

# Thousands protest S.F. murders

—PAGE 2

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# THE MILITANT

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

# JONESTOWN

## A socialist analysis of the tragedy in Guyana

—PAGE 3

MAGAZINE SUPPLEMENT  
Introduction  
**socialist**  
REVIEW  
INSIDE

## CUBA

Carter chokes  
on release  
of prisoners

—PAGE 12

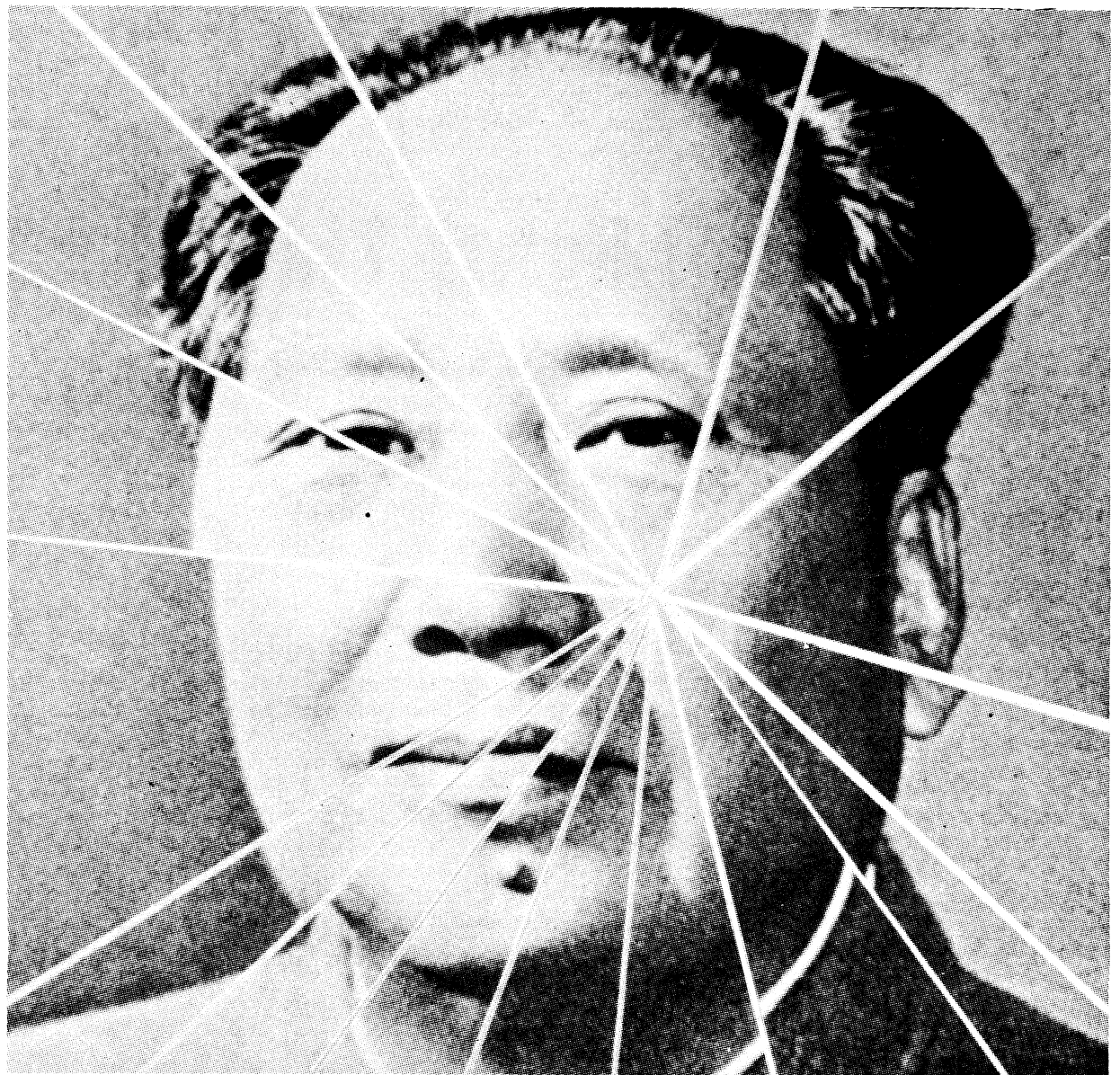
## IRAN

Oil strike still  
strong, says  
eyewitness

—PAGE 9

## Mao myth begins to shatter

—PAGE 4



## Murders in San Francisco

The brutal murders of Mayor George Moscone and board of supervisors member Harvey Milk in San Francisco on November 27 were an expression of the irrational hatred and violence produced by a decaying capitalist society.

Milk was the first openly gay politician elected to a major office in San Francisco.

As news of the murders spread, a spontaneous candlelight memorial march to protest the



March to protest murders began in San Francisco gay community and swelled to 30,000 by time it reached city hall.

*A candlelight vigil to protest the murder of Harvey Milk will be held in New York City at Sheridan Square on Sunday, December 3, at 7:30 p.m. Participants will then march to a memorial meeting for the murdered gay rights activist. The vigil is called by the Coalition for Lesbian and Gay Rights.*

killings began in the city's gay community and grew to some 30,000 people by the time it reached city hall.

The killer was Dan White, a former supervisor who had recently resigned his post. When he changed his mind and asked for his job back, Moscone, backed by Milk, refused to reappoint him.

Over the years, White had been a cop, "security" guard, and truant officer. He was elected from San Francisco's District 8 on a right-wing platform. He was avidly backed in his election campaign by local cops, who covered the neighborhood ringing doorbells and distributing campaign literature.

One of his campaign brochures said, "You must realize there are thousands of frustrated angry people as yourself waiting to unleash a fury that can and will eradicate the malignancies which blight our city.

"Should we continue to be maligned and shamed throughout the nation? I say no.

"I am not going to be forced out of San Francisco by splinter groups of radicals, social deviates, incorrigibles. . . ."

"White Ran for Office as Crime Fighter," read a headline in the November 28 San Francisco *Chronicle*. "Crime is number one with me," he told reporters covering his campaign. He was the keynote speaker at last year's meeting of the Northern California Coalition for Handgun Control.

"As Supervisor," the November 28 *New York Times* reported, "Mr. White made it clear that he saw himself as the board's defender of the home, the family and religious life against

homosexuals, pot smokers and cynics."

White was a virulent opponent of gay rights. He was the only member of the board of supervisors to vote against the city's gay rights ordinance.

Milk had been a strong advocate of the bill and was prominent in the gay rights movement. He urged gays to come out of the closet and to fight for gay rights.

The murders of Milk and Moscone are products of a social order that breeds violence because it needs violence to survive—ranging from the daily violence that begins in the factories on the assembly line, to police murders of Blacks, Chicanos, and other oppressed people on the streets of our cities, to the nuclear weapons stockpiles that the U.S. rulers see as the ultimate guardians of their interests.

White's act of violence comes at a time when the ruling class and the politicians of the Democratic and Republican parties, as part of their austerity drive against working people, are intensifying their appeals to bigotry of all kinds. Antigay prejudice, along with contempt for women and national minorities, is reinforced by this offensive.

The Democratic Party-dominated board of supervisors itself has played a major role in a brutal antilabor offensive aimed at weakening the labor movement in San Francisco.

By fueling reactionary prejudices, the rulers seek to deepen the divisions among working people, and prevent the mobilization of labor and its allies in a united fight against the rulers' offensive.

White, like all cops, was trained to brutalize and terrorize his opponents. When cops gun down strikers, Blacks, Chicanos, or gays under the cover of badges and blue uniforms, they can count on being excused with a slap on the wrist—at worst. It was a small step for this ex-

cop's bigoted hatred and frustration to drive him into firing his gun at two elected officials—especially since one of his victims was gay.

## Carter & Nicaragua

After forty-five years of unstinting support to the Somoza dictatorship in Nicaragua, the U.S. government says it is trying to change the regime there.

But the only type of change Washington is willing to go along with in Nicaragua is a tightly controlled one in which the workers and peasants are held in check.

Thus, an Associated Press dispatch reported November 18 that "despite pleas from the Nicaraguan opposition, the Carter Administration has decided against trying to prevent Israel from supplying light arms to the regime of Nicaraguan dictator Anastasio Somoza. . . ."

As in Zimbabwe and Iran, Washington talks about its desire for change, but it is implacably opposed to the forces actually fighting for freedom. One U.S. official told AP that the administration "is fearful of what type of government might emerge from the turmoil of an armed revolt" in Nicaragua.

The State Department now charges that Cuba is aiding the Nicaraguan freedom fighters. The Cubans have made no secret of their sympathy with those resisting Somoza's tyranny. But the Carter administration's charges are a smokescreen for continuing U.S. complicity with the hated dictator and for possible new aggressive moves against Cuba.

Every supporter of democratic rights has a stake in supporting the struggle of the Nicaraguan people. Here in the United States, we must continue to demand: U.S. hands off Nicaragua! Hands off Cuba!

## Militant Highlights This Week

- 4 Shakeup in China
- 5 Political rights rally
- 7 NY-NJ district formed
- 8 Is Iran struggle reactionary?
- 9 Oil strike in Iran
- 10 Marroquin case
- 23 'Militant' sales
- 24 Crisis in rail
- 25 Right to ratify in rail
- 26 Silkwood antinuke actions
- 32 Tupelo march



### The hidden time bomb

As tons of radioactive wastes pile up, so does evidence that there can be no safe disposal of these poisons. **Page 27.**

### Red-baiting: threat to NOW

What was role of socialists at recent National Organization for Women convention? A reply to *NOW Times*. **Page 6.**



### British Ford strikers win

Victory over government wage controls points way for U.S. workers. **Page 7.**

## The Militant

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# Tragedy in Jonestown: a socialist analysis

By Harry Ring

Millions of words have been written about the tragic events in Jonestown, the People's Temple colony in Guyana. Many of the accounts contradict each other and some are clearly pure fabrication. But one thing is true of all these reports: they skirt the real meaning of the mass deaths.

When hundreds of human beings together commit suicide, taking their children along with them, it begs the question to simply say that these people were dupes of a crazed cult leader. The basic explanation is social and political.

It is neither an exaggeration nor an oversimplification to say that capitalism is responsible for what happened in Guyana, including the assassination of Rep. Leo Ryan and those killed with him.

The people who followed Rev. Jim Jones to Guyana were in blind flight. They were trying to escape the exploitation, the racism, and the pervasive brutality which are the indelible features of the capitalist society in which we live.

They were alienated from this society. And rightly so. The awful tragedy is that they didn't know how to fight the evils of capitalism, and fell victim to the warped vision of a cult leader.

A lot of what's wrong with this society is reflected in the way the capitalist politicians, and the big-business media, responded to this calamitous event.

Some sympathy has been expressed for the victims. But this is mostly hypocrisy.

The "sympathetic" politicians and media commentators have shown precious little concern for the racism and oppression from which the Jonestown victims had fled.

And while they shudder at the senseless violence of Jonestown, they've shown little, if any, concern for countless other victims of the senseless violence that typifies this murderous social order of capitalism.

Consider: in Nicaragua, a U.S.-installed butcher has committed virtual genocide in several cities to quell a popular rebellion. Among the rulers of this country, or the media that speak for them, few hands were wrung.

Consider: on a single day in the month of September more than 4,000 demonstrators were slaughtered by the shah of Iran—slaughtered with weapons "made in the USA."



Grieved relative of Jonestown victim

There wasn't much in the way of sympathy from U.S. politicians and press.

And in relation to Jonestown, the crocodile tears have been laced with a generous measure of racism.

Newspaper articles have suggested that Black people are somehow more prone to fall victim to cultism—more so, presumably, than more "civilized" and more "intelligent" whites.

All the evidence indicates that the Black people who joined this particular cult believed, even if mistakenly, that it was fighting for social justice.

Those who suggest that cultism is peculiar to the Black community might consider the many whites who join such cults as the Hare Krishna, the Children of God, and Reverend Moon's Reunification Church. These cult recruits, too, represent despairing efforts to find a way out of the alienation of this society.

The media and politicians have also been quite ready to pin the label of "Marxist" on the People's Temple cult.

But Marx taught the need for building a worldwide movement of the working class to abolish capitalism internationally.

To achieve socialism, Marx explained, it would be necessary to expropriate and reorganize industry on a

world scale. Such a program bears little resemblance to an isolated agricultural commune.

Moreover, the emphasis on Jones's "Marxism" hardly squares with his active participation in the Democratic Party.

Jones may have indulged in "socialist" rhetoric, but he delivered the votes of his followers to the Democratic Party.

The late Mayor Moscone of San Francisco registered his recognition of Jones's role in the Democratic Party by appointing him chairman of the city housing authority.

Rosalynn Carter made a campaign appearance at the People's Temple, and Jones sent several hundred of his members to Washington for Carter's inauguration. The record is ample enough. Jones was a Democrat, not a socialist.

Nor does the label of Marxism square with Jones's authoritarian, one-person rule over the sect. Such practices are the very opposite of Marxism, which seeks human liberation, not adulation of a leader.

Even more contemptible is the attempt to exploit the Jonestown events to promote the government's "right to spy."

Apparently expecting people to believe it, FBI officials said with a straight face that they hadn't spied on the People's Temple because of growing restrictions on their secret police tactics.

If they had been able to infiltrate the People's Temple, they piously suggested, they might have been able to prevent what happened.

Their story might hold more water if they explained why they failed to prevent the assassination of Martin Luther King, whose movement they admit they spied on and infiltrated for years.

It is true that some members of the People's Temple favored socialism and undoubtedly believed, or hoped, that Jonestown represented a socialist endeavor.

The terrible thing is that they were so tragically mistaken.

And, equally tragic, that they didn't find their way to the authentic socialist movement.

Socialism, above all else is genuinely democratic. It is masses of people determining their own destiny, making their own decisions—not blind followers of an "all-wise" leader.

Socialism is based on a scientific

analysis of the real material world, not on mysticism. It sees the human and material potential for a new society of human solidarity, a society free of poverty, racism, inequality, and violence.

Marxism firmly rejects religion as a vehicle for social progress. It rejects all forms of cultism.

Marxism is militantly atheistic. It fully supports freedom of religion and respects individual beliefs. But Marxists seek to convince others that religion is antagonistic to science and, by virtue of that, regressive.

The program of Marxism is not to "follow the leader," but to inspire the masses of workers and other exploited people to take their destiny into their own hands.

