

# THE MILITANT

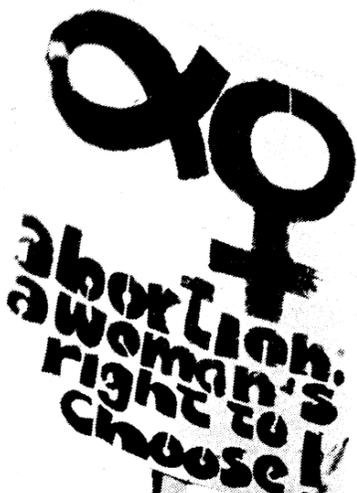
A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY/PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

**Sparks fly over affirmative action**

On-the-scene report from NAACP convention  
—PAGE 9

**35,000 miners strike against health cuts**

—PAGE 3



**What's at stake in abortion fight?**

—PAGE 6

# 250,000 DEMAND GAY RIGHTS

—PAGES 4, 10

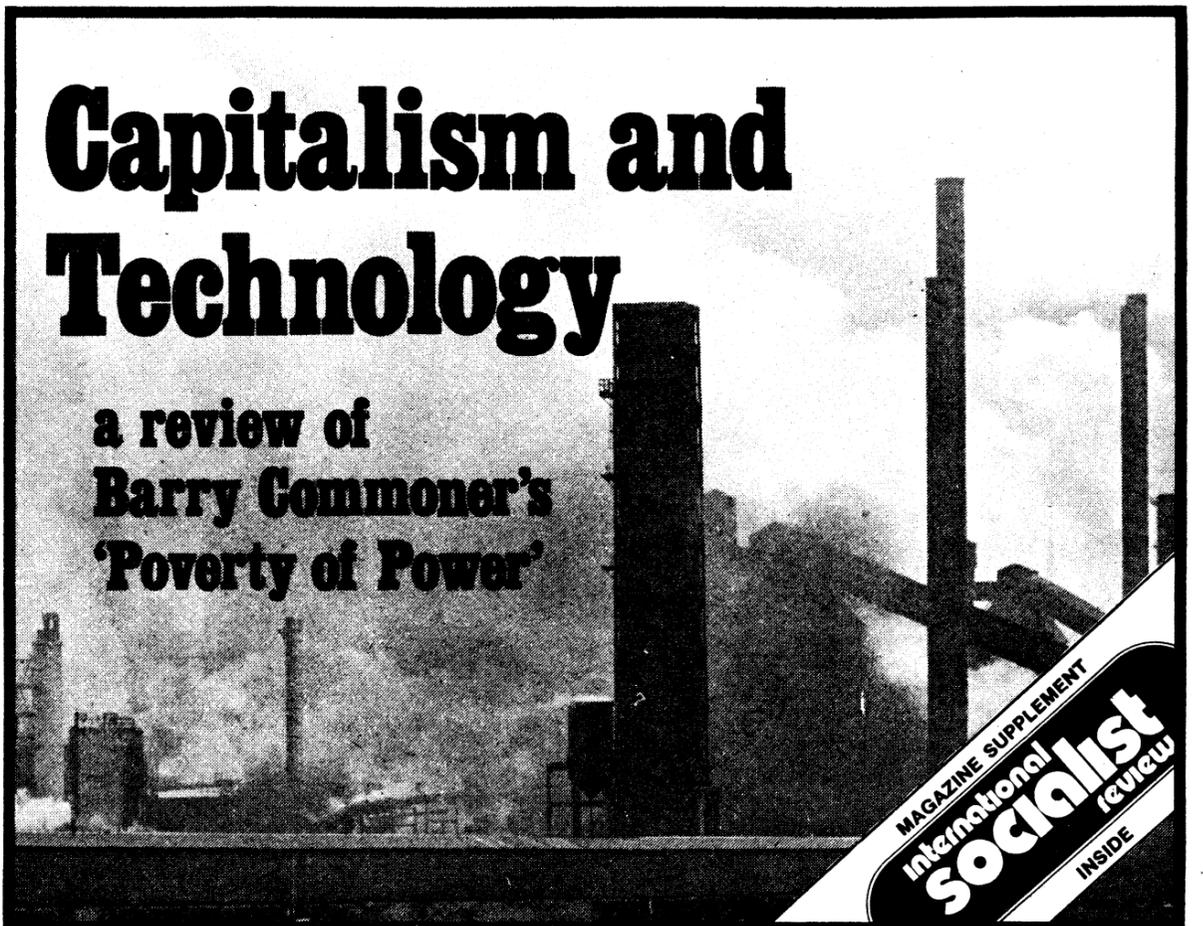


NEW YORK, June 26—Tens of thousands march for gay rights

Intercontinental Press/Fred Murphy

## Capitalism and Technology

a review of Barry Commoner's 'Poverty of Power'



MAGAZINE SUPPLEMENT  
**International Socialist**  
 (review)  
 INSIDE

## THIS WEEK'S MILITANT

- 3 35,000 miners walk out to protest benefit cuts
- 4 Quarter million say: 'Gay rights now!'
- 5 Ex-KCIA head bares payoffs
- 6 Why rulers fear women's right to abortion
- 8 'Detroit labor needs to break with Young'
- 9 Sparks fly at NAACP convention
- 24 Wisc. disclosure law can't be used on SWP
- 25 What's behind Carter's 'alien' plan
- 26 U.S. socialist speaks to Madrid LCR rally
- 27 Spain: sketches from an election
- 28 Phila. teachers begin to get pink slips
- 29 Teachers are the losers in AFT-NEA fight
- 32 Crisis facing teachers
- 2 In Brief
- 10 In Our Opinion Letters
- 23 National Picket Line American Way of Life
- 11-22 International Socialist Review

## THE MILITANT

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**UNITED STATES MUST ADMIT MORE LATINOS:** A federal judge in Chicago ruled June 21 that the government can't count the 145,000 Cubans who entered this country between 1969 and 1971 as part of Latin America's immigration quota. Since only 120,000 immigrants are allowed in each year from the entire Western Hemisphere, the Cubans—given special entrance priority—made it impossible for many Mexicans and other Latinos to come to the United States legally.

The court had forbidden deportations of Latinos since March 10 pending a final decision on the case.

**UNION JOINS SOUTH AFRICA BOYCOTT:** The Furriers Joint Council, representing New York City-area fur workers, announced at a June 24 news conference that it would withdraw \$10 million in pension funds from Manufacturers Hanover Trust in protest of the bank's policy of making loans to South Africa. The announcement marked the kickoff of a campaign by the Committee to Oppose Bank Loans to South Africa.

Justice William Booth of the New York State Supreme Court, a leader of the American Committee on Africa, told the news conference that outstanding loans to South Africa now total \$2 billion. "We think that if the public knows the truth about where their money is going, we can stop it," Booth said.

He added that loans to South Africa didn't ease the plight of Blacks. "The trouble is the whole system is no good," he said.

**CANADA JAILS NEWTON:** Former Black Panther Party leader Huey Newton was arrested by Canadian authorities when he landed in Toronto en route to the United States from Cuba June 25. Newton has been in forced exile there for three years. He has declared his intention to return to the United States and fight the criminal charges pending against him.

Newton had been promised by U.S. officials and the Canadian embassy in Cuba that his return would not be hindered.

An emergency picket line in San Francisco, called on twenty-four hours notice, drew 200 people to the Canadian consulate to protest Newton's jailing.

Newton's attorney, Fred Hiestand, charged that the Canadian government was working in collusion with Washington to force Newton back into the country under the most unfavorable circumstances.

**PRONUCLEAR RALLY:** Some 3,000 people demonstrated June 26 in Manchester, New Hampshire, in response to the protest over the May 1 weekend against construction of a nuclear power plant in nearby Seabrook. Newspaper accounts reported that a majority of the crowd were union members.

But the rally was financed and organized by utilities and union bureaucrats, not working people and consumers. Two utilities—one of them on Long Island—offered to pick up the tab for travel costs and provide a free lunch and dinner for any employee who wanted to go.

The New Hampshire Voice of Energy, which sponsored the rally, received \$1,500 from Public Service Corporation, which owns the disputed Seabrook nuclear plant.

The crowd heard a message from Peter Brennan, who gained national notoriety in 1970 as a construction-trades union official who defended violent attacks on anti-Vietnam War demonstrators in New York City. Brennan also served as Nixon's Secretary of Labor.

Other speakers included the state's ultrarightist governor, Meldrim Thomson, who once advocated arming the national guard with nuclear weapons, and Prof. Norman Rasmussen, author of a widely criticized report that "proved" that nuclear plants are safe.

**THE 'MILITANT' GETS AROUND:** *Florida Gay Liberation News*, issue number 18, reprinted on its front page "No more Miami!", an editorial from the June 17 *Militant*. The June issue of *Seattle Gay News* reprinted Diane Wang's article "Files show FBI targeted gay organizations," which appeared in the May 27 *Militant*.

**ILLINOIS ERA RALLY:** More than 150 supporters of the Equal Rights Amendment protested its defeat by the Illinois house. The June 21 emergency action in Springfield, the state capital, heard speakers from Housewives for the ERA; Norma Mendoza of Metro-East National Organization for Women; Dorthea Cluney, an executive board member of the Region 4 United Auto Workers Women's Committee; and others.

**MIDEAST HUMAN RIGHTS:** "Are the Palestinians on President Carter's human rights agenda?" asked an ad in the June 27 *New York Times*. Paid for by the Association of

Arab-American University Graduates, the ad went on to list the many violations of human rights committed by the Zionists in occupied Palestinian territory, including the destruction of Palestinian villages, deportations, detention without charge or trial, torture, and attacking peaceful demonstrations.

The AAUG noted that two U.S. laws require a cutoff of aid to any country "the government of which engages in a consistent pattern of gross violations of internationally recognized human rights."

**'THE LORD IS MY ACCOUNTANT . . .':** Billy Graham's ministry has amassed \$23 million in prime North Carolina real estate and blue-chip stocks, the *Charlotte Observer* reported June 26. The holdings have been kept secret.

Demonstrating the meaning of Christian charity, Graham said he kept the money secret because he didn't want to get flooded with requests for help.

**HILLSON TO TOUR LOS ANGELES:** Jon Hillson, author of the Pathfinder Press book *The Battle of Boston*, a vivid account of that city's school desegregation battle, will spend July 13-16 in Los Angeles as part of a national lecture and media tour. Hillson is scheduled to speak on five radio and two TV shows, as well as at the Militant Forums in Los Angeles and Long Beach. For more information see the calendar listings on page 30 or call (213) 482-1820.

**COURT UPHOLDS BAN ON PRISONER UNION:** The U.S. Supreme Court ruled June 23 that North Carolina could keep prisoners from active membership in a union. Some 2,000 prisoners were members of the North Carolina Prisoners' Labor Union when, in 1975, the state adopted rules that prevent prisoners from soliciting membership in the union and bar union meetings.

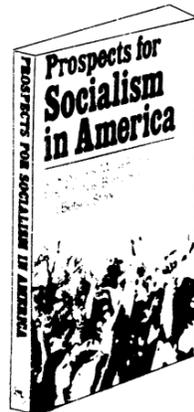
The union sought to bargain collectively for improved working conditions, changes in prison policies, and for the right to handle inmate grievances.

By a seven-to-two majority, the Supreme Court held that the state had the right to take "reasonable steps" to maintain prison security. The union, the judges said, would encourage "adversary relations" with prison officials and "would rank high on anyone's list of potential trouble spots."

While not upholding a total ban on membership, the Supreme Court did say that North Carolina could prevent active, participatory membership, thus effectively strangling any attempt at prisoner organizing for better conditions. —Arnold Weissberg

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# 35,000 miners walk out to protest benefit cuts

By Nancy Cole

Up to 35,000 miners in eastern coalfields walked off the job during the week beginning June 20. The wildcats were in response to threatened cuts in medical benefits provided by the United Mine Workers of America health and retirement fund.

The strikers included about 20,000 in southern West Virginia and others in Kentucky and Virginia. In Alabama 5,000 are striking over other issues as well.

The unauthorized strikes were suspended at the end of the week when a two-week vacation period for most miners began.

At stake is the health and retirement fund, which covers 821,000 people. The reduction in benefits, due to begin July 1, requires miners and their families to pay the first \$250 of their hospital bills each year and 40 percent of doctor bills. Miners could end up spending as much as \$500 a year for doctor and hospital bills altogether.

The fund is administered by three trustees—one from the union, one from the Bituminous Coal Operations Association (BCOA), and one who is "neutral." It is financed by company payments based on each hour worked and each ton of coal mined.

When there are work stoppages, the company payments come to a halt.

Industry officials charge that unauthorized strikes throughout the coal fields—most of them over life-and-death safety issues—have bled the fund nearly dry. The BCOA pushed through the benefit cuts, refusing to reallocate funds as requested by UMWA President Arnold Miller.

BCOA President Joseph Brennan is open about the lesson he intends to teach militant miners. A move to reallocate funds, thus avoiding the cuts, "would be counterproductive," he said, because it would "divert attention from the basic cause—the wildcat strikes."

Miller has labeled the reduction "a calculated attempt to destroy the funds and the UMW."

He says he will make it an issue in negotiations for a new contract and pledged that "every single dollar coal miners are forced to spend for health services will be returned to them with interest before a settlement is reached this year."

Both challengers to Miller in the June 14 union election—Harry Patrick and Lee Roy Patterson—charge that Miller knew about the cuts before the election but withheld information to better his chances for reelection.

Patrick, the current UMWA secretary-treasurer, reportedly has decided to challenge the election results,

claiming the election was "poisoned." Before the benefit reductions were announced June 20, Patrick conceded defeat and urged factions within the union to unite for the all-important contract negotiations.

Patterson, who has been a bitter opponent of the reform administration of Miller and Patrick from the beginning, planned before the election to challenge the results unless he won. He announced June 26 that he will definitely file a protest with the election tellers, charging the ballot was "rigged" against him.

A new election now would weaken the union's leverage against the coal operators in the contract negotiations, which Miller wants to begin immediately. The contract expires December 6.

It is unclear whether the wildcats will resume after the vacation break ends July 11. Although the cuts have caused massive discontent throughout the UMWA ranks, some miners, according to telephone interviews by the *Militant*, believe they can be restored in the new contract.

In eastern Kentucky, miners walked out in an unprecedented action. The last strike there was in 1974 when the UMWA struck nationally over the contract. The district is headed by remnants of the corrupt Tony Boyle



UMWA President Miller vows to make up for health cuts in new contract, while mineowners threaten more reductions if wildcats continue.

machine and went heavily for Patterson in this election. It appears that Patterson forces hope to use the strike against the cuts to further discredit Miller.

The coal industry is threatening that continuation of the strikes will only lead to more benefit cuts. And the mineowners seem willing to carry them out before the contract expires, the better to warn miners of the consequences of a prolonged national strike this December.

## Courts deny children food to threaten strikers

By Frank Lovell

Federal courts have always been sensitive to the needs and responsive to the dictates of the owners of capital and industry.

Of the three branches of federal government—legislative, administrative, and judiciary—the latter serves most expeditiously to impose the will of the ruling class upon the people, the vast majority of whom are workers and poor.

Three decisions in less than a month recently confirm this conclusion.

- On May 24 a federal judge ruled that the payment of unemployment benefits to strikers—a forty-year practice under New York state law—is unconstitutional because it aids strikers, hurts employers, and conflicts with federal statutes.

- One week later, on May 31, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled eight to zero that states may refuse to pay unemployment benefits to workers who are laid off because of a strike against their employer, even when the worker is not directly involved in the strike action.

- Again, on June 20, the Supreme Court by a five-to-four decision held that states may deny welfare benefits to children whose fathers are fired, go on strike, or quit work.

These rulings are in compliance with the general offensive of the employing class against working conditions and living standards in this country.

The advantage of using the court for this purpose is its appearance of "impartiality," its standing as the defender of the Constitution and interpreter of laws—even when children are denied food as a threat against unwilling workers and defiant strikers.

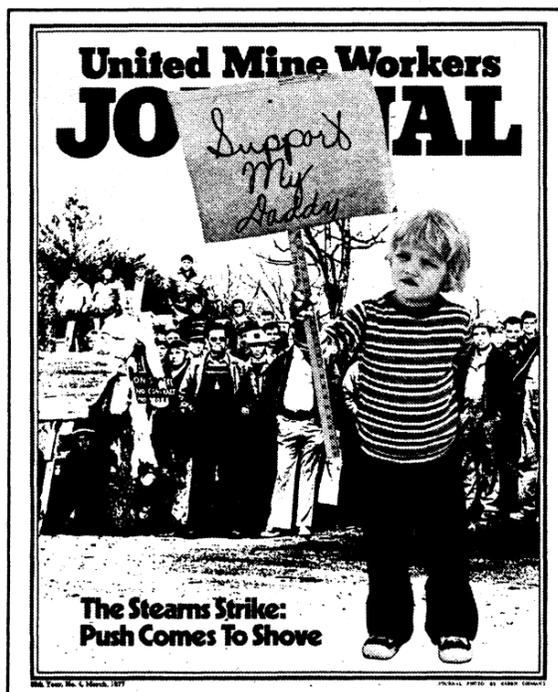
The June 20 ruling relates to a Maryland law that excludes strikers from unemployment benefits. All other states except Rhode Island and New York have similar laws.

In 1973 the Department of Health, Education and Welfare (HEW) gave each state the option to exclude from the definition of "unemployed father" anyone who is on strike or otherwise disqualified for unemployment compensation under state law. The Maryland authorities exercised that option to cut off aid to dependent children.

This was challenged by three unemployed fathers.

A U.S. court of appeals overturned the HEW regulation, holding in effect that states have no right to interfere with federal aid to needy children. But the Supreme Court reversed the appeals court.

The effect is to deprive needy children of food. It also serves to discourage fathers of dependent children from striking, and may conceivably be



Child of miner on strike for safe working conditions in Stearns, Kentucky.

used to deprive aid to children if the fathers refuse to take jobs as strikebreakers.

In the earlier case involving workers who are laid off because of a strike against their employer, the court handed the employers another antiunion weapon.

It came in a case from Ohio where the state law bars benefits when unemployment results from a "labor dispute," except in proven instances of a lockout by the employers.

In 1974 Leonard Hodory was working as a millwright apprentice at U.S. Steel in Youngstown, and was laid off because of a miners strike at coal mines owned by U.S. Steel, Republic Steel, and others.

When Hodory applied for his unemployment insurance he was told at the state employment office that U.S. Steel had contested payment, that Ohio law was against him, and that he could not collect.

He appealed this ruling, and was upheld by a federal court in Ohio, which found that the state was unconstitutional insofar as it applies to workers who are laid off through no fault of their own.

This ruling was reversed by the U.S. Supreme Court.

It is hard not to suspect a connection between

this ruling by the Supreme Court and the present drive of the mine operators to destroy the United Mine union.

The effect of the ruling is to victimize steelworkers in the event of a mine strike. The employers hope that the steelworkers or their union, United Steelworkers of America, will bring pressure upon the miners to lower their demands for safe working conditions and call off their strikes.

The May 24 ruling of the federal judge in New York has not yet reached the Supreme Court.

The lower court ruled that the state of New York was at fault in paying \$49 million in unemployment benefits to strikers—members of the Communications Workers of America (CWA). They were out for seven months in 1971 and 1972 against the New York Telephone Company for a modest wage increase.

After the first seven weeks of the strike, under New York law the strikers were entitled to unemployment benefits up to ninety-five dollars per week.

The telephone company challenged the law on constitutional grounds.

Federal Judge Richard Owen found that unemployment benefits for strikers forces employers to subsidize strikes. "The right to bargain collectively clearly contemplates economic warfare," he said, "and does not entail any right to insist on one position free from economic disadvantage."

In other words, he believes that workers ought to think about the economic disadvantage of starvation, and face the consequences if they dare to strike.

There is no reference here to "states' rights."

Labor leaders hope the Supreme Court will reverse Judge Owen. They think the apparent bias of the high court in favor of "states' rights" will overturn the antiunion ruling of the lower court.

An unnamed CWA "leader" was cited by the *New York Times* as saying that "the United States Supreme Court has already ruled that individual states have the right to pass unemployment insurance laws and welfare laws as they pertain to strikers and their families."

Little do these union officials know that the decisions of the Supreme Court are dictated by the exigencies of the class struggle, not by such cover-up doctrines as "states' rights."

The Supreme Court can easily find legal reasons to justify new and more humane rulings—but only when the working class mobilizes its forces to challenge in the streets, on the picket lines, and in the legislative chambers the injustices of class rule in this country.

# Quarter million say 'Gay rights

## San Francisco

By Nancy Elnor and Harry Ring

SAN FRANCISCO—A tremendous throng of more than 200,000 turned out here June 26 for a gay rights demonstration. The giant march through the city's downtown area paid tribute to the memory of Robert Hillsborough, a homosexual who was murdered some seventy-two hours earlier by hoodlums screaming "Faggot, faggot" as they stabbed him to death.

This city has a large gay community, perhaps one of the largest in the country. Each year there has been a big turn out for Gay Freedom Day. Last year 100,000 participated. But previous parades were marked by a largely festive and even carnival atmosphere.

This year was entirely different.

Anita Bryant's campaign of bigotry and hate has evoked a deep anger here. That anger was intensified by the poisonous antigay declarations of John Briggs, a member of the California Senate and a contender for the Republican gubernatorial nomination.

Following the defeat for gay rights in Dade County, Florida, last month, Briggs declared his intention to introduce a bill authorizing the firing of gay teachers.

The Hillsborough murder added even more fuel to the sentiment for a massive political protest.

(Hillsborough and a companion had been taunted by four white males at a hamburger stand. When they left in a car, the thugs followed. In front of Hillsborough's home, he and his friend were attacked. The friend, severely beaten, escaped. Hillsborough died. A public outcry forced police action, and four suspects have been arrested.)

"No more Miamis" and "Gay rights now" were the central slogans of today's demonstration. The marchers stepped out at noon for a parade of about a mile to the city's civic center.

At four o'clock in the afternoon, marchers were still coming into the rally area.

Leading the march was a women's contingent numbering in the thousands.

Banners and placards identified a great number of gay and other groups. But many tens of thousands of men and women came on their own.

Equally impressive was the mass of people who lined the mile-long parade route, from start to finish. Lined up on both sides of the street, four and five deep and more, the great majority were clearly supporters of the demonstration. They cheered and applauded the chanting marchers and saluted them with clenched fists. One marcher periodically shouted to them, "Let's hear it for gay rights!" Each time the response was loud and clear.

Those on the sidewalk almost equaled the more than 100,000 on the line of march.

Among the many groups in the march, two in particular seemed to draw the biggest response from spectators: Parents for Gays, and Straights for Gay Rights.

The two largest parade groups marched under the banner of the Coalition for Human Rights and Save Our Human Rights, the principal organizers of the march. Others were: Gay Teachers and School Workers; Gay Nurses Alliance; Gay Latinos; 504 Coalition (Disabled); Ministers for Human Rights; Socialist Workers Party; Gay Health Workers; Gay Law Students; and many others.

Some of the placards and banners carried by groups and individuals were: "Human Rights for Gays"; "America, we are your children"; "We've got the power to fight back"; "Gay, alive, strong"; and "Free Jeanne Jullion." A lesbian mother, Jullion is



Militant/Howard Petrick



Militant/Howard Petrick

San Francisco: Women's contingent (top) and Latino contingent (bottom).

winning wide support for custody of her children.

In contrast to previous years, activists said, women made up a large percentage of this demonstration.

The morale of the demonstrators was extremely high and their fighting spirit contagious. Clearly they saw the gravity of the right-wing attack on gay rights. But they are not cowed by it.

And they are determined to fight back.

## New York

By Ginny Hildebrand

NEW YORK—Tens of thousands of people poured up Fifth Avenue June 26 chanting their message again and again—"Gay rights now!"

It was the largest and most militant gay rights demonstration in the history of this city.

"Everybody's mad this year. We don't want to be stepped on, and we're tired of being the silent minority," said one young man, who had participated in every annual Christopher Street demonstration since 1969.

A woman from Baltimore agreed. "There's more militancy this year," she told me. "There are posters about human rights. It shows that more people are becoming politicized. And we need to be."

This recognition has been sweeping gay communities across the country since the June 7 vote in Dade County.

Demonstrations help to answer the national campaign of antigay bigotry being peddled by right-winger Anita Bryant, the woman from Baltimore told me. "People need to see us together, a mass of people," she said. "This isn't just ten or fifteen eccentrics. This is a mass of humanity."

The protesters came from numerous east coast cities representing many walks of life and beliefs. Banners identified gay teachers; parents of gays; lesbian mothers; chapters of the National Organization for Women; Socialist Workers Party; Third World Lesbians; "Straights for Gay Rights"; psychologists; gay Jewish and Catholic groups; campus groups from Princeton, Penn State, Yale, Haverford and Bryn Mawr.

About one-third of the marchers were women. Thousands were Blacks and Hispanics.

"What do you think the vote in Miami means for Blacks?" I asked a Black man riding his bicycle alongside the march. "Everybody has a stake in this, in human rights like Martin Luther King use to talk about," he replied.

This sentiment was written on posters—"Gays, then Jews, Blacks, Hispanics . . . Who's next Anita?"—and chanted—"Gay, straight, Black, white; same enemy, same fight."

At Thirty-fourth Street the march stopped for a few minutes. It stretched back twenty-seven blocks.

Television news estimates of the crowd ranged from 25,000 to 100,000. I estimate that marchers numbered 40,000 to 50,000, with thousands more supporters lining the avenue.

As contingents passed St. Patrick's Cathedral, signs reading "Separate Church and State," waved, while chants rang out to the beat of pumping fists, "Gay rights" and "Gay power."

At Central Park the music of the Deadly Nightshades and other singers greeted the marchers.

Rally cochairperson John Paul Hudson told the cheering crowd, "We are determined as never before to have our rights. . . . We're going to protest all over this country."

Hudson pointed out that like gays, women are under fire.

"Are you angry about what happened in Miami?" he asked.

"Yes!" the crowd shot back.

"Are you angry about the Supreme

## Catalan gays march



Militant/Lou Howort

One banner greeted with special enthusiasm in the New York march was carried by two leaders of the Front d'Alliberament Gai de Catalunya (FAGC—Gay Liberation Front of Catalonia). "We are the pioneers of the homosexual rebellion in the Spanish state, and we wanted to be here to show our solidarity with the pioneers in the United States," they told the *Militant*.

On the same day in Barcelona, reported the *New York Times*, police firing rubber bullets dispersed a demonstration of 4,000 gay rights supporters. The march was organized by the FAGC.

Gay organizations are illegal

under the Spanish criminal code, which bans associations that go against "public morals and good manners." Homosexuality is outlawed as a "social danger."

Demonstrators demanded abolition of antigay laws and called for "Amnesty for homosexual prisoners."

According to the FAGC leaders in New York, the mobilization was supported by feminist groups, Catalan nationalist groups, and several radical political parties, including the Liga Comunista Revolucionaria (Revolutionary Communist League), a sister organization of the U.S. Socialist Workers Party.

Court denying poor women free abortions?"

"Yes!"

"Are you angry about defeats of the ERA [Equal Rights Amendment]?"

"Yes!"

Referring to the recent White House meeting between a few gay spokespeople and a Carter aide, Hudson called himself one of the millions of gays "who is not invited to the White House."

"Out of the White House and into the streets!" he said.

President Carter, along with Anita Bryant, was the butt of much outrage and ridicule. "Carter, hypocrite—human rights begin at home," was typical of many handwritten placards.

This sentiment for building a strong, independent gay rights movement—rather than placing confidence in politicians—was expressed by other speakers, including Eleanor Cooper of the Coalition for Lesbian and Gay Rights. "We have ways to fight back," she said. "We can join coalitions like this one."

The new coalition is planning a gay rights conference at Columbia University on July 16. It will map an action campaign to mobilize human rights supporters for passage of gay rights laws. CLGR activists distributed 16,000 conference leaflets and collected more than \$1,000 in contributions.

The crowd, sitting on the grass under the warm sun, rose to their feet to welcome the speaker from Parents of Gays. "Gays are the only minority who can't rely on their families in time of trouble," the father stated. "We are standing with you because you are our children."

Another high point of the rally was a speech by Marc Rubin of the Gay Teachers Association. He echoed a dominant spirit of the day: "We are at war with those who preach hate, with those who would rob women of control of their own bodies, with those who would oppress racial and ethnic minorities."

"We lost Dade County. We will win America!"

Gay rights actions took place in many other cities over the weekend, including a demonstration of more than 20,000 in Los Angeles; 1,000 in Atlanta; 6,000 in Chicago; more than 100 in Albuquerque, New Mexico; 450 in Minneapolis; 350 in Portland, Oregon; 500 in Miami; and more than 2,000 in Seattle. Next week's *Militant* will carry further coverage.

## Miami gay shot

By Jack Lieberman

MIAMI—John Ward, a gay bartender, was shot in the chest with a high-pressure pellet rifle as he was leaving a gay street festival here June 26. He is hospitalized with a collapsed lung.

The shot was fired from a car carrying three youths. Witnesses identified them as the same group that hurled eggs and shouted obscenities at festival participants earlier in the day.

The Miami Victory Campaign and the Coalition for Human Rights, two gay rights groups, held news conferences June 28 to demand that police immediately apprehend and prosecute the attackers. The groups blamed the shooting on the atmosphere of anti-gay hatred fostered by Anita Bryant's right-wing campaign and police inaction against previous harassment and violence directed at gays.

## S. Korea bribery scandal widens

# Ex-KCIA head bares payoffs

By David Frankel

WASHINGTON—Kim Hyung Wook, the former director of the Korean Central Intelligence Agency (KCIA), testified before a House International Relations subcommittee June 22 on how the South Korean government buys congressional votes.

It was obvious at the hearings that Kim—who for eight years was one of the most powerful men in South Korea—knew a lot more than he was telling. At one point, Kim recounted a 1971 incident in which he was asked to intervene in a dispute over rice contracts.

