against the Democratic and Republican-controlled government.

Such independent Black political action—outside the framework of the two-party system—is needed today to defend the gains won through the struggles of the 1950s and 1960s and to fight the unemployment, inflation, and cutbacks in social services that haunt Black communities across the country.

Such action would lay the basis for organizing Blacks across the country in an independent Black political organization. An organization of this sort could mobilize the power of Blacks in direct action in the streets and in support of Black candidates, independent of—and in opposition to—the Democrats and Republicans.

If such a course is undertaken now in 1978, political observers will be able to register some real Black political progress when the twentieth anniversary of the Kerner Commission Report rolls around.



John Hawkins

## Birds of a feather



Seven hundred past and present FBI agents demonstrated on the steps of the federal district court house in Washington, D.C., April 20 in support of three former bureau officials who have been indicted for their role in illegal break-ins.

Many agents obviously fear that continuing public opposition to government crimes against civil liberties may land them in court sometime in the future.

All three defendants, including former bureau Director L. Patrick Gray, pleaded

not guilty to charges of conspiring to violate the civil rights of citizens.

Gray and the others are accused of organizing and approving break-ins at the homes of relatives of members of the Weather Underground.

"Every man and woman of this bureau stands behind you," said Patrick Connor, speaking for the demonstrators.

"God bless every one of you!" shouted defendant Mark Felt.

tion has been under fire in many states, especially since passage in Congress of the anti-abortion Hyde Amendment last year.

## KENT STATE COMMEMORATION

Kent State University President Brage Golding yielded to the long-standing demand of KSU students and faculty on April 12 and agreed to cancel classes May 4, the anniversary of the 1970 killing of four antiwar students by the Ohio National Guard.

The May 4 Task Force will sponsor a rally on campus at noon, May 4. Featured speakers are Daniel Ellsberg; Vernon Bellecourt; William Kunstler; Constance Slaughter, attorney for the families of Black students slain May 15, 1970, at Jackson State College in Mississippi; Clark Kissinger, former leader of Students for a Democratic Society; and Abdul Alkalimat, African Liberation Support Committee.

A candlelight march will take place the evening before, sponsored by the Center for Peaceful Change.

Hundreds of students have been arrested at Kent since last summer in protests against the construction of a gym on the site of the 1970 massacre. On April 12, Judge Robert Kent dropped charges of criminal trespassing against seven students arrested last fall. Their "crime" was reading the First Amendment out loud on the steps of the student center.

Although the administration has dropped its blanket ban on political activity on campus, *Militant* correspondent Bob Laycock reports that attacks on student rights have stepped up recently. Several students have been arrested for holding rallies said to violate the school's cumbersome regulations. Another student has been placed on "conduct probation" for leafletting in the student center without a permit.

## VOTER TURNOUT

Increasing dissatisfaction with the policies of the Democratic and Republican parties is showing itself in a declining voter turnout. According to the Census Bureau, only 54 percent of the voting-age population went to the polls in 1976. This was the lowest percentage since 1948, and a continuation of a steady decline that began in 1964—just as the Vietnam War was beginning to escalate.

The bureau said that a major cause of the decline was the increase in the proportion of the electorate under thirty-five years old.

## NOT ENOUGH SICK PEOPLE?

New York City has lost 2,672 hospital beds in two years and suffered a net loss of twenty hospitals. But the Greater New York Hospital Association says there are still 5,000 hospital beds too many, according to state standards.

The association asserted that the hospital system had reduced annual costs by \$150 million so far by cutting hospital capacity.

Meanwhile, a city Health Department study found that the death rate in central Harlem, one of the biggest Black ghettos, was 14.5 per 1,000

population—almost 50 percent higher than the city-wide average.

## RACISM AGAINST INDIANS

Native Americans suffer from an official 40 percent unemployment rate, compared to 7 percent for the population as a whole, according to figures in the March 27 *U.S. News & World Report*. The magazine also reported that the 1975 per capita income for Native Americans was \$1,573, compared to a national average of \$5,869. Native American life expectancy was about sixty-five years during 1969-71, compared to the national average of about seventy-one years.

## NEW LOW FOR CARTER

President Carter's popularity has reached a new low, according to the latest Gallup Poll. Only 39 percent of those polled approve Carter's handling of the presidency, down from 48 percent a month ago and 55 percent in early January. Forty-six percent disapprove of his performance.

Fifty percent believe that the economy will get worse in the next six months, and 55 percent think that prices will climb faster than their income over the next year.

## BALLOT SUIT TO HIGH COURT

The U.S. Supreme Court has agreed to hear an appeal by the Illinois Board of Elections against the ruling of two lower courts in a ballot suit filed by the Socialist Workers Party.

The SWP lawsuit challenged a restrictive state law requiring smaller parties to collect 40,000 signatures to qualify for ballot status. In 1977 Chicago officials agreed to a court proposal to accept a requirement of 20,000 signatures for the municipal election.

However, the state board has continued to fight this lower ballot requirement, despite a ruling by the U.S. Court of Appeals.

