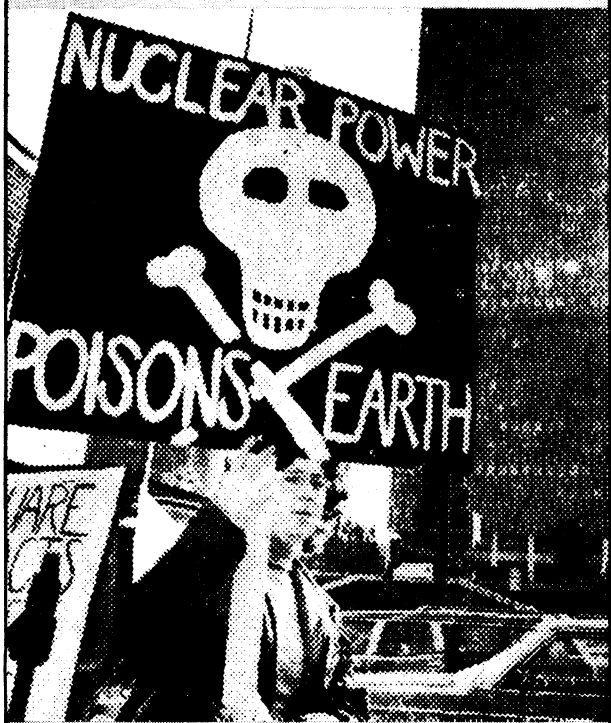


THE MILITANT

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

NUCLEAR POWER: HIDDEN HAZARDS



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John Gofman

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Cutbacks for
working people,
billions for
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How to win jobs for all

Socialist candidates propose
emergency full employment bill

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Blanco elected to Peruvian assembly

By José G. Pérez

Revolutionary socialist leader Hugo Blanco and eleven other candidates of the FOCEP (Spanish initials for Workers, Peasants, Students, and Poor People's Front) were elected to the 100-member constituent assembly in the June 18 Peruvian elections. The assembly is supposed to write a new constitution.

The FOCEP is an electoral bloc of Trotskyists and unaffiliated socialists. With 98 percent of the vote counted, unofficial returns gave the FOCEP 428,000 votes, or 11 percent. Only two capitalist parties had higher totals—36 and 27 percent of the vote.

Of the individual FOCEP candidates, Blanco received the highest vote, testifying to his tremendous popularity as a symbol of uncompromising struggle in defense of the interests of the workers and peasants.

Blanco is a leader of the Peruvian Socialist Workers Party, sister organization of the American SWP. In the early 1960s he was the central leader of a land reform movement among Quechua-speaking Indian peasants. Arrested in 1963, he has been in prison or exile almost uninterruptedly ever since. He had returned to Peru from exile in Sweden only two months before the voting.

The high vote for the FOCEP and other slates generally viewed as socialist (altogether 27 percent) reflects the tremendous radicalization among the Peruvian masses.

Deeply in debt to U.S. and other imperialist



banks, the Peruvian military government recently imposed steep price hikes and other austerity measures. Last month, the government killed scores of people and imprisoned thousands to put down a general strike against these measures.

The military junta maintained martial law until ten days before the elections. The generals also suppressed leftist weeklies (the daily and electronic news media were already under direct government control). It broke up election rallies of working-class slates.

Blanco and twelve other political leaders were deported to Argentina, where they were thrown into a military prison. Thanks to international protests, Blanco and most of the other exiles are now in countries of their choosing. But it will take continuing protests to force the Peruvian government to release the political prisoners and allow Blanco and the other exiles to return.

The Peruvian government denied the right to vote to "illiterates"—some 2 to 3 million Indian peasants. Had they been allowed to vote, the totals for slates that presented themselves as socialist or working-class opponents of the government would undoubtedly have been even greater.

Especially significant is the high vote for Blanco and the FOCEP, who campaigned for cancellation of the austerity measures, repudiation of the junta's foreign debt, expropriation of the capitalists and big landholders, and the establishment of a workers and peasants government to build socialism in Peru.

Blanco spoke optimistically of this mass anti-capitalist sentiment when he arrived in Sweden shortly before the elections. "I have never felt so optimistic before about the future. I have never seen the kind of fighting spirit that prevails in Peru now. . . . I have never been more certain of victory."

Tax rip-off

Democratic and Republican politicians across the country are seizing on passage of Proposition 13, the California tax initiative, to drive forward their offensive against workers' living standards, jobs, and union rights.

President Carter told a June 14 news conference that the California tax revolt is a "message" that will "strengthen" his moves to trim "unnecessary spending."

Senator Gary Hart (D-Colo.) predicted "a lot of meat-ax amendments to cut appropriations."

Since the passage of Proposition 13, Congress has already cut 2 percent from social programs contained in the \$56.6 billion budget for the departments of Labor and Health, Education and Welfare, and 2 percent from a public works appropriations bill.

Of course, Washington's war budget keeps climbing.

Even Detroit's Democratic Mayor Coleman Young, who carefully cultivates an image as a spokesperson for Blacks and working people, has climbed aboard the Proposition 13 bandwagon.

Young urged the U.S. Conference of Mayors June 17 to "recognize the need to reduce the number of municipal employees and increase effectiveness and productivity in municipal government." This is needed to "alleviate the need for burdensome taxation," Young claimed. "We must cut, and I think we can."

One nationwide survey shows that twenty-six state governments are already considering or adopting some form of tax or spending limitation.

These same capitalist politicians write the tax laws that squeeze homeowners, small businesses, and small farmers. They also write the loopholes that provide tax bonanzas for the wealthy corporations.

Then they turn around and claim there is "no money." They say that tax relief can only be achieved by gutting vitally needed social programs.

There's a simple name for this game—rip-off! These politicians try to pit small property owners and working people lucky enough to have a home against other workers who depend on the meager social services now being cut back.

But the labor movement could counter this divide-and-conquer strategy by advancing a program to unite the vast majority of Americans to struggle against the assault on our living conditions by a tiny, wealthy minority. Such a program would demand:

- *Tax the rich.* Shift the burden of taxation off our backs onto the wealthy corporations that can afford to pay for needed services.

- *No cutbacks, no layoffs.* Abolish every penny of the \$126 billion war budget. That alone would keep millions of public workers on the job and finance expanded social services.

That's the kind of program that working people and other hard-pressed taxpayers could rally around. It says, "No. We don't have to choose between schools and higher taxes."

But such a program can only be won by drastically changing in whose interests the government is run. Right now, the labor officialdom wastes union money supporting political parties that serve our employers. They support the politicians who raise our taxes, lay us off, and cut our services.

To defend ourselves, working people need a fighting union movement that puts *our* interests above those of our exploiters. We need an independent political party based on such a revitalized union movement.

An independent labor party would be a powerful weapon in stopping the tax swindles and cutbacks of the employers, *their* political parties, and *their* government.

Israeli expansionism

Eleven years after the June 1967 surprise attack, in which Israeli forces conquered the Sinai Peninsula, the West Bank, the Gaza Strip, and the Golan Heights, the occupation and gradual annexation of these Arab territories by the Zionist state continues.

During the past eleven years, thousands of Arab homes have been demolished, hundreds of thousands of Palestinian Arabs have been pushed into exile, and arbitrary arrests, beatings, deportations, and curfews have been used to terrorize the remaining Palestinian population.

While Israeli officials talk about their commitment to peace, Arab land continues to be expropriated and new Zionist colonies established throughout the occupied territories.

On June 19, the Israeli regime once again

made clear that it has no intention of ever withdrawing from the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. In a particularly crude and arrogant gesture, the warmaking Israeli government declared that the status of these areas would not even be considered until five years after "the establishment of peace."

Begin's open stonewalling has been complemented by U.S. diplomacy, which seeks to stall for time through vague promises of putting pressure on the Israelis. Such "pressure," U.S. officials are quick to make clear, will never involve cutting Washington's massive military aid to the Zionist state.

In the Middle East, as in southern Africa, Washington claims to be opposed to the policies of its racist clients, while continuing to make them possible.

'Sworn to silence'

Yet another "government secrets" trial is in progress in Alexandria, Virginia. In this one—Justice Department vs. Frank Snepp—the government isn't claiming the defendant disclosed any real secrets, but rather that he was sworn to lifetime silence about his days with the CIA.

The government charges Snepp had no right to publish his book on the CIA's role in Vietnam without prior censorship.

The Justice Department wants the court to prohibit further distribution of Snepp's book, order him silent for ever more, and turn over all the book's proceeds to date.

It is a court ruling that would go far beyond the CIA, although there's plenty more that spy agency has to fear from disgruntled agents. Former CIA official John Stockwell's recent book on the CIA's secret war in Angola is example enough of that.

But if the court decides against Snepp, what is to prevent the ruling's extension to other government agencies? Why wouldn't officials use it to try to intimidate and, if necessary, punish those who blow the whistle on any kind of government crime or corruption? From there it could easily lead to censorship of the news media.

The lawsuit against Snepp is another front on which the government is battling to prevent future Pentagon Papers, Watergates, and other revelations that discredit and embarrass the Democrats and Republicans who claim to run this country in the interests of its people.

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Carter vs. Cuba & Africa

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No to the Nazis!

Whether the Nazis' target is Jews in Skokie or Blacks in Chicago, their racist threats must be answered by a massive countermobilization. **Page 5.**



France: May-June 1968

Ten years ago the French working class shook capitalism to its roots. The May-June upsurge was not an aberration but a portent of the future. **Page 23.**



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Blacks protest racist violence

Brooklyn cops strangle community leader

By José G. Pérez

NEW YORK—"We want justice! We demand justice!"

This is the angry cry of Blacks in Brooklyn's Crown Heights neighborhood following the death of Arthur Miller, a local businessman and prominent community leader. Miller was strangled by cops June 14.

Miller was a founder of the Brooklyn Renaissance for Jobs, which last year helped obtain federal funds for jobs for community residents. He also helped establish the Nostrand Avenue Community Commerce Association, the New MUSE Community Museum, and the Four Star Block Association.

On June 19, 1,000 Blacks protested the killing at a rally at Public School 289. The Arthur Miller Community Defense Committee is demanding that first-degree murder indictments be brought against the cops who killed Miller and that the Seventy-seventh Precinct police station be dismantled.

The community is especially incensed because two days after Miller's death a sixteen-year-old Black, Victor



Angry Brooklyn residents march on City Hall demanding justice for slain Black leader Arthur Miller

Militant/José G. Pérez

Rhodes, was savagely beaten by white vigilantes.

The 400-seat school auditorium was jammed with 600 Blacks. Hundreds more listened to the meeting through loudspeakers set up outside the school.

The rally was preceded by several

other protests, including a meeting of 1,500 people at the same school on June 15.

During the morning of June 19, there had been a demonstration by several hundred Blacks who met with Brooklyn Borough President Howard Golden.

They then marched over the Brooklyn Bridge to New York City Hall in Manhattan to confront Mayor Edward Koch.

Koch claimed that Miller's killing "was not a racial incident" but prom-

Continued on page 5

Thousands unite in tribute to Rosenbergs

By Diane Wang

NEW YORK—When the thousands of people gathered on June 19, 1953, for a final vigil for Ethel and Julius Rosenberg, the police crowded them into a sidestreet off Union Square.

But on June 19, 1978, when 3,000 or more came to mark the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Rosenbergs' execution, they had Union Square. In fact, the police blocked off an extra lane of traffic to make room when the crowd swelled.

Catarino Garza, who was at the 1953 vigil, told me, "It was a sad and grim crowd then; there wasn't much talking."

By contrast, the 1978 tribute was full of people talking, getting petitions signed, leafleting, selling newspapers

and pamphlets and buttons.

As Michael Meeropol, one of the Rosenbergs' sons, said, "Our presence here says loud and clear: they may have killed two people twenty-five years ago, but they didn't crush the movement." He chaired the rally along with his brother, Robert Meeropol; Morton Sobell, a codefendant with the Rosenbergs who spent nineteen years in prison; and Helen Sobell.

The remarkable display of unity at the tribute was shown in the diversity of political groups included on the speakers platform.

One after the other, they pointed to the many reasons for unity today. The Carter administration's threats against Africa and Cuba were frequently compared to the 1950s cold

war in the United States and the war against Korea. Attacks on democratic rights today were compared to the Rosenberg frame-up.

"Beware the rumblings of the next war!" declared Ron Kovic, the veteran who returned from Vietnam in a wheelchair to oppose that war. "If they try to do it again, we're going to go into the streets again, march, picket, and fill the jails again," he said.

The Rosenbergs were accused of the "crime of the century" for supposedly giving the secret of the atom bomb to the Soviet Union. Kovic reminded the crowd. But pointing to the Rosenberg execution, the Kent State killings, and Vietnam, Kovic said, "The crime of this century was perpetrated by the criminals in Washington against the American people again and again."

Milt Reverby of District 65 of the Distributive Workers union reminded people that the Rosenberg execution "was an excuse to hound every militant from the labor movement and chain it to the cold war."

But now, Reverby noted, the new forces in labor—young people, women, Blacks—will not allow that to happen again.

Among other speakers were two Democratic Party city council members, Irwin Silber from the *Guardian* newspaper, Henry Winston from the Communist Party, attorney Arthur Kinoy, and Dianne Feeley from the Socialist Workers Party.

The Rosenbergs' "example of cour-

age has been an inspiration to generations of fighters for social change," said Feeley.

Messages were read from several prisoners and former prisoners: Yvonne Wanrow, Martin Sostre, David Truong. Rev. Ben Chavis of the Wilmington Ten sent a message urging people to help "abolish the death penalty and save its intended victims, such as my brother Imani" [Johnny Harris].

Petitions and appeals also circulated for the Puerto Rican Nationalist prisoners, Héctor Marroquín, and the Attica brothers, as well as Iranian and Chilean political prisoners.

American Indian Movement leader Russell Means told of Native Americans who, like prisoners, are "shut out of sight and out of mind" on reservations.

Other speakers described the struggle for the rights of lesbians and gays, affirmative action, the fight against sexism, the repressive revision of the criminal code, nuclear power, and the cutbacks driven through by California's Proposition 13.

Musicians—Holly Near, Barbara Dane, Rev. F.D. Kirkpatrick, and Pete Seeger—performed. And the Modern Times Theatre, Inc., staged its play, *The Last Day: Union Square 1953*.

Just as it was getting dark the crowd observed a period of silence to remember the Rosenbergs, who had been killed in Sing Sing just before sunset twenty-five years ago.



Militant/Lou Howort

1978 crowd recalled last vigil for Julius and Ethel Rosenberg held June 19, 1953

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Judge will consider jailing Bell for contempt

By Diane Wang

Will the nation's top law enforcement officer be charged with contempt of court? Will he go to jail?

These questions may be answered at a June 27 hearing in the Socialist Workers Party lawsuit against FBI spying and disruption. Federal Judge Thomas Griesa will consider a motion to hold Attorney General Griffin Bell in contempt of court for refusing to release evidence on FBI informers for the lawsuit.

The Political Rights Defense Fund, which coordinates support for the suit, is inviting all supporters of civil liberties to attend the 3 p.m. hearing at the U.S. courthouse in New York's Foley Square, and to join a 2 p.m. picket line before the hearing begins. The picket line will demand that Bell release the evidence.

"All the victims of the FBI's spying and Cointelpro plots are welcome at the hearing and picket line," said Syd Stapleton, national secretary of PRDF. "And that includes anyone who protested the Vietnam War, who has fought for Black rights or women's equality, who has been a militant trade unionist, who has raised socialist or other dissenting ideas.

"We all have a stake in what happens that day."

The evidence so hotly contested is twenty-five file drawers of FBI material—the complete and uncensored records of eighteen informers used against the SWP and Young Socialist Alliance.

Since the socialist lawsuit was filed five years ago, it has pried more than 70,000 documents out of secret FBI files.

Bit by bit, the truth about the government's secret war against democratic rights has come out: evidence of burglaries by FBI agents, poison-pen letters to landlords and employers, slanders planted in newspapers, attempts to stir up red-baiting in the antiwar, Black, and women's rights movements.

But, as Judge Griesa, who is hearing the case, has noted, the informer files "undoubtedly constitute the most important body of evidence in this case." Over a sixteen-year period the FBI used 300 informers in the two socialist groups, as well as 1,000 others who—as



Syd Stapleton of PRDF (left) urges all victims of government spying and disruption to come to June 27 picket before hearing that will decide if Attorney General Griffin Bell (right) is in contempt of court.



landlords, bank officials, or in other capacities—provided information about the socialists.

The government has fought against releasing any evidence about its spy network. The FBI submitted sworn answers about the informers' activities, but those answers turned out to be false and incomplete. The Justice Department issued new guidelines for informers, but these only formalized the abuses instead of curbing them.

In 1976 the FBI even announced it was ordering its informers to no longer report on the SWP and YSA. But it refused to name the informers so that the effect of its order could be checked.

The government repeatedly appealed Judge Griesa's order to turn over the eighteen files to attorneys for the socialists. But on June 12 the Supreme Court refused to hear that appeal.

Attorney General Bell has now filed an affidavit refusing ("respectfully" refusing, in his words) to obey Griesa's order.

Why has the Carter administration taken such an unprecedented step as risking a contempt citation to cover up the evidence?

After the searchlight of public atten-

tion was turned on the FBI by Watergate, FBI agents were no longer able to operate so freely against the law. But since informers enjoy a privileged secrecy, they became an even more valuable tool for doing dirty work.

Information already brought to light through lawsuits and congressional probes has shown that informers are not just tools but weapons:

- Informers reported and, when possible, disrupted defense plans in the cases of Ethel and Julius Rosenberg, American Indian Movement activists

Skyhorse and Mohawk, and SWP members.

- Informers were assigned to "put the snitch jacket" on activists by falsely accusing others of being informers. This was done not only to the Communist Party but to gay groups and the Black Panther Party.

- Informers in the Ku Klux Klan didn't prevent violence, but took part in it, such as the 1963 beating of civil rights Freedom Riders in Birmingham, Alabama. In San Diego the FBI armed informers in the right-wing Secret Army Organization to terrorize anti-Vietnam War activists.

- As recently as two summers ago, an FBI informer, Timothy Redfeare, was caught after burglarizing the SWP and YSA offices in Denver, Colorado.

No wonder the government claims it must keep the informers' "privilege" to secrecy intact to protect its spy network!

In a well-received speech at the June 19 tribute to Julius and Ethel Rosenberg in New York City, Dianne Feeley, SWP candidate for governor of New York, urged people to attend the hearing. She explained, "Carter's Justice Department has been trying to keep the lid of secrecy on government political spying. Like his Democratic and Republican predecessors, Carter continues to hammer away at our rights."

Feeley said that at the June 27 picket line, "We will demand that Griffin Bell obey the court and hand over the eighteen informer files. And we will demand that the government turn over all files on political spying and harassment to the American people."

IF ANY OF THOSE
SPY GUYS GO TO
JAIL, I'M GOING TO
SEND THEM A CAKE
WITH A FILE IN IT...



Will you help?

The Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance lawsuit against the FBI has already uncovered massive evidence of FBI burglaries, wiretaps, and Cointelpro disruption plots. Now it is putting the U.S. attorney general on the spot to release evidence about FBI informers.

Will you help? Send contributions to the Political Rights Defense Fund, Box 649 Cooper Station, New York, New York 10003.

'Nation' calls refusal to open files 'sickening'

The June 24 issue of the 'Nation' carried an editorial, entitled "Last Ditch for the Black Baggers," about the latest development in the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance lawsuit against the FBI and other political police agencies.

The refusal of Attorney General Griffin Bell to produce informer files as a federal judge has ordered was national news. NBC-TV carried reports on the suit two evenings and on its "Today" show; ABC-TV also reported the case.

In several cities Socialist Workers Party spokespeople issued statements to the press. Such statements were picked up by seven radio stations in Cleveland, Ohio, and two Black stations in Chicago.

The 'Nation' editorial said:

Will the Attorney General of the United States and the director of the FBI, both of them former U.S. court of appeals judges, go to jail rather than reveal the identities of eighteen

"informants" (read informers) who spied on the activities of a legal political party? That intriguing possibility arose when the Supreme Court refused to overrule a lower court order giving lawyers for the Socialist Workers Party confidential access to files on the eighteen FBI employees who wormed their way into the SWP. (The party has filed a \$40 million suit against the government for damages resulting from forty years of covert official disruption and harassment.)

The Justice Department continues to resist the court order, trying to squirm through all possible legal loopholes in its effort to get a higher court to review the disclosure order. Its spokesman claims Bell's action is "not outside the law" and Bell himself told the lower court that it was not done "in a spirit of defiance of court orders or out of a contemptuous attitude toward this court or its authority." Still, he resists, and, if he sticks to his principles, so to speak, Griffin Bell may go down in history as the first Attorney General to disobey a court order.

Sickening is the right word for the behavior of the federal government

in the Socialist Workers Party case. A couple of numbers tell the story as it has laboriously been extracted from the government in court—one FBI informer for every twenty-three members of the SWP, [only 300 of the 1,300 FBI informers were ever SWP or YSA members; the rest were landlords, bank officials, and others who provided information—*Militant*] and one FBI break-in to SWP offices every three weeks during the years 1960-66: The purpose of this frantic illegal activity? To get "information relative to the security of the nation," said the hapless Clarence Kelley, Judge Webster's predecessor as head of the FBI. Those black-bag jobs, he claimed, were "paramount in the protection of the country" and were no "corruption of the trust that was placed in us." The FBI has maintained that the SWP is "potentially violent" (shades of the whole Bill of Rights!), even after a federal court held that the bureau had produced "absolutely nothing" in the way of evidence of "violent revolutionary activity or any other illegal activity."

So why is "Judge" Bell, presumably in concert with "Judge" Webster

of the FBI, willing to risk a contempt of court sentence (and even incarceration?) in order to protect a few informers? There must be—at least in Bell's mind—a principle of great importance at stake. What can this be except to preserve the dishonorable profession of political informer, one that is so useful to police prying into the lives of citizens? It is astonishing to find the chief law-enforcement officer of this famously "open" administration out on that shaky limb.

This case is really about the right of the government to engage in domestic political espionage. The deeds were done mainly in the days of the unlamented J. Edgar Hoover but the retribution for them falls in this ostensibly more enlightened period. Bell and Webster are worried about the morale of the G-men, some of whom are likely to be punished for their breaking the law in their role as law-enforcement officials. Their "paramount" concern "in the protection of the country" should be the strict observance of the law at all levels of police activity, not the protection of a few miserable informers and their like in the future.

Hitlerites fear 'howling mob'

Blacks & unions back anti-Nazi action in Skokie

By Malik Miah

CHICAGO—Retreating in the face of mounting support for a counterdemonstration, Nazis here are hinting that they may cancel their plans to march June 25 in the largely Jewish suburb of Skokie.

Although Nazi leader Frank Collin will not announce his decision until June 22—after the *Militant* has gone to press—Federal Judge George Leighton granted permission June 20 for the Nazis to march in Chicago's Marquette Park. After Leighton's ruling, Collin said he would prefer to march "among white people" in Chicago, rather than face "a mob of howling creatures" in Skokie.

However, many of those supporting the Skokie countermobilization are urging that the Nazi thugs be confronted no matter where they try to march.

It is hardly surprising that the Nazis have become nervous about carrying through their planned march in Skokie. Support to the anti-Nazi countermobilization, scheduled for the same time as the Nazi march, has been coming from all quarters.

A June 16-17 meeting of District 31 of the United Steelworkers of America passed a resolution condemning racist and anti-Semitic attacks by the Nazis



Mass response to Nazi provocation in Skokie has storm-troopers worried

and asserting that "people of all races and nationalities have the right to live where they choose and use and enjoy all public and recreational facilities."

USWA locals 1010 and 65 had earlier voted to endorse a Chicago Federation

of Labor resolution calling for support to the counterdemonstration, and USWA Subdistrict 8 Director Ray O'Malley told the conference that steelworkers throughout District 31 were organizing to demonstrate against the

Nazis on June 25.

The 900-member House of Delegates of the Chicago Federation of Teachers voted to oppose the Nazis, and CTU President Robert Healy urged union members to join in the Skokie counterdemonstration. Also endorsing the countermobilization was Lodge 214 of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers.

With protesters planning to attend from as far away as New York and Los Angeles, Illinois Governor Thompson announced that he too would be there. The Metropolitan Black Caucus, representing all sixteen elected Black ward committeemen, went on record against the Nazi march and called on Blacks to support the counteraction.

The Rev. Jesse Jackson, national president of Operation PUSH, pointed out at a recent meeting of his group that "we have a moral obligation to resist the spread of evil imminent in such marches. The Nazi threat on the Jews is real—they have killed before—as it was real when the same threat was directed to Blacks in Mississippi from the Ku Klux Klan. It's Skokie today, Lawndale and Englewood and Woodlawn tomorrow."

Urging participation in the Skokie counterdemonstration, Jackson stressed, "The human rights community must be visible in Marquette Park . . . when the disease is there. It must be visible in Mississippi when the disease is there."

Meanwhile, the Nazis are threatening to switch their march to July 9 in Marquette Park. They have also announced a June 24 premarch rally in the Loop, the heart of Chicago, hoping to put pressure on the city to grant them use of city parks.

The Marquette Park area has been the scene of racist mobilizations since Martin Luther King marched there in the 1960s to demand desegregation in housing. In 1976 the Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. Movement was attacked by racist gangs—including Collin's Nazis—when it attempted to renew this decade-old fight.

A coalition of Chicago civil rights organizations announced their support for the Skokie anti-Nazi demonstration while the court hearing was still going

Continued on next page

Stop Nazis—in Skokie & Marquette Park!

The following statement was issued June 21 by Cecil Lampkin and Patricia Grogan, Illinois Socialist Workers Party candidates for governor and U.S. senator.

Whether the Nazis march in Skokie on June 25, or in Marquette Park on July 9, this small band of fanatics has the same objective in mind: they want to propagate their racist, anti-Semitic, antilabor program; they want to do what they can to eliminate the democratic rights of all working people; they especially want to lay the groundwork for brutal attacks on Blacks, Jews, and other minorities.

Although the Nazis are very small

and are not likely to become a significant force, they mean business when they threaten violence, as shown by their assaults on Blacks in Marquette Park and by their provocations against Jews.

United and militant action by the potential victims of nazism and other forms of racism is the road to defeating these vile, antihuman forces. In this regard, the impressive show of support from the Black community and the labor movement for the anti-Nazi counterdemonstration in Skokie has been especially significant.

The Nazis and other ultrarightists would like to smash the trade unions

and—if they could get away with it—push Blacks back to the days of slavery. But it is precisely the trade unions and the communities of the oppressed minorities that have the power, if they are mobilized, to stop the Nazi scum in their tracks.

Now the Nazis are threatening to shift their march to Marquette Park. If they do, what is needed is the same kind of impressive unity among labor, and Black, Puerto Rican, Chicano, and Jewish organizations that have responded to the Skokie threat. Let us mobilize thousands and thousands in a broad, united force against the Nazis, no matter where they try to spread their poison!

...Brooklyn

Continued from page 3

ised a "full investigation" and "no whitewash."

But the police captain heading the mayor's "full investigation" had already announced that "there is no indication that any excessive force was used by the police"—although the facts say otherwise.

Early on the evening of June 14, Arthur Miller tried to stop a scuffle between his younger brother, Samuel, and cops who were trying to arrest Samuel. Shortly thereafter, cops took Arthur Miller to St. Mary's Hospital. He was pronounced dead on arrival.

At first police said Miller had died of "natural causes." But the coroner said—in very polite medical language—that Miller had been strangled to death.

Eyewitnesses interviewed by the *Militant* at the June 19 city hall demonstration called it murder. "Art saw his brother fighting with the police," a middle-aged woman told me, "and he came at them with his hands up saying, 'Cool it, cool it.'"

"But the cops jumped on him, beating him."

How many cops were involved?

"There must have been forty or fifty within two or three minutes. About a dozen had Mr. Miller on the ground in a stranglehold, and they were beating

him. After a while, he didn't resist any more.

"You could already see he was dead."

How many witnesses were there? "A hundred. More. It was still light out, and everybody saw it."

"That's right," said another witness. "She told it like it happened. It's like people here have been saying—murder."

The big-business-controlled news media have reported many similar eyewitness accounts. Nevertheless, authorities claim they can't figure out which cops killed Miller.

The police department won't even take the cops involved off the streets, saying there's no evidence they did anything wrong. "If I'm getting robbed, am I supposed to call one of these murderers?" one demonstrator commented bitterly.

The demonstration on the morning of June 19 started in front of Brooklyn Criminal Court, where the younger Miller was to have a preliminary hearing on trumped-up charges of assault and resisting arrest. The case was put off for a week.

After the hearing, Black State Sen. Vander Beatty told me, "They don't have anything on him." He explained that the attempt to arrest Samuel Miller for outstanding traffic tickets was clearly illegal, since the fines had been paid. He charged the cops "were looking for a payoff."

At the mass meeting that evening,

leaders of the Arthur Miller Community Defense Committee said they did not trust the city officials' investigation.

They recalled the cases of Randy Evans and Clifford Glover, two young Blacks killed by Brooklyn cops. In both cases, the killers went free.

Committee leaders said they wanted the community to have "our own trial" and urged witnesses to contact them.

The main speakers at the rally were Andrew Gill of the New MUSE Community Museum and Rev. Herbert Daughtry of the House of the Lord Pentecostal Church. Other community leaders spoke, as did state senators Vander Beatty and Al Vann.

The speeches were repeatedly punctuated by cheers and applause.

When Reverend Daughtry announced that the committee would "set up some patrols" to defend the community from cop and white vigilante terror, hundreds of people jumped to their feet cheering and giving the clenched-fist salute.

"What you feel here is a sense of your own strength, a sense of your own power," Daughtry shouted above the roar.

