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THE MILITANT

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RATIFY ERA!

Fighting alliance with labor, Black mov'ts holds promise of victory

The following is a statement released by Andrew Pulley and Matilde Zimmermann, Socialist Workers Party candidates for president and vice-president.

We welcome the May 10 March for the Equal Rights Amendment in Chicago called by the National Organization for Women.

Auto Workers, coal miners, and steelworkers marching, together with resi-

dents of Chicago's Black community and women's rights supporters from around the country, will make it clear to President Carter and the other Democratic and Republican politicians who have been sabotaging the ERA that it's time to sit up and take notice.

This alliance of the labor movement and women's and civil rights groups makes the prospect for an ERA victory brighter than ever before.

And it is an inspiring example for working people, especially youth, who are fighting for the right to a job and decent standard of living and against the "right" to be drafted to fight for the interests of Texaco and Exxon.

The power that actions like the May 10 march can bring to bear was shown on July 9, 1978, when 100,000 joined the NOW-sponsored demonstration in

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PULLEY



ZIMMERMANN



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Women and the Draft

Lessons from the
Suffrage Movement

Attacks on RCP: threat to rights of all

On May Day, police in a number of cities attacked and arrested members of the Revolutionary Communist Party exercising their constitutional right to demonstrate. In some cases, the RCP was assaulted by right-wingers while police stood by.

Prior to May Day, there were numerous arrests of RCP members building their demonstrations. In Los Angeles, one was murdered April 22 and a second seriously wounded. Circumstances surrounding this sinister attack point to police complicity.

The attacks on the Revolutionary Communist Party constitute a serious attack on civil liberties for all. These attacks should be protested and the democratic rights of the RCP should be defended.

The police and right-wing assaults on the RCP do not occur in isolation. The escalating employer-government assault on working people in this country has been accompanied by a steady chipping away at democratic rights.

- Harassment and deportations of Iranian students have sought to intimidate anyone who opposes Washington's foreign policy.
- Carter has banned travel to Iran and curtailed U.S. news teams there.
- The White House threatens to lift the passports of or even prosecute U.S. athletes if they attend the Summer Olympics in Moscow.
- Through court rulings and congressional action, the government is trying to legitimize CIA and FBI secret-police operations.

The attacks on the RCP are part of this pattern. The aim is to establish precedents for stopping others from demonstrating or selling newspapers.

In moving to establish new curbs on democratic rights, the ruling class invariably employs a time-tested tactic: direct the initial blows against the most vulnerable.

And, certainly the RCP does present a vulnerable target. A Maoist sect whose politics have little chance of winning a hearing among workers, the group has engaged in a series of confrontations with workers and others that only adds to its isolation.

But that in no way justifies the police and right-wing violence against the RCP.

In Los Angeles, they were arbitrarily denied a parade permit, forced to walk on the sidewalk, and then savagely attacked by the cops.

In a two-month period prior to May Day, some seventy-eight RCPers were arrested in the Los Angeles area. According to their attorney, half the arrests were for selling their paper.

In downtown Chicago, the cops broke up their march and arrested thirteen. Earlier a number were arrested for selling their paper and distributing leaflets. The American Civil Liberties Union is defending them.

In Morgantown, West Virginia, right-wingers staged a counterdemonstration to the RCP—which wasn't even there. So, egged on by a state official, some of the right-wingers beat up a small group of pacifists from the War Resisters League.

A serious reminder that "an injury to one is an injury to all."

Why soldiers died

The bodies of the American soldiers killed in the raid against Iran were returned to the United States May 6, and President Carter, true to form, used the occasion to press ahead with his anti-Iran campaign. Proclaiming three days of national mourning, he said that the soldiers died willingly "because they wished to right a terrible wrong."

The truth is that the soldiers were ordered into action because Carter has refused to right a terrible wrong: the wrong done to the people of Iran by the U.S. government's imposition and support of the shah.

For twenty-five years the people of Iran were murdered, tortured, and maimed; deprived of all rights; burdened with one of the world's most oppressive tyrannies. The hated shah, the Hitler of Iran, was put into power in a CIA-sponsored coup. He was propped up through the years with U.S. arms. His secret police murderers and torturers were trained by the U.S. government. Up to the last, Carter hoped to keep him in power.

All that the Iranian people are asking now is that the despot be returned to be judged for his crimes.

Washington's refusal to allow this is the root of the hostage crisis.

Carter's refusal to right the terrible wrong shows that he wants a free hand to continue

backing brutal dictators the world over.

American working people have nothing to gain from Carter's stand. Our interests lie in common with the people of Iran, not brutal dictators.

No more U.S. military intervention in Iran! Send back the shah!

Gain for Olympics

The Olympic committees of eighteen countries, including the nine countries belonging to the European Common Market, have dealt a rebuff to Carter's call for a boycott of the Moscow Olympics.

"We appeal to the Olympic committees of all the countries in the world to take part," they declared in a May 3 statement. "Any forgoing of the 1980 Olympic Games, besides failing to provide a solution to the present conflicts, would have disastrous consequences on international sport. . . ."

Their statement highlights the fact that, as of now, the great majority of Olympic committees are planning to send athletes to Moscow in July.

Carter's attempt to torpedo the Olympics is part of the drive to arouse public opinion against the alleged "Soviet menace" and reverse popular opposition, here and around the world, to new U.S. military moves against Iran, Afghanistan, or other countries that defy Washington.

Like accepting draft registration, giving up the games was one of the sacrifices demanded of us to further this policy.

The vote of the Olympic committees came a week after the collapse of Carter's raid on Iran. He had quite a nerve to demand that the world ostracize Moscow for sending troops to fight U.S.-backed reactionaries in Afghanistan, while he was plotting an invasion of revolutionary Iran.

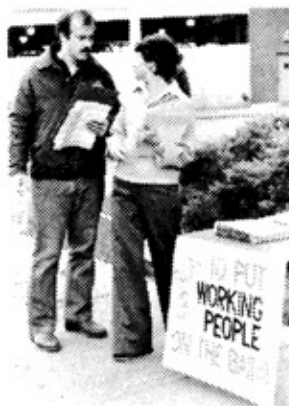
The decision of the U.S. Olympic Committee on April 12 to bow to Carter's boycott demand was made under pressure of threats of travel bans, financial penalties, and other antidemocratic moves. The boycott is overwhelmingly unpopular among U.S. athletes, who want to participate in the Olympics.

Carter should drop his threats, and the committee's decision should be reversed.

Let our athletes go to the Olympics!

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Challenge to Mich. election law

Socialist Workers attorneys explain why the party's suit to overturn state's ballot requirements, which effectively bar small parties, is a defense of rights of all working people. **Page 19.**

What makes Anderson run?

Many think John Anderson is challenging two-party system. He explains he's trying to prop it up. His aim? To head off any moves toward independent political action by labor. **Page 8.**



Sartre: Existentialist Odyssey

George Novack discusses Jean-Paul Sartre's political and philosophical career and what it reveals about the relationship between existentialism and Marxism. **Page 10.**

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Carter continues Cuba threats; backs off on Guantánamo landing

By Harry Ring

The Carter administration has been forced to beat a retreat in its military pressure against Cuba, canceling a slated marine landing exercise at the Guantánamo Naval Base. But plans for scaled down naval maneuvers in the Caribbean between May 8 and 20 are going ahead, and Cuba is girding for new U.S. threats.

Washington backed off in face of the repercussions of its "rescue" fiasco in Iran. And it is increasingly tangled in the contradiction between declarations of support for those leaving Cuba and efforts to choke off the emigration.

In this situation, the slated landing at Guantánamo could only be seen by a world that is increasingly suspicious of Washington as the provocation it was.

So Washington had to retreat. Carter tried to pass this off as a humanitarian act by suggesting that navy ships slated for the Guantánamo operation were being diverted to help "escort" Cubans to safety in Miami.

But despite Carter's tactical retreat, the Cuban people know that their solidarity with Nicaragua, Grenada, and the rising struggle in El Salvador makes Cuba a prime target of Washington's drive to stem the spread of revolution in the region.

That's why the Cubans intend to go ahead with their giant rally to protest Carter's threats in Havana on May 17.

Meanwhile, in a further shift, Carter declared May 5 that the United States would "provide an open heart and open arms" to those coming from Cuba in the boat lift.

That's trying to put a good face on an embarrassing situation.

After Cuba announced that boats could come to the port of Mariel and bring people back here, the Carter administration did its best to choke off the emigration. Boat operators were told they faced fines of \$1,000 per passenger for bringing in "illegal aliens." Several big boats were impounded.

State Department spokesperson Hod-

ding Carter explained that the switch indicated by the new declaration had been "required by events."

But, added presidential press secretary Jody Powell, the switch is not one of fundamental policy. "Turning those ships around at sea and sending them back to Cuba" he said, "is not an action this government chooses to adopt."

More precisely, can afford to adopt.

But even that doesn't mean that those who make it to Florida are assured of permanent entry.

A May 1 *Washington Post* report also added that "the administration intends to deport criminals who have infiltrated the flood of exiles and to find places abroad for people who don't have family ties in the United States." (Emphasis added.)

Before Cuba canceled the airlift to Costa Rica, people arriving from Havana were shunted off to Peru, even though it was acknowledged that the great majority wanted to come here.

It remains to be seen how many of those now arriving here will also find themselves being shipped off to some other destination not of their choice.

And those who do settle here will quickly learn some of the realities of American life.

The May 5 *New York Times* described the scene at one of the Florida emigre centers.

"The town of Fort Walton Beach, a stronghold of conservatism, has not warmly welcomed the Cubans. The superintendent of the county's school system says he does not want the Cubans in his classrooms; he says he already has too many Vietnamese



A million and a half Cubans rallied in Havana on May Day to demonstrate support for their government and opposition to Washington's threats.

In addition to Fidel Castro, principal speakers included Sandinista leader Daniel Ortega of Nicaragua and Prime Minister Maurice Bishop of Grenada.

Castro denounced U.S. aggression and warned Cubans of the possibility of an 'American naval blockade.' He announced expansion of Cuba's people's militias.

He predicted that some five million Cubans, half the population, would mobilize May 17 to protest the illegal U.S. occupation of Guantánamo Naval Base, as well as its economic blockade of Cuba.

refugees. There have been some threats from the Ku Klux Klan and some motorists passing the entrance to the refugee center have shouted obscenities at the Air Force guards."

And it's not just this "conservative" town. The May 2 *Miami Herald* reported that a slated reception center at the Ida Fisher Community School in

Miami Beach was "abruptly closed Thursday morning after neighbors complained."

A Miami Beach assistant city manager said: "We don't know the condition of these people in terms of communicable diseases."

Yes indeed, "an open heart"—filled with racism.

Socialists launch Florida campaign

By Bob Schwarz

MIAMI—The Socialist Workers Party has entered the race for U.S. senator from Florida.

The party's nominee, Rose Ogden, will campaign for a halt to the military threats against Cuba and an end to the twenty-one-year blockade of Cuba.

She will press the demand for political refugee status for Haitians and for an open door for those who wish to come here from Cuba.

Ogden, a laid-off rail worker, will challenge Richard Stone, the Democratic incumbent. A member of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Stone has been a leading hate-monger against Cuba.

At an April 27 open house marking the beginning of her campaign, Ogden pointed to the significant gains that Cuba has made since its revolution, despite difficulties imposed by the U.S.



ROSE OGDEN

Militant/Jane Roland

economic blockade.

The escalation of Washington's threats against Cuba and other Caribbean and Central American countries, she said, is a response to the power of the Cuban example.

Assailing the hypocrisy of the claimed concern of government officials for victims of "repression," Ogden pointed to the harsh treatment of the thousands of victims of Haitian repression who have fled to this country.

Ogden said that responsibility for the difficulties of those coming here from Cuba by boat rests with Washington. It is necessary, she declared, to end the blockade. In addition to imposing hardships on Cuba, she said, the blockade "restricts free travel to and from Cuba."

Ogden also scored government complicity with right-wing terrorists operating in the Cuban community here and in other cities.

"These counterrevolutionary thugs," she declared, "parade in the name of 'freedom' while committing murders, bombings, and extortion."

"Socialists," she declared, "join with the many people in the Cuban community who demand a halt to the activity of these terrorists. There must be an end to government-encouraged victimization of those in the Cuban community who favor a dialogue with the Cuban government."

Ogden also scored Stone for joining in the moves to block financial aid to Nicaragua. The revolution there, she said, is coping with the desperate economic situation inherited from the U.S.-imposed Somoza dictatorship.

She pledged to campaign in support of the efforts to build a new Nicaragua and declared, "I think more Florida workers will stand with me on this than with Stone and the Carter administration."

Pulley: 'Cancel maneuvers!'



ANDREW PULLEY

NEW YORK—Socialist Workers presidential nominee Andrew Pulley demanded of Carter that he cancel the slated military maneuvers in the Caribbean.

He also sent a message to Cuban president Fidel Castro pledging to help build international protests against Washington's aggressive move.

In his letter to the White House, Pulley declared, "Coming on the heels of your aggression against Iran, the 'Solid Shield 80' exercise can only be interpreted as a clear and direct threat against the peoples of Latin America who are fighting for the right to control their own affairs."

Pulley charged that the military operation was "aimed in particular against the people of El Salvador who are fighting to get rid of a U.S.-imposed dictatorship."

YSA: 'Hands off Cuba!'

NEW YORK—In response to messages from the Cuban Federation of University Students and the Cuban Union of Communist Youth, the Young Socialist Alliance declared its opposition to U.S. military maneuvers in the Caribbean.

The message from the Cuban student federation urged U.S. youth organizations to "firmly and strongly condemn" the maneuvers as a threat to Cuba and to liberation struggles in the Americas.

The Union of Communist Youth called for "massive, energetic actions of youth condemning the new dangerous provocation against the people of our continent and brazen threats against Cuba by Yankee imperialism."

The Young Socialist Alliance responded in a telegram to both groups on May 6:

"Young Socialist Alliance strongly condemns U.S. military maneuvers in Caribbean. They are threat to Cuban and Nicaraguan revolutions and liberation struggle in Central America. We support call by Union of Communist Youth and Federation of University Students for massive protests. We pledge to mobilize U.S. youth against this aggression.

"Stop the military maneuvers.

"U.S. out of Guantánamo.

"Venceremos."

Women workers speak out:

Why we are fighting

By Suzanne Haig

For the growing number of women who are working in factories, mines, and mills to support families and keep up with inflation, the difference in pay and treatment between the sexes is a cruel contradiction.

This situation is propelling many women to fight for their rights and dignity. It is transforming the way they think about their jobs, their lives, and society.

In the weeks before the May 10 march for the Equal Rights Amendment in Chicago, I had the opportunity to talk with several women workers who are involved in the ratification drive.

Fighting discrimination

Why are they for the ERA?

For the women members of United Auto Workers Local 592 from Sunstrand Airplane Corporation in Rockford, Illinois, it is a matter of fighting the discrimination they face on the job. I talked to them at the April 26 Labor Conference for the ERA.

"If you are working next to a man on a machine," one woman said, "he may make the top of the job class in six months to a year. For a woman, it will take about two years."

"She has to beg the foreman and supervisor for a better job and kiss their feet. They decide whether you go to the next rate of pay, and that depends on what they think about you."

The auto workers were at the conference so they could go back to their co-workers armed with facts and figures on the ERA.

Daisy Niehaus, a widow with five children and nine grandchildren, is for ERA because of the problems she faced when she tried to become a coal miner.

Four years ago, after a six-month layoff at a sewing factory, she decided she had to get a better job.

"When you go to the butcher or baker they don't charge you less because you don't make as much as men," she said.

She first went to Consolidation Coal and filled out an application.

"Then I and fifty men took a test," she said. "They said they would call me. They never did."

When she learned that men were being hired, she filed a suit with the Equal Employment Opportunities Commission. She won. But by that time she was working at Bethlehem's Ellsworth mine in Bentleyville, about forty miles from Pittsburgh.

Women's committees

The need to ratify ERA has gotten many women involved in their union's women's committees. This is the case with Elvena Miller, nicknamed Hollywood by her co-workers. Miller, a Black steelworker at Great Lakes Steel in River Rouge, a city adjacent to Detroit, is very active in the United Steelworkers District 29 Women's Committee, which has organized a bus for the May 10 march in Chicago.

Just after her first few days on the job, Miller became interested in organizing with other women to fight discrimination on the job.

"I married when I was nineteen. When I was twenty, I was a widow with a one-year-old girl. I had to get out and make my own living."

"On the first day at Great Lakes the foreman told me to do some work on the railroad tracks. Then he took the men away so I would have to do the work of three people."

"He wanted to get rid of me. But I wasn't going to let anyone get me down. So I did the entire job. Then I went up to the foreman and asked, 'Do

you have anything more for me to do? I've finished.' He couldn't believe that I had done so much work. He even got a chair for me to rest."

After Miller saw how women were told to work with a 100-pound drill and jackhammer, which many men had trouble handling, she decided to get on the safety committee and help the new women coming in. "I tell the girls to ignore anyone who says you don't belong in here. I try to give them encouragement."

Miller said that the male co-workers sympathize with the women. They know the company is out to get rid of them.

Miller's experience on the job and in organizing steelworkers for ERA have had a profound effect on her.

"I have a good feeling about myself. I can say, hey, I'm a woman and I'm proud—not a second-class citizen or a sex object. I have a poster in my locker saying 'I'm a feminist and I'm proud,' and I use the word person, not men, not women. It's a better word."

"And I'm telling my daughter, 'You can be anything you want to be.'"

Building May 10

Miller thinks demonstrations such as May 10 are very effective. "I notice that any time there has been any change by the government there has been a demonstration before it—whether in Selma, Birmingham, or Washington."

Fran Ballard is also in USWA District 29. She has worked four years at Whitehead and Kales and recently helped organize the Local 2341 ERA committee.

I talked with her right after their first meeting at which they discussed filling a bus to go to the May 10 march. Ballard was quite pleased with the turnout. Twelve people had attended, including four Black men and one Chicano.

Ballard, who is white, believes that Black men and Chicanos are interested in joining the fight for ERA because "they see that they are getting treated the same way we are. If you're not the right nationality, you don't make it."

Ballard has noticed that women are getting more active in the union since it became involved in the fight for the ERA, first by supporting the January 13 ERA march in Richmond, Virginia, and now by backing May 10.

"They are coming to union meetings because they see the union doing things that pertain to them. It's really inspiring."

Carol Stotka, recording secretary for the United Mine Workers Local 1190, and Karen Tyler, a Black woman, were two of the first three women to go to work in the western Pennsylvania mines some five years ago. They recalled their experiences when they first went into the mines.

Mine owners attack women

"The foremen actually put women in the worst jobs. The company was surprised we had shown up," said Stotka.

"The superintendent said we could do more work at home rather than work in the mine. The foremen gave the women no instructions but only a hat, a belt, and a light."

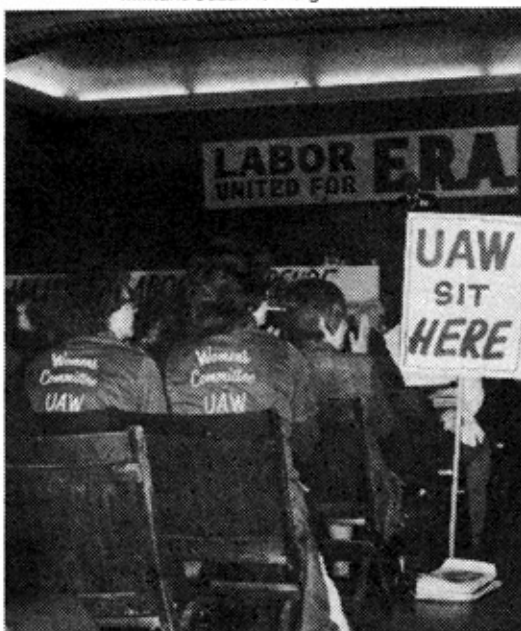
"The company was hoping we would drop out and spread the word around so no other women would apply," said Stotka.

From what the women said, I gathered that the company and the foremen were also the source of the resentment against the women expressed by some male co-workers who bought the line that women can't do the same jobs as men.



Militant/Suzanne Haig

Militant/Suzanne Haig



Militant/Suzanne Haig

Top, left to right: Elvena Miller, Detroit steelworker; Karen Tyler and Carol Stotka, Pittsburgh miners; bottom: UAW members at Chicago Labor Conference for the ERA, April 26.

The company is constantly talking about closing down the mines, and jobs are scarce, Tyler explained. "Some men thought we taking jobs away from their friends. But I would tell them, 'I need a job to support my family just like your friends.'"

When the men worked with the women for a while, a lot of minds were changed. Now the men help the women out and give them pointers about the hard jobs.

When asked if they were going to the May 10 ERA march, Carol Stotka and Karen Tyler said they would love to, but they had just come back from the April 26 demonstration in Washington against nuclear power—for which they helped to organize a contingent of miners—and needed to spend time with their families. But like thousands of other women, they will be marching in spirit. They are strongly opposed to nuclear power.

"It is time to do something," said Stotka. "We have precious coal under the earth. If we don't use coal for steel and power, what are we going to use it for?"