## ABORTION RIGHTS VICTORY

Virginia will have to pay for Medicaid abortions, according to an April 21 ruling by a federal judge. The state legislature had voted to bar Medicaid payments for abortions after April 1.

Federal District Court Judge Albert Bryan declared that women who need abortions would be irreparably harmed if the state refuses to pay for them.

The ruling was the result of a class-action suit brought by a nineteen-year-old woman who was refused state aid for an abortion.

Government funding of abor-

## Protest Zionist aggression

The Palestine Action Committee has called for a counter-demonstration May 7 against a New York City parade celebrating the thirtieth anniversary of the founding of the state of Israel.

"This is a time to express our outrage at the bombing of Lebanese villages and Palestinian refugee camps and the creation of another 260,000 refugees," a PAC statement declares.

PAC will march under the slogans, "Self-determination for the Palestinian people," "No U.S. aid to Israel," and "Israeli troops out of Lebanon."

Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin, along with various U.S. politicians, is scheduled to participate in the Zionist march.

The counterdemonstration will begin at 11 a.m. at Fiftieth Street and Sixth Avenue (Avenue of the Americas).

# What's Going On

## CALIFORNIA

**LOS ANGELES: CRENSHAW 'HEARTS AND MINDS': A FILM DOCUMENTARY OF THE VIETNAM WAR.** Speakers: Fri., May 5, 7:30 p.m. 2167 W. Washington Blvd. (near Western). Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (213) 732-8196.

## SAN DIEGO

**CHICANAS & THE FIGHT FOR WOMEN'S LIBERATION.** Speaker: Virginia Garza, minority task force of National Organization for Women and Socialist Workers Party candidate for secretary of state. Fri., May 5, 8 p.m. 1053 15th St. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (714) 234-4630.

## SAN FRANCISCO

**'EUGENE V. DEBS AND THE AMERICAN MOVEMENT.'** A film. Speaker: Art Sharon, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., May 5, 8 p.m. Benjamin Franklin Junior High School cafeteria. 1430 Scott St. (near Geary). Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (415) 824-1992 or 626-6814.

## COLORADO DENVER

**THE SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY'S STRATEGY FOR SOCIALISM.** Short presentation followed by discussion. Wed., May 3, 7:30 p.m. 916 Broadway. Ausp: Socialist Workers Party. For more information call (303) 837-1018.

**PROTEST POLICE BRUTALITY.** Speakers: Steve Marshall, Socialist Workers Party; others. Fri., May 5, 7:30 p.m. 916 Broadway. Donation: \$1.00. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (303) 837-1018.

## FLORIDA MIAMI

**THE HOLOCAUST: HOW SOCIALISTS VIEW IT.** Speakers: Prof. Brian Peterson, history department, Florida International Univ.; Jack Lieberman, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., May 5, 8 p.m. 7623 N.E. 2nd Ave. Donation: \$1.25. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (305) 756-8358.

## GEORGIA ATLANTA

**NAZIS IN SKOKIE, ILLINOIS: WHAT STRATEGY TO FIGHT FASCISM?** Panel discussion: Rabbi Juda H. Mintz, director of Atlanta Hillel Federation; Larry Noble, American Civil Liberties Union; Edwin Fruit, Socialist Workers Party; others. Thurs., May 4, 7:30 p.m. Georgia State University Urban Life Building Room 206. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (404) 688-6739.

## LOUISIANA NEW ORLEANS

**NICARAGUA.** Speakers: Yolanda Hurtado, Nicaraguan student; representative

of the Socialist Workers Party. Fri., May 5, 8 p.m. 3319 S. Carrollton Ave. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (504) 486-8048.

## MARYLAND BALTIMORE

**WOMEN'S RIGHTS UNDER ATTACK.** A panel discussion: Barbara Stevenson, plaintiff in case against Bethlehem Steel; others to be announced. Fri., May 5, 8 p.m. 2117 N. Charles St. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (301) 547-0668.

**WHO RULES BALTIMORE?** Speakers: Ollie Bivins, Socialist Workers Party; others. Fri., May 12, 8 p.m. 2117 N. Charles St. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (301) 547-0668.

## MISSOURI KANSAS CITY

**FOR BILINGUAL-BICULTURAL EDUCATION.** Speakers: Alfonso López, director, bilingual-bicultural education, Kansas City schools; John Al Rodriguez, educational coordinator, Community Relations, Univ. of Missouri; Marguerite Martinez Andrews, bilingual specialist, Switzer School; Jim Levitt, Socialist Workers Party candidate for school board. Thurs., May 4, 7:30 p.m. Guadalupe Parish Center, 1015 W. 23rd St. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (816) 753-0404.

**DISASTER IN CHILE: THE POPULAR FRONT STRATEGY AND WHY IT FAILED.** Class #2, Sat., May 6, 1 p.m.; Class #3 Sat., May 13, 1 p.m.; Class #4, Sat., May 20, 1 p.m. 4715 Troost. Ausp: Socialist Workers Party. For more information call (816) 753-0404.