Daughtry also explained the case of Victor Rhodes. He said that on June 16 several carloads of white vigilante "anticrime" patrols attacked Rhodes without provocation, sending him to a hospital where he lies in a coma near death. Only two persons have been charged with attempted murder in the

Rhodes case, although police admit "up to fifty" were involved.

The patrols, which involve whites from a Hassidic Jewish area next to the Black community, have carried out a number of similar attacks on Crown Heights Blacks in the past year.

Daughtry emphasized that the projected Black community force was not aimed against Jews but against racist terror. "I'm not anti-Semitic," he said. "I'm antiexploitation, I'm antioppression."

Among those attending the rally was Ken Miliner, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Congress in the Nineteenth District.

"I came here to express my support," Miliner told me after the meeting, "and to learn so that I can tell everyone I talk to how the brothers and sisters in Crown Heights are organizing against cop and vigilante terror."

"Protests like this are precisely what's needed to keep attention focused on the case," Miliner explained. He said he favored more protests against police attempts to whitewash the killing.

Miliner endorsed the demands to dismantling the Seventy-seventh Precinct cop station and the idea of setting up a Black community defense patrol. "The police don't protect our communities. The cops should get out of our neighborhoods and be replaced by a Black defense force chosen by and responsible to our communities," he explained.

\$5 billion giveaway to corporations

Prop. 13 spurs sweeping cutbacks in California

By Fred Halstead

LOS ANGELES—Proposition 13, the great California tax swindle, has brought New York City-style cutbacks and layoffs to the land of palm trees and smog. The ax is falling with particular vengeance on Blacks, Chicanos, and other minorities, as well as the poor and the disabled.

Nearly a quarter of a million public employees wait with baited breath for some miracle to save their jobs before the July 1 deadline when Proposition 13 goes into effect. Cutbacks in social services have already begun.

Programs from beach lifeguards to dial-a-ride services for the elderly and disabled have been slashed.

The Santa Barbara County Hospital is being closed for all but out-patients.

The huge Los Angeles school district has canceled summer school for both regular and adult

Fred Halstead is the Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of California.

members. So have Los Angeles community colleges, and many other school districts in the state.

This particular cutback falls most heavily on poor and minority students who need summer make-up courses for graduation to enter college or obtain occupational licenses.

Fifteen hundred students demonstrated at Garfield High School in the overwhelmingly Chicano area of East Los Angeles June 14. "A lot of people won't be graduating because of summer school cuts," Vincent Zamora told the chanting crowd. "We demand these programs keep going."

Wage freeze

On the same day, Gov. Jerry Brown announced a wage freeze for all state employees. Brown had already imposed a hiring freeze, designed to eliminate about 10,000 jobs by the end of the fiscal year.

The wage freeze blocks cost-of-living increases already in union contracts. Some unions have threatened strike votes in response.

"The bottom line of public sector layoffs statewide" could be in the 300,000 range, declared Howard Allen, president of the Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce June 15.

The layoffs, however, are expected to come in bits and pieces at the start. Governor Brown and the legislature will be doling out the state government's budget surplus to ease the immediate impact. Local school districts, cities, and counties will lose some \$7 billion per year as a consequence of Proposition 13.

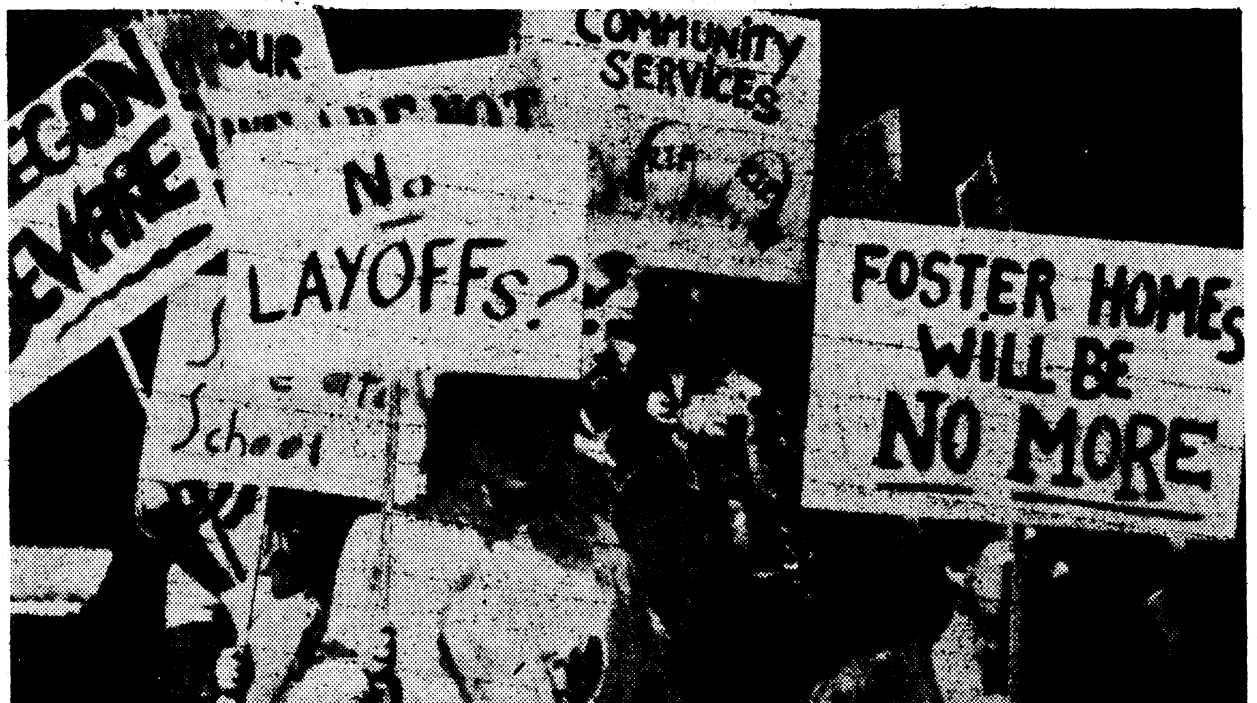
The state surplus, accumulated over many years, is now estimated at \$5.8 billion. Governor Brown's political strategists seem to be urging him to spend as much of this as possible before the November election to boost his chances by temporarily reducing the unemployment impact.

At the same time, a state legislative conference committee has decided that the poor will bear the burden of the cuts. It has ordered a freeze on the already inadequate 7 percent cost-of-living increases that recipients of aid to dependent children were supposed to begin receiving July 1. It has also frozen cost-of-living increases for 700,000 blind, aged, and disabled.

The Los Angeles County budget, proposed after Proposition 13 passed, so far calls for a total cutoff of funds for the office of affirmative-action compliance. It also proposes a total halt in the county's contributions to county museums and other cultural projects.

In southern California, the largest outright layoffs have come so far in Los Angeles County's flood control district. Of the district's 1,200 employees, a total of 569 were fired.

Protests demand no cuts



Pickets protest Proposition 13 cutbacks in front of Sacramento state capitol June 21. Various groups have converged on Sacramento to lobby and demonstrate against the tax-cut measures, including 300 teachers and parents June 21. In Los Angeles June 19, 2,000 marched and rallied outside the board of education building demanding no cuts. The protesters were mostly teachers plus several hundred Black and Chicano high school students. The demonstration was sponsored by United Teachers of Los Angeles.

Chief flood control engineer Art Bruington expressed fear that the district would no longer be able to respond to an emergency such as a heavy series of winter rains requiring rapid cleaning of debris from storm drains and channels.

Corporate windfall

While massive cuts like these are underway, commercial property owners, big corporations, and wealthy landlords are anticipating a \$5 billion annual windfall in tax savings.

By comparison, homeowners will get only \$2 billion in relief. And they will end up paying a significant portion of that in increased federal income tax due to the lowered deductions they will be able to claim against local property tax.

The saving to homeowners will also be nibbled away by such things as the imposition of new city charges for residential garbage collection.

When California voters passed Proposition 13, the great bulk of them thought they were voting for relief from the crushing tax burden on their homes. Inflation, housing speculation, and spiraling assessments have indeed placed intolerable tax burdens on homeowners.

But now that the real meaning of the tax swindle has begun to sink in, there is considerable rethinking going on. Anger and resentment are building up.

New proposal

This is reflected in a proposed new constitutional amendment receiving wide support. The measure calls for canceling the tax bonanza awarded corporations under Proposition 13 by limiting the tax cut to owner-occupied homes only.

Such a move could return to local budgets at least the \$5 billion giveaway now being enjoyed by wealthy commercial property owners.

Public employee unions are demanding that Governor Brown and the state legislature place such an initiative on the November ballot. The proposal has also been endorsed by the state AFL-CIO, by many local central labor bodies, school boards, and even the Los Angeles County Board of Supervisors.

Both Brown and his Republican opponent Evelle Younger have been decidedly cool to the idea.

Brown told AFL-CIO representatives who raised the idea with him that their first concern should be his reelection in November. And Brown didn't think this proposal would score him many points with big business—certainly not unless it was watered down with other major tax concessions to the corporations.

When local school board representatives presented the proposal to Brown, he called it premature and refused to support it.

NAACP attorney Oliver Jones pointed out at a June 19 news conference in Sacramento that virtually the only way this new proposal can be put before the voters in November is if Brown himself intervenes with the state legislature to make sure they put it on the ballot.

Tax the rich

The Socialist Workers Party supports limiting property tax cuts to homeowners, small businesses, and small farmers. The SWP is for canceling the \$5 billion tax break to big business.

Such measures would be a step in the right direction. Because the only way to really end the tax squeeze on homeowners, small businesses, and small farmers is to tax the wealthy corporations instead.

Tax the rich! That's the alternative to the false solution posed by Proposition 13. This swindle pits the victims of higher taxes against the victims of layoffs and social service cutbacks. All California working people—homeowners and renters alike—are hurt by the cutbacks in schools and other state services.

Meanwhile, the wealthy corporations and rent-gouging landlords rake in billions.

Working people and small property owners should join together in demanding the wealthy corporations be taxed to preserve and upgrade public services and keep badly needed teachers and other workers on the job.

That's a tax program that public employee unions, the whole labor movement, women's organizations, Black, Chicano, and other minority groups, the aged, the disabled, and homeowners can unite to fight for.

...Nazis

Continued from preceding page

on and raised the need for a counter-demonstration to defend Black rights in Marquette Park if the Nazis shift their focus there.

Speaking for the coalition, Rabbi Robert Marx, president of the Jewish Council on Urban Affairs, stated: "We will stand together against the Nazi march in Skokie or in Marquette Park."

We will stand together against them and everything they represent. If such racism is not stopped, it can become a threat to members of every minority group. We will work to make sure that does not happen in Chicago."

Also at the news conference were representatives of the NAACP, Operation PUSH, Urban League, Woodlawn Organization, Latino Institute, West-town coalition and the Pilsen Neighbors.

Some who support the Skokie counterdemonstration are wavering on whether to mobilize in Marquette Park, however.

For example, Abner Mikva, a liberal Democratic U.S. representative from Illinois, gave a particularly backward display in this regard, saying: "If they [the Nazis] are going to march, I'd be relieved to find them marching in Marquette Park instead of Skokie. If that sounds a little selfish and parochial, I plead guilty."

Unfortunately, the Jewish United Fund, which is coordinating the Skokie counterdemonstration, has also not committed itself to supporting a Marquette Park action if the Nazis decide to march there instead. Neither has the Chicago Federation of Labor, which backs the Skokie counteraction.

In addition, the Jewish United Fund says that if the Nazis cancel the Skokie march, it will cancel the counterdemonstration rather than turning it into a victory celebration.

U.S. hands off Africa!

Protests mark Soweto anniversary

By John Hawkins

Demonstrations, rallies, and meetings the weekend of June 16 demanded an end to U.S. military, economic, and political support to the racist South African regime.

The protests marked the second anniversary of the Soweto rebellion in South Africa. (On June 16, 1976, South African police launched a murderous assault on 10,000 Black student demonstrators in Soweto, a Black township outside Johannesburg. The students were protesting the so-called Bantu education policy, which helps prop up apartheid by denying Blacks an adequate education.

(The police massacre sparked a massive rebellion among Black students and urban workers throughout South Africa.)

In New York, the Committee to Oppose Bank Loans to South Africa sponsored three demonstrations at offices of the Manufacturers Hanover Trust bank demanding an end to its financial support of the racist South African regime.

Nearly 500 demonstrators and bystanders listened as speakers at a noontime rally June 16 blasted U.S. support to apartheid. Speaking at the rally were Cleveland Robinson, president of the Distributive Workers of America (District 65); Ruth Gordon, Retail, Wholesale, and Department Store Union, which recently withdrew its \$100 million pension fund from banks lending money to South Africa; and Henry Foner, Furriers Joint Council, which withdrew a \$10 million pension fund from Manufacturers Hanover last year.

Following the rally, 150 protesters picketed the bank's headquarters on Wall Street. Protests also took place at two of the bank's offices in Harlem and Brooklyn.

Later that evening, 1,200 people attended a benefit concert at the Madison Square Garden Felt Forum sponsored by the South African Freedom Committee.

The program, chaired by actor Ossie Davis, continued on page 13



Police assault on June 16 Soweto demonstration sparked massive rebellion

Florida socialist hits U.S. threats against Cuba

In a statement distributed at the June 17 Soweto anniversary picket line in Miami, Lee Smith blasted the Carter administration's recent intervention in Zaïre and its "cold war saber rattling" against the Cuban revolution and African freedom struggles. Smith is the Socialist Workers Party candidate for Congress in Florida's Thirteenth District.

"American workers have no stake whatsoever in protecting the robbery of Africa by the same banks and monopolies that are squeezing us here at home with layoffs and inflation," Smith said.

"Cuba has no investments in Africa.

"Has it hurt us that the Vietnamese are now in control of Vietnam? No! What hurt us was the long and bloody attempt to keep them from controlling their own territory.

"Will it hurt us if the Black majority wins self-rule in Africa? No! What can hurt us is Washington's attempt to make American workers cannon fodder for the interests of U.S. banks and big business."

Smith pointed out that mass opposition to the Vietnam War forced Washington to halt its military as-



LEE SMITH

sault on that country.

"Unions, Black organizations, students, and others need to join together to let the warmakers in Washington know we will not stand for a new Vietnam in Africa. Our demands must be loud and clear:

"No U.S. intervention in Africa!
"End the threats against the Cuban revolution!"

"Sever all U.S. economic and military ties to the racist regimes in southern Africa!"



Bay Area unionists meet on Africa

By Kim Allen

SAN FRANCISCO—More than 200 trade unionists from throughout the Bay Area met here June 10 at a one-day conference in solidarity with liberation struggles in southern Africa.

Delegates came from sixty-four locals of the AFL-CIO, Teamsters, International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU), United Auto Workers, and other unions.

Opening speeches were delivered by Walter Johnson, president of Retail Clerks International Union Local 1100 and John Gaetsewe, secretary-general, South African Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU).

The conference discussed the growing movement for withdrawal of union

funds from banks and corporations doing business in South Africa. Barry Silverman, ILWU research director, outlined how divestment can be accomplished and alternative ways of investing union pension funds.

A number of unions, including the UAW and the Retail, Wholesale, and Department Store Union, have already withdrawn funds from banks with loans to the apartheid regime.

The delegates, predominantly in their twenties and thirties, voted to launch a campaign to mobilize union opposition to Washington's support to the racist regimes in southern Africa.

They voted to call on all U.S. corporations to withdraw investments from southern Africa; to join with the Black

community and other groups in opposing U.S. military intervention in Africa; and to "take concrete steps to aid and support" the trade-union movement in South Africa "materially, financially, and morally."

The unionists also voted to begin organizing a boycott of the South African Krugerrand gold coin in the Bay Area and to work with Black organizations, students, and others to stage protest activities during the United Nations year of struggle against apartheid—June 1978 through June 1979.

The conference established a continuations committee and urged local unions to set up South Africa solidarity committees.

Castro blasts Carter's lies

By Ernest Harsch

At a June 16 news conference in Havana, Cuban Premier Fidel Castro emphatically denied, once again, any Cuban involvement in the recent uprising in Zaïre. "We have not supplied any weapons . . .," he declared. "We did not transport a single Katangan and not a single Cuban was with the Katangans at the border."

Castro termed Carter's charges of a Cuban role in the uprising an "absolute lie." He also maintained that the CIA had reestablished ties with antigovernment forces in Angola and was preparing for renewed American intervention in Angola.

The question of who is telling the truth about Zaïre—Carter or Castro—dominated Carter's June 14 news conference in Washington as well. Amid mounting disbelief in the White House's charges, Carter again tried to convince the American public that his claims are accurate.

He insisted that the White House had "firm proof" that "Cuba has been involved in the training of Katangan people who did invade" Zaïre from bases in Angola. So far, Carter has refused to release his "proof" for public examination. All he cited specifically during the news conference was the "heavy influence" of Cuban troops in Angola, and, by association, with the Shaba rebels.

Carter did backtrack to an extent from his earlier allegations. While he initially said that Cuban forces had armed and trained the rebels and had actually instigated the uprising in Zaïre's Shaba Province, he has now shifted to accusing Castro of not doing enough to stop the rebels.

Somewhat implausibly, considering Angola's large size, the remoteness and isolation of much of the country, and the question of taking action independently of the Angolan government, Carter maintained that "Castro could have done much more had he genuinely wanted to stop the invasion. He could have interceded with the Katangans themselves; he could certainly have imposed Cuban troops near the border. . . ."

Carter then got to the real point of his whole anti-Cuban propaganda campaign. "And, of course," he said, "we would also relish the withdrawal of Cuban troops in the future, both there [Angola] and Ethiopia. . . ." He later took the occasion to repeat himself, stating, "I think it's time for the Cuban troops to withdraw from Ethiopia."

Carter's news conference came just a day after Castro gave a detailed account of the Cuban role in the entire affair to American reporters and congressmen in Havana.

Castro said that as early as February the Cuban government had learned of "rumors" that the Shaba rebels were planning another military action in Zaïre. Summarizing an account by Congressmen Stephen J. Solarz and Anthony C. Beilenson, who met with Castro, correspondent Bernard Gwertzman said in the June 14 *New York Times*:

Mr. Castro said . . . that Cuban officials in Angola met with Angolan officials to discuss the situation. They decided, the Cuban leader said, that an attack on Zaïre would be against Angola's interests for two reasons.

The first was that such an attack would create new tensions on the Angolan-Zaïre border when Angola, whose forces are engaged in a major guerrilla war in the southern part of the country, needed a tranquil border on the north.

Continued on page 13

By Susan La Mont

"Those who choose a perverted life-style, whether it be as a homosexual, robber, or drug pusher, can't expect the full rights and considerations that people who live in step with society get."—Rosalie Butler, member, St. Paul City Council.

"We had the preliminary back in St. Paul (Minnesota), back in Dade County (Florida). And now the main event is here in California."—California State Sen. John Briggs.

This year, tens of thousands of gay men, lesbians, and other supporters of gay rights will be participating in Christopher Street actions throughout the country demanding: Gay rights now!

Like last year's Christopher Street demonstrations, which took place in the wake of the defeat for gay rights in Miami, this year's actions take on a special urgency. This spring, legislation protecting gay rights has been repealed by referendum vote in St. Paul, Minnesota; Wichita, Kansas; and Eugene, Oregon.

Further attacks on gay rights are in the offing. In Seattle, two cops are leading an effort to place a referendum on the November ballot that would repeal that city's ordinance banning discrimination against gays in housing and employment.

Most threatening is the antigay initiative that has qualified for the November ballot in California, sponsored by State Sen. John Briggs. This so-called California Defend Our Children initiative would prohibit gay people or those who advocate civil rights for gays from teaching or working in the public school system.

The setbacks for gay rights this spring, and the prospect of a major battle in California, have prompted a discussion among supporters of gay rights.

Why have gay rights lost in recent referendum votes? Is there a groundswell of prejudice against homosexuals? How can we defend and extend the rights gays have won thus far?

Support for gay rights

Many signs indicate that support for gay rights is *growing* and that more people than ever before are aware of the special discrimination faced by gay people.

Last year's Christopher Street actions, for example, became giant protest actions because of the Miami defeat. More than 250,000 people demonstrated in cities across the country, demanding: No more Miamis! These were the largest gay rights actions ever held.

The November 1977 National Women's Conference in Houston registered a further deepening of support for gay rights.

Right-wing attempts to turn the conference in an antifeminist direction, in part by whipping up an antigay hysteria, were soundly defeated. In a power-

How we can win the battle for gay rights



Militant/Lou Howort

ful show of solidarity and unity, the conference delegates overwhelmingly supported the lesbian caucus and voted for lesbian rights. This marked an advance for both the women's and gay liberation movements.

At the same time, nearly everywhere antihomosexual bigot Anita Bryant has appeared during the past year—from Joplin, Missouri, to Atlanta—she has been greeted by hundreds, and sometimes thousands of gays, proclaiming their humanity and demanding equal rights.

Polls show that more people than ever before agree that gay people deserve equal treatment. In a Gallup poll taken last summer, for instance, 56 percent said that gays should have equal job opportunities. Other polls do not show majority support yet, but the trend is clearly in that direction.

The debate over gay rights has touched virtually every institution, from the Presbyterian church to the armed forces.

The very existence of gay rights legislation reflects the changed climate around this issue. Since 1972 nearly forty cities have adopted laws to protect the rights of homosexuals. These range from Washington, D.C.; Atlanta; Detroit; and San Francisco; to Pullman, Washington; Alfred, New York; and Cupertino, California.

A new movement

The struggle for gay rights is one of the newest movements that developed out of the radicalization of the 1960s. It is also one of the most controversial. Although sympathy with and support for gay rights is broader than ever before, there is still a long way to go, as evidenced by the outcome of this spring's referenda.

The spread of these antigay organizing efforts is part of a broader assault on human rights. Blacks and other oppressed nationalities, women, undocumented workers, and trade unionists face growing attempts to take away rights they have won and to prevent any further steps forward.

This general offensive against the

rights and living standards of working people waged by this country's ruling rich, their government, and their two political parties, creates a climate in which right-wing elements feel emboldened to lash out against the most oppressed. The attacks on gay rights should be seen in this framework. It would be a mistake for gay rights supporters to misread these attacks as evidence of generalized growing opposition to the goals of the gay movement.

Referenda, like other aspects of elections in this undemocratic society, reflect popular opinion in only a partial and distorted way. Most people—including a high percentage of young people, Blacks, and others who tend to be most sympathetic to gay rights—don't vote. Those who *do* vote are usually more conservative. And right-wing opponents of equal rights have had far greater access to publicity, media, and money.

As gay rights activists have correctly pointed out, the referenda are themselves undemocratic in that they legitimize the idea of voting away equal rights for one section of the population. Imagine the outrage among Blacks if a referendum got on the ballot to decide whether or not to return to slavery!

Nevertheless, as the past year has shown, we must be prepared for more of these antigay referenda to get on the ballot. Once that happens, the gay movement has no choice but to mount the strongest possible campaign for a pro-gay rights vote.

How to move forward

The most important lesson we can learn from recent setbacks is the need for a visible campaign of action and education to answer the right wing. The "low profile" approach simply does not work.

This was graphically demonstrated in Miami. Relying on the advice of a handful of Democratic Party "experts," the Dade County Coalition for Human Rights concentrated on a slick

media effort and failed to tap the potential for a large-scale, visible countermobilization to confront Anita Bryant's "Save Our Children" outfit.

Following the national upsurge in activity after the Dade County defeat, groups such as the National Gay Task Force, various gay Democratic clubs, and the *Advocate* (a nationally circulated gay paper) tried to steer the movement away from further demonstrations and other public activities. Leaders of these groups urged the movement to get "serious" by concentrating on lobbying and working to elect friendly Democrats and Republicans.

In an article in the June 14, 1978, issue of the *Advocate*, publisher David Goodstein urges a similar approach to the Briggs initiative. Goodstein claims that "history clearly shows that success for minority groups has been the result of patient, careful and sophisticated economic and political power applied skillfully and persuasively to rulers and legislatures. . . ." He further maintains that in fighting the Briggs effort, "almost all gay people could help best by maintaining very low profiles."

To follow this advice would spell certain defeat for gay rights.

Every advance for human rights—from the right to organize trade unions to the elimination of Jim Crow segregation to the legalization of abortion—has been won through militant, independent struggles *against* the "rulers and legislatures." That is the real lesson of history.

Supporters of gay rights can not afford to be less visible or less active than our opponents. Demonstrations, rallies, debates, campus meetings, and educational forums should be a major part of any effort to defend gay rights from right-wing attack.

Education

Another important lesson of the setbacks this spring is the need for education around the issues of homosexuality and gay rights. The experiences of Wichita, St. Paul, Eugene, and Miami show that many people continue to hold prejudiced or at least confused views on these questions.

The antigay slanders cannot simply be dismissed as Bible-thumping drivel. They must be answered patiently, clearly, and repeatedly. By doing so, the movement can win many important allies.

The need for allies is crucial. Women's groups, Black organizations, labor unions, and student groups can be convinced of the importance of uniting behind an effort to beat back these antigay bigots.

The power of these allies can magnify the strength of the gay rights movement and help overcome its isolation.

In California, for example, the California Federation of Teachers has adopted a position opposing the Briggs referendum. The CFT understands that the Briggs initiative, if passed, would not only threaten the rights of gay teachers but could open the possibility of a witch-hunt against other teachers who simply support gay rights or hold other supposedly "immoral" views. It is an attack on union rights as well as gay rights.

Unite against Briggs

The battle to defeat the Briggs initiative is the most important challenge facing the gay rights movement today.

Coalitions against the Briggs initiative have been formed in a number of California cities. This year's Christopher Street demonstrations will be the first large-scale demonstrations of opposition to this dangerous antigay, antilabor measure.

By organizing an aggressive campaign of activities and educational events around the Briggs initiative, and by reaching out for support to trade unions, Black and Chicano organizations, and the women's movement, gay rights supporter can answer the Briggs forces and antigay bigots across the country.

No More Miamis!

Liberation
TODAY

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9 news unions support 5-day strike

New York Guild shuts down 'Daily News'

By Nancy Cole

Striking members of the Newspaper Guild at the New York *Daily News* voted to accept a contract June 17, ending a five-day confrontation that finally shut down the nation's largest daily.

It was the first attempt at union busting by a major newspaper since the *Washington Post* forced its press operators out on strike in 1975. That strike lost—and the union was destroyed—in large part because the *Post* was able to continue publication.

The *News* managed to get out two abbreviated editions during the strike using nonunion employees and union printers. The printers used the excuse that they have an eleven-year contract that doesn't expire until 1984.

Seven other unions at the *News*, whose contracts ran out March 30 along with the guild's, honored and joined the reporters' and clerical workers' picket line.

The *New York Times* and *New York Post*, both of which were part of the union-busting scheme from the beginning, pledged full support to the *News*. On the third day, both papers threatened a lockout of their union employees if the strike continued.

The turning point came when officials of the Newspaper and Mail Deliverers Union finally bowed to pressure from their ranks and declared on the third day that no more trucks with union drivers would try to cross the picket line.

The newspaper bosses hadn't expected this act of solidarity and were forced to dump the Friday edition of the *News*. The next day a settlement was announced.

The contract contains a number of "givebacks"—elimination of gains won in previous contracts—but not nearly the number the *News* set out to get by forcing the guild on strike.

The *News* went into contract negotiations confident it was bargaining from a greater position of strength than ever before. Automation has made fundamental changes in the newspaper industry, and the *News* had made elaborate plans to continue publication during this strike. Several trial runs had been made using management personnel in place of union workers.

The one group of workers who could throw a wrench into the setup was the deliverers. So, when the drivers' contract expired (at the same time as the

other *News* unions), management quickly wrapped up an agreement.

Thus, the *News*—as is often the case in this industry—planned to take advantage of the division of newspaper employees into separate unions to try to isolate the guild members.

Then in late May the *News* terminated three of the guild's major contract provisions. A strike was postponed when the guild agreed to a contract proposed by federal mediators June 6. The *News*, however, rejected it, contending there were still fifteen demands it wanted in the package.

"In the entire time I've been here, I've never seen management so intent on a strike," said reporter Marcia

Kramer as she walked the picket line the first day of the strike.

But management's plan fell apart when the drivers balked at scabbing. The *News* was forced to back down on a few of its demands, including the outrageous demand that at least half of the pay raise be reserved for only those guild members the employers decide deserve it.

The contract includes a sixty-eight-dollar pay increase over three years, but wages are frozen for beginning employees. Guild workers can now be forced to work their thirty-five-hour week in four days instead of five. Guaranteed protection from layoffs will be granted to new workers after

fifteen years, rather than the current employees' ten years.

And the *News* won some "givebacks" in health benefits and severance pay.

"It was the best obtainable under the circumstances," said Harry Fisdell, the guild's executive vice-president and chief negotiator. The *News* declared it a good settlement "that will help us dramatically improve our competitive stance in this market."

The settlement will set a pattern for negotiations with the other unions at all three papers.

The contract is no gain, that's for sure. But the strike was a sampling of what a united labor effort can do to blunt employer attacks.

On the picket line

By Rich Robohm

NEW YORK—"The only violence here was by the police department—splitting people's heads open with nightsticks, running horses up on the sidewalk charging people, including myself. I got kicked by a horse and hit by a policeman."

Bill McCarthy, a mailer at the New York *Daily News*, tells a different story from those played up in the big-business news media here during the five-day Newspaper Guild strike at the *News*.

Walking the picket line during the fourth day of the strike, McCarthy had the bruises and a bloody eye to support his claim that cops—not pickets—were the cause of violence accompanying the strike.

Collis Davis, a guild member from the *News* photo department, told the *Militant* he saw the stakes in the strike as "the guild's very survival. They want to really do away with the union entirely."

Davis felt the guild's "very strong response" to the strike call was a "decisive factor" in winning support from the deliverers union. Pickets said that up to three-fourths of the drivers refused to cross the line from the beginning, even though they were told to do so at first by union officials.