Hit by layoffs

These women recognize that a victory for ERA will give women more muscle to defend their rights in every area, including the fight against discriminatory layoffs and downgrading.

Layoffs are dealing especially hard blows to women and oppressed nationalities such as Blacks. Women steelworkers in the Chicago/Gary area are acutely aware of this. That's why many of them came to a news conference on the May 10 march that was held in Gary April 22.

I talked with some of the women who are organizing a train to the May 10 march.

Velma Lott, president of the northwest Indiana chapter of the Coalition of Labor Union Women has worked at U.S. Steel's Gary Works for eleven years.

"I worked eleven years and did not advance, and now I've been bumped down." She was referring to her recent

transfer to the labor gang. The company has closed down her department in the rash of layoffs, shutdowns, and cutbacks in steel.

Joan Hac is also from the Gary works. She sees ERA as "a lever for us to fight back."

"A lot of people's jobs are gone permanently, and Blacks and women are being hit the hardest," she said. Hac has been on layoff for seven months.

She continued: "The consent decree [a court ruling that forced the steel companies to hire and upgrade women and minorities] has been out of operation for a year. The new contract has no affirmative action clause that I can see which could be used to bring back the women who have permanently lost their jobs."

"It's almost as if we have to start all over again," she said.

War and the draft

Carter's call earlier this year for women and men to be registered for the draft has led to a lot of thinking about the draft and U.S. foreign policy.

Fran Ballard has strong feelings about Vietnam that were shaped when a friend who had been sent to Vietnam got cancer from Agent Orange. "At first the Veterans Administration didn't even notice it or have a name for it," she said.

"He has had children since he got cancer and has the Agent Orange in his genes. So he has to take his kids for periodic tests."

She opposes the draft: "A person should have the right to choose whether to go fight for your country."

The March 22 antidraft march in Washington was the first demonstration she ever went to.

"I felt real good about going, and I'm ready to do it again," she told me.

This is Daisy Niehaus's attitude: "Send the sons of Rockefeller and Kissinger to the wars. Then after their sons, they can take mine."

Elvena Miller opposes the draft, but has mixed feelings, "This is my country. If I am asked to go into the army, I'll go because I'm not afraid to fight."

for ERA

The charges against Iran by the government and media have had an impact on her, but so has the revelation of the shah's crimes.

"I don't see fighting if there's no reason—like in Vietnam," Miller said. "Today, though, it's different. They're taking bodies and displaying them. [An Iranian official had shown reporters the bodies of the men who were killed during the U.S. raid against his country.] They don't have the right to do that."

But when I asked here what she thought about the shah of Iran, she exploded: "The shah! Don't talk to me about him! They should send that shah's butt back. Let his people deal with him. We have no right to intervene there. We're fighting over this for the oil companies and rich people."

She stopped, smiled, and said, "Well, as you can see, I have two different views on this."

Lisa Kannenberg, who works at Union Switch and Signal in Pittsburgh, sees the need for an alliance between the women's movement and

the unions. She is a former organizer for the United Electrical Workers and is currently a steward for U.S. Local 610 and co-coordinator of the Pittsburgh chapter of the National Organization for Women.

Looking to the unions

Kannenberg was at the Chicago labor conference and is organizing buses for May 10.

She thought the January 13 march for ERA in Richmond, Virginia, was "terrific." "I've never seen such participation of old and young, men and women, white and Black people."

Kannenberg sees a change with the growth of the women's movement. "The women's movement has vitality and is entering everyone's life. It's coming into work and into the union. As a result women are more active in the union and are looking to the union to help them on the job. Women are learning that divisions hurt us. And in the process the union is learning what the women's movement is all about—that we both have the same enemies."

Illinois socialist backs ERA in Senate race

By Suzanne Haig

CHICAGO—Lee Artz, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senate, is making the fight for the Equal Rights Amendment a centerpiece of his Illinois campaign.

"It is an outrage that the Illinois legislature refuses to ratify ERA and thereby continues to discriminate against half of the population," the thirty-one-year-old Chicago steelworker said on a radio program in Peoria, Illinois. Artz recently completed a weeklong campaign trip that included this central Illinois city where Caterpillar Tractor employs 35,000 workers.

Artz's campaign is helping to build the ERA actions occurring throughout the state this spring, including the May 10 march in Chicago.

On April 23 Artz joined with hundreds of students who rallied at the capitol building in Springfield on ERA student lobby day.

When Artz entered the Quad Cities area (where four cities join on the border of Illinois and Iowa) Rock Island railroad workers had thrown up an educational picket calling for compensation and protesting the threatened shutdown of the line, which will throw some 2,000 workers onto the streets. Crossing guards in the city of Rock Island were striking because they had received no raise in three years. People were demonstrating in downtown Moline against a local nuclear power plant. And United Auto Workers at International Harvester's Farmall plant were on a picket line. The UAW had just voted to end a 172-day strike, but Local 1309 was one of two locals that had voted to reject the new contract because they opposed the company's attempt to severely limit the right to transfer within the plant. The day Artz came to town, the workers were voting on a new local settlement.

Artz talked with workers on the picket line. One man excitedly supported Artz's proposal that the unions form a labor party.

He told Artz that his nephew, a young trade-union official, had recently been elected as a Democratic state representative to the Alabama legislature. He went to the capital thinking he was going to get a lot of good things done for working people in the state. He had all these pro-labor bills written and would always be

raising his hand to stand up and speak for the rights of the poor.

But the "good ole boys" took him into the corridor one day and told him he'd better shape up or he wouldn't be holding on to that seat for very long.

And Illinois is no different as far as this Farmall worker was concerned.

Artz found that workers at the Caterpillar plant in Peoria liked the idea of a labor party. Artz told the *Militant* that some of the workers were farmers coming to work in their bib overalls and mud-stained boots. They were particularly interested in what Artz had to say about working farmers.

Artz also went to Pontiac Prison and met with prisoners who had written to his campaign headquarters. While he was there, prisoners were staging a protest against the intolerable heat in the cells.



Lee Artz, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senate, in Springfield, Illinois, on student lobby day for ERA, April 23.

After the rally...

Meet the socialist candidates



CHICAGO, SAT., MAY 10

Open house with refreshments after the ERA rally
434 S. Wabash, rm. 700 (312) 939-0737

At 7:30 p.m. hear:

Andrew Pulley, Socialist Workers Party presidential candidate

Matilde Zimmermann, SWP vice-presidential candidate

Lee Artz, SWP senatorial candidate from Illinois

Etta Ettlinger, SWP senatorial candidate from Indiana

Find out more about the socialist candidates. Send the coupon to: Socialist Workers Presidential Campaign Committee, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014.

- ☐ Send me, "How to Stop the Draft," by Andrew Pulley.
- ☐ Send me, "Nationalize the Energy Industry."

- ☐ Send me, "A socialist coal miner speaks out—Stop Nuclear Power!"
- ☐ Add my name to the list of Young Socialists for Pulley and Zimmermann.

Name _____

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...ERA

Continued from front page

Washington, D.C., to demand ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment. That massive show of force won us extension of the deadline for passage of the ERA until June 30, 1982.

This year opened with the January 13 march on Richmond, Virginia, called by the Labor for Equal Rights Now coalition. The demonstration of thousands was led by a contingent of steelworkers from Newport News, Virginia, and was joined by groups of teachers, postal, rail, telephone, electrical, auto, steel, and many other unionists. Women, civil rights leaders, and labor representatives at that rally pledged to continue mobilizing in the streets if our demand that women's equality become the law of the land was not met.

It was not, and so we are marching again in Chicago, preceded by an April 26 Illinois labor conference where heads of every major union pledged the support of this country's labor movement for the ERA fight.

The battle will not end on May 10. But the breadth of support shown by this demonstration will register an important step toward ERA ratification.

As NOW President Eleanor Smeal told the April 26 labor conference, "We cannot ever lobby like the Gulfs and Exxons, but we have one asset that they do not have, we have millions of people supporting us. We have to turn out those numbers in more and more effective ways."

That is exactly right. Our strength lies in our numbers and our ability to mobilize those numbers. That is the significance of the organized labor movement, and organizations such as Operation PUSH, joining the fight to ratify the ERA.

They correctly see the fight for the ERA as linked to the battle to organize the unorganized. To protect and expand affirmative action in employment. To halt the terror of the racist, antiwoman, antilabor, Ku Klux Klan. To win jobs for all. To ensure that Carter is not successful in reinstituting the draft.

Many of these same forces will be

marching together over and over again in coming months around other issues. On May 17, for example, Operation PUSH will be sponsoring a march in Washington, D.C., to demand jobs and peace. NOW is supporting that mobilization.

These actions are of necessity independent of the Democratic and Republican parties and of their politicians, who promise us prosperity and peace during election campaigns but deliver us nothing but trouble once elected.

The history of broken promises and open betrayals by Democratic and Republican "friends" of women makes a tragic but airtight case that relying on the two big-business parties brings us only defeat.

We can rely only on ourselves.

The coalition supporting the May 10 march, and the promise it holds for the future, points to a different political strategy for women's rights supporters—a labor party based on the unions and representing the interests of all working and oppressed people.

With a labor party, for the first time the women's movement could support candidates confident they would come through with their promises because it is in their interests as unionists to do so.

For the first time, there would be a party, a national political voice, to speak out for women's rights, to educate around the issues, and to call on the public to mobilize in support of equal rights.

Can you imagine an auto worker state legislator standing up and voting no on the ERA?

Can you imagine a labor party convention ignoring the issue of women's rights when its component unions had decided on an all-out drive to see the ERA ratified?

Can you imagine a labor party presidential candidate not marching on the front line of the May 10 Chicago ERA demonstration?

This idea of a labor party will begin to make a lot of sense as working people are forced more and more to take to the streets to demand their rights.

The fight for women's equality is a gigantic battle. But we have the majority behind us. Let's keep marching until Illinois and two more states ratify the ERA!

Texas socialists campaign for place on ballot

By Peggy Brundy and Jo Carol Stallworth

HOUSTON—Supporters of the Socialist Workers election campaign from around the state rallied here May 3 to hear SWP presidential candidate Andrew Pulley and to launch a drive to collect more than 24,000 signatures to get on the ballot in Texas.

Ballot drive

"My supporters are gathering more than 500,000 signatures across the country," Pulley told the enthusiastic crowd. The party plans to get on the ballot in thirty-one states.

"We're getting a very good response to the petition drive," Pulley explained.

"Working people are disillusioned with Carter. In his campaign four years ago Carter promised that human rights would be a watchword of his administration. He said he would deliver the Equal Rights Amendment for women, that he would never fight inflation at the cost of our jobs, that he would never reinstitute the draft, and that he would never deregulate the price of oil.

"Every promise that meant anything to American working people has been broken."

Also speaking at the rally was John Sarge, a steelworker and SWP candidate for railroad commissioner. "Working people in Texas are faced with a two-prong war," he said.

"On the one hand, Carter is trying to convince us of his plans for military intervention in the Middle East, while at home our standard of living is being

driven down at an ever increasing rate.

"In Texas, we are particularly aware of the oil companies' role in this big-business offensive. Texas is the largest producer and refiner of oil and a key producer of natural gas. Yet our gasoline prices went up 40 percent last year. The bills we pay for natural gas increased 1,000 percent over the last eight years.

"We were told that the Iranian revolution was to blame for an oil shortage last spring. But working people here didn't bite, because Exxon, Mobil, Texaco, and the other oil giants were reaping enormous profits.

"My message to working people in Texas is that we have the power to stop this ripoff. Oil companies should be nationalized and run by an elected board with all facts and decisions out in the open."

Sarge explained that the recent oil workers strike was particularly hard-fought here in Texas because this is a "right to work for less" state. The oil barons used an arsenal of weapons, including letters threatening disciplinary action, threats of firing, scabs, private detectives, and court injunctions.

"What working people and their allies need," he said, "is a labor party based on the unions to fight back on the political as well as economic levels."

Oil ripoff blasted

Lea Sherman, SWP candidate for Congress from the Fifth District in Dallas, and Laura Garza, candidate



Andrew Pulley, Socialist Workers Party candidate for president, campaigns in Houston May 4. Socialists aim to collect 24,000 signatures to obtain ballot status in Texas.

from the Twenty-third Congressional District in San Antonio, also spoke.

Garza explained that well over half the people in her district, the second poorest in the state, are Chicanos or *mexicanos*. Most people are not educated past the tenth grade.

Many of her constituents, she said, have come here from Mexico seeking

jobs and a better standard of living. They are harassed by *la migra*, called illegal aliens, and treated like non-persons. Their children are denied education.

One of the high points of the rally was a speech given by Abdiel Escobar Cunningham, a Sandinista from Nicaragua who is currently a student here.

He described how his experiences in fighting to get rid of the dictator Somoza led him to conclude that socialism is necessary not only in Nicaragua but in all other countries. "I became a revolutionary internationalist," he said.

"One day in Managua I found a copy of *Perspectiva Mundial* by accident. I read it all, and I was surprised to see that it was published in the United States. In the back, there was a list of SWP and YSA offices, including in Houston where I had lived for five years. I was so inspired that when I came to the states to finish my studies I looked for the revolutionary socialist movement."

The next day, campaign supporters sporting "No Draft" buttons and carrying packets of socialist literature gathered at the election headquarters to begin petitioning. Among them were Andrew Pulley and Arturo Ramirez, SWP candidate for Congress from the 18th District in Houston. They campaigned at the Cinco de Mayo festivals.

Often people who were approached to sign would respond, "Oh, I'm sick of candidates." But after hearing about the planks in the socialist platform many changed their minds. "These candidates are different. I'll sign."

After finding out that the SWP candidates stood for nationalizing the oil companies, an oil worker said: "That's a damn good idea. I'll sign. We should start with the place I work."

Others were particularly attracted by demands such as: cops out of the Black community, stop deportations, or jobs for all. The demand to repeal "right to work" laws got us into some good discussions.

Blacks were interested in the idea of a Black steelworker running for president of the United States. Others signed to support the candidates' right to be on the ballot.

An older Black worker urged her companion to sign the petition because "it's the principle of the thing. It's new for Blacks to have the confidence to run for president, and we should support it."

On the first days of petitioning, 2,000 signatures were collected. Over \$3,400 was contributed at the rally launching the petition drive.

Set May 17 march in D.C. against navy presence in Vieques, Puerto Rico

By Gus Horowitz

Supporters of Puerto Rican rights are organizing a march on Washington May 17 to protest the U.S. Navy's use of the island of Vieques to practice artillery bombardments and amphibious landings.

Vieques, a tiny island of more than 8,000 inhabitants, is located off the south-eastern coast of Puerto Rico. It is part of Puerto Rican territory, but the U.S. government has expropriated four-fifths of the land for military use by the navy.

Many residents of Vieques have been killed or maimed by the bombing practice. During bombardments the island's fishermen are prevented from plying their trade. The lives of all the inhabitants of the island have been disrupted, and the land is being destroyed.

Protests organized by the people of Vieques have been subjected to systematic police repression.

In the most well-known incident, twenty-one people were arrested in May 1979 while holding a protest ecumenical service on land claimed by the navy. Most served prison terms as a result.

One of the protesters, Angel Rodriguez Cristobal, was found hanged in his cell in Tallahassee, Florida. There was a four-inch gash in his face, and bruises were all over his body. Puerto Rican activists have denounced the police for murdering him.

In another incident, January 19, police arrested Carlos Zenon, president of the Vieques Fishermen's Association, and Pedro Saade, an attorney for the fishermen, charging them with trespassing in restricted navy waters.

They were sentenced to six-month prison terms, but won a victory on April 30 when the court of appeals ordered their release on their own recognizance.

In related activity, three heroes of the Puerto Rican nationalist movement, Oscar Collazo, Irving Flores, and Rafael Cancel Miranda, are now on a speaking tour of U.S. cities. They, together with Lolita Lebrón, spent more than a quarter of a century in U.S. prisons, until their release last year. They were the longest-held prisoners in the Western Hemisphere.

It is expected that representatives of the nationalist movement, as well as of the Vieques movement, will speak at the May 17 demonstration. For further information call the May 17 Ad Hoc Committee in Support of Vieques: (212) 292-1136.



Isabel Rodríguez, seventy-six, was arrested in Vieques, Puerto Rico, during May 1979 protests against Navy presence there. At right is part of a New York City demonstration, November 1979, demanding 'U.S. Out of Vieques.'



Militant/Rich Finkel

international **socialist** review

ERA and the Draft: Lessons of the Suffrage Movement By Suzanne Haig



Jean-Paul Sartre (1905-1980)

By George Novack

Month In Review: What Makes Anderson Run?



THE MONTH IN REVIEW

Why is Anderson Running?

This month's column was written by Nan Bailey.

Republican John Anderson has launched his "independent" campaign for president. But "independent" in this case means simply that he won't be the nominee of either the Republican or Democratic party this year.

"This is not an assault on the two-party system," he assured his listeners April 24. Anderson will remain a Republican.

He called for "national unity government" made up of "both Democrats and Republicans."

Anderson says he is the man to unite the country. "We are a nation at war with ourselves," he asserted. He warned against the "new battle of competing interests." And promised to "enlist them in the unifying cause of a larger national purpose."

How will Anderson "unify" us?

Anderson says working people must sacrifice to solve the country's problems. And he promises to jack up the profits of big business.

He promises to impose a fifty cents a gallon tax on gasoline to reduce consumption. That would be a brutal attack on the living standard of everyone who is obliged to drive to and from work.

At the same time, he is a supporter of deregulating oil prices so that big oil can push up prices further.

Some of the other sacrifices Anderson's "national unity" government might seek to impose are indicated in his voting record: no food stamps for the families of workers on strike, no unemployment benefits for migrant workers, no benefits for miners stricken with black lung, lower minimum wage for youth.

At the same time he promotes more tax loopholes as "investment incentives" for big business.

He favors nuclear power. That means profits for the utilities and energy monopolies—but higher cancer rates and the danger of devastating accidents for the rest of us.

He stands for beefing up the U.S. military, imposing sanctions on Iran, backing the ultrarightist gangs in Afghanistan, banning grain sales to the Soviet Union, and boycotting the Olympics.

These positions show that his opposition to the draft is an election-year gimmick.

Anderson says he's for the Equal Rights Amendment. But he hasn't endorsed the May 10 March for ERA in Chicago, which is demanding ratification by the Illinois legislature. Illinois is Anderson's home state.

Anderson's pitch echoes the theme of Carter's 1976 campaign. Then Carter promoted himself as someone who was independent of the Washington establishment,

and who could bind the country's wounds after Vietnam and Watergate.

In office, Carter has acted as front man for the employers' assault on the living standards and rights of American workers. Anderson is offering, as president, to continue that assault.

There is no substance, then, to the claims that Anderson represents a real alternative to Carter and Reagan.

But why is he running? More is involved than yet another capitalist politician who has caught presidential fever.

Polls indicate that from 40 to 58 percent of those interviewed are not happy with a choice between Carter and Reagan in November. Many feel that is no choice at all.

This is not due to failings in the personalities of the candidates. They are about the same as always. It is related to the growing distrust of the government, the politicians of both parties, and the big corporations.

This growing frustration stems from seeing Democratic and Republican administrations alike pursuing antilabor policies. Both push down wages; both help big oil boost prices; both are determined to slash public services and social programs; both are out to prepare new wars for working people to die in; and both show the tenderest concern for big-business profits.

The two-party system is based on the illusion that the people who are elected represent "all the people" equally—on "national unity." This myth was enshrined during the decades of prosperity when the employers acceded to modest advances in the standard of living of working people.

But now the system is in growing economic trouble. The employers and their political agents in both parties are making working people pay the price.

This antilabor offensive is convincing more and more working people through bitter experience that "national unity" is a fraud, that the government and the Democratic and Republican parties do not represent "all the people" but only the oil monopolies, the steel magnates, the auto barons, and the owners of the other big corporations.

Growing numbers of workers are open to the need for an alternative outside the two capitalist parties.

The two-party system is under growing strain. And Anderson is coming forward to prop it up, attempting to channel the new thinking back into capitalist politics and head off any motion toward political action by working people that would be independent of big business.

By stepping outside the organizational framework of the Republican and Democratic parties, Anderson hopes to gain added credibility.

What the Anderson campaign is trying to prevent is indicated by the growing discussion of the idea that the unions should form their own party to contend with the Democrats and Republicans.

This is the alternative proposed by Anthony Mazzocchi, health and safety director for the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers union. At a gathering at the United Auto Workers Region 9 hall in New Jersey on April 13, he

declared, "I am not interested in electing an individual from either party because it doesn't make a damn bit of difference. . . ."

"The Democratic Party is the party of oil," he went on. "We absolutely need a new political mechanism, that's a labor party."

As for the claim of the Democratic and Republican parties to represent all the people, he said, "I don't want an individual who represents the entire community. I want someone who represents us, period."

John Henning, head of the California AFL-CIO, made a similar point in a Labor Day statement last year:

"There are signs American labor may be entering a decade of historic political change. . . . Labor's dilemma is clear enough: the two-party system is no longer serving the economic and social interests of American working people. Indeed, the two parties appear simply one institution, with Democratic and Republican departments alike financed by the corporate community."