## NEW YORK NEW YORK CITY

**DEMONSTRATE TO SUPPORT PALESTINIAN RIGHTS.** Sun., May 7, 11 a.m. 50th St. & 6th Ave. Ausp: Palestine Action Coalition.

**'I JUST WANTED SOMEONE TO KNOW.'** A documentary play on working women, with music. May 12-28, Fridays and Saturdays at 8 p.m.; Saturdays and Sundays matinees at 3 p.m. 23 St. Mark's Place. Admission: \$3. Ausp: Labor Theater. An Equity Showcase Production. For more information and reservations call (212) 477-0993.

## NYC: BROOKLYN

**CAPITAL PUNISHMENT: DETERRENCE, RETRIBUTION, OR MURDER?** Speakers: Ken Milner, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Congress, 19th District; José G. Pérez, staff writer for the *Militant*. Fri., May 5, 8 p.m. 220-222 Utica Ave. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (212) 773-0250.

## NYC: CHELSEA

**FEMINIST FILM AND THEATER.** An evening of discussion with Ruth McCor-

mick, associate editor of 'Cineaste' and Gloria Albee, playwright. Fri., May 5, 8 p.m. 200 1/2 W. 24th St. Donation \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (212) 989-2731.

## NYC: LOWER EAST SIDE

**HEALTH CARE WORKERS & THE FIGHT FOR A DECENT STANDARD OF LIVING.** Speakers to be announced. Fri., May 5, 8 p.m. 7 Clinton St. Donation \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (212) 260-6400.

## OHIO

### CINCINNATI

**SOCIALIST WORKERS CAMPAIGN RALLY: CUTBACKS, LAYOFFS, AND RACISM—HOW WORKING PEOPLE CAN FIGHT BACK.** Speakers: Pat Wright, Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor; John Stiller, SWP candidate for Congress 1st C.D. Fri., May 5, 7:30 p.m. 970 E. McMillen (near Peebles Corner). Donation: \$1. Ausp: 1978 SWP Campaign. For more information call (513) 751-2636.

## OREGON PORTLAND

**THE CRISIS OF EUROPEAN CAPITALISM: THE CASE OF ITALY.** Lessons of May-June 1968 in France, ten years after. Speakers: Judy Stranahan and David Julian, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., May 5, 8 p.m. 3928 N. Williams.



## ASYLUM FOR GRIGORENKO

Pyotr Grigorenko, a well-known Soviet dissident, was granted political asylum in the United States April 19, one day after his request. Grigorenko, seventy, has been in this country since last fall for health reasons and to visit his son. The Kremlin stripped Grigorenko of his Soviet citizenship February. The former Red Army general declared, "It is my right to live in my fatherland." He expressed hope that he would some day be able to return.

## Quote unquote

"We admit one-third fewer patients than the average of 100 largest cities."

—Dr. S. David Pomrinse, president of the Greater New York Hospital Association, explaining why New York City has an 'excess' of 5,000 hospital beds.

## 'Overturn Bakke!'

Two hundred fifty people rallied against the Bakke decision in Phoenix April 15. The protest was held in solidarity with the march of 10,000 in Washington, D.C., that same day.

American Indian Movement leader Vernon Bellecourt told the crowd, "It is time for members of minority groups to work together against right-wing, racist elements that are antilabor, antiwomen, anti-Black, anti-Indian, and anti-Chicano."

Also speaking were Don Eckland, president-elect of

the Arizona Education Association; State Rep. Art Hamilton; Arizona NAACP Director Clovis Campbell, and Jessica Sampson, Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor.

One hundred people picketed the Salt Lake City federal building the same day, chanting, "If Bakke wins, we all lose," and, "200 years is enough, equal rights now." Representatives of the American Civil Liberties Union, Student Coalition Against Racism, and Salt Lake City Legal Services spoke at the rally.



Phoenix, April 15

Militant/Glenn Campbell

Donation: \$1. Aup: Militant Forum. For more information call (503) 288-7860.

**THE FIGHT FOR GAY RIGHTS.** Speakers: representative of Eugene Citizens for Human Rights; representative of Portland Town Council; Louise Haberbush, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senate and member of International Association of Machinists Local 1005. Fri., May 12, 8 p.m. 3928 N. Williams. Donation: \$1. Aup: Militant Forum. For more information call (503) 288-7860.

## PENNSYLVANIA PITTSBURGH

**SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY CAMPAIGN RALLY.** Speakers: Mark Zola, SWP candidate for governor; Naomi Ber- man, SWP candidate for lieutenant-governor; Rosalinda Flint, SWP candidate in West Virginia for senator; others. Sat., May 6, 7 p.m. reception, 8 p.m. rally. William Penn Hotel (Mellon Square) Ohio Room. Aup: Socialist Workers 1978 Campaign Committee. For more information call (412) 441-1419.

