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## THE MILITANT

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

# Protest freeing of KKK murderers!

## Nat'l Black convention can take the lead

The following statement was issued November 19 by Andrew Pulley. Pulley, a Chicago steelworker, was the 1980 Socialist Workers Party candidate for president of the United States.

A license to kill.

That's what the November 17 verdict in North Carolina has given the Klan, Nazis, and other right-wing terrorists.

Four Klansmen and two Nazis were acquitted of all charges in the murders of five Communist Workers Party members at an anti-Klan demonstration last November.

As Black leaders across the country are pointing out, ultra-rightists have been given a green light to assassinate any who oppose what the KKK-Nazi bigots stand for.

The time has come for mass action to end such atrocities. Working people should demonstrate across the country to protest this outrage.

The North Carolina verdict follows a nationwide pattern of unchecked right-wing terror. Black people have been the prime targets.

In Miami, the cop-killers of Arthur McDuffie got off scot-free.

Continued on page 6



Thousands marched in Greensboro last February. More protests needed now.

## March 16 trial date set in socialist suit against FBI crimes

*Capitalist justice.* The meaning of these words was driven home November 17 when six racist killers walked away free from the Greensboro, North Carolina, courtroom. Meanwhile, civil rights activists who survived the murderous Klan-Nazi assault last year still face trial.

But on March 16, 1981, the racist, anti-

the tables on the FBI and its hired guns—to put *them* on trial, not us.

With this issue of the *Militant*, the SWP and YSA are launching a national campaign to get out the facts of our case.

This lawsuit, filed seven years ago, is asking \$40 million in damages and an end to decades of spying, burglaries, frame-ups, deportation orders, and other crimes against socialists by the U.S. government. Leonard Boudin, the foremost constitutional rights attorney in the country, is the SWP's chief attorney in the case.

The suit has already forced the government to release thousands of pages of files showing how the FBI plotted against the Black movement, how it tried to drive union militants from their jobs, how it sought to discredit the women's movement, how it tried to prevent the rise of a massive movement against the war in Vietnam.

The files show that a consistent pattern in

these operations has been FBI incitement of rightist groups and cover-up of their violent activities.

In the wake of the Greensboro whitewash and the nationwide terror directed at Blacks, the March 16 trial will be a powerful weapon for exposing the ties between racist assassins, local police, and the federal government.

It will also be a major challenge to the new Reagan administration and its arrogant threats against busing, affirmative-action quotas, and safety on the job, and moves to step up the Pentagon's arsenal of nuclear weapons.

Reagan's advisers say vigorous support to the FBI will be a top priority. And the Carter administration has already set in motion legislation to expand FBI and CIA powers.

The rulers of this country must intensify the secret-police war against American workers.

It's their indispensable weapon as they attempt to slash deeper into our standard of

Continued on next page

### An editorial

working class conspiracy of the U.S. government, its cops, and right-wing collaborators goes on trial in New York City. On that day, the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance lawsuit against FBI crimes is scheduled to begin.

This is the biggest opportunity in decades for Blacks, trade unionists, and others to turn

## Keep the buses rolling!

On November 17 the U.S. Senate voted to cripple school desegregation. It passed a bill that would bar the Justice Department from using funds in court cases where busing is ordered to end unequal education for Blacks and other minorities.

The House, which has already passed a similar bill, will now confer with the Senate on the details.

President-elect Reagan claimed that while he is "heart and soul" in favor of desegregation, he supports the bill. "Busing has been a failure," he said. Most of the liberal capitalist press has echoed this theme.

Liberals and conservatives alike are trying to obscure the issue. The simple fact is that Blacks attend inferior schools in this country. As long as housing remains segregated, and schools in the Black community continue to get unequal funding, *there is no other way to achieve equal education except through busing.*

Take Boston. A 1964 report found that \$350 was spent per white pupil per year and \$110 less per Black pupil. Court-ordered busing has opened the doors to better educational opportunities for Blacks and Latinos in that city.

Who's really responsible for the failure to implement desegregation?

The blame lies with local school boards, which have openly sabotaged busing plans and encouraged antibusing violence, and with state and federal officials. Their efforts to maintain separate and *unequal* schools is part and parcel of their cutbacks in education for all working people. The attacks on Black education and bilingual programs have come side by side with larger class sizes, fewer teachers—less education for all.

Black leaders have already begun to speak out against the Senate move. The AFL-CIO, which is on record in support of busing, should join in protest.

We cannot allow the government to turn back this major gain won through the civil rights battles of the past two decades. The antibusing bill is an attack on the rights of all young people in this country to free, quality education.

We must demand: "Keep the buses rolling!"

## ... FBI on trial

*Continued from front page*

living and drive toward war abroad.

The capitalists know these policies are unpopular. They know opposition will grow among workers and they are taking measures now to try to restrict or silence dissenting views.

That's why they need to expand their use of antilabor laws, frame-ups, FBI informers, border cops, and CIA destabilization operations.

And they intend to make greater use of their extralegal weapons: the Ku Klux Klan, Nazis, Omega 7, and other terrorist gangs aimed at unionists, Blacks, Latinos, Jews, and others.

The March 16 trial will challenge their right to do so, and expose the "law and order," "national security" justifications they use.

The trial will be international in scope, because the government's crimes are worldwide.

The SWP will present evidence of a conspiracy to prevent socialists and others from extending solidarity to revolutionary struggles around the world, from Iran to the Caribbean. It will show how this conspiracy is linked to CIA sabotage operations all over the globe, from Cuba to Chile to Jamaica. And how the U.S. government's greatest fear is the development in this country of a broad solidarity movement in defense of fellow workers and farmers resisting imperialism around the world.

In a pretrial victory on November 13, the socialists won the right to add another enemy of working people to the list of defendants: the Immigration and Naturalization Service, or *la migra*, as it is known to its millions of Latino victims.

This racist outfit, which brutalizes Haitian refugees, jails them in concentration camps, and sweeps through Latino communities and workplaces in deportation raids, is central to the government's police network.

The socialist lawsuit has now revealed that the INS maintains a blacklist of hundreds of organizations whose members are targets for deportation.

The Socialist Workers Party is on that list. Two of its members, Héctor Marroquín, an undocumented worker, and Marian Bustin, a

coal miner, are currently facing the threat of deportation because they are socialists.

The secret INS blacklist sheds new light on the role of U.S. embassies abroad. Documents released through the suit reveal how these spy dens work hand-in-hand with U.S. border cops to target non-citizens living here and block entry to this country to those whose views the government opposes.

It sheds new light on the drive begun last year to expel Iranian students from this country and on the attempt to brand civil rights leader Jesse Jackson a "foreign agent" of Libya because he has spoken out in defense of Palestinian rights.

Most significant is the fact that the INS blacklist is based on the Attorney General's list of "subversive" organizations—the list supposedly abolished in the aftermath of Watergate.

The fact that the U.S. government secretly maintains this old witch-hunt operation underscores that the spying against socialists and others has not ended. This will be at the heart of the trial.

\* \* \*

The *Militant* will be expanding our coverage on the lawsuit and the FBI leading up to the trial. We will be bringing you weekly news of the case, exposés of FBI and right-wing activity, histories of the secret police war against the Black and labor movements, articles about how we can fight back.

This coincides with the campaign of socialist workers across the country, who will be getting out the facts to co-workers, community groups, and women's organizations, urging them to support the suit, contribute funds, and attend the trial.

To get out the truth, national leaders of the SWP will tour the country during the trial to report to supporters.

Once the trial begins, the *Militant* will be reporting the day-to-day events in the courtroom. We'll bring you the testimony of steelworkers, auto workers, Black activists, women's rights fighters, and antiwar GIs. They will explain how they became socialists, how the FBI tried to stop them, and how the FBI failed.

And you'll be able to read the testimony of the finks, informers, and high government officials who will have to answer for their crimes.

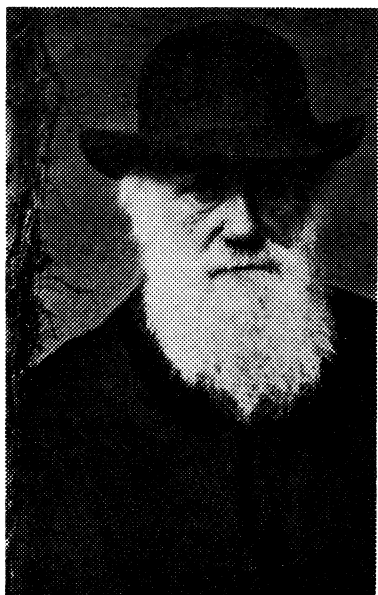
But don't wait until the trial begins. Subscribe today to the *Militant* so you won't miss a single issue in this historic case.

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CHARLES DARWIN

### Evolution vs. Creationism

Why have extreme right-wing groups like Jerry Falwell's 'Moral Majority' made Darwin's theory of evolution a special target? Cliff Conner explains how the human species evolved from lower animal forms, and why the defense of science against irrationalism is important for working people. **Page 11.**

## The Militant

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# West Virginia rally for political rights

## 'An injury to one is an injury to all'

By Vivian Sahner

MORGANTOWN, W. Va.—Solidarity was the theme of a rally on "The Fight Against FBI and Government Harassment" held in Morgantown, West Virginia, on November 11. It was sponsored by the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance.

A major focus of the meeting was to protest attempts by the Immigration and Naturalization Service to deport Marian Bustin, a West Virginia coal miner and member of United Mine Workers Local 2095.

The INS is trying to deport Bustin, who was born in Scotland, solely because she is a member of the SWP and YSA.

Tom Moriarty, who chaired the meeting, was the Socialist Workers 1980 candidate for West Virginia governor and is a member of UMWA Local 1949.

He described how the SWP and YSA's seven-year lawsuit against the government has uncovered thousands of pages of files documenting burglaries, phone taps, mail covers, and other illegal activities carried out by the government against socialists and their supporters. The suit is currently scheduled to come to trial in March, 1981.

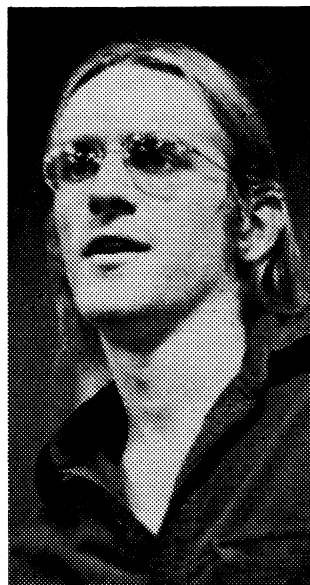
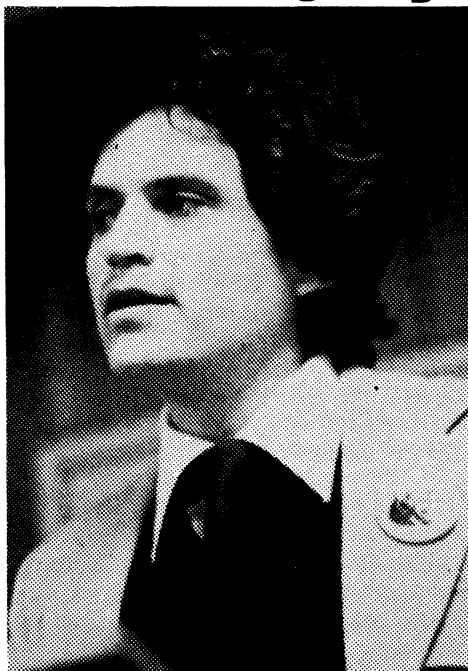
The combination of speakers, solidarity messages, and rally participants indicate that the government is going to have a hard time drumming up sympathy for their dirty tricks.

One of the rally speakers was Héctor Marroquín, who like Bustin, has been targeted by the INS because of his membership in the SWP and YSA.

Marroquín fled here in 1974 after the Mexican government framed him on false charges of subversion and terrorism. In 1979 the INS hauled him into a deportation hearing in Houston, Texas.

There Immigration Judge James Smith ordered Marroquín deported. In his ruling, Smith disparaged Marroquín's socialist views and implied that he should seek asylum in "Castro's Cuba" rather than the United States.

Marroquín has appealed this ruling



Rally speakers, clockwise from top left: Marian Bustin, Héctor Marroquín, Tom Moriarty, Stuart Fisk, Rudy Durci.

and renewed his request for political asylum.

"The capitalist government that exists in the U.S. today is undemocratic, whether the administration is in the hands of the Democrats or Republicans," Marroquín told the rally. "Because both represent the same interests of a few rich families and are incapable of solving our most basic social needs."

"They not only do nothing to solve the question of racism, they foster it and protect the murderers of Blacks and Latinos, condone and enforce the discrimination and oppression of women, and lie on every other social question," he continued.

"And those who dare to oppose this situation and fight to change it," he added, "are confronted with criminals, thieves, spies, and provocateurs of the FBI and racist and discriminatory treatment from the INS."

"This should be energetically opposed by every trade unionist, every working person, and everyone concerned with political freedom."

After Marroquín spoke, Rudy Durci, a coal miner from Fairmont, West Virginia and a member of UMWA Local 1949, explained why he thought it was important for working people to defend Marian Bustin.

"Now the unions are seeing some very hard attacks by the employers and the government. Right now the union movement doesn't know exactly what to do about it. We are in a state of flux, things are changing," Durci said. "And what we need is more democratic discussion among union members so that we can come to some kind of decision on what to do about these attacks."

"We must remember," he added, "if we let Marian be victimized by the INS, it will leave others in the union and the antinuclear and antidraft movements open to various types of victimization. That's why we must stop the INS dead in their tracks right here and right now."

Stuart Fisk, a member of the Morgantown chapter of the Committee Against Registration and the Draft,

announced that that organization voted to send a telegram to the U.S. Attorney General which said in part;

"Marian is a member of CARD and an antidraft activist. We see this as a threat not only against her rights but also against all antidraft activists to express their political ideas. We demand that the Attorney General and FBI and the INS cease the harassment and violation of Marian Bustin's First Amendment rights."

Moriarty read messages of solidarity from David Lee Smith, a former safety director for the UMWA International and currently on the safety committee at Eastern Associated Federal Mine No. II; Trudy Herod, executive director of the West Virginia American Civil Liberties Union; William Vehse, Physics Department chair at West Virginia University; and Rev. Robert Withers, First Baptist Church in Morgantown.

He reported that the Pittsburgh Committee Against Registration and the Draft sent a telegram to the Attorney General and the Pittsburgh National Organization for Women sent him a petition with forty signatures demanding that the harassment against Bustin be stopped.

The final speaker at the rally was Bustin. She told the audience about the six-year effort by the government to deport her.

In her remarks she pointed to the attacks the government has directed against the union movement.

"I am speaking to you today as a member of the United Mine Workers of America. The UMWA has a long and proud history of standing up to government attempts at strike-breaking," Bustin said. "By standing up to the companies and the government, the UMWA has come out as one of the most united and most democratic unions in this country today."

"Coal miners know about the Taft-Hartley Act and how the Attorney General invoked it on the miners in the last contract strike," she said. "And the UMWA knew how to answer Taft-Hartley—miners overwhelmingly said, 'take it and shove it.'"

"I don't believe that the government has ever accepted the existence of trade unions in the U.S.," Bustin added. "The credit for organizing goes to workers themselves. Everything throughout American labor history, from the eight-hour day to workers' compensation, was won through workers struggling against the companies, the courts, and the government."

She pointed out, "The labor movement is not new to attacks by the government. But the unions have a tradition that is stronger than any damage the FBI might want to make—and that's that an injury to one is an injury to all. We know that we must unite for our interests if we are going to win any gains."

During the meeting a collection was taken up to help pay for the costs of the socialists' lawsuit.

### Telegram from black-lung activist

Bill Worthington, president of the National Black Lung Association, sent the following telegram to U.S. Attorney General Benjamin Civiletti: "The use of government agencies such as the FBI and INS is not only an attack on the political rights of Marian Bustin but on the American people. I demand that the government end its harassment of Marian Bustin."

Worthington's statement was read at the rally for political rights held in Morgantown.

—V.S.

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# Authorities defend verdict, threaten protesters

GREENSBORO, N.C.—When six Klansmen and Nazis were acquitted of murder here November 17, authorities responded by defending the verdict and threatening any who take action to protest it.

Indeed, their response seems to have been readied long before the not-guilty verdict was made public.

Greensboro police captain J.W. Hilliard revealed that a special plan for patrolling the city at the trial's conclusion was prepared months ago.

Public Safety Director Hewitt Lovelace said the plan included surveillance of the homes of Communist Workers Party members and the CWP's local headquarters. The CWP organized the November 3, 1979, demonstration that was attacked by more than two dozen Klansmen and Nazis.

A full week before the verdict came in, Lovelace had warned that it might turn Greensboro into "another Miami or Chattanooga," according to the November 11 *Winston-Salem Journal*.

Lovelace had complained that the

CWP was on a recruitment drive, especially directed to "Blacks and Jews." And he claimed the CWP "would like an acquittal."

Also issuing a warning prior to the verdict was Harold Covington, leader of the Nazi Party. Standing in a hallway outside the courtroom here, he had threatened that "anyone who messes with us will get what their buddies got November 3."

Is this the voice of someone who fears his members are about to be convicted of murder?

The official attempts to portray the CWP as eager to initiate a violent response to the verdict continued the frame-up of the group that has been pressed by news media and government authorities ever since the November 3 massacre.

In press statements here and at its national office in New York, the CWP condemned the verdict as "obscene and unjust" and the trial as a "sham." Contrary to some media reports, the group made no threat of a violent response.

The mood of the "prosecuting" attorneys was distinctly not one of defeat. District Attorney Michael Schlosser insisted that "the state showed the jurors everything that could have been shown."

He said the prosecution was "absolutely void of political considerations, of ideologies of the three hate groups."

This theme was repeated by jury foreman Octavio Manduley, who said, "We do not condone the actions of any of these three groups."

Throughout the trial the victims were lumped together with the criminals in precisely this way.

Assistant DA James Coman also defended the selection of an all-white jury. "They said they could be fair and we had no reason to doubt them," he said.

Another assistant DA, Rick Greeson, tried to explain why the prosecution did not call on what should have been a key witness: Edward Dawson, a police informer in the KKK. He said that Dawson would have been friendly

to the defense because he allegedly was afraid of them. And besides, "he offered absolutely nothing to our case."

Nothing except perhaps information on police complicity in the murderous attack—a subject the prosecution shunned throughout the trial.

District Attorney Schlosser said he would announce later whether he will prosecute any of the other KKK or Nazi members arrested for the killings.

Meanwhile, several members and supporters of the CWP still face serious felony "riot" charges stemming from the anti-Klan demonstration.

The Klan and Nazis were pleased with the outcome, to say the least.

Jerry Paul Smith, one of the KKK defendants, said, "We're all tickled about it. We feel the system works."

Nazi leader Covington said the acquittal "represents the wishes of the people of North Carolina."

The verdict, he advised, "was a great victory for white America."

For the white rulers of America, for sure.

## N.C. students and workers shocked, angry

By Kate Daher

GREENSBORO, N.C.—About seventy-five students at North Carolina A & T University gathered for a press conference here the morning after the acquittal of the Klan-Nazi killers.

Pam McCorkle, student government president, called on the community to unite for freedom and justice. She urged national Black and community leaders to "join in unison with us in condemning the jury's decision of not guilty."

Aubrey Eatmon of the National Organization of Black University and College Students declared, "Blacks all over the country are threatened. Innocent Black children are murdered in the streets of Atlanta, Black men are mutilated in Buffalo, injustice has struck in Miami and Chattanooga, and now a not guilty verdict in our beloved Greensboro."

A & T students were not alone in voicing protest. Dr. George Simkins, president of the Greensboro NAACP said, "I just think the verdict is tantamount to giving the Klan and Nazis a license to kill."

Greensboro's Mayor Jim Melvin attacked Simkins for his remarks. "I really feel Dr. Simkins is out of touch with the community. He keeps on talking that same tired old rhetoric of the 1960s."

But is Simkins really out of touch? In interviews with men and women heading to work in downtown Greensboro, the *Greensboro Record* reported "surprise, and, for the most part, disagreement with the verdict."



KKKers prepare to murder demonstrators. Millions saw massacre on television and know verdict is travesty of justice.

Ossie Ruth Beasley, chairwoman of the Resident's Council of the Morning-side Homes, where the shootings occurred, said, "I was shocked by the verdict. What if it had been six Blacks on trial? What kind of chance would they have of getting off?"

Rev. Prince Graves, pastor of one of Greensboro's largest Black churches, said, "I still can't comprehend the not guilty verdict. I just don't understand it. Somebody is guilty because we do have five people dead."

One A & T student said, "The jury claims they are innocent. There's five men dead—who did it then?"

Socialist workers reported a tense silence Tuesday among first-shift workers at one of Greensboro's largest plants. As the morning passed, disbelief turned to anger.

One young white woman said, "I always thought that no one could get away with murder—not the Klan, not the CWP, or even the president. I guess I was wrong."

An older Black worker, pointing to a newspaper headline that read "Mayor calls for peace and tranquility," responded, "There can't be any peace now for a long time—they said they were worried about race relations after the shootings but now they let these Klanners off scot-free."

During the lunch break, five women—two white and three Black—sat together to discuss the verdict. One white woman exclaimed, "I think the verdict is great. Look who they were up against—the communists."

"It doesn't matter that they were communists, five human beings are dead," a Black woman responded. The other white woman and the two Blacks agreed.

One young Black union activist said he heard NAACP President Simkins on TV. "I hope the NAACP or someone calls a big demonstration," the unionist said. "That's what we need. All he has to do is call it."

Another young white said he hadn't followed the trial closely. "All I know is I saw the TV film of the shootings and to me it looks like they're guilty."

In nearby Winston-Salem the response was the same. Khalid Fattah, chairperson of the Winston-Salem Improvement Association, told the *Militant* he blames the federal government for tolerating the Klan-Nazi violence. "This should be an eye-opener for those of us who have been divided over petty differences. We have to start coming together on things that affect us all, like racist violence."

## Black student group demands federal probe

GREENSBORO, N.C.—The following statement was released November 18 by the National Organization of Black University and College Students.

The National Organization of Black University and College Students (NOBUCS) unfortunately finds itself involved also in today's press conference. Unfortunately because it is indeed a sad day when murderers are allowed to walk the streets of Greensboro.

A judiciary precedent was set in Greensboro yesterday, now it will be legal for Klansmen and Nazis to shoot people down in the streets. This may perhaps sound exaggerated, but it's not. Because that's exactly what happened November 3 of last year.

NOBUCS is not associated with

the Communist Workers Party in any manner. We do not favor their political ideologies. But injustices have been done to them and all citizens.

Some people or organizations feel that if they get involved publicly by opposing the jury's verdict, they will be labeled communist. That is what is being used to shade the actual issue.

The issue is murder, whether or not terrorist organizations can threaten the lives and welfare of all citizens.

NOBUCS stands fully behind the Student Government Association throughout this most unfortunate ordeal. NOBUCS is asking all true organizations, politicians, national Black leaders, and community leaders to join in unison with us in condemning the jury's decision of

not guilty. Because by the jury's acquittal of the defendants, consequently minorities throughout the country have been sentenced to an undetermined time of fear.

We are calling on President Carter to send down a task force from Attorney General Benjamin Civiletti's office and the Justice Department to investigate the entire trial proceedings in the November 3 incident.

NOBUCS wants president-elect Ronald Reagan, Gov. Jim Hunt, Mayor Jim Melvin, and all area politicians to publicly condemn the jury's decision. For we feel that if you do not publicly condemn it then you are truly an advocate of the decision.

Today there is an essential need to disclose who our foes and friends

are. Because these times indeed are crucial times.

Blacks all over the country are threatened—innocent Black children are murdered in the streets of Atlanta, Black men are mutilated in Buffalo, injustice has struck Miami and Chattanooga, and now a not guilty verdict in our beloved Greensboro.

The decision of the Klan trial affects all people regardless of their race. But yes, there is a greater effect on the Black community. The late great Dr. Martin Luther King stated it best when he said, "Injustice anywhere is a threat to justice everywhere."

And there is injustice in Greensboro today. We pray to God that something is done immediately to curtail what has occurred because it's our future and we have to live it.



# Rights leaders condemn Greensboro acquittal

Across the country, leaders of civil rights, labor, and women's rights organizations have condemned the acquittal of Ku Klux Klan and Nazi Party members in Greensboro. Below are statements obtained by the 'Militant' in the first two days following that verdict.

## Jesse Jackson

director, Operation PUSH

"The innocent verdict in the Greensboro massacre is a travesty of justice and discredits the judicial system. We call upon the Justice Department to immediately seek federal indictments against those who committed these hideous and cold-blooded murders.

"The issue is clouded even further by the press, which constantly referred to the assassinated victims as 'communists,' that is, as something less than human, and therefore without civil rights.

"All Americans, but especially Black Americans, must not be deceived by such attempts at distracting public attention away from the central issue, and that central issue is the violation of the civil rights of American citizens by the Ku Klux Klan and the Nazis."

## Joyce Miller

president, Coalition of Labor Union Women

Executive Council, AFL-CIO

"There is no question in my mind that justice was certainly not done."

Miller added that she is in favor of a review of the case by the Justice Department.

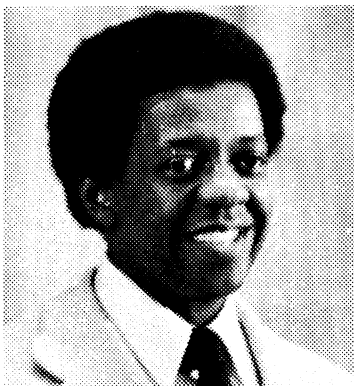
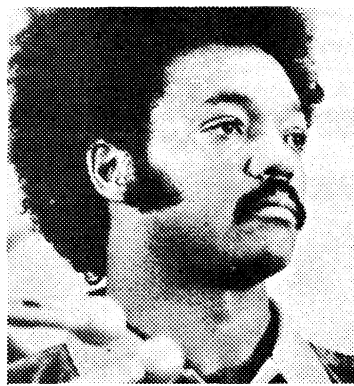
## Rev. Joseph Lowery

president, Southern Christian Leadership Conference

"The acquittal of the KKK and Nazi killers in North Carolina; the threats to wipe out affirmative action, to bring a halt to school desegregation; the shooting of a Black youth in the back in Indianapolis; the killings of four Blacks in New Orleans all indicate that the campaign against Blacks and poor people at both the governmental and street levels have reached an epidemic stage.

"Justice is in a state of comatose in North Carolina and across the nation."

Lowery urged President Carter and Attorney General Benjamin Civiletti "to prosecute Klansmen and Nazis in North Carolina for violation of the rights of the victims killed November 3."



Clockwise from left: Waubun-Inini (Vernon Bellecourt), Lucius Walker, Jesse Jackson, Joseph Lowery, Anne Braden, Herbert Daughtry, Joyce Miller.