He called for study and discussion of the idea of forming a labor party.

In California, the Alameda County, Marin County, and San Mateo County Central Labor Councils passed resolutions indicating support for moves toward a labor party, as did the California State Council of Carpenters.

The March 31 *Union Advocate*, a labor paper published in St. Paul, Minnesota, asked, "Has organized labor's place within the Democratic Farmer Labor Party [Minnesota's Democratic Party] deteriorated to the point that union members should withdraw from the DFL and form their own party?"

It noted that delegates from the St. Paul Trades and Labor Assembly "apparently felt that way when [on March 26] they unanimously adopted a report of the Assembly Executive Board calling on the Minnesota AFL-CIO to consider such a move."

Such statements from the union officialdom are only pale reflections of the growing belief of working people that they are not represented in the political arena, and that they must be represented if they are to maintain the gains of the past decades.

Unlike the Anderson campaign, a labor party will mark a genuine break from the parties of big business.

Instead of forging "national unity" with the enemies of working people, it could forge unity among union members, the Black community, the women's movement, the unorganized and unemployed—that is, the vast majority of society—to fight for jobs, equal rights, decent wages, and against war.

A labor party will provide working people with the political weapon they need to match the political weapons—the Republican and Democratic parties—owned by the corporations.

The discussions of a labor party are just beginning. This is a development that big business—and John Anderson—would very much like to stop before it goes deeper.

But the labor party idea is bound to grow in appeal as the hostility of the Republican and Democratic politicians to the most basic interests of working people becomes more and more apparent.

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By Suzanne Haig

Today millions of people support the passage of the Equal Rights Amendment.

More and more, the labor movement is throwing its weight to the side of the battle for ratification. This was graphically demonstrated at the April 26 labor conference for ERA in Chicago, where 1,000 trade unionists heard a broad spectrum of labor leaders explain the importance of ERA and pledge their support to the Illinois ratification fight.

What is emerging is a fighting alliance of labor, women, and civil rights organizations. Such an alliance has the potential power to win ratification in the three more states needed to make equal rights for women the law of the land.

The battle for ERA takes place in the context of the Carter administration's drive to militarize the United States in preparation for war. Carter wants working people to make sacrifices—reinstitution of the draft, rising military budgets, and austerity at home. He wants support for the government's attempts to halt the revolutionary ferment around the world, from Iran and Afghanistan to El Salvador and Nicaragua.

The recent act of war against Iran indicated the deadly consequences of such moves.

Carter knows that working people are dead set against another Vietnam and is attempting by any way he can to turn the sentiment around.

War preparations and militarization pose serious questions for the women's movement and the fight for ERA as well as for all oppressed people.

Where will the women's movement stand? Will it support or oppose efforts to push through the draft and build up the U.S. military?

NOW and the Draft

When Carter announced his proposal to include women in the draft registration, the leadership of the country's largest women's rights organization, the National Organization for Women, issued a position paper on the subject. It appeared in the March issue of the *National NOW Times*.

The paper asserted that women's rights required fuller participation in the armed forces and that the government should encourage this in order to strengthen the U.S. military.

Although opposing the draft, the position paper advocated the registration and drafting of women as a measure of equality if these are reimposed on men.

It argued that rather than reinstating the draft, the government should recruit more women into the volunteer military force.

It suggested that if women showed readiness to accept equal responsibility and sacrifice in the army, they would be better able to persuade state legislatures that they deserve the Equal Rights Amendment.

Is this true? Will women's equality be furthered by identifying our interests with the military aims of the government?

No. This course of action can only lead toward defeat.

Women's equality can only be advanced by opposing militarization and joining with our allies in the labor and civil rights movements to fight for all our rights.

A brief glance at history confirms this. A similar issue was posed before the suffrage movement as the big powers prepared for World War I.

War to End All Wars

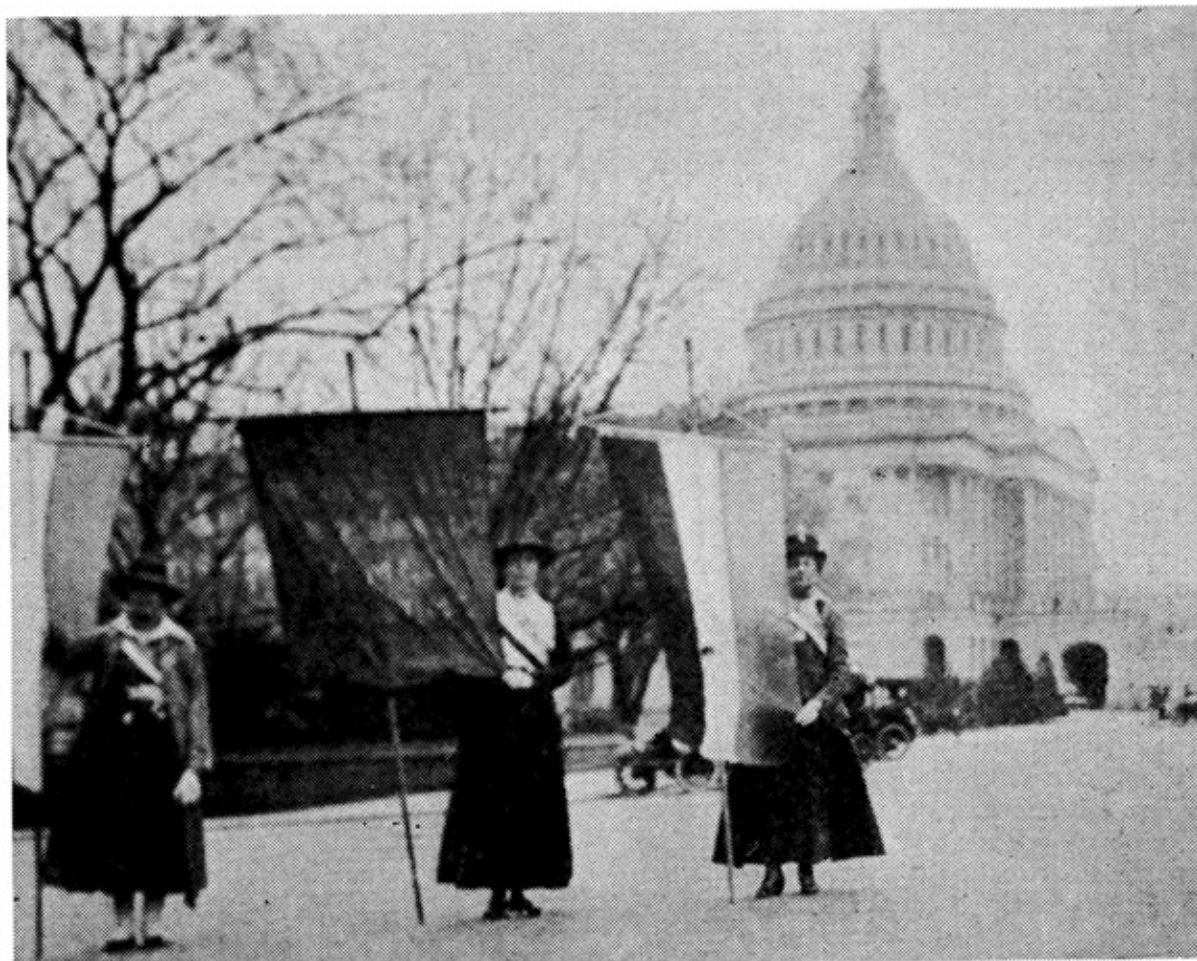
Although it was called a war of national defense, a war to end all wars and to make the world safe for democracy, World War I was a brutal battle among the great capitalist states for markets, colonies, raw materials, and strategic positions.

Those who benefited from the war did not have to risk their lives in it. Instead, the war was fought by workers and farmers, who sacrificed much and gained nothing. The bloody conflagration ended with 10 million soldiers killed, 20 million crippled, and millions of people pauperized around the world.

Although the war began in Europe in 1914, U.S. capitalism was no innocent bystander. The Wilson administration merely feigned neutrality while the coffers of big business bulged with war profits. When the U.S. finally entered the war in April 1917, the bloc it aligned with won the war,

Suzanne Haig is a staff writer for the Militant.

The Draft and the Women's Movement: Lessons of History



Throughout the war, the Women's Party maintained picket lines at the White House and Capitol Hill to protest the hypocrisy of making 'war for democracy' while depriving women of the vote.

and the U.S. emerged as the number one world power.

Class Divisions on War

Every movement for social progress came under heavy pressure as the war propaganda became more shrill and the U.S. rulers moved toward formalizing their entry into the bloodletting.

The suffrage movement was no exception. The pressure to support U.S. war preparations and entry into the war split the movement. By its very nature as a struggle of the oppressed sex, the women's movement included women from all classes. The approaching war impelled these divergent classes to redefine their attitudes toward the fight for suffrage.

On the one hand were the wealthy and middle-class women who supported capitalism and thought that women could win full equality within it. They looked to the "friends" of women's rights in government to push suffrage through. They consciously identified the interests of women with the war effort. Consequently they put suffrage on the back burner for the duration. This position was held by part of the leadership of the largest suffrage organization, the National American Woman Suffrage Association, which had 2 million members in 1917. Two figures who played an important role in bringing this association into support for the war were Carrie Chapman Catt, the president of NAWSA during that period, and Dr. Anna Howard Shaw, a past president.

Opposing them was the more radical wing, which had more ties to working-class women and the workers movement. The Women's Party, led by Alice Paul (who later initiated the ERA), with about 50,000 members, and the Socialist Party, which numbered in the tens of thousands, were its main components.

Both saw the importance of linking the struggle for suffrage with the labor movement. The Women's Party refused to give up the fight for the vote during the war, and the Socialist Party campaigned both for suffrage and in opposition to World War I.

The left wing of the Socialist Party, led by Eugene V. Debs, saw the establishment of a workers government and the replacement of capitalism by socialism as the key to completing

the liberation of women and abolishing the root cause of war.

At the outset of World War I most working people strongly supported suffrage.

Working People and Suffrage

The suffrage movement had swept forward under the impact of a broad radicalization of workers and farmers after the turn of the century who wanted equality, more democratic rights, and a better living standard.

This development, which led to the growth of unions and the burgeoning of organizations such as the Socialist Party and the Industrial Workers of the World, infused new energy into the women's movement.

By the turn of the century, radicalizing working people had overcome many obstacles put in the way of their active support to suffrage. Figures such as Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Catt, and Shaw had obstructed unity between the women's movement, workers, and the Black population. They had argued that the movement should favor restrictions on the vote to immigrants and illiterates—that is, for most workers of that time. They opposed any challenge to racist voting practices in the South. They even suggested that the votes of white women would help maintain white supremacy in the South.

They thought the support of immigrants, Blacks, and other working people for suffrage would frighten away "respectable" people like themselves—especially the government officials and legislators they hoped to persuade to grant the vote to women.

But the support they sought was not forthcoming. Big business and its political agents feared that the vote for women would increase the political weight of working people; that it would be used by women as the springboard to other rights—such as equal employment opportunity and equal pay.

But important sections of the women's movement responded to the new mood—and even the top leaders of NAWSA soon dropped calls for a restricted suffrage.

The Women's Trade Union League, founded in 1903, focused on winning union rights for women

Continued on page ISR/6



Jean-Paul Sartre: Existential Odyssey

By George Novack

The most widely held philosophies of our time have been existentialism and Marxism. Jean-Paul Sartre, who died in Paris April 15 at the age of seventy-four, exemplified the dilemma of one of the most qualified intellectuals and writers of our time tossed between these two incompatible views of the world.

Along with Simone de Beauvoir and Albert Camus, Sartre popularized the ideas and attitudes of existentialism among the post-World War II generation. Any observant visitor to the U.S. campuses during this period could testify to the extent of his influence. He exercised this not only through his novels, plays, and essays, which were translated into many languages, but also through the conduct of his life as a radical French intellectual. Although in a characteristic gesture he spurned the Nobel Prize for Literature in 1964, because he did not want to be "transformed into an institution," he deserved the award more than many of its recipients because of the iconoclastic and humanistic temper of his writings and their impact upon the minds of literate people around the globe.

He represented the left atheistic current of the existentialist outlook that was committed to the support of progressive causes. His philosophy cannot be dissociated from his politics nor his politics from his philosophy. Their interaction is

George Novack is the author of 'Pragmatism versus Marxism,' 'Humanism and Socialism,' and 'Polemics in Marxist Philosophy,' all published by Pathfinder Press. He also edited and contributed to 'Existentialism versus Marxism.'

clearly discernible in the evolution of his theoretical positions. These fall into two distinctively different phases.

Being and Nothingness

As a young professor and aspiring writer in the 1930s, he embarked on the quest for an absolute freedom in a universe where everything is relative and materially conditioned. He yearned to be exempt from all determination by objective reality, natural or social. This hopeless enterprise was embodied in a big book of 724 pages entitled *Being and Nothingness*. This metaphysical disquisition brought him world fame but it is as obscure and labyrinthine as his novels, plays, and essays can be straightforward. It was a technical treatise, primarily addressed to fellow professional philosophers, that utilized the categories of Hegel's system filtered through the phenomenological school of the later German thinkers, Husserl and Heidegger, and molded by the traditions of Continental rationalism and idealism.

In this work Sartre set out to show that man is a wholly free subject who by his very nature resists every attempt to transform him into anything objective. To provide an underpinning for this conception of unlimited human liberty he begins by splitting reality into two opposing and irreconcilable parts.

One he calls being-for-itself; the other being-in-itself. The first is exclusively human; it is the pure consciousness of the individual, total negation, absolute freedom. Being-in-itself comprises everything else; it is "dumb-packed togetherness," rigid non-consciousness, materiality, and objectivity.

Sartre does not explain how these two starkly contradictory realms of being, the in-itself and the for-itself, originated. The non-human and the

free subject are simply there, given facts. He thus makes a metaphysical mystery out of the natural and historical processes through which the human emerged from the animal, consciousness from the preconscious, the subject out of objective preconditions.

Sartre at no time accepted the theory of evolution. We are certain, he held, only of the existence of human life but have no plausible proof of the emergence of the organic from the inorganic. This retrograde position not only defied the conclusion of modern science that evolution is a primordial and proven fact of nature but runs counter to the Marxist view that the development of nature and society constitute sequential stages and integral parts of a unified historical process.

Sartre's philosophy was literary and academic in inspiration and the spectacular achievements of the physical sciences and mathematics had no influence upon this thought. Existentialists as a rule recoil from the effects of science, industry, and technology as in themselves threats to the authenticity of the inner self.

The mystification of human origins and the unbridgeable dualism of the subject and the object were required to establish the absolute freedom of the individual. In the subsequent pages Sartre expounds the rationale for the most one-sided conception of individualism in contemporary philosophy.

According to this view, I may be hedged on all sides by what Sartre calls "facticity." My place, my past, my surroundings, my fellows, and my death make up the situation into which I have been flung. But all these facts are accidental and incidental, not necessary and intrinsic elements of my existence.

I do not have to accept them; I can reject and refuse to adapt to them. I assert and forge my authentic self in dissociating myself from these objective conditions and circumstances. Other things and beings have their essence made for them or imposed upon them. I alone have the power of fashioning the character and career I prefer. I can be a fully self-made person in a world I never made.

Such unlimited freedom in which every individual is a law unto himself or herself entails unlimited responsibility, not only for oneself but the fate of humankind. Sartre even maintains that every person then alive is co-responsible for the Second World War they could not prevent. (This left the imperialist warmakers off the hook.) Tormented anguish inescapably arises from the awareness that our choice may be wrong and have dreadful, unforeseen, unpremeditated consequences. But since we cannot avoid choosing at our peril in the dark, we must valiantly take our stand and face the music.

Critics have pointed out the logical inconsistencies in Sartre's idea of absolute freedom and the ethics derived from its premises. Its unrealism is obvious. He starts by excluding all concrete necessity from human action; he ends with the categorical imperative to be free. Man is "condemned to be free," even though his dearest projects are foredoomed to fail and his ventures and aspirations cannot find secure and enduring realization because the "for-itself" can never coincide with the "in-itself." But if I must be free, then I have no real moral choice in the matter. Total freedom thereby turns out to be its opposite: total determination.

Sartre and the Communist Party

Nonetheless, the contradictions in which he was entangled endowed this first edition of his philosophy with an implicit dynamism that impelled this ultra-individualist along the road which held out an enlargement of freedom for humankind, even if no lasting satisfaction was attainable.

That was only to be found in the revolutionary objectives of socialism. Marxism is the scientific theory and method of that proletarian movement. And so the thrust of his existentialist ethics, intermeshed with his situation as a radical petty bourgeois in crisis-torn France, pressed him to come to closer grips with Marxism in philosophy and politics.

Unlike friends such as the Communist Paul Nizan, Sartre at first was unconcerned with the class struggle. He despised the bourgeoisie in a bohemian manner, not in their function as exploiters of the workers and oppressors of the masses, but as philistines who did not appreciate the life of the intellect or the creative arts. His prewar political opinions were vaguely anarcho-libertarian.

In the third volume of her autobiography, Simone de Beauvoir relates: "In our youth we felt close to the Communist party to the extent that

its negativism harmonized with our anarchism. We looked forward to the defeat of capitalism but not to the coming of a socialist society which, we thought, would have deprived us of our liberty. Thus on September 14, 1939 [following the Stalin-Hitler Pact] Sartre wrote in a notebook: 'Here I am cured of socialism if ever I needed to be cured of it.'

His wartime experience and participation in the Resistance changed his mind. After release from a prisoner-of-war camp, he helped organize a small Resistance group of intellectuals baptized "Socialism and Liberty," terms that no longer seemed antithetical to him. He collaborated with Communist fighters without joining the party. In consonance with his philosophy he remained a free-floating sympathizer of the left.

He had checkered relations with the CP in which attraction alternated with repulsion. After the Liberation (the end of the Nazi occupation of France), while avowing that "the Communist Party is the only revolutionary party," he did not affiliate with it since he did not share its philosophy nor approve all its policies. In 1948, together with the ex-Trotskyists David Rousset and Gerard Rosenthal, he founded a short-lived independent socialist group, the Revolutionary Democratic Rally.

Despite his reservations about the CP, the viciousness of the French troops in Indochina and the official repressions of the Communists in France induced him to engage in unrestrained conciliation with the native Stalinists and the Russian leaders in the early 1950s. This came to an abrupt halt when Soviet tanks crushed the Hungarian workers' revolt in 1956. He proclaimed that he would never resume relations with the CP leadership. "Every one of their statements, every one of their actions," he declared, "is the fulfillment of thirty years of lying and sclerosis." He never thereafter placed confidence in the Stalinists, despite illusions he entertained about several of their heads such as Togliatti and Mao Zedong.

Marxism versus Existentialism

Throughout these years Sartre, the unalloyed existentialist, remained a professed adversary of Marxism. In his 1947 essay on "Materialism and Revolution," he did not spare a single one of its fundamental principles. His indictment rejected its claim to scientific truthfulness, its materialism, its rationalism, its determinism, its dialectical view of nature, its conception of object-subject relations, and its derivation of social consciousness from social-historical conditions.

Midway in his career Sartre stood forth as the proponent of a pre-Marxian socialist humanism framed in existentialist terms which he offered as the predestined replacement for the false and outmoded teachings of dialectical materialism.

Then, in a dramatic turnabout, Sartre announced in his second major treatise, *The Critique of Dialectical Reason*, published in 1960, that Marxism was "the ultimate philosophy of our age." Frustrated in his previous effort to overthrow the theoretical foundations of scientific socialism by frontal attack, he now sought to undermine them by insisting that his brand of existentialism could supply the ingredients of individuality and subjectivity hitherto lacking in Marxism. He prepared to rescue contemporary Marxism from its bondage to the petrified and institutionalized version peddled by the opportunistic Soviet bureaucracy and its echoers.

It is generally recognized that Sartre's unfinished attempt to remodel dialectical materialism according to existentialist specifications was a failure. Instead of supplementing Marxism with existentialist amendments, as he promised, he virtually liquidated Marxism into the method of existentialism. For example, he construed social evolution as a succession of freely made choices by the individual, not, as Marx does, as the lawful rise and fall of successive forms and levels of social organization determined by the unfolding of different degrees of humanity's productive powers in its collective struggle with nature for sustenance and development.

In both phases Sartre held fast to his root assumption that the Self is Sovereign in all domains of human endeavor. As Wilfred Desan pointed out in *The Marxism of Jean-Paul Sartre*: "There is no room in the writings of Karl Marx for a self with such an amplitude." The extreme subjectivism of the existentialist creed cannot be harmonized with dialectical materialism or blended with it; the two philosophies and methods stand at opposite poles.

The Sartre of the 1960s and 1970s had a different slant on the roles of literature, philosophy, and politics than the Sartre of earlier days. When he published his first novel *Nausea*

and wrote his first brilliant plays, *The Flies* and *No Exit*, he was an ambitious young author elaborating the appropriate literary forms for the imaginative projection of his feelings and attitudes and the most vivid representation of his ruling ideas. Moreover, he esteemed the written word in both artistic production and philosophy, not simply as his chosen vehicle of individual expression, but as the most effective way for him to recreate the world. This he fervently believed.