Joe Williams, a guild member in the engraving department, thought it would help if the workers at each newspaper were not divided into ten



Militant/Rich Robohm

separate craft unions. "My own opinion is that we should have one large union—everyone in one union—and you wouldn't have all this dissension and separation within the unions."

"I'm supporting the union," explained one mailer. "I imagine they would do the same thing for me if I would go out. Each union sticks together."

A "UAW [United Auto Workers] Supports the Guild" sign stood propped against the wall of the *Daily News* building where pickets milled around.

The night before, about twenty-five members of the Coalition of Labor Union Women had joined the

picket line with their CLUW banner. The strikers gave them a round of cheers and then joined in singing "Solidarity Forever."

Davis believes the guild strike is a new sign of unions "being a little more aggressive." Unions have fallen into "a very slovenly posture in recent times," he said, "and I think people in management all across the country sort of picked up on this."

"In effect, we are saying, 'All right, this is where the backsliding ends.'"

Other pickets put it a different way with their red-and-white buttons saying, "New York Is Still a Union Town."

Miss. marches 'bring Blacks together'

By Renita Alexander

HOLLY SPRINGS, Miss.—The square in downtown Holly Springs on a Saturday is usually busy with shoppers, most of them Black. But on June 17 it was quite a different story.

It was the second day of a boycott of most businesses here. It was also the third weekend of marches called by the United League of Northern Mississippi.

This week's march and rally attracted 300 people from Holly Springs and nearby Tupelo.

The mood of the participants was best expressed by Anna Turner, a Holly Springs resident, who said, "We're fed up with this mess. They think we're just going to forget about it, but we ain't. We are somebody too. We are Black, but we are somebody."

United League President Alfred "Skip" Robinson told the *Militant* that the boycott and marches were organized to bring about an end to the injustices Blacks in this area face.

He said that more than 65 percent of the population of Marshall County, where Holly Springs is located, is

Black, but Blacks have no control over the community. In order for a Black to get a job in Marshall County, he or she must be recommended by a prominent white person.



Militant/Bob Allen

May 27 protest in Holly Springs

Ending police brutality is a key demand of the boycott. When asked about this problem, Robinson replied that at least two or three men have been killed while in police custody and many others beaten.

Recently a Black man was severely beaten while being held in jail. Blacks are demanding the resignation of the sheriff and the firing of a police officer.

Another demand of the boycott is the hiring of Black teachers in proportion to Black students. The problem of education for Blacks has not been solved by the desegregation of Marshall County schools.

According to Robinson, 90 percent of the students kicked out of school are Black. Some are not allowed to graduate but are not told so until a few days before the ceremony. Many teachers ignore Black students in the classroom.

The Ku Klux Klan in Marshall County is visible and outspoken. Many prominent whites, including police officers, are members of the Klan. The KKK has held small weekly rallies in

the town square for years.

The threat of Klan violence, however, did not deter participants at the United League rally. Henry Boyd, secretary of the league, drew long applause when he stated: "We're not afraid. All the fear has left us. We're going to keep marching. We don't know how long it will take, but we're going to keep marching until we get justice."

The rally ended with another march through the town square to a church two blocks away. The marches and boycotts have had a positive impact on the young people of Holly Springs and Marshall County.

Typical of the response was that of eighteen-year-old William Young, who told the *Militant*, "It's doing a lot for Black people to change the way we've been treated in the past. I feel that my children will have a better chance in society than I did, and that's why I participate."

Fifteen-year-old Debby Luke said, "The marches have meant a lot to me, because they have brought Black people together."

...women workers

Continued from back page

children at home—is no longer typical. Only 7 out of every 100 families conform to that model.

Today 46.6 percent of all wives work. Between 1976 and 1977 the number of married women in the labor force jumped by more than 800,000. That was one of the largest yearly increases ever recorded.

These families with working wives had a median income in 1976 35 percent higher than families where the wife did not have a job.

In addition, women are marrying at a later age. The number of single women supporting themselves has more than doubled since 1950.

Even more striking has been the increase of women who are alone responsible for their families. There are 7.7 million families (one out of every seven families) headed by women. The median income of these families is one-third that of families that have both a husband and wife. One of every three of these woman-headed families is living below the official poverty level.

About 56 percent of these women are employed. And unemployment—even by the government's low estimates—is especially high. For Black women heading families it's 16.5 percent. It's 8.1 percent for white women family heads.

All these changes add up to an explosive situation:

With women making up 41 percent of the work force and taking home only 25 percent of the wages, equal pay and equal job opportunity become crucial.

With 15.1 million mothers employed and child-care centers providing for only 2 percent of the children, quality child care is a must.

And those are only some of the questions posed. Women workers also grapple with the other questions facing working people today: health and safety on the job, cutbacks, layoffs, attacks on union rights, and others.

The 41,130,000 women in the work force today pose a big dilemma for employers. The struggle of these women, both as women and as workers, will be a major part of labor's coming battles.



Militant/Barry Chann

Most women are still trapped in low-paying, hard-working jobs. These women, for example, work in New York's garment industry.

Marching toward July 9



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

Cleveland labor responds to emergency

The Cleveland National Organization for Women Labor Task Force held an emergency meeting on June 11 in response to the Illinois House vote against ratifying the ERA. The Cleveland AFL-CIO Women's Committee, headed by Alberta Johnson of the Meat Cutters union, and NOW's Regional ERA Task Force decided to work together to build July 9.

On June 14 Cleveland AFL-CIO delegates approved support for the national ERA march. A mailing is being sent to all local unions to encourage their participation.

CLUW leaflet: 'ERA can only strengthen labor'

The North Jersey Coalition of Labor Union Women has put out a leaflet to publicize the national march for the ERA.

"The ERA is a fight for equality. Its passage can only strengthen the labor movement in fighting for fair treatment and better conditions for all working people," says the leaflet.

The AFL-CIO State Labor Council, Communication Workers, International Union of Electrical Workers District 3, Newark Teachers Union, Auto Workers Region 9, Steelworkers District 9, and others have endorsed the march and cosigned CLUW's leaflet.

Solidarity in the West

Albuquerque NOW has voted to call a solidarity action at the federal building there on July 9. And an ERA coalition in Seattle plans a demonstration on July 8.

Denver news conference announces march

On June 12 the Colorado NOW held a news conference at the state capitol to outline the campaign for the ERA and invite participation in the Colorado delegation to the Washington march.

NOW has also sent out an appeal for support for July 9. It is signed by NOW leaders, the president and secretary-treasurer of the Colorado AFL-CIO, the executive director of the Colorado ACLU, the governor's wife, and others.

Milwaukee unions pitch in

The United Auto Workers union booth at a June 19 Black community festival in Milwaukee included July 9 leaflets, buttons, and other material. Other unions giving contributions or passing resolutions of support for the July 9 march include the Wisconsin State Employees Local 82, Office and Professional Employees, UAW Local 438, and the Boilermakers union Local 1845.

Dallas walks for march

Dallas County NOW raised \$1,200 in a twelve-mile walk-a-thon to subsidize buses from Dallas, Texas, to the national march for the ERA. The event received extensive coverage from local newspapers and television stations.

Provisions for handicapped ERA supporters

NOW is planning to have interpreters for deaf participants in the ERA march at both the assembly and rally sites. NOW also hopes to have a braille brochure available at the march. There will be limited transportation for the severely handicapped. For more information contact National ERA March Headquarters, 425 Thirteenth Street NW, Suite 548, Washington, D.C. 20004. Phone: (202) 737-2295.

Kentucky support grows

Women in Louisville, Kentucky, have reserved two buses for the march on Washington. Endorsement for the action has come not only from women's groups, such as the Central Kentucky Women's Political Caucus and the Women's Agenda Coalition, but from the Kentucky National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression, the president of the local United Rubber Workers union, Tobacco Workers Union Local 16, United Steelworkers Local 30, and the Communication Workers of America.

—Diane Wang

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A Special Celebration

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I am interested in attending the Active Workers and Socialist Educational Conference. Please send more information.
Name _____
Address _____
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Tapes on women's liberation

THE HISTORY OF THE FAMILY AND MARRIAGE

by Evelyn Reed, 1965. \$6.

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by Evelyn Reed, 1975. \$6.

THE ROLE OF WOMEN'S LIBERATION IN THE SOCIALIST REVOLUTION

by Mary-Alice Waters, 1976. \$6.



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Speech by socialist candidate

'Women can & must save abortion rights'

The following is based on a speech by Virginia Garza at a June 11 demonstration for abortion rights called by the National Organization for Women in San Diego.

Garza is the Socialist Workers Party candidate for secretary of state in California.

The urgency of Garza's message—that women must keep fighting for their rights—was underscored a few days after the demonstration. On June 13 the U.S. House of Representatives voted up a budget for the Department of Health, Education and Welfare that denies funds to poor women seeking abortion "except where the life of the mother would be endangered if the fetus were carried to term."

One of the most important rights of women is the right to control our own bodies. The right to abortion and free-

dom from forced sterilization are both aspects of this basic right. Women won a major victory when the Supreme Court legalized abortions in 1973.

Today the government is foreclosing on woman's most basic possession, her body. Right now Congress is discussing a budget that will cut off federal funding for abortions except when the woman's life is in danger.

Here in California there have been attempts to put an anti-abortion initiative on the ballot. The state assembly is discussing cutting off funding for women beyond the third month of pregnancy.

Any attack on abortion rights is an issue of democracy. It is an issue of who controls our bodies.

The only thing that stands between our right to control our bodies and these government attacks is popular support for women's rights. In the process of winning our abortion rights, we educated and convinced the majority of the American people that we are equal and that we alone have the right to control our own bodies.

In 1976 many women voted for Jimmy Carter. And he and the Democratic majority in Congress have paid women back by taking away the right of poor women to control their bodies, thereby laying the basis to take away all women's rights.

What do we say to that? We say that we can't depend on any politician, Democrat or Republican—white or Black or brown, male or female—to give us anything.

In the women's movement there is a slogan, "Sisterhood is powerful." By this we mean that women united from all walks of life—united with women's rights supporters in the labor movement, the Black movement, the Chicano movement—can be a force power-

ful enough to protect our rights to control our bodies and against sterilization abuse.

A good demonstration of the power of the women's movement and the popularity of women's rights is the national march called by the National Organization for Women for July 9 in Washington, D.C., to demand ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment and extension of the deadline.

If we win the ERA—and we must—it will provide us with a powerful tool, not only to protect the rights we have now, but to win further rights.

As the Socialist Workers Party can-

didate for secretary of state, I don't pretend that I can give you anything. Rather I offer you a strategy to fight back. It is a single strategy: depend on yourselves and your allies in the unions and the Black and Chicano communities. Continue to organize rallies, demonstrations, and teach-ins such as this one.

Remember, no politician has given us anything. From suffrage to the ERA, we have won it for ourselves. And we must continue to win our rights ourselves.

Go to Washington on July 9!



Militant/Arnold Weissberg

VIRGINIA GARZA

Hyde met by picket



Militant/Jill Fein

PHOENIX—About forty abortion rights supporters picketed Rep. Henry Hyde when he came to speak at an anti-abortion conference here on June 10. The picket line was organized by Right to Choose and the Phoenix National Organization for Women.

Chicanas: 'We were sterilized against our will'

By Martha Graham

LOS ANGELES—Six of the ten plaintiffs have testified at the trial here in a damage suit by ten Chicana victims of forced sterilization. They are suing the University of Southern California Medical Center.

Four of the Chicanas testified that they were sterilized without ever signing a consent form. Others charged they did not learn until later that the operation is irreversible.

One woman only learned she had

been sterilized when she returned to the hospital to obtain birth-control pills. Another learned she was sterile when visited by an attorney for the Center for Law and Justice, which is representing the ten women.

Most of the plaintiffs don't read or speak English and were not given any explanation of the sterilization procedure in Spanish.

Dr. Roger Freedman, head of the obstetrics department at the time of some of the abuses, also testified. He

claimed that the consent forms were not of "highest priority" and were a "lot of paper work."

The case has focused public attention on the dramatic increase in sterilization abuse at the county hospital. Between 1968 and 1970, hysterectomies increased 742 percent and tubal ligation sterilization, 470 percent.

This is no isolated, local problem. In Puerto Rico, 34 percent of all women of childbearing age have been sterilized. And according to the 1970 National

Fertility Study, 20 percent of all married Black women have been sterilized. This is almost three times the figure for married white women.

It is also estimated that a quarter of all Native American women have been sterilized.

The suit has won widespread support. The recent statewide conference of the California National Organization for Women voted support for the lawsuit.

G.E. job bias accord falls short of workers' needs

By John Hawkins

After five years of negotiations with the U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC), the General Electric Company agreed June 15 to take some minor steps to end decades of job discrimination against minority and women employees.

GE has a long record of race and sex discrimination in hiring, promotion, and wages. In 1945 the War Labor Board upheld a union complaint against the company for discrimination and for maintaining substandard rates of pay for most women employees.

Nonetheless, the giant corporation has continued its discriminatory policies to this day.

The June 15 conciliation agreement came in response to charges filed against the corporation in 1973. According to Frank Doyle, GE's vice-president for corporate employee relations, the company agreed to the settlement "rather than becoming engaged

in lengthy adversary proceedings."

GE, however, denies that it violated any discrimination laws.

The agreement is being touted by the big-business press as the largest since the one agreed to in January 1973 by the American Telephone and Telegraph Company.

Supposedly GE will spend \$32 million over the next five years on affirmative-action programs and back pay. However, a number of unions representing GE workers point out that some of the figures are inflated, while others relate to programs already in operation.

The major feature of the settlement is a \$10.6 million "promotion incentive" program. Minority and women workers who are promoted to certain jobs will receive a bonus of up to \$800 to make up for past discrimination.

The agreement also calls for establishing a \$9.9 million employee training program.

In addition, the settlement creates

new systems to provide all employees the opportunity to apply for promotions and all people looking for work with information on the full range of available jobs.

The agreement, however, does not fix a quota for the hiring and promotion of oppressed nationalities and women workers. In fact, no goal or timetable is set. Instead, according to the EEOC, the agency will monitor the company's performance on the basis of "numerical objectives."

In addition, the agreement does nothing to modify the wage structure to eliminate substandard wages for women. According to the EEOC, the wage structure modification negotiated with GE is "confidential." But the Washington Post reports that \$7.4 million will go for new wage rates and \$2.7 million for back pay.

Of the company's 268,000 employees, 27.8 percent—or about 75,000—are women. The \$2.7 million allotted for back pay would amount to only \$144

per person, assuming only one-fourth of GE's women employees have back pay coming!

"The heart of the discriminatory practices at General Electric," says Albert Fitzgerald, president of the United Electrical, Radio, and Machine Workers of America, "is the wage structure that places the majority of jobs performed by women at rates below common labor."

"Since EEOC did not address that matter," he says, "the problem continues."

"While some provisions of the agreement providing training opportunities by the company are to be welcomed, the actual increase will not be a significant extension of existing training programs."

Fitzgerald also points out that neither UE nor any other union was party to the agreement. Moreover, the EEOC based its agreement with GE mainly on information provided by the company itself.

'Overt, planned, consistent

Interview with John Gofman on gov't nuke

By Arnold Weissberg

John Gofman is a leading critic of nuclear power. Professor emeritus of medical physics at the University of California, Gofman did much of the initial research that uncovered the serious effects on human health that result from nuclear power.

On a sunny afternoon in late April near Barnwell, South Carolina, we sat and talked about government cover-ups and radiation. Along with twelve hundred other people, I had just returned from a six-mile demonstration to and from the Allied General Nuclear Services Plant, which may become the world's largest nuclear dump.

The quiet of the late afternoon drove home more sharply the terrible danger of nuclear radiation. It's all around you, though you can't see it, smell it, or feel it. It doesn't leave any grit on the windowsill, and it doesn't make the sky look brown. But it is a sure killer.

We loafed around a long table under the temporary press tent, sitting on folding chairs that kept sinking into the soft ground. I munched a sandwich and sipped apple juice while Gofman told me his story.

A teacher for many years, he has an easygoing storytelling style and a genuine sense of drama.

More than a thread

I had earlier heard Gofman give an informal talk on radiation hazards in which he said that the government keeps the truth from the American people. Do you think there's a thread of fraud and deception? I asked.

"Not a thread. It's a pattern that makes Watergate look like child's play. It's not a thread of fraud—it's overt, it's planned, and it's consistent," Gofman answered.

Gofman should know. He and his associate Arthur Tamplin were early victims of government harassment because their research proved that federal radiation standards were unsafe.

In 1963 the U.S. Atomic Energy Commission (AEC) asked Gofman to head its newly formed biomedical division at the Lawrence Livermore Radiation Lab, near Berkeley. Gofman had worked on the Manhattan Project, which developed the atom bomb, and was a leading expert on the effects of radiation on humans.

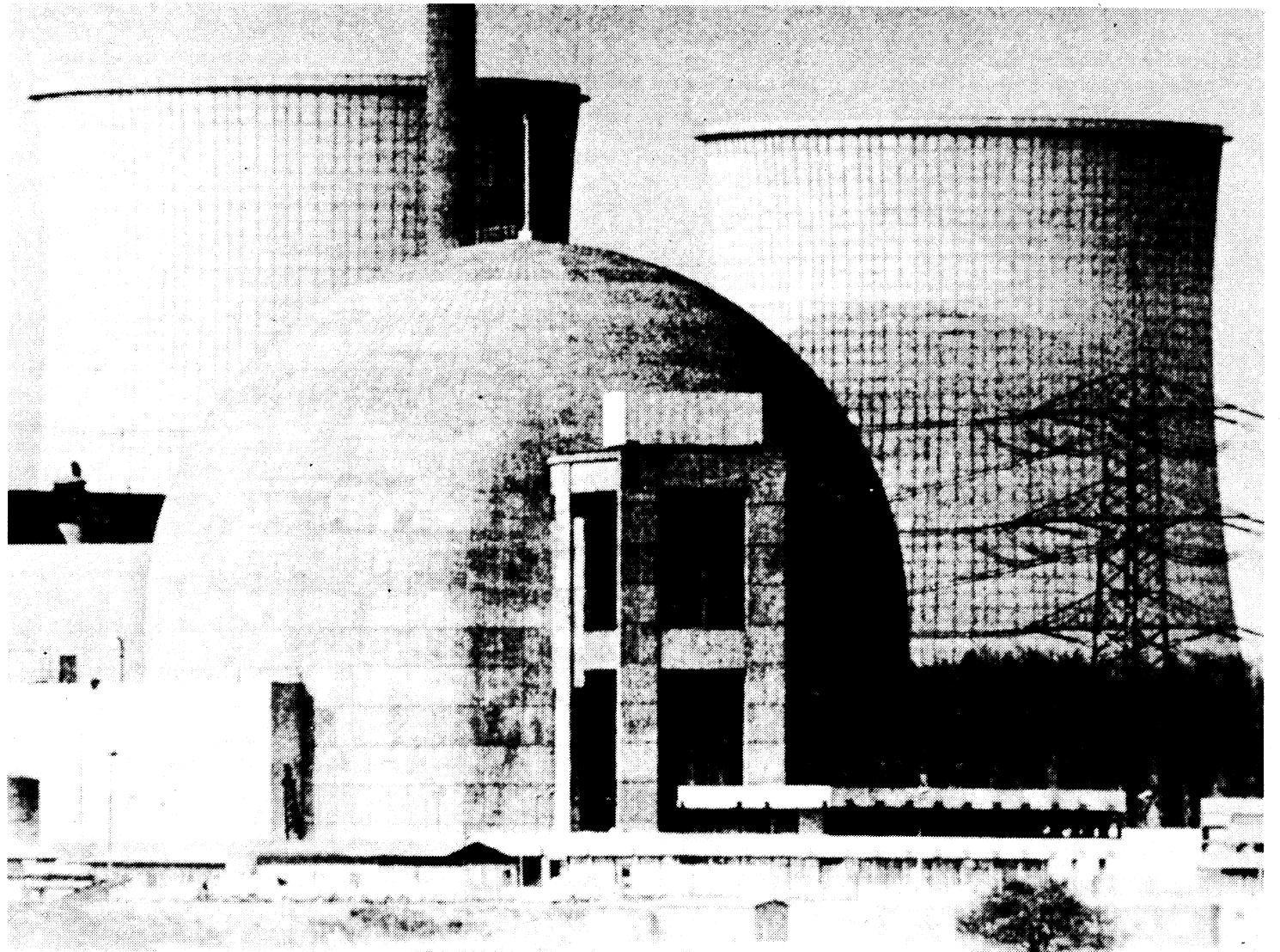
The division was supposed to investigate all aspects of nuclear energy, from weapons to medical uses of radioisotopes.

"I had no views whatsoever" on those subjects, Gofman said. "I was totally neutral."

The AEC dangled a \$3 million budget to lure him into the program—"a very, very big plum" Gofman said.



JOHN GOFMAN Militant/Arnold Weissberg



But he hesitated. He wasn't convinced the AEC really wanted the truth. Gofman told the AEC that "I really couldn't give less of a damn about AEC programs. If the chips fall suggesting the program is a crock, I'll say so. And I won't tolerate any suppression of information."

'Want the truth?'

"Jack, all we want is the truth," they told me," Gofman said.

That was 1963.

Everything went reasonably smoothly for six years. Gofman and Tamplin tried to calculate the number of cancers that would be produced per unit of radiation.

They concluded that there were going to be twenty times as many cancers per unit of radiation as the International Commission on Radiological Protection had predicted three years before.

"The AEC predicted no cancers," Gofman said. "They said there was a 'safe threshold,'"—a level of radioactive exposure that supposedly has no biological effect.

In 1969 the Institute for Electrical and Electronic Engineers asked them to give a talk on their research.

Right after the paper was read, Gofman found out that the AEC was very disturbed. But rather than admit it didn't like the paper's conclusions, the AEC claimed it only wanted advance notice next time. Gofman agreed—but added that "we wouldn't tolerate their having anything to say about what we could say."

Next came the annual meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Science (AAAS). Tamplin was supposed to represent the lab. He was going to deliver a paper stating that the risks from nuclear power were greater than had been thought.

Tamplin submitted a copy of the paper three weeks before he was supposed to give it.

Only the prepositions

When he got it back, Gofman said, "there were prepositions left, there were conjunctions, but no verbs or nouns. No substance to the paper.

Nothing. Art was blue in the face."

The lab officialdom told Tamplin that if he wanted to deliver the paper, he would have to pay his own way, couldn't use lab typists to type it, couldn't represent the lab, would be docked for his salary the days he was away, and could not announce his lab affiliation in any way.

Gofman went to see the lab director. "I'm going to call the guy in charge of this program at AAAS," I told him, "and I'm going to tell him that the Lawrence Livermore Laboratory is a scientific whorehouse that censors scientific work to what the AEC would like, and that's why Arthur Tamplin can't come," Gofman said. "And I added that I would ask the guy to read that statement to the assembled AAAS."

The director asked him to sleep on it.

The next morning, Gofman informed the director he had already done precisely what he had said he would do. "And he just turned absolutely white. I never saw a guy just lose the blood flow to his head so completely," Gofman said. "That was one of the last times the director of the Livermore Lab and I spoke to each other."

But Tamplin got to give the paper pretty much the way he wanted to.

"By then, things were a little strained," Gofman said.

The lab took its revenge on Tamplin. They took away twelve of thirteen members of Tamplin's staff and 95 percent of his budget, Gofman said.

"A little while later, they managed to take away the funds for my laboratory program," Gofman said. So he quit and went back to teaching.

What got the AEC so upset? I asked Gofman.

Cancer deaths

"My estimate then was that if the average American got the radiation dose that was being allowed—170 millirems per year [a millirem is a measure of the amount of radiation absorbed by the body]—we would have, after a period of time, 32,000 extra cancer deaths per year," Gofman answered.

"Since then, I have refined the anal-

ysis. That number could be as low as 10,000 or as high as 104,000.

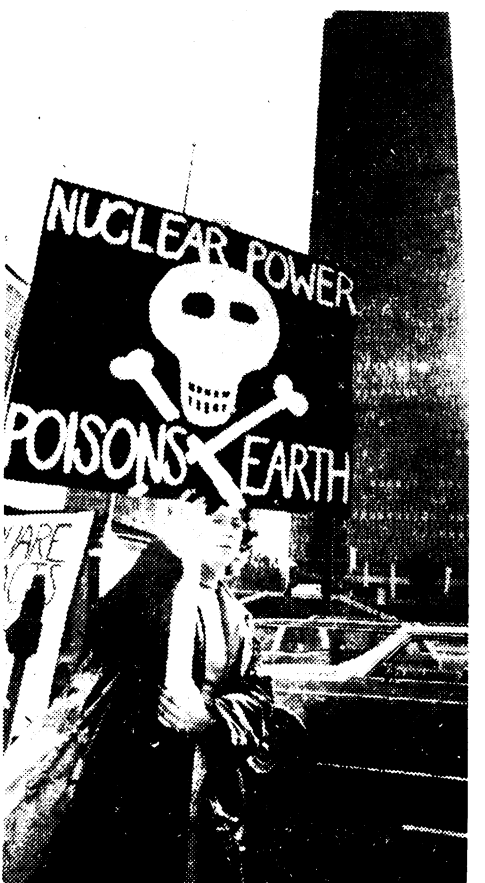
"If you take the occupational dose," Gofman went on, "five rems per year, we said then that over ten years the cancer death rate for thirty-five-year-old workers doubles.

"That means that instead of 18.5 percent of them dying of cancer, 37 percent would die of cancer. And the extra ones would die of cancer twelve years before they would otherwise die.

"I have had no occasion to change that number—that twenty-five to fifty rems will double the cancer death rate," Gofman said.

The nuclear industry often argues that radioactive emissions are safe because they don't exceed federal standards. How does Gofman answer that claim?

The National Council on Radiation Protection and Measurement—a semi-government, semi-industry outfit—recommended standards in 1954 that



fraud' cover-up

one-tenth of a rem per day would do nothing to the public health. "That means thirty-six rems per year, which is a lot more than five rems per year, the amount I said would double the cancer death rate," Gofman explained. "That standard would have caused a twenty-fold increase in cancer deaths."

"And the 170 millirem exposure limit is still in effect."

"The Environmental Protection Agency published a rule in 1975 recommending for the normal operation of the fuel cycle that the total dose shall not exceed twenty-five millirems per person."

"I think it's pure sham. They say this is for the normal operation of the fuel cycle. Anything unplanned that results in irradiating people doesn't count, and they grant a variance."

I suggested that the standards were either useless or ignored.

"Both," Gofman said. "First of all, neither the Nuclear Regulatory Commission, nor the industry, nor the EPA has the foggiest notion what the doses are around any power plant in the country. And they're not making the measurements to find out."

Why nukes

I asked Gofman why he thought the industry and the government persist in trying to build nuclear power plants.

"The AEC is a bureaucracy that was set up with a \$3 billion budget," Gofman answered. "They have three products to sell: bombs, reactors, and radioactive poison."

"The only thing that bureaucracy is concerned about is selling their product, not health. The fact is they don't give a damn about your health or anybody else's. Period."

"Along the way, they inveigled the electric utility industry in by telling them it's all safe, it'll be a cheap form of power, and you can make a hell of a lot of money by going this route."

"So you have an entrenched bureaucracy, and about a hundred billion dollars of private money on the line."

"Have you ever seen a hundred billion dollars say to itself, 'I want to get lost?' It doesn't happen. It's that simple."

"They want to continue until they've sold all their uranium, until they've recovered all their investment at a fat profit."

"And if it leaves the earth in a mess, who cares?"

What's the solution?

"Shut 'em down. Shut down all the operating plants immediately. License no new ones. Forget the whole damn thing. Take the money out of nuclear fission research and development and put the money into conservation and solar, so we'll have clean, adequate power."

Books on nuclear power

Nuclear Power by Walter Patterson
Penguin Books, 302 pp., \$3.50

The Poverty of Power by Barry Commoner
Bantam Books, 297 pp., \$2.75

The Silent Bomb, ed. Peter Faulkner
Vintage, 382 pp., \$3.95

We Almost Lost Detroit by John G. Fuller
Ballantine, 288 pp., \$1.95

Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West St., New York, New York 10014, or visit the socialist bookstore nearest you (see listing on p. 31). Please include \$.25 for postage and handling; \$.50 if order of more than \$5.

Aug. 6-9 antinuke protests to mark Hiroshima Day

By Arnold Weissberg

Plans are under way around the country and around the world for antinuclear demonstrations on August 6-9, the anniversary of Washington's barbaric atomic attack on Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

In the United State, local actions are being coordinated by the Mobilization for Survival, a national organization opposed to nuclear weapons and nuclear power.

Planning is still in the early stages in many areas, but protests are already set for the Diablo Canyon nuclear power plant construction site near San Luis Obispo, California; the Trojan nuclear power plant in Rainier, Oregon; the West Valley, New York, site of a nuclear waste dump; and the Rocky Flats, Colorado, nuclear weapons plant.

...Castro

Continued from page 7

The second reason was that the Cubans and Angolans were deeply concerned that the invasion would provide a pretext for Western intervention in Zaire, raising the possibility of additional Western support for the forces opposed to President Neto in Angola.

Castro said that the efforts to head off the rebel activities failed because Angolan troops were unable to control the Shabans based in northern Angola and because President Neto was ill at the time and could not exert his own personal authority.

Castro noted that the initial statements from the White House acknowledged that there was no evidence of Cuban involvement. He also reiterated that he had told the White House May 17, through a U.S. diplomat in Havana, that Havana was not involved and that the Cubans had actually tried to stop the rebel attacks. Two days later, a State Department representative claimed that "new information" had been uncovered proving Cuban training of the rebels. Castro's account of how the Cubans tried to prevent the conflict was conveniently buried, and was not publicly acknowledged until nearly a month later.