Marxism is based on the lesson of history that there is no short cut to socialism. Nor is there any hiding place—in Guyana or anywhere else.

There is no alternative to standing your ground and fighting back. Jonestown proves once again that there's no "dropping out," and no running away.

A further point: in the socialist movement there is no room for cult followers, or for cult leaders. Eugene V. Debs, the early socialist leader, summed it up when he said that even if he could lead the people into the "promised land," he wouldn't, because if he could lead them in, someone else could lead them out.

It will take a big, well-organized movement to abolish capitalism. But that movement must be built by conscious, *thinking* human beings. That's what revolutionaries are.

To stand up under the pressure of this society and to think through what's needed to fight it effectively requires critical-minded fighters—not submissive believers.

That's why a genuine socialist movement—the kind the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance are building—places the highest premium on critical-minded revolutionaries. They're the kind of people that are necessary for victory.

Those who went to Guyana wanted a better world. But they took the wrong road and paid a disastrous price.

But that doesn't mean there isn't another, better road. Those who are ready to fight this bankrupt system will find that road in the socialist movement.

And in doing so they will be expressing a positive, meaningful concern for all those who died in Jonestown.

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# NEXT WEEK

**EXCLUSIVE INTERVIEW:** How Iranian students organized against the shah.

**IMPERIALISM IN IRAN:** Why U.S. corporations fear revolutionary upsurge.

**REPORT FROM JOHANNESBURG:** Black trade-union struggles on rise.

**COAL MINERS:** Struggle for health care continues.

# Peking wall posters attack

By Leslie Evans

Several closely related developments in Peking strongly point to the opening of a public campaign of criticism of Mao Tsetung and the possibility of further rifts in the top leadership of the Chinese Communist Party.

These include the denunciation for the first time by the Chinese press of major figures and events that marked the beginning of the Cultural Revolution that Mao led in 1965-69; the appearance of wall posters charging that Mao supported the so-called gang of four—top government and party officials arrested after Mao's death in September 1976 and denounced as "counterrevolutionaries"; and the official rehabilitation of all those who were arrested during the antigovernment demonstrations in Peking's Tien An Men Square in April 1976.

At the time of the arrest of the "gang of four"—Chiang Ch'ing, Mao's wife; Yao Wen-yuan, head of the party propaganda department; and Politburo members Chang Ch'un-ch'iao and Wang Hung-wen—in October 1976, they were accused of a plot to "seize power" in the weeks following Mao's death. This was soon escalated into the accusation that "for years" they had persecuted political opponents and inflicted serious damage on China's economy.

While these accusations always plainly implicated Mao Tsetung, who presided over the government that was said to have done these things, the late chairman has up to now been spared direct criticism. The key issue left deliberately ambiguous by China's post-Mao leaders has been their assessment of the Cultural Revolution that brought the "gang of four" to power in 1966, established the cult of Mao's personality, and humiliated and purged many functionaries who have returned to office following the chairman's death.

## New Stage

Thus it marked a new stage of the campaign against the "gang of four" when on November 15 the Peking *Kwangming Jih Pao* singled out the document that launched the Cultural Revolution, written by Yao Wen-yuan in November 1965, and declared it "a reactionary signal to practice fascist dictatorship" (cited in the November 17 *New York Times*). This was Yao Wen-yuan's famous article in the Shanghai *Wen Hui Pao* attacking the vice-mayor of Peking, playwright Wu Han, who had published a satirical play that indirectly criticized Mao. Following this blast at Wu Han, the Mao faction escalated its attack, striking down Peking's then-mayor, P'eng Chen, and then turning its fire on head of state Liu Shao-ch'i and party general secretary Teng Hsiao-p'ing.

In a speech given at Hangchow on December 21, 1965, Mao himself said of this article, "Yao Wen-yuan's article is



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also very good: it has had a great impact on theatrical, historical and philosophical circles." (*Chairman Mao Talks to the People*, Stuart Schram, editor [New York: Pantheon Books, 1974], p. 237.)

Mao said explicitly that he was personally behind the campaign initiated by Yao against the Peking party machine. In a speech to a Central Work Conference on October 25, 1966, he declared:

"I could do nothing in Peking; I could do nothing at the Centre. Last September and October I asked, if revisionism appeared at the Centre, what could the localities do? I felt that my ideas couldn't be carried out in Peking. Why was the criticism of Wu Han [i.e., the Yao Wen-yuan article] initiated not in Peking but in Shanghai? Because there was nobody to do it in Peking." (*Ibid.*, pp. 270-71.)

If Yao's 1965 broadside is now branded a "reactionary signal to practice fascist dictatorship," what does this say about Mao, who ordered the campaign?

Another step in this effort to discredit the entire Cultural Revolution was the dramatic trial in Peking in early November of five of the central leaders of the Mao faction of the Red Guards whose fame stems entirely from their activities in the first year or two of the Cultural Revolution. Arrested last April, the most prominent of these is Nieh Yuan-tzu, the leader of the Mao faction at Peking University in the 1960s.

It was on May 25, 1966, that Nieh Yuan-tzu put up a wall poster at Peking University denouncing the university administration for "revisionism." When Nieh came under attack by the party committee in the university, backed by Liu Shao-ch'i and Teng Hsiao-p'ing in the central government, Mao declared that Nieh's poster was "China's first Marxist-Leninist big-character poster," and on June 1, 1966, ordered it broadcast on the radio and published in the press.

It is no secret that Nieh Yuan-tzu and Teng Hsiao-p'ing were enemies during the Cultural Revolution. But no one before has disputed that in those years Nieh stood on the side of Mao Tsetung while Teng led the opposing faction. So when today a government in which Teng Hsiao-p'ing is one of the two leading figures arrests Nieh for "serious crimes during the Cultural Revolution" (*Hsinhua*) it would appear that Teng is taking his revenge on the survivors of the Mao faction and has finally reached the point where he is prepared to undertake the demolition of Mao's reputation as well.

## Tien An Men

Thus it was not surprising when, a few days after these events, wall posters went up in Peking openly criticizing Mao Tsetung. On November 19, a fourteen-page poster appeared, ostensibly reviewing a new play about the

Tien An Men protests of April 1976.

During those protests, some 100,000 persons in Peking demonstrated in mourning for the late Premier Chou En-lai. In the course of the demonstration, many people criticized the Mao government or defended Teng Hsiao-p'ing, who was then serving as acting premier but was already under public attack by the Mao faction.

The recent wall poster declared: "Chairman Mao, because his thinking was metaphysical thinking during his old age and for all kinds of other reasons, supported the Gang of Four in raising their hands to strike down Comrade Teng Hsiao-p'ing" (Reuters dispatch from Peking, November 19).

The poster said that Chiang Ch'ing and the other Politburo leaders used "Mao's mistaken judgement about class struggle" to "launch an all-out offensive against China's revolutionary cause."

It added: "First they used Mao's hand to strike down the representative of China's proletarian revolution, Comrade Teng Hsiao-p'ing. This is made very clear by the resolution of the party central committee that was proposed by Mao and was announced at that time. After that, they imposed a most violent suppression of the revolutionary cadres and the revolutionary people of the whole country."

The poster, according to Reuters, was allowed to remain up for a full day. Other posters went even further. Japan's Kyodo press agency reported on November 20 the appearance of a wall poster which said that Mao had been out of touch with reality and governed through a "family-style fascist dictatorship" in his last year (United Press International). The following day the same sources reported the appearance of further wall posters criticizing party Chairman Hua Kuo-

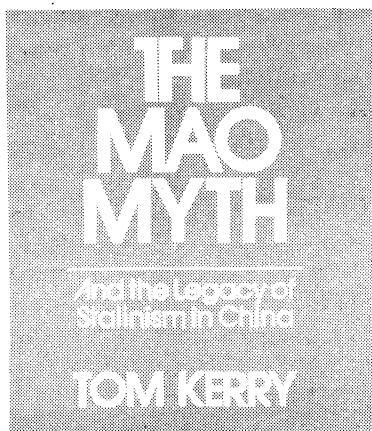
## Further reading on China

**THE MAO MYTH AND THE LEGACY OF STALINISM IN CHINA**, by Tom Kerry. 192 pages, \$3.95.

**CHINA AFTER MAO**, by Leslie Evans. 208 pages, \$3.95.

**THE CHINESE REVOLUTION AND ITS DEVELOPMENT**. Anthology of documents of the Socialist Workers Party. Education for Socialists Bulletin, \$ .75

Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, New York 10014. Please include \$.50 for postage, \$.75 for more than one book.





# Mao myth

feng for the first time.

Finally, a *New York Times* report from Hong Kong November 21 tells of Peking posters calling for an investigation of the suppression of the Tien An Men demonstrations of 1976, demanding that "those responsible for the suppression and cover-up . . . be brought to justice."

The Tien An Men incident is shaping up as the focal point in the efforts to downgrade Mao, increase Teng Hsiao-p'ing's prestige, and, it would appear, undermine the authority of Hua Kuo-feng.

It was the mammoth Tien An Men demonstrations that prompted the Mao regime to dismiss Teng Hsiao-p'ing from all of his party and government posts, in what was reported as a unanimous resolution of the party Politburo issued on April 7, 1976. The same meeting of the Politburo, attended by Mao and Hua as well as the now-disgraced "gang of four," voted unanimously to declare the Tien An Men demonstrations a "counterrevolutionary incident" and to appoint Hua Kuo-feng to the post of premier. Thus Hua's rise to power was directly linked to the suppression of the Tien An Men protests.

## Far-reaching consequences

Moreover, to whatever degree Tien An Men involved the organized forces around the Teng Hsiao-p'ing faction of the party, it also drew into the streets many genuine opponents of the CCP, who raised demands for democratic rights. For all of these reasons, whatever abstract promises of reform the post-Mao government may have made, the full legitimization of the Tien An Men protests has been a question with such far-reaching consequences that it has taken two years for the regime to confront it directly.

For example, the hundreds of protesters who were arrested at Tien An Men were not released after the purge of the Mao faction. They remained in prison until March of 1977, some five months after Hua came to power as party chairman. In January 1977 and again in January 1978 wall poster campaigns in Peking demanded the full pardon of all participants in the protests, the removal of high officials guilty of ordering the suppression, and a full investigation of the decision to ban the protests.

Moreover, the poems written in Tien An Men Square, some of which contain a deeply radical criticism of the bureaucratic leadership of the country, began to circulate throughout China. The January 13, 1978, Paris daily *Le Monde*, for example, reported the appearance on Peking walls of the pages of what was already a third edition of printed Tien An Men poems which had been published illegally and which was still officially declared "counterrevolutionary."

In a half measure, the February 1978 issue of the party theoretical magazine *Red Flag* published a new version of the Tien An Men incident, which exonerated Teng of any wrongdoing, and said the violence had been provoked by the "gang of four" when people innocently came to mourn Premier Chou En-lai.

This interpretation was challenged at the first congress of the recently reestablished Communist Youth League, held at the end of October in Peking. The heroes of the congress were a group of Tien An Men prisoners, who were hailed by the head of the youth presidium as "the best of our time." (Hsinhua, October 22-23.)

The Tien An Men heroes were praised for having "refused to criticize Teng Hsiao-p'ing," and were said to have come to Tien An Men not simply

to mourn but to try to bring down the government headed by the "gang of four."

## Slap at Hua

This new interpretation is a direct slap at Hua Kuo-feng. If these youth were "the best of our time" because they rejected outright the criticism of Teng in April 1976, what are Chinese readers to think of their party chairman, who at Mao's funeral five months later described Teng as a "counterrevolutionary revisionist" and called on the masses to "deepen the struggle to criticize Teng Hsiao-p'ing"? (*Peking Review*, September 24, 1976, pp. 15-16.)

The Chinese press began in early November to publish the Tien An Men poems widely. In addition, *China Youth News* on November 11 carried an interview with five of the prisoner-poets. Most remarkable was the fact that among those interviewed was an electrician from Shansi named Wang Li-shan, who, it turns out, is the author of the most famous of all the Tien An Men poems, the one called "Fiercebrowed, we unsheath our swords."

This was the stirring verse that became known around the world for its lines, "China is no longer the China of yore, and the people are no longer wrapped in sheer ignorance; gone for good is Chin Shih Huang's feudal society." That blunt denunciation of China's first tyrant emperor, Chin Shih Huang, was a glove thrown in the face of power, inasmuch as the name was universally used by Mao's propagandists as a synonym for Mao himself.

That the CCP regime would risk making heroes of such people as these suggests a step toward liberalization unprecedented in China since the short-lived "Hundred Flowers Bloom" episode of 1957. Descriptions in the Chinese press itself of the events leading up to this decision suggest that the impetus came from below and not from the party leadership. A recent issue of the official *Poetry* magazine comments:

"China is a land of poetry. . . . but a great event like the Tienanmen Square poetry movement, where millions of people gathered spontaneously and used poetry to express their feelings, to mourn for the death of the dear one [Chou En-lai] and to accuse living traitors, and the circulation of these forbidden poems to all corners of the country by men and women, old or young, who copied them and passed them on, has no historical precedent." (Hsinhua, November 14.)

## Major maneuver

The bureaucracy's aim, or at least Teng Hsiao-p'ing's, seems to be a major "reformist" maneuver calculated to regain some popularity after the terrible Mao years, to pose as defenders of democratic rights, and thus generate enthusiasm for the industrialization plans that dominate Peking's thinking at this time.

Teng, with his credentials as an opponent of Mao and himself a victim of the Tien An Men repression, can hope to ride such a liberalization movement for some time to come. But for many in the bureaucracy, tarred with responsibility for the crimes of the previous government, giving voice to mass discontent spells their downfall.

Plainly China is emerging from the lull that followed the fall of the Mao government and entering a turbulent period in which the center of attention will be the tension between the bureaucracy and the masses over the extent of democratic rights and the pace of real improvements in the masses' standard of living.

From *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor*

# Anti-apartheid activists exchange experiences

By David Frankel

Among the 1,400 people who participated in the November 17-19 student conference against U.S. support to apartheid were six students from Vassar College in Poughkeepsie, New York.

Anti-apartheid activists at Vassar recently succeeded in pressuring the administration there to divest its holdings in five banks doing business with South Africa. About 500 students signed petitions for divestment circulated by the Coalition for Social Responsibility.

Members of the coalition who came to the New York anti-apartheid conference set up a table with information on their victory—and with an appeal for support to those victimized for helping to win it.