In *Les Mots* (*The Words*), intended as the first volume of his autobiography and published twenty years later when he had become a world-renowned personality, he renounced this notion of the world-transforming function of literature. Without repudiating his previous work or regretting his dedication to a literary vocation, he declared that he had erroneously exalted literary creation into a sacred thing with an absolute value. This was the product of a personal neurosis and the illusion of a middle-class intellectual. Contemporary writing derives its authenticity and importance, he said, from its capacity to deal with the malaises of our time and the pressing problems they pose to humanity.

Commitment to the Oppressed

It may seem strange that so celebrated a proponent of a literature of involvement should chastise himself for his failings in this respect. Sartre explained the point of his self-criticism in an interview printed in the *Arpil* 18, 1963, *Le Monde*.

We live in a world where two billion people go hungry. The writer who remains unaware of this reality or is indifferent to it, who does not elucidate or tries to elude it, caters to the privileged minority and even partakes of its exploitation. To be relevant, "to be able to address everyone and be read by all, the writer must align himself with the greatest number, the two billion hungry people." Sartre did not minimize the great difficulty in doing this. But he believed that writers would remain crippled to the extent that they fall short of attaining such universality.

Unlike the repentant Tolstoy in his old age, Sartre did not call for a literature restricted to the horizon of peasant folk nor urge a politicalized literature in the prescribed mold of "socialist realism" that served the aims of the Stalinist state propaganda machine. He did not recommend any particular style of expression so long as the writer was sensitive to the undernourishment, exploitation, oppression, threat of nuclear annihilation, and alienation of human beings emanating from capitalism.

Sartre called attention to a similar shift in his philosophical perspectives. *Being and Nothingness* insisted on the irreducible and irremediable split between the individual and the objective world, the impossibility of the "for-itself" to fuse into a living unity with the "in-itself," as the source of the inevitable failure to realize our freedom. He still believed that this metaphysical evil was lodged in the very heart of reality and human existence and could not be overcome.

While clinging to the end to this existentialist interpretation of reality, Sartre came to look at life in a new light. The immediate importance of the gulf between man's freedom and his environment had lessened; the gnawing absurdity of the universe and humanity's insuperable limitations receded into the background. He now gave priority to the social wrongs which had to be combated and can be corrected.

"The universe remains dark," he said. "We are sinister animals. . . . But I've suddenly discovered that alienation, the exploitation of man by man, undernourishment, relegate metaphysical evil to a secondary plane. Metaphysical evil is a luxury; hunger is nothing but an evil."

This reversal of values was tied up with the hardening of his revolutionism. "I am on the side of those who think that things will go better when the world will have changed. When I wrote *Nausea*, I lacked a sense of reality. I have changed since then. I have undergone a slow apprenticeship to reality. I have seen infants die of hunger. In the face of a dying infant, *Nausea* does not carry any weight."

Before there can be either a universal morality or universal literature, man's conditions of life would have to be radically altered and improved, he declared. This liberation can be brought about only through revolutionary action. While the projection of unrestricted freedom outlined in *Being and Nothingness* is not ruled out, it will have to be postponed until everyone's material needs are satisfied through the abolition of capitalism and colonialism. Then a socialist humanism can create the setting for a concrete experience of genuine liberty and a correspond-

ing theoretical and artistic expression of this new situation.

Sartre dismissed trust in absolutes of any sort. There would be no more ultimate salvation in revolutionary politics than in literature or philosophy. In the last years he saw no hope in any party in France. There were only "innumerable tasks to be done, among which literature has no privileged place."

Sartre's final credo, like his previous oscillations, registered the impact of the upheavals of our time on an intellectual seismograph of the utmost sensitivity. He progressed from a conception of literature and philosophic thought as self-sufficient activities to regarding them as means of political commitment and social renovation. The existentialist emotions and judgments that elevated absurdity, ambiguity, and alienation to metaphysical heights became subordinate to a sense of urgency in coping with economic and social ills.

Sartre's Odyssey

The spiritual and intellectual odyssey of Sartre from *Nausea* to *Les Mots*, from *Being and Nothingness* to the *Critique of Dialectical Reason* proceeded from speculative illusion and mystification toward a firmer grasp of social reality and a deeper understanding of "what is to be done." Humankind is not so much freer by definition; it must be made freer by revolutionary action.

In the last two decades of his life Sartre demonstrated on countless occasions that he acted on his convictions. He occupied a place comparable to that of Bertrand Russell in England and Noam Chomsky in the United States in defending victims of persecution, defying the imperialists, and resisting their state power. He opposed the Gaullist regime and was a principal figure in the International War Crimes Tribunal in 1967 and 1968 which exposed the crimes of U.S. intervention in Vietnam.

He actively supported the Algerian independence struggle at a time when the French Communist Party and Socialist Party leaders betrayed it and his erstwhile associate Albert Camus stood aloof from it. He was a staunch partisan of the movements of the colonial peoples to throw off imperialist domination and was one of the earliest among the reigning intellectuals to hail the Fidelista victory in Cuba. He expected this fresh revolution, not saddled with a Stalinist leadership, to come forward with a new ideology beyond Marxism. Instead, under the spur of their anticapitalist battles, Castro and his associates proclaimed allegiance to scientific socialism. Truly, Marxism was the "ultimate philosophy of our age!"

He vigorously protested the Kremlin's suppression of dissidence within its reach from Moscow to Prague. After the French student demonstrations and general strike in 1968, he became more and more captivated by a Maoist-spontaneism so congenial to his anarchistic temperament. The actions he undertook issued from a capricious impressionism, not from any systematic analysis of the given situation or disciplined working-class course. He believed that only the pristine impulse of revolt was creative and trustworthy and it afterwards inevitably degenerated into reactionary institutionalization. He confused the Leninist form of organization of the proletarian vanguard with Stalinism.

He could easily veer off course, as in the reactionary backing he gave to Zionist Israel against the Palestinian cause. One of his last political acts was to join the intellectual cold warrior Raymond Aron in demanding that the French government boycott the Moscow Olympics to penalize the Soviets for their role in Afghanistan.

His informal and permissive companionship with Simone de Beauvoir for half a century became a model of paired relationship that was widely imitated by admiring younger men and women. It was made easier by their planned childlessness.

Apart from his voluminous literary works, Sartre's significance as a public figure consisted in his bold confrontation with the excruciating contradictions and social tensions of the age of permanent revolution we are living through. The fascination of his evolution lies in his passionate and restless grappling with the issues these present and the good and bad sides of his mode of participation in the struggles for liberation. The pathos of his career is that this eminent intellectual came so close and yet remained so far from either the theoretical or practical solution of the central social and political problems of his time.

...Women & Draft

Continued from page ISR/3

and on organizing rallies for suffrage. It was especially strong in the garment trades in New York.

Harriet Stanton Blatch founded the Equality League for Self Supporting Women, renamed the Women's Political Union in 1910.

The Congressional Union, founded in 1913 as a section of NAWSA by Alice Paul and Lucy Burns, began to look toward working people as a potential base of mass support. The Congressional Union and the Women's Political Union later merged to form the Women's Party.

Another important component of the suffrage movement was the Socialist Party. In the first years of the century, its Women's Committee threw itself into the suffrage struggle. The struggle for suffrage became a campaign of the whole party after its 1908 convention.

The Socialist Party played an important—possibly decisive—role in winning suffrage amendments in California and Kansas in 1912 and Nevada in 1914.

These forces helped build the big suffrage marches in Washington, D.C., New York, and elsewhere, which became a prominent feature of the movement after 1910.

The War and Working People

Strong sentiment existed among working people against entry into the war.

Initially many Americans failed to register. In Donora, Pennsylvania, 40 percent of the men who registered gave their draft boards fictitious addresses such as vacant lots. In New York City, 70 percent of those who appeared at draft boards filed exemption claims. Draft lists were stolen to slow down the induction process. Merchants and bankers who openly supported the war were boycotted. Protest meetings and rallies spread across the country.

NAWSA Bows to War Drive

In 1914 NAWSA's paper, the *Women's Journal*, had issued a call for peace by suffragists from twenty-six nations.

But by 1916, Catt and Shaw had moved NAWSA closer to Wilson and support of his war policy. In that year, facing a difficult fight for reelection, Wilson was invited to address the NAWSA convention, even though he had refused to endorse suffrage.

Catt and Shaw enthusiastically supported the open declaration of war in April 1917. Under their guidance NAWSA became virtually an extension of the war effort.

NAWSA leaders were arguing to women that by supporting the war they would win suffrage as a reward. To the government they pleaded that granting suffrage would make women more enthused about the war. Wilson didn't need to listen to their pleas, however, for he had already gotten what he wanted from NAWSA.

The call for the December 1917 NAWSA convention stated: "... the nation is realizing its dependence upon women as never before. It must be made to realize also that, willingly as women are now serving, they can serve still more efficiently when they shall have received the full measure of citizenship."

At that convention Anna Shaw declared, "We talk of the army in the field as one and the army at home as another. We are not two armies, we are one—absolutely one army—and we must work together."

"Unless the army at home does its duty faithfully, the army in the field will be unable to carry to a victorious end this war which you and I believe is the great war that shall bring to the world the thing that is nearest our hearts—democracy."

Shaw announced the formation of the Women's Committee of Wilson's Council of National Defense. Shaw was appointed chair of the body with Catt as a leading member. The Women's Committee preached duty and sacrifice and channeled women's groups into war work.

Suffrage took second place at best while women were asked to conserve food, grow vegetables in their back yards and can them, hold fund raisers to buy tobacco for the men in the trenches, sew, work for the Red Cross, and peddle "liberty" bonds.

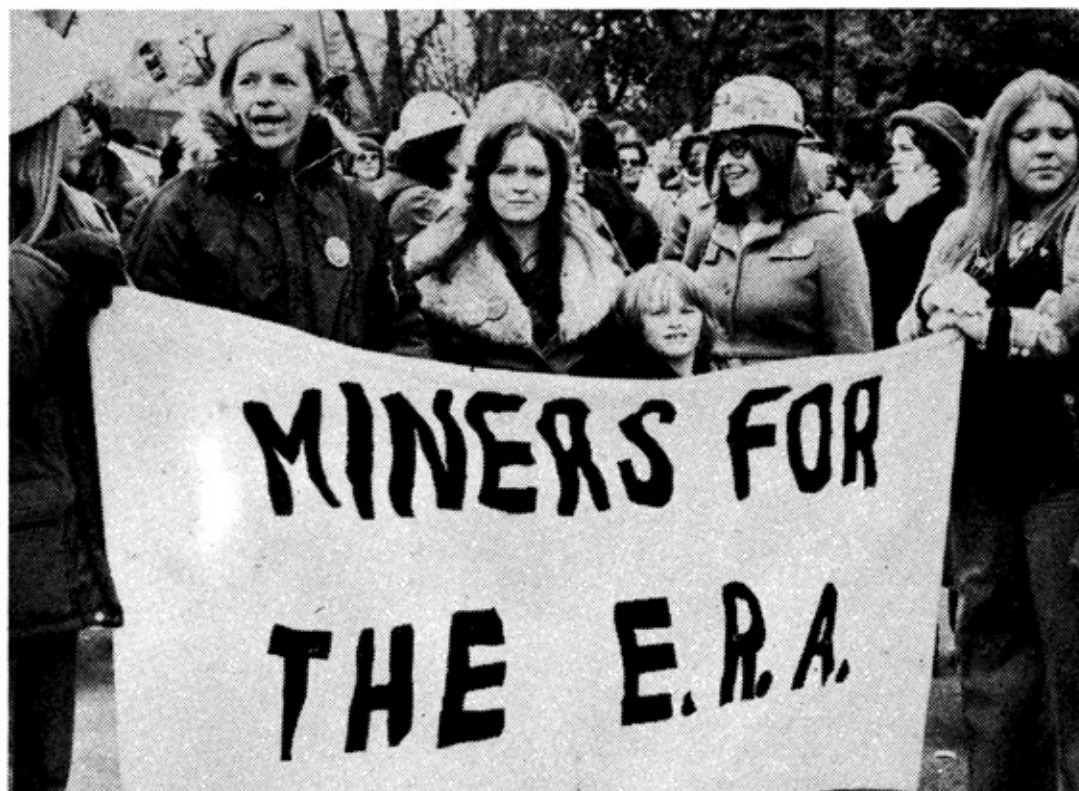
Shaw even called on NAWSA members to act like sirens, luring their own sons, husbands, and loved ones to their deaths: "The first thing we are asked to do is to provide the enthusiasm, inspira-



Militant/Lou Howort



Militant/Rob L



Militant/Nancy Cole



The struggle for always gone together antidraft demonstration gang of men who public employees demonstration to Square; a contin

tion, and patriotism to make men want to fight and we are to send them away with a smile! That is not much to ask of a mother. . . . 'Keep the home fires burning,' keep the home sweet and peaceful and happy, keep society on a level, look after business, buy enough but not too much and wear some of our old clothes but not all of them, or what would happen to the merchants?"

But Wilson wasn't able to line up the whole suffrage movement for the war.

The Women's Party kept up a militant struggle for the vote in the face of demands that they drop

everything for the war effort.

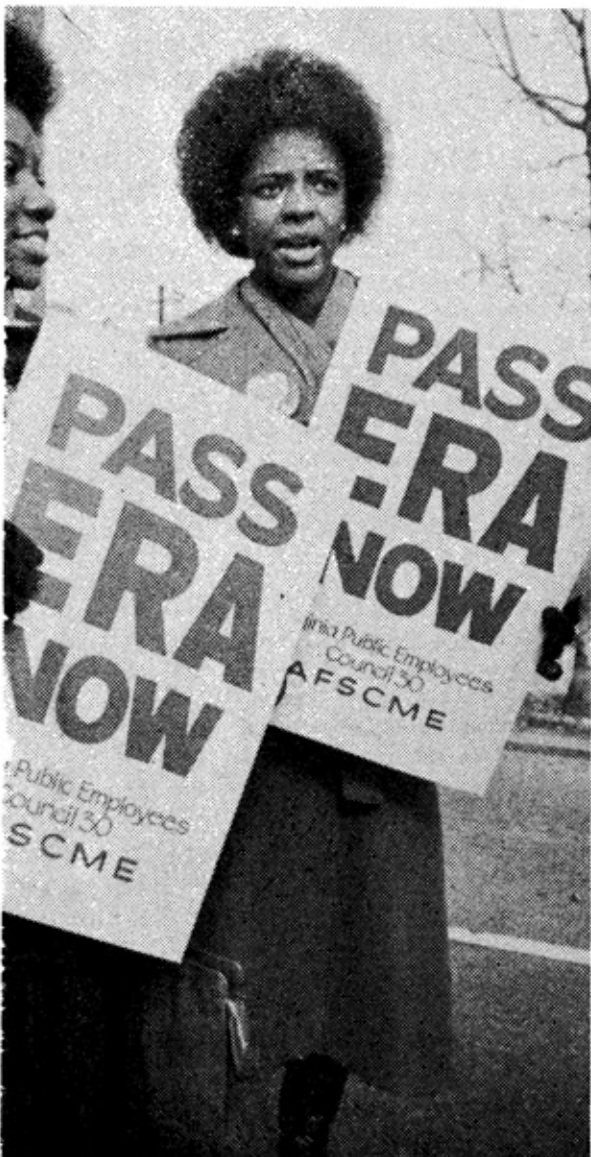
In *Jailed for Freedom*, Doris Stevens describes the pressure put on the Women's Party at its March 1917 convention, one month before war was declared.

"Most of the delegates assembled had been approached . . . and urged to use their influence to persuade the organization to abandon its work for the freedom of women and turn its activities into war channels," Stevens explained.

"Lay aside your own fight and help us crush Germany, and you will find yourselves rewarded with a vote out of the nation's gratitude,"



Militant/Suzanne Haig



Militant/Greta Hill

men's rights and the fight against militarization have been. Clockwise from top, the first three photos are from pickets in 1980; Women's Party pickets are attacked by picketing White House during World War I; Virginia joined January 13 march for ERA in Richmond; mass suffrage marches through New York's Washington Square led by miners at Richmond ERA march.

government officials pleaded.

But the 1,000 delegates refused to be tricked. The convention reaffirmed the organization's commitment solely to suffrage. It stated that while its individual members might either oppose or support the war, the organization would take no official position on the war nor organize any support for the war.

Meanwhile, Congress had voted only to deal with "war measures" as a way to avoid taking up suffrage and other concerns of working people.

The strategy of the Women's Party was to expose the hypocrisy of the government's "war of

democracy," when the vote was denied to half the population.

'Kaiser Wilson'

They carried banners on a daily picket line at the White House. When foreign missions visited, they would see such slogans as: "We shall fight for the things we have always carried nearest our hearts," "Democracy should begin at home," and "We demand justice and self government in our land."

The February 1917 revolution in Russia had granted women the vote, so when a delegation came from the new Kerensky government, the women held up the following banner: "President Wilson and Envoy Root [a U.S. diplomat] are deceiving Russia when they say 'We are a Democracy, help us win the world war so that democracy may survive.' We the women of America tell you that America is not a democracy. Twenty million American women are denied the right to vote. President Wilson is the chief opponent of their national enfranchisement. Help us make this nation really free. Tell our Government it must liberate its people before it can claim Free Russia as an ally."

"Mr. President," another read, "how long must women be denied a voice in government which is conscripting their sons?" And how could Wilson "refuse liberty to American citizens when he is forcing millions of American boys out of their country to die for liberty?"

Another banner pointed to the sham of U.S. democracy. "'Kaiser Wilson,'" it read, "have you forgotten how you sympathized with the poor Germans because they were not self-governed? 20,000,000 American women are not self-governed, take the beam out of your own eye."

These picket lines, along with the Women's Party's rallies and marches, were a thorn in Wilson's side as he attempted to win popular support for the war. The Women's Party's refusal to sacrifice their own struggle encouraged everybody who did not want to sacrifice their lives and rights for the unjust war of the employers.

Wilson's Response

That is why Women's Party supporters were viciously attacked by the Wilson administration. Gangs of men were organized to beat up the women. Again and again the marchers were thrown into jail and brutally treated, force fed when they went on hunger strikes, thrown into solitary confinement, denied medical treatment, and manacled to their cells. Wilson hoped this would silence them. But they grew bolder and more determined. Freed prisoners toured the country in a special train to denounce the treatment of political prisoners and to demand the vote. Opposition mounted to the violation of their rights and cries for suffrage by the American people grew louder.

Socialist Party and Suffrage

While the Women's Party was fighting for the vote by exposing the "war for democracy," the Socialist Party was seeking to galvanize the strong sentiment of workers and farmers against the war and for voting rights.

Although the most openly pro-war section of the Socialist Party split away as the war approached, the great majority of Socialist Party members—above all, its working-class base—fiercely opposed the war. They followed Eugene V. Debs. His antiwar speeches called on working-class audiences to maintain the tradition of solidarity with workers in other countries against the capitalists on both sides of the war.

Like the Women's Party, the Socialist Party continued to campaign for women's suffrage.

Socialists campaigned for the adoption of suffrage in all the states where they ran campaigns. Where they had elected legislators, the party introduced suffrage resolutions.

Throughout 1917 Socialist Party members organized against the war and for suffrage despite repression, censorship, and vigilante attacks. Their 1917 mayoral campaign in New York City vividly demonstrated this commitment.

The victory in a 1917 referendum of a New York State suffrage amendment was largely due to the work of the Socialist Party.

The socialist candidate for mayor of New York City, Morris Hillquit, campaigned for suffrage, calling upon his opponents to join with him in a plea for the amendment's passage. They declined.

The socialists held nightly suffrage meetings throughout the city, supported by two major pro-socialist unions, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers and the International Ladies' Garment

Workers.

Late in the campaign, some 20,000 people jammed into Madison Square Garden to hear Hillquit denounce the war and attacks on civil liberties.

Suffrage carried New York City (where Hillquit got 145,000 votes) by a wide margin and did well in upstate areas where the socialist vote was heavy. The *Herald*, a Rochester newspaper, commented, "Wherever the Socialist . . . propaganda made headway . . . the suffrage vote automatically increased."

The activities of the Women's Party and Socialist Party put heat on Wilson.

He began to give lip service to the suffrage cause—much as Carter occasionally gives lip service to the ERA today. He set up committees to investigate and discuss suffrage into oblivion. But the women kept fighting and the issue would not die.

In February 1919 when Wilson went to the peace conference in Versailles, France, where the victorious imperialist powers carved up the spoils, the suffragists burned his speeches about "liberty" in front of the White House and met his return to Boston with a suffrage demonstration.

During the period of public picketing by and arrests of members of the Women's Party, NAWSA played no part. Catt frequently visited Wilson and saw to it that marchers in a 1917 New York suffrage parade carried signs disavowing the picketers.

The steadfast campaign for suffrage, which from 1915 on focused on passage of a federal suffrage amendment, finally forced Congress to pass it on May 20, 1919.

After another series of battles it was ratified by a sufficient number of states and became the Nineteenth Amendment in August 1920.