Both Solarz and Beilenson, who were briefed by CIA Director Stansfield Turner on Carter's alleged evidence of Cuban involvement in Zaire, termed the evidence "not conclusive," "circumstantial," and "hearsay." On the other hand, Solarz declared that "President Castro makes a very compelling case that there was no Cuban involvement in the Zaire invasion."

On June 13, Castro pointed out the reasons for the White House lies. He said that they were intended to "provide a pretext of justifying the U.S. intervention and the intervention of the NATO powers in Zaire."

From Intercontinental Press/Inprecor

...Soweto

Continued from page 7

Davis, featured South African pianist and reed player Dollar Brand along with his sextet; South African singer Sathima; actress Ruby Dee; the Rod Rogers Dancers; and Cuban percussionist Mongo Santamaria.

Funds will go toward construction of schools and medical facilities to aid refugees from the apartheid regime in South Africa.

In Ann Arbor, Michigan, 150 students and faculty on the University of Michigan campus participated in a commemoration of the Soweto massacre, wearing black armbands through-

The Australian movement against uranium mining has called an August 6 demonstration for Melbourne. Australia has about one-fourth of the world's uranium. A powerful mass movement, backed by important sections of the trade-union movement and the Australian Labor Party, has grown up in opposition to mining and exporting uranium.

The Japan Congress Against A- and H-Bombs (Gensuikin) has called an international congress to oppose nuclear weapons and power. The Tokyo conference will be held in early August.

On August 6, 1945, a U.S. plane dropped an atomic bomb on Hiroshima, Japan—the first time an atomic weapon was used in wartime. Between 70,000 and 80,000 people were killed at once, and another 70,000 injured.

Three days later, an atomic bomb dropped on Nagasaki killed 35-40,000 people.

In the thirty-three years since then, August 6-9 has become a time when antiwar activists in Japan and other countries have called the world's attention to the potential horrors of nuclear war.

The August 6-9 demonstrations in the United States come on the heels of a successful series of spring antinuclear actions—at Rocky Flats; Barnwell, South Carolina; Bangor, Washington; and outside the UN Disarmament conference in New York City.

For further informations, contact Mobilization for Survival at 1213 Race Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19107 or call (215) 563-1512.

out June 16. About thirty-five people attended a protest rally in pouring rain that afternoon.

The protest was sponsored by the Washtenaw County Coalition Against Apartheid. The coalition was largely responsible for the overwhelming three-to-one vote in recent student elections in favor of complete divestment of the university's stock in corporations doing business with South Africa.

In Miami about twenty people picketed in front of the federal courthouse June 17 demanding an end to U.S. complicity. Pickets chanted, "U.S. out of Africa! No more Vietnams!" and "Hands off Zaire! Hands off Cuba!"

The picket was sponsored by the Ad Hoc Committee for U.S. Out of Africa. Among endorsers of the action were Lee Smith, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Florida's Thirteenth Congressional District; Warren Hoskins, American Friends Service Com-

mittee; and James Burke, president, South Florida NAACP.

In Chicago June 16 sixty people rallied at the federal building demanding that the South African consulate in that city be shut down. Protesters also called for support to economic sanctions against the apartheid regime and an end to bank loans and other investments in South Africa.

The day before, a group of Chicago-area trade unionists sent letters to Carter and Secretary of State Cyrus Vance demanding that the United States break all ties to the colonialist regime.

Among the signers of the letter were: Patrick Gorman, head of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters; James Balanoff, director, District 31, United Steelworkers of America; Harold Rogers, Coalition of Black Trade Unionists; and Leo Draper, president, American Postal Workers Union, Chicago local.

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Socialists make gains in K.C. school race

By Mark Baugher

KANSAS CITY, Mo.—Socialists here provided a working-class alternative to cutbacks, segregation, and attacks on city teachers during the race for school board, which ended June 6. The Socialist Workers Party ran Jim Levitt, Bill Bolinger, and Shirley Smith.

The campaign took place amid continuing crises in the Kansas City schools. The Democrats and Republicans on the board have announced a \$2.7 million deficit in next year's budget and claim it will have to lay off workers and cut back on services.

Trying to shift even more of the burden of financing education onto the backs of working people, the board seeks a half-cent rise in the sales tax.

Board of education policies have created and preserved a highly segregated school system. The board's re-

sponse to a government desegregation order was to bus white students to one Black school, leaving six other schools all Black.

In response to these policies, the socialists proposed taxing corporate profits and eliminating the \$126 billion federal war budget to finance the schools; a massive district-wide school busing plan to desegregate the schools; and an end to attacks on teachers and other school employees.

The SWP campaign emphasized the need for working people to form their own party—a labor party based on a revitalized union movement—that could fight for and win these demands.

During the campaign, Levitt, a member of United Steelworkers Local 3844, got an enthusiastic response from the sixty teachers at a meeting of the Kansas City Federation of Teachers. Bill Bolinger, for sixteen years a member of United Auto Workers Local 31, was applauded after he spoke to 125 members of his local.

Shirley Smith, speaking to the Up and Doing Club, a block association in the Black community, emphasized the need for a community/labor alliance to win a decent education for all children.

Smith got 1,538 votes, or 12.5 percent; Levitt got 1,410 votes, or 11.4 percent; both were running in district-wide at-large races. Bolinger, running in subdistrict 2, won 1,011 votes, or 22 percent of the total.

The socialist vote ranged as high as 20 percent in some parts of the Black and Chicano communities, which suffer most from deteriorating, segregated schools. Ten thousand copies of a four-page election brochure were distributed in the city.

The races were officially nonpartisan.



SHIRLEY SMITH Militant/Harris Freeman

Marroquin tours Colo., Utah, Fla.

By Arnold Weissberg

Political refugee Héctor Marroquín has completed a successful swing through Colorado and Utah as part of a national speaking tour bringing his case to the American people.

Marroquín fled Mexico in 1974 after he was falsely accused of murder and "subversion." He is seeking political asylum in this country. If he is forced to return to Mexico, he faces imprisonment, torture and possible murder at the hands of authorities there. The U.S. government is nonetheless trying to deport him.

Marroquín is a member of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance.

In Salt Lake City, Marroquín's case was big news. Three TV stations, both daily papers, and four radio stations interviewed him.

Fifty-five people came to a meeting sponsored by the Héctor Marroquín Defense Committee. Speakers included Nancy Elbert, head of the Salt Lake City chapter of Amnesty International, and Frank Cordoba of the University of Utah Chicano Students Association.

One particularly successful defense activity was a rally at the Eimco steel foundry. A group of Marroquín's supporters inside the plant had been circulating petitions calling for asylum. As a result, some workers were already familiar with the facts of the case.

Dozens of foundry workers heard Marroquín explain why he is seeking

political asylum, and many endorsed his case. After the rally, one worker said he wanted to join Marroquín's party—the Socialist Workers Party.

Defense committee activists raised more than \$225 for legal expenses, which could run to more than \$20,000.

While in Denver, Marroquín was interviewed by several Spanish-language media, including *La Voz*, a Chicano community paper, and radio station KBVO.

Marroquín also met with two Chilean refugees who had just completed a hunger strike to protest the disappearance of political prisoners in Chile.

Before his trip to the Rocky Mountain states, Marroquín spoke in Miami. One meeting, sponsored by the Unitarian church, drew nearly 100 people.

At a second meeting, Marroquín was joined on the platform by Rulx Jean-Bart of the Human Rights for Haitians Coalition, Ed Cohen of Concerned Democrats, Warren Hoskins of American Friends Service Committee, and Lee Smith, SWP candidate for Congress.

The student government of Miami-Dade Junior College agreed to set up a committee to investigate the Marroquín case as a first step toward possible student government endorsement of his request for political asylum.

Defense activities in Miami netted nearly \$300.

Campaigning for socialism

West Virginia campaign team

Supporters of the Socialist Workers party candidates in West Virginia fielded a three-member team recently to publicize the campaign of Rosalinda Flint for U.S. Senate and Brian Williams for House of Delegates.

The team visited Charleston, Huntington, and dozens of small coal-mining towns. Team members distributed campaign materials and sold *Militants* and copies of the new pamphlet, *The 110-Day Coal Strike: Its Meaning for All Working People*.

"I was hoping I'd run into you," an employee at Morris Harvey College in Charleston said. "Forty years ago, my dad told me that the only way working people could win was to stop depending on the Democrats and Republicans."

St. Paul election results

For the first time in more than thirty years, St. Paul voters this spring had a socialist alternative in the race for mayor. When the votes were counted, Libby Moser of the Socialist Workers Party had gotten 5 percent of them.

Moser debated incumbent Democrat George Latimer seven times. She received coverage in all four Twin Cities daily papers and on TV and radio.

In St. Paul's Seventh Ward, where much of the city's Black population lives, Moser got 9 percent of the vote. In a precinct that included dormitories at Macalester College, she got 21 percent.

And in the precinct that included her campaign headquarters, she got more than 47 percent, outpolling Latimer 222 to 137.

Zola speaks to conference on the aging

Mark Zola, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Pennsylvania governor, spoke May 25 to the Pennsylvania Conference on the Aging. As the *Pittsburgh Press* reported, "Zola, a steelworker, declared that 'human needs come before corporate profits' and pledged that he would, if elected support national health care legislation, efforts against utility 'ripoffs,' and an end to property taxes for senior citizens. He said funds to support such programs should come from corporate profits and the 'bloated' U.S. defense budget."

Zola cited statistics showing that as many as 40 percent of people over sixty-five in Pennsylvania live on less than \$2,000 a year. He pledged to speak out on the plight of the Black, Puerto Rican, and poor elderly as he campaigns for a socialist alternative to the capitalist system that has turned its back on the aging.

New Orleans: 'Let the rich pay'

Joel Aber, a high school teacher and union activist, and Christine Gauvreau, an apprentice with the International Brotherhood of Painters, turned in more than 3,000 signatures June 13 to get on the New Orleans ballot. Aber is running for school board, Gauvreau for Congress. Both are candidates of the Socialist Workers Party.

At a news conference, Aber noted that his Democratic and Republican opponents "are satisfied to keep the school system limping along in decay with their proposed half-cent sales tax."

"Sales and property taxes on homeowners cannot finance decent schools, except in rich communities," Aber said. "Instead of placing the tax burden on working people, let's tax the oil corporations and grain monopolies. They can afford to pay for education. We working people cannot."

"Abolish the \$126 billion war budget and use those funds to pay for quality education."

Aber pointed out that those who attend New Orleans public schools are 85 percent Black. Nearly 100 percent are the children of working people.

"I'm for a crash program to rebuild every New Orleans public school, to immediately raise teacher salaries to the national norm, and to lower the pupil-teacher ratio to one to fifteen in all classes."

"I call for an end to state and parish [county] aid to private and parochial schools. I call for enforcing the 1954 Supreme Court school desegregation decision by any means necessary."

"And I give unequivocal support to my teacher colleagues and their union in their struggle for decent salaries and better working conditions. When we teachers are forced to strike, I'll be walking the picket lines."

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Why can't everybody have a job?

Illustrations by Ivan Licho

By now it's a familiar story. In May a factory in the South Bronx announced it was taking applications for 500 low-paid jobs.

Black and Puerto Rican young people started lining up the day before. They waited all through the night, hoping for a chance at a job, a regular income, a better life.

By the next morning 3,000 people were anxiously waiting, jammed behind police barricades. The factory

owner called in fifty cops to "maintain order."

Finally, instead of handing out applications, company personnel threw the forms into the air, forcing people to scramble frantically for them.

A few days before this South Bronx incident, 5,000 people lined up in the blazing sun at the Oklahoma state fairgrounds. They were the first of an expected 16,000 applicants for 2,100 jobs at a new General Motors plant. Job-seekers came from as far away as

California and New York. About 40 percent were women.

Across the country millions of people want jobs. They are desperate for jobs. And they cannot find jobs.

Yet the news media, economists, business executives, and government officials are campaigning to convince us that serious unemployment has just about disappeared.

The editors of the *New York Times* assert that "the nation is closer to full

employment than anyone had thought."

Henry Wallich of the Federal Reserve Board declares that "we are approaching the full-employment zone."

Herbert Stein, former head of the White House Council of Economic Advisers, calls for "getting rid of the idea that 7% unemployment *cannot be* full employment."

All these big-business commentators

Continued on next page

The Socialist Workers Party candidates propose

An emergency bill

to guarantee the right to a job for everyone who wants to work

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America:

Section 1: Purpose

- A. *Since:* The overwhelming majority of people have no other way to sustain themselves and their families except by selling their capacity to labor.
- B. *Since:* Working people have built up the vast wealth and productive apparatus of this country, the richest in the world.
- C. *Since:* Unemployment is a threat to the living standards of all workers and especially devastating to the Black community and to youth.
- D. *Therefore:* It is an elementary obligation of society to provide steady, useful employment at living wages for everyone who wants to work.

Section 2: Emergency relief

- A. *Since:* Workers deprived of a job through no fault of their own should not be driven into poverty and degradation.
- B. *Therefore:* All jobless workers, including youth and others just entering the labor force, shall receive unemployment compensation at full union-scale wages for the entire time they are out of work.

Section 3: Funds for jobs, not war

- A. *Since:* There is an urgent need to:
 1. Build high-quality low-rent housing, decent schools, hospitals, clinics, child-care centers, libraries, parks, and public

transportation systems;

2. Restore our devastated cities and clean up our polluted environment;
3. Provide education, health care, and other vital social services.
- B. *Since:* The government now squanders more than \$126 billion a year of our tax dollars for bombs, missiles, tanks, warships, and other instruments of destruction for the Pentagon and CIA, whose only purpose is to guard the profits of U.S. corporations around the world and enrich the armaments profiteers.
- C. *Therefore:* Spending for war shall be eliminated and those funds used to launch a \$126 billion emergency public works program to provide millions of useful jobs, expand social services, and rebuild the country.
- D. *Implementation*

1. All public service jobs shall be paid at union-scale wages, with full rights for workers to organize, bargain collectively, and strike.
2. Top priority shall go to public works projects in the Black, Chicano, and Puerto Rican communities, which have suffered the worst both from joblessness and from inadequate services and facilities.
3. There shall be a crash program to establish low-cost, quality child-care centers—open at all times and controlled by those who use them. This will enable women with children to hold jobs and provide the best possible care for the young.

4. So that funds go to those in need and not to high-paid "poverty executives" and rip-off "jobs agencies," the public works program shall be under the control of committees democratically elected from neighborhoods and unions.

5. Industries now supplying the war apparatus shall be converted and retooled for socially useful production, with workers in those industries receiving retraining at full pay for the job of their choice.

Section 4: Shorter workweek

- A. *Since:* Government figures show that the productivity of labor has increased at least 200 percent since 1938, when the forty-hour week became law, yet there has been no general reduction of hours since that time.
- B. *Since:* This steadily increasing productivity has wiped out millions of jobs, while putting billions of dollars in extra profits in the employers' pockets.
- C. *Since:* Shortening the workweek to thirty hours would create an estimated 23 million jobs.
- D. *Since:* Shorter hours would mean increased leisure time for working people to develop their talents and interests in all spheres of life.
- E. *Therefore:* The legal workweek shall be reduced from forty hours to thirty hours, with no reduction in weekly pay.
- F. *Implementation*
 1. Compulsory overtime shall be banned.
 2. To provide a decent standard

of living and eliminate economic pressure to work overtime, all wages shall be automatically raised to compensate for any increase in the cost of living.

Section 5: Affirmative action

- A. *Since:* Women, Blacks, Chicanos, and Puerto Ricans have been and are still today denied equal access to skilled and higher-paid jobs.
- B. *Therefore:* Affirmative-action quotas to end discrimination in hiring, training, and promotions shall be universally implemented and strictly enforced.

Section 6: Enforcement

- A. If any employers claim they "cannot afford" to provide jobs and comply with the provisions of this bill, their books and records shall be opened to inspection by committees of unionists, consumers, and the unemployed. In this way workers can determine for themselves the corporations' hidden profits, tax swindles, payoffs, political bribes, and kickbacks, as well as their real production statistics and technological possibilities.
- B. If any employers refuse to comply with this legislation or threaten to close their plants, those companies shall be nationalized. Their plants shall be placed under the control of elected committees of workers to oversee production and make the decisions about work speed, automation, hiring and firing, and health and safety standards.

Hidden unemployment

There's an old saying that "figures don't lie, but liars can figure." That's the way it is with the government's statistics on unemployment. They are deliberately distorted to hide the real extent of the jobs crisis.

By looking more closely at the raw data from which the government reports are compiled, however, we can begin to get an idea of the massive, hidden unemployment in this country. (The following is based on the Labor Department averages

for the first three months of 1978.) Unemployment was officially reported at 6,155,000 persons, or 6.2 percent of the labor force.

The discriminatory pattern is clear. The official unemployment rate breaks down like this:

White adult males	3.9 percent
White adult females	5.1
White youth	14.4
Black adult males	9.0
Black adult women	10.8
Black youth	38.6

These figures, however, count only those actively looking for work. There are another 5,448,000 workers who *want a job now* but are not "actively looking." The government does not count them as unemployed! Of these, 1,221,000 are women who

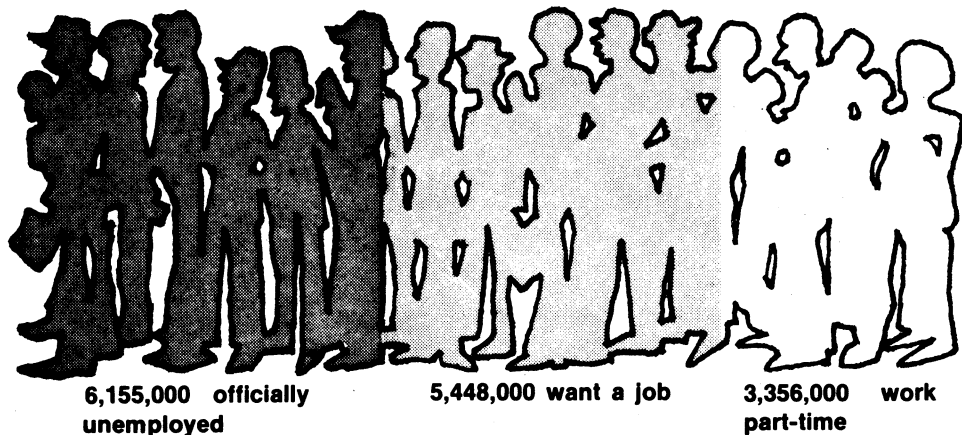
are not looking because of "home responsibilities." That undoubtedly means, above all, the lack of child-care facilities.

Remember, all these workers *want a job now*. But they are counted as "not in the labor force."

Among these hidden unemployed, the effects of discrimination are even sharper. Two-thirds of them are women. Twenty-four percent are Black.

Another 3,357,000 persons *want* full-time jobs but can only find part-time work. The government counts them as "employed full time!"

That means the total number of people who want full-time jobs but cannot find them amounts to nearly 15 million.



Continued from preceding page

argue that unemployment is "exaggerated" because it includes more women and young people. They never explain why women and young people—who most often need jobs to provide for their families or to pay for an education—are not entitled to work.

The government, following the dictates of big business, has turned its back on the unemployed. President Carter long ago dropped his campaign promise to "put America back to work."

Since Carter took office the government has been steadily cutting back the duration of unemployment benefits. Of the 6 million people the federal government officially counts as jobless, less than 2.5 million are receiving

any compensation.

Recently the administration announced with great fanfare that the "number one economic problem" is no longer unemployment, but inflation.

What's the point of this propaganda?

It is intended to get the majority of Americans to view permanent unemployment of millions of people as *normal* and *socially acceptable*. It is intended to justify the government's refusal to provide jobs, and to discourage the union movement from using its power on behalf of the unemployed.

Big business wants to drive home the idea that if people are out of work, it must be *their own fault*, certainly not the fault of the capitalist economic system.

servers from another planet—or from our own future—they would surely think that unemployment was the most irrational thing they ever saw.

The economy loses \$21,000 a year in production for each worker unemployed, according to the Joint Eco-

nomics Committee of Congress. Yet Congress refuses to put the unemployed to work.

For the overwhelming majority people—and for society as a whole—just doesn't make any sense.

Profits in unemployment

Nobody says they are for unemployment. Democratic and Republican politicians, bankers, business executives—all publicly insist they favor "full employment." They are the ones who hire and fire, who allocate our tax dollars—who *could* provide jobs for all.

So why does mass unemployment persist? There is only one reason—because it is *profitable* and *necessary* for the capitalists to keep millions of people out of work.

That seems contradictory. Employers make a profit by hiring workers to produce goods, and then by selling those goods. But workers who are unemployed produce nothing and can't buy much. So where's the profit?

Unemployment is profitable to the employers because it drives down wages and helps the bosses keep the work force under control.

Business Week magazine bluntly states: "... Most economists say that any tattered hope of slowing inflation permanently must hang on directly reducing wages by *maintaining a high unemployment rate for a long time*" (emphasis added). Leaving aside the false idea that wage increases cause inflation, that's a pretty good description of what the employers are trying to do.

Competition for jobs affects unskilled and unorganized workers the worst. Their pay is often pushed down to the minimum wage or below. U. S. organized workers also feel the pressure.

According to government figures, the average worker's purchasing power has dropped more than 7 percent over the past four years.

The insecurity caused by the fear of being thrown out of a job is one of the employers' most potent weapons for enforcing discipline on the job. On the auto assembly lines of Detroit, for example, workers produced about six cars an hour in the early 1970s. Now they turn out more than seventy without any major improvement in technology.

This speedup takes an awful toll on workers' bodies and nerves. Yet if they complain, they are quickly told, "There are thousands outside ready to take this job if you can't do it."

Because of pervasive discrimination against Blacks and women—including higher unemployment—the jobs they get are generally on the bottom rungs. This is also profitable for the employers.

Locked out of the future

The economists tell us that employment has risen and unemployment has fallen since the depression of 1974-75. That's true. But it is very far from the whole truth.

If we look at the statistics more closely, we find that for whole sections of the population *there has been no recovery* from the depression.

In 1977, for example, the total official number of unemployed dropped by 900,000. But:

- all of the decline was among whites, and
- seventy percent of the decline was among adult men.

Thus unemployment declined much less for women than for men. And at the beginning of 1978 there were more Black workers unemployed than at the beginning of 1977.

Black, Latin, Asian, and Native American youth face the worst jobs crisis. Black youth unemployment has not declined at all since the 1974-75 depression. It has stayed at an official level of 35 to 40 percent. And in New York, Detroit, Philadelphia, Washington, Baltimore, and many other cities the real unemployment rate is more like 75 or 85 percent.

In the summer of 1977, despite all of Carter's promises and phony programs, the jobless rate for Black youth hit its highest summertime rate on record. For Black youth it was nearly three times higher than for white youth.

Yet of all the summer jobs found by young people last year, nearly 90 percent went to whites.

The situation is even more chilling when you consider that we are now at the *high point* of the business cycle and that another downturn is inevitable.

In other words, what we see today is the *best* American capitalism has to offer. It can promise no relief from the mass unemployment that falls hardest on Blacks, women, and youth. These

workers have been locked out of the future.

There is no concealing the effects of today's mass unemployment. The Joint Economic Committee of Congress estimates that each time unemployment increases 1 percent, it leads to:

- 4.1 percent more suicides,
- 5.7 percent more prison admissions,
- 5.7 percent more homicides, and
- 2.0 percent more deaths from alcoholism.

These destructive effects are felt the worst where unemployment is concentrated—in the Black, Puerto Rican, and Chicano neighborhoods. Crime... prostitution... drug addiction... gang fighting... mental illness—all are rooted in the lack of jobs.

Racist politicians and news media try to turn the facts upside down. They blame the wretched social conditions in the ghettos and barrios on people on welfare, on Black youth.

These racist stereotypes are a classic example of what Malcolm X called turning the victim into the criminal.

The plight of jobless youth goes unnoticed by the politicians and news media—until an explosion of rage such as the one during the 1977 New York blackout. Then the response is a few more promises, a few more "studies." And more money appropriated—not for jobs but for cops.

For the Black and Latino communities, all the promises and advice on how to "get ahead" in this society turn into a cruel Catch-22. To get a job you need education. You need transportation to where the jobs are. If you have children, you need child-care centers. You need adequate health care, so you don't lose the job from being sick.

But all these essential services are being slashed, especially in the communities of the oppressed nationalities.

If our society were visited by ob-

The Humphrey-Hawkins

"The Humphrey-Hawkins bill does not include specific programs designed to reduce unemployment."

President Carter
May 25, 1978

Democratic Party politicians, and many trade-union officials and Black leaders who support them, continue to pretend that the Humphrey-Hawkins bill will aid the unemployed.

It will not.

Humphrey-Hawkins, falsely called the "full employment" bill, sets a goal of 4 percent unemployment to be reached more than five years after the bill is passed. If it would actually reduce unemployment to 4 percent, it might be criticized as inadequate. But it is not just inadequate—it is a complete fraud.

The Humphrey-Hawkins bill contains no provision that would provide a single job for any unemployed person.

It does not guarantee anyone the right to a job.

It does not require the president or Congress to do anything to reach the "full employment" goal.

If enacted, it would make it a general "declaration of policy" by Congress that the government should use "practicable means" to "promote useful employment opportunities... those able, willing, and seeking work."

An identical statement of purpose was adopted by Congress in the Employment Act of 1946. But not a single Congress or administration since then has found it "practicable" to provide jobs for all who want them.

The Humphrey-Hawkins bill opposes any massive, federally funded program to put the unemployed to work. It says its purpose is "to maximize and place primary emphasis upon the expansion of private employment."

Humphrey-Hawkins rules out any tampering with the private-profit system that is the cause of unemployment. It specifies that nothing is to be done

On the average, according to government figures, Black workers make \$171 a week, while whites make \$217. For the entire Black work force, that comes out to at least \$26 billion in extra profits pocketed each year by the employers.

Big business also profits from discrimination against women. Although

women are more than 40 percent of the work force today, they take home only 25 percent of the total earned wages.

For the capitalists, then, unemployment is not a "problem" to which they haven't figured out the answer. It is part of their system. They plan it. They need it. And they profit from it.

How the capitalists do it

The employers, schools, and news media try to drive it into our heads that if we don't have a job it's our own fault. We must be lazy, incompetent, inferior—especially if we happen to be Black or female.

If that line of capitalist propaganda fails, the next best thing is for us to blame some other group of workers for "stealing" our jobs. Thus undocumented immigrants are made scapegoats for unemployment. So are workers in other countries who produce goods imported here.

But unemployment is not the fault of any workers anywhere. It is caused entirely by the capitalist profit drive. How does this come about?

To maximize profits and beat out its competitors, each capitalist firm seeks to produce as much as it can sell while hiring the fewest possible workers. The capitalists automate, introducing more advanced machinery, so that each year workers produce more goods per hour.

If the economy were rationally organized to meet society's needs, this would be a blessing. Increased productivity would mean a higher standard of living for everyone and shorter hours of work. But the private owners of industry don't introduce new machines to benefit workers or society.

They automate only to make higher profits by saving money on wages.

A prime example is the steel industry, which always points to foreign imports as the cause of unemployment. Precisely in order to improve its position against foreign competitors, however, the American steel companies have vastly increased productivity—wiping out more than 100,000 jobs in the past two decades. Import restrictions don't save jobs. They only help the corporations protect their monopoly prices and monopoly profits.

On top of the long-term automation trend is the capitalist business cycle. It periodically throws millions out of work as in 1974-75. Nowadays these recessions or depressions are coming more often and are deeper, while the economic upturns are shorter and smaller.

Since the capitalist system requires and creates permanent unemployment, it should be no surprise that the "solu-

tions" the employers and capitalist politicians propose are all fakes.

President Carter, for example, plans to give away billions of tax dollars to big business as "incentives" to hire workers. The administration says it is deliberately shifting emphasis away from creating public service jobs and toward private industry.

This is a hoax. All experience with these "incentives"—paid for with our tax dollars—shows that the employers simply pocket the money. If they do hire a few workers at government expense, they generally provide them no useful training and then fire them as soon as the subsidy ends.

Carter's argument that corporations need lower taxes as an "incentive" to provide jobs is especially dishonest.

According to a study by U.S. Rep. Charles Vanik, the average tax rate paid by major American corporations is already falling sharply—from 28 percent in 1972 to barely 13 percent in 1976. Yet there are millions more unemployed now than in 1972.

The corporations claim they need higher profits so they can invest and create jobs. This is another lie.

Business Week magazine reports: "The 400 largest U.S. companies together have more than \$60 billion in cash—almost triple the amount they had at the beginning of the 1970s." Profits have climbed by \$30 billion since 1975. But the corporations are using this cash to speculate in international finance—instead of investing in plants and hiring workers.

The capitalists don't make profits in order to create jobs, as they try to pretend. Rather, they create jobs only if it will increase profits.

Nevertheless, state and city governments are falling all over themselves to cut business taxes and provide a "good climate" for profits. Pretending that such schemes will "create jobs" is merely a cover for shifting more of the tax burden off the corporations and onto workers.

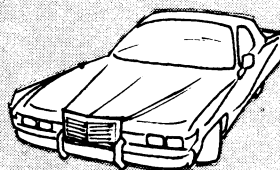
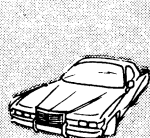
The threats that industry will run away if its profits are taxed is really a form of blackmail on a huge scale, just like when companies threaten to shut down plants if pollution standards are enforced.

More production, fewer jobs



In the primary metals industry (which includes iron and steel production) production increased 58 percent from 1953 to 1977.

But the number of production workers declined by 19 percent. That equaled 218,000 jobs eliminated.



In the transportation equipment industry (which includes autos, aircraft, and shipbuilding) production increased 93 percent from 1953 to 1977.

Jobs declined by 16 percent. That meant 244,000 fewer jobs.

