

THE MILITANT

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

UNIONS UNDER SIEGE

Statement by UAW's Fraser poses question: How can labor fight back?

—PAGE 4

UPSURGE IN PERU



LIMA, Peru—Revolutionary leader Hugo Blanco (with microphone) addresses thousands of people who poured out to greet his return from exile July 16. A photo journal of Blanco's triumphant return and on-the-spot coverage of the mounting struggles in Peru appear on page 10.

Fred Murphy, Intercontinental Press/Inprecor

MAGAZINE SUPPLEMENT
INTERNATIONAL
socialist
INSIDE

**Writings of
Leon Trotsky
1929-1940**

Salute to a revolutionary legacy



**Antinuke
movement:
Building on
Seabrook
success**

New York nukes

On July 27 Gov. Hugh Carey announced that he would try to prevent further construction of nuclear power plants in New York State. He pointed to the federal government's failure to develop a safe, permanent way of disposing of radioactive wastes.

Credit for this partial victory belongs to the anti-nuclear power movement, which has focused public attention on a serious hazard that the nuclear industry and U.S. "regulatory" agencies have tried to hide from the American people.

Carey clearly feels pressured by growing opposition to nuclear power shown by the turnout of 20,000 at Seabrook, New Hampshire, June 25. A *New York Times* editorial attacked him for "election-year posturing" before "citizens who passionately oppose nuclear power."

Despite Carey's concession, however, he has done nothing to shut down five existing nukes or halt construction of the two others that are nearly completed. He opposes state legislation barring nuclear power.

So the antinuke movement still has many hurdles ahead of it—not only in New York, but throughout the country.

And with more "Seabrooks"—involving more people and broader forces—we can win.

How not to solve a crime

A murder is committed.

The victim had an enemy—an enemy who saw the victim as a threat, an enemy who placed the victim under constant surveillance, an enemy who discussed ways of removing the victim from the scene.

Following the murder, the victim's enemy is put in charge of investigating the crime. Not surprisingly the prime suspect is cleared.

This scenario has been acted out at least two times. One victim was Malcolm X. A second was Martin Luther King. The suspect that carried out the investigation was the U.S. government, and the FBI in particular.

New information on the assassinations and the FBI cover-up that followed them continues to surface. On July 26, for example, it was revealed that the FBI had information concerning a plot to assassinate King, information that it received in 1973 but failed to act on for five years. In the meantime, a key figure named in the allegations has died.

In the case of Malcolm X, one of the three men serving a life sentence for the murder has signed an affidavit denying the guilt of the two others. The FBI has had evidence corroborating this point for the past thirteen years but has never bothered to investigate. If left to its own devices, we can be sure that it never will.

There is only one way that the truth about these crimes, and others like them, will ever come out. That is if the government is forced to open all its secret files. It is time to take the investigation out of the hands of the criminals!

Rhodesia smokescreen

On July 29 the Rhodesian government launched the biggest attack in eight months on base camps used by Zimbabwean freedom fighters in Mozambique. A spokesperson for the Mozambique government said 12 people were killed and 110 wounded in the raids.

The week before, Rhodesian troops attacked Zambia. They kidnapped six school teachers and a number of villagers in an area where Patriotic Front guerrilla forces are active.

These acts of racist terror make a mockery of Rhodesian Prime Minister Ian Smith's claim that his regime is moving toward Black majority rule.

Smith bases this claim on the inclusion of Bishop Abel Muzorewa and some other Black figures in his cabinet, along with his promise to hold national elections December 3-6.

But as the recent raids show, Smith is using Muzorewa's presence in the government as a smokescreen while continuing his drive to crush the Black freedom struggle.

That's why, for example, Smith sent Muzorewa to Washington recently to lobby for a proposal by archreactionary Sen. Jesse Helms (R-N.C.) to end U.S. economic sanctions against Rhodesia. Helms's proposal lost.

But the senators passed a substitute motion that may have been what Muzorewa and Smith really wanted.

Notice to our readers

This is the last issue of the 'Militant' before our summer break. The next issue will be dated September 1.

This proposal permits Carter to lift U.S. economic sanctions against Rhodesia if the Patriotic Front turns down offers by Smith and Muzorewa to negotiate after the December elections.

Washington wants to be able to put the screws on Zimbabwean freedom fighters so that it can protect the interests of wealthy U.S. corporations in Africa.

But working people in this country have no interest in such racist maneuvers. We should demand a permanent end to all U.S. government support to the white minority regimes in southern Africa.

New travel ban

Big Brother is at it again.

The last week in July the U.S. Senate adopted another bill aimed at restricting the right of the American people to think for themselves.

Under the bill, sponsored by Senate Republican leader Howard Baker, before a member of a foreign "communist" organization could get a visa to enter this country, the secretary of state would have to certify that the visit would not be "detrimental."

If passed, this measure would be a big step backward from less restrictive regulations signed into law last year. Under those new regulations, such previously excluded figures as Peruvian peasant leader Hugo Blanco; Belgian economist and Trotskyist leader Ernest Mandel; French trade-union official Jacques Tregaro; and Italian Communist Party leader Sergio Segre won the right to present their views firsthand to U.S. audiences.

These victories for free speech were won only after a public outcry had embarrassed Carter by exposing the hypocritical double standard of his human rights campaign.

Protests are needed again—to make sure this latest thought-control bill never sees the light of day.

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The 'merit system' fraud

Is 'merit' the only just basis for hiring and school admissions? Centuries of discrimination prove this argument against affirmative action is just a new cover for perpetuating inequality. Page 7.

Stalinists & Democrats

Is it 'sectarian' to oppose an anti-abortion Democrat? The Communist Party says yes. The 'Militant' says no. Page 9.



Eritrean liberation struggle

International protests are mounting pressure on the Ethiopian regime to halt its war against Eritrean freedom fighters. Page 8.



The Militant

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Second-class postage paid at New York, N.Y. Subscriptions: U.S. \$15.00 a year, outside U.S. \$20.50. By first-class mail: U.S., Canada, and Mexico: \$42.50. Write for surface and airmail rates to all other countries.

For subscriptions airmailed from New York and then posted from London directly to Britain and Ireland: £2.00 for ten issues, £4.50 for six months, £8.50 for one year. Posted from London to Continental Europe: £2.50 for ten issues, £6.00 for six months, £11.50 for one year. Send banker's draft or international postal order (payable to Pathfinder Press) to Pathfinder Press, 47 The Cut, London SE18LL, England. Inquire for air rates from London at the same address.

Signed articles by contributors do not necessarily represent the Militant's views. These are expressed in editorials.

93 strikers fired, 2 face charges

Gov't seeks to ram through postal pact

By Nancy Cole

Determined to ram an unpopular contract down the throats of postal workers, the government has blocked the New York-area union from holding a strike vote.

Strike sentiment was so strong among the workers—with pledges from unionists in other parts of the country that they would follow New York's lead—that a "yes" vote in the July 31 balloting was considered a given.

The vote was set July 24 by the executive council of the New York Metro Postal Workers Union under pressure of a Jersey City walkout and the firing of more than sixty of the strikers.

In stepped federal Judge Frederick Lacey—who had already issued strikebreaking orders against the Jersey City strikers—to declare a strike vote illegal.

New York APWU officials quickly agreed to honor the judge's July 28 decree. The strike vote, and strike, were called off.

If you don't like the no-strike order, Lacey told postal workers in his courtroom July 31, "there is a simple remedy to the fetters—you can resign!"

Contract negotiations were carried out in an atmosphere of government threats—threats to use troops to break a strike, threats to fire strikers, and threats to prosecute strikers.

And the threats were carried through. In addition to ninety-two wildcat strikers fired in New Jersey and California, two of the Jersey City strikers were cited by Judge Lacey for supposedly violating his order. Their court hearing is scheduled for August 3.

From the beginning, top union officials were convinced they could not fight the government. When they had secured what they said was the "best we could do," they tried to sell the contract to the membership. The ranks were never informed of negotiating progress nor of the exact terms once the settlement was reached.

But the provisions the postal workers heard

reported—a measly 10 percent pay raise over three years plus a cost-of-living clause capped at \$1,500—stirred massive opposition.

Votes and polls in locals in Pittsburgh, Baltimore, Washington, and Allentown, Pennsylvania, called for rejection of the contract.

On July 27, the bargaining advisory committee of the APWU rejected the pact twenty-nine to fifteen. In a stormy convention session of the National Association of Letter Carriers in Chicago July 31, delegates voted overwhelmingly to recommend rejection.

APWU President Emmet Andrews and other national union officials give full support to the contract. Despite their ballyhoo about letting the ranks vote the contract up or down, they're small on talk about what happens if it is voted down.

James LaPenta, secretary of the union's negotiating committee, did explain it in arguing against a strike. "There aren't any legal procedures for renegotiating the contract," Penta said. "If the rank and file turns it down, it will go to arbitration. If there's a strike, it will go to arbitration and a lot of people will lose their jobs."

LaPenta and Judge Lacey agree: "Take what the government wants to give you—or find a job elsewhere."

The contract mail referendum was postponed July 29 after a Pittsburgh APWU leader went to court. John Richards charged the vote was improper because the bargaining advisory committee rejected the contract offer. A federal judge is soon to decide whether the vote can go on.

At this point, the Carter administration and its friends in the big-business news media are patting themselves on the back for averting a nationwide postal strike and providing an example for upcoming talks in other industries.

But postal workers are far from ready to give up and play dead. If the ranks of the union discuss and draw the lessons of how they have been swindled so

far—the role of the government, the lies of the news media, the treachery of top union officials—they can surely find ways to win control of their own union and wrest concessions from the postal service.



Postal workers demonstrated in Washington July 12, protesting Carter's intervention in contract talks.

Carter sinks health plan in 'war on inflation'

By Dick Roberts

During his election campaign, Jimmy Carter promised working people a national health-insurance program. "It is time for a nationwide, comprehensive health program for all our people," the Democratic candidate declared.

But on July 29 Carter made public a snake-oil scheme that won't spend a dime to help the sick and disabled until 1983—when his second term is almost up. Even then, any funding would be subordinate to White House bite-the-bullet plans for social programs that benefit working people.

As Carter put it in the "ten principles" he sent to Health, Education and Welfare Secretary Joseph Califano:

"The plan must support our efforts to control inflation in the economy by reducing unnecessary health care spending. . . . Careful consideration should be given to the other demands on government budgets."

Carter wouldn't want to cut into his \$126 billion war budget!

The true magnanimity of the Carter plan became even clearer when Califano appeared on CBS television's "Face the Nation." "If we closed down 100,000 excess beds," Califano said, "we could save \$2 billion." (Excess hospital beds?)

Even Sen. Edward Kennedy felt compelled to criticize these "built-in self-destruct buttons" that put a priority on just about everything but health care.

But the profit-hungry insurance, hospital, and medical industries cheered the Carter plan. Walter McNerney, president of Blue Cross and Blue Shield, said, "The president is wise to focus on goals and objects and to proceed on an incremental basis in implementing programs." And Alex McMahon, president of the American Hospital Association, called it "a realistic approach."

Throughout the 1976 election, the

trade-union officialdom heralded Carter's promise of national health insurance as one of the main reasons workers should support him.

When Carter did not put forward any health-care legislation in his first year of office, the union bureaucrats nonetheless continued to promise that health care was just around the corner.

For example, according to the United Auto Workers' *Solidarity* magazine of March 18, 1977, former union President Leonard Woodcock "scotched reports that the administration had put health security on the back burner of its 1977 program. 'This is no longer true,' he said. HEW Secretary Joseph Califano 'has assured me that . . . it would be the purpose of moving on this within this year.'"

But Califano was conning Woodcock. The administration stalled last year and as much of this year as possible. (It is too late for any congressional action on the bill in 1978.)

The need for government-insured medical benefits is most strikingly made clear when a working-class family is suddenly beset by a catastrophic illness. Required hospital treatment can easily soar tens of thousands of dollars beyond any Blue Cross-Blue Shield or other private benefit.

But, according to the government's own figures, there are 85 million Americans who face precisely that kind of potential disaster right now. Califano said at his press conference, "More than 20 million have no health insurance; and another 65 million face potential bankruptcy because of the lack of insurance protecting them against catastrophic medical expenses."

Eighty-five million! That's the overwhelming majority of working people in this country. It's high time the government stopped stalling and paid attention to these real, pressing needs of working people.

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Fraser describes union officials' bind

Why class war is 'one sided'



Militant Anne Teesdale

Joining with women's movement in actions like July 9 march for the Equal Rights Amendment is one powerful way to return bosses' fire.

By Nancy Cole

Most people probably didn't know that such a thing existed as a top-level Labor Management Board.

But when United Auto Workers President Douglas Fraser resigned from it July 19 with a broadside attack on big business, it made headlines across the nation.

The UAW's newsletter, *Washington Report*, hailed Fraser's resignation letter as "a major document in the history of social progress."

But in Detroit's auto plants, many workers—who are accustomed to taking plenty of salt with whatever rhetoric Fraser dishes out—were skeptical.

Fraser's letter is a "major document" in this sense—it provides an insider's view of the blind alley the union officialdom has gotten into. It can provide grist for discussions among workers for a while to come.

Fraser contends:

- big business is waging a "one-sided class war" against "working people, the unemployed, the poor, the minorities, the very young and the very old. . . .";
- corporations have shifted their relationship with unions from one of "cooperation" to "confrontation";
- the Democratic and Republican parties have "no visible, clear-cut ideological differences . . . because of business domination"; and
- the UAW faces the necessity of "making new alliances and forming new coalitions to help our nation find its way."

'Not class warrior'

What prompts a top labor official to issue such a declaration? For as the *New York Times* editorialized July 29, Fraser "is not class warrior or man of wild temperament." But he is a man who sees the ground being cut out from under the policy he has loyally followed for decades—a policy of collaboration with the employers and political reliance on the Democratic Party.

Fraser charges a rise of union busting by big U.S. corporations. The "southern strategy" of General Motors is an especially sore point. During 1976 contract negotiations, GM promised "neutrality" in future UAW organizing drives in new southern plants. That pledge lasted just about until the ink was dry on the contract. GM opposition to unionization efforts has been fierce.

Meanwhile, the political "victory" of the UAW and other unions gained by electing Carter and a huge Democratic majority in Congress has turned to ashes. Labor's "friends" have scuttled union-backed legislation such as the labor law reform bill, national health insurance, Humphrey-Hawkins bill, and improvements in the minimum wage and Social Security.

There's more that Fraser doesn't mention. The ruling class is also waging war against the right of women to abortion, to the Equal Rights Amendment, to affirmative action in education and employment. And it was UAW-endorsed Carter who invoked the slave-labor Taft-Hartley Act to try to break the coal miners' strike.

It's a class war all right. The problem is that the working class—or at least its officially recognized generals—have not returned fire.

There are two major opposing classes in this society. That is an elementary contention of Marxism that Fraser is now forced to admit.

Because the owners of industry are only interested in increasing their wealth at the expense of the wages and well-being of the working class, the two classes have never had common interests. They never will.

'Loyalty to capitalism'

Fraser discreetly neglects to mention that for many years he and the leaders of all other unions in this country have argued and acted on just the opposite premise.

In his letter Fraser acknowledges that the labor officials have subscribed to "a general loyalty to an allegedly benign capitalism." As defenders of capitalism, the union bureaucrats chum around with the bosses, curb strikes in the name of "stability," accept speedup in the name of "productivity," support U.S. foreign policy, and tacitly accept discrimination that restricts Blacks and women to lower-paying jobs.

In return, the "labor statesmen" need and expect an occasional crumb from the employers—a modest wage increase here, a slight improvement in conditions there.

This class collaboration is designed to keep capitalism running without disruption.

That is, until now.

Big business, Fraser charges, has "broken and discarded the fragile, unwritten compact previously existing

during a past period of growth and progress."

And it has left the nation's labor bureaucrats in a terrible bind.

Fraser's statement is not intended as a signal to auto workers to ready themselves for big class battles. Rather, it is a warning to the bosses of what their relentless antilabor drive may provoke.

Fraser appeals, threatens, pleads for industry reconsideration of its present course. Unless things change, he warns, new alliances, new militant actions may arise—like the sit-down strikes of the 1930s, like the civil rights movement of the 1960s.

But there's not going to be any mercy coming from corporate board rooms, because there can't be. The "one-sided class war" did not heat up because the corporate executives suddenly turned from good guys to bad guys, as Fraser suggests. Capitalism is

in crisis on a world scale. The inherent profit drive of the capitalists impels them to attack workers' rights and living standards.

What can be done?

The ranks of the UAW and other unions see profits getting bigger as their real wages shrink. They see the wheeling and dealing of their union officials no longer delivers even the modest concessions of the past. They're grappling with ideas of what can be done.

The coal miners gave a hint of what is possible when working people drop all illusions of common interests with the bosses and stand up and fight. They gave a hint of how the antilabor offensive could be turned back with a strategy of class struggle instead of class collaboration.

A class-struggle strategy would mean mobilizing the ranks of the union in militant action to defend jobs and wages. It would mean putting the full power of the union behind the struggles of women and Blacks. It would mean organizing mass demonstrations—not relying on capitalist politicians—to demand a shorter workweek, national health care, and tax relief for workers instead of big business.

One thing is for sure—in these battles workers will not find any help in the Democratic and Republican parties. Fraser points out both are "dominated" by big business. The accurate word would be "controlled."

The auto union president told reporters he hasn't yet "given up" on the Democratic Party but that many in the UAW were talking "for the first time in years" about forming a labor party.

One of Carter's first and most enthusiastic supporters, Fraser tried to throw a scare into the president. "There is a difference between compromise and capitulation" on key issues, he warned.

About a week later, Carter answered on one of the key issues for the UAW—health insurance. Carter announced that national health care would have to take a back seat to the budget-slashing, wage-cutting "war on inflation."

Maybe Fraser hasn't given up on Democratic "friends of labor." But a lot of working people have. Unionists in the auto plants, mines, steel mills, rail yards, and other workplaces should have a lot to say about this "one-sided class war." No doubt they'll have ideas on how to make it two-sided.

...while in the auto plants

"The only reason the corporations have gotten away with their 'one-sided class war' so long is because our unions keep supporting the very same politicians who stab us in the back. The time for a labor party is now," reads a flyer being distributed in Detroit's auto plants.

The statement is by Robin Mace, a member of United Auto Workers Local 900 and the Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of Michigan.

Mace proposes a full discussion in the ranks of the UAW and other unions about the implications of Fraser's letter. She says that the September conference that Fraser announced should be open to delegates from union locals, women's organizations, and Black groups so that a united response to this war can be planned.

In the auto plants, Mace's supporters have found their co-workers open to the socialist's ideas.

Says Tom Smith, who works at the Dodge Truck assembly plant, "A lot of people think it's a public relations job to make Fraser look bad—you know, mean and tough."

"This week, we had a heat walkout here. The union officials didn't do anything to help us. It's that kind of

thing that makes auto workers cynical about statements by Fraser attacking big business."

Tom Headley passed out Mace's statement at a General Motors plant. He found co-workers thought Fraser's withdrawal from the Labor-Management Board long overdue.

"But they're confused about what happens from here on out. Fraser says the Democrats and Republicans are worthless, but he's not for a labor party. They want to know what's going to happen with this 'new coalition' he talks about."

Both Smith and Headley say that of those they've talked to, most think a labor party a good idea.

Jim Patch, who works at GM Diesel, tells of one young woman there who went to the July 9 march on Washington for the ERA. She isn't so interested in the labor party, he says, but she likes the part of Mace's statement about getting the union behind more mass actions like July 9.

He also talked to a couple of Black workers who didn't see much point to a labor party headed by Fraser and George Meany. But, they said "if it's something like that statement [by Mace], that's what needs to be done."

—N.C.

Full text of UAW head's letter

'Business is waging one-sided class war'

The following is the full text of the letter released July 19 by United Auto Workers President Douglas Fraser. The letter is addressed to the Labor-Management Group, a committee of eight major corporation executives and eight top labor officials.

I deeply regret that it was necessary to cancel the meeting of the Labor-Management Group scheduled for July 19. It was my intention to tell you personally at that meeting what I must now convey in this letter, because the Group is not planning to meet again until late September.

I have come to the reluctant conclusion that my participation in the Labor-Management Group cannot continue. I am therefore resigning from the Group as of July 19. You are entitled to know why I take this action and you should understand that I have the highest regard for John Dunlop, my colleagues on the labor side and, as individuals, those who represent the corporate elite in the Group.

Attractive as the personalities may be, we all sit in a representative capacity. I have concluded that participation in these meetings is no longer useful to me or to the 1.5 million workers I represent as president of the UAW.

I believe leaders of the business community, with few exceptions, have chosen to wage a one-sided class war today in this country—a war against working people, the unemployed, the poor, the minorities, the very young and the very old, and even many in the middle class of our society. The leaders of industry, commerce and finance in the United States have broken and discarded the fragile, unwritten compact previously existing during a past period of growth and progress.

For a considerable time, the leaders of business and labor have sat at the Labor-Management Group's table—recognizing differences, but seeking consensus where it existed. That worked because the business community in the U.S. succeeded in advocating

ment, such as it has been, came because business feared the alternatives. Corporate America didn't join the fight to pass the Civil Rights Act of 1964 or the Voting Rights Act, but it eventually accepted the inevitability of that legislation. Other similar pieces of legislation aimed at the human needs of the disadvantaged have become national policy only after real struggle.

This system is not as it should be, yet progress has been made under it. But today, I am convinced there has been a shift on the part of the business community toward confrontation, rather than cooperation. Now, business groups are tightening their control over American society. As that grip tightens, it is the "have-nots" who are squeezed.

'If corporations like General Motors want confrontation, they cannot expect cooperation in return from labor.'

The latest breakdown in our relationship is also perhaps the most serious. The fight waged by the business community against the Labor Law Reform bill stands as the most vicious, unfair attack upon the labor movement in more than 30 years. Corporate leaders knew it was not the "power grab by Big Labor" that they portrayed it to be. Instead, it became an extremely moderate, fair piece of legislation that only corporate outlaws would have had need to fear. Labor law reform itself would not have organized a single worker. Rather, it would have begun to limit the ability of certain rogue employers to keep workers from choosing democratically to be represented by unions through employer delay and outright violation of existing labor law.

I know that some of the business representatives in the Group argued inside the Business Roundtable for neutrality. But having lost, they helped to bankroll (through the Roundtable and other organizations) the dishonest and ugly multimillion dollar campaign against labor law reform. In that effort, the business representatives in the Group were allied with groups such as the Committee to Defeat the Union Bosses, the Committee for a Union Free Environment, the Right-to-Work Committee, the Americans Against Union Control of Government and such individuals as R. Heath Larry, Richard Leshner and Orrin Hatch.

The new flexing of business muscle can be seen in many other areas. The rise of multinational corporations that know neither patriotism nor morality but only self-interest, has made accountability almost non-existent. At virtually every level, I discern a demand by business for docile government and unrestrained corporate individualism. Where industry once yearned for subservient unions, it now wants no unions at all.

General Motors Corp. is a specific case in point. GM, the largest manufacturing corporation in the world, has received responsibility, productivity and cooperation from the UAW and its members. In return, GM has given us a Southern strategy designed to set up a non-union network that threatens the

hard-fought gains won by the UAW. We have given stability and have been rewarded with hostility. Overseas, it is the same. General Motors not only invests heavily in South Africa, it refuses to recognize the black unions there.

My message should be very clear: if corporations like General Motors want confrontation, they cannot expect cooperation in return from labor.

There are many other examples of the new class war being waged by business. Everyone in the Group knows there is no chance the business elite will join the fight for national health insurance or even remain neutral, despite the fact that the U.S. is the only industrial country in the world, except for South Africa, without it. We are presently locked in battle with corporate interests on the Humphrey-Hawkins full employment bill. We were at odds on improvements in the minimum wage, on Social Security financing, and virtually every other piece of legislation presented to the Congress recently.

Business blames inflation on workers, the poor, the consumer and uses it as a club against them. Price hikes and profit increases are ignored while corporate representatives tell us we can't afford to stop killing and maiming workers in unsafe factories. They tell us we must postpone moderate increases in the minimum wage for those whose labor earns so little they can barely survive.

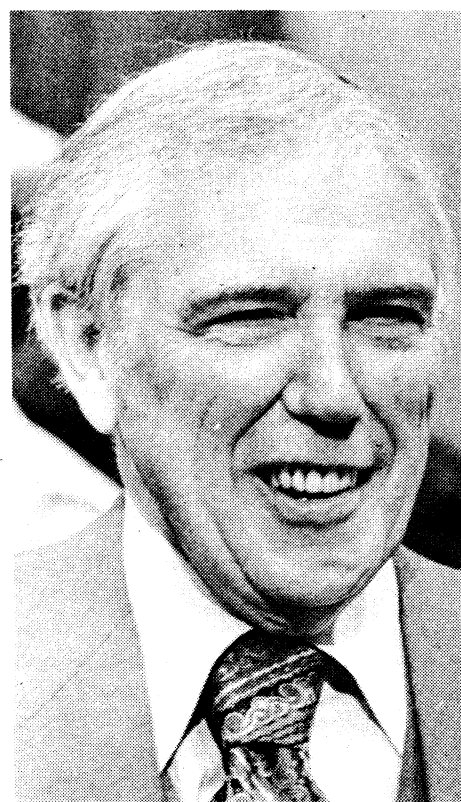
Our tax laws are a scandal, yet corporate America wants even wider inequities. If people truly understood, they would choose not Proposition 13's, but rather an overhaul of the tax system to make business and the rich pay their fair share. The wealthy seek not to close loopholes, but to widen them by advocating the capital gains tax rollback that will bring them a huge bonanza.

Even the very foundations of America's democratic process are threatened by the new approach of the business elite. No democratic country in the world has lower rates of voter participation than the U.S., except Botswana. Moreover, our voting participation is class-skewed—about 50 percent more of the affluent vote than workers and 90 percent to 300 percent more of the rich vote than the poor, the black, the young and the hispanic. Yet business groups regularly finance politicians, referenda and legislative battles to continue barriers to citizen participation.

'Both [Democratic and Republican parties] are weak and ineffective as parties, with no visible, clear-cut ideological differences between them, because of business domination.'

tion in elections. In Ohio, for example, many corporations in the Fortune 500 furnished the money to repeal fair and democratic voter registration.

Even if all the barriers to such participation were removed, there would be no rush to the polls by so many in our society who feel the sense of helplessness and inability to affect



Militant/Henry Snipper

DOUGLAS FRASER

the system in any way. The Republican Party remains controlled by and the Democratic Party heavily influenced by business interests. The reality is that both are weak and ineffective as parties, with no visible, clear-cut ideological differences between them,

'We in the UAW intend to reforge the links with those who believe in struggle: the kind of people who sat down in the factories in the 1930's and who marched in Selma in the 1960's.'

because of business domination. Corporate America has more to lose by the turn-off of citizens from the system than organized labor. But it is always the latter that fights to encourage participation and the former that works to stifle it.

For all these reasons, I have concluded there is no point to continue sitting down at Labor-Management Group meetings and philosophizing about the future of the country and the world when we on the labor side have so little in common with those across the table. I cannot sit there seeking unity with the leaders of American industry, while they try to destroy us and ruin the lives of the people I represent.

I would rather sit with the rural poor, the desperate children of urban blight, the victims of racism, and working people seeking a better life than with those whose religion is the status quo, whose goal is profit and whose hearts are cold. We in the UAW intend to reforge the links with those who believe in struggle: the kind of people who sat down in the factories in the 1930's and who marched in Selma in the 1960's.

I cannot assure you that we will be successful in making new alliances and forming new coalitions to help our nation find its way. But I can assure you that we will try.

'The leaders of industry, commerce and finance . . . have broken and discarded the fragile, unwritten compact previously existing during a past period of growth and progress.'