## Horace Sheffield

president, Detroit Coalition of Black Trade Unionists United Auto Workers

"The Greensboro decision, in my judgement, represents a gross miscarriage of justice and does not bode well for the future of civil rights.

"The decision, as I see it, will encourage the racist elements in this country who would act out their racism in its most ugly and violent form.

"The climate that helped spawn that kind of decision is dangerous, because it is not only Blacks who will be the victims. The whole gamut of liberal concerns in this country, labor, women's rights, all the things that we've been concerned about, that we generally have accepted as part and parcel of a progressive nation, are threatened.

"These people wearing sheets are not just by themselves. If we fail to understand that, I think we are really in even greater trouble."

## Rev. Lucius Walker

director, National Anti-Klan Network

"America cannot stand still when murders that are committed in the broad daylight are being defined under the cloak of self-defense.

"This acquittal must be seen as giving the Klan and Nazi's the license to shoot and kill any person, Black or white, who will stand against their racist proclamations."

The National Anti-Klan Network

issued a statement "calling upon the Department of Justice to prosecute the Nazi/Klan murderers for violation of the civil rights of the antiracist demonstrators; requesting the U.S. Congress to convene hearings investigating Nazi/Klan activities and racist violence in America; urging local communities to discuss and probe the implications of this acquittal and to organize against these increasing terrorist attacks and the spread of racist ideology; and finally urging an independent group of North Carolinians to immediately call for the Justice Department to reopen the cases against these terrorists."

## Anne Braden

co-chair, Southern Organizing Committee for Economic and Social Justice

"What happened in Greensboro this week has created an emergency in this country. Whatever we were doing last week, we cannot go on with business as usual. This is a new situation and a perilous one.

"What happened is that violent racists have been given a green light to kill those they disagree with. Only if we organize everywhere can we reverse the path that has been tread in North Carolina this week.

"We must demand that the U.S. Justice Department indict the Klansmen and Nazis who were acquitted and that there be a full congressional investigation not only of Greensboro but of the rise of racist violence all across the country.

"But ultimately what will make a difference is thousands of people organizing. We must organize against violence but also against all forms of racism.

"We're convinced that the racists are not the majority of the white people in this country. We who believe in freedom and justice are the true majority in Greensboro and in the rest of the country. If we organize we will have the strength to prevail."

## Rev. Herbert Daughtry

director, National Black United Front

"I think it's a terrible blatant miscarriage of justice, and I think we can anticipate more of the same.

"I believe it demonstrates again that progressive people have got to form an alliance to be able to resist the anticipated attacks coming in the future. The Reagan administration surely moves in that direction."

## Waubun-Inini

Anishinabe Nation (Vernon Bellecourt)

representative, Council on Internal Affairs, American Indian Movement, National/International Office

"This jury decision is in fact a license to gun down anyone who this government or the police authorities declare to be communist . . . or who opposes the policies of the American government."

# Trial evidence refutes claim of self-defense

By Steve Craine

GREENSBORO, N.C.—Jurors who acquitted six Ku Klux Klan and Nazi Party members of murder here claimed that they "considered only the facts, the evidence, and applied the law."

But in this highly publicized case, in which the murders were recorded on film and televised across the country, millions of other people have also considered the facts and seen the evidence.

They know the verdict was a travesty of justice.

Self-defense was the only legal basis of the defendants' case, and it was the jury's rationale for reaching its "not guilty" verdict. But the statements and actions of the defendants themselves, many of which are on film, refute the self-defense claim.

The six men just acquitted, plus about thirty other racists from around the state, traveled as much as 100 miles to Greensboro to confront an anti-KKK rally sponsored by the Communist Workers Party. Most brought

one or more guns and knew that the others had weapons as well.

After the racists' caravan of nine vehicles arrived at the scene, shouts and insults were exchanged, and a few of the Klanners' cars were kicked and hit with sticks.

But defense and prosecution witnesses agree that the first two shots were fired by KKKers at the head of the caravan.

Then came three shots, which cannot be pinpointed, but originated in an area where members of both sides were engaged in a stick fight. The defendants then opened the trunk of one of the cars and unloaded an arsenal of shotguns, rifles, and handguns.

The videotapes, which the jury saw over and over again in both normal and slow motion, show the racist gunmen acting in an aggressive, not a defensive, manner.

Three of the defendants can be seen running toward the demonstrators as they fire. Others are standing erect,

without seeking cover, and blazing away with shotguns.

The anti-Klan demonstrators, in contrast, began to flee from the area as soon as gunfire began. One reporter, when asked what the demonstrators were doing, replied, "They were falling like flies."

Another key to the Klanners' self-defense plea is the claim that they had no way to escape from the confrontation. Yet, other Klanners, and a local resident who had inadvertently driven into the caravan, were able to drive on past or turn around and leave. There was no reason the defendants could not have done the same. The defense never attempted to counter this evidence.

The defendants' comments immediately after the shooting also contradict the self-defense argument. Three witnesses quoted KKK "Knight Hawk" David Wayne Matthews bragging, "I got three of them," at various times on November 3, 1979.

One of the two Nazis just acquitted

quoted the other as saying, "I got my share."

Matthews told police investigators, "Some innocent people were shot, but I was only shooting at niggers."

Two government informers operated in the local Nazi and Klan organizations and helped plan and carry out the deadly attack of November 3. But their role was carefully avoided by both the prosecution and the defense throughout the trial.

The defense relied on innuendo and anti-communist prejudice rather than facts. They pictured their clients as patriotic family men who merely wanted to sing "My Country 'tis of Thee" at the "communist" demonstration.

The victims were portrayed as blood-thirsty people intent on creating a martyr for their unpopular cause.

Since the facts do not support the jury's finding of self-defense, these other "arguments" apparently carried more weight with the jury.

# ...protest freeing of KKK murderers!

Continued from front page

Urban League President Vernon Jordan was shot in Fort Wayne, Indiana.

Ku Klux Klan snipers were acquitted in Chattanooga, Tennessee, for shooting four Black women.

An anonymous Ku Klux Klanner has taken credit for the murders of six Black men in Buffalo, New York.

Sixteen Black children have been murdered or disappeared in Atlanta, Georgia.

The ultra-right hit squads have claimed other victims.

Police have done nothing to apprehend the murderers of Cuban diplomat Félix García Rodríguez, assassinated in New York September 11, even though a well-known anti-Castro group claimed credit.

Courts have just overturned the guilty verdict for those who killed Chilean exile leader Orlando Letelier in 1976.

## Fair game

The message is clear: Anyone who demonstrates for union recognition or Black rights, or who holds socialist or communist ideas, is fair game.

And government officials will stand by and let it happen. They'll even help it to happen—like the local and federal cop informers who operated inside the North Carolina KKK and Nazi outfit and helped to plan the ambush last November.

## Victory for whom

Several of the slain demonstrators had been active in union organizing drives in textile and other plants in North Carolina.

The acquittal of their assassins was a victory for J.P. Stevens and other union busters, who want a free hand to break up any picket lines or demonstrations. It was a victory for those who fear the new moods of struggle in the South and who want to keep working people divided and weak.

Nazi leader Harold Covington called the verdict "a great victory for white America."

But millions of American workers recognize it as a defeat for our class—Black and white.

If Blacks and Black rights supporters can be terrorized and stripped of



Marches and rallies like the February 2 anti-Klan protest in Greensboro can show that majority opposes Klan violence and government complicity.

their rights, white workers are worse off, not better off.

It's no coincidence that Blacks are the first targets of government attacks and right-wing terror. Blacks have been in the forefront of fighting not only for civil rights but also for union rights—in North Carolina, throughout the South, and across the country.

## Role of politicians

Ultra-right, anti-Black, anti-union elements are getting encouragement from Democratic and Republican politicians alike.

The incoming Reagan administration is openly taking aim at busing, affirmative action, and social programs vital to Black survival, while pushing for closer U.S. ties to South Africa. The lame-duck Democratic Congress joins right in, voting huge budget cuts and moving to destroy the Black community's right to use busing to get an equal education.

Republican Senate leader Strom Thurmond says the next target will be the 1965 Voting Rights Act!

The politicians of both parties are making it abundantly clear that their allegiance is to the billionaires, whose profits depend on keeping Black people down and keeping all working people divided.

Feeding and fostering violent right-

wing attacks fits in with and aids this scheme.

Nazi boss Harold Covington said the Greensboro verdict "represents the wishes of the people of North Carolina."

## Mobilize the majority

Let's show who really represents the majority! It's time to mobilize by the thousands across the country to stop this racist conspiracy.

We should demand a dragnet of Klan and right-wing groups—including the armed training camps they boast of—to question them on suspicion of murder in the spate of Black assassinations across the country.

We should demand federal prosecution of the North Carolina Klan/Nazi murderers and of the cops who have gone free after killing Blacks in Miami, New Orleans, Indianapolis, and other cities.

We should demand that the charges that have been brought against other Communist Workers Party victims be dropped.

We should demand that the files of the FBI, other federal agencies, and local cops be opened to public inspection so that we can learn the facts about government collusion with the terrorists.

## Black political party

The verdict in North Carolina gives added significance to the gathering of Black activists taking place this weekend in Philadelphia.

The convention has been called to found an "independent Black political party," recognizing that the Democratic and Republican parties both represent only big-business interests.

It is a call to action for Black workers, Black youth, and Black women to fight for our rights with an independent political organization.

Such a step can set a powerful example for other workers and for all the oppressed.

It would be only fitting for this gathering to take the lead in organizing a national campaign of action to protest the acquittal in North Carolina and racist violence across the land. That's the best way we can build an

independent Black party with real roots in the needs and struggles of the Black community.

## Labor's stake

We will not be alone. Thousands of Blacks, unionists, students, and others have already protested racist terror in Greensboro, Atlanta, Buffalo, Miami, and other cities. I'm especially proud that my union, the United Steelworkers, joined in organizing an anti-Klan rally in Uniontown, Pennsylvania, last month.

USWA President Lloyd McBride and the other top union officers explained the stakes involved for labor in fighting the KKK.

"The Klan fully shares the views of a union-hating ultraright-wing movement that seeks to destroy American labor unions and the process of free collective bargaining in our country," they said.

## Time to act!

What can we do to protest this new outrage?

We can picket federal buildings. We can march and rally. We can send telegrams of protest to North Carolina officials.

We can demand federal intervention in the case. We can call together meetings of local community, union, and Black rights groups to discuss and plan a response.

We can organize news conferences of local leaders and concerned citizens.

Racist and right-wing terror will end only when millions of working people mobilize to say "enough" and to show that we're willing to defend ourselves.

Wherever racist and right-wing terror raises its head, we should counter-mobilize.

Whenever travesties of justice like the North Carolina verdict are handed down, we should voice our protest.

That is the way to fight these attacks, and that is how we put ourselves in a position to more effectively fight all moves to gut our social and economic gains.

The interests of all working people are at stake. We must act now to demand that the Klan-Nazi killers be brought to justice.

## Join the fightback: attend the YSA convention!

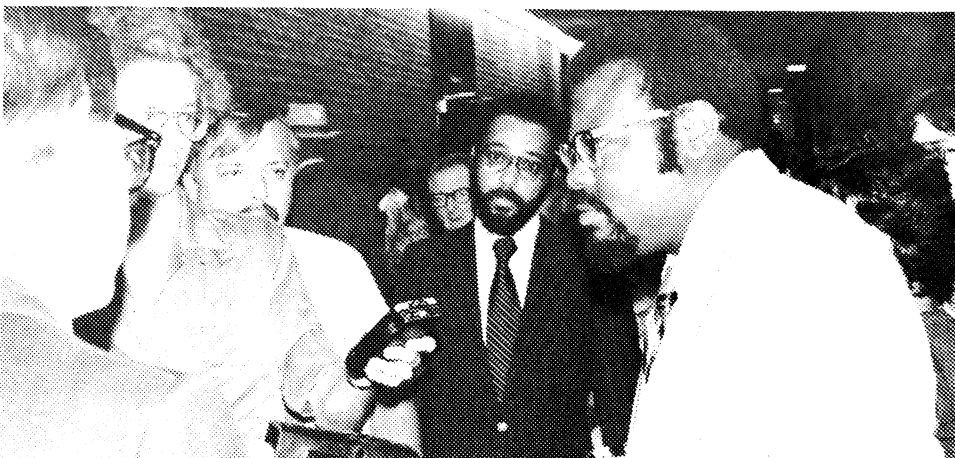


The fight against Reaganism and racist terrorism will be at the top of the agenda at the national convention of the Young Socialist Alliance.

To be held December 27-30 in Indianapolis, Indiana.

For more information on attending, check your local area in the directory on page 27, or write to:

YSA  
Box 471, Cooper Station  
New York, New York 10003



Andrew Pulley, right, 1980 socialist candidate for president, talks to reporters outside Greensboro courtroom after visiting KKK-Nazi trial in September.



## Reign of terror

# New Orleans cops gun down four Blacks

By Naomi Bracey

NEW ORLEANS—Algiers, a section of this city's Black community, has experienced a reign of police terror.

In a single night, three people—two men and a woman—were killed in their homes. Earlier, the cops shot another man.

The killing came within days after a grand jury exonerated cops who had slain a Black youth last Labor Day who they falsely claimed had resisted arrest.

The events in Algiers came after a cop was killed there.

The cops moved in in full force. For five days they were kicking in doors, dragging people out of their homes, and throwing residents up against walls to search and grill them. The assault culminated early Thursday morning, November 13, in the three killings.

The police insist they had warrants, knocked before entering the homes of the victims, and killed only after being fired on.

But when you talk to neighbors of the victims, as we did, the police story falls apart.

Ronald Evans and Maxine Franklin told us they were lying in bed around 3:00 a.m. when they heard "Police! Freeze!"

The cops, all in plain clothes, had just broken into the home of their neighbor, Carolyn Anderson.

"They were there for awhile," we were told, "and more kept steadily coming, some coming through the alley, some down the street. Then they came out of her house and went directly next door."

Later the cops explained they had entered Anderson's house by mistake.

Next door was the home of James Billy, Jr.

"They kicked in the door," Evans and Franklin said.

Then one of them came out with Kim Landry, who also lives there, and her baby. "About the time she hit the porch—pow, pow, pow, pow, pow, bam, bam, pow, pow."

*Naomi Bracey was the Socialist Workers Party 1980 senatorial candidate in Louisiana. Also collaborating on this article were M. Dessalines and John Williams.*



Rev. Donald Crockett addresses protesters at New Orleans housing projects about police killings. Three of the victims, from top, were James Billy, Jr., Reginald Miles, and Sherry Singleton.



James Billy was dead, torn apart by police bullets.

Evans and Franklin don't believe Billy even had a gun.

Then the cops invaded the home of Reginald Miles and Sherry Lynn Singleton.

Neighbors heard gunshots. Then they heard Singleton pleading, "Please don't shoot! Please don't shoot!"

There were more shots.

The cops apparently killed Miles first and then Singleton. Neighbors say she was getting ready to go to work when the cops broke in. They shot her while she was in the bathtub.

One neighbor told us that when the cops came out, they were "laughing and shaking hands."

Again, the neighbors expressed strong disbelief that Miles and Singleton were armed. They believe Singleton was murdered because she witnessed the slaying of Miles.

Two days earlier, cops murdered Raymond Ferdinand at the Fischer

Housing Projects in Algiers. Cops claim they were arresting him on a drug charge and that he pulled a knife while they were trying to handcuff him. A witness insists that the knife was sheathed and had been taken away from Ferdinand before he was handcuffed.

The killings came at a time when the cops were running wild in the Fischer projects, breaking, entering, and seizing young Black men at will.

Ida Cambrice told us her eighteen-year-old son was surprised by police one night after jogging.

He ran into the house. The cops, in plain clothes, burst in, searching for an alleged gun.

They took her son to the homicide division, where they put a paper bag over his head and beat him severely. They later released him a block from

his home and told him to say nothing about his beating.

Massive complaints by Algiers residents have led to an FBI probe. Whether anything will come from it is doubtful.

All the residents we talked to believe the cops should be tried for murder.

### NEW ORLEANS Jail the killer cops!

Eyewitness reports of cop murders of four Black Algiers residents.

Friday, December 5, 8 p.m.  
Pathfinder Bookstore  
3207 Dublin. Donation \$1.50  
Auspices: Militant Forum.  
For more information call (504) 486-8048.

## Boston racists set back, but huge school cuts loom

BOSTON—The Black community has won a small but significant victory here in the continuing battle for quality desegregated education.

On November 3, Paul Kennedy, acting superintendent of schools, announced that he was abandoning his efforts to reorganize the school administration.

The proposed reorganization would have seriously downgraded the role of Black administrators.

John O'Bryant, the only Black on the school committee, had led the city's Black politicians in denouncing the reorganization as a blow to the desegregation process.

Two Black school administrators publically refused to accept posts in the reorganized system.

In addition, Marshall Simonds, the school system's special counsel for desegregation, warned Kennedy that the uproar over desegregation had produced a "serious and adverse" impact on the case.

Meanwhile, Federal Judge Arthur Garrity, who ordered and is overseeing school desegregation in Boston, has condemned plans for drastic budget cuts as "an attack on the school system."

Mayor Kevin White's attempt to

slash some \$40 million from the school budget would force the layoff of one third of Boston's teaching staff. It would hit the Black and bilingual teachers the hardest.

The Boston Teachers Union has challenged White's budget cuts in the courts. They have won some initial favorable rulings.

But city officials are using the passage of Proposition 2½—a right-wing "tax cut" measure—to bolster their argument that no funds are available.

In a related development, Boston school bus drivers, organized into United Steelworkers Local 8751, voted November 2 to end their three-week strike against ARA, Inc.

While not winning all their demands, the 500 striking drivers forced the multinational union busting conglomerate ARA to back down on several key points.

All strike leaders were rehired, all jailed strikers were released, and a new arbitration system was introduced.

The drivers hope these gains will make it possible to eventually force ARA to concede on the original demands that sparked the strike: demands for improved safety for the protection of children being bused.

## Cop killing of Black youth protested in Indianapolis

By Dave Cahalane

INDIANAPOLIS—On the night of November 4 Michael Smith could have been any fifteen-year-old Black youth walking alone in the street. To police, he was a suspect in a hold-up more than five blocks away.

The law says a felony suspect like Michael can be shot if he tries to avoid arrest.

Michael, unarmed and returning home from a friend's house, chose to ignore the two plain-clothes cops sitting in the unmarked car that pulled up beside him.

That made him fair game for Jeffrey Ritorto, the patrolman at the other end of a .357 magnum who ended Michael Smith's life that night.

Smith was shot once in the back.

Many have declared that this latest murder, or "police action shooting," as officials prefer to call it, must be the last.

"We think he [Ritorto] should be off the force. He should be charged with murder," said Lorna M. Smith, seventeen, Michael Smith's sister.

In a November 7 statement, a coalition of groups protested "the systematic and racist voluntary killing by policemen against Black citizens under the guise of a uniform."

The Concerned Ministers, Inc., NAACP, Operation PUSH, the Indiana Southern Christian Leadership Conference, and the Interdenominational Ministers Alliance have led

daily protests against Michael Smith's murder and to demand an end to the racist treatment of Blacks by police.

A forty-car funeral procession November 8 for Smith stopped in front of police headquarters to hold a protest meeting and lay a black wreath on the steps.

Every day the following week rallies were held outside police headquarters, with people coming from many parts of the city to demand justice.

A Black city government executive sent letters to 250 Black city employees, urging them to join the protests. Soon afterwards city workers in shirts and light sweaters could be seen marching with others outside the police building.

Police officials have backed up patrolman Ritorto's action as standard procedure. Indianapolis Mayor William Hudnut has asked Black community leaders to halt their protests.

Officer Ritorto, while off the streets pending an investigation referred to the Justice Department, is still on the city payroll. Police and city officials want to restore an atmosphere of business as usual: more beatings, more racist abuse, more killings by police "in the line of duty."

Organizers of the protests have refused to be intimidated by the mayor or police. Black leaders have announced that daily protests at police headquarters will continue.



**'We're taking on U.S. gov't'**

## City council member urges anti-Klan fight

Mel Mason is a member of the city council in Seaside, California, a majority-Black city on the Monterey Peninsula south of San Francisco.

He's a Black elected official with a difference.

Mason is a staunch opponent of both the Democratic and Republican parties. He says the only way Black people—and other workers—can make real social progress is to break from these parties.

He will be participating in the National Black Political Convention in Philadelphia November 21-23 to promote such a break.

Mel Mason is also a socialist. He was elected last April despite the fact that his public support for the Socialist Workers Party made him the target of red-baiting and racist attacks.

His beliefs are the result of lessons drawn from the struggles of Black people during the 1960's and 1970's—struggles in which he played an active part.

An air force veteran and All-American basketball player, Mason got in trouble with racist authorities in the military, in school, and in sports.

In 1968, he joined the Black Panther Party. He became a Panther labor organizer, helping to establish and coordinate Black caucuses at area plants.

In 1970 he briefly joined the Nation of Islam.

He is a long-time activist in various Seaside community struggles. As a result of these activities Mason has had to consider how the Black community can best defend itself against the Ku Klux Klan and other right-wing organizations.

At Laney College in Oakland, California, on October 14, Mason—along with Mark Friedman, the Socialist Workers 1980 candidate for Congress—was among those addressing a speakout against the Klan.

Excerpts of his speech are printed below

\* \* \*

The Klan and the FBI are blood brothers.

If you don't believe that, then all you have to do is flashback on all the so-called undercover infiltrations that the FBI did inside the Klan.

Some of the undercover agents even wrote books



MEL MASON

Militant/Andy Rose

about their plans. One in particular [Gary Rowe] detailed how he, in the early '60s, sat in on planning sessions of the Klan's attacks on civil rights workers.

And recently in Greensboro one government informant admitted to being in on planning the assault on the anti-Klan demonstrators.

I refuse to believe Carter and others when they say that we should fight the Klan by using what some of us in the street used to call the social disease attitude. That is if we pretend that the Klan just isn't around—that if we give it no recognition—then it will all of a sudden go away.

And I damn sure don't believe Carter and others when they tell us that the way to fight the Klan is by registering a complaint with the office of civil rights, which by the way is housed next door to the

FBI. No.

When we take on the Ku Klux Klan, we will in the same breath be taking on the United States government.

If they didn't want the Klan around—if the Klan somehow ran counter to Uncle Sam's interest—you can bet that the only way our children would be able to see a Klansman would be if someone stuffed one and had it mounted in the Smithsonian Institute, horns and all.

It's no accident that the Klan has suddenly experienced a rebirth in this country. At a time when the U.S. economy is in one of its most drastic slumps it is necessary for the rulers of this country to take back the rights that have been won by national minorities, by women, and by working people in general.

How convenient for the rulers to have hooded henchmen to do their dirty work for them. How convenient for them to have Tom Metzger running for the Congress [in California] as a member of the Democratic Party.

I've supported the Socialist Workers Party for years. I'm a socialist.

You tell me why the Socialist Workers Party couldn't get on the ballot in California and Tom Metzger had no trouble.

We did everything you're supposed to do to get on the ballot for the November elections and then we had some judge rule us off. And all Tom Metzger had to do was say "hey, here I am, a Klansman and a Democrat" and bingo—he's on right away.

We must demonstrate and educate and hold rallies and other kinds of educational type seminars as we're doing here tonight. We must educate our people as to the true meaning of the Ku Klux Klan—what the KKK really represents.

People must realize that groups like the KKK are the internal shock troops of this system, the internal shock troops of capitalism.

And only in a workers state would the Klan meet true justice—by being prosecuted for all their crimes against liberty and humanity.

Let's keep up the fight!

## FBI at work: frame-ups, theft, murder

"People are into a fantasy world when they believe that the Federal Bureau of Investigation finds out what it finds out through the method of scientific investigation. . . . That's not the name of the game."

Darthead Perry ought to know. He was an FBI informer for more than seven years. He infiltrated the Black Panther Party and other Black organizations during the late 1960s and early 1970s.

Perry was part of the FBI's Cointelpro (counterintelligence program), a vast government conspiracy to disrupt and discredit the Black movement as well as anti-Vietnam War groups, socialists, women's rights fighters, and others.

Cointelpro files have documented an all-out effort by the FBI to politically and physically destroy Black organizations and leaders. Malcolm X and Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., were both central targets of Cointelpro operations.

On November 2 WABC-TV's "Like It Is," hosted by Gil Noble, aired an interview with Perry, who

department. There was no need for my services."

When Noble asked the number of informants working in Los Angeles during the late 1960s, Perry answered, "In a city like LA, which was a large concentrated area of Blacks, we're talking about 300 to 400 people. San Francisco probably the same thing—wherever there was a large concentration of Blacks or large concentration of minorities."

What did the informers do once inside these groups?

### Arson, burglaries, theft

Perry admitted to arson, illegal entries, stealing weapons, and the selling of explosives. The informers were used to set up and jail or murder Black liberation fighters.

Perry recalled one situation when he was an informer in a Los Angeles Black group. The FBI provided him with plans for how the group could rob a military armory.

"The bureau made sure that there would be no guard," Perry related. "That was the thing that kind of made me nervous . . . it looks kind of phony when you go to an armory on a military base located near the Compton-Watts area and there is no guard in there with the weapons.

"The bureau was very into controlled situations—you know who has what and what they intend to do with it," he added.

Noble asked if the FBI would then try to entrap such groups into committing some illegal activity. "Yes, a set-up," Perry replied.

Perry went on to describe events which he says convinced him that he could no longer function as an FBI informer.

### George Jackson murder

One was the murder of George Jackson, the prominent Black prison militant who wrote *Soledad Brother*. Jackson was gunned down by San Quentin prison guards in 1971. The guards claimed they shot him because he tried to escape. Perry believes the FBI organized the whole thing.

"There are so many ways you can set up a man in prison," Perry told Noble. "If they want you they will get you."

The other case Perry spoke of was the frame-up of Elmer "Geronimo" Pratt, a Panther leader who was sent to jail nine years ago on a murder charge and is still there today. At the time of the frame-up Pratt was the head of the southern California Black Panthers.

"The murder happened in Los Angeles. Pratt was in Oakland," Perry told Noble. "Elmer Pratt was under twenty-four-hour surveillance, both physical and electronic. The bureau at any time . . . could have gone down there and said, hey look, you made a mistake. The guy was in Oakland. They didn't. They sat back and let it happen because they wanted the man out of the way.

"It's sick," Perry continued, "here's a man that got a bronze star and a silver star, who when he got out of the service joined the Black Panther Party because it was a cause that he thought was just . . . he was set up. He was railroaded from the git."

### Pratt frame-up appealed

Today Pratt's case is before the California Court of Appeals. In his request for a new trial Pratt points out that the key witness against him and at least three members of his own defense team are now known to be FBI informants.

\* \* \*

It's arguable how much the word of an ex-FBI informer like Perry is worth. What isn't debatable are the thousands of pages of FBI documents that spell out the government's campaign of repression.

Dozens of Panther members were murdered, dozens more like Pratt were framed up and sent to jail.