Time for action

The Socialist Workers Party's program to provide jobs for all is summarized in the bill on the first page of this feature. It calls for:

- Emergency compensation for all jobless workers at full union-scale wages for the entire time they are out of work.
- A \$126 billion public works program to provide millions of useful jobs, expand social services, and rebuild the country.
- A thirty-hour workweek at forty hours' pay. A ban on compulsory overtime.
- Affirmative-action quotas to end discrimination in hiring, training, and promotions.

This is the kind of program the labor movement should mobilize its power to fight for. This is what the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance are campaigning for.

We believe that to fully implement this program, working people—the majority—will have to take control of the government and the economy away from the handful of super-rich capitalist families who now rule.

Socialists are for a democratically planned economy, where production is based on human needs rather than private profit. Under those conditions, unemployment will disappear once and for all. For the first time in history, every person will have the opportunity to develop his or her talents to the fullest.

The time for action is now. And working people have shown they are ready to take action.

Sixty thousand turned out when the AFL-CIO called a rally for jobs in 1975.

Four thousand youth marched on Washington for jobs on April 8, 1978.

Civil rights and community groups have organized protests.

Seven hundred unionists gathered in Detroit April 11, 1978, for a conference on shortening the workweek.

We need more and bigger actions. We need to rally the immense potential power of the unions—the kind of power that the coal miners showed by standing up to the bosses and government in their 110-day strike last winter. Fighting together, the unions, the unemployed, and the Black community could take on the ruling rich and win jobs.

So far that power has not been tapped, not by a long shot. The main reason is that the top union officials put their allegiance to the Democratic Party ahead of the needs of the unemployed and the union ranks. So they limit their proposals to what the Democrats will accept—empty measures such as the Humphrey-Hawkins bill, which would not provide a single job.

An effective fight for jobs means a fight against the policies of the Democratic and Republican parties. It means a fight in which workers rely on our own strength, not the promises of double-talking antilabor politicians.

Today labor has no political voice, no political representation. The Democratic and Republican parties, despite their pretense of representing "all the people," serve only the interests of the rich.

To get proposals for full employment introduced, adopted, and implemented, working people need our own political party—an independent labor party. The money and energy the unions now waste supporting antilabor Democrats (and an occasional Republican) should be used instead to elect workers to office on labor's own program.

To win jobs the labor movement needs to be united. The unions will be strengthened immeasurably when they seek to inspire and mobilize those who are hardest hit by the capitalist offensive—women, Blacks, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, youth, and undocumented workers. These workers will be the most courageous and militant fighters.

That is why the unions should champion affirmative-action quotas, desegregation, the Equal Rights Amendment, abortion rights, and the rights of undocumented immigrants.

This is not a moral question of asking white males to "give up" jobs for Blacks and women, or workers with citizenship to "give up" jobs to immigrants. The only ones who benefit from the current divisions and discrimination are the employers.

Supporting the rights of the oppressed is the only effective strategy to win jobs and a better life for all workers.

Of course, the corporations, the owners of industry, and the Democratic and Republican politicians object to these proposals. They say there

Continued on next page

Full-employment fraud

under the act unless it is "calculated to foster and promote free competitive enterprise."

Don't expect the Humphrey-Hawkins bill to shift any funds from the swollen war budget to jobs, either. The bill says that any plans for jobs must take into account no less than twelve "national priorities." And the number one priority listed is "national defense."

Another bill, introduced by U.S. Rep. Michael Harrington (D-Mass.), claims it will reduce unemployment among youth to "effectively zero" within three years.

But when it comes to specifying how this result will be brought about, the Harrington bill has no more to offer than Humphrey-Hawkins.

The real purpose of these bills is not to do anything about unemployment but to give the illusion that the Democratic Party is doing something.

These bills serve another purpose—to divert working people away from any independent struggle for jobs. The problem is not only the weak contents

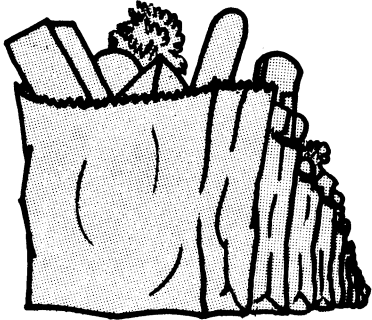
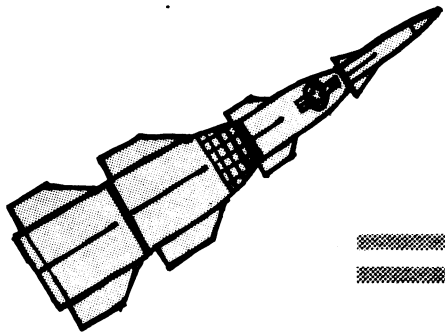
of the bills. The "strategy" behind them is one of lobbying, petitioning Congress, and other exercises in futility—anything to avoid a clash with the Democratic Party.

That is why these bills are not "a first step" toward providing jobs but a step to head off the kind of movement that can win jobs.

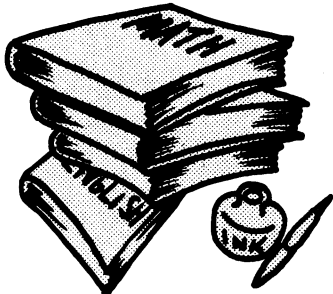
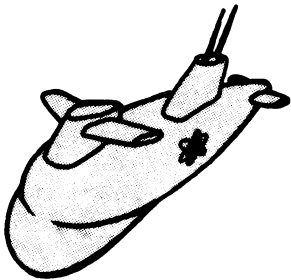
In presenting the Socialist Workers Party's proposals for jobs in the form of a bill, our purpose is exactly the opposite. It is to show the kind of simple, straightforward, direct action that would be taken immediately and without hesitation by any government that truly represented working people.

Far from a low-key lobbying effort, the strategy behind the SWP's program for jobs is one of mobilizing labor's power in alliance with the unemployed, Blacks, community organizations, women's rights groups, and youth—organizing a campaign of independent mass action to demand that the government provide jobs now!

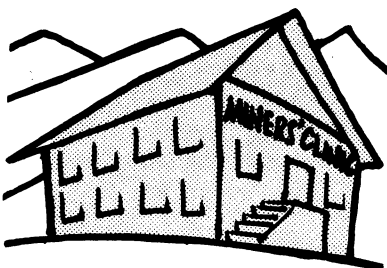
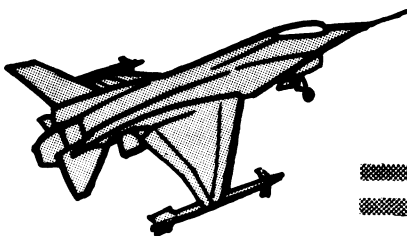
No money?



The MX missile program, at a cost of \$35 billion, would eliminate hunger in the United States.



1 Trident submarine, at a cost of \$1.7 billion, would operate the Detroit schools for four years without cutbacks.



12 A-6 attack planes, at a cost of \$326.6 million, would keep open all the Appalachian hospitals and clinics threatened with closing.

Continued from preceding page

is "no money" to provide jobs for the unemployed.

But the politicians who complain the most bitterly about "handouts" for social needs are the same ones who are the most eager to pour billions more of our tax dollars into building fiendish new missiles, bombs, and tanks. They are the same crooks who have voted billions of dollars worth of tax loopholes.

Eliminating the \$126 billion-a-year war budget and seriously taxing the banks and corporations would easily provide funds for jobs and social services. The war budget has nothing to do with the defense of the American people. It was the war machine that got us into Vietnam. That threatens to get us into a war in Africa. That threatens the entire world with nuclear annihilation.

Business executives and capitalist

politicians further object that it would be "inflationary" to spend billions of dollars for jobs. The real cause of inflation, however, is the government's deficit spending to pay for the war budget.

The Carter administration has no interest in curbing price increases, only wages. It is using a phony "fight against inflation" as a cover to attack wages, safety regulations, pollution controls, and social-service spending.

What kind of economic system is it that says we must choose between mass unemployment and soaring prices? Workers need protection against both.

We can safeguard our purchasing power by insisting on cost-of-living escalators for all wages and social benefits—not by condemning millions to the scrap heap of joblessness.

Finally, the employers declare that to shorten the workweek with no cut in pay would reduce their sacred profits and drive them out of business.

A reasonable answer would be to demand that the corporations' financial books and records be opened for inspection by committees of unionists and the unemployed. Instead of taking the capitalists' word that they can't afford to employ everyone at decent wages, we should find out for ourselves.

There is a bill in Congress, introduced by Rep. John Conyers (D-Mich.), that would reduce the workweek to thirty-five hours by 1982 and provide doubletime for overtime work.

This bill has loopholes that reduce its effectiveness. For example, although it would ban compulsory overtime, the secretary of labor would be

able to permit exceptions where "production in an establishment would be seriously jeopardized" without forced overtime.

A more important weakness is Conyers's approach to winning a shorter workweek—by lobbying "sympathetic" Democrats. It will take a massive mobilization of labor and the unemployed—not pleading in the halls of Congress—to force the employers and their representatives in office to grant this demand.

What happens if the corporations refuse to operate the plants at full capacity because they can't get richer out of the process?

What happens if they threaten to close down and move to an area where wages are lower or pollution standards are not enforced?

These decisions affect the lives of millions of workers. Such decisions cannot be left in the hands of a wealthy minority that puts its own greed above the well-being of society.

Industries that threaten to shut down, that refuse to provide jobs at union wages under safe conditions, or that violate pollution standards, should be taken over and run under the control of the workers.

If people had a chance to hear and discuss these proposals, the big majority would see them as reasonable and justified.

The unemployed want to go back to work. The only thing preventing this is the greed of those who insist that nothing can be done, no one can be employed, unless it makes a profit for them.

So why can't everybody have a job? We can if we all fight together for it.

What you can do

Most people start out thinking unemployment is an individual problem—one they have to solve by themselves. We've tried to explain that unemployment is a social problem. It can be solved only by organizing working people in a social and political fight against those who profit from unemployment.

It is high time a real movement for jobs got underway. What you do can make a difference. Here are some suggestions:

1. Get more copies of this program for jobs and help distribute it.
2. Discuss these proposals with people on your job, in your union, your neighborhood, your school. If enough people get together, you can begin to organize effective protest actions for

jobs through your union or community group.

3. Help strengthen the labor movement by joining rallies, marches, and demonstrations for the Equal Rights Amendment, for affirmative action, against social-service cutbacks—as well as for jobs.

4. Subscribe to and help distribute the *Militant*, the only newspaper that tells the truth about unemployment and how to end it.

5. Support the Socialist Workers Party candidates. Help us campaign for jobs for all, for equality for women and minorities, and for independent labor political action.

6. Join the Socialist Workers Party or Young Socialist Alliance and help us fight for a better world—a socialist world.

Join the Socialist Workers Party

LOCAL ADDRESS:

You've been reading the proposal of the Socialist Workers Party candidates for a campaign to win jobs for all. SWP candidates stand for building a new society—a socialist society—where unemployment, wars, racism, sexism, and all other forms of exploitation will no longer exist.

These goals are worth fighting for! Join us! For the socialist headquarters nearest you, see page 31.

☐ I want to help distribute the Emergency Jobs for All Bill. Please send me _____ copies (2½ cents each). Enclosed is \$ _____

☐ Enclosed is \$2 for a ten-week subscription to the *Militant*

☐ I want to join the Socialist Workers Party

☐ Send me more information on the SWP

☐ Enclosed is a contribution of \$ _____

Name _____ Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Organization/School/Union _____ Phone _____

Mail to: Socialist Workers National Campaign Committee, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014

Officers of the Socialist Workers National Campaign Committee—Chairperson: Willie Mae Reid; Treasurer: Robert Schwarz.

A copy of our report is filed with the Federal Election Commission and is available for purchase from the Federal Election Commission, Washington, D.C.

JOIN THE YOUNG SOCIALIST ALLIANCE

The Young Socialist Alliance—an organization of students and other young people—is campaigning for the Socialist Workers Party candidates and for the Emergency Jobs for All Bill. YSA members have helped organize support for the striking coal miners. The YSA is involved in protests against the 'Bakke' decision, against nuclear power, and for women's rights.

If you want to be part of a youth organization that's fighting to change this system, you should join the YSA.

Write to: YSA, P.O. Box 471 Cooper Station, New York, New York 10003.

World Outlook

News, analysis, and discussion of international political events

Thugs murder 2 anti-treaty protesters

Carter's Panama visit blesses dictatorship

By Fred Murphy

Progovernment provocateurs fired on student rallies at the University of Panama June 14, killing two persons and wounding at least eighteen. Gen. Omar Torrijos quickly seized upon the incident as a pretext for banning all protests during President Carter's June 16-17 visit to Panama.

New York Times correspondent Alan Riding reported from Panama June 15 that "most evidence suggests that pro-Government students tried to break up anti-Carter meetings in the departments of architecture and law. After being fought off with stones, they apparently returned with firearms. Both the known dead, Jorge Camacho and Demóstenes Rodríguez, belonged to the radical Students Revolutionary Front [FER], which opposes Mr. Carter's visit."

The Trotskyist Revolutionary Socialist League (LSR) worked with the FER to organize the student protests. An LSR leader told Marlise Simons of the *Washington Post*, "All our manifestations have been peaceful. It was a deliberate government provocation to keep the protesters off the streets for Carter."

Torrijos ordered the university closed indefinitely and suspended classes at the National Institute, a high school where students had also protested Carter's visit. A demonstration planned for June 15 was banned, as was a memorial for Leopoldo Aragón, a Panamanian who burned himself to death last September in protest of the canal treaties.

Labor Minister Adolfo Ahumado made an angry radio speech in which



he sought to blame the violence on exiled political leaders who have recently returned to Panama. New deportations have been rumored.

When Carter arrived, Torrijos turned

out a crowd of government employees, schoolchildren, and peasants transported from the countryside at the regime's expense.

Before addressing this captive au-

dience, Carter and Torrijos formally exchanged documents marking the ratification of the new treaties on the Panama Canal. The protocols included an explicit Panamanian acceptance of all amendments, conditions, reservations, and understandings adopted by the U.S. Senate—including the DeConcini reservation that provides for a permanent U.S. "right" to send troops to Panama should the canal be closed for any reason.

In light of this and the earlier events, Carter's speech was the height of hypocrisy. He called for building "a hemisphere in which citizens of every country are free from torture and arbitrary arrest, free to speak and write as they please, free to participate in the determination of their own destiny."

Only a week before Carter's visit, 100,000 persons had turned a welcoming rally for ex-President Arnulfo Arias into the largest antigovernment demonstration in years. Arias was cheered wildly when he attacked the depressed state of the Panamanian economy, high taxes and food prices, government corruption, the Torrijos personality cult, and the canal treaties.

The real purpose of Carter's visit was explained to *New York Times* correspondent Riding by LSR leader Miguel Antonio Bernal. "By coming here," Bernal said, "Carter is returning Torrijos's favor of accepting treaties that were so negative for Panama. Carter is coming to bless the Torrijos dictatorship just one week after its repudiation in the reception for Dr. Arias."

From Intercontinental Press/Inprecor

Panamanian socialists: 'Gov't is lying to people'

The following article that appeared in the May 2 issue of 'La Verdad Socialista,' the newspaper of the Liga Socialista Revolucionaria, (Revolutionary Socialist League), a Panamanian sympathizing organization of the Fourth International has been slightly shortened for reasons of space. The translation is by 'Intercontinental Press/Inprecor.'

U.S. President James Carter's visit to Panama has been announced. No Panamanian is unaware that this visit has one central goal: *The imperialists, along with the national government, are to impose the Torrijos-Carter treaty with its thirty-nine amendments on the Panamanian people.*

The government claims that the Panamanian people already approved the treaty in the October plebiscite, and that a new vote is unnecessary because the thirty-nine amendments are not substantive.

Two things require comment, however. First, if the government now says that no changes have been made, it was lying to the Panamanian people during the brief and one-sided discussion before the October plebiscite. It said then that no right of U.S. intervention in the isthmus was being granted, no military bases would be maintained, there would be no right to expeditious passage, and so on.

Second, there certainly were changes made through the amendments adopted by the U.S. Senate, even though these changes are apparently separate from the main body of the treaties and take the form of unilateral

interpretations. They remain part of the treaty as a whole.

The amendments incorporate into law what were before only accomplished facts imposed with force. The treaties as a whole have this purpose. The proof is that the military bases have been imposed on our territory but now they are being legalized by the Carter-Torrijos treaties. After 1936, the right to intervene "even in internal affairs" was a fact, but now it is being given the force of law by the Carter-Torrijos treaties.

Let the people decide!

The government has lied, is lying, and will always lie. We cannot leave the decision on the fate of our country in its hands. We have seen that the constitution grants that right directly to the Panamanian people.

Carter's visit signifies ratification by the Torrijos government of the proimperialist treaties with their thirty-nine amendments. The government has stirred up a pro-Carter campaign.

The Panamanian people can place no trust in Carter and his camarilla or in the henchmen of his regime. Their fundamental interest lies in preserving domination over the canal route. Thus they sought a treaty that responds to their interests, and that is what they got.

The Panamanian workers can place no trust in a man who, in face of the coal miners' strike that lasted more than 100 days, imposed the U.S. version of Law 95—the Taft-Hartley Act. This law denies the right of workers to strike, imposing penalties of a \$5,000 fine or a year in jail.

The Panamanian workers can place no trust in a man who, because of a lack of safety in the mines (the main reason for the strike), allows more than 4,000 workers a year to die of "black lung"—miners' tuberculosis.

Indians and Blacks can place no trust in a man who encourages and promotes unequal wages, forcing oppressed national minorities to earn 60 percent of the wages of whites.

How can we place trust in a man and a government that sustain and support, while covering themselves with the mask of human rights, governments such as those in Chile, Argentina, Brazil, Nicaragua, Haiti, and so on; regimes that repress the masses of people on a daily basis.

The ruling class of our country is so degraded that it could not even obtain a direct payoff of millions in return for these treaties. Instead, the treaties will mortgage the country still further, through conditional loans. These will also allow the imperialists to more easily expand the Colón Free Zone, build new ports, and so on.

Popular mobilization

"Arguments" have been raised to the effect that the imperialists will intervene whenever they want, neutrality pact or no. In this the defenders of the treaties such as the Party of the Panamanian People [the Communist Party], the leadership of the Student Federation of Panama, and the Broad Front of Professionals have completely surrendered. They have argued for the approval of the treaty with its thirty-nine amendments by saying that the

pacts represent an advance toward decolonizing the country, even though the Yankees can now intervene in our country in fact and in law. They say we should not renounce the material benefits of the treaties because of amendments that clearly state the right of the imperialists to intervene and maintain bases after the year 2000. What a surrender!

We socialists think that the legal situation the United States has obtained with new treaties takes away a key weapon in our fight for the total expulsion of imperialism. This weapon consisted in the fact that in the eyes of the world the imperialists were intruders in our country and imposed their intervention as an accomplished fact. The defenders of the treaties forget that the meeting of the U.N. Security Council on Panama and the results of that meeting were possible only for this reason.

The supporters of the sellout also forget that only the mobilization of the people can stop an intervention, but such a method is precisely what they do not want.

The Panamanian people now have only one weapon left in this situation: mobilization before Carter's arrival. Carter must not set foot on Panamanian soil. Panama's ratification of the amended treaties is the sole right of the Panamanian people according to Panama's constitution itself. To demand this right and to hold a new plebiscite is our main task today.

Let the people decide in a new plebiscite!

Reject Carter's visit!

From Intercontinental Press/Inprecor

Castro differs with Mengistu on Eritrea

By Joseph Hansen

The May 24 issue of the West German daily *Die Welt* carried an article date-lined from Addis Ababa reporting a rift between the Ethiopian military junta—the Dergue—and Moscow and Havana.

At the beginning of May, according to *Die Welt*, the junta deported the Cuban ambassador and the South Yemenite chargé d'affaires.

This "unusual step" was taken because of an "attempt by the Soviets and Cubans to force the military junta led by Mengistu to withdraw and enable a civilian regime, led by a Marxist party, to take power."

During Mengistu's April 21-27 visit to Havana, Negede Gobeze was smuggled out of Paris into Ethiopia by way of Aden. "Negede is an associate of the extreme leftist Haile Fida, who has been under house arrest in Addis Ababa since August 1977. In Paris, Negede had led the opposition to the military junta, and was sentenced to death in absentia."

At the end of April when he arrived in Addis Ababa, Negede was sneaked by "Cubans and South Yemenites . . . into a Cuban diplomatic limousine and taken to the Cuban embassy."

Die Welt's account continues: "There, together with Soviet, Cuban and South Yemenite diplomats, Negede planned the creation of a civilian Marxist regime, which was supposed to replace the junta."

When Mengistu found out about all this upon returning from Cuba, he ordered the director of immigration and the head of the secret police arrested and tortured. "Police and troops surrounded the Cuban embassy. They had orders to shoot Negede on sight."

In the June 4 *Manchester Guardian Weekly*, Victoria Brittain, reporting from Nairobi, said, "The Cubans and other Socialist allies of Ethiopia appear to have failed in attempts to put a brake on Colonel Mengistu's Eritrea offensive and to speed up the acceptance by the Dergue of a civilian party mechanism to take over the running of the revolution from the military."

Furthermore, Mengistu is conducting a purge. The entire executive committee of the All-Ethiopia Trade Union was dismissed. According to Addis Ababa Radio the committee was charged with "corruption, political sabotage, and abuses of authority" and of being infiltrated by Me'isone (All-Ethiopian Socialist Movement), a grouping that claims to be Marxist.

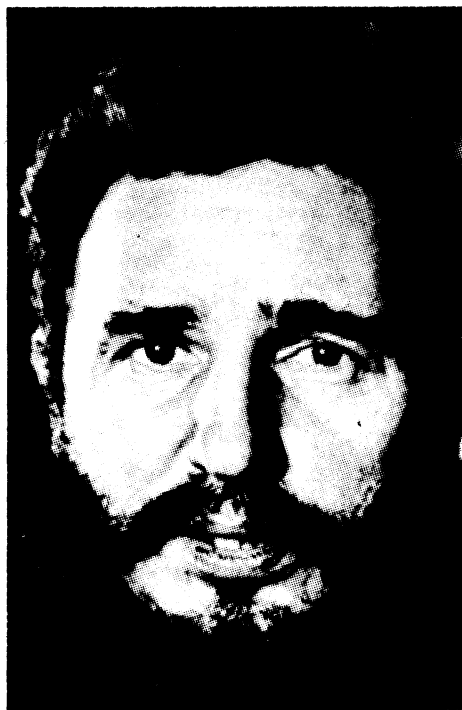
"The official denunciation of Meison," according to Brittain, "comes a fortnight after the abrupt departure from Addis Ababa of the two senior men in the Cuban Embassy. The two Cubans, with support from the South Yemeni Ambassador in Addis, had brought back to the Ethiopian capital from exile in Paris Dr Negede Gozeze, one of the two ideologues who formed Meison. The other, Mr Hailu Fida, was imprisoned by the Dergue and tortured almost to death, according to diplomats in Addis."

"But the Cuban attempt to get a dialogue going between the Dergue and the Meison leader who was staying in the Cuban Embassy failed completely, and Dr Negede and the two Cuban diplomats left Addis Ababa together."

This is the second big test faced by the Cubans in following up their decision to support the Ethiopian revolution against the efforts of the imperialists to smash it. The first test was the war in the Ogaden, which reached its high point between February 11 and March 9. The Cubans responded to the appeal of the Ethiopian government for help.

In a speech last March 15, Castro revealed that the Cubans had followed a policy of trying to bring the Siad Barre government of Somalia into a common anti-imperialist front.

The effort failed, however. The right wing in the Barre regime prevailed over the left, according to Castro, and went over to the side of imperialism.



Eritrean liberation fighters

Castro has said little about the current crisis. He barely indicated his position in an interview granted to Dominique Baudis before Mengistu "launched" or was "preparing to launch" a military offensive against the Eritreans. The text of the interview has not yet appeared in the Cuban press but some extracts were published in the June 9 issue of *Paris Match*.

Baudis asked: "In Ethiopia, the army of the Addis Ababa government, which you are helping, is battling against the Eritrean Liberation Front. Now this front is deeply sympathetic with the Cuban revolution. Doesn't this bother you a little?"

Castro answered: "Listen, it's a complex, difficult problem. When the Eritrean liberation movement was formed, it was led by progressives, and there are progressives now in the Eritrean liberation movement. When they were held under the feudal tyranny of Haile Selassie, this movement played an objectively revolutionary role. When a genuine revolution exploded in Ethiopia, the very reactionary Arab countries at once displayed great interest in the Eritrean movement. To put it another way . . . Saudi Arabia and Sudan, for example, two very reactionary countries, are those who today control the leadership of the Eritrean movement, so that the progressive and revolutionary forces there are in a minority; and thus, objectively, this movement which began as a just revolutionary movement became transformed into an instrument for the reaction and imperialism to liquidate, or help to liquidate, the Ethiopian revolution. That's the way we see the problem. It is clear that the solution is not easy, because it is necessary to take into account first of all, the principle of the right of peoples to self-determination; it is necessary to take it into account. It is necessary to take into account the fact that there are progressive forces among the Eritreans, and consequently, we believe that it is best to struggle for a correct solution of this problem, and that is, of course, on the basis of self-determination. To my knowledge the Ethiopians are disposed to find a correct solution to the problem, but what is not acceptable is the principle, the idea of the disintegration of Ethiopia."

"What would happen to the revolutionary process in Ethiopia, if as a result of all these maneuvers of the imperialists and Arab reaction it loses

a third of its territory in the south and all openings to the sea? It would be blockaded. Thus it is absolutely correct for the Ethiopians to struggle against the disintegration of their country."

Havana has disclaimed seeking any economic returns from its role in Africa. What the Cubans are interested in is extending the socialist revolution and defending it from imperialist attack. This was quite clear in the case of Angola when Cuban troops proved decisive in beating back the military invasion mounted by South Africa. In the final analysis, the victory strengthened the Cuban revolution.

Similarly in the case of the military attack mounted by the Somali government in the Ogaden, the Cubans saw this as an imperialist ploy aimed at injuring the Ethiopian revolution. The Somali offensive also constituted a rejection of the Cuban proposal to form a common united front against imperialism.

In the case of Eritrea, the latest developments show that the Cubans are dubious about a military offensive. Castro, for instance, cites the right of the Eritreans to self-determination. It can be legitimately concluded that he has at the same time been weighing what the effect would be on the Ethiopian revolution as a whole if that right were acknowledged.

At the moment it is not possible to verify *Die Welt's* account of Cuban efforts to displace Mengistu. The truth may be that the Cubans merely stepped up efforts to dissuade Mengistu from plunging ahead with the attack. Part of the effort may have been to side with oppositional elements in the Dergue itself, thus strengthening them politically.

Mengistu's reaction, which may have gone as far as arresting these figures, would demonstrate the existence of two rifts—one between Mengistu and Castro, another between Mengistu and a minority in the Dergue that may have rather broad backing.

The outcome of this complex struggle remains to be seen. Interest in it is broadening. Many voices, varied in political character, are being raised in behalf of the Eritreans. This support indicates how unpopular a major war against Eritrea would be.

The Cubans are aware of this, no doubt, and may be pressing the point in trying to get Mengistu to slow down and think it over.

From Intercontinental Press/Inprecor

Peking frees 110,000 political prisoners

Peking has reportedly released and is "rehabilitating" some 110,000 political prisoners, many of whom had been held in jail for twenty years.

Most of those being brought back into Chinese society were victims of the crackdown that followed on the heels of the liberalizing Hundred Flowers campaign of 1957. It has been estimated that nearly two million persons were investigated as "rightists" in the late 1950s.

There is no way of knowing whether any of the Trotskyists held in Chinese jails have been released—or even whether any of them are still alive. Some 200 Trotskyists, many of them long-time liberation fighters, were arrested and imprisoned in the early 1950s.

One reason for the massive rehabilitation campaign, according to a report in the *New York Times* of June 6, is that China needs the scientific and technical skills that many of these former prisoners possess. During the "antirightist" campaign and the Cultural Revolution intellectuals and skilled workers were deliberately forced into unskilled labor.

The *Times* quotes the Peking newspaper *People's Daily* as saying: "Some specializing in rocketry were assigned as doorkeepers. Remote-control specialists were turned into butchers. Mathematicians and foreign-language teachers became fuel sellers or bakers."

Peking is also beginning to release some of the details on the large-scale purges and frame-ups that swelled the

prison population during the "Cultural Revolution." Like all other injustices, these are blamed on the "gang of four"—that is, on the Maoist clique in power at the time.

An article in the May 12 *Peking Review* describes a typical incident in the late 1960s. At one optical institute, 166 persons were charged with being "enemy agents" and thrown into solitary confinement. "Most of the victims," says *Peking Review*, "were scientists and researchers and some were Party cadres, workers, and child care-takers. . . . Third-degree tortures were used to extort 'confessions'; some people were beaten to death and some were forced to commit suicide." Another 100 persons at the institute were persecuted for protesting against the frame-ups.

According to the Chinese news agency Hsinhua, more than 1,000 workers at the Ministry of Culture in Peking were purged, imprisoned, or tortured. "Some comrades became disabled, went insane or died as a result. Some comrades' families were totally ruined, family members were found to be missing or trouble was made for relatives and friends."

Some of the crimes of the Mao regime are becoming known in the course of the rehabilitation campaign. But not a word has been said about one of the most flagrant crimes—the fact that for their revolutionary activity alone, Chinese Trotskyists have spent a quarter century in prison cells.

From Intercontinental Press/Inprecor

World news notes

Zionists withdraw from Lebanon

Israeli military forces withdrew from Lebanon June 13 after occupying a strip of territory six miles deep for three months. Instead of leaving the territory in the hands of United Nations units, however, the Israelis turned administration of the area over to right-wing Lebanese Christian military units.