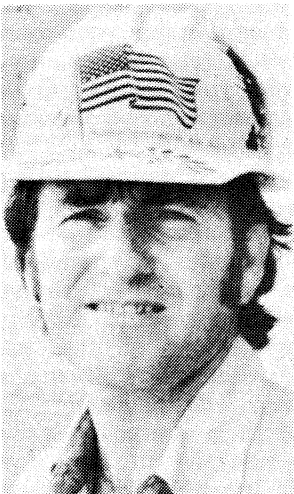
a general loyalty to an allegedly benign capitalism that emphasized private property, independence and self-regulation along with an allegiance to free, democratic politics.

That system has worked best, of course, for the "haves" in our society rather than the "have-nots." Yet it survived in part because of an unspoken foundation: that when things got bad enough for a segment of society, the business elite "gave" a little bit—enabling government or interest groups to better conditions somewhat for that segment. That give usually came only after sustained struggle, such as that waged by the labor movement in the 1930's and the civil rights movement in the 1960's.

The acceptance of the labor move-

Steel notes...

WEBER CASE: A 'BAKKE' IN STEEL: The Steelworkers union is appealing last year's decision by the Fifth U.S. Circuit Court in the *Weber* case. Brian Weber, a white employee of Kaiser Aluminum in Gramercy, Louisiana, sued to overturn a training program for skilled jobs because it made special provision for Black workers. The program was established in the USWA's 1974 contract with Kaiser. Before the affirmative-action plan, Blacks held only 2.2 percent of skilled jobs and 14.8 percent of total jobs at the Gramercy plant—while the population in the area is 40 percent Black. Kaiser's restrictive requirements and its lack of training programs had barred not only Blacks and women but also most white males from skilled jobs. Winning the plan in the union contract thus benefited all workers. Weber, however, claimed he was a victim of "reverse discrimination" because the program set one-on-one parity for Blacks and whites. Both a federal district court and the circuit court ruled in Weber's favor—overturning the program. If upheld, this ruling is not only a blow to Kaiser workers. It would virtually outlaw *any* negotiation of affirmative action in union contracts, because the court said quotas are legal only when imposed by a court!



WEBER: Attacks union

NATIONAL APPEAL FOR RIGHT TO RATIFY: Four presidents of major basic steel locals have issued a nationwide appeal to United Steelworkers locals to join a campaign for membership ratification of contracts. Their letter, together with a sample resolution and petition, was recently mailed to hundreds of locals across the country.

The four signers of the appeal are Bill Andrews, president of Local 1010 in East Chicago, Indiana; Floyd Watson, president of Local 1066 in Gary, Indiana; Paul Kaczocha, president of Local 6787 in Burns Harbor, Indiana; and Joe Samargia, president of Local 1938 in Virginia, Minnesota.

They write that "in the past several months we have seen—from the Iron Ore miners to Hussmann and Pullman workers—an insistence by employers on Take Away Contracts. Only the right of the Coal Miners to ratify their contract saved the United Mine Workers union from the onslaught attempted by the Coal and Steel magnates.

"We can take an important step toward strengthening our union's hand in upcoming contract negotiations," the local presidents say, "if this Convention [in September] would add an Amendment to our Constitution guaranteeing the right of every member to vote on the contract he will work under."

WHAT YOU CAN DO: The letter urges locals to take three actions to help win the right to ratify. First, pass a resolution and forward it to the convention. Second, "join with many local Presidents and members gathering Steelworkers' signatures" on petitions. And third, "contact other local unions in your district and encourage them to become involved."

Completed petitions, the letter says, should be returned to Mike Mezo, 657 Cheyenne, Lowell, Indiana 46356. (Mezo is a grievor in Local 1010, designated by the local to coordinate the right-to-ratify campaign.)

TEXT OF RESOLUTION: The sample resolution proposed by the four local presidents reads as follows:

WHEREAS Membership ratification of contracts and agreements under which they must work is a self-evident right, necessary for a democratic union, and

WHEREAS That right to ratify all contracts and agreements is essential in achieving the unity of purpose which is the strength of our union, and

WHEREAS Some sections of our membership *do* vote on their agreements, others *do not*, and as long as the right to ratify is not part of our constitution and applies to all it is not guaranteed for any of our members,

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED That Local #_____ U.S.W.A. calls on the 19th Constitutional Convention to amend Article XVII to include membership ratification of all collective bargaining agreements.

HARASSMENT BY McBRIDE: A membership meeting of Local 1010 had earlier voted to prepare such a mailing and request that the international union send it out to every local. This move was blocked by USWA President Lloyd McBride, who has sent two "inspectors" to Local 1010 and—in effect—prohibited it from using its members dues money to communicate with other locals.

The letter sent out by the four local presidents notes that "the labor and expenses behind this effort have been donated by rank-and-file steelworkers and local union officers of District 31." Unfortunately, McBride's dictatorial action drastically reduced the size of the mailing. This underlines the importance of local union activists around the country taking the initiative to introduce resolutions and begin petitioning in their areas.

DISTRICT 23 JOINS THE FIGHT: Meanwhile, despite McBride's petty harassment, steelworkers in yet another district have taken a stand for the right to ratify. Delegates to the conference last month of District 23, centered in Steubenville, Ohio, adopted a resolution for membership ratification. Although District 23 Director Paul Rusen opposed the measure, it was passed by about a three-to-two margin. —Andy Rose

Brown & Jarvis team up against rent control

By Joanie Quinn

LOS ANGELES—Hundreds of people packed the Fairfax Senior Citizen's Center here July 16. They were protesting devastating rent increases that have begun to hit the 57 percent of Los Angeles residents who rent their homes and apartments.

Mrs. Jack Polotnik spoke tearfully of being told that her rent would climb from \$135 to \$285 in a month. She said she was threatened with eviction if she even complained about the increase.

Charolette Bohanen's rent jumped from \$90 a month to \$200 after the Proposition 13 tax initiative was approved. "I believed that the landlord's savings would be passed along to renters," she sighed.

Summing up the feelings of many, Gary Barnes, minister of the Valley Christian church in Arleta, told a city council committee hearing a few days earlier that landlords "ought to be called rent gangsters instead of rent gougers."

Landlords provoked this fury when many of them announced rent *increases* immediately following passage of Prop 13.

This flew in the face of promises made by Prop 13 backers prior to the June 6 election. They claimed the measure would result in rent *reductions*—as well as property tax relief for homeowners.

Now it's clear that Prop 13—which is a \$1.2 billion windfall for *owners* of rental property in the state—won't do a thing for tenants.

Anger about this is running so high that some politicians are beginning to threaten rent-control legislation in an effort to pull in the reigns on surging voter discontent.

In Los Angeles, for example, Mayor Thomas Bradley has endorsed a proposal for a six-month rent freeze that is now before the city council. This proposal would continue to leave tenants here at the mercy of landlords, however. It isn't strong enough to overcome the rent-spiraling impact of this city's extremely high occupancy rate.

Nonetheless, as such discontent spreads, a curious duo of traveling firemen has emerged that is seeking to put out the flames.

Gov. Jerry Brown and Prop 13 initiator Howard Jarvis are whistle-stopping up and down the state arguing against the imposition of any form of rent controls or rollbacks.

Brown and Jarvis claim that voluntary "jawboning" of landlords is the best way to stop increases. Any mandatory controls, they threaten, will result only in reduced investment in housing and even worse rent increases resulting from the consequent shortages.

These snake-oil peddlers really have their nerve. Jarvis is the *head* of the Los Angeles Apartment Owners Association. His "jawboning" proposal is asking us to let the fox guard the chicken coop.

Brown's support for this approach is even more revealing. Originally an opponent of Prop 13, the Democratic governor is now swinging with a vengeance the antilabor sword forged by right-wing demagogues like Jarvis.

Brown has even won Jarvis's grudging admiration. When asked at a news conference how he thought Brown was doing in implementing Prop 13, Jarvis said he thought "the governor has done a very fine job up to now."

Begging for crumbs

LOS ANGELES—Tom Hayden, the former SDS leader-turned-Democratic Party politician, announced July 10 that his Campaign for Economic Democracy is asking corporations to invest their multi-billion-dollar Prop 13 tax windfall in "areas of real and permanent need such as child care, senior citizen services, or a non-profit state development corporation."

Hayden is also asking Democratic Gov. Jerry Brown to help make this project a success.

Hayden's scheme may look good on the surface. Wealthy corporations should not be allowed to rake in superprofits while leading a charge against the standard of living of working people.

But it will take a lot more than a campaign for crumbs—even with cooperation from Jerry Brown—to turn the situation around.

Some of the corporations Hayden is appealing to, for example, are now busy gouging senior citizens for rent increases.

Does Hayden believe these ruthless landlords will voluntarily invest their profits to provide "senior citizen services"?

This shows the limits of Hayden's brand of "respectable" radicalism. Hayden hopes to win concessions from the bosses by maneuvering within the Democratic Party. As the *Los Angeles Times* observed July 11, Hayden's proposals "may be more important for the pressure they put on Brown—facing a serious re-election challenge—than on business."

But the only way—even in the short run—to pressure Brown and the capitalists he serves to make real concessions is by building a fighting movement of working people that is independent of the Democrats and Republicans.

That's why Fred Halstead is running for governor on the Socialist Workers Party ticket. Building a mass socialist movement, not begging corporations—that's the way to fight back against Prop 13 cutbacks.

—J.Q.



On the same side: Gov. Jerry Brown (left) and Howard Jarvis announce joint opposition to rent controls at Los Angeles news conference.

By Andy Rose

Up until a few decades ago, employers and politicians openly asserted—and many white workers accepted—that Blacks are *inferior*. Less intelligent. Suitable only for menial, low-paid labor. No point in trying to educate them. Barely human.

Indeed, until a few decades ago, this disgusting racist ideology was *enshrined in law*—in the Jim Crow system of legalized segregation.

The rise of the Black liberation struggle in the United States in the 1950s and 1960s—together with the colonial revolution of nonwhite peoples around the world—overturned Jim Crow and dealt heavy blows to the old racism.

So, the drive today to halt and roll back civil rights gains must *mask* its racism. This is the purpose of the new racist ideology of “reverse discrimination.” According to this ideology, the elimination of Jim Crow and the passage of civil rights laws in the 1960s effectively ended discrimination against Blacks, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, and Native Americans. Now all have equal opportunity. *Therefore*, affirmative-action quotas, busing, or any other measures to end white/Black or male/female disparities really “discriminate” against white males.

The U.S. Supreme Court’s *Bakke* decision put the authority of the highest court of the land behind the “reverse discrimination” argument. It ruled that the special-admissions program at the University of California Davis Medical School illegally “discriminated” against Allan Bakke.

Trouble with facts

As an earlier article in this series documented (July 28 *Militant*), the notion of “reverse discrimination” flies in the face of reality. All the facts show that Blacks—from cradle to grave—continue to be worse off than whites in employment, education, health care, housing, and income.

The “merit system” is the answer the new racism offers to these facts. Even if there are only a handful of Blacks in medical school, the argument goes, it is unfair and un-American to reject Allan Bakke while admitting minority students with lower test scores or grade averages.

Defenders of the “merit system” insist, of course, that they are all for more Blacks in the professions, in skilled jobs, and so on. But, they say, Blacks must first prove they are *qualified*. They must succeed or fail without quotas or special consideration of any kind—“just like we did.”

In its most oily and patronizing form, the “merit” argument asserts that affirmative action is really an insult to Blacks, because it implies they can’t make the grade without a handicap or crutch.

Never existed

The “merit” argument against affirmative action is a fraud for one simple reason. There is no such thing as the “merit system” and there never has been.

In college admissions, preference is commonly given on the basis of such nonacademic factors as money, influence, political connections, geography, athletic ability, and many others. The president of Dartmouth explains: “If someone is the child of an alumnus, or an outstanding athlete or musician, that application gets a flag.” He says that “one year, our basketball team had become practically nonexistent. So that year we looked for basketball players.”

At Harvard, 20 percent of all applicants are admitted—and 40 percent of alumni children. Until very recently women were routinely required to have *higher* test scores than men to be admitted to college. The “merit system” was openly flouted to keep down the number of women in college.

Medical school admissions—spotlighted by the *Bakke* case—bear especially little relation to “merit.” The major qualification to get into medical school is *money*. In 1976 it was estimated that a medical student would have to spend more than \$50,000 to finance four years of school. Combined with the paltry level of financial aid available, this locks out untold thousands of *qualified* Black students every year.

But that’s just the cost to get *through* medical school. To get admitted in the first place, payoffs are a golden “qualification.” Between 1970 and 1973, the Chicago Medical School collected nearly \$11 million in contributions from 270 of the 349 entering freshmen.

Columnist Jack Anderson reported July 6 on “evidence of payoffs and political influence in more than a dozen medical schools, including the University of California, Davis campus, where Bakke was rejected. Officials at Davis have conceded they admitted students because their parents were political bigwigs, prominent doctors or influential attorneys.”

Anderson said several Davis officials admitted

‘REVERSE DISCRIMINATION’?

The fraud of the ‘merit system’



Militant/Wayne Glover

that “Bakke would have been accepted, with no historic appeal to the Supreme Court, had not at least five other less qualified white applicants been accepted ahead of him because of their family clout” (emphasis added).

Needless to say, neither Allan Bakke nor any of the others who have filed “reverse discrimination” suits against affirmative action have challenged such favoritism and payoffs. That’s because their suits are not *against* discrimination at all. They are *for* discrimination—the discriminatory status quo.

What tests show

“But what about the test scores?” This is the last resort of the “merit” argument. “It is a matter of record that minorities were admitted with lower test scores than Bakke.” That’s true. The question is, what do the tests show?

Tests do a *good* job of showing who is white, especially since Blacks are still largely segregated from grade one onward into inferior schools with less resources, fewer teachers, and poorer facilities. Even the testing service that devised the Medical College Admissions Test (MCAT) has admitted that portions of the test are biased against minorities and women.

Tests do a *bad* job of showing who will succeed in medical school or become a competent physician. A study by the Association of American Medical Colleges found that Blacks who successfully completed the first two years of medical school had lower MCAT scores than whites who flunked out.

The record of the “merit system” in employment is no less clear. For more than 250 years Black wage-workers were excluded altogether from skilled, better-paid jobs: “Merit” had nothing to do with it. At the beginning of World War II the president of North American Aviation bluntly stated: “While we are in complete sympathy for the Negro, it is against company policy to employ them as aircraft workers or mechanics . . . regardless of their training. . . . There will be some jobs as janitors for Negroes” (emphasis added).

Nor is such job segregation a thing of the past. In 1973 the federal government issued an order citing flagrant discrimination by Bethlehem Steel at its Sparrows Point mill. It found that Blacks were placed in inferior, dirty, low-paying jobs, while whites were assigned to more desirable, higher-paying departments.

The Construction Labor department at Sparrows Point was 100 percent Black; Cinder and Refuse

Disposal, 99 percent Black; Blast Furnace, 81 percent; and Coke Ovens, 75 percent. On the other hand, the Pipe Fitting department was 100 percent white; Lubrication, 100 percent white; Pattern Shop, 100 percent; Sheet Metal, 98 percent; and so on.

The company refused to accept applications from Blacks for promotion to more skilled departments. As a consequence of this segregation, the average job class or pay rate for Blacks was 5.7, compared to 9.6 for whites.

It is both easy and commonplace for employers to use “tests” for employment or promotion that put a premium on a white educational background, but have little or nothing to do with aptitude for the job. It is even easier to base promotions on “evaluations” by racially prejudiced foremen or supervisors.

Respectable racism

The propaganda offensive counterposing “merit” to affirmative action serves an insidious purpose. The message is: Blacks have been given equal rights and a chance to get ahead, so if they don’t make it it’s their own fault. They must be . . . inferior. Discredited racist ideology thus makes a respectable comeback. Its image is not the Ku Klux Klan robe but the academic gown.

This is no exaggeration. A column by George Will in the July 10 *Newsweek* magazine ended on this note:

“The premise behind reverse discrimination is this: an unfair start can be inferred from an unequal outcome. The traditional American premise is this: the equal status of citizenship is the basis on which a structure of inequality *should* be built by a population in which talents are neither equally distributed nor equally rewarded. Reverse discrimination is a betrayal, not a fulfillment, of American values” (emphasis in original).

So inequality is natural.

This is the ultimate defense not only of racist discrimination but of the entire capitalist status quo. The rich are rich because they are smart and superior; the workers are poor because they are dumb and inferior. And the divisions among workers—so useful to keeping the rich on top—are the result not of discrimination but of “unequal talents.”

It is in the interest of all working people—white as well as Black, men as well as women—to expose this “merit system” for the lying, racist, anti-working-class fraud that it is.

European CPs urge negotiations

Eritrean liberation struggle gains support

By Ernest Harsch

At a time when the Ethiopian junta is continuing its threats to escalate the war against Eritrea, an increasing number of voices on the left are being raised on behalf of the Eritrean freedom fighters and in support of a policy of negotiation. These appeals come in the context of a deep revolutionary ferment among the Ethiopian peoples, a massive struggle by the Eritreans for their self-determination, and attempts by imperialism to crush or derail both upsurges.

The Italian Communist Party, which has supported the Ethiopian regime since early 1977, declared its backing to the Eritrean struggle in a front-page article in the May 18 issue of *l'Unita*, its daily paper. Signed by Romano Ledda, a member of the International Affairs Commission of the party's Central Committee, the article affirmed that "the liberation struggle of the Eritrean people is a just struggle."

Ledda stressed that the progressive character of the Eritrean struggle was not altered by the overthrow of Emperor Haile Selassie in 1974 and the abolition of Ethiopian feudalism: "Whether Haile Selassie or young officers of progressive inspiration are in the government in Addis Ababa changes nothing of the legitimacy of the Eritrean cause."

'Eritrea is not the Ogaden'

In addition, Ledda drew a distinction between the fight for self-determination in Eritrea and the recent war in the Ogaden, in which regular Somali troops, with the encouragement of imperialism, invaded Ethiopia in order to weaken the Ethiopian revolution. "Eritrea is not the Ogaden," Ledda declared, "and the questions posed by the Eritrean independence movement cannot be confused with the Somali military intervention."

Ledda concluded by calling for a "political solution," rather than a military one, based on "self-government for the Eritreans." This, he said, could then serve as a basis for negotiations between the Eritreans and Ethiopians to find "more flexible and realistic governmental solutions than the ties that have been maintained for the past twenty years."

About the same time as the *l'Unita* article, a number of members of the Italian CP and other leftist figures in Italy issued an appeal to the Cuban government, which had sent troops to Ethiopia to fight against the Somali invasion, not to "line up your children against the Eritrean peoples and patriots." They added that the situation differed greatly "from your intervention in support of the Angolan people. . . ."

According to a report by Dan Connell in the May 31 issue of the New York weekly *Guardian*, both the French and Belgian Communist parties have also called for an end to the fighting in Eritrea and for a political solution that recognizes Eritrean self-determination. Many other groups to the left of the Communist parties have long supported the Eritrean independence struggle as well.

Cubans call for negotiations

The Cuban government, which previously gave assistance to the Eritrean freedom fighters, differs with the Ethiopian junta's military campaign against the Eritreans and has thus far resisted Mengistu Haile Mariam's efforts to draw the Cuban forces into the war.

In one of the first major Cuban statements on Eritrea, Cuban Vice-President Carlos Rafael Rodriguez declared, "We helped the Eritreans in their fight for self-determination from the time of Haile Selassie onward. We feel there has to be some political solution to the Eritrean problem and that there have to be talks between the Eritreans and the central government."

In an interview in the June 9 issue of *Paris Match*, Fidel Castro explained the Cuban position toward the conflict in Eritrea. He charged that since Selassie's overthrow the Eritrean leadership has been transformed into "an instrument for the reaction and imperialism to liquidate, or help to liquidate, the Ethiopian revolution." But at the same time he stressed that "it is necessary to take into account first of all the principle of the right of peoples to self-determination; it is necessary to take that into account. It is necessary to take into account the fact that there are progressive forces among the Eritreans, and consequently, we believe that it is best to struggle for a correct solution to this problem, and that is, of course, on the basis of self-determination."

Several other political forces have likewise urged



Rebel women in Eritrea

the Ethiopian junta to negotiate with the Eritreans, including the regimes in South Yemen and Madagascar. According to a report in the July issue of the London monthly *New African*, Nayef Hawatmah, the secretary general of the Palestine Liberation Organization, has lobbied for a negotiated settlement and George Habash, the leader of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, discussed the matter with Castro during a visit to Havana. The Eritrean and Palestinian liberation organizations have had fraternal relations for a number of years.

So far, however, Mengistu has refused to heed the international pressure and has continued to stress military actions against the Eritreans. While the Ethiopian junta, known as the Dergue, gives lip service to the right of Ethiopia's oppressed nationalities to self-determination, in practice it has opposed every concrete struggle on their part to exercise that right.

The Dergue's course toward the oppressed nationalities, combined with its repression against working-class activists and revolutionists throughout the country, endangers the substantial gains of the Ethiopian revolution itself and gives imperialism greater openings to intervene and try to halt the revolutionary process.

On June 19, the Dergue announced once more that it would soon launch a military offensive against the Eritreans. A representative of the junta claimed that the only "solution" to the Eritrean conflict was a military one. A week later, Cuban Foreign Minister Isodoro Malmierca reaffirmed Havana's position during a June 26 news conference in Algiers. He advocated a "political solution," adding that it "must be found within the framework of recognition of the rights of peoples within a united Ethiopia."

The Eritrean liberation fighters have taken cognizance of the Cuban stance. Although they initially denounced Cuban involvement in Ethiopia, perhaps assuming that the Cubans would join the Ethiopian war against Eritrea, they have since toned down their criticisms.

Moscow's role

At a June 21 news conference in Paris, Nafi Kurdi, a member of the Eritrean People's Liberation Front who was speaking on behalf of both the EPLF and the Eritrean Liberation Front (ELF), stated, "Today, we deplore the Cuban involvement on the side of the Dergue, but if there are still some Cuban elements in Eritrea, they have stopped all participation in the fighting since last February."

According to a report in the June 7 *Le Monde* by K. Nezan, a journalist who spent several weeks in the areas of Eritrea controlled by the ELF and EPLF, the Eritreans privately blame Moscow for the cutoff in aid to the Eritreans from certain countries. Nezan said that "the Eritreans are convinced that it was the Soviet Union that twisted the

arms of South Yemen and Cuba, two countries that are very dependent on it economically. They also affirm that Moscow pressured Libya and Iraq in order to get them to end their assistance to the Eritrean movements."

At a joint news conference in Beirut June 29, the top leaders of the ELF and EPLF called for a negotiated end to the long war in Eritrea, stating, "The continuation of the fighting is not in the interest of either the Ethiopian or Eritrean people."

The call for negotiations was denounced by Osman Saleh Sabbe, the openly proimperialist leader of the small Eritrean Liberation Front-People's Liberation Forces. He charged the ELF and EPLF with selling out the Eritrean struggle in the interest of Moscow.

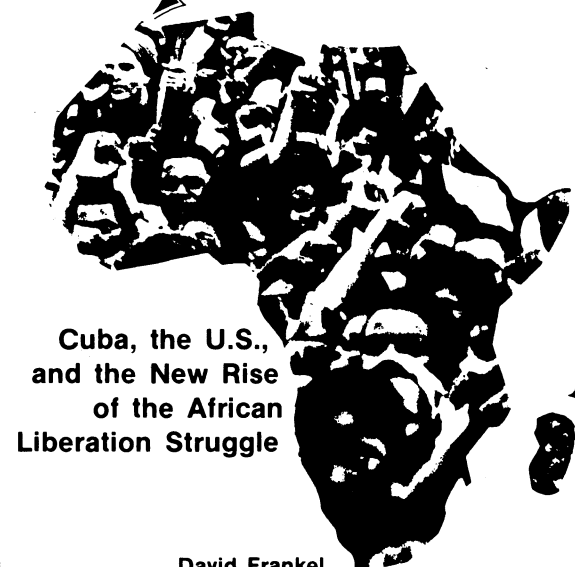
On the other hand, the British Communist Party, in an editorial in the June 30 issue of its daily *Morning Star*, urged the Ethiopian regime to respond positively to the offer of negotiations. "National feeling in Eritrea is such that attempts at a military solution offer no hope for the future," it concluded.

Thus far, Mengistu has not openly responded to the negotiation offer, and his war against the Eritrean people grinds on.

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U. of Md. witch-hunts Marxist professor

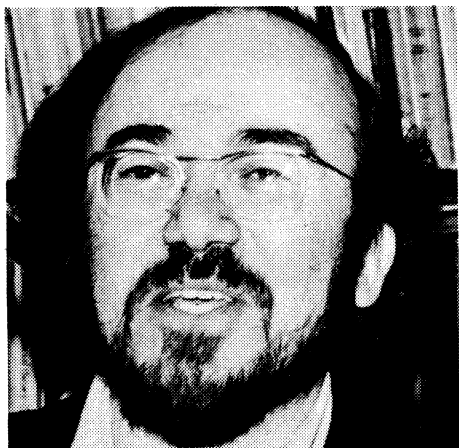
By Steve Clark

Like a modern-day Rip Van Winkle, President John Toll of the University of Maryland has evidently slept through a quarter-century of history since the notorious McCarthyite witch-hunt.

On July 20 Toll struck a blow against academic freedom, rejecting the recommendation of a faculty committee and the school's provost and chancellor to appoint Bertell Ollman to head the department of government and politics. Ollman is a socialist and author of *Alienation: Marx's Conception of Man in Capitalist Society*.

"It's quite clear that the rejection was on political grounds," Ollman told the *Militant*. "My intention is to sue for the job and for damages, and I believe that I have an excellent chance of winning."

Toll insists that "appointment deci-



BERTELL OLLMAN

sions at the University of Maryland are not and shall not be based on political beliefs but shall be based on the qualifications of the candidate. . . ."

But, as a *New York Times* editorial put it July 28, "the facts of the case appear to tell a different story."

Toll has refused to specify why Ollman falls short of university qualifications. Ollman was selected over 100 other candidates. He graduated Phi Beta Kappa from the University of Wisconsin, received his doctorate at Oxford, has published widely, and currently teaches at New York University.

Jordan Kurland of the American Association of University Professors told the *Militant* that the group has tried unsuccessfully for more than a week to get Toll to release his reasons for rejecting Ollman. If the AAUP determines that a violation of academic freedom is involved, it could censure the university.

Kurland also told the *Militant* that the AAUP Academic Freedom Fund has voted to support Ollman's legal suit and contribute money to it.

The challenge to Ollman's appointment originally came from Acting Gov. Blair Lee III, who is up for election this fall. "We are dealing with a state-supported university and there is, I think, a question of whether it's wise to make such an appointment," the vote-seeker said. "It may kick up quite a backlash of sorts among citizens, legislators, everybody else."

University regent Samuel Hoover (J. Edgar Hoover's brother) was more to the point: "I just don't think a Marxist should be at a state institution in a position of that caliber. . . . We have too many of those kind of people from up in New York down here now."

Ollman said that students and faculty members at the University of Maryland are now organizing to protest the thought-control policies of university administrators and state officials.

CP hails antiwoman hack

Is opposing Democrats 'sectarian'?

By Diane Wang

Is it "sectarian" to oppose a Democratic Party politician who leads the attack on abortion rights, votes for multi-million-dollar weapons programs, and is antigay?

The Communist Party says, yes.

The July 26 issue of the *Daily World*, the CP's newspaper, carries an article about the Socialist Workers Party headlined, "SWP's sectarianism: a hindrance to progress." It replies to an article in the May 26 *Militant* that criticized the CP for supporting Rep. Edward Beard of Rhode Island.