## WASHINGTON TACOMA

**TEACHERS UNDER ATTACK.** Speakers: Warren Henderson, executive director of Tacoma Association of Classroom Teachers; Ralph Heino, Wash. Education Association. Fri., May 5, 8 p.m. Tacoma

Community House, 1311 S. M St. Donation: \$1. Aup: Militant Forum. For more information call (206) 627-0432.

**TRADE UNIONISTS & THE REVOLUTIONARY PARTY.** Speaker: Tom Leonard, national committee, Socialist Workers Party and veteran trade unionist. Two classes. Sat., May 6, 1 p.m. & 3:30 p.m. Party at 8:30 p.m. Tacoma Community College, Building 14, Room 2. Donation \$4 for all day or \$1.50 per class. Aup: Socialist Workers Party & Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (503) 288-7860, (206) 329-7404, or (206) 627-0432.

## WISCONSIN MILWAUKEE

**RAILROAD WORKERS UNDER ATTACK.** Speakers: Jim Eyman, United Transportation Union on the Milwaukee Road in Milwaukee; Guy Miller, UTU on Chicago and Northwestern in Chicago. Fri., May 5, 8 p.m. 3901 N. 27th St. Donation: \$1. Aup: Militant Forum. For more information call (414) 445-2076.

**THE STRUGGLE FOR POLITICAL ASYLUM IN THE UNITED STATES.** Speaker: Héctor Marroquin, political refugee from Mexico. Tues., May 9, 7:30 p.m. Milwaukee Christian Center, 2137 W. Greenfield Ave. Aup: Héctor Marroquin Defense Committee. For more information call (414) 264-5197.

# The Great Society

## Harry Ring



**Grand tradition**—Corporate farms will again be allowed to hire children of ten and eleven under a proposed new U.S. Labor Department regulation. A 1974 rule barred hiring child farm labor under twelve. But, a spokesperson explained, this was seen as disrupting "a tradition, a way of life."

**Smells fishy?**—A Seattle fish firm is charged with violating federal law by failing to pay time and a half for overtime. Its name: Something Fishy Fish Company.

**It figures**—Postal authorities are pressing to cut deliveries to five days a week, asserting it would save \$400 million annually. Meanwhile, they're considering plans to spend \$800 million a year by 1985 to hire 28,000 new supervisors, technicians and "administrative support personnel."

**Like austerity**—The British Parliament voted a 9.2 percent wage increase for Queen Elizabeth and the five other

members of the Royal Family. The total annual tax-free take is \$5.29 million.

**Now hear this**—Preliminary results are in on a federal housing study begun in late 1976. Initial findings indicate that Blacks are still likely to encounter bias when they seek housing.

**Stale peanuts**—Medallions marking Carter's inaugural were selling for \$22.50 at Rich's Atlanta department store but are now marked down to \$12.50.

**What is it now?**—It's entirely feasible to eliminate pesticides and such extras as rodent droppings from processed foods, says University of Minnesota entomologist Phillip Harein. But, he adds, this would make food very expensive.

**One big pothole**—New York City officials said they've filled 400,000 potholes since January and are aiming to fill another 10,000. They said, however, that they couldn't estimate how many are left, since they "keep growing all the time."

## Union Talk

### Bad news in rail talks

This week's column is by Guy Miller, a member of the United Transportation Union and a switchman for more than seven years on the Chicago and Northwestern railroad

**CHICAGO**—On January 1 the contracts between the nation's railroads and unions representing more than 400,000 railroad workers expired. Unlike the miners—who have a policy of no contract, no work—workers in rail have continued to work under the old agreement.

While week after week of negotiations go on behind closed doors, railroad workers are kept in near-total darkness about the status of the new contract. What little news filters through to the daily press has been bad in what it is likely to mean for the new agreement.

In late March federal mediators entered the negotiations between the National Railway Labor Conference (the industry's bargaining arm) and rail unions representing about half the workers in the industry. These include the Brotherhood of Railway and Airline Clerks (BRAC) and six smaller unions representing signalmen, carmen, firemen and oilers, machinists, and boilermakers and blacksmiths.

Fred Kroll, the president of BRAC, pointed out that "the railroads are taking a hard line." They are indeed.

BRAC has asked for wage increases of 10 percent, 9 percent, and 8 percent over a three-year period. The carriers have so far countered with a paltry offer of 3 percent, 2 percent, and 3 percent. Even with some partial cost-of-living increases, such a proposal means a guaranteed cut in the purchasing power of wages.

Kroll further stated, "If the only way to get what we need is through a strike, I'll call a strike." After going through all the government red tape that restricts rail unions, however, the clerks would not be free to call a strike until August at the earliest.

At the same time the 175,000-member United Transportation Union (UTU) and four other unions are still carrying on negotiations without federal mediators.

The UTU—which represents brakemen, switchmen, and some firemen and engineers—faces the brunt of the carriers' attacks.

Above all else, the railroad companies want to reduce train crews from their present size of three members down to two. This reduction would mean a 50 percent speedup and unsafe conditions for the remaining switchmen and brakemen.

