



**Student
upsurge
worldwide.
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April 25 protests tap deep sentiment for jobs, justice



Impact Visuals/Jim West

By MAY MAY GONG

It's 10 p.m. Do you know where one third of your pay check is being spent?

Well, it sure isn't being spent on better schools or better salaries for teachers. It's not being spent to provide affordable quality child-care—any working parent can tell you that. And it's certainly not being spent on affordable housing—that's where another third of your pay check goes.

No, our hard-earned tax dollars hardly provide us with any of these things. But if the working people of this country had a

**Labor defies
threats by AFL-
CIO's Kirkland.
See back page.**

genuine voice in running the country, you could be sure your money would be used to pay for these basic human needs.

Instead, we find that this government—with bipartisan support—is sponsoring a terror campaign against the peoples of Central America. It is continuing to support the brutal apartheid regime in South Africa, which recently banned all forms of protest against its racist policies.

And it is paying scientists double-time to discover new and better ways to wipe out entire villages—and the planet itself—while research for AIDS and cancer treatment is put on the back burner.

Over 3000 tons of U.S.-made bombs have displaced more than 20 percent of the population of El Salvador from their homes and have killed some 2000 people since 1984.

U.S.-funded contra radio stations in Honduras warn Nicaraguan listeners not to take much-needed polio vaccines administered by government health workers because the vaccine is a "communist brain-washing fluid."

The U.S. arsenal of strategic nuclear warheads has been expanded by a third to about 12,000 since 1981, with 2600 more on order.

The list goes on.

The success of the April 25 demonstrations in Washington, D.C., and San Francisco shows the enormous potential for mobilizing sentiment against the foreign and domestic policies of the U.S. government.

The Conragate affair demonstrated that when real government policy and actions are exposed, they don't hold up under public scrutiny. The exposure of this web of lies—though only the tip of the iceberg—no doubt helped to build the April 25 mass demonstrations.

The endorsement of the April 25 mobilizations by 19 international union

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U.S. resists full sanctions against S. African apartheid

By MICHAEL SCHREIBER

Polls show that a majority of the American people favor strong government sanctions against South Africa. Last year, Congress tipped its hat to the will of the people. On the eve of the November elections, the lawmakers authorized a program of limited sanctions.

But the government maintains its opposition to *full* sanctions that could isolate the apartheid regime among the nations of the world. Last month, the United States joined Britain in the veto of a United Nations Security Council resolution that would have banned all trade and other ties with South Africa because of its occupation of Namibia.

Most ominously, the United States shares military intelligence with South Africa that is used against Angola and other front-line states—as well as against the pro-liberation forces of the African National

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SUPPLEMENT
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**Malcolm X and
the revolutionary
potential of
Black nationalism.
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America's road to socialism, See. pp. 16-17.

The case of the Sinister Minister



By SYLVIA WEINSTEIN

For about 40-or-so years, I've been a convinced atheist. But once in a while something happens that almost makes you believe that there might be a God. How else can we explain the "revelations" that have rained down upon us in the last few months?

First came "Contragate," which revealed President Reagan's contempt for the Constitution and all its laws. Shortly after, came Wall Street's "Insidergate," showing one way the rich get richer and the working class gets poorer.

Now comes "Pearly Gate," which gives us the inside dope on the modern-day Elmer Gantrys of TV.

Of all the "Gates," my favorite is "Pearly Gate." Having been raised in a southern Hardshell-Baptist family, it brings back memories of all the fire-and-brimstone preachers I had to listen to in my girlhood—and they were quite a few.

My grandmother used to take all us kids to every tent meeting that came our way. It was cheaper

than the circus and almost as entertaining.

The "coming"

The tents were set up in an empty lot and filled with wooden folding chairs. The preacher was always from out-of-town and would advertise his "coming" with throw-away circulars. The advertisements praised the preacher as nothing less than the second coming of Christ.

The opening act of singers or musicians of spiritual music was designed to open up the soul and the pocketbook. We kids had to sit near Grandmaw and behave—or else!

The preacher would give an emotional opening sermon—and believe me, he was talented. Then the good part came. He would begin to urge the faithful to open up their souls to the Lord and tell "Him" what was troubling them.

At first, hesitantly, people would rise from their chairs to reveal their troubles and ask the congregation to pray for their loved ones. Soon, wives would tell about husbands who drank or womanized or both, and husbands would stand up and ask the faithful to pray for wives who had run off with a good friend.

If the testimony got too revealing, my grandmother would send us kids out of the tent to play—which meant that we missed the best parts.

"Better to give..."

Then the preacher would get serious! He would ask the faithful

to come to the pulpit and be forgiven for their sins. One by one they went to the altar and were "saved and sanctified" by the preacher's prayers.

Some would begin to "talk in tongues" and begin dancing in the aisles or fall down on the floor in a trance. If one of us kids laughed, we would get grandmaw's "back of the hand."

When you got up to the

speech of the night—about money and how it was better to give than to receive. Despite the Depression, folks would dig down as deep as they could. They would put something in the plate even if it meant going without.

Those preachers lived off the misery and trouble of innocent people. But that was during the Depression and they probably couldn't make an honest living,

something else. They have been stalking this country like a bunch of fascist dinosaurs.

They've been banning books from our libraries and schools, inciting the bombing of abortion clinics (while closing their eyes to the poverty and hunger of living children), sympathizing with racists in South Africa, and condemning Blacks, women, and anyone else fighting for human rights—all in the name of God.

When people are bruised and battered from joblessness, hunger, and conditions beyond their control, they often turn to the only help they know—the Bible.

But they believe in a loving and forgiving God. They have faith that the poor, not the rich, are the children of God. They view Jesus as having taken from the rich to give to the poor, chasing the money lenders from the temple, and feeding the multitude with loaves of bread and fishes.

After I became a socialist, I would try to explain it to my mother. She would say it sounded just like what Jesus said about the rich man and the eye of the needle. Her religion was one of compassion, not hate and greed.

But these TV evangelists, rolling in wealth, are in the front line of defense of all the evils of capitalist society. They are highly respected, protected, and carefully nurtured by capitalist politicians, from Reagan on down.

They couldn't get away with their swindles otherwise. ■



preacher you could usually smell the liquor on his breath. Most of the time, the preacher would pick out the prettiest young woman in the congregation and ask her to stay after so they could pray together over her sins.

As things began to wind down, the preacher would start his main

In some degree, then, they also were victims.

Dinosaurs

But Tammy and Jimmie Bakker, the Rev. Jerry Foulmouth, and all the rest of that crew of right-wing, Bible-thumping, TV preachers are

March for Women's Lives on May 16 gains support

By KATE CURRY

CINCINNATI—On May 16, pro-choice activists will be here for an important regional March for Women's Lives. The National Organization for Women (NOW) has organized this parade and rally, which demands an end to violent attacks on abortion clinics. NOW wants to ensure that abortion is kept safe and legal.

Since 1984, over 40 abortion clinics have been hit with arson or bomb attacks nationally. Only half these cases have been solved. Ohio clinics are a favorite target. Seven clinics have been attacked, and not one case has been solved.

In December 1985, two abortion clinics were firebombed here in Cincinnati. In February, an unexploded pipe bomb was discovered at the temporary quarters of the relocated Planned Parenthood clinic. Pro-choice activists are demanding government protection from these attacks and a thorough investigation into past incidents.

Each Saturday, a mob of Bible thumpers surrounds the Cincinnati clinic. Patients must run the gauntlet of their vicious remarks and hideous picket signs. NOW raised over \$35,000 to help replace the burned-out clinic.

Right-wing groups often allege that the vast majority of the population does not support a woman's right to choose abortion. Their claims have been contradicted, however, by numerous surveys and by the outpouring of some 150,000 who turned out for NOW's national Marches for Women's Lives in Washington, D.C., and Los Angeles in March 1986.

Nevertheless, the right-wingers have been



Pro-Choice Parade & Rally

Speakers: Sheri O'Dell, National NOW vice-pres.; Bill Baird, 20-year veteran for reproductive rights; Sally Bingham, writer; and Sara Beth Eason, 12-year-old schoolgirl expelled from Catholic school for pro-choice views.

Cincinnati—May 16

emboldened by the lack of visibility of pro-choice forces, which have shied away from organizing counter-protests in front of the clinics. May 16 will be the opportunity for

pro-choice activists in the Ohio-Great Lakes region to make our voices heard.

United action

All the major pro-choice forces in the Cincinnati area are united in the May 16 action.

Planned Parenthood (PP) director Ann Mitchell will be speaking at the rally. Although PP has continued to provide needed reproductive health care and education, it has not mobilized its supporters into public activities. Instead, PP has relied on getting court injunctions limiting picketing by the "right-to-life" forces.

The National Abortion Rights Action League (NARAL) opened an office in Cincinnati in January. Staffperson Debbie Jackson will address the rally.

In January, NARAL sponsored a tour for Bill Baird, a veteran reproductive-rights activist. Baird spoke on the anniversary of the Supreme Court's 1973 Roe vs. Wade decision, which recognized that a woman has a legal right to abortion. He will also speak at the May 16 rally.

NARAL has organized picket lines to expose fake clinics that pose as medical facilities but are actually fronts which try to scare women away from genuine abortion clinics. Over 200 such clinics exist across the country.

The major focus for NARAL-Ohio has been lobbying for a resolution in the state legislature urging enforcement of existing laws and condemning violence against abortion clinics.

The Religious Coalition for Abortion Rights (R-CAR) is a group of Protestant and Jewish leaders who seek to counter the

anti-choice fanatics' claim to a monopoly on spiritual insight. They oppose any effort to enact abortion laws "which would impose on all Americans a particular religious doctrine." Their support for May 16 is welcome.

As the largest and best-known feminist group in the country, NOW is best able to mobilize the majority sentiment for women's rights into action. The May 16 parade and rally in Cincinnati is an example of the kind of nationwide response that is needed to counter right-wing and government attacks on abortion rights. ■

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... April 25 protests



S.F. ILWU Local 6 has been a steadfast supporter of Mobilization for Peace, Jobs and Justice because of employer attacks on their union.

(continued from page 1)
presidents is historic. It indicates the enormous pressure coming from labor's rank-and-file members, who want to take a stand and voice their opposition to the war and austerity policies of this government.

Contrary to the position recently expressed by AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland, the vast majority of working people in this country—union-organized or not—do not support President Napoleon Duarte and his so-called "democratically elected government of El Salvador"—better known as the "death-squad government."

The American Institute for Free Labor Development (AIFLD), the official foreign-policy arm of the AFL-CIO, has launched a major campaign within the labor movement against the revolutionary government of Nicaragua and against the non-AIFLD unions in El Salvador—falsely accusing them of "terrorism." AIFLD is funded by the U.S. State Department.

AIFLD's baseless charges against Salvadoran unionists have been used by Duarte's death squads to justify the brutal repression and torture of union members and their families.

The AIFLD/AFL-CIO top officials have also attempted to prevent labor from endorsing and participating in the April 25 antiwar protests—but with no success. The majority antiwar sentiment is too deep for Kirkland's "red-baiting" efforts to be effective. [See article on back page.]

Growing anti-concessions mood

Working people are also beginning to fight back against the concessions demands of the bosses.

The strike of the Hormel P-9 workers in Austin, Minn., is the most heroic example of this fightback mood. To defend their picket line, the strikers had to confront the cops and the National Guard—who were called in to break the strike by Democratic Party Governor Rudy Perpich.

Los Angeles rally hits U.S. war drive

By KATHLEEN O'NAN

On April 4, 1500 people attended a rally at St. Vincent's Catholic Church calling for an end to U.S. support for apartheid in South Africa and an end to U.S. support to the contras in Central America. The date marked the 20th anniversary of Martin Luther King's famous anti-Vietnam War speech at Riverside Church in New York.

Keynote speakers were the Rev. A. Wright-Riggins (on Southern Africa), Dr. Charlie Clements (on Central America), and Dolores Huerta of the United Farm Workers (on domestic issues). Music was provided by Jackson Browne and by Sangre Machehual.

Organized by the April 4th Coalition, endorsers included the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), the Los Angeles County Federation of Labor (AFL-CIO), L.A. Labor Committee on Central America, the Los Angeles Catholic Worker, Clergy and Laity Concerned, and the Fall Mobilization on Central America.

A call to attend the April 25 demonstration in San Francisco was made and bus tickets were sold.

Despite the attacks leveled against the Hormel strikers by the top national AFL-CIO labor officials, over 3000 union locals donated money and supplies to the struggle. They were inspired by the determination of the strikers to resist employer takebacks and government intervention.

The 42,000 USX steelworkers who were locked out by the company when they resisted a \$3.50-per-hour pay cut also put up a valiant fight to defend their standard of living. Steelworkers have been forced to make concessions of \$1.8 billion—and still thousands of jobs have been lost. The USX workers have had enough of concessions.

Today, General Motors has announced plans to close down 11 production and assembly plants nationwide, resulting in the loss of some 30,000 jobs.

GM's concessions demands recently forced a strike by 9000 members of UAW Local 574 in Pontiac, Mich. Local 574 won the strike—a sign that when a union stands strong, it cannot be defeated. Similar anti-concessions rumblings are occurring in other GM plants across the country. [See article page 6.]

Bureaucratic misleadership

But, unfortunately, American workers are shackled by a bureaucratic misleadership.

The labor bureaucracy in this country has been historically responsible for many of the setbacks suffered by the labor movement. Our top labor officials have time and time again put the interests of American big business ahead of the interests of their own members.

In the case of the Hormel strikers, the leadership of the United Food and Commercial Workers Union (UFCW)—with the support of the entire AFL-CIO leadership—actually physically intervened on behalf of the bosses against the militant rank-and-file unionists.

The UFCW officials removed Local P-9's officers from the union, put the union local into receivership, and signed a concessionary contract with the company while hundreds of members had lost their jobs and were still ready to fight.

Still, despite the obstacle of the labor bureaucracy, working people are beginning to learn that their needs and interests are diametrically opposed to the needs and interests of their employers. We are "partners" with the capitalists as much as an ox is a "partner" with the cart it pulls.

Slowly working people are understanding that the capitalists—and their political representatives, the Democrats and Republicans—aren't looking out for the interests of working people—but are, in fact, responsible for the war and austerity policies aimed against them.

The idea that the labor movement should form its own independent political party—a labor party based on the unions and open to all the oppressed people in this country—is getting a better hearing among labor's rank and file. Such a party would drastically change the face of politics in this country.

The job of social and political activists today is to reach the real forces who have the power to change society—working people, the unemployed, farmers, students, and youth.

Linking the majority sentiment against U.S. aid to the contras and U.S. aid to apartheid in South Africa with the demand for jobs will place antiwar activists in the best position to appeal to the millions who are suffering under the worsening conditions of the capitalist crisis.



March 19 demonstration at Greyhound terminal in Chicago protesting mass firing of long-term union workers

Greyhound drivers vote up concessions contract

By JEFF MACKLER

Confronted with the likelihood of a long strike and the possible loss of their union, Greyhound Bus Drivers, represented by the Amalgamated Transit Union, approved a three-year contract in February with new owner Fred Currey of Dallas, Texas. The drivers were demobilized in their struggle by a union misleadership whose central concern was preserving the dues-paying base of the bargaining unit and avoiding confrontation with the bosses.

The concessionary contract netted Currey an estimated \$135 million over the three-year contract. It included wage and benefit

cuts ranging from 20 percent to 30 percent, depending on seniority, along with increased hours and reduced vacation.

The drivers' union has seen its ranks depleted from 14,000 members to 6000 members in recent years. In some cities like Chicago, Greyhound terminal workers earning \$10-\$12 an hour have been fired *en masse* and replaced with new employees paid \$4.50 an hour.

After they rejected two earlier contract offers from the previous owner, John Teets, the Greyhound drivers voted to accept the last offer by a 70-percent margin, an indication of their view that the necessary ingredients for an effective fightback were not present.

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Columbia University students at an anti-fascist rally in 1936

1930's student movement holds lessons for today

By ADAM WOOD

In late 1986 and early 1987, students began to rise up in the millions around issues that affected their lives. In France, Spain, Mexico, China, Greece, and even the Soviet Union young people have been making their voices heard.

One feature common to almost all these rebellions was the desire of militant students to link up with the mass organizations of the working class—the trade unions—in order to make their own struggles more effective. In some instances, the support given by the trade unions was a key element in the victories won by the students.

In the United States, student activism has played a significant role in recent history. The militant struggle by the students of the 1960s and '70s played a decisive role in ending the U.S. war in Southeast Asia.

The mass demonstrations of that period, however, took place in a country still experiencing the last phases of a post-war economic boom.

The majority of the American working class at that time still subscribed to the "guns and butter" theory. This line, advocated by the U.S. government and the AFL-CIO officialdom, pledged union support for "guns" abroad in return for "butter" and small concessions at home.

Although there were small exceptions, the organized labor movement on the whole took an ambivalent and even hostile attitude toward the student antiwar demonstrations. Because of this, students of the '60s did not look to the American working class as a powerful ally for their movement.

Little-known chapter

There is, however, a little-known chapter in the history of the American student movement in which the students looked to the American working class for inspiration and example. This period was the 1930s.

The campus of the 1930s had a different look than the campus of today. The prosperity and reforms which allowed the children of working people onto the campuses in recent decades did not exist then.

The students of that time were primarily

middle and upper class in origin. But in the early '30s—the lowest point in the Great Depression—the prospects of a lucrative professional career upon graduation were almost non-existent.

These students were largely shocked and confused by the poverty and apparent hopelessness of the world around them. Although some student organizations existed, there was little student coordination nationwide. But students were looking for a way to fight back.

A turning point came in 1932.

That year, 15,000 coal miners in Harlan County, Ky., were involved in a strike led

" Another major concern of students was war and how to stop it."

by the National Miners Union. The law enforcement agents in Harlan County had lined up with the coal operators, whose strike-breaking activities had led to many bloody clashes with the miners.

Harlan County

This strike caught the imagination of American students across the country. One of the nationally organized groups—the National Students League—initiated a project that would give students a first-hand look at the coal-miners' strike.

Pilgrimages by chartered buses were organized to bring students to Harlan County. The central purpose was to have students observe the strike and bring back an honest depiction of the struggle. The first bus left Columbia University on March 23, 1932.

The reception the students received was not what they expected. Before any of the buses could even reach Harlan County, they were headed off by mobs of deputies and attorneys for the coal operators who threatened them with lynching.

Every bus was turned back. Students nationwide were outraged. Campus publica-

tions from state to state denounced the deputies' actions and took up the cause of the miners.

First student strikes

The first student strike took place later that year in New York. Reed Harris, editor of the Columbia University *Spectator*, regularly wrote pieces which denounced R.O.T.C., defended the Harlan strikers, and took up other popular causes.