The Israeli government has admitted that the right-wing military forces, which supported the Israeli invasion of Lebanon, were responsible for a number of massacres during the invasion, including one, in the town of Khiam, in which seventy Muslim men, women, and children were slaughtered in a mosque. Evidently the Zionists feel the rightist units can be relied on more than the UN forces to keep the local Arab population in line.

While withdrawing from one occupied territory, the Israeli cabinet announced June 18 that it will not negotiate the status of the occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip for at least five years. Until then, the territories will have "limited self-rule"—which means they will continue to be occupied by the Israeli army.

According to the June 19 *New York Times*, the Carter administration's reaction to the Zionists' decision was "noncommittal."

Black newspaper in S. Africa banned

The *Voice*, a Black newspaper with one of the widest circulations among South Africa's Black population, was banned by the white racist government on June 15. The move came just before the second anniversary of the 1976 Soweto uprising against white minority rule.

On June 16 thousands of Blacks marked the anniversary with songs, poetry readings, and speeches. Five thousand attended a rally in a Soweto church where Dr. Nthato Motlana, chairperson of the Soweto Committee of Ten, told them, "It is quite obvious that the government of this land has no desire to change." South Africa will "revert to its owners," he said.

As participants left another service the next day, they were attacked by police, who opened fire and used tear gas to disperse the crowd.

Free Québec union leaders!

The June 19 issue of the Canadian socialist biweekly *Socialist Voice* reported on a campaign that has been launched by the Québec labor movement to defend four leaders of the Montreal Transport Union (STM). The four have been imprisoned for defying a strikebreaking injunction during a 1974 fight by three major Québec unions to win cost-of-living escalator clauses.

The Confederation of National Trade Unions (CSN) called a demonstration for June 16 in defense of the trade unionists.

Socialist Voice also reported that an October 16 demonstration has been called to protest government repression in English Canada and Québec. The demonstration will mark the eighth anniversary of the War Measures crisis, when the Canadian government invoked a series of far-reaching antidemocratic moves in an effort to crush the growing movement for Québec independence.

The October 16 demonstration was called by a conference on "Police and Freedom," which met in Montreal on May 26-28.

Abortion victory in Britain

Abortion rights supporters in Britain won a victory May 24 when a judge ruled that a husband has no legal right to stop his wife from having an abortion. The case centered on Joan Paton, whose husband Bill, during their divorce proceedings, sought to prevent her from having an abortion.

During the trial, Joan Paton was vilified in the press as irresponsible, vengeful, and vindictive. When she won the case and had the abortion she said, "It's my body and my right to choose. I feel super!"

Meanwhile, in Italy women's newly won right to abortion is under attack from the Vatican. The Catholic church hierarchy has told medical personnel to invoke reasons of "conscience" for not performing abortions.

Although the new law gives women over eighteen the right to have abortions, it does not require doctors or hospitals to perform them on demand.

Iraq executes 40 Communists

The June 13 *Christian Science Monitor* reports that the Iraqi government has executed 40 members of the Communist Party and arrested about 1,000. For the past six years, Iraq has been the Soviet Union's major ally in the Middle East.

The dispute may involve among other things another switch by the CP on the struggle of the Kurdish people for self-determination. The Iraqi Communist Party, among the largest in any Arab country, issued a statement in April criticizing the government's handling of the Kurdish issue. The Stalinists backed the Iraqi government's all-out offensive against Kurdish rebels in 1975, but recent reports have indicated a revival of guerrilla actions in the Kurdish areas.

—Peter Archer

World Cup protest



May 31 demonstration of 10,000 in Paris

Rouge

Ten thousand persons marched in Paris May 31 to protest the holding of the World Cup football (soccer) matches in Argentina. The games began in Buenos Aires on June 1.

Demonstrators chanted "No football among the concentration camps," "Boycott the dictatorship," and "Videla murderer, Giscard d'Estaing accomplice!" The march had been banned by the French government a week earlier, but the police did not try to break it up.

The action was sponsored by COBA,* the group that has organized support for a boycott of the World Cup matches, and had the support of most

French far-left organizations. A contingent of postal workers from the union federation CFDT and many other trade unionists participated in the march.

A similar demonstration took place the same day in Dijon, where 2,000 persons marched.

COBA's boycott campaign has been organized around two main demands:

- Freedom for all political and trade-union prisoners, including those who have "disappeared" (i.e., whose detention is not officially acknowledged by the Argentine military junta).

- Restoration of all political, trade-union, and democratic rights in Argentina.

More demonstrations were planned in France for June 3 in Thionville, Montpellier, and other cities.

From Intercontinental Press/Inprecor

*Comité pour le Boycott de L'Organisation par l'Argentine de la Coupe du Monde de Football (Organizing Committee for a Boycott of Argentina in the 1978 World Cup).

New Afghan rulers promise reforms

The following article appeared in the June 8 issue of the London weekly 'Socialist Challenge,' sponsored by the International Marxist Group, British section of the Fourth International.

By Tariq Ali

For centuries Afghanistan was ruled by monarchs and religious divines. During British rule in India, the Afghan King Amanullah, who resisted British political and military incursions, was replaced by the Yusufzai dynasty. This family ruled Afghanistan till the April 27 upheaval.

The last ruling monarch, Zahir Shah, was removed from office in 1973 by his brother-in-law, Sardar Daud. Daud pledged democratic reforms. He stated that the preceding regime had been "a corrupt and effete government, with its pseudo-democracy based on personal and class interests which had taken Afghanistan to the edge of the abyss."

Daud promised to convoke an elected Loi Jirga (Grand National Assembly), but nothing happened. The Jirga was the same old combination of divines and feudal notables (most of them provincial governors).

Daud imposed a one-person rule and ruled, in everything but name, like a monarch. He imposed an equally repressive regime and resisted three attempts to topple him.

Then in early April this year a popular trade union leader was assassinated. His murder provoked a wave of angry protest demonstrations and meetings, in open defiance of Daud's ban on all political assemblies. The funeral procession turned into the largest antigovernment demonstration seen in Afghanistan since the 60s.

Daud ordered large-scale arrests and was preparing a bloody purge of all leftists in the country.

The response was sharp and well-prepared. The tank corps (a leftist stronghold) and the air force overthrew the Daud regime.



In contemporary Afghanistan, 2 percent of population own more land than that owned by 81 percent of peasants.

The scenes which followed were reminiscent of Portugal in 1974. The masses celebrated without inhibitions. Soldiers were garlanded with flowers.

Radio Kabul announced that this was not a traditional military coup, but a "national democratic revolution."

A revolutionary Council was created consisting of eighteen civilians and three army officers.

Prime Minister and Chairperson of the Council is Noor Mohammed Taraki. Vice chairperson and deputy Prime Minister is Babrak Karmal.

The significance lies in the fact that both men were leaders of two different factions of the People's Democratic Party (the public factions were called Parcham and Khalq). The April incidents saw a reunification.

The PDP is a political party which

contains all Afghanistan's pro-Moscow Communists as well as a layer of independent intellectuals.

Every member of the new Revolutionary Council is a member of the PDP. This is different from other countries where Communists have participated in governments: Egypt, Syria, Iraq, Indonesia, Bangladesh are the most obvious examples.

The program of the new regime is democratic. It calls for the end of landed estates through a sweeping land reform, and the abolition of feudal and pre-feudal relations.

If implemented this would mark a radical shift in Afghanistan's agrarian structure. At the moment the landowners (comprising 2 percent of the population) have more land than that owned by 81 percent of the peasants.

Forty thousand families own 73 per-

cent of the cultivable land, while 1.5 million peasant households are landless. Any real change would unleash new struggles and pose the question of a total abolition of existing social relationships.

The new program states that it will ensure "equality of rights of women with men in all social, economic, political and cultural and civil aspects." This, coupled with the promise of a "democratic solution of the nomads' issue" reflects real revolutionary democratic positions.

The decrees on equal rights for women would make Afghanistan the most advanced Muslim state, a striking contrast to its barbaric neighbour, Pakistan.

The events in Afghanistan have created consternation in neighbouring Pakistan and Iran. The Pakistani dictator Zia is worried about the impact it will have within the army. Furthermore in the event of former Prime Minister Bhutto being hung, the ensuing instability could further complicate matters.

For the Iranian butcher, matters are even worse. The new Afghan regime will become a rallying point for Iranian dissidents. Radio Kabul can be heard and understood in Iran. The language in both countries is similar and radical measures in Afghanistan will have their impact in Iran.

It is reported that the shah considered a military intervention against Kabul, but was overruled by his superiors in the US State Department. They saw more clearly than their short-sighted client that a military intervention might well be the final blow to bring the shah down.

Socialists must follow the events in Afghanistan carefully in the coming months. If the new regime carries out the measures it has promised, class struggles will intensify in the medieval, tribal state. The result could well prove yet again the originality of the historical process.

From Intercontinental Press/Imprecor

Protests free anti-Somoza leader

By Peter Archer

Plutarco Hernández, a leading opponent of the corrupt, U.S.-backed Somoza dictatorship in Nicaragua, was released from jail in Costa Rica May 31. Hernández is a central leader of the Frente Sandinista de Liberación Nacional (FSLN—Sandinista Liberation Front), a guerrilla organization.

Hernández, a Costa Rican, was imprisoned this April 11 for his part nine years ago in organizing the rescue of Carlos Fonseca Amador from a Costa Rican jail. Amador was a leader of the FSLN.

During the trial, the government claimed that Hernández was a "fugitive from justice" in Nicaragua. However, in 1970 Hernández and other Sandinistas had been released from a Nicaraguan prison and deported to Mexico on orders from the president of Nicaragua.

By what twisted logic could they have been "fugitives from justice"?

In reality, by imprisoning Hernández, the Costa Rican regime was offering a fraternal service to Nicaraguan dictator Anastasio Somoza.

The Somoza family has large hold-

ings in Costa Rica—land, businesses, and factories. During the defense campaign for Hernández, reports leaked out that Somoza was threatening economic reprisals against Costa Rica if Hernández were not kept in jail.

The Nicaraguan regime is particularly eager to victimize opponents of its rule, since it is now facing a mass upsurge of major proportions. This upsurge, touched off by the murder of oppositionist Pedro Joaquín Chamorro January 10, has taken the form of strikes and demonstrations by workers and students throughout the country.

This upsurge has affected neighboring Costa Rica, intensifying the anti-Somoza sentiment in that country.

The Organización Socialista de los Trabajadores (OST—Socialist Workers Organization, Costa Rican sister organization of the U.S. Socialist Workers Party) played a central role in the campaign to free Hernández. On May 17, the Comité Pro-Libertad de Plutarco Hernández (Committee to Free Plutarco Hernández) was organized. For three consecutive days, beginning May 29, the committee mounted protest demonstrations of 500 people in



OST members in San José May Day demonstration carried banner reading, 'We demand that the government release Plutarco Hernández, political prisoner!'

front of the main post office in San José.

On May 30, 200 people picketed the presidential palace during a torrential rain storm.

Obviously worried by the impact of the defense campaign, the Costa Rican government ordered Hernández's release.

Unfortunately, members of the People United, an electoral bloc that includes the Costa Rican Communist and Socialist parties, abstained from the defense campaign.

In an open letter to his supporters

after his release, Hernández said:

"I want to express my special recognition to the Organización Socialista de los Trabajadores, whose members from the very day of my arrest were unstintingly in the front ranks of the fight for my release. In this case, however, I think that [OST leader] Alejandra Calderón and the compañeros of the OST were only carrying out their most elementary duty as revolutionists. In any country where you find a revolutionist in jail for his ideas, it is the most elementary duty of anyone who calls himself a revolutionist to defend the prisoner unconditionally."

By David Frankel

Ten years ago, French capitalism was shaken to its roots by the most powerful revolutionary upsurge in the history of the world working class.

On the surface, as commentators in the capitalist media are fond of pointing out, the storm has passed. To the casual observer, it appears as if little has changed in France since the days of May-June 1968. But the truth is that the events of 1968 will be seen by future historians as a turning point in world history.

For more than two decades after their recovery from World War II, the main centers of imperialist power seemed immune from revolutionary shocks. The long capitalist boom had a conservatizing effect on the working class, and anti-Marxist theoreticians such as Herbert Marcuse argued that the workers had been permanently coopted by a consumer society.

Marcuse's ideas had a big impact on radical groups in the 1960s. His view, presented at a symposium at the University of Notre Dame in April 1966, was that "in the advanced industrial countries where the transition to socialism was to take place, and precisely in those countries, the laboring classes are in no sense a revolutionary potential."

Others, who did claim to be Marxists, also wrote off the working class in the developed capitalist countries. The Maoists, for example, made an analogy between the imperialist centers, which they likened to the cities in China's peasant revolution, and the underdeveloped world, which they compared to the Chinese countryside. According to this simple-minded theory, capitalism would be overthrown in the "cities" only after these were encircled by a successful revolutionary movement in the "countryside."

Imperialist dilemma

Of course, the fact that for twenty years the center of revolutionary activity had been in the former colonies in Asia, Africa, and Latin America gave such theories a certain superficial plausibility. In fact, 1968 opened with the Tet offensive in Vietnam, one of the high points of the Vietnamese revolution.

But theoreticians such as Marcuse and the Maoists missed the connection between the colonial revolution and the politics of the advanced capitalist countries. The long postwar boom, which was the basis for two decades of relative political stability in the imperialist countries, was made possible by the superexploitation of the underdeveloped countries. It was essential for imperialism to protect its investments, markets, and sources of raw materials in these countries. And it was precisely this necessity that led to colonial wars such as those in Algeria and Vietnam.

The dilemma of imperialism was shown most clearly in Vietnam. Prosperity at home was based on exploitation abroad. But the very actions needed to maintain the position of imperialism abroad began to undermine political stability at home.

Although the Vietnam War naturally made the biggest impact in the United States itself, it also helped to radicalize a whole generation of European youth. For example, in February 1968, while the Tet offensive was going on, some 20,000 people from all over Europe demonstrated in West Berlin against the Vietnam War.

In fact, the immediate roots of the May-June events in France can be traced back to a student demonstration against the war in Vietnam.

The student revolt

Students at the Nanterre campus of the University of Paris demonstrated on March 22, 1968, against the arrest of a number of student leaders in an earlier antiwar protest. They occupied the university and took over its radio station.

An ongoing struggle between this "March 22 Movement," as it became known, and the university administration developed. Attempts to suppress the student movement led to new confrontations, and on May 2 the rector of the university closed the Nanterre campus.

But now, the struggle began to spread. Students at several high schools and at the Sorbonne declared their solidarity with the Nanterre students. A demonstration of several thousand students on May 3 was attacked by the police.

When the students refused to be intimidated, the authorities responded with increasingly heavy-handed repression. On May 6, the Sorbonne was surrounded with heavy police cordons and armored cars.

Demonstrations continued, and on May 10 some 35,000-40,000 students came out into the streets. By this time, the protesters had broadened their original demands. In addition to solidarity with the Vietnamese revolution and opposition to police

May-June 1968: France on the brink of revolution



One million workers marched in Paris on May 13, 1968

repression, the demonstrators were attacking the authoritarian educational system and the Gaullist regime itself.

'We are all undesirables'

Up until May 10, the leadership of the Communist Party, the largest workers party in France, had refused to support the struggle of the students. For example, in the May 3 issue of *l'Humanité*, CP leader Georges Marchais, referring to the various left-wing currents in the student movement, said:

"In spite of their contradictions these grouplets—a few hundred students—have united into what they call the 'March 22 Movement of Nanterre,' led by the German anarchist COHN-BENDIT. . . . These false revolutionaries must be energetically unmasked; for, objectively, they serve the interests of the Gaullist government and the big capitalist monopolies. . . ."

During the following weeks, Marchais was to hear the chant "We are a grouplet" derisively shouted by tens of thousands of demonstrators.

But the despicable baiting of Daniel Cohn-Bendit as "the German" deserves further comment. This appeal to French chauvinism was especially resented by the students in light of attacks by fascist groups, which called Cohn-Bendit "the German Jew."

On May 22 Cohn-Bendit, who had gone abroad on a quick speaking tour, was branded an "undesirable" and was barred by the French government from reentering the country. De Gaulle's action was endorsed by Georges Séguy, a leader of the CP and of the CGT, France's biggest labor federation.

Séguy and the other CP leaders viewed the

rebellious students as a far greater enemy than the Gaullist regime. What a contrast between these Stalinist hacks and the young rebels who popularized the chant: "We are all undesirables! We are all German Jews!"

'Night of the barricades'

On the night of May 10, the CP leadership was still referring to the student protesters as a "small minority of adventurers, anarchists, and Trotskyites." But before the night was over, the Stalinist leadership was forced to change its tune.

The government had prepared for the May 10 demonstration by bringing thousands of specially trained paramilitary police into Paris. The police surrounded the demonstrators, sealing off an entire section of Paris in the process. The protesters, whose numbers had swelled to at least 50,000, were not allowed to march, nor were they allowed to disperse.

The authorities had intended to "teach the students a lesson," but their plan backfired. Instead of fright, the police repression produced anger. The demonstrators began to build barricades in the streets.

A pitched battle ensued, one that was followed by virtually the entire country through on-the-spot radio broadcasts. Outrage at the brutality of the police ran so high that the Social Democratic and Communist trade-union officials were forced to reverse their earlier stand. A one-day general strike in solidarity with the demands of the students was called for May 13.

Premier Georges Pompidou tried to head the

Continued on next page

... May-June 1968: revolt of

Continued from preceding page

protest off. In a televised statement, he announced that all demonstrators would be released, that the police would be withdrawn, and that the Sorbonne would be reopened. But the concessions came too late.

Only three days before, the leaders of the March 22 Movement had been denounced by the rector of the university as "a handful of madmen." They had been dismissed by the Stalinists as a collection of ineffectual "grouplets." Yet on May 13, these leaders marched at the head of a demonstration of 1 million workers.

'A staggering week'

When the reformist trade-union leaders called the May 13 general strike, they expected the action to serve as a safety valve. The workers would take a day off, they would have a march, express their anger, and the next day everything would return to business as usual.

However, things didn't work out that way. On May 14, the workers at Sud-Aviation in Nantes began a sit-down strike. With a speed that astounded the world, millions of workers imitated their example. All of France was shut down within a few days.

Nobody planned, ordered, or organized this mobilization of an entire class. It was a spontaneous rebellion. A May 18 dispatch in the *Observer*, a liberal London weekly, described the upsurge:

"In a staggering end to a staggering week, the commanding heights of the French economy are falling to the workers.

"All over France a calm, obedient, irresistible wave of working-class power is engulfing factories, dockyards, mines, railway depots, bus garages, postal sorting offices.

"Trains, mails, air flights are virtually at a standstill. Production lines in chemicals, steel, metalworking, textiles, shipbuilding and a score of industries have ground to a halt."

Ten million workers—two-thirds of the entire French working class—joined the general strike. In many plants, top managers were welded into their offices, and the workers held marathon meetings to discuss what was happening and what they should do.

A report in the May 25, 1968, *New York Times* gave some indication of the atmosphere even in the smaller towns:

"The gendarmes peeped out from the entrance of the central administrative building of the Gers Department—once the Archbishop's palace here in Auch—as more than 2,000 peasants and workers marched past the moss-covered building freshly daubed with slogans such as 'Everything is rotten—Revolution!' Some marchers belled out parts of 'The Internationale,' the Communist anthem."

For a workers government

From the beginning of the May events, the Trotskyists, organized at that time in the Jeunesse Communiste Révolutionnaire (JCR—Revolutionary Communist Youth), and the Parti Communiste Internationaliste (PCI—Internationalist Communist Party) played a major role. The article in the *Observer*, quoted above, said that the JCR "can claim to have provided the chief inspiration and political direction of the insurrection of the past two weeks, which may justly be described as the greatest success the Trotskyists have ever achieved in Europe."

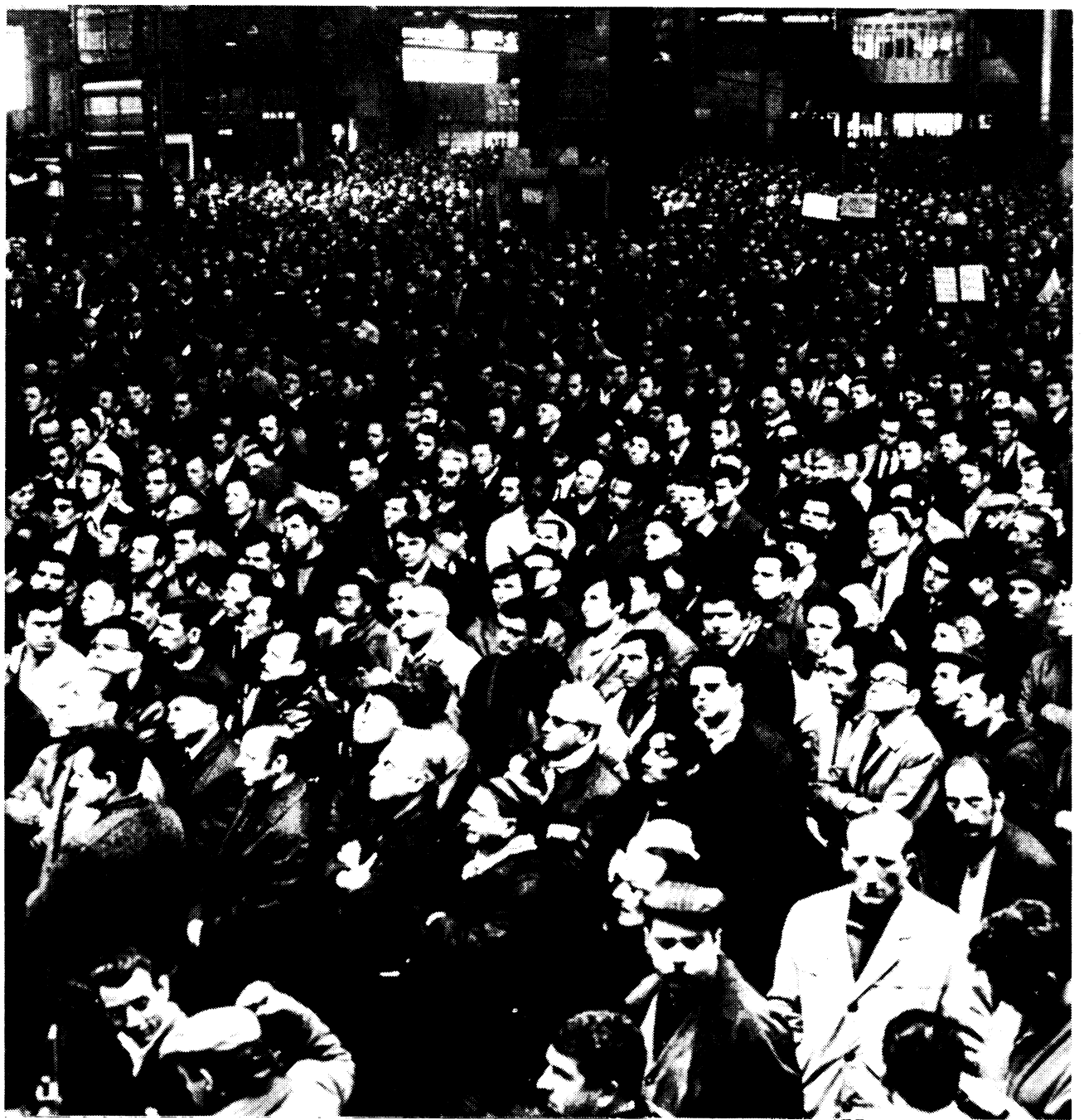
A declaration issued by the JCR and PCI on May 21, in the midst of the vast strike movement that had been sparked by the students, gave the following assessment of the situation:

"Today the center of gravity of the struggle has shifted from the universities to the factories. The challenge to the bourgeois university has been transformed into a challenge of capitalist society. For, make no mistake: the workers have not occupied the factories just to win wage increases. The question of power is posed in the factories and in society. The fate of the system hangs in the balance.

"The bosses and the state are stunned. The terrified bourgeoisie is beseeching 'the workers' representative organizations' to get the situation back in hand. It knows that in a period of profound social crisis, the reformist working-class leaderships represent the best and last bulwark of the capitalist system."

Among the proposals put forward by the JCR were the following:

"We must create rank-and-file *Strike Committees* in the factories and *Action Committees* in the universities and neighborhoods that will encompass



Striking Renault workers at factory meeting. They demanded workers power.

all the workers in struggle!

"We must force *nationalizations* of the big occupied factories and their democratic operation by workers committees. . . .

"We must force de Gaulle's withdrawal and the establishment of a *workers government*" (emphasis in original).

'A revolutionary movement'

How accurate was the Trotskyist assessment? Was France really in a revolutionary crisis?

The Communist Party, which claimed to represent the aspirations of the French working class, denied that the workers wanted to replace capitalism. It tried to limit the general strike to immediate economic demands and to divide the workers in the factories from the revolutionary students.

A poster put up by the Stalinists in the Renault plants indicated the tone they took toward the revolutionists: "They must not be allowed in our factory gates to defame our union. . . . After their dirty work these elements always get a fat pay-off for loyal services rendered to the bosses."

But it soon became clear to everybody exactly who was serving the bosses.

On May 27, the Stalinist trade-union leaders went to the French workers with a package deal worked out with de Gaulle. The workers were to call off their general strike in exchange for gains such as a 35 percent increase in the minimum wage. Here is how the May 28, 1968, *New York Times* reported the reaction of the workers:

"Georges Séguy, secretary-general of the Communist-led General Federation of Labor, and Benoît Frachon, one of the leading members of the Communist Party Politburo [Political Bureau], were booed and whistled at by 12,000 blue-shirted strikers cramped between pieces of equipment at the Renault plant in suburban Boulogne-Billancourt.

"The workers, who have occupied the plant for more than a week, had followed the negotiations over the radio and had rejected the outcome even before their leaders appeared to describe the package."

Significantly, the *Times* reported that "the negative vote came as a surprise to the labor leaders. Mr. Frachon, for one, had declared that the agreement 'will bring to millions of workers a well-being they had never hoped to attain.' The others had made similar comments."

But the overwhelming majority of striking workers gave the same answer as those at the Boulogne-Billancourt plant. Not only did the strike continue, but new sections of the population joined in.

As André Barjonet, a longtime CGT official who resigned to protest the policy followed by the Stalinists, told a rally of 35,000 in Paris May 27:

"We are in the presence of a revolutionary movement. The workers don't want just higher wages and shorter working hours, though they deserve it. What they want today is power turned over to the workers in the factories and power in the universities turned over to the students."

In Toulouse as well, the CP's claim that the general strike was for simply economic demands was answered by a demonstration of 50,000 demanding "De Gaulle, resign!"

Workers power in action

Although the Stalinists tried to deny that the workers wanted socialism, the capitalist class and its representatives had no doubts. Reporting from the Boulogne-Billancourt plant on May 29, 1968, *New York Times* correspondent Lloyd Garrison said:

"There is a marked change in atmosphere at the Renault factory here, and it is summed up in the two words of a sign over the main gate: 'Worker power!'

"The sign symbolizes the new realization . . . that striking workers throughout France may be capable of forcing not only sweeping economic changes, but political ones as well."

Another indication of the situation in the country was given in a report from Nantes that appeared in the Paris daily *Le Figaro*. The trade unions, this capitalist daily reported on May 30, 1968, "hold the Loire-Atlantique in an iron grip.

"This began with the gasoline. The Donge refineries are quite close. But the strikers raised a red flag over the exit gates. Not a gasoline truck can leave without authorization from them. The same goes for the only pump in use in town, which has been reserved for doctors only. A picket guards it. The same for water, gas and electricity. And since the police could do nothing about the most urgent problems, an Interunion Strike Committee was set up in city hall. Little by little it has taken over administration of the city.

the French working class

"Thus it hands out vouchers permitting ambulances to be driven and deliveries of bread and vegetables to be made. Thus merchants must stick the following ticket on their show windows: 'This store is authorized to open. Its prices are under the continual control of the unions. . . .'"

"At Saint-Nazaire, 80 kilometers away, the situation is the same. . . . And everywhere, everywhere, red flags, red handkerchiefs at the throats of boys, children wearing red sweaters, red yarn tied to automobile antennas."

De Gaulle's counterattack

On May 29, the CGT called a march of some 800,000 workers in Paris. Similar demonstrations also took place in other cities throughout France.

In these actions, the Stalinist leaders finally raised the demand that de Gaulle resign. "It was a chanting, singing, vigorous march," Socialist Workers Party leader Joseph Hansen reported from Paris. "The demonstrators smelled victory."

But the working class lacked a leadership willing to stretch out its hand and grasp the victory that was there for the taking. The power was in the streets, but the Communist Party remained loyal to the discredited tricolor of French capitalism.

Under these circumstances, de Gaulle was able to turn the situation around. On May 30, de Gaulle announced that he intended to stay in power. He dissolved the National Assembly and called new elections for the following month.

In this, de Gaulle remained in the legal framework of French capitalism—although this framework had been totally brushed aside by the insurgent masses and continued to exist only because of the support of the French Stalinists.

However, de Gaulle did not simply rely on capitalist legality. In announcing his decisions, he appealed to all the forces of reaction to save "law and order," clearly indicating that he was ready to resort to armed force against the majority of the French population.

Even as de Gaulle was speaking, army units still considered loyal to the regime were moving toward Paris. The threat of civil war was backed up with a demonstration.