Unfortunately, the UTU officialdom seems prepared to compromise on this important issue.

On April 1 the Chicago, Milwaukee, St. Paul & Pacific Railroad broke from the national bargaining conference and made a separate agreement with the UTU, affecting some 2,500 workers. This agreement will eventually reduce crews in both yard and road service to only two members.

The company agreed to compensate the remaining workers with four dollars every time they work shorthanded. In addition the company has set up what it calls a "productivity fund," into which it will pay forty-eight dollars for every train that runs with a reduced crew. The money is to be shared with all UTU members who participate.

The Milwaukee also announced it will have four new freight trains from Chicago to Minneapolis starting June 5 that will work exclusively with two trainmen.

Older railroad workers may have some sense of déjà vu at the four-dollar compensation for a lost job. Back in the early 1960s, when the firemen were eliminated from tens of thousands of jobs, engineers were given four dollars a day for working by themselves.

Fifteen years ago four dollars constituted a good percentage of a day's pay. Today it is worth about twenty-five minutes.

It is exactly this kind of policy that has caused the industry to shrink from 765,000 employees in 1960 to 445,000 today. While the number of workers has declined, the number of ton-miles hauled has increased considerably.

Somebody is profiting from this huge increase in productivity—but it sure isn't railroad workers.

# Our Revolutionary Heritage

Celebrating 50 years of the Militant, 1928-1978

## Cannon on May Day

The following is condensed from a May Day speech given by James P. Cannon in 1945. Cannon was the founder of American Trotskyism and longtime central leader of the Socialist Workers Party.

This was Cannon's first public address after he and other SWP leaders were released from prison, where they had served terms of more than a year for opposing the imperialist Second World War.

It is reprinted here from "The Struggle for Socialism in the 'American Century'" (Pathfinder Press, 1977), a volume of Cannon's writings and speeches from 1945-47.

Who are the victors in this terrible devastating war? Who won freedom? The victors, you must understand and never fail to make it clear—the victors in the first place are the Wall Street money sharks. They are the only ones who have won the war.

You know what the imperialists said, that the war would be conducted to ensure four freedoms in the world. Democracy, peace, prosperity—that is what the masters of society promised.

What have they got to show for all their promises? What can they show, the masters of the world, but ruined cities, mounds of corpses, and millions of starving people?

Imperialist America appears to be all-powerful. That is a dream and a tremendous illusion.

Every weakness in the economy of world capitalism at any point runs a tremor throughout the foundations of American imperialism because its foundations are on that economy too. Every revolutionary disturbance—and there have been many and will be ten and one hundred times more, one after another in all parts of this agonizing world—will shake the stability of this deceptive Moloch of American capitalism.

In addition to all that, the modern imperialist master of the world faces its proletarian nemesis at home.

The awakening workers of the United States of America, and the returning soldiers of America [will be] asking: What do we get out of it? Where is our victory? Where is our peace?

And are they going to receive their share of the victory? Does anybody believe that this country's rulers are planning and preparing and that they can guarantee, even if they wanted to, the 60 million jobs, and peace now, and an automobile to drive, and a safe and secure existence in which one can raise a family and look forward with confidence to the future?



Well, you had better read the newspapers, and particularly the financial pages, and see what the policy of big business is. The policy of big business is a union-busting campaign just as they began after the last war.

And in this struggle which the workers cannot avoid there will be forced upon them, there will come an awakening of the workers' class consciousness and a beginning of an understanding for the first time of the necessity of acting as a class.

And they will be compelled by all the logic of the struggle to look toward independence in politics, an independent labor party, and toward revolutionary advances on every front.

Now, we see that perspective not as a wish and not as an imaginary one, but we see it as flowing from the whole logic of the necessary development. And that is why we face the future with confidence, and that is why we say that revolution is on the agenda in the United States of America as in all the other places of the world.

All the defeats of socialism, all of them, have been due solely to the lack of leadership. The task upon which the future of humanity depends is to create the leadership for the revolutionary struggle. That means, in one word, to create the revolutionary party.

The workers, by their social position in society, by their numbers, are the greatest power in society. All the workers need and all they have ever needed since 1914 is to believe in themselves, to understand their power, and an honest party to lead them.

Alone as individuals we are nothing. But with the party and through the party we are everything. And therefore join the party, build the party, and write on the banner of the party once again what Marx and Engels wrote in the first *Communist Manifesto* ninety-seven years ago: "You have nothing but your chains to lose, and a world to gain. Workers of the world unite!"

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## Letters

### Farmers' way forward

Now that Congress has voted down the one-year farm bill, I am anxious to see what the next move on the part of the American Agriculture Movement will be. You can bet that the farmers have not forgotten how to drive their tractors. They also know that the tractor demonstrations did not reach the peak that can be reached.

But the defeat of the emergency farm bill is a huge disappointment. Most certainly some farm communities will be ripped out altogether.

Capitalism has no other answer except to pauperize the many in order to enrich the few.