Not only did the CP endorse this Democrat. It hailed him as "a worker in Congress" who "sets the example for others." The *Militant* pointed out that, among other things, Beard had sponsored the anti-abortion amendment tacked onto pregnancy disability legislation.

It might be difficult for the *Daily World* to convince a woman who has been denied an abortion because of Beard's amendment that she is "sectarian" for not cheering his "example."

And women who are fighting for the Equal Rights Amendment are not going to appreciate Beard's opposition to the seven-year extension of the deadline for ERA ratification.

The message is clear: women's rights don't count for much to the CP.

While snuggling up to this antiwoman Democrat, the *Daily World* warns: "To fence oneself off from all those who do not fully agree with you is suicidal." What, then, are we to think of the CP's virtual absence from the July 9 National March for the ERA, the largest women's rights demonstration ever?

A class line

The *Daily World* says that Beard deserves support since he allegedly voted correctly 80 percent of the time last year. At what percentage would the CP advise working people to stop supporting a Democrat? 66 percent? 51 percent? 33 percent?

That kind of balancing act tramples on the most fundamental principles of the Marxist movement:

- That society is fundamentally divided between two contending classes, the working class and the employers.
- That political parties are not a classless hodgepodge where reactionary and progressive ideas compete. They are political expressions of these two classes.

• That to achieve its emancipation and solve the urgent problems of all the oppressed, the working class needs its own political organization, independent from the parties of big business.

Can anyone doubt the class nature of the Democratic and Republican parties today? Just look at the onslaught being waged by both against the unions, Black rights, and women today.

To explain its flight from class politics, the *Daily World* resorts to deliberate confusion.

For example, the *Daily World* says, "Naturally Communists do not agree with Beard on every issue. What is important though is to find those points where all Left and center forces can unite to advance the movements for peace, justice and equality. . . . Support for reforms need not be reformism."

So far, so good. The SWP has always sought opportunities to join in united front action with reformist union officials, with the CP, with Democratic Party politicians, with anyone willing to fight for specific demands—to end the war in Vietnam, for Black civil rights, for abortion, the ERA, and other reforms. Our purpose is to make possible the largest mobilization of support to win these demands.

But joining forces to win such goals



Rep. Edward Beard—CP's model congressman—wasn't satisfied with Hyde amendment, which denied abortions to poor women. He introduced his own bill to deny pregnancy disability benefits to working women who have abortions.

is completely different from giving political support to the Democratic Party. To the contrary, the working class at all times maintains its independent stance. Karl Marx put it this way in 1850:

"In the event of a struggle against a common foe there is no need of any special fusion. As soon as such a foe is to be directly fought, the interests of both parties coincide for the moment, and as in the past so in the future this union, intended for the moment only, will form of its own accord."

What Lenin urged

The *Daily World* even tries to draw about it the mantle of Lenin. It quotes Lenin urging Bolsheviks to "learn how to work legally in the most reactionary parliaments, in the most reactionary trade unions, cooperative societies, insurance societies and similar organizations."

But Lenin was not arguing for support to a capitalist party. He was arguing against boycott of elections and urging communists to participate in mass *working-class* organizations and parties—even when those organizations have rotten leaderships. In that particular case, he was talking about the British Labour Party.

But as far back as 1912 Lenin blasted those in the British labor movement who wanted workers to vote for candidates of a *capitalist* party, the Liberal Party, as a "lesser evil."

Lenin praised those who put "the question clearly: vote 'steadfastly', ignore the threat that the Liberal government may fall, do not vote as the interests of the Liberal Party require it, but on the merits of the questions, i.e., in Marxist language—pursue an independent proletarian class policy and not a liberal labour policy."

That same year Lenin made clear his position on the U.S. Democratic and Republican parties:

"This so-called bipartisan system prevailing in America and Britain has been one of the most powerful means of preventing the rise of an independent working-class, i.e., genuinely socialist, party."

Working-class organization?

No matter how many workers vote for it, the Democratic Party is not a working-class organization. It is the *political expression of the ruling class*—controlled by them from top to bottom.

The only time the Democratic Party gives any reforms is when working people have organized independently to force concessions from it.

The CP itself described the class character of the Democratic Party quite well in its 1976 campaign literature. "You wouldn't elect your boss as your shop steward," the CP said then. "Why elect his stooge to public office?"

The *Daily World* says that while both the Democrats and Republicans support capitalism, "some of their members, especially working-class members, can and will be won to anti-capitalist positions and socialism."

Once again the CP is mixing together two *opposite* propositions. It is one thing to win workers who now support the Democratic Party to socialism. It is quite another to endorse the Democratic Party candidates who pose as "progressives" to lure workers into staying in the bosses' parties.

Yes, the masses of working people who today vote for Democrats will be won to socialism—*away* from the Democratic Party. The *Daily World* asks, "How can a third political party be created without the workers and progressive forces now in existing parties?"

But the question should be posed to the CP: How can a labor party be created if the workers now in existing parties are conned into staying there?

The *Daily World* is appalled that the SWP criticizes Beard just "because he is a member of the Democratic Party. Such thinking hurts the peace movement; it encourages passivity; it splits and weakens progressive movements."

The CP should heed Marx, who while urging the working class to put its own interests first, wrote that workers "must not let themselves be taken in by the phrases of the democrats—as for example that this will split the democratic party and give the reaction a chance to win. All these phrases come to nothing in the last analysis but a swindle upon the proletariat."

The CP is complicit in that swindle. It prettifies the capitalist Democratic Party, makes excuses for its double-talking vote-catchers, and advises working people to accept betrayals of their interests.

The SWP, on the other hand, agrees with Marx that working people "themselves must do the most for their own ultimate victory, by enlightening themselves about their class interests, by adopting as quickly as possible an independent party position and by refusing for a single instant to be diverted by the hypocritical phrases of the democratic petty bourgeoisie from the independent organization of the party of the proletariat."

Hugo Blanco's triumphant return



Exiled Trotskyist leader Hugo Blanco returned to Peru July 16—two days before he was sworn in to the new Constituent Assembly. Blanco is a member of the PST (Socialist Workers Party, sister organization in Peru of the SWP in the United States). He was elected as a candidate of the FOCEP (Workers, Peasants, Students, and Poor People's Front). Some 2,500 people were at the airport to welcome Blanco and to show support for his class-struggle policies. So was 'Militant' and 'Intercontinental Press/Inprecor' correspondent Fred Murphy, who recorded Blanco's dramatic arrival in these photographs.

Workers deputies take the offensive as

By Fred Murphy

LIMA, Peru—Workers deputies in Peru's newly elected Constituent Assembly took the offensive at the assembly's opening session July 28. Hugo Blanco, Víctor Cuadros, and other deputies introduced a motion calling for an immediate end to the country's military government and for the assembly to "assume all the legislative and executive powers of the nation. . . ."

Debate on the motion was postponed until the next session of the assembly. However, the question has been posed: Will the assembly act as a servile tool of the military regime, or will it act as the representative of the Peruvian people?

The proposal of the workers deputies is that the Constituent Assembly use its authority "to implement an emergency plan that would include: full democratic liberties; reinstatement of the fired workers [5,000 union militants fired after a general strike in July 1977]; and urgent measures to solve the economic crisis, which would have as their axis the nonpayment of the foreign debt, a general increase in wages and salaries, and free land for the peasants."

This is not what the government of Gen. Francisco Morales Bermúdez had

in mind when it scheduled elections for the Constituent Assembly. But Bermúdez Morales has been caught between the extortionate demands of imperialism and the deepgoing radicalization of the Peruvian masses.

Peru has a foreign debt of more than \$4 billion, most of which is owed to U.S. banks. Through the International Monetary Fund, Peru's imperialist creditors are demanding that the Peruvian workers and peasants be squeezed in order to repay the loans.

Starvation measures introduced by the Morales Bermúdez government thus far have sent the unemployment rate in Peru to almost 50 percent. Fully one-third of the labor force is without monetary income. Malnutrition and infant mortality rates are climbing rapidly, while government food subsidies for poor families have been eliminated.

Meanwhile, during the first five months of this year, more than 44 percent of the government's expenditures went to service the foreign debt. The bulk of the rest was spent on the armed forces and the police.

Nevertheless, the imperialists are not satisfied. The IMF has refused to OK further loans until the government tightens the screws on the Peruvian masses still further.

However, the heavy blows suffered by the masses have touched off a deep radicalization. When the regime announced its most recent package of austerity measures in mid-May, the country exploded in a two-day general strike.

Repressive measures alone have proven totally incapable of halting the mass upsurge. Instead, the regime has been forced to retreat in a number of cases. On July 19, it decreed a general amnesty for political and trade-union prisoners, and now it has been forced

Teachers win after

LIMA, Peru—More than 10,000 teachers marched through the streets here July 27, celebrating their victory in a hard-fought strike for higher wages, better working conditions, and recognition of their national union, the SUTEP [Sindicato Unico de Trabajadores de la Educación del Perú].

The strike had lasted more than eighty days and had become a key test of strength between the military regime and the workers movement. It involved 140,000 public-school teachers throughout the country.

The government was forced to grant full recognition to the SUTEP and a wage hike of 2,000 soles (U.S. \$32) a month, which is to be followed by further increases in January. All punitive demotions and transfers against striking unionists were rescinded, and charges were dropped against a

number of teachers who had been jailed. Classes are to resume July 31.

Before reopening negotiations with the SUTEP on July 20 (previous talks had been broken off abruptly by the regime on June 12), the government tried various ways of breaking the strike. Violence was employed against teachers' rallies, meetings, and headquarters. A slander campaign was mounted in the state-owned daily press. And fictitious "teachers associations"—that is, company unions—were set up by capitalist parties and by the regime itself.

The SUTEP responded with a campaign to build public support. Teachers marched by the hundreds on an almost daily basis in Lima and other cities, showing that the union's ranks were solidly behind the strike.

The results were impressive. Genera

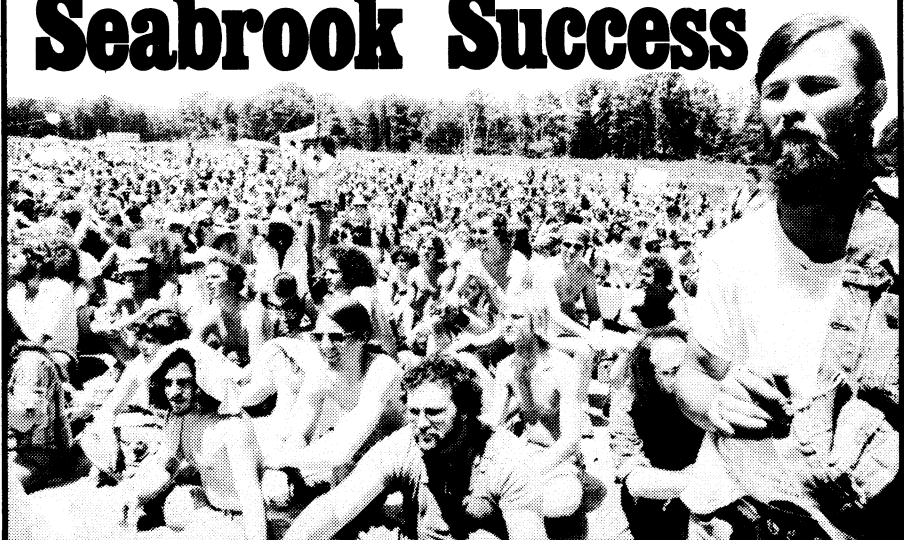
international socialist review

A Revolutionary Legacy

**Writings of Leon
Trotsky 1929-40**



Building on Seabrook Success



'American Socialism and Black Americans'

Reviewed by Bruce Levine

THE MONTH IN REVIEW

Building on Seabrook Success

This month's column is by 'Militant' staff writer Arnold Weissberg.

The anti-nuclear power protest at Seabrook, New Hampshire, June 25 was a tremendous success. The turnout of 20,000 people exceeded even the most optimistic predictions.

The action was an important breakthrough—the largest U.S. protest ever against nuclear power. The size reflected the growing sentiment in this country against the dangers of atomic radiation.

Only five days later the U.S. Nuclear Regulatory Commission indefinitely halted construction of the Seabrook reactor, pending further investigation of the environmental impact of the plant's cooling system. Although the NRC did not permanently halt construction, its decision was clearly a victory for the Seabrook demonstrators.

Since the demonstration, a lively discussion has opened among antinuclear activists about how best to take the movement another step forward.

One important factor in this discussion is assessing the significant show of support from the labor movement for the Seabrook action—an exciting new development. Three speakers from unions—Joe Frantz of United Steelworkers District 31; Jerry Gordon, an international representative of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen; and Ken Hunter, a staff member of the United Mine Workers *Journal*—were cheered by the crowd.

Gordon urged the crowd to "take this movement of thousands and transform it into a movement that embraces millions." How can that be done? By educating the American public—"especially in demonstrations like this," Gordon said.

This new involvement by unionists is a positive sign that the antinuclear movement is making headway in the long, difficult process of winning a majority of the American people over to our side.

The anti-nuclear power movement has a big stake in winning the support and active participation of working people.

Workers, after all, make up the vast bulk of the population. When you talk about winning support from workers, you are talking about winning a majority.

And it is the labor movement that has the social power to make the difference.

For example, look at the recent strike for decent benefits and safe working conditions by the United Mine Workers union. The 160,000 striking miners were able to hold off the union-busting attempts by the coal bosses and the government. How? By standing together and winning support from working people—as well as students and others—throughout the country.

There are promising new possibilities for the antinuclear movement to win support from working people, from Blacks, women, Native Americans, and other victims of capitalist injustice.

United Steelworkers District 31, for example, at its June conference, went on record against construction of the Bailly nuclear power plant on the shores of Lake Michigan.

As Joe Frantz explained in his speech at Seabrook, steelworkers oppose nuclear power because they want "a better quality of life" for themselves and the entire community.

This view of nuclear power—that the unions should champion issues that affect society as a whole—stands in sharp contrast to the traditional, narrow-minded thinking of the labor officialdom.

Working women and men will be receptive to the truth about nuclear power. "It's basi-

cally a health and safety issue," Jerry Gordon of the Meat Cutters union told the *Militant*. "Our members are very sensitive to safety questions."

The antinuclear movement in Europe has won the support of important sections of the organized labor movement. In France, for example, both major trade-union confederations are on record against nuclear power.

In the Basque country in Spain, unions have played a key role in two mammoth antinuclear protests. One demonstration of 200,000 people included a contingent of workers from Westinghouse, which has the contract to build the nuke there.

In Australia, the movement to prevent uranium mining has won support both from unions and the Labor Party. (Our Australian sisters and brothers have also made a special point of linking their movement to the struggle for native land rights. Much of Australia's uranium is on Aborigine land.)

In addition to the organized labor movement, there are many other opportunities for antinuclear activists to link up with important social forces.

The case of Karen Silkwood, for instance, provides a link to the women's liberation movement.

Silkwood was a worker in an Oklahoma plutonium plant and a member of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers union. In 1974 she became concerned about gross safety violations in the plant and decided to publicize them. But on her way to talk to a reporter, she died in a mysterious auto crash. Documents she had with her, proving the charges, disappeared.

The National Organization for Women and other groups have demanded a federal investigation into the Silkwood case. Sara Nelson of the NOW labor task force spoke about Silkwood at Seabrook.

The anti-nuclear power movement needs to gain broad support if we are to win. We must move masses of people *into action*, just as the anti-Vietnam War movement did.

In the wake of Seabrook, the call for nationally coordinated, local antinuclear actions November 11-18—issued by a Southeast regional antinuke conference last spring—takes on special importance. November 13 has been marked by antinuclear activists for several years as "Karen Silkwood Day."

Seabrook showed that unionists, feminists, Black activists, and others can be won to the fight against nuclear power. Now is the time to build on that success.

Nuclear power can be stopped—but only if we convince a majority of the American people that it is unsafe and unnecessary.

For too long now the nuclear industry, capitalist politicians, and conservative union bureaucrats have gotten away with the lie that the labor movement and antinuclear movement are natural enemies.

Today we have our best chance ever of burying that myth once and for all.



Militant/Arnold Weissberg

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International
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The *International Socialist Review* ap-
pears in the *Militant* that is published the
first week of every month.

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'American Socialism and Black Americans'

For revolutionary Marxists today, the struggle for Black liberation plays a central role in the struggle for socialism. Yet this was not always the position of the American socialist movement. Below, Bruce Levine discusses a new book by Philip Foner that addresses itself to the question: How did the early American socialist movement view the Black struggle and how did Blacks view the socialist movement?

By Bruce Levine

"The Negro Problem . . . is the great test of the American socialist." So wrote W.E.B. Du Bois in 1913. The validity of this Black scholar's words has increased with the succeeding decades.

The will and capacity for irreconcilable struggle against the oppression of Blacks—who have been consigned by capitalism to the worst jobs, housing, and schools; discriminated against in every walk of life; lynched by racist mobs and shot down by trigger-happy cops—is and has been a dividing line among forces that claim to be socialist. It has separated those who mean business about ending capitalist exploitation from those who do not.

Marxist View

Capitalism generates and uses racial and national oppression to superexploit sections of working people and to divide the oppressed. Because of the depth and explosiveness of the national oppression suffered by Blacks and other oppressed nationalities, the next revolution in this country must be a combined revolution. It must unite the fight for Black liberation with the struggle for workers' power and socialism.

One cannot be victorious without the other. The *Bakke* decision, authorizing stepped-up attacks on Blacks in education and employment, is the most recent demonstration of U.S. capitalism's inability to tolerate equal rights for Black people.

To break the power of the U.S. capitalists and avoid a fatal division in the workers' ranks, the labor movement needs to make this perspective its own. Among groups that profess socialist views in the United States, however, only the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance stand on this Marxist conception.

On the right, we find Social Democrats USA and kindred union bureaucrats such as Albert Shanker of the United Federation of Teachers. Firmly planted in the Democratic Party, they are completely committed to capitalism. In return for soft jobs, they collaborate with the bosses to help put over the bourgeoisie's attacks against workers in general and the Black community in particular. This current specializes in sophisticated-sounding attacks on affirmative-action hiring programs and other democratic demands raised by oppressed nationalities.

Then there is the Communist Party. The Stalinists denounce Black nationalism as a tool the capitalists use "to divide the people's opposition and to create the conditions for a fascist take-over." By "people's opposition," the CP means a coalition in which labor and the oppressed are subordinated to a section of the capitalist class and its "progressive" politicians.

Ultraleftists and sectarians, on the other hand, employ militant-sounding rhetoric to justify abstaining from the struggles of Black people.

Maoists and Spartacists

One such organization is the Maoist Revolutionary Communist Party, which recently suffered a major split. During the 1974 confrontation over school busing in Boston, this outfit raised the slogan, "Stop Forced Busing!"—the same slogan used by the racist forces.

Bruce Levine is a member of the Socialist Workers Party National Committee and the editorial board of the International Socialist Review.

The RCP opposed fighting school segregation, asserting that such a fight served only to "divide the working class along racial lines, to make us fight among ourselves, to give rise to racist sentiment and racist groups such as the KKK and the Nazis, and to bring in fascism." Just like the CP, the Maoists put the blame for racial divisions among the workers—and even the activities of the KKK and the Nazis—on those who fight for an end to racism and oppression.

Another practitioner of this method is the Spartacist League.

In evaluating the *Bakke* case, the SL accurately noted that the slogan "'no reverse discrimination' has replaced 'no forced busing' as the war cry of racist, antidemocratic forces." But in the next breath, they denounce affirmative action itself, using phrases borrowed from these self-same racists. "We are opposed to systematic discrimination against any sector of the workforce, including white males." Echoing the Maoists, the SL charges that demands for affirmative action "set blacks and organized labor at each other's throats."

Recently the SL's fear of the Black freedom struggle has deepened—extending to the Black community itself. The July 15, 1977, issue of *Workers Vanguard* reports the SL's verdict that capitalism has now turned "a whole generation of black youth" into "lumpen proletarians" who "are forced to share many of the values of hardened criminals." Consequently, the SL predicts "the mobilization of [Black] lumpen violence against the working class movement in the name of plebian-nationalist ideology."

Thus there is considerable opposition in the American radical movement to the revolutionary socialist view of the link between the Black liberation movement and the struggle for socialism. Here, as elsewhere, we can improve our understanding of the present by examining the lessons of the past.

Foner's Contribution

Philip Foner's new book, *American Socialism*

and *Black Americans*,* is a solid contribution to this task. It contains a storehouse of data and pinpoints many key events that are shrouded in obscurity in more conventional histories.

The book has its weaknesses. Foner makes little effort to analyze the historical information he has assembled. In addition, the scope he has chosen for his work imposes further limitations. The relationship between the syndicalist Industrial Workers of the World and the Black struggle is all but ignored. The record of the Communist Party is similarly passed over, although Foner indicates in a preface that he will take up the CP in a future volume.

Nevertheless, *American Socialism and Black Americans* greatly assists our understanding of how various socialists and pseudosocialist currents have addressed the Black struggle in the past.

One thing that struck this reader was the similarity between the political lineup among professed socialists today and that of the historic currents Foner describes (although there are important differences, too). These parallels extend back to the period of chattel slavery before the Civil War.

Marx and Engels

Since that time, the revolutionary socialist wing of the workers movement has stood for the active defense of Black rights, although its supporters have not always attached sufficient weight to this struggle.

There were right-wing "socialists" who accepted the racist outlook of the ruling class. For these progenitors of Social Democrats USA, socialism was a distant goal to be reached by whites alone (and often only by white males of northwest European descent).

And there were early sectarians, who used a

**American Socialism and Black Americans: From the Age of Jackson to World War II.* By Philip Foner. Westport, Connecticut, and London, England: Greenwood Press. 1977. 462 pages. \$22.95.



Black Civil War veterans at work in South Carolina. Both before and after the war, many professed socialists refused to support the fight to end discrimination against Black workers.

more fiery line of argument to justify sidestepping the struggle for Black freedom.

Marx and Engels, the founders of the revolutionary socialist movement, were uncompromising opponents of slavery. Their leading co-thinkers in this country, notably Joseph Weydemeyer, shared this stand. In addition to the brutality of slavery, Marx and Engels emphasized the importance of the antislavery cause to the proletariat, the so-called free workers of the United States and Western Europe.

They explained that precapitalist forms of production such as slavery and serfdom barred the way to capitalism's development, restricting the growth of labor productivity and of the modern working class. That, in turn, stunted the economic and social preconditions of socialism. More immediately, they showed that the open enslavement of one group of toilers endangered the rights of all others. The slaveocracy was the main bulwark of political reaction and the most dangerous enemy of working people, Black and white alike.

Following the Civil War, Marx and Engels summarized their approach: "In the United States of America, every independent movement of the workers was paralyzed as long as slavery disfigured a part of the republic. Labour cannot emancipate itself of the white skin where in the black it is branded."

Dodging the Antislavery Struggle

Most utopian socialists and many reform-minded socialists of the pre-Civil War era rejected this view. Some simply made peace with slavery and racial oppression. More than one utopian socialist colony opened its doors to slaveholders.

Robert Owen excluded Blacks from his utopian colony at New Harmony. Followers of Charles Fourier proclaimed their "disdain to occupy themselves specifically with such subjects," since true freedom and equality would come only through the adoption of their schemes of social reorganization.

Herman Kriege, a German-born opponent of Marx and Engels who came to the United States after the defeat of the 1848 revolution in his native land, went even further.

Abolishing slavery while capitalism survived, he argued, would only swell the number of workers competing with each other on the job market. This would undermine class solidarity, lowering the living standards of white workers without significantly improving the condition of Blacks. Foner quotes Kriege's conclusion:

"We feel constrained therefore to oppose abolition with all our might, despite all the importunities of sentimental Philistines, and despite all the political effusions of liberty-intoxicated ladies."

Kriege's pseudoleftist arguments and sneering, pompous air were designed to conceal his actual reconciliation with racism and reaction. Such techniques remain in vogue in some Social Democratic and sectarian circles today.

Civil War and Aftermath

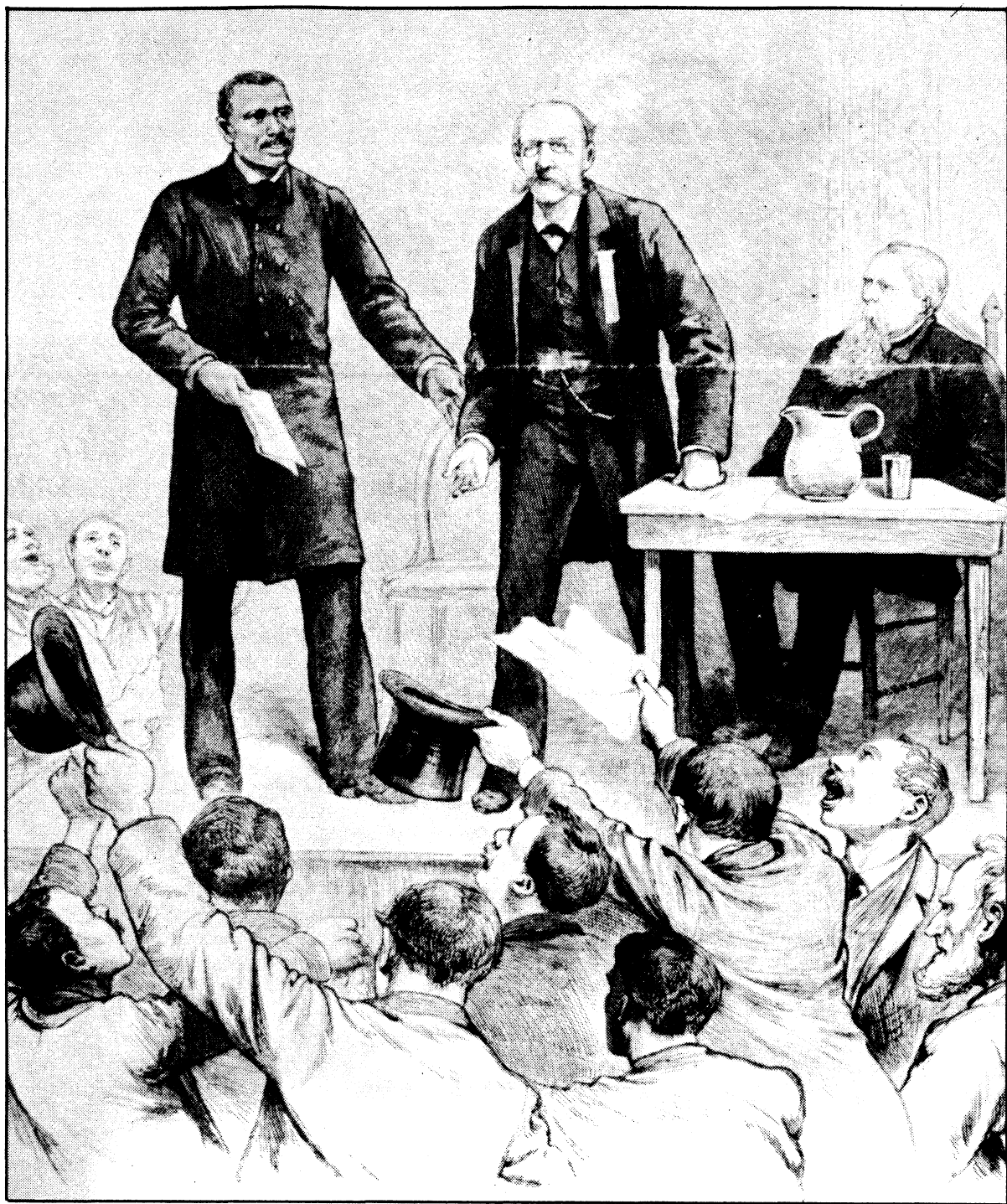
Eventually, the conflict between economic structures based on slave labor and wage labor, between the industrialized capitalist North and the slaveowner-dominated South, exploded in the Civil War. This resulted in the destruction of slavery but not in the full emancipation of Blacks.