Many Blacks are convinced that the Ku Klux Klan or a similar group is responsible for the accelerated murders of Blacks in cities such as Atlanta and Buffalo today.

The question is posed—are these racist outfits acting alone?

The Klan and Nazis didn't act alone when they gunned down civil rights activists in Greensboro, North Carolina, last year. A federal agent and a local cop helped set up the murders.

So who's helping the racist killers today?

—Vivian Sahner

# As I see it

functioned in the Panthers under the name of Ed Riggs.

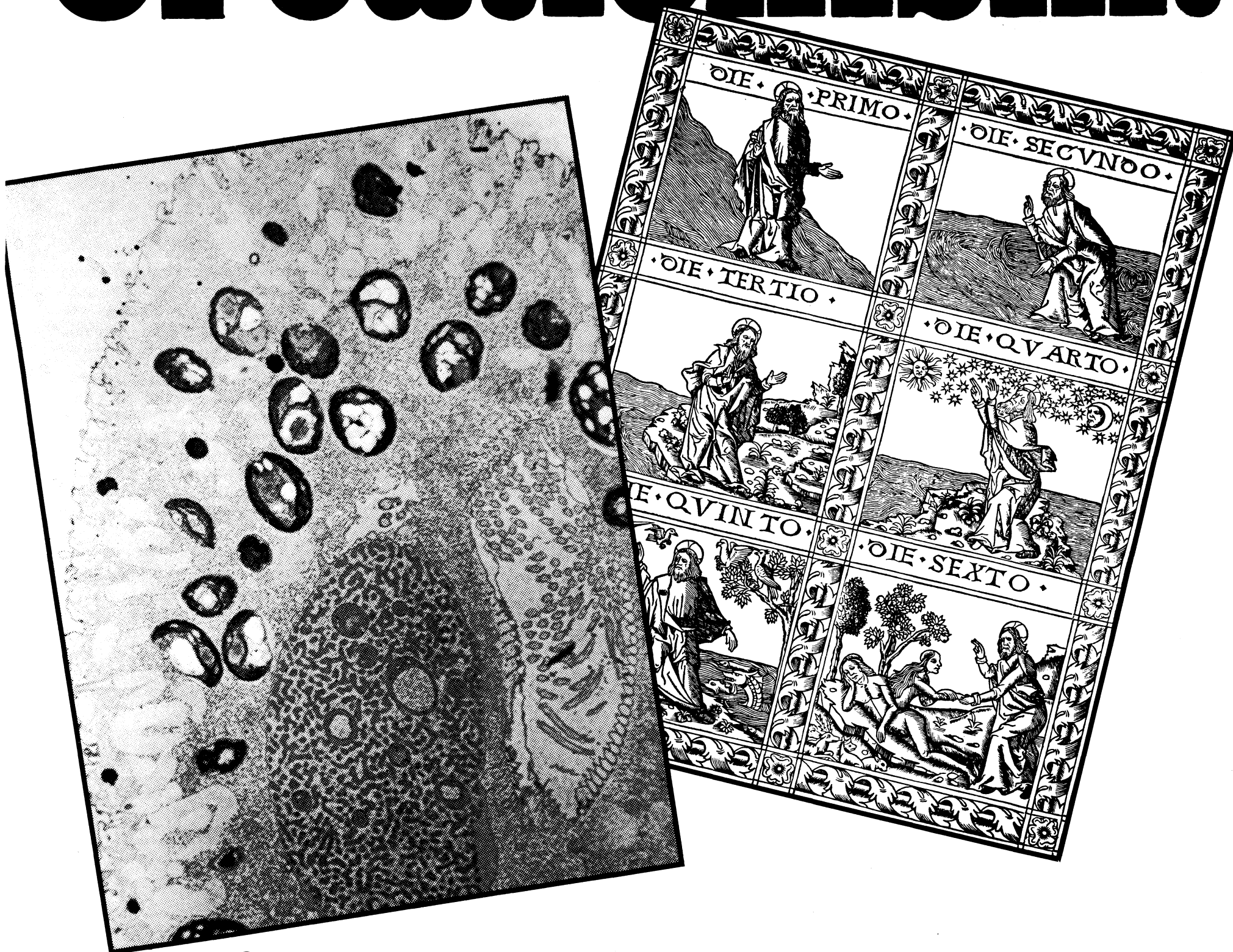
Perry told Noble that he joined the FBI in 1968 after being framed up by the police and threatened with a jail sentence if he didn't cooperate. He was trained for several weeks to use a camera and other electronic equipment, including a parabolic reflector, an instrument capable of picking up a conversation from 500 yards away.

His starting salary was \$200 per week but zoomed to \$800 per week after he got experienced at spying on and framing up Panther members. According to Perry, at the heart of FBI tactics was the use of informers—"getting next to the man or organization."

Perry said that he was sent to New York City to infiltrate the Queens chapter of the Panthers but left after only two days. "We found out then that it was infiltrated heavily by the New York City police

# international **socialist** review

# Evolution vs. Creationism:



## In Defense of Scientific Thinking

By Cliff Conner

# THE MONTH IN REVIEW

## Reagan on a Collision Course

Policy statements and trial balloons from President-elect Ronald Reagan, his transition team, and congressional aides leave no room for doubt. The incoming administration is on a collision course with American working people—and with workers and farmers around the world.

The capitalists are seeking to use Reagan's election to massively escalate attacks on our living standards and human rights.

The attacks include plans to:

- Cut Social Security benefits.
- Slash up to \$40 billion from the budget. (Howard Baker, the likely Senate Majority leader, suggested that social programs can be cut by 25 percent or more.)
- Reduce the minimum wage for youth and repeal the Davis-Bacon Act, which mandates union wages for workers on federal construction sites.
- Speed building of nuclear power plants, including breeder reactors.

The cutting edge is an assault on civil rights won in the past by Blacks, Latinos, and women. The rulers want these millions to continue to provide a reserve army of chronically unemployed cheap labor. And they want to weaken the fighting capacity of all working people by reinforcing racist and sexist discrimination.

W. Allen Wallis, chancellor of the University of Rochester, who advises Reagan on education, called for "discontinuing affirmative-action programs," reported the November 11 *New York Times*. Wallis has no qualms tossing off such phrases as "Blacks in the inner city are ignorant."

Reagan advisers promise a "cautious approach to enforcement of civil rights," the November 15 *Times* reported. Instead the focus of the Justice Department is to be on "street crime." What "caution" means was signaled when Sen. Strom Thurmond of South Carolina, who will become chairman of the Judiciary Committee, announced he might push for repeal of the 1965 Voting Rights Act.

No wonder racist murderers in Buffalo, Atlanta, New Orleans, and Greensboro feel a surge of confidence. They know that the murder of Black children or anti-Klan demonstrators won't be the kind of "street crime" that Reagan's cops go after.

The rights of women are also in the new president's gunights. Reagan has reiterated support for a constitutional amendment to ban abortions and opposition to the Equal Rights Amendment.

### What mandate?

The media joined Reagan in proclaiming his election as a mandate. This pretense is

part of a war of nerves against the American working people. The aim is to head off and isolate resistance to the coming attacks by proclaiming Reagan's reactionary proposals to be "the voice of the people."

This is a calculated lie. The election showed that millions were fed up with Carter's assault on our living standards, not that millions will welcome the same and worse from Reagan. In fact, knowing the unpopularity of his extreme right-wing platform, Reagan systematically obscured it during much of the campaign behind promises of peace and prosperity.

Reagan's post-election stance is not simply the aberration of a racist, reactionary individual. The billionaires who rule this country desperately need to impose the brutal program that Reagan proposes. They are impelled to try to make us pay for inflation and intensifying international competition, economic dislocations and breakdowns, declining profit rates, and all the other ills built into a declining capitalist system.

That's why the attacks are bipartisan. Even verbal differences between liberals and conservatives are narrowing rapidly as Democratic and Republican politicians close ranks in defense of the needs of capitalism. One Carter administration official told the *Wall Street Journal* it was "unlikely that any liberal Democrats will raise the banner for labor" against Reagan's policies.

The lame-duck Democratic-controlled Congress is doing its bit to fuel the reactionary drive. On November 17 the Senate approved a House proposal to ban busing suits by the Justice Department. The next day the House approved a proposal to incorporate a 2 percent spending reduction in every area except the military in the 1981 budget.

### New Vietnams

The profit drive of the oil companies, banks, and other big corporations is international. And the ultimate sacrifice demanded of us to help them maintain their investments and markets is war.

For starters, Reagan and Texas Sen. John Tower are preparing to tack on another \$3 billion to Carter's record \$157.5 billion arms budget for 1981.

Reagan's national security advisers have openly declared the whole globe to be their province. "No area of the world is beyond the scope of American interest," they declared, calling for "sufficient military standing to cope with any level of violence."

They explain that this "requires a structure of overseas bases and access rights able to assist ground, naval and air forces in supporting U.S. interests anywhere in the world."

There's a formula for new Vietnams!

The push for stepped-up military intervention abroad requires that American youth be subject to the draft. And so Senator Tower let it be known that the Senate probably wouldn't repeal Carter's draft registration edict, even though the Republican platform opposed it.

The arrogant tone of the Reagan team's foreign policy pronouncements should not be mistaken for strength, however.

Their warlike rhetoric and policies are suited to the drive of a weakening imperialism to stem a rising tide of revolution. Many a Washington-backed dictator has been compelled to seek other employment. From Indochina to Southern Africa, from the Middle East to Central America, workers and farmers have scored gains in breaking the stranglehold of Washington and Wall Street.

The Reagan program is a challenge to the life-and-death interests of American working people. But like his desire to drive back the workers and farmers of the rest of the world, it is easier said than done.

The attempt to implement these policies will inspire resistance, because they are just the opposite of what the overwhelming majority want.

We want peace, jobs, decent living standards, a livable environment, safe workplaces, equality, and human rights. The contrast between our needs and those of the billionaires that Reagan represents means sharper class struggle and broader confrontations in the weeks and months ahead.

### Rely on ourselves

The coming together of Republican and Democratic politicians behind Reagan's program, in the wake of four years of reactionary Carter policies, shows that these parties won't stop the reactionary drive. Whatever their tactical differences over how fast to proceed, they all serve big business and view us as the enemy.

Working people will have to rely on our own strength to hold on to what we have and move on to new gains.

First and foremost, we need to oppose the divide-and-rule tactics of the Reagan team by opposing racist terror and defending busing, affirmative action, the Equal Rights Amendment, and all the human rights of Blacks, Latinos, and women.

Reagan's reactionary proposals strike at every sector of the working class, from unemployed Black youth to the better-paid skilled construction workers to the working farmer. They are a reminder of the truth of the labor adage that an injury to one is an injury to all.

We need to rely on ourselves, on mobilizing the enormous power of tens of millions of working people who keep this country running. We need a labor party that can give our class political voice and win political power.

The last two years have seen some initial steps toward the kind of united fightback that is needed: the miners' strike of 1977-78 that pushed back the coal bosses' union-busting effort; the anti-Klan march that drew 7,000 to Greensboro on February 2; the May 10 march for the Equal Rights Amendment in Chicago, preceded by the April 26 labor conference for the ERA; and the Labor Conference for Safe Energy and Full Employment in October, where more than 900 unionists, including close to 200 coal miners, challenged the oil companies and nuclear power combines.

Millions of working people—unionists, Blacks, women, and farmers—have it within our power to shatter all the well-laid plans of Reagan and his transition team.

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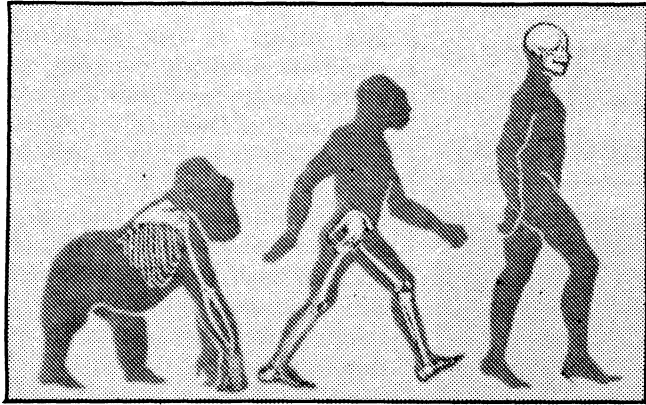


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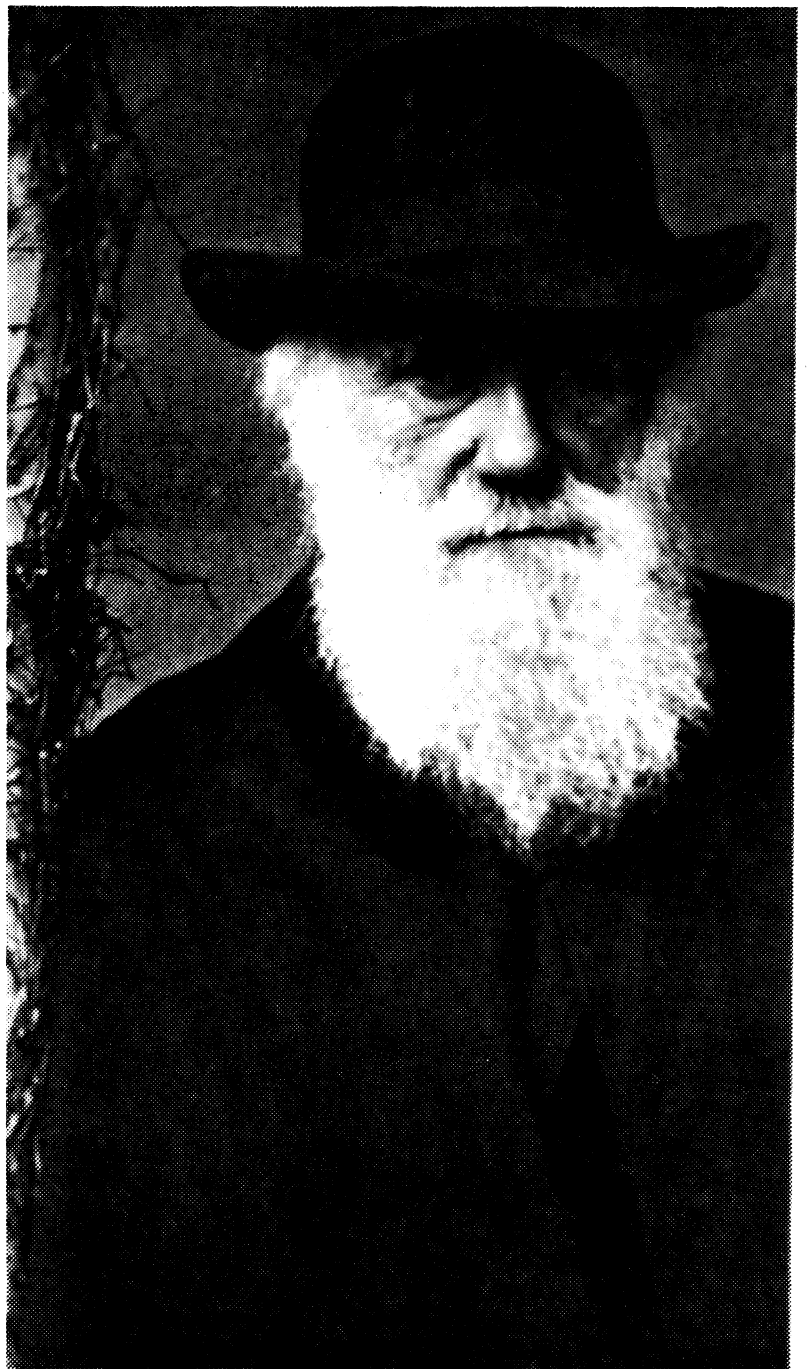




# Evolution vs. Creationism:

## In Defense of Scientific Thinking

Top left, evolution of the three skeletal segments. Right, Charles Darwin in about 1880.



### By Cliff Conner

The Scopes Trial—also known as the “Tennessee Monkey Trial”—has become a symbol of irrationalism and backwardness in American culture. John Scopes was a young high school biology teacher who was convicted in 1925 of violating Tennessee’s law against teaching Darwin’s theory of evolution. The adverse effects of that trial were long-lasting. Anti-Darwinism continued to have a chilling effect on the teaching of biology in the public schools. Throughout the 1930s the name “Darwin” or the word “evolution” was not to be found in most biology textbooks.

But over the years, the tide turned, and Darwin’s theories were so universally accepted that they seemed, at last, to have triumphed over the forces of obscurantism.

Today, however, the anti-Darwinists are still around and as loud and aggressive as ever. But now they’ve found it expedient to make a tactical retreat. Instead of demanding that Darwin be banned, they demand that their “theory”—which they call “scientific creationism”—be given equal time in the schools and universities and textbooks.

#### Reagan’s View

President-elect Ronald Reagan injected this issue into the presidential campaign, saying that he sees “great flaws” in the theory of evolution. It is “theory only,” the Republican candidate said, “and it has in recent years been challenged in the world of science. . . . If it was going to be taught in the schools, then I would think that also the biblical theory of creation, which is not a theory but the biblical story of creation, should also be taught.”

“Scientific creationism” is a well-financed, well-organized right-wing ideological campaign that has something of a mass base among the

growing religious fundamentalist groups. This spring a rally of fundamentalist Christians in Washington, D.C., according to the report in the *New York Times*, was attended by some 200,000 people from all over the country.

This is not purely or even primarily a religious phenomenon. It is part of the political polarization of the social classes that is taking place in this country.

On the one side are the working people, who increasingly see the need to change society in their interests. On the other side are the capitalists and the right-wing forces they can organize or inspire.

In Alaska, for example, one of these fundamentalist right-wing groups managed to dominate the convention of the state’s Republican Party. Calling itself the Moral Majority, it went on to play an active role in supporting Reagan and other Republican candidates.

Its literature says things like: “Our country is turning into a 20th century Sodom and Gomorrah. . . .” “Advocates of abortion on demand, recognition of homosexuals as a bona fide minority . . . are destroying this country.” “The free enterprise system is endangered by the advent of socialism.”

This group is also against the Equal Rights Amendment and welfare, for increasing the war budget, and staunchly in favor of parents spanking their children.

The rise of such groups is a reflection of the social and economic crisis which the capitalist system faces. So, on the opposite side, is the rise of discontent and militancy among young workers and the Black community.

A very important part of the ideology of the right-wing fundamentalist groups is anti-Darwinism. They claim that the creation myths recorded in the book of Genesis are literally true. “The Bible is God,” they say, “and God is the supreme scientist.”

One might ask, “So what? Can’t these right-wingers be fought on abortion rights, and the ERA, and gay rights? Why do we have to worry about their anti-evolution idiocy?”

For one thing, this assault on secular education has become a serious political issue in its own right. In the “good old days” the creationists could get the courts to ban Darwin from the

schools. Today they are trying to muddy the waters as much as they can, and introduce as much confusion and irrationalism as possible into the curriculum through their attempts to gain “equal time” with the verified findings of modern science.

#### The ‘Equal Time’ Ploy

Their “equal time” ploy is bogus from the start. The creationists are historically opposed to freedom of speech and freedom of scientific inquiry. The real issue at stake is not whether their viewpoint is being undemocratically suppressed, but whether a biologist who is writing a textbook or giving a lecture will be forced to present as equally valid a doctrine that he or she does not consider to be valid at all—and whether students will be forced to absorb a religious doctrine falsely presented as science.

Forcing creationism into the curriculum on an equal footing with Darwin would be highly destructive of scientific education. “For a biologist, the alternative to thinking in evolutionary terms is not to think at all.”<sup>1</sup>

Big money is rolling into the foundations promoting anti-Darwin propaganda. Bills requiring equal time for creation theory have been presented in state legislatures in Florida, Illinois, New York, and many other states. Such a bill was actually passed in Tennessee.

On the other hand, the American capitalists are engaged in economic competition with their European and Japanese counterparts and are dependent upon technological advances to help them come out ahead in the productivity race. Weakening scientific education in this country would tend to give their competitors (not to mention the Soviet Union) a technological advantage. Thus the *New York Times* and similar ruling-class opinion makers have come out against the creationists’ demands for equal time. The courts, so far, have ruled against the anti-Darwin forces. The Tennessee “equal time” law, for instance, was overturned by a federal court on the grounds that it violated the constitutional guarantee of separation of church and state.

The judge made a valid point. He said, in effect, that if equal time is to be granted to the Christians’ creation myth, then equal time should be provided for the creation myths of all

Cliff Conner, a frequent contributor to the ISR, is the author of ‘Albert Einstein and the Revolution in Modern Science,’ which appeared in the December 1979 issue.

the other religions as well.<sup>2</sup> To force the Adam-and-Eve story into public school biology courses would be very much like imposing Christianity as a state religion.

Defending Darwin is nothing new for socialists. The socialist movement recognized Darwinism as an important element in its general world outlook right from the start. When Darwin published his *Origin of Species* in 1859, Karl Marx wrote a letter to Frederick Engels in which he said: "... this is the book which contains the basis in natural history for our view."

Darwin revolutionized scientific thought. He shattered the traditional view that all of the life forms on earth had always been just the way they are today; that humans had always been humans, horses had always been horses, oak trees had always been oak trees.

By establishing the fact that species have changed into qualitatively new ones over time, Darwin replaced a static view of nature with a dynamic one. He introduced a historical perspective into natural science, which has since spread beyond biology and conquered other fields.

For one example: where once the stars were considered fixed in an orderly pattern in the heavens, now it is known that they are in a continuous state of turmoil, with stars being born, developing through stages, exploding all the time.

For a second example: only a few years ago geologists believed that the continents of the earth had been fixed in their present positions for billions of years; now the new knowledge of plate tectonics has revealed that the continents have been moving and changing throughout the whole history of the planet.

As Engels put it, Darwin opened the way for a new view of nature where "all rigidity was dissolved, all fixity dissipated, ... the whole of nature shown as moving in eternal flux. ..."

This view of nature is both materialist and dialectical, so it is obvious why Marx and Engels, despite certain reservations, so enthusiastically embraced it as "the basis in natural history for our view."

### Evolution and Class Struggle

It is not only for biologists that "the alternative to thinking in evolutionary terms is not to think at all." That holds for every field of scientific investigation, from astrophysics to politics.

This explains the connection between right-wing politics and anti-evolutionism. The right wing—the most vociferous advocates of the capitalist system—are defenders of the status quo. They are bitterly opposed to fundamental social change. As far as they are concerned, the "free enterprise" profit system has always existed and always will exist as a part of the natural order of things, and any other way of thinking constitutes a threat.

A historical view shows that capitalism had a beginning. An evolutionary view shows that it has developed and changed over time, and indicates that it will have an end and a successor. This is intolerable to defenders of the status quo.

The issues at stake are therefore big ones. By fostering irrational and antiscientific thinking, the right-wing fundamentalists serve as an instrument of the ruling rich, rallying forces to fight for the preservation of the old and outmoded capitalist order—even though the rulers now reject many of the most extreme right-wing demands.

By defending Darwinism, working people strengthen their defenses against the attacks of these reactionary outfits, and prepare the way for the transformation of the social order.

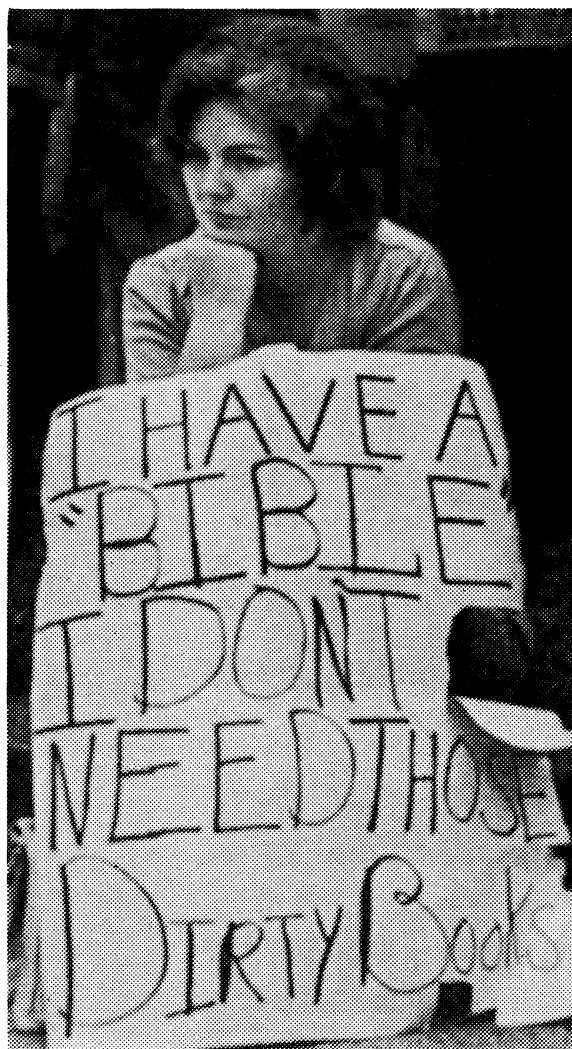
This is part of a broad class struggle which, somewhere down the road, will culminate either in the socialist revolution or in the crushing of the working class by a fascist movement.

The defense of Darwinism, then, reaches far beyond the question of the origin of species. The creationists' attack on the evolutionary outlook has to be countered in every field of science. Since they have particularly targeted Darwin, much of this article will focus on defending his theory of natural selection, but it cannot be limited to that. It will be necessary to also show how evolutionary thinking has penetrated and advanced other areas of human knowledge.

### Creationist Arguments

The evidence supporting Darwin's theory is so extensive that it not only fills books, it fills libraries. Only an outline can be given in a

**To the creationists, new facts and discoveries are not the starting points of new knowledge; they are troublesome things that have to be explained away.**



single article, but it is possible to cover the general types of evidence. Before that it is worth considering the objections usually raised against Darwinism.

The creationists' arguments can be reduced to two basic themes. The first theme is an appeal to a usually legitimate sentiment—distrust of authority and official institutions. The creationists say that Darwinism is an unproven dogma that is upheld by a caste of official scientists.

This is nothing but a demagogic tactic aimed at discrediting scientific knowledge through "guilt by association" with scientists who are often perceived by the public as an inaccessible elite. But Darwin's—or any theory—stands or falls on the evidence provided by the material world.

Scientific questions must not be left to "experts only"—the debate over nuclear power provides a good example—but to discard the collective conclusions of professional scientists is obvious nonsense.

The creationists' second theme actually consists of a whole multitude of arguments, some of which are very sophisticated, but all of which reduce to a single idea. There are many important questions that science has not yet been able to answer, and the creationists will focus on one of them and in effect say, "Aha! You can't answer this question? Then your theory is not perfect. Therefore your theory is false. Therefore the theory of creationism is just as good!"

We will consider some specific examples of this kind of argument. The main thing to notice, though, is that it is purely negative. Creationism, claiming to be a scientific theory, cannot explain anything specific about natural phenomena. It has nothing to add to our knowledge of the real world and its development. It cannot counterpose even a slight body of counter-evidence that supports its view to the vast and varied body of evidence supporting evolution. For that reason, the creationists are left with only one weak weapon, and that is to point to the current limits of legitimate science and criticize it for not having gone further.