Did Supporting War Win the Vote?

It was not those who bowed to the war policies of the capitalist rulers who spurred on the victory of women's suffrage, but those who stood up to them.

The growing role of women in the work force—up to 20.4 percent by 1920—gave impetus to the women's movement and the fight for suffrage, as it does to the fight for the ERA today.

The women's rights movement at that time—which included the fight for the vote and the struggle of thousands of women workers for dignity on the job—was an attempt to bring the law into harmony with the new social position of women.

The movement for women's suffrage began to regain momentum during the months of direct U.S. participation in the war.

A major factor was the inspiring effect on working people of the revolutionary events that occurred in Russia in 1917.

An insurrection by war-weary masses of workers and farmers against the tsar of Russia, an ally of the United States in the "war for democracy," began the Russian revolution in February.

One of the first acts of the Provisional Government brought to power by the revolution was to grant universal adult suffrage to men and women.

When the Bolshevik Party of Lenin and Trotsky led councils of workers and peasants to power in October 1917, the new government inscribed the full liberation of women on its banner. What a contrast to Wilson's jailing of the suffragists!

And the new government pulled Russia out of World War I, fueling opposition among working people around the world to its continuation.

Under these circumstances, denying the vote to

Continued on page ISR/11



Alice Paul, a pacifist who led the Congressional Union and then the Women's Party. She courageously continued suffrage fight during World War I. Later she initiated the Equal Rights Amendment.

From Trotsky's Archives: Founding the International Left Opposition

By Duncan Williams

April marked the fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the International Left Opposition, predecessor of the Fourth International.

Up until now there have been gaps in our knowledge of what its founding conference did, and what problems it faced. Many documents about the conference and the early days of the ILO have been available for some time, mainly in the Writings of Leon Trotsky series published by Pathfinder Press, and in back issues of the *Militant* and the French Trotskyist paper *Le Vérité*. But the opening of the closed section of the Trotsky Archives at Harvard University has made it possible to examine conference minutes as well as letters about it.

Internationalism

Before taking up the conference itself, it is necessary to step back a little and take up some basic issues. Why is it necessary for revolutionaries to have an international organization? Why was the conference called, what was it supposed to accomplish?

Internationalism is a hallmark of the revolutionary workers movement. That is because it confronts an international economic system, capitalism. While workers in individual countries can overthrow capitalism, their struggles are interrelated and interdependent. And the building of socialism requires international planning based on the collaboration of working people in many countries.

The task of a revolutionary international organization is to foster the building of revolutionary workers parties throughout the world.

Marxism, the theoretical outlook of the working class, has always been an internationalist doctrine. *The Communist Manifesto* was written in 1848 for an international revolutionary organization, the Communist League.

Marx and Engels helped found and participated in the First International. Later revolutionaries—such as Lenin, Liebknecht, Luxemburg, Debs, and Trotsky—took part in the Second International. When it collapsed in 1914, with most of its parties supporting their own imperialist governments in World War I, Lenin began working to win others to the perspective of a Third International. Its founding congress was held in Russia in 1919, after the workers came to power there.

But after the victory of the Russian revolution and the founding of the Comintern, the world working class was hit by a wave of defeats that led to the degeneration of the new international.

Rise of Stalinism

The setbacks to the German revolution between 1918 and 1923 were the most important of these.

The world capitalist system gained a breathing space, a period of relative stability.

The survival of world capitalism through the 1920s led the world into devastating crises, like the depression of the 1930s; fascist victories in Germany and Spain; and a new world war, even bloodier than the first.

The defeats of the 1920s could not fail to affect the state that issued from the first successful socialist revolution, the Soviet Union.

Defeats abroad and terrible poverty and backwardness at home wore down the morale of the Soviet workers, who had made the revolution. Under these circumstances, a layer of bureaucratic state and party functionaries usurped political power after Lenin died in 1924.

Their main aim was, and still is, to ensure their material comforts and privileges by collaborating with the imperialists.

Duncan Williams was the head of a team of researchers sent by Monad Press to examine the materials in the previously closed sections of the Trotsky Archives at Harvard University.



Albert Rosmer (standing) with Leon Trotsky in Prinkipo, Turkey. Prinkipo was Trotsky's first place of exile after Stalin expelled him from Soviet Union. Rosmer played central role in first conference of International Left Opposition but soon left movement.

The theoretical justification that the bureaucrats, led by Stalin, came up with for this policy was "socialism in one country." They said the Soviet Union could, on its own, construct a complete socialist society. No further victories for the world revolution were needed for this. The only thing that could prevent the achievement of socialism within Soviet borders, they claimed, was an imperialist invasion.

The Soviet bureaucracy sought trade and pledges not to go to war against the Soviet Union from imperialist governments. In return, the bureaucracy agreed to support these governments, and to help channel and contain anti-imperialist struggles.

No democratic discussion of this policy was allowed in the Soviet Union or the Comintern. The revolutionaries who raised their voices against them were expelled. Trotsky himself, as the central leader of the Left Opposition in Russia, was deported in 1929. (By 1940, the only surviving member of the Central Committee of Lenin's time was Stalin.)

The Comintern became an instrument of Stalin's policy.

This policy helped produce new blows to the working class, leading to further weakening of the revolutionary movement.

The Left Opposition

Trotsky had led the Left Opposition against the bureaucracy in the Soviet Communist Party. He saw the need to preserve and unify the forces on a world scale that were resisting the degeneration of the Soviet state and Communist Party. Most of them were in scattered groups, victims of successive waves of purges in the Comintern and continually in danger of demoralization and disorientation.

Confusion deepened when Stalin—frightened by war threats from Britain and the growing strength of procapitalist elements in the Soviet Union—began a sharp ultraleft turn in 1928-9.

At home he launched five-year plans aimed at rapid industrialization and forced collectivization of agriculture. Internationally political support to types like Chiang Kai-shek in China and the British trade-union bureaucrats was replaced by calls for immediate armed struggle in China and other colonial countries, and by denunciations of mass trade unions and social democratic parties as fascist.

Many Left Oppositionists, particularly in the Soviet Union, used the left turn as a pretext for giving up what they saw as a hopeless struggle. They capitulated to Stalin.

And throughout the world, the ultra-revolutionary rhetoric of the Comintern seemed

to belie the Left Opposition's warnings that the Comintern under Stalin was moving farther from a revolutionary course.

The result was deep isolation for the scattered revolutionists.

A description of the problems this caused for the American supporters of Trotsky—who had more experienced leaders and stronger roots in the working class than most Left Opposition groups—can be found in the chapter of James P. Cannon's *History of American Trotskyism* entitled "Dog Days of the Left Opposition."

When he was deported from the Soviet Union in 1929, Trotsky began immediately to get in touch with opposition groupings all over the world, with the aim of working for the formation of a international Left Opposition current. This was to work as an expelled faction of the Communist International, fighting to change its disastrous policies.

The first stage in this work was to demarcate the Left Opposition not only from the dominant Stalinist current in the Comintern, but from all other expelled groupings that did not share basic revolutionary internationalist views.

The first of these were the Right Opposition groups. They were followers of Nikolai Bukharin. Bukharin was opposed to the ultraleft course Stalin adopted in 1929, but not to the openly rightist policies that preceded them. Right Opposition currents were quite strong in many countries, especially Germany.

Trotsky held that the differences with the Right Oppositionists were irreconcilable.

By the time of the 1930 conference almost all the groups participating were convinced that this was so.

Sino-Soviet Clash

A second set of groupings, many of whom had been sympathetic to the Russian Left Opposition and Trotsky, had begun to develop disparate positions on the Soviet Union and the Comintern. The Sino-Soviet conflict over the Chinese Eastern Railroad revealed how deep the differences were going.

In July 1929 Chiang Kai-shek, in an attempt to abrogate the 1924 treaty concerning the Chinese Eastern Railroad (CERR) in Manchuria, arrested 174 Soviet officials and employees of the railroad. (The CERR had been built by the tsarist regime as part of the Trans-Siberian railway. After the revolution, the Soviet government negotiated agreements with the Chinese government, allowing the Soviet Union to keep the railroad until it could be turned over to an independent government representative of the Chinese people.) Chiang backed down from his

provocation only after armed conflicts broke out between the Red Army and his troops.

Trotsky came to the defense of the Soviet Union in this conflict.

Several small groups in France, and the Leninbund in Germany led by Hugo Urbahns, published articles opposing Soviet defense of the railway and called for the railway to be returned unconditionally to China.

In France, Maurice Paz's paper, *Contre le courant*, called the Soviet action "a semicolonial war."

Robert Louzon wrote in the syndicalist *Revolution Proletarienne* that the issue was national self-determination. The railroad was in China, therefore Chiang had every right to seize it; any resistance to this seizure was "nothing else but a policy of robbery and oppression."¹

Trotsky argued that the conflict had to be viewed in terms of the struggle of working people against imperialism.

He explained that Chiang Kai-shek's action could only benefit the British and Japanese imperialists. Having crushed the Chinese revolution, Chiang could not defend Chinese sovereignty over the railroad against Japan, Great Britain, or other imperialist powers. Chiang's challenge to the Soviet Union was a product of the blows that he had been able to deal to the Chinese workers and peasants, because of the political support given him by Stalin.

To turn over the railroad would thus mean turning it over to imperialism and weakening the Chinese people's struggle for independence.

Trotsky also explained why defense of the Soviet workers state is obligatory for revolutionists.

Trotsky was surprised at the reaction to the Sino-Soviet conflict: "It is incomprehensible that a discussion could be opened on a question that is so elementary for every revolutionary."²

This was a further sign that a wing of the revolutionary movement was wearing down under the pressure of defeats.

Shift by Ultralefts

Some who opposed Trotsky on this event also insisted that the Soviet Union was not a workers state, and that the Left Opposition should cease trying to reform the Comintern and declare for new parties.

Trotsky noted that many of these forces, such as Urbahns, had supported an earlier, ultraleft shift by Stalin (then in alliance with Grigori Zinoviev) in 1925.

The experience of defeats has not failed to leave its imprint. But the lessons of these years have been far from assimilated by all the ultralefts. Some freed themselves of prejudices while preserving the revolutionary spirit. But others dissipated the revolutionary spirit, while retaining the prejudices. At all events, there remain not a few ultralefts infected with skepticism. They eagerly display a formal radicalism in all instances where they are not placed under an obligation to act. But in practical questions they most frequently incline toward opportunism.³

Trotsky placed great value on the political differentiation that resulted from the discussion. He later wrote:

The break with . . . Paz in France, Urbahns in Germany, . . . and others, was the most important element in the ideological preparation for the conference of genuine revolutionary communists.⁴

But the discussion strengthened his awareness of centrifugal forces among the isolated and beleaguered groups of revolutionary Marxists. He redoubled efforts at unifying the Left Opposition organizationally.

Need for Conference

In October 1929 Trotsky sent a draft of a circular letter calling for an international conference of all Left Opposition groups to Alfred Rosmer, a leader of the French Opposition. Rosmer was the most prominent Oppositionist outside of the leaders of the Russian Opposition; he had opposed the First World War from a revolutionary standpoint, and later served as French representative to the early congresses of the Comintern, serving on that body's executive committee.

The letter, which Trotsky proposed be sent to all Left Opposition groups, stated:

The question of the international relations of the Left Opposition is a matter of life and death.

Three main obstacles present themselves in these relations:

1) Opposition groups have developed independently of each other, without contact, often arriving at different positions on important questions.

2) In some countries, we have parallel groups claiming the same principles, but in practice fighting against each other.

3) In the USSR, the Opposition works under conditions of illegality.

An international conference is needed to create a basis for unity; we believe it is possible and necessary to reunite as soon as possible.

The conference must be well prepared—it must elaborate a platform, a resolution on strategic and tactical questions, circulate drafts to all groups, organize a broad discussion before the conference.

The practical preparation of the conference requires great attention—a list of all possible organizations to be invited, the elaboration of statutes, voting procedures, etc.

We need to take the initiative.

. . . it is time for action. An international bureau should be established to promote contact among the different groups, to assure the exchange of materials, publish an information bulletin.⁵

Trotsky proposed that the bureau have representatives from the French, Belgian, and Russian Opposition groups, with other groups in-



Top, Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, dictator of China, provoked conflict with Soviet Union over Chinese Eastern Railway. The support given to Chiang by Stalin (bottom) led to bloody defeat of Chinese revolution.

vited to send representatives. The bureau would not have the power to make decisions, but would make proposals on the organization of the discussion and the conference.

It is clear now that, despite agreement on the fundamental programmatic points taken up in the debate over the Sino-Soviet dispute, there were unstated differences on the type of conference needed, who would attend, the functions of the bureau, and the bulletin to be produced—in short, on every practical question connected with establishing an international organization.

Different Emphasis

Rosmer did not respond to Trotsky's letter for several months. Then, in February 1930, *La Vérité* published a call of its own for steps to prepare an international conference. The authors wrote:

The necessity of a minimum of organization regrouping our meager forces is acknowledged everywhere. . . .

As our readers have been able to confirm from the correspondence we have published, the same idea has been formulated time and again. . . . In individual letters, they add: "You should take it on yourselves to create this unification. . . ." Up until now, despite repeated insistences, we have hesitated to take on this work. Not that we were less convinced than our correspondents of the necessity of an international unification, but because we took into account the importance of the work it demands. It's easy to speak of an "international conference"; it's another thing to do it. . . .

We think it is necessary to start with the publication of an information bulletin. . . . A secretariat would be assigned to put together the documentation and publish it. . . .⁶

If we compare this call with Trotsky's, the conclusions appear the same—setting up an international coordinating body, publishing a bulletin, and preparing for a conference—but the tone and emphasis were worlds apart.

To Trotsky, an international conference was a life and death question; energy and resources had to be devoted to it right away. To the authors of the call in *La Vérité*, a conference was a good thing, but it was a difficult task which they apparently didn't feel equal to.

The Conference is Held

The conference itself, held in Paris on April 6, was attended by eleven delegates, representing the French, Belgian, American, Czech, Spanish, German, and Hungarian groups and a group of Jewish oppositionists in Paris. In addition, two observers from the Italian Bordigist group were present. (Trotsky was not able to attend, since he could not get a visa from the French government.)

The only political dispute at the conference related to the Sino-Soviet conflict. A section of the Belgian leadership, led by Edouard Van Overstraeten and Adhémar Hennaut (who was at the conference), opposed defense of the Soviet Union in this case. The Charleroi Federation (represented at the meeting by Léon Lesoil) supported the defensist position, as did all other groups at the conference. (Van Overstraeten and Hennaut broke with the Left Opposition by the end of 1930.)

Apparently no agenda was set, although the conference was roughly divided into a discussion of the future conference, the bulletin, the secretariat, and reports from each of the groups on their work.

The difference in conception came into focus at the conference.

The main error, in Trotsky's opinion, was that the conference issued no declaration or manifesto. Before the gathering was held, Max Shachtman, the American delegate, had visited Trotsky in Prinkipo, Turkey, where they drew up a draft of a manifesto to be presented to the conference.

Role of a Manifesto

When he discovered that this had not been done, Trotsky wrote to Shachtman:

Why wasn't a short declaration of principle or manifesto issued? Why? Such a document would be of the greatest political importance. It could be shown to every thinking worker in every country and serve as a basis for the propaganda work of the International Opposition. It must always be borne in mind that most of the national groups are relatively weak, without tradition, and without authority among the workers, which creates great obstacles and difficulties at the outset. We cite the authority of the Russian Opposition, which is rather abstract for the workers. . . . A worker who in general sympathizes with the Opposition but still has insufficient trust for the national group would breathe a sigh of relief if he could be shown a succinct, clear statement of principle. And we have robbed ourselves of this weapon for an indeterminate period of time. For what reasons?⁷

Shachtman wrote back on May 2:

. . . the general idea in Paris was that the conference would be of a more or less technical nature to decide on a bulletin and possibly a secretariat, but not any political questions of decisiveness. That is, we [Shachtman and Trotsky] had in mind an authoritative congress, so to speak, while every other comrade thought of it as a tentative, discussion meeting of undecided representatives of the various groups.

The idea that we should issue a manifesto and invest the secretariat with real authority and power was greeted by the comrades as an entirely new idea. . . . It took everyone by surprise. At the very last moment, we knocked together a draft of the manifesto . . . but it was even then looked on as a sort of side issue and not a central point.⁸

Rosmer, who chaired the conference, responded to Trotsky's criticisms in a similar manner:

We read [the draft] together—Shachtman, Naville [another leader of the French group], and I—and decided that a serious reediting job was necessary, a job that it was too late to take on, since it was already the day before the conference. . . .

However, when Shachtman, Naville, and I discussed it late in the afternoon, we found ourselves spontaneously in agreement in thinking that it was not possible to go any further, at that time, than setting up the secretariat.⁹

In other letters, however, Rosmer provided the best evidence of the usefulness a manifesto would have had. On April 10, shortly after the conference, Rosmer wrote:

Up until now, we have had many contacts outside of France, with foreign comrades, but we have had none with the colonies. Well, at one blow we have just discovered not just a comrade, but a whole group . . . [of] Indochinese comrades, intellectuals and workers, [who] have been in opposition for a long time, openly,

but whose activity remained confined to their milieu, and we were completely ignorant of them. Like many others, they wanted to see us at work, to evaluate us, before making an approach to us. Now the liaison is firmly established, we are going to work together closely; these recruits of ours are far above the ordinary level. That can be seen from what they write. . . . Moreover, they have shown themselves to be excellent distributors of the press, having sold 150 copies of the issue with their first article.¹⁰

Also, Rosmer reported having established contact with three leaders of the central committee of the Italian Communist Party, who were later to split and form the New Italian Opposition, the Italian section of the International Left Opposition.

Most important, on May 9 Rosmer reported:

We now have a serious point of support in the [French Communist] youth. Several comrades with important posts are already completely won over.¹¹

It's hard to believe that, with such opportunities opening up, a clear statement of program and perspectives would not have brought the ILO even more recruits from the Communist parties and would have made it easier for those who did join to do so faster.

Weakness of Leadership

Because the aims of the conference and the new secretariat were so vague, the International Secretariat was not able to function with the necessary authority and efficiency. Although no votes were taken at the conference, it was generally agreed that the secretariat would have representatives of the Russian, German, and French Opposition delegates. The members of the secretariat were not designated or elected at the conference.

As late as October 2, Trotsky was to write to Kurt Landau, a leader of the German section and a member of the secretariat:

Since no one knows the real decisions of the April conference, which were never published, and since your information [on the composition of the secretariat] is at odds with the information in the international bulletin and the French paper (which are in turn at odds with each other), please tell me if you have the decisions, what you base your understanding on.¹²

The secretariat underwent many changes in its membership over the next few years. For example, Alfred Rosmer and Kurt Landau, who were two of the three members finally designated for the first International Secretariat, had both left the International Opposition within a year after the conference.

Consequently, the secretariat's authority was never equal to the tasks before it. The lack of an authoritative international center was particularly damaging in the early years of the ILO, when most of the small groups were disoriented and plagued with factionalism.

The first issue of the international bulletin, which was to come out twice a month, did not appear until August, at which time a declaration

attributed to the April conference was published, probably based to some extent on the preliminary draft Trotsky and Shachtman had drawn up.

Although a future authoritative conference of the ILO was discussed in general terms at the April meeting, no discussion took place as to the time, place, or agenda. In fact, the next international gathering of the ILO (a preconference) did not take place until February 1933.

Importance of Conference

The major reasons for the resistance to moving forward aggressively were indicated at the beginning of this essay: 1) defeats of the world revolution; 2) degeneration of the Comintern; and 3) defection and capitulation of many leaders of the Russian Opposition.

Moreover, most of the early leaders of the Left Opposition were from petty-bourgeois backgrounds. This was no crime in itself, but, cut off from the workers movement, it was very easy for these people to inject an element of skepticism and what Trotsky called "literary-bureaucratic" methods into the functioning of the Opposition groups.

Of course, the conference had accomplishments to its credit. Most groups, although they were weak—none had more than a few hundred members—reported progress establishing weekly papers and making new contacts and recruits from the CPs and their milieu.

Certainly, in comparison with other tendencies, the ILO emerged as the only truly revolutionary current in the world working class. The Comintern and the Social Democracy continued to pave the way for terrible defeats in Germany and in Spain. The Right Opposition disintegrated throughout the 1930s, with many of its supporters finding their way back to the Stalinist parties or to the Social Democracy. Urbahns, Paz, and others, wanting to build independent groups, built essentially nothing.

The Conference had the effect of controlling and limiting centrifugal forces that were pulling the revolutionary movement apart in a period of defeats.

It enabled an organized body of revolutionists to hang together until fresh openings occurred. These developed after the Comintern's policy in Germany allowed Hitler to take power without a shot, exposing for many thousands the complete hollowness of the Comintern's revolutionary rhetoric.

It was in the wake of this tragedy that the ILO decided that the Comintern could not be reformed, and set out to build the Fourth International. The ferment provoked by the German events, and the emergence of new left currents within the Socialist parties, allowed the revolutionary movement to move forward, although not without great difficulties.