In one issue, Harris struck a problem which rubbed the school administration the wrong way. He claimed the cafeteria was being run for profit rather than for the needs of the students.

Harris was immediately expelled. The reaction was tremendous, and activists saw an opportunity to mobilize their fellow students.

Four thousand students from various New York colleges rallied to a mass meeting which issued a strike call. At Columbia, 1400 students went on strike—over 75 percent of the student body.

Another major concern of students in the '30s was war and how to stop it. Beginning in 1932, activists started organizing national conferences to debate the best way to fight against militarism and war.

From these discussions came the call for the first national student peace strike. Actions were set for April 13, 1934. Students were to leave classes at mid-day for one hour and hold mass antiwar meetings. Twenty-five thousand students responded across the country.

These strikes were to become an annual event. In 1935, 175,000 students responded to the peace strike. In 1936, the figure had climbed to 500,000. And in 1937, 1 million students struck around the country.

American Youth Congress

Throughout this period, the American student looked to the American worker for inspiration. The great general strikes in Minneapolis and San Francisco in 1934, and the strike wave of 1937 gave students confidence that they were not alone in their struggle.

The labor struggles of the time affected the students' consciousness. Students identified with the working class and began to put forward demands which challenged capitalism in their platforms and programs.

The American Youth Congress was called in 1935 to gather youth support for the Roosevelt administration. But the radicalism of the young people who attended pushed the Congress in a different direction.

A central focus of the Congress was the drafting of an American Youth Act. The major demands of this Act called for:

- A government-sponsored system to support students by funding all tuition plus average weekly living expenses of needy students in high schools and vocational schools;

- A government-sponsored system of vocational training and employment on public enterprises for those between the ages of 16 and 25. The wages "are to be equal to the prevailing rates for the work performed as established by the recognized organizations of labor in each community;"

- Minimum compensation for labor to be increased in conformity with the rise in the cost of living;

- All work projects authorized under the Act are to be beneficial to the community, and none of them "are to be directly or indirectly of a military character or designed to subsidize any private-profit-making enterprise."

The American Youth Congress was able to mobilize thousands of young people in support of this Act. Although it was never passed, the Act gave a clear picture of the needs and demands of young people during that period.

Militancy sidetracked

The student movement of the '30s had the potential to link up with the labor struggles of the time and move forward to build a new social system that could totally eliminate war and poverty. But this potential was never realized.

The upsurges of the '30s never developed a conscious political expression. The opportunities for building an independent labor party based on the unions which would fight for the needs of workers, students, and all oppressed people were not taken advantage of.

Instead, the reformist misleaders of the workers' movement channeled the militancy of the workers and students into Roosevelt's "New Deal" Democratic Party.

Roosevelt, despite his rhetoric, defended capitalism—a system which depends on wars and exploitation for its very survival.

A major force that pushed this pro-Roosevelt orientation was the Young Communist League, which supported the Soviet bureaucracy. The YCL had played a positive role in the early '30s. But as Stalin moved toward détente with the U.S. government, the YCL's radicalism died down.

The Stalinists and others succeeded in taking the fight out of the student movement. Slogans against imperialist war were replaced gradually by compromises and support to the Democrats. The movement became co-opted and harmless to the American ruling class.

American youth, in their majority, supported Roosevelt as a "peace candidate" in 1938. Ironically, the same students who declared a few years before that they "would not fight in any war" were killed in the hundreds of thousands by the military policies of a president they helped put into office.

Students rise up again

The students of today are beginning to rise up again around powerful issues. In the United States, the anti-apartheid actions of 1985 showed the potential for student activism. Many of today's youth have parents or friends who participated in the '60s student radicalization.

There is a major difference, however, between the '60s and the '80s. Unlike the '60s, the working class today is facing the worst ruling-class attacks in 35 years. The ranks of the labor movement are starting to realize that U.S. imperialist foreign policy can only be maintained at the expense of living standards here at home.

Students and workers are beginning to go into motion around foreign and domestic issues. Examples of this are the mass April 25 antiwar demonstrations in Washington, D.C., and San Francisco.

Young people today, united with labor, have the opportunity to fight for a better world—to fulfill the promise and potential of the '30s. ■

By SUZANNE FORSYTH

1986 marks rebirth of Int'l student movement

The close of 1986 and early 1987 saw an exciting surge of activity on university and high-school campuses all around the world.

In France, demonstrations of 1 million nationally were accompanied by student strikes and occupations. Inspired by the example of the French students and their subsequent victory, similar activities took place in Spain, Mexico, and Greece. Chinese students also made headlines as they took to the streets.

The recent student mobilizations in Europe and Mexico all have a common denominator—protest against economic measures imposed by austerity-driven capitalist governments. These measures translate into plans for more restrictive admissions policies, privatization of public universities, adapting curriculum to the needs of private industry, and ever-increasing tuitions and registration fees.

In China, student protests focused on demands for political democratization—although slogans against inflation were included.

In most of these cases, the students forced the governments to retreat.

Cutbacks in education

The cutbacks in education take place against the backdrop of escalating youth unemployment. In France, 11.5 percent of the youth are unemployed. This accounts for over one-third of the 2.5 million people unemployed. In Spain youth unemployment has reached 50 percent.

For Greek students the adaptation of high-school curriculum to the needs of private industry was a major issue. In the Greek technical schools subjects deemed unnecessary for technical students were dropped. These included Euclidian geometry and other courses aimed at enhancing students' critical thinking and culture.

The Greek government also made it harder for students from the polytechnical high schools to qualify for university education. The Greek students responded with demands to end this discrimination. They occupied the polytechnical schools and then the general high schools in Athens. This was followed in mid-December 1986 by the biggest student rally since the fall of the Greek dictatorship in 1974. Some 115 schools participated.

Universities for the elite

Another connected issue recognized by French, Greek, and Spanish students were government attempts to increase competition between schools by abolishing the equality of diplomas and changing public universities over to the private sector.

In a December 1986 interview with *International Viewpoint* magazine, a French student described the effects these reforms would have on the educational system:

"It is the destruction of the present character of the universities and its replacement, on the one hand, with universities for the elite with high fees, selective degrees, and big-business sponsorship; and, on the other hand, with 'dustbin universities' offering lesser qualifications for the mass of students."

The same student also noted "that in France the son of a worker has two-and-a-half times less chance than the son of a middle-manager of going to university."

As illustrated by the case of the Greek schools, a similar trend is already affecting the high schools. While creating stricter admissions policies for the universities, the governments have sought to cut back funding for the public high schools—primarily through cutbacks in the number of teachers.

As one Spanish high-school student put it in a Jan. 31, 1987, interview in the Spanish socialist paper *Combate*: "Every day high-school students experience shortages of materials, the run-down state of the buildings, and even the lack of hygiene."

This leads to an inferior standard of education and an unfair disadvantage for working-class students who attend the public schools. Obviously, this reduces the number of working-class students able to attend university.

Commonality of interests

The recognition by high-school and university students of their common



French high school on the march in Paris to protest cutbacks

interests led to unprecedented unity in struggle. In France and Spain high-school students participated massively in the demonstrations of the university students. The previously quoted French student described the involvement of the high-school protesters:

"The movement in the lycees [high schools] grew incredibly quickly. At the beginning [university] students spontaneously went to the lycee gates to explain what is contained in the law because it concerns the lycees directly...."

"It was noticeable that in the lycees the dynamic of the movement was much more

workers, and only after that those of the bourgeoisie."

In a statement by the University Student Council on Strike dated Jan. 29, 1987, the Mexican students outlined their demands:

"We are on strike for a University Congress with the power of resolution and attended democratically by students, professors, researchers, workers, and authorities. We are on strike for a larger budget and for the right to education for the Mexican people."

Student internationalism

The Chinese student mobilizations began in early December 1986. The biggest demonstrations took place in Shanghai, reaching between 50,000 and 70,000 participants on Dec. 21, 1986.

Students from the Shenzhen Province claim to have been inspired by the French student movement they had witnessed on television.

Mexican students also demonstrated an internationalist outlook when they proposed a minute's silence for Malik Ousseki, a student killed by racist police in Paris, and when they chanted, "If the law has been repealed in France, why not in Mexico?"

The Chinese students had originally demanded a reduction of registration charges and the democratic election of student representatives and university authorities. These demands were rapidly broadened to the democratic election of municipal and provincial councils, the abolition of censorship, freedom of the press, freedom to associate and to demonstrate, and the release of political prisoners.

Students in Peking were victorious in obtaining the release of imprisoned protesters. In Shenzhen, students won a reduction of registration fees.

According to a Feb. 9, 1987, *International Viewpoint* article by Ernest Mandel, a leading Belgian Marxist theoretician, the "spirit of the demonstrations was distinctly socialist, egalitarian, and anti-capitalist. In several demonstrations the students sang the Internationale [the anthem of the Communist movement] and chanted the slogan 'No Socialism Without Democracy.'"

Democratic movement

Democracy marked the organization of the student upsurge as well. Most used a form of general assembly as their highest decision-making body. In the French movement, delegates to committees were subject to instant recall and were mandated

to vote according to the decisions of the campus general assemblies.

Spanish students demanded the resignation of student representatives to the State Scholastic Council on the charge they did not truly represent students.

These student uprisings did not arise out of nowhere. Many of the students in France had gained experience from the S.O.S. Racisme (anti-racist) movement. Spanish students have been actively organizing against Spain's membership in the NATO alliance. The activities of late 1986 and early 1987 have provided further training for this new generation of militants.

Although the student movement won important victories, the crisis in world capitalism which spawned the austerity measures has not been resolved and is, in fact, worsening.

These student struggles mark the first blow against capitalist austerity measures. They show the way forward for a broader fightback by the working class and the youth against all aspects of the capitalist austerity drive.

"Democracy was a key issue on many campuses"

rapid, even if its structuring was more hesitant. Very soon it was the lyceens themselves who took charge of their activities and set up their own strike committees and coordination. And we saw the massive mobilization of lyceens in the streets."

The issue of democracy

Democracy was a key issue on many campuses as well. Demands for democracy took many forms. In Spain they were reflected in students' demands for classes taught in the languages of national minorities. The students called for the schools of oppressed nationalities to be controlled by those communities.

The platform adopted by the Coordinating Committee of Representatives from the Spanish State on Jan. 17-18, 1987, called for "equal representation of students in all government and administrative bodies concerned with education, with real-decision making powers."

In Mexico, students struck and marched in the hundreds of thousands for "a democratic university reform." The first big demonstration brought together 60,000 students on Nov. 25, 1986. By the end of the student strike, the last demonstration on Feb. 9, 1987, drew 350,000.

A frequently heard slogan was "Education must first of all serve the children of the

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By ASHER HARER

SAN FRANCISCO—For the first time since the 1934 San Francisco general strike, an employer, Crowley Maritime Inc., has tried to work non-union on the San Francisco Bay Area waterfront. But within less than 24 hours, the attempt was soundly defeated.

On Feb. 6, Crowley was struck by the Inland Boatmen's Union (IBU), which is affiliated to the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU). Crowley had placed impossible demands on the IBU. These included a 35-percent wage cut, a reclassification of all workers as "temporary" (thus taking away all health and welfare benefits), and no hiring hall.

In the Bay Area, the strike has been 100 percent solid.

Crowley recruited a few scabs, and, in the early morning of Feb. 20, moved three struck ocean-going barges, loaded with Hawaiian canned pineapple, from Oakland to the small out-of-the-way port of Redwood City, 25 miles south of San Francisco.

The union was not taken by surprise. It had picket boats out and had monitored Crowley's radio messages. It moved fast. By 11:30 a.m. the IBU and the longshore and shipclerks locals had pulled all their members off all the piers and dispatched them to Redwood City.

A participant's account

I was able to talk to a participant in the Redwood City events who gave me the following account:

"I was working in San Francisco. We got a call from the union at about 11 a.m. telling us that the barges were in Redwood City. We walked off the job, piled into our cars, and took off. By 11:45 over 1000 of us, men and women, were down there in front of the three gates. We were an angry

Asher Harer is a retired member of the ILWU.

Longshore workers turn back scabs

bunch. A lot of guys had picket signs stapled to two-by-fours.

"A spokesman for the port came out and told us that they 'didn't want this to get out of hand.' He said two pickets at each gate were okay, but the rest of us should leave. We yelled back, 'It's already out of hand. We're staying!'

"Right on the spot we elected a rank-and-file committee to talk to the port authorities. While they were inside, we debated what to do next. Guys were saying things like: 'No room for negotiations on this one'—'We can't let anyone take away our livelihood, no way'—'We can't back down.'"

"In a few minutes, our committee came out. They reported that the port people claimed that we didn't know about legal

rights, that they had the law on their side, and that they would unload the barges.

"We listened and then made a quick decision—that we'd better act before the place was crawling with cops from all over the Bay Area. So we left a few men to cover the gates and the rest of us went in. The security guards didn't try to stop us.

"The barges were several hundred yards away. We were running. When the scabs saw us coming, they dropped everything, ran to their cars, and took off. In order to escape, they rammed through a chain-link fence!

"By the time the cops got there, all the scabs were gone and we were back outside the fence. The cops didn't mess with us. They didn't want any trouble, and besides,

there were no scabs left to protect. We left a few pickets at the gates and by 4 p.m. we were back at work."

Postscript: The three barges have since left Redwood City, still unloaded. One went back to Oakland. The other two are on the way up the coast, seeking another unlikely out-of-the-way port.

A warning to the bosses

What is the meaning of this militant setback of the employer offensive, so reminiscent of the labor struggles of the 1930s? It recalls the slogan "An Injury to One is an Injury to All."

The Crowley strike is supported by all Bay Area unions but one—the renegade Marine Engineers Beneficial Association.

The ILWU contract with the Pacific Maritime Association (PMA), the employers' organization, ends on June 30. Negotiations are about to begin.

The International Longshoremen's Association (ILA), on the East and Gulf Coasts, has been the victim of major takebacks in manning scales and jurisdiction. The PMA is demanding similar concessions on the West Coast.

The Coast Committee of the ILWU, in its report to the ILWU Caucus which met in San Francisco in mid-April, put forward new demands and stated that "the Coast Committee is absolutely firm in its opposition to any concession bargaining."

The Redwood City incident is a warning to the PMA that the ILWU ranks will fight if necessary. And, in addition, it should stiffen the resolve of the ILWU leadership to stand firm.

S.F. Todd Shipyard workers fight takebacks



An expression of militant mood on S.F. waterfront was a wildcat strike by Todd Shipyard workers against wage cuts in early April.

By MIKE FLISS

FRAMINGHAM, Mass.—There were record-high voter turnouts in the recent elections for executive-board and joint-council posts at United Auto Workers (UAW) Local 422, which has jurisdiction over the General Motors plant here.

The high vote and the interest that autoworkers displayed in the election campaign graphically illustrated their determination to turn back concessionary bargaining in the upcoming local and national contract negotiations.

In 1986, GM had record sales of \$103 billion. It is the Fortune 500's No. 1 company and has spent billions for new acquisitions and "modernization."

Yet the company took back from its workers 11 paid holidays. Annual wage increases were replaced with a "profit-sharing" formula which allowed GM to not distribute one penny of its wealth to the workers who created it. Meanwhile, the company divided over \$169 million in bonus funds to its top executives.

GM shuts plants nationwide

General Motors has scheduled extensive cutbacks during the next three years. At least 11 production and assembly plants will be closed down, and much of GM's parts production will be transferred to outside contractors. Some 30,000 workers will lose their jobs.

Framingham's management has used the threat of a closure here in order to attempt to wrest concessions in the spirit of "labor/management cooperation." Ultimately, work-rules changes and other givebacks are threatened.

Similar concession demands by GM recently forced a strike by 9000 members of UAW Local 594 at the General Motors Truck and Bus Complex in Pontiac, Mich. Local 594 won the strike, illustrating the autoworkers' deep anti-concessions spirit. Bob Schroeder, a spokesperson for Local 594, said that the victory "shows that other

Mike Fliss is an assembler at the General Motors plant in Framingham and a member of UAW Local 422.

Unionists reject GM's demands

local unions can stand up for their rights the same as we've done and win."

Incumbents are challenged

The upcoming contract negotiations were the background for the recent Local 422 election. Opposition was mounted against the incumbents' slate by independents and by a slate referred to as the STAND-UP (Strength Through A New Democratic Union Process) Coalition.

A key objective of the challengers was to stem the decay of democratic rights in the union in order to better face the contract talks.

In its platform, the STAND-UP Coalition said: "The challenges ahead require an informed and participating rank and file. We need active committees, open, convenient and regular union meetings, 'two-way' communication, a real newspaper, and much more."

The visibility of thousands of informed members is a powerful bargaining tool against a multinational corporation whose tactics are to isolate and manipulate a few, favored union officials behind closed doors. Union officials must be accountable and responsible to the union membership.

GM aids the incumbents

Committeemen and appointees were permitted by the company to campaign on company time, while these same rights were denied to STAND-UP candidates and independents. The STAND-UP campaign literature reported that the incumbent union leaders had "gone as far as threatening not to represent people wearing STAND-UP buttons."

STAND-UP charged, "Finally, they've made the ultimate threat—'Vote for us or you'll lose your job.' We remember when

only the company made threats like that."

Despite the harassment, however, two of eight STAND-UP Candidates for Joint Council gained seats and two were runners-up. An independent challenger was elected executive vice president and one of three STAND-UP candidates was elected to the executive board as sergeant-at-arms.

Another STAND-UP candidate lost the race for recording secretary by only 37 votes in the amalgamated local, but

outdistanced the incumbent by 100 votes within the plant.

Red-baiting tactics

The local's president, Chuck McDevitt, failed to garner a majority in the voting. He was only elected after being forced into a runoff with Howard Horton, the third STAND-UP challenger.

Horton, a Black candidate, was attacked for "only being concerned with his positions on South Africa and on minority questions." The incumbent's red-baiting campaign literature included a question to the STAND-UP candidate: "Are you associated with communists?"

Such tactics are found on pages torn from the corporate boss's book. They conspire to divide workers by their prejudices at a moment when they should be united by their principles.

Flight attendants protest two-tier

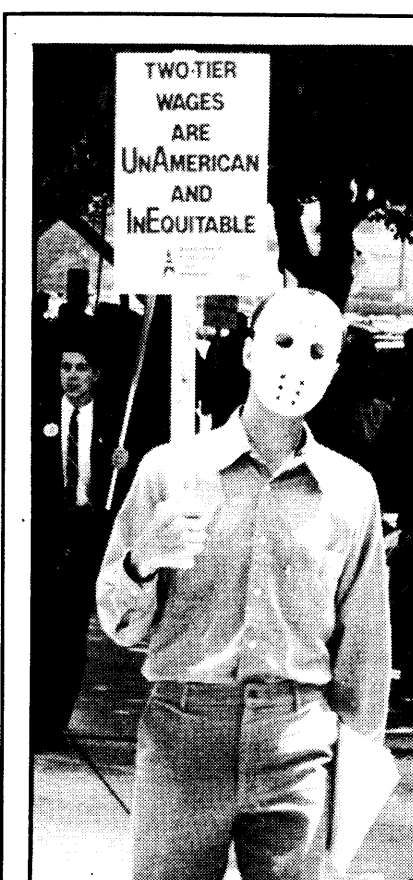
By KATHLEEN O'NAN

LOS ANGELES—On April 7, more than 100 members and supporters of the Association of Professional Flight Attendants (APFA) picketed outside the board meeting of Equitable Life Assurance Society, a major bondholder of American Airlines.