The end of Radical Reconstruction in 1877 spurred on a reactionary anti-Black drive. Blacks were tied to the land as tenants and sharecroppers and denied the most basic civil rights through an institutionalized reign of terror. To justify this course, ultraracist ideology was fostered throughout the country.

Between 1865 and the end of the century, a few notable attempts were made to unite white and Black labor and to bring the working class to the defense of Blacks (for example, in the Knights of Labor). In most cases socialists took the lead in these efforts.

But these promising beginnings collapsed as racism and national chauvinism triumphed over embryonic class consciousness. The result was not only the deepening immiserization of Blacks but the erosion of living standards and organizations of the working class as a whole. By the turn of the century, only a thin stratum of primarily skilled workers were organized into unions. Even these organizations were in decline.

At the beginning of the twentieth century, however, a radicalization began among the workers, expressed among other things in the



A few labor organizations did permit both Black and white members. Here Frank Ferrell, a Black member of the Knights of Labor, introduces Terrence Powderly, head of the organization.

founding of the American Socialist Party in 1901. But this new organization reflected the historical setting in which it arose.

The American Socialist Party was not homogeneous. It contained a wide assortment of conflicting outlooks, programs, and political currents. Foner shows how these currents formulated distinct attitudes toward the struggle against Black oppression.

The Racism of Victor Berger

The party's right wing, led by Victor Berger, was firmly anchored in the labor aristocracy and basically shared the outlook of the conservative leaders of the American Federation of Labor. Proudly calling himself "the American Bernstein" (after the theoretical leader of the reformists in the German Social Democratic Party) Berger built a political machine in Milwaukee by promising to reform capitalism while collaborating with employers and union bureaucrats. He proposed measures to ameliorate the condition of white, Anglo-Saxon workers. But he wanted nothing to do with the most oppressed workers and farmers. Berger demanded a ban on Asian immigration, lest "Japs" and "Chinamen" overrun the "white man."

As might be expected Berger defended segregation: "There can be no doubt that the negroes and mulattoes constitute a lower race. . . . The many cases of rape which occur whenever negroes are settled in large numbers prove, moreover, that the free contact with the whites has led to the further degeneration of the negroes, as of all other inferior races." On the basis of such racist frothings, Berger even defended lynching.

Antiracists in the SP

Berger had opponents on the Socialist Party's left wing who despised his reformism and racism. Eugene V. Debs wrote, "Socialists should with pride claim their sympathy with and fealty to the black race, and if any there be who hesitate to avow themselves in the face of ignorant and unreasoning prejudice, they lack the true spirit of the slavery-destroying revolutionary

movement." White racism was in its heyday, and sentiments such as these were avowed only by a small part of the white population.

But the socialist left could not translate its sympathies into a serious fight against Black oppression or a program for Black liberation. Foner quotes this characteristic passage from Debs on the struggle for Black rights, written in 1903:

"We have nothing to do with it, for it is their [the capitalists'] fight. We have simply to open the eyes of as many negroes as we can and do battle for emancipation from wage slavery, and when the working class have triumphed in the class struggle and stand forth economic as well as political free men, the race problem will disappear."

On one occasion, Debs even wrote that under capitalism Blacks were "not one whit worse off" than white workers and that there was thus no Black question at all "apart from the general labor problem."

From this premise it followed that the SP could advance no special demands for Black people and could have no consideration for the specially intense oppression they experienced.

This position—which led in practice to tolerance for such practices as segregated SP locals—was justified in the name of working-class unity. Debs wrote: "We have nothing special to offer the Negro, and we cannot make separate appeals to all the races. The Socialist Party is the Party of the whole working class regardless of color."

Foner points out that when Debs expressed views like these, he won the congratulations of his old antagonist Victor Berger, who declared that such remarks showed "Comrade Debs at his best."

Despite some ups and downs, the strength of the SP left wing grew explosively between 1901 and the entry of the United States into World War I. Foner suggests a parallel, if less dramatic, improvement in the SP's attitude to Black struggles during the same period.

The first signs of this trend were the activities and statements of individual party members, both Black (such as Hubert Harrison), and white

Continued on page ISR/11

A Revolutionary Legacy

Writings of Leon Trotsky 1929-40



The degeneration of the Soviet workers state under Stalin's rule . . . the rise of fascism in Germany, Italy, and Spain . . . the impending threat of world war and a deepening economic crisis. These were among the many issues that occupied Leon Trotsky during his third and final exile. Articles and pamphlets by this towering figure of twentieth-century politics are collected in a twelve-volume edition of his writings in exile, recently completed by Pathfinder Press. Here, two leaders of the Socialist Workers Party assess the significance of the Trotsky writings.

Following is the speech given by George Breitman and major excerpts from the speech given by Doug Jenness to a May Day rally attended by about 350 people in New York City on April 30, 1978.

The rally celebrated the completion of the twelve-volume 'Writings of Leon Trotsky,' published by Pathfinder Press. These books, together with companion volumes of articles on specific subjects, contain much of what the revolutionary leader wrote between his exile from the Soviet Union in 1929 and his murder by Stalin's assassin in 1940.

Greetings from around the world hailed the completion of the nine-year publishing project. These included a message from the Fourth International, the world party of socialist revolution founded under Trotsky's leadership in 1938, and from revolutionary socialist parties in many countries. Messages were also received from author and historian Tamara Deutscher; Sieva Bronstein, Trotsky's grandson; Marguerite Bonnet, the literary executor of Trotsky's estate; the editorial board of the Leon Trotsky Institute in Paris; and many others.

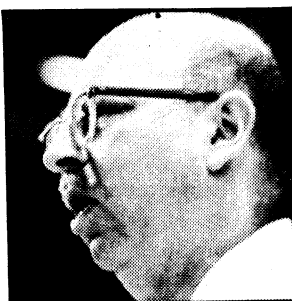
George Breitman was coeditor of the twelve-volume series. Doug Jenness is

managing editor of Pathfinder Press. Both are members of the Socialist Workers Party Political Committee. Their speeches have been edited for publication.

George Breitman

In our division of labor up here, my part is to supply factual and background information on the *Writings* project.

First, I'd like to express the opinion that it is appropriate for this meeting to be held in the Lower East Side of New York. When Trotsky lived in the United States briefly at the beginning of the fateful year of 1917, his apartment was in the Bronx, but he spent a good part of his time a few blocks from here, on St. Mark's Place, the site of the office of the daily Russian-language newspaper he wrote for and helped to edit. At the time



this was one of the most radical districts in the country, sending socialists to Congress.

Revolutionary Publishing House

And it is altogether fitting that this meeting should be cosponsored by Pathfinder Press, which is a successor to Pioneer Publishers, the publishing house that existed in Trotsky's time. When Pioneer was being organized in 1931, Trotsky sent a letter from Turkey saying in part, "The educational work which you are carrying on, and which you are about to extend further, appears to me to be excellent. We cannot seriously approach the masses without steeling our own cadres theoretically in the process. For my part I shall do everything to come to the assistance of your publishing company in its development."

Trotsky later admitted that he had been somewhat skeptical about the prospects of the new publishing house, which started out with some good ideas but zero in money. But in 1937 he wrote a letter from Mexico praising the work of Pioneer Publishers and calling it the only revolutionary publishing house in the world. Unfortunately, that was true in 1937; fortunately, it is no longer true today. In any case the line of continuity from 1931 to the present day has never been broken, and one way of viewing this meeting is as the latest phase in the educational work

that Trotsky commended in April 1931.

This leads to one of the last dates I will inflict on you—1969. That was twenty-nine years after Trotsky's death, the year Nixon entered the White House, the year of the big antiwar marches, and the year the decision was made to produce the *Writings* series. Ideas were still in greater abundance than money, but we had survived many lean and lonely years, beginning with the postwar witch-hunt when we were not able to publish much. We were growing again and attracting the attention of young people looking for revolutionary answers.

Trotsky's Writings in Exile

To indicate the scope of our project, I should say that when we began in 1969 there were in print books and pamphlets written in Trotsky's last exile consisting of a little less than 4,000 book pages. That included some of his best-known titles such as *The History of the Russian Revolution*, *My Life*, and *The Revolution Betrayed*. Counting 400 pages to a book, that was the equivalent of around ten books. When we added twelve *Writings* volumes, averaging over 400 pages, we more than doubled the total.

But that does not tell the whole story. It does not count several other Trotsky books, consisting of the same kind of material used in the *Writings*, that we published during the past nine years and that we refer to as "companion volumes." The twelve volumes of *Writings* are arranged chronologically, around a year at a time, covering a great variety of questions. The companion volumes are selections based on theme or subject.

There are eleven companion volumes. Six of these are entirely from the last exile period: *The Transitional Program for Socialist Revolution* (in my opinion, the most important Trotsky book); *The Struggle Against Fascism in Germany*; *The Spanish Revolution (1931-39)*; *The Crisis of the French Section (1935-36)*; *Trotsky on the Jewish Question*; and *Trotsky on France*, which is finished and should be printed later this year. Five others are from both the last exile period and the years before: *Leon Trotsky Speaks*; *Trotsky on China*; *On Literature and Art*; *On the Trade Unions*; and *Portraits: Political and Personal*.

Adding these eleven companion volumes to the twelve volumes of *Writings* makes the equivalent of more than twenty full-sized books.

Illusions can be dangerous, even fatal. But sometimes illusions have positive or even progressive aspects, as Trotsky pointed out more than once in the *Writings*. If we had known in 1969 that we were embarking on a project that involved publishing more than twenty new books by Trotsky, which would contain over 1,250 articles taking up 6,000 book pages of text, the very idea might have intimidated us or even have discouraged us from making the attempt. Fortunately, no one was around at the time to point out the magnitude of our ignorance.

Finances and Quality

The *Writings* series was not motivated by any illusion that publishing it was a way of making money. On the contrary, we knew that no ordinary commercial publisher would even contemplate such a project because of the simple economic fact that books printed in only a few thousand copies cost much more per copy than those that are printed in larger runs; and there isn't yet an English-reading audience for Trotsky big enough to make larger printings feasible.

Nor was the decision to go ahead with the series based mainly on literary considerations. We knew Trotsky was one of the best writers of this century, but we did not and really could not calculate the quality of collections of his letters, articles, pamphlets, and interviews; we could not be sure that many of them, in combination, would not be repetitious, routine, or even dull when read many years after they were written for very specific purposes.

As it turned out, we were pleasantly surprised on both these counts. The financial costs were really quite high—higher than we had expected, because once we started we added material we had not known about and raised the editorial and printing standards. But the interest in the books was higher than we had expected, both in this country and abroad, so that we were encouraged to persevere and complete the series. The over-all literary and intellectual level of the books proved to be impressive and even fascinating for some who knew Trotsky only from his longer and more carefully written works.

The decision to publish the series was made not for financial or literary reasons but for political reasons, in order to advance the political education of young revolutionary cadres. We made a number of false starts at the beginning of the project, which we had to go back and correct, but we were altogether right in thinking that this series would provide an exceptionally valuable tool for the Marxist education of young people.

The reason for that, as we have explained before, is that Trotsky is the most accessible of the great teachers to young people seeking to master Marxist ideas and the Marxist method. Not because Trotsky was a greater thinker than Marx, Engels, and Lenin, but because he lived later than they did and had the benefits of their thinking to build on and because he dealt with problems that did not arise until after they were dead, problems that we still have to grapple with.

Stalinism is one example. No one can really grasp Marxism in today's world or get a correct orientation in international or national politics without first understanding the phenomenon of Stalinism and the degeneration of workers states. Marx and Engels can help us on this only in a general way because this phenomenon did not exist in their time, and Lenin died before the first symptoms had become crystallized. Trotsky's analysis of Stalinism, using the method that Marx, Engels, and Lenin taught him but could not apply themselves in this case, is still indispensable thirty-eight years after his death.

An Introduction to Leninism

Or take Leninism itself, the Marxism of the imperialist epoch, as an example. Marx and Engels have nothing directly to say about this, although they were the theoretical and political progenitors of Leninism. The teacher from whom to learn Leninism is, of course, Lenin himself, but he is not necessarily the easiest teacher to learn it from, especially for beginners.

Lenin was so busy with revolutionary responsibilities—or incapacitated by illness—during the six years between the Russian revolution and his death that he never had sufficient opportunity to look back at his work without pressure and make a complete synthesis of it in pedagogical terms.

Anyhow, the full significance of Leninism cannot be absorbed in isolation from what happened to the results of his work after his death, that is, without explaining the relation it bears to its opposite, Stalinism. For this too we are indebted to Trotsky, who spend sixteen years after Lenin's death defending and explaining Leninism.

I am, of course, not arguing against the study of Lenin's works; I am only contending that the easiest way for beginners to enter that study is through the reading of Trotsky's most mature and penetrating commentaries and contributions on Leninism written in the years of his last exile.

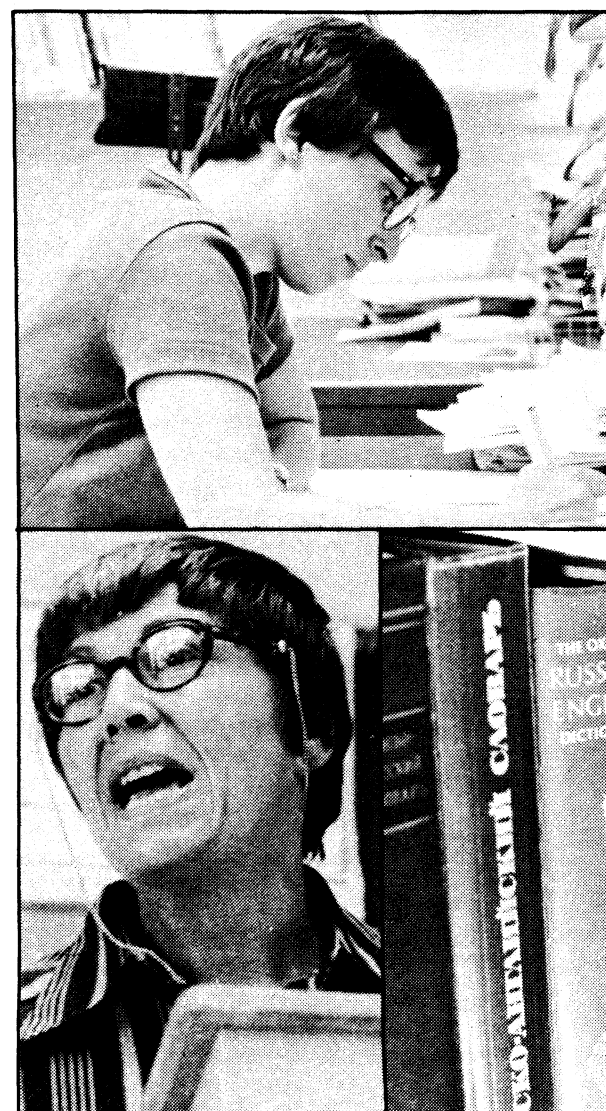
A Collective Project

Reference is made in some of the messages to this meeting to what a comrade from Colombia called the "very humanly moving" side of preparing and translating the series, and I'd like to touch on that too.

First of all, it was a collective undertaking from the start. On behalf of the coeditors, I would like to express our warm appreciation to Pathfinder Press, the Socialist Workers Party, and the Young Socialist Alliance for their decision first to launch the series and then to help find the resources and the personnel to carry it through.

As anyone who is familiar with the radical movement knows, a decision to do something is not always followed up and carried through to the end, especially when the task stretches over a nine-year period. Competition for the available money and people is always present. The responsible bodies in Pathfinder, the SWP, and the YSA must have been tempted on more than one occasion to use these resources for other projects or other books or to slow down the pace of producing the series or to hope that it would stop expanding.

But they resisted these temptations, for which we are grateful to them, just as we are grateful to the many individuals who contributed money directly and indirectly. Without their generosity the whole project would have foundered long ago. Because even though a major part of the labor expended on the series was volunteered and unpaid, and virtually all of the remainder was



Coeditors of 'Writings' series, (clockwise from top left) collect contents, compile notes, check translations,

underpaid, this was a project that had to be subsidized if it was to be carried through at all.

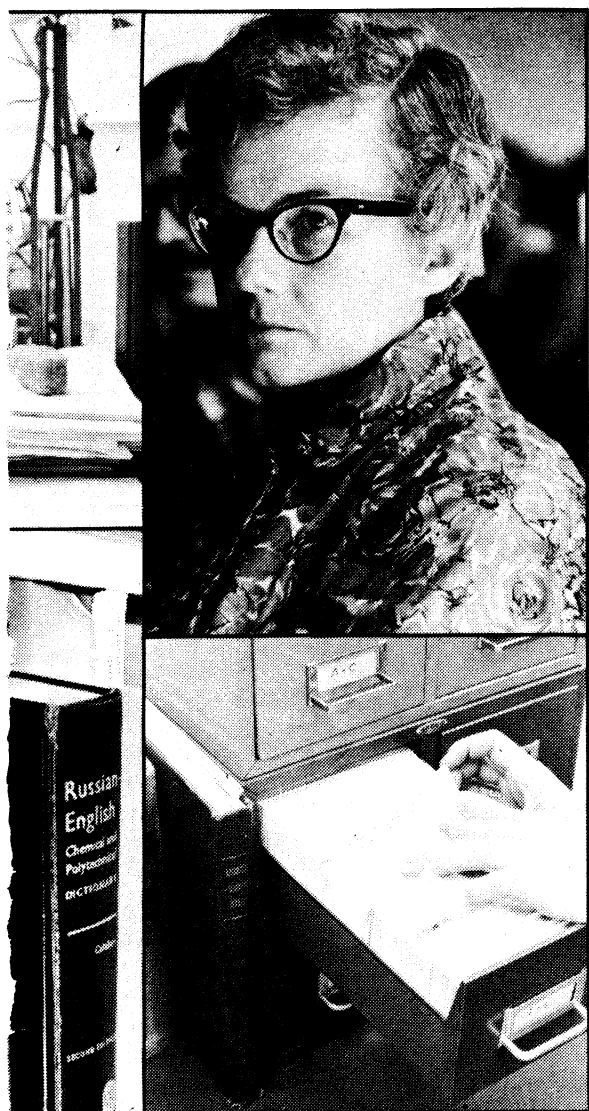
It was a collective project, actually involving hundreds of people, here and abroad, in the Trotskyist movement and out of it, who contributed to the final product in one or another measurable way:

People and institutions who gave us copies of previously unpublished letters and material by Trotsky, some of which were unsigned or anonymous. People who hunted in libraries to track down information we needed for the notes that explain references in the articles. People who dug through their old papers and ransacked their memories to supply information that no library has. People who read the books after they were published and pointed out mistakes or weaknesses so that they could be corrected in future editions or avoided in later volumes. People who edited the volumes, wrestling with old translations and trying to improve them, compiling the notes and struggling to keep them to manageable proportions. Printers of all kinds, typists, proof-readers and re-readers, designers, binders, packers and mailers, salesmen and saleswomen, and others. And translators.

If I mention translators separately, it is because in the course of this project I came to respect their work more deeply than before. I know nothing more frustrating than having in your possession an important article in a language you cannot read; unless it can be translated, it is almost useless. Then you find a translator and what was only potential becomes actual, and a real contribution to our political and cultural heritage becomes possible, an addition to the fund of knowledge of us poor one-language people.

The level or quality of the translations in the series differs considerably; some are not so good because the translations were done a long time ago and we did not have the original Russian to check them against; others, done especially for this series, include the best translations of Trotsky that have ever been made, and I say that on the basis of acquaintance with the often excellent professional translations made in the past. We are grateful to all the scores of translators whose work is used in this series, and in the books we have listed everyone by name where we knew it—something that, abiding by publishing convention, we did not do with other kinds of contributors.

To list all these contributors by name is not possible here, but I cannot help mentioning some. Among the many institutions, the two to



Naomi Allen, Bev Scott, and Sarah Lovell, worked to d proofread the books before printing.

whom our debt was greatest were the Houghton Library in Cambridge, where Harvard's Trotsky archives are stored, and the Library of Social History in New York.

Among the individuals who were not part of the [Pathfinder Press] staff here, the greatest assistance came from the dedicated and indefatigable Louis Sinclair of Glasgow, the author of the monumental 1,100-page bibliography of Trotsky compiled after decades of work and research in many countries; it would have been foolhardy to even think of starting this project without his help and advice.

Among editors abroad, our biggest help came from Pierre Broué of Grenoble, France, the historian, scholar, and author of many books on revolutionary themes. No one will be able to write the history of the Fourth International in the thirties without consulting the books by Trotsky he has edited and the wealth of information he supplies in such works as Trotsky's book on Spain.

I also cannot resist mentioning by name the other coeditors of the series—Naomi Allen, Sarah Lovell, and Bev Scott—especially after the praise heaped on me personally in some of the messages from abroad, where they obviously can't know who did what. All of the coeditors participated fully in the editorial decisions made and bear joint responsibility for them, and these three in addition bore the brunt of the labor.

I say they bore the brunt not out of false modesty but because I recently edited a book by myself, without any coeditor. I still have a very vivid impression of what a difference that made and a more accurate perception of how great their contributions were in the overall division of labor.

Going back to the first stage of the project, before the books assumed their present form, I want to express our deep gratitude to Evelyn Reed, who interrupted the studies and work on her book *Woman's Evolution* for more than a year in order to provide the editorial help that got the series off the ground.

I also want to get in a few words about the notes intended to clarify the Trotsky texts. I tried to do this in an interview about the progress of the *Writings* series printed in the *Militant* three years ago. But my remarks on this point were omitted by an editor who preferred to use the space to print an edifying picture of me with my mouth open. So I'll say it here.

Our notes tried to help the readers understand the people and events Trotsky wrote about forty or fifty years ago, many of them long forgotten. I think they compare favorably with notes in

academic and university press books, given the space limitations imposed on us. But making such a comparison was not our aim.

We wanted, above all, to make the books accessible to anybody who knows how to read English, be it a high school student or a young worker who never went to college or a prisoner without much formal education beyond the ability to read. Especially readers whose homes or cells are not usually equipped with reference books, encyclopedias, and so forth. That is why the notes contain some elementary information that well-informed people already know.

In this approach I personally may have been overinfluenced by the memory of my own difficulty as a youth in orienting myself when I first began to read Marxist literature. I could read well enough—that wasn't my problem—but I didn't understand the terminology, the connections among the people being discussed, the different organizations being referred to, the relation of the past to the present, and so on. Notes are expensive in time and money, but we thought they would be worth it if they could help new readers to find their way to Trotsky's ideas. How well we succeeded I cannot say, but I hope the notes will be judged from this aim, among other things.

But I hope these remarks will not be taken to be a blanket defense of the notes as a whole. No one is more critical of them than the coeditors of the series. Too much is omitted or telescoped in them. Nor are they free from factual errors. All we can say is that they improved as time went on and we learned our trade better, just as the editing of the old translations improved as we overcame our initial timidity in revising them.

Leon Trotsky Institute

Finally, about some things to come:

The French Trotskyists have organized a Leon Trotsky Institute. Its president is Marguerite Bonnet, literary representative of the Trotsky estate. Its secretary is Jean Risacher, its editorial director is Pierre Broué, and its other officers are Rodolphe Prager and Michel Dreyfus. Broué is a member of the Organisation Communiste Internationalist, Prager is a member of the Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire (the French section of the Fourth International), and the others are unaffiliated. Thus the institute represents a serious effort to unite different political tendencies behind a really ambitious program to start the first systematic publication of Trotsky's works in French. The first stage of this project will cover the period 1933-40, from the decision to work for a Fourth International until Trotsky's assassination, and the first volume in this series will be off the press any day. The second series will cover the period 1929-33, and so on.

Having seen a few pages from the first volume of their 1933-40 series,* I can assure you that their project promises to be superior to our own in several ways. The notes are more thorough and helpful to the readers, and because "new" Trotsky letters continue to become available through both individuals and libraries, the contents will be more complete. If our series helped to inspire the French project, as our French friends generously assert, it is an added reason for our celebration today. The fruits of this project will benefit us in the United States too, because any good work done in any country eventually strengthens the whole international movement.

In addition, the Institute is planning to publish a magazine, *Cahiers Leon Trotsky*, which will be edited by Dreyfus and will appear three or four times a year. It will be devoted to collecting and disseminating information about the work and personality of Trotsky, and including memoirs, interviews, and letters of people who knew and worked with Trotsky, beginning with his wife and son, and supplying bibliographical material, book reviews, and so on.

The Harvard Papers

The other coming event is the opening of the closed section of the Trotsky papers at Harvard in 1980, less than two years from now. When Trotsky negotiated with Harvard to be the repository of his archives shortly before his death, the world was at war, with Hitler and Stalin in control of most of Europe and with the certainty that the United States too would soon enter the war. In order to protect his correspondents and

the people mentioned in his letters from possible persecution, Trotsky stipulated that the letters which he had received and written from 1929 on should be separated from the rest of his archives and kept in a special section closed to the public for forty years.

Among the exceptions made in the observance of this rule were Isaac and Tamara Deutscher, who got special permission from Trotsky's widow to examine these papers in 1959 when Isaac Deutscher was writing the third volume of his biography of Trotsky.

Now the forty years are almost up, and a great deal of previously unpublished material by Trotsky from his last exile will come to public light. Exactly how much can't be known until the material is examined, but it is clear that it will be a lot. According to Deutscher, there are around 20,000 separate items in the closed section, of which "approximately nine-tenths consist of Trotsky's correspondence with his followers."

Nine-tenths of 20,000 is 18,000 documents and letters, dealing with party-building strategy, tactics, and organization. Some of these were printed in internal bulletins at the time they were written and have been included in the *Writings* series along with copies of letters given to us by individuals, but at best we have seen and printed only a small fraction of the total.

If we assume that only one-third of the 18,000 items were written by Trotsky in his own name or in the name of one of his secretaries, that would come to 6,000 letters and documents. If we use that figure and assign only one book page each item—obviously many of them will be much longer than a single page—that would come to 6,000 book pages. And 6,000 book pages would take fifteen volumes of 400 pages each.

So you can see that there is more to come and that it will take several years at the earliest for such material to reach book form. Just examining 20,000 items, most of which are in Russian, German, and French, is a very big job. Translating, annotating, editing, and publishing them will take even longer and will cost a great deal of money.

And if you are waiting for the publication of the complete works from Trotsky's last exile before you begin to read or study the part that is now in English, my advice is: Don't wait. Better read the part that is available now and put it to use now.

Doug Jenness

This year we are observing the fiftieth anniversaries of American Trotskyism and of the *Militant* and the fortieth anniversaries of the Fourth International and the Socialist Workers Party.



These are milestones along the road to forging a revolutionary party that can lead the working class to power. They offer us an opportunity to step back and take a closer look at our history and traditions. We are making special efforts in our press and our activities this year to utilize these occasions for educating our movement.

So it is fitting that today we are celebrating the completion of the twelve-volume *Writings of Leon Trotsky*. While few outside our movement yet understand the meaning of this triumph, we don't underestimate it one tiny bit.

We Stand on Higher Ground

Our movement is the collective memory of the working class—its defeats and victories; its false starts and theoretical breakthroughs; its traitors and its heroes and heroines.

It is this concentration of accumulated lessons that makes it possible for us to stand higher and see further than those who have gone before us—even higher than the great Marxist thinkers—Marx, Engels, Luxemburg, Lenin, and Trotsky. We stand on higher ground than the Bolsheviks. We see further than Jim Cannon and the other founders of our party.