Tongsun Park, the Korean businessman and agent who has been at the center of the bribery scandal, showed Kim a list of fifteen to twenty American congresspersons and explained that he needed \$200,000 in rice commissions "to do a favor for these congressmen."

It was difficult to say for sure whether any of the committee members in the front of the room winced. In any case, they had opened the hearing by voting to take future testimony from Kim in secret. As for Kim, he claimed that he couldn't remember the names of any of the congresspersons on the list, which remained in his possession for two years.

In explaining his credentials, Kim told the congressional panel that he was "one of the core members of the military coup" that brought President Park Chung Hee to power in 1961. As head of interior affairs and then chief of the KCIA, Kim said:

"I acknowledge that I had extremely extensive powers at my disposal—more power than you can imagine—covering virtually every aspect of my country. My power extended into political, economic, cultural, religious, and even



KIM HYUNG WOOK

foreign propaganda activities."

However, the former general insisted on his devotion to human rights and democracy.

Having been thrown out of his position of power by Park, the frustrated general now wants to set up shop as a "democratic" alternative to the troubled dictatorship.

Although previous reports have placed the origin of the Park regime's lavish influence-buying plan in 1970, Kim's testimony seemed to push back the origin of the program at least three more years.

While Kim took pains to deny any bribery while he was part of the South Korean government, he admitted that he had arranged the use of \$3 million in government funds to finance the

establishment of the George Town Club in 1967. This was the Washington, D.C., club, operated by Tongsun Park, that was the front for the bribery operation in the United States.

Membership in the George Town Club included former President Ford, former Secretary of Agriculture Earl Butz, and current Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare Joseph Califano. Other members of the club include five past or present justices of the Supreme Court and a score of senators and representatives.

Whether at the George Town Club or during junkets to Korea, congressional supporters of the Park dictatorship were assured of receiving cash-filled envelopes, expensive gifts, and elaborate entertainment—including prostitutes.

At the height of the Park regime's public relations project, *New York Times* reporter Richard Halloran reported June 20, it was "common knowledge" in the U.S. embassy at Seoul that "any senator could pick up \$50,000 and any representative \$30,000 . . . just by asking the South Koreans for it."

Nor was this knowledge restricted to the Seoul embassy. Halloran reported in a June 7 article that "there is growing evidence that the alleged Korean bribery, gift-giving, entertainment and other favors were known to senior officials in the Nixon and Ford Administrations, senior officials in the Department of State . . . , the Department of Defense, the Federal Bureau of Investigation and the Department of Justice, the Internal Revenue Service and the Department of Agriculture. . . ."

Also in on the secret, at least since 1970, was the American CIA. So Kim Hyung Wook is not the only one who isn't telling all he knows.

## Protests continue in S. Africa

By Ernest Harsch  
From Intercontinental Press

Tens of thousands of Black youths demonstrated in Soweto and the nearby "white" city of Johannesburg June 23 to demand the release of arrested Black student leaders.

The protest in Soweto, a Black city of more than one million persons, may have been the single largest demonstration held in South Africa since the current wave of mass Black unrest began on June 16, 1976. One march, in the Phefeni district, was estimated to stretch more than a half-mile long in rows of twenty persons.

Riot police, backed by reinforcements flown in from Pretoria, attacked the youths in at least seven areas of Soweto. Near Orlando High School, a sixteen-year-old student, Thame Bungi,

was shot to death by the police. The next day the bullet-riddled body of a Black woman was also found.

Shortly before the Soweto protests began, between 400 and 500 Black youths filtered into Johannesburg and rallied outside John Vorster Square, a police headquarters and jail in the center of the city. According to a June 23 report by *New York Times* correspondent John F. Burns, "With young women kneeling in front of them, the demonstrators clenched their fists in black-power salutes, shouted slogans and sang black-freedom songs."

They carried placards demanding the release of twenty leaders of the Soweto Students Representative Council (SSRC). The student leaders, including SSRC President Sechaba Montsisi, were arrested June 10 in an attempt

to disrupt plans for protests June 16 to commemorate the more than 600 Blacks who were killed by police during the Black uprisings last year.

The Black youths sang, "We want our land back," and carried placards that read, "Vorster, release our leaders," "You shalt not kill our leaders," and "Bantu education is for the education of slavery," a reference to the racist regime's discriminatory education policy.

Police attacked the protesters with clubs and arrested more than 140 of them.

About 5,000 Blacks in Soweto again turned out June 25 for a funeral march for Philemon Tloane, a Black youth who was beaten to death by police June 15.

## London solidarity actions

By Peter Seidman

Some 2,500 people marched through London June 18 to demonstrate their support for the anti-apartheid struggle of South African Blacks on the first anniversary of the Soweto uprising.

The demonstration was organized by the National Union of Students, an organization currently under the leadership of the Communist Party of Great Britain. Numerous other organizations, including the International Marxist Group (British section of the Fourth International), participated in the march.

Two rallies were held after the united march. This happened after

the IMG and other organizations protested a decision by NUS leaders to exclude Tsietshi Mashinini, the first president of the Soweto Students Representative Council (SSRC), from speaking. The SSRC led the Soweto protests last year.

About 600 people gathered around the "official" rally, where there were no speakers who had participated in the Soweto events.

A majority of demonstrators, however, were able to hear a first-hand report on Soweto from former SSRC secretary Barney Mokgatle. Mokgatle had flown from Africa in order to speak at the rally, and brought greetings from Mashinini.



SOWETO, 1976

# Abortion: why rulers fear women's right to choose

By Mary-Alice Waters and Cindy Jaquith

On January 22, 1973, the U.S. Supreme Court made headlines around the world when it struck down laws prohibiting abortion in the first six months of pregnancy. The anti-abortion laws, said the court, invade women's right to privacy and their right to choose whether or not to bear a child.

Four-and-a-half years later, on June 20, the nine justices decreed a major retreat on this fundamental right. They ruled that state governments may deny funds for abortions and may even refuse to perform abortions in public hospitals, because the state has "a valid and important interest in encouraging childbirth."

As the women's movement assesses this grave setback, and its implications for the future of our struggle, we must reexamine the roots of the



political controversy around the issue of abortion.

Why does legal abortion pose an intolerable contradiction for the wealthy minority that rules this society? What place does the right to abortion have in the overall struggle for women's liberation? How can we protect and extend this right today?

## Precondition for liberation

As feminist sentiment began to rise in the 1960s, the anti-abortion laws emerged as one of the most hated symbols of the degradation of women. Outraged at the hundreds of deaths and maimings from illegal abortions each year, women decided to confront centuries of backward prejudice and tear away the shroud of guilt surrounding the abortion issue.

As long as they were vulnerable to unwanted pregnancies, women could not break down the social and economic barriers they faced on the job, in education, and in the home. They remained chained to society's tradition that women are creatures defined and limited by their biology, destined first and foremost to produce and care for children.

With the advance of science, safe and effective birth control became possible for the first time in history, but the norms and laws of U.S. society sought to keep women in the dark ages, unable to control their reproductive lives.

This contradiction propelled the abortion issue to the fore as one of the central battles for the new women's movement. Feminists saw that winning abortion rights was a precondition to winning full liberation for women.

The development of an independent women's struggle began to pose the question of abortion in a new way. Up to that time, most proponents of legal abortion did not base their arguments on the *right* of women to choose abortion. One point of view saw abortion as purely a medical question, available only in cases of danger to the life of the mother, birth defects, or rape.

Others confused legal abortion with reactionary population-control ideas. They fell prey to the government's propaganda that poverty in our society is not due to unequal distribution of wealth, but to "too many people." By associating abortion with schemes to reduce the birth rate, these advocates of legal abortion bolstered the racist practice of forced sterilization. This made it more difficult to win the support of Blacks, Chicanas, and Puerto Ricans, the women most victimized by the unavailability of abortion.

Both these approaches obscured the real issue—

abortion as a woman's democratic right. Control of women's bodies by the government, doctors, the church, husbands, or parents is an intolerable violation of that right.

## Shift in public opinion

It was when feminists began to clarify the issues that the struggle to repeal anti-abortion laws was placed on a sound political axis that could win the support of masses of women, particularly working women and women of the oppressed nationalities.

Under the impetus of the growing women's struggle and the challenging of traditional norms and values by the 1960s radicalization as a whole, public opinion began to change on the issue of abortion. While in 1968 fewer than 15 percent supported abortion rights, this figure shot up to 40 percent in 1969 and to 50 percent in 1971.

This radical change in attitudes toward women's rights was a major factor behind the 1973 Supreme Court decision.

The effect of the 1973 decision was to deepen and reinforce support for abortion rights. As more women began to obtain safe, legal abortions, the number of deaths from illegal abortions dropped precipitously. This had an immediate impact on women's lives, especially women of the oppressed nationalities, who suffer four times as many deaths from back-alley abortions as white women.

The abolition of anti-abortion laws dealt a powerful blow to the rationale that women's "natural" role is in the home raising children, the excuse used to justify discrimination against women on every front. As a result, new opportunities arose to fight for opening up the job market to women, for equal pay, equal education, child care, and maternity benefits.

Women's self-confidence and sense of independence was bolstered by this victory. They saw that by fighting for their rights, they could win broad support and knock down big barriers to full equality. More and more women began to see the feminist movement as directly relevant to them, a movement defending their most basic rights. This was particularly true for working-class women, who had suffered the most under the old laws.

## Struggle continues

But the battle did not end on January 22, 1973.

As Linda Jenness, a national leader of the Socialist Workers Party, wrote in the March 2, 1973, *Militant*: "The anti-abortion forces . . . have not given up their campaign. They will continue to try

to reverse this victory and obstruct its implementation. As these reactionary forces realize, the Supreme Court decision has far-reaching implications for the struggle of women against all forms of discrimination and oppression."

Jenness warned that abortion rights forces would have to maintain vigilance to counter reversals of the Supreme Court victory.

Indeed, the anti-abortion groups reacted to the court ruling as a signal to redouble their efforts to return women to the back alleys of illegal abortion. Leaders of the Catholic church hierarchy responded immediately. Cardinal John Krol of Philadelphia explained their fears when he denounced the decision's "disastrous implications for our stability as a civilized society."

"Civilized society" in the eyes of the anti-woman forces Krol represented is a society that relies on barbaric punishments like anti-abortion laws to lock women into an inferior role. Opposition to abortion has traditionally been a rallying point for reactionary clerical and fascist movements. The leaders of these movements recognize the threat legal abortion poses to the oppression of women and the "stability" of the family institution.

## Role of family

The pervasive discrimination against women in our society is maintained through the family institution, which defines their role as domestic servant and babysitter.

The nuclear family also serves a broader function, helping to preserve the race and class inequalities of the capitalist system. It is one of the central means through which the wealthy minority abdicates social responsibility for the care of the young and old, foisting this burden on individual family units.

But changes in the economic structure of the capitalist system, including the vast increase in the number of women working outside the home, have begun to lead to a breakdown of the family. The struggles of the 1960s also had an impact, raising demands that the government use its tremendous resources to provide needed services like child care, quality education, and health care. These demands were coupled with a deep challenge to prevailing norms on sexual morality, religion, and the family as a "sacred" institution.

The winning of legal abortion reinforced this challenge. It ran counter to the capitalists' long-term need to maintain control of women's bodies, or, as the Supreme Court put it, to assert their "important interest in encouraging childbirth" as a means of keeping women in their place.

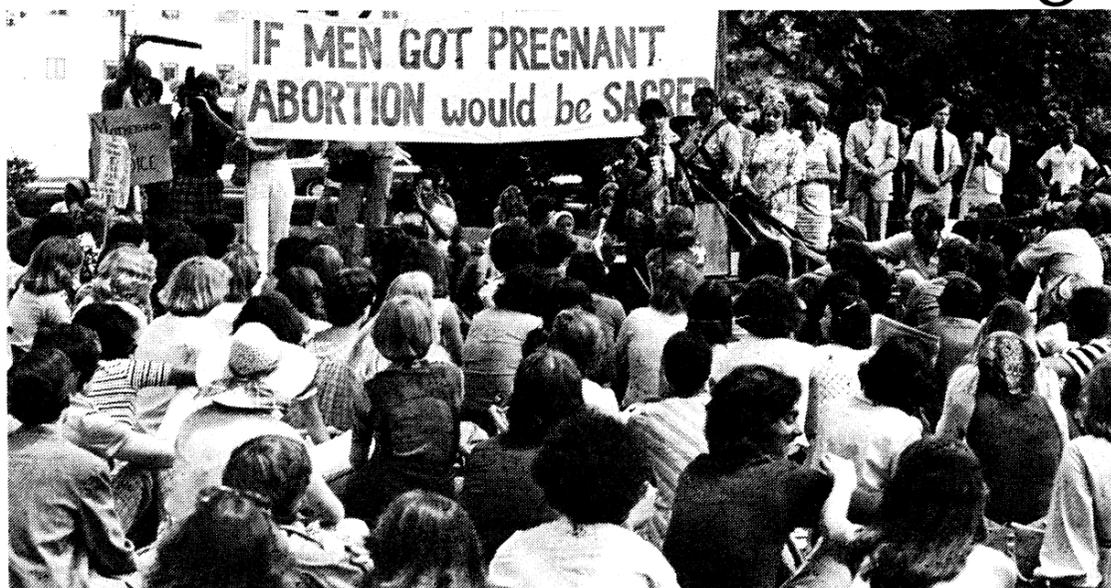
## Ruling class divided

But the wealthy interests that benefit from keeping women in their place are not all of one mind on how to deal with the abortion question today.

In 1973, faced with a deepening radicalization of women, Blacks, youth, and workers, they opted for buying time by legalizing abortion, which had become a sharply polarized issue.

But in the following years, as their economic problems dictated a retrenchment on all the rights won during the 1960s, they have had to open an offensive against the gains of women, including an

## 300 blast anti-abortion ruling



Militant/David Frankel

Three hundred rallied at the U.S. Supreme Court June 27, demanding a halt to its attacks on Medicaid-funded abortions. 'It's time for us to take the offensive again. We've got to get back in the streets,' said Ruth Gilbert of the Women's Division of the United Methodist Church. The rally was sponsored by the Ad Hoc Coalition for Abortion Rights, an organization of civil liberties, feminist, and religious groups.

ideological battle against the new social attitudes toward women.

The problem for the rulers is how to do this.

They face a contradiction.

Some believe that abortion should never have been legalized, that irreparable damage has been done to capitalism's long-term need to keep women at the bottom of the economic ladder. While these forces have begun their offensive against abortion by attacking the women least organized to defend themselves, like Medicaid recipients and the very young, they make it clear that their ultimate goal is to overturn the 1973 court decision altogether.

Other rulers fear that the big changes in women's role in society, reflected by the large numbers of women in the work force, make it dangerous to reverse legal abortion at this time. Women have come to see abortion as a *right* and a wholesale reversal of this right could provoke a massive response.

### Challenge for women

The question is not at all resolved, despite the serious damage done to legal abortion by the latest Supreme Court ruling. An organized response from the women's movement can make the difference in this battle.

It has been the *lack* of a serious response that has permitted the so-called right-to-life forces to gain ground this far.

In the June 26 *New York Times*, James Naughton commented on the behind-the-scenes approach that has handicapped abortion rights supporters.

"Proponents of abortion are generally well-financed, professional and inclined toward traditional lobbying methods," Naughton wrote. "But the Right to Life movement, relying on neighborhood bake sales, dinner dances and nominal membership dues for financing, has generated a crude but powerful lobby with the most potent force of all—grassroots activism."

The largest women's group, the National Organization for Women, is in the best position to mobilize support for abortion rights. But NOW is hampered by the limited political outlook of conservative leaders who look to Democratic and Republican politicians to safeguard women's rights.

These NOW leaders made only a meek response last fall when Congress passed its first ban on Medicaid for abortions. They failed to recognize that the government was consciously singling out women of the oppressed nationalities, welfare recipients, and teen-agers first, to lay the basis for eroding the right of all women to abortion.

Intimidated by the strength of the anti-abortion forces and fearful that the abortion issue would "alienate" the legislators they were trying to influence on other issues such as the ERA, the NOW leaders retreated from the fight on the abortion front.

Their orientation to what is "acceptable" to those in office, rather than to the fundamental needs of women, led to a total disregard of the victims of the anti-abortion offensive—poor working women, Blacks, Chicanas, Puerto Ricans, and teen-agers. Far from a small percentage, Medicaid-funded abortions constitute *one third* of all abortions performed.

The new attacks on abortion in the past weeks, taking the right-wing offensive a step further, have prompted many NOW members to question this strategy. Under this pressure, some NOW leaders have begun to speak out more boldly about the threat to abortion rights.

### Action campaign needed

The challenge that remains is to organize the mounting anger women feel into a powerful mobilization that can place the anti-abortion forces back on the defensive.

Such a campaign must be based on unconditional support for women's right to choose abortion. We must take head on the notion that the government has the right to any say whatsoever over women's bodies, by raising the demand "no forced sterilization" alongside the demand to keep abortion legal.

In waging the kind of educational and action campaign needed, the women's movement has powerful allies it can turn to—civil rights organizations, anti-forced-sterilization committees, students, and the labor movement. By uniting abortion rights supporters in a counteroffensive of picket lines, speak-outs, rallies, and demonstrations, NOW and other women's groups can begin to mobilize those women for whom abortion is a life-and-death matter today—Black women, Chicanas, Puerto Ricans, the young, and working women.

The right to abortion has made a concrete difference in the lives of millions of women in this country. They have a stake in fighting to keep abortion legal. With a clear perspective on the importance of this struggle we can win.

# New attacks on women spark discussion at NOW meetings

By Gale Shangold

BURLINGTON, Vt.—Four regional conferences of the National Organization for Women were held June 17-19 in the northeast, northwest, southwest, and the Great Lakes regions.

The conferences reflected the impact the recent attacks on women's rights have had on NOW members' thinking.

The passage of the anti-abortion Hyde amendment by the House, defeat of the gay rights referendum in Miami, and repeated blows to the Equal Rights Amendment and affirmative-action programs have deepened NOW members' concern that women must fight back.

Conference participants were also alarmed by the right-wing mobilizations at the International Women's Year (IWY) conferences taking place around the country, in some cases successfully defeating proposals in favor of the ERA and legal abortion.

One hundred fifty women attended the northeast NOW conference here, half as many as conference organizers expected. NOW members at all the regional conferences discussed the problems they are having in attracting, involving, and keeping members in their local chapters.

At the same time, many women look to NOW as the largest and best-known women's group, and interest in women's liberation continues to grow. For instance, large numbers of women's rights supporters are participating in the IWY conferences.

Recent gay rights demonstrations with sizable women's contingents also indicate the potential that exists for a fighting women's liberation movement.

At NOW's national conference last April in Detroit, the strategy proposed by the national leadership focused on electing "pro-ERA" Democrats and Republicans, despite the fact that the two governing parties have betrayed the ERA time after time.

Important issues like abortion, affirmative action, and the need to involve more working-class women in NOW, especially nationally oppressed women, received short shrift.

Some NOW members at the national conference argued against this strategy. These women supported the Defending Women's Rights resolution, which urged NOW to launch a drive to counter the attacks on women's rights with a public campaign of education and action that could involve large numbers of women.

Unfortunately, this resolution never came to the floor for a vote. But since the national meeting, fresh assaults by the government have led many NOW members to consider the ideas in the Defending Women's Rights resolution.

This was reflected at the regional conferences by the resolutions passed calling for action around the ERA, abortion, gay rights, and other issues. A national proposal for August 26 ERA walk-a-thons was supported in many of the regions.

The sentiment of the ranks, along with the intensity of the attacks, has exerted a new pressure on the NOW leadership. This pressure was seen in the speeches by NOW leaders at the regional conferences and in their proposal for August 26 actions.

NOW President Eleanor Smeal, Executive Vice-president Martha Buck, and Vice-president of Action Arlie Scott keyed the southwest, Great Lakes, and northeast conferences respectively. In their talks they said that women must fight on three fronts—for the ERA, for abortion, and for gay rights.

"The Hyde amendment passing in Congress is one more reason why we need the ERA," said Martha Buck in her keynote address. "We no longer have the luxury to separate our issues. If we lose on any front, we lose on every front."

At the northeast conference, Arlie Scott expressed anger over recent defeats in Dade County, Florida, and over passage of the Hyde amendment.

"We are about to lose everything that we have gained in the past ten years. If things stay the way they are, we are not only going to lose some of the goals we are fighting for, but we are also going to lose the ones we already have," she said.

Scott went on to blame Carter for the passage of the Hyde amendment.

At the end of her talk, Scott received a standing ovation. Yet her speech did not propose any concrete action to answer the attacks. Instead, she called a strategy meeting for later that day.

Supporters of the Defending Women's Rights caucus had also planned to hold a discussion. The two meetings were combined to maximize participation and discussion.

Nearly eighty women attended the session. Fifty of them reconvened the next day.

It was clear that the women at these meetings wanted action. Ideas for publicizing August 26 actions abounded—soapbox rallies, window displays, information booths at shopping centers.

"Let's go to an unratified state like we did last year in Springfield," said one woman. In 1976 NOW organized a pro-ERA demonstration in Springfield, Illinois, which was attended by 8,000 people.

Scott told the group, "We want to be careful, and not move too fast."

She reported that the national leadership is in the beginning stages of planning a "two-year strategy." But three full-time lobbyists for the national ERA strike force have already been hired.

A minority women's resolution was passed during the final plenary session of the northeast conference. Yet, proposals that would have helped implement this resolution were defeated. One of these proposals called for efforts to maximize Black, Puerto Rican, and Chicana participation in the August 26 actions.

But this is precisely what NOW must do if it is to be successful in winning women's rights. Recruiting women of oppressed nationalities must become a priority for NOW in the upcoming months.

Two candidates running for national board during the regional conferences addressed this problem. They were Linda Festa of San Francisco NOW and Dianne Feeley of New York NOW. They are both supporters of the Defending Women's Rights caucus.

Festa stated in her campaign brochure: "I believe that only an action campaign which mobilizes huge numbers of women can be effective in defending and extending existing rights."

Feeley's program pointed out: "To build our movement we must involve those women most affected by the attacks, especially working women, Black, Puerto Rican, Chicana, Asian and Native American women who are economically on the bottom of the barrel."

Both Festa and Feeley were first runners-up.

Hopefully, the NOW leadership will soon be putting their words into action. Many NOW members are waiting to see.

## Angry protests hit Congress & court

By Gale Shangold

Women are speaking out in anger at the actions of the Supreme Court and Congress to take away government funding for abortions.

"The recent Supreme Court decision absolving states from any obligation to pay for abortions . . . is tragic, discriminatory, racist, sexist, and dangerous," said Sharon Parker, a Black member of the National Organization for Women, at a June 22 news conference in *Albuquerque, New Mexico*.

"The constitution does not say that if you are poor and dependent on public assistance for survival, you shall forfeit some of your rights as a citizen! This decision leaves those . . . unable to afford safe and adequate medical care the alternatives of back-alley butchery, self-mutilation, or death," Parker continued.

*Lexington, Kentucky*, NOW organized a picket line outside of the Bureau of Social Insurance on June 24. The day before NOW sponsored a well-attended news conference, with representatives from eight organizations.

A news conference was held June 21 on the steps of the federal building in *Phoenix, Arizona*.

Speakers included representatives from Right to Choose, Phoenix NOW, Family Planning Institute, and Mother, an all-Black welfare-rights group. Also speaking was Jessica Sampson, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Phoenix.

The southeast regional NOW conference held in Jacksonville, Florida, recently aptly designated June as abortion alert month. NOW sponsored a picket line at the Florida state capitol in *Tallahassee* against cuts in Medicaid-funded abortions on June 13.

## SWP runs Hawkins for mayor

# 'Detroit labor needs to break with Young'

By Meg Hayes

DETROIT—"Ten years ago Detroit's Black community exploded in anger against the horrible conditions of life in this city," Trudy Hawkins told a June 10 news conference announcing her campaign for mayor on the Socialist Workers Party ticket. "Today, ten years later, things have gotten worse—not better."

Hawkins, twenty, is a nursing student at Highland Park Community College. An activist in the Black and women's movements, she is a national committee member of the Young Socialist Alliance.

The SWP also announced June 10 that it is running Steve Beumer, Leslie Craine, and Clarence Brown for Detroit City Council.

"The labor of working people has allowed a handful of exploiters to amass tremendous profits at the expense of the needs of the majority of people in Detroit," Hawkins said.

"What prevents working people, who produce all this wealth, from using it to meet human needs for the many?" Hawkins asked. "It is the bankrupt political strategies of the leaders of the Black community and the trade unions in Detroit that stand in our way," she answered.

"These misleaders fritter away our organized strength through supporting the Democratic Party," the socialist candidate said. "But the record of the last ten years exposes this strategy as a cruel hoax."

At a June 11 kickoff rally Hawkins recounted how "four years ago, when Coleman Young was running for



TRUDY HAWKINS

Militant/Larry Seigle

mayor, he said one of his goals was to prove to Blacks that 'they will not have to go out of the system in order to have some control over their destiny.'

"But the last four years have shown that neither Young nor current mayoral challenger City Councilman Ernest Brown have been able to do anything through 'the system' to improve the conditions of Blacks, women, and working people."

This is because "Young serves the

profiteering exploiters of the auto industries, banks, and other big corporations—not the Black masses," Hawkins said.

"For example," she explained, "in the 1976-77 city budget \$226 million is allocated for 'public protection' while only \$88 million is earmarked for education and housing.

"Obviously," Hawkins said, "for Coleman Young, money for cops to terrorize the thousands of youths who will be out on the streets after school ends is more important than funding jobs programs or recreational facilities."

The socialist candidate said working people need to break with the policy of "subordinating our struggles to the needs of Democratic Party politicians like Coleman Young.

"We need a new kind of party," she said, "a party that will fight in the interest of all the oppressed and exploited. We need a labor party based on our unions.

"Just imagine," Hawkins continued, "if the United Automobile Workers, instead of spending union money on electing probusiness candidates and seeking to get us out to vote on election day, used its resources to run auto workers for office, candidates whose campaigns were dedicated to mobilizing the full power of Detroit's labor movement to fight for the rights of the oppressed every day of the year. Our picket lines, rallies, and demonstrations would put fear in the hearts of the capitalist politicians and the corporations they serve. Our struggles would be complemented by a champion in the

electoral arena.

"That's the kind of political alternative we need in Detroit," Hawkins insisted, "not a big-business flunky like Coleman Young, whose 'solutions' are just more cops and fancy ripoff downtown buildings."

Susan Vargas of the Revolutionary Marxist Committee also addressed the SWP rally. She expressed the RMC's "wholehearted support" to Hawkins's campaign.

Vargas urged Blacks, women, and other oppressed people in Detroit to vote socialist, "because a vote for the SWP is a vote for the perspective of a labor party. A big vote for the SWP," Vargas said, "would show the degree of political awakening beginning to take place in the American working class."

The RMC worked hard during the month of June to help the SWP collect the 8,000 signatures needed to place its candidates on the ballot.

The RMC is a revolutionary socialist group with about forty members, most of whom live in Detroit. The active participation of the RMC members in the Hawkins for Mayor campaign is part of a process of increasing collaboration between the SWP and the RMC.

Eric Glatz, a candidate for vice-president of Local 2659 of the United Steelworkers of America and an activist in the Steelworkers Fight Back campaign of Ed Sadowski, provided musical entertainment at the rally.

Also bringing greetings to the rally was Willie Ellis, a Detroit auto worker, who announced his decision to join the SWP.

## Socialist mayoral drive hits 'valley of the sun'

By Joe Callahan

PHOENIX, Ariz.—Jessica Sampson, a twenty-seven-year-old school teacher and a member of the National Education Association, will be the Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor in this city's November election.

A longtime activist here, Sampson is a leader of the Phoenix women's liberation movement. In the spring of 1974 she helped initiate the United Farm Workers' boycott of Gallo wines in Phoenix.

At a well-attended news conference launching her campaign, Sampson told reporters that "unlike Mayor Margaret Hance and city council member Rosie Gutiérrez [the two other candidates who have so far announced in the 'nonpartisan election'] the SWP will campaign for the interests of the majority—working people, Chicanos,

Blacks, Native Americans, and women.

"Working people need a political alternative to the rule of the Democrats and Republicans who today administer the 'valley of the sun' only with an eye toward lining the pockets of archreactionary agribusiness corporations and financial interests like the Goldwater family," Sampson said.

"These politicians," she went on, "are demagogically complaining about Phoenix's city 'financial crisis.' They are threatening cutbacks in vital social services.

"But," she said, "these same cutback artists are shelling out \$16.6 million in tax-free interest payments on municipal bonds this year—mainly to wealthy bankers."

"These Democrats and Republicans are also leading a new assault on the

rights of women, Blacks, and Chicanos," Sampson said.

"Take the Equal Rights Amendment. I am actively campaigning for its ratification. But Mayor Hance—despite paying lip service to the need for the ERA—was nowhere to be seen when women demonstrated for the ERA at the state capitol this spring.

"And Phoenix's affirmative-action program," Sampson said, "is completely inadequate. While only 16.5 percent of city employees are female, 94.7 percent of administrators are male.

"Phoenix should begin a preferential-hiring program for women and minorities to abolish the discrimination these groups suffer and have suffered for centuries."

Sampson pledged her campaign to active support of the fight against deportations of *Mexicano* and other

foreign-born workers. "Carter has the nerve to carry out these inhumane expulsions while hypocritically claiming to defend 'human rights,'" she said.

The SWP is running to give working people in Phoenix a chance to vote against these policies, Sampson explained. "A vote for the socialist alternative is a vote for the perspective that our unions and the organizations of the Chicano and Black communities should struggle against the antilabor, racist, and sexist policies of the capitalist parties 365 days a year."