Many of the flight attendants wore masks in hope they would not be recognized and fired. This has already happened to other union members.

The leaflet put out by the union protested price-fixing, dumping chemical wastes, neglecting airplane maintenance, and awarding executives lavish salaries while paying many workers poverty-level wages.

The union is fighting to end the two-tier wage system which pays newer flight attendants as little as \$11,600 a year, a level low enough to qualify many of them for food stamps. Contract negotiations went into impasse on March 24 for a 30-day "cooling off" period.



Where did the labor movement go wrong?

By GENORA JOHNSON
DOLLINGER

On Feb. 11, 1937, the 44-day sitdown strike at three GM plants in Flint, Mich., ended with a stunning victory for the workers. The largest industrial corporation in the world was forced to recognize the United Auto Workers Union.

A key factor in this victory was the role played by the Women's Auxiliary—and particularly its Women's Emergency Brigade.

The Auxiliary was organized on Jan. 1, 1937, at the initiative of Genora Johnson Dollinger to help with strike picketing, first aid, soup kitchens, fund-raisers, and neighborhood organizing.

After the Jan. 11 Battle of Bulls Run, when police stormed Fisher Plant 2 in an effort to eject the strikers, the women involved in the battle decided to organize a "paramilitary" organization: the Women's Emergency Brigade. Among its many activities, the Brigade freed suffocating strikers from Plant 9, which had been gassed by the National Guard, and set up locked-armed pickets to prevent the police from opening up Plant 4.

The following is a slightly abridged version of an article by Genora Johnson Dollinger, who was the captain of the Women's Emergency Brigade. She talks about the state of the union movement today—50 years after the sitdown strikes.

The article appeared in a special edition of UAW Chevrolet Local 659's newspaper, *The Searchlight*, on Feb. 10, 1987. It was sent to *Socialist Action* by Dollinger and is reprinted with the author's permission.

In August I returned to Flint to celebrate with the UAW pioneers the 50th anniversary of the Sitdown Strike.

It was a visit filled with symbolism. The world-famous Chevron sign on the overpass between Fisher 2 and Chevrolet—the site of the beginning of the victorious Sitdown Strike by Fisher 2 workers—was being dismantled and dumped near Chevrolet plants 6 and 10. Many of the plants in the Chevrolet complex stood idle and rusting. Shockingly profound changes were taking place in the city of Flint that were palpable to the naked eye.

During my brief visit I toured around Buick and Fisher Body 1. Buick, now bearing a name too complex to remember, had doubled in area size since I knew it, yet it employed no more than it did decades ago. A vast automated complex had gobbled up space.

And what had happened to Fisher 1—fabled in song and memory, scene of enormous picket lines where strong voices rang out in heartfelt sounds of "Solidarity Forever" and "We Shall Not Be Moved?"

We fought for this union with our hearts, minds, bodies, and our blood. And now this huge structure stands like a ghost ship anchored in time.

A union diminished in vitality

Returning after 50 years—and seeing the removal of the Chevron sign, the empty factories, the forlorn and worried looks on the faces of men and women in anticipation of further industrial decline—indelibly impressed on my mind the fortunes of a union diminished in strength and vitality.

Was this the city, which brought industrial unionism to America in the most dramatic display of worker solidarity and sitdown action ever seen in the world, now tragically digging its own grave? Was the 50th anniversary of the UAW-CIO victory marking the demise of industrial unionism in America?

These were my thoughts as I drove through the silent, forbidding streets of a city marked by slums and out-of-work, out-of-hope hands and bodies.

Lessons of 50 years ago

In 1937, our gallant strike electrified and mobilized an entire nation. All of working-



Flint strikers occupy their plants.

class America thrilled to our victory. They knew our fight was their fight.

We proved again, as the railroad and coal workers had proved before us, that in union there is strength. We fought against our own intolerable conditions, but our fight was the fight of the entire nation of exploited men and women.

When Chevrolet Local 659 initiated and fought for the escalator clause in our contract, we again paved the way for these benefits for all workers. Our pioneering efforts brought us praise and support. We were considered a progressive and decent union, and we gloried in our reputation. In those early years, our objectives were broad and general. We wanted justice for the workers of America and nothing else.

And today?

But, sad to admit, no longer are we in the UAW considered to be crusaders. Our objectives became narrow and selfish. We became an affluent two-car family with a two-car garage; with a summer cottage and a winter home; and we forgot, while watching TV, that we were leaving half of America behind!

Oh, how we celebrated our pension plan! It was wonderful to be able to exercise early retirement at full pension—while most of America had to get by on skimpy social security checks.

How much better it would have been if our union had used its enormous political and economic strength to have won federal pensions for all workers and a federal health-insurance plan with guarantees for all—such as the unions won in England, Germany, Canada, and every major Western European country.

Bitter harvest

But we didn't do it. And now we are reaping the bitter harvest. Solidarity is dead and union-busting is rampant. Union pension funds are raided by derelict, bankrupt, dishonest capitalist entrepreneurs. Even the vaunted GM, Ford, and Chrysler pension funds are not secure. It was not so long ago that Chrysler was on the verge of bankruptcy.

And the pension funds built from worker contributions—in lieu of wage increases—were, and are, under the sole domination of the corporation. Our union leaders, sadly derelict in their duties, failed to see the possible failure of one or more of these funds. They were not farsighted enough to negotiate even joint control of the funds paid by the union members.

Pension funds in Europe are controlled in part or in whole by the unions and are used for socially beneficial purposes of building workers' housing, etc. In any case we would have been much better off having fought to make pensions universal for the

workers of the entire country, rather than industry by industry.

In this way we could have maintained worker solidarity and recognition of our respective needs.

Need for political voice

There are more auto workers than lawyers in the United States, yet we have never had a genuine auto worker elected to Congress! The same for the steelworkers, service employees, etc. There is not a genuine worker from our ranks to speak for us—but Congress is loaded with lawyers and businessmen to legislate for the interest of the Big Business capitalists.

Failing to exert our influence in the Democratic Party, (as I am convinced we would have failed), we might conceivably



Women's Auxiliary in Flint, Mich., after the victory

have organized a third party of labor, civil rights organizations, small farmers, environmentalists, the peace movement, the women's movement, and concerned professionals. These movements have remained fragmented, and the strength and power of the American labor movement is weakened, emasculated, and supine.

The preferential pension plans of the big unions bought us off. Our political influence is at its nadir. Our working class is mesmerized and helplessly paralyzed as it watches the hemorrhaging flow of jobs out of the country.

When will it end?

Only when we recognize that the old spirit and determination of union solidarity was the right way to go. Solidarity is absolutely vital for our survival against the philosophy of dog-eat-dog and the-devil-take-the-hindmost.

When will it end? When we realize that what we gained on the economic field through our strike and negotiations was all minimized or taken away from us in the political arena. This is not yet understood. We have not—and cannot—maintain our economic gains while we remain political slaves.

As dark as today's picture is, some of us who have been around the labor movement these many years feel there is still a measure of time left. I was 23 years old at the Battle of Bulls Run. There are many thousands of thinking potential leaders in their 20's in the ranks of the UAW today who are capable of rousing their co-workers.

History teaches us that they must start acting now in conjunction with other militants in other unions, and ally themselves with other Americans concerned about the future of our country and our families....Time is still on our side.

Remember, the UAW-CIO was born because the old AFL labor leaders had failed us. Every leader of the UAW-CIO was only a rank-and-file worker in the auto plants at the time we built this union.

The new upsurge of labor will not come from the stagnant and incompetent leaders we have today. There will be a new regrouping of those who care about America—and ALL its people. This will be because there is no other rational course for us. ■

Sitdown strike remembered

By HAYDEN PERRY

More than 2000 angry members of the United Auto Workers Union, carrying signs that called for an end to plant closings, rallied in front of Fisher Body Plant No. 1 on Feb. 12. They were honoring the original sitdown strikers who occupied the plant and won union recognition 50 years ago.

Management has announced that this historic plant will be closed in December 1987. It is among 11 GM plants slated to be closed in the next two years, eliminating 27,000 jobs.

Cheers and applause greeted Flint UAW Regional Director Stan Marshall when he said the union might consider using

sitdown strikes again if U.S. companies keep sending jobs overseas.

Many proposals are being made to meet the problem of plant closings. Some union members are demanding corporation-wide seniority. This would enable long-term workers in a shutdown plant to carry their seniority into another plant.

Leaders of two UAW locals asked the Detroit City Council for help in saving the families, homes, and cars of nearly 8400 auto workers who will lose their jobs at five GM plants this year. The UAW locals asked the council to enact measures that would protect laid-off workers from creditors and extend their unemployment benefits. ■

...U.S. resists full sanctions

(continued from page 1)

Congress. U.S. weapons also find their way into South Africa's arsenal; some supplies are "recycled" through Israel.

Sanctions loopholes

The sanctions legislation passed by Congress leaves the door open for U.S. companies to invest in and lend money to South African enterprises. Taking its cue from Washington, a consortium of 34 international banks recently agreed to renegotiate some of South Africa's \$13 billion foreign debt.

Leaders of South Africa's ruling National Party had been quite worried, since \$1.42 billion of the debt was scheduled to fall due next month—immediately after the country's all-white elections. The payments have now been postponed for three years, allowing the "Nats" to breathe much easier.

In February, the U.S. government exempted 10 minerals of "vital strategic importance" from its list of proscribed South African imports.

Most of these products—including antimony, chromium, cobalt, industrial diamonds, manganese, vanadium, titanium, asbestos, and the platinum group of metals—are crucial in the manufacture of airplanes and weapons. In recent years, these minerals have comprised the largest single sector of U.S. imports via South Africa.

The extent of the U.S. government's hypocrisy has not gone unnoticed by Pretoria. "That which the U.S. needs for its strategic interests—suddenly that's not subject to sanctions!" Foreign Minister R.F. (Pik) Botha taunted.

Americans should realize, Botha recently told *The Washington Post*, that punitive sanctions "encourage violence" and delay his government's process of "reform." In the meantime, he emphasized, the state of emergency (under which as many as 30,000 people have been jailed without charges) will continue.

Have sanctions "backfired?"

Incredibly—despite the current wave of repression—the South African foreign minister's arguments are finding an echo in newspapers and on television within the United States. In the words of *The*



Washington Post columnist William Raspberry, "sanctions have backfired."

As proof, readers and TV viewers have been treated to the wisdom of KwaZulu Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, who argues that international sanctions are responsible for increased unemployment and misery among Blacks. During his tour of the United States this winter, Buthelezi assured President Reagan of the need for increased capitalist investment in South Africa to promote "a strong business climate."

Buthelezi, who claims to speak on behalf of the Black masses, has strong ties with the sugar-refining industry in Natal. He dominates Inkatha, the ruling party in the KwaZulu "homeland," which has extensive trading, insurance, and financial interests in partnership with private firms.

Buthelezi and his supporters in the liberal U.S. media are hardly unaware that "a strong business climate" did nothing to end the misery of Blacks in the past.

U.S. corporations invested heavily in South Africa during the 1970s, when their profit rate approached a lofty 20 percent. But high profits were only achieved by paying low wages to the workers. Black workers in manufacturing continued to earn only 20 percent of the wages of whites. Unemployment in South Africa is

another product of the drive by the capitalist class to maintain their superprofits. "Surplus" Black workers are "deported" to the "homelands"—where they provide a resource of cheap labor for the employers.

With or without sanctions, millions of people have no hope of a job. Over 3 million Blacks could not find work in South Africa even before limited international sanctions took effect late last year. Unemployment ranges from 30 percent in the urban townships to 60 percent in the semi-rural bantustans.

Unions demand jobs

Chief Buthelezi's opinions notwithstanding, few improvements in the living standards of Blacks in South Africa can be traced to the benevolence of international capitalism. Poverty and unemployment have been countered only by the struggle of the people themselves through their unions and community groups.

The Congress of South African Trade Unions has given top priority to the fight for a living wage and against unemployment. COSATU demands that the government institute a national program of public works—schools, housing, and hospitals—in order to provide more jobs.

The unions are demanding a reduced workweek (a universal 40-hour week) at full pay in order to spread the work.

COSATU also resolved at its founding congress in 1985 to undertake the fight for "workers' control" of industry. What is produced and who is employed should be determined by working people—not by the capitalists, who are interested in their own profits instead of society's needs.

COSATU leaders oppose sales of foreign companies to South African businessmen as part of a divestment plan. "Companies should leave their assets to the workers," says COSATU Vice-President Chris Dlamini.

But those companies that remain in South Africa, the union leaders state, should pay the price of sanctions. And those sanctions must be "quick and comprehensive."

"We as workers did not create apartheid," COSATU General Secretary Jay Naidoo said at the congress of the National Union of Mineworkers in February. The trade unions "will continue to fight against retrenchments, and make sure that our enemies carry the burden of sanctions—not us."

Solidarity in the fight

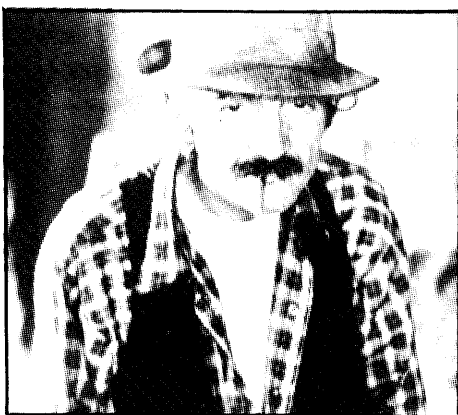
The Black working class of South Africa will lead the struggle to end apartheid and reconstruct their country on a new basis. But anti-apartheid activists in this country can provide needed solidarity in the fight for freedom.

We should insist that the U.S. government immediately end all military aid, diplomatic support, and trade with South Africa.

We should demand that the United States freeze the assets of South African enterprises in this country. South Africa's giant Anglo America corporation, for example, is the largest foreign corporate investor in the United States.

Punitive actions should be taken against third countries—such as Israel—that continue to trade and supply arms to South Africa. South African exports to Israel rose 70 percent last year. Israel's new "sanctions," announced this year with great fanfare, would restrict trade in the "future," but leave existing links with South Africa intact.

We must take up the demand of the April 25 protests in Washington, D.C. and San Francisco: "No U.S. Support for South African Apartheid!"



Homeless in New York

By W.I. MOHAREB

Last month, *Socialist Action* reported on the housing crisis in New York. The article by Brenda Bishop pointed out that there are an estimated 60,000 homeless people in that city alone.

Across the United States, some 3 million people—one-third of them families with children—face at least temporary homelessness this year, according to the National Coalition for the Homeless.

Recently, the U.S. Census Bureau issued some statistics on housing. A summary was published in *The New York Times* on March 29. The Census Bureau and the *Times* gloat that there are now "100 million places to live" in the United States.

But a look at the statistics reveals a more somber picture. The number of occupied housing units is 89.7 million. The number of vacant units is 10.3 million. Since 1970, the number of vacancies has jumped 94.3 percent, while the number of occupied units has risen only 41.5 percent.

Of the vacant units, 4.4 million are

"Too much housing" in capitalist America?

homes and apartments awaiting rental or sale—at the right price, of course. Some 2.4 million units are for "seasonal use" (vacant second or even third homes for the rich). And another 3.6 million units are off the market for one reason or another.

A worldwide crisis

In general, the housing picture in other capitalist countries is even worse. Japanese workers are crammed into tiny, expensive apartments that commonly lack plumbing fixtures. (Some observers call them "rabbit-hutch housing.")

In Japan and capitalist Europe, homelessness is a growing problem affecting the working class, youth, and oppressed nationalities. In South Korea and Hong Kong, it is not uncommon for seven or eight people to be jammed into one room.

The picture is even worse when one turns to the most oppressed capitalist countries. Millions of homeless roam the streets of Sao Paulo, Calcutta, and Cairo. More than 100 million are homeless in India alone. Yet vacant houses and apartments can be found in all, even the poorest, capitalist countries—again only awaiting the "right price."

The contrast with the workers' states—including Cuba, the Soviet Union, the People's Republic of China, the German Democratic Republic (GDR), etc.—is particularly striking.

Due in part to bureaucratic mismanage-

ment, people are often housed in inexcusably crowded or substandard conditions. But homelessness is not a mass phenomenon.

Furthermore, housing—including heat and utilities—generally consumes less than 15 percent of a worker's income. In the GDR, it averages between 4 percent and 6 percent of income.

"Too much" housing?

By comparison, housing in the capitalist countries eats up over 40 percent of a worker's paycheck, on the average. Median monthly rental costs have risen 31 percent since 1980. The cost is such that a layoff, illness, or divorce can quickly lead to overcrowding—or homelessness.

As with practically every other commodity, there is "too much" housing under capitalism today, according to the capitalists and landlords. The U.S. government claims there are "only" 250,000 homeless people here. The Coalition for the Homeless says the real figure is closer to 3 million.

We know that there are at least 10.3 million vacant housing units in the United States alone. Even if 2 million of those units were unfit for human habitation, there would still be enough vacant homes and apartments in place today to comfortably house over 20 million people.

The task of tasks is to develop the organized strength of the workers and oppressed to fight for the housing we need.



In this issue:

- Women & Work in Western Europe;
- Anti-Apartheid Struggles and Class Struggles;
- The Crisis of the PLO;
- ... and more.

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Black nationalism's revolutionary potential

By NAT WEINSTEIN

"It is impossible for capitalism to survive, primarily because the system of capitalism needs some blood to suck. Capitalism used to be like an eagle, but now it's more like a vulture. It used to be strong enough to go and suck anybody's blood whether they were strong or not. But now it has become more cowardly, like the vulture, and it can only suck the blood of the helpless.

"As the nations of the world free themselves, then capitalism has less victims, less to suck, and it becomes weaker and weaker. It's only a matter of time in my opinion before it will collapse completely." (Malcolm X—born May 19, 1925; assassinated Feb. 21, 1965)

This assessment by Malcolm X of the nature of capitalism and its bleak future prospects—a viewpoint long held by revolutionary socialists—is daily being confirmed by events. It marked Malcolm X's evolution from a narrow Black nationalism toward a more rounded understanding of the worldwide conflict between rich and poor.