This is not idle boasting nor arrogance. Nor does it mean we're smarter. It is simply an honest recognition and appreciation that we don't have to retrace ground already covered, that we don't have to go back and start again as

* *Leon Trotsky: Oeuvres—mars 1933-juillet 1933*, published by Etudes et Documentation Internationales in Paris, France.

if nothing had ever happened and nothing was learned.

We are like modern astronomers, even ones of average ability, whose understanding of the universe is far greater than that of geniuses like Galileo and Copernicus. But just as today's astronomers must study the work of their masters, as well as the research that's been done since, so must we absorb the important experiences of our predecessors if we are to start from the heights of their achievements. That's why Marxism is a science, not a religion or dogma.

It is in this light, then, that we should see the publication of Trotsky's *Writings*. They give us one more means by which we can lift ourselves higher and become more effective warriors in the class struggle.

While we may be best able to fully appreciate their value, we aren't the only ones to notice their publication. A magazine called *Studies in Comparative Communism, An International Interdisciplinary Journal*, devoted one of its issues last year to Trotsky and Trotskyism.

A Liberal View

The magazine is one of these liberal, anticommunist think-tank publications. I don't recognize most of the people associated with it, but I noticed that Zbigniew Brzezinski, Columbia professor and currently Carter's national security adviser, is on the international editorial board.

The introduction to this issue notes that "it was . . . the continuous publication and republication of the writings of Trotsky and his disciples by the Pathfinder Press and recent bibliographical work on Trotsky, that prompted us to attempt a review of this output."

Articles are included on many aspects of Trotsky's life, most of them inaccurate and distorted. The review of the *Writings* was written by a Professor Warren Lerner from Duke University.

He says: "In sum, Trotsky's works of the 1930s offer substantial insights into the man, his mores, his values, and his outlook, but the large gaps make it difficult to assess the total Trotsky of the period. Presumably Pathfinder Press's collection of Trotsky's lesser writings and letters from diverse sources, to say nothing of their translation, was intended to fill some of these lacunae, and these volumes do save historians and putative biographers a great deal of effort. Yet certainly all of these materials were always available to researchers who took the trouble to dig through the *Bulletin of the Left Opposition* and various other outlets employed by Trotsky."

So Professor Lerner is pleased that historians and biographers now have ready access to Trotsky's writings, even if really industrious researchers already knew where to find them.

But the professor notwithstanding, these writings were *not* published for professors, researchers, biographers, historians, and others from the academic world (although we are certainly pleased that they find them of use and order them for their libraries).

Rather, they have been published for a readership to whom the Russian-language *Bulletin of the Left Opposition*, the Harvard Archives, and the necessary leisure for serious research makes these writings unavailable.

Written for Revolutionary Activists

We have published them for the same kind of people for whom Trotsky wrote the bulk of letters and articles—the activists of our movement. We've published them for ourselves and for the new members who enter our movement—some who I expect will be joining after this meeting, some who will join next year, and others who are still in grade school or haven't been born yet.

They are for the young workers, whom we are going to win by the tens of thousands from Harlem and East Los Angeles and from the coal mines and steel mills, and for the revolutionary students who march under the banner of the working class.

We've honored a lot of people here today who are responsible for this project, and this praise is well deserved. But we should also salute the members and supporters of the SWP, each and every one of you here and those throughout the country. Not just for the financial support and personnel, although that was essential, but most of all for the unflagging conviction that these books are *needed and wanted and will be used*. It's this above everything that has given those who worked on the project the motivation and the "nerves of steel," as Louis Sinclair said in his message, to drive the project to completion. We've done something for ourselves. We're proud of it, and we're celebrating it.

Professor Lerner's judgement about the *Writings* is colored by the fact that he has little idea what Trotsky was doing in the 1930s. He describes the period of the last exile as a "tragic epilogue," when Trotsky was precluded from participation in political activity or organization and had the "unaccustomed leisure" to be an historian and commentator. "In these gloomy years," Lerner writes, "he enjoyed virtually no political successes, but from the scholarly and historical perspective his contributions were substantial."

An historian? Yes, but not primarily. That wasn't his life's work.

A commentator? How Trotsky would have scorned the idea!

A Political Organizer

In 1932 Trotsky wrote, "It is not enough to preach the benefits of technology: it is necessary to build bridges. How would a young doctor be judged, who, instead of practicing as an intern, would be satisfied with reading biographies of great surgeons of the past? What would Marx have said about a theory which, instead of deepening revolutionary practice, serves to separate me from it? Most probably he would repeat his sarcastic comment: 'No, I am not a Marxist.'"



Trotsky's study in Coyoacán. During his last exile, the revolutionary leader 'chained himself' to his desk to pass on his knowledge and experience to future generations.

And wouldn't Trotsky say to those liberals and sentimental admirers who today try to separate him and his role in the Russian revolution from his revolutionary activity of the 1930s: "If that were true, then I am not a Trotskyist."

First and foremost, Trotsky of the 1930s was a political organizer. He led the International Left Opposition, which tried to reform the Communist International and then led the struggle to establish the Fourth International. This he considered the most important work of his life. And this was by far his greatest achievement.

This is the only framework to view the period covered by the eleven years of the *Writings*. In spite of tremendous personal hardships—the death of his sons and daughters, seven secretaries killed, scores of friends and comrades murdered by Stalin, he and Natalia driven from Alma Ata to Turkey to France to Norway and then to Mexico—he chained himself to his desk.

He chained himself to his desk and wrote letters and held discussions with cothinkers and supporters around the world. He wrote articles for the discussion bulletins of the Left Opposition and the Fourth International. He wrote the major resolutions of the movement, articles for the Trotskyist press, and books for the education of the members he was assembling and teaching. This is scarcely the portrait of a man of leisure writing political commentaries.

This is why this collection of materials is so valuable for us today. It was written for our kind of people, for revolutionists. And it deals with the same kinds of problems we deal with.

Not a Catechism, But a Method

The style is concrete, simple, clear and easy to understand. No stuffy vocabulary. Not one word designed to impress the academic world.

We don't turn to these books to "get the line" or memorize them like a catechism. They won't provide the answers to many of our questions. It's Trotsky's method for approaching a wide range of problems that is of particular value for us.

The Trotsky *Writings* are comparable in some respects to the correspondence of Marx and Engels. While the *Writings* include more than correspondence, they are generally short items taking up a wide range of political questions.

Lenin thought the Marx-Engels correspondence was of immense value for party education. In 1913 he proposed that a selection be published in Russian. But this was never done before the revolution. After the revolution he took great interest in getting the project underway.

Continued on page ISR/12

Writings of Leon Trotsky 1929-1940



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The Catalanian Struggle and the Spanish Revolution

A Letter from Leon Trotsky

Introduction by George Breitman

The adjoining letter by Leon Trotsky, never published before, will be read with great interest, because the problems with which it deals—the revolutionary Marxist attitude toward national liberation struggles in the capitalist countries—is more widespread and crucial than it was forty-four years ago when the letter was written.

What it shows is that Trotsky not only supported the right of self-determination for oppressed nations and nationalities in general but that in certain situations (such as Catalonia in Spain at that time) he also advocated an insurrection to achieve national independence from the oppressing state. In such situations, he added, it was the duty of Marxists and the proletarian vanguard not just to support such struggles when they are initiated by other forces, but to initiate them themselves, where necessary, and to provide revolutionary leadership to all the oppressed strata of the population.

To understand Trotsky's letter, some information is needed about the background in Spain. When a revolutionary upsurge swept away the monarchy in 1931, the government of the new second Spanish republic was in the hands of a Socialist-Republican coalition. It granted certain reforms, including a limited form of autonomous government in regions such as Catalonia, but it steadfastly resisted the radical changes needed by the workers and peasants, suppressing their struggles with great brutality. Encouraged by the government's policies and by the fascist victory in Germany at the start of 1933, the right-wing and the fascist forces in Spain began to grow and to mobilize a movement to take back the gains won since 1931.

The fascist Falange was organized in October 1933, and in the parliamentary elections a month later the Spanish right wing ousted the Socialist-Republican coalition and took over the central government in Madrid. The profascist CEDA (the Spanish Federation of Autonomous Rightists) became the largest party in the parliament, but the new government at first did not dare to admit representatives of the CEDA into the cabinet. For one thing, the Socialist Party, now in opposition to the government and undergoing a radicalization of its ranks and leadership, warned that the CEDA's inclusion in the cabinet would be regarded as a fascist coup and would be answered by a revolutionary insurrection.

In April 1934 a progressive agrarian law limiting the rights of the landlords was adopted by the regional government in Catalonia (Generalidad), which was dominated by a nationalist party, the Esquerra, and other petty-bourgeois forces. Like the Catalan landlords, the right-wing government in Madrid was opposed to the law and took it to court. On June 10 the court annulled the law as unconstitutional. On June 12 the Catalan government reenacted the law and withdrew the Catalan deputies from the central parliament in Madrid. This precipitated the crisis that Trotsky called "the Catalan conflict," a

period of tension, ferment, and uncertainty that lasted almost four months.

At this time, the Catalan working-class movement was divided into two main tendencies, broadly speaking. On one side was the Workers Alliance, which was a united front of workers unions and parties that had been created in November 1933; on the other side was the powerful CNT (National Confederation of Labor), the anarchist-led union federation with the biggest following in Spain, which played a largely abstentionist role in 1934 and refused to join the Workers Alliance; and the small Communist Party, then still in its sectarian "third period," which did not join the alliance until September 1934. This was what Trotsky had in mind when he referred in his letter to the "extreme divisions among the Catalan proletariat."

The largest organizations adhering to the Workers Alliance were the Socialist Party and the SP-dominated UGT (General Workers Union), the second-largest labor federation, but their commitment to it was not complete or consistent. Other participants were some independent anarcho-syndicalist groups, the BOC (Workers and Peasants Bloc), and the ICE (Communist Left of Spain), which was the Spanish section of the International Communist League, the organization led by Trotsky, which was working for the formation of a Fourth International.

Although the ICE, which was led by Andrés Nin, was still formally an affiliate of the ICL, its leadership had for some time become estranged from Trotsky and the International Secretariat of the ICL, and in 1934 it operated in virtual disregard of them. In 1935, the ICE was to fuse with the BOC, led by Joaquín Maurín, whom Trotsky regarded as a centrist and a conciliator toward petty-bourgeois nationalism. The fused ICE and BOC took the name of the POUM (Workers Party of Marxist Unification), which joined the People's Front in 1936 and broke all ties with the movement for the Fourth International.

On June 17, 1934, five days after the Catalan parliament reenacted the disputed agrarian law, the Workers Alliance held a regional conference in Barcelona. It adopted a resolution that said: "If the counterrevolutionary Madrid government attacks Catalonia and if a Catalan republic is proclaimed as a result, the Workers Alliance will support the movement, striving to take its leadership so as to guide it to the victory of the federal socialist republic." It also adopted a list of demands that were centered around working-class interests: arming of the workers, freedom of organization and propaganda for all workers organizations, the forty-four-hour week in all branches of industry, and so on.

Trotsky wrote this letter to the International Secretariat soon after reading reports of the June 17 regional conference of the Workers Alliance, probably at the end of June or early July. He happened at that moment to be in a precarious personal situation. In April the French government had ordered him deported from the country, but the order could not be enforced because no other country would admit him. Threatened by

possible deportation to one of the French penal colonies, he spent the next months continually on the move, living incognito and harried by the press and the police from one town to another, until July, when he was finally permitted to settle in a small Alpine village not far from Grenoble.

These personal vicissitudes and distractions did not prevent Trotsky from expressing his indignation over the politically passive "if this" and "if that" position on the Catalan crisis taken by the Workers Alliance, including the leaders of the Spanish section of the ICL. He also blasted them for their preoccupation with almost exclusively working-class concerns in a situation that presented excellent opportunities for proletarian revolutionaries to give leadership to peasant and other petty-bourgeois forces fighting against reactionaries. And he used the Spanish context to make the same points that he had been making in connection with the political crisis in France in 1934 about the dialectical connection between the struggle over democratic rights (the



Catalan soldiers during Spanish Civil War. Trotsky pointed out that revolutionaries must both support and help initiate struggles for self-determination of oppressed nationalities if they are to win leadership of workers movement.

fight against fascism, the right of self-determination, and so forth) and the arming of the workers that could lead to a proletarian revolution.

The Catalan conflict was "resolved," temporarily early in October 1934 when the Madrid government took three CEDA representatives into the cabinet and the SP launched an armed uprising that was put down with great ferocity and many casualties. At the start of the October insurrection, the Generalidad in Barcelona proclaimed an independent Catalan republic. But even though it had its own armed forces and wide popular support, it capitulated without resistance at the first military show of strength by Madrid. As the showdown began, the Workers Alliance justified Trotsky's charges of "tail ending" the petty-bourgeois forces by visiting the Generalidad to inform it that the alliance was calling for a general strike against Madrid and to inquire what the Generalidad thought about the situation. The ICE did not advance any proposals or slogans different from those of the Workers Alliance.

Trotsky's letter is printed here with the permission of the Library of Social History in New York and Pathfinder Press. It is a translation made in 1934, which was entitled, "The Catalan Crisis and the Tasks of the Proletariat" and did not bear any date. Editorial insertions in brackets have been added to clarify certain passages in the translation that were torn or illegible. We are also indebted to Pierre Broué, editorial director of the Leon Trotsky Institute in France and editor of Trotsky's writings on Spain, for essential information about the 1934 events in Catalonia.

Letter from Leon Trotsky

1. Evaluation of the Catalan conflict and the possibilities flowing from it must take as its point of departure the fact that Catalonia unquestionably represents today the strongest position of the defense forces led against the Spanish reaction and against the fascist danger. Should this position be lost, the reaction would gain a decisive victory and for a long time to come. With a correct policy the proletarian vanguard would utilize the strong defensive position as the starting point for a new offensive of the Spanish revolution. Such should be our perspective.

2. This development is not possible unless the Catalan proletariat succeeds in taking the leadership of the defensive struggle against the reactionary central government at Madrid. But this is not possible if the Catalan proletariat promises to support this struggle only in the event that it is initiated [by other forces]. [The policy of the proletariat must not be dependent on] either the intransigence of the Madrid government or the regressiveness of the Catalan petty bourgeoisie. Maurin's policy of tail-ending [behind the petty bourgeoisie] is pursued by our comrades in the Catalan Workers Alliance. [It can be successful] only if it places itself at the head of the defense movement, if it outlines the perspectives, raises bolder slogans, and begins leading the struggle not only in words but in action.

3. A victorious resistance is conceivable if it not only mobilizes all the mass forces (all the prerequisites now exist) but pushes forward toward the offensive. That is why it is of decisive importance that the proletarian vanguard should explain from now on to the masses of workers and peasants in the rest of Spain that the victory or defeat of the Catalan resistance will also decide their victory or defeat. The mobilization of these allies throughout Spain must be completed now and not at the moment when a reactionary offensive by Madrid shall have become a fact (this is the position of our comrades and of the majority of the Workers Alliance).

4. Catalonia can remain the axis of the Spanish revolution. Winning the leadership in Catalonia must be the basis of our policy in Spain. The policy of our comrades makes this completely impossible. This policy must be changed speedily if we do not want a decisive situation to end, because of us, in a new defeat of the Spanish revolution which would be decisive for a long time to come. It should not be concealed that the policy of our comrades in this question has strongly injured the prestige not only of our own organization and of the Workers Alliance but of the proletariat itself; and cannot be repaired except by a radical turn based on a real under-

standing of the facts. The position of our comrades and of those in the Workers Alliance cannot be understood by the non-proletarian working masses except in the following way: "The proletariat agrees through the voice of its organizations to participate if others begin [the struggle]; but in return it demands from the petty-bourgeois Esquerra its own price (the terms imposed by the Workers Alliance), ignoring completely the particular interests of the peasantry and the petty-bourgeois masses, and will seek as soon as the possibility offers itself to lead the struggle in the direction of its own class aims—the dictatorship of the proletariat." Instead of appearing as the leader of all the oppressed strata of the nation, as the leader of the national liberation movement, the proletariat here appears only as a partner of the other classes; indeed a very selfish partner, to whom it is necessary to give or to promise [concessions] because and for as long a time as it shall be needed. The Catalan petty bourgeoisie, the big bourgeoisie, and the reaction, basing itself on the bankruptcy of this petty bourgeoisie, could ask for nothing better than to have the proletariat in such a position.

5. Our comrades must base their turn above all on this: They must agitate (through their own organizations and through the Workers Alliance) for the proclamation of the independent republic of Catalonia and must demand, in order to guarantee it, the immediate arming of the whole people. They should not wait for the government to arm them but begin immediately to form workers' militias which then should not only demand better equipment from the government but must obtain it by disarming the reactionaries and the fascists. The proletariat must prove to the Catalan masses that it has a sincere interest in the defense of Catalan independence. Here will lie the decisive path toward the conquest of the leadership in the struggle of all the strata, prepared for the defense of the city and the country. The arming of the people must become the center of our agitation in coming weeks around the slogans of: No stoppage of wages: the government and the employers must bear the cost of equipment and supplies. The existing military forces must be enrolled as instructors in the formation of the militia. The officers shall be elected by the members of the militia. The base of the militia is the factory. The workers in large industries, the railroads, etc., and all the public utilities shall automatically become part of the militia. Most of the people shall be asked to join up. Every regiment elects its committee which for its part sends a representative to the central committee of all the divisions of the Catalan militia. The central committee (i.e., the central soviet) functions as the political state, but first and foremost as the controlling body and later as the central authority for supplying and equipping the forces. In achieving this task, it will have to become [transformed] from a body alongside of the government into, properly speaking, the government itself. This is the form and concrete development of soviets in the present



Lluís Companys, head of Catalan government in 1934.

situation in Catalonia.

6. Because the extreme divisions among the Catalan proletariat do not allow it to exercise its hegemony in Catalonia, it cannot alone and by itself proclaim the independence of Catalonia. But it can and it must appeal for independence with all its strength and demand it of the petty-bourgeois Esquerra government. It must make up for its tardiness by the immediate holding of new elections. "We need a government which represents and leads the real will to struggle of the popular masses." The regimental committees of the militia must become the principal means for the preparation and realization of these elections. In other words, to the extent that the two phases of the problem—the proclamation of independence and the arming of the people—can be separated from each other, it is the latter by means of which it is necessary to achieve the former.

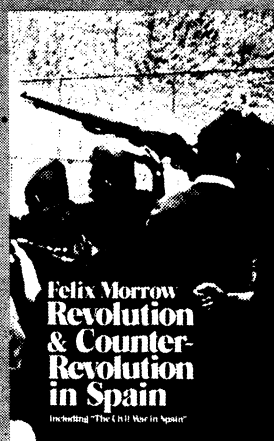
7. The proletariat must not only place in the foreground the democratic demands (freedom of the press, a state which is not costly, leveling of the salaries of functionaries, a democratic economy, more indirect taxes, graduated direct taxation of the propertied classes to finance the resistance, etc.)—[raising these] not only for itself along with its own class demands—but it also must put them forward with all the specific demands of the peasants and of the petty-bourgeois masses.

Information is lacking on the details of the agrarian question but above all the proletariat should on its own initiative arm the masses with these slogans as demands to be fought for. But it must not pose these demands as conditions for its readiness to participate in the struggle.

On the Spanish civil war



The Spanish Revolution
by Leon Trotsky. 447 pp.
\$5.45 paper, \$20 cloth.



Revolution & Counterrevolution
in Spain by Felix
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Victor Berger (left) conceded to bosses' racism and attacked antiracist speeches of Eugene Debs (center). A. Philip Randolph was a leading Black socialist of the day.

...Blacks & Socialism

Continued from page ISR/4

(such as Caroline Pemberton and Isaac Rubinow).

Special Oppression of Blacks

In 1915, the *Call*, newspaper of the New York Socialist Party, ran a series of editorials denying that Black and white workers got the same treatment from capitalism. Unlike whites, the *Call* stated, "the whole Negro race is suppressed, robbed, outraged, debauched, ground down in a manner that makes the blood of those not blinded by race passion to boil."

The *Call* concluded: "It IS necessary to fight that the rights of citizenship, of the franchise, of education, of the right to live their own lives be given to the Negroes."

In 1916 the New York Socialist Party convention adopted a resolution holding that Blacks were the "most oppressed portion of the population of the United States," who were denied "fundamental political and social equality."

"However much white workingmen are the victims of the present system," the resolution acknowledged, "it must be remembered that Negro workmen, because of their former enslavement, are more liable to exploitation, low wages and wretched working conditions. To this must be added the fact that a number of labor organizations have excluded colored people from the trade union movement and have then condemned them for scabbing."

This last thrust was aimed straight at the white-only policies defended by the AFL tops. It reflected growing opposition in the SP rank and file to the cozy relationship of Victor Berger and other SP officeholders and labor leaders with the AFL bureaucracy headed by Samuel Gompers.

In 1918, the essence of the New York resolution was incorporated into the party's national platform. Unfortunately, real changes in the party's practice lagged behind this positive change in its analysis, which represented a considerable step even over the earlier position of Debs.

The improvement largely reflected changes in the objective situation, notably the acceleration of Black migration to the northern cities and the growing weight of Blacks in the industrial working class.

This brought a leap in Black cohesiveness, self-confidence, and political activity, along with a feeling of nationhood. These shifts provided the basis for the emergence of the Niagara movement, the NAACP, the Garvey movement, and the development of Black self-defense against racist mobs in 1906, 1915, 1917, and 1919.

The Messenger

The same soil nourished two other key political developments—the publication of the *Messenger* and the emergence of the African Blood Brotherhood. Foner treats the first extensively, but the second is slighted (perhaps planning to deal with it more extensively in his book on the Communist Party).

The two central figures involved in the *Messenger*, Chandler Owen and A. Philip Randolph, joined the SP in 1916. Their socialist convictions crystallized in the highly charged intellectual

atmosphere of Harlem, where they had moved from the South.

The *Messenger's* first issue appeared in 1917 and promptly showed itself to be far in advance of the SP as a whole. Outspokenly antiwar, it pinpointed the war's imperialist essence: "The real bone of contention in this war is darker peoples for cheap labor and darker peoples' rich lands."

"So long as African territory is the object of unstinted avarice, greed and robbery, while its people with dark skin are considered as just objects of exploitation—now here and now there in slavery, enforced labor, peonage and wage slavery—just so long will the conditions mold and brew which needs must be prolific in the production of war," the *Messenger* declared.

The *Messenger* gave first place to the fight against segregation and discrimination in the United States, demanding the admission of Black workers into unions on an equal basis with whites, equal pay for equal work, suffrage for Blacks and women, and full social equality. The editors linked Black oppression directly to the capitalist system:

"The private domination of industry for private gain has brought such disastrous consequences . . . as to make public ownership for public service the first necessity in any forward-looking plan of reconstruction both for the nation and the Negro."

In 1919, sales of the *Messenger* reached a peak of 26,000.

The African Blood Brotherhood

Despite such views, Owen and Randolph declined either to ally themselves with the party's left wing or even to criticize the party's conservative leadership.

But other Black Socialists, such as Cyril Briggs, Otto Huiswood, and W.A. Domingo chose a different course. Unimpressed with the SP's record on Black rights, they were equally critical of its failure to energetically condemn the colonialist aims of the contending imperialist war camps.

Leaving the Socialist Party, they joined with cothinkers in 1917 to form the African Blood Brotherhood, which sought to fuse the socialist revolution with the worldwide struggle of Blacks against racist and colonialist oppression.

The brotherhood's program called for armed defense against lynching, complete political and social equality, self-determination for Blacks in the states where they were a majority of the population, and the organization of Black workers into the unions. Where existing unions rejected this demand, the brotherhood called for creating separate Black unions.

The ABB published the *Crusader*, a thirty-page monthly. In 1921 they claimed a national membership of 2,500, including a group of Black coal miners in West Virginia.

Birth of American Communism

In 1919, the SP leadership bureaucratically expelled its burgeoning left wing. An independent Communist movement appeared in the United States, inspired by the Bolshevik-led revolution in Russia.

Despite its admiration for the Russian revolution, and especially for the Bolsheviks' exemplary policy toward Russia's oppressed nationalities, the ABB did not join the American Communists until a few years later. It was not

yet convinced that the Communists were committed to a real struggle for Black freedom.

The Black question had not been an issue in the SP's internal struggle. In fact as late as 1919, the SP left wing's publication stood by the traditional formulations of Debs, holding that the condition of Blacks in America was "simply a phase of the social problem, which the communist revolution alone can solve." The same chord was struck in the first program of the early Communist Party.

But the revolutionary internationalism of the Communist movement, together with the lessons of the Bolshevik experience with the national question, provided the key to a new breakthrough in the understanding of the Black struggle by American revolutionists.

At the Second Congress of the Communist International, the world organization of revolutionary parties founded in 1919 on the initiative of the Bolsheviks, a list of "Conditions for Admission to the Communist International" was adopted. Among them was this requirement:

"Every party which wishes to join the Communist International is obliged to expose the tricks and dodges of 'its' imperialists in the colonies, to support every colonial liberation movement not merely in words but in deeds, to demand the expulsion of their own imperialists from these colonies, to inculcate among the workers of their country a genuinely fraternal attitude to the working people of the colonies and the oppressed nations, and to carry on systematic agitation among the troops of their country against any oppression of the colonial peoples."

The same congress adopted the "Theses on the National and Colonial Question." Of these theses Lenin stated, "First, what is the cardinal idea underlying our theses? It is the distinction between oppressed nations and oppressor nations." The Theses themselves insisted: "Communist parties must give direct support to the revolutionary movements among the dependent nations and those without equal rights (e.g. in Ireland and among the American Negroes), and in the colonies."

These statements sharply challenged the assumptions of most American left-wing socialists, who had dissolved the special oppression of Blacks into the more general exploitation of all workers. It enable American Communists to reinterpret reality in the light of the international experience of the working class.

James P. Cannon, a founder of the Communist Party and later of the Socialist Workers Party, recalled the significance of this shift in an essay entitled, "The Russian Revolution and the American Negro Movement," which appears in Cannon's *The First Ten Years of American Communism*. He wrote:

"The American communists in the early days, under the influence and pressure of the Russians in the Comintern [Communist International], were slowly and painfully learning to change their attitude: to assimilate the new theory of the Negro question as a special question of doubly-exploited second-class citizens, requiring a program of special demands as part of the over-all program—and to start doing something about it."

Foner's volume focuses on the Socialist Party, following the development of its stand on civil rights and Black equality down to 1939. The picture he paints of its later years is not an attractive one. The Russian revolution and the formation of the Communist Party drew a sharp line between revolutionary and reformist currents. What remained of the SP continued to adapt to the racism of the trade-union bureaucracy (with modifications imposed by the rise of industrial unionism and later the civil rights movement).

Foner's *American Socialism and Black Americans* is vital reading for anyone who wants to fully understand the evolution of socialist thought on this decisive issue in the American class struggle. Hopefully, his promised book on the Communist Party's role in the Black liberation movement will add more to our knowledge.

Even this will not exhaust the subject, of course. The development of the thinking of the Trotskyist movement, represented in this country by the Socialist Workers Party, also has an important place in such an examination. Fortunately some of Trotsky's contributions have recently been reprinted in *Leon Trotsky on Black Nationalism and Self-Determination* (New York: Pathfinder, \$1.95).

Labor's Giant Step

By Art Preis. New York. Pathfinder Press. 1972. 538 pages.

During his 1976-77 campaign for the presidency of the United Steelworkers, Ed Sadlowski often invoked the example of the early CIO as the kind of union movement he was for. This was more than warm-hearted nostalgia for better times.

The young steelworkers he was talking to, and millions of young miners, auto workers, railroad workers, and others, know that the methods of the present union leaderships aren't working. In general, things are getting worse for workers.

The men and women who create the wealth of this country are looking for a program, strategy, and tactics to make their unions into useful instruments of struggle. And they want to know the history of their unions.