The Vassar administration has brought disciplinary charges against ten students out of fifty who took part in a demonstration to demand divestment. Eric Vega, one of those facing victimization, explained:

"We never got a chance to face our accusers or hear their testimony. I don't know what I am charged with

specifically, except for being part of a group. They say the individuals in a group can be held responsible for the actions of the group."

Edith Becker, another Vassar student, said, "We're getting petitions signed, and we're asking every organization here at the conference to send protests to the Vassar administration and to show solidarity with our group."

(Protests should be sent to Virginia Smith, President, Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, N.Y. 12601, and to Ross Goodman, Student Government Association, at the same address. Copies should be sent to Student Defense Committee, Box 2406, Vassar College.)

\* \* \*

The table set up by the Vassar students was only one in a long row that lined the lobby of the New York University building where conference sessions were held. Among the groups that set up literature tables were the American Committee on Africa; War Resisters League; Young Workers Liberation League; NYU Coalition

Continued on page 25

# N.Y. rally to demand files

By Arnold Weissberg

A December 9 rally in New York City will bring together a broad range of speakers to protest FBI crimes and demand that the government hand over informer files in the Socialist Workers Party's \$40 million lawsuit.

The rally is sponsored by the Political Rights Defense Fund, the group that publicizes and raises money for the suit.

The suit, which was filed in 1973, has brought to light widespread criminal activity on the part of the FBI, CIA, and other government agencies. In June, Griffin Bell became the first attorney general in U.S. history to be held in contempt of court when he refused to obey a judge's order to hand

over eighteen informer files demanded by the SWP's attorneys. The uncensored files will reveal how the FBI uses finks to disrupt the activities of Black and *latino* activists, socialists, trade unionists, feminists, and others.

The suit has united many political activists and civil liberties supporters in the fight to get out the full truth about FBI crimes and to stop them.

The rally will start at 7 p.m. in the Tishman Auditorium of the New York University Law School, on the corner of West Fourth and MacDougal streets, Saturday, December 9. The donation at the door is three dollars. For more information call PRDF at (212) 691-3270.

Rally to  
**Stop FBI crimes**  
Demand Bell turn over informer files

Sat, Dec. 9,  
Tishman Aud.,  
7pm NYU Law School

Hear:

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- Robert Meeropol—son of Ethel and Julius Rosenberg, Fund for Open Information and Accountability (FOIA Inc.)
- Linda Jenness—Socialist Workers Party
- Leonard Boudin—constitutional rights attorney
- Héctor Marroquín—fighting for political asylum in U.S.
- Dave Dellinger—Seven Days magazine
- Imani Kazana—coordinator, National Wilmington Ten Defense Committee
- Annette Rubinstein—literary critic
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## Red-baiting imperils nat'l conference gains

By Matilde Zimmermann

A red-baiting editorial in the November issue of the *National NOW Times* threatens to undermine the positive achievements of the National Organization for Women's October national conference. Aimed at the Socialist Workers Party, it jeopardizes the right of every member of NOW to freely discuss what strategy is necessary to defend women's rights.

The October conference in Washington, D.C., focused on how to move forward from the Equal Rights Amendment extension victory. NOW began to discuss a promising strategy of uniting with the civil rights and labor movements to win the ERA.

In addition, a debate took place over whether to rely on Democratic and Republican party politicians to win the

ERA or to chart an action campaign, including another mass march like the July 9 march on Washington for the ERA.

The *NOW Times* editorial, titled "The SWP at the NOW National Conference," tries to divide NOW just when the organization has set itself the goal of reaching out to broader social forces.

The theme of the editorial is that NOW members who are also members of the SWP (and, by implication, others who agree with "SWP proposals") are suspicious characters. They have ulterior motives, a "hidden agenda." They don't simply join NOW; they "insinuate" themselves into NOW chapters. They are under orders to "infiltrate" a "target organization" to carry out plots conceived elsewhere.

This is the language of McCarthyism and anticommunism. It has no place in the National Organization for Women. It is an insult to the entire membership of NOW.

This red-baiting attack on a section of the NOW membership flies in the face of the strong sentiments for unity expressed at the conference itself—a unity required by the magnitude of the tasks facing the women's movement.

NOW President Eleanor Smear struck a responsive chord when she told the conference: "We are united. The enemy is not us. We might not agree on everything. . . . But we do agree on our goal."

Although the conference was marred by incidents of red-baiting, the vast majority of those present rejected such divisive tactics.

Speaker after speaker at the conference paid tribute to the July 9 march of 100,000 ERA supporters in Washington, D.C. Many members of NOW, including members of the Socialist Workers Party, thought that another big march or marches in the spring of 1979 would help show that there is massive support for the ERA in this country and would put strong pressure on remaining states to ratify the amendment.

Others thought a strategy of "behind the scenes" lobbying and supporting "friendly" politicians would be more effective. They were reluctant to argue against the merits of the action proposal, however, and chose instead to attack it as an "SWP proposal" and to lump all its supporters together as "SWPers." The *NOW Times* editorial talks about "the SWP-generated resolution."

Open polemics against mass demonstrations were not well received at the conference, which is why opponents of mass action resorted to red-baiting to cloud the issue. The *National NOW Times*, in fact, has to dissociate itself with the openly anti-mass-action approach:

"In arguing against the 1978 three-march proposal, several NOW members, some of whom produced the

monumentally successful July 9 March, appeared to be arguing against marches themselves. Of course, they were not against marches, just the particular inflexible strategy that was being proposed. One of the potential dangers when the SWP implements its avowed policy of 'intervention' in other organizations is that members of the targeted organization, in resentment and anger, may overreact and change their own policies and beliefs to fight the intervention."

This amounts to an acknowledgment that red-baiting creates such a poisonous atmosphere that some NOW members are led to argue *against* their own beliefs. This would seem to be reason enough to reject such tactics, not to encourage them as the *NOW Times* does.

In the December 1978 issue of *NOW-NJ Newsbreaks*, New Jersey NOW State Coordinator Nancy Stultz speaks out against the inhibiting effect of red-baiting on all conference participants:

"Instead of being able to discuss our political strategy, we were diverted by personal attacks and labelling. Any questioning of policy, even for informational purposes, had the tendency to be labelled 'anti-administration' or the work of the Socialist Workers Party."

Since they do not want to argue against marches in general, the *NOW Times* editors try to discredit the 1979 action proposal by saying it had "a remarkably familiar ring" to those who attended the 1977 national NOW conference.

In 1977, SWP members and others in NOW supported a resolution called the "Defending Women's Rights Resolution." There were two themes to this resolution: that NOW should actively reach out to minority women and working women, and that an action campaign could help recapture the momentum that in 1977 had passed to opponents of women's rights.

Given the success of July 9 and the popularity of the NOW national leadership's proposal for an alliance with the labor and civil rights movement, it is

*Continued on page 26*

### NJ NOW: end red-baiting

The following are excerpts from an editorial that appeared in the December 1978 issue of 'NOW-NJ Newsbreaks,' the newspaper of New Jersey National Organization for Women. It was signed by 'Newsbreaks' editor Barbara Goldblatt.

Last year, after the National Conference in Detroit, we were distressed by accounts of red baiting at the conference. When we called for unity—for not allowing a witch hunt to develop—we were roundly criticized. Red baiting does not occur in NOW we were told. Well, we've been to Washington, and we've seen it, and we are disheartened.

Issues were discussed, not on merit, but on whether or not they were supported by the Socialist Worker's Party (SWP).

We thought that NOW National by-laws prohibited discrimination within NOW; we thought that NOW members were assertive enough to make their own rational decisions;

we thought that an appeal to emotionalism and McCarthyism had no place in NOW. We were wrong!

Prominent in a *Special Conference Supplement of The NOW Times*, published by nine Southern California chapters, was an article proclaiming *SWP in NOW: The Persistent Parasites*. The unidentified author trotted out all the old anti-Socialist bug-a-boos that we heard in the 50's. Some NOW members are accused of having "hidden agendas." Some states and chapters, the author implies, are dupes of SWP "huckstered" resolutions.

Enough of this paranoia! Petty name calling and fear mongering have no place in NOW. In the struggle ahead, we need to establish ties with all people and organizations working on our goals—ERA, reproductive freedom, lesbian rights, battered women, sexism in education, media and society in general. To do otherwise will lead to factionalism—and defeat.

## NOW calls Jan 21 protest of NJ abortion law

NEWARK—The state board of the National Organization for Women in New Jersey has called for a January 21 rally and march in Trenton, the state capital, to protest the threat to safe, legal abortions. January 22 is the sixth anniversary of the landmark Supreme Court decision legalizing abortion.

Traditionally, those forces opposing abortion have mobilized on this day to show their determination to reverse the court decision. This year the anti-abortion forces have called for a march of 100,000 in Washington, D.C.

Taking up this challenge, the October NOW national conference passed a resolution urging all chapters to carry out actions and educational activities around January 22 supporting abortion rights.

New Jersey has become one of the major battlegrounds of attacks on women's right to choose. Last year the state denied Medicaid funding for abortion unless a woman's life was endangered.

This year the New Jersey state legislature is threatening to enact the Maressa-Deverin measure, which would make New Jersey one of the most difficult states in the country for obtaining an abortion. The main provisions of the bill are these:

- The patient must sign a form saying she has been informed by her doctor of all the "dangers" involved in having an abortion and of all possible alternatives to abortion. The doctor is

also required to tell her that the fetus is regarded by the state as a living human being and considered a person entitled to respect and dignity under New Jersey law;

- An unmarried minor must notify her parents at least twenty-four hours before the abortion;

- A two-day waiting period is required after the woman's first visit to the clinic;

- Saline abortions are completely prohibited and all abortions after the twelfth week of pregnancy are prohibited in clinics;

- No abortions are allowed after the fetus is "viable" unless the woman's life is endangered. A doctor who does not attempt to keep an aborted "viable" fetus alive can be convicted of murder.

While the anti-abortion forces have tried to disguise their aims with talk of protecting women from exploitative doctors and clinics, the purpose of the Maressa-Deverin measure is clear: to make late abortions just about unobtainable; to intimidate and guilt-bait women out of obtaining first-trimester abortions.

Protest activities on or around January 22 can alert the majority of people in this country—who do support abortion rights—to the danger of the anti-abortion offensive. Such protests can begin to beat back the small but vocal reactionary forces who seek to deny women the right to control their bodies.



NOW pickets 1976 Right-to-Life convention

Militant/Anne Teesdale



## Socialists step up drive into industry

By Shelley Kramer

NEW YORK—"Going where the action is"—that's how Socialist Workers Party members describe the party's decision of nearly one year ago to concentrate its forces in basic industry and turn its attention to new political openings there.

On November 13 party members in New York City and the Newark, New Jersey, area made a decisive step forward on this front when they voted—at a delegated convention—to constitute the New York-Northern New Jersey district of the SWP.

The chief reason for reorganizing on a district-wide basis is to "get the big majority of our members into industrial jobs and into well-organized industrial fractions of the party," Tom Leonard, the district's new organizer told the 250 socialists present. Leonard is a member of the party's national committee and a longtime trade unionist.

Convention delegates elected a thirteen-person district committee after hearing a report by steelworker Tony Austin, who headed the convention's nominating committee. Newark organizer Andrea Morrell reported on the district's financial plans.



LINDA JENNESS



TOM LEONARD Militant/Lou Howort

### Organization

In an organization report, Linda Jenness explained that the New York local—formerly made up of five branches—had decided to consolidate into three.

"Three larger branches—in Brooklyn, the Upper West Side, and Lower Manhattan—will enable us to maintain strong branch institutions—forums, bookstores, educational programs—while at the same time allowing us to throw ourselves into a whole new dimension of party work—district industrial fractions," said Jenness, who is New York local organizer.

Fractions—which are composed of party members who work in the same industry—coordinate political work on the job and in the unions.

Each SWP member belongs to a branch, the party's basic decision-making unit. In cities where more than one branch exists—like New York—a local is formed and a leadership elected to coordinate the party's city-wide work.

Party districts incorporate branches and locals in a larger geographical area. Districts have recently been established in the northern California Bay Area and Chicago-Gary to more effectively organize the party's drive into industry and to build stronger party fractions in the unions.

The New York-New Jersey district has been constituted to accomplish the same aims. More than 300 members

reside in this district. Some work full-time in the party's national offices in New York City. Those who concentrate on local political work in New York have been seeking industrial jobs but have run up against the limitations imposed by the city's financial crisis and its specialized economy.

Across the Hudson River the smaller Newark branch, on the other hand, is surrounded by one of the heaviest concentrations of industry in the country—including large auto assembly plants, electrical plants, and oil refineries.

The SWP was faced with a contradiction, Leonard explained. "We have a concentration of Trotskyists on one side of the river and a concentration of industrial workers on the other. The first task of this district will be to bring together a synthesis here."

And as this occurs the party's national effort to root itself in the industrial working class will gain greater strength, Leonard added. "We should never underestimate the importance of the New York local and its pacesetting party-building efforts."

### Political shifts

Leonard called attention to the timeliness of the district's push into industry by demonstrating how the decisive power of the industrial working class has been confirmed in the past year—in the miners' heroic strike, in the rail workers' crippling walkout, and in the

massive upsurge in Iran.

The miners' challenge to big business and the government—which inspired resistance among other unionists, students, Blacks, and women—has produced a "relationship of class forces more favorable to the workers and their allies," Leonard explained. This "political shift" is reflected in "new and more militant fightback moods among the unions' ranks" as well as "cracks within the union bureaucracy."

Union officials like the auto workers' Douglas Fraser and the machinists' William Winpisinger are talking tough today because they "face a growing credibility gap as their class-collaborationist policies further erode the unions' past gains," Leonard said. "They are casting about for ways to refurbish their image and wheedle some concessions."

These political changes add up to new opportunities for SWP members in the industrial unions—and all areas of party work.

The New York branches, in particular, can count on greater gains as their members find jobs in basic industry. They can help begin to mobilize the power of industrial unions in support of community struggles; find new openings for women's liberation activity; and more effectively challenge political opponents for the allegiance of radicalizing workers, Leonard explained.

In her report, Jenness added that

changing the composition of the New York local would "make us think about, look at, and explain things differently—from the vantage point of industrial workers. That—and our ability to draw other industrial workers to our forums and activities—will have a big impact on workers we meet in New York. They know—particularly after the miners' strike—that the industrial unions have the muscle to change things."

### Opportunities

During convention discussion a New Jersey industrial worker reported on new developments in the unions there—everything from women's committees to union coalitions for environmental health and safety. "There's political discussion everywhere you go—in the cafeterias, in the women's rooms."