Malcolm X was one of the most outstanding revolutionary leaders to have been produced by the Black liberation struggle in the history of the United States. Murdered after a short but volcanic eruption to national attention, his remarkable potential for altering the course of history was never fully realized.

It is appropriate to honor his birthday this month with a review of the possible roads forward for Black liberation which Malcolm X was sorting out in the final months of his life.

Malcolm X on Black nationalism

Just about a month before his death, Malcolm X was asked to define Black nationalism in an interview he gave to the *Young Socialist* magazine. He gave this response:

"I used to define Black nationalism as the idea that the Black man should control the economy of his community, the politics of his community, and so forth.

"But when I was in Africa in May, in Ghana, I was speaking with the Algerian ambassador who is extremely militant and is a revolutionary in the true sense of the word (and has his credentials as such for having carried on a successful revolution against oppression in his country).

"When I told him that my political, social, and economic philosophy was Black nationalism, he asked me very frankly, well, where did that leave him? Because he was white. He was an African, but he was Algerian, and to all appearances, he was a white man.

"And he said if I define my objective as the victory of Black nationalism, where does that leave him? Where does that leave revolutionaries in Morocco, Egypt, Iraq, Mauritania? So he showed me where I was alienating people who were true revolutionaries dedicated to overturning the system of exploitation that exists on this earth by any means necessary.

"So, I had to do a lot of thinking and reappraising of my definition of Black nationalism. Can we sum up the solution to the problems confronting our people as Black nationalism? And if you notice, I haven't been using the expression for several months. But I still would be hard pressed to give a specific definition of the overall philosophy which I think is necessary for the liberation of the Black people in this country."

Thus Malcolm X, who is still probably the best-known historical figure associated with Black nationalism, articulated his own unsettled views in his final days and his determination to clarify them.

We can do no less. We will begin with a look at the forms of Black nationalism and other approaches to Black liberation, as well as the material conditions giving rise to them.

What is Black nationalism?

Black nationalism—the idea that Blacks as a people are exploited and oppressed by whites as a people and that



"Capitalism used to be like an eagle, but now it's more like a vulture."

—Malcolm X

whites as a race are unreformable—is an idea that, at one time or another, must occur to every Black victim of the American racist social system.

This concept has an inherently revolutionary side. It implies that only sweeping changes can make life significantly better for Black people. This leads to a variety of radical measures and is completely progressive.

Some Black nationalists have gone further, advocating a separate state with their own territory, economy, and government. The *right* of the Black people to choose this option is also completely progressive. It is in accord with the basic democratic principle of the right of nations to self-determination.

Material foundations of Black nationalism

Integration of Black people into existing American society is another natural aspiration. History provides shining examples of alliances between Blacks and whites that have brought gains to both through a joint struggle.

But history also provides evidence where Black struggles and aspirations were betrayed. That experience provides the major objective foundation for Black nationalism.

A review of various chapters of U.S. history is instructive.

The American Civil War liberated Blacks from chattel slavery. The abolition of slavery was a leap forward for both the Northern capitalist class, which was led by President Abraham Lincoln and his radical Republicans, and for the masses of freed slaves.

The capitalists, however, had their own material interests which drove them on the road to abolition of slavery. While individual capitalists may have been

motivated by an honest abhorrence of injustice, the capitalists as a class were not acting—in the slightest—out of altruism.

Capitalism in America was being cramped and stifled by the system of slavery, which was dominant in the Southern states. The slaveowners refused to peacefully acquiesce to the demands of the Republican majority representing Northern capitalism.

Lincoln, at first, merely demanded that the slaveowners subordinate the needs of the South's slave system to the needs of expanding capitalism. But soon the Union was faced with an armed rebellion of the slave states, which had seceded and established a counterrevolutionary government: the Confederacy.

Lincoln vacillated, taking no decisive action against slavery for two years into the Civil War. Eventually, Lincoln realized that the capitalist class needed the military assistance of the slaves to defeat the Confederacy. The Emancipation Proclamation was issued Jan. 1, 1863. It consolidated a firm alliance between the slaves and the capitalist class.

The promise of freedom opened the flood gates, and waves of Blacks deserted the slave plantations and enlisted in the Union Army to fight for the victory of the Union and their own liberation. The slaves who remained on the plantations sabotaged their slavemasters and gave every aid and comfort to the liberating Union Army.

The emancipated slaves were the decisive force leading to the Union victory.

Anti-slavery revolution betrayed

The alliance between the freed slaves and the Northern capitalists continued long enough after the Civil War for the newly dominant class to consolidate its rule over the reunified country. But a pattern of oppression, replacing that of the old slave system, immediately began to grow up in the South.

The former slaveowners still owned the plantations. Shorn of their old power based on slavery, they devised new methods of enslavement based on their control of the essentially agrarian economy.

The plantation owners also threatened to recapture control of the federal government by prohibiting freedmen from voting—both through terror and through their control over the state and local governments. It wasn't until 1867 that the first series of Radical Reconstruction Acts were passed by Congress to oppose the counterrevolutionary violence of the plantocracy.

Declaring that no legal government existed in the late Confederacy, Congress divided these 10 southern states into five military districts under military control.

It wasn't until 1870 that the Fifteenth Amendment was passed giving Black men the vote. The radical Republicans' most pressing motive for Black enfranchisement, however, was not concern for Black rights. They acted out of fear that the former slaveowners, defeated militarily, would regain control of the federal government through the electoral process.

The former slaveowners had been able to make a shockingly swift comeback. This was because the victorious Northern industrialists and bankers failed to decisively break the *economic* power of their former enemies. This could have been easily done by the simple and patently just measure of confiscating the plantations and distributing this land to the landless slaves. This would have been small compensation for centuries of bondage.

There was plenty of land, moreover, to distribute to poor whites as well. This would have united the Black and white poor against the old slavemasters. It would have dealt a mortal blow to the former slaveowners from which they would never have recovered.

This dereliction by the Northern capitalists was not done out of ignorance or incompetence. They were completely aware, for instance, of the instructive chapter from U.S. history in which the revolutionary founders of the Republic confiscated and nationalized the great landed estates of the King's loyalists after they realized that military victory over Great Britain was not sufficient to guarantee independence. This broke the King's power forever in the colonies.

They were also aware of the example of the French Revolution of 1789, which destroyed the landed

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economic power of the feudal lords and distributed the land to the freed serfs.

But the second American revolution—against the system of chattel slavery—took place in a different world. The working class had significantly developed since the Revolutionary War. Together with the liberated Blacks, the workers would have been a threat far more deadly to capitalism than the slaveowners had been.

This lesson, first revealed in the course of the mid-19th century revolution against feudal power in Germany, was given once again in America. Capitalism had already reached middle age. The capitalists feared the plebian masses more than they feared their rival possessing classes. They could come to terms with the latter, but never with the former.

Karl Marx's "revolution in permanence"

Karl Marx, the founder of modern scientific socialism, concluded from the German Revolution of 1848 that the capitalist class was no longer able to carry through the democratic revolution.

For this reason, Marx explained, every revolutionary struggle for democratic rights would tend to combine with the workers' struggle against capitalist exploitation. Thus the workers, designated by the logic of history to

... Black nationalism

abolitionist movement shortly after his escape from slavery in 1838, went on to become the foremost—and most uncompromising—advocate of Black liberation. He described the new slavery in 1888 after visiting South Carolina and Georgia and seeing for himself how badly his people had been betrayed:

"Do you ask me why the Negro of the plantation has made so little progress, why his cupboard is empty, why he flutters in rags, why his children run naked, and why his wife hides herself behind the hut when a stranger is passing? I will tell you. It is because he is systematically and universally cheated out of his hard earnings.

"The same class that once extorted his labor under the lash now gets his labor by a mean, sneaking, and fraudulent device. That device is a trucking system which never permits him to see or save a dollar of his hard earnings. He struggles and struggles, but, like a man in a morass, the more he struggles the deeper he sinks. The highest wages paid him is \$8 a month, and this he receives only in

trialists and financiers were ready to unite with Southern propertied interests in the super-exploitation of millions of human beings through the oppression of the Negro people." (Foner, *ibid.*)

Another motive impelling Northern capitalists to come to an understanding with their former enemies was their growing hunger for new territories and markets to exploit. At the same time that Blacks were being betrayed, the Northern big bourgeoisie was looking hungrily to the Caribbean—particularly Santo Domingo and Cuba—in anticipation of annexations.

Imperialist expansionism ultimately led to the raid on Spanish colonies in the Caribbean and the Pacific at the turn of the century. The Southern junior partners of Northern capital proved to be eager and loyal collaborators in imperialist conquest.

Post-Civil War separationism

By 1876, the re-enslaved Black people in many southern states were receptive to movements for emigration to sparsely settled areas of the country. The idea of separation was, of course, not new. Blacks were obsessed with the dream of going back to Africa beginning with the 18th century.

In 1878, a group organizing an exodus from the Southern states had recruited 98,000 Black victims of racist terror from Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, and Texas. By 1879, thousands had attempted migration to Kansas, Missouri, and Indiana. Foner writes: "The exodus proved a failure. The emigrants were attacked and denied transportation by white mobs who realized their importance to the Southern labor market." (Foner, *ibid.*)

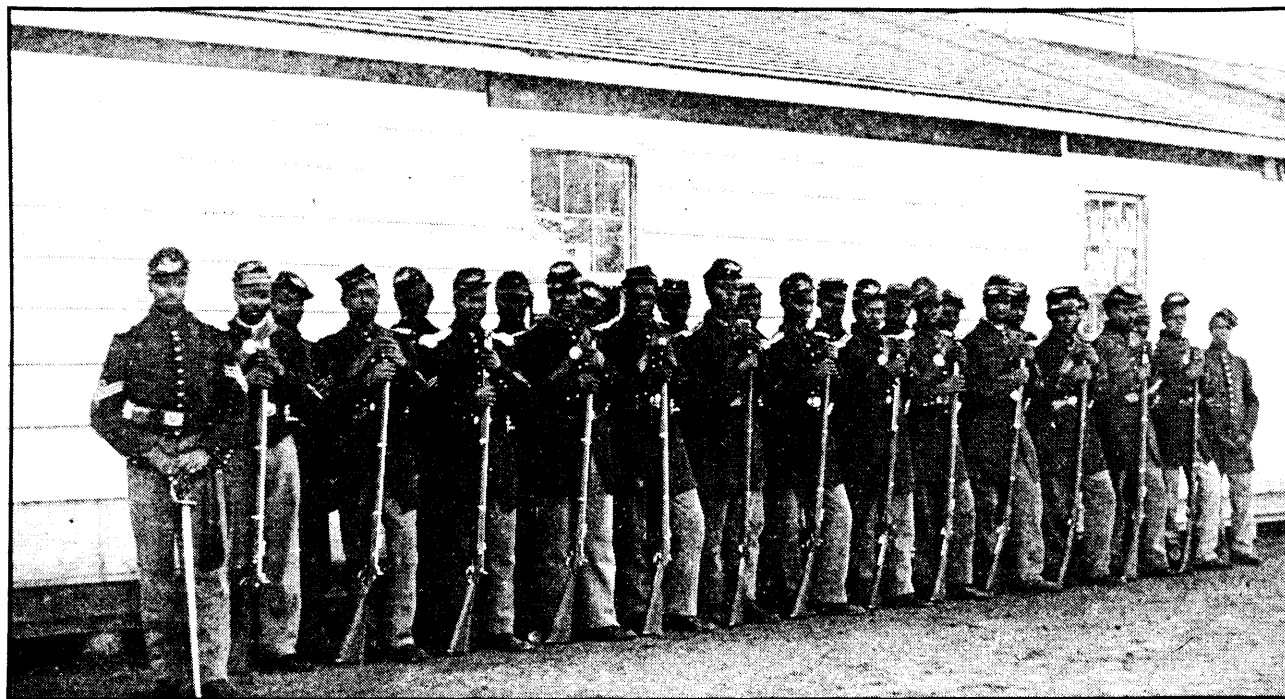
Frederick Douglass, who still had faith in a capitalist-led reformation of the South, had opposed the exodus up until his visit to South Carolina and Georgia in 1888. Soon after his return he wrote a letter in favor of emigration to one of the leaders of this movement:

"I had hoped that the relations subsisting between the former slaves and the old master class would gradually improve; but while I believed this, and still have some such weak faith, I have of late seen enough, heard enough, and learned enough of the condition of these people in South Carolina and Georgia, to make me welcome any movement which will take them out of the wretched condition in which I now know them to be. While I shall continue to labor for increased justice to those who stay in the South, I give you my hearty 'God-speed' in your emigration scheme. I believe you are doing a good work." (Foner, *ibid.*)

Second wave of Black nationalism

A further review of U.S. history from the Civil War to the present day will show that the Black masses have followed the path to freedom which seemed most open to them. They readily collaborate with whites when convinced by the *action* of the potential ally that the alliance serves Black aspirations for freedom. It is only after betrayal, when the prospects for reliable white allies seems hopeless, that a separatist mood becomes dominant.

Such was the case after World War I. Capitalism during the war had encouraged a mass migration of rural Southern Blacks to work in the war-expanded industries of the North. At the same time, however, the capitalists insidiously worked behind the scenes to disrupt instinctive moves toward cooperation between white and Black workers. Capitalists systematically encouraged the



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emancipate themselves, were also charged by history to lead the democratic revolution.

In the Communist Manifesto of 1848, Karl Marx and Frederick Engels called this perception of combined development "the revolution in permanence." This concept, as we shall see, is directly relevant to today's Black struggle for national liberation.

Capitalists sell out Blacks

Very soon after their military defeat, the still powerful Southern landowners became junior partners of the Northern capitalist conquerors. Black people experienced their first big betrayal in the closing years of Reconstruction. Between 1872 and 1877 a counterrevolution was allowed to unfold in the South.

Federal amnesty was being granted to Confederate leaders, and Union troops were withdrawn from state after state. Blacks were left with no protection to face the armed might of the terrorist agencies of the former slaveowners, such as the Ku Klux Klan, the Palefaces, and the White League.

The counterrevolution was sanctioned in 1877 when a deal was made between the political representatives of the new and old ruling classes. The white plantocracy would be allowed a free hand in the South in exchange for their acceptance of the unchallenged rule of capital.

The capitalist class, having used Blacks to establish their domination, no longer needed them. They opened the door to the former slaveholders' counterrevolutionary terror against the freedmen. The alliance of Northern capitalists and Southern landlords brutally hammered Blacks—especially in the South—into a new slavery. Between 1866 and 1879, 3500 persons, most of whom were freed slaves, were killed. Their murderers were never brought to trial or even arrested.

Frederick Douglass, a former slave who had joined the

orders on the store, which, in many cases, is owned by his employer...

"The only security the wretched Negro has under this arrangement is the conscience of the storekeeper—a conscience educated in the school of slavery, where the idea prevailed in theory and practice that the Negro had no rights which the white men were bound to respect, an arrangement in which everything in the way of food or clothing, whether tainted meat or damaged cloth, is deemed good enough for the Negro. For these he is often made to pay a double price." (from Philip S. Foner's "The Life and Writings of Frederick Douglass," Vol. IV, International Publishers, 1955)

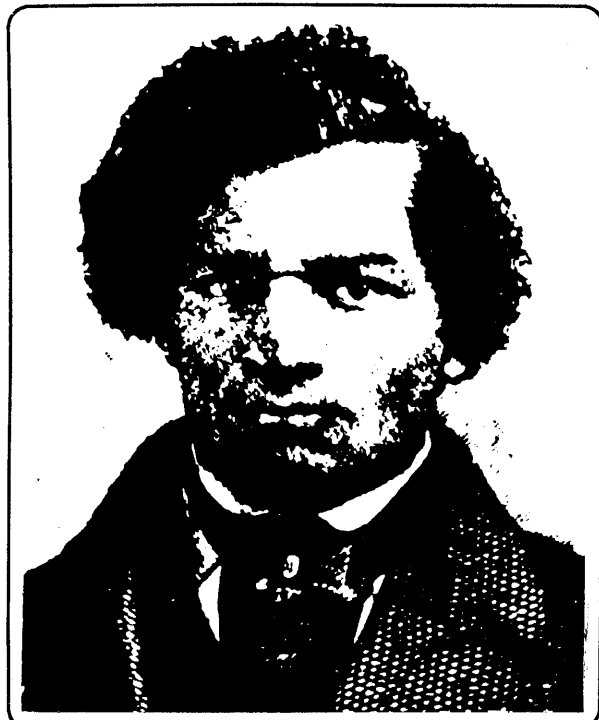
Why the capitalists betrayed

Historian Philip S. Foner summarizes how an unfolding class struggle impelled the industrialists and financiers to make their peace with the former slaveowners and betray their Black allies. He writes:

"The former slaveowners were no longer a threat to big business and so it was no longer concerned about the Negro.

"Big business was having its troubles in the North, for labor, farmers and small property holders were in revolt.... Militant strikes, unemployment demonstrations, and the growth of independent political action heralded the fact that the class struggle was sharpening.

"Frightened by the popular upheaval, the masters of capital began to look with favor at the prospects of an alliance with reactionary elements in the South.... Assured by the Southern conservatives that the status quo of the tariff, the national banks, and the national debt would not be disturbed, Northern capitalists no longer hesitated.... Northern indus -



Frederick Douglass



Danny Lyon

" The most recent example of a mass Black liberation movement is the Civil Rights movement against 'Jim Crow' segregation."

most backward whites to vent their racist spleen against Blacks.

The Ku Klux Klan had steadily spread to the North after the crushing of Black resistance in the South. But it was kept within limits required by the needs of the imperialist war. After the war, Klan-like groups were given the go-ahead when the war industries were shut down and unemployment soared. Capitalism, which no longer required Black labor, unleashed the full fury of its racist shock troops to prevent a united working-class response to mass unemployment.

The Klan blamed Blacks for the misery of whites thrown on the scrap heap of the jobless. This effectively diverted the ire of the most backward workers from the capitalist criminals to their Black victims.

The bureaucratic, and often racist misleadership of the unions, failed to counter the boss-inspired scapegoating of Blacks. This capitulation had begun years before with the bureaucratic acceptance of "Jim Crow" employment practices built in to most unions from their inception. The disoriented unions were sitting ducks for the post-war anti-labor offensive of the bosses.

Even though a defense of Black workers' rights by this time was too late to be fully effective, it would have minimized the defeat and laid the basis for a subsequent united working-class counteroffensive.

But, instead, lynchings of innocent Blacks escalated along with other forms of repression, abuse, and insult. And there was no meaningful response coming from the labor bureaucracy.

This betrayal led to a second wave of nationalism engulfing the disappointed Black masses. Marcus Garvey's Universal Negro Improvement Association grew into the largest mass movement of Blacks since the Civil War.

The UNIA was more than a "Back to Africa" movement. Garvey tapped the deep sentiment for organizational, economic, and military independence and power.