Despite all its faults, the conference was a rudimentary organizational commitment to internationalism. It made possible the publication, however rare, of the international bulletin, and



Trotsky in France, 1933, with (clockwise) Arne Swabeck, Pierre Frank, Rudolf Klement, and Jean van Heijenoort—all supporters of the International Left Opposition.

the functioning, however weak, of the International Secretariat.

In studying this history, the best place to start is the works of Trotsky.

Trotsky's political capacity, revolutionary experience, and moral authority set him apart from all the other leaders of what was to become the Fourth International.

But for him, this did not mean that he could place himself above the others and function in a high-handed, undisciplined manner. Just the opposite. It imposed on him greater responsibility to take on whatever tasks he could to make the greatest possible contribution to the construction of an international revolutionary organization.

Trotsky wrote almost all the major documents and resolutions of the Fourth International and its predecessors until his death in 1940, and he conducted extensive private correspondence with leaders and groups around the world.

This correspondence, along with other documents and letters written to Trotsky, have been made public with the opening of the Trotsky Archives at Harvard. This material is not "new" in the sense that we find Trotsky holding different political positions in his private letters from those in his published articles, but they fill in many gaps in our knowledge. It is likely that Monad Press, which sent a team to Harvard to examine the letters by Trotsky contained there, will publish new books from this material.

But, since the resolutions and documents, and many of the letters, are already in print in the *Writings of Leon Trotsky* series and other books published by Pathfinder Press, there is no need to wait for the new books. Anyone can begin a serious study of Trotsky's contributions to Marxism right now.

Writings of Leon Trotsky 1929-1940



The *Writings of Leon Trotsky* (1929-40), a twelve-volume series with a two-part supplement, are from his last exile. With their completion nearly everything written by Trotsky in this period and published in any language during his lifetime or since his death is available in English. \$6.95 per volume.

Send your order to Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014. Please include \$.75 for postage and handling.

1. *Writings of Leon Trotsky* 1929, p. 264. (Pathfinder, 1975).
2. *Ibid.*, p. 214.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 262.
4. *Writings* 1930, p. 285.
5. Trotsky to Rosmer, October 13, 1929, in the Trotsky Archives, Houghton Library, Harvard University. These and other letters from the Trotsky Archives are quoted by permission of the Houghton Library.
6. *La Vérité*, nr. 24, February 21, 1931.
7. *Writings Supplement* (1929-33), pp. 33-34.
8. Shachtman to Trotsky, May 2, 1930, Trotsky Archives.
9. Rosmer to Trotsky, April 20, 1930, Trotsky Archives.
10. Rosmer to Trotsky, April 10, 1930, Trotsky Archives.
11. Rosmer to Trotsky, May 9, 1930, Trotsky Archives.
12. Trotsky to Landau, October 2, 1930, Trotsky Archives.

...Women & Draft

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women in the face of determined protests created problems for Washington's attempt to parade as world liberator during and after the war.

The U.S. government hoped that granting women the vote would undercut support for the Russian revolution. They had hopes of crushing it and needed the aura of democracy as cover for this counterrevolutionary act. But working women and men didn't fall for the trick, and the U.S. military intervention in Russia failed.

The ERA Battle

Today, the fight for ERA is playing a role similar to the suffrage battle in the fight for women's rights.

And working people are moving forward to support it, just as they supported suffrage.

The employers are on the prod against working people today, forcing unions to fight for gains won years ago in terms of union rights, real wages, working conditions, health and safety.

The fight for the ERA is increasingly being seen by working people both as resistance to the employers' austerity drive and as a struggle to extend the rights of all working people.

The solidarity forged between working women and men, Black and white, in the fight for women's equality makes it more difficult for the rulers to haul working-class men and women into the army to die for big business.

Along with the mass opposition to involvement

in another unjust war, the demand for ERA represents the refusal of working people to sacrifice their rights and interests.

It is in this context that Carter came up with his proposal to register women as well as men for the draft.

Carter's aim was not only to put over his war preparations, but to sink the ERA—to frighten working men and women out of supporting the ERA by identifying it with the draft and war. And he wanted to undermine opposition to stepped-up war preparations among women by presenting the draft as in the interests of equality and the military as some sort of equal opportunity employer.

But as the groundswell of labor support for ERA shows, the movement of women and the labor movement for ERA continues to grow.

The National May 10 march for ERA in Chicago, called by the National Organization for Women, is the most recent example of the power of this movement.

It is the first time in decades that a demonstration for basic civil rights has had such broad sponsorship from the organized labor movement. It is taking place in the midst of an election year, when working people are expected to put their faith in capitalist politicians rather than demonstrating in the streets against their policies.

But we have not yet won the battle. Time is running out. We can expect that Carter will attempt all kinds of subterfuges to undermine this unprecedented and insistent movement for women's equality—especially as the current eco-

nomics crisis deepens and the war drums beat louder, which they will.

It is vital that the women's movement know who are our friends and who are our enemies.

And it is crucial for the movement to be clear on the issues of war, the draft, and the military.

Our allies and our enemies have not changed since World War I. We don't need to repeat the mistakes that many of the suffrage leaders made.

Putting an M-16 rifle in a woman's hands to gun down our brothers and sisters in Vietnam, Afghanistan, or Nicaragua is no improvement over handing us a needle to sew a bandage during World War I.

The first may sound like liberation to a few, but it is an intensified form of our slavery.

The power to liberate women lies in unity with the millions of working women and men here and around the world who are compelled to challenge Washington's power in their fight for a decent life.

The position paper published by the NOW leadership on the draft is dangerous because it poses the same disastrous course that the NAWSA leaders adopted after 1914.

But times have changed, and women in this country have learned a lot from the experience of Vietnam.

I think the NOW membership will reject the course proposed by the position paper and take their stand unconditionally with the opponents of the draft for men or women under any circumstances and of the new Vietnams Washington is trying to prepare.

...George Meany

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pressures from either side. Viewed by themselves and portrayed to others as great movers and shakers of history, the bureaucrats in fact play no fundamentally independent role. Much as they abhor and try to dampen the class struggle, their actions are ultimately determined by its logic.

The bureaucracy was slow to respond to the economic, social, and political changes of the 1960s and '70s. But it did respond. It had to. The class collaborationist strategy did not and has not changed, but the union officials tried all sorts of public relations stunts to improve their image, to create the general impression that they are socially "enlightened." Meany and his social democratic coterie served as the symbol of this, as in other matters.

In early 1975 the right-wing social democrats first chose a prominent AFL-CIO vice-president as the honored recipient of their Eugene V. Debs award. I.W. Abel, then president of the United Steelworkers, hardly knew who Debs was and certainly had nothing in common with the revolutionary socialist tradition that Debs represented. But Abel was convinced that he would look better to young steelworkers and others who are part of the political constituency of the union movement if he were identified with labor's radical past. He proudly received the award.

Later that year the memory of Debs was "honored" with a special resolution at the Eleventh Constitutional Convention of the AFL-CIO, requesting that the U.S. Congress pardon Debs for his opposition to World War I. The delegates were unaware that Debs, while in jail, had refused to apply for a pardon. He thought Woodrow Wilson, the wartime U.S. president, should apply for a pardon. Debs was always the accuser.

"When he reviews what he has done, when he realizes the suffering he has brought about, then he is being punished. It is he, not I, who needs a pardon," Debs said.

When labor leaders come to honor Debs, they will indict the war criminals—Wilson, Roosevelt, Truman, Eisenhower, Kennedy, Johnson, Nixon, and Carter. That will be a fitting tribute to the Debs tradition.

A Meany Lecture

The crowning insult to the memory of Debs occurred in 1977 when Meany was given the Debs award. Meany spoke about the struggle for Black liberation on that occasion. It was a speech drafted by Bayard Rustin or some other social democratic sycophant on the AFL-CIO payroll.

The purpose was to show that the educated union bureaucracy today has a better understanding of the "special or distinct problems" of Black people than Debs had in his time.

It is true that Debs did not fully understand the double exploitation of Blacks in this racist society, but he solidarized with the struggles of Blacks and always defended their rights. That contrasts with Meany's shameful record.

* * *

The union movement did not prosper under Meany's leadership. The working class is less protected by the unions now than it was in 1955 when the AFL-CIO was formed. It is under heavy attack from the employers and is poorly armed for defense. On all fronts the employing class is advancing, the workers retreating.

The weekly paycheck (in 1967 dollars) for the average worker with three dependents declined from \$90.86 in 1967 to \$87.95 in December 1979, according to the Bureau of Labor Statistics.

Union contracts signed in 1979 provided first-year wage increases of 8.4 percent. Inflation ran ahead at 11.5 percent in 1979. Today it is 18 percent, while union demands are lowered under pressure of the Carter administration.

In other words, most unions have been forced to negotiate pay cuts in real-dollar terms, and unorganized workers have done worse.

Profits show the other side of the labor/management equation. *Fortune* magazine reported in May 1979 that previous-year profits for the top 500 U.S. industrial corporations "were absolutely sensational." The median return on shareholders' equity was 14.3 percent, a record since *Fortune* began collecting data in 1955. It is certain that 1979 was another banner year . . . for most of them.

Unions have not done so well. Membership continues to decline in relation to the total work force. The number of organized workers fluctuates around the 20 million mark. The AFL-CIO has fewer members than the 15 million it started with in 1955.

The largest and most combative unions are outside the federation. They are the Teamsters, Auto Workers, United Mine Workers, and National Education Association. Together they represent about 6 million workers, nearly half the number represented by all the more than 100 AFL-CIO affiliates.

The class-collaborationist policies of these independent unions are not essentially different from the AFL-CIO under Meany's direction. But the federation, because it offers nothing better, is not an attractive force for organized workers outside its ranks.

The unions have a potential of organizing millions of unorganized workers in this country, but the present leadership makes little effort to do so.

The union movement has less political influence today than any time since the early years of the CIO movement.

The record on any count, from the standpoint of working people, does not speak well for the Meany leadership of the union movement.

There are three lessons workers can learn from their too-long and too-tolerant experience with old Meany, all negative: don't make deals with the boss, don't trust capitalist politicians, and don't undermine workers' struggles here or in other countries.



Meany's career was based on keeping workers in line in exchange for small concessions from employers. Now employers are changing rules of game, trying to take back what workers won in the past. Above, attack on United Steelworkers picket line during organizing drive in Newport News, Virginia.

George Meany and Social Democracy

By Frank Lovell

"American workers can feasibly accept the guns or butter argument, and opt for butter over guns, under only two conditions: either they no longer see an external threat, or they have gone into revolutionary opposition."

—Lane Kirkland, AFL-CIO president, at the 1980 Eugene V. Debs Award ceremony sponsored annually by Social Democrats USA.

One of the myths bequeathed to the union bureaucracy by George Meany—among the other mental encumbrances he bestowed—is the ever-present danger of communist invasion. Fear is an innate characteristic of social democracy, one of the main political currents indigenous to the working class. It derives historically from the economic insecurity of workers under capitalism.

Social democracy turns this insecurity into an ideology of compromise, a theory that the conflicting interests of the working class and the employing class can and must be reconciled. It comes naturally to those who have (or think they have) found a modicum of stability and prosperity for themselves within the profit system. The threatening tumult of the class struggle is to be avoided, defused, or suppressed at all cost.

In a recent series of articles in the *Militant* (February 22, February 29, and March 21) I detailed George Meany's history of collaboration with the bosses on the economic field, his intimate ties to U.S. imperialist foreign policy and especially the CIA, and his unrelenting opposition to a union break with the capitalist two-party political system. Throughout this career Meany was the embodiment of right-wing social democracy in this country. He promoted fear of communism (meaning fear of the class struggle) as a defense mechanism of the union bureaucracy, designed to protect its own privileges.

In the modern labor movement the bureaucratic officialdom of the unions in this country is the counterpart of the social democratic working-class parties in Europe. Their basic class collaborationist policy is the same, and their relations with the ruling class in their respective countries are similar. The difference is the absence in this country of an independent working-class party. But for social democracy this is a tactical difference. Social democrats here believe—even now—that it is wiser and safer to work within the capitalist two-party system.

'More—For Some

Right-wing social democracy found its most articulate early exponent in Samuel Gompers, first president of the American Federation of Labor and unabashed collaborator of U.S. imperialism in World War I. George Meany is remembered as the continuator of the union policies and practices initiated by Gompers.

When Gompers was once asked what the unions want, he answered "more." But there is an unspoken corollary to this. Both Gompers and Meany always tried to get more for a stratum of privileged workers at the expense of other workers. They hoped to convince the ruling class that in this way the employers would also gain.

How this worked out in practice is illustrated by the struggle for the rights of Black workers in the AFL-CIO. At the 1955 merger of the old AFL with the Congress of Industrial Unions, the new constitution outlawed race discrimination by any affiliated union.

By the time of the 1959 AFL-CIO convention nothing had been done to eliminate discrimination by most of the old craft unions. A. Philip Randolph, president of the all-Black Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, demanded an accounting. He had fought in the AFL against discrimination without much success, but he thought the new constitution after merger with the CIO ought to be enforced.

Randolph spoke with greater authority in 1959 than previously even though his union was in decline. He had the growing power of the civil rights movement behind him, and this gave him

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March 8, 1975—Meany accepts a 'brotherhood' citation from Nelson Rockefeller, then vice-president of the United States.

an alternative course of action when his pleadings were largely ignored by the union bureaucracy (which included him as part of a small minority).

Negro American Labor Council

In 1960 Randolph presided at the founding convention in Detroit of the Negro American Labor Council (NALC). It was attended by a thousand Black delegates from AFL-CIO and independent unions, including the Teamsters and United Mine Workers. At first Meany decried this as "dual unionism," but he soon changed his tune and after some face-saving negotiations made his peace with Randolph, who also understood the needs of the bureaucracy.

After passage of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, Meany sponsored the A. Philip Randolph Institute under AFL-CIO aegis. Bayard Rustin, a right-wing social democrat who had gained prominence as a Black leader in the civil rights movement, was appointed director of the institute. The immediate purpose was to set up a government-financed apprenticeship training program under union control. That purpose was achieved.

Few young Blacks were trained in the skilled trades, and fewer still got jobs through the program.

The AFL-CIO never won the respect of Black workers. Those who were fighting in the streets for jobs confronted the building trades unions as enemies, not allies. On the record Meany appeared to favor equal employment opportunity. But the results of his patchwork efforts were meager, usually negative. That is the way the union bureaucracy and a large section of the employers wanted it.

In relation to the other movements of social protest—the student movement and the much broader antiwar movement—Meany and the union bureaucracy were implacably hostile. The rebellious youth were striking out in all directions against social injustice and protected privilege. The union bureaucracy felt its privileges threatened.

Social Change

The threat was more ominous than Meany knew. It came from unseen social forces beyond the control even of the ruling class. Economic and social changes in the world since the AFL-CIO merger now overshadow all institutions in this country, not only the established unions. Union bureaucrats dislike being reminded of all

that has happened, but the facts will not go away.

The image of U.S. invincibility was erased by its military defeat in Vietnam.

The myth of dollar stability was destroyed by the decline in competitive advantage of U.S. goods in the world market.

The lie that world imperialism is a viable and socially progressive economic system has been exposed.

The illusion that class harmony, industrial peace, and social well-being can be nurtured in the United States at the expense of a world at war has been shattered.

Early in the 1970s a vocal minority within the AFL-CIO hierarchy began to sense their precarious position as mediators in the continuous struggle between the working class and the employers. Top union officials were becoming nervous. Meany's job, as he perceived it, was to calm their fears and work out consensus among them on how to respond to government pressures, employer attacks, union dissidence, and social unrest.

United Auto Workers President Walter Reuther's departure from the AFL-CIO Executive Council in 1968 signaled the general uncertainty and insecurity in that body. A year later, in retrospect, Reuther said, "I wouldn't want to hold the hands of reluctant labor politicians."

In 1973 Jerry Wurf, president of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees and a vice-president of the AFL-CIO, pointed to the ebbing political power of the labor movement at that time. He found it hard to believe that a president of the United States—even Nixon—would dare veto an increase in the minimum wage in times of serious inflation, risking the wrath of a united labor movement. "That Mr. Nixon did so, and that labor could not persuade Congress to override the veto, is one of the most telling facts about what's wrong with labor today," Wurf said.

A newcomer to the AFL-CIO Executive Council, William Winpisinger, president of the Machinists unions, told them the cold truth in 1977. "We're perceived as a middle-class lobby protecting our own ass," he said.

Image Makers

The union bureaucracy is not merely the representative of the capitalists inside the workers movement, although it is that. It balances between the two contending classes, bending to

Continued on page ISR/11

Michigan drive big success

Petitioning takes SWP campaign to thousands

By Sheila Ostrow

DETROIT—After three weeks of petitioning, the Michigan Socialist Workers Party has collected well over the 18,335 signatures required to put the party on the ballot; 26,146 signatures were collected.

Petitioning was part of the overall fight to challenge the restrictive Michigan ballot requirements. The Michigan law is one of the most undemocratic in the country.

The petitioning drive was organized and completed in one month, in record time, in order to comply with the May 5 filing deadline. Jim Burfeind, one of the petition drive organizers, explains, "We in the SWP made a firm decision that all other work would be put aside in order to accomplish the petition drive in three weeks."

"We were able to turn unemployment against the ruling class by organizing laid-off steel and auto workers to petition six days a week."

"Supporters responded to an appeal to use paid personal holidays and vacation time to petition to help put the SWP on the ballot."

Bill Arth, SWP candidate for Congress, said: "One of the most important strengths of the drive was tying in the petitioning with socialist campaigning. We were able to talk to thousands of Michigan residents about working-class alternatives. Thousands of leaflets outlining key aspects of the SWP's platform were passed out. Petitioners carried Young Socialists for Pulley and Zimmermann cards with them to add names of interested people to the mailing list."

Petitioning teams were organized around the state. Teams were sent to East Lansing, Grand Rapids, Ypsilanti, Mount Pleasant, and Flint. Campaign supporters got a particularly good response in Flint, a major auto center that has been hard hit by auto layoffs and has the highest percentage of unemployment in the state.

They traveled to Michigan State University and Central Michigan University where more than 1,600 signatures were collected.

Petitioners learned a lot about the mood of working people in Michigan. There is a general disgust with the lack of alternatives. A common response was, "Sure, I'll sign. Anything is better than what we have now."

A campaign supporter who works at Ford's River Rouge complex said one evening, "I collected more than 100

signatures today. All I had to say was that these candidates think we should reduce the workweek with no loss in pay to spread the available work around. I also tell people that we want to create jobs to build housing, schools, hospitals, mass transit, and other needs. Working people are immediately interested in these kinds of proposals and would like to see them discussed in the campaign."

Campaign supporters petitioned at an unemployment office that almost exclusively serves laid-off Chrysler workers. A Black woman laid off from Chrysler Lynch Road plant asked if the petitioners were for SWP presidential candidate Andrew Pulley. "Let me sign that, I've been looking for you. The Fair Practices Committee in my local has been discussing this campaign and we're interested in having Pulley speak to our committee."

An older white woman asked if the

petition was against Carter. When she heard that these candidates were working people, she said, "Boy, I thought we needed that for a long time. It's clear the Democrats and Republicans aren't going to do anything for working people. And we especially need a woman."

Martha Dowling, SWP candidate for U.S. Congress and member of United Steelworkers of America Local 2541, was able to petition among her co-workers. Many already knew she was a candidate and were glad to sign her petitions. Several had met Pulley on a previous campaign tour and had talked with him at the plant. They were anxious to sign to make sure Pulley and Dowling would be on the ballot so they could vote for them. Much of the discussion revolved around the undemocratic ballot laws. Most didn't realize that there was a possibility Pulley would be barred from

the general election ballot.

Supporters of the campaign who participated in petitioning included a steelworker from McClouth Steel, a high school student, and a teacher. These supporters collected more than 500 signatures in one day alone. They also helped with the mountains of paper work that was required.

The support and participation of the Young Socialist Alliance was decisive in the success of the campaign.

Carol Dombrowski joined the YSA a month ago. She noted an important side of the petitioning effort: "We are educating ourselves by finding out what people are thinking and how they feel about the issues the campaign is raising. And we're educating people we meet about the Pulley-Zimmermann campaign and the Young Socialist Alliance. It amounts to growth for the movement for socialism in this country."

Free speech is issue in ballot law fight

By Nan Bailey

Fundamental issues are being raised by the Socialist Workers Party in its challenge to Public Act 94. This is the Michigan election law which has barred smaller parties from the general election ballot by requiring them to get 4,000 to 5,000 votes in the primary election.

I recently discussed the suit with Margaret Winter and Ron Reosti, SWP attorneys in the case.

Reosti told me, "There have been two primaries since this undemocratic law was passed. Because the primaries are overwhelmingly oriented to voting on prospective Republican and Democratic candidates, no smaller party has met the requirement."

"When the Democratic and Republican parties are given a monopoly on the election ballot," said Winter, "it isn't just the rights of the SWP and those who actually vote for us at the polls that are denied. The fundamental rights of all working people to a hearing in the electoral process are denied. Posing this issue makes the Michigan case a first."