"On everything from the ERA to South Africa," added another New Jersey worker.

Ethel Lobman, who joined the SWP in 1943, when she was eighteen years old, discussed the party's previous work in industrial unions here. "There's been a dramatic change in the working class in the last thirty years," she said. "Now in basic industry you find more Blacks, *latinos*, women. We'll be able to take into our union work all the campaigns we carry out in communities of oppressed nationalities."

A Brooklyn Navy Yard worker described the political work she and other party members have been able to do on the job—bringing co-workers to the July 9 ERA march, to the October convention of the National Organization for Women, and to SWP election campaign events.

Other speakers pointed out that a bigger party presence in New Jersey's industrial unions will enhance the party's future work in New York's public-service unions.

"The public sector has taken a big beating in New York," said Ray Markey, an AFSCME delegate to the city's central labor council. "At the same time, we have seen a big fightback develop in the steel, rail, and miners unions. Public workers solidarize with those struggles and when we're in these decisive unions we'll be a more attractive force."

Michael Maggi, New York's Upper West Side organizer, seemed to capture the sense of the convention when he said, "The prospects we face in New York and New Jersey are the most exciting in decades. We've taken the first step forward in establishing our district today. Now comes the concrete work of making this district—and its industrial perspective—a reality."

## Blow to 'social contract'

# British Ford strikers bust through wage curbs

By Shelley Kramer

British Ford workers have won their eight-week strike—and dealt a devastating blow to the Labour Party government's "social contract."

Some 57,000 auto workers at twenty-three plants voted on November 22 to accept a 16.85 percent wage hike—more than three times the government's 5 percent limit. Now government ministers are expected to impose sanctions on Ford—the aim being to stop other companies from following suit and giving way before what the capitalist media describe as a "wage explosion."

The auto workers won a reported average pay increase of \$23 a week. Ford originally pressed for \$7.75 of the settlement to take the form of an "attendance bonus" from which deduc-

tions would be made for absenteeism, sickness, lateness, or walkouts. While the strikers rejected these stipulations, the final wage package does provide penalties for "unofficial" work stoppages.

Under the three-year-long "social contract"—which is supposed to curb inflation by limiting wages and prices—workers have been exhorted to give up more and more while the bosses increase their take. Ford workers, for instance, experienced a 25 percent drop in living standards while company profits doubled—from \$240 million in 1976 to \$592 million in 1977.

The auto workers' decision to stand up and fight back inspired widespread solidarity. One union after another joined the battle against the government's controls. Dockworkers, sailors,

and other workers, in support of the strikers, refused to move Ford products into or out of Britain.

Auto workers at British Leyland, municipal workers, and civil servants began to press wage demands that far exceeded 5 percent. And on November 23 leaders of the country's 260,000 coal miners announced plans to fight for a 40 percent raise and four-day work-week.

Opposition to the guidelines is so strong that in October the Labour Party's own conference voted to reject not only the 5 percent limit but "any wage restraint by whatever method." And then on November 14 the General Council of the Trades Union Congress (Britain's labor federation) refused to go along with new, revised government guidelines.

The TUC action "marks the end of the road for the government's whole economic strategy," said a Liberal Party spokesperson.

That strategy—based on driving down workers' living standards in the name of "equal sacrifice"—is the same strategy that lies behind Jimmy Carter's phony inflation plan. American workers—like their British brothers and sisters—are expected to hold their wages down while prices and profits continue to soar.

The Ford strikers developed a counter-strategy to defend their interests—one that mobilized the power of their union and inspired solidarity and resistance throughout the British labor movement.

Their victory can point the way forward for American workers as well.

# Iran: is struggle against shah's tyranny reactionary?

By David Frankel

Over the past three months we have witnessed a revolutionary mobilization of the Iranian people that has rocked the dictatorship of Shah Mohammed Reza Pahlavi to its foundations.

The struggle against the shah's tyranny has given rise to one of the great revolutionary movements of our generation. Millions of people have joined in strikes and street demonstrations. Protests have flared in every corner of Iran. Unarmed demonstrators have defied tanks and machine guns. More and more, the working class has taken the lead in the struggle.

Right now, there is a pause in the battle—a temporary standoff between the shah's hated regime and the insurgent masses.

But this is an unstable situation. New upheavals are sure to take place as the masses try to push forward the struggle for their demands, and as the shah tries to beat back opposition to his dictatorship.

Every progressive social force, every forward-looking element, every fighter for human liberty in Iranian society has joined together to oppose the shah's savage regime. Meanwhile, the big-business media here in the United States have sought to portray the revolt of the Iranian people as a reactionary rebellion against progress and modernization.

Because of the close relationship between the shah and the U.S. government, American revolutionists have a special responsibility to defend the struggle in Iran. Unfortunately, there has been one voice on the left that has echoed the line of the capitalist media.

## 'Hatred of social advances'?

The Spartacist League, a small sect that falsely advertises itself as the true representative of Trotskyism in the United States, has not bothered to stress the danger of imperialist intervention in Iran; it has hardly bothered to explain the reactionary nature of the shah's regime to the American people. Rather, it has concentrated its fire on those it calls "mullah lovers."

Since Muslim religious figures (mullahs) have played a major role in the Iranian upsurge, the Spartacists argue that the mass movement is motivated by "fanatical hatred of social advances since the time of the prophet Muhammed. . . ."

An article in the November 17 *Workers Vanguard*, the Spartacist paper, declares that "the mullahs' opposition to the shah is a reactionary one, no matter how it plays on the crimes of the shah's dictatorship."

What is the "reactionary" program of this opposition to the shah? How does the opposition show its "fanatical hatred of social advances since the time of the prophet Muhammed"?

Listen to the testimony of the *Workers Vanguard*, which complains that "the leftist students and striking workers seem united to the bourgeois liberals and Muslim clergy by a common 'democratic' program directed against the shah: the end of martial law, freeing of political prisoners and replacement of the monarchy by a parliamentary regime."

Only a group blinded by sectarianism could view such demands as reactionary.

A united front for the lifting of martial law, the release of political prisoners, and the abolition of the monarchy is something revolutionists support.

Uniting the masses in a common struggle against the shah's regime is the prerequisite for further revolutionary advances in Iran. And it is precisely around the democratic demands that the Spartacist League holds in



Demonstrators in Tehran carry picture of Muslim religious leader Ayatollah Khomeyni. Sectarrians in Spartacist League say religious leadership means Iranian revolutionary movement is rightist.

such contempt that such a united front can be built.

## Recipe for defeat?

As the Spartacists see it, "This is a recipe for a disastrous defeat for the Iranian proletariat." They counterpose the slogan, "Down With the Shah! Down With the Mullahs!" to the perspective of a united front against the shah's dictatorship.

In doing this, they place the religious leaders demanding an end to the shah's rule on the same level as the shah himself. The supreme representative of the Iranian ruling class, along with his army, his secret police, his dungeons, and his torture chambers—the head of a regime that has been declared by President Carter to be "one of our important bases on which our entire foreign policy depends"—is equated with religious leaders *who might possibly, at some future time, be involved in the formation of a government.*

Of course, if a procapitalist government—religious or not—is formed in the future, revolutionists will oppose it. But the real struggle in Iran is against the imperialist-backed tyranny that actually exists right now. By taking part in this struggle and helping to advance it, revolutionists will be in the best position to take whatever steps are required by future developments.

But the Spartacist League refuses support to the struggle of the Iranian people and even denounces it as reactionary because it has been initiated under a leadership that happens to be largely religious.

This would be a shameful position under any circumstances. It is doubly so for a group operating inside the main imperialist power responsible for the shah's regime in the first place.

## Defending Western culture

It is not surprising that the Spartacists, who oppose affirmative-action programs and the demand that U.S. corporate investment in South Africa be halted, should fall into chauvinist positions on other questions as well.

In the case of Iran, the *Workers Vanguard* reserves its most caustic attacks for the opposition forces under the leadership of the Muslim religious heads. It goes so far as to compare their popularity to Hitler's.

One thing that draws especially sharp disapproval is that Muslim stu-

dents have been "attacking liquor stores, movie theaters and night clubs. These were again the targets (including a Pepsi Cola plant) in the recent Teheran revolt—once again providing stark evidence that their 'anti-imperialism' is nothing more than an obscurantist hatred for Western culture and modernization."

Apparently the *Workers Vanguard* is firmly convinced of the progressive, civilizing influences provided by liquor stores, movie theaters, night clubs, and especially Pepsi Cola plants.

But the Spartacists should relax. The Iranian workers and peasants do not desire a return to the Middle Ages, and they have no intention of wiping out the glories of Western culture. It happens in any deepgoing anti-imperialist struggle that symbols of the oppressor, including cultural symbols, are singled out for attack.

The burning of night clubs in Iran is no more "anti-Western" than was the closing of gambling casinos during the Cuban revolution. (Unfortunately, the Cuban revolution is another movement that the Spartacists decided not to support.)

Demonstrators in Iran have made their aims clear enough. They oppose the regime's links to imperialism. That is why they burned the British Embassy and the hotels where the shah's foreign advisers stay.

Moreover, anti-imperialist demands have been made explicit by striking workers. Demands have been raised for the departure of imperialist advisers, for opening the books of the government agencies on dealings with imperialist concerns, and for an end to unequal treaties.

## Trotskyist view

At the bottom of the Spartacist position is the idea that what is happening in Iran today is *bad*—that if the shah is overthrown by the mass movement as it currently exists, it will be a shift to the right.

The *Militant*, in contrast, welcomes the mobilization of the Iranian masses against the dictatorship *regardless of the leadership that the mass movement may have at any particular point.*

Revolutionists can only win the leadership of such a movement by participating in it and helping to advance the struggle for its demands, not be criticizing it from the sidelines.

Just compare the position of the Spartacist League toward the events in

Iran today to Leon Trotsky's attitude toward the events of January 9, 1905. On that date, a demonstration of workers and their families, carrying icons and led by a priest named George Gapon, went to petition the tsar.

Instead of attacking Gapon's reactionary Christian ideology, Trotsky zeroed in on what was essential.

"The Revolution has come," he declared in his article on "The Events in Petersburg."

"The forms taken by the uprising of January 9th could not have been foreseen. A revolutionary priest, in perplexing manner placed by history at the head of the working masses for several days, lent the events the stamp of his personality, his conceptions, his rank.

"This form may mislead many an observer as to the real substance of the events. The actual meaning of the events, however, is just that which Social-Democracy [the revolutionary movement of that time] foresaw. The central figure is the Proletariat. The workingmen start a strike, they unite, they formulate political demands, they walk out into the streets, they win the enthusiastic sympathy of the entire population, they engage in battles with the army. . . ."

"The hero, Gapon, has not created the revolutionary energy of the Petersburg workingmen, he only unloosed it."

## No way back

Although the point has been missed by the Spartacist League, the massacre in Qum last January sparked a revolutionary upsurge that has already transformed Iran, just as the massacre of January 9, 1905, was the opening shot of the 1905 revolution in Russia.

Commenting on the effects of the 1905 experience in his article "The Lessons of the Great Year," Trotsky declared: "Where once there was a shapeless dough—the impersonal, formless people, 'Holy Russia,'—now social classes consciously oppose each other, political parties have sprung into existence, each with its own program and methods of struggle.

"January 9th opens a new Russian history. It is a line marked by the blood of the people. . . . There is no way back. There never will be."

Unlike the sectarians in the Spartacist League, Trotsky recognized a revolution when he saw one.



## Eyewitness report

# Iranian oil workers continue strike

The following report from an Iranian revolutionist was obtained by telephone by 'Intercontinental Press/Inprecor.'

TEHRAN—The national strike of oil workers is still going strong as of November 25. Despite hundreds of arrests in the oil fields and refineries, coupled with the eviction of many workers from their "company" homes, and continued threats and violent acts by the government, the overwhelming majority of oil workers on drilling sites, pipeline installations, and refineries have not gone back to work.

At present, army engineers and foreign technicians are running a small section of the operation, but contrary to government-disseminated reports, the production level is far below four million barrels a day. Official reports to the contrary are spread to create demoralization in the ranks of the workers and break their will to continue the strike. So far, however, the oil workers not only have not given up their political demands but have added to them the stopping of oil shipments to the racist states of Israel and South Africa.

On November 22, despite prior threats by the military government and the heavy presence of army troops and police in the streets, a large convoy of cars carrying the striking workers at Shahr-e-Ray refinery in southern Tehran proceeded to the center of the city, in a campaign to win support for their demands. With lights on and horns honking, a group of cars proceeded toward the bazaar district while another group gathered in front of the central headquarters of the National Iranian Oil Company on Takht-e-Jamshid Avenue.

Truckloads of police and soldiers present at the scene prevented workers from entering the building. However, most of the hundreds of NIOC employees left their offices and came outside to talk to the workers and soldiers, who were themselves carrying on discussions. The two immediate demands of Shahr-e-Ray refinery workers are the release of twenty-five arrested co-workers and the withdrawal of troops from the refinery.

According to an eyewitness account, the soldiers standing in front of the NIOC headquarters were totally overwhelmed by the workers' efforts at fraternization. The eyes of many soldiers were filled with tears. Even their commanding officer, who was pleading with the workers to disperse, could not help crying in response to the strikers' determined approach. But the police were brutal and violent. They shot and injured two workers and arrested dozens of others.

Now, for the first time, between 60 and 70 percent of the NIOC "white collar" employees, usually regarded as a well-off and conservative layer, have gone on strike in solidarity with the Shahr-e-Ray refinery workers.

Strikes in other industries and public services are also continuing. The latest group of industrial workers who have joined the wave of political strikes are the workers of the National Electrical Power Network. So as not to disrupt people's lives completely, these workers are conducting a zone-by-zone blackout and brownout.

A combination strike and slowdown by the communication workers is also in effect. Their main demand is the expulsion of foreign "advisers."



Striking oil workers are holding firm despite government lies and victimization.

## Fourth International statement on Iran

The following statement was issued November 21 by the United Secretariat of the Fourth International, the world Trotskyist organization.

Over the past year there has been an unprecedented upsurge of the Iranian masses against the brutal police state of Shah Reza Pahlavi, embracing wider and wider layers of the toiling masses—students, oppressed nationalities, peasants, the urban poor, and women. In the past two months, the working class has brought to bear its great power in a massive strike wave.