In the post-World War I lynch-atmosphere and rising Ku Klux Klan terrorism, Garvey's organization attempted to meet a desperate need. The UNIA raised an army—which under the given circumstances was essentially symbolic—complete with officers, uniforms, and a "Black Cross" nurses corps "for the reconquest of Africa."

Blacks enthusiastically flocked to the UNIA. They saw the Garvey-led "army," above all, as a bold and necessary step that they hoped would be filled with real content. At its height the Association numbered several million members and had amassed considerable capital for its independently owned business ventures.

Black nationalism, Permanent Revolution

Leon Trotsky, who along with V.I. Lenin, led the Russian workers to victory over Russian capitalism in 1917, understood the progressive character of the nationalism of oppressed peoples—especially Black nationalism.

Lenin had blazed the trail on this. He taught that the nationalism of the oppressed is a distorted expression of class consciousness—an organic part of the class struggle. It called for unequivocal solidarity by the workers of the oppressor nationality. After Lenin's death,

Trotsky carried on this defense of true proletarian internationalism and class solidarity.

Trotsky had also blazed a trail on a related theoretical principle. He had foreseen, 12 years before the Russian Revolution, that the democratic revolution—which includes the right of oppressed nations to self-determination—would be carried out by the Russian workers. (Czarist Russia was known as a "prison-house of nations.")

The working class would first overthrow the capitalist government, Trotsky's theory predicted, and then give its peasant allies the land, dealing a fatal blow to the economic power of the combined landlord-capitalist class. After thus firmly cementing its alliance with the peasantry, the workers would then go on to destroy the economic power of the capitalists and advance the socialist character of the revolution.

Trotsky's theory of Permanent Revolution carried the implications of Marx's "revolution in permanence" to its logical conclusion. His theory was confirmed by the actual course of the Russian Revolution. He later went on to generalize it, applying it to any country which had not completed its own democratic revolution—including the United States.

Trotsky's contribution

In 1939, Trotsky engaged in a discussion about Marcus Garvey and Black nationalism with his co-thinkers in the American socialist movement. Listening carefully to the factual presentations, he argued for an understanding of the entirely progressive sentiment Black nationalism represents. He said:

"The Black woman who said to the white woman [who had pushed her in a street car], 'Wait until Marcus is in power. We will know how to treat you then,' was simply expressing her desire for her own state.

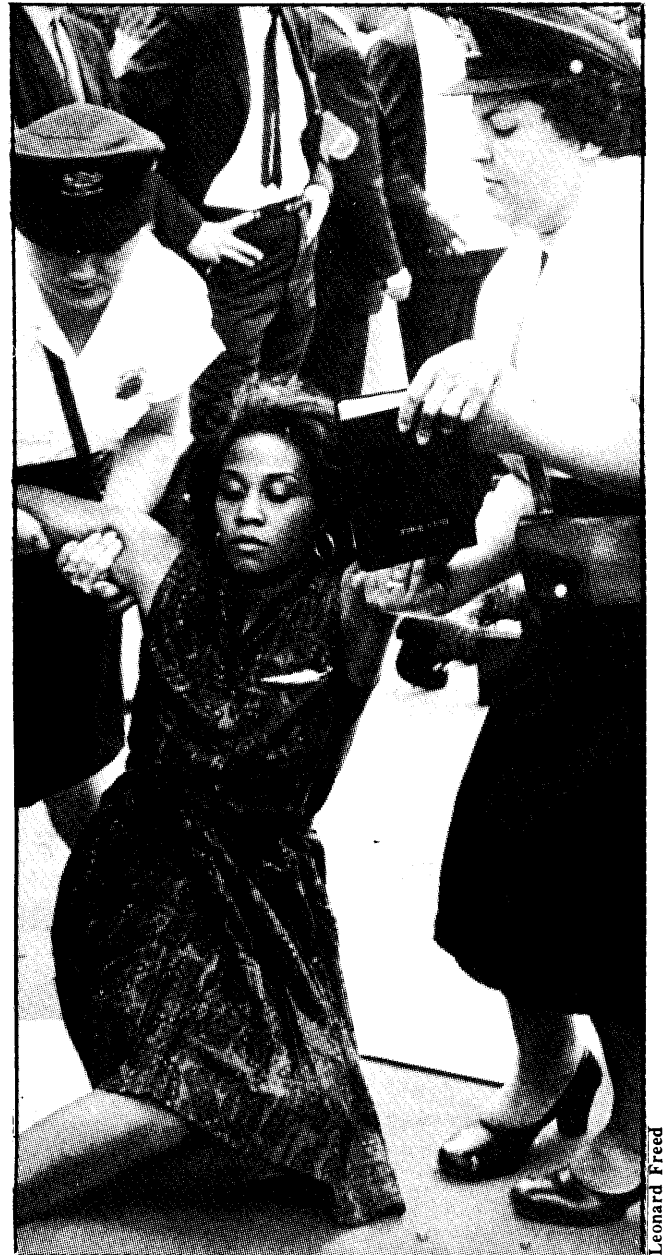
"The American Negroes gathered under the banner of the 'Back to Africa' movement because it seemed a possible fulfillment of their wish for their own home. They did not want actually to go to Africa. It was the expression of a mystic desire for a home in which they would be free of the domination of the whites, in which they themselves could control their own fate. That also was a wish for self-determination." ("Leon Trotsky on Black Nationalism and Self-Determination," compiled and edited by George Breitman, Merit Publishers, 1967)

Trotsky had earlier explained, "I do not propose for the party to advocate, I do not propose to inject, but only to proclaim our obligation to support the struggle for self-determination if the Negroes themselves want it." (Breitman, *ibid.*)

Indeed, to do otherwise would itself be a violation of the right of oppressed people to determine their fate. It would also cast a cloud over the absolute commitment of revolutionary socialists to a united working class based on true equality.

Black experience with emigration

Blacks have had mixed feelings toward emigration for a number of reasons. Pro-slavery whites and other enemies of Black freedom seized on the idea as early as the late 18th century as a means of ridding themselves of freed



Leonard Freed

1965 protest against housing discrimination in New York City

Blacks, whom they considered a danger to the institution of slavery. Blacks also were not unaware of the enormous material resources required for such a migration.

Daniel Guérin, a French Trotskyist and well-known author, describes some of these experiences in his excellent book on the modern Black movement for liberation, "Negroes On The March." He writes in 1951:

"Beginning in 1822, about 20,000 Negroes were transported to Africa and settled on an inhospitable land which adopted the name Liberia. The undertaking ended in failure. The capital needed [and deliberately withheld by the white patrons of emigration] was inadequate.

"The equatorial climate and the scant resources of the country did not permit the establishment of

" The Northern form of racism became known as 'de facto' segregation."

prosperous communities. Besides, the American Negroes collided with the hostility of the European colonial powers, England and France, who regarded the installation of these intruders with a baleful eye and forced them to surrender part of their territory...

"In our time Senator Bilbo of Mississippi, one of the most rabid opponents of the Negro race, proposed a bill aimed at 'repatriating' the Negroes in Africa and boasted of having found support for his project among the Negroes themselves." (Guérin, New Park Publications Ltd., 1956)

It would be wrong to conclude from this, however, that Black nationalism is in any sense reactionary. It only proves that the white oppressors are fully capable of twisting the progressive aspirations of the oppressed to suit their own evil purposes. It is similar, in principle, to the many instances in which reactionary capitalist political groups and governments hide their policy of exploitation and oppression under a "socialist" label to trick the masses.

Third wave of Black nationalism

The most recent example of a mass Black liberation movement is the Civil Rights movement, which made its mark on history from the early 1950s to the mid-

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... Black nationalism



"It has never been the fault of Blacks, it must be stressed, that such a united struggle has not been fully realized."

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1960s. This movement, nominally integrationist, was primarily directed against the most malignant form of racism incorporated in Southern segregationist laws.

Black targeting of these "Jim Crow" laws—originally enacted to re-subjugate the former slaves—correctly focussed the Civil Rights movement on the "Jim Crow" system in the South. This made it easier for Northern white liberals, not directly affected, to give enthusiastic support to this struggle.

But as the Civil Rights movement made gains, it inspired Northern Blacks to carry the fight into their own areas. The Northern form of racism, known as "de-facto" segregation, was based largely on directly class forms of social and economic injustice and exploitation.

There were no "Jim Crow" laws in most of the Northern cities, but Blacks—especially those at the lowest economic levels—were practically excluded from the better public schools, housing, and jobs. The Black movement for democracy in the North fused with a directly economic struggle, according to the laws of Permanent Revolution.

As the Black revolution moved North, it more and more came into conflict with the economic interests of landlords and other capitalists.

White upper and middle-class liberals and the most backward sections of the white workers saw the new stage of the struggle as a threat to their privileged class and caste positions. The hostile response to the natural evolution of the Black liberation struggle was gleefully egged-on and slyly justified in the capitalist news media as a "white backlash" to Black "extremism."

This growing hostility from formerly sympathetic white supporters gave rise to the third post-Civil War wave of Black nationalism. The Nation of Islam, then Malcolm X's group, and still later the Black Panthers were the most prominent reflections of the new separatist mood.

But unlike the previously mentioned phases, in which Black hopes were first raised and then dashed, small but important layers of whites were not hostile to the Black nationalists. Students and other young people tended to be most responsive to the bitterly unvarnished truths articulated by Black nationalists.

The Trotskyists (then organized in the Socialist Workers Party—and now, in their majority, in Socialist Action) responded with continued enthusiasm to the evolving Black struggle—particularly to the Black nationalists led by Malcolm X. Their theoretical grounding had prepared them for this development.

The Trotskyists explained the positive contributions of

Black nationalism. This educational role had an effect that cannot be underestimated—particularly among the youth of the country. Malcolm X voiced his appreciation of this more than a few times.

The SWP—at that time a Trotskyist party—was the only multinational political party to organize public forums to give Malcolm X a hearing within the workers' movement. (This writer, then the organizer of the New York City branch of the SWP and a member of its National Committee, arranged three such "Militant Labor Forum" meetings with Malcolm X as the featured speaker during the last year of his life.)

Obstacles to Black-white class unity

Revolutionary socialists in the United States have long worked tirelessly for a united struggle of Black and white workers for their common class interests.

It has never been the fault of Blacks, it must be stressed, that such a united struggle has not been fully realized. This is entirely due to the systematic efforts of the ruling capitalist class to inculcate in white workers the absolutely false notion that they benefit, as a class, from the oppression and super-exploitation of Blacks.

This is part and parcel of the worldwide capitalist strategy of divide and rule.

Anyone can observe that it is the capitalists who systematically pay working people less than the value they produce. And it's not hard to deduce from this that the even lower wages paid to those branded by race prejudice mean higher profits for the capitalists, amounting to billions in yearly profits.

But this basic fact of life in capitalist America is muddled by the racism carefully nurtured by the ruling class in white working people. This contributes to the impression that whites, not capitalists, are the enemy.

Frederick Douglass, who had himself been a wage laborer after escaping from slavery, saw this clearly. Speaking at a Convention of Colored Men in Louisville, Ky., in September 1883, he appealed directly to the trade unions to welcome Black workers into their ranks:

"Their cause [Blacks] is one with the labor class all over the world. The labor unions of the country should not throw away this colored element of strength.... It is a great mistake of any class of laborers to isolate itself and thus weaken the bond of brotherhood between those on whom the burden and hardships of labor fall.

"The fortunate ones of the earth, who are abundant in land and money and know nothing of the anxious care and pinching poverty of the laboring classes, may afford to be indifferent to the appeal for justice

at this point, but the laboring classes cannot afford to be indifferent.... Experience demonstrates that there may be a slavery of wages only a little less galling and crushing in its effects than chattel slavery, and that this slavery of wages must go down with the other." (Foner, *ibid.*)

The old American Federation of Labor (AFL) craft unions, notoriously deluded by the fantasy of being beneficiaries of racism, barred and restricted Blacks (and often other national minorities and women) from membership. Many unions still do, although nowadays it tends to be disguised by one or another subterfuge.

The CIO breaks from labor's racist past

But when the mass-production workers began their historic assault on the citadel of American industrial capitalism in the 1930s, they made a profound break from the racist patterns of the past. They had drawn the bitter lessons of the previous harmful policy of the segregationist AFL unions; a policy which had led to great defeats.

The insurgent workers' industrial union movement, organized in the Committee for Industrial Organization (CIO), consciously united Black and white, male and female, for the stupendous task of forcing the auto, steel, and other giant corporations to kneel to industrial unionism.

The CIO was more than a union. It was a social movement for freedom and equality. This is what gave it its great strength. The CIO also took the first steps in allying itself with Blacks as a people.

As history has proven time and again, when whites take this road, Blacks naturally respond. And so did virtually the entire Black working and middle class—from common laborers to intellectuals and even small business people.

The conquests of this movement, although eroded by the privileged, self-seeking labor bureaucracy, are still alive and remain a source of great potential power. But most important, labor's giant step forward toward class unity taken in the mid-1930s inspires the way forward today.

The working class has been in retreat for nearly two decades. The unions have been crippled by a labor misleadership that foolishly, and criminally, whines for "unity" with alleged "good" capitalists in place of a struggle against them. A class-struggle policy in which all of capitalism's victims will fight together for economic and social justice is the logical way forward—not "unity" with the labor-bashers.

A break from the policy of supporting politicians in either capitalist party is indispensable for such a class-struggle policy. An independent labor party based on the unions is the logical political step toward uniting the working class and its natural allies for a generalized struggle.

But the labor bureaucracy has obstinately obstructed this independent road. The irresistible force of historic necessity, however, will impel labor's rank and file onto the center stage of history. They will be compelled to sweep aside the privileged labor bureaucracy.

The resurgent masses will pick up where their predecessors left off. A new *anti-capitalist* alliance of all the dispossessed will arise which will uproot capitalist exploitation and national oppression.

This instinctive drive toward class independence has already been manifested in repeated efforts by Blacks to initiate such a break. Although so far unsuccessful, efforts have been made by Blacks to launch a political party and field Black candidates independent of the Democratic and Republican parties.

Malcolm X's evolution reflected this tendency. He was clearly under the influence of revolutionary events on a world scale which involved genuine revolutionaries of all colors in a united working-class struggle for emancipation from wage slavery.

Symptomatically, in his last year, Malcolm X relentlessly attacked the two capitalist parties—both the Democratic foxes and the Republican wolves. And in his last months, he more explicitly focussed his attack, explaining that capitalism was the fountainhead from which sprang racism, super-exploitation, and national oppression.

Malcolm X showed in his most mature writings and speeches that he had begun to see the outlines of the coming combined revolution. He sensed that the national liberation of his people would be won in the course of the coming workers' socialist revolution. If for no other reason, this marked him as a candidate for assassination by U.S. capitalism. ■

If you support...

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- A woman's right to choose
- The fight for socialist democracy
- An end to union concessions
- The need for a labor party
- A socialist America

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Israeli activist speaks out against Zionist repression

Michel Warschawsky, director of the Alternative Information Center in Jerusalem, was released on bail on March 17, 1987. He had been arrested one month earlier in a televised raid on the Center. [See March and April 1987 Socialist Action.]

For three years, the Center had printed and disseminated news from the occupied territories, the Gaza Strip, and the West Bank. The arrest of Warschawsky was the first time the Prevention of Terrorism Ordinance of 1948 was used to suppress an Israeli journalist.

The following are edited excerpts of an interview by French revolutionist Alain Krivine with Warschawsky on March 20. The full interview appeared in the April 6 issue of *International Viewpoint*, a biweekly English-language socialist magazine published in France.

Question: What were the official reasons given for your arrest.

Warschawsky: The decree of the Israeli general police commissioner who closed the Center intimated that the Center was a front run and financed by the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP) of George Habash.

I was charged with "rendering services to an illegal organization." The decree provides for penalties of up to 10 years in prison.

Question: What is the objective of the Israeli government in this case?

Warschawsky: The closing of the Center and my arrest had two central objectives.

First, they wanted to hit an institution that has managed to gain a certain credibility, even with the official press, and has used this credibility to unmask the reality of the occupation, of the repression, and of the resistance of the Palestinian population.

More recently, we have systematically exposed the Israeli-Jordanian maneuvers



against the Palestinians. In this regard, the closing of the Center was linked to the shutting down of several Palestinian journals hostile to Jordan.

The second objective, without any doubt, was to try to reconstruct national unity—or at least to paralyze the opposition—by once again waving the peril of the "terrorists," who supposedly infiltrated the

Israeli left. On this level, the operation failed miserably.

Question: What has been the reaction to the closing of the Center in Israel? Why did the government release you?

Warschawsky: Even the members of the security services that carried out the interrogations couldn't hide their surprise at the flood of solidarity in Israel and abroad

against the closing of the Center and my arrest.

Protests came from the Jerusalem Journalists' Association; from the very prestigious Association for Civil Rights, which is far from being a "leftist" front; and from famous writers.

All the press reported daily on the case in a style that varied between objective neutrality and open support for our cause. For two weeks, solidarity pickets of 30 to 50 people—by no means all anti-Zionists—stood daily across from the jail.

My release on bail by the Supreme Court is above all a direct result of the failure of the government attempt to portray me as a dangerous "terrorist."

My release can only increase solidarity, because nobody is apt to believe that the Supreme Court would free anyone who worked on behalf of the PFLP, an organization regarded as one of the most dangerous in the struggle against Zionism.

Question: What is the situation now?

Warschawsky: I was released on \$50,000 bail, with a whole series of restrictions.

I am banned from working in the Center—even if it is reopened. I have to report to the police three times a week. All these restrictions are in force until the trial, for which the date has not yet been set.

Question: What is the role for solidarity now?

Warschawsky: It is important today to center solidarity around two axes: the demand for the immediate reopening of the Alternative Information Center and the dropping of all charges against me.

It is also important that the financial campaign in support of the Center continue. All our material was confiscated. And my friends do not want, come what may, to stop the publication of alternative information for technical reasons.

Without the Center, as many Israelis have acknowledged recently, it would be hard to know about the reality that lies behind the statements of the spokespersons for the occupation forces.

[Editor's note: Contributions for the defense fund can be sent to 2, rue Richard Lenoir, 93198, Montreuil, France.

Statements of protest demanding that the Center be reopened and that Warschawsky be released should be sent to Avraham Sharir, Minister of Justice, 29 Salay A-din, Jerusalem, 91010 Israel. Please send copies of protest letters to *Socialist Action*.]

Socialist Action Educational Conferences



San Francisco
May 8-9

"Socialism & Democracy" Forums and lectures on the new Soviet reforms, Black liberation in history, democracy in capitalist America, the Marxist view of future society. For more information, call (415) 821-0458.