It is certainly no disgrace to acknowledge that there are questions science has not been able to answer. Dialectical materialists are aware that everything changes. Nothing stays the same; everything develops, including human knowledge. Our knowledge is not, and can never be,

absolute, fixed, or final. That is, the process of acquiring knowledge cannot come to an end—there is no stopping point; it is infinite. The notion that human intelligence may someday comprehend *everything* is simply meaningless. The object of our knowledge—the material world—is infinitely complex, and the deeper we probe into its mysteries, the more new mysteries we uncover. Every old problem that is solved raises new ones. That is how science progresses.

So science, by its very nature, will always have questions that it has not yet answered. The notion of absolute certainty, or absolute knowledge, is itself characteristic of religious thought. But of course, the "absolute truths" based on religious faith are nothing more than self-deceptions.

### Questions of Origin

Some of the questions that are central to the evolutionary outlook illustrate these points very well. They are the general questions of origins. How did things begin? Where did they come from?

Let us consider a series of these questions, starting with the universe as a whole:

- What was the origin of the universe?
- What was the origin of the material that makes up the universe, the elements?
- What was the origin of the solar system, including the earth?
- What was the origin of organic matter?
- What was the origin of life on earth?
- What was the origin of the tremendous diversity of life on earth?
- What was the origin of human life?

Some may have occurred to you when you were a child. What kind of answers did you get? Most likely they fell into one of two categories. Either you were told, "I don't know, don't bother me," or you were told, "God created it all."

These two types of answers are really equivalent. The answer "god created everything" is no answer at all—it is avoiding an answer. If it is accepted as an answer, then there is no need to go any further, no need to make any observations, no need to do any experiments—because after all, any facts that are learned will only get in the way and clutter up the absolute knowledge that has already been attained. The answer "god created it" signifies an end to inquiry.

That is the position the creationists are in. New facts and discoveries are not the starting points of new knowledge; they are troublesome things that have to be explained away.

Scientific investigation has provided us with some answers to the series of questions about natural origins. These answers do not pretend to represent finalized knowledge. But we can be sure that they do represent a growing measure of genuine knowledge about the real world—an approximation to the truth—and that further investigation will bring us closer and closer to the full truth.

The important point to note is that these are materialist answers. They may prove in the course of further scientific development to have been incorrect on this or that detail. But they clearly show that the world as we know it today is capable of being explained in terms of the causal relationships that scientists have abstracted from their study of the material world—the laws of nature. These explanations are convincing and can be made without recourse to supernatural forces of any kind, including gods.

The series of questions I have posed about beginnings in natural history implies an overall view of universal evolution. This goes far beyond the scope of Darwin's investigations, which concentrated only on one point: the origin of the vast diversity of life forms, or, as he put it in the title of his major work, *The Origin of Species*.<sup>3</sup>

So let us start at the beginning, taking what will be an extremely long view of history.

### Origin of the Universe

What is known about how the universe began? Astronomers have learned that the largest parts of the universe as we know it—the galaxies and galaxy clusters—are flying away from each other at enormous speeds. The galaxies are moving in a way that suggests that at some remote time in the past they were in a very compact region of space, and then exploded. This is the essence of the prevailing "big bang" theory.

In 1965, radio astronomers discovered a tiny but definite amount of microwave radiation coming at us from all directions. This has since been shown to be the "cosmic background radiation."



tion" that physicists had suggested would be a residue of the big bang. Since the background radiation had been theoretically predicted before it was actually discovered, and since it so closely matched the prediction, it provided strong evidence in favor of the big bang theory.

By applying well known laws of statistical mechanics to what is known about the cosmic background radiation, astrophysicists have been able to develop a hypothesis as to what properties the universe had as early as one one-hundredth of a second after the big bang.

At first, according to this hypothesis, it consisted of an undifferentiated soup of subatomic particles and radiation. But after about 700,000 years the temperature of the universe had dropped to about 3,000 degrees Kelvin, at which point electrons and atomic nuclei were able to begin uniting to form stable atoms.<sup>4</sup>

### Analysis of Light

One important source of knowledge about the universe comes from the fact that astronomers can analyze the light from distant stars and tell what elements and combinations of elements they're made of. When atoms get very hot—when they absorb energy in the form of heat—they in turn release energy in the form of light, and every different kind of atom emits light of a different frequency, or color. So light from excited hydrogen atoms can be distinguished from the light produced by helium atoms or any other.

Another very important kind of information can be gleaned from the analysis of starlight. The frequency of the light changes in a measurable way proportional to the speed of its source. We see the light of a star moving rapidly toward the earth as slightly "bluer" and the light of a star moving rapidly away as slightly "redder." (These color differences cannot be detected by the naked eye; to be measurable the white starlight has to be divided into the individual wavelengths that make it up.)

It so happens that virtually all galaxies appear "redder" than they would if they were standing still relative to the earth. This "red shift" is what

lets us know that the galaxies are moving away from us in all directions. It also provides a means of estimating how fast they are flying apart from one another.

With that knowledge it is possible to take another step and figure out how long the galaxies have been traveling outward since the big bang. In other words, an estimate of the age of the universe is possible, and it has been put at about ten to fifteen billion years. This tentative estimate has been shown to be consistent with estimates derived by other methods.

Analysis of starlight has shown that most of the atoms in the universe, by far, are hydrogen atoms. Most of the rest are helium atoms. The kinds of atoms present here on earth are in a tiny minority.

After the temperature of the universe dropped enough for subatomic particles to get together, large clouds of hydrogen atoms formed. Gravitational forces caused the atoms to pull each other together, eventually tightly enough to make a compact mass. In this way stars and great systems of stars, the galaxies, were formed.

In the formation of an individual clump of matter, if there is enough mass involved, the gravity can produce energy enough to create temperatures reaching 15 million degrees, at which point hydrogen atoms begin to fuse into helium atoms. That fusion itself releases more energy, which helps to fuse more hydrogen atoms, and so forth. This chain reaction that fuels the stars is the same reaction that produces a hydrogen-bomb explosion.

Eventually a star burns up most of its hydrogen and turns it into helium. In so doing, it steadily runs out of fuel and gradually loses energy. At the start, its energy output creates a pressure that counterbalances its gravitational pull, but when its fusion power begins to lose strength the gravitation gets the upper hand. Then the whole thing collapses violently again, producing an explosion called a nova.

An immense burst of energy is released, raising the temperature to hundreds of millions of degrees, and at that temperature the helium

atoms begin fusing with each other to make many of the other lighter elements, such as beryllium and carbon.

Eventually the helium supply runs low, and the process more or less repeats itself. Another gravitational collapse takes place, but this time the temperature goes above a billion degrees, at which point the lighter atoms fuse to make all the elements up to iron.

### Larger Stars

In relatively small stars, this might be the end of the road. Some of the heavier elements they produced will have been thrown off in the transitional explosions, but most will remain and the star will eventually burn out.

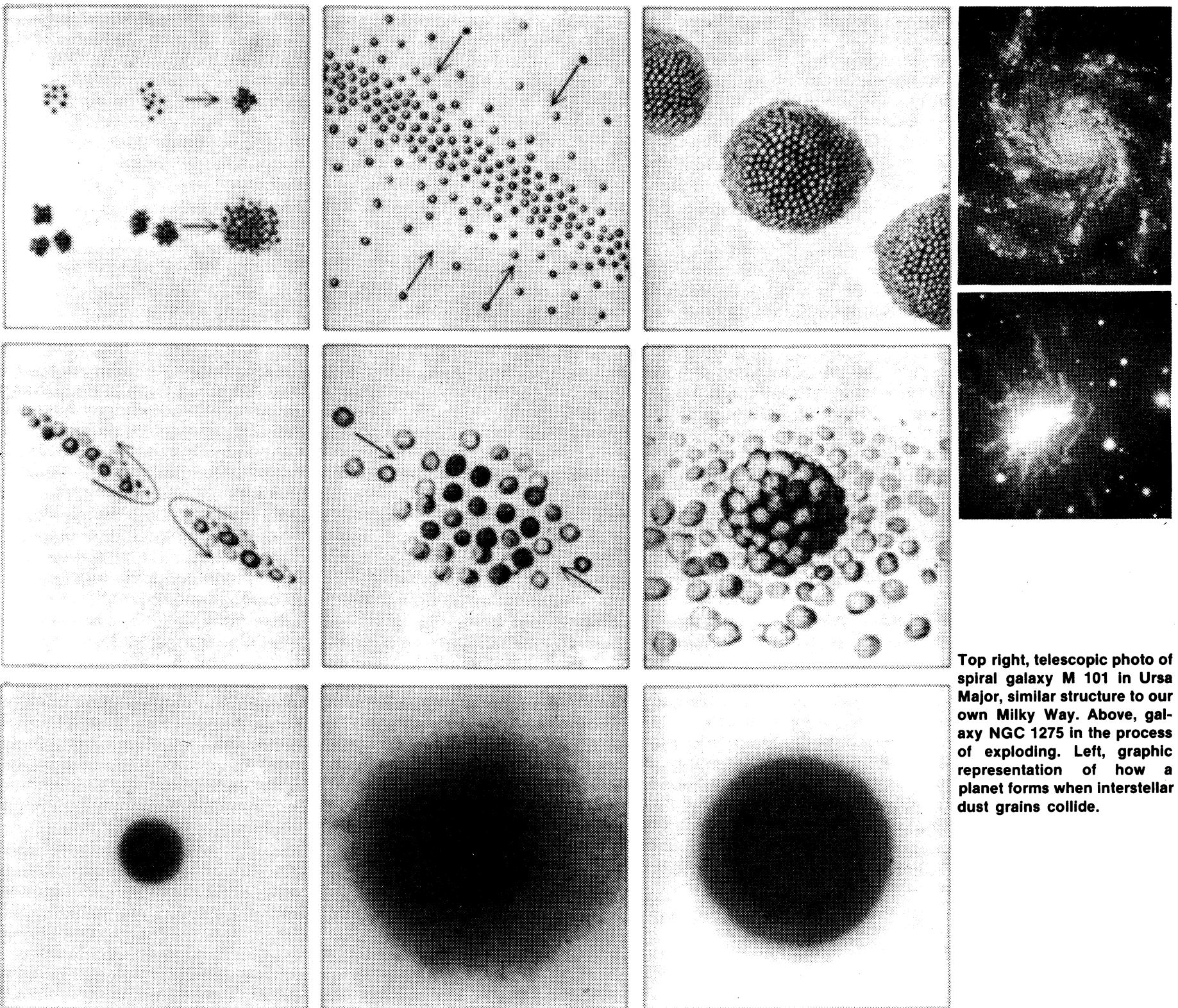
Larger stars, however, beginning with those about one and a half times as massive as our sun, are too big to simply fizzle out. In these, there is an ultimate collapse that leads to an explosion so powerful that the whole thing blows up in a massive helium bomb.

This blow-up is called a supernova, and it produces pressures and temperatures so extreme that all of the heaviest elements, up to and beyond uranium, are created. Then much of this matter is dispersed in all directions by the supernova explosion. That which is left behind has been tightly compressed into superdense material (imagine the earth crushed down to the size of a golf ball) producing a "neutron star," or, given sufficient mass, a "black hole."

### Dialectical Laws

This process is known as stellar evolution. The German philosopher G.W.F. Hegel had no knowledge of stellar evolution, but it is a perfect illustration of certain laws of dialectical motion that he formulated. Individual atoms fuse, and after a certain quantity of them have done so, the whole star suddenly experiences a qualitative change—a revolutionary transformation—as it collapses and explodes and begins a whole new mode of element production on a new level.

The star is a unity of conflicting forces—the outward push of the fusion energy against the



Top right, telescopic photo of spiral galaxy M 101 in Ursa Major, similar structure to our own Milky Way. Above, galaxy NGC 1275 in the process of exploding. Left, graphic representation of how a planet forms when interstellar dust grains collide.



inward pull of gravity. The struggle between these opposing internal forces eventually erupts and transforms the star into a qualitatively different kind of star. And at some point, it negates the star.

This account of stellar evolution provides an explanation of where the atoms in your body, and in everything else on earth, came from. At some time in the past there were supernova explosions in our galaxy, after which a dense cloud of the debris of hydrogen and other atoms started swirling around again and eventually condensed to form a new star—the sun.

Some smaller pockets of atoms around the sun condensed to form bodies that were not big enough to have the kind of gravitation that would ignite fusion reactions. These became the earth and the other planets. That, in a nutshell, accounts for the origin of the solar system.

### The Earth

The matter that came together to form the earth was not, for the most part, in the form of naked atoms. By this time the atoms had combined into molecules. Some had been in molecular form even in the stars. In any event, these atoms and molecules formed a sphere of a certain mass.

After its gravitational collapse, this sphere was very hot; not hot enough to produce a star, but hot enough so that nothing was in a solid state. The heaviest molecules tended to sink toward the center of the sphere, and the lightest ones drifted off into space, never to return, because the earth's gravitation was too weak to hold them.

This selection process left the earth, its surface, and its atmosphere with a certain specific combination of elements. The core of the earth remained hot; the surface cooled. Volcanic action brought some of the heavier elements back to the surface. The stage was set for the development of life.

When did all of this happen? That is the same as asking: How old is the earth? Several independent methods estimate the age of our planet at about four and a half to five billion years.

This fact is of central importance to evolutionary theory. The creationists dispute it. To uphold the bible as literal truth, they are compelled to believe that the earth is only about six thousand years old. Some even claim to know exactly when god created everything: 4004 B.C.<sup>5</sup>

Science does not appeal to a written text; it examines objective reality. The main technique for obtaining an estimate of the earth's age is known as radioactive dating. By examining pieces of the earth, and rocks from the moon, and the meteorites that hit the earth, it can be determined how long ago they were formed, and that gives an estimate of the age of the solar system, including the earth.

### How Radioactive Dating Works

Radioactive dating works like this: certain forms (isotopes) of certain elements—such as uranium, potassium, and thorium are known to be radioactive. That is, their atoms tend to break down spontaneously by giving up little pieces of themselves. In the process, they turn into the atoms of other elements. Uranium and thorium, for example, turn into lead. Potassium turns into argon.

It has been determined by observation that each one of these radioactive transformations proceeds at an extremely regular rate. They are so regular that they provide a highly accurate way to measure time. No extremes of pressure or temperature have been known to slow down or speed up these transformations, so they act as a very reliable clock.

A rock found below the surface of the earth can be analyzed to determine how much potassium and how much argon it contains. Geologists are able to estimate how much argon, if any, was originally in the rock when it was formed. It is therefore possible to measure how much of the rock's argon was produced by the radioactive decay of potassium. Since the time it takes for this transformation to take place is well known, the age of the rock can be determined.

These measurements, of course, are approximate. A rock may be shown to be 3 billion years old, give or take a hundred million. The creationists then exclaim, "Aha! You don't know *exactly* how old the rock is? Then something is obviously wrong with your method, and it should be discarded!"

The technique of radioactive dating will surely become sharper and sharper, but it is safe to say

that it will never be able to pinpoint the day, the hour, the minute, or the second that a three-billion-year-old rock was formed. On the other hand, the method is certainly adequate to prove that the earth is well over six thousand years old, which is what the creationists object to.

There are other methods of estimating the age of the solar system. One of these consists of figuring out how much hydrogen has been fused into helium by the sun and determining how much time that would have taken. The fact that various independent methods provide comparable results is a strong indication of the approximate correctness of the estimates.

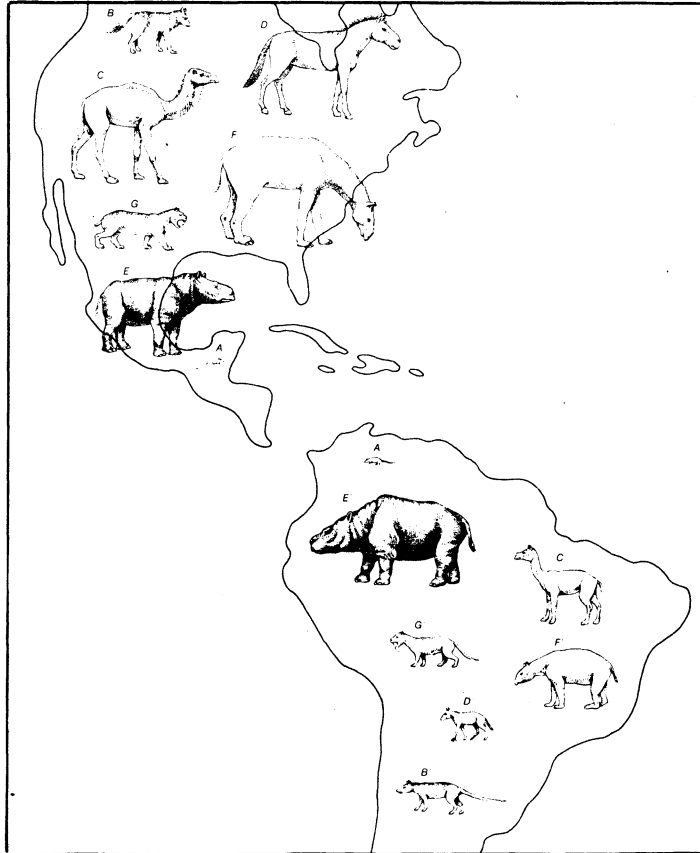
As previously noted, the estimates for the age of the solar system and the earth come out to around four and a half to five billion years. Since rocks didn't form until the earth cooled down

somewhat, the oldest earth rocks that have been found are less than 4 billion years old. The moon rocks and meteorites are about a billion years older, going back to nearly five billion years.

### Origin of Life

We now come to a key question for evolutionists: How did life originate on earth? Darwin consciously avoided this question, and rightly so because there was almost no evidence available at that time on which a theory could have been based. Since Darwin's time, however, a great deal of evidence has been discovered, and a convincing materialist answer to the question is now possible.

The pioneer scientists in this field of investigation, it so happens, were dialectical materialists. The central figure is the Soviet biochemist A.I.



The object of our material world-complex, and the into its mysterious mysteries we understand problem that is ones. That is how progresses.



Oparin. The next two most important figures in origin-of-life research were the British Marxists J.D. Bernal and J.B.S. Haldane.

In his classic work *Origin of Life*,<sup>6</sup> Oparin explains that for thousands of years people believed that life could arise spontaneously, at any time, out of non-living matter. For instance, it was believed that flies were spontaneously produced out of decaying meat. But when Louis Pasteur disproved the possibility of spontaneous generation, science was left without any theory of how life began. The most popular theory then became the idea that life had always existed, throughout all time.

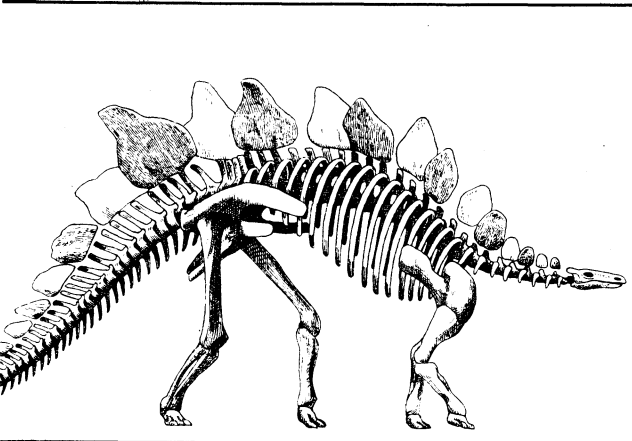
But Oparin's investigations followed a different approach, one that had earlier been suggested by Frederick Engels. Oparin explained:

"Engels shows that a consistent materialist

knowledge—the  
infinitely  
deeper we probe  
the more new  
is revealed. Every old  
theory raises new  
science



Top left, a full complement of land mammals evolved independently of one another in both North and South America before formation of Panama land bridge some two million years ago. These similar mammals played the same ecological role on each continent. Left, mother and baby gorillas. Knuckle-walking was a transitional stage toward upright posture, which permitted use of tools; and tool use made possible the ultimate evolution of human intelligence. Below, Stegosaurus, a large herbivorous dinosaur of Jurassic period.



'The classical religious view had always been that since god created every species perfectly, it wouldn't make sense for him to have let any of them perish; therefore, there could be no such thing as an extinct species. The bones of dinosaurs, and the fossils of literally millions of extinct species have laid that argument to rest.'

philosophy can follow only a single path in the attempt to solve the problem of the origin of life. Life has neither arisen spontaneously nor has it existed eternally. It must have, therefore, resulted from a long evolution of matter, its origin being merely one step in the course of its historical development."

Engels, as usual, was way ahead of his time. By following this line of inquiry, Oparin succeeded in giving a detailed answer to the question: How did non-living matter evolve into living matter? If we look at how his answer has stood up over several decades to the test of new discoveries, we can learn a very important lesson about the nature of scientific knowledge and how it develops.

Oparin's *Origin of Life* was published in 1935. In 1978, the editor of a compilation of *Scientific American* articles on the subject gave this assessment of the work of Oparin together with that of J.D. Bernal:

"A.I. Oparin and J.D. Bernal were among the first contemporary scientists to attempt explanations of life's origins. They did so, of necessity, within the constructs of the sciences of their time. Since then, our ideas of the universe have changed drastically. We retain the wondrous heritage of their central ideas, which continue to bear fruit for this field of study."

This author goes on to make a very important point:

"Every time we examine the specifics of the theories presented by Oparin and Bernal, current information seems to contradict them. Yet, in the main, they were right. How can one be both right and wrong? Easy—we do it all the time. Any explanation of a complex issue invariably has two components: the truth and the details. Oparin and Bernal were deficient in their details because, at that time, astronomy and geology had barely any to supply. But their truth still stands."

#### Science vs. Positivism

This is a clear illustration of how a scientific theory can embody real, genuine knowledge without having to claim completed knowledge. Oparin's theory contained an essential core of truth, but it was not a final theory that could not be improved. It *has* been improved by further investigation, and its central core of truth has thereby been strengthened.

This may seem very obvious, yet it goes against the philosophical outlook (or bias) that dominates American intellectual circles. That is, the positivist outlook that sees theories as more or less useful tools that can never actually be considered objectively "true."

This semi-skeptical attitude plays into the hands of the creationists, who insist that all of scientific knowledge is merely tentative and highly questionable because science has not attained absolute truth.

The dialectical materialist theory of knowledge enables us to accept that theories such as Newton's, Darwin's, Einstein's and Oparin's represent genuine knowledge and a better approximation to truth than their precursors, without being the final word on their respective subjects.

#### Oparin's Theory

Oparin's view was that the simplest organic molecules, such as the hydrocarbons, over hundreds of millions of years formed combinations of a more and more complex nature until amino acids and nucleic acids organized themselves in such a way as to form the first living cells.

This self-organization of matter did not require the guiding hand of a supernatural intelligence; it took place as a result of natural processes, some of which Oparin described, some of which have been described by other scientists following Oparin's lead, and some of which have yet to be described.

First of all, where did the original organic matter—the simple hydrocarbons and so forth—come from? Not too long ago, it was believed that organic matter (combinations of chemicals containing the element carbon) could only be produced by living organisms.

If that were true, it would raise the ultimate "chicken-or-egg" dilemma: "Which came first, life or its organic-matter byproducts?" The implication would be that life either had existed eternally, or had had a supernatural origin. But this problem was laid to rest in 1828 when it was discovered that organic compounds could be synthesized in the laboratory.

Today, the production of organic compounds is a commonplace practical activity of human society; our society is dependent upon industrialized organic chemical reactions.

It has since been shown that simple organic compounds exist even in the cooler stars, as the result of a natural process of stellar evolution, and in dense clouds in interstellar space. And more complex organic compounds existed in the primitive atmosphere and oceans of the earth, as we shall see.

#### Organic molecules

But where did the much more complex organic molecules necessary for life come from? Let us consider protein molecules, which are the basic material of living matter. A typical protein molecule contains about 10,000 atoms—mostly carbon, hydrogen, oxygen, and nitrogen atoms.

Here is where the creationists bring in one of their trump arguments. They say that protein molecules are so complex that they must have been designed and put together by some supreme intelligence. To think that 10,000 carbon, hydrogen, oxygen, and nitrogen atoms could just randomly come together to form a protein molecule by chance is, they say, impossible. The odds against such a thing, they claim, are greater than if you took a clock apart piece by piece, put all the pieces in a box, shook up the box, and found that the clock parts had randomly fallen back into place and become a clock again.

This argument sounds impressive at first hearing, but it doesn't hold water. First of all, proteins are not just random assortments of atoms. They are actually chains of smaller molecules, called amino acids, that link together to form proteins. Different arrangements of amino acids make different proteins.

Then it is necessary to ask: Are the amino acids just random assortments of atoms? Again, the answer is no.

Oparin reported on experimental evidence that proved that the production of amino acids occurs by purely natural processes. It has been done repeatedly in the laboratory with a straightforward procedure: Make a mixture of some of the organic compounds that are known to have been in the primitive oceans of the earth—methane (CH<sub>4</sub>) and ammonia (NH<sub>3</sub>), for example—with water. Then add some energy in the form of an electric spark (to simulate a lightning flash in the primitive atmosphere). Guess what happens? Amino acids and nucleic acids and sugars and fatty acids and other complex compounds necessary for life begin to form spontaneously.

By way of analogy, consider this familiar high-school science experiment: Put hydrogen gas and oxygen gas together and shoot a spark through it and water molecules tend to self-assemble. It is no mystery at all. The process is completely understood and can be explained by quantum mechanics as a function of the nature of hydrogen and oxygen atoms.

Likewise, if you put methane and ammonia together with water and hit it with a spark, you will get amino acids, among other things. Someone recently did this experiment and produced amino acids without even using a spark—just sunlight.

Amino acids link up to form proteins, but it is still a long way from proteins to a living cell. Oparin's explanation is that there was a process of *chemical evolution* in the primitive oceans—spanning perhaps hundreds of millions of years—that resulted in more and more complex substances. He reported experiments that showed that some of these complex substances tended to form droplets within a solution of water. Then some of these droplets would go further and form a membrane separating themselves from the rest of the solution.

Both the tendency to form droplets and the tendency to form membranes are a result of the physical phenomenon known as surface tension of liquids.

Then, Oparin says, "as soon as these droplets became separated from the surrounding medium by a more or less definite border, they at once acquired a certain degree of individuality. The future history of [these] droplets could now follow different courses."

Some just dissolve back into the water, but others don't. In other words, some cease to exist while others survive as individual droplets. The ones that survive then go ahead to play a further role in chemical evolution. The membranes become selective, allowing some chemicals in and keeping others out.



Some droplets, then, tend to get larger. At a certain point, they get so large that they disintegrate under their own weight, or they divide into two or more droplets. The ones that disintegrate cease to exist. The ones that divide go on to further evolution. And so it goes.

### More Organized Substances

What this leads to is a gradual increase, in the primitive oceans, of more and more highly organized substances. The demise of the less well-adapted droplets and the survival of the better adapted droplets is a form of selection, analogous (but not equivalent) to the process Darwin discovered as the basis of the evolution of living matter.