A labor or farmer-labor party is a must. It is the only way a catastrophe can be avoided. Congress has demonstrated that it will do nothing to alleviate the suffering of the poor. There can be only one course open to working people now—a political party all our own.

John Enestvedt  
Sacred Heart, Minnesota

### Indian freedom

The patriarch of the American Indian is dead. Only its inheritance lives on. But only as the shadow, following a big tree.

Too many of us everywhere today have forgotten that a great and beautiful Nation has been defeated at the hands of the capitalist conquerors. And immediately the Native American Indians became prisoners of war. Their captors, the American colonists, with utter disdain, segregated the survivors into reservations, an American equivalent of European concentration camps and the African compounds.

The big tree will always have a shadow when the sun is shining. To keep the "sun" shining so that the shadow follows the big tree, is to give back to the Native American Indians their freedom, a release of all who are prisoners of war.

But it's so very dark within most reservations. There are no modern facilities, adequate sanitation, health care, fresh running water, educational facilities, fisheries, research facilities, or transportation. From the papoose to the grave there is only disease, alcohol, poverty, and cultural desecration.

At present the American Indian must adapt to the real fight for all our freedom, to end, once and for all, the bourgeois regime in North America.

Let us correct our vision of the present-day reality, of the capitalistic rulers who are always going to suppress us if we continue to let them do this.

Take away their power by facing them as a whole and strong Nation once more, whose self-determination will coincide with true justice. Put an end to social disgrace by

accepting the Socialist Workers Party's pointed declaration that "an injury to one, is indeed an injury to all."

Nancy Vick Eagle  
Hawthorn, California

### On journalistic style

I would like you to give some consideration to these thoughts about the journalistic style of your paper.

I think some of the articles or series of articles are much too long—for example, on the miners' strike or, just recently, on Israel's invasion of Lebanon. I believe that it would be sufficient to use a page, at the most, to get your point across.

I realize that it is difficult to shorten any article on a particular subject, especially if it has to be explained historically. But I think it would be far more appealing to readers—especially workers, who have little time or enthusiasm (or strength!) after a day's work—if the articles would be shorter, and also written a little easier to understand.

Also, the articles on *Militant* sales should not be located on the first pages. As one reader pointed out, this is not an appropriate place when selling the paper.

Many times you quote from big-business newspapers like the *New York Times*. This might be misunderstood as meaning that these papers are reliable or, maybe, "neutral."

But, all in all, except for these few objections, you are doing a great job.

Alex Koskinas  
West Haven, Connecticut

### Women prisoners' rights

The women's facility here is being dedicated by Michigan Governor Milliken as a place of "rehabilitation." In fact, women are sentenced to serve time here on a level set up for men about 200 years ago.

This brings many questions as to how women's rights are treated. If we had the support of outside groups such as ERA groups and NOW [National Organization for Women], women would stand a much greater chance to organize and become one group.

Women have got to work together. Women hold the most powerful role in our society. We have to help each other achieve our goals.

A prisoner  
Michigan

### Prisoners' suit

We are Chicano prisoners incarcerated in the Colorado State Penitentiary.

What we desire and desperately need is some news media—such as the *Militant*—to take up our cause. We have attempted to bring our cause to the established news media, and of course they are blind, deaf, and dumb to the truth,



# Learning About Socialism

## What is Stalinism?

regardless of how justified.

Last year we were separately arrested for an alleged knife assault on a prison guard. Then we were placed in "administrative" segregation. We were, and are, atrociously treated.

We did not, together or separately, stab the guard. Nevertheless, the issue is not whether we did it—the issue is racism and the inhuman acts against us.

We filed a federal civil suit on January 31, 1978. The defendants and a private firm filed their answer; both sides have requested a jury trial. *Paul Hernandez, Frank Lucera, Davis López*  
*Canon City, Colorado*

### Racist Texas courts

A picket line was held April 8 in Austin organized by the Oliver Lee Davis Defense Committee.

Davis, who is Black, was arrested in 1974, charged with attempted robbery. Others convicted of the crime have testified that Davis is innocent. The court, however, found him guilty and sentenced him to ten years. As Davis was leaving the courtroom, the judge stopped him and charged him with sodomy and aggravated sexual abuse of two white inmates. The racist judge and all-white jury gave him ninety-nine years!

An appeal has been filed based on an affidavit by one of the assaulted inmates, who admitted that Oliver is innocent of the crime.

Davis's mother spoke after the picket. "Andrew Young and Jimmy Carter shouldn't be flying over to Africa talking about human rights. Human rights should begin right here at home first," she said.

Miguel Pendás, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senate from Texas, added, "The Davis case is another example of the racist court procedures in Texas."

*Melvin Chappell*  
*Derrick Adams*  
*Austin, Texas*

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

### Correction

An error appeared in the March 24, 1978, *Militant* report about a National Organization for Women state conference in New Jersey. During the discussion about the Equal Rights Amendment and abortion rights an amendment to a resolution was proposed by Beth Salerno, not by Judy Kneen.