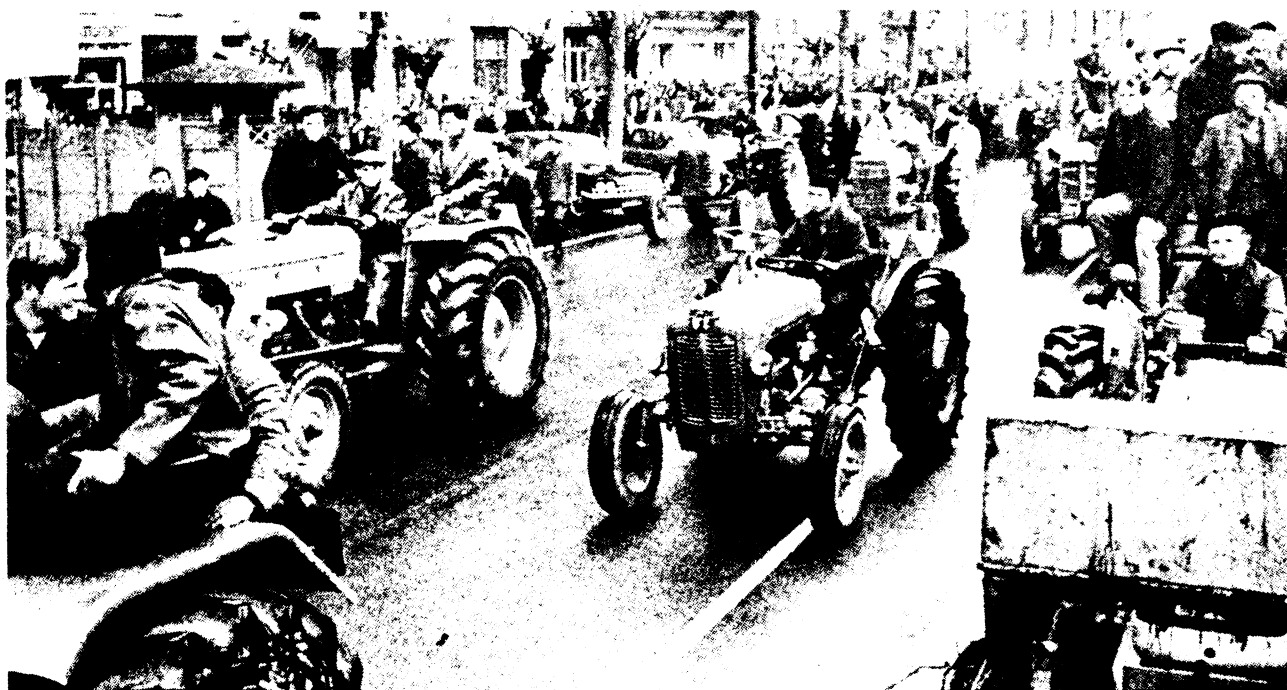
Swelled by participants from outside the Paris area, the Gaullist demonstration mobilized former Algerian colons, frightened professionals and managers, off-duty police and other rightist riffraff. The tone of the action, which brought out some 400,000 people, was indicated by the slogan, "Cohn-Bendit to Dachau."

Communist Party betrays

Instead of calling de Gaulle's bluff, the CP leadership eagerly grabbed for the offer of new elections. As they put it, they would meet de Gaulle's electoral "challenge." They refused to countenance any further demonstrations and urged the workers to return to work.

Virtually all of France had been shut down tight for two weeks. Many factories remained closed for more than a week longer. But without an organized leadership, without a revolutionary party, the workers were unable to attain their objectives.

In short, the French Communist Party, supported wholeheartedly by the world Stalinist movement, had succeeded in preventing the victory of the socialist revolution in France. The most promising opportunity in all history for a socialist victory in a major imperialist country was dissipated in a single day.



Farmers drove their tractors through Nantes on May 24, 1968, in show of support for strike

Trotskyists debate French CP leader

By Peter Archer

On May 27-28, French Trotskyists celebrated the tenth anniversary of the May-June 1968 events. About 10,000 people attended a festival organized in support of the daily newspaper *Rouge*, which reflects the views of the Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire (LCR—Revolutionary Communist League, French sister organization of the U.S. Socialist Workers Party).

The festival, dubbed the 'Fête Rouge,' was both a cultural and political event, including a rock concert, film showings, and debates and discussions on a variety of topics.

One of the most important debates was on the question of "Eurocommunism." L. Malo de Molina, director of foreign affairs for the Spanish Communist Party, and Jean Elleinstein, leader of the French Communist Party, took part along with LCR leader Daniel Bensaid.

The presence of Elleinstein, which received wide coverage in the capitalist media, was particularly significant. Over the past few months, the French Communist Party has been undergoing a big political discussion. This was precipitated by the breakup of the Union of the Left (an electoral bloc between the CP, the Socialist Party, and a small capitalist formation) just before the recent election.

In the past, French CP leaders have resorted to slander instead of political debate in dealing with Trotskyists. By taking part in an organized debate, Elleinstein—despite his openly class-collaborationist views—has helped open the possibility of a dialogue between many members of the CP who are now starting to question their party's strategy, and the Trotskyists of the LCR.

The central leadership of the French CP views this as a dangerous situation. An article in the

May 29 *l'Humanité* condemned the festival and Elleinstein's participation in it as a "factional undertaking directed at the Communist Party, its policies, principles, and leadership."

The leadership of the CP is on the horns of a dilemma, however. They themselves have made criticisms of Moscow's policies in order to win an image as defenders of democratic rights among French workers and at the same time recommend themselves to the French ruling class as a reliable partner in administering French capitalism. They are now faced with currents such as Elleinstein's who want to take these criticisms further than the CP leadership is currently prepared to go.

At the meeting, Elleinstein was forthright in his condemnation of Soviet repression against dissidents. When exiled Soviet dissenter Leonid Plyushch joined those on the platform during the debate, Elleinstein declared, "Today, it is in the Soviet Union that there are thousands of Dreyfuses who must be saved from repression." (Captain Dreyfus was a victim of an anti-Semitic frame-up trial in France during the nineteenth century.)

The Kremlin responded to criticism by Elleinstein with an article in the magazine *New Times* in which the author claims, "Elleinstein's stand is anti-Soviet, anti-communist, and anti-socialist." This slander was echoed in the Communist Party USA's *Daily World*.

The French Communist Party members who are beginning to question their party's policies can hardly be accused of "anti-communism," however. And it will take more than the insults of the Kremlin's servile pen-pushers to shut them up.

By June 12, the Gaullist regime felt confident enough to prepare for its "free election" by outlawing seven revolutionary organizations, the JCR among them. Four more groups were added to the list the following day.

A witch-hunt atmosphere was whipped up by the regime. Foreigners accused of participating in the May events were deported, and troops were ordered to stand by in light of a supposed "plot" for a "Communist takeover."

The Stalinists tried to defend themselves by claiming that they were a loyal opposition and deserved full credit for saving the country from the peril of the revolution. At the same time, they explained to those working-class members of the CP who were troubled by their party's failure to respond to a revolutionary situation that actually there had been no revolutionary situation at all!

Not surprisingly, many of the most militant workers abstained from the vote altogether. At the same time, de Gaulle refused to open the voter rolls to 250,000 young people who had become eligible to vote since the previous election.

Helped by the capitalist electoral system, which always magnifies the weight of the oldest, most privileged, and most conservative layers of the population, de Gaulle was able to win the vote. With the aid of the Communist Party, French capitalism had safely survived the events of May-June 1968.

Prospects for socialism

Although 1968 did not turn out to be the year that socialism triumphed in France, it was a turning point. It was the year that marked the end of the postwar stability in the imperialist centers.

As Fred Halstead and Paul Boutelle, the 1968 presidential and vice-presidential candidates of the Socialist Workers Party said in a statement at the time:

"The events in France are of prime importance to radicals in the United States. A struggle beginning among revolutionary students culminated in the largest and longest general strike in history. This fact alone has world-shaking implications.

"It has punctured the myth of the economic, social and political stability of the advanced capitalist nations, and it has made clear that the class struggle has been there all along. The post World War II political stability of the advanced capitalist countries has received its biggest blow. The colonial revolutionaries no longer fight alone.

"Make no mistake about it, the present political and social crisis in France is a crisis of the world capitalist system. A blunt question is posed for the left in the United States: 'Can it happen here?' And requires a blunt answer: 'Yes!' It not only *can* happen here, it *will* happen here!"

Today, ten years later, the crisis of world capitalism and the gloomy economic prospects for the capitalist world are being widely discussed in the mass media. We have more reason than ever to believe that "it not only *can* happen here, it *will* happen here!"

American workers have the same aspirations for a better world as our French brothers and sisters. Capitalism cannot meet those aspirations. Instead, it offers us the destruction of our environment. Cuts in our standard of living. The constant threat of war and even nuclear annihilation.

No, the explosion of May 1968 was no an aberration. Rather, it was a portent of the future.

Wisc. bus strike ends after 4th contract vote

By Tony Prince

MILWAUKEE—The longest transit strike in this city's history ended June 15 when bus drivers and mechanics voted to accept the Milwaukee County Transit Board's latest contract offer.

The 627-to-351 ratification followed three contract rejection votes by the 1,150-member Amalgamated Transit Workers Union.

The thirty-nine-day walkout won the transit workers one of their major demands—a two-year contract instead of a three-year agreement.

The new contract also includes a seventy-cent increase over two years and modest improvements in health insurance and pensions.

The transit workers fought their long strike battle over the objections of the union officialdom, which pushed for "yes" votes on every contract offer. This independent determination on the part of the transit ranks prompted sensationalistic red-baiting attacks by the county transit board.

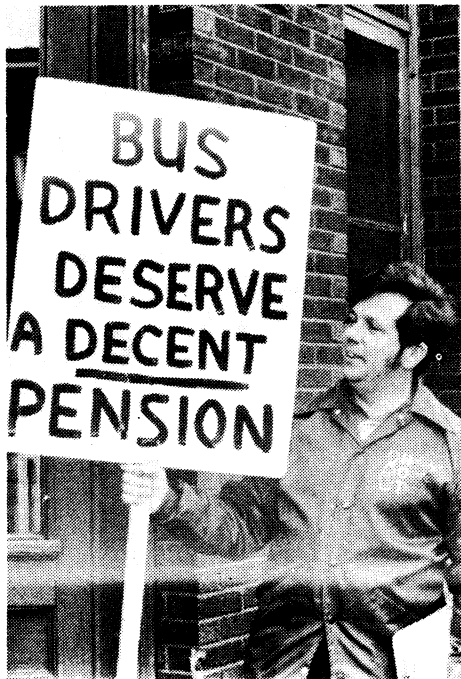
The board charged the United Workers Organization—a group led by the Maoist Revolutionary Workers Headquarters—was responsible for the contract rejections. The evidence was that the UWO passed out leaflets outside the voting booths.

Transit board head Joseph Hutsteiner even called for a sheriff's investigation of the UWO.

This transparent attempt to discredit the ranks of the union was coupled with a drive to pressure the transit workers to hold a revote on the second contract offer. The revote was held June 13, but the contract was defeated again by a forty-five vote margin.

It wasn't until the transit board came back the next day agreeing to a two-year contract that transit workers finally voted to ratify.

During the strike, Socialist Workers Party gubernatorial candidate Ad-



Militant/Tony Prince

rienne Kaplan and lieutenant-governor candidate Bill Breihan issued a statement urging active solidarity with the transit workers from the Milwaukee labor movement.

Like the coal miners, the statement said, "transit workers are showing that working people do have the power to turn back the employers' and government's anti-labor offensive."

Kaplan and Breihan pointed to the fact that it was the "Democratic-controlled county administration that is trying to defeat the transit union. No leading Democratic or Republican politician has supported the transit workers."

The socialists suggested that transit workers in turn withdraw their support from Democrats and Republicans. "The labor movement needs to form its own party, a labor party, to represent its political interests," they declared.

San Diego paper attacks rights of Young Socialists

By Gary Balsam

SAN DIEGO—The *Free Triton*, a right-wing libertarian newspaper here, has launched an attack on the Young Socialist Alliance, challenging its right to receive school funding from the University of California. The YSA has been a recognized campus organization at UCSD for several years.

In a special twenty-four-page issue dated June 6, the paper falsely charges YSA has misused its campus budget by laundering funds into the election campaigns of the Socialist Workers Party and other activities. The article mentions other campus groups who, by implication, are guilty of the same "crime."

In an attempt to document its fabricated case, the *Free Triton* reprints dozens of files stolen from the YSA campus office sometime in the past year. The files include correspondence between the YSA and its national office, financial records, bank statements, and receipts.

According to Tom Tanana, editor of the right-wing journal and a well-known campus conservative, the files were "mysteriously" left on his desk sometime between one month and one year ago.

Roberta Scherr, California SWP candidate for controller and a former YSA National Committee member, debated Tom Tanana at UCSD on June 8. Scherr defended the YSA and other radical groups against the *Free Triton's* charges, pointing out that its yellow journalism contains not one shred of evidence indicating any ille-

gal activity on the part of the YSA.

She explained that the YSA requisitions money from the university through the same procedure as every other campus group and that the school has a complete record of YSA expenditures. In addition, she explained that the SWP complies with all federal and state election financing laws and has never received any money from the YSA or any other student organization.

"The real issue is not funding but the right of any student organization to democratically introduce students to its ideas," Scherr stated. "The *Free Triton* isn't angered by the fact that campus groups, including itself, received university funds. What really angers them are socialist ideas."

This fact was borne out in the presentation made by Tanana. In his remarks in the discussion period, Tanana called for the abolition of the CETA jobs program, for private ownership of schools and roads, and blamed the minimum wage for unemployment.

"The 'mysterious' deliverance of private YSA files to the *Free Triton* office suggests FBI involvement," Scherr said. "The SWP and YSA, through a multi-million-dollar suit against the FBI and federal government, have revealed that the FBI has carried out smear campaigns, burglaries, attempted provocations, and other illegal activities against not only socialists but Blacks, Chicanos, women, student activists, and the labor movement."

"The YSA and SWP call on all who support democratic rights to oppose this outrageous attack at UCSD."

In Review

'With Trotsky in Exile'

With Trotsky in Exile: From Prinkipo to Coyoacán. By Jean van Heijenoort. Harvard University Press. Cambridge, Massachusetts, and London, England. 1978. 164 pp. \$12.50.

In 1932, when the author of this small book was twenty years old, he began working with Leon Trotsky as a secretary, translator, and bodyguard.

Van Heijenoort, who is French, continued in this capacity—with occasional interruptions—until 1939. He was with Trotsky in all four countries where the Russian revolutionary leader lived after he was exiled from the USSR by Stalin in 1929 (Turkey, France, Norway, and Mexico).

His book will hold little to interest the general reader. But it will have considerable appeal to students of

responsible for arranging and cataloging Trotsky's archives at Harvard College Library. He was also able therefore to establish with exactness and review at will any uncertain detail.

On the whole, van Heijenoort presents a simply written account of daily life in the Trotsky household during good times and bad. He largely omits the broad and crucial political developments of the period, or at most sketches these in as a backdrop.

The presentation affords a few glimpses into the private life of a man who was jealous of his privacy. But it paints an unappealing picture of that life and of the figures who moved through it: Trotsky's wife, Natalia; the other secretaries; his son Leon Sedov; and the multitude of visitors. All are seen through a screen of mild irony, as though the author has put a certain distance between his current self and the youth who was so intimately involved in the events in the book.

Whether this results from a sense of moral and political distance from his subject or a simple lack of a sense of humor on van Heijenoort's part, it lends a curious quality to his book.

Van Heijenoort makes very little attempt to reconstruct dialogue. For the most part that is probably a good thing. But occasionally he will include a scrap of Trotsky's conversation or a casual observation. The effect is almost invariably grotesque: "Often we sat in parks [in France]. One day while we were resting in a park and watching children at play, a mother gave her child a slap in the face. 'That's the dialectic of love and hatred,' Trotsky observed. Later in Mexico City, as we were coming out of the dentist's one day, Trotsky told me, 'There ought to be a synthetic mode of treating a tooth.'"

Readers may suspect dry humor on Trotsky's part, but they will get no encouragement for this interpretation from van Heijenoort, whose conclusion is: "These were his ways of finding Marxist dialectics in daily life" (p. 72).

Van Heijenoort does throw some light on matters that have remained somewhat obscure. The details of Trotsky's 1934 escape from Barbizon, France, (pp. 65-68) during a hysterical press campaign against him, for example. And the specific causes of his 1938 rift with his Mexican host, the famous painter Diego Rivera (pp. 136-38).

Van Heijenoort figured closely in both of these incidents and thus has information that others lacked.

One of van Heijenoort's main reasons for writing the book was to correct some of the errors that have proliferated among published studies of Trotsky's life and writings. He has ended his book with an appendix, listing and correcting the numerous errors in fifteen books and magazine articles about Trotsky (most notably Isaac Deutscher's *The Prophet Outcast*).

This appendix, along with the meticulousness and attention to detail that characterize the entire book, is a service to the rapidly expanding field of Trotsky scholarship. Indirectly it will also serve the general reader—who will benefit from the greater accuracy this book will make possible in an area that has so long been dominated by the need to piece together scraps of information with the glue of conjecture.

—Naomi Allen

Naomi Allen has coedited five of the twelve volumes of Trotsky's *Writings 1929-40* as well as several other major works by Trotsky published by Pathfinder Press.

Books

Trotsky's life or of the Fourth International, the revolutionary world party that Trotsky founded and whose problems were the major focus of his final exile.

Van Heijenoort left the Marxist movement after World War II and is currently emeritus professor of philosophy at Brandeis University. In his preface, he explains both the scope and the purpose of this book.

Neither a political history of the period nor a biography of the man, *With Trotsky in Exile* is intended to be a "book of recollections," attempting to "recreate the atmosphere in which Trotsky lived and worked."

Van Heijenoort assumes the reader has more or less extensive familiarity with Trotsky's life and work. His emphasis is on the details of everyday life, such as Trotsky's work habits, visitors, places of residence, household routines, domestic crises.

Of course, when the everyday life belongs to someone of Trotsky's stature even the small details hold a certain fascination.

Van Heijenoort expresses his modest purpose aptly in his foreword: "Knowing the past as I do, as well as the archives, it is my hope that these bits of information may some day allow a scholar to uncover a fact or identify a document."

In line with this aim, van Heijenoort places great emphasis on establishing precise facts and chronologies. Here he has an advantage. He was chiefly



Trotsky (right) with van Heijenoort in Mexico, 1937.

Diane Wang



Engels knew better

The Soviet Union began an experimental sex education program a few years ago. It may not be approved for use nationwide for several more years, but it is now taught in a few Moscow schools.

According to Belskaya Galina Andreievna, who teaches the course, Moscow's is a different kind of sex education.

"In our science, sex education is the education of the culture of the sexes," Andreievna said. Its goal is to develop "harmonious personalities."

"The main thing in women is femininity, tenderness, kindness and what is more important—benevolence," Andreievna claimed. "No matter how the manners of behavior change, we don't want our girls to be unduly free and easy."

Andreievna explained that males and females have "ever-existing, never changing" characteristics peculiar to their sex.

Sounds a lot like the sexist claims women have faced before that "biology is women's destiny," doesn't it?

The Soviet Union could use some Frederick Engels in its sex education—in particular Engels's book, *Origin of the Family, Private Property, and the State*, Engels was one of the first to explain why it's wrong to speak of "ever-existing" characteristics of women and men.

The rise of class society, Engels explained—not some innate characteristics—established the oppressive relations between women and men, the degradation of women.

The Bolsheviks held out a vision of the future different from the Stalinist blueprint for "harmonious personalities." The 1919 program of the Soviet Communist Party said:

"The party's task at the present moment is primarily work in the realm of ideas and education so as to destroy utterly all traces of the former inequality or prejudices, particularly among backward strata of the proletariat and peasantry. Not confining itself to formal equality of women, the party strives to liberate them from the material burdens of obsolete household work by replacing it by communal houses, public eating places, central laundries, nurseries, etc."

Alexandra Kollontai, Commissar of Social Welfare after the Russian revolution, explained that out of this would develop a new relationship:

"... all the joys of a love unknown in the commercial society of capitalism, a love that is free and based on the true social equality of the partners. Communist society wants bright, healthy children and strong, happy young people, free in their feelings and affections."

The Soviet Union's sex education aims, instead, at teaching women not to be "unduly free and easy." That's because the conservative Stalinist bureaucracy has betrayed women—just as it has betrayed all working people and oppressed nationalities.

Women are not equal in the Soviet work force. Although 85 percent of all women are employed and women make up 51 percent of the work force, only one-tenth of the nation's factory managers are women.

Only one-tenth of the senior professors and members of the Academy of Science are women, although women are one-half the Soviet Union's scientific workers.

And women are still responsible for domestic chores. In 1974 the state made provision for only one-third of the 30 million preschool children to attend child-care centers.

Apparently, one of the main tasks in the Soviet Union still is to "destroy utterly all traces of the former inequality or prejudices, particularly among backward strata."

In this case, the "backward strata" is the Stalinist bureaucracy.

La Lucha Puertorriqueña

Catarino Garza



Cuba, Africa, and Puerto Rico

On June 12 I attended a farewell tribute for Ricardo Alarcón Quesada, Cuban ambassador to the United Nations. Alarcón is returning to Cuba to take a high post in the ministry of foreign affairs.

The tribute was organized by members of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party and other forces in the pro-independence movement because Alarcón has staunchly defended Puerto Rico's right to independence.

Speakers at the tribute included Andrés Figueroa Cordero, a member of the Puerto Rican Nationalist Party who was released a few months ago after twenty-three years in U.S. prisons; Juan Mari Brás, general secretary of the PSP; John Caro, New York State Supreme Court; Helen Rodríguez, president of the Committee to End Sterilization Abuse; Noel Colón Martínez, 1972 gubernatorial candidate of the Puerto Rican Independence Party; and Eneida Vázquez, head of the Puerto Rican Peace Council.

Figueroa Cordero recalled the ties between the Puerto Rican and Cuban liberation movements

since the late 1800s, when Puerto Rican patriots were organized as a section of José Martí's Cuban Revolutionary Party. Other speakers also paid tribute to Alarcón and the Cubans, who have aided the Puerto Rican independence movement.

But the most thought-provoking comments were made by Noel Colón Martínez. In addition to paying tribute to Cuba's support for Puerto Rico, Colón said it is necessary to rally to the defense of the Cuban revolution in face of the current threats by U.S. imperialism.

In the past, Cuba has been attacked by the United States for its support to Puerto Rican independence. The U.S. government has tried to force Cuba to drop its support for Puerto Rico's rights as part of the price for ending the U.S. economic boycott.

The Cubans have responded to these pressures firmly. In a speech last fall, Fidel Castro said, "We have sacred historical, moral, and spiritual bonds with Puerto Rico. . . . This is a matter of principle,

and, to us, principles are not to be negotiated!"

Now the Cubans are under intense attack from Washington because the Cubans have sent troops to Africa with the declared intention of aiding national liberation struggles.

The target of Carter's threats is not just the Cubans, but the African liberation struggles. Again, the Cubans have responded firmly. In that same speech last fall Castro explained, "We have made it very clear to [the U.S. government] that Cuba's solidarity with the African peoples is not negotiable!"

The June 12 banquet for Alarcón was a well-deserved tribute to Cuba's defense of the Puerto Rican independence movement.

But the most fitting tribute of all would be for us to repay Cuba's solidarity in kind, by expressing our own solidarity with Cuba at a time when it is under intense attack. We need to mount a campaign of education and protests around the theme: U.S. hands off Cuba! U.S. hands off Africa!

Union Talk

Organizing the building trades

This week's column is by Brian Avery and Stephen Bloom, members of the International Brotherhood of Painters and Allied Trades.

NEW YORK—This city's building-trades unions took an important step forward last month when officials of the various craft unions agreed to work together to organize new construction projects that now use nonunion workers.

At the May 8 and 15 meetings of the Building and Construction Trades Council, officials also agreed to respect picket lines of other unions.

The new policy bore its first fruit May 16 and 17 when several hundred workers picketed a Manhattan construction site using nonunion labor. As a result, the master builder on the job agreed to hire union members.

These steps are being taken because the bureaucrats of the craft unions are faced with a shrinking share of the work and dwindling memberships, which leads to less dues money. The high unemployment among those members who remain has

caused a good deal of discontent.

In response to this pressure, a section of the union officialdom has begun to at least talk about organizing and, in some cases, to take some action.

However, the outlook of these officials has serious limitations, reflected in the organizing activity they have projected.

Years of business unionism and corrupt administrations have left much of the union membership cynical and demoralized by the failure of the unions to defend their ranks.

If an organizing drive is to succeed, it is essential the ranks be involved. Officials and ranks alike will have to be reeducated on the basic principles of union solidarity—principles absent from the craft unions for years, even more so than in other unions.

It is unlikely that the current union leaderships, who would rather rely on so-called friendly employers and Democratic Party politicians than on their own members, will prove capable of mobilizing the union ranks.

An effective organizing drive also requires an

understanding that unorganized workers are potential allies of the union. To make them *real* allies, the unions will have to break with the old "job trust" mentality, which has meant trying to kick out nonunion workers and substitute union members.

The existing problem is illustrated by two nonunion workers at the Manhattan construction site picketed by the building-trades unions last month. Both said no one from the union had ever spoken to them. One, a Puerto Rican bricklayer, said he had been a union member but left, having been out of work for three years. During that time friends of the union business agent worked steadily.

The second was a Black carpenter and iron worker who explained he could not get into the union because he didn't have any "connections."

Workers such as these can be won to the union cause—if the construction unions change from organizations seeking to preserve the jobs of a few mostly white, mostly male workers (while supporting a heavy load of self-seeking bureaucrats) into unions that fight for all workers in the industry.

Quote unquote

"I'll thank Spencer Kimball [head of the Mormon church] when he announces he has had a revelation that Mormons will not practice racial hiring."

—Marvin Davis, a Utah Black, commenting on the Mormon church's recent decision to allow Blacks into the priesthood.

JOANNE LITTLE SENT BACK TO N.C.

Joanne Little was sent back to North Carolina from New York City June 9, in secret and under heavy guard.

Little's 1975 murder trial, in which she was accused of killing a prison guard who tried to rape her, became a rallying point for feminists and Blacks. A national defense campaign secured her acquittal.

However, she was forced to return to prison to complete a robbery sentence. Fearing for her life, she fled, and was arrested in New York last December. Little fought extradition but lost.

She will be kept in isolation from other prisoners, under "close custody." Ralph Edwards, director of the North Carolina prison system, said that he believed Little faced "no unusual hazards." However, he warned, "you can't guarantee anybody's safety, in or out of prison."

On June 18, Little was officially charged with the 1977

escape. If convicted, she might not be eligible for release until 1988.

HUNDREDS PROTEST CHILEAN TORTURE SHIP

Three hundred people protested the presence of the Chilean ship *Esmeralda* in San Diego May 27, as overhead a plane pulled a seventy-foot banner reading, "Esmeralda—Torture Ship." The ship has been used by Chile's bloody military dictatorship as a site for torture and murder of political prisoners.

The ship was invited by San Diego politicians and the U.S. Navy to make a "goodwill" stop there.

The demonstration was called by the Committee to Stop the *Esmeralda*. Groups participating included the Chile Democratic League, International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, Latin American Student Organization, Socialist Workers Party, and Communist Party.

A similar action protested the torture ship a week earlier in San Francisco.

THE 'MILITANT' GETS AROUND

The May 22 *El Renacimiento*, a Chicano paper published in Lansing, Michigan, reprinted "Marroquín wins wide hearing on national speaking tour" by Roger Rudenstein, and "Where is UFW heading?" by Harry Ring from the April 21 *Militant*.

ANTINUKE PROTESTS

Three hundred people rallied against nuclear power at the Limerick, Pennsylvania, construction site of two nuclear

power plants June 18. Limerick is less than forty miles from Philadelphia. Many of the protesters had marched from Philadelphia. The action was sponsored by the Keystone Alliance and Mobilization for Survival.

On June 12, 200 activists gathered in Woodstock, New York, for a benefit concert to raise money to fight a proposed nuke plant at Cementon, a small town in the mid-Hudson River valley.

About a dozen organizations opposing nuclear power—including several environmental groups, the Socialist Workers Party, and the Socialist Labor Party were represented.

The event was sponsored by Woodstock Nuclear Opponents, one of many antinuke groups in the Hudson valley.

ANITA BRYANT PICKETED

Thirty supporters of gay rights picketed an appearance by antigay bigot Anita Bryant at the University of North Carolina-Wilmington June 12.

When the protesters first arrived on campus, they were told by police they would be arrested if they picketed. An unconstitutional local ordinance requires ten days notice and a permit for demonstrations.

One flustered cop even insisted that the ten-day notice provision was in the U.S. Constitution!

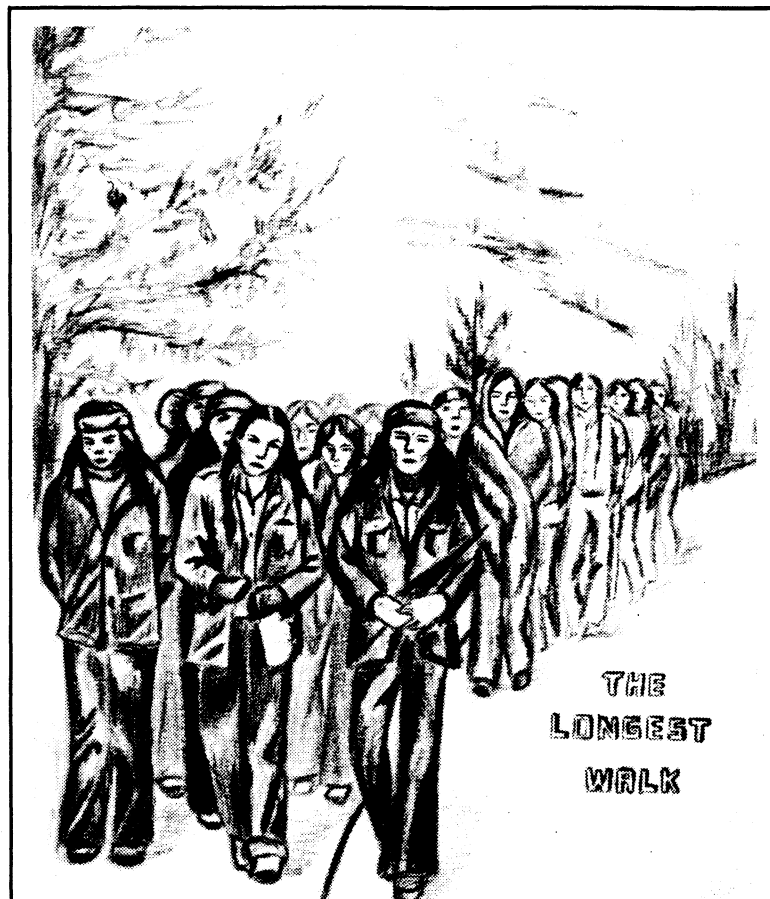
With local television stations filming the confrontation, picket organizers explained that they had tried unsuccessfully to obtain a permit several times the previous week.