The SWP campaign here will launch a one-month drive to gather 3,314 signatures on nominating petitions beginning July 4. Sampson is urging all her supporters to join this drive to make sure the socialist alternative is on the ballot.

## SWP sets campaign against Albany's 'machine'

By Michael Kozak

ALBANY, N.Y.—For nine terms lasting thirty-six years, Mayor Erastus Corning has run this capital city of 115,000 people to the exclusive advantage of a well-entrenched Democratic Party machine.

Corning hopes to hold onto this power base in the November election. The recently organized branch of the Socialist Workers Party here, however, will be offering Albany working people an alternative in this fall's balloting.

At a June 10 rally, SWP candidate Kevin Kellogg announced his campaign for mayor.

Kellogg, twenty-five, is a member of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union and an activist in the Student Coalition Against Racism.

Kellogg told his supporters at the rally that Corning's probusiness administration had brought nothing but "corruption, union busting, and sub-

standard housing conditions" to working people.

Attention in the election has so far centered on State Sen. Howard Nolan's "reform" challenge to Corning in the September Democratic primary.

Kellogg says Nolan himself is a political spinoff from the Corning machine. "Nolan's candidacy offers no real alternative to working people," Kellogg explained. "He says he stands for a 'businesslike' administration.

"But this is only a code word for his profits-first policies of cutbacks in social services and attacks on the standard of living and democratic rights of working people and our unions," the socialist candidate said.

"The capitalists' two-party machine is designed to con working people into voting for the political parties of the bosses," Kellogg explained.

"Working people must unite to beat

this machine by building a party of our own—a labor party based on our unions—that will fight racist and sexist oppression, the destruction of the environment, and antilabor policies. Such a party would run this society so that human needs are put before profits."

Catarino Garza, the SWP candidate for mayor of New York City, also spoke at the rally. He had just returned from Chicago, where he had interviewed people in the Puerto Rican community about the June 4 police riot in which two Puerto Rican youths were murdered.

Campaign chairperson Stephanie Brooks told the rally that the SWP is required to gather 1,500 signatures to make sure Kellogg has a place on the ballot. The SWP's petitioning drive will last from July 25 through August 25.

# Sparks fly at NAACP convention over AFL-CIO opposition to affirmative action

By John Hawkins and Omari Musa

ST. LOUIS, June 28—Sparks flew during a workshop on employment on the second day of the NAACP national convention here.

William Pollard, director of the AFL-CIO Department of Civil Rights, led a

*What's at stake in the fight for affirmative action? See article on page 12.*

contingent of Black labor bureaucrats in an assault on the NAACP's stand in support of affirmative-action job programs. Pollard also lashed out at NAACP Labor Director Herbert Hill.



HERBERT HILL

Hill had opened the session with a blistering attack on the May 31 Supreme Court decisions upholding job seniority systems that discriminate against Blacks and women. The AFL-CIO had joined the bosses in filing a brief in one of the cases supporting the discriminatory systems.

Hill said that by doing so, the labor federation stood opposed to the "vital interests of women and minorities."

Hill exploded the myth of "reverse discrimination" against "innocent" white male workers.

"This argument turns on the notion of individual rights and sounds very moral and high-minded," Hill said,

"but it ignores basic social reality.

"For example," he continued, "Black workers have not been denied jobs as individuals but as a class, no matter what their personal merits and qualifications. Women have not been denied training and jobs as individuals but as a class, regardless of their individual talent or lack of it.

"Correspondingly, white males as a class have benefited from this systematic discrimination. The notion that these workers are innocent and blameless is a myth, and we categorically reject this notion."

## Role of bureaucrats

Hill outlined the complicity of the conservative labor bureaucrats with the bosses in maintaining job discrimination.

"The labor leaders have signed contracts with employers year after year that froze Blacks into the lowest-paying, dirtiest, dead-end jobs," he said. "They bear a lot of responsibility for upholding job discrimination."

Hill made it clear that the NAACP is not opposed to seniority systems as such. "What we are opposed to," he said, "is those systems that function to the detriment of Black workers obtaining full job equality."

Pollard, on the other hand, defended strict seniority. "Unions are not responsible for discrimination," he said. "Employers are. So, we must direct our fire at them."

He accused those who oppose strict seniority of being in league with the employers.

Emboldened by the racist, sexist Supreme Court ruling in May, labor officials came to the convention here determined to bring as much pressure as possible on the NAACP to retreat from its support of affirmative action and special seniority provisions for Blacks and women. The bureaucrats mapped their plans at a meeting of the Ad Hoc Labor Committee on the opening day of the convention.

This committee was ostensibly created to help raise money for the NAACP from local and international union bodies. Over the past year, it was reported, more than \$100,000 had been raised.

Under Pollard's leadership, however, the committee has also waged a constant—though as yet unsuccessful—campaign to reverse the NAACP's stand on affirmative action. One impatient American Federation of Teachers official complained that the bureaucrats' money had not brought them more influence.

The AFL-CIO has also guaranteed a \$1.5 million bond for the NAACP in a Mississippi lawsuit that had threatened the group's financial survival last year. Hill commented: "The AFL-CIO, in guaranteeing the bond, did not buy a civil rights organization.

"The policy of the association is made by mass membership, and I don't think that membership will reflect any interests other than Black interests. If it subordinates this to the interests of other groups, then the NAACP may as well pack up and go out of business, and I don't think it's ready to do that."

## 'Bakke' case

Meanwhile, at another workshop, convention participants discussed the implications of the California Supreme Court's *Bakke* decision, which overturned the minority admissions program at the University of California at Davis Medical School. The U.S. Supreme Court will rule on the case this fall.

Attorney Nathaniel Cowley, one of the workshop panelists, discussed the legal background of *Bakke* and the evolution of the case.

"Reverse discrimination," Cowley said, "has become the main argument in the campaign to steal the Fourteenth Amendment. They are trying to change it from a shield to protect our rights into a sword to cut off our heads."

Howard University law professor Herbert Reed told the workshop, "We face the situation where we could be worse off after *Bakke* than we were before the 1954 *Brown* decision [the Supreme Court decision outlawing desegregated schools]."

Reed said that while the NAACP had scored many legal successes, its legal action "has always been backed by people like you. We have to mobilize," he said, "to create a climate in which we can get a favorable decision on the *Bakke* case."

During the workshop discussion several participants pointed to the recent congressional vote forbidding use of federal funds to enact or enforce affirmative-action quotas.

NAACP General Counsel Nathaniel Jones noted that *Bakke* and the congressional ban both raised the false argument of "reverse discrimination." What is needed, he said, is a sweeping media drive to counter this false argument and get out the truth about the fight for equality.

National Student Coalition Against



Militant/John Hawkins

TONY AUSTIN

Racism coordinator Tony Austin, a workshop participant, said that such a drive should be coupled with a nationwide campaign of teach-ins, pickets, and rallies this fall. Austin urged local NAACP branches to help organize coalitions of Black, women's, and student groups to mount such a campaign to win a reversal of the *Bakke* ruling.

## High court slows busing in decision on Dayton

ST. LOUIS—As the national convention of the country's largest civil rights organization was meeting here June 27, the U.S. Supreme Court handed down a decision that at best straddles the fence on the right of Blacks to an equal education.

On the one hand, in a decision on a Detroit case, the court upheld the power of federal judges to order

*An editorial on this subject appears on page 10.*

special education programs as part of desegregation plans.

On the other hand, the court sent a Dayton, Ohio, desegregation plan back to a lower court. The justices said that the scope of the busing ordered by the lower court was not justified on the basis of its findings about the Dayton school board's intent to discriminate. Nonetheless, the court allowed the plan to stay in effect another year.

This is the first time that the Supreme Court has overturned on appeal a school desegregation plan already in operation.

In a convention workshop on school desegregation, NAACP chief legal counsel Nathaniel Jones called the court decisions "a definitive statement that the Supreme Court affirms . . . the power of federal judges to order desegregation plans."

Jones said that the court's ruling moderated the negative impact of its Austin, Texas; Arlington Heights, Illinois; and Indianapolis decisions

on school and housing desegregation. In those decisions, the court outlined its concept that victims of discrimination must prove they have been discriminated against *intentionally* before the courts can act.

"We didn't get killed in Dayton," Jones said, referring to his fears of an even more adverse ruling. He explained that the court could have used the Dayton case to place stricter limits on the power of federal judges.

Jon Hillson, author of the new book *The Battle of Boston*, an account of the fight for school desegregation in that city, also attended the workshop. Hillson disagreed with Jones's analysis of the Dayton decision as a victory.

"Under the impact of such terrible assaults on Black rights over the past year, anything less terrible can look like a victory," he said.

Hillson called the ruling "slick and deceptive."

"I won't be surprised," he said, "if busing opponents in other cities where plans are already in effect see this as their cue to appeal those plans.

"That's the real meaning of the ruling. It says to segregationists that not only can they go to court to block implementation, they can also go to court to turn back the clock.

"The fact that the court reaffirmed *Brown* [the 1954 Supreme Court decision that outlawed school desegregation] on paper was just a cover for this blow. Nonetheless, it was reaffirmed on paper, and prodesegregation forces should put that to good use."

—J.H. & O.M.

## AFT vs. NAACP

ST. LOUIS—During the discussion period at the employment workshop union bureaucrats lined up at the microphones to attack the NAACP's position on seniority. One of two speakers who supported the NAACP was Robb Wright, a member of the American Federation of Teachers (AFT) from Boston.

Wright pointed to impending teacher layoffs and other school cutbacks in Boston and called on the NAACP and the union to join together to fight these attacks on public education.

After Wright spoke, he was accosted by an AFT official who boxed him into a corner and told him that the union didn't want the NAACP meddling in its business.

The bureaucrat told Wright that if he had any problems, he should see the AFT—not the NAACP.

—J.H.

## June 26 victory

Never before has the world seen a quarter of a million people pour into the streets to say, "We demand gay rights!" June 26 changed that, as proud lesbians, gay men, and their supporters marched and rallied in San Francisco, New York, and many other cities.

These demonstrations, among the largest around any issue for several years, set an inspiring example for all those whose rights are under fire. The antigay bigots who rally behind Anita Bryant also champion antiunion "right to work" laws and oppose busing, abortion rights, affirmative action, and the Equal Rights Amendment.

For all those victimized by these reactionary campaigns, June 26 held an important message: A setback for democratic rights is a signal to unite and fight back, not to scurry for cover.

During the past week, antigay zealots have escalated their repulsive campaign to craven acts of hoodlum violence: the brutal killing of one gay man in San Francisco and the attempted murder of another in Miami.

The blame for these outrages rests not only on a minority of antigay fanatics. It's shared by Democratic and Republican politicians who refuse to pass gay civil rights laws; Supreme Court justices who deny homosexuals the guarantees of the Bill of Rights; and cops who harass gays and turn a blind eye to violence against them.

As for President Carter, he recently told reporters, "I don't particularly want to involve myself" in the debate over the right of gays to be teachers.

On June 26 gay rights supporters angrily answered: "Carter, hypocrite: human rights begin at home!"

In New York City the Coalition for Lesbian and Gay Rights has called a conference for July 16 and a demonstration at the United Nations August 20.

This perspective of ongoing protests, if implemented nationally, can beat back the antigay drive.

Women, oppressed minorities, and all working people should welcome and support these efforts. Each victory for gay rights is a victory for all who have a stake in defeating the current attacks on democratic rights.

## Busing setbacks

As the NAACP, the nation's largest civil rights organization, was convening in St. Louis at the end of June, Congress and the Supreme Court delivered fresh blows to school desegregation.

On June 27 the Supreme Court overruled lower court desegregation decisions that involved busing 15,000 students in Dayton, Ohio. The court reaffirmed, and in doing so reinforced, its relatively new doctrine that victims of discrimination must prove that school authorities intentionally perpetuated segregation.

This means, the Supreme Court says, that lower courts must limit desegregation orders *only* to correcting a school board's proven actions that led to segregation.

What this will mean for Dayton is still up in the air. The courts said busing could continue there for another year. But unless the lower courts document more evidence of intentional segregation, the plan will eventually be scrapped.

The Supreme Court has already used the Dayton decision to send back busing plans for Milwaukee and Omaha to be reviewed by lower courts.

The broader meaning of this and other recent decisions is that the Supreme Court is legitimizing a broad category of legal segregation—all those cases where school authorities didn't sufficiently betray their racist intentions to satisfy some judge. For Blacks, of course, the results of "intentional" and "unintentional" segregation are exactly the same: they get a second-rate education.

The day after the Supreme Court decision, the U.S. Senate attached a crippling antibusing amendment to a Health, Education and Welfare appropriation. Earlier the House had adopted the same amendment.

Its aim is to gut Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, which bars the use of federal money for public facilities that discriminate.

The Ford and Nixon administrations simply refused to enforce Title VI. Now, the lopsidedly Democratic Congress has made it impossible to enforce. How? By saying that HEW can't cut off funding to local authorities who refuse to desegregate schools through busing—the only effective means in big cities.

These two actions show that neither Democratic and Republican politicians nor the courts can be relied on to enforce Black rights. What is needed is a campaign of educational activities and protests organized by the civil rights and labor movements to demand full school desegregation now.

### Gary Tyler

Gary Tyler, a Black youth imprisoned for life for a murder he didn't commit, will mark his nineteenth birthday July 10. His mother, Mrs. Juanita Tyler, asks that Gary's friends and supporters write to him. His address is Gary Tyler #84156, Angola State Prison, Angola, Louisiana 70712.

Joel Aber  
New Orleans, Louisiana

### 'Militant' gets around

The *Seattle Gay News*, a monthly, reprinted Diane Wang's article "Files show FBI targeted gay organizations" in its June issue. The article first appeared in the May 27 *Militant*.

Louise Armstrong  
Seattle, Washington

### No gov't interference

I was glad to see your editorial "No more Miamis!" [*Militant*, June 17].

But I don't understand how you can say in one sentence "the repeal of the antidiscrimination laws is a blow against freedom from government interference in personal lives" and then say that "victory for antiunion right-to-work laws in Louisiana and Arkansas" is a threat and setback.

First you don't want the government to interfere in our personal lives by discriminating against gays, but it's all right to take the decision of whether to unionize or not away from the individual.

James Whitman  
Atlanta, Georgia

[In reply—So-called right-to-work laws have nothing to do with "interference in our personal lives." They have to do with condemning individual workers to the "right" to work at substandard wages, in unsafe working conditions, and at the total mercy of profit-hungry employers.]

### Lesbian feminist

As I am a lesbian feminist as well as a Marxist, I have appreciated the informative articles and editorial you have published concerning the "Save Our Children" attack on gay rights in Florida and similar attacks elsewhere.

I have also appreciated the attention that your paper has given to the recent National Organization for Women conference and women's rights issues in general. I urge you to continue this kind of coverage in the future.

P.W.  
Brooklyn, New York

### International news

I would like to express my appreciation for your informative articles on international news. Lacking in your columns, however, are in-depth political assessments of so-called Marxist governments in Mozambique, Yemen, the Seychelles, and so on.

I'm looking forward to reading such analysis in future *Militants*. Frankly, I'm fed up with the capitalist news media mislabeling these "leftist" governments as Marxist.

F.L.  
Berkeley, California

### Cancer and capitalism

Thanks very much for Arnold Weissberg's articles on cancer (*Militant*, June 3 and June 24). Putting an end to the cancer epidemic will

require an economy based on fulfillment of human needs and not the profits of a tiny ruling class, and which therefore does not pour carcinogens into air, water, soil, food, and manufactured goods.

The cancer epidemic is likely to get worse before it gets better, however. This is because of the "latent period"—most cancers do not develop until ten, fifteen, or twenty years after initial exposure to the carcinogens responsible.

The increases in the cancer rate of the past few years are the result of the large increase in industrial pollution in the years following World War II. Currently about one in four Americans can expect to get cancer, and one in five will die from it. Since the environment has become much more polluted in the 1970s than it was during the 1950s, the cancer rate can only get worse.

The pollution brought about by capitalism will long outlast capitalism. Many of the substances responsible for the cancer epidemic do not break down into safer materials. Plutonium, perhaps the most toxic chemical of all, remains carcinogenic for hundreds of thousands of years.

Edward Gogol  
Chicago, Illinois

### Prison study group

We are a small group of men who wish to express our appreciation for the *Militant*, which enables us to stay abreast of the many activities in the outside world. We hold classes and discuss each article.

Our number grows each week and we like to think it is because we teach the truth about what is happening in the world.

Within these walls are some very strong minds—men who are using this time to come together and strive to become leaders through education and to uplift all oppressed people.

Of course many of us have paid our dues—thrown in the "hole," mail messed over, visits stopped, legal mail and materials taken, but we refuse to give up. We can handle all they dish out. We have just begun to get the job done.

We hear your words. Please continue to feed us words of freedom.

A prisoner  
Pennsylvania

### Convinced

After reading your newspaper for about a year, I am ready to join your party. Please send me information on how I could do so. Also enclosed is money to renew my subscription for six months.

J.H.  
New Haven, Connecticut

### ERA in the USSR

Recently the Communist Party's newspaper, the *Daily World*, printed excerpts from the new Soviet Union constitution.

Article 34 of the constitution said, "Citizens of the USSR shall be equal before the law, irrespective of . . . sex. . . ." And Article 35 said, "In the USSR women shall have equal rights with men."

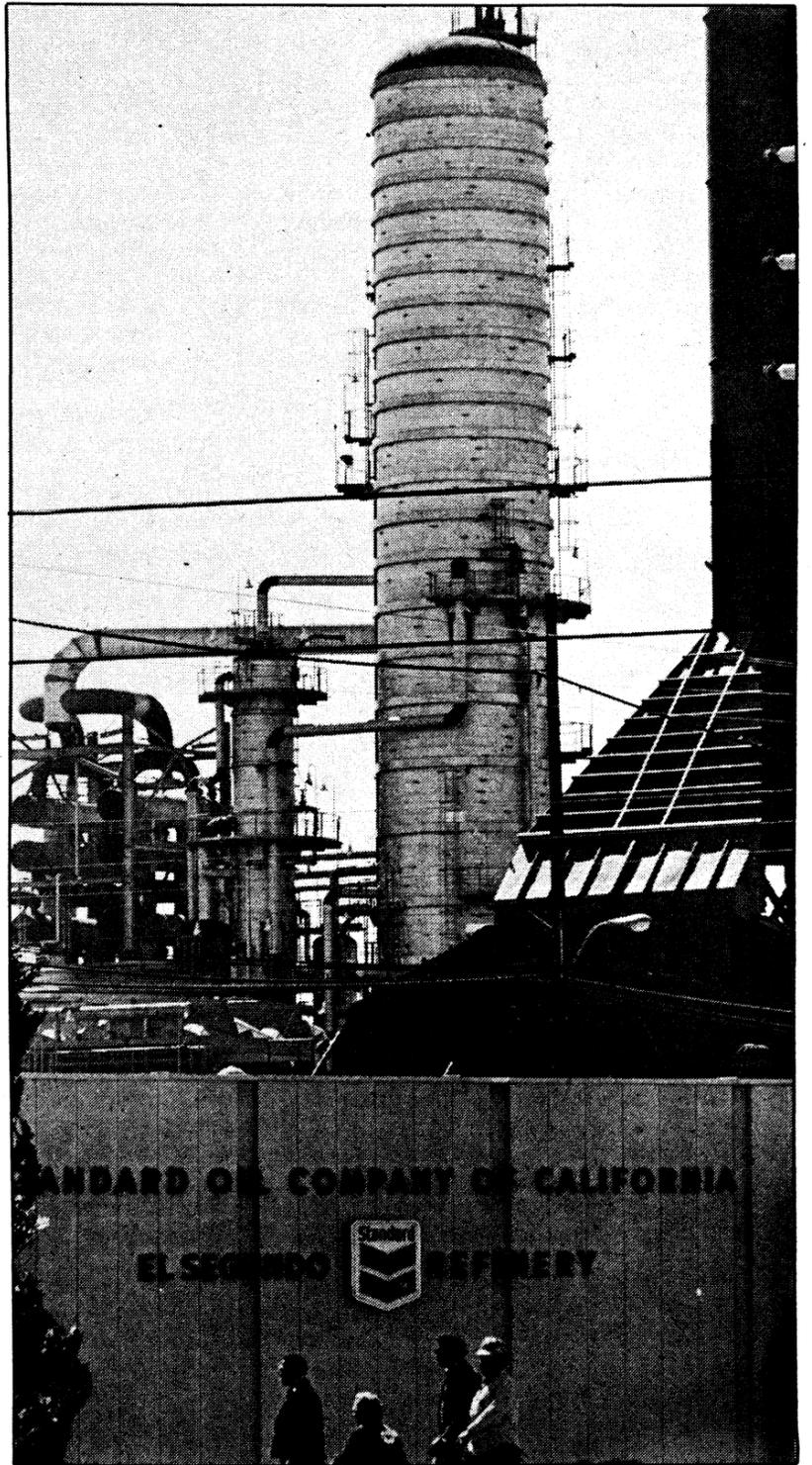
From what I know about the Soviet Union, women still face sexism there. The CP in that country is only 24 percent women, and there are no women on the political bureau. There are restrictions on abortion after the twelfth week of pregnancy. And in one

*Continued on page 23*

# International **Socialist** review

# Capitalist Technology and 'The Poverty of Power'

By Dick Roberts



Arnold Weissberg



# Leon Trotsky on Party Building

# THE MONTH IN REVIEW

## Civil Rights Showdown

A turning point is approaching in the struggle of oppressed minorities and women for equal employment and educational opportunities. The case of Alan Bakke against the University of California will be heard by the U.S. Supreme Court this fall.

Bakke, a white former marine captain, claims that he has been discriminated against because the University of California Medical School at Davis, which rejected his application for admission in 1972, maintained a special admissions program that brought sixteen Black, Chicano, and Asian students into the school each year. (Without this program, no Blacks and only two Chicanos would have been admitted to the school in 1972.) The California State Supreme Court ruled in Bakke's favor, holding that the special admissions program was "discriminatory."

If the *Bakke* decision is upheld by the Supreme Court, it could have the effect of invalidating most affirmative-action programs in the United States.

The decision would do more than close the doors of many universities and professional schools to minorities. It would endanger the jobs of thousands of Blacks, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, and women who were hired through affirmative action. It would encourage employers to abolish such programs and spur white males to demand these jobs on the grounds that they are victims of "reverse discrimination."

The *Bakke* case is thus the spearhead of an escalating attack against the gains won in the fight against racist and sexist discrimination in recent decades.

Until the 1950s educational and job discrimination against minorities and women was open and pervasive. Many schools flatly excluded Blacks and women. Jobs were often labeled "white only" and "male only" in advertisements. Discriminatory practices were not limited to a few prejudiced employers or university presidents. The system of legal discrimination enveloped the entire economy and educational system of the country.

Beginning in the mid-1950s, massive demonstrations demanding civil rights for Black people shook up this structure. Many of these actions focused on job discrimination, demanding that racist employers hire Blacks or that craft unions drop their racist exclusionary rules.

Under the pounding of this movement, which brought hundreds of thousands of Black people and their supporters into the streets, Congress adopted the 1964 Civil Rights Act. The act included provisions barring discrimination in employment against women and minorities.

Demonstrations by Black students and ghetto rebellions—combined with the rise of the Chicano and women's movements—forced big business to yield more ground. Many schools set up programs to recruit minorities and women, whom they had long systematically excluded.

Job- and school-entrance qualifications that blocked Blacks and other minorities who had been forced into inferior school systems were sometimes thrust aside. The program established at UC Davis Medical School was a product of these struggles.

Businesses were pressured to hire, promote, and train Blacks, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, and women. The demand for quotas arose because businesses, universities, and government agencies that had long practiced and defended discrimination—and, in fact, were still practicing it—could not be trusted to systematically abolish these practices. Left to themselves, the officials of these institutions usually resorted to the racist and sexist lie that no "qualified" Blacks, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, or women could be found.

Unless quotas were set high enough to overcome long-standing patterns of discrimination, and unless these quotas were enforced, the power to discriminate would remain in the racists' hands.

The gains made during this period were limited. Oppressed minorities and women remained last hired and first fired. Appeals against discrimination bogged down for years in the Equal Employment Opportunities Commission, and employers continued discriminatory practices in most cases, despite "agreements" to institute affirmative-action programs. But some important new opportunities did open up.

The ruling class deeply resented these concessions. Affirmative action challenged the employers' "right" to keep Blacks, Chicanos, and women as a huge pool of dirt cheap labor from which they could make enormous profits. The concessions were tolerable to the rulers as long as the capitalist economy was expanding.

When depression struck in 1974, the ruling class launched an offensive aimed at forcing oppressed minorities to accept a position at the bottom of the heap. Discriminatory layoffs were a major weapon in this campaign, as were cutbacks in education and social welfare.

The myth of "reverse discrimination" was given wide currency. According to this concept, any positive action taken to eliminate discrimination against minorities and women violates the rights of white males, since it deprives them of advantages they formerly possessed. Thus some white males, backed by the capitalist press and trade

union bureaucrats such as George Meany and Albert Shanker, complain that their "merit"—which society teaches them is inherently superior to that of minorities and women—is being passed over in favor of the "unqualified" because of affirmative action and quotas.

The Supreme Court has played an active part in this employer-led offensive. On May 31 the court ruled in favor of "routine application" of discriminatory seniority systems set up by unions and employers "even where the employer's pre-act [Civil Rights Act of 1964] discrimination resulted in whites having greater seniority rights than Negroes."

The majority held that it was no longer enough for the victims of racism and sexism to prove that discrimination was inherent in a particular seniority system. They are now required to convince the courts—overwhelmingly presided over by well-to-do white, male judges—that this discrimination was "intentional." By this new criterion, almost any discriminatory act may be legal, provided that the perpetrator is careful to conceal racist or sexist intentions.

The meaning of this criterion has been demonstrated in Greenville, S.C. The June 24, 1977, *New York Times* reported that the state has increased minimum test scores required for teacher certification so sharply that only 3 percent of the seniors at the state's six overwhelmingly Black colleges passed. In contrast more than 60 percent of the whites received passing scores. A three-judge federal panel ruled that "the tests were not discriminatory in intent," the *Times* reported.

By combining a substandard educational system for Black students with discriminatory "qualifying tests," Blacks can be kept out of thousands of jobs—"unintentionally," of course.

The Supreme Court is well aware of the effect of its rulings. The stress on "intent," like the "separate but equal" doctrine that was once used to uphold legal segregation, is just judicial window dressing for attacks on equal rights.

It is not inevitable, however, that the Supreme Court will rule in favor of Bakke, thus escalating the assault on civil rights to a qualitatively new level. Some in the ruling class are fearful of the eventual reaction in the Black and Chicano communities to such sweeping governmental endorsements of racial discrimination in hiring and education. Thus the June 19, 1977, *New York Times* featured a lengthy editorial explaining why Bakke's claim should be rejected.

United and massive protests by civil rights organizations, women's organizations, and others threatened by this ruling can have a powerful impact on the outcome. Oppressed minorities and women who belong to unions should demand that they take a firm and active stand in defense of affirmative action.

While the politicians and judges have shown unmistakably that they are opposed to racial and sexual equality, they can be forced to retreat by a united, independent, and massive response.

## CONTENTS

The Month in Review	2	Leon Trotsky on Party Building	5	World Food Crisis Today	12
Capitalist Technology and 'The Poverty of Power'	3	Harry Bridges: Story of a 'Radical' Union Bureaucrat	6	Review—Labour Focus on Eastern Europe Reviewed by Carol Lisker	12

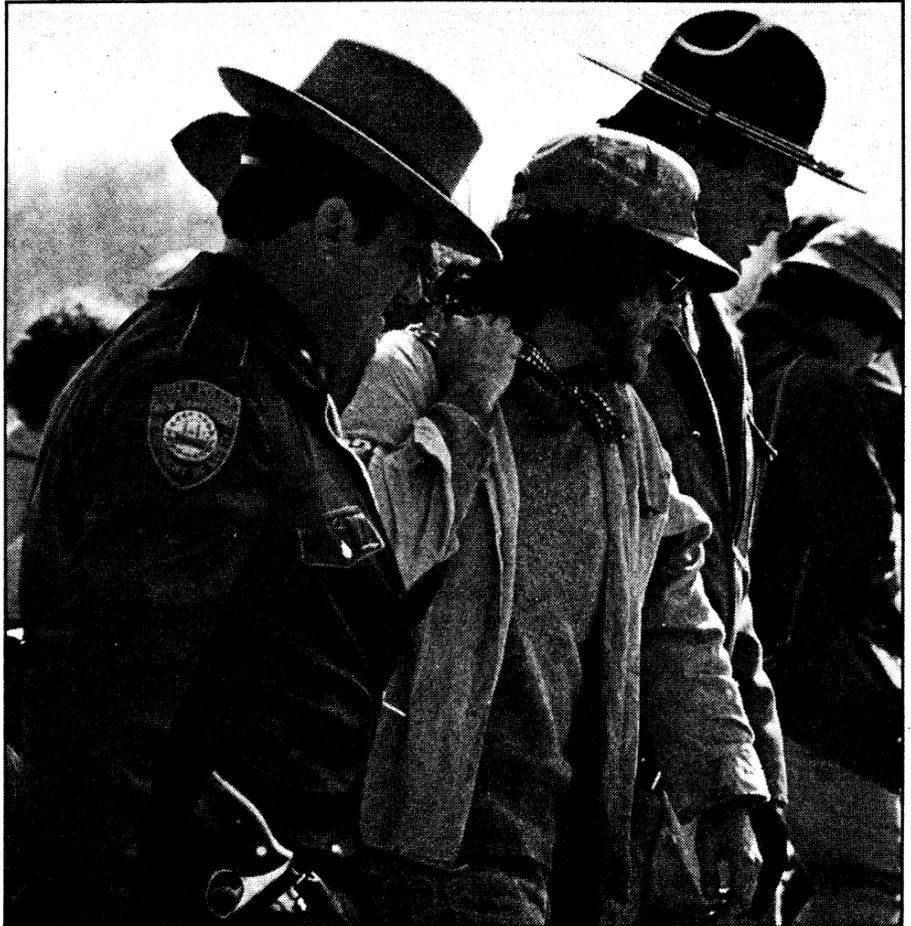


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# Capitalist Technology and 'The Poverty of Power'



Arnold Weissberg

Demonstrators protesting nuclear power plant are arrested in Seabrook, New Hampshire.