Oparin's droplets were already mimicking—and anticipating—some of the activities of living cells. When they got bigger, they looked like they were "growing," and when they divided, they appeared to be "reproducing."

But Oparin was the first to acknowledge that these droplets had a long, long way to go before they could approach the complexity of the simplest living cell. What he did was to demonstrate that this was a natural process heading in that direction, and he was thereby able in principle to provide a convincing materialist answer to the question of how living matter evolved from non-living matter.

### Darwin

That brings us to Darwin. Where did the immense diversity of life forms—plants, mammals, insects, fish, birds, bacteria—come from?

Darwin wasn't the first to suggest that the various species evolved from earlier species. The problem was that while many people suspected this to be true, they were unable to explain *how* such a process might have happened.

That was Darwin's contribution. He put evolution on a materialist foundation by showing that a natural process could explain the development of the various species. He called the process *natural selection*.

Take a single organism—a fish, for example. A female fish may lay millions of eggs. Only a handful will produce fish that survive to adulthood.

The survival or failure to survive of any individual fish is not inexplicable. Darwin noticed that in large populations, even of offspring of the same parents, there is a great deal of variation. The individual offspring differ in many ways. Some will be larger and some will be smaller, some will be faster and others will be slower, and so forth.

Some of these characteristics may give some of these organisms a survival advantage over their brothers and sisters. Their particular blend of characteristics helps them to adapt to their environment better. By virtue of the fact that they survive to adulthood, these individuals are the ones that reproduce and have more offspring, so those characteristics that favor survival tend to be passed on to subsequent generations in greater and greater proportions.

This leads, over many generations, to large changes in the average characteristics of the population as a whole, so new generations can be very different from their ancestors.

This process can work in more than one direction at once, producing a *divergence*, where a parent species produces two or more groups of offspring, many generations removed, that have become so different from each other that they can no longer interbreed. Then, by definition, they have become different species. This is most likely to happen when two groups belonging to the same species become geographically separated.

The evolution of species by natural selection, then, is a process of relatively small changes<sup>8</sup> accumulating to produce a decisive qualitative change. Leon Trotsky called this discovery by Darwin "the highest triumph of the dialectic in the whole field of organic matter."

Darwin's theory is one that, like Oparin's, contained an enduring central core of truth, giving a correct answer to a major question while leaving many, many subsidiary related questions unanswered.

For example, Darwin knew that individuals within a species could transmit to their offspring those characteristics that made them different. Although he knew this for a fact, he admitted that he had no idea *how* it happened. "The laws governing inheritance," he wrote, "are quite unknown."

That is no longer the case. The laws governing

inheritance are now very well known. The study of those laws has become a field of science unto itself: the field of genetics.

Genetics as a scientific discipline has grown very fast in the twentieth century. It has passed beyond the passive stage of observation and prediction to the active stage of foresight and manipulation. The phrase "genetic engineering" is a common one, which acknowledges that genetics has entered the realm of *practical activity* on the part of human beings.<sup>9</sup> That, said Frederick Engels, is the ultimate test of the truth of a theory—when it can be translated into practical activity that produces prescribed results. That is the basis of dialectical materialism's theory of knowledge.

Whether genetic engineering *should* be carried on is a controversial question. Nevertheless, the reality of gene-splicing, or recombinant DNA technology, serves to *prove* the truth of genetic theory, which is inseparable from Darwin's theory of the evolution of species.

One author describes the general importance of Darwin's theory like this: "The modern theory of evolution is the basis of biological science. It is an idea that unifies and directs work in all sorts of specialized fields, from medicine to geology."<sup>10</sup>

What this means is that the question of the evolution of species cannot be isolated from the whole complex of modern knowledge, as the creationists try to do. Darwin's theory is a foundation upon which many fields of science and technology are based. Darwin can't be repudiated without throwing out the tangible achievements of the biological sciences, including medical science, over the last hundred years.

But let us go back to Darwin's time and consider what kind of evidence was then available that led him to his revolutionary conclusions.

### Selective Breeding

For one thing, there was the common practice of selective breeding. People would breed pigeons, and roses, and dogs, and all kinds of vegetables, and through this practical activity they had clearly shown that a species could be made to change in dramatic ways.

One could start with a couple of litters of average-size dogs, breed the smaller ones together and the larger ones together, keep doing this for many generations, and eventually get something like St. Bernards from one group and chihuahuas from the other.

Although Darwin wasn't able to cite any examples of selective breeding that had resulted in the development of an entirely distinct species (chihuahuas and St. Bernards are both of the same species), this has since become commonplace. The species of wheat in most of the bread we eat were developed in laboratories. Again, practical activity of this sort provides the strongest proof of the validity of evolutionary theory.

Darwin was also unable to document any directly observed process of natural selection, because by definition it is a process that operates over long stretches of time. But enough time *has* passed by now, and many examples of natural selection have been observed, both in nature and in laboratory experiments.

Three fields of study that provided Darwin with evidence for evolution were homology, paleontology, and embryology. First: homology—the study of the similarities among various species.

### Similarities Between Species

Elephants and tigers, for example, are quite different animals, but they do have a lot in common, and those things these animals have in common—such as skeletons, hearts, blood, two eyes, two ears (the list is virtually endless)—are called homologous structures.

"It is notorious," Darwin wrote in *The Descent of Man*, "that man is constructed on the same general type or model as other mammals. All the bones of his skeleton can be compared with corresponding bones in a monkey, bat, or seal. So it is with his muscles, nerves, blood vessels, and internal viscera. The brain, the most important of all organs, follows the same law."

By way of analogy, consider the differences and similarities of certain languages. Though Spanish and English are different languages, they have many, many root words in common—cognates—such as "revolution" and "revolución." On the other hand, there are languages that have virtually no cognates with English—Chinese, for example.

How can these facts be accounted for? If someone were to assert that the Spanish and English languages originated and developed completely separately, and the many cognates they share are merely a huge coincidence, they would not be taken seriously. On the other hand, the absence of cognates between English and Chinese is evidence of separate origins and development.

The same sort of reasoning applies to homologous structures in different species, but with this exception: there is no species on earth that is not linked together with all others by homologous structures. A study of these similar structures shows that while the many species differ from each other, taken all together they exhibit progressions of interconnected changes, all the way from single-celled organisms to elephants or giant redwood trees.

### Similar Blood Types

Blood types provide an example of homologous structures. Although all of us homo sapiens are members of the same species, we can be classified into four very clearcut variants by our blood. Your blood type is either A, B, AB, or O. There are no intermediate types.

The human blood groups are also found in chimpanzees. "Hence comes the paradoxical fact," writes J. B. S. Haldane, "that it may be no more dangerous to have a transfusion of blood from a chimpanzee than from your own brother. . . ."<sup>11</sup>

If chimpanzees originated entirely separately from humans, how in the world could it be explained that both species have such similar blood?

This is just one of millions of similar facts that can be explained by the simple proposition that all species are related by ancestry. This generalization is central to one kind of practical activity that is very familiar and important to all of us: medical research. If animals and humans were not made up of homologous organs and tissues, medical experimentation on animals would not be of much value to us.

Returning to the analogy with languages: some languages, such as Chinese and English, show no similar word origins, so they show no evidence of having had any kinship in the past. If it were true that species were created, or arose, separately and independently of each other, would it not be expected that at least one species could be found, somewhere in the world, that would be completely unique?

In fact, of the millions of species on this planet there is not a single one that is completely unique; that has no homologous features in common with other species. The implication, of course, is inescapable: No species gives any indication of having been created or having arisen separately from all the rest.

Furthermore—and this is one of the critically important things that have been learned since Darwin's time—*every* species has some very important homologous features in common with *every other* species.

What, you might wonder, does a human being have in common with sponges, or bacteria? For one thing, every living thing is made up of cells, and those cells have a great deal of similarity. The most important homologous feature has to do with the genetic mechanism itself—the equipment through which we reproduce and transmit our hereditary material to our offspring. The basic material that contains the genetic code for every species is essentially the same: it is the very complicated molecule called deoxyribonucleic acid, or DNA for short.

This fact ties the entire world of living organisms together. There is not a single species whose origin cannot be explained as a result of a variation of its genetic code; of its DNA. No species shows any reason to believe that it was "specially created" separately from all the rest.<sup>12</sup>

### Fossil Record

The comparison of homologous structures provides a strong logical case for accepting evolution, but it is not enough, because evolution includes a time factor. The evidence for the time factor comes from the existence of fossils—the remains of living organisms of all kinds, preserved mainly in rock, over thousands, and millions, and in some cases even billions of years. The study of fossils is called paleontology.

Among these fossils, many millions of extinct species have been identified, all the way from bacteria to dinosaurs. Again, as with living



species, no species among the fossils has ever been found that is entirely novel; that doesn't fit into the classification framework of living species.

The main value of the fossil record comes from the fact that fossils can often be dated. That is, it is possible to tell how long ago a fossil plant or animal lived because fossils are preserved in geologic layers—different layers of rock that formed at different periods in the geologic development of the earth. The oldest layers, of course, are the deepest. And the rocks themselves can be dated by the radioactivity techniques described previously.

One thing that was noticed a long time ago was that the fossils from the higher (younger) rock layers were more similar to modern forms of life than were those fossils from the deeper, older layers.

The fossil record, then, in general, shows an orderly progression: those organisms that are simplest in organization, like bacteria, appear before more highly organized things like worms, and these, in turn, appear before flowering plants or land vertebrates. So the fossil record demonstrates a progression through time, which can be defined in terms of the development of homologous features.

Another type of evidence that the fossil record provides is that in several animal and plant groups enough fossils are known to bridge the gaps between existing species. For example, the

gap between horses and rhinoceroses is filled by an extensive series of fossils.

#### Microfossils

Since Darwin's time, a whole new world of fossil evidence has opened up in the collection and analysis of microfossils. The oldest fossils that have ever been found are, as would be expected, very primitive single-cell organisms.

One of the surprises in the fossil record is the speed with which life developed on earth. Rocks containing microfossils have been found dating back 3.7 billion years. That indicates that life appeared on earth very quickly after the planet cooled off enough for solid rocks to form—during the first billion years of the existence of the solar system.

The first organisms were apparently single-cell creatures very similar to species of blue-green algae that still exist today. These cells were more primitive than the cells that make up our bodies and almost all living things today; they were cells without nuclei. Most living cells today (but not all) are of the more advanced kind that have nuclei.

The second big surprise in the fossil record is that after getting off to such a fast start, the development of life on earth slowed down to almost a standstill for the next two or three billion years. Apparently blue-green algae and some primitive bacteria were everywhere, but that was about all.

Then, about 570 million years ago—fairly

recently in geological terms—something happened and all of a sudden new life forms began developing like crazy. Within the very short span of a few million years most of the major phyla of invertebrate animals came into being.

This event is known as the "Cambrian explosion." Compared to that revolutionary turning point, everything else that has happened since in biological evolution has been relatively minor.

What accounts for this unequal rate of development? One reason life seems not to have evolved very much during its first three billion years is that the reproduction process was asexual. When the blue-green algae produced offspring, the offspring were just clones of single, sexless parent cells. In other words, all of these organisms were virtually identical to each other genetically. Evolution by natural selection requires diversity among organisms, but the blue-green algae were almost all alike so there was very little basis for selection.

But eventually these primitive cells did evolve into cells with nuclei, which enabled them to combine and divide sexually.

The beginning of sexual reproduction ushered in new opportunities. Two cells then could combine their genetic material to form offspring that wouldn't be genetically identical to either one. Thus the offspring would carry genes from both parents, shuffle them up, and deal out a new combination to its offspring. The advent of sexual reproduction led to an upsurge of diversity among organisms and natural selection could take over from there.

#### Embryology

Another field of study that provides evidence for evolution is embryology—the study of embryos, or the early stages of individual development.

First of all, the creationists say that it is ridiculous to suppose that organisms as complex as human beings could have evolved from simple single-cell organisms.

But if it is remembered that every human being has, as an individual, developed from a single cell in just a few months time, it certainly doesn't seem ridiculous at all that our species could have followed a somewhat similar path of development, especially given hundreds of millions of years.

Furthermore, our development between the single-cell stage and the time we're born is a very strange process. At one point when you were a fetus in your mother's womb you had a hairy coat and a tail. You also had *gills*, just like a fish.

If you think you needed the gills to keep from drowning in the amniotic fluid, that is not the case. You got all the oxygen you needed from your mother through the umbilical cord. Your gills served no known function. The only explanation that seems to make sense is that the gills are a vestige in the human species from a much earlier stage of development.

These gills cause a real problem for the creationists, because their position is based on the idea that organisms were consciously designed by a supreme intelligence, and that these designs are perfect. But the gills in human fetuses are just one example among millions of design imperfections.

#### Extinction

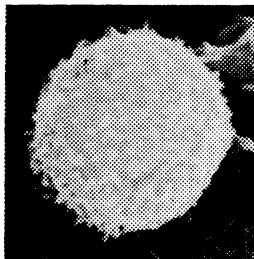
As for the idea that species were perfectly designed by a supreme intelligence, J.B.S. Haldane cites evidence from the fossil record that shows numerous occasions where related species have gone through very similar changes on their way to becoming extinct. From this he concludes that if these species were designed, then the "designer" is "not intelligent enough to learn from its own mistakes."<sup>13</sup>

In fact, the classical religious view had always been that since god created every species perfectly, it wouldn't make sense for him to have let any of them perish; therefore, there could be no such thing as an extinct species. The bones of dinosaurs and the fossils of literally millions of extinct species have laid that argument to rest. The creationists today have been forced to admit that there are many extinct species, but they say they must have been wiped out during the great flood. Noah just couldn't fit all of them on the ark. (And what about the aquatic species?)

#### The Monkey Lineage

The similarity of chimpanzee blood to human blood was noted earlier. Historically, the creationists have been especially touchy when it

**'The modern theory of evolution is the basis of biological science. It is an idea that unifies and directs work in all sorts of specialized fields, from medicine to geology.'**



Top right, magnified white blood cell. When stimulated by a virus, these cells produce substance called interferon to bolster body's defenses. Above, mass production of interferon in the laboratory through gene splicing—insertion of interferon gene into fast-reproducing *E. coli* bacteria. Although gene splicing is controversial, the fact that it can be done is powerful evidence for evolution.

comes to monkeys. Just as the right-to-lifers hold up their horror-pictures of fetuses, the creationists' bugaboo is that there might be an ape in their family tree.

The theological way of looking at things has always been that god created human beings and put us at the center of the universe, and everything else was created for our benefit.

The whole history of science, especially since Copernicus, has been cruelly damaging to that outlook. The biggest blow of all came when Darwin's theory suggested that humans, far from being unique, had a lot in common with apes, including ancestry.

Today there are powerful new techniques for investigating evolutionary relationships that were not available to Darwin. One method is based on a comparison of genetic material taken from different species. This hereditary material contains the record of evolution, and the record has been found to be decipherable.

### Genetic Code

The genetic code contained in the DNA is a blueprint for constructing proteins, which are the basic raw materials of living things. Proteins are chains of amino acids. There are only about twenty different amino acids, but the sequence—the order in which they're linked together—is what makes each protein different.

Methods have been developed for analyzing proteins and finding out what sequence of amino acids makes them up. So it is possible to take homologous tissues from different kinds of animals, analyze them, and learn from that how different their basic genetic material is. This is an indication of how close or far apart these particular animals are to each other on the big "family tree" of evolution.

Studies of this sort comparing various primate species show that chimpanzees are much closer to humans than they are to orangutans. One author states: "In genetic terms, we are hardly more distinct from chimpanzees than are *subspecies* in other groups of animals. This conclusion is something of a shock to our views on the uniqueness of man. . . ."<sup>14</sup>

Human and chimpanzee have been shown to be "as close as sheep and goat [and] more closely related than horse and donkey, cape buffalo and water buffalo, cat and lion, or dog and fox. . . . Most notably this identification did not rest on opinion or interpretation. It was based instead on measureable, countable differences."<sup>15</sup>

According to an article in the *New York Times* (July 8, 1980), new studies have shown that "nearly 99 percent of the DNA in humans matches that of chimpanzees. . . ."

Although the creationists' "scientific" arguments concerning humans and apes can be easily disposed of, there is another important aspect that must be considered. That is, the emotional appeal based on the false claim that evolutionary thinking recognizes "no difference" between apes and humans.

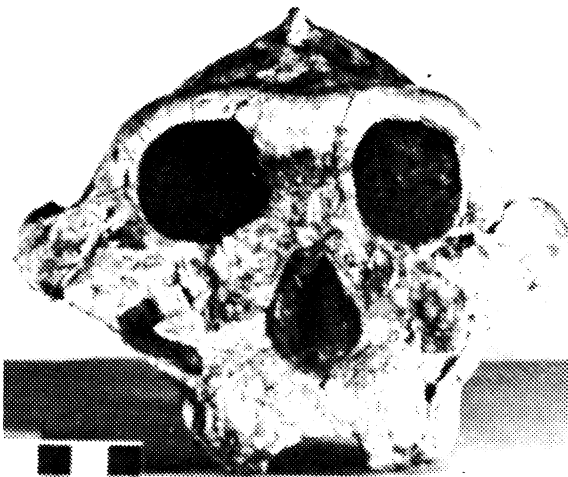
To understand the animal origins of humankind is not to deny its uniqueness. Although humans were not "specially created," there certainly are qualitative differences that set us apart from the rest of the animal world. The

challenge to evolutionary theory is to explain how those differences came about.

In *Origin of Species* Darwin only hinted, very cautiously, that humans had descended from apes. In his later *Descent of Man*, however, he argued forcefully for the hypothesis that our closest ancestors were African apes, such as chimpanzees.

This was controversial even among scientists who accepted the general evolutionary outlook. Some believed that humans stemmed from tarsiers or some other primitive mammal. These

### 'The alternative to thinking in evolutionary terms is not to think at all.'



Fossil skull of prehistoric humanoid (*Australopithecus*), one of transitional creatures between apes and us.

arguments persisted for a hundred years until the new discoveries in molecular biology settled the question and proved Darwin indisputably correct.

But the question remains: *how* did the human race arise from the African apes?

It was almost universally assumed that the key factor was the development of the brain. The size of an ape's brain (by volume) ranges from 400 to 600 cubic centimeters; the human brain is 1,200 to 1,500 cc.

Since intelligence is the main factor dividing apes from humans, it seemed reasonable to assume that if a fossilized "missing link" were found, it would be essentially apelike, but with a larger brain.

In particular, it was assumed that the development of the brain occurred before the attainment of upright posture.

According to this view, intelligence came first, allowing early humanoid creatures to figure out that they would be better off walking on two legs rather than four so they could use their hands for better purposes.

The first "missing link" fossil to be discovered—"Java man," by Eugene Dubois in 1890—provided counterevidence to this view. Java man appeared to be a half-ape, half-human creature, but with the brain size of an ape.

This discovery outraged scientific opinion of the time. "The uproar of dissent was so great that Dubois withdrew his Java finds from scientific exhibition and locked them away in a museum strong box for nearly thirty years."<sup>16</sup>

The "brain-first" theory of human evolution

was dominant but not unanimous, even before the discovery of Java man. Paleontologist Stephen Jay Gould explains that "the nineteenth century produced a brilliant exposé from a source that will no doubt surprise most readers—Friedrich Engels. . . . In 1876, Engels wrote an essay entitled *The Part Played by Labor in the Transition from Ape to Man*."<sup>17</sup>

In that essay, Engels explained that the development of "erect posture in walking" was "the decisive step in the transition from ape to man" (his emphasis). Only then could the hands be free to begin using tools to reshape the environment to meet newly developing "human" needs. It was through this process—labor and its progressive development—that human intelligence arose and brain size increased.

Engels criticized the brain-first theory as an extension of the false idealist view of history; that is, that what humans *think* is more important to their development than their *material needs* and the labor they engage in to satisfy those needs.

Engels' position was confirmed with the discovery of the fossilized remains of *Australopithecus* in southern Africa in the 1920s. "The confirmation was complete beyond all scientific doubt. The African creatures being unearthed had brains no larger than those of the apes. They had walked and run like humans. The foot differed little from that of modern man, and the hand was halfway to human conformation. The australopithecines had been tool-users, toolmakers, and hunters for a period that had extended over at least 3 million years. . . ."<sup>18</sup>

### 'Nineteenth-century Theories'

Many professional scholars will call an idea a "nineteenth-century theory" if they want to belittle it and prejudice their audience against it. Anthropology professors use it against Morgan, philosophy professors use it against dialectical materialism, and economics professors use it against the labor theory of value.

All of these pioneering approaches, together with nineteenth-century Darwinism, are cut from the same cloth, and all are proving to be of continuing benefit to scientific understanding of the world we live in. While it would be a mistake to look backward to some golden era of science in the past, it is necessary to recognize that scientific knowledge often advances by using the approximations of the past as guideposts and building on their central cores of truth.

We learn from the work of Darwin, Marx and Engels, Oparin, Einstein, and their like that the real world exists, that it exists as matter in motion, that its laws are knowable, and that to know the laws of matter in motion is to be able to use them. That is our aim as scientists, as Marx said: not merely to interpret the world but to change it.

As revolutionary socialists, our primary concern is with the laws of motion as they operate on the level of human history and society. But our outlook must be broader than that; it must encompass, as Lenin said, "the whole inheritance of human knowledge."

And of all those eminent researchers of the nineteenth century who have left us such a rich heritage of knowledge, we are especially grateful to Charles Darwin for opening our way to an evolutionary, dialectical understanding of nature.

1. *The Life Science*, P.B. Medawar and J.S. Medawar, Harper & Row, 1977.

2. There are actually two distinct creation myths in the book of Genesis, and they are incompatible. The "six day" version (wherein animals are created before humans) appears first in the text, but was written 300 years later than the "Adam and Eve" version (in which humans are created before animals).

3. Darwin also considered the origin of human life in another book published twelve years later (1871), *The Descent of Man*.

4. See Steven Weinberg's *The First Three Minutes: A Modern View of the Origin of the Universe*, Bantam Books, 1979.

5. Bishop James Ussher, a seventeenth-century theologian, carefully analyzed the first five books of the bible and calculated that creation occurred on Thursday, May 6, 4004 B.C. at 8:00 a.m. (That would presumably be Greenwich Mean Time since the bishop lived in England.)

6. It is still in print in English in an edition by Dover Books, copyright 1953.

7. *Life: Origin and Evolution, Readings from Scientific American*, W.H. Freeman & Co., 1978.

8. The absolute size of the changes is a disputed question. Until recently, the consensus was that extremely small mutations add up very slowly to produce smooth, gradual changes in populations, and new species arise through the process of "population drift." A growing challenge to this view has developed, led by paleontologists Niles Eldridge and Stephen Jay Gould. Their model, called "punctuated equilibrium," holds that new species do not arise gradually but in sudden bursts of evolutionary activity.

9. "The most exciting advances in recombinant DNA technology have come during the past three years as molecular biologists . . . have harvested human genes and human gene products of great potential value to clinical medicine. These products include insulin, growth hormone, interferon, urokinase, and beta-endorphin." —*Science News*, August 30, 1980.

10. *Evolution*, Colin Patterson, Cornell University Press, 1978.

11. *Causes of Evolution*, J.B.S. Haldane, 1932.

12. DNA is only one of many, many homologous links between species at the molecular level. This account of a recently discovered substance provides a cogent example:

"Calmodulin is in every cell from the most primitive plant or animal to man," says Anthony R. Means of Baylor College of Medicine in Houston. . . .

"The similarity of calmodulin throughout the animal kingdom is clear in its amino acid sequence. The protein is a string of 148 amino acids—142 are exactly the same in rats, cows and the sea pansy, a marine coelenterate. . . . Means says, 'Calmodulin is as extremely highly conserved as any protein in evolution.'" —*Science News*, August 23, 1980.

13. Haldane, *op. cit.*

14. Patterson, *op. cit.* Italics added.

15. S.L. Washburn and Ruth Moore, *Ape Into Man: A Study of Human Evolution*, Little, Brown & Co., 1974.

16. Washburn and Moore, *op. cit.*

17. From *Natural History* magazine, reprinted in *Ever Since Darwin: Reflections in Natural History*, Stephen Jay Gould, Norton & Co., 1977. I highly recommend this excellent collection of essays as well as Gould's recently published *The Panda's Thumb*, Norton & Co., 1980.

18. Washburn and Moore, *op. cit.*



# BOOKS

## Working People in the French Revolution

By Paul Siegel

*Class Struggle in the First French Republic: Bourgeois and Bras Nus 1793-1795.* By Daniel Guerin. London, Pluto Press, 1977. 295 pp., \$6.60.

Daniel Guerin is the veteran French Marxist who wrote *Fascism and Big Business*, a penetrating analysis of the social roots of Italian and German fascism, and *Negroes on the March*, a study, written in the 1950s, of the development of the movement for equality among the American Black masses.

In *Class Struggle in the First French Republic* he turns to a decisive moment in the history of his native land, the revolution through which modern bourgeois France was born.

This work is of significance for those of all countries who are concerned with understanding the social revolution in our own time.

Guerin shows how the Girondins, the conservatives among the forces of the French Revolution, were supported by the bourgeoisie engaged in the production, trade, and export of consumer goods.

Its conflict with the more radical and plebeian Montagnards sharpened in the context of a counterrevolutionary war launched by Britain.

Hurt by the English blockade, the scarcity of labor as a result of the expansion of the army, wartime scarcities, and the priority given to war industry, the Girondin bourgeoisie tired of the war. It particularly opposed the concessions to the masses which its prosecution entailed.

The Montagnards, the radicals of the French Revolution, were supported by the bourgeoisie, which had acquired church and crown lands, was engaged in supplying the army, and gained immensely from the wartime inflation.

Its Jacobin leaders were in close contact with the masses, whom they manipulated at the cost of making them many concessions.

As one of them put it, referring to measures such as guaranteeing cheap bread to the Parisian masses, "It is absolutely essential to keep the poor alive if you want them to help you win the revolution."

The heterogeneous masses of the city poor, "cobblers, ragmen, porters and footmen," as they were scornfully described by a counterrevolutionist, were known as the sansculottes (the ragged "trouserless").

The *bras nus* (workers with "bare arms") were those among the sansculottes who performed hard physical labor—masons, iron workers, printers, and other needy artisans, who constituted an incipient proletariat. They also included workers in the armaments factories, the first representatives of a real proletariat.

Guerin analyzes the complex relationship between the Jacobins and the *bras nus* in which the Jacobins, while riding the restive populace, were driven by it to expropriate feudal property and to establish the republic and universal suffrage.

Such measures completed the bourgeois revolution, but the timid, temporizing bourgeoisie would not have carried them out on its own. In the words of a contemporary observer, "The bourgeoisie is naturally peaceloving, and anyway not sufficiently numerous for such large-scale operations."