Chicago
May 16

"Three lectures on the Middle East, Politics in the U.S., & the Fight for Workers Power"
Speakers: Adam Shils & Ralph Schoenman. Cross Currents Hall, 3206 N. Wilton (at Belmont).

New York
May 9

"Socialism & Democracy" Two sessions on history of democracy under capitalism and the fight for socialism today.
Speakers: Prof. Paul Siegel and Sandy Doyle. Hunter College, 695 Park Ave. Call (212) 873-7523.

Grand Rapids
May 9

"U.S. war in Central America" & "The Women's Liberation Movement"
Speakers for two sessions: Ellen Raskiewicz, Jeff Mackler, Tina Beacock, Michele Koopmans, and Mary Lu Lewis. Grand Rapids Public Library.

Twin Cities
May 7

"U.S. War Policy, Contragate, and the Nicaraguan Revolution"
Speaker: Jeff Mackler, National Secretary Socialist Action. Macalester College, Humanities Bldg, Rm. 239, 7 p.m. For more info., call: 430-1476.

Boston
May 15

"Legacy of Malcolm X" Film and lecture by Kwame Somburu. "Which Way for U.S. Labor: Lessons of P-9"
Speaker: Jake Cooper. "What next after April 25?" Roxbury Community College, 625 Huntington Ave

Aquino escalates war on Filipino masses

By ROBERTO PUMARADA

The May 11 congressional elections mark a key step in the attempt to normalize capitalist democracy in the Philippines.

Three ruling-class slates are jockeying for position. Aquino's ticket, embracing conservative Vice President Salvador Laurel as well as "radical" ex-Labor Minister Bobito Sanchez, expects to win handily. It is opposed by the "Grand Alliance for Democracy" of martial-law architect Juan Ponce Enrile and by a pro-Marcos slate.

Opposed to all three is the Partido ng Bayan (PnB), a formation based on working people who are groping for an alternative to the Aquino government. Yet despite the mass upsurge of the past year, the PnB has only limited support—even if a few of its candidates will probably be elected.

The U.S. shadow

Some political factors have remained constant, reheating a pressure cooker that exploded in early 1986. U.S. domination remains unfettered.

Indeed, the recent start of a billion-dollar revamping of U.S. military bases indicates that Washington intends to keep them past the 1991 expiration of the bases treaty. Worried about security, however, the United States has reportedly stationed 4500 more Marines in the Philippines.

Similarly, the \$26-billion debt to mostly U.S. banks remains outstanding. Negotiations to reschedule debt payments have resulted in an agreement under which foreign banks could elect to be paid by taking title to Philippine businesses—thus strengthening their hold over the country.

Meanwhile, the problem which martial law was intended to curb—popular unrest—has hardly subsided. This unrest is directed not only against U.S. exploitation, but also against the failure of the new regime to meet popular demands.

Unresolved demands

Despite 14 months of promises, no real land reform is in sight for the peasants. This is not surprising since the position of the government is that the limited number of land expropriations must be accompanied by compensation of landlords.

The Aquino government's attitude was revealed by its reaction to the January army massacre of 18 farmers demanding land. Seven officials were "administratively sanctioned" for allowing the killings, while dem-

onstrator leader Jaime Tadeo, head of the KMP-Peasant Movement of the Philippines, was charged with sedition.

Meanwhile, demonstrating workers can suffer similar repression from a "reformed" army. A four-day general strike in the Bataan Export Zone called in support of the murdered farmers was smashed, with one person killed.

The level of organization among the working people is qualitatively higher than in the period preceding martial law. Large and militant formations, forged in the anti-Marcos struggle, continue to exist and grow. Though sharing the early illusions in Aquino, they have moved more and more into opposition.

Finally, the new government faces the New People's Army (NPA), a guerrilla movement strong in a countryside barely touched by the "February revolution."

The war is resumed

With peace talks scuttled, the NPA has resumed its 18-year struggle. Aquino's response bluntly declared that "the answer to the terrorism of the left and the right is not social and economic reform but police and military action."

The entire U.S. ruling class has welcomed Aquino's shift to a hard line. While Undersecretary of State Richard Armitage saw this as a ray of hope in an otherwise somber landscape, liberal Congressman Steven Solarz lamented that more U.S. military aid has not been dispensed.

Meanwhile, *Newsweek* reports that with Aquino's approval, the CIA has launched a \$10-million campaign of "underground political activity" directed against the insurgency.

Even the Catholic hierarchy is contributing to Aquino's war effort, clamping down on political activity by priests and nuns in an effort to isolate the militant supporters of the workers' and peasants' organizations.

Illusions are being dashed

Events in the year since Aquino took power have clearly shown the anti-working class character of her government. Unfortunately, this was not apparent early on to many on the Philippine left. This realization has come about only haltingly and partially.

Disoriented by an Aquino-led "people power," militant leaders of the mass movements fostered the illusion that the new president could reverse the deteriorating social and economic conditions of the country. Rather than put forward an independent stance in defense of popular interests, these leaders gave critical support to Aquino, emphasizing the presence of liberals in the government



and the need to block a resurgence of the right and a military coup.

The support given to Aquino by the popular leadership put them on the political defensive and contributed to strengthening Aquino's political position. This made it correspondingly more difficult to break working people from illusions in the new president.

Nonetheless, as the antagonisms of Philippine society become sharper, the workers and peasants will see Aquino and the "elite opposition" as the enemies they really are. ■



By SEYMOUR KRAMER

In the 1961 World Series, the New York Yankees defeated the Cincinnati Reds in five humbling games. An epic *New York Post* headline summed up the series in this manner, "Yanks bomb Reds."

I had mixed feelings about Cincinnati. How could you like a team carried historically on the bare shoulders of slugger Ted Kluczewski? But how could a Brooklyn boy Bar-Mitzvahed on the eve of the Cuban Revolution hate a team called the Reds?

Cincinnati cried out for revenge. In March 1987, I traveled to Nicaragua's World Series to get it—and to, in some

U.S. athletes play ball in Nicaragua

small way, make it impossible for Yanks ever to bomb Reds again.

Athletes United For Peace was invited to this year's Nicaraguan baseball championship because of its work as host to the 1986 U.S. tour of the "Seleccion"—Nicaragua's national team—which visited California last fall and conquered our diamonds and hearts.

Our delegation/team, organized by former San Francisco 49er quarterback Guy Benjamin, included former U.S. Olympic captain Phil Shennick, former Cincinnati Bengal Sherman White, tennis pro Bill Mays, Marathon champion Rick Sayre—and THE-REST-OF-US, who had watched sports with anonymous competence on U.S. TV.

We traveled to Nicaragua to see the revolution through sports, to watch and to play, and to initiate a series of sports exchanges designed to promote understanding and solidarity.

Indios vs. Dantos

Baseball is Nicaragua's national sport. And though many fans follow the Majors in the United States and root for the few "Nicas" who have made it to the Bigs, the game here has its own history and frenzy.

This year's championship was a confrontation between Managua's traditional favorite, the Boer Indios, and the league's newest team, the Dantos, which is

the all-but-official team of the revolutionary army.

The Dantos were favored to win, yet the overwhelming favorite of the local fans was Boer. Throughout the week, disputes about the relative prowess and dignity of the two combatants raged through Nicaragua's sports pages, restaurants, and barrios.

The divisions among the people were also reflected in the Sandinista leadership. The FSLN Directorate seemed sharply divided on the question of the World Series.

During the games, one could see Dantos' No. 1 fan, Defense Minister Humberto Ortega, with a radio to one ear, encouraged by the progress of his club. Yet a scant few rows back, President Daniel Ortega and his companion, poet Rosario Murillo, could be seen agonizing over each Boer miscue or leaping to their feet when the Indios broke through with a run.

Pot holes and black bulls

But as much fun as it was to watch Nicaraguan baseball, being a spectator in a shaded stadium could never compare to playing in 100-degree heat under a beautiful Central American sun.

Our team managed to book three games while on tour. While wandering through a recently created state farm, managed by 40 campesino families, we encountered a militia unit that put down its guns for a few hours and led us on a one-mile march

to the local pot-holed diamond.

Five innings of fevered, fast-pitch softball ensued. The decisive blow was struck by brother Jeff Taft of our club, who drove a strike on the outside corner through the legs of a black bull stationed out in right field.

In our only defeat, we were outgunned by a team of journalists, who, we later learned, had played at the top level of Nicaraguan baseball a decade ago.

In our final appearance, we played a group of convicts, some of them captured contras, at a model prison near the revolutionary town of Esteli. Like several of Nicaragua's correctional facilities, this one permitted inmates to return home for unsupervised visits during their sentence.

This game was played in a diamond whose centerfield was on fire (slash and burn) and which was occasionally overflowed by Sandinista helicopters returning to the front in the mountains to our north.

It is rumored that Nicaraguans learned to play baseball watching the games of occupying U.S. Marines. We ended our trip with the hopes that "Nicas" and North Americans would continue to meet...for sport rather than war.

It is certain, however, that should Reagan succeed in arranging a rematch between the Marines and the children of Sandino, it will be the latter who will do most of the teaching. ■

Seymour Kramer is a member of the school-bus drivers' union of San Francisco and a steering-committee member of the Mobilization for Peace, Jobs and Justice. In Nicaragua, he played first base, went 11 for 12, and had a designated runner.

... AIFLD

(continued from page 20)

undeniable fact that April 25 had garnered the broadest labor support ever for a mass demonstration against the international and domestic policies of the U.S. government.

In addition to the formal support of AFL-CIO bodies, the April 25 demonstration was formally initiated by the presidents of 19 international unions and by the heads of several other major local and regional AFL-CIO unions. These unions represent an estimated 35 percent of the AFL-CIO and include five of its six largest national unions.

And if the support of the independent unions is included—such as the 1.7-million-member National Education Association—the demonstration has the support of the majority of the organized labor movement in the United States.

Contrary to Kirkland's assertion in his March 23 letter that some of the international union presidents have "withdrawn their endorsement," not a single initiator has taken such action.

Kirkland's red-baiting attempts

Kirkland's letter was preceded by a so-called fact-finding visit to the offices of the Western States Mobilization by David Jessup, a leading staff member of the AFL-CIO-directed American Institute for Free Labor Development (AIFLD).

Mobilization staffer Carl Finamore asked Jessup at that time if the AFL-CIO intended to encourage its affiliate bodies to withdraw their support. "Absolutely not," said Jessup. "We are simply gathering information to answer questions we have received."

This statement was contradicted a week later by Kirkland's letter, which not only pressed for disassociation, but included a torrent of false accusations designed to associate the April 25 demonstration with the "Marxist-Leninist guerrillas in El Salvador" and the Sandinista government.

Since Kirkland could not substantiate these accusations, he chose to veil his red-baiting in more general terms. He stated: "Among those invited speakers are representatives of organizations supporting the guerrilla forces seeking to overthrow the democratically elected Duarte government in El Salvador, as well as representatives of the Sandinista government of Nicaragua..."

The charge regarding "representatives of the Sandinista government" speaking at either the Washington, D.C., or San Francisco demonstrations is patently false—although spokespersons for both actions have indicated that a decision to have such speakers was not ruled out as a matter of political principle.

In San Francisco, the views of the Nicaraguan people will be presented by a representative of the Mothers of the Heroes and Martyred of Nicaragua, the organization currently touring the United States to present detailed evidence of torture and murder inflicted on the people of Nicaragua by the U.S.-backed and illegally financed contras.

As to the charge that April 25 speakers will include people who support the guerrilla forces of the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front (FMLN), there can be no refutation.

The FMLN is today supported or



UNTS members demonstrate in San Salvador for earthquake assistance and an end to repression.

endorsed by governments and national union federations throughout the world, as well as by tens of thousands of persons prominent in public life on every continent on earth. There is no doubt that its struggle against the death-squad Duarte regime, under which 5000 trade unionists have been murdered without a single conviction, is supported by many of the 52 national religious leaders and others who helped initiate the April demonstrations.

AFL-CIO backs company union

The Western States Mobilization has invited a representative from El Salvador's largest trade-union federation, the National Union of Salvadoran Workers (UNTS), to speak on April 25.

This federation was formed a few years ago when El Salvador's most prominent unions merged with a number of key unions that broke from the pro-Duarte and pro-employer policies of the AFL-CIO/AIFLD-sponsored union confederation. The UNTS has led several major union struggles involving hundreds of thousands of workers over the past year. It is labeled "pro-guerrilla" by the AFL-CIO.

The AFL-CIO, in fact, has been on a national campaign to isolate the UNTS and its major affiliates, such as ASTTEL, the telephone workers' union which had been associated with the AFL-CIO-financed federation but subsequently broke with it.

In an October 7, 1986, letter to U.S. Congressman Ted Weiss protesting Weiss' endorsement of a public statement of the New York Labor Committee for Democracy and Human Rights in El Salvador, New York State AFL-CIO President Edward J. Cleary had the following to say about UNTS and its affiliate telephone local:

"There are two unions of telephone workers in El Salvador. The first to be formed was ASTA, which is affiliated to the same international bodies as the AFL-CIO....The second is ASTTEL, which was initially favored by the right-wing, anti-Duarte manager of the telephone company, and which currently collaborates with the guerrilla-backed union coalition UNTS.

"ASTTEL recently promoted a disastrous strike to protest the jailing of two non-union members, the sons of an ASTTEL leader, who were charged with kidnapping."

The New York Labor Committee, a local affiliate of the national group which has played a central role in initiating the April 25 demonstrations, answered Cleary in a letter dated Jan. 14, 1987.

The response recounted the seven-year history of ASTTEL, including its heroic struggle to organize El Salvador's telephone workers; the loss of its central leaders by death-squad assassination, torture, and abduction; and finally, after five years of "barbaric repression," its winning of a union contract.

The Labor Committee concluded:

"This recognition of ASTTEL did not mean that the government or the company truly intended to grant the union the right to exclusive representation. Indeed, one month before the ASTTEL recognition, a rival union called ASTA was formed.

"The ease with which it received legal approval has raised some questions of management influence and domination. As far as anyone has been able to determine...this rival union represents only eight workers, which is all that remains of a company-created executive council..."

"This brings us to an important misconception in your letter. Yes, there are two unions of telephone workers in El Salvador. One has been fighting for its life for seven years and has majority status. The other is a company union, and a pitifully weak one at that. How in the name of principles that we cherish and hold in common can we support the latter?"

The Labor Committee's letter is signed by 23 New York labor officials representing most of the key unions in the metropolitan area.

U.S. government funds AIFLD

Tragically, the top leadership of the AFL-CIO does not determine its foreign policy positions based on "principles"

commonly recognized by honest trade unionists throughout the world. Instead, the AFL-CIO bureaucracy, through its International Affairs Department, largely carries out the international policy objectives of the U.S. government.

Of the \$43 million spent yearly by this AFL-CIO department, 90 percent comes directly from two institutions directly funded by the U.S. government—the Agency for International Development (AID) and the National Endowment for Democracy (NED). This amount virtually equals the entire domestic budget of the AFL-CIO, which in 1985 was \$45 million.

The main recipient of these government funds, AIFLD, is the same organization which last month "collected" information for the AFL-CIO allegedly to inform its affiliates about the April 25 protests against U.S. policy in Central America.

In 1985, according to *Business Week* magazine, AIFLD, which has been closely associated with the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), received \$13.5 million and \$4.8 million from AID and NED respectively.

Truly, the policies of the U.S. government and the AFL-CIO hierarchy are not representative of the will of the American people, who oppose the U.S. war in Central America and who recoil at continued U.S. support to the racist apartheid regime in South Africa.

The refusal of the great bulk of the labor supporters of April 25 to buckle under the pressure of the AFL-CIO misleaders is an important indication of the mood of U.S. workers.

Today more and more working people are associating the bipartisan war policies of the U.S. government with the same policies which increasingly threaten and undermine their jobs and future at home. ■

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Precarious character of American "democracy"

By PAUL SIEGEL

The following is the fourth and last article by Paul Siegel on the topic of democracy in America. *Socialist Action* is printing this series in conjunction with the 200th anniversary of the U.S. Constitution.

Paul Siegel is Professor Emeritus at Long Island University and the author of several books on political and literary themes. His latest book, "The Meek and the Militant: Religion and Power Across the World," was reviewed in the April 1987 issue of *Socialist Action*.

The democratic rights we have in this country were won only through struggle. Since the time of the American Civil War, however, the enormous increase of wealth of the capitalists more and more made the United States a society democratic only in form.

Through their control of the two major political parties and their monopoly of the mass media, a few rich families continue to dominate this country's politics. The foreign and domestic policies of the U.S. government are completely subservient to the interests of the capitalist class.

At times, the capitalists are able to grant a relative tolerance toward movements of the working class and oppressed people in this country. During these periods of tolerance, the ordinary mechanisms of achieving social stability are sufficient.

At other times, however, the capitalist class and its agents in the government must resort to a heightened repression. These repressive periods occur when the rising working-class movement must be beaten back (1877, 1886, 1894, 1919) or when foreign-policy crises make necessary a national mobilization and a suppression of dissent (1917-1918, 1940-1945, 1950-1953, 1968-1971).

Police repression in the 1960s

The repressiveness of the late 1960s, when Black and radical organizations were systematically harassed and disrupted by agent provocateurs, was, therefore, not merely the result of an abuse of power by J. Edgar Hoover—as many liberals think. Hoover had the aid of "Red Squads" in some 500 cities and of a compliant establishment.

Between 1968 and 1971, 40 members of the Black Panther Party were killed by local police in raids instigated by the FBI. The FBI secretly reported in 1970 that the Black Panthers commanded "great respect" among 25 percent of all Blacks and 43 percent of Black youth.

Chicago Black Panther leader Fred Hampton was shot while sleeping in bed. Malcolm X was likewise spied on, harried, vilified—and ultimately assassinated.

The so-called New Left of the 1960s and '70s was also attacked at the behest of the FBI. Approximately 40 percent of "Cointelpro" [FBI anti-radical] activity directed against the New Left was devoted to keeping left leaders from speaking, teaching, writing, or publishing.

With the end of the Black uprisings and of the Vietnam War, the period of harsh repression came to a close. The repressive machinery remains intact, however. Visitors to Nicaragua and Central American solidarity organizations are being subject to intimidation and spying by the FBI and other governmental agencies.

CIA overthrows governments

American capitalism's use of repression has been most notable abroad. It has directly insalated and propped up murderously brutal governments throughout the world. The process has gone on through both Republican and Democratic administrations.

Among the democratically elected governments overthrown by the CIA with

the aid of native agents were the governments of Iran in 1953, Guatemala in 1954, and Brazil in 1964.

Among the bloody tyrants the U.S. government supported with economic, military, and diplomatic aid have been the Somozas in Nicaragua, Chiang Kai-shek in China, the Shah in Iran, Park in South Korea, Suharto in Indonesia, Marcos in the Philippines, Pinochet in Chile, and Botha in South Africa.