By Dick Roberts

The demonstrations against the construction of a nuclear power plant in Seabrook, New Hampshire, in May spotlighted the rise of a movement in this country that is already well advanced abroad—in Japan, Western Europe, Australia, and elsewhere.

The featured speaker at the rally of more than 1,300 protesters in Seabrook was Dr. Helen Caldecott, a pediatrician who is a leader of the Australian struggle.

Caldecott underlined the international character of the movement. "This doesn't just involve Seabrook," she said, "it involves the whole world. . . . Your president Jimmy Carter doesn't have a moral leg to stand on unless this country stops nuclear power now. . . ."

Caldecott also reviewed the known medical effects of radioactive pollution. It is, she said, "absurd to spend millions of dollars seeking a cure for leukemia, cystic fibrosis, and cancer and then invest billions in an industry that propagates those diseases—that is insanity!"

Yet precisely this insanity is a key plank of President Carter's energy program, according to Barry Commoner, who analyzed the details of the "National Energy Plan" in the May 29 *Washington Post*. A close reading of the 103-page White House proposal, says Commoner, shows that the plan "mandates the massive introduction of light water nuclear reactors [the type projected for Seabrook—D.R.] at a rate far exceeding the pace achieved in the last few years. . . . By the turn of the century, nuclear power plants would generate a major part of the nation's power, and since we would then heavily depend on electricity, there would be no choice but to continue the nuclear fission system."

While President Carter's program is widely believed to oppose further development of breeder reactors, potentially the most dangerous type of nuclear power generators, Commoner emphasizes that the logic of these proposals points toward breeder development:

"With uranium supplies depleting and rapidly rising in price, it would then be necessary to extend the supply of fissionable fuels—by adding breeders to the system." Commoner underlines that the actual wording of the White House document states that "the President has proposed to reduce the funding for the existing breeder program, and to redirect it toward

evaluation of alternative breeders, advanced converter reactors and other fuel cycles." The chilling meaning of these lines is reinforced by a quotation from Commoner's recent book, *The Poverty of Power*.\*

"If the nuclear-power program is based on the breeder, according to current projection of power production it will eventually involve about 130 million pounds of plutonium. If only one millionth of this material were to escape into the environment as it circulated through the intricate steps of the 'plutonium economy,' some 78,000 cases of cancer would result, or about 1600 per year. If four/ten-thousandths of the material were lost to the environment, 600,000 cancers per year might result."

Commoner states in his *Washington Post* article that Carter's "plan would commit the country, without its consent, to an ominous nuclear future. . . . The answer is to begin an open public debate on these, the real issues of the energy crisis."

This debate concerns not only the pros and cons of various forms of energy but also the character of the capitalist system itself, which imposes on society dangerous and irrational means of energy production.

## Nuclear Power

*The Poverty of Power* is a handbook for this debate. The author, Barry Commoner, is a director of the Scientists' Institute for Public Information (SIPI), which publishes the magazine *Environment*. He was an initiator of the St. Louis Committee for Environmental Information. He is also the author of *The Closing Circle and Science and Survival*.

*The Poverty of Power* presents a powerful indictment of the capitalist system: "It may be time," Commoner writes, "to view the faults of the U.S. capitalist economic system from the vantage point of a socialist alternative—to debate the relative merits of capitalism and socialism."

While Commoner's answers to the crisis caused by capitalism's wasteful use of energy resources and escalating destruction of the environment have flaws, as I shall attempt to demonstrate, the boldness with which he poses important and difficult questions is a major contribution to the discussion of these issues.

Commoner documents case after case of the profit-motivated destruction of useful natural resources and the parallel development of agricultural, transportation, and industrial methods that are irrational when measured in terms of

social benefit rather than profits.

The case of nuclear power is the most glaring. Not only does it involve enormous expenditures and horrendous risks, but the federal government has buried nuclear technology in secrecy and blocked public discussion and debate of the program at every step.

According to Commoner, estimates by the Union of Concerned Scientists and the American Physical Society concluded that an accident at a nuclear plant killing about 50,000 people had a 1-in-100,000 chance of happening.

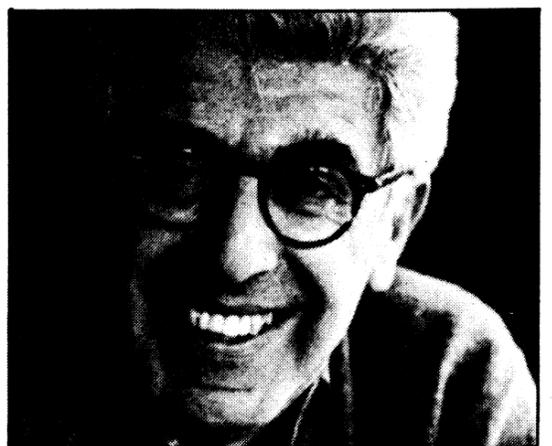
What does such a probability mean? Experts have recently calculated that the collision of two 747s that took place in the Canary Islands had a similar probability of occurring. In the Canary Islands disaster fewer than 600 people were killed. A nuclear power catastrophe would kill as many as a hundred times that amount.

Commoner estimates that the costs of nuclear power production are rising more rapidly than those of coal production and that by 1986 the cost of electricity from nuclear reactors will rise above that of coal-fired plants.

Nuclear power, consequently, is hazardous and costly, but the reserves of natural gas, oil, and coal are finite. Moreover, the production of power from these sources—especially coal—is environmentally destructive and dangerous to health. Commoner opts for solar power, an energy source that is safe and inexhaustible.

But Washington is trying to suppress the development of solar power. Most revealing is a report of the Atomic Energy Commission's "Solar Subpanel (IX)" that came to light only because Commoner, with the help of Sen. James Abourezk of South Dakota, pressured the government to release it.

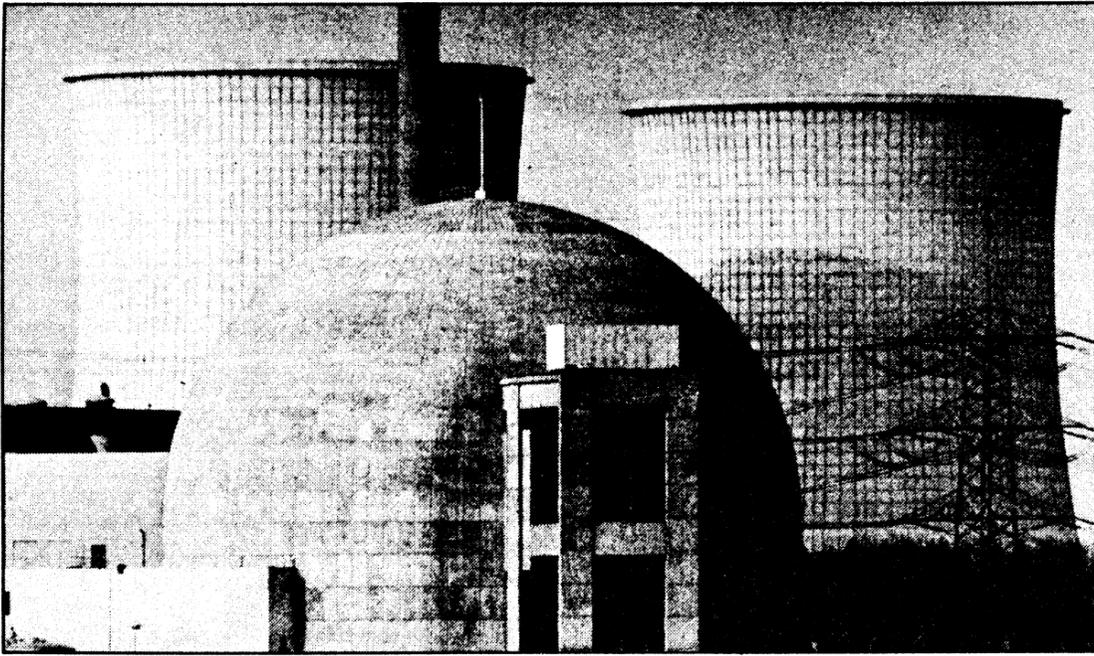
Commoner reports, "If the various solar technologies were developed according to the subpanel's recommendation for 'an accelerated orderly program having a high probability of



BARRY COMMONER

Dick Roberts is an associate editor of the ISR and the author of *Capitalism in Crisis* (New York: Pathfinder, 1975).

\* *The Poverty of Power* by Barry Commoner. Knopf, New York, 1976. 314 pages. \$10.00 hardbound, \$2.75 paper.



Nuclear power plant in West Germany

success' at a cost of \$1 billion, they would contribute a total of 21 percent of the nation's electrical demand, or about 5.5 percent of the total energy budget, in the year 2000."

But no such government allocations are being made. Commoner states in his *Washington Post* analysis of Carter's energy program that "research on alternative breeders . . . would, like the present development of the plutonium breeder, be so expensive as to preclude all but minor research on other energy systems."

### Energy Efficiency

Part of Commoner's argument against the capitalist misuse of energy is his assertion—well buttressed by facts—that it is inefficient. He argues that the first and second laws of thermodynamics raise two concepts that ought to be applied to all energy usage.

According to the first law, the energy of the universe can neither be created nor destroyed. It is essentially constant. When energy is used for a specific purpose—for example, heating a house—the total amount of energy is conserved—although it doesn't all end up being used for the given purpose. Energy efficiency, according to this law, is measured by "the ratio of the amount of heat delivered to the rooms to the amount that is generated when the oil is burned."

Commoner stresses the implications of the second law of thermodynamics, according to which the amount of energy in the universe that is dissipated as heat, and thus no longer available to do work, is constantly increasing. The amount of useful energy is constantly decreasing.

Measurement of efficiency in terms of this law, says Commoner, is based on the recognition "that energy in itself has no value unless it can be used to produce work by flowing from one place to another; that every human activity, such as heating a home, requires work; that the value of energy is measured by the work it can do; and that the efficiency with which energy is used ought to be measured by how closely the amount of available work used to accomplish a task corresponds to the minimum amount that the task requires."

### An 'Oil Shortage'?

Commoner makes a powerful case that current energy sources are used in inefficient and unnecessary, as well as ecologically destructive ways. His argument for the large-scale development of solar power is convincing.

Unfortunately, Commoner advances this idea within a framework that concedes too much to the concepts now being advanced by the energy monopolies and their propagandists.

He accepts the claim that U.S. capitalism is now seeking "energy self-sufficiency" and implicitly agrees that this is a desirable goal. Thus he points to "the sharp decline in the rate of domestic oil production that made the country dependent on foreign oil and set the scene for the 1973 oil crisis and the ensuing economic difficulties."

Taking a closer look, Commoner stresses that the reason for the sharp decline in the rate of domestic oil production over the last two decades

was the profitability of the oil trust's operations abroad. "Despite confusing disagreements among oil geologists, it is now clear that, in round numbers, some 350 billion barrels of domestic crude oil are available to us. (This consists of the existing reserve of 35 billion barrels plus about 320 billion barrels available from anticipated future discoveries.) At the present rate of oil consumption (slightly more than six billion barrels per year), this amount would take care of the total national demand for oil, without any imports, for a period of fifty to sixty years" (emphasis added).

President Carter's energy speech cited a fake CIA report claiming that a disastrous shortage of oil would hit by 1985, less than ten years from now. Propaganda coming from the government and the energy trust is designed to make people believe that there are real and imminent shortages of oil that justify the higher prices that the energy trust demands.

Further, Commoner's fifty-to sixty-year supply estimate assumes that no oil will be imported. In reality, the United States is today importing more than 40 percent of its petroleum. The energy barons pretend to be opposed to imports in order to justify their attempt to raise prices of domestic oil and to whip up sentiment against Arab and other semicolonial peoples who nationalize their own natural resources. But the oil trust has no intention of ending these imports.

Once the oil leaves the Middle East and other nations in the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC), it is entirely owned and distributed by the giant U.S., British, and Dutch oil cartel (and some lesser competitors), which derives tremendous profits from this operation. The grand scheme of these powerful imperialist interests is to raise oil production and prices, not in order to stop imports of OPEC oil, which are highly profitable to them, but in order to raise their profits on non-OPEC oil sources.

If the United States were to continue importing oil at present levels (and in fact, imports are increasing), it is obvious that domestic reserves would last much longer—up to a century if Commoner's estimates are correct.

The sources of raw materials such as oil and coal are finite—unlike sunlight, for instance. The profit hunger of capitalism leads to the anarchic misuse of natural energy resources without regard to social and environmental consequences. Obstacles are placed in the way of developing energy resources that threaten monopoly profits.

It is high time, as I think Commoner would agree, to take the decision-making power on such questions out of the hands of the corporations and to allow the people of this country to discuss and decide how energy can be provided in ways that meet human needs. But the claims of the oil trusts that we will see an exhaustion of oil sources in the near future and that they need higher prices is a fraud.

### 'Energy Self-sufficiency'

Commoner's argument is weakened by his attempt to argue the case against the capitalist energy trust from the standpoint of their fictitious goal of energy self-sufficiency.

U.S. imperialism is not and cannot be self-

sufficient in energy—or in any other commodity it produces and sells. U.S. monopolies exploit global resources and markets. Firms such as Exxon sell more oil abroad than they do in the United States; taken as a whole, the production and sale of goods by the foreign subsidiaries of U.S. firms constitutes the third largest gross national product after the United States and the Soviet Union. This global parasite would starve without foreign sources of energy, raw materials, labor, and markets.

It will hardly benefit the American working people or the people of the world to try to establish "fortress America." The people of the semicolonial lands and workers states such as China especially need access to American goods and technology.

A recent publication of the Labor Department, for example, estimates that the productivity of American farmers is one hundred times that of farmers in China. The fact that the United States has not given China one single tractor is more significant in social terms than the fact that American tractors are fossil-fuel guzzlers.

The American people also need access to the products of other countries. Any attempt to impose economic autarchy in oil or any other major industry could only be carried out through brutal assaults on the living standards of the people in this country—and would be doomed to failure. The world is economically interdependent and, barring nuclear war or disasters of comparable scope, it is going to remain so.

Commoner undoubtedly believes that there is an advantage to taking the capitalists' propaganda about energy self-sufficiency at face value and answering it. I think, however, that he would be on even stronger grounds if he emphasized both the phoniness of their claims and the grave social irresponsibility of any program for U.S. "self-sufficiency" in the social reality of our times.

Commoner vividly describes the way the search for profit has undermined America's transportation system. He points to the advantages of the electric railroad as a fast, energy-efficient, and environmentally sound mode of transport.

Commoner spells out how General Motors conspired in city after city to buy out and dismantle trolley lines in order to replace them with its air-poisoning buses. He calls attention to the gigantic government investment in highway construction, which paved the way for diesel truck usage at the expense of railroads. He notes the railroads' policy of cutting back the amount and quality of passenger service because it is not profitable.

### 'Capital Productivity'

*The Poverty of Power* lays bare the anarchic and increasingly deadly social results of a system whose motor force is the profit drive. Commoner adds an important dimension to this argument, using the theories of physics.

Even more, Commoner recognizes that this analysis of American capitalism requires serious consideration of the socialist alternative. He locates a central cause of the energy misuse in the tendency of the profit rate to fall. This process was explained by Karl Marx in *Capital*. The fact that a scientist of Commoner's stature is beginning to consider the contributions Marxism can make to the understanding of the social and environmental crisis of capitalism is much to be welcomed.

Unfortunately, there are mistakes in Commoner's analysis that could stand in the way of mounting a clear-cut attack on the problems he pinpoints.

Commoner tries to show that the capitalist use of energy is inefficient from the standpoint of capitalist profits. It has a low "capital productivity," he believes. Commoner seems to want to persuade capitalism to go over to less destructive technological methods because the more destructive methods are also less profitable.

Secondly, he seems to believe that there are inherent qualities in particular energy sources, for example petroleum, that lead to its destructive misuse.

Thirdly, he argues that industries with lower capital intensities are preferable, since because they are labor-intensive, they will provide more jobs.

Finally, Commoner sometimes confuses

Continued on page ISR/10

# Leon Trotsky on Problems of Party Building

**'Without a strongly centralized party we could never have taken power. . . . It is the only means of leading millions of people in combat against the possessing classes.'**

In the fall of 1935, Leon Trotsky, then living in Norway, was very much concerned about the French section of the movement that later became the Fourth International. In 1934, the members of the French section had joined the French Socialist Party (Section Française du Internationale Ouvrière—SFIO) and the Young Socialists. They formed a faction, the Bolshevik-Leninist Group. Having won a number of party members to revolutionary Marxist positions, they were now being expelled by the SFIO bureaucracy.

A whole book on this subject, *The Crisis of the French Section (1935-36)*, edited by Naomi Allen and myself, will be published shortly by Pathfinder Press.

To aid his French comrades, Trotsky decided to invite a young Frenchman, Fred Zeller, to visit him for political discussions. Zeller was the leader of the Young Socialists in Paris and a member of a left-wing tendency that collaborated with the Bolshevik-Leninists against right-wingers in the SFIO and the Young Socialists. For doing this he had been expelled for "Trotskyism" although he had not yet joined the Bolshevik-Leninist Group.

Zeller accepted Trotsky's invitation, and they held many discussions between the end of October and the middle of November. Trotsky succeeded in convincing Zeller that a Fourth International was needed and that he should return to France to join with the Bolshevik-Leninists in winning the Young Socialists to that point of view.

The subjects they discussed touched almost every facet of the revolutionary movement, including the problems of organization, which Trotsky viewed as one of the weaknesses of the French movement. The advice he gave on this was aimed specifically at the needs of the French section of that time and was not intended for all times and places. But much of it is still useful as general guidelines for revolutionary socialists today.

Zeller, who was twenty-three at the time of his visit, became one of the young leaders of the French section. He was expelled for an indiscretion at the end of 1937, rejoined at the end of World War II, and resigned from the movement in 1948. He later became the head of the Freemasons in France. The following passages (translated into English for *The Crisis in the French Section*) are from his book, *Trois Points C'est Tout* (Robert Laffont, 1976), although a large part was originally printed in *La Vérité*, September 19, 1967.

—George Breitman

Trotsky asked me my opinion of the principal Bolshevik-Leninists in Paris. I spoke of them cautiously. Then there was a silence.

"You know," he said, "there isn't much choice! You have to work with the material that you have on hand. That is not always convenient. When I arrived in Prinkipo, I received long strings of letters from enthusiastic militants who offered to come visit me. In France, I had to put my confidence in the militants who, on the whole, shared the perspectives of the Russian Opposition. I had to reject the skeptics and the dilettantes. The movement had to prove itself by marching boldly forward. We had to have a periodical, first to defend and spread our ideas and reply to the Stalinist slanders, and then, little by little, to regroup in one organization all those who agreed with us and wanted to struggle. So, despite the friendship that I felt for Monatte, Rosmer, or Louzon, our disagreements over the role of the party and the trade unions, among others, did not permit constructive work with the anarcho-sindicalist militants of *Révolution*



June 18, 1935: Trotsky (right) and Natalia Sedova (far left) arrive in Norway

*proletarienne*. As for Treint, with whom I had a long correspondence, it was difficult if not impossible to gather his small group around my friends because of their determined hostility. Moreover, it is curious how Treint succeeded in making so many enemies on all sides!

"I also received Maurice and Magdeleine Paz, but what can you do? Although I appreciated their talent and their desire to help me, I didn't feel the spark that would have helped me to decide upon them. Something very important was lacking: the desire to act, to struggle with one's face bare, to assert oneself and, if necessary, to sacrifice everything to the independence of one's ideas. I did not feel that in those two dilettantes of communism. So . . ."

"When Raymond Molinier arrived, a young man of twenty-five, full of plans, of faith, of enthusiasm, of drive, though he might be somewhat adventurist, and after him Naville, Gérard Rosenthal, the young Van, and all the others, they were the ones I put my confidence in. But their difficult characters and the inevitable struggle of people among themselves did not always make collective work easy. I know it; I know it well. But what about it? Without doubt, the arrival in the French organization of new and young fighters will cause things to fall into shape. . . ."

## Democratic Centralism

Trotsky often stressed organizational problems [in our talks]. He properly attached great importance to these.

"If you do not train good, serious administrators at every level of the movement, you will not win even if you are right a thousand times over. What the Bolshevik-Leninists have always lacked—and particularly in France—are organizers, good treasurers, accurate accounting, and publications that are readable and well proof-read."

The most serious difference that I had with him, if I dare say so, was over democratic centralism, whose implacably authoritarian

conception seemed to me as dangerous as the Social Democratic method, which never permits ordinary branch members to influence the party leadership in decisive fashion. . . .

Trotsky, while strongly insisting that Lenin's Political Bureau applied a "democratic" centralism while Stalin's applied a "bureaucratic" centralism, remembered having come up against this problem at the Second Congress [of the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party, 1903], which separated him from Lenin for several years.

"Nevertheless," he added, "Lenin was right again. Without a strongly centralized party, we could never have taken power. Centralism means focusing the maximum organizational effort toward the 'goal.' It is the only means of leading millions of people in combat against the possessing classes.

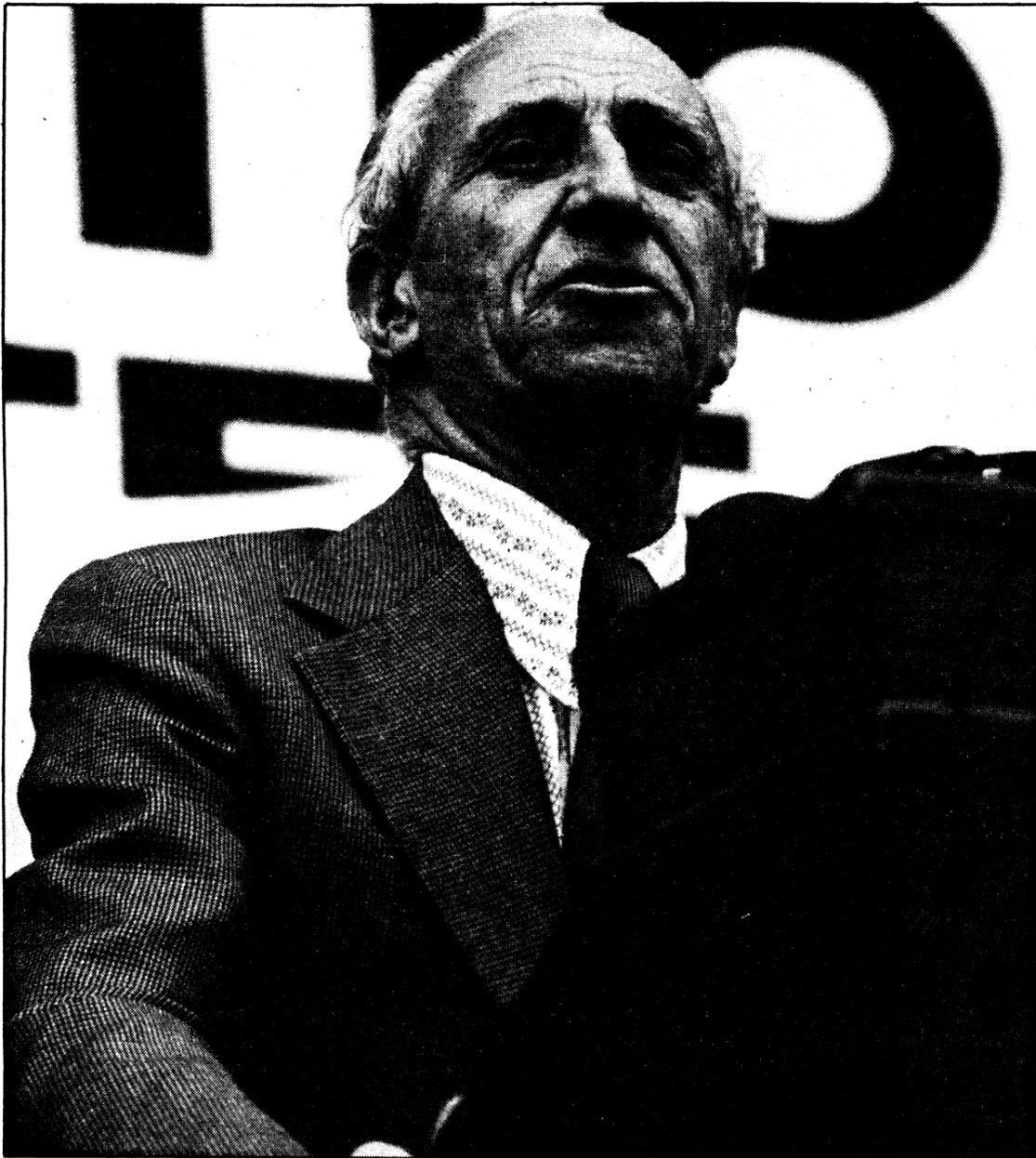
"If we agree with Lenin, that we are in the epoch of imperialism, the last stage of capitalism, it is necessary to have a revolutionary organization flexible enough to deal with the problems of an underground struggle as well as those of the seizure of power. Hence the necessity of a strongly centralized party, capable of orienting and leading the masses and of conducting the gigantic struggle from which they should emerge victorious. Hence also the need to collectively make a loyal self-criticism at every stage."

He added that the application of centralism should not be schematic but should develop out of the political situation. He cited as an example the Russian Communist Party in 1921, passing from a military and ultracentralized type of organization required by a civil war to an organization based on factory cells as a function of the needs of economic reconstruction:

"Between congresses, it was the Central Committee and its Political Bureau that led the party and supervised the rigorous execution at every level of the policy decided by the majority. It was not permissible to return constantly to questions of orientation and thus to violate the

*Continued on page ISR/9*

# Harry Bridges: Story of a



## By Frank Lovell

When Harry Bridges retired in April at age seventy-five as president of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU), the press took the occasion to review some of the history of the modern union movement. It was generally recognized that Bridges represented what was once a strong political current in the working class.

Tributes to Bridges flowed in from influential West Coast newspapers; from the Pacific Maritime Association (waterfront employers); from some in lower echelons of the AFL-CIO bureaucracy; from a few government officials; and, unofficially, from the Communist Party USA.

The *Christian Science Monitor* summed up the consensus of opinion in an editorial entitled "Harry Bridges: from agitator to labor statesman."

An article on Bridges by *New York Times* labor editor A.H. Raskin was headlined "The Last of a Militant Band." Raskin described Bridges as "a Marxist iconoclast" who "never abandoned his admiration for Moscow or his censure of capitalism."

Yet Raskin, a reliable defender of the employing class, praised Bridges for his "cooperative approach to waterfront automation" and his contributions to "heightening the efficiency of American industry and strengthening its global competitiveness."

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At a San Pedro, California, meeting in honor of Bridges on April 6, William Robertson, head of the Los Angeles County Labor Federation (AFL-CIO), described the ILWU leader as "the catalyst who really got organized labor started on the West Coast."

At the same gathering, a top representative of the waterfront employers said, "He is and has been the single most powerful and most stabilizing influence on the West Coast maritime industry, and you cannot do enough honor to this man who has never, never broken his word."

Bridges sought to retain some of his radical image by telling the guests at his retirement fete, "I'm just a member of the working class of the world, and these honors just come to me as their representative."

How did Bridges earn fulsome praises from the employers while retaining, in some eyes, a little of the aura of a "rebel"?

For more than four decades Bridges defended Stalinist politics. He stands as living proof that the end result is not essentially different from that attained by his social democratic counterparts in the union bureaucracy. Although the Stalinists support the foreign policy of the Soviet bureaucracy while the social democrats are more directly committed to the interests of U.S. imperialism, both seek collaboration with the employers.

Despite some differences in recent years with the Communist Party USA, Bridges used the occasion of his retirement to remind listeners that the Soviet bureaucracy and the U.S. ruling class have more in common than is often realized in this country, and that in his opinion the unions would benefit from U.S.-Soviet détente.

During his long career, Bridges demonstrated a high degree of organizational flexibility while hewing to the twisting course of Stalinist policy. The fact that the ILWU remains a relatively

small union (55,000 members), outside the AFL-CIO, is largely a result of the U.S. cold war drive against the Soviet Union and the witch-hunt that destroyed the once massive Stalinist influence in the union movement.

Bridges did not always get on so well with the employers as he does today. The West Coast ruling class sought to weaken and destroy the union movement by attacking it as "Communist." They centered their fire on Bridges as the personification of Communist unionism.

Bridges had come to this country from Australia in 1920 when he was nineteen. He participated in the 1921 seamen's strike and joined the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW).

### Bridges on Trial

In 1939—after the ILWU had established itself as a force on the West Coast—Bridges was placed on trial for nine weeks under threat of deportation. The Pacific Coast employers, in their ignorance, really thought that their troubles with unions would end if Bridges was kicked out of the country. On New Year's Day, 1940, the trial examiner, James MacCauley Landis, dean of the Harvard Law School, found in favor of Bridges.

In that trial Bridges testified under cross-examination for two-and-a-half days about his involvement in radical activities.

He was anxious to dissociate himself from the IWW. He said that he did not know what the IWW stood for when he joined. After discovering that its aims were "syndicalistic and anarchistic," Bridges asserted, "I got out fast."

"We believe in strikes, too," Bridges continued, "but only at the right time and under the right circumstances. For instance, they [the IWW] refused to sign any agreement or to arbitrate. . . . They thought they could build strong unions, call strikes, cause a collapse of the system and take over for themselves."

By denigrating the IWW, Bridges sought to assure the employers that he repudiated revolutionary objectives and was ready to collaborate with the employers and accept government intervention in labor disputes.