How did the industrial unions come into being as mass organizations that drew millions of members and their families into a broad social movement? How were the early battles fought and won? And how was the raw power of the



Formation of CIO marked rise of militant industrial unionism in United States.

'Labor's Giant Step' Pathfinder's Choice for August

labor movement corrupted, diluted, and smothered?

The best books on the program, strategy, and tactics for the unions are *The Transitional Program for Socialist Revolution* by Leon Trotsky, *Prospects for Socialism in America*, and the four-volume Teamster series by Farrell Dobbs. (All these books are available from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, New York 10014.)

But the best history of the U.S. industrial unions is *Labor's Giant Step* by Art Preis. There are other books on individual unions and personalities, and covering shorter or longer periods of time. But *Labor's Giant Step* is the only history that focuses on the first twenty years of the CIO, up to the fusion with the AFL in 1955.

The more important quality of *Labor's Giant Step* is the experience and viewpoint of the author. As a participant in some of the events he describes, and as labor editor of the *Militant* for many years, Art Preis was particularly qualified to attempt a history of the CIO. For example, he was a participant in the 1934 Toledo Auto-Lite strike, one of the big labor victories that set the stage for the CIO's formation.

This history is an inspiring confirmation of the fighting capacity and creativity of the American workers, who in a few short years made the leap from a relatively passive and atomized state to organization in powerful industrial unions.

Preis states his basic premise quite simply: "I regard the class struggle as the most dynamic element of modern society, and therefore view the rise of the CIO as the most significant event in modern American history."

While it emphasizes the victories and advances that the CIO came to represent, *Labor's Giant Step* avoids romanticizing the CIO officials. "At every step of the way," Preis writes, "they sought to subordinate the interests of the workers to the dictates of the capitalist state or to entrust the workers' interests to the decisions of the capitalist government." Among these leaders he includes the Stalinists of the American

Communist Party and the Social Democrats, who, despite their socialist rhetoric, were complicit in the hobbling of the labor movement.

This book details how the conflict between the procapitalist bureaucrats and the ranks evolved—how the bureaucrats tightened their grip on the unions and imposed on them the policy of supporting the Democratic Party. Preis provides a vivid picture of the lies, the petty deals, the "givebacks," and the outright betrayals that were steps in this process.

Unlike many labor historians, who identify the working class with the bureaucracy that misleads it, Preis is unshakable in his conviction that the working class will change the world. He points out: "Before the industrial workers were organized, AFL leaders disdainfully dismissed factory workers as 'unorganizable.'" As opposed to similar skeptics of the 1960s, who argued that the industrial workers were hopelessly corrupted and brainwashed, Art Preis predicted a new labor upsurge.

Although he did not live to see it—Preis died in 1964 soon after his book was published—we are at the beginning of that new labor upsurge today. The important questions in this new upsurge will be the protection and extension of workers' rights and gains through political action.

The previous big labor upsurge raised the workers from disorganization to organization on the indus-

trial field. The new upheaval will end the subordination of the working class to the capitalists in the political arena through the struggle to build a labor party. The political defaults of the union bureaucrats will be rectified by a new generation of class-struggle militants who are testing their muscles in confrontations such as the coal strike.

Success in developing a new political course for the unions will depend to a significant degree on the building of a revolutionary socialist party that fights for class-struggle principles and an effective course of action in the unions. The weakness of the revolutionary socialist current, compared with Stalinist, Social Democratic, and other class-collaborationist tendencies, was the main reason the labor upsurge of the 1930s did not go on from economic organization to independent political organization.

Tom Kerry, a veteran leader of the Socialist Workers Party and a colleague of Art Preis, commented in a lecture on *Labor's Giant Step* given in 1965: "If the CIO development had happened after the formation of the SWP [in 1938], we would have gone much further and played a more decisive role. . . .

"[We can now] prepare to play a more decisive role in the next period of radical development. And there we have a great advantage over what we had before."

Labor's Giant Step is one big part of that "great advantage."

—Duncan Williams

25% Discount Offer

Labor's Giant Step is available at a special discount price of \$5.25. The regular price is \$6.95. Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, New York 10014. Send check or money order, or return this coupon to one of the socialist bookstores listed on page 31. Offer expires September 30, 1978.

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...Trotsky Writings

Continued from page ISR/8

Trotsky likewise held the Marx-Engels correspondence with the highest regard.

In his *Diary in Exile* he writes, "When you have had enough of the Blums, the Cachins, and Thorezes, when you have swallowed your fill of the microbes of pettiness and insolence, obsequiousness and ignorance, there is no better way of clearing your lungs than by reading the correspondence of Marx and Engels, both to each other and other people. In their epigrammatic allusions and characterizations, sometimes paradoxical, but always well thought out and to the point there is so much instruction, so much mental freshness and mountain air! They always lived on the heights."

How well this captures Trotsky's writings. They too are full of mountain air, so fresh in contrast to the polluted atmosphere of Mao Tsetung and his heirs, the Brezhnevs and Gus Halls, the Michael Harringtons, and the "Euro-communists."

With the resources of state power, Stalin churned out the biggest slander operation in

history and murdered thousands, tens of thousands of revolutionists; but he was unable to drown the truth. He was unable to stamp out authentic Leninism.

Trotsky's Legacy

How true Trotsky's words sound today: "We work with the most correct and powerful ideas in the world with inadequate numerical forces and material means. But correct ideas, in the long run, always conquer and make available for themselves the necessary means and forces."

Today, forty years after the founding of the Fourth International, we still have inadequate numerical forces and material means. But we can proudly say that the Marxist program that Trotsky fought to preserve and enrich is intact. Its flesh and blood is the Fourth International—Trotsky's main legacy to us. It's been battered. It's swum against the stream. It's lost members in Nazi concentration camps and at the hands of Stalin's butchers, to military tyrants around the world, and to discouragement and despair. It's suffered a major split and gone through rough internal fights. But it remains a living organization capable of responding to the big openings in front of us.

And as we celebrate our latest triumph, which—as the greetings testify—is a step forward for our entire world movement, we are confident of our future.

World imperialism is a great crisis. Its convulsions are more frequent and deeper. It offers no way out.

And there are new moods in the working class, not only in Europe and Japan, but here in the United States. The fighting spirit of the coal miners is proof of that. And we must make no mistake about it, the center of American politics has shifted to the heavy battalions of industrial labor. The coal strike was merely a taste of the big battles to come.

We don't know what the pace of events will be. We don't know what setbacks and stormy weather await us. But we are in a more favorable position and far better prepared than we have ever been.

So as we gather here on May Day 1978, we can say with great optimism and realism that the forecast of the Marxist movement is truer than at any time: The days of the capitalist exploiters are numbered. The working class will be victorious!

Thousands lined the route from the airport as Blanco led a march into Lima. The FIR (Front of the Revolutionary Left) was one of a number of Peruvian Trotskyist groups in the procession. Some 5,000 people attended a rally after the march. Blanco told them that FOCEP's seats in the Constituent Assembly 'will have no justification . . . unless we use them to carry forward the struggles that the workers are carrying out.' The crowd roared its approval, chanting, 'Socialismo o Muerte! Venceremos!' ('Socialism or death! We will win!').



Below, opening day of Peruvian Constituent Assembly: Lower photo, assembly President Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre, 'supreme head' of the procapitalist APRA (American People's Revolutionary Alliance), waves to supporters in galleries. Top photo, three workers deputies (left to right): Víctor Cuadros, general secretary of miners union FNTMMP and deputy from UDP (Democratic People's Union); Blanco; and Antonio 'Chango' Aragón, leader of split-off from PSR (Revolutionary Socialist Party, a bourgeois-nationalist formation) that has joined with class-struggle forces. When sworn in as a deputy, Blanco took his oath with his voice booming and fist raised: 'For the working class, for the world socialist revolution . . . yes, I swear.'

Constituent Assembly convenes in Peru

to back down and meet the demands of striking teachers who had defied it.

The military has been trying to buy time through promises to restore civilian rule in 1980.

The first step in the military's "transition" plan is the Constituent Assem-

bly that was elected June 18. The assembly is supposed to be limited to writing a new constitution. But now that it has begun to meet, it too is becoming a focal point for the mass discontent.

The elections were held just three

weeks after the mid-May general strike under conditions of harsh curbs on democratic rights. Two capitalist parties gained 62 of the 100 seats, but the most significant result was the election of 25 deputies representing forces in the workers movement.

Six of these workers deputies are from the reformist Peruvian Communist Party. The other nineteen represent groups to the left of the CP. These include Hugo Blanco, a leader of the Trotskyist movement, famous in Peru for his leadership of the peasant struggles in the early 1960s; Víctor Cuadros, general secretary of the powerful National Federation of Miners and Metallurgical Workers (FNTMMP); Avelino Mar, president of the 3-million-member peasant federation, the CNA; union militants such as copper miners Juan Cornejo Gómez and Hernán Cuentas, metal worker Enrique Fernández, and bank worker Magda Benavides; labor attorneys Ricardo Díaz Chávez and Genaro Ledesma; political figures such as Ricardo Napurí, Antonio Aragón, and Javier Díez Canseco; and Marxist intellectual and author Carlos Malpica.

The workers deputies have put both the military regime and the capitalist representatives in the Constituent As-

Continued on page 26

eighty-day strike

strikes in support of the SUTEP were carried out in Cuzco on at least two occasions, and in Arequipa, Ayacucho, and five other cities. Solidarity with the teachers was a central focus of a rally of 30,000 in Lima July 19 by the main Peruvian trade-union federation, the CGTP. At the rally, CGTP leaders indicated that they might call a national general strike to back SUTEP.

One of the first actions of the workers deputies in the newly elected Constituent Assembly, after that body began holding preparatory sessions July 18, was to issue a united statement expressing "our militant solidarity with the teachers' strike." Later, representatives of all parties in the assembly signed a statement calling on the regime to grant the "just de-

mands" of the teachers.

Faced with this burgeoning mass support and the threat of a new general strike (which would have been the fourth in just over one year), and concerned about further efforts on the SUTEP's behalf in the Constituent Assembly, the regime backed down. It opened talks with the union and quickly agreed to nearly all the teachers' demands.

Continued vigilance will, of course, be necessary by the SUTEP and its supporters. The regime has often tried to withdraw concessions after they have been offered, and all the formal legal steps for the union's recognition are yet to be completed. But the teachers have certainly struck a big blow against the military's antilabor policies.

—F.M.

LAND or DEATH

by Hugo Blanco

'One of the most significant contributions to the theory and practice of the Latin American revolution since the Cuban Revolution.' —From Pedro Camejo's introduction

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Salt Lake foundry workers back Marroquin

By Shawn Gillard

SALT LAKE CITY—Local 231 of the International Molders and Allied Workers Union, AFL-CIO, voted July 13 to support Héctor Marroquín's appeal for political asylum in the United States. The local represents workers at the EIMCO foundry.

The resolution said:

"Whereas the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service is considering deportation of Hector Marroquin to Mexico,

"And whereas Hector Marroquin fled to the U.S. to escape political persecution and has no chance of getting a

fair trial on numerous charges brought against him in Mexico,

"And whereas the U.S. has adopted United National protocols guaranteeing asylum to persons likely to be subject to political persecution in their own country,

"And whereas Hector Marroquin has established a record of union activity and defense of working people in the U.S. and Mexico,

"Be it therefore resolved that Local 231 of the International Molders and Allied Workers Union urge Leonel Castillo, Director, Immigration and

Naturalization Service, to grant political asylum to Hector Marroquin."

Union members at the meeting also voted unanimously to donate twenty-five dollars to the Héctor Marroquin Defense Committee.

Defense activities began at the EIMCO foundry earlier this year, after Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance members began regular *Militant* sales there. Marroquin is a member of the SWP and YSA.

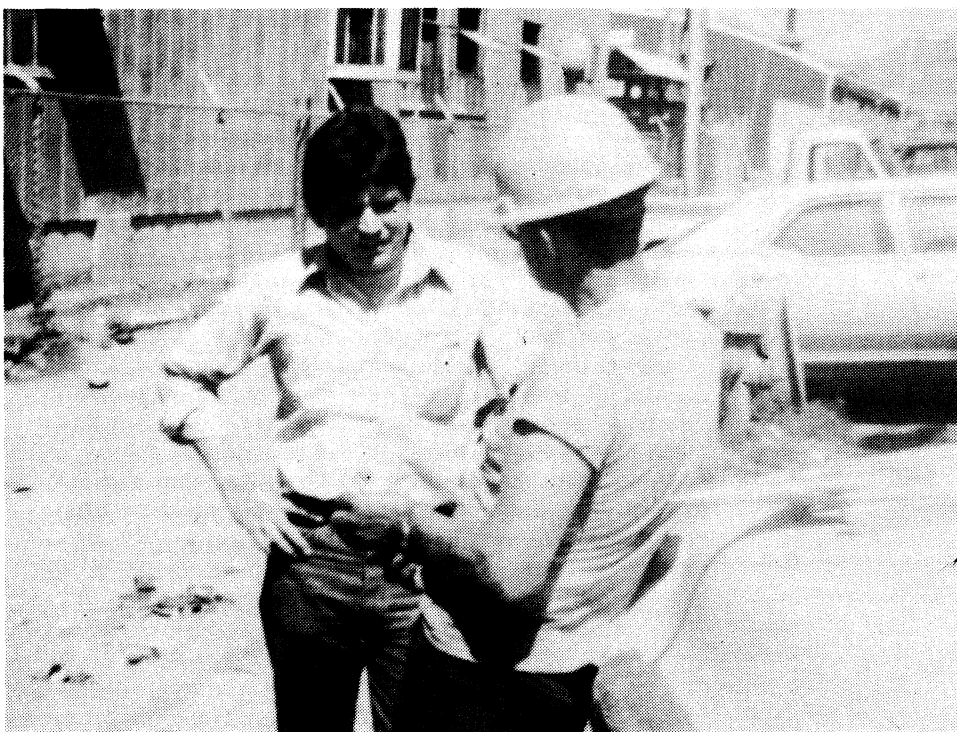
Soon foundry workers were talking about the Marroquin case.

Many union members agreed that

the attempt to deport Marroquin was an attack on the labor movement. A group of Chicano workers took copies of a petition to Castillo and returned them full of signatures.

Wendel McWhorter, president of Local 231, was one of the first union officials in the Salt Lake City area to sign a trade unionists' appeal for Marroquin.

When Marroquin visited Salt Lake City in June, about twenty-five foundry workers heard him speak at a rally at the plant gate. More workers came to hear him that evening at a Salt Lake City meeting.



Héctor Marroquín discusses his fight for political asylum with Eimco foundry worker.

Spotlight on terror in Mexico

Despite the Mexican government's denials, "there is mounting evidence that since President López Portillo took office 19 months ago the Government has not only stepped up its campaign against the extreme left, but has also moved sharply against militant peasant organizations, urban squatter groups and independent labor leaders who have called 'illegal' strikes," reported the July 27 *New York Times*.

The *Times* article, featured on page 2, was based on an interview with Rosario Ibarra de Piedra, founder of the Mexican Committee to Defend Political Prisoners, and the Politically Persecuted, Disappeared, and Exiled. Ibarra toured the United States recently to speak out for Héctor Marroquin, for her own

son, and for other victims of political repression in Mexico.

The *Times* noted that the Mexican defense committee has "united relatives of the disappeared persons and has won the backing of larger leftist and independent political organizations. In addition, it maintains close contacts with foreign human rights groups, such as the London-based Amnesty International and the New York-based U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners [USLA]."

The July 26 *Guardian*, a radical weekly published in New York, ran an article on Marroquin's campaign for political asylum. And the July issue of *Caracol*, a Chicano journal published in San Antonio, reprinted an interview with Marroquin from the *USLA Reporter*.

Struggle in Chile: what strategy for victory?

By Bruce Levine

NEW YORK—On a hot and humid evening here July 21, more than sixty people attended a public forum on Manhattan's Lower East Side to hear an exchange of views on "The Latin American Revolution: The Experience of Chile."

Sponsored by the biweekly socialist news magazine *Perspectiva Mundial*, the forum featured Catarino Garza of the Socialist Workers Party and a representative of the *Coordinadora Nacional de Regionales* (CNR—National Coordinator of the Regionals) of the Chilean Socialist Party. Both presentations were given in Spanish and translated into English.

Garza noted "a revival of combativity" in Latin America, as shown by recent events in Peru, Nicaragua, and Brazil.

This has stimulated a renewed interest in the lessons of the Chilean Popular Unity government headed by Salvador Allende. What led to the right-wing overthrow of the Allende government in 1973 and the bloody repression that followed? Could this tragic defeat have been avoided? If so, how?

Garza said that the Allende government was a capitalist government. It never had the goal of leading the Chilean workers and peasants in the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism.

"The Popular Unity government was a coalition of workers parties and capitalist parties that limited its program and policies to reforms of the capitalist system," Garza said.

According to Garza, Allende consistently sought to demobilize the Chilean ruling class in hopes of preserving his governing coalition.

Instead, Allende succeeded only in disarming the masses, preventing them from defending themselves against the military coup that led to his own murder at the hands of the *gorillas*.

Garza noted that there is now a discussion going in the Chilean left over the popular-front strategy of Allende's UP. The Chilean Communist Party blames the 1973 disaster on the Chilean masses. The Stalinists charge the workers and peasants with triggering the coup by antagonizing the bourgeoisie with excessive demands.

In the future, therefore, the CP proposes to reassure the capitalists by drawing even larger and more conservative sectors of the Chilean ruling class into popular-front governments.

"This is the opposite of the policy of the Bolsheviks in 1917," Garza insisted. Only by resolutely opposing the popular-front government established by the liberal capitalists, Mensheviks, and Social Revolutionaries were Lenin and his party able to mobilize the Russian masses, defeat an attempted right-wing coup, and lead a successful socialist revolution.

The Coordinadora representative said that the record of the Chilean Socialist Party is contradictory. On the one hand "the party did participate in class-collaborationist electoral alliances" throughout its history.

But "due to the presence within it of a large proletarian base, there also developed radical positions inside the SP," the representative said.

The CNR considers itself heir to that left-wing tradition. In particular, the speaker singled out the SP's 1967 Congress of Chillán. There, the CUR representative said, the SP called for a workers front based on a worker-peasant alliance, declared that armed struggle was the only road to power, and resolved that the Chilean revolution must be socialist in character.

Today the CNR's strategy is fundamentally the same one adopted at Chillán: "The central task today is to overthrow the dictatorship. But we want to link that struggle to a socialist alternative immediately.

"We don't believe there can be a revolution in stages, carrying out the democratic tasks today and leaving the socialist tasks for some future time."

During the Allende years, the CNR speaker said, "the SP leadership was largely in the hands of petty-bourgeois, bureaucratic forces." This leadership "tried to limit the mass movement, to keep it within the limits of bourgeois legality, thus demobilizing it.

"While the masses were faced with a favorable relationship of forces, they lacked leadership and were disarmed physically as well as ideologically" by the UP.

But the CNR does not seem to see the Popular Unity as a coalition of workers and capitalist parties. "We think that the fundamental alliance on which the UP rested was the alliance of the Socialist Party and the Communist Party," the CNR speaker stated.

The CNR speaker also did not depict the Allende government as a capitalist regime.

"The program of the UP, while it was not a socialist program, did have certain anti-imperialist and antimonopolist elements. And measures were implemented—such as the nationalization of copper and other industries—which obviously favored the working class.

"While it's true that this government could not have been an instrument for leading the workers to power," it did have the potential "to accumulate social forces around the proletariat."

It was agreed by all involved that the discussion opened here will continue. At the same time, Garza said, collaboration in action is necessary on important issues such as campaigns for the freedom of political prisoners and for asylum for political refugees here and elsewhere.

FURTHER READING

Disaster in Chile: Allende's Strategy and Why It Failed.

Edited by Les Evans. 271 pages, paper \$4.45.

Chile's Days of Terror: Eyewitness Accounts of the Military Coup.

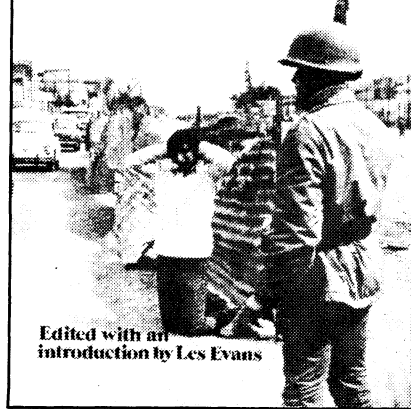
Edited by Judy White. Introduction by José Yglesias. 124 pages, paper \$2.45.

Both books include contributions by Peruvian Trotskyist leader Hugo Blanco.

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DISASTER IN CHILE

ALLENDE'S STRATEGY AND WHY IT FAILED



Edited with an introduction by Les Evans

New York socialists launch ballot drive

By Margaret Jayko

NEW YORK—During the last two weeks of August, New York State branches of the Socialist Workers Party plan to collect signatures of 47,000 registered voters to put SWP candidates on the November ballot.

"Getting 47,000 signatures means we'll be talking to tens of thousands of people, and we'll have the chance to distribute lots of socialist campaign literature," said Kevin Kellogg of Albany, SWP candidate for lieutenant governor.

One important issue in the SWP campaign is the fight against police brutality in Brooklyn's Crown Heights. The Black community has begun to mobilize in response to the police killing of Black civic leader Arthur Miller in June.

SWP campaign supporters will



SHARON GRANT Militant/Susan Ellis

gather signatures to put Black activist Sharon Grant on the ballot in the Fourteenth Congressional District, which includes Crown Heights.

"I will campaign in solidarity with the Black community's goal of stopping murders by the cops," said Grant.

Party branches in New York and Albany have set August 16-26 as the dates for the petition campaign. August 19 and August 26 are slated as target dates for an all-out effort to collect half the necessary signatures.

New York City campaign supporters will open the petition drive with an August 15 rally at Manhattan's Ukrainian National Home. The end of the drive will be marked by a victory picnic in Central Park August 27. The signatures will be turned in September 12.

The giant petition campaign is necessary because New York's undemocratic election laws reserve ballot places only for the Democrats and

Republicans (and their camp followers, Liberals and Conservatives). The SWP goal of 47,000 signatures is double the legal requirement. The extras are protection against expected challenges.

"Despite these obstacles, we're going to get on the ballot, and our campaign is the only one that will give women, Puerto Ricans, Blacks, and all working people a real choice in November," said Dianne Feeley, SWP candidate for governor.

SWP campaign supporters will also gather signatures for Ken Milner in Harlem's Nineteenth C.D. and for Ray Markey for attorney general. The SWP is also running Diane Shur in Albany's Twenty-eighth C.D.

If you'd like to help the socialist alternative get on the ballot, call the New York SWP branch nearest you, listed on page 31.

Cleveland's Mayor Kucinich faces recall vote

By Karla Allworth

CLEVELAND—Just seven months after his election, Dennis Kucinich may become the first mayor of this city to be recalled.

The recall election is scheduled for August 13. If voters recall him, the city council will appoint an interim replacement and schedule new elections.

The drive to dump Kucinich began in March, after he fired police chief Richard Hongisto. Hongisto had charged Kucinich with "unethical" behavior and political favoritism.

A few days later the Recall Committee to Save Cleveland was launched. The committee was made up of both Democratic and Republican politicians and party workers.

Since then, the city's Democratic Party machine has endorsed the recall,

as has the Cleveland AFL-CIO. On the other side, the United Auto Workers is backing Kucinich, and has donated \$25,000 to help retain him.

Kucinich, who portrays himself as "the people's candidate," calls the recall effort an attempt to undermine the "stability" of democratic institutions.

He defends his reign as "one of this nation's great urban experiments in progressive politics and responsive government," and says the recall effort is a project of "party bosses, certain corrupt big business interests," and "organized crime."

The reality of life in Cleveland tells a different story.

The city faces a New York-style financial crisis, in which the banks demand enormous bond interest payments, while social services are cut

and workers are laid off.

The Cleveland Board of Education claims it is broke and won't be able to open the schools this fall, when a court-ordered desegregation plan is to go into effect.

Kucinich has gone out of his way to reassure Cleveland businesses that the city will keep on paying interest and principal on the bonds. And he has done nothing at all to win support for school desegregation, despite open racist activity against it.

(Running for election last fall, Kucinich openly opposed what he called "forced busing.")

Pat Wright, Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of Ohio, supports the recall of Kucinich. "But replacing him with another Democrat or Republican won't solve anything," Wright says. "Cleveland working peo-

ple need an end to interest payments to the banks. We have a right to open the books of the banks and corporations so we can see how they've been soaking us. Taxes on working people should be eliminated. Make the big corporations pay for schools, hospitals, and other needed services.

"And the mayor must use the full powers of that office to enforce school desegregation.

"No Democrat or Republican will run on such a program. Despite Kucinich's rhetoric, the entire Democratic Party is probusiness, antilabor, antiwoman, and racist," Wright says.

If Kucinich is recalled, only a candidate running on a program that opposes both these parties and their policies can present an alternative for working people.

Government, media step up attacks on Haitians

By Jack Lieberman

MIAMI—The number of Haitians arriving in south Florida has increased sharply in the past several months, as the government of the Bahamas forces some 40,000 Haitian refugees there to leave or face deportation back to Haiti.

The influx has sparked a racist, anti-Haitian campaign orchestrated by U.S. immigration officials and the big-business media. The Haitians are blamed for "taking American jobs" and "spreading disease."

In recent months, hundreds of Haitians have been arrested by the government of the Bahamas, which is also using them as scapegoats for unemployment. As a result, more than 500 Haitians braved the dangerous trip to Florida in June alone. Since last October, U.S. immigration officials have picked up more than 4,500 Haitians.

Haitians have fled their homeland by the thousands to escape the brutal Duvalier dictatorship there. Rather than face imprisonment and death if forced to return by the Bahamian government, thousands of Haitians are seeking refuge in the United States.

The trip can be fatal. In mid-July, a

boat full of refugees capsized off the Bahamas, and twenty-three Haitians—including nine children younger than ten years old—drowned.

The victimization of Haitian refugees in this country is consistent with Washington's political support to the Duvalier regime. The U.S. government pours out millions of dollars of aid each year to prop up the right-wing tyrant.

Contrast the attitude toward Haitian refugees, for example, to the U.S. rulers' eagerness to welcome refugees from Vietnam, Cuba, and other countries whose governments they oppose. The Immigration and Naturalization Service attempts to justify this double standard by saying that the Haitians are not "political" refugees but are merely fleeing from poverty.

The recent upswing of racist propaganda has been used to take away many of the rights Haitian refugees had fought for and won over the past few years. For instance, the INS had been forced to stop jailing the Haitians and treating them like criminals. The refugees also won the fight to receive work permits.

Now the INS is again denying work permits. In addition, INS officials are again threatening mass deportations, and several deportation hearings have already begun.

In contrast to the reactionary articles in the *Miami Herald*, *Miami News*, and other major capitalist media, the Haitians have won support from the *Miami Times*, a Black weekly. "The

fact those few Haitians who have arrived have been jailed instead of housed, left to fend for themselves instead of having everything possible done for them by a willing government," the paper wrote in a June 29 editorial, "leaves reason to question whether or not the fact that Haitians are Black and Cubans are primarily white determined one group's status as aliens and the other's as refugees."



Militant/Miguel Pendás

Protests demand asylum

Haitian refugees and their supporters are planning an August demonstration in New York City. Protesters will picket the Bahamian consulate, U.S. State Department offices, and Haitian consulate. Endorsers include the Haitian Community Centers of Brooklyn and Manhattan, Haitian Revolutionary Party, Koddpa, Committee Against Deportations, National Lawyers Guild, and Socialist Workers Party.

A candlelight march and vigil are set for the same day in Miami. The Miami demonstration will focus on the responsibility of the U.S. and Bahamian governments for the drowning of twenty-six Haitian refugees in the past several months.