The workers have combined their own economic demands with political opposition to the hated regime. Once again we see the process of the working class in a semicolonial country tending to take the lead of all the toiling masses in their struggle for democracy and a better life, and the tendency for this struggle to grow into a socialist revolution against capital-

ism and imperialist domination.

Washington has tried to portray this mighty upsurge, one of the most powerful, sustained, and heroic of recent times, as a religious, conservative response to the "liberalization" policies of the shah. Nothing could be further from the truth. This great elemental movement is directed against twenty-five years of repression at the hands of one of the world's most brutal police regimes; against imperialist backing of this regime and imperialist economic exploitation; against the harsh suppression of the oppressed nationalities, which comprise the majority of the population; and against the economic and social policies of the shah that are grinding down the toilers of the city and countryside.

U.S. imperialism installed the present regime in a CIA-sponsored coup in 1953. Washington has armed it to the teeth and trained the hated SAVAK torturers. Now Washington and other imperialist powers have rushed to the

shah's support, backing his use of massive repression as he clings to his throne. The shah's regime plays a key role in the counterrevolutionary plans of imperialism in the whole region, and the stakes are high for it.

The bureaucrats of the Kremlin and Peking have also come to the shah's aid in his time of need, utilizing the occasion of the tyrant's birthday in October to publicly avow their support. "Chairman" Hua even paid the shah a friendly visit this summer while his troopers were gunning down demonstrators in the streets. Shortly thereafter, the shah's sister was given a warm welcome in Moscow. Once again the policy of "peaceful coexistence" stands exposed for the counterrevolutionary policy that it is.

At the same time, even from its own narrow nationalist viewpoint, Moscow has been compelled to warn against any moves by Washington to intervene directly militarily into the situation to save the tottering monarch, given the

fact that Iran borders on the Soviet Union. Carter has indeed sent up trial balloons hinting at such intervention. The dangers that any direct imperialist intervention would have are clear—it could lead to world war, given the strategic importance of the country.

In early November, the shah began to play his last card, an attempt to crush the upsurge by military might. But this will be easier said than done. The masses have shown tremendous courage. The protests continue in many cities. No section of the masses has as yet been defeated. The show-down battles are yet to come.

The Fourth International calls on the international workers movement and all supporters of democratic rights to solidarize with the struggles of the toiling masses of Iran against the shah and his regime, to demand that Washington and the other imperialist powers cease all aid to that regime, and to remain vigilant against any attempt by the imperialists to intervene.

## Louisville Bd. of Aldermen protests attack on SWP

By Debby Tarnopol

LOUISVILLE, Ky.—The city board of aldermen has condemned a November 4 chemical bomb attack on the Socialist Workers Party's campaign rally as "a threat to the freedom of all citizens of Louisville."

The board passed a resolution to that effect by a five-to-one vote November 28.

The action came after a campaign by the SWP to enlist opposition to the pattern of right-wing violence in Louisville.

On November 20, a cross was burned in the front yard of Clarence and Ella

Rice, a Black couple living in an almost all-white suburb of Louisville.

Just prior to the November 4 tear-gas attack on the SWP rally, Jim Burfeind, the socialist candidate for Congress, had two gallons of oil dropped on him from two stories up while he was at work in a local General Electric plant.

Thus far, the Louisville police have arrested no one for the bomb attack on the socialists.

However, some forty groups and individuals have protested the attack on the SWP, including Burfeind's union, International Association of Machinists Lodge 2409.

Below is the text of the resolution passed by the board of aldermen:

Whereas, the major foundation of a free society in the United States is the Bill of Rights, the First Amendment of which guarantees freedom of speech and provides that all persons have a right to be heard, and

Whereas, this right extends to all citizens, no matter how unpopular their cause, and

Whereas, an attempt to silence unpopular groups of citizens by resort to acts of violence is an attack upon the rights of all citizens, and an attack on

the right to listen and decide for oneself the truth of any assertion, and

Whereas, the tear gas bombing of a local political headquarters is a deplorable, senseless, and criminal act,

Now, therefore, be it resolved by the Board of Aldermen of the City of Louisville, that the Board of Aldermen of the City of Louisville condemns the tear gas bombing as a threat to the freedom of all citizens of Louisville and urges the police department of the City of Louisville to make a thorough investigation of the incident.

That the Board of Aldermen urges that the citizens of Louisville take a stand against such acts of violence.

## Asylum for Marroquin & Medina!

# San Diego rally hits Mexico repression

By Steve Warshell

SAN DIEGO—A broad meeting demanding political asylum for Héctor Marroquin and José Medina and freedom for all Mexican political prisoners drew 100 people here November 16.

The rally was sponsored by the Héctor Marroquin Defense Committee and endorsed by more than forty groups and individuals from San Diego and Tijuana, Mexico.

Marroquin, a member of the Socialist Workers Party, fled a 1974 frame-up in Mexico. Medina was also forced to flee Mexico because of his political beliefs. Both are seeking asylum in the United States, while the government is seeking to deport them.

Among the speakers at the rally was Rosario Ibarra de Piedra of the Mexican Committee to Defend Political

Prisoners, the Politically Persecuted, "Disappeared," and Exiled.

"Our goal is to rescue the political prisoners from Mexican jails," Ibarra said.

"The word 'amnesty,'" she noted, "means literally to forget—that is, both sides forget the repression, forget the injustices. If there were a real amnesty, if all the prisoners reappeared, we might forget. But until then, we'll continue the struggle."

Medina, describing the repression in Mexico, said, "The López Portillo government considers dangerous anyone who disagrees. That means 65 million human beings."

Marroquin described the U.S. government's unwillingness to admit his life would be in danger if he returned to Mexico.

"We met with [Immigration and Naturalization Service Director] Leonel Castillo and explained the situation to him, presented him with data, data from hundreds of cases, absolute proof of the fact that repression exists in Mexico," said Marroquin.

"But Castillo said it would be difficult for him to guarantee political asylum. Mexico, after all, is a friendly country, and granting me political asylum would be to say that Mexico is repressive. 'We can't say that,' Castillo told me."

Also speaking were Gilberto Conde, representing the Partido Revolucionario de los Trabajadores, Mexican sister organization of the Socialist Workers Party; and José Luis Canchola of the Mexican Communist Party.

Canchola said:

"The Mexican Communist Party

adds its voice to those who today are fighting for total and unconditional amnesty for comrades José Medina and Héctor Marroquin, who have managed to stay active in the struggle to organize the masses even here inside the belly of the imperialist monster."

Javier Bautista of the San Diego SWP also spoke.

Others supporting the meeting included Manuel Acuña Berbella of the campus workers union at the university in Baja California; Margery Rendon, a local journalist and leader of a group opposing the Somoza dictatorship in Nicaragua; philosopher Herbert Marcuse; Al Usquiano, San Diego Communist Party; Arab-American Society of San Diego and its president, Fozi Khouri; and Tenille Porter, San Diego Black Student Union.



Militant

San Diego rally demanded political asylum for Héctor Marroquin and José Medina and freedom for all Mexican political prisoners.

## INS ruling near on Marroquin asylum

The Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) is about to rule on Héctor Marroquin's request for political asylum. The INS sought an advisory opinion from the State Department, which said that Marroquin should be deported to Mexico. The State Department claimed Marroquin could receive a fair trial there.

If Marroquin is forced to return to Mexico, he will face imprisonment, torture, and possible death. Nearly 400 political activists have disappeared after arrest there.

Marroquin's attorneys were given fifteen days to answer the State

Department's claims. The INS is expected to rule shortly after that.

Meanwhile, Marroquin continues on this national tour, winning support all over the country. The final stops on the tour are:

Nov. 28-Dec. 2	Dallas
Dec. 3-5	Milwaukee
Dec. 6-7	Minneapolis/ Iron Range
Dec. 8	Kansas City

For more information, contact the Héctor Marroquin Defense Committee, Box 843, Cooper Station, New York, New York 10003.

## YSA & Cuban revolution

By Diane Wang

In Cuba January 1, 1959, did not just mark the end of an old year. It marked the end of a hated dictator's regime, as Fulgencio Batista fled the island.

Cuba had been a colony of the United States in all but name. Malnutrition, unemployment, prostitution—all these had plagued the Cuban people.

But the Cuban revolution, the first socialist revolution in the Americas, struck hammer blows at that poverty, illiteracy, and racial and sexual discrimination.

Today the percentage of people in Cuba able to read is 96 percent, one of the highest literacy rates in the world. The infant-mortality rate for Cuba was reduced to 22.8 per 1,000 births in 1976. (By comparison, the U.S. infant mortality rate was 14.2 for the white population, but 24.2 for Black and other races.)

The Young Socialist Alliance in this country was founded in 1960 by students who had been inspired by Cuba and the colonial revolution, as well as by the civil rights movement.

At its founding conference the YSA unanimously passed a resolution hailing "the Cuban Revolution for the progress made in freeing Cuba from U.S. imperialist domination and in advancing the social interests of the Cuban workers, peasants and students."

"The assembled delegates, representing students and young people throughout the United States and from a number of the largest American universities, pledge this organization to utilize its newspaper, the *Young Socialist*, and its forces on college and high school campuses to tell the truth to American young people about the Cuban Revolution."

The YSA acted on that pledge, help-

ing organize the Fair Play for Cuba Committees that demanded, "U.S. Hands Off Cuba!"

And today the YSA is vigorously demanding "hands off" again, as the Carter administration escalates its attacks on Cuba and on its role in defending the African freedom struggle.

This year the YSA convention will celebrate the twentieth anniversary of the Cuban revolution at a New Year's Eve rally in the ballroom of the William Penn Hotel in Pittsburgh. The featured speaker at the rally will be Jack Barnes, national secretary of the Socialist Workers Party and former national chairperson of the YSA.

In 1960, Barnes decided to join the YSA while visiting Cuba on a Ford Foundation grant to study "agrarian reform and economic planning." He agreed with the Cubans' "reform" and wanted to join the revolutionary socialist movement.

Betsy Farley, a member of the YSA National Executive Committee and editor of the *Young Socialist*, and James Harris, a member of the SWP National Committee, will also speak. Both have visited Cuba.

Farley is the author of the center-spread feature in the current issue of the *Young Socialist* on "Twenty Years of the Cuban Revolution."

Not just students and young people but all supporters of the Cuban revolution are invited to the rally. For more information about the New Year's Eve celebration or the December 28-January 1 YSA convention, contact the YSA chapter nearest you, listed on page 31 of this paper, or write to the YSA National Office, P.O. Box 471, Cooper Station, New York, New York 10003.

Come to a New Year's Eve rally and celebrate

## Twenty Years of the Cuban Revolution

Speakers: **Jack Barnes**, national secretary of the Socialist Workers Party; **Betsy Farley**, editor of the *Young Socialist*; **James Harris**, national committee member of the SWP; **José G. Pérez**, editor of *Perspectiva Mundial*.

December 31  
8 p.m.

Pittsburgh

William Penn Hotel



January 1, 1959: 'Batista flees!'

This celebration is part of the December 28-January 1

## Young Socialist Alliance national convention

For more information write the YSA national office, Box 471 Cooper Station, New York, New York 10003



# international **socialist** review

## **Who Rules America? Who Runs the Democratic Party?**

**By Dick Roberts**



## **Two Critics of Trotsky: Where They Go Wrong** **By Peter Archer**

# THE MONTH IN REVIEW

## Growing Opposition to U.S. Blockade of Cuba

When Carter took office in January 1977, he took pains to create the impression that his administration wanted to establish good relations with Cuba. He lifted the ban on travel to the island and announced the end of spy flights over it.

In reality, Carter has been groping for pretexts to maintain a diplomatic and economic blockade against Cuba and to escalate military moves against the revolution. This is U.S. imperialism's response to the aid Cuba has given African liberation struggles. The U.S. rulers are concerned about the inspiration to freedom fighters in Zimbabwe and South Africa provided by the presence of Cuban troops in Africa.

The Cuban leaders are demanding an end to the U.S. economic blockade and normalization of diplomatic relations with the United States, while refusing to place support for anti-imperialist struggles on the bargaining table. Castro stated September 6, "We categorically refuse to discuss the question of our solidarity with Africa. These questions cannot be discussed or negotiated with the U.S. government, and we will never negotiate them."

Castro also moved to establish ties with hundreds of thousands of Cubans living in the United States. In doing so, he is taking actions that cut the ground from under Carter's use of rhetoric about human rights as a cover for imperialist aggression.

The many bitter opponents of the Cuban revolution among Cubans living in the United States were long used by the Central Intelligence Agency for counterrevolutionary activities such as the unsuccessful invasion attempt in April 1961.

But the Cuban community here was never united in opposition to the revolution. As the Cuban masses proved that they could fend off U.S.-backed assaults, opposition to the blockade and even sympathy for the revolution (especially among youth) became more widespread.

This has been reflected in the recent formation of groups such as the Cuban-American Committee for the Normalization of Relations with Cuba, and the Rev. Manuel Espinosa's Christian Evangelical church in Miami.

The Cuban government reached out to this sentiment, inviting fifty-five young Cubans who had been brought to the United States as small children to visit the island last De-

ember. Many were favorably impressed. And in August, Castro offered to allow 216 present and former political prisoners to leave Cuba if the United States would accept those who wished to come here.

Unlike political prisoners who are jailed for their ideas under repressive regimes from Chile to the Soviet Union, most of these prisoners had actively participated in U.S. imperialism's violent campaign to overturn the Cuban revolution.

On September 6 Castro told a group of journalists that included many Cuban exiles that he was willing to discuss with leaders of the Cuban community in the United States releasing 3,000 imprisoned counterrevolutionists.

Castro placed the regime's changed attitude toward the exiles in the context of the regime's support for struggles against national oppression:

"We support all communities which try to maintain their identity. We support the Puerto Ricans, Mexicans, Latin Americans, Blacks, and Indians as well—in short, all the minorities who struggle for their interests. . . . Why not view the Cubans in the same light?"

A group of fifty exiled leaders, which included some who had participated in the April 1961 CIA-backed invasion, were invited to come to Cuba in November.

This put the heat on Washington. "A State Department official said the overwhelming majority of letters that the department has received from Cuban exiles favor improving relations with Havana. . . ." reported the October 26 *International Herald Tribune*.

Certainly, if Carter's speeches about human rights are taken for good coin, one would expect enthusiastic endorsement of Castro's actions by the White House.

Castro himself was not very optimistic. He told reporters October 21, "They [the United States] have other quarrels with us: our solidarity with Africa and Puerto Rico."