Joseph Stalin, a secondary leader of the Russian revolution who later became the absolute dictator of the Soviet Union, died twenty-five years ago. Why does the *Militant* still use the term "Stalinism" to describe the politics of Communist parties around the world? Why do we call regimes such as the one in the USSR Stalinist?

Stalin's significance was not primarily as an individual but as the representative and ultimate decision maker of a bureaucratic caste—that is, a privileged social layer made up of state functionaries. (The best discussion of why this bureaucracy arose and what it is can be found in Leon Trotsky's *The Revolution Betrayed*, available at the socialist headquarters listed below.)

Stalin's suppression of democratic rights, his murderous purges, his forced labor camps, and his rigid enforcement of a counterrevolutionary ideology, were all policies required to consolidate and defend the rule of this privileged minority.

After Stalin's death, his successors modified some of these policies to head off potentially explosive unrest. But halting the worst excesses of the Stalin era did not restore the right of Soviet working people to have free access to information, to debate political alternatives, and to decide on state policy.

The regimes in the USSR and other bureaucratized workers states in Eastern Europe and Asia continue to safeguard the privileges of the same type of parasitic social grouping represented by Stalin.

Supporters of the Kremlin bureaucracy deny this. How do they explain Stalin's one-man dictatorship?

Communist Party leader George Meyers made an attempt in the February 11 *Daily World*. According to Meyers, the mass purges and murders carried out under Stalin were "an aberration that developed from what the Soviets call 'the cult of the individual.'"

How did this "cult of the individual" arise? Through the bad judgment of the Soviet people, if we are to believe Meyers.

"There is no question that the Soviet people came to idealize Stalin. After all, it was he that led them through the early years of deprivation into the building of a successful base for socialism. It was he that led them to victory in World War II. Also, the 'cult' developed at a time when the Soviet Union was surrounded by enemies."

In essence, Meyers's argument is that the Soviet masses—

out of love for Stalin—were to blame for the murder of innocent people.

But the Stalin cult was not the product of the love the masses bore for Stalin. On the contrary, it reflected the regime's fear of the masses. Leaders who are genuinely loved and respected have no need for state-enforced cults.

Behind the absurd arguments advanced by Meyers is the desire to divorce the bureaucratic system as a whole from the crimes carried out under Stalin. The Communist Party's defense of the bureaucratic regime in the USSR shows that the ideology that grew up during Stalin's rule remains very much alive today.

As a political ideology, Stalinism is a distinct brand of reformism. It is characterized by three main points: support to the regimes in the bureaucratized workers states; support to the idea that a socialist society can be built without the overthrow of capitalism in the main imperialist centers; and support to the concept of "peaceful coexistence" with imperialism.

Stalin first formulated the idea that socialism could be built in one country—the Soviet Union—in December 1924. Leon Trotsky, a key leader of the Russian revolution exiled by Stalin and later assassinated under his orders—wrote about this in *The Third International After Lenin*:

"Marxism has always taught the workers that even their struggle for higher wages and shorter hours cannot be successful unless waged as an international struggle. And now it suddenly appears that the ideal of the socialist society may be achieved with the national forces alone. . . .

"The invincible conviction that the fundamental class aim, even more so than the partial objectives, cannot be realized by national means or within national boundaries, constitutes the very heart of revolutionary internationalism."

But the policies of narrow nationalism were well-suited to a privileged bureaucracy interested only in preserving its own power. Such policies led naturally to betrayal of the perspective of extending the socialist revolution.

Today, the policy of accommodation with imperialism, summed up in the slogan of "détente," is pushed by Communist parties around the world—the legitimate inheritors of Stalin's counterrevolutionary tradition.

—David Frankel

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Where to find the Socialist Workers Party, Young Socialist Alliance, and socialist books and pamphlets

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# THE MILITANT

## NOW urges thousands to join July 9 ERA march

By Marty Pettit

DES MOINES, Iowa—More than 200 enthusiastic members of the National Organization for Women, meeting here at the Midwest Regional NOW Conference April 22-23, began planning for the July 9 national march on Washington for the Equal Rights Amendment.

"We want it to be the kind of march that will be in the history books, the kind of march where you can tell your children and grandchildren: 'I was there,'" said NOW National Treasurer Eve Norman in her speech to the opening plenary.

Norman announced that a camera-ready flyer for the July 9 demonstration and other informational literature will soon be out.

The ERA demonstration was called by the national board of NOW in response to the continued refusal of state legislators to ratify the amendment, which must be passed by three more states before the March 22, 1979, deadline. NOW is also demanding that Congress pass House Joint Resolution 638, which would extend the ratification deadline for seven more years.

Just prior to the conference, the April/May issue of the *National NOW Times* came out with a front-page article on the July 9 march. "All ERA supporters are welcome to attend and participate," the article said.

"NOW members and other ERA supporters in the tens of thousands will converge on Washington D.C. in a dramatic show of support for the Equal Rights Amendment. Participants are being asked to dress in white as did the suffragists and will wear a tri-color sash of equality.