Bridges had already demonstrated this in practice during the 1936-37 Pacific Coast maritime strike. At that time he endorsed federal legislation requiring sailors to carry a continuous disclosure book, a complete job record. The sailors knew that this would be used to blackmail militants. They dubbed it the "fink book." Bridges and his Stalinist allies denounced them, declaring, "You can't strike against the government."

Bridges's testimony reviewed his early attitude toward the Communist Party. In 1932 and 1933 the Stalinists were trying to organize their own "red unions," denouncing the old-line AFL unions as "fascist." Their theory at the time was that the collapse of capitalism was imminent, the system having reached its "third and final period."

"They used to speak on the waterfront and organize the longshoremen into the Marine Workers' Industrial Union," Bridges said. "They didn't have much success. . . . They would be speaking about five minutes and then the police would rush in and either throw them off the truck or generally beat them up, and whatnot."

Later, when the longshoremen began to organize their own union, the vast majority, including Bridges, joined the International Longshoremen's Association (AFL). Under the leadership of Bridges and other militants, this organization spearheaded the 1934 West Coast maritime strike.

A brutal police assault in which strikers were killed provoked a general strike in San Francisco, a show of labor solidarity with the waterfront strikers.

The coastal strike was settled by arbitration. Longshoremen won control of the hiring hall and made other gains. Their union was firmly established.

This strike was one of three big class battles in 1934 that presaged the formation of the Committee for Industrial Organization (CIO). The others were the Toledo Auto-Lite strike and the Minnea-

# Radical' Union Bureaucrat

polis Teamster strikes. All were led by radicals.

The strike in Toledo was led by members of A.J. Muste's Conference of Progressive Labor Action (later the American Workers Party). The Minneapolis Teamster strikes were led by the Dunne brothers, Farrell Dobbs, and other supporters of the Communist League of America (a forerunner of the Socialist Workers Party).

## Supporting the Democrats

As part of his defense against deportation, Bridges stressed his differences with the Communist Party during the party's ultraleft "third period."

"I argued violently with the Communist Party leaders in the 1934 [gubernatorial] campaign of Upton Sinclair [a "socialist" running as a Democrat], where the Communist Party opposed Upton Sinclair," Bridges said. "We [longshoremen] were in full support of Sinclair, and organized and contributed to his support."

The Stalinists and Bridges soon came to a meeting of minds on supporting the Democrats. With the Nazis in power in Germany, Stalin in 1935 junked the ultraleft policy and ordered Communist parties to foster "popular fronts." Communist parties were to support capitalist governments that were diplomatically allied with the Soviet Union against Hitler.

This led the American Stalinists to give full support to Roosevelt in 1936, although they had denounced him as a fascist shortly before. The new policy was completely in accord with Bridges's inclinations.

At the same time, the Communist Party abandoned its "red unions" and CP members joined the AFL unions.

At about this time, the CIO took shape as a split in the AFL leadership over the issue of organizing mass production workers into industrial unions. John L. Lewis, Charles Howard of the International Typographical Union, and David Dubinsky, Sidney Hillman, and Max Zaritsky of the needle trades unions took the initial step. They were right-wing social democrats.

In the labor upsurge that followed, three tendencies contended for influence among the radicalizing workers and in the new CIO unions. These were the social democrats, the Stalinists, and the Trotskyists. The Trotskyists were a revolutionary-socialist current that tried to foster the political independence of the workers movement. The Stalinists and social democrats contended for positions in the bureaucratic apparatus that was being consolidated in the CIO under Lewis, with ties to the Democratic Party.

Between them the Stalinists and social democrats tried with considerable success to keep the labor upsurge within capitalist bounds.

The Communist Party made rapid gains at first. Lewis found them to be energetic organizers and, more importantly, equally committed to cooperation with the employers and supporting capitalist politicians. By 1939, they were at the height of their influence in the American labor movement.

## Stalinist Power in the CIO

They were dominant in the Transport Workers Union; the National Maritime Union; the United Electrical Workers; the Fur and Leather Workers Union; the American Communications Association; the Packinghouse Workers; the Farm Equipment Workers; the Mine, Mill, and Smelter Workers; and many others. They had substantial influence in the United Auto Workers as well.

The Stalinists led the CIO central labor councils in New York, Los Angeles, Detroit, San Francisco, and elsewhere. Several Stalinists held important posts in Lewis's office, such as general counsel of the CIO and editor of the *CIO News*.

Harry Bridges led the West Coast longshoremen out of the AFL and into the CIO in 1937, forming the ILWU. He was appointed by Lewis to be West Coast director of the CIO.

The Stalinists' following in the rank and file was also growing. The Stalinist regime in the Soviet Union was still identified by most workers

with the victorious working-class revolution in Russia in 1917.

The fortunes of the Stalinists wobbled when Stalin signed up with Hitler in August 1939. Shortly thereafter, Hitler invaded Poland and World War II began. Stalin's shift meant that the Communist parties now had to oppose action against Hitler's Germany. The American Stalinists took an isolationist stance, issuing the slogan "The Yanks are not coming."

While Stalinist-influenced CIO leaders such as Bridges paid lip service to the new line, none were comfortable with it. As trade-union bureaucrats they much preferred to get along with the government as they had been able to do during the "popular front" days.

In November 1939, Stalinist delegates were still voting for resolutions favoring a third term for Roosevelt. However, Roosevelt's efforts to gear the country for war with Germany required a shift.

In the 1940 presidential election, the Stalinists gave backhanded support to the Republican candidate, Wendell Willkie, against Roosevelt. When John L. Lewis, who had broken with Roosevelt, endorsed Willkie, Bridges praised the CIO head as having the "courage of a lion."

A dramatic reversal occurred on June 22, 1941, when Hitler turned on Stalin and invaded the Soviet Union. The Stalinists in the United States now pushed for speedy entry into the war by the U.S. imperialists. In the CIO they broke with Lewis, making common cause with the leading prowar social democrat, Sidney Hillman, and with Lewis's successor as CIO president, Philip Murray.

The Stalinist trade-union leaders happily returned to enthusiastic support of Roosevelt, who was idolized in the Stalinist press.

## Strikebreaking in World War II

Bridges became an ardent supporter of the Stalinist policy of opposing all labor struggles during the war. He endorsed the no-strike pledge, universal military conscription, and wage freezes.

As West Coast CIO director, he told his underlings: "To put it bluntly, I mean your unions of today must become instruments of speedup of the working people of America."

The longshoremen began to rankle at such appeals. It soon became evident to them that Roosevelt's talk about "equality of sacrifice" in wartime meant less for the workers and more for the bosses. In 1943 Bridges was booed off the platform at an ILWU meeting in San Pedro when he urged doubling, from twenty to forty, the number of cement sacks that could be carried on a sling board.

Strikes in the war years were intolerable to Bridges, and to the rest of the Stalinists. When forty-cent-an-hour workers at Montgomery Ward in Chicago were forced to strike, Bridges saw nothing wrong with strikebreaking. This strike had such widespread support in the unions that it won formal backing from the national CIO leaders in spite of the no-strike pledge. Nonetheless, Bridges answered an appeal for solidarity from the CIO Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Union by declaring, "We will handle Chicago orders eight hours a day, call it scabbing if you want to."

Bridges urged the regimentation of all maritime labor. In 1942 he boasted that the ILWU had "proposed to its employers and to the government a plan to have the entire longshore industry on the Pacific Coast operated exclusively under the control of a joint management-labor-government board. We devised the plan and we pushed for its adoption. . . ."

"In proposing the establishment of such a board," Bridges went on, "the union agreed to set aside any and all provisions of its entire collective bargaining contract if any such provisions of the contract in any way blocked an all-out war effort."

The Stalinists hailed every wartime move of the government to shackle and cripple the unions. After sending organizers into the mine fields in an unsuccessful effort to break a miners'

strike, they endorsed a proposal by the Roosevelt administration to introduce universal labor conscription, an antiunion measure that was opposed by both the CIO and the AFL.

When CIO President Philip Murray and AFL President William Green went to the White House to protest, Roosevelt told Murray bluntly that he could not speak for the CIO and produced a telegram from Bridges in support of the measure as proof.

In September 1944, with the war drawing to a close, Bridges signed a contract with waterfront employers promising no strikes for the remainder of the war and "indefinitely thereafter"—a permanent no-strike pledge.

The social democratic union leaders also backed Roosevelt's antilabor policies and opposed labor struggles with all the energy at their disposal. But the Stalinists carried class collaboration to such extremes that some social democratic officials were occasionally able to paint a phony picture of themselves as militants by comparison. This later helped the social democratic bureaucrats in witch-hunting the Stalinists out of the unions.

## The Stalinists are Purged

The end of the war saw a changed relationship between the United States and the USSR—the cold war. Since the Stalinists followed the lead of the Soviet bureaucracy, the rulers of this country wanted them—together with all manifestations of radicalism—out of the labor movement.

A reactionary drive was building up. The Taft-Hartley bill—restricting the right to strike and requiring union officers to take an anti-communist oath—was adopted. The old-line AFL unions tried to raid CIO unions, calling them "communist."

A confrontation between the Stalinist and social democratic union bureaucracies in the CIO took place in 1948. The Murray leadership of the CIO endorsed Truman for a full term as president. The Stalinists came out for Progressive Party candidate Henry Wallace.

Both Wallace and Truman defended the basic interests of U.S. capitalism. Truman was aggressively pushing the cold war against the USSR, while Wallace—who had been vice-president under Roosevelt during the war—favored continuing the alliance with Stalin. The ruling class solidly backed Truman, and Wallace was trounced in the election.

Encouraged by the developing witch-hunt against Communist "subversion" that the Truman administration was spurring, the social democrats undertook a purge of the Stalinists.

Eleven international unions, representing more than a million workers, were expelled from the CIO in 1949 and 1950. The top CIO leaders organized "trials" of their victims, in which all who hesitated to back the "CIO policy" of supporting the cold war, the "Truman Doctrine," and the Democratic Party were purged. The social democrats tried to defend the purge by pointing to the unprincipled twists and turns of the Stalinists, using this as a justification for banning their ideas. But the result—as the social



John L. Lewis and Philip Murray. Bridges helped them tie CIO to Democrats.

democrats were aware—was to bar dissent in the CIO.

Some CIO officials, such as Mike Quill of the Transport Workers Union and Joseph Curran of the National Maritime Union, broke with the Stalinists and lined up with the anticommunist witch-hunters.

### A Poor Showing on Civil Liberties

The Communist Party bureaucrats in the unions were crippled in fighting the witch-hunt by their poor record in defense of freedom of opinion. They hailed the arrest and conviction of eighteen Minneapolis Trotskyists and Teamster union leaders in 1941 on charges of violating the Smith Act.

Although some 600 labor, civil rights, and civil liberties organizations called for freeing the frame-up victims, the Stalinists rammed a resolution through the Minnesota CIO convention declaring the victims to be "enemies of the labor movement." The resolution stated, the CIO "goes on record opposing any aid or comfort to those serving terms in the federal penitentiary."

In 1944 Bridges had A.L. Wirin, a West Coast civil liberties attorney dismissed as counsel for various CIO unions because Wirin opposed the imprisonment of Japanese-Americans in concentration camps, a measure backed by the Communist Party.

Even after the Stalinists came under brutal government attack themselves—including Smith Act prosecutions—they refused to help other working-class victims of the witch-hunt.

James Kutcher was deprived of his disabled veteran's pension and his job with the Veterans Administration for the crime of belonging to the Socialist Workers Party. He appealed to the labor movement for support in his fight to regain all that had been vindictively taken away.

His case was endorsed in 1948 by the National CIO Committee to Abolish Discrimination and by CIO President Murray.

In June 1949 Kutcher was in San Francisco seeking to publicize his case.

He had speaking engagements at ILWU Local 10, to which Bridges belonged, and at a Stalinist-dominated "Conference Against Thought Control."

At the conference, Kutcher was given five minutes to speak. Then one of the Stalinist organizers of the conference delivered a tirade slandering Kutcher as a "stool pigeon."

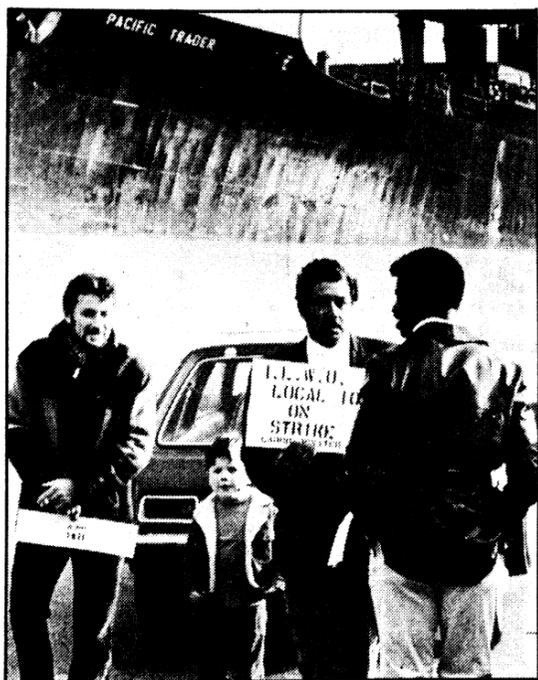
At the ILWU meeting, the Stalinists tried to give him the same treatment. However, the membership voted to make a cash contribution to his defense. The only dissenters were twelve Stalinists.

Kutcher later wrote in *The Case of the Legless Veteran*, "Harry Bridges sat silent through the entire incident. Either he did not like the Stalinist line or he did not think it popular to side with them."

Such actions only deepened the isolation of the Stalinists and made it much easier to victimize them.

### Why Bridges Survived

Bridges was much luckier than some of the Stalinists. Many of the Stalinist-controlled



January 1972: West Coast longshoremen picket in 135-day strike.

unions were cut to ribbons by government strikebreaking and raids organized by the AFL and CIO. Bridges, however, survived in the ILWU, which held firm against the anticommunist raiders.

Despite the fact that Bridges had won his 1939 case against deportation and had become a U.S. citizen, the government resumed efforts to prosecute him. In November 1949 he was accused of committing perjury in the hearing on his citizenship application. He was convicted, but the U.S. Supreme Court reversed the conviction.

In 1955 Bridges was tried on the charge of being a member of the Communist Party, but the case fell apart for lack of evidence. These were political persecutions having nothing to do with criminal actions or intentions on Bridges's part. He has not been bothered since.

Bridges's ability to ride out this storm stemmed from the militancy of the ranks, bound together in defense of the hiring hall and working conditions that had been won in strike actions.

This tradition, however, could not prevent the retreats of class-collaborationist leadership from taking a severe toll. The longshore division, a "waterfront caucus," remained the core of the union, but their numbers dwindled with the decline of West Coast shipping and mechanization of the industry.

Packaged freight and forklifts, and later the introduction of containerized cargo, drastically changed the nature of the work and the number of workers. The union became a job trust for a limited body of registered longshoremen with top seniority in the industry.

Although Bridges continued to respond to the problems of the older, fully registered longshoremen, he maintained his leadership post primarily because of the support of Hawaiian sugar cane workers and other locals off the West Coast waterfront.

### Business Unionism

New workers were admitted to the docks on permits or taken into a class B pool—under union jurisdiction but without full membership rights—where extra work was shared. They got the most onerous jobs, and few of them in bad times. This was the established practice of the old-line AFL craft unions.

Under the changing conditions, the employers sought to chip away at the gains achieved by the union—convinced by experience that they could not win an all-out battle to reverse them.

In October 1960 the Pacific Maritime Association and the ILWU signed an agreement on Mechanization and Modernization, effective January 1, 1961, to July 1, 1966, and not subject to review. This agreement gave the employers the right to introduce new machinery at will, while eliminating previously established union work rules. In exchange, the fully registered workers (registration having been frozen in 1958) were given a flat guarantee against layoffs for any reason.

The average age of registered longshoremen at that time was over fifty. The M&M agreement provided for early retirement at age sixty-two with a monthly benefit of \$220. At age sixty-five, when Social Security was payable, the pension dropped back to \$115. Before inflation gained steam at the end of the 1960s, these benefits were above average and were considered to be adequate.

The plan was financed by a \$5 million annual payment from the employers. In the words of a labor-management statement, "Three million dollars each year is considered to be . . . the men's 'share of the machine' . . ."

"The remaining two million dollars . . . the men are to receive for selling their property rights in certain of the working rules."

In the context of this agreement, "the men" referred only to fully registered longshoremen at the time of signing: "Men who are registered in the work force from now on will not be entitled to any of this part of the Fund [the \$2 million] because they were not party to the bargain on the working rules."

The language is of the business world. The deal comes under the general heading of business unionism. In the interest of collaboration with the bosses, it provided benefits for older, more skilled workers at the expense of the young workers and those who would come onto the docks in the future.

The immediate effect of the agreement was

described by Stanley Weir, one of 700 San Francisco longshoremen at the time with a class B status who were excluded from benefits of the agreement. He wrote in the Winter 1964 issue of *New Politics*: "Only a few months after the 'M and M' contract went into effect, its real nature became apparent to everyone. Most loads to be built or stowed had quadrupled in size, rest periods were fewer, the speedup was on and the accident rate in the most dangerous industry in the nation was up 20 per cent over the previous year in San Francisco and up 16 percent on the West Coast. . . ."

"Gone was the right to take direct action on the job to correct contract violations, except in matters involving 'safety.' The phrase in the contract that said the men must 'work as directed' blunted every attempt to act."

This explains why the waterfront employers today have high praise for Bridges. But it did not eliminate their appetite for more. Thus the employers forced the longshore workers into a long strike in 1971, taking advantage of Nixon's antilabor wage freeze, in an effort to further whittle away at working conditions.

### Bridges Today

At the time of Bridges's retirement, a top negotiator for the employers commented on Bridges's role over the years. "I don't think Harry has changed any," he said, "He is the friend of the industry not because he has changed but because the industry has changed under his influence."

"It used to be a terrible industry, accustomed to buying people up, and Harry never believed in that. He taught us that we had to think in terms of human beings. The fact that he often spouted off about how much better they did things in Moscow never altered the fact that he was an innovative guy who could outthink anyone else at the table and whose word meant a lot. He comes out of a mold no one else will fit in."

Bridges has changed, but not fundamentally. His politics and union policy remained the same from 1936 to 1977. The mold he came out of was the Stalinist current in the labor movement. It is a mold that social democratic bureaucrats of the Walter Reuther-Douglas Fraser variety can easily squeeze into—because in essence it is their own mold.

Bridges in later years lost some of his earlier supple responses, but that is something that comes with age and did not affect his Stalinist politics. He settled into a comfortable existence, accepting gracefully the political appointments that were tendered him by Democratic "friends of labor."

During the big marches against the Vietnam War, the ILWU was one of the few unions that gave its endorsement, but Bridges himself took a rather dim view of the antiwar movement and its young radical leadership. His attitude in this respect was not very different from that of the Communist Party, which he certainly didn't need to consult on this matter. He is a man with Stalinism in his bones.

Some union militants think Stalinism has disappeared from the labor movement because it shows few signs of life in the most important unions. Not long ago a shop steward in an auto plant asked me if the Communist Party ever had many members or much influence. It did.

Stalinism will remain a significant current in the union movement as long as the Soviet bureaucracy survives to nurture it. It has lost much of its attractiveness because the Soviet bureaucracy is no longer as closely identified with the Russian revolution as it was in 1934 when Harry Bridges first emerged as a leader. Many of the crimes of Stalinism have become widely known.

Nonetheless, some breeding grounds for Stalinism are to be found in the interstices of the union bureaucracy. There the Stalinists are seeking "progressive" (which in the context of the Stalinist line today means "pro-détente") allies as the bureaucracy begins to divide under the pressure of the capitalist crisis.

The history of Stalinism in the modern union movement, personified in the case of Harry Bridges, demonstrates that it has nothing useful to offer workers who are beginning to look for a new, militant, class-conscious leadership in the unions today.

# ...Trotsky

Continued from page ISR/5

execution of the policy decided on by the party."

He also returned often to one of the greatest dangers facing the workers' vanguard: sectarianism, which exhausts, withers, demoralizes, and isolates:

"That is what threatens the French section. It was one of the principal reasons that led us to urge our comrades to enter the SFIO as a 'tendency.' The experience has been shown to be a good one, in that it enabled them to work deeply among the masses, to confirm the correctness of their policy, to extend their influence and to consolidate themselves organizationally.

"All his life Lenin fought against sectarian deviations that will and have cut revolutionaries off from mass movements and from a clear understanding of the situation. Several times he had to fight against the 'Old Bolsheviks,' who were capable of nothing more in his absence than trying to make reality conform to the 'sacred documents.'"

Trotsky recalled what had happened in 1905 when the Bolsheviks played only a small role because of the sectarian position they adopted, in Lenin's absence, toward the Petrograd Soviet:

"Theoretical routine, this absence of political and tactical creativity, is no substitute for perspicacity, an ability to size things up at a glance, the flair for 'feeling' a situation while sorting out the main threads and developing an over-all strategy. In a revolutionary and especially an insurrectional period these qualities become decisive." . . .

## Concern for Comrades

Trotsky frequently returned to the need to strengthen the fraternal bonds among the comrades in struggle:

"It is necessary to preserve, encourage, and watch over those bonds," he would repeat. "An experienced worker member represents an inestimable *capital* for the organization. It takes years to educate a leader. We therefore should do everything possible to save a member. Don't destroy him if he weakens, but help him to overcome his weakness, to get over his moment of doubt.

"Never forget those who 'fall' by the wayside. Help them to return to the organization if you have nothing irremediable to reproach them for on the level of revolutionary morality."

When we walked along the mountainside in the evening, it occurred to him to discuss the physical well-being of the members, what today we call the "shape" they are in. He was very concerned about this. He thought about looking out for those who had become exhausted, about conserving the strengths of the weakest people:

"Lenin was always concerned with the health of his collaborators. 'It is necessary to go as far as possible in the combat and the road is long,' he would say."

The internal atmosphere of the organization worried him. In the small vanguard movements which fight against the stream, internal disputes are often the most severe and heated. After being expelled from the SFIO, the Bolshevik-Leninist Group was divided into many hostile factions:

"If the comrades were to look a little beyond themselves and direct their efforts to outside and practical work, the 'crisis' would resolve itself," Trotsky said. "But it is always necessary to see to it that the atmosphere remains healthy and the internal climate acceptable to everyone. Comrades should work with all their heart and with the maximum of confidence.

"Building the revolutionary party requires patience and hard work. At any price, the best should not be discouraged, and you should show yourselves capable of working with everyone. Each person is a lever to be fully utilized to strengthen the party. Lenin knew the art of doing that. After the liveliest, most polemical discussions, he knew how to find the words and the gestures that would soften unfortunate or offensive remarks."

For Trotsky the essential thing in the period



LEON TROTSKY

ahead consisted of creating an organizational apparatus. Without an apparatus there is no possibility of applying a policy: everything is limited to empty boasts without real weight. The difficulty in great human constructions is the judicious choice of the personality suited to a given function. The art of the organizer consists in accustoming a number of individuals to work together so that each one becomes the complement of the others. An "apparatus" is like an orchestra in which each instrument expresses its own voice in order to blend unobtrusively into the harmony that is thus created.

Avoid placing members of equal ability and similar temperament on the same work committees," said Trotsky. "They will nullify each other's work and the results counted on will not be obtained.

"Learn how to choose comrades suited for a given task; explain patiently what is expected of them; act with flexibility and tact—that is the way a true leadership is built.

"Leave maximum initiative to the responsible comrades in their own field. If errors are committed, correct them by explaining in a comradely fashion how they are harmful to the party as a whole. Do not take administrative measures except in unusually serious cases. As a general rule everyone should be allowed to advance, develop, and improve.

"Don't lose yourselves in secondary details which conceal the total situation. Do only what you are able to do with the forces at your disposal. Never more, except, of course, in decisive situations."

The Old Man added that the nerves of the

comrades must not be strained indefinitely. After hard efforts, one needs to catch one's breath, get one's bearings, restore one's energies, and rest.

At the level of organizational work, one must be methodical and precise, leaving nothing to chance.

"Whatever you do, set yourself an objective, even if very modest, but strive to attain it. Proceed this way in every phase of the organization. Then you should elaborate a short- or long-term plan, and apply yourself to it without weakening, with an iron hand. That is the only way to move forward and make the whole organization progress."

## Revolutionary Literature

One morning the courier brought leaflets and an internal bulletin of the French Bolshevik-Leninists. Reading them, Trotsky exhibited impatience and annoyance. Equipped with a red crayon, he crossed out and underlined without stopping, and then said brusquely:

"Your mimeographed bulletins are very bad. It is very annoying to read them. Like your other journals and publications. I ask myself how, with modern machines, you manage to get out documents that may be good politically but are unreadable. Consult experts in this field. I assure you that the worker will not make an effort to read a badly printed leaflet.

"I remember my first leaflets, issued by our circle in Odessa. I wrote them in purple ink, hand-printing the letters. They were then transferred to a gelatin sheet and published in many dozens of copies. We certainly used primitive means, but our leaflets were very readable . . . and they made their way!"

His strongest criticisms were about our periodicals:

"A revolutionary paper should address itself primarily and above all to the workers. But your way of conceiving and editing *La Vérité* (which was then the paper of the Bolshevik-Leninists) makes it more of a theoretical journal than a paper. It interests the intellectual but not the worker. On the other hand, you have put out some good issues of *Révolution*.

"But what is inadmissible and scandalous is to let the papers come out with so many typographical errors and transpositions of type, which give the impression of intolerable and criminal carelessness.

"The paper is the face of the party. In great measure the worker will judge the party on the basis of the paper. Those for whom it is intended are not strongly with you or even your sympathizers. You ought not to repulse anybody with language that is too highbrow. Your occasional reader should not be made to think: 'These people are way over my head,' because then he will no longer buy it.

"Your paper ought to be well laid out, simple, and clear, with slogans that are always understandable. The worker does not have time to read long theoretical articles. He needs brief reports in a polished style. Lenin said, 'You have to write with your heart in order to have a good paper.'

"Stop thinking that you are writing for yourselves or your members. For them there are theoretical magazines and internal bulletins. The workers' paper should be lively, also humorous. Workers like to have the powers that be ridiculed and exposed with factual proof.

"Also make the worker comrades in your organization write in the paper. Help them in a friendly way. You will see that very often the short and simple article of a worker, on a particular fact of capitalist exploitation, is very superior to an article that is academic and erudite. Take Lenin's articles in *Pravda* as a model. They are simple, lively, readable, appealing as much to the worker in the Putilov plant as to the student in the university." . . .

As I had told him about our financial worries, the problems raised by the regular publication of *La Vérité* or *Révolution*, and everything that concerned factory newspapers, leaflets, and personnel shifts, the Old Man said to me:

"What is well thought out is clearly expressed . . . and . . . the means of saying it are easily found. To the degree that you have a clear theoretical vision of things, you will also have the political will to put it into effect. If you want strongly to succeed in what you understand clearly, then you will also be capable of finding the means."

## ... 'Poverty of Power'

Continued from page ISR/4

monopoly-induced destructive aspects of technological advance with technological advance itself.

A passage in *The Poverty of Power* presents Commoner's essential views on these matters. Let's first look at it and then analyze it from a Marxist standpoint to see if the differences can be clarified. Commoner writes, "In 1971 . . . the average energy productivity for all manufacturing was \$14.42 of value added per million BTU [British thermal units] of fuel. Among the twenty-one major sectors of manufacturing [productivities ranged] from \$1.90 per million BTU (petroleum refining) to \$7.64 per million BTU (paper products). The value for the chemical industry was \$8.69 per million BTU, counting only fuel, and \$4.85 when fuels used for raw materials were included. Near the other end of the scale of energy productivities were leather and leather products—\$62.04 of value added per million BTU of fuel.

"The average productivity of capital for all manufacturing industries was \$1.13 of value added per dollar of fixed assets (buildings and production equipment). Among all manufacturing sectors, petroleum refining had the lowest capital productivity (\$0.34 of value added per dollar of assets), followed by primary metals (\$0.49), paper (\$0.58), and chemicals (\$0.80). The comparable figure for leather and leather products was \$3.64.

"The average productivity of labor for all manufacturing was \$12.43 of value added per man-hour of production workers. In this measure of performance, the positions of the industries were reversed: Industries with high energy and capital productivities generally tend to have a low labor productivity. Petroleum refining had the highest labor productivity of all sectors of manufacturing (\$28.43), followed closely by the chemical industry at \$27.75. Leather and leather goods were near the other end of the scale: \$6.25 of value added per man-hour.

"Thus, compared with other sectors of manufacturing, petroleum refining and the chemical industry . . . yield remarkably little economic value (measured by value added) relative to the amounts of fuel and capital that they use and the employment opportunities they generate. If it is important to society to maximize the productive output that is gained from the investment of energy and capital, and to enhance employment opportunities, then in comparison with all other major industrial sectors the social value of the petrochemical industry is very low."

Commoner sees in the lower "capital productivity" of the petroleum refining and petrochemical industries a confirmation of Marx's theory of the falling tendency of the profit rate: "Marx believed," says Commoner, "that as capital accumulated, the amount of its fixed forms (productive machinery)—which is related to what he called the 'organic composition of capital'—would increase. This is the denominator in the profit equation, and Marx believed that as this denominator grew, the rate of profit would fall."

Commoner comes very close to Marx's theory without discovering the genuine content.

### Labor Theory of Value

In the first volume of *Capital* Marx centers his attention on the contradictory character of technological advance under capitalism. He develops the thesis that technological advance poses insuperable contradictions for capitalism.

For only human labor power produces new value in production. The value of raw materials, including energy sources and machinery, is merely transferred in the production process to the newly manufactured goods. (The value of these commodities itself derives primarily from the human labor power expended in mining, processing, or manufacturing them. Machinery and raw materials themselves do not produce value, as Commoner seems to think.)