"We're saying that the Michigan election law violates the First Amendment right of the people of Michigan to consider the views of a workers party like the SWP in this election," Reosti explained. "We have an important

precedent for our argument, and that's a ballot case we won in the U.S. Supreme Court last year: *Illinois State Board of Elections vs Socialist Workers Party*."

The ruling in that case stated, in part:

"The States' interest in screening out frivolous candidates must be considered in light of the significant role that third parties have played in the political development of the Nation. Abolitionists, Progressives, and Populists have undeniably had influence, if not always electoral success. As the records of such parties demonstrate, an election campaign is a means of disseminating ideas as well as attaining political office. . . . Overbroad restrictions on ballot access jeopardize this form of political expression."

Said Reosti, "That ruling was the first time the Supreme Court clearly established the important role played by smaller parties, even when those parties don't win elections." These campaigns can be an educational force, the ruling explained, by provoking a discussion that would not otherwise have taken place.

"Socialist Workers Party campaigns are playing this role today," said Winter. "With the Michigan suit, we are fighting for the right of working people to hear and discuss the socialist alter-

native to the program of the bosses and their two parties."

"The State of Michigan claims that a fair ballot would 'confuse' voters and 'clutter up the ballot' with parties that don't have 'significant voter support,'" said Winter. "But the truth is that millions of working people, including those who are not yet ready to vote socialist, do want socialist candidates to appear on the election ballot."

As an example, Winter described how "many of the 25,000 people who signed our nominating petitions in Michigan support and want to hear more about our call for a labor party to represent the interests of working people. No Republican or Democratic candidate has raised this popular idea."

"And thousands of others signed our petitions," said Winter, "because they wanted the other proposals our candidates have raised to be covered by the media, debated in public, and generally discussed in this election. If the SWP can't get on the ballot, those ideas won't be heard."

The Michigan Committee for a Fair Ballot has been organized to win support and raise funds for the SWP suit. To join in this important fight for democratic rights, contact the committee at 6404 Woodward Avenue, Detroit, Michigan 48202, or phone (313) 875-5322.

Colorado, Missouri: thousands sign for SWP ticket

Socialist campaigners are pushing ahead with petitioning campaigns in many parts of the country.

The Colorado Socialist Workers Party has collected 4,100 of the 5,000 signatures required to place the Pulley-Zimmermann ticket on the ballot.

Petitioner Rose Peery approached one elderly woman who told her she was the chairperson of her Democratic precinct caucus. When Peery asked the woman whether she would sign to put the socialist slate on the ballot, she said, "Yes, we need more alternatives."

In fact, she said, she was resigning from her position in the Democratic Party because "I don't want war and I don't want my five children to be killed in a war."

The Colorado SWP is also running Silvia Zapata for the U.S.

Senate seat now held by Gary Hart, and Harold Sudmeyer for the U.S. House of Representatives from the First District—a seat now held by Rep. Patricia Schroeder.

In Missouri, about seventy-five volunteers have collected nearly 25,000 signatures—15,000 from the St. Louis region and 10,000 from the Kansas City area. This is well over the 18,000 required under state law.

In addition to Pulley and Zimmermann, the socialist campaigners are seeking to put Martin Anderson on the ballot as the SWP candidate for governor.

The next big petitioning drive to open up will be in Pennsylvania. Beginning May 17, the socialists will petition for three weeks to collect 43,000 signatures. Campaign supporters in Pennsylvania plan to surpass that goal by a good margin.



Petitioning in St. Louis for socialist alternative

Militant/Susie Berman

By William Gottlieb
(second of a series)

The idea that wage increases cause prices to rise is at the heart of every "anti-inflation" plan put forward by the corporations, news media, and Democratic and Republican politicians.

Carter has his wage "guidelines," Kennedy proposes controls, and Anderson urges a freeze—all on the claim that restraining wages will bring down inflation.

The government's own figures show that wages have lagged behind prices, not pushed prices up. For example, the average take-home pay of a married worker with three dependents rose from \$90.86 in 1967 to \$202.29 in December 1979, according to the Bureau of Labor Statistics. That's a 123 percent increase. Sounds like a lot.

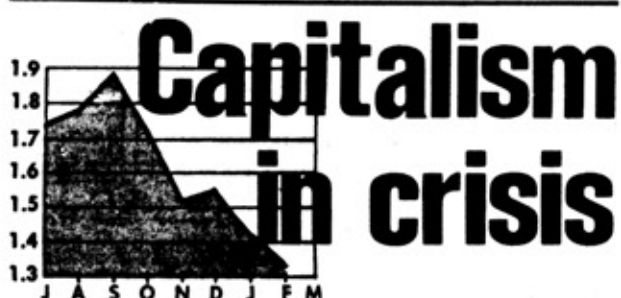
But prices, measured by the Consumer Price Index, rose 130 percent in the same period. So corrected for inflation, the worker took home only \$87.95 in December 1979—less than thirteen years ago. (It's also worth noting that the amount produced by each worker—productivity—rose 17 percent during that period in the overall private business sector and 31 percent in manufacturing. The worker is producing more and more but getting paid less and less.)

This year, as the economy slides into recession, the government has been reporting each month that real wages fell another 1 percent or so. But prices keep climbing at an 18 percent annual rate.

Flawed logic

Still, isn't it possible that even greater restraint on wages might at least slow down inflation? So perhaps it would be "only" 10 or 12 percent this year?

Behind such logic is the assumption that the level of wages determines the price of commodities. There is another hidden assumption—that the rate of



profit is fixed. In other words, the corporations can simply pass along any increase in wage costs through higher prices, while reaping the same profit.

If this were true, the capitalists would be quite indifferent to union activity. They would simply grant wage increases as requested and proceed to raise prices. There would hardly ever be strikes, since why would a corporation risk the loss of business through a strike if *at no cost to itself* it could grant higher wages. The long history of the bosses' attempts to smash unions indicates there is some error in this explanation.

If wages don't determine prices, what does? And what effect do wage increases have? The answer to these questions was discovered long ago by the early nineteenth century British economist David Ricardo. The fact that Ricardo was a strong supporter of capitalism and no friend of the working class makes his argument all the more convincing.

Ricardo explained that when supply and demand cancel each other out (as they tend to do in the long run) the price of a commodity is determined by the amount of *labor time* needed to produce it. That's not only the time for final assembly of the product, of course. It includes the labor time necessary to produce the raw materials and that portion of machinery used up or worn out in the production process.

Wages vs. profits

Now, if wages rise, what is the effect on the amount of labor time required to produce commodities? None at all.

OIL PROFITS SCOREBOARD January-March 1980

Company	Profits	Increase from 1979
Exxon	\$1,925 million	102%
Mobil	1,381 million	208
Texaco	1,003 million	230
Amoco (Standard Oil of Indiana)	576 million	65
Gulf	389 million	56

Why wage increases don't cause inflation



California pickets during recent strike by oil refinery workers

Militant/Joel Ryan

What does happen is a shift in the division of national income from capital to labor. Wages *rise* and profits *fall*. It is exactly this principle that is involved in every strike over wages.

The employers, on the other side, fight to keep wages down because that means higher profits for them—certainly not in order to give lower prices to consumers.

It might be argued that a rise in wages would at least cause an increase in the prices of those commodities consumed by the workers, because demand for these commodities would now exceed the supply.

This *might* happen, but it would be a temporary effect.

If higher demand for basic consumer goods led to higher prices, then the firms producing those commodities would make higher profits than those producing luxury goods for the bosses. The companies making goods for consumption by workers would therefore step up production; more companies would probably enter this field to take advantage of the higher profits. As that happened, the supply of these goods would increase until it equaled demand or even (since production under capitalism is not socially planned) exceeded demand. Prices would stabilize and then fall.

The opposite would happen with the companies producing goods for the rich. In response to lower demand and lower profits on these goods, production would decrease until supply no longer exceeded demand.

In the end, the prices would be the same as before. But the composition of production would now be different—more would be produced for the workers and less for the bosses. In reality, these temporary price movements would be very slight or would not occur at all, because of the great amount of unused productive capacity that usually exists under capitalism.

Tax-cut hoax

The same analysis can be extended to taxes and social spending. If taxes on the rich are increased *across the board* and the extra money used to finance social programs, the well-being of the working people is increased at the expense of the bosses.

For example, if social security taxes paid by the employers were increased and the funds used to increase payments to the elderly and disabled, these people could purchase more commodities and the employers less. The market would shift productive resources toward meeting the needs of the elderly and disabled, away from producing commodities for the rich. Prices *would not* go up.

The reverse is also true. And this is not just a theoretical question. Many Democratic and Republican politicians are pushing to cut taxes paid by corporations and the rich as a way of "fighting inflation."

If such tax cuts occur and social benefits are cut (and this is already happening), the result will be a shift in production of commodities away from the beneficiaries of social services and toward consumption by the employers. Prices will not come down!

What about OPEC?

What about the claim that today's soaring prices are caused by the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC)?

It is true that a monopoly pushes up the prices on particular commodities and thus is able to realize *superprofits*. The classic example of monopoly, however, is not OPEC but the giant U.S. and European oil companies, especially the so-called Seven Sisters.

Without opening the books and records of these companies, we have no way of knowing the real production cost or availability of oil. We don't know how much oil is being deliberately withheld from production *in this country* in anticipation of future price increases. We don't know how much of the current increase in energy prices is going to OPEC and how much is going into higher superprofits for the U.S. oil companies. The first-quarter 1979 profit figures (see box) suggest the U.S. monopolists are among the biggest beneficiaries of soaring energy prices.

It is certainly true that for all his "anti-inflation" rhetoric, Carter's energy policy—like that of Nixon and Ford before him—is based on *higher* energy prices. Carter's lifting of controls on domestic crude oil prices will cost U.S. consumers an estimated \$1,000 billion over the next decade. That is all money going to U.S. companies—not OPEC.

To make matters worse, the centerpiece of Carter's "anti-inflation" program is a ten-cent-a-gallon tax *increase* on gasoline.

These price and tax increases are a big hardship for working people. However, the rise in the relative price of oil by no means explains the general rise in the prices of commodities.

At the end of last year, the federal government estimated that oil price rises added 2.4 percentage points to consumer prices in 1979 and would add 3.1 percentage points in 1980. Inflation is now running at 18 percent. What accounts for the other 15 percentage points?

* * *

So far we've seen that none of the prevailing explanations for double-digit inflation will hold up under scrutiny. It's not caused by demand exceeding supply. It's not caused by low productivity. Nor by high wages, oil shortages, or OPEC. Then why are the prices of commodities rising?

In fact, why aren't prices falling in the face of record productivity and supply that so far exceeds demand that massive unemployment is developing as business liquidates "excess" inventories? That's what our next article will begin to take up.

The Great Society

Harry Ring



Add a grain of salt—*New York Times* correspondent Jo Thomas reported from Costa Rica, with a straight face, that Cuban emigres told her they survived at the Peruvian Embassy in Havana by eating dogs, cats, and a papaya tree. This despite Thomas's earlier report from Havana that four major hotels were trucking food into the embassy. Back in Havana, Thomas explained how they ate the tree. They "boiled it." In the embassy's hot springs?

We're all in this together—Ford workers on layoff will be comforted to know that Henry II's daughter Charlotte is living simply in a four-bedroom New York apartment, a summer home at Southhampton, and a condo in Sun Valley. And she has no maid. She vacuums herself, explaining, "It's very therapeutic."

Yes, yes!—To relieve the stench of government wiretapping, a special court was appointed to pass on requests for bugging operations. Attorney General Civiletti reported to Congress that in the first year, the government made 199 applications to bug people in other countries. Of these, the court approved 207. "There was," the *New York Times* reported, "no immediate explanation for the disparity in the numbers."

The golden years—Old-age pensioners will be particularly gratified to know that the tax-funded New York office for Nixon is almost ready. A fifteen-room suite, it includes a kitchenette and private toilet. (You want him to use the one in the hall?) Alterations cost \$53,000. Annual rent, \$66,000.

Be prepared—Nixon said he favors a peacetime draft, "so that we do not have to have a wartime draft."

Fire sale—We reported that, to dampen opposition, the French government was offering a 15 percent rent discount to people living near nuclear sites. Could be a bargain, unless you consider things like the recent fire at a nuclear reprocessing plant near Cherbourg which caused "some" contamination.

Safety first—A veteran Pan Am pilot voiced complaints about lax maintenance procedures. He cited some of his own experiences, including a generator failure, clogged fuel strainers, and failure of navigating receivers. Pan Am responded with prompt action. It grounded the pilot.



"Well, they told us they'd do more drilling after prices went up."

By Any Means Necessary

August Nimtz



FBI raids Harlem

This week's column is by Osborne Hart.

Anyone with illusions that last month's Supreme Court ruling against unwarranted search and seizure (the "no-knock" law) would halt such cop activity didn't have to wait long to have them dispelled.

Just four days after the ruling, on April 19, fifty FBI agents armed with shotguns and machine guns stormed a Harlem apartment building.

Rousting tenants from their beds, the FBI shook the place—and the people—down. Doors were bashed in, and apartments ransacked. Guns were pointed into faces and poked into stomachs.

What or who were they looking for without a warrant at midnight?

They say they were looking for Joanne Chesimard.

Chesimard, also known as Assata Shakur, is a Black nationalist convicted for allegedly murdering a New Jersey state trooper in 1973. She escaped from prison last November.

It would seem, however, that the FBI doesn't know what she looks like. During the raid, agents demanded that women expose their thighs because Chesimard has a scar on her thigh!

Who knows how many Black women on the streets of New York are being terrorized and harassed under the guise of the hunt for Chesimard.

In the wake of the raid, residents of 92 Morningside Avenue have been organizing meetings against FBI harassment. They're appealing for support from the entire community. They're filing a lawsuit

and seeking a court order to end surveillance of the area. They suspect that a suspicious group of white men playing basketball across the street prior to the raid was part of this surveillance.

The New York FBI office sees no violation of the law. But they are dutifully conducting their own "investigation."

After all the revelations about FBI spying, harassment, dirty tricks, and other illegal actions—particularly against the Black movement—something like the Harlem raid occurs.

After all the promises from the many Democratic and Republican politicians that the FBI is being cleaned up and reformed, they terrorize Harlem anew.

Black Democratic representative Charles Rangel, whose district includes that part of Harlem, referred to the raid as "Gestapo-like." Rangel has called on the U.S. attorney general to conduct an investigation into the raid.

An investigation is needed, but not by the FBI nor the attorney general.

The residents of Morningside Avenue, their Harlem neighbors, and other working people should investigate the FBI's crimes. Open the files and let the victims get to the truth.

Congress, Carter, and their police agencies apparently believe the heat is off, freeing them to openly step up their intimidation operations against the Black community.

With recent attacks on democratic rights in Harlem and around the country, it's time to renew the demand for an end to government spying, harassment, and terror.



Amsterdam News
FBI agents vandalized Violet Hyman's apartment at 92 Morningside Avenue. She was away at the time.

What's Going On

CALIFORNIA LOS ANGELES

PANEL DISCUSSION ON LABOR AND THE EQUAL RIGHTS AMENDMENT. REPORT FROM CHICAGO LABOR ERA RALLY. Sat., May 17, 7:30 p.m. 2211 N. Broadway. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (213) 225-3126.

GEORGIA ATLANTA

CUBA TODAY. Cuban dinner and slide show. Speaker: Janice Prescott, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senate recently returned from Cuba, with slide show. Sat., May 17, 6:30 p.m. Atkins Park Deli, 749 N. Highland. Donation: \$5, \$4.50 in advance. Ausp: Georgia Socialist Workers Party Campaign. For more information call (404) 872-7229.

MINNESOTA TWIN CITIES

CAMPAIGN BANQUET AND RALLY WITH ANDREW PULLEY. Socialist Workers Party candidate for president. Fri., May 16, 6 p.m. refreshments, 7 p.m. dinner, 8:30 p.m. rally. 508 N. Snelling Ave., St. Paul. Donation: \$5 dinner; \$1 rally only. Ausp: SWP Campaign Committee and Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (612) 644-6325.

NEW JERSEY NEWARK

SOCIALIST WORKERS CAMPAIGN RALLY. Speakers: Matilde Zimmermann, Socialist Workers Party candidate for vice-president; Chris Hildebrand, SWP candidate for Congress; Jon Britton, SWP candidate for Congress. Sun., May 18, 3 p.m. social hour, 4 p.m. rally, 6 p.m. reception. 11-A Central Ave. (near Broad). Donation: \$3. Ausp: New Jersey Socialist Workers Campaign. For more information call (201) 624-3889.

NEW YORK BROOKLYN

GRENADA: REVOLUTION IN THE CARIBBEAN. Speakers: Jimmy Emmanuel, Charge d'affaires, Grenada U.N. Mission; Adeyemi Bandle, Black United Front; Jerry Hunnicutt, correspondent for 'Intercontinental Press/Inprecor.' Sat., May 10, 7:30 p.m. Medgar Evers College, Cafeteria, 1150 Carroll Street. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (212) 783-2135 or 533-2902.

NEW YORK CITY

SOCIALIST WORKERS CAMPAIGN RALLY: NO DRAFT, NO U.S. WAR DRIVE. U.S. HANDS OFF IRAN! Speaker: Matilde Zimmermann, Socialist Workers Party candidate for vice-president. Sun., May 18, 6 p.m. social hour, 7 p.m. rally. Donation: \$4, \$3 in advance. Ausp: Socialist Workers Campaign. For more information call (212) 533-2902.

DEMONSTRATE IN SUPPORT OF OLIVE McKEON. Demonstration protesting the jailing of

Olive McKeon, an Irish American who refused to submit handwriting sample to federal grand jury investigating arms smuggling to Ireland. Sat., May 10, 1 p.m. Daily News Building 220 East 42nd Street. Ausp: The Ad Hoc Committee to Free Olive McKeon. For more information call (212) 567-1611.

THE FUND FOR OPEN INFORMATION AND ACCOUNTABILITY, INC. and clients of Mike Perlin and Dave Scribner celebrate the victory in lawsuit preventing FBI's destruction of files. Thurs., May 29, 6 p.m. Buffet dinner and program. \$15. Loeb Student Center, New York Univ. Ausp: FOIA. For more information call (212) 730-8095.

OREGON PORTLAND

A CAMPAIGN RECEPTION. Meet Fred Auger, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor. Sun., May 18, 7 p.m. refreshments. 711 N.W. Everett. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (503) 222-7225.

The meaning of May Day

May Day, an international holiday, celebrates the solidarity of workers in all countries in the fight for a better world. This year saw celebrations on all continents. A particularly inspiring one was the gathering of a million and a half in Havana vowing resistance to Washington's threats.

In the United States there was no major celebration. There haven't been in a number of decades. Most American workers don't know much about May Day, which is generally portrayed in the capitalist media as some kind of "foreign," "communist" affair.

But May Day is as American as the proverbial apple pie.

May Day was established by the organized American labor movement then fighting for an eight-hour day.

Later it was made a worldwide holiday by the Second International, the Labor and Socialist International.

May Day in the United States also marks the martyrdom of a group of working-class fighters, the anarchist victims of a police provocation and frame-up in Chicago in 1886.

The eight-hour day was won. But it is one of labor's gains that has come under attack in recent times. Today many workers put in more than forty hours either because their union officials permit employers to impose mandatory overtime, or because the wage-price gap makes overtime a bitter necessity.

In early America, workers labored fourteen to eighteen hours a day. In the early 1830s, the fight began for a ten-hour day and, with the end of the Civil War, that fight was pretty well won. Labor then set its sights on the eight-hour day.

This goal was projected by the 1884 convention of the Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions, which later became known as the American Federation of Labor.

That convention set May 1, 1886, as the day for action in winning the eight-hour day.

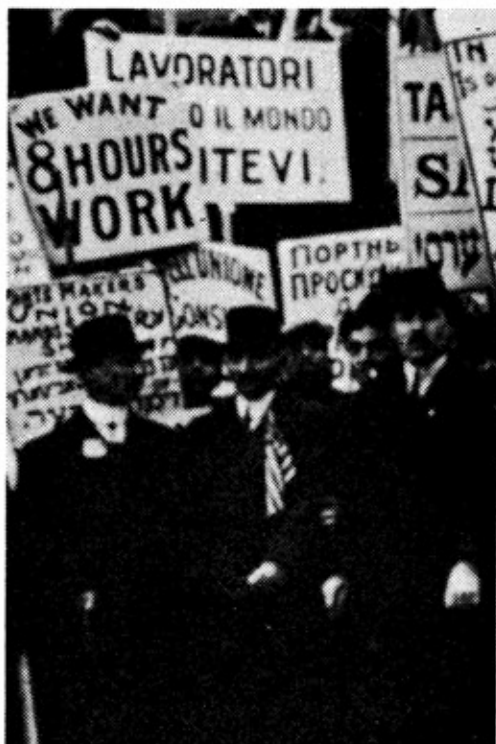
During that period the unions enjoyed a big growth and there was a sharp increase in the number of strikes, including strikes for the eight-hour day.

On May Day, 1886, thousands of workers in many cities poured out. The most powerful action was in Chicago, already a major industrial center with a militant working class.