And, in fact, the United States tried to disrupt Cuba's new relationship with the exiles and to step up aggressive moves against the Cuban revolution.

Far from hailing the release of prisoners, Attorney General Griffin Bell insisted that he would screen them individually in order to weed out "spies, terrorists, and common criminals." Only forty-seven were allowed into the United States after two months of "screening." Bell's insistence on admitting only Cubans with spotless records must have come as a shock to prisoners who were selected, trained, and armed by the U.S. government precisely to be spies and terrorists against the Cuban revolution.

Only days before the scheduled visit to Cuba of exile leaders from the United States, the U.S. government began a military provocation. The pretext was a claim that MIG-23s received by Cuba from the USSR might be capable of launching nuclear weapons against the United States.

Soviet leaders were warned, as in the days of the October 1962 "missile crisis," against

arming the Cubans to defend themselves. The resumption of spy flights over Cuba was announced. Simultaneously a large American fleet including thirty-six warships, an aircraft carrier, and nuclear submarines moved toward the Cuban coast in what were later officially described as "maneuvers." Cuban military forces were mobilized to repel a possible attack.

But U.S. public opinion did not heed Carter administration efforts to whip up hysteria over the supposed danger of a nuclear attack on the United States by Cuba. And press reports soon revealed that the scare campaign was a fake.

The November 17 *Washington Post* went so far as to hint that "this new 'Cuban missile crisis' is a hoax."

The end result of Carter's escalation was to expand his credibility gap and reaffirm the hostility of the American people to U.S. military threats. His actions confirmed Castro's view that Carter's hostility to the Cuban regime has nothing to do with human rights and everything to do with the Cuban revolution and its support to African liberation struggles.

Castro struck a further blow to Carter's anti-Cuba policy by announcing, after discussions with the Cuban exile delegation that 3,000 counterrevolutionary prisoners would be released if the United States would accept those who want to emigrate here. He asked pointedly, "Why at this time is the United States resisting a quick resolution of this problem." He added that 600 other prisoners held on lesser charges would also be set free.

Castro further stated that thousands of Cubans who wish to join their families in exile will be allowed to do so and that restrictions on exile visits to Cuba will be lifted early in 1979.

The Rev. José Reyes, who headed the delegation of exile leaders to Cuba, stated that "the economic blockade cannot be maintained against a country as small as Cuba.

"Washington has to respond positively," Reyes said. "Cuba is showing the world that human rights are respected here."

Castro's ability to turn Carter's human rights propaganda against the imperialist hypocrites stems from the nature of the Cuban revolution, which has always defended the most basic human rights of the poor and oppressed.

There is no reason to believe that Carter is about to end the long-standing imperialist campaign to isolate and ultimately destroy the Cuban revolution. The danger of new military moves remains.

But the exposure of Carter's latest threats, the changing mood of Cuban exiles in the United States, and Castro's response to this create favorable conditions for stepping up demands on the Carter administration. All working people have a stake in calling on the administration to stop all warlike moves against Cuba, end the economic blockade, and establish diplomatic relations with the revolutionary government.

## CONTENTS

The Month In Review .....	2	Who Rules America? Who Runs the Democratic Party? By Dick Roberts .....	6
Two Critics of Trotsky: Where They Go Wrong By Peter Archer .....	3	Writings of Leon Trotsky 1933-34, 1934-35 Reviewed by Duncan Williams .....	12
Stalinism in the Unions: A Record of Betrayal By Milt Alvin .....	5	Books Received .....	12



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# Two Critics of Trotsky: Where They Go Wrong

By Peter Archer

In recent years many books have been published about the life and work of Leon Trotsky. These range from Joseph Nedava's *Trotsky and the Jews* (1972) to Robert Payne's *The Life and Death of Leon Trotsky* (1977).

This outpouring is not difficult to explain. The radicalization that began in the 1960s has inspired new interest in great revolutionary figures of the past. For young people interested in fighting for a new society, but repelled by the Stalinist perversions of Marxism, Trotsky is an attractive figure. Trotskyist organizations are increasing their numbers and influence. And a large quantity of Trotsky's writings have now become available (thanks in great part to the work of Pathfinder Press).

Unfortunately, most of the studies of Trotsky and Trotskyism make a poor showing. Payne's biography, one of the worst, offers the author's bizarre psychological interpretations in place of responsible historical research. It is riddled with factual errors, great and small.

Two recent books fall into a more politically sophisticated category.<sup>1</sup> In *The Social and Political Thought of Leon Trotsky*, Baruch Knei-Paz, a lecturer in political science at Israel's Jerusalem University, attempts a deepgoing critique of Trotsky's ideas. The author has researched his subject thoroughly, including Trotsky's works available in English and some not yet translated. The scope of his effort will attract readers, despite the book's great length and academic style.

Irving Howe's *Trotsky*, on the other hand, is designed as a more popular introduction to the subject, published as part of Fontana Books Modern Masters series.

Howe and Knei-Paz treat Trotsky as a serious thinker and regard him as an admirable person in many respects. His literary style, in particular, comes in for high praise.

But both authors are determined to refute Trotsky's ideas and to discredit his revolutionary lifework. Howe and Knei-Paz are bitterly hostile to the Russian revolution, of which Trotsky was a central leader and organizer. Both are more or less sympathetic to the Mensheviks, the Social Democratic formation that tried to block the workers' seizure of power in October 1917.

To bolster their refutations of Trotskyism, both authors must cut Trotsky down to the scale of their own petty concerns. Howe in particular waxes eloquent on the "irony" of Trotsky's fall from the pinnacle of power, his loneliness and isolation in exile, and finally his murder at the hands of Stalin's agent.

Knei-Paz offers readers a Trotsky who dogmatically clings to an absurd schema, bolstered by a rigid lexicon of Marxist phrases, hopelessly predicting social revolution in the West. In Knei-Paz's hands, Trotsky becomes in the end a petty tyrant, the tragic wreck of a great thinker.

A point-by-point refutation of the fallacies in Howe's and Knei-Paz's evaluations would require books of comparable length. This review will therefore take note of a few of their central arguments—particularly their challenge to the legitimacy of the October revolution in Russia. For this revolution and its lessons, as both Howe and Knei-Paz recognize, formed the heart of Trotsky's action and thought.

For some years during the 1930s Irving Howe was a member of the Socialist Workers Party, then the U.S. section of the Fourth International,

1. *The Social and Political Thought of Leon Trotsky* by Baruch Knei-Paz. Oxford. Clarendon Press. 629 pp. Cloth \$29.50.

*Leon Trotsky* by Irving Howe. New York. Viking Press. 214 pp. Cloth \$10.

Peter Archer is a member of the Militant's editorial staff and author of "Orwell and the Spanish Civil War," which appeared in the June 1978 issue of the ISR.

which Trotsky helped to found. (Reactionary legislation compelled the SWP to disaffiliate in 1940, although it continues to uphold the program of the Fourth International.)

Howe broke with Trotsky and the SWP in 1940. He opposed its view that the Soviet Union remained a workers state to be defended against imperialist attack during World War II.

Today Howe edits the quarterly magazine *Dissent* and is a leader of the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee, a Social Democratic grouping that aims to reform the Democratic Party. His evaluation of Trotsky flows from his reformist political orientation.

## Howe's Brief for Menshevism

For Howe, the "tragedy" of the Russian revolution was that the Mensheviks let power fall into the hands of the Bolsheviks through a comedy of "error, weakness, accident, failure and missed opportunity."

If only the 1917 revolution had stopped with the installation of a coalition government of bourgeois and reformist parties in February 1917,

ruling classes and the imperialists launch a bloody civil war against the new workers government.

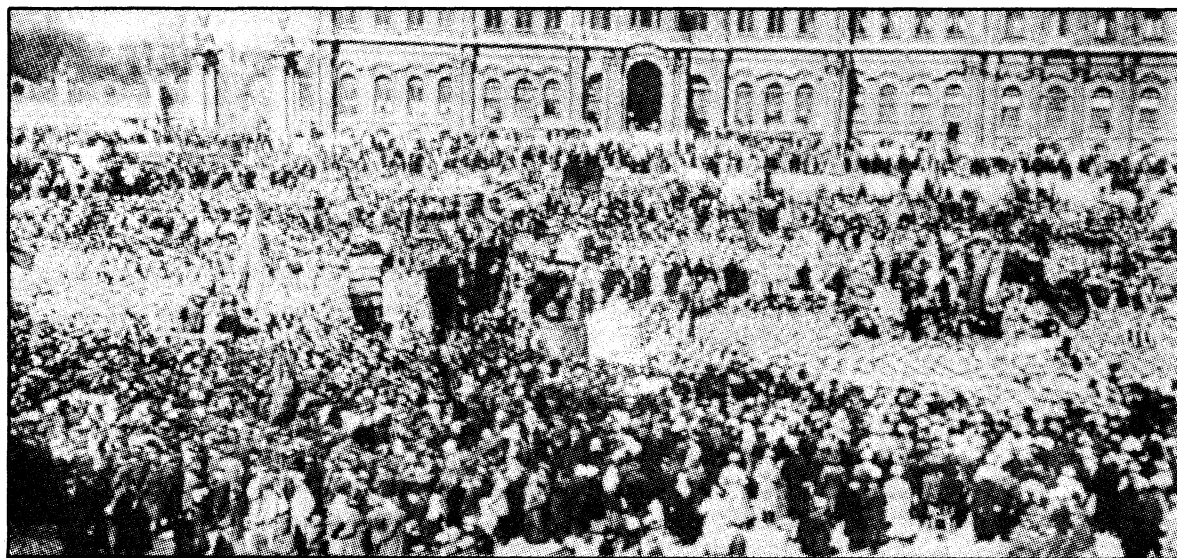
Although he often verges on admitting that the Mensheviks were incapable of solving the crisis of Russian society, Howe still opposes the Bolshevik-led workers' revolution. His case rests upon the rise of Stalinism, which he sees as an inevitable result of the successful uprising.

## Bolshevism and Stalinism

"Trapped by vanguard exclusivism, overwhelmed by the problems of bringing 'socialism' to a bleeding and shattered country, driven by a relentless ideology to measures it had not dreamt of but which time, blood and cynicism made more palatable each day, Bolshevism . . . stumbled into the Thermidor of Stalinism."

He adds, "The working class would prove insufficiently strong or self-assured to maintain a true socialist morale, or to prevent its political dispossession by the Bolshevik autocracy."

It is true that Russia's attempt at a great social transformation was only partially successful. A



Rally at the Winter Palace in Petrograd, shortly after the workers' seizure of power in October 1917.

Howe wistfully speculates, things might have worked out all right. But that government, which included the Mensheviks, refused to break its alliance with the imperialist powers and end the war. It refused to distribute the land and solve the agrarian problem. It refused to implement the basic needs of Russian working people because such measures required a decisive break with Russia's capitalists.

The Mensheviks claimed that they were upholding Marxist "orthodoxy" by insisting that Russia was too backward for a proletarian regime and that bourgeois interests must be defended at all costs. But as Trotsky pointed out, "Karl Marx saw the cause of the failure of the March [1848] revolution in Germany in the fact that it 'reformed only the very highest political circles, leaving untouched all the layers beneath them. . . .' Socialists of the type of Kerensky [the leading reformist in Russia's coalition government and later its head] were seeking salvation exactly where Marx saw the cause of failure. And the Menshevik Marxists were with Kerensky, not Marx."

Howe himself admits, "Mainly for ideological reasons but also out of the timidity that often besets liberals and social democrats upon taking office, the Provisional Governments failed to satisfy the desires of the people."

The primary beneficiary of that timidity was the old ruling class. There was little timidity in the Russian liberals' and Social Democrats' attacks on the workers and peasants.

In July 1917 right-wing gangs backed by Kerensky sacked the Bolshevik headquarters in Petrograd. Leading Bolsheviks—including Trotsky—were tossed into jail—often the same prisons that they had inhabited under tsarist rule.

After the Bolshevik seizure of power, the most prominent Menshevik leaders helped the old

bureaucratic privileged caste, headed by Stalin, rose up and imposed its rule on exhausted workers and peasants.

The exhaustion of the masses did not stem from innate weaknesses of the Russian workers. It was the product of the economic devastation wrought by the civil war, in which native counterrevolutionary forces were backed by more than a dozen foreign armies. Millions of workers and peasants gave their lives to defend what they had won in October 1917.

The effects of the civil war were multiplied by the isolation of the Russian revolution. While the Mensheviks failed to block the socialist revolution in Russia, their comrades in Germany, Italy, and elsewhere were more successful.

Howe bemoans the aftermath of the Bolshevik revolution. But what about the consequences in those countries where the Social Democrats kept the revolutionary struggle in capitalist bounds? Was there a flowering of democracy, as might be expected from Howe's estimate that the Bolshevik victory was the root cause of totalitarian Stalinism?

In 1919 the German government headed by the Social Democrats crushed a revolutionary uprising with ruthless force. Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht, leaders of the German revolutionary socialists, were murdered. The Social Democrats' wretched kowtowing before the power of German capital retarded the revolution for decades. And similar scenes were enacted in other countries.

The ultimate results were: fascism, world depression, and world war. Even where formal democracy survived in the capitalist world, restrictions on democratic rights are increasing as the wealthy seek to preserve minority rule. In the colonial and semicolonial sections of the world that have not yet broken with capitalism, deepening misery is the rule, more often than not

accompanied by bloody dictatorships.

The continued predominance of capitalism on a world scale is the cause of the decline of democratic freedoms, including the bureaucratic degeneration of the Soviet workers state. By bringing to power a regime based on elected workers and peasants councils, and by overturning capitalism, the Bolsheviks began the process—which has proven much longer than they hoped—of removing the capitalist obstacle to human freedom.

### Howe's Pessimism

Howe rejects Trotsky's scientific explanation for the rise of the bureaucratic caste. His arguments lead inexorably toward rejection of the struggle for socialism anywhere.

He writes, "Whether these facts—and facts they are—call into question the entire Marxist schema regarding the role of the working class in the building of socialism and thereby the possibilities for a socialism resting on the autonomous, democratic efforts of the working class: this remains a question that must haunt every thoughtful socialist."

In the United States, Social Democratic ideology is a reflection of the interests of the trade-union bureaucracy, which in turn is an adaptation to the needs of the ruling class's political parties. Like the Stalinist bureaucrats in workers states, like the Soviet Union and China, these officials see any massive popular upheaval against capitalism as a threat to their privileges.