Apparently hoping to avoid further notoriety for Wilmington, site of the frame-up of the Wilmington 10, officials finally allowed the picket line to be held.

GAY MINISTER REAPPOINTED

Rev. Paul Abels, a United Methodist church minister in New York City, has been reappointed as pastor of his church. Abels publicly acknowledged his homosexuality last year. A bishop sought to place him on a leave of absence, but Abels was backed up by the church's New York conference.

Abels is pastor of the Washington Square Methodist



THE LONGEST WALK

Militant/Chey Acuña

Indians march for rights

Some 300 native Americans and their supporters are now in the final leg of "The Longest Walk," a California-to-Washington, D.C., march designed to protest anti-Indian legislation pending in Congress. One of the bills is S. 1437, the revised federal criminal code. In addition to reestablishing reactionary McCarthyite legislation, the bill would further extend federal criminal jurisdictions on Indian reservations, undercutting Indian self-government. The other bills would take away provisions of existing treaties and laws the Indians are fighting to have enforced, such as fishing rights and land rights. The most sweeping of the proposed laws is the grossly mislabeled "Native American Equal Opportunity Act," which would completely terminate all treaties and all remnants of Indian self-government.

FBI & the Birmingham cops

A recently discovered cache of city records in Birmingham, Alabama, has revealed that local cops and the FBI cooperated in spying on civil rights activists and activities during the 1950s and 1960s.

One document was a transcript of a telephone conversation between Martin Luther King and his wife. King was in the city jail at the time.

Another was a memo from a police lieutenant describing an FBI tip that high school students were being urged to take part in civil rights activities.

The records also included daily police reports on the 1963 meetings of the Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights, a leading civil rights group in Birmingham.

Church in Greenwich Village.

Some demonstrators held up coat hangers to symbolize butchered abortions.

ABORTION RIGHTS ACTION

At the graduation ceremonies of Suffolk University in Boston June 11, sixty people protested the school's award of an honorary degree to Dr. Mildred Jefferson, a notorious opponent of women's right to abortion.

About forty students and twenty faculty members turned their backs on the stage as Jefferson was given the award.

POSTAL WORKERS SEEK 14 PERCENT WAGE BOOST

Negotiators for the four major postal unions are calling for first-year wage increases of 14 percent—more than twice the 5.5 percent limit the Carter administration is trying to impose on federal employees.

The postal contract—covering 554,000 workers—is the largest single contract to be

What's Going On

CALIFORNIA LOS ANGELES: S.E.

'HEARTS AND MINDS': A film on the bitter truth of the Vietnam War (RBC Films: by Peter Davis). Fri., June 30, 8 p.m. 2554 Saturn Ave., Huntington Pk. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (213) 582-1975.

FLORIDA MIAMI

WHY THE JULY 9 DEMONSTRATION FOR THE EQUAL RIGHTS AMENDMENT IS IMPORTANT FOR ALL WORKING PEOPLE. Speakers: Rose Ogden, representative of the Socialist Workers 1978 Campaign Committee; others. Fri., June 30, 8 p.m. 7623 NE 2nd Ave. Donation: \$1.25. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (305) 756-8358.

GEORGIA ATLANTA

THE FIGHT FOR POLITICAL ASYLUM. Speakers: Héctor Marroquín, Mexican political activist fighting for asylum; Ali Shokri, former Iranian pilot fighting for asylum. Fri., June 30, 8 p.m. Ga. State Univ. Urban Life Bldg. Room 201. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Héctor Marroquín Defense Committee. For more information call (404) 688-6739.

MASSACHUSETTS BOSTON

U.S. INVOLVEMENT IN ZAIRE. Speakers: Omari Musa, 'Militant' staff writer; Greg Williams, American Friends Service Committee; others. Fri., June 30, 8 p.m. 510 Commonwealth Ave., Kenmore Sq. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (617) 262-4621.

MISSOURI KANSAS CITY

SOCIALIST SUMMER SCHOOL. July 1, July 22, July 29: 'The Third International After Lenin.' 3 p.m.; July 15-16: Socialists and the trade unions; June 29 and following five weeks every Thurs. at 8 p.m. 'History of American Trotskyism'; First two class series will be held at Univ. of Mo., 5300 Holmes, Educ. Bldg. Room 33. Third class series will be held at 4715A Troost. Donation: 50¢ per class. Ausp: Socialist Workers Party. For more information call (816) 753-0404.

TEXAS DALLAS

SOCIALIST SUMMER SCHOOL. 8 classes on "Building the Revolutionary Party." Every Wed. evening, 7:30 p.m., June 7-July 26. 5 classes on American Labor Struggles, every Sun., 2:30 p.m., June 11-July 16 (except July 9). 2215 Cedar Crest Blvd. Donation: \$1 each series. Ausp: Socialist Workers Party. For more information call (214) 943-6684.

HOUSTON GOVERNMENT VERSUS GAY RIGHTS: PERSPECTIVES ON WINNING FULL EQUALITY FOR GAYS & LESBIANS.

Speakers: Representative of Gay Political Caucus; others. Fri., June 30, 7:30 p.m. Univ. of Houston, Pacific Room. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (713) 861-9842.

HOUSTON: SOUTH CENTRAL SOCIALIST SUMMER SCHOOL.

June 27, June 30, July 7: three-part series on the economic basis of the class struggle; July 11, 14, 18: three-part series on 'In Defense of Marxism'; July 21, 25, 28: three-part series on 'Struggle for a Proletarian Party'; July 22: two classes on Black nationalism. Guest speaker: Nan Bailey, Socialist Workers Party National Committee. All classes at 7 p.m. 4987 Martin Luther King Blvd. Donation: \$5 for all three series/ 50¢ per class. Ausp: Socialist Workers Party. For more information call (713) 643-0005.

UTAH SALT LAKE CITY

SOCIALIST SUMMER SCHOOL. Six classes on 'Labor's Giant Step.' June 28, July 5, 12, 19, 26, 29. 7:30 p.m. except for July 29 when 2 p.m. 677 S. 7th East. Ausp: Socialist Workers Party. For more information call (801) 355-1124.

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negotiated this year. The government hopes that if it can push back the postal workers—hold down their wages, speed up their working conditions, break through their no-layoff provisions—then private industry will be strengthened in upcoming talks with railroad workers and Teamsters.

Robert Strauss, Carter's "anti-inflation trouble-shooter"—who has already OKed postal rate increases and

auto and steel price boosts—has publicly ordered postal management to be "as tough as they can" with the unions.

The postal unions are prohibited from striking by reactionary public employee laws. But, according to the *Los Angeles Times*, Carter is already laying contingency plans for army troops to deliver mail in case postal workers walk out after the July 20 expiration of their contracts.

Solidarity with Chile prisoners



Militant/Anibal Vargas

Ninety people picketed the Chilean consulate in New York City June 9 calling on the military junta to release information on 2,500 political prisoners who have "disappeared."

The action came two days after a hunger strike with the same aim in Chile was suspended. The Chilean

hunger strike won worldwide support, with hunger strikes taking place in fifteen U.S. cities and throughout Western Europe and Latin America.

The protesters also called for unconditional amnesty for all Chilean political prisoners.

The Great Society

Harry Ring



We'll try—What with the soaring price of meat, Robert Strauss, the president's inflation fighter, advises that we all cut back on T-bone steaks in favor of less expensive cuts.

Freshly squeezed—Anita Bryant says Jesus Christ is "even better than Florida orange juice."

Demand and demand?—We all learned in school about prices being determined by supply and demand. But even though reservoir tanks are glutted with gasoline, one California marketing expert stands by his prediction that by Xmas the stuff will hit a dollar a gallon.

Global pushers—With cigarette sales declining slightly in the West, manufacturers are focusing on markets in underdeveloped countries, charges the UN paper, *Development Forum*. It says several UN agencies and the U.S. government actively promote this. Washington, for instance, pays for tobacco booths in

foreign trade fairs and tobacco is included in its "Food for Peace" program.

Free as air—An Indianapolis entrepreneur is doing a brisk business in coin-operated locks for gas station air hoses. Five hundred have already been installed and it's only the beginning. Four minutes to fill your tires, twenty-five cents. If you're quick, and the pollution's bad, you could maybe get an extra whiff yourself.

They do own it?—Members of the Senate banking committee urged bankers to invest more money in beleaguered New York. Senator Proxmire said, "I can't understand why you can't dig up a few billion dollars for your own city."

I gave at the stationhouse—A state audit of the Florida Police Benevolent Association disclosed that of \$1.5 million raised for charitable purposes in 1976, \$1.2 million went for "overhead." After other deductions, the charity net was \$175.

By Any Means Necessary

John Hawkins

What King memos show

In the wake of Watergate, more and more evidence has come to light proving that the FBI conducted a widespread campaign of surveillance and disruption against the Black movement.

This campaign was personally supervised by former FBI chief J. Edgar Hoover and directed from the White House. Its aim was to undermine the growing struggle for Black freedom and to discredit and "neutralize" Black leaders.

Documents pried from the spy agency reveal strong evidence implicating the FBI in several assassinations—Fred Hampton and other Black Panther leaders, Malcolm X, and Martin Luther King.

Thus, as demands grow for real investigations into these murders, it is no surprise that Hoover's heirs in the FBI and Justice Department are seeking to divert attention from themselves.

It's in this context that recently released documents on the FBI's war against King from Hoover's "Official and Confidential" files must be viewed. The latest batch of documents were turned over late last month to the Center for National Security Studies under a Freedom of Information Act request.

According to one memo, the FBI worked closely with a prominent Black leader in its campaign to discredit King. A May 29 *Washington Post* report omits the name of the supposed collaborator.

A later report in the same paper, however, names former NAACP Executive Director Roy Wilkins.

Wilkins denies the charge. "It is all pure fantasy . . . a damn lie," he says. "Every Black person with any sense knew that J. Edgar Hoover was trying to weaken or destroy the movement for civil rights through his attempt to discredit Dr. King."

Black newspapers across the country have responded with outrage to the *Post*'s unsubstantiated and irresponsible charge—made on the basis of information from "informed sources." They note that the accusation comes at a time when a new campaign for an investigation of King's murder has been launched by a committee headed by Rev. James Lawson, who worked with King in Memphis.

New York's *Amsterdam News* points out in a June 3 editorial, "Should the truth ever come out about the murder of Dr. King, no doubt there will be some star-

ting and revealing facts as to who was responsible for pulling the trigger in Memphis."

The FBI undoubtedly wants to avoid such an investigation. What better way to stall it than to start a witch-hunt among Black organizations?

But this FBI ploy should not prevent Black activists from drawing an important lesson from the files.

They show once again to what lengths Washington will go to derail any movement that challenges the status quo. They show how Hoover himself closely followed the campaign against King, and how the FBI attempts to use red-baiting and personal slander to disrupt such movements. According to the memo, the G-men planned to pull together a meeting of Black leaders and drop a bombshell about King's political associations and private life. "The bureau," the memo states, "on a highly confidential basis, could brief such a group on the security background of King (deleted)."

What security background? In FBI language this could only mean "revealing" the activities of socialists and other "subversives" in the fight for Black freedom.

The memo goes on, "The use of a tape, such as contemplated in your memorandum, together with a transcript for convenience in following the tape should be most convincing."

The tape referred to was one the FBI had compiled in 1964 by bugging King's hotel rooms.

The documents reveal that assistant top cop William Sullivan suggested that the FBI pick "the right kind of national Negro leader" to replace King once the spy agency had successfully discredited him!

Such red-baiting and character assassination are stock-in-trade FBI procedure in their war against the struggle for social justice in this country.

It was essential to their campaign to disrupt the Black movement during the 1960s. Their attempt to use the latest revelations to create dissension around Wilkins shows that such tactics are still part of their deadly arsenal.

All the more reason for the Black movement and others to demand a complete disclosure of all the FBI's files on its campaign against King and on the entire Black liberation movement.



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The fight against fascism

Plans by a small Nazi outfit to march in Skokie, Illinois, have fueled the debate over how best to defeat racist, anti-Semitic, and antilabor groups. That same question was discussed by the Socialist Workers Party National Committee toward the beginning of the McCarthyite witch-hunt nearly thirty years ago. Despite differences in the current situation, the political conclusions of that discussion are relevant to figuring out strategy and tactics in fighting fascism today.

Below are excerpts from the resolution "The Capitalist Witch-hunt—And How to Fight It," adopted by the SWP in 1950. This section of the resolution is available in 'The Fight Against Fascism in the USA,' for \$1.35. Also available is 'Countermobilization—A Strategy to Fight Racist and Fascist Attacks' by Farrell Dobbs, \$.75.

Order from SWP Education Department, 410 West Street, New York, New York 10014. Include \$.25 for postage and handling.

The working class and the minorities must vigorously oppose every transgression upon their civil and constitutional rights, from whatever quarter they come, and utilize every safeguard provided by law. But they cannot entrust the protection of their liberties to the capitalist regime or expect the powers-that-be to stop or eradicate the menace of fascism.

First, the government itself today spearheads the assault upon the people's rights. The President orders the loyalty purge; Congress passes anti-labor legislation; the courts levy fines and issue injunctions against the unions. Second, the capitalist parties work hand in glove with white supremacists in the South and the Big Business enemies of labor in the North who are behind the witch-hunt.

Third, the authorities have time and again demonstrated by their action and inaction their lack of interest in punishing or removing the perpetrators of violence against the Negroes, the unions and the liberties of the people.

On the contrary, the capitalist state apparatus screens and shields fascist forces and collaborates closely with them.

Even when, under pressure, government officials pretend to move against mobsters and Ku Kluxers, they only make theatrical gestures to appease outraged public opinion without actually punishing the real criminals. For every slight tap the capitalist agencies offer the right, they deliver a hundred harsh blows against the left.

"Under conditions of a capitalist re-

gime," Trotsky once wrote, "all curtailment of political rights and freedoms, no matter against whom they may be originally directed, in the end inevitably fall with all their weight on the working class—especially on its most advanced elements."

Class-conscious workers should not fall into the trap of demanding infringements of anyone's civil rights, including those of the fascists. At the same time they should recognize the real situation and make it plain to others. The civil rights of fascist elements are not being threatened; the authorities are in league with them. They are in no danger of persecution or need of defense. They are not the victims but the sponsors and beneficiaries of the current repressions.

The menace of fascism does not arise from their propaganda but from their gangsterism, their mob attacks upon advanced workers, Negroes, and labor organizations. With tacit acquiescence of the authorities, the fascists operate as extra-legal agencies of repression against the institutions and freedoms of the working class and minorities. Consequently, the real situation is that the labor organizations and minorities are obliged to act in self-defense to protect themselves against reactionary violence.

The history of Italy and Germany conclusively proves the folly and futility of relying upon the capitalist government, its police, or its parties in the fight against the fascists. The masses can safeguard their rights, their lives and their organizations only by mobilizing the full strength of their own forces in the most vigorous united and independent defensive actions against the race-bigots, anti-Semites, union-busters and mobsters who threaten them.

Organized labor has the ability as well as the duty to assume the leadership in this struggle. The trade unions are not only the chief bulwarks of democracy and the centers of proletarian power; they are likewise the main target of the capitalist authors of the witch-hunt whose ultimate objective is the destruction of the labor movement. The anti-labor campaign and the anti-red hysteria are inseparable aspects of the monopolist drive toward the establishment of a police state in this country. Thus the defense of civil liberties is a life-and-death matter for American labor.

Without full democracy and freedom of expression inside the unions, they cannot effectively fulfill their tasks of defending the welfare of the workers and leading the struggle against reaction. Thus the fight for union democracy is directly interlinked with the general struggle for civil liberties.

Determination & dignity

I have been following the *Militant's* coverage of the mobilization of the Black community in Tupelo and Holly Springs, Mississippi, for the past several weeks. The demonstrations and economic boycott launched by the Black community to protest police brutality and job discrimination have been politically inspiring. The photographs show, too, that the bulk of the marchers are young.

In 1965 the Black community of Holly Springs organized a Headstart (preschool) program for their children. Funded by the federal government, this school was run by the Black community. I spent my summer vacation in Holly Springs, functioning as an assistant teacher in the preschool program, and living in the Black community. And although I lived in New York's

photographs in the *Militant*, the demonstrators have a look of determination and dignity about them. I feel certain that the dreams of their parents will be realized.

Dianne Feeley
New York, New York

CP on Middle East

Recent events in the Middle East, such as Prime Minister Begin's announcement that it will be five years before Israel even considers whether to give up its occupation of the West Bank and Gaza Strip, certainly underscore the rotten position of the American Communist Party on this issue.

In the May 6 issue of the *Daily World*, the CP's newspaper, an editorial appeared extending "greetings to the people of Israel" on the occasion of the thirtieth anniversary of the formation of the Zionist state. "The right of



"Ain'tcha heard? Th' Supreme Court says it's okay t'bust in and search y'newspaper anytime I got a mind to!"

Lower East Side and taught in Harlem, I was shocked by the conditions that existed in the Black community—which comprised the majority of Holly Springs. Few families had an indoor toilet, the educational system functioned not to provide the tools for learning but to reinforce racism. Outside of working on the cotton plantations or as domestics, the area provided little work for Blacks. Finding a doctor or learning to read became a Herculean task.

As I look at the photographs of the young demonstrators, I cannot help but wonder whether they first got a taste of learning at that Headstart school. We who came South that summer, uniting with the Black Mississippi teachers, had hoped that our community-controlled school would teach far more than "basic skills." We sang freedom songs and talked about the dignity of the civil rights activists who were in the process of destroying the Jim Crow laws.

Every conversation I can remember from that summer revolved around a humiliation Blacks suffered at the hands of the white community. Those parents and teachers were determined that a new generation of Blacks would have a chance to fight back and put an end to that degradation. As I look at the

the Israeli people to exist as a nation must be acknowledged," the editorial continued. "There can be no peace without implementation of this right."

But the right of Jewish people to live peaceably in the Middle East is not what is at issue; rather, it is the continued existence of a Zionist state which denies political, economic, and national rights to the Palestinian people that blocks peace.

Referring to an agreement last October between the United States and the Soviet Union, in which both declared support to the security of Israel's borders, and the reconvening of a Geneva conference, the *Daily World* pronounced: "Here lies the path to stability, peace and justice."

It is clear that the *Daily World's* concern in the Middle East is with stability, not peace or justice. Because there can be no just resolution of the oppression of three million Palestinians by the state of Israel short of abolishing that state.

At a time when tens of thousands of Israelis are questioning whether Zionism is capable of meeting their desires for peace and economic security, and many are demonstrating against Israel's expansionism, the *Daily World* continues to throw its weight

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behind a pro-imperialist solution in the Middle East.
Steffi Brooks
New York, New York

The real troublemakers

The *Militant* has opened my eyes to many contradictions. Whenever people struggle for better wages; women request abortion to be paid for by their tax dollar; minorities request affirmative-action programs for past discrimination; prisoners cry for abolition of an unjust prison system, bail system, and courts; when inflation, air pollution, Watergate open one's eyes to the truth of this unjust system and force them to speak out in the interest of the working class, they are labeled socialists, communists, outsiders, troublemakers.

Well, if supporting women's rights, affirmative-action programs, better wages with shorter work hours, and the abolition of the bail, court, and prison system is being a socialist, then I guess I'm a socialist.

But doesn't it seem odd that prostitution, drugs, wiretapping, burglary, spying, overcharging, pollution, and discrimination are as American as apple pie? It doesn't take a whole lot of intelligence to figure out who are the real "troublemakers"—the capitalists and their running dogs.

A prisoner
Pennsylvania

New members of the Socialist Workers Party or others who are just beginning to study socialist ideas are often overwhelmed at the array of books available on the subject. "What shall I read? Where shall I begin?" they often ask.

There is no prescribed formula, but this does not eliminate the necessity of helping people select books that will aid them in learning the basic program of Marxism.

The following five works are proposed as initial choices. They have been chosen as representative and clear statements of the ideas, aims, and methods of revolutionary socialism and class-struggle politics.

1) *Socialism on Trial* by James P. Cannon (Pathfinder Press, \$2.25). This is the verbatim record of SWP National Secretary James P. Cannon's testimony in the 1941 trial of himself and twenty-nine other Trotskyists and Teamsters union militants on frame-up charges of violating the witch-hunting Smith Act. SWP leader George Novack wrote of this pamphlet, "In the course of the questions Cannon ranges over the broad field of Marxist theory and clarifies the revolutionary socialist program that discloses the only way out of the horrors of capitalist rule. . . . *Socialism on Trial* has come to be regarded as the simplest and best introduction to the application of Marxist ideas to the United States."

2) *The History of American Trotskyism* by James P. Cannon (Pathfinder, \$4.45). Cannon was the principal founding leader of the SWP. In this book he describes the process of forging a new revolutionary party in the face of the Stalinist degeneration of the Communist Party. The twelve lectures cover the period from the founding of the CP in 1919 to the founding of the SWP in 1938.

Today's new generation of radicals, in deciding what kind of organization, strategy, and program are necessary to bring about revolutionary change, will learn much from Cannon's book. The book conveys a sense of Cannon's long and varied experience, his political understanding, and his unremitting concern for the truth.

3) *The Communist Manifesto* by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels with an introduction by Leon Trotsky (Pathfinder, \$.75).

Since it was written in 1847, *The Communist Manifesto* has been translated into many languages and published in hundreds of editions. Opponents of Marxism have declared it obsolete. Yet the persuasiveness and influence of its basic analysis grows with time. Its pages contain the first call for the building of revolutionary socialist parties with the

objective of transforming the world. Here one finds an initial application and explanation of the Marxist materialist conception of history. The introduction written by Leon Trotsky in 1937 discusses the value of the *Manifesto* for our time.

4) *State and Revolution* by V.I. Lenin (available from Pathfinder Press, \$1.25).

Written by Lenin shortly after his return to Russia after the February 1917 revolution, this pamphlet is an introduction to the Marxist theory of the state. Lenin directed his pamphlet against those who held the view that the state was a neutral arbiter in the class struggle and could be turned into an instrument for achieving socialism without revolutionary struggle. The understanding of the state that Lenin conveyed to revolutionary-minded Russians helped make possible the October 1917 revolution.

Understanding the role and nature of the state gives a beginner the basis for grasping the strategy of independent class politics advocated by revolutionary socialists today. It also clarifies the need to replace the capitalist state with one representing working people.

5) *Prospects for Socialism in America* by Jack Barnes, et al. (Pathfinder, \$2.95). This book contains the main resolutions and reports adopted by the SWP national convention in 1975. These analyzed the development of the world capitalist economic crisis; foresaw a major escalation of ruling-class attacks on workers' jobs, rights, and living standards; and highlighted signs pointing to a radicalization of the working class in response to these attacks.

Among the issues taken up in these documents are: Through what steps can working people be mobilized, overcome the divisions in their ranks, and compel the government and the employers to retreat?

How can the defensive actions needed today go over to the offensive tomorrow? How can the oppressed achieve the only guarantee of their political and economic rights—a workers government in the United States? What kind of party is needed to achieve this goal?

Of course, there are many other writings that should also be read in order to have a full grasp of socialism, but studying these five books will get the student off to a good start.

All these books are available at the socialist headquarters listed below or can be gotten by writing Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, New York 10014 (include \$.50 for postage and handling).

—Fred Feldman.

W. Va. disaster

An error appeared in the "In Brief" section of the June 16 *Militant*. The news article entitled "Widows sue in scaffold disaster" states that the construction scaffold that collapsed at Willow Island, West Virginia, killing fifty-one workers last April 27 was part of a nuclear power plant. Actually, the scaffold was being used to construct a coal-fired plant.

There are no nuclear power plants in West Virginia. The coal industry views nuclear power as being a major competitor with coal. The United Mine Workers union has a position against nuclear power.

Brian Williams
Morgantown, West Virginia

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THE MILITANT

Steelworkers back July 9 ERA march in D.C.

By Wendy Lyons

CHICAGO—Determined support for passage of the Equal Rights Amendment was a theme of the District 31 United Steelworkers of America conference held here June 16-17.

Just days before the steelworkers met, the Illinois House had again voted down the ERA.

As the more than 700 delegates to the gathering assembled at their tables, they received a copy of a letter by District Director Jim Balanoff. The letter urged support for the July 9 March on Washington for the ERA and announced that a Steelworkers bus would be sent to the action.

The Women's Caucus of District 31 has been working to gather support for the march. The conference adopted a resolution introduced by the caucus stating:

"WHEREAS the National Organization for Women is organizing an ERA march in Washington, D.C. on July 9 in support of ERA ratification and the new ERA extension resolution HJR 638;

"WHEREAS the AFL-CIO and the USWA has endorsed the ERA and the principle of equality;

"WHEREAS the July 9 march is an affirmation of support for the final drive for the ratification of the ERA;

"THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED: that the USWA District 31 conference, June 16-17, endorse the July 9 march for ERA in Washington, D.C. as an affirmation of their support of the ERA and encourage all members to attend this march."

The delegates also voted not to hold further district conferences in Illinois until the state legislature passes the ERA. Many District 31 steelworkers live and work in nearby Indiana where the ERA has already been ratified.

In his keynote address to the gathering Balanoff urged members to support the July 9 march and to actively work for passage of the ERA in Illinois.

Earlier this spring, on April 29, steelworkers organized a prominent contingent in the 2,500-strong demonstration for the ERA held here, which was initiated by the Chicago Committee for the ERA.

Outside the conference hall here, the Committee for the ERA set up a table. "A lot of people signed our mailing list for more information," a woman behind the table said.

Marsha Zakowski of the international union's Civil Rights Department gave a major address to the conference on the discrimination working women face on and off the job. "It's important for the steelworkers to be in the forefront of the fight for the ERA. . . . The same groups that oppose the ERA oppose any prolabor legislation that would benefit all workers," she said.

"On July 9 people will come to Washington from all over the country in a dramatic display of support for the ERA," Zakowski said. She urged all steel districts to participate.

"The fight for ERA is not a women's issue, it's a people's issue. There is only one kind of steelworker—a first-class steelworker. It's the responsibility of all steelworkers to see that every steelworker is treated that way."



Part of steelworkers contingent in April 29 ERA march in Chicago, which drew crowd of 2,500. Militant/Charles Ostrofsky

Women: explosive new force in job market

By Diane Wang

A revolution is happening. A change so drastic that government officials, professional commentators, and the ruling rich are nervous.

The "revolution in the roles of women," worries Eli Ginzberg, head of the National Commission for Manpower Policy, "will have an even greater impact than the rise of Communism and the development of nuclear energy. It is the single most outstanding phenomenon of this century."

A recent study done by the Daniel Yankelovich Company was more restrained in its rhetoric. But it too concluded, "America will never go back to the time when it was generally acceptable for the man to be the breadwinner and provider and the woman to be only the economically dependent mother and homemaker."

The changes are dramatic: in 1940 only 28.2 percent of this country's women were in the labor force. By 1970 that had grown to 43.3 percent.

In 1976 the Bureau of Labor Statistics predicted that by 1980 48.4 percent of all women over sixteen years old

would be working for pay. But in the one year after that prediction nearly two million women poured into the job market. By March 1978 49.3 percent of all women were employed.

It is estimated that about 90 percent of all women in this country have worked for pay at some time during their life.

These millions of women are making up a larger and larger proportion of the work force. In 1940 women were less than one-quarter of the total work force; now they are 41 percent.

Women are a big part of the changing face of labor in this country. So many women, along with Black, Chicano, and Puerto Rican workers, have joined the labor force that for the first time in history white male workers are not the majority of the work force.

Who are these working women? The big increase in employed women since 1965 has been mainly among women between twenty-five and thirty-four years of age. That is true even though 64 percent of the working women that age are married, live with their husbands, and have children.

In 1940 only 8.6 percent of the

women with children under eighteen years old were employed. But by 1976 46.1 percent of the married women with children held jobs.

Black women are more likely to be employed; 53 percent of all Black women are in the work force, compared to 49 percent of white women. Forty-five percent of all Hispanic women work.

What do these millions of women do? Seven out of every ten employed women work at clerical, service, and operative jobs. But with the help of affirmative-action programs and changing attitudes toward women workers, women have begun to break into higher-paying jobs formerly reserved for men. Women are now 18 percent of the industrial work force.

And one-and-a-quarter million women hold down more than one job. Half of these women are working at two part-time jobs.

Why is this upheaval happening? In part, it's a reflection of the impact of the women's liberation struggle over the past decade. Women's self-confidence and expectations have grown. Their desire for economic inde-

pendence has led many to enter the job market.

Social attitudes have changed, making it easier for women to go out to work. A *New York Times*-CBS poll last year found a majority agreed that a woman should work "even if she has a husband capable of supporting her." Three-fourths of those polled who were aged eighteen to twenty-nine agreed; 57 percent of those aged thirty to forty-four agreed.

The "revolution" in women's role has actually been going on quietly for decades. It has been a part of the expansion of the capitalist world economy after World War II. Capitalism's drive for higher profits has required more and more women workers to provide cheap labor.

And even after the boom economy ended, women continued to pour into the work force. Rising unemployment among men forced many women to get jobs. Inflation has also forced many women to work to maintain their families' living standards.

The old stereotype of the family—a working husband with a wife and two

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Brooklyn Blacks: 'Indict killer cops!'

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