In striving to avert revolution abroad by its interventions and support of repression, the U.S. government has betrayed the revolutionary principles of the country's origin.

"Whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends [life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness]," says the Declaration of Independence, "it is

social cancer." It is part of a system of repression that a native elite allied with foreign capitalism needs to maintain itself.

We may say that the freedoms in the United States today, limited as they are, are based on the lack of freedoms in the neo-colonial countries—just as ancient Greek democracy was based on the slaves it captured from neighboring countries. But these limited freedoms must contract as more neo-colonial countries free themselves.

Fascism and big business

Extreme repression has not been confined to the dependent capitalist countries but has occurred in some of the developed capitalist societies as well. Fascism, which bound German and Italian society in a totalitarian straitjacket, is the most brutally repressive of all forms of government in its



for anything like the thousand years that Hitler rantingly predicted, the business empires of Krupp and I.G. Farben—which were shown in the Nuremberg trials to have worked captured slave laborers to death—have remained dominant in German society.

American capitalism did not turn to fascism, as German capitalism did. The United States had reserves upon which it could draw to ameliorate the situation during the Great Depression.

But there is no reason to expect that in a time of sharpened crisis the leaders of American capitalism will not choose fascism to preserve private enterprise.

In the meantime—even without the aid of fascist gangsters—they are tightening up restrictions on civil liberties.

A socialist United States

True democracy can only be attained in this country by the United States becoming a socialist country in a socialist world.

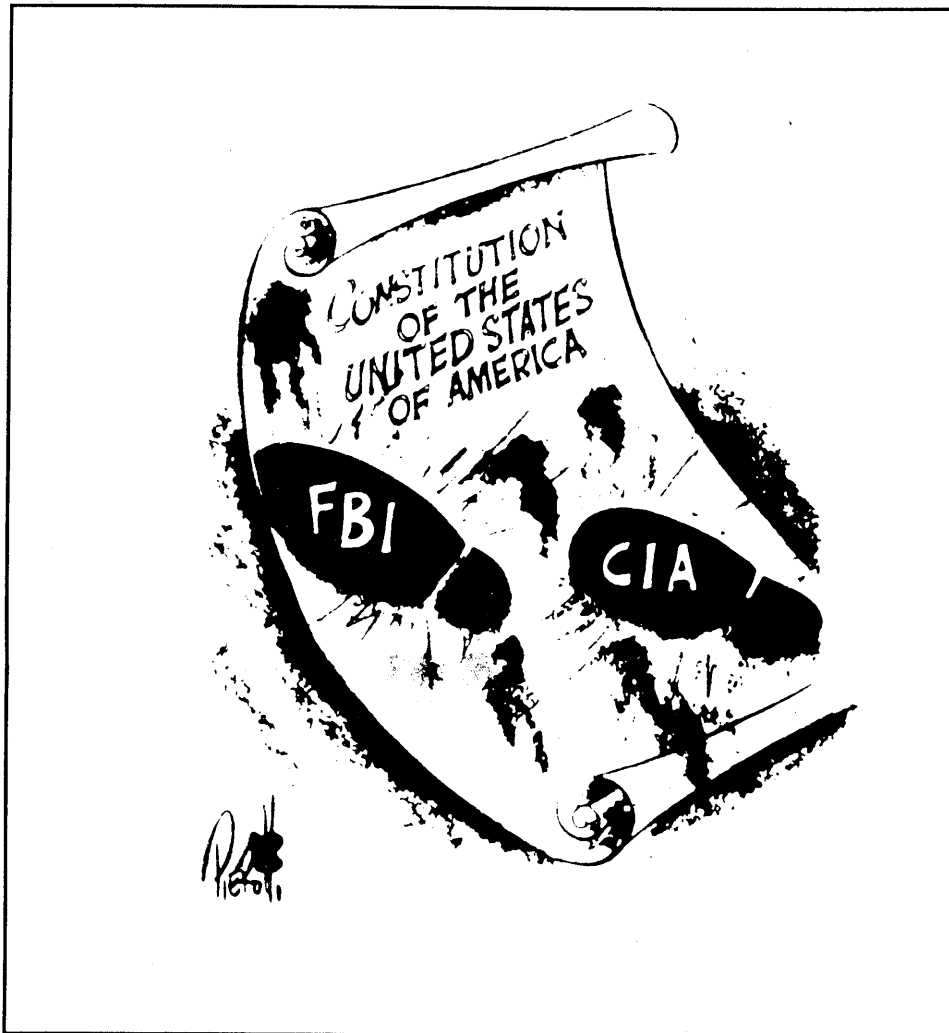
A revolution in the United States will release its enormous productive capacity from the bonds of private ownership by giant corporations. Vital decisions affecting people's lives will no longer be made by a small number of unelected and unaccountable persons who are concerned only with their own profits and not the common good.

A socialist United States will do away with the structural crises that characterize capitalism, when the capitalists attempt to restore profitability by throwing millions out of work. It will instead operate by a plan—democratically arrived at and democratically administered through direct participation of the workers—answering to the needs of society.

To carry out such planning, the key industries, banks, transportation, and communication media will be nationalized. The small farmers, merchants, and businessmen will be left free to determine whether they wish to remain as individual entrepreneurs or to join the socialist economy as participants rather than as auxiliaries.

The monopoly of the capitalists will not be replaced by a monopoly of a bureaucracy through a single-party state. Instead, organizations and parties will receive access to the different means of communication in accordance with an equitable arrangement democratically determined.

Debate and controversy will not end; indeed, they will be more intense and will draw every one into them. For socialism is not the negation of democracy but its fullest expression. ■



FBI and CIA have a long history of violating the rights of Americans.

the right of the people to alter or to abolish it and to institute new government, laying its foundation on such principles...as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness."

This statement affirms that revolution is an inherent right of all peoples, who may choose as they see fit the principles that are to be the foundation for their new government.

This right is "unalienable," not to be denied by a superior power that claims it knows better what is good for the people exercising this right or that its own interests are being affected by their exercise of it. But it is not observed by U.S. governments of our time, whether in the case of a people that seeks to "alter" its government, as in Allende's Chile, or to "abolish" it, as in revolutionary China.

"A favorable investment climate"

Liberals have deplored U.S. support for repressive, corrupt regimes fighting against revolution. But why does the United States so consistently support them? It occurs too regularly to be just a series of mistakes, as liberals maintain. The answer is that the U.S. government wants a "favorable investment climate" and "stability" for U.S. business interests.

It is for this reason that, as Amnesty International has said, torture, primarily in the American client states, "has suddenly developed a life of its own and become a

systematic crushing of any independent forces.

Fascism is assumed when advanced capitalism is in a state of extreme crisis that makes impossible the usual forms of rule.

The Nuremberg trial record shows that the Nazis were financed by German big business—among others by the coal barons, the steel trust, the great chemical combine of I.G. Farben, the potash and rubber industries, and a number of leading banks.

The minutes of a secret meeting between the Nazi leaders and a score of leading business magnates have been preserved. Hitler told them that "private enterprise cannot be maintained in the age of democracy."

On coming to power, the Nazis smashed the trade unions, giving these business empires unrestricted authority in the factories. The Nazis adopted a giant armaments program that contributed to their profits. Great numbers of trade unionists, Social Democrats, and Communists—the first victims of the Nazi state—were sent to Dachau, which was built for them.

German capitalism adopted fascism in desperation. It was threatened by working-class revolution. The capitalist class was in the position of a business firm that pays gangsters through the nose to break up a union and to menace its rivals.

Although the Third Reich did not endure

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By JAMES P. CANNON

The following are excerpts from a speech given by James P. Cannon in January 1953 titled "America Under Workers' Rule."

Cannon, who died on Aug. 21, 1974, at the age of 84, was the founder of the American Trotskyist movement and one of the eminent veterans of the revolutionary movement both internationally and domestically.

In this speech, Cannon takes up the character and tasks of the new workers' government that will lead the transition toward the establishment of a socialist society.

The speech has been preserved in the language of the period, which used the masculine pronoun to refer to men and women.

We Marxists conceive of socialism, not as an arbitrary scheme of society to be constructed from a preconceived plan, but as the next stage of social evolution...

Capitalism has exhausted its progressive role. Now it must leave the stage to a higher system.

Capitalism has done its work here, so that when the workers come to power they will fall heir not to a ruined, backward, hungry country [as was the case in Russia in 1917], but to the richest country with the most highly developed productive plant in the whole world. That's where the new government of the workers in America will have to start.

What will be the form of the new workers' government? I wouldn't undertake to say positively, any more than I would undertake to say positively just how the transfer of the governmental power from the capitalists to the workers will take place.

The two questions are connected, to a certain extent. Many variants are possible, depending on the strength of each side at the time of the showdown, and the disposition of the capitalists in particular.

The most likely scenario

If somebody says: "I would prefer to see the change effected by the workers getting the majority in a fair election and taking power peacefully"—well, I wouldn't say I'm opposed to that.

I would say, if it can be done, if the democratic forms are maintained and it can be done peacefully, that would probably be the most economical way of transforming the government.

Of course, even in such a case, you would have to do a very serious job of fixing up the Constitution to make it fit the new needs. But that could be all done, provided the capitalists—contrary to the disposition of all ruling classes in the past—will agree peacefully to submit to the will of the majority.

But if history tells us anything, it is doubtful, to say the least, that they would agree to that. As the workers approach a position of political strength, where their majority in a fair election becomes a threatening prospect, it is possible—and even probable—that the capitalists will disregard democratic processes, organize fascist gangs, and try to settle the question with armed force.

The workers then will be obliged to set up their own defense battalions. In such circumstances it is quite possible—due to the stupidity, arrogance, unfairness, and historic blindness of the capitalists—that there will be some scuffling before the government is changed.

More democratic, representative

But it will be changed just the same. And however it may be changed, the new government will probably approximate the occupational or workers' council form; or will eventually be remodeled along that line.

The present form of representation in the government by territorial units will probably be replaced by representation of occupational units.

The delegates in the Congress will directly represent the workers in their shops, the factories, the farms and so on; not to omit the military units, which will also have a hand in the new regime as long as they continue to exist.

The workers' council form of government

James P. Cannon speaks on America's road to socialism

will be preferred because it is more representative and more democratic than the present form of American government.

The new government will be primarily concerned with the problems of the economy. The workers will have a means of exerting direct pressure and influence through their own delegates in the occupational councils, all the way up from the local to the regional and to the federal assemblies....

Production for use

The first task of the new government—once it has established its authority and its power—will be to abolish private property in the means of production.

This will be done by one law, or by one decree, declaring that the banking system and all the key industries—all the big factories, mines, and factory farms; all the means of communication and transport-

can't, they shut down the factory, and that's all there is to it.

The workers' government will put a stop to this monstrous squandering of the people's energies and resources, which is the direct result of the anarchy of capitalist production.

Just by cutting out all this colossal waste—to say nothing of a stepped-up rate of productivity, which would soon follow—the socialist reorganization of the economy will bring about a startling improvement of the people's living standards.

The first condition will be to eliminate all private profits of nonproducers; to eliminate all conflicting interests of private owners of separate industries; to stop production for sale and profit and organize planned production for use....

A planned economy

As one of its first acts, the new workers'

leisure to think and reflect and loaf and invite his soul, as the poet said.

A big start in this direction will be made already in the early period of the workers' government.

Real workers' democracy

The regime of the workers' government in this country will be a democratic regime—democratic through and through.

The abundance which the planned economy will provide for all—plus the time for leisure, for education, and cultural development in general—will be the surest safeguards against a usurping bureaucracy infringing on the rights and liberties of the people, as is the case today in the Soviet Union.

When there is plenty for all, there is no material basis for a privileged bureaucracy, and the danger, therefore, is largely eliminated. That will be the situation in rich and highly developed America under



ation, public utilities, etc.—are henceforth public property.

I don't mean every little shop, corner store, and small farm. I mean the great industries which have already been organized on a colossal scale....

I wonder what the future man, the really civilized man, will think when he reads in his history books that there was once a society, long ago, where the people might be hungry for the products of farms and factories. And the workers in the factory might be eager to produce and needing the work so that they could live. But because the hungry people couldn't buy the products, the workers weren't allowed to work and produce them, and the factories were shut down, and agricultural production was artificially restricted.

What will the people of the future think of a society where the workers lived in constant fear of unemployment? There is hardly a worker anywhere who knows for sure whether he will have a job six months from now or not.

He can work all his mature life, 40 or 50 years, and he's never free from that fear. His having a job depends, not on his willingness to work, nor on the need of the people for the products of his labor. It depends on whether the owners of the factories can find a market for the products and make a profit at a given time. If they

government will appoint a central planning board to organize and regulate the entire economy of America according to one general comprehensive plan.

What will be the composition of this planning board? Certainly no loud-mouthed politicians, no bankers, no lawyers. I doubt whether there will be any preachers. But I would say, representatives of the unions, farm cooperatives, economists and statisticians, scientists, technicians, and consumers will be appointed as a matter of course....

The citizen of Socialist America will gradually move into a new state of affairs where his main preoccupation is no longer his struggle for individual existence—as it is today—but what he is going to do with that wonderful gift of leisure, the greatest gift, I think, of all.

Leisure is the premise of all cultural development. Without leisure, you have no rights. What's the use of being told you should do this, and you should do that, you should develop your mind and let your soul expand—when you're so preoccupied with work and trying to make a living and keep your family out of the poorhouse that you have no time for anything else?

What you need is time! And for that you need an efficient system of planned economy to shorten the hours of necessary labor and give everyone the time and the

workers' rule.

From the beginning, we will go in for real workers' democracy in this country because, among other things, democracy is not only better for ourselves, for our minds, and for our souls, but is also better for production.

Democracy will call out the creative energy of the masses. When all the workers participate eagerly in the decisions—and bring together their criticisms and proposals based upon their experience in the shops—higher production will result.

Faults in the plans will be corrected right away by the experience of the workers. Misfits and incompetents in the leading bodies will be recalled by the democratic process. Official "bosses" will be given the boot.

An educated and conscious working class will insist on democracy. And not the narrowly limited and largely fictitious democracy of voting every four years for some bigmouthed political faker picked for you by a political machine, but democracy in your work. That's where it really counts.

Every day you will have something to say about the work you're doing, how it should be done and who should be in charge of it, and whether he's directing it properly or not. Democracy in all cultural activities. Democracy in all spheres of communal life—from A to Z. ■

New book puts World War II in perspective



May 1945: Red Army on the move in Berlin

By HAYDEN PERRY

The Meaning of the Second World War, by Ernest Mandel. Verso Press, available from Schocken Books, 62 Cooper Square, New York, N.Y. 10003. 210 pages, \$12.50 paperback.

Marxist theoretician Ernest Mandel introduces World War II as a struggle in which "literally millions of men and women were engaged in conflict across a geographical area from France to Bengal, from Chad to Leningrad, from the Philippines to Birmingham...Never before had so many people, on all continents, participated directly or indirectly in political and armed conflict."

So vast was the arena of this war that most historians have been content to concentrate on a small segment, often in works running into several volumes. Mandel has given us a Marxist overview of the entire drama, taking us from the siege of Leningrad to the Battle of Midway in the Pacific. He probes the thinking of the general staffs on both sides and the reaction of the war weary masses in Europe and Asia.

Five different conflicts

Mandel says that World War II was a combination of five different conflicts: (1) an inter-imperialist war fought for world hegemony and won by the United States; (2) a just war of self defense by the Soviet Union; (3) a just war of the Chinese people against imperialism, which would turn into a socialist revolution; (4) a just war of Asian colonial peoples against various imperialist powers; (5) a just war of liberation fought by the occupied peoples of Europe. Unlike the Stalinists, Mandel does not include among the "just" the ruling classes of the capitalist countries.

Wars between major powers today, Mandel tells us, are "conveyor belt" wars in which the country with the greatest industrial-financial base will be the winner. Destruction of factories and infrastructure becomes as important as winning battles. If battle losses in human lives and materiel can be replaced, the war can go on.

Germany, for example, captured 40 percent of the Soviet Union's industrial plant in 1942. But the Soviets moved 1360 large factories east of the Urals and built 2250 new plants in 1942-1943. Britain increased its production during the war,

while the United States enjoyed an industrial plant that was scarcely strained by the war effort.

The United States possessed an aggregate of power that was bound to win in the long run. The only hope for victory by either Germany or Japan lay in a lightning thrust or "Blitzkrieg" in Europe and an island-hopping push into Southeast Asia by Japan.

Initial German successes

At first, Germany achieved remarkable success. The Dutch army was beaten in four days, the Belgians after 18 days, and the British were pushed off the continent in two weeks. The French army was crushed in six weeks.

While military machines and strategy may operate brilliantly, Mandel points out, errors of judgment, lack of information, or self-deception can influence a war in unexpected ways.

Hitler, for instance, did not think that the capitalist countries would ally themselves with the Soviet Union. Stalin did not believe Hitler would attack. The capitalists underestimated the Soviet Union's industrial and social strength. Everyone—including Stalin—underestimated the revolutionary dynamic of the suffering masses in Europe and Asia.

Mandel speculates that Hitler might have won the war if he had pressed his bombing campaign against Britain further and limited his aims to victory in Europe. But Hitler sought world domination by invading the Soviet Union. The German general staff expected they would crush the Soviet armies in four to eight weeks.

Due to Stalin's criminal beheading of the Soviet army's top leadership—and lack of preparation—the Russians lost heavily in the first months. One-hundred-and-fifty divisions were annihilated and thousands of miles of territory was lost. Even Moscow was threatened.

But Hitler gained ground only at a heavy cost. He lost a million men before the battle for Moscow, and he could not replace them. Meanwhile, the Soviets rebuilt their army and had nearly 300 divisions by the end of the war.

Upheavals dictates strategy

In June of 1942, Japan's advance was halted at the naval battle of Midway. In November 1942, British and American forces landed in North Africa. In February

1943, Germany's advance came to an end with the Soviet victory at the battle of Stalingrad. The initiative now passed to the Allies, and they never lost it.

The war continued for another three years, largely a war of attrition as Germany slowly retreated from the extensive territory it had conquered. Allied strategy became more and more dictated by fear of political upheavals and threats to the capitalist order.

Stalin called for a second front in Western Europe. Roosevelt delayed the landings partly because he wanted both Germany and the Soviet Union to be bled white by continued war. Churchill wanted to drive through Southern Europe to keep the Soviets out of Bulgaria and Greece.

Gen. Douglas MacArthur reinvaded the Philippines—instead of taking a more direct route to Japan—because he feared the guerrilla movement would contest U.S. hegemony over the islands.

The use of the war's ultimate weapon was dictated by political—and not military considerations. Claims of saving American lives by its use was a lie. Japan had already offered to surrender. The atomic bomb was dropped mainly to impress the Soviet Union and to proclaim American military hegemony over the world.