On August 19, the Coalition for Human Rights for Haitian Refugees will sponsor a march and rally in downtown Miami.

Women workers & ERA fight

Force for a militant, democratic unionism

By Diane Wang

(Second of two articles)

"Is this your first demonstration?" we asked a woman coming back from the national march for the Equal Rights Amendment on July 9. She was wearing a Teamsters union button.

"I've been on picket lines," the woman answered. "It's the same thing, isn't it?" Her union local had sent a bus to the march, filled mainly with women unionists. The next time, she assured us, the whole union would be there.

"When we get back, we're going to tell the men that we picket for the truckers when they go out on strike, so they'd better march when we come down here to march!"

The union ought to be in the thick of the ERA battle. That sentiment was voiced repeatedly among the union contingents at the July 9 march.

"Next time we'll bring five or ten buses. We ought to turn out every steelworker in the country!"

"It's about time my union dues went for something worthwhile."

"The union is basically to help people's livelihoods, so they should help here."

Union members want to win the ERA. They want their unions to help them do it.

So far, many unions have verbally endorsed the amendment. Some have respected the National Organization for Women's boycott of states that have not yet ratified the ERA. Some have sent contingents to recent marches.

Yet the big contingents at July 9, the buses, leaflets, and money donated—these were just a glimpse of the union power that could be thrown into the battle for the ERA and other women's rights. Up to now labor has not really flexed its muscle for the ERA—it's barely lifted a finger.

Obstacle

Why not? Why aren't the unions committing their considerable resources and mobilizing their members behind the ERA in a big way?

This is not an isolated problem.



July 9 national march for ERA. Working women are increasingly demanding that unions fight for their needs.

Workers on the job find it hard to get union power activated behind demands for higher wages, shorter hours, and better conditions—much less around broad social issues.

The obstacle is an entrenched, conservatized union bureaucracy that represents working people in name only. The labor bureaucrats see their role as guardians of "labor peace," for which they are rewarded with fat salaries and numerous petty privileges. They suppress democracy in the unions and are deathly afraid of mass action by the ranks, which might challenge their domination.

Instead of leading a fight to secure a better living and equal rights for all workers, the union officialdom acquiesces in discrimination against Blacks and women. It bases itself on a layer of older, white, male workers who are relatively better off (although these workers too will lose unless they join in a united struggle with Blacks and women).

The union bureaucracy is being challenged more and more, however.

Workers are demanding the right to vote on their contracts and officers—and they are often booting out incumbent officials and turning down inadequate contracts.

A Steelworkers Fight Back slate headed by Ed Sadlowski campaigned for union democracy and won the support of tens of thousands of steelworkers in that union's 1977 elections. Rank-and-file coal miners defied their officers and rejected two contract offers last winter. Opposition forces are organizing in the Teamsters and other unions.

Take back union

These challenges all have a common theme. Working people are increasingly looking to their unions to do what they were organized to do—defend their interests. More workers than at any time in decades are seeing the need to *take back* their unions from the bureaucrats and use union power to fight for their needs.

Women are going to play a big role in these efforts to make the unions effective. Women now are 46 percent of the work force. They have specific concerns. And they have an advantage they didn't have in the past—they are backed up by a visible, growing women's movement.

Women workers want a say over their contracts so that they can get medical coverage for pregnancy, affirmative-action programs, benefits for their families. Women certainly want to have their say about working conditions and grievance procedures.

The District 31 Women's Caucus in the United Steelworkers put it this way in its June *Bulletin*: "If union demo-

cracy is important to anyone, it is important to women. We must change the situation where we have no voice in the highest levels of the union."

Beginning from different immediate questions, these struggles can and should reinforce each other. Women can find valuable allies among others who are fighting for union democracy. In turn, women workers will be one of the most powerful and dynamic forces for changing the unions—transforming them into democratic, fighting organizations that champion the rights of all workers.

Need political weapon

As soon as working people try to use their unions in this way, they will run head-on into the Democratic and Republican parties.

The needs of working people cannot be adequately settled in contracts with individual companies. They depend on broader social issues—cutbacks in social services, economic policies, taxes, affirmative action, democratic rights, and so forth. These are all *political* questions. And working people need a *political* weapon.

It is becoming clearer every day that both the Democratic and Republican parties represent only the big-business interests—the enemies of women and Blacks as well as the unions. The two parties that enact strikebreaking legislation and ignore workers' needs are the same ones that have bottled up the ERA and are knifing abortion rights and affirmative action.

But unions democratically controlled by the workers themselves could be the basis for a totally new political organization—a mass, independent labor party. Such a party could mobilize and organize the power of the working class to win a decent life for all.

Can it be done? In the 1930s the labor movement had to overcome conservative misleaders and break out of the confines of narrow craft unionism to make any progress. And it did—a mass upsurge of workers smashed the employers' resistance and organized basic industry in a few short years.

In the same way working people will find they must break out of the confines of the two big-business parties. And they will surmount that obstacle.

Women will play a major role in this process, both through the organizations of the women's movement and through the trade unions. By tirelessly raising and fighting for their demands, women will help point the way forward.

The union participation in the national ERA march and the spirit on July 9—while just a beginning—show the direction the labor movement and women will both need to win.



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...Peru

Continued from page 23

sembly on the spot by proposing an action program to deal with the crisis.

"We know that only a workers government is going to be able to do this," Hugo Blanco explained in reference to the proposals of the workers deputies. "But we have made the motion precisely in order to unmask the APRA and the PPC [the two main capitalist parties]. These gentlemen waged their entire campaign saying they were against the military dictatorship, but now they don't want to do anything concretely to put an end to it."

The next session of the assembly, which will debate the motion, will probably be during the first week of August. By then the military regime will be facing yet another big problem.

Forty thousand miners organized by the FNTMMP are set to begin an

indefinite general strike August 2 demanding the reinstatement of 400 miners and the rest of the 5,000 fired union militants; abrogation of the regime's special emergency mining decree, under which troops have been sent into the mining areas and the rights of the unions have been drastically curtailed; a general wage increase; and a series of local demands.

The strike will shut virtually all the copper, zinc, and other mines that bring in the lion's share of Peru's export income.

"We know the government is ready to take all necessary measures to break this strike," FNTMMP General Secretary Victor Cuadros told me. "The ranks of the miners are well aware of this, and we have been working in all the mining areas to organize concrete support for the strike. Our goal is to halt the government's offensive against the working class."

...teachers need united action to halt cuts

Continued from back page

the current assault on public workers.

In his home base of New York, Shanker accepted the lies of Democratic and Republican officeholders that there was "no money" for the schools. He refused to lead a united fight of labor and the Black and Latino communities against the cutbacks. Instead, he pushed through contracts that eliminated thousands of jobs—sacrificing a huge proportion of the Black and Latino staff—and drastically worsened conditions in the schools.

Shanker has come to see his role as that of guardian of the jobs and status of the older white teachers. Such a divisive outlook has led the AFT officialdom into repeated conflicts with the Black and Latino communities, as well as with many among its own ranks.

In the Allan Bakke suit, Shanker put the national AFT on record in favor of *Bakke* and against the special-admissions program at the University of California Davis Medical School. The AFT's California Federation of Teachers filed a brief against *Bakke*. The UC Davis AFT local also fought *Bakke*.

Thanks to the efforts of UC Davis AFT President Paul Goodman, new documentation clearly demonstrates a consistent pattern of past discrimination at the Davis medical school. This evidence was ignored in the school's appeal to the Supreme Court.

'Reverse racism'?

This evidence is also apparently unimportant to Shanker. In last year's AFT convention debate over *Bakke*, Shanker condemned efforts to overcome discrimination as "racism."

Referring to oppressed minorities, he said, "You can't turn around and say that because there was racism for 200 years against us, now is the time that there be racism for 200 years for us."

Last year's national convention in Boston upheld Shanker. But in an unprecedented action, supporters of the fight against *Bakke*—including the AFT Black Caucus and the AFT Caucus on Desegregation and Equality in

Education—won over large numbers of delegates.

Since the convention, major units of the union have defied Shanker's pro-*Bakke* stance, including the Washington Teachers Union, the Cincinnati Federation of Teachers, and the AFT state federations in Colorado, Wisconsin, and California.

Harvard Law Prof. Derrick Bell, writing in the July 13 *Boston Globe* on labor, minorities, and the *Bakke* decision, captured the essence of Shanker's white job-trust unionism: "Opposition to racial quotas has been the slogan, but retention of superior societal status based on race has been the goal."

Wherever Blacks and other minorities have fought to desegregate student bodies or staffs, Shanker has opposed the means to achieve it—whether busing to desegregate schools or affirmative action to increase the percentage of minority staff.

To busing he has counterposed an undefined "metropolitan integration," "massive federal funding," or the mystical "other approaches."

To affirmative action he counterposes the inviolability of seniority rights, "special recruitment programs," or "full employment."

To the immediate implementation of bilingual-bicultural education through affirmative-action hiring of bilingual teachers, he counterposes a "slow" implementation through the retraining of present mainly white nonbilingual teaching staff.

But nowhere has Shanker led a fight for "other approaches" to desegregation, for massive federal funding, for metropolitan integration, for special recruitment programs, or for full employment.

White job trusts

These words in Shanker's mouth have been, as Bell argues, the "slogans." The "goal" has been the preservation of AFT locals as white job trusts against the demands of minorities for equality.

Shankerism in the AFT has not only repulsed the minority communities—which are now the majority in most

major cities where the AFT has locals. It has also led minority teachers and paraprofessionals, particularly in cities such as New York and Boston, to abstain from union participation, if not quit the union altogether.

The struggle to strengthen the AFT by putting it squarely on the side of the victims of discrimination—against *Bakke* and for affirmative-action quotas—will again be at issue in this year's convention.

Another key element of any new strategy is *teacher unity*. Shanker has consistently sabotaged unity with the much larger National Education Association by demanding AFL-CIO affiliation as a precondition for merger.

Being part of the labor movement, however, is not the same as AFL-CIO affiliation—or does Shanker think the United Auto Workers, United Mine Workers, and Teamsters are not part of the labor movement?

At the national convention, the Washington Teachers Union is proposing a step toward united action with the NEA and other public employee unions. Their resolution calls on the AFT to "work with the AFL-CIO to call a national conference of all public employee unions . . . to discuss steps to be taken to develop a united labor strategy to educate the public and to halt and reverse these attacks on pub-

lic employees."

The big problems facing teachers today can be resolved only through political action, a point that Shanker readily agrees to. But his version of political action is to look to Democratic Party politicians such as President Carter, Sen. Daniel Moynihan, New York Gov. Hugh Carey, and California Gov. Jerry Brown.

'Friends of labor'

These so-called friends of labor are leading the fight to cut social services in New York and around the country.

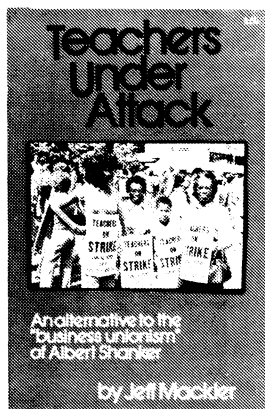
Carter's promises to increase federal funding for public education came to nothing.

Brown jumped on the Proposition 13 bandwagon.

And Moynihan—one of Shanker's favorites—sponsored the anti-public-education tuition tax credit bill, which the AFT is correctly fighting against.

We don't need any more such friends. We need to look among our own ranks for political candidates, responsible to us and independent of the Democratic and Republican parties. And it is to our own ranks—together with other unions and the Black and Latino communities—that we must look for the mobilized power that can defeat the attacks against education and teacher unionism.

Teachers Under Attack



By Jeff Mackler

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Former AFT activist discusses teacher unity

By Erich Martel

For more than eleven years, Jeff Mackler was a teacher and activist in the American Federation of Teachers—most recently as the organizer of the Hayward, California, AFT Local 1423.

When California teachers won the right to collective bargaining last year, the new law provided for elections in each school district. In Hayward, the AFT lost the vote to the National Education Association.

In a recent interview with the *Militant*, Mackler explained what happened after that. "We AFT members had to decide whether to wait two years for another election and try to decertify the NEA, or to join the NEA affiliate.

"After many months of discussion, during which we reviewed the history and evolution of both the AFT and the NEA locals, the AFT members voted to recommend that all AFT members and unaffiliated teachers join the NEA affiliate, the Hayward Unified Teachers Association (HUTA).

"The decision was based on the conclusion that HUTA had undergone fundamental changes over the past decade and had shed its former company-union baggage.

"In 1974 the AFT local and HUTA led a joint strike, which resulted in one of the best contracts in the state. While important differences still remain between the two unions, our membership felt that they could best be discussed in a single, united union."

As for the reaction of HUTA, Mackler reports that "at every level teachers were pleased that the rivalry had ended. AFT members were actively welcomed to help build and lead the HUTA. Two former local AFT presidents and myself decided to run for executive board positions in HUTA.

"We patiently explained our ideas, including our points of agreement and disagreement. And to the surprise of many, we were all handily elected."

Mackler believes their experience in Hayward to be a small step toward ending the factional warfare between the two teachers unions nationally. Such warfare, he says, only weakens teachers and emboldens school board attacks on both organizations.

"We cannot afford to continue this infighting in the face of the massive assault on education, of which Proposition 13 in California is only the

most recent example. With more than a half-million unemployed teachers nationally, the squandering of millions of dollars on fighting each other is a disgrace."



JEFF MACKLER
Militant/Lynn Henderson

Mackler says that long-standing disagreements between the Hayward AFT local and the leadership of AFT President Albert Shanker were absolutely not a factor in the decision to join the NEA.

"While it is true that over the years there have been disagreements with the Shanker leadership, the main consideration was that we have one united teacher organization, which we feel should be the case nationally.

"It is true that there are some issues in which we find ourselves in closer agreement with the NEA, namely school desegregation and affirmative action."

But there are other fundamental questions, Mackler explains, over which the Hayward teachers disagree with the officials of both unions.

"This is around political action and whether teachers should rely on the Democratic and Republican parties. Last year our local sent a resolution to the AFT convention calling on the union to take steps toward forming a new political party based on the trade-union movement, a labor party.

"We intend to raise these same issues within the NEA."

Quote unquote

"Unless this terrifying population explosion is checked, we run the risk of losing all the advantages of a civilized way of life."

—Department of Environmental Conservation, University of Witwatersrand, South Africa, on the increase in the Black population there.

SOME WORDS ARE DIRTIER THAN OTHERS

The Federal Communications Commission ruled July 28 that the word "nigger" is not a dirty word unfit for broadcast. The decision came in response to a request from Georgia NAACP President Julian Bond that the FCC forbid ultrarightist J.B. Stoner from using the word in his gubernatorial campaign TV ads.

Barring the word "nigger" from Stoner's ads, the FCC said, would constitute censorship.

The ruling came just weeks after the U.S. Supreme Court upheld an FCC decision censoring radio station WBAI for playing a record that included "seven dirty words."

RUSSELL MEANS SENT TO PRISON

Indian leader Russell Means was sent to a South Dakota state prison July 28 to serve a four-year term for "rioting."

The charges were the result of a 1974 police attack on Native Americans in a South Dakota courthouse.



Russell Means entering South Dakota state prison July 28.

MILLER RECALL SQUASHED

The international executive board of the United Mine Workers has rejected petitions demanding recall of union President Arnold Miller. Opponents of Miller say they turned in 31,000 signatures, more than double the number needed to start the recall procedure. The IEB voted fourteen to five July 25 that the petitioners had not proven Miller "guilty of malfeasance" before circulating the petitions.

The recall movement developed after the miners' health benefits were cut a year ago. It gained considerable steam during the coal strike last winter. Supporters of recall charge Miller knew of the impending health cutbacks but kept it secret to help his chances for reelection in June 1977. They also contend he failed to negotiate adequately during the strike.

The Denver meeting was reportedly the first time the IEB had met west of the Mississippi, far away from the heart of Miller opposition in West Virginia. Further trampling on union democracy, Miller reportedly issued a directive that his critics were not to receive official union certification to be absent from work for the meeting. Without such certification, they could be fired for "absenteeism."

CHICANOS PROTEST POLICE BRUTALITY

Fifty people picketed a Long Beach, California, police station July 20 to protest police brutality in the East Long Beach Chicano community.

On July 3, cops arrested forty-six people and inflicted several injuries in a rampage through the community.

The cops have released all forty-six and dropped 90 percent of the charges against them.

The July 3 Committee, made up of community residents and staff members of the East Side Neighborhood Center, has called for an end to police harassment and brutality in East Long Beach and an investigation of the cops responsible for the July 3 attack.

COURT UPHOLDS DAYTON SCHOOL BUSING

A federal appeals court July 27 ruled for the second time that Dayton, Ohio, schools

must implement a limited busing plan to desegregate. The plan will cover 13,000 of the district's 37,000 students.

"[D]efendants [the Dayton school board] have utterly failed to comply with their ongoing 24-year obligation to desegregate the Dayton schools," the court ruled, "and in addition have committed affirmative acts that have exacerbated racial segregation."

VIETNAM VET SUES CHEMICAL COMPANIES

Vietnam veteran Paul Reutershan is suing three chemical companies that manufacture Agent Orange, a powerful defoliant used in Vietnam. Agent Orange, more than 100 million pounds of which were dumped on Vietnam, contains dioxin, a known carcinogen.

Reutershan flew his helicop-

ter through "huge clouds of the stuff," he said.

The ex-GI is dying of cancer. Reutershan's suit, which seeks \$10 million, charges that the three companies knew Agent Orange would cause cancer.

'ALIENS ON WELFARE' MYTH DEBUNKED

A Social Security Administration study has concluded that "very few illegal aliens are improperly benefiting" from the Aid to Families with Dependent Children or Supplemental Security Income programs. AFDC and SSI are the major federal cash assistance programs.

The study checked 45,000 cases for the first half of 1977 and found only 11 recipients who were undocumented workers.

Few undocumented workers apply for these programs, officials explained, because they are "unwilling to jeopardize their anonymity by presenting themselves to a government agency and applying for public assistance."

WHO SHOULD PAY FOR NUKES?

The consumer affairs office of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare said July 28 that the cost of the Seabrook, New Hampshire, nuclear power plant should be borne by stockholders in the Public Service Company, which is building the plant, and not by the company's customers.

PSC has asked the Federal Energy Regulatory Commission for permission to include construction costs in its rate

because some state representative thinks it's illegal. I think it's going to have to be tested."

Students at IU sponsored rallies and demonstrations last year that finally forced the trustees to divest some of the university's holdings in apartheid.



Indiana University demonstration earlier this year demanded dumping of stocks in companies doing business with South Africa.

Divestment under fire in Indiana

The trustees of Indiana University said July 18 that they will sell off university-owned stocks of some companies doing business with South Africa, despite the state attorney general's opinion that such divestment is illegal.

The attorney general de-

clared July 17 that "trustees may not manipulate trust holdings to serve their own political ideologies or to serve any other special interest."

However, one trustee responded: "I don't think this board is going to back down

base. The costs would then be included in each customer's monthly electric bill.

MISS RACIST UNIVERSE

The new Miss Universe, crowned July 24, is Margaret Gardiner, a white South African.

Bryant Rollins, editor of the New York Black daily *Amsterdam News*, called the decision "another indication of the insensitivity of white institutions."

Gardiner is a firm supporter of apartheid. She said that "it would be disastrous" if the Black majority took power now in South Africa.

PROOF THAT COPS ARE CRIMINALS

According to the office of the attorney general of Mexico, one of every four crimes reported in Mexico City is committed by a uniformed cop.

A report added that cops classified as "psychopathic" outnumber other cops by twelve to one.

AND IT'S NOT THAT GREAT HERE, EITHER

Unemployment for 1977 rose in nineteen of twenty major capitalist countries surveyed by the International Labor Organization. The only country in which unemployment dropped was the United States.

The ILO reported that 1,900 people each day were added to the ranks of the unemployed.

Even in the "bright spot"—the United States—the AFL-CIO reported average 1977 unemployment at 10 percent, about 10 million people.

Louisiana attacks abortion rights

A Louisiana law that goes into effect September 8 will greatly restrict women's right to abortion.

The law, written by the attorney for Baton Rouge Right to Life and Citizens Against Abortion, requires doctors to tell women seeking abortion that the fetus is "a human life from the moment of conception."

It also forces doctors to describe "in detail" the appearance of the fetus, and to warn women that abortion is "a major surgical procedure which can result in

serious complications," including "severe emotional disturbances."

In addition, the law requires parental consent or a court order for women under fifteen to get abortions and parental notification or a court order for unmarried women under eighteen. It also mandates a twenty-four-hour waiting period.

"Louisiana has now become the new standard-bearer for a new constitutional regulation of abortion," crowed Marvin Weinberger, chairman of the anti-abortion "Citizens for

Informed Consent" in Akron, Ohio.

The Louisiana bill was modeled on a similar law passed by the Akron city council.

The law passed the Democratic-controlled House without a dissenting vote and the Senate by thirty-five to one. It was signed into law by Democratic Gov. Edwin Edwards.

The restrictions fly in the face of a recent Gallup poll that found that 75 percent of Americans support legalizing abortion.

The Great Society

Harry Ring



Texas strikers win support

Striking sanitation workers in San Antonio, Texas, have won the backing of important Chicano community organizations in their fight to be rehired.

One hundred seventy workers were fired after they went on strike July 22 for a 9.3 percent wage boost. The strikers are represented by the San Antonio Refuse Collectors Association (SARCA).

Four hundred strikers and their supporters gathered for a rally at city hall July 27. Speakers from the Texas Farm Workers Union, League of United Latin American Citizens, Socialist Workers Party, Mexican-American Cultural Center, Tu-CASA, PADRES, and CASA-HGT all declared that

their groups backed the strikers' demand to be rehired.

Two days later, after a heated debate, the San Antonio Central Labor Council voted to demand the SARCA strikers be rehired. This is significant because most of the city's union officialdom had previously sided with the city against SARCA.

Also on July 29, striking SARCA members and other unionists had a chance to tell their story at a meeting sponsored by the Militant Forum. Speakers included members of the Amalgamated Transportation Union and South San Antonio Teachers Association, and Agnes Chapa, Socialist Workers Party candidate for attorney general.

MAYOR VETOES GAY RIGHTS

The Hartford, Connecticut, City Council passed a measure July 24 barring discrimination against homosexuals, but Mayor George Athanson vetoed it. Athanson was scheduled to make a trip abroad but had the bill delivered to his hotel room so he could reject it.

"I have some serious questions on whether it affects teachers," the bigoted mayor said. "They say it doesn't, but there are serious questions in my mind."

FEDS SAY THEY'LL BACK INDIAN CLAIM

The Justice Department announced July 31 that it will sue the state of Maine on behalf of two Indian tribes. The Penobscot and Passamaquoddy Indians charge that 12.5 million acres were stolen from them in violation of laws passed in the 1790s.

The federal government has tried to get the state to agree to out-of-court settlement, but the state has refused.

The Indians are suing for \$300 million and 350,000 acres.

Oh—In 1976 New York City banned trucks and barges carrying radioactive material when a city study showed that a single accident could kill 10,000 people immediately and cause a million fatal cases of cancer. Now a federally funded study asserts that it would be less than 1 percent of that. Attempting to explain the statistical disparity, a federal spokesperson said, "There's a difference in the way the two handle the numbers."

You live longer?—When financier Felix Rohatyn resigned as head of the Municipal Assistance Corporation, which dictates New York City's finances, he told a reporter, "Giving up power is like giving up smoking."

Supersleuths—A \$330,000 federal study confirmed that U.S. crime laboratories don't know what they're doing. Some 71 percent were unable to match blood samples, 34 percent couldn't match paint

samples, and 50 percent couldn't identify dog hair.

Postal courtesy—If you send a letter abroad, don't use one of those new "A" stamps. Because they lack a specific denomination, other countries refuse to accept them. The Post Office, however, continues to send them abroad, knowing they will be returned. Why? "As a public service," a postal spokesperson explained. "We send them on and hope the country will accept it."

Up the corporate ladder? A recent study indicates that while men still lead in crimes of violence, women are catching up with them in crimes against property, such as embezzlement and forgery. It occurred to us that these may be the women who take seriously the advice about working within the system.

Capitalism Fouls Things Up

Asbestos in the shipyards

This week's guest columnist is Robin Maisel.

LONG BEACH, Calif.—A study of 6,640 current employees of the U.S. Naval Shipyard here, made public in June, showed that 1,061 or about 16 percent are suffering from asbestosis. The findings were made by Dr. Jean Felton, the Naval Shipyard medical director.

According to the Merck Manual, an authoritative medical guide, asbestosis is a scarring of the lungs caused by inhalation of asbestos fibers. The damage is permanent, causing a progressive failure of the respiratory system. The disease follows an insidious course, giving few symptomatic clues to the sufferer at first. Asbestosis patients run a considerably higher risk of getting lung cancer than the population as a whole.

Dr. Felton's study was only made on current employees, not on those who have worked at the shipyard in previous years. The government estimates that since World War II between 8 and 11 million workers have been exposed to asbestos, including shipyard workers all over the country.

Asbestos is now banned from use on new navy ships. But when renovation of older ships takes place, tons of the deadly material is stripped off steam pipes to be replaced with fiberglass.

Despite these dangers, the navy has no plans to correct the situation or to help the affected workers.

Dr. Felton's only recommendation to the workers with asbestosis was to stop smoking. Of the 1,061 identified as having asbestosis, 780 are production workers, the rest are white-collar workers who simply work at the shipyard, breathing the general atmosphere. Families of production workers also face a high risk from asbestos dust brought home on work clothes and on car upholstery.

As time goes by, a worker's chance of contracting asbestosis increases. Among those with twenty-two to twenty-seven years of service, the rate of disease jumped to 37 percent.

E. John Hanna, director of industrial relations for the shipyard, admitted that

"we've known about [the problem] for some time." He said there will be stepped-up efforts to get the workers to wear protective equipment.

But according to Charles Ay, business agent of Local 20, International Association of Heat and Frost Insulation and Asbestos Workers, such equipment is often not available.

Steve Roberts, executive secretary of Local 9, Industrial Union of Marine and Shipbuilding Workers of America, says that "all shipyard workers are exposed at times to asbestos, but there are no medical screening programs yet at private shipyards."

The cancer unit of the California Occupational Safety and Health Administration has only ten inspectors to cover 3,000 registered companies in southern California, a tiny fraction of all the plants where carcinogens are used. And no one will be hired to strengthen the team because of the Proposition 13 cutbacks.

With regard to the study done at the Naval Shipyard here in Long Beach, the U.S. Navy has been tight-lipped. Two Long Beach-area U.S. representatives, Mark Hannaford and Jerry Patterson, have attacked "the Navy's apparent policy of obstructing press inquiries into the asbestos issue..." as a "clumsy and unwarranted attempt at managing the news."

The bottom line is that both the government and private shipyards are subjecting workers and their families to huge health risks, that there are no programs to screen the health of the workers except at the navy shipyard, and that when screening does take place, there is no program in either government or private industry to alter the situation.

The best medical care the navy has been able to come up with is advice not to smoke.

The tragedy would be bad enough, except for one thing. According to the Merck Manual, asbestosis "is completely preventable, primarily by effective dust suppression in the work environment."

But that would cut profits or divert funds from Washington's other military objectives.

Racists threaten Miami SWP



A Nazi swastika and slogan were found painted on the front of the Miami Socialist Workers Party campaign headquarters July 28.

It was a clear attempt to intimidate the socialists, coming on the heels of much publicity for the SWP campaign. At a recent press conference at the headquarters, Lee Smith, SWP candidate for U.S. Congress from Florida's Thirteenth District, had announced he would sue Florida for the right to run a write-in campaign.

Immediately after the attack was discovered, Smith and several supporters filed a police report and alerted the news media. Two television stations and the two local news radio stations covered the event.