Howe's pessimistic world view provides a justification for their opposition to the fight for "socialism resting on the autonomous, democratic efforts of the working class"—the prime example of which is the October revolution.

### Knei-Paz's Argument

Baruch Knei-Paz argues that Trotsky bears heavy responsibility for Stalinism, because he tried to "impose" a dogmatic schema upon Russian reality. According to Knei-Paz, the logic of the social forces in Russia demanded a capitalist order, not a workers state.

Trotsky's theory of permanent revolution, the target of Knei-Paz's attack, held that backward Russia could not advance under bourgeois rule. It would have to establish a workers government and overturn capitalism in order to move forward. However, since socialism presumed a higher level of economic productivity than capitalism, the backwardness of Russia meant that the revolution could not survive indefinitely without revolutions in more advanced capitalist countries. These would provide a basis for international economic planning and for overcoming restrictions imposed by the existence of national states in a world that had become economically interdependent.

But, says Knei-Paz, the revolutions in the West that Trotsky counted upon for support proved to be a will-o'-the-wisp. He charges Trotsky with failing to understand that Marxism was inapplicable to the advanced countries of the West. Trotsky's "determinism," we are informed, his attempts to foist his schema of revolution on an unmalleable reality, blinded him to the fact that Russian backwardness must inevitably assert itself.

Stalinism is explained by Knei-Paz as a result of the Bolsheviks' efforts to force the revolution in Russia against the stream of history. "If Bolshevism was really the 'will' of Russian history in 1917, why did it not maintain itself? The logical answer would seem to be that it was not the 'will' of history; or, one could argue, whether it was or was not the 'will,' it in fact did maintain itself, though in an extreme form, as Stalinism."

Trotsky's adherence to the Bolshevik Party is presented as proof positive that he was forcing history beyond its ordained limits: "Returning to Russia after February, he was convinced that all he had written and predicted over more than a decade was now unfolding in reality. But he must have become equally aware that left to their own initiative the masses might compromise with less than now seemed, to him, attainable. . . . What was needed now was a strong guiding hand, an organization of determined leaders, capable of taking control, and unafraid of power."

### Stalinism—'Extreme' Bolshevism?

What worried Trotsky and Lenin was not that "the masses might compromise with less than now seemed . . . attainable." The Mensheviks and other reformist leaders were compromising,

which meant that the revolution might be led to a disastrous and bloody defeat.

Was the Bolshevik revolution a violation of the laws of history? Did the party, as Knei-Paz contends, simply force its program on reality?

The Bolsheviks certainly did not impose their will on the Russian workers and peasants, who actually carried out the revolution. Since their program provided solutions to the agrarian problem and the war, as well as the specific demands of the workers, the will of the party fused with that of the masses, and each moved the other forward.

It was the masses who chose the Bolshevik alternative, after a long period of testing other leaderships and programs.

Knei-Paz's contention that Stalinism is "extreme" Bolshevism corresponds to none of the facts. Stalinist domestic policies were a reactionary reversal of the Bolsheviks' course. The treatment of women and oppressed nationalities are typical examples.

The social base of Stalinism is very different from that of Bolshevism. The Bolsheviks were a party of workers, not of privileged officials. The only resemblance between the two regimes is that the Stalinist bureaucracy rests on the nationalized property and planned economy that the Bolsheviks established.

In this light the mass murder of the Bolsheviks by Stalin in the purges appears not as an historic "irony"—as Howe and Knei-Paz are inclined to view it—but as the expression of a bureaucratic political counterrevolution.

### Crisis of Leadership

In the years after 1917, the absence of strong revolutionary parties capable of taking advantage of working-class revolutionary upsurges was, in Trotsky's opinion, the biggest obstacle to the extension of the revolution in both the East and the West.

At the Fourth Congress of the Communist International in 1922, Trotsky said of the defeat dealt to the German workers, "In essence the working class had conquered or virtually conquered, but there was no organization capable of definitely consolidating this victory and so the working class found itself hurled back."

Knei-Paz, like Howe, dismisses this view, arguing instead that the problem was rooted in the non-revolutionary nature of the Western workers and the inapplicability of Marxism to advanced capitalist societies.

Their premise is false. From Germany in 1918 to Portugal in 1974, workers in the imperialist countries have surged forward again and again. On such occasions they have proclaimed in no uncertain terms their desire for socialism.

Once their struggles have been beaten back or deflected because of class-collaborationist and bureaucratic misleadership, the workers can become demoralized or conservatized for some years. This quiescent period can be prolonged if the capitalist system seems to be prospering.

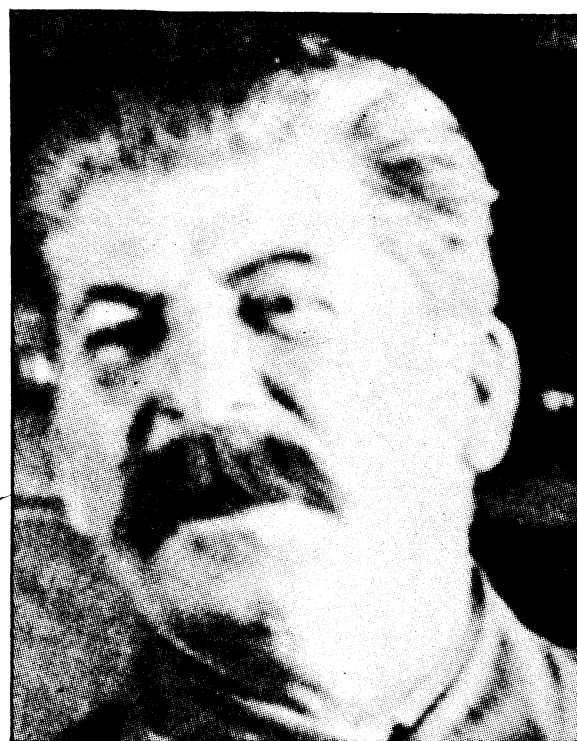
Knei-Paz's line of argument, like Howe's, impales him on the horns of a dilemma, even if his false premises about Western capitalist society are accepted. For the case of Russia, he argues that the Bolshevik leaders "imposed" their revolution despite the fact that this violated social conditions and the logic of history.

Yet the same thinker holds that the failure of socialist revolutions in the West was due to the nature of advanced societies like Germany. What has become of the role of leadership, which we have been told was able to overstep all such bounds in Russia?

Thus one is still left with the correctness of Trotsky's view that the lack of revolutionary leadership was decisive in preventing successful revolutions such as that of October 1917, in Germany and Italy after World War I, and in many other instances in the years that followed. Trotsky's critics can only refute him by adopting a crude historical determinism (with an equally incorrect theory hinging on the will of a few individuals tossed in to explain the Russian case).

The rise of Stalinism made the problem of revolutionary leadership all the more urgent in Trotsky's view. That is why he regarded his work to build the Fourth International, a world organization of revolutionary parties, as the most important of his life.

Noting the evils brought on by prolonged capitalist decay, he wrote in the Transitional Program, "The world political situation as a whole is chiefly characterized by a historical



Dictators Stalin, Hitler, Pinochet (top to bottom). Howe and Knei-Paz blame the October revolution for rise of Stalinism in Russia. But suppression of workers democracy in USSR stemmed from isolation and imperialist encirclement of the Russian revolution. The prolonged death agony of imperialism has produced a tendency for democratic forms to be reduced, or replaced by brutal dictatorships throughout the capitalist world, typified by rise of fascism and prevalence of military dictatorships in the colonial world. Replacement of capitalism by socialism on a world scale can salvage and expand human rights.

crisis of the leadership of the proletariat. . . .

"The objective prerequisites for the proletarian revolution have not only 'ripened'; they have begun to get somewhat rotten."

The inconsistent theories of Knei-Paz and Howe hardly offer an alternative to Trotsky's analysis. Rather, they seek to simultaneously "blame" Lenin and Trotsky for the overturn of capitalism in Russia, while delicately relieving the Social Democratic and Stalinist leaders of responsibility for blocking the workers from

Continued on page ISR/11



# Stalinism in the Unions: A Record of Betrayal

By Milt Alvin

**Labor and Communism: The Conflict that Shaped American Unions** by Bert Cochran. Princeton University Press. 394 pp. \$25.00.

An objective account of what the Communist Party did and did not do in the American union movement could be a useful addition to labor history. Unfortunately, this book falls short in this respect. Its main thesis, explicit in the title, asserts that the union movement of this country is the result of a contest between "Communism" (by which the author means the Stalinized Communist Party) on the one hand, and others whom the author dubs "Labor" (presumably union leaders who stood to the right of, or opposed to, the Communist Party).

Cochran, whose narrative stops in the 1950s, seems to argue that the unions fell under complete right-wing bureaucratic control as a result of the elimination of Communist Party influence. This seems to mean that for Cochran the Communist Party represented a progressive left wing and that the issues fought over in the CIO between the CP and the majority Murray-Reuther faction involved important principles. This is not what the conflict was about.

Actually, the dispute reflected the breakup of the World War II alliance between American imperialism and the Stalinist bureaucracy in the Soviet Union. The American Stalinists lined up with their masters in the Kremlin. Their bureaucratic counterparts in the opposing faction did not enter the lists as would-be slayers of American capitalist dragons, either. On the contrary, CIO President Murray and United Auto Workers chief Walter Reuther herded the workers into cheering sections for the cold-war policies of President Truman and General Marshall, their political mentors.

Workers' democratic rights were eroded as a result of the purge of Communist Party members from the unions. But this witch-hunt culminated a process of suppressing union members' rights that was well under way before the cold-war period. And the Communist Party was no more dedicated to union democracy than the Reuther-Murray wing.

The defeat of the Communist Party did not fundamentally change the union movement as a whole.

The CP aim in the unions was limited to playing the role of junior partners. This was as far as they got in their heyday in the 1930s when the CIO was first organized under John L. Lewis and a number of unions came under Communist Party leadership. Completely subservient to the Stalinist bureaucracy in the Kremlin, the CP could not become the dominant tendency in American unions.

The other bureaucrats—the Murrays, Reuthers, and their henchmen—understood the real position of the Communist Party and used it at certain points to advance their own bureaucratic interests. But they seized upon the cold-war atmosphere to drive the Stalinists out of all union positions. The excuse used was the first hint of political deviation from the pro-Democratic Party line of the top labor officials: the Communist Party's support for Henry Wallace on the Progressive ticket in 1948.

None of the principal contradictory elements in the American union movement resulted from a conflict between "Communism" and "Labor." These contradictions include the militancy of the ranks contrasted to the conservatism of the leaders; the near-complete organization of

workers in the mass-production industries into strong industrial unions while about three-quarters of all workers are not in unions; and the channeling of the unions' political efforts into support of the two capitalist parties instead of engaging in independent politics. Communist Party trade-union policy had some influence on these developments but was never decisive.

## Contradictions of Union Movement

The nature of the union movement in America derives from the development of monopoly capitalism and its concomitant effects on the working class. The great wealth accumulated by American capitalism enabled the rulers to buy off a layer of highly paid workers and union leaders. But basically the employers' insatiable greed for more and more profits led to highly rationalized production techniques and unmerciful speedup. This exploitation brought in its wake the combativity shown by American workers at turning points in the class struggle.

The high concentration of workers in the main branches of the American economy brought about the organization of large, strong industrial unions. These elements in American labor history were decisive, and the activities of "Communists" could modify the direction of events to only a slight degree.

That is not to say that the activities of "Communists," as Cochran dubs the Stalinists, were unimportant. On the contrary, for many years the antics of CP members in the unions contained object lessons in what not to do.

But an understanding of their role requires that a distinction be made between communism and Stalinism. Failure to do so leads to fundamental flaws in the analysis and falsification of the facts. Cochran, following bourgeois academic custom, ignores the distinction.

Cochran tries to show that from the date of its origin the American Communist Party always followed "orders" from Moscow. To buttress his position he quotes James P. Cannon, a founder of the Communist Party and later of American Trotskyism. The author's purpose is to show that even Cannon, the most independent-minded CP leader, was grateful for "dictation" from Moscow, as Cochran puts it.

Cannon is quoted as saying, "We who have fought for a realistic party have our best friend in Moscow." There is no reason to doubt that this

was indeed Cannon's view. But that was in the early 1920s when the Communist International was led by Lenin and Trotsky. Cannon many times related how this leadership provided helpful advice to other Communist parties, not "orders" or "dictation."

Cannon explained that the Lenin-Trotsky leadership helped Americans to make their party "realistic," that is, a party led by workers familiar with the language, traditions, history, and consciousness of the American workers. Cannon was also grateful to Lenin and Trotsky for correcting sectarian errors made by young American communists in their trade-union policy and elsewhere.

## Stalinization of CPs

After Lenin's death in 1924 and Trotsky's defeat in the internal struggle in the Soviet Communist Party, there was a drastic change. Stalin and his supporters emerged as the leaders of the Communist International, representing an economically privileged, bureaucratic layer that had arisen and come to power in the Soviet Union.

The new leadership's policies, subordinated to Stalin's goal of "building socialism in a single country," were literally forced upon other Communist parties. This led, among other things, to purges of critics and dissenters. Cannon and his associates were expelled from the American CP, charged with Trotskyism.

Cochran's deliberate failure to make any distinction between these two periods in the history of world communism leads to fundamental errors. For example, he says little or nothing about the issues that led to the Stalin-Trotsky struggle and split. Omitted are the effects of such decisive world events as the German revolution of 1923, the Chinese revolution of 1925-27, and especially the changes in the Soviet Union imposed by the Stalinists in the ten-year period 1923-33. Yet these determined Stalinist policy on a world scale. It is impossible to explain what Stalinists have done, are doing, and will do unless the degeneration of Soviet and world communism under Stalin's rule, culminating in their transformation into their very opposite, is explained.

Continued on page ISR/10



Labor officials and Donald Wilson, head of Roosevelt's War Production Board (seated, second from right). At his right is AFL President William Green, at his left is CIO President Philip Murray. Stalinist and non-Stalinist bureaucrats pushed speedup, no-strike pledge during World War II.

Milt Alvin is a veteran of more than forty years in the revolutionary socialist and labor movements.

# Who Rules America? Who Runs the Democratic Party?

By Dick Roberts

On May 28, 1978, Dick Roberts spoke at the closing session of a weekend conference on "The U.S. Social-Economic Order in the Next Decade: Christian and Marxist Perspectives," held at Rosemont College in Rosemont, Pennsylvania.