But capital accumulation takes the form of an ever-increased scale of production. New and more costly machinery is introduced. Products absorb more raw-material and plant value; they are less the product of labor power consumed in production. Every technological advance tends precisely to increase the amount of transferred value in a



Traffic jam on Santa Monica Freeway, and Bay Area Rapid Transit System in California. U.S. rulers have undermined mass-transit systems.

product and to decrease the amount of new value added by the living labor in its production. This is what Marx meant by the falling tendency of the profit rate.

The pocket printed-circuit calculator of today is more the product of machinery, and consequently of "stored-up dead labor" (that is, labor already carried out and embodied in commodities such as machines), than the cumbersome mechanical desk calculators of five years ago. Its value—as has been brought out in the cutthroat competition of the past few years—is consequently much less. Prices have dropped, and so have the stock prices of the companies that manufacture calculators.

The falling tendency of the profit rate is consequently inseparable from the labor theory of value. The profit rates involved in the production of individual commodities fall because less living labor is exploited in their production. This is not the same as Commoner's declining "capital productivity," because no capital (raw materials, plant, and equipment) is productive.

Furthermore, the profit ratio has nothing to do with the physical qualities of the commodities produced, whether they be oil or leather shoes. What counts is the labor/capital ratio: Marx's analysis of capitalist society develops all of the crucial dynamics from the pivotal relationship between wage labor and capital.

### Commoner's List

A peculiarity of Commoner's list of industries and productivities is not immediately evident. This is that according to Commoner's incomplete presentation of the operations of the falling tendency of the profit rate, the profits of the industries he examines should go in the reverse order. He ranges industries, it will be recalled, from those with the lowest "capital productivities" to the highest, from those industries with the least living labor involved in production to those with the most.

But actual profits in these industries tends to go in precisely the reverse direction. Profits in the capital-intensive petroleum and petrochemical industries tend to be considerably higher than in the leather-goods industry, for example.

Commoner never specifically deals with this question, although it is extremely important in the context of the energy debate. The oil trusts themselves use their immense capital needs as a justification for higher prices. Commoner often seems to accept this contention and to advance the following reply: "Yes, your capital costs are rising, your profit rates are falling. This is what Marx predicted. Capitalism cannot afford any further technological development in energy."

Yet the truth of the matter is that the U.S. oil monopolies are the wealthiest, among the most profitable, and certainly the most powerful capitalist trusts in the world. How does this

square with Marx's falling tendency of the profit rate that would seem to say that corporations with these huge capital needs should have the lowest profit rates?

For Marx, the resolution of this apparent contradiction lies in analyzing the ways in which the capitalist system tries to overcome the falling tendency of the profit rate. This is a ceaseless dynamic that takes place on several levels.

Suppose, going back to Commoner's list, that the products of petroleum refining and the leather-goods industry actually sold at the marketplace at their value. In this case, because so much more living labor is directly involved in producing leather goods and there is very little transferred value, the profits in leather goods would be fantastic. In petroleum refining, where the costs of plant and machinery are immense and there are many fewer laborers to exploit, profits would be minimal. But such a situation could not last long.

It would soon lead to an immense shift of capital out of petroleum refining and into leather goods. After all, capital is concerned only with profits.

As more and more capital flowed into leather goods, and more and more leather goods were produced, it would soon become necessary for the capitalists to slash prices in this industry in order to stay in business. The end result would be that leather-goods products would sell at prices below their values. At the same time, as capital flowed out of petroleum refining, shortages would soon appear, and the capitalists there would be able to raise their prices, ultimately selling petroleum above its value.

Precisely such ebbs and flows of investments do continually take place under capitalism, and they inevitably lead to an equalization of the profit rates: Those goods produced at lower organic compositions of capital tend to sell below their value; the goods produced by higher organic compositions of capital sell above their value.

### Monopoly

However, at the same time as there is this competition between capitals across various industries, leading to the equalization of profit rates, there is ever-intensified competition within each industry, leading to monopoly. Monopoly also flows from the efforts of the capitalists to overcome the falling tendency of the profit rate—in this case by eliminating the competition that produces it.

An industry will introduce technological advances if it can thereby manufacture more goods at lower costs. But this means that it must widen its control of the market. Other competitors are also trying to do the same thing, and if some are not eliminated, the market will be flooded with too many low-cost goods. The big fish can only become bigger by eating smaller fish.

To the extent that monopoly can reduce

competition in this way it can also retard, for a time, further costly technological advances. And the search to keep plant and equipment costs down is accompanied by an effort to control global sources of raw materials and energy in order to keep these costs down as well.

The industries that are favored in this process are precisely those with the highest organic composition of capital. As capital costs increase, fewer and fewer firms or even syndicates of firms can raise sufficient investment to "stay in the field." At the same time an *average monopoly profit rate* arises in monopoly competition, once again favoring those monopoly corporations with the highest capital magnitudes.

If we come back to Commoner's list we can understand why it is that the profit rates actually tend to *rise* with Commoner's lower "capital productivities." The higher the costs of the capital equipment and raw materials absorbed in a given industry, the more certain is the development of monopoly.

Further, there is a tendency for wages to be *higher* in the more monopolized sectors, a fact Commoner entirely overlooks. In 1971, the same year for which Commoner gives us the declining labor productivities for petroleum refining, chemicals, and leather goods, the average hourly wages in those industries were \$5.34, \$4.20, and \$2.61, respectively. Without the possibility of superexploiting labor in small and weakly unionized shops, an industry like leather goods would long since have disappeared.

Given all these considerations, Commoner's figures on petroleum refining are quite misleading. He tells us that in 1971, 34 cents (I calculate an even lower 29 cents) of value was added for every dollar invested in plant and machinery, the lowest capital productivity on his list. When we break through the illusion that the machinery itself adds even minimal value we can still see there is a tremendous amount of machinery in petroleum refining for each dollar of profits.

But the U.S. oil trust has overcome this "problem" by establishing the world's largest and most powerful monopoly cartel. In 1974, for example, the year after the oil boycott, U.S. investments in Middle East petroleum stood at \$1.613 billion. In this admittedly profitable year, the returns on these foreign holdings were a whopping \$8.431 billion for the single year. It is a "capital productivity" of \$5.22 per dollar of investment—almost twenty times higher than the 29 cents on domestic refining. Besides this, of course, the U.S. oil trust also rakes up tremendous profits on its domestic wells, which would not show up in Commoner's statistics on petroleum refining.

In singling out the one facet of the oil trust of petroleum refining Commoner overlooks the more important aspects of the petroleum trust as a whole.

Capital flows unceasingly toward arenas of highest profit and away from those where the profit rate is declining. It is these ebbs and flows that give the capitalist economy its fundamentally anarchistic nature. Neither coal, nor petroleum, nor petrochemicals, nor even uranium is the problem. It is the development of these energy sources by capitalist monopolies.

In capitalist competition the stronger monopolists will drive ahead more forcefully. It is true, as Commoner emphasizes, that capitalism was

hit by an across-the-boards profit crisis in 1974-75. But in one of the years of that crisis (1974) the oil trust recorded its greatest profit leap. To an important extent capitalist crises are precisely resolved by improving the positions of the strongest monopolies against the weaker ones and especially, of course, at the expense of the working class.

It would be a mistake for the environmental movement to pursue the line of Commoner's attack, bent at convincing monopoly that its methods are unprofitable. To begin with, this is not the case. But even more important, it deflects the movement from the central axis of mass actions directed against the monopolies and their governments.

### Technology

This brings us back to the final point of the *contradictory character* of technological advance under capitalism.

Marx himself warned against the dangers that automatically spring from capitalist technological development. He pointed to harmful effects on the soil of nitrogen fertilizers used to improve crop yields, a practice that Commoner details and criticizes in *The Poverty of Power*.

Artificial manures were introduced in the 1840s, and it was the German chemist Baron Justus von Liebig who called attention to their effects on the soil. In 1867, in the chapter of the first volume of *Capital* devoted to "Machinery and Modern Industry," Marx wrote, "To have developed from the point of view of natural science the negative, *i.e.*, destructive side of modern agriculture, is one of Liebig's immortal merits."

Expanding on this, Marx wrote: "In modern agriculture, as in the urban industries, the increased productiveness and quantity of the labour set in motion are bought at the cost of laying waste and consuming by disease labour-power itself. Moreover, all progress in capitalistic agriculture is a progress in the art, not only of robbing the labourer, but of robbing the soil; all progress in increasing the fertility of the soil for a given time, is a progress toward ruining the lasting sources of that fertility. The more a country starts its development on the foundation of modern industry, like the United States, for example, the more rapid is this process of destruction. Capitalist production, therefore, develops technology, and the combining together of various processes into a social whole, only by sapping the original sources of all wealth—the soil and the labourer."

The contradictions of capitalist technological advance proceed on many levels. The falling tendency of the profit rate itself has contradictory effects.

On one side, acutely aware of the costs of capital improvements, the capitalists resist technological advance.

On the other side, however, when competition forces them to the wall and they do undertake a technological revolutionization, it has explosive and destructive consequences.

For the capitalist system, health, safety, and environment are factors of third-rate importance. Technology is not developed and introduced with such human needs in mind but solely in order to defend and accelerate profit. It is profit—and profit alone—that determines what technological

innovations are introduced and how they are used under capitalism.

When an innovation is profitable—as the ruling class believes nuclear power plants will be if sufficient government assistance is provided—it is introduced. When an innovation appears insufficiently profitable—such as solar energy or electric-powered railroad cars—it is blocked. Human needs simply cannot enter into this equation without undermining and disrupting the capitalist system. That is why the ruling class fears those such as the Seabrook demonstrators who insist that health and the preservation of the environment must be prime considerations.

The introduction of new technologies under capitalism is also, as Commoner grasps, an attack on the living standards of workers.

### Technology and Workers

Commoner, as we have seen, favors returning to more *labor-intensive* industries in order to provide jobs for the unemployed: Making leather shoes provides more jobs than making shoes out of plastic.

But we have also seen that the *wages* in the leather-goods industry are much lower. It is crucial to respond to the dangers posed by capitalist methods of technological development with demands that protect workers, not demands that would increase workers' burdens.

If a particular technology is found to be dangerous and detrimental to society, as is clearly the case with the construction of nuclear fission reactors, the workers must join environmentalists in demanding that the ruinous practice be stopped. In some instances, this would mean going back to more labor-intensive processes for a time.

If conditions in a workplace endanger health or threaten the environment, the workers must have the right to shut that workplace down. Such a course is necessary not only under capitalism, but under a workers government and in a socialist society as well.

The elimination of a dangerous technological innovation in a given field should not put an end to the search for more productive technologies that make life more enjoyable and labor less onerous. Under a democratically planned socialist economy, technological development can give prime consideration to all human needs—including human health and the preservation of the ecosystem.

Workers must not pay for the elimination of unsafe and unsound conditions with the loss of jobs and lowered living standards. Nor should they be victimized by the introduction of new technology.

### Shorter Workweek

Two traditional demands of the labor movement meet these requirements head-on: shortening the length of the working week with no reduction in pay and union-scale wages for retired and unemployed workers.

If technological advance allows industries to produce more goods with fewer workers, we should respond: No layoffs! Don't fire any workers! Let us work fewer hours with no reduction in pay!

These demands seek to shift the costs of technological advance onto the backs of the capitalists.

It would be a great step forward for the environmentalists to champion the goal fought for by the workers movement for more than a century: the drastic reduction of the hours of necessary labor for all workers everywhere so that the masses can participate to the fullest in the development of human society.

Today environmentalists are penetrating ever more deeply into the increasingly dangerous consequences of capitalist technology. Commoner's *The Poverty of Power* is itself a persuasive argument for replacing capitalist anarchy with socialist planning. And there is much the socialist movement can learn here.

At the same time, environmentalists have much to learn from Marxism. They should widen the scope of their analysis, as Commoner suggests, in order to perceive the capitalist roots of the environmental crisis. And they should join forces with the working class in the struggle to replace capitalism with socialism.



Jobless in Detroit. Shorter workweek, not less productive technology, is answer to unemployment.

# World Food Crisis Today

By Cliff Conner

In 1974 the news media overflowed with reports of worldwide food shortages and widespread famine. The editorial writers and commentators were predicting the imminent arrival of the Malthusian doomsday: agricultural production could no longer keep up with population growth.

But while millions were starving, the world's foremost food producers—American agribusiness interests—were experiencing the greatest boom they'd ever seen. Because of the advantages of their monopolistic position—and poor harvests in other parts of the world—their products' prices had doubled and tripled in a few years' time. United States farm exports went from \$3.5 billion in 1970 to about \$20 billion in 1974.

In this agribusiness boom, the U.S. government policy-makers—remember Earl Butz?—decided that the best contribution they could make to enhancing the monopolists' profits would be “getting the government out of the grain business.” That meant liquidating grain reserves and ending subsidies to agriculture.

The end of government farm subsidies provided a field day for procapitalist news analysts of the Eric Sevareid ilk.

They observed that farmers were no longer being paid not to farm. For decades, socialists had been pointing to the irrationality and immorality of restricting food production in a hungry world. But those days had passed, the pundits said, and capitalism's most glaring contradiction was no more.

In part with a view to correcting such misconceptions, I wrote an article that appeared in the September 1974 *International Socialist Review*, entitled “Hunger: U.S. Agribusiness and World Famine.” The article challenged the notion that the food crisis had transpired because population was outrunning food-production capacity.

The problem, I argued, was actually rooted in the system of economic organization—capitalist production for profit, rather than human needs. The food shortage had its origins in measures adopted by the capitalists to reduce overproduction of food—meaning the production of more than could be profitably sold in the world market. The accumulation of reserves, payment for not using agricultural land, and other measures were adopted by the government to aid agribusiness in this.

The article predicted that the food shortages as they appeared in 1974 would not be permanent, but would be transformed into the opposite kind

*Cliff Conner, a former associate editor of the ISR, is a frequent contributor to this magazine.*

of agricultural crisis, wherein production increases, prices drop, and the capitalists say that “too much” food is being produced.

“The ‘world shortage economy,’” the 1974 article pointed out, “is a Frankenstein's monster created by a crisis of overproduction. It will be followed by a new round of overproduction, new productive cutbacks, and then more shortages” (italics in original).

The article made these assessments of the Nixon-Butz farm policies:

- “Eliminating the reserves . . . leads to grave instabilities in supplies. . . .

- “The new level of instability in farm markets . . . increases the chances of violent fluctuations—upward or downward—in farm prices and food supplies in the future.”

- “The turn away from previous price-support policies cannot be regarded as permanent. . . .

Recent developments have borne out these predictions, as a series of articles in the *New York Times* over the past few weeks illustrates. On May 8 the *Times* reported: “The farmers [read: agribusiness] and their representatives in Congress are worried by the prospect of another bumper wheat and corn crop that would create a huge grain surplus and further depress prices.”

According to the same article, President Carter has proposed a return to 1973 farm policies, including “subsidy payments and price support loans,” and reestablishment of grain reserves. Reflecting the twisted outlook of the monopoly “farmers,” the author of the article refers to the 1973-74 world-famine period as “the golden days three years ago.”

A front-page headline in the May 16 *Times* declared: “Food Experts Assert Wheat Supplies End Famine Fear For Now, Record Stocks Are Predicted.” Correspondent William Robbins makes these points:

- “In the United States, the build-up in supplies led Secretary of Agriculture Bob Bergland to say in an interview that he may soon impose, for 1978 wheat, the first production curbs since 1973.”

- “Lest anyone conclude that food problems have therefore been solved . . . experts noted quickly that hundreds of millions will still go hungry, but it will not be for lack of adequate supplies.”

- Robbins quotes Director of Agriculture Economics Howard Hjort: “We're better prepared for a bad year than we have been in a long time, but it is always amazing how much change can occur in a short period of time. The margin between [producing] too much and too little is a very thin line.”

The May 22 *Times* ran an even more pertinent headline: “Surplus of Grain Is Causing Concern, Food Experts Fear ‘Boom-Bust’ Effect—Urge

Reserve Program As Hedge Against Shortage.” This story begins:

“Although record harvests and bulging granaries have erased any fear of an imminent food crisis in most parts of the world, experts on the global food situation see early signs of another potentially disastrous period.” These perceptive experts warn that “the boom-and-bust cycles of recent decades may bring mankind back to the brink of widespread famine.”

“We've had this boom-and-bust cycle before and we can have it again,” says Nobel Peace Prize-winning agronomist Norman Borlaug. “We're in the boom now, and you can bet that if something isn't done about it, we'll be facing a bust just like we were back in '73-'74.” (Notice that Dr. Borlaug describes the cycle from the viewpoint of the human race. The *Times* reporter, writing of the “golden days” of 1973-74, expressed the standpoint of agribusiness.)

Although in the last three years the world food crisis pendulum has moved to the opposite end of its swing, the famine danger remains. The conclusion of the article in the 1974 *International Socialist Review* still stands:

“The solution to the crisis of world food production can only be realized through its reorganization as social production for human need. It must not be determined by the profit imperative of competing blocks of capital.

“The only way out of the dilemma is through nationalizing the food monopolies at all levels, placing them under social control, and organizing food production through a central plan in the interests of the mass of the world's food consumers. Under such a system there could be no such thing as ‘overproduction’ as long as a single hungry person remained on this planet. Food could be stored against natural disasters, with access to it determined by those who need it most. Increases in production could be used to continually lower food prices until the basic staples of life could be provided for every human being free as a right; existence would no longer be a privilege limited to those able to pay for it.

“The food trusts and their government, of course, would never permit such a solution, which would mean their extinction. The entire economy would have to be reorganized under the control of the producers themselves, and not just in the United States but on a world scale. The accomplishment of this great historic task, the most revolutionary act since humankind first settled down to farming, is the greatest challenge of our times. Before us lies the choice of socialist revolution and abundance of the continuation of hunger and misery under capitalism. Which will it be?”

## REVIEW

### Labour Focus on Eastern Europe

A Socialist Defence Bulletin on Eastern Europe and the USSR, Volume 1, Number 1. Published nine times a year in London. Subscription rate: £2.70 per year.

According to its statement of aims, this new publication intends to meet the needs of “socialists and communists of all persuasions” for “frequent and reliable information” on struggles for democratic rights in the Soviet Union and the other Eastern European workers states. Judging from the documents, news items, book reviews, and editorial comment contained in

the first issue, *Labour Focus on Eastern Europe* is off to a good start.

The centerpiece of the issue is six documents from Poland, including three issued by the recently formed Workers' Defence Committee. This group is trying to pressure the government to stop its harassment and imprisonment of workers who joined massive demonstrations against food-price increases on June 25, 1976.

Two of the items are appeals to the Sejm (parliament) asking that amnesty be granted to the protesters. The committee charged that “it is . . . a long time since we had anything approaching the scale and brutality of the latest actions of the security organs.” Police compelled workers to “march or run through the so called ‘path of health’ i.e. a double row of uniformed and plainclothed policemen brandishing truncheons.” In addition, “. . . suspects were beaten, hit and kicked to extract confessions.”

These charges are confirmed in a complaint to the chief public pro-

secutor signed by sixty-five workers who were maltreated while in custody.

Although the appeals were never considered by the Sejm, these protests, along with those of intellectuals such as the veteran communist Wladyslaw Bienkowski, were not without effect. Some sentences were reduced, and Communist Party Secretary Edward Gierk offered conditional amnesty to those who would “show contrition.”

An interview with exiled Czech student leader Jan Kavan describes the background of Charter 77, a petition asking the Czech government to enforce rights included in the constitution.

In an accompanying statement, Jiri Pelikan, a leading Czech dissident, states that Charter 77 represents a “new stage” in the fight for “freedom of expression and organization . . . autonomous trade unions and for workers' self-management,” and against censorship and repression.

*Labour Focus* also takes up the

expulsion of communist folk singer and poet Wolf Biermann from the German Democratic Republic and the emergence of a human rights group in Romania around novelist Paul Goma.

*Labour Focus on Eastern Europe* lists Tamara Deutscher, Tariq Ali, and Leonid Plyushch among its sponsors. Its editorial standpoint is that of socialist democracy. An editorial in this initial issue exposes the hypocrisy underlying Carter's propaganda campaign around human rights in the Soviet bloc.

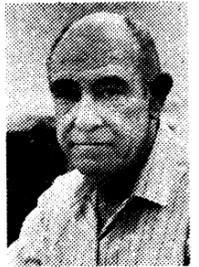
*Labour Focus* performs a valuable service in bringing together items that are otherwise almost unavailable, especially to those who do not read the languages of Eastern Europe and the USSR. In some cases, *Labour Focus* provides its own translations.

The address of *Labour Focus on Eastern Europe* is Bottom Flat, 116 Cazenove Road, London N16.

—Carol Lisker

# National Picket Line

Frank Lovell



## When friends fall out

workers to form more unions, they said. And they beat the union officials some more.

After receiving this rough treatment and all kinds of verbal abuse, the union officials promised to take back everything. They won't press Congress to strike down the Taft-Hartley "right to work" provision. They have complained about this since it was imposed in 1947, and they will go on just complaining.

According to Meany's chief press aide, the AFL-CIO tops only want one small favor: a promise that the employers will stop their "chronic defiance of labor laws."

They would like everything to be nice again. They have appealed to their old friend and marriage counselor Dr. John Dunlop. He used to be Nixon's man at the wage-control board. When Ford came in, he put Dunlop in charge of the Labor Department. Dunlop is out of government now, but he still counsels the big businessmen and knows how to arrange things with the Carter administration.

He has tactfully brought together a top-level labor-management conference committee, cochaired by George Meany and Reginald Jones, head of General Electric. Other committee members, paired for conference purposes, are: Steelworkers President Lloyd McBride with Edgar Speer of U.S. Steel, and auto union President Douglas Fraser with Irving Shapiro of the Dupont interests.

The idea is to get better acquainted. These top men of finance and business have been very unfriendly lately. Meany says he won't ask for anything at first. It takes a little time to see how well they can get along together.

The union officials are trying to demonstrate that one good turn deserves another, hoping they won't get kicked again for their efforts.

Union members are watching these antics more closely than ever before. Some say the disgraceful behavior of their officials is pathetic and ought to be stopped. Others think the officials are getting what they deserve.

Continued from page 10

survey, only 25 percent of Soviet men approved of their wives having jobs.

But even so, the constitution at least has equal rights in writing, if nothing else. This was puzzling, since the *Daily World*—which usually echoes Moscow's every word—has consistently opposed the ERA in this country. Back in its October 25, 1975, issue, just before the referenda on state ERA bills in New York and New Jersey, the *DW* said, "In view of the serious problems and contradictions, we cannot recommend that you vote for the Equal Rights Amendment."

The CP ought to take a closer look at Articles 34 and 35. Maybe then they'll get off the anti-ERA bandwagon of Phyllis Schlafly and Anita Bryant and help us win the ERA in this country. *May Cramer*  
*New York, New York*

### A misunderstanding

*Militant* readers might be interested to know that South African Foreign Minister Roelof Botha just finished a week-long visit to the United States lining up support for the apartheid regime among corporation executives and members of Congress.

Botha used his time to hammer away against "one man, one vote" in South Africa.

Fearing somebody might get the impression that Botha misunderstood U.S. policy toward apartheid, State Department official Hodding Carter cleared things up. "It would be a misinterpretation of our policy to suggest that we are demanding . . . one man, one vote tomorrow," Carter said.

He said it was up to the racists in South Africa to chart their own course for Black political advancement and participation.

Botha wanted to make sure that everybody understood where he was coming from. He told a television audience during an interview that his kind would "not now, not tomorrow, never ever" accept one man, one vote.

They're "charting their own course" all right.

*Marcia Avery*  
*Harrisburg, Pennsylvania*

### 'Two justice systems'

I am doing time here because I am Black and poor.

Half the adults accused of crime and perhaps 95 percent of the children accused of delinquency are indigent. Most poor people are not capable of defending themselves from the state or of claiming their rights and benefits.

Lawyers for the poor grow inured to the daily injustice of ill-prepared trials—quick guilty pleas and the unending stream of clients who are not people, but cases or numbers.

We have two justice systems in America. There is your first-class justice system for the rich, and we have a second-class justice system for the poor.

But there cannot be second-class justice. For if justice is not equal, it is injustice.

*A prisoner*  
*Ohio*

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

It's not only George Meany who has been wedded these many years to the employers. The whole top circle of union officials, plus their understudies, consort regularly with bankers and captains of industry when they can, and with ordinary bosses and politicians when they must—which is most of the time.

This used to be palmed off as a happy "partnership" in which each party gave a little and took a little. But that was intentionally misleading.

The truth is the bosses always took what they could from the workers, and the union officials got pieced off for their public part as peace-keepers and helpmates. What went on behind closed doors in "negotiating sessions" was not supposed to be talked about publicly.

Now comes something new in that old relationship, a change in attitude on the part of the employers.

The beatings union officials have taken in recent months are a public spectacle and an embarrassment to the labor movement.

One of the worst incidents happened right in the U.S. Congress last March. That was when all the employer groups got together and told their political lackies in the Democratic and Republican parties to quash the "common situs" picketing bill that would have regulated labor-management relations in the construction industry. And they did.

The officials badly wanted that bill and had been halfway promised it. But the employers told them it was all just a misunderstanding.

All the union lobby was asking for at the time were some revisions in labor law that would strike out the antiunion "right to work" section, certify union recognition and collective bargaining rights whenever 55 percent of workers in any workplace sign union cards, and bring about a more harmonious labor-management relationship by letting union officials receive more dues checkoff.

The irate employers said all this was going too far. It was nothing but a scheme to make it easier for

## The American Way of Life

### No Hippocrates he

Free enterprise. The free market. What would America be like without it?

Also known as the profit system, it determines every aspect of our lives. I was reminded of that by an interview in the June 12 *Washington Post*. The person being interviewed, who preferred to remain nameless, declared, "I mean, why should I go broke and not take my share of the pie?"

A hard-nosed businessman?

A drug runner?

A congressman?

No, it was a healer, a struggling family doctor.

Listen to the voice of free enterprise in medicine. "I don't believe anybody in medicine takes care of 100 percent sick people. You gotta take care of healthy people if you want to make a living."

It's easy to take care of healthy people. When our anonymous doctor—let's call him "Dr. X"—felt he wasn't making enough money, he decided it was necessary "to increase the business in some way, and the way to do that, I found, is to suggest to patients that they come in for an annual physical examination."

By prescribing lots of unnecessary laboratory tests, Dr. X gets an even bigger share of the pie. "Doctors have a formula that's worked out by Blue Cross/Blue Shield which allows them to charge a certain percentage of what the tests cost the doctor."

*Washington Post* reporter Lawrence Meyer wanted to make sure he got that one straight. "So in other words," he asked, "you can increase what the lab charges by 50 per cent. If the lab charges \$2, you can add \$1 on?"

"Yes," replied the good doctor.

Perhaps Dr. X is more extreme than others in applying the profit motive to medicine? Not at all. One of his distinguished colleagues "was grossing \$170,000. . . ."

"I think it was X rays, I think he was doing an enormous number of X rays, absolutely outrageous and unnecessary X rays."

That's not all. "I know another guy who was charging far less than I charge, and he was grossing \$190,000 a year. . . ."

"He created the need in his patients for weekly, or biweekly or monthly vitamin shots." A one-dollar bottle of vitamins would be doled out at fifteen dollars a shot, Dr. X explained.

Asked whether there was any medical benefit from the vitamin shots, Doctor X said, "No."

Of course, it's only fair to look at the doctor's side of the story too. He doesn't always get paid. "I'm thinking about starting to ask people to pay their money before they leave. . . . Most doctors do now. The guy down the hall, a gynecologist, doesn't even take checks. He takes only cash."

This was a problem that appeared to weigh heavily on Dr. X's mind. Asked if he had anything he wanted to say to readers of the interview, the doctor replied, "Just that I hope people pay their bills, that's all. Tell people to pay their bills instead of criticizing the doctors."

The ancient Greeks who originated the science of medicine had the naïve idea that human lives and health should be a healer's first concern. But Dr. X knows where to tell the sages of old to get off.

"The Hippocratic oath in no way says that I have to give free health care or anticipated free health care. . . . I've been burned too many times by people without health insurance. Part of the responsibility of living in our society and coming to see a doctor is that you have some health insurance."

No health insurance? Go to a public clinic.

They're closing down the public clinic in your city because of budget cuts? Take two aspirins and hope it isn't cancer.

—David Frankel

## Court rules in Wisconsin case

# Disclosure law can't be used against SWP

By Norbert Francis

MILWAUKEE—Wisconsin Socialist Workers Party candidates do not have to tell the state the names of their contributors, a three-judge federal court here ruled June 13.

The federal judges ruled that the state's campaign disclosure law is unconstitutional as applied to SWP contributors because the party's supporters have frequently been harassed. The judges specifically rejected the state's argument that the socialists must be forced to disclose because the FBI says it has officially ended its investigation of the SWP.

"While the court would like to believe that harassment of dissident groups is a thing of the past," the judges ruled, "the history of such activity indicates to the contrary."

"Moreover, the recent public disclosure of past government harassment presents a chilling reminder to those who might support this unpopular cause in the future. When this chilling

effect is balanced against the interest of the state in public disclosure, the scales tip in favor of nondisclosure."

Robert Schwarz, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate from Wisconsin last fall, called the decision "a victory against legalized spying." Commenting on the disclosure laws passed in many states and in Congress in the wake of the Watergate scandal, Schwarz said, "These phony reforms do nothing to clean up elections or reduce the monopoly of the two capitalist parties. But they are a real threat to any candidate that challenges the status quo."

The SWP first challenged the state's campaign disclosure law in 1975 through a lawsuit filed by Wisconsin Civil Liberties Union attorney John Sundquist.

The suit cited examples of government harassment uncovered in the \$40 million damage suit filed by the SWP and Young Socialist Alliance against the FBI, CIA, and other federal agencies.