Although Guerin does not draw the parallel, our own American revolution took a somewhat similar course. Sam Adam's "vulgar men," artisans and mechanics, drove the conflict with England forward despite the attempt of the New England merchants to come to terms. They understood that a revolution is not a tea-party—

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Gracchus Babeuf, communist predecessor of Marx, realized class struggle would not end until working people were victorious.

unless it is of the Boston Tea-party kind—and, like the French *bras nus*, gave an impetus to the bourgeois revolution that brought it to completion.

The same was true of the artisans and mechanics of the English bourgeois revolution of the seventeenth century. This seems to be a law of bourgeois revolution.

With the completion of the French revolution, the bourgeoisie turned against the *bras nus*. It had used the *bras nus* against the aristocrats: now it used bands of royalist youth armed with bludgeons against the *bras nus*.

This was Thermidor, the reaction that set in July 1794 when Robespierre's wing of the Jacobins was driven from power. At the end of it, the bourgeoisie emerged supreme as the ruling class of a stabilized society.

The masses who had made the French revolution suffered a crushing defeat, but some leaders began to draw the lessons of the defeat. Earlier they had begun to understand the illusory nature of the slogan of the revolution, "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity," for which they had fought and died.

In a protest against the growing wealth of the bourgeoisie, they had stated: "Liberty is a mere illusion when one class of men can allow the other to starve with impunity. Equality is a mere illusion when through their economic monopolies the rich hold the power of life and death over their fellow men. The republic is a mere illusion when counter-revolution is taking place day by day through the price of food, which three-quarters of the citizens cannot afford without suffering."

In the prisons of reaction, Babeuf, the socialist predecessor of Marx, and his associates among the Equals came to perceive more fully that democracy must be seen not abstractly but in relation to the inequality existing between social classes. They perceived, moreover, that the class struggle would not end until a victory of the oppressed classes would bring an end to class society. "The French revolution," stated the Manifesto of Equals prophetically, "is only the forerunner of another greater, more serious and impressive revolution, which will be the last."

## Hollywood Witch-hunt

By Lorraine Sockaci and Morris Starsky

*The Inquisition in Hollywood. Politics in the Film Community 1930-1960.* By Larry Ceplair and Steven Englund. Garden City, New York. Anchor/Doubleday, 1980. 536 pp., cloth \$17.50.

The Hollywood anti-Communist witch-hunt and blacklisting of film industry workers have

been the subject of many books and a few movies and plays. These works were generally sympathetic to the victims and informative to some extent. Until the publication of this book there was no well-documented history of the events in the late 1940s and early 1950s that places them in the context of pre-witch-hunt Hollywood politics, examining the role of the Communist Party in the screen guilds and the "progressive" organizations. It also focuses in on the attempts of the screen industry moguls and the U.S. government to stifle union militancy and political activism in the film industry.

The most politically interesting sections of the book are those dealing with the Communist Party in southern California, particularly the Hollywood "talent branches" in which the screen artists were concentrated. Much of the material in these chapters is based on interviews with Dorothy Healey, who was the Communist Party Los Angeles County chairperson for many years, and with some screen artists who were long-time CP members.

The authors provide us with a pretty accurate picture of the CP's slavish following of a twisting political line made in Moscow.

They criticize the CP for hailing the suppression of democratic rights when the Socialist Workers Party was attacked and its leaders jailed under the notorious Smith Act in the early 1940s.

The Communist Party was at its height in Hollywood from the outbreak of the Spanish Civil War in 1936 to the first wave of subpoenas from the House Committee on Un-American Activities (HUAC).

The authors trace the establishment, composition, activities, and evolution of several of the more important popular-front organizations.

These were not narrow paper organizations limited to CP members and close sympathizers. Nor were they "front groups" in HUAC's sense, that is, mere facades behind which the CP hid, exercising its control primarily through secret methods.

These organizations attracted nearly every politically active liberal in Hollywood, and these greatly outnumbered the CP members. Their liberal, pro-Roosevelt policies—and their advocacy of "collective security" arrangements with Stalin—were a genuine reflection of the composition and views of the "front" members as well as of the Communist Party.

As Phillip Dunne, a liberal active in many of these organizations, remarked:

"Melvyn Douglas and thousands of liberals like him travelled the same road as the Communists, not from choice, but because the Communists were hitchhiking on the liberal bandwagon. The Communists were the fellow travelers, not the liberals."

The authors show that when the interests of liberals and Stalinists diverged after World War II, the liberals simply pulled out, leaving the CP in control of empty shells. And many of them then signed up as part of the brutal witch-hunt against the CP.

The weakest part of the book is the analysis of the repression following World War II and the CP-liberal split that accompanied the cold war.

The authors attribute the decline of cold war anti-communism in the 1960s to the resurgence of the liberals and the election of John F. Kennedy as president. Not a word about the civil rights movement, the spread of the colonial revolution (notably the victory of the Cuban revolution), and the anti-Vietnam War movement.

This is a useful book, informative and enjoyable to read. The authors openly state their opposition to many Stalinist policies. They quote Trotskyist sources to show that opposition to these policies need not come from the right.

They criticize the way many CP members rationalized their submission to the Kremlin bureaucracy for so long. But they indicate respect for the commitment of the CP members.

More importantly, they defend the rights of Communists and others to express their views without government-sponsored harassment, intimidation, or blacklisting.

Morris Starsky and Lorraine Sockaci are members of the Socialist Workers Party. Starsky was the target of a witch-hunting drive by the Arizona Board of Regents while a teacher at Arizona State University.

# Law and Marxism

By Michael Smith  
and Eric Poulos

*Law and Marxism: A General Theory.* By Evgeny B. Pashukanis. Introduction and editorial notes by Chris Arthur. London, Ink Links Press, 1978. 195 pp., \$15.00.

Lithuanian lawyer Evgeny Pashukanis joined the Bolshevik party at the age of 21, in 1912, five years before the Russian revolution.

He wrote *Law and Marxism: A General Theory* (1924) in a period when society and the science of society recorded extraordinary advances and when a social scientist could peer into the forge where future social relations were being fashioned.

This pioneer book is still the most significant Marxist work on the law. It concerns what brings legal forms about and under what conditions they and the state that upholds them will wither away. Pashukanis doesn't simply criticize the internal workings of the law or its particular abuses but treats it in historical perspective.

The publication of this slim volume is a contribution to the process of recovering the heritage of Marxist thought. Its appearance, for the first time in English, with an excellent introduction by Chris Arthur, forms part of the current renaissance in Marxist thinking.

Following Marx, Pashukanis puts forward what subsequently became known as the commodity theory of the law. He maintained that the material premises of prevailing legal relations were discovered by Marx in *Capital*.

## BOOKS

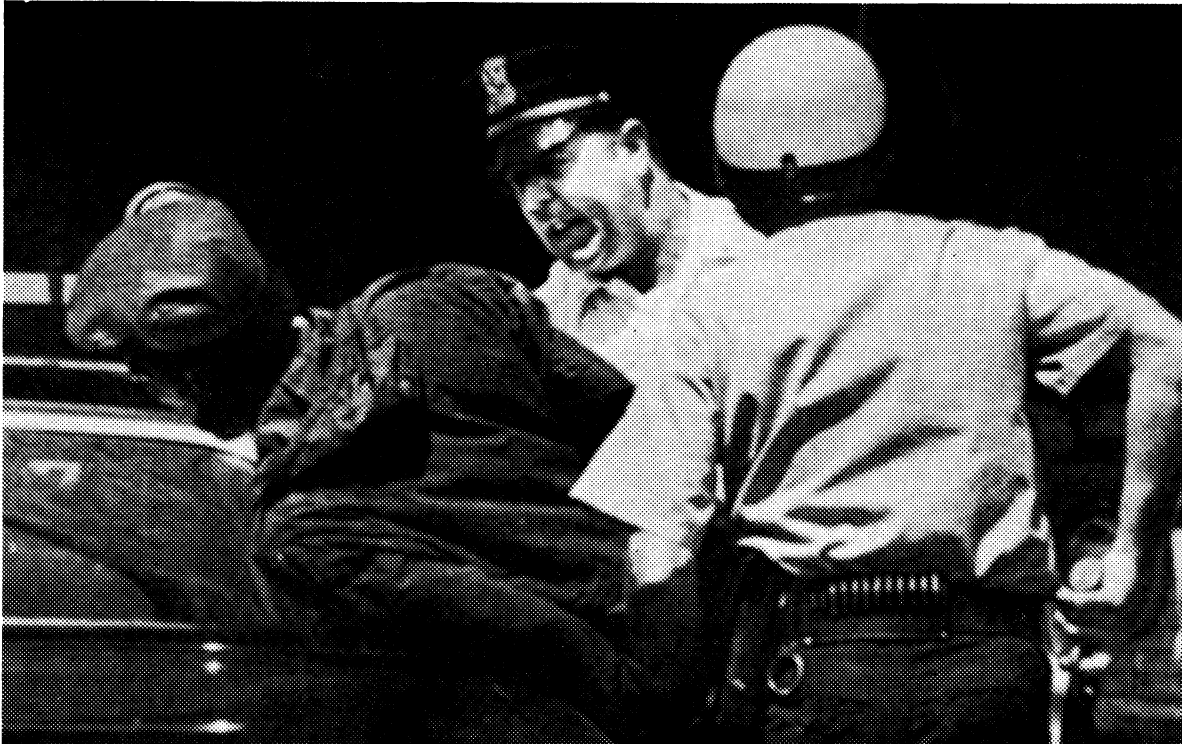
The legal system, swollen with codes, courts, law schools, law-making bodies, prisons, and publications, is based on transactions bound up with production of articles for exchange, money, and the rights of private property.

Individuals under capitalism's system of generalized commodity production became legal subjects having rights, especially contractual rights to buy and sell commodities, including the power of labor, which itself is a commodity. The buyer and the seller exchange equivalents, things which are equal in value. Law regulates this exchange and the state enforces the law.

An equal standard is applied. No allowance is made for natural inequality of individual talent. As Marx wrote, "A given amount of labour in one form is exchanged for an equal amount of labour in another form."

However, Marx concludes that bourgeois right, embedded in market relations, is superficial and formal. It is restricted and negated by the existing social and economic inequalities between the classes.

The ruling minority of the rich monopolize the means of production while the working people are dispossessed. In order to live they must sell their labor power to a boss at the prevailing wage rates. This transaction which conforms to the rules of the market and the legal code appears



Law under capitalism protects profits and property of the rich

fair to both sides.

But it really masks a relation of inequality because the worker produces more value in the process of production than he is paid for. That is the source of his exploitation. Bourgeois law justifies this unjust state of affairs.

Since commodity relations continue to persist in the societies transitional from capitalism to communism, Pashukanis maintained, as Marx did, that their laws would continue to reflect bourgeois norms, however mitigated, because of unavoidable inequalities.

He wrote that "... in the future the vestiges of equivalent exchange in the sphere of distribution, which will be retained even in a socialist organization of production (until the transition to developed communism), will compel socialist society to enclose itself within the 'narrow horizon of bourgeois law' for a time, as Marx himself foresaw."

The state and the law it upholds will become unnecessary only when there is such an abundance of goods that individual exchange of equivalents through the market becomes unnecessary. Legal institutions, as we know them, and the juridical element in social relations must gradually disappear as commodity relations die out.

The rule becomes: From each according to their ability, to each according to their need. There will be no need for law, and human relations will become regulated by custom, as they once were before the advent of class society.

The value of his book is that it helps to demolish the idealization and worship of "the law" and exposes the apologetic and obscurantist role this notion plays in upholding the status quo.

The frauds of formal equality of rights and the apparent neutrality of judges are pierced. As Anatole France once remarked, the law in all its majesty forbids all persons, whether rich or poor, from sleeping under bridges.

Law thus exposed, wrote Chris Arthur in his

introduction to *Law and Marxism*, "... helps to deprive it of the capacity to mystify the social relationships out of which it grew and to make possible a scientific politics."

The legal theorists of the Stalinist school are no help in this regard.

For the theoretical apologists of Stalinism, substituting proletarian political and judicial personnel is sufficient to change the class content of law. The role of continued inequality and privileges during the transition period is dismissed—and opposition to these privileges and inequality is placed under a ban.

Above all, the Marxist and Leninist idea that the state withers away as rising production under the rule of the workers eliminates the foundations of inequality is anathema to the Stalinists. The bureaucratic caste that rules the Soviet Union today fears such conceptions which undermine its claims to legitimacy.

They prefer theories which portray the swollen privileges of the Kremlin bureaucrats and the subordination of the workers to them as lasting right through communism—forever, in fact.

This theory is conservative. It accepts law as supra-historical; it regards transitional forms as stable social formations; and it neglects the whole question of the evolution of the Soviet state which as Trotsky remarked with reference to the Soviet Union in the 1930s "is strangling others, but gives no sign of withering."

*Law and Marxism* was originally published in the Soviet Union before the onslaught of Stalinist reformism to which even Pashukanis later bowed. In 1930 he published an article correcting his "errors"—it didn't save him.

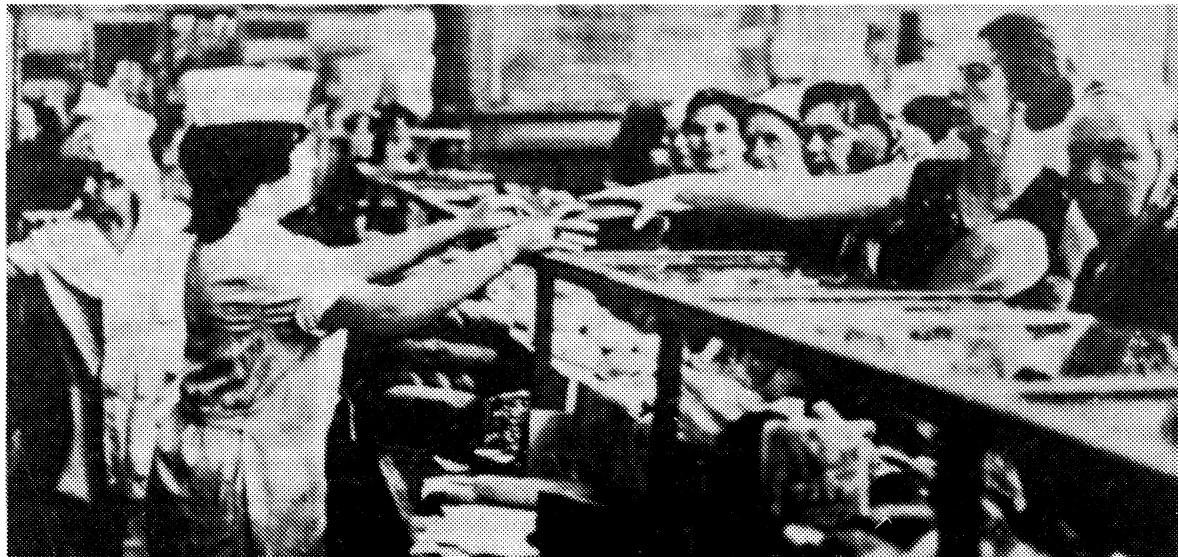
"Pashukanis," Trotsky wrote in a 1939 essay on "The Bonapartist Philosophy of the State," [was] removed and crushed for having repeated the ideas of Marx, Engels, and Lenin to the effect that socialism implies a gradual withering away of the state. This theory cannot possibly be accepted by the reigning Kremlin.

Acting as Stalin's mouthpiece, the infamous Andrei Vyshinsky, who was to condemn Lenin's comrades-in-arms to death in the Moscow purge trials, prosecuted the luckless Pashukanis.

This former Vice-commissar of Justice was designated a "wrecker," a "spy," a "traitor," the propounder of a "rotten theory," and finally a "Trotsky-Bukharin fascist agent." He was liquidated in 1937.

*Law and Marxism* was, and remains, suppressed in the Soviet Union.

It was eventually superseded by *The Law of the Soviet Union*, written by none other than Vyshinsky, who had been an opponent of the revolution until 1920 and a one-time lawyer for the oil magnates in the Caucasus. Vyshinsky's negative position on Pashukanis' work is still endorsed in the Soviet Union.



Buying bread in Moscow bakery. Scarcity is main cause of continuing inequality and bourgeois legal norms after capitalism has been overthrown. With the end of scarcity, the state and law will wither away. In Soviet Union, bureaucratic caste blocks advances in this direction in order to preserve its privileges.

Michael Smith and Eric Poulos practice law in New York and are members of the Legal Services Staff Association, District 65, United Auto Workers.



# Iron Range steelworkers meet on women's rights

By Kirsten Murati

DULUTH, Minn.—United Steelworkers District 33 held its first women's rights conference here November 1.

The seventy-five delegates who attended came from Lander, Wyoming; the upper peninsula of Michigan; and Duluth, the Twin Cities, and the Iron Range in Minnesota.

Guests included a number of women steelworkers from the Chicago-Gary area.

District 33 Director Linus Wampler opened the conference, saying he hoped it would be an annual event.

One of the best received speakers was Alice Peurala, president of Local 65 at U.S. Steel's South Works in Chicago. She is the first woman president of a basic steel local.

Peurala stressed that women organizing within the unions strengthens the unions. It is not divisive, as some have charged. She outlined the steel industry's delaying tactics on complying with federal pregnancy benefits and health and safety regulations. She encouraged women to get active in our unions, "get angry and make ourselves heard."

Peurala questioned the right of the

*Kirsten Murati is a millwright apprentice at U.S. Steel's Minntac Mine and a member of Steelworkers Local 1938.*

giant company to make decisions affecting our lives based on their profit needs. She posed the question of shut-downs and workers control. "Are workers capable of running an industry? Should high profits be the only reason a corporation continues to exist?"

Another speaker was Iron Range Local 1938 President Joe Samargia. He spoke of fights against discrimination at the giant U.S. Steel Minntac Mine on the Iron Range as "not so much what the union has done, but what women have done for themselves."

Another speaker was Sharon Stiller, one of the leaders of the strike against NIPSCO in northern Indiana, which is in its fifth month.

In a workshop "On the job and in the union," Marsha Zakowski of the international union's civil rights department discussed affirmative action, child care, the pregnancy benefits law, and sexual harassment, which she termed the "number one issue of working women."

The women steelworkers left eager to take their enthusiasm back to other women steelworkers and their local unions. A male delegate to the conference from Local 1938 reported back to the union meeting that he has a new understanding of the need for the union to back up women members.

As Sharon Stiller said, "I was born a woman, but I chose to be a unionist . . . and I'm damn proud I did."

# Hershey picket run down

By Noel Green

HERSHEY, Pa.—A striking chocolate worker was run over by a garbage truck while picketing the H.B. Reese Candy Company on November 10.

The injured striker, Jerry Yeagley, is in serious condition with a fractured skull.

Yeagley was one of four "legal" pickets from Chocolate Workers Local 464, on strike for a new contract since November 1 against Hershey Chocolate Company.

Reese, a Hershey Foods subsidiary is a non-union plant which Local 464 has tried to organize for fourteen years.

The company has repeatedly bribed its 900 workers to keep out the union by guaranteeing them pay and conditions comparable to whatever Local

464 gains.

On November 11 a solidarity rally sponsored by the Harrisburg Central Labor Council was held outside the Reese's plant to protest management's tactics and the attack on Yeagley. When more than 400 unionists turned out, riot police from a dozen areas were called in.

Following the rally, Hershey Foods obtained an injunction depriving the union of the democratic right to hold demonstrations near the Reese's plant. The corporation is also trying to have the Taft-Hartley Act invoked to remove the four pickets.

Yet the spirit in the union is firm as shown by Jerry Yeagley's message from his hospital bed, urging his brothers and sisters to fight on.

# Vt. rally for UAW strike

By Jon Flanders and Bruce Boyle

RANDOLPH, Vt.—Seventy-five cheering, singing demonstrators gathered in front of the Waterbury Plastics Company plant here November 8 to support United Auto Workers Local 2133's six-month fight for union recognition.

The rally reflected the growing support from labor and community groups in Vermont for Local 2133.

Speakers at the rally included Carla Thomas, president of the Central Vermont Labor Council, and Robert Kingsley, president of Printing and Graphics Communications Union Lo-

cal 303.

IPGCU members are facing the same union-busting tactics in their month-long strike against the *Rutland Herald*, the state's second largest newspaper.

"We are here to show our support for your struggle," Kingsley said at the rally, "and to show these multi-national corporations that they are not going to deny working people in Vermont the right to organize unions and make a decent living."

On November 5 a strike support committee was formed in Burlington to organize more solidarity actions across northern Vermont.



Strike supporters rally November 8

Militant/Jon Flanders

# Arizona Farm Workers win a recognition fight



Farm workers begin march from El Mirage, Arizona.

Militant/Andy Rose

By Ellie García

PHOENIX—Undocumented citrus strikers marched for and won union recognition here October 24.

About 120 farm workers marched from El Mirage to Mesa demanding recognition of the Arizona Farm Workers Union (AFW) and protesting the government-sanctioned hiring of Mexican workers as strikebreakers by the Mesa Citrus Growers Association.

The AFW struck the association last June for union recognition but was unable to force the growers to negotiate then because it was the end of the season.

When the strikers returned in October, the beginning of the season, they found workers had been brought in from Mexico under the federal H-2 regulation—even though H-2 supposedly does not allow importing workers to break a strike.

The demonstrators had planned to march forty miles but the growers agreed to the workers' demands halfway through the march.

Although most of the strikers are undocumented Mexican workers, the despised *migra* (Immigration Service) agents never showed up. Faced with the workers' unity, they evidently feared the negative publicity that could result.

Lupe Sánchez, director of the Arizona Farm Workers Union, said the Mesa Citrus Growers Association had agreed to four points:

- access to all campsites and work-sites by union organizers;
- recognition of cards signed by the workers authorizing the AFW to represent them;
- negotiations;
- a pledge by the growers not to invoke interference by the Arizona

Employment Board or the Arizona Employment Relations Act, which prohibits boycotts, strikes, or union organizing during the harvest. This law has been effective in practically eliminating farm worker organizing in this state.

The victorious struggle of the workers is recognized at home and abroad. Mexican President Lopez Portillo sent his congratulations to the AFW and stated his support to the continuing struggle.

Meanwhile, spirits are high among 250 undocumented citrus workers who have been on strike since October 2 at Fletcher's Farms here.

The workers, also AFW members, have been forced from their campsite to the roadside by court order. They have been deprived of their food, cooking utensils, and personal belongings still stored in the grove.

Issues forcing the strike are wages of ten dollars or less for an eight-hour day and inhuman conditions. Workers are compelled to live under the trees and drink and bathe in water contaminated by DBCP, a pesticide known to cause cancer and sterility.

AFW leader Lupe Sánchez said: "This is the beginning of a movement for civil rights and union representation for the seven to nine million undocumented workers in this country."

"The workers here know that they are leading the way for the others, and they tell me whether they win or lose the strike is not the issue, but that they are out in the open fighting."

The AFW urgently needs funds as well as blankets, shoes, clothing, and jackets for the strikers. Donations can be sent to Arizona Farm Workers Union, P.O. Box 819, El Mirage, Arizona 85335.

# Wisconsin CLUW holds first state conference

By Nancy Cole

MILWAUKEE—More than 200 women unionists from throughout the state met here October 31-November 1 for the first annual conference of the Wisconsin Coalition of Labor Union Women.

Until now, the only CLUW chapter in the state was in Milwaukee, and a majority of women here were not yet members of CLUW. Conference organizers cut short the last session so that women from seven different areas of the state could get together and make plans to set up CLUW chapters.

The conference consisted of a series of workshops, at which women discussed such problems as discriminatory layoffs, sexual harassment on the job, and the part unions can play in the fight for the Equal Rights Amendment and better child care.

A popular topic of the workshops was the union women's committee: how to establish one and what these

committees can do.

One woman explained a different kind of problem: that of a majority-woman factory with an open shop. The issue there was how to get women to first join and then become active in the union.

Much workshop discussion was devoted to this question of getting women, and men, more active in their unions. Outside speakers, newsletters, education on labor history, and membership committees were all suggested.

Others proposed that providing child care would go a long way in enabling more women to attend union meetings. And some pointed to how people do come when there is an issue they have a stake in.

Taking the chance to sum things up at the end of the last workshop, a CWA member declared, "I hope we all go back intent on doing something and not taking a back seat for anything or anybody."

# Sandinista youth confront capitalist provocations

By Lorraine Thiebaud

MANAGUA—The Nicaraguan Democratic Movement (MDN) has filed charges in the courts here against the July 19 Sandinista Youth (JS-19) for damages done to the MDN's headquarters on Sunday, November 9.

That the bourgeois forces would direct their fire against the Sandinista Youth came as no surprise.

After all, the participation of young people in the liberation war against Somoza was decisive to the victory.

## Provocations

Events on Friday, November 7, at the Colegio Franciscano, a Managua high school, prepared the way for the MDN's charges against the Sandinista Youth.

During a school assembly to commemorate the 1976 death of Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) founder Carlos Fonseca, several members of the MDN's youth affiliate climbed atop the school's water tower and unfurled an MDN flag.

A scuffle ensued, in which MDN youth reportedly trampled on an FSLN banner. Further trouble was prevented by the school principal.

Similar provocations by MDN youth reportedly took place at other high schools in Managua and León.

To protest these actions and the desecration of FSLN symbols, the July 19 Sandinista Youth organized a demonstration in front of the MDN's headquarters in Managua on Saturday



Perspective Mundial/Anibal Yáñez

Sandinista youth in front of a Sandinista Defense Committee office.

afternoon, November 8.

When demonstrators arrived with placards and banners, they found the building covered with a gigantic blue-and-white Nicaraguan flag with a black mourning band diagonally across it.

Later that day, two more demonstrations organized by the Sandinista Defense Committees took place at the

MDN headquarters. Members of the JS-19 and the Association of Nicaraguan Women (AMNLAE) formed human chains to prevent anyone from entering the building.

Various groups of anti-MDN demonstrators continued to gather throughout the night. On Sunday morning, November 9, an angry crowd did enter the MDN's offices. Some windows were

broken and papers burned.

On Monday, November 10, an editorial in *La Prensa* laid full blame for the vandalism on the JS-19. The MDN then filed charges against the organization.

## JS-19 respond

The Sandinista Youth responded quickly. Meetings were held in high schools throughout Managua, addressed by Sandinista leaders Carlos Carrión and Fernando Cardenal and by Commander of the Revolution Luis Carrión.

Ivette Fonseca, organizational secretary of the JS-19, denounced the MDN's attempts to blame her organization for the damage done to its headquarters.

Fernando Cardenal, speaking at the Colegio Manuel Olivares, asked if anyone had ever seen the MDN's flag flying over a street barricade or a high school during the war against Somoza.

"No!" the crowd shouted.

"And where were those youth during the war?" Cardenal asked.

"In the United States!"

Carlos Carrión said the MDN's charges were "a reactionary maneuver aimed at sabotaging the harvests of agricultural exports and the plans for reconstruction." If the MDN youth wanted to compete with the JS-19, Carrión said, they should do so by forming more brigades to pick coffee.