Smith pointed the finger of blame at the government. "The FBI actually encour-

ages such acts by racist extremists and has, in fact, taken part in such acts. Even more clearly, blame can be laid on a government which sides with the racist 'reverse discrimination' lie in the Allan Bakke case and which seeks to deport Haitian political refugees. This is the political encouragement the government provides for the Nazis to rally in Chicago and the Klan to rally in Florida."

Calling on the police and city administration to conduct a vigorous investigation to discover those responsible for the threats and vandalism, Smith said:

"We won't be intimidated by illegal, racist, and anti-Semitic acts such as this. The people of Miami have a right to hear our proposals, and we won't let them down."

Our Revolutionary Heritage

Celebrating 50 years of the Militant, 1928-1978

Hiroshima Day

On August 6 and 9, 1945, United States forces, under direct orders from Democratic President Harry Truman, carried out the most horrible war crime in history—the atomic bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Hundreds of thousands of civilians were killed immediately. The lingering effects of the bombs continue, thirty-three years later, to cause cancer and birth defects in Japan.

While the Communist Party Stalinists and labor bureaucrats cheered the slaughter—echoing the imperialists' claim that worldwide peace was at hand—the Socialist Workers Party told the truth about what capitalism held in store. Under the banner headline "There is no peace!" the August 18, 1945 'Militant' published a statement by the SWP National Committee, excerpts from which are printed below.

The second imperialist world war has ended. Six years of wholesale slaughter and devastation have been brought to an awful climax with the discovery of the atomic bomb and its use, with frightful effect, against the people of Japan.

The atomic bombing of the Japanese cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, with a combined population of 600,000 men, women and children, has sent a wave of revulsion and anxiety throughout the world, especially among the toiling populations who are the principal victims of war. It is universally realized that mankind has been saved from total annihilation in World War II only because the atomic bomb was invented so late. There is also the conviction, amounting to certainty, that another world war will mean the doom of the human race.

Truman declared that Britain and the United States "do not intend to reveal the secret [of the atomic bomb] until means have been found to control the bomb so as to protect ourselves and the rest of the world from the danger of total destruction . . . We must constitute ourselves trustees of this new force—to prevent its misuse, and to turn it into channels of service to mankind."

And what does Truman mean by "misuse" of the atomic bomb? Was the deliberate and cold-blooded extermination of 600,000 Japanese a high act of humanitarianism? In the shyster language of the imperialist criminals, a weapon is "misused" only when it is employed by their opponents. The Nazis "misused" the weapon of aerial bombardment when they blasted Warsaw, Rotterdam and Coventry. The Japanese imperialists "misused" it when they blasted Canton, Hankow and Chungking.

Then the Anglo-American imperialists improved on the performance of their rivals and wiped out dozens of German



Cartoon by Laura Gray from April 20, 1946, 'Militant'

and Japanese cities and hundreds of thousands of civilian inhabitants. They just "forgot," and hoped their own peoples would forget, their previous pretended indignation.

Let no man deceive himself with the thought that because Germany and Japan have been defeated, a new war, at least during the lifetime of this generation, is unlikely. Capitalist appetites and imperialist rivalries remain. Only the focus of the antagonisms has shifted. War is the end result of the ceaseless capitalist hunt for profits, markets, colonies, spheres of influence.

To conceal the true source of war, capitalist propagandists divide the nations into "aggressors" and "peace-lovers." This is a lie. The people of every nation hate war, for they are its victims. They are plunged into war by the capitalist rulers, who alone profit from it. It contributes exactly nothing to an understanding of the profound social causes of war to say that Germany or Japan started it. Germany and Japan have been defeated. Yet the germs of war are STILL lodged in the heart of capitalist society.

No trust whatsoever can be placed in the "peace-loving" declarations of the statesmen of capitalism in this or any other country. Only the utter wiping out of capitalist rule throughout the world can insure that atomic explosives will never again be used for mass murder.

Let the cataclysmic horror of Hiroshima and Nagasaki serve as a clarion call to the working class! The workers must wrench the power from the hands of the blood-drenched capitalist criminals and take their destiny in their own hands.

The fight for socialism is now more than a fight to end poverty and inequality, to abolish the exploitation of man by man. Today the fight for socialism is a fight to prevent the annihilation of the human race.

Mankind must now exterminate the capitalist system—or be exterminated!

Letters

Repression in Paraguay

I am a student at the University of New Mexico, Albuquerque. I am a reader of the magazine *Perspectiva Mundial* and admire the campaign *PM* and the *Militant* wage on behalf of human rights.

On July 7 a group of armed individuals seized the Paraguayan deputy, Domingo Laíno, principal opposition figure to Alfredo Stroessner, dictator of Paraguay. The kidnapping occurred in the capital of Paraguay, Asunción. Although nothing is known about the whereabouts of Laíno, official sources admit that the kidnapping was the work of a group of agents of the paramilitary forces of the Stroessner regime.

The kidnapping of Laíno took place after he attended a session of the Organization of American States in Washington. At the session, the case of Paraguay was taken up, and it was decided to condemn the systematic violation of human rights in the country, which has been occurring since 1954.

Domingo Laíno has been one of the most outstanding figures denouncing the arbitrariness of Stroessner. Without doubt, the information given by Laíno contributed to the condemnation of the dictator by the OAS. In order to discourage attitudes such as those of the deputy, the regime opted to have him kidnapped by a group of bandits.

At the time he was seized, Laíno was brutally beaten by the assailants. It is possible that he is dead.

It is necessary to give this infamous deed the greatest publicity. That could save his life. International public opinion is not a magic cure, but in many cases it has saved physical suffering, persecution, and even the loss of life to many.

A reader
Albuquerque, New Mexico

Teachers] racism poses for the union.

What struck me was Lovell's linking of the *Bakke* decision to the "general takeback drive of the employers and government against the unions, working people, and oppressed minorities." This connection can be difficult for non-socialists to understand. Perhaps another article could more extensively spell out the relationship between government's racist moves and the support it receives from the union bureaucracy—which drives a wedge between the union membership and its allies.

We in the Socialist Workers Party branch here are concluding a study of the Teamster strikes and the importance of unions as social instruments of struggle. It would be helpful to have an article pointing out how the unions are, can be, and—in view of the current government antilabor campaign—need to be, reaching out actively to gain support from and to give support to all working-class minorities.

Howard Mayhew
Albany, New York

SWP vs. FBI

In consideration of the work the Socialist Workers Party has done in challenging Attorney General Griffin Bell, I have decided to send for a six-week trial subscription. When I enter the University of Wisconsin this fall, I will probably get a regular sub.

M.Z.
Eau Claire, Wisconsin

Media distorts facts

In the article "How police serve the ruling rich" [see July 28 *Militant*], you mention "the Hollywood fantasy land" illusion that cops are the diligent guardians of justice only in passing, as if it is so ridiculous as to be of no importance. But millions of people in this country believe in that nonsense, or at least part of it.

Every day the idiot box fills the homes of the vast majority of Americans with propaganda in defense of all institutions of capitalism. They fill our society with moronic prejudices and myths designed and produced by the owners of ABC, NBC, and CBS.

They willfully misrepresent the aims and motives of all groups working for progressive social change. They disparage demonstrators. They slander strikers. They black out news that would be particularly embarrassing to the government, the corporations, and most especially to the police. They present the cops' and CIA's versions of events as unquestionable fact and usually ignore or distort any

ERA marcher

I am especially interested in the issues of the *Militant* covering the Equal Rights Amendment march in Washington, D.C., July 9. Please send me those issues, and an introductory subscription.

I was a participant in the march and was interviewed by a *Militant* reporter.
Joanne Higgins
Roslindale, Massachusetts.

Unions & Bakke

Frank Lovell's article, "Shanker support to Bakke endangers teachers union," which appeared in the July 28 *Militant*, was right on target. It points to the danger that Albert Shanker's [president of the American Federation of

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Towards a history of Trotskyism

conflicting information.

I'm sure most participants and supporters of all the various social struggles must be asking themselves similar questions about the uses and origins of "news." So I'd like to suggest to *Militant* readers a slogan I think would be appropriate for every demonstration: Who owns the mass media? What else do they own?

Geronimo
Northampton, Massachusetts

Fighting Prop 13

The plant where I work is in an industrial suburb of Los Angeles. Of the 200 or so workers, approximately 50 percent are Chicanos. Conditions are bad, and wages are low.

Two months ago, the company started courses in blueprint reading and machine-tool use. The courses were accredited and paid for by the San Gabriel Valley Adult School. Learning the correct use of micrometers, calipers, etc.—and having a certificate that said so—opened the door for many workers to job upgrading, or to get better jobs somewhere else.

Then funding for the classes was canceled after passage of [tax initiative] Proposition 13.

The next morning several of the Chicano workers decided to circulate a petition expressing our desire to complete the course.

As we went around to different departments, we soon were talking to groups of from two to ten workers affected by the cancellation. Others who were not in the class would also come by to talk about the effect of Prop 13. This often brought entire departments to a temporary halt.

Many of the workers were angry and felt betrayed. Those who had voted for Prop 13 felt slightly embarrassed.

Of the forty-five students in the class, thirty-five, all we could find, signed the petitions.

Twenty minutes after we handed in the signatures, the main boss of the machine shop came over to me. He said the classes would resume that night—that the company was picking up the tab. He added that I should get back to work—which I did, after making another round of the plant to tell of our small victory over Prop 13.

Raúl González
Los Angeles, California

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

This year is the fortieth anniversary of the founding of the Fourth International, the worldwide revolutionary socialist party established under the leadership of Leon Trotsky in 1938. It is therefore particularly appropriate that *Towards a History of the Fourth International*, a series of twelve Education for Socialists Bulletins, is now available in one bound volume.

This 566-page volume, the first part of a larger project aimed at making available source material on the history of the world Trotskyist movement, provides a valuable resource for the study of the main issues and events in that movement up until 1954.

Three articles offer a picture of problems and debates leading up to the formation of the Fourth International. These are: "How the Fourth International Was Conceived," by Jean Van Heijenoort; "Trotsky's Struggle for the Fourth International," by John G. Wright; and "The Fourth International (A History of Its Ideas and Struggles)," by Michel Pablo.

Also reprinted is a document by Max Shachtman, "Ten Years: History and Principles of the Left Opposition." In his introduction to this article, which was published in 1933 in celebration of the tenth anniversary of the Trotskyist Left Opposition, Joseph Hansen says:

"In its day, this pamphlet helped educate a generation of English speaking revolutionary Marxists . . . it is still of value, providing in particular a clear presentation of the key programmatic issues dividing Trotskyism from Stalinism as they still stand in the main."

In addition to a section on the Fourth International immediately following World War II, the volume also

contains documents and correspondence dealing with the postwar efforts to build the international Trotskyist movement and with the differences that in 1954 led to the division of the Fourth International into two public factions for nearly a decade.

Two bulletins from a second series on the history of the Fourth International are already available. The second series—*The Struggle to Reunify the Fourth International*—will cover the period from the split in the international movement in 1954 to its reunification in 1963.

Towards a History of the Fourth International, which is regularly priced at \$15, will be available at the Active Workers and Socialist Educational Conference, which will be held August 5-12 in Ohio, for \$12.

* * *

In addition to the series on the history of the world Trotskyist movement, dozens of other Education for Socialists Bulletins are now available. For example, there are three bulletins dealing with the socialist strategy for fighting racist and fascist attacks.

Special mention should also be made of the three-part series on the Chinese revolution by Peng Shu-tse and Chen Pi-lan. Leaders of the Chinese Communist Party in its early days, participants in the second Chinese revolution of 1925-27, and founders of the Chinese Trotskyist movement, Peng and Chen make a unique contribution. Their three bulletins are accompanied by a fourth on "The Chinese Revolution and its Development."

—Paul Montauk

Towards a History of the Fourth International

8½ x 11 format, 566 pages, \$15.00.

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Leon Trotsky, founder of the Fourth International

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CALIFORNIA: Berkeley: SWP, YSA, 3264 Adeline St. Zip: 94703. Tel: (415) 653-7156. East Los Angeles: SWP, YSA, 1237 S. Atlantic Blvd. Zip: 90022. Tel: (213) 265-1347. Los Angeles, Crenshaw District: SWP, YSA, 2167 W. Washington Blvd. Zip: 90018. Tel: (213) 732-8196. Los Angeles: City-wide SWP, YSA, 1250 Wilshire Blvd., Room 404, Zip: 90017. Tel: (213) 482-1820. Los Angeles, Southeast: SWP, YSA, 2554 Saturn Ave., Huntington Park, 90255. Tel: (213) 582-1975. Oakland: SWP, YSA, 1467 Fruitvale Ave. Zip: 94601. Tel: (415) 261-1210. San Diego: SWP, YSA, 1053 15th St. Zip: 92101. Tel: (714) 234-4630. San Francisco: SWP, YSA, 3284 23rd St. Zip: 94110. Tel: (415) 824-1992. San Jose: SWP, YSA, 942 E. Santa Clara St. Zip: 95112. Tel: (408) 295-8342. COLORADO: Denver: SWP, YSA, 916 Broadway. Zip: 80203. Tel: (303) 837-1018.

FLORIDA: Miami: SWP, YSA, 7623 NE 2nd Ave. Zip: 33138. Tel: (305) 756-8358.

GEORGIA: Atlanta: SWP, 471-A Flat Shoals Ave. SE, P.O. Box 846. Zip: 30301. Tel: (404) 688-6739. YSA, P.O. Box 433, Georgia State Univ. Zip: 30303. Tel: (404) 627-6265.

ILLINOIS: Champaign-Urbana: YSA, 284 Illini Union, Urbana. Zip: 61801. Chicago: City-wide SWP, YSA, 407 S. Dearborn #1145. Zip: 60605. Tel: SWP—(312) 939-0737; YSA—(312) 427-0280. Chicago, North Side: SWP, 1870 N. Halsted. Zip: 60614. Tel: (312) 642-4811. Chicago, South Side: SWP, 2251 E. 71st St. Zip: 60649. Tel: (312) 643-5520.

INDIANA: Bloomington: YSA, c/o Student Activities Desk, Indiana University. Zip: 47401. Indianapolis: SWP, 4163 College Ave. Zip: 46205. Tel: (317) 925-2616.

KENTUCKY: Lexington: YSA, P.O. Box 952 University Station. Zip: 40506. Tel: (606) 269-6262. Louisville: SWP, 1505 W. Broadway, P.O. Box 3593. Zip: 40201. Tel: (502) 587-8418.

LOUISIANA: New Orleans: SWP, YSA, 3319 S. Carrollton Ave. Zip: 70118. Tel: (504) 486-8048.

MARYLAND: Baltimore: SWP, YSA, 2117 N. Charles St. Zip: 21218. Tel: (301) 547-0668. College Park: YSA, c/o Student Union, University of Maryland. Zip: 20742. Tel: (301) 454-4758.

MASSACHUSETTS: Amherst: YSA, c/o Rees, 4 Adams St., Easthampton 01027. Boston: SWP, YSA, 510 Commonwealth Ave., 4th Floor. Zip: 02215. Tel: (617) 262-4621.

MICHIGAN: Ann Arbor: YSA, Room 4321, Michigan Union, U of M. Zip: 48109. Detroit, East Side: SWP, 12920 Mack Ave. Zip: 48215. Tel: (313) 824-1160. Detroit, West Side: SWP, 18415 Wyoming. Zip: 48221. Tel: (313) 341-6436. Detroit: SWP, YSA, 1310 Broadway. Zip: 48226. Tel: (313) 961-5675. Mt. Pleasant: YSA, Box 51 Warriner Hall, Central Mich. Univ. Zip: 48859.

MINNESOTA: Mesabi Iron Range: SWP, P.O. Box 343, Eveleth, Minn. Zip: 55734. Tel: (218) 741-4968. Minneapolis: SWP, YSA, 23 E. Lake St. Zip: 55408. Tel: (612) 825-6663. St. Paul: SWP, 373 University Ave. Zip: 55103. Tel: (612) 222-8929.

MISSOURI: Kansas City: SWP, YSA, 4715A Troost. Zip: 64110. Tel: (816) 753-0404. St. Louis: SWP, YSA, 6223 Delmar Blvd. Zip: 63130. Tel: (314) 725-1570.

NEBRASKA: Omaha: YSA, c/o Hugh Wilcox, 521 4th St., Council Bluffs, Iowa. 51501.

NEW JERSEY: Newark: SWP, 11-A Central Ave. Zip: 07102. Tel: (201) 643-3341.

NEW MEXICO: Albuquerque: SWP, 108 Morning-side Dr. NE. Zip: 87108. Tel: (505) 255-6869.

NEW YORK: Albany: SWP, YSA, 103 Central Avenue. Zip: 12206. Tel: (518) 463-0072. Binghamton: YSA, c/o Andy Towbin, Box 7120, SUNY-Binghamton. Zip: 13901. Ithaca: YSA, Willard Straight Hall, Rm. 41A, Cornell University. Zip: 14853. New York, Bronx: SWP, 2271 Morris Ave. Zip: 10453. Tel: (212) 365-6652. New York, Brooklyn: SWP, 841 Classon Ave. Zip: 11238. Tel: (212) 783-2135. New York, Chelsea: SWP, 200½ W. 24th St. Zip: 10011. Tel: (212) 989-2731. New York, Lower East Side: SWP, YSA, 7 Clinton St. Zip: 10002. Tel: (212) 260-6400. New York, Queens: SWP, YSA, 90-43 149 St. Zip: 11435. Tel: (212) 658-7718. New York, Upper West Side: SWP, YSA, 786 Amsterdam. Zip: 10025. Tel: (212) 663-3000. New York: City-wide SWP, YSA, 853 Broadway, Room 412. Zip: 10003. Tel: (212) 982-8214.

NORTH CAROLINA: Raleigh: SWP, YSA, P.O. Box 5714 State Univ. Station. Zip: 27607.

OHIO: Athens: YSA, c/o Balar Center, Ohio University. Zip: 45701. Tel: (614) 594-7497. Cincinnati:

SWP, YSA, 970 E. McMillan. Zip: 45206. Tel: (513) 751-2636. Cleveland: SWP, YSA, 13002 Kinsman Rd. Zip: 44120. Tel: (216) 991-5030. Columbus: YSA, Box 106 Ohio Union, Rm. 308, Ohio State Univ., 1739 N. High St. Zip: 43210. Tel: (614) 291-8985. Kent: YSA, Student Center Box 41, Kent State University. Zip: 44242. Tel: (216) 678-5974. Toledo: SWP, 2507 Collingwood Blvd. Zip: 43610. Tel: (419) 242-9743.

OREGON: Portland: SWP, YSA, 3928 N. Williams. Zip: 97227. Tel: (503) 288-7860.

PENNSYLVANIA: Bethlehem: SWP, Box 1096. Zip: 18016. Edinboro: YSA, Edinboro State College. Zip: 16412. Philadelphia, SWP, YSA, 218 S. 45th St., Zip: 19104. Tel: (215) 387-2451. Pittsburgh: SWP, YSA, 5504 Penn Ave. Zip: 15206. Tel: (412) 441-1419. State College: YSA, c/o Jack Craypo, 132 Keller St. Zip: 16801.

RHODE ISLAND: Kingston: YSA, P.O. Box 400. Zip: 02881. Tel: (401) 783-8864.

TENNESSEE: Knoxville: YSA, P.O. Box 8344 Univ. Station. Zip: 37916. Tel: (615) 525-0820.

TEXAS: Austin: YSA, c/o Mike Rose, 7409 Berkman Dr. Zip: 78752. Dallas: SWP, YSA, 2215 Cedar Crest. Zip: 75203. Tel: (214) 943-6684. Houston: City-wide SWP, YSA, 6412-C N. Main St. Zip: 77009. Tel: (713) 861-9960. North Houston: SWP, 6412-C N. Main St. Zip: 77009. Tel: (713) 861-9842.

Houston, South-Central: SWP, 4987 Martin Luther King Blvd. Zip: 77023. Tel: (713) 643-0005. San Antonio: SWP, YSA, 112 Fredericksburg Rd. Zip: 78201. Tel: (512) 735-3141.

UTAH: Logan: YSA, P.O. Box 1233, Utah State University. Zip: 84322. Salt Lake City: SWP, YSA, 677 S. 7th East, 2nd Floor. P.O. Box 461. Zip: 84110. Tel: (801) 355-1124.

WASHINGTON, D.C.: SWP, YSA, 3106 Mt. Pleasant St. NW. Zip: 20010. Tel: (202) 797-7699.

WASHINGTON: Seattle: SWP, YSA, 2200 E. Union. Zip: 98122. Tel: (206) 329-7404. Spokane: SWP, P.O. Box 672. Zip: 99210. Tel: (509) 535-6244. Tacoma: SWP, 1022 S. J St. Zip: 98405. Tel: (206) 627-0432.

WEST VIRGINIA: Morgantown: SWP, 957 S. University Ave. Zip: 26505. Tel: (304) 296-0055.

WISCONSIN: Madison: YSA, P.O. Box 1442. Zip: 53701. Tel: (608) 255-4733. Milwaukee: SWP, YSA, 3901 N. 27th St. Zip: 53216. Tel: (414) 445-2076.

Teachers need united action to halt cutbacks

AFT convention should set response to Prop 13, Bakke

By Bob Pearlman

Across the country, Democratic and Republican politicians are capitalizing on the victory of California's Proposition 13 to launch a new round of attacks on education.

Thirty states are presently considering measures similar to Proposition 13. Big-business politicians and the news media falsely blame high taxes and inflation on social services and "excessive" wages. Employers demand "give-backs" in upcoming contracts with public workers.

Declining enrollments are used as an excuse to slash staff and curriculum rather than to upgrade education and reduce class sizes.

In California itself, summer school has been eliminated, pay raises for teachers have been canceled, and teacher layoffs as high as 200,000 are expected next year. All this to provide a \$5 billion windfall for corporations and big landlords, but precious little relief for working-class taxpayers.

On top of this, the U.S. Supreme Court's recent ruling in favor of Allan

Bakke and against affirmative-action quotas poses a real threat to equal opportunity for women and Blacks in education and employment.

How teachers respond to these attacks will be at the center of this year's convention of the American Federation of Teachers in Washington, D.C., August 21-25.

We need to chart a course that can mobilize the ranks of the AFT in a political fight to halt the cutbacks and attacks on our rights.

By demanding that the profiteering corporations be taxed—instead of working people—teachers can win overwhelming public support for defending and improving social services. We can cut across the attempts to pit working-class taxpayers against public employees and the needy.

It is in the interest of *all* teachers to demand that affirmative-action plans be expanded, not dismantled, and that quotas be set to enforce them. By standing up for the victims of racist discrimination, the AFT can win vital support in the Black and Latino communities—among those who have the greatest stake in improving public education.

To wage this fight effectively, the AFT should take the initiative to end the factional warfare between it and



California teachers protest Proposition 13 cutbacks

the 1.3-million-member National Education Association. We need united action with the NEA and other public-employee unions, such as the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees.

Unfortunately, the course set by AFT President Albert Shanker leads in just the opposite direction. It leads to allying the AFT with our *enemies*—the

budget-cutting politicians—and isolating us from those who should be our friends—the Black and Latino communities. Continuation of Shanker's policies can only lead to more setbacks for teachers and education. Already Shanker's image as a union official able to "deliver the goods" for his membership is fading fast in light of

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Bob Pearlman is a member of the Boston Teachers Union and a delegate to the August 21-25 national convention of the American Federation of Teachers.

Interview with AFT vice-president

'Bakke decision is setback to civil rights'

The following is an interview with William Simons, a vice-president of the American Federation of Teachers and president of the Washington Teachers Union. Simons is co-coordinator of the AFT Caucus on Desegregation and Equality in Education and secretary-treasurer of the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists.

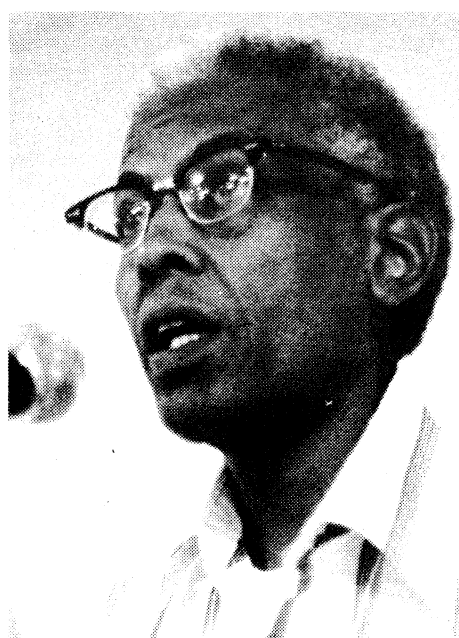
Simons's local is presenting a resolution on affirmative action to the AFT national convention calling on the union to support 'the use of goals, timetables, or any other synonymous terminology as a proper means of securing the ultimate goal of meaningful equality of opportunity.'

Simons was interviewed by Erich Martel, a member of the Washington Teachers Union.

Question. What is your overall assessment of the Supreme Court's 'Bakke' decision?

Answer. I think the decision really was a setback for the civil rights movement and for affirmative action, despite the fact that the court did say race could be considered a factor in selecting persons for institutions of higher learning.

Everyone should read Justice Thurgood Marshall's opinion in the case. I think it sums up the situation more eloquently than anything I've seen. Justice Marshall traces the plight of



WILLIAM SIMONS Militant/Lou Howort

Blacks beginning with the Constitution, which denied equality to Blacks in 1787, on down to the present day. He ends up by saying that we've gone full circle in terms of going back to square one instead of moving ahead.

Q. By specifically outlawing the use of quotas or the use of race as a sole factor among a pool of qualified applicants, won't there be a tendency towards weaker and less effective affirmative-action programs in the future?

A. If you go by the *Bakke* decision, there will be fewer minority students given an opportunity to enter professional schools.

A very interesting thing is that the Supreme Court's July 3 action on the American Telephone and Telegraph Company case upheld the original decision of Judge Leon Higginbotham in Philadelphia. Throughout that decision, you have reference to quotas. The decision ends by saying that although there might be some tensions with respect to squaring quotas and the Constitution, the remedying fashion, which very definitely called for quotas, is constitutional.

So, you have, on the one hand, the Supreme Court saying that quotas are perfectly legitimate to remedy situations, and in the *Bakke* case they, in effect, are saying that quotas are not legal in that particular instance.

Q. Is it accurate to say that the 'Bakke' decision will open up affirmative-action programs to years of legal challenge?

A. Very definitely. I suspect there are going to be a number of assaults on affirmative-action programs, and with the *Bakke* decision they will try to pick out every single sentence and use it as a basis for getting into court.

And, of course there are still cases that are pending before the Supreme Court, such as the *Weber v. Kaiser* case in Louisiana.

Q. Do you think that the attempt to legitimize the term 'reverse discrimination' with the 'Bakke' decision will in and of itself have negative consequences for the fight for equality?

A. Well, there will be those who will continue to use that term with respect to affirmative-action programs. However, I agree with those who say that there can be no reverse discrimination until we get into a position where we can exercise that kind of control over people.

We're still struggling to come up to the line, and certainly until we get to the starting line on the same equal basis as everyone else, it's ludicrous to refer to "reverse discrimination."

Q. Given the Supreme Court decision, what steps should the union movement be taking to maintain and extend affirmative-action programs?

A. The Coalition of Black Trade Unionists, at its executive committee meeting in Chicago July 8, called for the labor movement to intensify its efforts to see to it that affirmative-action programs do not die within their unions and within society as a whole.

We are going to have to be alert to every situation that comes along. Within our own union, we have to continue to impress upon those in the leadership that the fight is not over and that we are going to continue the fight until such time as every citizen enjoys the same rights as every other.