The socialists also submitted evidence of harassment by local authorities. SWP members selling the *Militant* and *Young Socialist* newspapers had been harassed on the street by the Milwaukee police's "Special Assignment Squad" and by Nazis. The Madison police department's "Affinity Squad" had used an informer in the Madison YSA chapter.

Pointing to this record, the socialists said they could not turn over the names of their contributors to be targeted in the same way. Fear of such harassment intimidated people from contributing to the SWP campaign, the suit charged.

These claims were backed by Dr. Athan Theoharis, a Marquette University professor and recognized authority on federal government surveillance. Theoharis served as a consultant to the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence.

In his affidavit Theoharis recounted

the history of illegal surveillance organized and approved by the highest government officials since at least the 1920s. He concluded that "on the basis of the *now public* record of what federal agencies did in the recent past, individuals might very well conclude that the mere disclosure of their contribution to unpopular causes could subject them to similar government harassment in the future. And that conclusion cannot be dismissed as fanciful."

Preliminary rulings in several other states have tended to favor the socialists' claim of harassment. However, the Wisconsin ruling is the first actual judgement that a disclosure law is unconstitutional as applied to the Socialist Workers campaign.

The SWP has similar lawsuits against campaign disclosure laws pending in nine other states and the District of Columbia.

## Judge in Skyhorse-Mohawk trial won't let prosecution drop charges

By Harry Ring

LOS ANGELES—The case against Paul Skyhorse and Richard Mohawk, American Indian Movement activists charged with murder, is going so badly that last week the prosecutor tried to get it called off. But the judge said no.

On June 22 the prosecution and defense arrived at an agreement under which Skyhorse and Mohawk would have been freed. But, to the astonishment of all, presiding Judge Floyd Dodson refused to approve the agreement.

Dodson ordered the terms of the agreement sealed and refused to explain why he was vetoing it. He piously declared, however, that it would "demean" California's system of "justice."

Outside the courtroom defense attorney Leonard Weinglass indicated that under the agreement Skyhorse and Mohawk would not have pleaded

guilty to any charges and would not admit being guilty of anything. They might have pleaded no contest to lesser charges and been sentenced to time already served, freeing them immediately.

The two activists have been held without bail for nearly three years and, besides murder, face added trumped-up charges.

The prosecution decision to call it quits came after the testimony of its star witness. Marvin Redshirt, originally charged with the murder of cab driver George Aird, had been freed after he swore that he saw Skyhorse and Mohawk commit the crime.

On the witness stand, Redshirt admitted that he had lied repeatedly in previous versions of the event. At one point Redshirt was removed from the witness stand drunk. The prosecutor called Redshirt's condition to the judge's attention after Redshirt admit-

ted, under cross-examination, that he had lied to the grand jury that indicted Skyhorse and Mohawk.

When Judge Dodson arbitrarily vetoed the agreement to end the trial, attorney Weinglass moved that the judge disqualify himself from the case on grounds of bias. Dodson summarily denied the motion.

During the proceedings, Dodson's conduct has been so crassly biased that at one point Weinglass was compelled to note that the judge was "out-prosecuting the prosecutor."

Meanwhile, the prosecution case is not improving. Its second main witness is now on the stand. Holly Broussard was also initially charged with the murder. She too was freed after swearing that Skyhorse and Mohawk were the killers.

On the stand she has already conceded that in her previous stories she lied "a lot."

## Filipina nurses' case going to jury

By Diane Wang

The government's story is that Leonora Perez and Filipina Narciso felt so overworked in 1975 that they poisoned more than fifty patients, killing thirteen. The motive, supposedly, was to convince the Ann Arbor Veterans Administration Hospital to hire more staff. When the case of the two Filipina nurses goes to jury this week, that is what jurors will be asked to believe.

When prosecutor Richard Yanko began the case last March, he said that the evidence of this, "one of history's darkest crimes," would be technical, complicated, and confusing. That, of course, is the jargon of a frame-up. It means there is no real evidence that the nurses injected patients with a muscle relaxant that caused breathing failures.

After calling seventy-eight prosecution witnesses for nine weeks of testimony and spending \$250,000 on an FBI chemical analysis, the best the prosecution can do is place the nurses in the vicinity of the patients when the breathing failures happened.

In a dogged attempt to force a confession from Narciso, Yanko cross-

examined her for more than four hours.

Yanko has said he thinks the key element of the prosecution case is "inconsistencies" in statements the two nurses made during the investigation of the case. He neglects to mention that the nurses were grilled by the FBI for periods as long as six hours, sometimes without defense counsel present.

On the defense side are testimony and circumstances clearing the nurses:

- William Loesch, a patient who recovered from one of the mysterious breathing failures, swore that the last thing he saw before the breathing attack was a man running from his room.

- William Miller, a former hospital patient who had a room across the hall from one victim, said he had not seen either Narciso or Perez in the victim's room before the breathing failure.

- A VA hospital nurse supervisor who killed herself last February had admitted that she poisoned the patients.

- When the breathing failures occurred security at the hospital was so lax that almost any doctor, nurse, worker, visitor, or even severely ill

mental patient had access to the victims. The muscle relaxant used to induce the breathing failures was kept in an unlocked refrigerator.

- Anesthesiologists called as prosecution witnesses admitted under cross-examination that the drug could have been put into the plastic bags holding intravenous medicine, delaying the drug's effect for as much as half an hour.

- Besides, if the nurses were actually guilty why did the government withhold and doctor up FBI case records that were to be given defense attorneys?

The prosecution's case is so weak that the judge has already thrown out more than half the original charges for lack of evidence. Now Narciso is charged with one murder and one poisoning, and Perez is accused of three poisonings. Both nurses are charged with conspiracy.

At least one bit of evidence in the case is not technical, complicated, or confusing. Defense attorney Thomas O'Brien asked Narciso under oath, "Are you innocent of these charges?"

Narciso answered, "Yes, I am innocent."

## Detroit racists attack Blacks

By Clarence Brown

DETROIT—Hundreds of young whites went on a racist rampage June 16 at Belle Isle, Detroit's island park, attacking the island's Black visitors.

In one incident, 400 screaming racists surrounded a car and tried to drag out its occupants, Brenda Lee Neal and Lamar Russell. In self-defense either Neal or Russell shot through the window, hitting one of the racists and frightening away the others. Another racist was hit by the car as Neal backed away to safety.

The racist mob also surrounded Edward Davie's car and beat its six Black passengers.

In another incident, Tommy Jones and his five companions were bombarded with baseball bats, bottles, and even sledge hammers.

All of the Black victims who were attacked required medical treatment.

Responding for Detroit's police department, Lt. Jim Parker said he was not sure whether anyone would be charged for criminal assault.

In their usual manner of making the victim the criminal, cops followed Edward Davie's car from Belle Isle after he was attacked and took him into custody. He was released pending investigation.

"The people who committed these outrageous crimes against the Black citizens must not go unpunished," demanded Trudy Hawkins, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Detroit. "If they aren't prosecuted, other racists will feel free to attack Blacks throughout the Detroit area."

## Black Liberation and Socialism

Edited by Tony Thomas. 207 pp., \$10.00, paper \$2.45

Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014

# Calif., N.M. Chicanos back conf.

By Juan Martinez

OAKLAND, Calif.—A meeting of Oakland Chicano activists held here June 25 voted unanimously to support the call for a national Chicano conference issued by José Angel Gutiérrez.

A founding leader of the Texas Raza Unida Party, Judge Gutiérrez has proposed a national gathering to map actions to halt deportations of undocumented immigrants and to consider other issues facing Chicanos and Latinos.

The thirty-five participants at the meeting here also expressed agreement with the proposal of Texas Raza Unida Party leader Mario Compeán that the national conference be held in San Antonio.

The principal report to the meeting was given by Dr. Armando Gutiérrez, a University of Texas professor who is vice-chairperson of the Texas RUP.

The meeting also heard a report by Antonio Valladolio, an attorney for the Coalition for Legal Rights for Immigrants, a San Francisco-based group.

By Samara Jarosh

ALBUQUERQUE, N. Mex.—In response to a call by the New Mexico Raza Unida Party, twenty-two persons met here Sunday, June 26, to set plans for New Mexico's participation in a national Chicano conference this fall.

Representatives from three county Raza Unida Party organizations, GI

Forum, Student Coalition Against Racism, the Albuquerque Equal Rights Council, the Socialist Workers Party, and the Young Socialist Alliance attended the meeting.

Juan José Peña, chairperson of the San Miguel County RUP, chaired the meeting.

Dr. Armando Gutiérrez, vice-chairperson of the Texas RUP, reported on other meetings to build the fall conference that have been held recently in Northern California, Utah, and Texas.

The meeting decided to form a permanent committee and to call for a statewide conference in Albuquerque October 8-9. The body unanimously voted to support the call for action issued by José Angel Gutiérrez.

## What's behind Carter's 'alien' plan?

By José G. Pérez

President Carter's decision to let farmers in Presidio, Texas, bring in more than 800 workers from Mexico to harvest an onion crop shows what's really behind Washington's rhetoric on the "illegal alien" issue.

For years, growers in Presidio had been hiring workers from Mexico—"illegals"—at miserable wages, while the Immigration and Naturalization Service and U.S. Labor Department looked the other way.

Then this year, some INS officials showed up at Presidio and said that immigration laws would have to be followed.

This meant that the growers had to apply for permission to bring in the Mexican workers, had to provide adequate housing for the workers, and had to pay wages comparable to those paid U.S. workers.

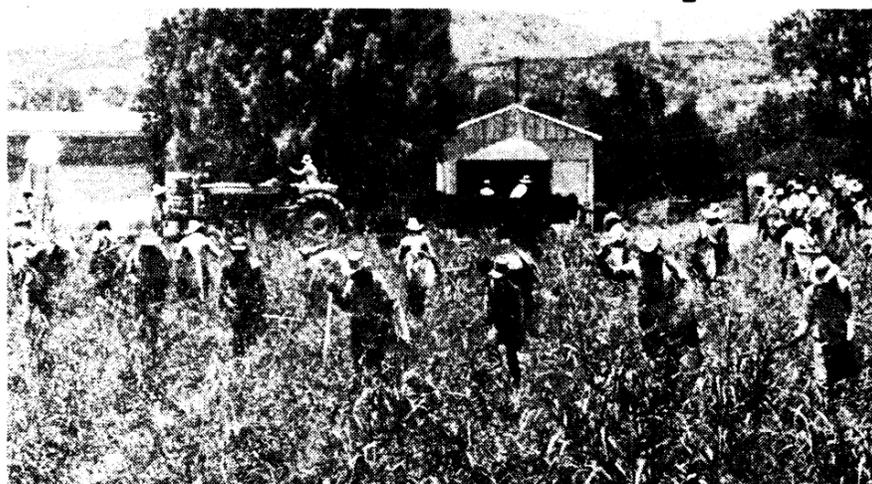
The growers applied for permission, but the Labor Department found that the housing being offered was substandard and that the wage of \$2.20 an hour was too low. The INS regional office agreed.

Then Jimmy Carter reversed the decision. He told INS Commissioner Leonel Castillo to let the Mexicans in.

What is Carter up to?

Aside from paying off a political debt to some Texas Democrats, he was simply making sure that bothersome regulations didn't get in the way of what U.S. immigration laws were designed to do—ensure that bosses have a readily available supply of cheap, superexploitable labor.

When unemployment is low, the bosses and their government do every-



Mexican immigrants picking vegetables in Presidio, Texas, after President Carter intervened to ensure growers didn't have to pay more than \$2.20 an hour to field hands.

thing possible to make sure that there is a lot of immigration so that there are always more than enough workers to hold wages down. For example, until 1964 the U.S. and Mexican governments sponsored what is known as the Bracero program, under which tens of thousands of Mexican workers were brought to the United States each year to work in agriculture for miserable wages.

Since that program was abolished, it has been replaced by what is, in effect, a new program. Millions of Mexicans, driven by poverty, have entered the country without government permission while the U.S. border patrol looked the other way. These "illegal aliens" are forced to take the most unsafe, lowest-paying, and dirtiest

jobs. There's not much they can do to protest or change their conditions, since they can be deported at any moment and have no rights under U.S. law.

Over the past few months government officials have been saying that Carter is going to change all this. There have been many conflicting reports in the news media about what the changes in U.S. immigration policy will be.

Carter's decision in the Presidio case shows that whatever new measures the White House proposes, the fundamental axis of the U.S. rulers' policy will remain the same: to produce a large supply of superexploitable labor for U.S. agribusiness and other corporate interests.

## 'Education' not 'Deportation'

By Bruce Kimball

SAN ANTONIO, Tex.—Do the children of undocumented workers have the right to an education?

Unfortunately, the Texas State Teachers Association doesn't think so.

Last March, the nearly 1,400 delegates to the NEA affiliate's state convention in San Antonio voted overwhelmingly against allowing these children into Texas schools.

The resolution read as follows: "The TSTA actively seeks and supports legislation specifically defining legal residency requirements for Texas public school attendance so that the burden presently being born by Texas public schools in educating illegal aliens will be alleviated."

Passage of this resolution ignores that immigrants without visas pay taxes in the same proportion as the rest of us and are entitled to the same services that all of us receive.

Texas teachers, along with teachers from all other states, should be fighting, not perpetuating, the bias and narrow-mindedness behind such resolutions.

Their slogan should be "Education," not "Deportation."

## Workers Leaguers attack SWP member

By Roger Rudenstein

NEW YORK—On June 23 three members of the Workers League assaulted Terie Balius, organizer of the Bronx branch of the Socialist Workers Party, as she was selling the *Militant* near city hall here.

Ten days earlier Workers League National Secretary David North had accosted SWP leaders George Novack and Evelyn Reed near the Chelsea branch of the New York SWP.

The Workers League is a small group made up of followers of the British sectarian Gerry Healy. For the past two years Healy has waged a slander campaign against veteran SWP leaders Joseph Hansen and George Novack, charging that they are "agents" of the Kremlin's secret police, the GPU. These gutter charges mark the latest and most serious stage in the degeneration of Healy's Workers Revolutionary Party (formerly Socialist Labour League) since its flight from the Trotskyist movement in 1963.

Healy's monstrous frame-up has been publicly condemned by virtual-

ly every leader of every political current claiming adherence to Trotskyism. What has been Healy's response to this growing isolation?

First, to escalate his lies.

But an even more ominous response was indicated in the May 28, 1977, issue of Healy's newspaper *News Line*. The article, full of more slanders against Hansen and Novack, predicted "provocations against our [Healy's] movement all over the world." This article was reprinted in the May 31, 1977, issue of the Workers League's *Bulletin*.

The recent incidents here in New York indicate that the Workers League is determined to pin the blame on its victims in advance, and then claim that its predicted "provocations" have in fact come about.

Balius, for example, was selling *Militants* on her lunch hour when she was accosted by three men. They screamed at her to answer their questions about the GPU's supposed infiltration of the SWP.

When Balius refused to respond to this inquisition, the three men started shoving her, alternating each

shove with another question. Then they pushed her into a park bench. She fell and bruised both legs.

A young woman sitting on the bench couldn't believe her eyes.

"Why are you shoving this woman?" she asked.

"Because they won't answer us," replied one Workers Leaguer.

The young woman called a park cop and the attackers fled.

In the June 13 incident, George Novack was walking down a street near the SWP Chelsea branch headquarters accompanied by Evelyn Reed, Marxist anthropologist, feminist, and SWP member. They were accosted by David North, national secretary of the Workers League. North refused to let Novack pass until he "confessed" that he was a GPU agent. Luckily, several SWP members happened to be passing by. Through patient efforts they were able to divert North, who appeared to be berserk, screaming at the top of his lungs. But before North could be coaxed away, he stepped on Reed's feet and lunged at Novack.

In recent weeks similar incidents

have occurred outside the Chelsea SWP headquarters. Workers League members have rammed literature at people arriving for meetings, shouting directly into their ears.

Workers League posters were also pasted up on the doors and windows of the Brooklyn SWP headquarters, taking a substantial effort to be scraped off.

The aim of this escalating pattern of harassment and assault is clearly to provoke a sensationalistic incident to spice up their slander campaign.

SWP mayoral candidate Catarino Garza has demanded that the Workers League "curb the perpetrators and state that such assaults will not occur again. While the Workers League has the right to express its political views, it does not have the right to physically attack and harass SWP members.

"I call upon all organizations and individuals who oppose the use of violence in the movement to join with me in protesting the violation of this important principle by the Workers League."

# U.S. socialist speaks to Madrid LCR rally

## 'We support your struggle to take the ideas of revolutionary socialism to Spanish working people'



LINDA JENNESS

Four thousand people attended a rally of the Liga Comunista Revolucionaria (LCR—Revolutionary Communist League) in Madrid June 13 to wind up that organization's campaign in the Spanish elections.

Among the speakers were cothinkers of the LCR from other countries: Daniel Bensaïd of the French Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire; Linda Jenness of the U.S. Socialist Workers Party; and Ernest Mandel, renowned Marxist economist and leader of the Fourth International, the world organization of revolutionary socialists. Peruvian revolutionist Hugo Blanco, now exiled in Sweden, had also been invited to participate but was unable to attend. Following is an English translation of Jenness's remarks to the LCR rally.

### By Linda Jenness

I bring you greetings and solidarity from the revolutionary socialists in the United States. The members of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance, the American supporters of the Fourth International, join with millions around the world who have waited for forty years to welcome this upsurge of the working class in Spain.

And, I am pleased to also bring you greetings from the sisters of the American feminist movement who are inspired to see our ranks swelled by new battalions of feminists from the Spanish state.

The fact that the Spanish ruling class has been forced to hold these elections—even though the elections are restricted and not democratic—the fact that they have been forced to hold these elections at all is the result of the struggles of the Spanish masses during the last few years. These struggles have forced the Spanish ruling class to legalize the two largest working-class parties—the Communist Party and the Spanish Socialist Workers Party. This is a big victory.

Of course, the bourgeoisie is afraid to hold truly democratic elections. It is afraid of open elections. It is afraid of democratic elections. It is afraid to let all points of view be heard, especially the views of the parties that truly represent the interests of the working class. Our fight to present our point of view can only be won by determined struggle.

The fight that you are waging to present the ideas of revolutionary socialism to the people of Spain *in spite* of these restrictions is exactly what is needed. Your campaign will help pressure the Spanish government to legalize all the parties and let all points of view be heard.

One of America's most famous revolutionary socialists—Eugene V. Debs—had a saying. Debs was a leader of the Socialist Party at the time of World War I. Debs used to answer those who said, "Why waste my vote on a candidate who can't win right now?" by saying, "It's better to vote for what you want and not get it, than to vote for what you don't want, and get it."

The elections here in Spain are being followed very closely, not only throughout Europe, but in the United States as well. The U.S. imperialists supported and backed the Spanish fascist regime for forty years. Now, the U.S. imperialists are hoping that the Spanish bourgeoisie can maneuver a transition from the fascist regime to a parliamentary form of government with a guise of democracy without unleashing a struggle by the Spanish workers and peasants that could topple Spanish capitalism and bring the first workers state to Western Europe.

President Carter and his class know the power of the Spanish working class—and fear it. He knows the fighting traditions of the Spanish working class—and fears it.

So, as the fight heats up in Spain, the U.S. imperialists stand ready to come to the aid of the Spanish bourgeoisie.

The revolutionary socialists in the United States stand ready to come to the aid of the Spanish proletariat. We stand ready to tell the U.S. capitalists to leave the Spanish revolution alone. We stand ready to tell the U.S. government to get its military bases out of Spain. And we stand ready to tell the American workers to solidarize with the Spanish workers in your fight for democratic rights, for self-determination of the oppressed nations in Spain, for the rights of women, and for a workers and farmers government—a government of the workers parties.

But it is not only the U.S. imperialists who are watching the developments in Spain. Sisters in the American women's liberation movement also have their eyes on Spain.

I came to Spain last November and spoke with women throughout Spain about socialism and feminism. I saw that the young feminist movement here had wide support, was growing, and will be a formidable part of the coming Spanish revolution.

When I returned to the United States, I told audiences about your fight against the scandalous adultery laws, the backward divorce laws, your fight for abortion rights and for contraception. I

told them of your fight for equal pay, for child care, and for the right to work.

These issues are not minor questions for the working class—or for the ruling class. Concessions for women can only be won through mass actions that can mobilize our power independently of the bourgeoisie and the bourgeois parties. Actions that can bring to bear our power as over half of the population. And actions that can mobilize support from our brothers of the working class.

The struggles around adultery, divorce, abortion, child care, and equal pay begin to undermine the economic basis of the superexploitation of women. And they strike at the heart of the myth of the inferiority of women, which is at the foundation of the three sacred institutions of capitalism—the church, the state, and the family.

In the United States, where the ruling class has launched a major assault on the standard of living of the American workers, the attacks have hit hardest at the most oppressed—women and the oppressed nationalities.

For instance, the U.S. ruling class is now trying to take away the abortion rights we fought for and won in 1973. They are trying to eliminate the child care we won. They are trying to drive women out of the work force and eliminate the special hiring and training programs we fought for.

Because the capitalist system does not provide jobs for all, and there are currently 8 million unemployed workers in the United States, the capitalists are trying to push women, who are more than 40 percent of the work force, out of our jobs and back into the home.

But that will not be so easy. Because during the last ten years of the feminist movement in the United States, women have begun to see themselves as equal human beings. Human beings who have a right to equality. Who have a right to abortion, a right to child care, a right to work. It will not be easy for America's rulers to send us back to the home and to convince us that we are fit for nothing but raising babies and keeping house.

The women in the United States are looking to Spain. We are glad to gain new allies in our international fight, and we believe that the development of the Spanish feminist movement is one of the best guarantees of the victory of the Spanish working class because the women's liberation movement is part of the class struggle.

Just as the feminist movement in the United States is watching Spain, so are the oppressed nationalities within the United States—the Black Americans, the Chicanos, the Puerto Ricans. These oppressed nationalities know that the workers movement can not go forward without their participation and their leadership. Their fight for self-determination is inextricably tied to the fight of the working class as a whole.

The same is true in Spain. The struggles of the Basques, the Catalans, and the Galicians for self-determination is part of the developing revolution in Spain.

The fate of the feminist movement and the fate of the struggle of the oppressed nationalities for self-determination are historically bound to the fate of the working-class movement.

History has taught us that only the working class can lead the struggles through to socialist revolution—and that the working class, to be victorious, needs a party. We need a Leninist party. A party that unites all the oppressed and exploited around a common program of struggle. A party that does not subordinate the struggles of women, or the struggles of the oppressed nations, or the struggles of the workers, to the interests of the bourgeoisie or to the reformist parties or to the national chauvinist bureaucracies of the Soviet Union or China.

We need a revolutionary combat party that understands that the needs and demands of women and the oppressed nations are also the needs and demands of the working class as a whole. We need a party—unlike the parties of the Stalinists or Social Democrats—that puts nothing before the demands of the most oppressed. We need a revolutionary combat party whose militants are trained and hardened in struggle for the socialist revolution.

The building of a Leninist party is the task facing revolutionary socialists in the United States. It is the task facing revolutionaries in Britain, in Japan, in Bolivia, in Italy, in Australia, in Mexico—all around the world, including here in Spain. And that is what the Fourth International is doing.

Here in Spain, these elections—with all their faults and restrictions—provide you with an avenue to explain this task to the Spanish working class. Your campaign is a step forward in the political education of the Spanish workers about the need to build such a party.

Long live the Fourth International!  
Long live the Spanish revolution!

# Spain: sketches from an election

By José G. Pérez

MADRID—From about 1:30 p.m. to 4:00 p.m. most businesses, offices, and many factories in Spain shut down completely while workers take a good two hours, sometimes more, for their main meal of the day.

Given the low wages here, most workers eat at home. And given the government TV networks, what they have to watch during their lunch break are usually reruns of "Matt Helm," "Streets of San Francisco," and Spanish soap operas.

But things are different during the preelection period. While in Euskadi, the Basque country, I was eating my lunch when a candidate came on TV, accompanied by "Euzko Gudariak," the Basque national anthem. Euskadi is an oppressed nation within the Spanish state. Behind the candidate was the *ikurriña*, the Basque flag.

A year or two ago you would have gotten arrested, maybe tortured, for singing that song or flying that banner.

The candidate, Sabin Arana, is a well-known political personality in Spain. At the time of his release three months ago, he was the longest-held Basque political prisoner.

In between film clips and photographs of massive demonstrations, Arana explained the positions of his party, the Liga Comunista Revolucionaria (LCR—Revolutionary Communist League, a sister organization of the U.S. Socialist Workers Party), and of the slate of candidates that Arana heads in Vizcaya province, the Frente por la Unidad de los Trabajadores (FUT—Front for Workers Unity).

Arana's appearance wasn't an exception. Day by day, workers parties—including technically "illegal" ones like the LCR—have been able to explain their views before millions of people. Not only at lunch time, but at night. Not only on television, but on radio, through the newspapers, and at mass meetings.

It has provided tremendous opportunities that the revolutionists of the LCR have done their best to take advantage of.

\* \* \*

About two-and-a-half weeks before the election there was a big sign in the Madrid FUT office that proclaimed: "People! We are getting behind on poster! Why? Fear. We may not be legal, but this [big arrow pointing to FUT poster] is. Lenin said: audacity, audacity, audacity!"

\* \* \*

I heard this story at the Madrid FUT office the day after the rally of 2,000 people that launched its campaign there.

Some LCR members had been standing outside the huge movie theater where the rally was held just as people were coming out. They were selling *Combate*, the LCR's newspaper.

Some plainclothes cops from the red squad approached.

"You should be careful with selling that," one cop said, "because the FUT's legal, but that's not."

"So what?" one of the salespeople responded.

"You better give me a copy of that newspaper to see if it's subversive," the cop said.

"If you want a copy of this you have to give me fifteen pesetas, just like anybody else."

"Give me a copy or I might have to confiscate all of them."

"Try and all hell's going to break loose. People won't put up with this crap anymore. You want *Combate*, you pay fifteen pesetas."

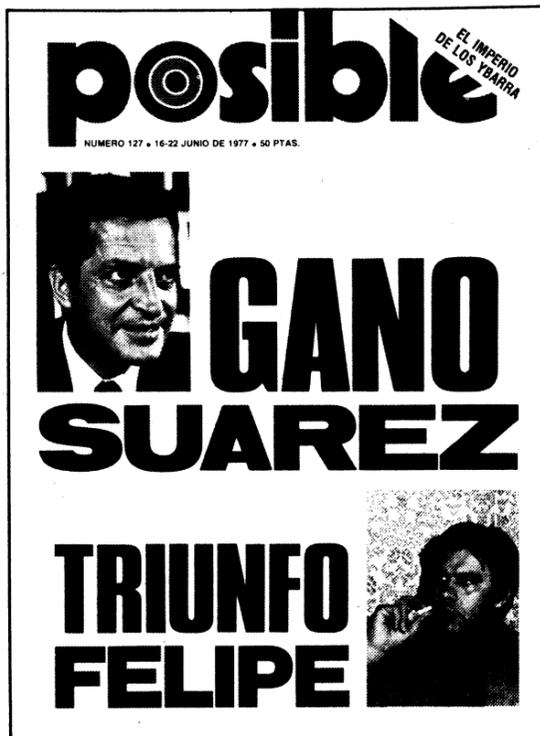
"These Trotskyists," the cop said, turning away. "They're crazy. They think they can do anything."

\* \* \*

I was at a demonstration in front of the Barcelona city hall five days before the election. Some 300 workers from metal and textile factories that had been closed down had gathered to demand that the government nationalize the factories under workers control.

I went up to a protester and asked him what it's all about.

For twenty-six years I've worked at Acabados Especiales," he said. "Then one day, the gate is padlocked, the gas and electricity cut off. The



'Suárez won—Felipe triumphed'

boss ran off with all the money to Switzerland, and he's left us in the streets."

"How can he do that?" I asked. (Taking capital out of the country is illegal.)

"What you have to understand is that for forty years the rich have run everything. Pay us what they want. Such every last duro they can out of us, then dump us into the street." A duro is a five-peseta coin worth between seven and eight cents.

"And now?"  
"Well now things are changing. We could not have made this demonstration a year ago. Now we can. They," he said, gesturing to the cops, "can't do anything. Or else all hell breaks loose. Like in Euskadi." Euskadi broke out into a massive general strike after police murdered demonstrators there in mid-May who were demanding amnesty for political prisoners.

I asked him what demands workers from his textile factory were making on the government.

"We tell the governor to nationalize it, and not to worry. We can deal with making it work. We ran it all along. All the boss did was to come around once a month to collect the money."

"Why did the boss run away? Was he losing much money?"

"No. He saw the elections coming. He was afraid of what would happen. He saw them coming and he decided to get out."

"But why?"  
"Because of the left. The left is very strong. The parties of the workers."

"And you think the workers parties will win the elections?" I asked.

"For sure. The Communists and Socialists will win, and then they will be the government. That's why all the bosses are taking their money to Switzerland."

I asked him if he belonged to any party and he said no. "I am a simple worker. That's why the left is going to win. Because there are more workers than anything in this country. And we all vote Socialist and Communist."

"All the workers? Won't some vote for Suárez? Or for Fraga?" Suárez is head of the government and of the Union of the Democratic Center. Fraga is head of the main Francoist group.

"On this there can be no doubt. Nobody will vote for Suárez. Because nobody is fooled. He was head of the movement, we remember. Suárez, one who has always been a democrat," he said sarcastically.

The fascist National Movement was Franco's political party, the only legal political party for decades.

"And for Fraga I tell you this. You know what we chant at rallies? I tell you: 'We want bread, we want wine, we want Fraga, hanging from a pine.'"

\* \* \*

In Madrid two days after the election I was in a restaurant eating lunch and discussing the

outcome with some friends. The man waiting on our table became interested in our conversation. I asked him who he voted for.

"For no one," he said. "I am nineteen."  
"And if you had been able to, for whom would you have voted?"

He smiled, as if afraid of how we would react, "For the CP."