From Intercontinental Press

## ...Nicaragua

Continued from back page

this is an expression of confidence in the Sandinista Front and the government; that the people now feel free to express their discontent. Such liberty is a conquest guaranteed by the FSLN and the government."

At another meeting the same day,

Junta member Sergio Ramírez explained why the capitalist representatives had walked out of the Council of State. "We cannot delude ourselves about what is occurring at bottom," he said. "In Nicaragua now there is a dispute over power."

"On July 19 [1979] we saw the Somozaist National Guard fleeing, defeated, and other Somozaists who ran off with their millions. But there were others who were also defeated—those who couldn't impose their own interests."

## Who holds power?

Ramírez explained how the second defeat came about: "It was very important to them that the National Guard not be totally defeated, that part of the Somozaist Guard remain in place and help to establish their power—the power of the ones who are now seeking provocations."

The capitalist forces "do not hold power in Nicaragua," Ramírez said. "They forget—and it is a grave error—that here the power was conquered in a war that was very costly for the people."

"So the only way for this power of the people to be transferred would be to change the hands that hold the weapons that defend this popular power. . . ."

"What they want is to erase this revolution from the map. That is the most infantile dream they could have—because we are not in Jamaica, we are not in Chile in 1973 or Guatemala in 1954: We are in liberated Nicaragua."

All the rallies and meetings concluded with a call for taking the offensive against the efforts of the capitalists to undermine support for the FSLN and the revolution.

"This is an ideological struggle in which we must not ignore even a single argument of the bourgeoisie," Moisés Hassán said. "That is the only way we can explain and clarify things for those who may still be confused about the aims of these gentlemen."

## Unity

One of the complaints of the COSEP and the bourgeois parties is that the Sandinistas have violated their own call for "national unity."

Alfonso Robelo of the Nicaraguan Democratic Movement said November 12 that "it is necessary to understand that when the FSLN uses those words

[national unity] what it means is the subordination of all the forces of the country to their dictates."

Sergio Ramírez answered Robelo directly at the November 13 meeting. "Yes," he said, "we should declare proudly that the FSLN wants unity around its own interests. Why? Perhaps because the Sandinista leaders have used their positions to make money?"

"No!" the demonstrators responded. "Perhaps the Sandinista leaders have bought farms and factories, or have sent their money off to Miami?" "No!"

"Perhaps because we have used our power to enrich ourselves?"

"No!"

"Why not?" Ramírez asked. And the

crowd answered with him: "Because the Sandinista Front has no interests separate from those of the people themselves."

"Without the hegemony of the Sandinista Front one cannot speak of national unity in Nicaragua," Ramírez concluded.

That doesn't mean that the FSLN and the government are not prepared to hold discussions with the groups that walked out of the Council of State.

"The government is open to a dialogue," Sergio Ramírez said. "But so long as those gentlemen do not return to take their seats in the Council of State, there is no possible room for a dialogue."

From Intercontinental Press

## FMLN strengthened in El Salvador

The following information is from a November 10 news release from the Coordinating Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador in New York.

Five of the sixteen electrical union members arrested during an August strike were freed November 8. The other eleven remain in jail.

The prisoners include Héctor Bernabé Recinos, president of the National Union Federation of Salvadoran Workers, FENASTRAS. The labor federation has 50,000 members in thirty unions.

The Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN) announced November 3 that the Armed Forces of National Resistance (FARN) has joined the FMLN. This unites all the forces fighting the military junta in the country.

The revolutionary fighters are showing their increased strength in a number of ways.

On November 7 an FMLN commando team attacked the headquarters of the government's First Infantry Brigade in San Salvador.

The government troops suffered twenty casualties. The guerrilla fighters were armed with automatic weapons and artillery.

The city of Apope, ten kilometers from San Salvador, was temporarily taken over by a force of seventy-five guerrillas. The police headquarters was kept under siege for hours.

While this was happening, a radio station in San Salvador was occupied and an FMLN communiqué read over the air.

## Why Sandinistas banned capitalist rally

MANAGUA—The Nicaraguan Democratic Movement (MDN), the country's most important capitalist political party, had planned to stage a big rally Sunday, November 9, at Nandaime, a town about thirty miles south of here.

The reactionary daily *La Prensa* carried out a big publicity campaign for the rally, indicating that it was being planned as the start of a general political offensive by the bourgeoisie against the FSLN and the revolutionary government.

But the rally never took place. It was banned by the government under Decree No. 513, which was adopted in August and prohibits all electoral campaigning until 1984.

At a November 10 news conference, Interior Minister Tomás Borge and Defense Minister Humberto Ortega explained that more was involved than a simple political campaign.

They reported that Sandinista security forces had received information that counterrevolutionary attacks had been planned to coincide with the MDN rally.

Borge said that he had spoken with MDN leader Robelo several days earlier to inform him of the counterrevolutionary plan and to urge him not to go ahead with the

meeting in Nandaime.

Despite the efforts to persuade Robelo to suspend the rally, however, he and the MDN insisted that they would hold it. That was when the government decided to invoke Decree No. 513 and ban the rally.

At least one of the expected counterrevolutionary attacks did take place on November 9 in the village of Santa María, on the border with Honduras.

Santa María was attacked by between forty and fifty well-armed men. One member of the Sandinista People's Army was killed and at least one militia member seriously injured.

One of the counterrevolutionaries was also killed. He was wearing a uniform of the type used by Somoza's National Guard and by the Honduran army.

When a helicopter from the Sandinista air force arrived on the scene, the counterrevolutionaries fled toward the Honduran border.

Commander Ortega reported that the attack on Santa María was not an isolated incident. Almost every day during the past two months some incident has taken place, including frequent penetration by foreign aircraft of various kinds.

—Lars Palmgren



# Growing role of women in Grenada

By Colleen Levis

ST. GEORGE'S—Phyllis Coard is a central leader of the Grenada revolution. She has just been named secretary of women's affairs in the Ministry of Education, Youth, and Social Affairs. She is also national coordinator of the New Jewel Movement National Women's Organisation (NWO).

On September 23 I had a chance to talk to her at the Women's Desk of the Ministry of Education in St. George's, the capital of Grenada.

I started by asking Coard to describe the situation women faced under the regime of ousted dictator Eric Gairy.

"Basically it was extremely dread, as we say. There was a lot of sexual exploitation. Women were desperate for jobs. Some 69 percent of women between fifteen and thirty years old were unemployed," she told me.

Women were forced to sleep with government officials in order to get jobs. "With the revolution," she said, this deeply resented practice was "put a stop to completely and abruptly."

"Another problem that women faced was unequal pay for equal work."

Coard gave the example of women agricultural workers, who earned EC\$5.50 a day (one East Caribbean dollar is equivalent to US\$0.38), while men earned EC\$6.50.

One of the first measures of the People's Revolutionary Government was to introduce legislation outlawing this practice.

But, Coard explained, it takes more than laws to correct the situation. Particularly among agricultural workers, both men and women, there were different opinions about what constituted equal work. Were two jobs equal only if they involved the same amount of physical labor?

"For instance," Coard explained, "in the nutmeg pools, the cracking and peeling of nutmegs is done by women. This is not physically as exhausting because it doesn't involve lifting heavy weights. But it is extremely wearing on the eyes. And most women, after a period of two or three years, are forced to wear glasses. So in fact, I think they more than deserve the equal pay for equal work."

Through discussion these differences were cleared up, and many of those who were initially uncertain about what constituted equal work realized that the degree of physical exertion was not really an accurate criterion.

## National debate

"By the nature of our government," Coard said, "we do not impose on people laws which they do not wish. Our style of government is to raise this in a national debate, to talk with women and men about it, and so allow the people to put their point, and to gradually arrive at a common position before implementation."

The government is also taking measures to provide paid maternity leaves, to ensure that no women will be fired because they become pregnant, and to increase child-care facilities.

"These three problems are very closely linked," said Coard, because "women want to enter into social production."

The government also encouraged a debate on the maternity leave question. Because of some opposition, the initial draft of the maternity leave law did not include unmarried teachers and nurses.

"There's a high rate of illegitimacy in Grenada, and therefore this excluded a majority of women teachers. The position of our party and of our government is that all women should be treated equally. And all children also for that matter," Coard stated.

"We made it clear to the teachers' union and to the other trade unions and women's organizations that we wanted their views. And we were really very pleased, because the vast majority

wrote back to say they felt this would constitute discrimination against women and that they were not in favor

of this. So we've been very happy to change that in the final law."

Continued on next page

## Solidarity with Central America and the Caribbean



### Troops on Vieques threaten El Salvador

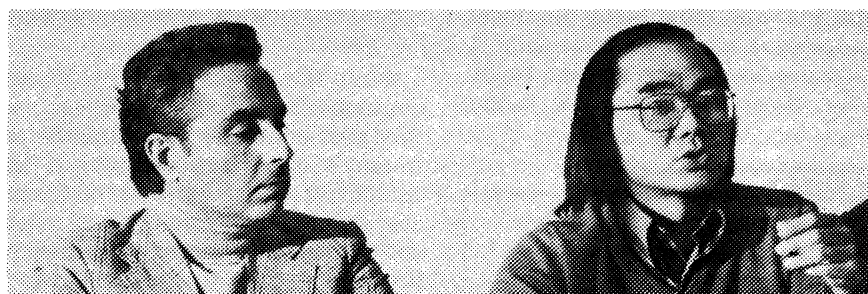
According to the November 9 weekly *Granma*, thousands of troops from Costa Rica, Columbia, and Venezuela are being trained on the Puerto Rican Island of Vieques to attack El Salvador. The training, called the Centauro Plan, was exposed by Roberto Cuéllar, a spokesman for the Legal Aid Fund of the Archbishop's office in San Salvador.

The New York Committee in Support of Vieques held an evening solidarity program November 14. The meeting commemorated the death a year ago of Vieques activist Angel Rodríguez Cristóbal. Sentenced to six months in jail for "trespassing on U.S. Navy territory" on Vieques, Cristóbal was found dead in a solitary confinement cell in Florida.

The New York Committee in Support of Vieques can be reached at 391 E. 149 Street, Room 216, Bronx, New York 10455. Telephone: (212) 292-1136.

### Cubans speak in U.S.

About 100 people attended a meeting in New York City November 13 to hear Eugenio Rodríguez Balari, head of the Cuban Institute for Consumer Research and Planning. Also speaking briefly at the meeting was Manuel Lee of the Cuban Institute for Friendship with the People. Both Balari



Balari, left, and Lee at New York meeting

and Lee have spoken in a number of cities throughout the country.

Balari's presentation explained some of the planning methods involved in consumer goods production, distribution, and pricing in Cuba. He explained some changes being put into practice in the economy involving small-scale private market relations such as farmers markets.

Balari assured the meeting, sponsored by the Center for Cuban Studies, that these changes do not represent a danger of capitalism developing. He explained a number of ways in which these private market operations can be used to improve state planning procedures.

The Center for Cuban Studies just published a supplement to *Cuba Update* with an edited transcript of a meeting between Balari and a group of visitors to Cuba from the University of New Mexico Latin American Studies Institute in June 1980. It is available for 25 cents from the Center, 220 E. 23rd Street, New York, New York 10010.

### El Salvador solidarity picket in Phoenix

Seth Galinsky from Phoenix wrote to report on a demonstration there November 8 which demanded political asylum for Salvadoran refugees and no U.S. aid to El Salvador.

The movie *El Salvador—Revolution or Death*, was shown November 13 at Columbia University in New York. More than 200 people saw it there.

This excellent film can be obtained from Unifilm, 419 Park Avenue South, New York, New York 10016. Telephone: (212) 686-9890.

### Grenada official Burke on U.S. tour

Grenada's Consul General for North America, Joseph Kanute Burke, is on a U.S. speaking tour. The meetings which have taken place and are planned involve a very broad list of sponsors representing the Black community, unions, and many other groups.

A two week tour in the San Francisco Bay Area will include numerous speaking engagements, television and newspaper interviews, and meetings with labor, religious, and Black community organizations.

Tour sponsors there include Congressman Ron Dellums, *Sun Reporter* publisher Dr. Carlton Goodlet, Berkeley Mayor Gus Newport, California Federation of Teachers President Raoul Tielhet, and NAACP Northern California Chairman Joseph Hall.

In the Bay Area, contact Gretchen Mackler, president of the Alameda Federation of Teachers, (415) 530-1031 or 530-1035.

—Stu Singer

Please send contributions on activities in your area to: Osborne Hart, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014.

IF YOU KNOW,  
TEACH,



Militant/Colleen Levis

PHYLLIS COARD

## New maternity law aids women

A law providing for paid maternity leave for women workers was officially adopted in Grenada in early October.

Originally drafted in April, it was circulated to women's groups, trade unions, community organizations, employers associations, and professional groups for discussion and suggestions.

"Many of their suggestions influenced greatly the final draft of the law," said Phyllis Coard, the secretary of women's affairs.

The law provides for three-months maternity leave for all regularly employed women workers, with two of the three months fully paid for those who have worked at least eighteen months for the same employer.

Women who are paid on a daily basis will receive about two-and-a-half months pay, since if they lose work earlier in the pregnancy because of illness they are not covered by the usual sick pay.

The employers are required to shoulder the maternity leave pay. For small businesses employing less than five people, the government will pick up half of the tab.

The maternity law also guarantees women the right to be reemployed by the same employer after the three months leave.

Employers found guilty of refusing women workers maternity leave or pay are liable to face a EC\$1,000 fine (US\$380) or six months in jail. Those found guilty of firing a woman worker because of pregnancy face a EC\$2,000 fine or one year in prison.

# British Labor Party head: 'No U.S. missiles'

By Suzanne Haig

Opposition to serving as a launching pad for U.S. nuclear missiles is mounting throughout Europe. Workers and students are fighting their governments' military buildup, which heightens the war danger and means further blows to their living standards.

On November 10 Michael Foot, who has been identified with the British Labor Party's left wing, was elected party leader. Foot is a vocal advocate of unilateral nuclear disarmament for Britain. He succeeded James Callaghan, who opposed unilateral disarmament.

Foot's election by the Parliamentary Labor Party was an attempt to pacify the party's growing left wing. The Labor members of Parliament feared that a more right-wing choice would have strengthened demands that election of the party leader be taken out of their exclusive control.

Foot opposes the idea of stationing American Cruise and Pershing missiles in Britain—part of a plan pres-

ented last December by the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). He has said that if he becomes prime minister, he would "send them back."

Foot's election came on the heels of a demonstration of 80,000 in London, demanding "No Cruise, No Trident, cut arms spending."

In Athens, nearly a half million people marched October 22 to protest the Greek government's decision to reenter NATO. Slogans included "Out of NATO forever" and "Out with the murderous U.S. bases."

In the past year tens of thousands have also demonstrated in the Netherlands, Belgium, France, and other countries against NATO's nuclear missile escalation plans.

At the same time, Washington is pressing these capitalist governments to shoulder more of the financial and political costs of defending imperialist interests against revolutionary upsurges around the world.

In 1978 the Carter administration got its NATO allies to agree that they

would all increase military spending by 3 percent *above the rate of inflation* each year through 1986. At tremendous cost to American workers in higher taxes and reduced social services, the Carter administration has done that and more—jacking up war spending from \$105 billion in fiscal 1978 to \$160 billion in fiscal 1981. Reagan has called for even higher military outlays, and the latest projection from the Carter White House is for an incredible \$200 billion in 1982.

Democrats and Republicans alike demand that their European capitalist allies kick in their share.

But working-class opposition to both war and austerity is so great that the West European governments are being forced to adjust their plans. A spreading economic recession, beginning in West Germany, adds to the European capitalists' reluctance to pour more money into arms.

These governments are caught in a bind. In worsening economic conditions, more military spending can be

achieved only with further cuts in social spending, which means risking even sharper confrontations with the working class.

As a result, Chancellor Helmut Schmidt has backed off the pledge to boost West Germany's military spending by 3 percent. Along with Belgium and the Netherlands, West Germany now says its increase may be less than 2 percent, and Denmark may not increase its military budget at all, according to the November 10 *New York Times*.

The *Times* added that in the White House there is "a growing inclination to have a showdown" with Schmidt over the issue.

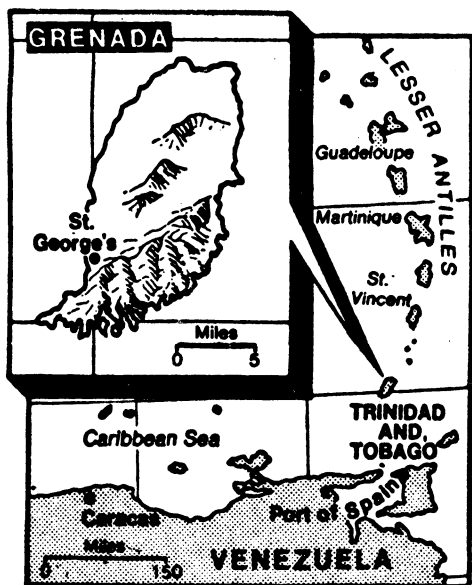
These developments should be closely followed by antiwar and anti-draft activists in this country. The growing opposition to military escalation among European workers and students represents a powerful addition on a world scale to the fight against the U.S. war drive.

## ... Grenada

Continued from preceding page

I mentioned to Coard that I had spoken to one young woman who wanted to be a plumber, and who was arguing with a group of men that women could do such jobs. I asked Coard whether this was something new.

"Yes," she replied. "I think it's all part of the national debate which has been stimulated about what women's role in society is. Women really are starting to think about being plumbers and carpenters and things like that. A furniture cooperative for making furniture for day-care centers is being started."



I asked Coard about the functions of the Women's Desk. She explained that the desk, set up in June 1979, was charged with looking at the laws that affect women to see which discriminated against women, and to make proposals to change them.

Another task "is to ensure that women take a full part in all the national programs."

A third task, she said, "is to try to forge a very broad unity among all the women's organizations in Grenada." She explained that there now were some twenty-three women's groups in the country.

While the NJM's National Women's Organisation is the largest, with thirty-six chapters, "we think the other women's organizations have a lot to contribute to the building of Grenada and we are shortly going to be meeting with them to discuss ways in which they would like to participate in the revolution."

### Defense of revolution

Coard also discussed the growing role of women in the revolution, particularly in its defense.

"On the first day of the revolution," she said, "the people who turned out to actually pick up guns to fight against the dictatorship were all men. There was only one woman in the [People's Revolutionary] Army before the revolution."

This situation changed after June 19 of this year.

On that day, counterrevolutionary terrorists planted a bomb at a rally, intending to wipe out the leadership of the revolution. Two young girls were killed when it went off, and a third died from her injuries a few weeks later.

"Following that incident, slightly over 50 percent of all the new militia volunteers were women," Coard said proudly.

She stressed the importance of the militia for the revolution. "Only through the people holding power, holding the weapons in their hands,

will we be able to maintain the people's power. Women in the militia will be receiving political education and military training, as well as skills where this is at all possible."

"We want to ensure that our militia is politically very conscious," she continued. "They must always know what they're fighting for, not just who they're fighting for—what are the programs and policies which will benefit the working people of Grenada. These are the programs and policies they must be prepared to defend with their lives."

From Intercontinental Press

## Socialist miners extend drive for subscriptions

By Nancy Rosenstock

A meeting of socialist coal miners took place in Pittsburgh November 8-9. A big part of their discussions centered on winning support for Marian Bustin. Bustin is a coal miner threatened with deportation because of her membership in the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance.

The miners decided that the best way to win support for Bustin as well as for the SWP and YSA lawsuit against the FBI and other government agencies was to win more new readers to the *Militant*.

The number of subscriptions sold to workers was seen as the best barometer of how well the miners are doing in gaining new support for the Bustin case.

The miners will also be selling the *Young Socialist*, the monthly newspaper of the Young Socialist Alliance. The current issue features a two-page article on Bustin. The miners will be urging young people to join Bustin at

the YSA National Convention in Indianapolis December 27-30.

In December SWP branches will be working with YSA chapters in selling the *YS* to build the convention. The Milwaukee branch and YSA have already set a goal of 300.

As we wrap up our fall subscription drive, attention should be paid to following up on the new subscribers to the *Militant* and *PM*. Detroit socialists are planning to arrange visits with interested subscribers to discuss the issues in the socialist papers.

The accompanying scoreboard shows results for the first nine weeks of the fall subscription drive. Nine areas have surpassed their goals. The Dallas branch leads in per capita sales with 9.3 subs per member.

The final scoreboard for the fall drive will be compiled December 2. All areas should send in their subscriptions to the Circulation Office by November 29.

## Subscription scoreboard

As of November 15, 1980

AREA	MILITANT GOAL	SUBS REC'D	PM GOAL	SUBS REC'D	TOTAL GOAL	TOTAL REC'D	%
*Piedmont	125	151	0	1	125	152	122
*Dallas	115	131	35	36	150	167	111
*Milwaukee	175	199	25	19	200	218	109
*Atlanta	140	159	10	2	150	161	107
*Phoenix	80	83	20	21	100	104	104
Birmingham	50	51	0	0	50	51	102
Toledo	60	61	0	0	60	61	102
*Kansas City	115	120	10	6	125	126	101
San Antonio	60	77	30	13	90	90	100
*Baltimore	135	129	5	9	140	138	99
*Detroit	205	206	15	12	220	218	99
*Gary	100	106	15	8	115	114	99
Twin Cities	190	191	10	7	200	198	99
Albuquerque	60	68	20	10	80	78	98
*Louisville	105	87	0	14	105	101	96
Denver	85	94	15	1	100	95	95
*Salt Lake City	135	132	15	11	150	143	95
Miami	75	77	15	8	90	85	94
New Orleans	90	90	10	3	100	93	93
Pittsburgh	165	156	10	6	175	162	93
Iron Range	90	77	0	5	90	82	91
Morgantown	100	91	0	0	100	91	91
*Tidewater	150	135	0	1	150	136	91
Newark	240	241	60	28	300	269	90
*Indianapolis	140	111	10	23	150	134	89
Manhattan	300	288	200	150	500	438	88
San Diego	70	74	30	14	100	88	88
Oakland	125	117	25	10	150	127	85
*Washington D.C.	110	116	45	15	155	131	85
Los Angeles	200	234	150	56	350	290	83
Portland	95	76	0	1	95	77	81
Philadelphia	115	100	35	18	150	118	79
*Capital District	90	70	10	7	100	77	77
Cleveland	100	90	30	9	130	99	76
Brooklyn	300	252	100	47	400	299	75
Seattle	210	158	15	4	225	162	72
Cincinnati	120	80	0	2	120	82	68
Chicago	300	172	50	33	350	205	59
St. Louis	120	67	0	2	120	69	58
Boston	180	102	20	4	200	106	53
San Jose	50	25	35	18	85	43	51
Houston	105	41	35	9	140	50	36
San Francisco	100	24	100	5	200	29	15
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>5675</b>	<b>5109</b>	<b>1210</b>	<b>648</b>	<b>6885</b>	<b>5757</b>	<b>84</b>
Miscellaneous		82		16	115	98	85
National Teams		466		9	1000	475	48
<b>GRAND TOTAL</b>	<b>5675</b>	<b>5657</b>	<b>1210</b>	<b>673</b>	<b>8000</b>	<b>6330</b>	<b>79</b>
<b>SHOULD BE</b>		<b>5108</b>		<b>1089</b>		<b>7200</b>	<b>90</b>

\* indicates area that has raised goal





**Prosperity around the corner**—Stanford Institute researchers predict that by 1985, unemployment will be 15 percent, with pockets as high as 35 percent, plus uncontrolled inflation. However, they see prosperous times in the middle of the 21st century.

**Relax carefully**—Returning to the problem of sex, the pope declared that spontaneity in sexual relations does not conflict with Christian morality. "Deep and mature spontaneity," he explained, "comes only with self-control."

**Clear crystal ball**—Various clairvoyants entered their predictions on who would win the presidential race. But not O'Fur, a New York star gazer. He insisted, "It doesn't matter which one wins—all the very same things will happen."

**Sounds sensible**—Members of the Lower Alloways Creek, New Jersey, volunteer fire department voted to ignore fire alarms at the Salem nuclear power plant there. They said they're not trained to handle such fires,

they're afraid of radioactivity, and besides, they don't trust the plant managers under emergency conditions.

**Consolation prizes?**—To help persuade people to vote, Broward County, Florida, business people put up such items as shoes, shrimp, free haircuts, etc., for a raffle to be based on lists of those who went to the polls.

**Could use a union**—Ex-Yippie Jerry Rubin, now on Wall Street, waxed indignant at a John Lennon

suggestion in *Newsweek* that all Rubin wanted was a nice cushy job. "I do not have 'a nice cushy job,'" Rubin responded. "I work hard as a venture banker . . . struggling through eighteen-hour days, working to help finance companies of the future."

**Things are tough all over**—The government is being urged to up the wage of federal judges from \$54,500 to \$95,000. This is needed, it is said, to counter the effect of inflation, as well as "bitter discontent" among the bench warmers.

## Women in Revolt

### Grim news for Chicago women

This week's column is by Kathy Mickells.

CHICAGO—Women's rights supporters in Illinois refused to stand quietly by last month while George Dunne, president of the Cook County Board of Commissioners, banned all abortions at Cook County Hospital, except those necessary to save the life of the woman.

And the fight is still going on.

On October 9, Dunne—referring to the hospital as an "abortion mill"—issued a decree to Cook County Hospital personnel banning all abortions there. This decree not only affected those seeking county funds for abortion, but also those who could pay for one.

Nor was the cut off of abortion funding limited to Cook County. On October 9, the Illinois Public Aid Department moved to enforce a 1977 Illinois law cutting off state funds for abortion even in the case of rape or incest.

Public Aid could get away with foisting this law on poor working-class women because of a provision of the federal appropriations bill signed by President Carter on October 2 allowing states to institute such laws.

Given the federal green light, both Illinois and

Cook County officials moved rapidly to deny women their right to abortion.

And the results?

Thirty-six young Black and Latina women were literally turned away at the doors of the Cook County Hospital Clinic. They were told they would have to seek abortions elsewhere and were given a list of private clinics that charge for the operation.

According to Jane Wilson of Planned Parenthood, 160 to 180 women scheduled for abortions in that week at County Hospital were sent away and told they would have to find \$250 to \$735 in the next weeks to be able to obtain an abortion.

In response to this, the Coalition to Save Abortions at Cook County Hospital was formed to fight to reverse the new law, and 200 abortion rights advocates expressed their outrage at the October 20 Cook County Board meeting.

A resolution passed by the Hospital Staff Association stated that "this action results in the denial of a medical service to our patients, who are in particular Black, Latino, poor and young women. . . . This action represents an attack on the basic principles of this hospital; it is a time when services should be expanded rather than decreased."

## Suzanne Haig



"America is supposed to be the home of the free and the brave," Dovey Thurman of the Illinois Welfare Rights Coalition told a cheering crowd at the board meeting, "but it's really the home of the rich."

Cook County Hospital has performed 3,500 abortions per year. This was a limit established by the board. There are anywhere from 20,000 to 23,000 poor women per year in this area who need an abortion. The existing clinics doubt they will be able to meet the demand that the closing of the Cook County Clinic will place on their already overburdened facilities.