With the retreat of Hitler's forces, partisan bands became an increasing

military threat to the Germans and a political threat to the Allies. Stalin would not tolerate any partisan force not under his control. In 1944, when a heroic uprising in Warsaw stood off the Germans for two months, Stalin ordered Soviet troops to halt until Warsaw was overrun and the anti-Nazis slaughtered.

The Italian ruling class switched sides in the middle of the war. It feared the growing partisan movement would seize power and end its privileges. The Yugoslavian and Albanian ruling classes could not save themselves this way. Here the wars of liberation were extended into socialist revolutions and the establishment of two workers' states. The same thing happened in China, the most populous nation on earth.

New map of world created

Mandel says the new map of the world created by World War II was not the result of diplomatic agreements. Rather it reflected the freezing of battle positions held when hostilities ended. The Soviet Union held Berlin, half of Germany, and Eastern Europe from Stettin to Trieste.

Roosevelt and Churchill wanted to push the Soviets back, but it was impossible. War-weary troops would not fight any longer, partisans in Northern Italy and Greece may have taken power. Revolution in France was possible.

The Soviet Union did not end the war weak and exhausted, as Churchill hoped, but emerged from the war as a superpower. Because the Soviet Union was not defeated in World War II, imperialism launched the Cold War that continues today.

Mandel does not confine himself to a mere chronology of battles fought and errors made. He analyzes many aspects of war that are manifested far from the battlefield. He has chapters on resources, weapons, logistics, and science.

In the final chapter, Mandel points out that, "Violence and barbaric disregard for elementary human rights, starting with the right to life, spread on a larger scale than anything seen during or after World War I. The climax to the rise of barbarism was the advent of the Bomb."

Eighty million lives—eight times the number of lives lost in the slaughter of the First World War—were lost in World War II.

For all this suffering endured by millions, the problems of capitalism were not solved. After a few years of prosperity, enjoyed only by the developed nations, the stage is being set for another plunge into expanding war and ultimate barbarism.

Mandel concludes on a more optimistic note. He says the increasing crisis of capitalism creates the conditions for socialist revolution. Mandel writes:

"Socialist revolution remains the best chance—in fact the only chance—of avoiding World War III. Humankind can only be saved from destruction by establishing rational control over international and domestic affairs, i.e., by abolishing class and national conflicts and competition. And only a democratic socialist world federation can achieve that goal."

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Novelist portrays life of Peruvian Trotskyist

By MARK SCHNEIDER

The Real Life of Alejandro Mayta, by Mario Vargas Llosa. Aventura Press, Random House, New York, 1986, 310 pages. \$6.95.

It is virtually unprecedented that an internationally acclaimed novelist would choose as his subject the life of a Trotskyist militant. For that reason—along with the brilliance of the writing—this book deserves the attention of the radical press.

Vargas Llosa is a political liberal who criticizes the revolutionary regimes of Cuba and Nicaragua from the

BOOK REVIEW

right. He has served in the government of his native Peru and has been compared to V.S. Naipaul, a Trinidadian whose books and articles have criticized political militancy in the underdeveloped countries.

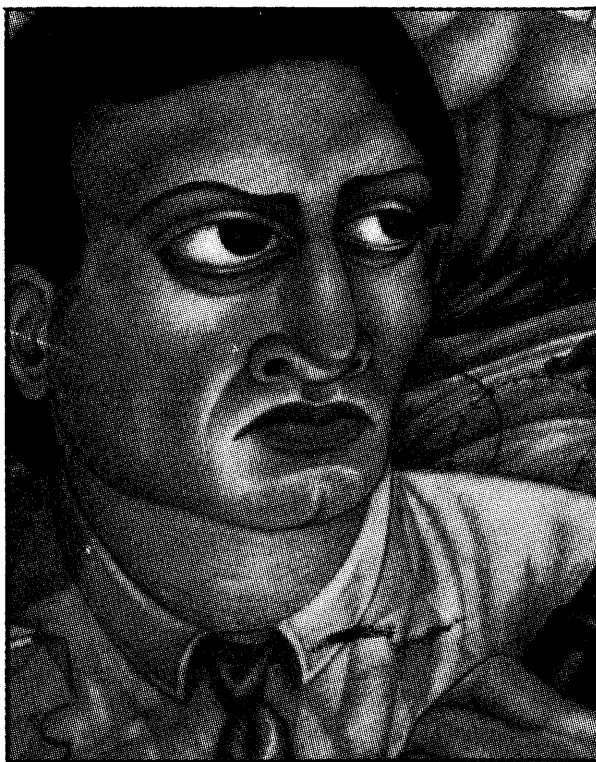
Both writers live in Europe. The front cover of "Alejandro Mayta" quotes the establishment American author John Updike, who says that "Mario Vargas Llosa has replaced Gabriel Garcia Marquez as the South American novelist for gringos to catch up on." Garcia Marquez is the best known of the radical Latin American writers, so the quote is actually a political broadside.

Vargas Llosa uses garbage heaps symbolically in the book, and I believe he has written it as a warning to the Latin American ruling classes to *clean up their act*, or face a political apocalypse in the form of radical revolution.

A striking realism

The novel is set in the near future, in which Cuban and U.S. troops may be entering a Peru already engulfed by civil war. The story is told by a narrator who is similar to Vargas Llosa himself, a writer researching an obscure 1958 Andean uprising, which he will recast as fiction.

Vargas Llosa uses the real names of the existing Peruvian Trotskyist organizations, the real names of



their newspapers, even the actual surname of a founding member. His understanding of the politics of the groups involved is about 90 percent correct, which in my opinion is very good.

The authenticity of this writing is striking. No other major novelist has written about Trotskyism with this degree of understanding and realism since James T. Farrell, who was a supporter of the Socialist Workers Party in the United States during the late 1930s.

However, Vargas Llosa's politics are very different from Farrell's, and the story he chooses to invent reflects that. The events of the novel, framed by powerful referents to reality, are entirely fictional and at great variance with the actual events of that time.

Alejandro Mayta is a member of the tiny Revolutionary Workers Party. Now in his mid-forties, he has led the difficult, poverty-stricken existence of a

revolutionary. Jail, police harassment, and political isolation have been his lot.

Despite Mayta's years of Marxist training, which have taught him that the workers and peasants can liberate themselves only through their own activity, he falls under the influence of a young, impetuous, military man who has hatched a plot to start the revolution by means of a rural revolt. This foolish adventure, opposed by his comrades, becomes the crux of the story.

Complex storytelling

The narrator retraces Mayta's steps, seeking to understand why he would break with his past to chance everything on one reckless roll of the dice. He interviews Mayta's former comrades, a former Communist Party leader, the military man's sister—who is a nun influenced by liberation theology—the participants in the revolt, and ultimately Mayta himself.

The method of storytelling is layered and highly complex. Each witness tells his or her own story, which invariably contradicts the preceding story. Vargas Llosa interweaves their recollections with his own reconstruction of the event, so that Mayta's thoughts and feelings emerge vividly.

The reason the story is so compelling is that Mayta, despite his weaknesses and almost because of them, emerges as a genuine hero. He inevitably bears comparison to Don Quixote. All the characters who comment negatively on Mayta have sold out or compromised themselves, and the reader cannot help but hope that he survives with his honor and principles intact.

Such a portrait of a revolutionary fighter—even of one on a skewed path such as Mayta—is extremely rare, and all the more remarkable from an anti-revolutionary writer such as Vargas Llosa.

Disturbing questions

But to anyone familiar with the history of Peru and the Peruvian left, the book raises disturbing questions about its own intent.

In 1958, the Peruvian Trotskyists, along with others on the left, were leading the mass demonstrations against the visit of U.S. Vice President Nixon. Hugo Blanco, a Trotskyist and widely respected leader of the mass peasant struggle in Cuzco, was just beginning his work.

Why, from the vast and dramatic panoply of Peruvian political life, create a fictional world in which the left is so marginalized and comical?

I believe that despite Vargas Llosa's political intent to portray his adversaries as irrelevant, a certain artistic integrity comes through in the writing. He has produced a moving and deeply human characterization of a participant in the great battles of our era. ■

Our readers speak out

Lenoch

Dear editor,

I read Jake Cooper's obituary of P-9 leader Floyd Lenocho [April 1987 *Socialist Action*], and was very saddened to learn of Lenocho's death.

I met Lenocho in March of 1986. He was invited to Cincinnati at the request of my local union to speak on the strike of packinghouse workers against the Hormel company. Eleven days full of meetings and speaking engagements had been arranged by my union with other unions and student and community groups.

While he was in Cincinnati he stayed at my house. During that time I learned a lot about the Hormel strike and a whole lot more about unionism.

Floyd had spent 43 of his 61 years as a union person. He had been president of Local P-9 of the UFCW and was then on the union's executive committee.

Most unions that had invited Floyd to speak to their meetings were expecting a fire-breathing radical. Instead they met a gentle man with a single-minded determination to get what was fair for his membership. They met a man who, though not militant in speech, was militant in action. And all opponents of the Hormel strike who met Floyd saw in him a real threat to business-as-usual unionism.

In his press conference in Cincinnati, Floyd said, "We need

to stop corporate America's relentless drive to eliminate the union movement and the standard of living we have worked so hard to attain."

Floyd Lenocho will be missed by those who were fortunate to know him. The message that Floyd brought to Cincinnati, however, will be around for a long time.

Bill O'Kain,
Cincinnati, Ohio

Elections

Dear editor,

Regarding your article on Harold Washington and the Chicago election [March 1987 *Socialist Action*], I would agree with Harris and Shils that "Black working people need their own political party." However, there is no working-class party running in the Chicago elections, so the question is not one of convincing people to vote for the working class rather than Washington.

The question is: Do you support racists or do you oppose them? Do you want the Chicago machine back in power, or do you want to eliminate it? Do you think a victory for anti-racists and a defeat for the machine will benefit the working class or not?

Do you think none of these issues are important? Harris and Shils seem to take this sit-on-the-sidelines abstentionist posi-

tion. Do they think Washington's election victory is meaningless simply because he is a Democrat?

I do not quite swallow that Marxism says that instead of voting for Washington we should vote for Nobody. That simply is not serious. There is quite a difference between concrete forms of working-class political independence and abstaining in an election.

Abstention, when real issues are at stake, is not a vanguard position. The question is: Do you support reformism or racism and reaction? Or do you abstain from that struggle because it is not in a politically correct form?

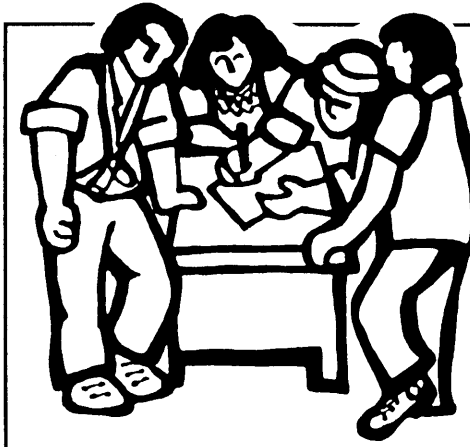
What Marxists should do in this election is to explain to white workers why racism simply serves to divide them from their allies.

Stansfield Smith,
Chicago, Ill.

Response

Stansfield Smith sets out a very demagogic counterposition: Do you support racists or do you oppose them? The problem is that this counterposition doesn't capture the realities of Chicago politics.

The heart of the matter is this: Harold Washington's campaign, while certainly capturing deep feelings of Black pride in the Black community, was completely in the framework of the Democratic Party—a party



We welcome letters from our readers. Please keep them brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Indicate how you would like to be identified.

which is the graveyard of all social protest movements that have entered it.

Of course, no one denies the anti-racist sentiments that led thousands to vote for Washington, or that Washington's opponents were primarily motivated by racial bigotry.

But these factors do not change the fact that there was no attempt whatsoever by Washington and his supporters to break away from the Democratic Party. Washington's tenure in office, moreover, has not created a political climate that has led the labor movement and the Black community to win more victories in their daily struggles.

Does Stansfield Smith believe that in Chicago—or anywhere else in the United States—campaigning for Democratic Party candidates will lead to working-class victories and advances? Has something changed

in the nature of the Democratic Party? We socialists don't think so. These are the real issues posed by the Chicago elections.

Socialists in Chicago have faced a difficult series of tasks: To solidarize with the aspirations and hopes of the Black community, while at the same time clearly explaining the racist and anti-working class nature of the Democratic Party. There is nothing passive or abstentionist about this perspective.

It means doing everything possible to develop the really independent movements that do exist—such as the building of the April 25 antiwar demonstration. It means supporting the Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor and attempting to develop a dialogue with Washington's supporters around united-front actions.

Adam Shils,
Chicago

April 25 demonstrations:

Labor defies threats by AFL-CIO's Kirkland

By JEFF MACKLER

In another era, AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland's March 23, 1987, letter to all state and local federation affiliates warning them against endorsing or participating in a national antiwar demonstration would have sent an icy chill through the American labor movement. Not so today.

A feature article in the April 13, 1987, *San Francisco Chronicle* titled "Bay Area Unionists Will Ignore Leader to Rally" indicates that the AFL-CIO leadership's capacity to coerce its affiliates into lining up behind government war policies is on the decline.

Kirkland's letter, citing the AFL-CIO constitution, included an implied threat that dissenters might lose their charter. It was read in full last week to the delegates of the Alameda Labor Council, one of California's most influential county AFL-CIO affiliates. The delegates voted to continue their endorsement of the April 25 mass demonstrations set for San Francisco and Washington, D.C., to oppose U.S. war policies abroad and attacks on workers in this country.

Similar positions have been taken by all AFL-CIO central labor councils in the San Francisco Bay Area. Despite Kirkland's red-baiting effort, the labor councils in San Francisco, Contra Costa, Santa Cruz, San Mateo, Marin, Santa Clara, as well as Alameda, have refused to rescind their endorsement of the April 25 actions.

Carl Finamore, co-staff director of the Western States Mobilization for Peace, Jobs and Justice, told the *San Francisco Examiner* (April 11) that "Kirkland represents not only a minority view in the American population, but one that is becoming more and more a minority view in the federation as a whole....He is trying to invoke a McCarthy-like-atmosphere to divide the labor movement."

Heated debate in Baltimore

Meanwhile, AFL-CIO spokesman Paul Somogyi tried to downplay Kirkland's letter, describing it last week as "advisory, not a threat." But Somogyi declined to speculate about what would happen if an AFL-CIO affiliate defied the 13-million-member federation's president. "That's a good question," he said. "It really depends on Kirkland. If he decides to lift their operating charter or whatever...that's an executive decision on his part."

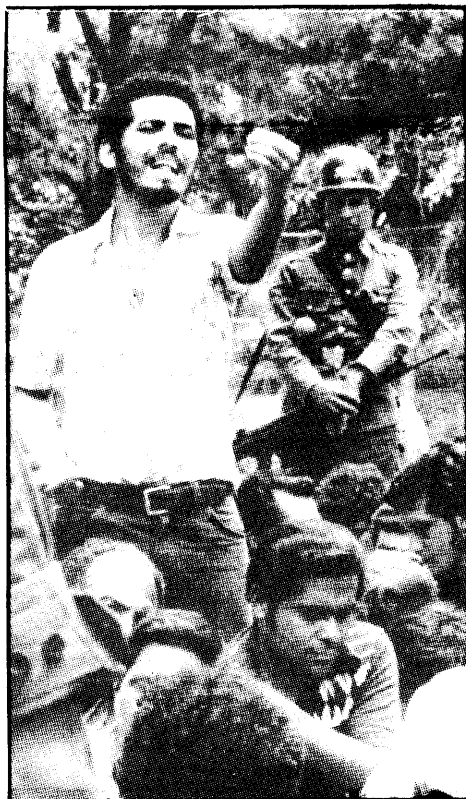
The AFL-CIO regional representative in the Baltimore, Md., area was not so subtle in seeking to impose Kirkland's wishes on the Baltimore Central Labor Council. The council had endorsed the April 25 demonstration at its February meeting.

Sporting a March 17 letter addressed to the council's president, Ernie Greco, from AFL-CIO Deputy Director of Organization and Field Services Donald Slaiman, Kirkland's Baltimore-area representative told the delegates that the penalty for refusing to rescind would be the loss of their charter.

Slaiman's letter stated:

"While international affiliates have every right to endorse any demonstration they choose to, whether it is in line with AFL-CIO policy or not, state and local central labor bodies do not have that right. On national and international affairs, they are obligated to follow the policy of the national AFL-CIO."

Following a heated discussion, the



Above: Lane Kirkland (right) sits as a member of Kissinger Commission on Central America, which called for increased U.S. intervention in the region. Below left: Striking electrical workers in El Salvador.

council suspended debate on the question of rescinding, leaving the issue hanging in mid air. No vote of the delegates was taken to rescind, although a reading of the minutes of the council's executive committee may later indicate that such an action was taken.

Kirkland's March 23 letter

Kirkland's March 23 letter begins with a half-truth:

"The AFL-CIO has received numerous inquiries from state and local central labor bodies that have been asked to endorse rallies, scheduled for April 25, to protest U.S. policies in Central America and South Africa."

In fact, by March 23, nearly a dozen AFL-CIO affiliates, mostly in California, had been on record endorsing April 25 for several months. The largest AFL-CIO state affiliate, the 1.8-million-member California Labor Federation, featured articles on the demonstration in the federation's statewide paper, *California Labor*, months before.



This was also the case with the San Francisco Labor Council's newspaper, *Northern California Labor*.

San Francisco Labor Council Secretary-Treasurer Walter Johnson remains a co-chair of the Western States Mobilization. He informed Kirkland that he and the delegates to his council will continue to support the April 25 demonstration — although in their "individual" capacities, an ambiguous formulation designed to avoid a head-on confrontation while at the same time maintaining the council's endorsement.

At the biweekly meeting of the San Francisco labor council on April 13, Johnson agreed to send Kirkland a letter stating the council's differences with his March 23 letter. Johnson, who explained that his council had not rescinded its support or endorsement, has made labor council office space available for coalition organizers to mobilize affiliates for the planned labor contingent.

In a March 6 letter to the delegates representing the council's 98,000 members,

Johnson wrote:

"Along with Al Lannon of the ILWU, I am serving as one of the eight co-chairs of the Mobilization. Recent polls once again prove that the majority of the people of the United States prefer that our nation's energies be focused on the crucial questions of jobs and social justice as opposed to intervention and the nuclear arms race."

Labor's majority for April 25

The Santa Clara Labor Council has taken the lead in chartering a special train for its member affiliates and other peace activists to attend the San Francisco demonstration.

Representatives of the California Labor Federation and several Bay Area labor councils, as well as scores of union locals, have regularly participated in meetings and other activities to plan and prepare the April 25 action.

Thus, Kirkland's letter was not in response to "inquiries," but rather to the

(continued on page 15)