Two days later, Chicago workers joined in a solidarity rally with striking workers at McCormick Harvester. There was a confrontation with scabs and a bloody police attack. At least one striker was killed and a half dozen wounded.

A protest rally was called for Haymarket Square the night of May 4.

As that rally was ending, police suddenly ordered it to disperse. At that moment a bomb exploded among the cops. A number of them were killed.



1912: Immigrant workers strike for eight hour day.

The incident was used to open an attack on labor. Thirty-one people were indicted, including a number of anarchists who were leading figures in the unions.

Eight were convicted in a rigged trial where no evidence against them was presented.

On November 11, 1887, four of them were hanged—Albert Parsons, August Spies, George Engel, and Adolph Fischer. A fifth committed suicide and three went to prison.

The trial brought protests, here and abroad. After the executions, the fight continued for those imprisoned.

That fight was won in 1893 when Gov. John Altgeld pardoned them, declaring his belief that all the defendants were innocent.

Their stories are told in *The Autobiographies of the Haymarket Martyrs* (Pathfinder Press, \$4.45).

The 1888 convention of the AFL voted to renew the fight for the eight-hour day and set May Day, 1890, as the next target date for action.

And, at the founding congress of the Second International in Paris in July 1889, it was voted to establish an international workers' holiday. May 1 was chosen in solidarity with the slated action of the AFL.

That's how May Day spread from here around the world.

In succeeding decades, a conservatized labor bureaucracy joined with government and bosses to stifle the May Day tradition. But just as it spread abroad, it will come back again, marking a new level of battle against capitalist exploitation and misery.

—Harry Ring

Klan thugs set free

Two members of the Ku Klux Klan who attacked and brutally beat an anti-Klan demonstrator in Oceanside, California, March 15 were let off the hook by the District Attorney.

The District Attorney's office rejected a request from the Oceanside police to file felony assault charges against the Klansmen for the beating of Bruce Kala, a member of the Revolutionary Socialist League in Los Angeles.

Kala was a participant in a demonstration against the Klan when he was attacked by several Klansmen wielding clubs, chains, and carrying knives and guns. More than 200 stitches were required to close the wounds in Kala's head.

As Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Congress in the 42nd District, I have called on the authorities to prosecute the KKK attackers to the fullest extent of the law.

The record of the Ku Klux Klan is clear: a 100-year history of murder and violence against Black people, Mexicans, and organized labor. The most recent example was in Greensboro, North Carolina, where local Klansmen gunned down five anti-Klan demonstrators with the complicity of the police. In Oceanside as well, the police did nothing to protect demonstrators from the Klan assault.

We need to build a broad, powerful movement of labor, Black and Chicano groups, and women's organizations to stop Klan violence. We need a mobilization of thousands—like the Greensboro march of 7,000 on February 2—to demand the indictment of the Klan thugs and let the KKK know that we will not be intimidated.

Kathryn Crowder
San Diego, California

Anti-inflation candidate

I just finished reading an article in the March *International Teamster* magazine that completely ignores the obvious conclusions that can be drawn from the facts the article points out.

The article, entitled "A Chicken in Every Pot," states that food and gas lead the inflation stampede; "inflation is very democratic, protecting only the rich"; "people on fixed incomes are caught between a rock and a hard place"; "it is pretty discouraging for the worker to ratify a union contract only to find that increases are eaten away in the first year."

It concludes: "The sands in the hour glass of hope quickly are reaching the bottom, and in this presidential year, we have yet to see anyone seeking the highest office who proposes to turn the glass over and put hope on top again."

What this leaves out is that the economic problems we face were planted, nurtured along carefully, and have now ripened under Democratic and Republican rule in Washington, steered, of course, from the big business boardrooms.

There is someone seeking the highest office of this country who has a program that offers real solutions for the poor and working people of this country.

His name is Andrew Pulley.

L.R.
Teamsters Local 391
Winston-Salem, North Carolina

Honest & direct

We think the *Militant* is one of the best newspapers in this country. Its honesty and direct approach toward reporting all the events which are important

UAW strike in Cleveland

"We've got another International Harvester." That is the way one shop steward described the strike by 500 members of United Auto Workers Local 451 against the Baker Material Handling Corporation in Cleveland. The strike began April 21.

Baker produces lift trucks and is owned by the Linde Corporation of West Germany, the largest lift truck manufacturer in Europe. Linde management was taking a hard line in the contract talks, refusing to discuss anything other than takebacks.

The major focus of the company's attack concerns the union's control over seniority and job classifications. They want to greatly reduce recall rights and have the ability to move a worker from job to job regardless of classification or seniority.

Local 451 members see their strike as a basic fight for justice. A steward commented, "The company must need a dictionary—they don't know the difference between work and slavery."

The union never even got to present any of our proposals before negotiations were broken off. Currently Baker workers are one dollar an hour behind workers at the Caterpillar lift truck plant, which is also located in Cleveland. Other major union demands include improved pensions with thirty years and out and improved health benefits.

Union members know that they face the possibility of a long uphill battle. Because truck sales have been so low it is generally felt that the company provoked a strike in order to close the plant and avoid paying unemployment benefits. The plant had already been shut down for one month back in December. In addition, 200 members of Local 451 are on indefinite layoff.

Despite these odds the union intends to fight back. Picketing is well organized and the plant is shut down tight. All truckers and outside contractors are honoring the picket lines.

Jeff Powers
Glen Arnold
UAW Local 451
Cleveland, Ohio

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Slaves in prison

The proletariat has been the victim far too long of the capitalistic press of this country, which is why we need your paper to raise the consciousness of the masses.

Among the many inhuman conditions that exist in this political warehouse of human flesh, prisoners are still the victims of economic slavery. The average slave here receives a salary of fourteen dollars a month, which is far too low for the harsh working conditions they must endure just to buy cigarettes, personal hygiene items, etc.

A couple of months ago, the administration here adopted a forced labor policy which made it mandatory that you take one of these forced labor jobs by holding the threat of the hole over our heads. After these threats didn't work, they quickly threw the jive policy out of the window, giving a token raise from eleven dollars a month to the fourteen dollars that is received now.

This grossly inhumane act being implemented by the Department of Corrections (Corrections because it corrects no one) is only complied with due to the fact that most of us see this as an alternative to the long hours that would be spent in a cell otherwise.

One of the biggest problems here is the existence of the Ku Klux Klan within the institution. The department's head lackey here, Warden James Fairman, denies the existence of this racist hate group and speaks through his superior of a war against the gangs. This program to take the institution from the gangs should have been implemented to take the institution from the Klan, facilitating to diminish this on-going systematic racism.

We may have lost one of our so-called rights, the right to vote, yet this will not actively stop us from supporting your candidates in this year's elections. As long as we can educate ourselves, we can surely help raise our parents' consciousness, thus educating the proletariat and bringing some serious change to a protracted situation.

*A prisoner
Illinois*

The 'Militant' special prisoner fund makes it possible to send reduced-rate subscriptions to prisoners who can't pay for them. To help out, send your contribution to: Militant Prisoner Subscription Fund, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014.

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

Five months ago, thousands of Soviet soldiers moved across Russia's southern border into Afghanistan. Afghanistan was thrust to the center of world politics.

Carter claimed that the Soviet intervention threatened world peace. The capitalist media poured out stories about mass murders by Soviet troops—accepting the most outlandish assertions of the ultrarightist guerrillas. Afghanistan was labeled "Russia's Vietnam."

The Afghan events and the responses of the U.S. government pose many questions for working people. What is happening in Afghanistan? Why are Soviet troops there? What is Soviet foreign policy? Is the Soviet Union or U.S. big business the cause of the war danger?

The Truth About Afghanistan by Doug Jenness (Pathfinder Press, \$95) is a pamphlet that answers these and other questions.

In April 1978, he explains, a revolution began in Afghanistan. A dictatorship backed by landlords, capitalists, and the neighboring shah of Iran, was toppled. The new government began to institute desperately needed reforms.

Hundreds of thousands of peasants got land. Women and national minorities were granted more rights. Trade unions were legalized. A literacy drive was launched. Health care and sanitation began to be extended to the countryside. Trade unions were legalized.

The landlords, usurers, and dope peddlers who had profited from the old order organized armed bands to try to reverse these gains. Washington, which feared the impact of such changes on other countries in the region, helped finance and train the counterrevolutionaries.

In the closing months of 1979, it appeared that the rightists were making some headway. With greatly increased outside help, they hoped to soon threaten the government's survival.

That's when the Soviet troops came in.

Why?

"It [the Soviet government] feared the victory of the counterrevolution and the establishment of a hostile U.S.-backed beachhead along the thousand-mile border between the Soviet Union and Afghanistan," explains Jenness.

The Soviet Union's aid to Afghanistan stems ultimately from the fact that it is a workers state. But it is governed by a privileged bureaucratic caste that extracts privileges from the progressive planned economy established as a consequence of the Russian revolution.

The basic goal of the Soviet rulers is to make deals with Washington and the other imperialist powers. They fear revolutions in other countries as a threat to the prospect of peaceful collaboration with imperialism.

But such collaboration is impossible in the long run because U.S. big business relentlessly pushes for more markets for goods and investments—for more profits. This drive toward world domination means that Washington must seek to undermine and destroy the Soviet workers state.

Jenness compares the Kremlin's response to that of a union bureaucrat forced to oppose a union-busting drive:

"When the Kremlin sent Soviet troops into Afghanistan, it did not do so out of revolutionary motives, but as a defensive measure. It saw the U.S.- and Pakistani-backed guerrillas as a threat to the Soviet workers state, which is their base of power and privileges. But like the case of a union bureaucrat taking action to defend the union, the Soviet action coincided with the interests of the Afghan workers and peasants in putting down the counterrevolution."

Jenness points out the fallacy of the portrayal of Afghanistan as Russia's Vietnam: "The fact is that the Soviet troops intervened in Afghanistan on the side of the forces fighting for the interests of the workers and peasants, who are the big majority, and against the reactionary ruling classes, who represent the interests of a minority. In Vietnam, on the other hand, Washington intervened on the side of the landlords, capitalists, and other privileged rich, while the bulk of the population supported the fighters of the National Liberation Front."

The real threat of war stems from big business and its government in Washington: "Today, the big clashes are . . . struggles by the toiling masses to take control of their lands and resources away from the masters. . . ."

"In response to these struggles," Jenness explains, "the U.S. government has intervened time and again in colonial and semicolonial countries to protect the investments of the American ruling rich. The U.S. ruling class has used every means at its disposal—from military intervention to economic pressure to blockades, CIA plots, and arms sales."

"A victory for the counterrevolution in Afghanistan," he concludes, "would embolden the imperialists to try to defeat the struggle of the masses in Nicaragua, Grenada, Kampuchea, Iran, and other countries in the midst of revolutions. . . ."

"The Soviet Union, on the other hand," writes Jenness, "has played a different role in relation to the colonial countries. It does not have an economic system which demands foreign investments. It has no big corporations—like Exxon—with profits to protect. The colonial revolution does not threaten it in the same way as it does in the U.S. In some cases, the Soviet Union has even extended aid to liberation struggles. Soviet foreign policy has had a defensive character—it has not been the cause of war. The threat of war, including nuclear war, has largely come from the United States."

To counter the spread of revolutions in Asia, Africa, and Latin America, the U.S. rulers are increasing military spending, trying to reinstitute the draft, and imposing austerity on American working people. The lies and distortions about Afghanistan are sucker bait aimed at persuading us to go along.

The Truth About Afghanistan answers the lies with the facts. It is well worth reading.

—Osborne Hart

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THE MILITANT

March on D.C. May 17 for jobs, peace, justice Unions, NOW, Black groups back action

By Jerry Hunnicutt

WASHINGTON—Support is growing for the May 17 national march for jobs called by Black leader Jesse Jackson, head of Operation PUSH.

At a May 7 news conference here, national leaders of the United Steelworkers, United Auto Workers, National Alliance of Postal and Federal Employees, and National Organization for Women put their groups behind the May 17 effort.

Speaking along with Jesse Jackson, they tied the May 17 effort to the May 10 march for the Equal Rights Amendment in Chicago.

Both John T. Smith, special assistant to USWA President Lloyd McBride, and UAW Vice-president Marc Stepp pointed to the layoffs and plant closings affecting hundreds of thousands of their union members as requiring support for the May 17 action.

Jackson explained the "emergency" confronting the American people, with the economic crisis at home and U.S. war threats abroad.

"The American people are caught in the middle. We must not panic, but neither can we remain merely observers. We must act. We must engage in direct action, legislative action, and political action simultaneously.

"Blacks, Latinos, women, labor, youth, and the poor must not suffer in isolation or silently. May 17 represents the beginning and the return to massive street action."

The need for such action was reinforced May 2 when the Labor Department released unemployment figures for April. The rise to 7 percent from 6.2 percent in March was the biggest one-month jump in the unemployment rate since January 1975, in the middle of the last recession.

Those officially unemployed now number 7.2 million. The percentage for Black and Latino workers rose to 12.6 percent unemployed. More than 14 percent of teen-aged workers can't find jobs—and for Black youth the rate is 30 percent.

More than 100 Black civil rights, church, and community leaders attended a May 1 planning meeting in Washington for the May 17 jobs march. Participants heard Jackson dispel the myth that marches no longer have a political impact.

"If you think marches don't count, just ask Bull Connor," Jackson said, referring to the Birmingham official who became a symbol of hard-line racism in the 1960s until the civil rights movement put him in his place. "Just ask the shah of Iran."

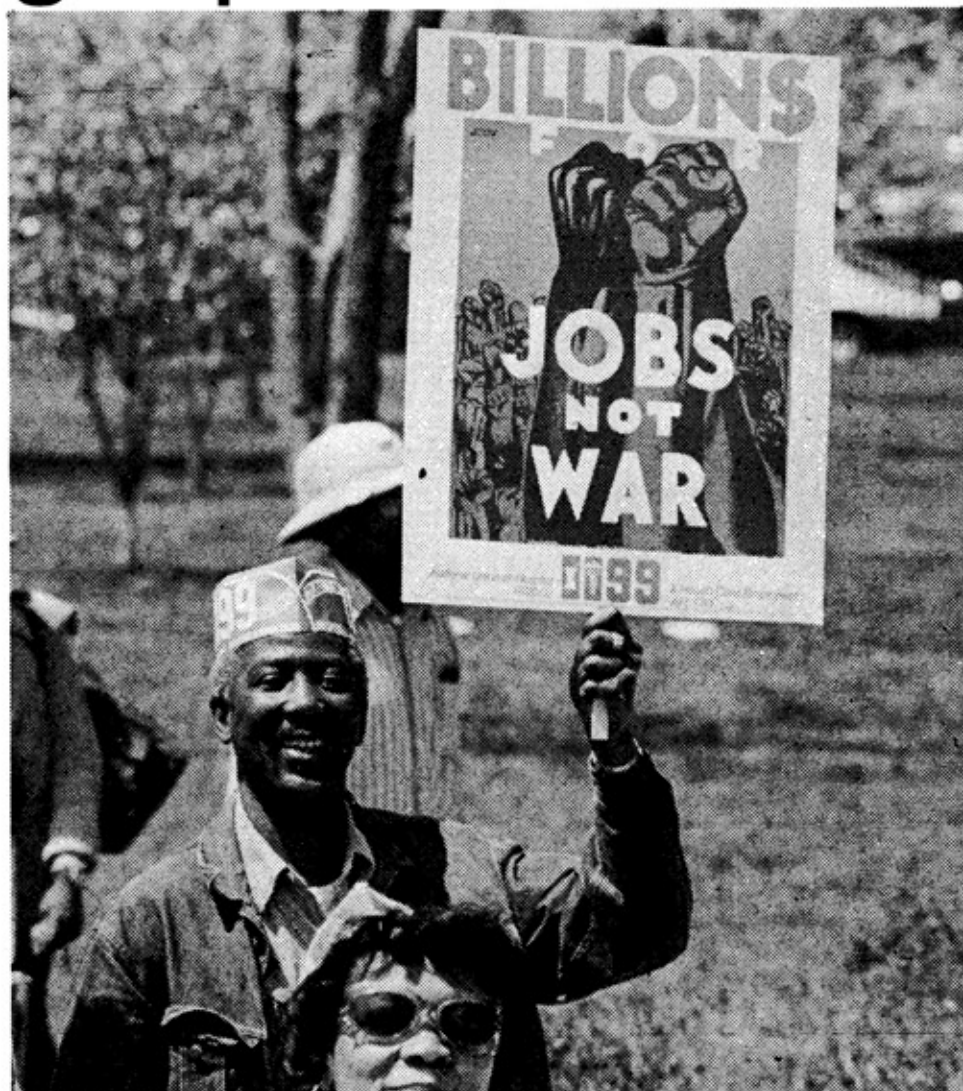
Jackson blasted the military budget and Carter's efforts to reinstate the draft. "We are opposed to the military budget because there is nothing to defend. Minority and working people can't find jobs, housing, adequate health care. They're closing the Black colleges."

Responding to Carter's acts of war against the Iranian revolution, he explained, "The media is trying to get us to hate the Ayatollah and the Iranian people, but they're not our enemy. Our enemy is right here at home. That's why we have to march on the White House and on Congress."

The May 17 demonstration has also been endorsed by International Association of Machinists President William Winpisinger and William Lucy, president of the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists.

Other endorsers include Revs. Ralph Abernathy and Joseph Lowery of SCLC, Dick Gregory, Rev. Ben Chavis, Urban League President Vernon Jordan, and nearly every member of the Congressional Black Caucus.

Black church and civil rights leaders from Philadelphia, New Jersey, Dela-



Demonstrator at AFL-CIO Rally for Jobs in Washington, April 26, 1975, at bottom of last recession. "The American people must act!" says Jesse Jackson, who issued call for May 17 jobs action.

ware, North Carolina, Virginia, and Georgia report they have committed more than 100 buses for the action.

The executive board of UAW Local 1250 at the Ford Brook Park plant in Cleveland has voted to fund at least one bus for the Washington march. Seven thousand of the 13,500-member work force at Brook Park are laid off.

In Baltimore, David Wilson and Joseph Kottelchuck, presidents of the two United Steelworker locals at Bethlehem Steel's Sparrows Point mill, have endorsed the May 17 protest.

The march has the backing of William Simons, head of the Washington

Teachers Union, as well as the Washington School Board.

The Chicago Fire Fighters Association has endorsed the march and plans to send people to Washington. Jesse Jackson played a central role in defending the fire fighters after the recent attempt by Chicago Mayor Jane Byrne to break the union.

Socialist Workers Party presidential candidate Andrew Pulley told the *Militant* that he is urging his campaign supporters to join the march for jobs. "This could be a powerful first step in a united fight against unemployment and plant shutdowns," Pulley said.

All out May 17!

Time is short until the May 17 march for jobs. Local unionists and Black and women's movement activists are working to translate the impressive list of endorsers into publicity and buses and car caravans for the action.

The march will assemble on May 17 at 9 a.m. at the Ellipse and march past the White House to the Capitol. For more information and to volunteer to help, contact Operation PUSH, 75 Rhode Island Avenue NW, Washington, D.C. (202) 462-5420.

Kent State rally: Continue antiwar fight!

By Joanna Misnik and Andy Pollack

KENT, Oh.—Nearly 1,000 people from around the Midwest rallied at Kent State University May 4 to commemorate the tenth anniversary of the murder of antiwar students here.

Four were killed and others wounded when the Ohio State National Guard opened fire, without warning, on students protesting the American invasion of Cambodia ordered by Nixon in an escalation of the war in Vietnam.

The response to the invasion and the Kent murders, followed less than two weeks later by the police killing of two students at Jackson State College in Mississippi, was the biggest student

strike in U.S. history.

Speakers at the rally here May 4 included Dave Dellinger, attorney William Kunstler, War Resisters League Chair Norma Becker, Nobel Prize winning biologist George Wald, Kwame Toure (Stokely Carmichael), Bella Abzug, and Frank Jackalone, president of the United States Student Association.

Shouts of "Hell no, we won't go!" interrupted speakers as they denounced the Carter administration's moves to reinstate draft registration and the ominous acts of war against the Iranian people.

The speakers, all seasoned fighters against the war in Vietnam, urged the crowd to build a movement that can

stop the drive toward another Vietnam as the best way to remember the students killed ten years ago.

Other recent anti-draft activities included:

April 17 debate at Ohio State University in Columbus organized by the Undergraduate Student Government. Speakers included representatives of Army ROTC and the Moon Church speaking for the draft and the American Civil Liberties Union, Young Socialist Alliance, and Columbus Anti-Draft Campaign speaking against.

April 19 anti-draft teach-in at the University of Miami.

April 23 protests in San Diego. One

occurred at the University of California campus, the other at the Federal Building.

April 23 rally at Oberlin College in Ohio. Three hundred and fifty people heard speakers against the draft from the Women's Community, Campus Ministry, Young Socialist Alliance, and the campus antidraft group. The action was called on less than one day's notice in response to the April 22 House vote in favor of the draft.

May 5 Baltimore picket of a speech by Carter's National Security Adviser Zbigniew Brzezinski. Seventy-five people joined the action called around the demands: no draft, no war, no registration, U.S. hands off Iran.