I told him about the FUT, how it had run on a program saying there should be a workers government.

"That's why I would vote for the CP. To get a workers government. But they lost."

He paused, then added, "It doesn't seem very democratic to me. They wouldn't let young people vote because they knew we would put in the Communists."

\* \* \*

Sunday, four days after the election, I took the number nine bus back from the center of Madrid to Barrio de Santa Maria, a working-class housing development where I was staying.

Up front there was a group of a dozen teenagers singing a song about the Partido Socialista Obrero Español (PSOE—Spanish Socialist Workers Party). The social-democratic PSOE received the highest number of votes of any working-class party.

One teenager shouted "Viva Euskadi!" and others responded "Viva!" Then they broke out into a song about amnesty. Then other chants I had heard over and over at rallies: "Legalization of all the parties!" "Dissolution of all repressive bodies!" "Prisoners to the streets, common ones too!"

From the back another group of teenagers shouted to the front, "What party is that?"

The ones in the front responded with their song: "There isn't enough money in the world/to buy the workers/the real party/the real party/is the Socialist Workers."

Then, "Long live the working class!" and "Fight, win, workers to power!" Then one chant I hadn't heard before: "Felipe, president!"

Felipe González is head of the PSOE and became the political phenomenon of the election. One mass circulation weekly told it all with the front-page headline: "Suárez won—Felipe triumphed."

The truth is Felipe doesn't want to be president of a workers government. He's not for a workers government at all. He campaigned for a "pact for freedom," a "constitutional compromise" with the fascist politicians who've been running Spain for four decades.

He didn't campaign for dissolution of the cops. To the contrary. "The Forces of Public Order have been treated badly," he would say. "Every country needs Forces of Public Order."

He didn't defend the right of Euskadi and the other oppressed nationalities to determine for themselves what relationship—if any—they would have with the Spanish state. Instead he supported very limited home rule—how much to be decided by the central government.

In a word, Felipe was a sell out.

I told a member of the LCR I met by chance the next morning about the incident on the bus. "Yes," she said, "many people are like that. Felipe won them all during the campaign by sounding very radical against Suárez. They're going to be mad when he makes a deal with Suárez. Felipe's got a vicious contradiction."



Caroline Lund and José G. Pérez have written the on-the-scene reports on Spain that have been featured in these pages over the past several weeks. Future issues will carry further coverage by them of developments in Spain.



# Teachers are the losers in AFT-NEA fight



Militant/Sue Hagen

NEA teachers being arrested in Racine, Wisconsin, strike, March 1977.



AFT teachers being arrested after Schenectady, New York, strike, February 1976.

## By Jeff Mackler

Teachers today face a growing and united bipartisan attack on our living standards, our unions, and all aspects of public education.

But in defending our own interests and those of our students, teachers are not united. Our potential strength is constantly sapped by the pointless, fratricidal struggle between this country's two major teachers unions.

Ending this organizational warfare through a merger of the 1.8-million-member National Educa-

*Jeff Mackler is the organizer of AFT Local 1423 in Hayward, California.*

tion Association (NEA) and the 450,000-member American Federation of Teachers (AFT) would be a giant step toward combating these attacks.

This bitter rivalry has produced *nothing* positive. Millions of dollars of our dues money are allocated each year for raiding operations and collective bargaining elections. Both organizations have scabbed on each other's strikes and sought to gain organizational advantage from each other's setbacks.

Who are the winners? The local boards of education and Democratic and Republican politicians who are engineering the cutbacks. They gloat over our failure to develop a united strategy.

According to Albert Shanker—president of both the AFT and its largest affiliate, New York City's United Federation of Teachers—the key issue preventing a merger is the NEA's rejection of affiliation with the AFL-CIO.

This is a phony issue. Teachers no more need to affiliate to the AFL-CIO to be a part of the labor movement than do the United Auto Workers, United Mine Workers, Teamsters, United Electrical Workers—or any of the other independent unions.

Shanker insists on this demand because he opposes merger unless he is assured control of the new union.

Opposition in the NEA to affiliation with the AFL-CIO has two sources.

One is a healthy revulsion against the racist attitudes and conservatism of the Meany clique that dominates the AFL-CIO. Albert Shanker is closely identified with Meany's views.

The other side is a backward attitude—still deeply ingrained in many NEA members—that they are "professionals," a cut above other working people.

The NEA button of a few years ago, "VIP" (Very Independent Professional), was symptomatic of this view. Many NEA leaders hold the mistaken and dangerous belief that winning the support of other working people in advancing teacher and student interests is of minor importance.

Nonetheless, the NEA has responded far better than the AFT to the demands of minorities and women for full equality. The NEA supports school desegregation and busing, bilingual education, and affirmative action.

NEA leaders have done little, however, to mobilize their members and locals behind these stands.

So NEA leaders are on weak ground when they insist that demands they have failed to take seriously should be preconditions for merger.

This is not to negate the need for NEA members to fight to make certain that these progressive positions are implemented. AFT members have an equal responsibility to fight to reverse many racist AFT policies.

NEA and AFT leaders agree that the big problems facing teachers today can only be resolved through political action.

Educational funding, collective bargaining rights, and school desegregation are all directly tied to what the government does or does not do.

But the political strategy followed by both organizations has proved to be a dead end. The "friendly" Democrats and Republicans we have supported and relied on are claiming poverty and slashing school budgets to the bone.

A merged NEA and AFT, resulting in the largest union in this country, would be in a position to initiate a discussion in the ranks of the entire labor movement about launching a viable alternative to the two big-business parties.

All these considerations point to the need for a unified teachers organization.

A step in the right direction was recently taken by the delegates to the annual state convention of the California Federation of Teachers. The CFT, with 30,000 members, proposed that the national AFT work to call a national "conference of all public employee unions," including the NEA, to develop a united strategy to meet the mounting attacks on public workers.

The NEA's willingness to participate, or better yet, take the initiative in organizing such a conference would represent a tremendous gain for all teachers.

Unfortunately, an immediate AFT-NEA merger is not on the agenda. The actions of both NEA and AFT leaders over the past several years have done much to stifle a real discussion of this.

But teacher leaders who understand the urgency of the question can still play a key role in organizing united actions at the state and local levels.

Joint demonstrations for school funding and in defense of striking co-workers are a starting point. Joint actions in defense of school desegregation and affirmative action are also possible and necessary.

We obviously cannot afford to continue our infighting—because we, our unions, and our students are the only victims.

## Court orders San Diego teachers back to work

### By Susan Hampton and Mark Schneider

SAN DIEGO—After a four-day strike, 5,800 teachers led by the San Diego Teachers Association (SDTA) have returned to work here.

This was the first strike ever for San Diego teachers. It took place in the face of two court orders demanding that teachers return to work.

The SDTA won the right to represent teachers in a February election under California's new Rodda Act, which officially grants teachers the right to collective bargaining.

Teachers are asking for an 11 percent pay raise, reduction in class sizes, a fair teacher-evaluation policy, an adjustment in the 1977-78 school calendar, and a fair teacher-transfer policy.

District Supt. Tom Goodman and the school board immediately took a hard line in negotiations, refusing any raises. They even demanded a *pay cut* for some teachers.

With no progress at the bargaining table, the strike was forced on the San Diego teachers by the school board.

Two weeks before the strike began June 6, teachers began a sick-out. At

some schools as many as a thousand students walked out in support of the teachers.

SDTA leader Hugh Boyle explained the teachers' demands in a television debate with school board president Rev. George Walker Smith.

"It's simple," said Boyle, "since 1971, less and less has been spent on the classroom, while administration costs have risen by 55 percent. One hundred and one teaching positions are going to be cut next year, but five new administrative positions are being created. This trend has got to stop."

The school board's arguments have a familiar ring. They cite President Carter's threatened veto of \$4 million in IMPACT education funds and the cost of school desegregation as the major factors ruling out increases for teachers.

A growing dodge of school boards across the country is to counterpose the cost of desegregation to improved education and teachers' working conditions. In this way they hope to pit the communities of the oppressed minorities against teachers and their unions.

The board's sudden concern for school desegregation is pure hypocrisy.

After a long history of maintaining a segregated school system, they only recently—under court pressure—submitted a desegregation plan. The school board's proposed plan, based on voluntary transfers, rejects busing.

The plan has been denounced as inadequate by the Urban League and *La Prensa*, a Chicano newspaper.

The SDTA pointed out that desegregation and pay hikes were not contradictory. But the SDTA did nothing to mobilize support in the Black and Chicano communities and did little to explain to parents that the board's policies are an attack not only on teachers but on the quality of public education in San Diego.

Throughout the strike there were daily rallies in Balboa Park attended by as many as 2,000 teachers. These served to boost morale and explain the issues to strikers. But they did little to mobilize essential allies among parents and the minority communities. This was a major weakness of the strike.

The strike was 50 to 70 percent effective among teachers. But the school board hired hundreds of scabs. While substitutes normally earn thirty-

three dollars a day, scabs were paid fifty dollars daily to break the strike.

While regular lesson plans were not carried out in the schools, the lack of involvement behind the strike in the communities meant that attendance did not drastically fall off. The district still received substantial state aid based on Average Daily Attendance (ADA) reports.

On June 8 the courts issued an injunction threatening individual teachers with five days in jail and fines of up to \$1,000.

On June 9, after the school board promised there would be no fines for defying the court injunction, teachers agreed to return to the classroom. Negotiations between the SDTA and the school board were reestablished.

The majority of teachers were relieved the strike was over but vowed they would go out again if they had to.

Some teachers remained skeptical about the board's commitment to bargain in "good faith."

"I think we won something, but not enough," one teacher said. "We want more than guarantees. I got a guarantee on my 'chevy,' and it doesn't work either."

# Calendar

BERKELEY, CALIF.

**SOCIALIST SUMMER SCHOOL.** *The Emerging Revolt of U.S. Labor.* Fri., July 8, 8 p.m. *Background and Perspectives for Developing a Left Wing in the Unions.* Sat., July 9, noon & Sun., July 10, 11 a.m. Speaker: Tom Kerry, former SWP national organization secretary. 3264 Adeline. Donation: \$1 per class. Ausp: Bay Area SWP. For more information call (415) 626-6288.

**BOSTON: FENWAY-SOUTH END**

**INTRODUCTION TO SOCIALISM CLASS.** What will socialist America look like? Wed., July 6, 7:30 p.m. 510 Commonwealth Ave., 4th Fl. Ausp: SWP. For more information call (617) 262-4620.

**CHICAGO: NORTH SIDE**

**BEYOND DADE COUNTY: THE FIGHT FOR GAY RIGHTS.** Speakers: Tom Peters, news director, *Gay Life* magazine; Milly Leonard, cochair of Committee for Gay Rights; Janice Gutfreund, UICC Women's Liberation; representative of the YSA. Fri., July 8, 8 p.m. 1870 N. Halsted. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (312) 642-4811.

**CHICAGO: SOUTHSIDE**

**THE STRUGGLE FOR DESEGREGATION IN CHICAGO'S SCHOOLS.** Speakers: Judson Hickson, education director, Chicago Urban League; Rev. George Reddick, Operation PUSH; representative of the NAACP; Manuel Barrera, SCAR; Andrew Pulley, SWP. Fri., July 8, 8 p.m. St. Paul & the Redeemer Church, 4945 S. Dorchester Ave. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (312) 643-5520.

**CINCINNATI**

**SOCIALIST SUMMER SCHOOL.** Lessons from Labor History: The Minneapolis Teamster Strikes. Speaker: Carol Knoll, SWP candidate for Cincinnati City Council. Thurs., July 7, 7 p.m. 970 E. McMillan. Donation: \$1. Ausp: SWP & YSA. For more information call (513) 751-2636.

**HOUSTON**

**SOCIALIST SUMMER SCHOOL.** Series of weekly classes based on four books on the history of the Teamsters union by Farrell Dobbs. Every Wed., 7 p.m. 4987 S. Park. Ausp: SWP. For more information call (713) 526-1082, 643-0005, or 697-5543.

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**LONG BEACH, CALIF.**

**WORKERS' STRUGGLES AGAINST CUTBACKS AND LAYOFFS.** Speakers: Richard Aguilar, negotiating team for Eligibility Workers Local 535 SEIU; others. Fri., July 8, 8 p.m. 3322 Anaheim St. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (213) 597-0965.

**SOCIALIST SUMMER SCHOOL.** Revolutionary Strategy in the Labor Movement. Wed., July 13, 20, and 27. 7:30 p.m. 3322 Anaheim St. Donation: \$1. Ausp: SWP & YSA. For more information call (213) 597-0965.

**LOS ANGELES**

**SOCIALIST SUMMER SCHOOL.** Revolutionary Strategy in the Labor Movement. Wed., July 6, 13, and 20. 7:30 p.m. 1237 S. Atlantic Blvd., East Los Angeles. Donation: \$1. Ausp: SWP & YSA. For more information call (213) 265-1347 or 482-1820.

**THE BUSING CRISIS FROM LOS ANGELES TO BOSTON.** Speakers: Jon Hillson, author of *The Battle of Boston*; others. Fri., July 15, 8 p.m. Golden State Auditorium, 1999 W. Adams Blvd. (corner of Western). Donation: \$1. Ausp: Los Angeles County Militant Forum. For more information call (213) 482-1820.

**JON HILLSON ON RADIO AND TV.** Hear author

of *The Battle of Boston*, Thurs., July 14: 9 a.m., KHJ-TV, "Nine in the Morning"; 11:30 a.m., KTTV-TV, "Let's Rap"; 7 p.m., KPFF-FM, "Open Journal." Sun., July 17: 9 a.m., KGFJ-AM, "Community Awareness"; 10 a.m. or 4 p.m. (call station) KDAY-AM and KJLH-FM, "Civilization '77"; KWST-FM, "Daily Planet," date and time to be announced.

**LOS ANGELES: CRENSHAW**

**ATTICA.** A film by Cinda Firestone. Fri., July 8, 8 p.m. 2167 W. Washington Blvd. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (213) 732-8196.

**LOUISVILLE, KY.**

**GRAND OPENING OF MILITANT BOOKSTORE AND SWP CAMPAIGN FOR MAYOR.** Speaker: Debby Tarnopol, SWP candidate for mayor of Louisville. Sat., July 9, 10 a.m.-4 p.m.: bookstore will be open. 6 p.m.: campaign reception. 7:30 p.m.: campaign rally. 1505 W. Broadway. Ausp: Socialist Workers 1977 Louisville Campaign. For more information call (502) 587-8418.

**MILWAUKEE**

**SOCIALIST SUMMER SCHOOL.** A discussion on the nature of Stalinism. Thurs., July 7, 7 p.m. 3901 N. 27th St. Donation: \$1 for entire class series. Ausp: SWP & YSA. For more information call (414) 442-8170 or 963-5551.

**NEWARK, N.J.**

**SOCIALIST SUMMER SCHOOL.** Series on Teamster struggles of the 1930s. Fri., July 8, Tues., July 12. 7:30 p.m. Rm. 240 Conklin Hall, Rutgers Univ. Ausp: SWP & YSA. For more information call (201) 482-3367.

**NEW YORK: BROOKLYN**

**WEEKLY CLASS SERIES ON THE BASICS OF LENIN AND TROTSKY.** Every Thurs., 7:30 p.m. 202-222 Utica Ave. Donation: \$.75 Ausp: SWP. For more information call (212) 773-0250.

**PHILADELPHIA: GERMANTOWN**

**THE 1919 HOSPITAL WORKERS' STRIKE & THE FIGHT FOR BETTER HEALTH CARE IN PHILADELPHIA.** Speaker: Mike Finley, 1199 activist; other

hospital workers. Sat., July 9, 7:30 p.m. 5950 Germantown Ave. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (215) V14-2874.

**PHOENIX**

**SOCIALIST SUMMER SCHOOL.** Socialist strategy in the labor movement. Tuesdays, 7:30 p.m. 314 E. Taylor. Donation: \$.50. Ausp: SWP & YSA. For more information call (602) 255-0450.

**ST. LOUIS**

**THE BASICS OF MARXISM.** A series of six classes. Speaker: Dick Roberts, *Militant* staff writer. Two classes on the *Communist Manifesto*, Thurs. & Fri., July 7-8, 7:30 p.m. Two classes on *Wage Labor and Capital*, Sat., July 9, 11 a.m. & 2 p.m. Two classes on *The Transitional Program*, Sun., July 10, 11 a.m. & 2 p.m. Eads Hall, Rm. 218, Washington Univ. Donation: \$.50 per class, \$3 for entire weekend. Ausp: SWP & YSA. For more information call (314) 725-1570.

**ST. PAUL**

**CONTROL DATA CORPORATION: SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY OR PRIVATE PROFIT?** Speakers: Agieb Bilal, HELP Community Development Corp.; Allen Isaacman, history professor at the University of Minnesota & member of Minnesota Committee on Southern Africa (MCSA); Libby Moser, member MCSA & SWP. Fri., July 8, 8 p.m. Reformation Lutheran Church, Oxford & Laurel. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (612) 222-8929.

**SAN ANTONIO**

**HOW THE UNIONS WERE BUILT.** A weekly discussion series based on experiences in the Teamsters union in the 1930s. Fridays 8 p.m. 1317 Castrovilla Rd. Donation: \$1. Ausp: SWP & YSA. For more information call (512) 432-7625.

**WASHINGTON, D.C.: ADAMS-MORGAN**

**SOCIALIST SUMMER SCHOOL.** Socialist strategy in the labor movement—the significance of the 1930s Teamster struggles for today. Thurs., July 7, 7:30 p.m. 2416 18th St. NW. Donation: \$.50. Ausp: SWP. For more information call (202) 797-7706.

## Socialist speaks out for affirmative action

By Jane Roland

NEW YORK—Millions of Blacks, Puerto Ricans, and Chinese-Americans live in New York City, making up 45 percent of the population. More than half the city is female.

But New York City refuses to guarantee equality in employment for women and oppressed minorities.

The city has affirmative-action guidelines on the books that require companies doing business with the city to make written commitments to hire minorities and women. However, eleven of the biggest banks in the city are demanding that the program be scrapped. Otherwise, they threaten, they will withdraw support for municipal bonds.

New York Mayor Abraham Beame has done nothing to challenge this ultimatum from the banks.

In response to the banks' assault and the city's refusal to defend the guidelines, a coalition of women's and minority organizations filed suit in federal court in February.

The coalition included the NAACP, New York National Organization for Women, Women Office Workers, and

Harlem Fight Back, an organization fighting for Black and Puerto Rican employment in the construction industry. The Organization of Chinese Americans has also joined the coalition.

On June 15 the coalition sponsored a meeting for candidates in the New York City mayor's race to air their views on affirmative action. Close to 200 people turned out to question the candidates.

Although eleven candidates have announced so far, few bothered to show up. Noticeably missing were Manhattan Borough President Percy Sutton, the only Black in the race, and Mario Cuomo, the handpicked candidate of New York Gov. Hugh Carey.

Among those who did appear were Catarino Garza, the Socialist Workers Party candidate, and Bella Abzug, Herman Badillo, and Joel Harnett, all vying for the Democratic Party nomination.

Badillo, Abzug, and Harnett said that if elected they would ensure the passage of affirmative-action laws through court suits and executive orders.

Garza agreed with the need for executive action and court suits, but said these alone would not be enough to win.

"The courts will only vote in favor of affirmative-action programs if there's pressure from the people," Garza said, when questioned after the meeting. "All the other candidates urge trust in judges and politicians to push affirmative-action programs.

"The best example of why you shouldn't trust the courts or the politicians is the decision the Supreme Court made on May 31." That ruling allows employers to continue using seniority systems that perpetuate the effects of past racial and sexual discrimination in hiring.

"The only way to ensure affirmative action," Garza continued, "is for minority groups and women to join together to demand it.

"The unions should be a part of this fight. And we have to change them so that they will help lead this fight." Garza pointed out that the coalition was a step forward in uniting the kinds of organizations needed to mount a successful campaign to win

affirmative action in the city.

During the meeting Jim Haughton of Harlem Fight Back expressed the same sentiment. "We must overcome the divisions," he said.

Dee Alpert of NOW said that minorities and women have a common interest in this fight. She told the audience that NOW would not rest until Blacks, Puerto Ricans, and Asian-Americans won their rights.

"We will not be divided on this question," Alpert said, "and we will not be sold out."

## Affirmative Action vs. Seniority

by Linda Jenness, Herbert Hill, Willie Mae Reid, Frank Lovell, and Sue Em Davenport. 30 pp., 50 cents

Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014

## ...teachers

Continued from back page

came from corporate taxes. Last year, despite record profits, big business only paid 14 percent.

Meanwhile, federal, state, and local taxes for the average worker and homeowner have shot through the roof.

But although we're paying more, we're getting less.

Instead of scaling down the war budget after the Vietnam War, the Democrats and Republicans raised it. Despite Carter's campaign promises to cut war spending, more money goes for armaments today than at any time in U.S. history.

Public employees and social services, including education, have been singled out for special attacks.

The rulers are trying to make teachers and other public employees scapegoats for rising taxes and cutbacks that affect other working people.

Teachers need to develop a strategy to fight these attacks. We are not at the mercy of forces beyond our control if we mobilize our own power and reach out to our allies.

Parents and students, who have the most to lose from the cuts in public education, will be among our most important allies in this fight. This is especially true of the Black, Puerto Rican, and other minority communities that bear the brunt of the cuts.

And we also have to reach out to other public employees. The Democratic and Republican politicians have tried to pit us against each other in a scramble for shrinking funds.

Claiming there is not enough money to go around, they encourage our unions to fight over who will be cut the worst.

Public employees cannot afford to fall into this trap. We must stick together and fight all the cutbacks.

Through the founding of the Coalition of American Public Employees, the NEA has begun to prepare for such joint efforts. So far, however, CAPE has been little more than a paper organization.

The NEA, however, can strengthen CAPE. We should put out a call, through CAPE, to all public employee organizations for a united conference to be held this fall. *At such a gathering we could map a common strategy to fight the budget cuts and save our jobs.*

This conference could call on millions of Americans to join with us in demanding that the government stop cutting the services we all need.

The conference would also have to take up the need for political action to defend our rights and living standards.

Today, the main strategy of both the NEA and American Federation of Teachers is to lobby and

spend hundreds of thousands of dollars to get Democratic and Republican "friends of labor" elected to office.

This has gotten us nowhere fast, and things aren't getting any better.

The bipartisan austerity measures voted by the Democrats and Republicans we help put in office benefit only the banks and the ruling rich.

The NEA needs to put up its own candidates for public office.

Candidates who are independent of both big-business parties.

Candidates who would run as representatives of a labor party based on a revitalized, fighting union movement.

Candidates who are not afraid to oppose the budget cuts and who fight for the right of public employees to bargain collectively and—if need be—to strike.

These candidates would not be beholden to the banks, but to us—the people they represent.

These are the kinds of issues that all public employees need to discuss at a conference of our unions.

This conference could begin to set in motion the social forces that will put human needs ahead of wars and profits.

It would begin the fight to ensure that the American dream of a decent education for everyone becomes a reality, not a nightmare.

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## Political Rights Defense Fund



The Socialist Workers party and Young Socialist Alliance have sued the government for an end to spying and disruption. This lawsuit has exposed FBI and CIA attacks against democratic rights.

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# If you agree with what you read in the Militant..

Outbacks in education. Attacks on gay rights. Campus complicity with apartheid. Moves to restrict abortion and block desegregation. Stepped-up deportations of undocumented workers. Carter's plan to build more nuclear power plants.

In the *Militant* you've been reading about the government and right-wing attacks against students and working people.

The Young Socialist Alliance is doing something about them.

The YSA is an organization that unites high school and college students in the struggle for a different type of society—a socialist and democratic society. A society that would put human needs and human rights before profits.

We need your help in this fight. You can join the Young Socialist Alliance by contacting the YSA chapter nearest you (see Socialist Directory below) or by writing to the YSA National Office, Post Office Box 471 Cooper Station, New York, New York 10003.



# Join the YSA!

# Socialist Directory

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# THE MILITANT

## Which way for NEA?

# Crisis facing teachers

By Ed Fruit

It has been said that the future of a country lies with its youth. Judging from the low priority education has been given in recent years, that future is bleak.

In place after place, teachers' wages have either been frozen or raised only minimally, falling further and further behind rising living costs.

Layoffs—the so-called reductions-in-force (RIF)—have become the rule rather than the exception.

And programs vital to students have been callously slashed.

School boards have forced dedicated teachers out on strike and out of the education system.

We often hear about the crisis of education in New York and other big cities. But the budget cuts are crippling education all over the nation.

As of September 6, 1976, according to the National Education Association (NEA), 2,200 teacher contracts had not been renewed and twenty-

*Ed Fruit is a teacher and first vice-president of the Atlanta Association of Educators.*

four strikes were in progress.

When the school year opened, the attacks continued.

- In September the Seattle Teachers Association struck to stem the tide of layoffs and cutbacks.

- The Jersey City Education Association struck to stop cutbacks and wage freezes.

- The Buffalo Teachers Federation went on strike to halt "the devastation of the educational program."

- As 1976 ended, the Jefferson County Teachers Association went on the picket lines in Louisville.

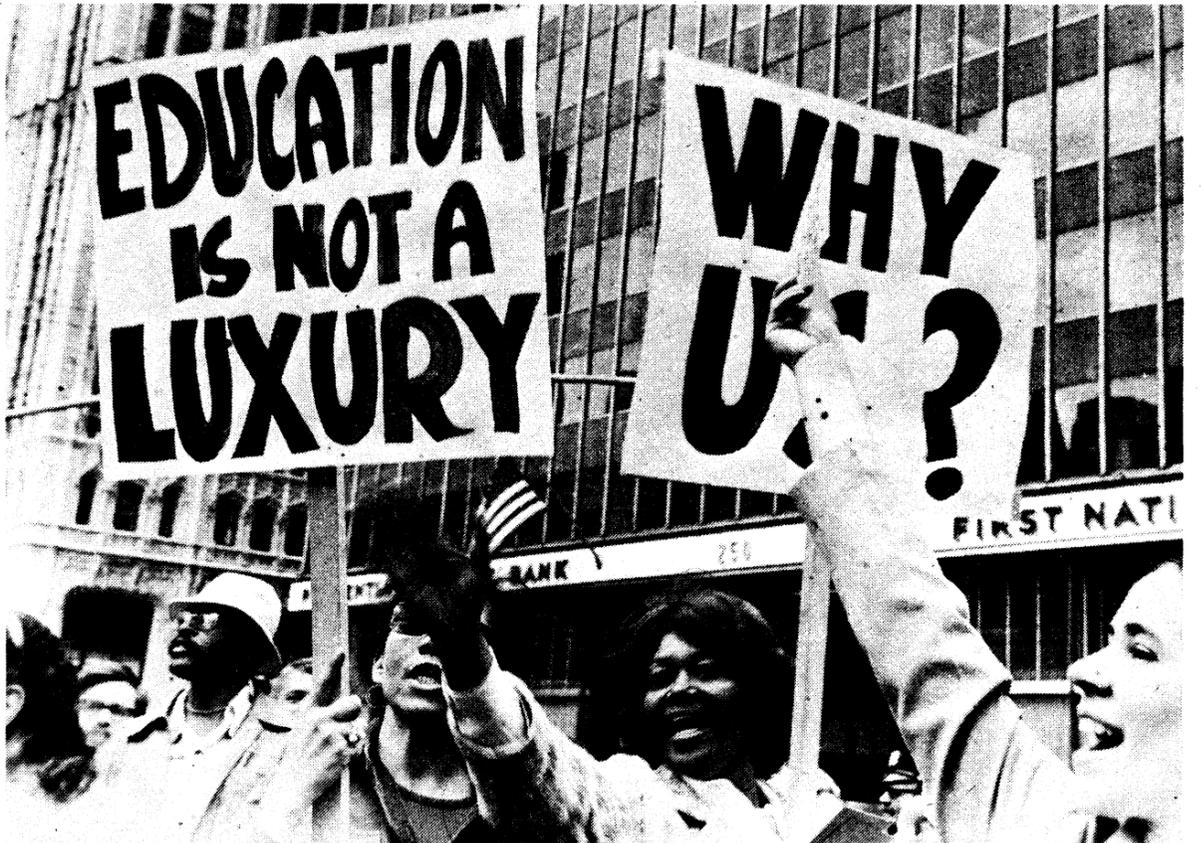
- This spring, Racine, Wisconsin, teachers were forced out on strike. On March 14, 175 teachers and supporters were arrested in an obvious attempt to break the union.

- In the last several weeks of the school year, San Diego teachers conducted a walkout after being threatened with wage cuts for some teachers.

- Other bitter strikes were waged in Kansas City and Cincinnati, where teachers were arrested and incurred severe reprisals.

What's behind this assault on public education?

Why does there seem to be less money for schools today than even during the height of the Vietnam War?



Militant/Martha Harris

Following World War II, American capitalism made profitable inroads into colonial markets around the globe. Rebuilding the devastated economies of Western Europe and Japan—America's chief prewar rivals for markets—provided further outlets for U.S. goods and investment.

Given the relative prosperity made possible during the two postwar decades, Washington was able to make significant concessions to the demands of working people, including increased spending for education and other social services.

All this has changed today. The long boom is over.

American big business is now entangled in a world economic crisis brought on in part by the huge outlays for the Vietnam War and the arms race, and in part by the renewed strength of Europe

and Japan.

To maintain and increase profits in the face of fierce international trade competition, American corporations have launched an all-out attack on working people.

The "austerity drive" in health, education, and welfare is part of that assault.

Democratic and Republican politicians at every level of government are spearheading this attack on behalf of the big-business interests they represent.

In 1971 these politicians froze our wages. Every working person knows that despite their promise to also control prices, our living costs skyrocketed.

The tax burden, which has always fallen most heavily on workers, has shifted even more onto our shoulders. In 1960, 23 percent of all federal receipts

*Continued on page 30*

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