Women at the Midwest conference here passed a resolution on the march that concluded: "Therefore, be it resolved, that the Midwest Regional NOW Conference start immediately to organize buses, trains, etc., in order to make the national demonstration in Washington, D.C., on July 9 a massive march in support of ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment and in support of H.J. 638."

Toward the end of the weekend, conference organizers called a meeting

to discuss transportation and fund raising. A popular idea among NOW members was to organize a Freedom Train to Washington—similar to the chartered train that brought 500 East Coast ERA supporters to Springfield, Illinois, in 1976 for the 8,000-strong march there sponsored by NOW.

One speaker pointed to the importance of aggressively approaching the trade unions and other groups to win their support for the march. The potential to involve thousands of trade unionists was shown in the Springfield demonstration, where the United Auto Workers sent seven busloads of supporters, and public employees, teachers, printers, meat cutters, and Teamsters participated with their own signs and banners. Many of the unionists were Black and on their first women's rights demonstration.

Labor support for the ERA has continued to grow as the deadline for ratification nears. An ERA march initiated by the Meat Cutters union on January 22, 1978, in Richmond, Virginia, drew 3,200. Broad union backing has been won for an ERA march scheduled in Chicago on April 29 (see box below).

And on April 24, in a letter to the *New York Times*, AFL-CIO President George Meany urged extension of the ERA deadline.

"It is precisely because so many state legislatures resorted to parliamentary burial devices in order to evade their responsibility to vote during the specified period [for ratification] that the A.F.L.-C.I.O., the civil rights movement and the women's organizations are urging Congress to . . . extend the time limit as long as it takes," Meany wrote.

Concern over the fate of the ERA is also deepening on the campuses and among Black, Chicano, and Puerto Rican organizations. NOW's involvement of these forces, along with the labor movement, will help make the July 9 march a success.

In related discussion at the conference here, NOW members spoke out on the attacks on other women's rights.



Militant/Anne Teesdale

NOW's demonstration for the ERA in Springfield, Illinois, May 1976

Anne Saunier, a national board member of NOW, blasted the anti-abortion forces in her keynote speech. "This is not a 'right to life' movement," she declared. "Is this a serious threat to us? Absolutely. We are being attacked on all sides."

Eve Norman said, "People have asked, 'What does the ERA emergency mean? Does it mean dropping everything else?'"

"No, that's not what we meant," Norman said. "We must work on other issues. We're doing so nationally. It

means every issue that we're working on is related to the ERA."

A resolution passed by a vote of fifty-three to thirty-eight, encouraging local NOW chapters to work with other groups to organize protests wherever necessary to counter the attacks on abortion rights.

For more information on the July 9 ERA march contact the NOW National Action Center in Washington, D.C., at (202) 347-2279.

### Unions back Chicago ERA rally

The April 29 demonstration in Chicago to demand that Illinois ratify the Equal Rights Amendment is picking up broad labor support.

Linda Loew, a coordinator of the Committee for the ERA, which is sponsoring the march, told the *Militant*: "United Auto Workers Region 4 has printed 20,000 leaflets for the march. The UAW women's committee is organizing locals to send buses and cars to the action."

Local 65 of the United Steelworkers union is also organizing a bus, said Loew. The executive board of the USWA District 31 Women's Caucus has endorsed the action.

Organizers of another labor-backed rally the same day—for a shorter workweek and to commemorate the Haymarket martyrs—are leading a feeder march to join the ERA demonstrators.

Speakers at the ERA rally include Clara Day, a vice-president of the Coalition of Labor Union Women; Willie Barrow, Operation PUSH; Naomi Ross, president, Illinois NOW; and Jean Maack, ERA Illinois.

The ERA march will assemble at 1 p.m. at State and Wacker streets and end with a rally at the Daley Civic Center.



News conference to publicize April 29 ERA march in Chicago. Left to right: Jack Spiegel, Shoe Workers union official and coordinator of Haymarket rally; Christina Adachi, Committee for ERA; Mary Lee McDaniel, United Auto Workers Region 4.

### May 13 actions

The National Organization for Women (NOW) is sponsoring May 13 rallies for the Equal Rights Amendment to commemorate Mother's Day, May 13, in Newark, Philadelphia, Louisville, New Orleans, and California.

The Newark event will feature NOW President Eleanor Smeal; Clara Allen, New Jersey director of the Communication Workers of America; Ruth McClain, head of the state's delegation to the Houston International Women's Year conference; and others.

Endorsers include Carol Graves, president of Newark Teachers Union; Puerto Rican Congress of New Jersey; NAACP; Urban League; and United Auto Workers Region 9.

Leaflets for the rally include "On to Washington—July 9th!" coupons urging participants to "join thousands of ERA supporters" in NOW's national march for the ERA.

The Newark rally begins at 1 p.m., May 13, at Essex County College in Mary Burch Auditorium.

In Detroit, the Minority Women's Committee of NOW is holding a conference May 13 at Marygrove College, 8425 West McNichols.