Women will be forced to seek other means to acquire an abortion. Before the services were legalized and performed at County Hospital, sixty women were admitted daily for treatment of septic abortions. Doctors, nurses, Black and women's groups fear that this will again be the case.

Dr. Quentin Young of the Cook County Hospital Staff Association, has reported that the hospital has already seen its first two septic abortions since the restrictive law.

What is happening in Illinois is no different from the plight of women across the country, victims of the federal government's almost total restrictions on abortion funding.

## What's Going On

### ALABAMA BIRMINGHAM

**THE FIGHT AGAINST FBI AND GOVERNMENT HARASSMENT.** Speakers: Bernard Bray, chairperson, Civil Liberties Union of Alabama; Mohammed Oliver, plaintiff in Socialist Workers Party suit against the government; Jack Zylman, co-chair, Birmingham chapter, National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression; Deborah Gordon-Hellman, Safe Energy Alliance; representative of Young Socialist Alliance. Sat., Nov. 22, 7:30 p.m. 205 18th St. South. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Alabama Socialist Workers Campaign. For more information call (205) 323-3079.

### FLORIDA MIAMI

**HAITI: A HISTORY OF STRUGGLE.** Speaker: Rev. Gerard Jean-Juste, director of Haitian Refugee Center, Inc. Tues., Nov. 25, 7:30 p.m. 8171 NE Second Ave. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (305) 756-8358.

### MICHIGAN DETROIT

**GOVERNMENT SPYING EXPOSED: VICTORY AGAINST MICHIGAN RED SQUAD.** Speakers: Leonard Grossman, American Civil Liberties Union;

Janet Goldwasser, plaintiff in Red Squad suit; Richard Scott, Michigan Legal Services; Mo Gerry, Socialist Workers Party. Sun., Dec. 7, 7 p.m. 6404 Woodward Ave. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (313) 875-5322.

### MINNESOTA TWIN CITIES

**THE STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM IN GUATEMALA.** Speakers: Julio Quan, Fulbright scholar, visiting professor at Hamline University, professor of National University in Guatemala. Sun., Dec. 7, 4 p.m. 508 N. Snelling Ave., St. Paul. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Twin Cities Militant Forum. For more information call (612) 644-6325.

**SOCIALIST EDUCATIONAL WEEKEND.** Sat.-Sun., Dec. 13-14, 508 N. Snelling Ave., St. Paul. Sat., Dec. 13, 6 p.m. Social Hour. 7 p.m. Caribbean Feast. 8 p.m. Grenada slide show. 8:30 p.m. "How to Fight Reaganism." Speaker: representative of Socialist Workers Party.

Sun., Dec. 14, two talks by Peter Seidman, SWP National Committee member. 1 p.m. "The Iranian Revolution Today." 3 p.m. "Zionism vs. the Arab Revolution."

Donation: \$6, including Caribbean Feast. Ausp: Twin Cities Militant Forum. For more information call (613) 644-6325.

### OHIO CINCINNATI

**REVOLT AND REPRESSION IN EL SALVADOR.** Speakers: representatives from the Central American Task Force and recent slide show from El Salvador. Sun., Nov. 23, 7:30 p.m. 2531 Gilbert Ave. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (513) 751-2636.

**THE NESTLE BABY FORMULA SCANDAL: CORPORATE CRIME IN THE THIRD WORLD.** Speakers: representatives from the Infant Formula Action Coalition, organizers of Nestle's boycott. Film: "Into the Mouths of Babies." Sun., Dec. 7, 7:30 p.m. 2531 Gilbert. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (513) 751-2636.

**CLEVELAND**  
**A PANEL DISCUSSION ON SAFE ENERGY.** Speakers: George Chalmers, United Steelworkers Local 4333 and Socialist Workers Party; Joe Meissner, director, Community Development of Legal Aid and lawyer in rate-hike cases against utility companies; Amy Belvin, Young Socialist Alliance. Sun., Nov. 23, 7 p.m. 2230 Superior Ave. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (216) 579-9369.

**TOLEDO**  
**IRAN-IRAQ WAR.** Speaker: Jeff Stevenson, Socialist Workers Party. Sun., Nov. 23, 7 p.m. 2120 Dorr. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Bookstore. For more information call (419) 536-0383.

### OREGON PORTLAND

**REVOLUTIONARY CUBA.** Speakers: Lynne Welton, member of Young Socialist Alliance, recently returned from trip to Cuba. Sun., Nov. 23, 7:30 p.m. 711 NW Everett St. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (503) 222-7225.

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**A CONFERENCE IN SOLIDARITY WITH THE**

**REVOLUTIONS IN THE CARIBBEAN AND CENTRAL AMERICA.** Sat.-Sun., Dec. 6-7, University of Pennsylvania, Stiteler Hall, 37th and Locust. Sat., Dec. 6, 1 p.m. "Cuba: Its Revolutionary Role." Speakers: Richard Fawkes, Young Socialist Alliance. 3:30 p.m. "Nicaragua: The Challenge of Revolution." slide show prepared by members of the Coalition for a Free Nicaragua.

Sun., Dec. 7, 1 p.m. "Grenada and Jamaica: Which Way for the Caribbean Revolution?" Speaker: Ernest Harsch, staff writer for *Intercontinental Press*. 3:30 p.m. "El Salvador, Honduras, and Guatemala: The Growing Civil War." Speakers: Janet Melvin, spent two years teaching in Honduras, also member of Coalition for a Free Nicaragua; representative from Central America Working Group; José Acevedo, Young Socialist Alliance; slide show on "El Salvador: A Country in Crisis."

Donation: \$5 for entire conference; \$1.50 per session. Ausp: YSA. For more information call (215) 927-4747.


### TEXAS

#### SAN ANTONIO

**THE TRUTH ABOUT CUBA: AN EYEWITNESS REPORT.** Speaker: Laura Garza, participant in fact-finding tour of Cuba in November, member of Young Socialist Alliance National Committee. Sat., Dec. 6, 8 p.m. 406 N. Flores. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (512) 222-8398.

### WASHINGTON SEATTLE

**IS AMERICA MOVING TO THE RIGHT?** Differing views on the meaning of the 1980 elections. Speakers: Sharon McBride, Seattle National Organization for Women, worked on McDermott and Kennedy campaigns; Rev. Kenneth Blue, spokesperson for the Moral Majority; Elmer Dixon, director, Sydney Miller Free Clinics; Kwame Taha, chair of Inter American Studies Dept., Shoreline Community College; Dennis Richter, Socialist Workers Party; spokesperson for Citizens Party. Sun., Nov. 23, 7 p.m. 4868 Ranier Ave. South. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (206) 723-5330.



# MOVING?

Take the 'Militant' with you. To avoid missing a single issue, send us notice of your change of address right away. Be sure to include the address label off your copy.

# Our Revolutionary Heritage

## The Black Agenda



Gary convention, 1972

Militant/Thabo Ntweng

The National Black Agenda was the political document approved at the 1972 National Black Political Convention held in Gary, Indiana.

Eight thousand delegates and observers attended the convention, making it one of the most significant gatherings of Black people in many years.

Representatives of community organizations, student groups, as well as welfare-rights activists, union officials, and Democratic and Republican politicians attended.

The Agenda raised demands that reflected the sentiments and the political interests of masses of Black Americans. It challenged the policies of the twin parties of big business—the Democrats and Republicans.

The 1972 Black Political Convention did not adopt a course of action to implement the program of the Black Agenda.

But this document remains a significant contribution to the discussion of the meaning of independent political action. It is worth review by those interested in pursuing a course of independent Black and labor political action today.

Below are excerpts from "The Meaning of the Black Political Agenda," an article which summarized its contents, by Tony Thomas. It was published in the May 1972 issue of the *International Socialist Review*.

\* \* \*

The National Black Agenda passed at the March 10-12 National Black Political Convention held in Gary, Indiana, marks an important step toward codifying a program for the struggle for Black liberation.

The Agenda charts a Black nationalist course of self-reliance. It refers to Afro-Americans as a Black Nation and states: "... no one else is going to represent our interests but ourselves. *The society we seek cannot come unless Black people organize to advance its coming.*" (Emphasis in original.)

In the section entitled "The Direction" following the preamble, the Agenda states:

"The Black politics we need goes far beyond electoral politics and far beyond 1972. We need a permanent political movement that addresses itself to the basic control and reshaping of American institutions that currently exploit Black America and threaten the whole society. The unifying objective of this political movement must be the empowerment of the Black community, not simply its representatives. It must offer basic alternatives to all existing American political, economic and cultural systems." (Emphasis in original.)

The Black Political Agenda proposes Black control of the Black community and the institutions affecting it.

In the section on economics, the Agenda demands the establishment through federal funds of a "Black development agency . . . under Black leadership and control for the purpose of facilitating Black ownership and/or control of the full range of business and service enterprises

now serving ghetto communities, including public transportation and communication systems, day care and health centers, housing, educational and commercial and financial institutions."

On education, the Agenda demands: "The development of mechanisms for Black control of the schools where Black children are educated, moving beyond the sterile issue of 'busing' to the basic issue of the redistribution of educational wealth and control."

In addition the convention endorsed the right of Blacks to utilize busing programs for immediate educational gains.

The Agenda called for billions of dollars in reparations for the hundreds of years of exploitation Black people have faced. It added that "full economic development for us cannot take place without radical transformation of the economic system."

It demanded "free public transportation"; abolition of taxes on incomes under \$10,000 a year . . . and withdrawal by the U.S. government of "all corporations, military bases, communications facilities and other institutions which contribute to the dehumanization and or subjugation of African and Third World peoples."

These are the type of demands that reflect the problems and interests of the masses of Black people. Many of these demands have already been raised in struggles for community control, in struggles of Black workers, welfare activists, and students.

The Agenda proposes that the resources of this society be utilized to meet the educational, social, cultural, and economic needs of the Black community rather than the profits of "white capitalism."

As the Black Agenda states several times, these demands can only be gained by replacing the system. They run directly against the interests and desires of the big industrialists and financiers who control the Democratic and Republican parties. The Agenda reflects the growing hostility of Black people at the do-nothing politics of these parties:

"Both parties have betrayed us whenever their interests conflicted with ours (which was most of the time). . . ."

The problems for Black people, according to the Black Political Agenda, "will not be significantly affected by new faces in the old places in Washington, D.C." Instead, "To accept that challenge is to move to independent Black politics."

The Black Agenda, and the rise in Black political consciousness it signifies, gives signs of important opportunities for the entire Black struggle. While the words of the Agenda stop short of proclaiming the need for a Black political party and for a mass struggle for Black control of the Black community, the essence of the demands and the nationalist language of the Black Political Agenda are consistent with these two courses of action.

This can only help expose the bankruptcy of those who urge that the Black liberation struggle support the Democratic Party. More significantly, the prominence of the Black Agenda—passed by the most representative gathering of Black people in years—can give added confidence and legitimacy to those who fully support its demands.

## Letters

### Grasping at straws

As per your request for news clippings that report the Socialist Workers Party's votes, here is one for Allen County, Indiana.

You will see there were thirty-one votes!

Many young people in this area who were against the draft voted for the reactionary Libertarians, Anderson, or even Reagan—just because of that one issue, not knowing about the SWP.

I suppose that's comparable to the powerful one-issue right-wing reactionary groups such as anti-abortion, prayer in schools, etc., who swept this election.

I think it shows the people are grasping at straws for constructive change, although many seem to feel that going back to yesterday is the answer. But they just don't realize that the capitalist system is our common enemy, which cleverly pits us against each other.

It is time for mass education and revolution.

Let's get it at.

Michael Delez  
Fort Wayne, Indiana

### What about CP?

Please extend my sub one more year. My weekly paper is like a sorely needed fix. The quality of the paper, like our campaigns, continues to rise.

By the way, what kind of campaign has the CP

[Communist Party] run this year? It might be interesting to readers.

F.B.  
Chicago, Illinois

### Did workers vote?

Your newspaper is usually very good. It normally does a great job of providing a class analysis.

However, your editorial on the Reagan victory somehow missed the boat. Nowhere did you even mention that the majority of the working class did not bother to vote. They recognized the fall election as a complete fraud and stayed away from the polls. That our class did not vote is the missing key to interpreting the phony democratic election.

In failing to mention this fact you then imply that the working class somehow elected Reagan. This is incorrect. It was the affluent upper-middle class that elected Reagan.

If you had observed the truth about the election then everything is very clear. The Republican upswing can be understood as an attack on the working class. It is difficult to believe that the voters were not aware of Reagan's racism and reactionary views. Far from it, they were voting for such conservative ideas.

What the *Militant* seemed to have forgotten is that the proletarian majority, unaware of the Socialist Workers Party, has abandoned the elections

### Boeing settlement

I thought *Militant* readers might like to know the outcome of the three-year contract Boeing workers voted on in October. It set the pattern for the aerospace contracts discussed in the "Union Talk" column November 7.

According to union figures the contract signed by Boeing and the International Association of Machinists was ratified by 75 percent of the membership who voted. Over 20,000 of the IAM's 32,000 members out here turned out for the meeting where the contract was presented.

With such a plurality, one might think the contract was a big gain for aerospace workers, in line with the ambitious projections set by the IAM aerospace conference last spring.

That isn't the case.

The annual wage increases of 7 percent the first year and 3 percent each of the following two years are essentially the same as the wage increases granted under the 1977 contract. Over the life of that contract we lost at least 5 percent in real wages—despite COLA, which we have succeeded in maintaining intact in the new contract.

In return for the certainty of a further cut in real wages, rate progression schedules have been altered for new hires, extending considerably the length of time it takes them to reach maximum pay grades.

We got a modified union

shop. This was recognition of the fact that all new hires have been joining the union. It does not affect the hardcore non-union members who are in the shop.

If Boeing workers voted yes, it was not because many of us thought it was a good contract. In the days after the vote, it was hard to find someone who defended the contract in the heated discussions that were going on all over the plant.

Why then the vote?

Many people figured, what is the use of going out on strike if you will eventually go back to work on basically the same terms you were offered when you went out?

Workers had no confidence that the leadership was capable of a fight for real gains.

In the discussions I had at work, some people called the agreement a sell-out. The real problem, however, is that from square one the union leadership accepted the framework for negotiations laid down by Boeing: Times are tough, competition fierce, wages cause inflation, if you ask for too much you may not have a job next year, to get a raise you have to give up something else, etc.

If you accept all those arguments from the company, there is no way anyone could come up with a contract that maintains, much less improves, our standard of living.

John Votava  
Seattle, Washington



# Learning About Socialism

## Engels on Ireland and Labor Party

and left the process up to an increasingly conservative petty-bourgeoisie.

Ronald Sims  
Worthington, Ohio

### Antidraft

Last October 26 the Coalition for Consumer Justice (CCJ) voted to make antidraft work one of that organization's priority issues during the coming year.

The decision was made at CCJ's fourth annual convention, which was attended by over 1,000 people.

CCJ is the largest statewide multi-issue organization of community activists in Rhode Island. Since its founding, the group has fought utility rate increases, for increased social services for handicapped and retired people, for bilingual education, and against nuclear power and hazardous waste.

The fact that a group like this has joined the movement against registration and the draft is one more indication that sentiment against registration and against further U.S. military adventures abroad is widespread among the working class.

Annette D. Gagne  
Providence, Rhode Island

### Max Roach

I was very pleased to see the article on drummer Max Roach which appeared in your November 14 issue.

For those who would like to listen to the "Freedom Now Suite" which was referred to in the article, it has recently been reissued by Columbia Records on its Contemporary Masters Series, number JC 36390.

Walter Lippmann  
Los Angeles, California

### Correction

A typographical error in last week's review of Trotsky's *History of the Russian Revolution* gave an odd twist to his reference to the scientific laws of historical development. The quotation from Trotsky should have read as follows: "The serious and critical reader will not want a treacherous impartiality, which offers him a cup of conciliation with a well-settled poison of reactionary hate at the bottom, but a scientific conscientiousness, which for its sympathies and antipathies—open and undisguised—seeks support in an honest study of the facts, a determination of their real connections, an exposure to the causal laws of their movement."

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

The hunger strike of the Northern Ireland H-Block prisoners is having a big impact in Ireland, Britain, and the United States. The prisoners are desperately protesting inhuman treatment.

The torture and humiliation they are subjected to by the British government continues a centuries-old policy of repression.

Since the time of Marx and Engels, revolutionary socialists have been deeply involved in support for the Irish struggle.

In November 1872—108 years ago—Karl Marx, Fredrick Engels, and the other members of the International Working Men's Association helped organize a demonstration of 30,000 in London to demand a general amnesty for the Irish political prisoners of that time.

These were the prisoners from the 1867 Fenian Rebellion. That uprising for Irish independence failed, and 169 participants were brought to trial. Half were sentenced to hard labor.

The British elections of 1868 were won by the Liberal Party, headed by William Gladstone. Gladstone called for a radical change in policy toward Ireland and claimed to be a supporter of the Fenian prisoners before he became prime minister. The mistreatment of the prisoners in British jails was an international scandal.

But after the election Gladstone did nothing. A mass movement developed to demand amnesty for the prisoners.

This was before the establishment of the British Labor Party. Most workers still supported the capitalist Liberal Party.

The Irish struggle helped inspire the development of the Labor Party. In the British parliament elected in 1874, fifty representatives from Ireland blocked together to form what Engels described as a "well-knit Irish party." They called for "home rule" for Ireland.

Two workers, both coal miners, had also been elected. The effectiveness of the home rule supporters became an example for those fighting to win the British trade unions to support for a labor party.

In an article in a German paper in March 1874, Engels summed up the recent British election as follows:

"Thus both motive forces of English political development have now entered Parliament: on the one side the workers, on the other the Irish as a compact national party. And even if they may hardly be expected to play a big role in this Parliament—the workers will certainly not—the elections of 1874 have indisputably ushered in a new phase in English political development."

These developments turned out to be slower than Engels hoped in 1874. An economic depression temporarily dampened working-class militancy. But they did lead later to the founding of the Labor Party.

Engels wrote a report about how the November 3, 1872, demonstration to support the Irish political prisoners was built. Written for an Italian workers' newspaper, *La Plebe*, it is reprinted in *Ireland and the Irish Question: A Collection of Writings* by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels. The book is available from the offices listed below or from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, New York 10014. It costs

\$3.25. Enclose \$.75 for postage.

Below are excerpts.

—Stu Singer

\* \* \*

London, November 14, 1872

The *Liberal* English Government has at the moment no less than 42 Irish political prisoners in its prisons and treats them with quite exceptional cruelty, far worse than thieves and murderers.

The Irish members of the International in London decided to organize a *giant* demonstration in Hyde Park (the largest public park in London, where all the big popular meetings take place during political campaigns) to demand a general amnesty. They contacted all London's democratic organizations and formed a committee which included MacDonnell (an Irishman), Murray (an Englishman) and Lessner (a German)—all members of the last General Council of the International.

A difficulty arose: at the last session of Parliament the government passed a law which gave it the right to regulate public meetings in London's parks. It made use of this and had the regulation posted up to warn those who wanted to hold such a public meeting that they must give a written notification to the police two days prior to calling it, indicating the names of the speakers. This regulation carefully kept hidden from the London press destroyed with one stroke of the pen one of the most precious rights of London's working people—the right to hold meetings in parks when and how they please. To submit to this regulation would be to sacrifice one of the people's rights.

The Irish, who represent the most revolutionary element of the population, were not men to display such weakness. The committee unanimously decided to act as if it did not know of the existence of this regulation and to hold their meeting in defiance of the government's decree.

Last Sunday at about three o'clock in the afternoon two enormous processions with bands and banners marched towards Hyde Park. The bands played Irish songs and the *Marseillaise*; almost all the banners were Irish (green with a gold harp in the middle) or red. There were only a few police agents at the entrances to the park and the columns of demonstrators marched in without meeting with any resistance. They assembled at the appointed place and the speeches began.

The spectators numbered at least thirty thousand and at least half had a green ribbon or a green leaf in their buttonhole to show they were Irish; the rest were English, German and French.

This is the first time an Irish demonstration has been held in Hyde Park; it was very successful and even the London bourgeois press cannot deny this. It is also the first time the English and Irish sections of our population have united in friendship. These two elements of the working class, whose enmity towards each other was so much in the interest of the government and wealthy classes, are now offering one another the hand of friendship; this gratifying fact is due principally to the influence of the last General Council of the International, which has always directed all its efforts to unite the workers of both peoples on a basis of complete equality. This meeting, of the 3rd of November, will usher in a new era in the history of London's working-class movement.

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# THE MILITANT

## Terrorists kill five in Grenada, ousted dictator plots in U.S.

By Stu Singer

Five people were killed and one wounded November 17 in two separate terrorist attacks in the Black Caribbean island nation of Grenada.

The killings took place around 11 p.m. as thirty bullets were pumped into a car near the Pearl's airport.

Killed were Dennis Stanislaus, who was in charge of the People's Revolutionary Army detachment at the airport; his brother Donald, who had just returned from England; and three members of the militia. They were eighteen-year-old Steven Lasie, Andy Courtney, and Eban Charles.

The second attack was against a militia base. One militia member was wounded.

Joseph Kanute Burke, Grenadian consul general to North America, spoke to the *Militant* November 19

from Los Angeles. He is on a tour of a number of U.S. cities speaking at public meetings about the revolution in Grenada.

Burke said, "The forces behind this ambush are among those who support Eric Gairy [the ousted Grenadian dictator]."

"Gairy is sheltered by the U.S. government. His visa was just extended eight weeks ago. He lives in San Diego and is openly raising funds to recruit counterrevolutionaries to attack Grenada."

"He represents the same forces that support acts like the freeing of the Ku Klux Klan people who committed the dastardly action against our brothers."

Grenada's population of about 100,000 is Black and English-speaking. The repressive Gairy regime, which was subservient to Washington and London, was overthrown in March 1979 by revolutionaries of the New Jewel Movement.

The new People's Revolutionary Government has established close ties with Cuba. It has launched ambitious campaigns for literacy, women's rights, promoting trade unions and economic development.

This has met sharp opposition from the U.S. government and the capitalist news media. Foreign aid was refused and steps have been taken to discourage tourism, the biggest industry in Grenada.

On June 19 a bomb was set off at a political rally there. Although the target was Prime Minister Maurice Bishop and other government leaders, the three people killed were young women attending the rally. Other people were injured.

The results of the Jamaican and U.S. elections have further emboldened the enemies of Grenada.

The day after Reagan's election vic-



Militant/Sam Manuel

People's Revolutionary Army at demonstration in Grenada November 6.

tory, Prime Minister Tom Adams of the nearby island of Barbados launched a serious verbal attack against Grenada.

This was followed November 8 when Unison Whiteman, the Grenadian Minister of Agriculture, Fisheries, Land and Tourism, and his personal assistant Rudolph Hagley were physically intimidated and harassed while in transit at the Barbados airport.

According to a protest statement by the Grenadian Ministry of External

Affairs, this was only the latest in a series of such incidents.

Prime Minister Maurice Bishop responded in strong language to "Uncle Tom" Adams's charges: "Like an expectant dog barking for his supper [Adams] rushes in to please his new master Reagan like a good old yard-fowl by attacking Grenada."

The November 17 killings come in the context of these mounting attacks against revolutionary Grenada, the first free Black country in the world.

### SWP and YSA protest killings, demand U.S. extradite Gairy

Andrew Pulley of the Socialist Workers Party and Richard Fawkes of the Young Socialist Alliance sent a message to Prime Minister Maurice Bishop in Grenada expressing their outrage at the murders.

They said "the U.S. government stands behind these attacks . . . We demand that Eric Gairy be extradited back to Grenada to stand trial."

"U.S. hands off Grenada!"

## Nicaragua is 'not a Jamaica or Chile'

## FSLN mobilizes against capitalist attacks

By Lars Palmgren

MANAGUA—All the representatives of the Superior Council of Private Enterprise (COSEP) and the bourgeois parties staged a walkout from Nicaragua's Council of State here on November 12.

Joining them were the delegates from two small trade-union federations whose leaders identify with the capitalist forces.

The walkout was planned well in advance. COSEP representative Jaime Montealegre even read and distributed a printed document that explained why the bourgeois delegates and union bureaucrats were leaving the Council.

The Council of State is a consultative and legislative subordinate to the executive branch of the revolutionary government, the Junta of National Reconstruction (JRN). The bourgeois forces were allocated a minority of seats in the Council when it was set up last May.

### Capitalist protests

The November 12 session of the Council of State had begun in the usual way, with the week's correspondence being read by the presiding committee.

Among the letters received was one from each of the bourgeois parties protesting the banning of a Nicaraguan Democratic Movement (MDN) rally and complaining about demonstrations that had taken place outside the MDN's headquarters in Managua.

Another letter from Interior Minister Tomás Borge explained the considerations involved in prohibiting the MDN rally.

MDN representative Alvaro Jerez demanded the floor for an immediate response to Borge's letter. This was denied by the Council's president, Commander Carlos Núñez.

At the top of the Council's agenda for the day was an important discussion on proposed improvements in the wages and working conditions of farm workers involved in the coffee harvest.

Núñez explained that the urgency of coming to decisions about those proposals before the beginning of the harvest was more important than the MDN's complaints against Borge. In addition, the Council's own bylaws prohibit alterations to the agenda once it has been adopted.

Taking a flexible attitude, however, Núñez proposed including Jerez's re-

quest as a special point at the end of the day's agenda. And that was when the bourgeois delegates walked out.

As a result, Núñez decided to suspend the session.

### Forgot the revolution

The dominant sector of the bourgeoisie in Nicaragua is on the warpath. But they seem to have forgotten that there has been a revolution here, a revolution made not by them but by the workers and peasants.

As Eloisa Corrales, a chemical worker, said, "If we fought once for a free homeland, we will struggle to the end to defend this process, because it has given us the opportunity to participate in the government that represents all the workers."

The fact that the delegates from the Confederation of Nicaraguan Workers (CTN) and Confederation of Trade Union Unification (CUS) left their seats in solidarity with the bourgeois representatives has caused strong reactions among the ranks of the unions that make up those two federations.

Fabio Galo González, who works at the Aceitera Corona, a cotton-oil processing plant where the union belongs

to the CTN, said: "The CTN's withdrawal from the Council of State confirms that it defends the interests of the bourgeoisie."

The union members at the Aceitera Corona, together with other workers belonging to the CTN, are planning to hold an assembly to discuss the matter.

### Sandinista rallies

Following the walkout from the Council of State, mass organizations led by the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) quickly organized rallies, demonstrations, and meetings in cities and towns throughout the country to reject the bourgeoisie's provocations.

The capitalist forces "are mistaken about many things," Moisés Hassán of the Junta of National Reconstruction told one of the rallies in Managua on November 13. "They think that when there are expressions of discontent among our people, when the people complain and raise demands . . . that this signifies support" for the capitalists.

"But they are mistaken," Hassán said. "They do not understand that

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