The conference heard theologians such as Max Stackhouse of the Newton Theological Seminary and Charles West of the Princeton Theological Seminary, as well as representatives of radical currents. These included Roberts, who spoke as a member of the Socialist Workers Party, Michael Harrington of the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee, and Victor Perlo of the Communist Party.

Roberts's speech has been edited for publication in the 'International Socialist Review.'

My view is different from others that have been presented at this conference. I will try to indicate that there is in the United States a capitalist ruling class that runs the government, and that the Democratic Party is controlled by and represents this capitalist class.

Michael Harrington of the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee said earlier that the relationship between the economic base of capitalism and its ideological superstructure is complex. For him, the American capitalist state, because it is democratic, allows space for socialists to do constructive work. Specifically, he proposed that we work through the Democratic Party in order to change capitalist society.

Harrington fails to recognize that capitalist democracy in the United States is, in fact, a dictatorship of the capitalists. The rule of the moneyed class is accompanied and befogged by a false ideological consciousness. The most basic reality of our society is that the overwhelming majority of Americans own none of the means of production and consequently must sell their labor power to the owners of corporations in order to make a living. Only these owners reap the profits of labor. The overriding function of the government is to maintain class domination.

Yet these elementary realities are enveloped in mystery, covered up, and therefore not widely understood.

The prevalent pluralistic vision of American society conceals more than it reveals. In order to grasp what needs to be done next, we need a resimplification of class relations and the role of the state in the United States.

## What Is the Ruling Class

We are told this country is composed of many conflicting interests and that the state judiciously mediates between these interests. It does that, of course, but in favor of capitalism.

What is the ruling class? It is the class composed of the owners of industry and banking. This is not a lot of people. When Prof. John Murphy said earlier that ten shares of Gulf Oil won't get you admitted to one of its refineries and ten shares of General Motors won't get you into one of its plants, he was right. But a million shares gets a different reaction. Here is an excellent example of Hegel's famous law of the transformation of quantity into quality.

Dick Roberts is a member of the editorial board of the ISR.

Many Americans own ten or twenty shares of stock. Not a few own hundreds or even thousands of shares. But this is not enough to control a corporation. It takes blocks of shares in the hundreds of thousands to exercise controlling rights over corporations. And there is a sharp class leap between the petty shareholder and the owner of a controlling interest.

It is the owners of these gigantic holdings who constitute the capitalist class. Their control over industry and banking gives them control over the social wealth created by wage workers.

An approximation of the distribution of stock ownership in the United States can be found in the statistics on individual income tax returns published by the U.S. Internal Revenue Service.

In 1975—the most recent year for which figures are available—967,643 tax returns showed incomes of \$50,000 or higher. That constitutes 1.2 percent of the returns filed—or about one in every 130 American families. This small group received \$9.7 billion in dividends, comprising 44.5 percent of the total dividend income received.

Let's look at the extremes. There were, according to the same IRS report, 44 million families with incomes of less than \$10,000. They constituted 53.8 percent of the families filing tax returns.

(This should call into question any pretension that millions are not living in poverty. We all know how very hard it is for a family to live on \$10,000 today.)

This 53.8 percent of families received \$2.7 billion in dividends, amounting to 12 percent of the total. The average dividend income for such families was \$61.36.

At the opposite pole, 1,064 families had incomes above \$1 million a year—1 in every 77,000 families! Their dividends were a little higher on the average—\$764,032.89 per family.

We have begun to grasp the real wealth and consequent political power of the ruling class.

This January an important congressional study on the voting rights of shareholders in corporations was issued. It had been conducted by the late Sen. Lee Metcalf.

Among other things, this study dispelled the notion that union or other pension funds have taken control or are about to take control of corporations. Pension funds do hold many shares. What is not commonly known is that most pension funds are voted by the trustees of banks that manage the funds. According to Metcalf's report, as shown in the accompanying pie chart, pension funds had only 4.4 percent of the common-stock voting authority in U.S. corporations. Insurance companies had 4.3 percent of the voting authority; banks and trust companies held 25.2 percent; and private individuals—through brokers, private investment companies, hedge funds, or other forms of personal ownership—owned 50.3 percent.

The IRS figures show that most dividends from common stock (and consequently most common stock) are held by a small number of people. Metcalf's study shows that these same individuals control corporations through personally held stock and through stock in bank trust funds.

## Corporate Power

The Metcalf report singled out the voting rights of thirteen of the largest U.S. corporations where one family has controlling interests.

An example is the E.I. Du Pont De Nemours

1. 1975 Individual Income Tax Returns, Department of the Treasury, Internal Revenue Service, Publication 198 (2-77).



Chemical Company, one of the largest corporations in the world. In 1976, the Du Pont family owned 28.18 percent of the common stock—roughly 13,794,000 shares. These have a current market value of \$1.586 billion and will pay the Du Ponts dividends this year of \$69 million.

The annual gross national product of Tanzania is \$1.9 billion—only a little more than the value of Du Pont holdings in only one of the companies they control.

In 1976, the Mellon family of Pittsburgh held 14.57 percent of the voting rights in Gulf Oil. Gulf is one of the seven giant oil corporations that make up the international petroleum cartel. It is the tenth-largest corporation in the capitalist world. The Mellons' holdings amounted to more than 28 million shares. That current market value is \$681 million. The Mellons will receive dividends this year from that stock of more than 53 million.

As a third and final example, let us take the stockholdings controlled by the Rockefeller family in the five largest U.S. oil firms. This calculation adds the value of the stock holdings managed by the Chase Manhattan Bank in these oil firms to the holdings of the Rockefeller Brothers Foundation and other Rockefeller-controlled holdings.





sectors of Eastern finance capital as the Mellon, Du Pont and Rockefeller families has increased.

And these statistics are from 1975—not 1875, when almost everyone admits that “robber barons” ruled the country.

**Role of Management**

The idea that managers control capitalist corporations has limited validity. Certainly management runs corporations on a day-to-day basis and administers normal operations. But it does this in the interests of the owners. If the managers do not perform to the owners’ satisfaction, they are fired.

A few years ago, it was revealed that Gulf Oil had made substantial illegal contributions to top politicians of both the Republican and Democratic parties. After a while, Gulf’s chief executives were fired. But who fired them? Not other managers. And not you or me or Congress or the president. They were dismissed by the Mellons. The Mellons said, in effect, “Very poor show, fellows. You shouldn’t have got caught.”

Ownership is decisive in the control of corporations in capitalist America.

The highest family incomes reported by the IRS are those over \$1 million. Among these families are the very small number of ruling-class clans whose yearly dividends run into the tens and hundreds of millions of dollars. This wealth, much of which is sheltered in foundations, universities, “think tanks,” and other founts of bourgeois ideology, is the financial basis of ruling-class domination of the state.

Much misunderstanding of how the government works is fostered by the excessive attention that is paid in history books and in daily news media coverage to the activities of elected politicians in Congress and the White House. The illusion spreads that governmental decisions arise primarily from the “deliberations” on the “Hill” and their interactions with 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue.

Yet the most critical debates and decisions do not take place either on Capitol Hill or at the White House. They take place in secretive institutions—in high-level corporate clubs such as the Committee for Economic Development; in think tanks such as the Brookings Institution, the Rand Corporation, and the Council on Foreign Relations; and in government agencies such as the State Department, the Pentagon, the Central Intelligence Agency, the National Security Council, and the Treasury Department. There, far from the public eye, appointed officials and career experts mull over policies. The more prestigious universities also play a role in this process.

These institutions are decisive in the promulgation of the government’s domestic and foreign policies. White papers and private briefings lay out policy on crucial issues. Sometimes such presentations take place at congressional hearings where the legislators are oriented by the ruling-class policy makers.

Following the ritual hearings, enough legislators are always mustered for bills that have decisive ruling-class support—although the exigencies of electoral politics can complicate or slow down the process, as was the case during debate on the Panama Canal treaty. Often the president takes open or covert action to put a policy into practice while Congress gives its support or turns a blind eye.

Of course, there are powerful legislators who are trusted and closely tied to sections of the ruling class and its government apparatus. They come to control such important congressional committees as the House Armed Services Committee and the Ways and Means Committee. Although there have been shake-ups, due to the end of Jim Crow and the one-party system in the South, the congressional seniority system works to guarantee that only those legislators have power who have established themselves firmly in the capitalist political machines, played the game by the rules in Congress, and won the trust of the ruling powers.

There are exceptional situations in which congressional debate plays a bigger role. This is especially true where funding for local issues is concerned or where the interests of different local business interests come into conflict. And, of course, there have been real and deep divisions in Washington at historic moments, such as during the Vietnam War and Watergate revelations.

But the occasions when one or several elected politicians rise above the daily grind of windbagging and pork-barreling should not distract us from the basic process: Critical government

decisions are made in secret by unelected personages over whom elected officials have practically no control.

But the capitalist politicians do play an important role. As leaders who proclaim that they represent the people but in fact defer to the ruling-class experts, they preserve an essential function of capitalist democracy.

Popular belief in the reality of the democratic process as practiced in the United States has kept the ruling class in power in this country. The capitalist politicians screen the reality of ruling-class dominance. This is an objective fact—whether or not the politicians themselves are conscious of their roles.

The most important task of the Democratic and Republican parties, in other words, is to catch votes for capitalist rule.

An example of the division of labor between the politicians and the policy-makers can be seen by examining one of the think tanks that has played a big role in shaping the policies and personnel of the present administration: the Trilateral Commission, founded in 1973 by David Rockefeller.

**Trilateral Commission**

Rockefeller set up the commission to study the most pressing problems facing capitalism in the United States, Europe, and Japan.

What does such a think tank think?

It is often hard to find out. The position papers are secret, for the most part. And, of course, you or I couldn’t just pop into one of the meetings. Yet a central concern of the Trilateral Commission was revealed when it published a book, *The Crisis of Democracy*,<sup>2</sup> by a Harvard cold-war intellectual named Samuel Huntington.

Huntington’s theme is hinted at in the book’s subtitle: “The Governability of Democracies.” He believes that the United States government cannot and should not try to meet the social, economic, and political demands that are being raised by working people—demands such as full equality for women and Blacks, free medical care, and full employment.

The real contradiction of capitalist society—that it cannot, especially in periods of economic crisis, satisfy the needs of both workers and capitalists—is presented by Huntington as a crisis of democracy.

“We have come to recognize that there are potentially desirable limits to economic growth,” Huntington wrote. It is not entirely accidental that he said this as the capitalist economy was in its deepest slump since 1937-38. “There are also potentially desirable limits to the indefinite extension of political democracy. Democracy will have a longer life if it has a more balanced existence.”

And: “Al Smith once remarked that ‘the only cure for evils of democracy is more democracy.’ Our analysis suggests that applying that cure at the present time could well be adding fuel to the flames. Instead, some of the problems of governance in the United States today stem from an excess of democracy. . . .”

Huntington’s prescription is to shrink the

**Rockefeller interests in the biggest U.S. oil firms**

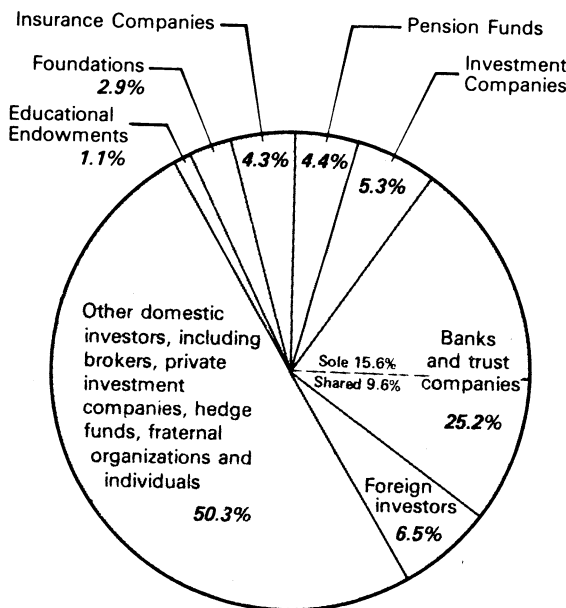
Company	Managed Holdings	Market Value
<b>Exxon</b>		
Chase Manhattan	11,556,000	\$525,798,000
Rockefeller Family	3,518,400	160,087,200
<b>Mobil</b>		
Chase Manhattan	2,371,000	149,373,000
Rockefeller Family	434,486	27,372,610
<b>Std. of California</b>		
Chase Manhattan	3,124,000	124,960,000
<b>Gulf</b>		
Chase Manhattan	400,000	9,600,000
<b>Std. of Indiana</b>		
Rockefeller Family	1,293,000	63,357,000
Chase Manhattan	1,474,000	72,226,000

\$1,132,773,810

The Rockefellers own or control decisive blocks of stocks in these companies—the first three of which were the main components of the original Standard Oil trust of John D. Rockefeller, Sr. Far from it being true that the wealth of the old capitalist families has withered away in the twentieth century, the wealth of such prominent

2. *The Crisis of Democracy: Report on the Governability of Democracies to the Trilateral Commission* by Michael J. Crozier, Samuel P. Huntington, and Joji Watanuki. (New York: New York University Press, 1975.)

**Division of Common Stock Voting Authority in U.S. Corporations**



public's demands through a stronger presidency: "The governability of a democracy depends upon the relation between the authority of its governing institutions and the power of its opposition institutions. . . . Probably no development of the 1960s and 1970s has greater import for the future of American politics than the decline in the authority, status, influence, and effectiveness of the presidency."

For Huntington it is especially necessary that the demands of Blacks be dampened: "Marginality on the part of some groups is inherently undemocratic, but it has also been one of the factors which has enabled democracy to function effectively. Marginal social groups, as in the case of the blacks, are now becoming full participants in the system."

Meeting the basic democratic demands of Blacks and others threatens Huntington's capitalist democracy. "The vulnerability of democratic government in the United States thus comes not primarily from external threats, though such threats are real, nor from internal subversion from the left or the right, although both possibilities could exist, but rather from the internal dynamics of democracy."

### Brzezinski on Capitalist Crisis

Another Trilateralist who brought some of his thinking to the light of day was Zbigniew Brzezinski, former director of the Trilateral Commission and now Carter's national security adviser. In an article titled, "Unmanifest Destiny" in *New York* magazine in 1975 he wrote:

"The character and dimensions of the economic crisis are familiar enough. Its essential elements—inflation, recession, and monetary instability—need no great elaboration. The economic crisis, however, intersects with a deep cultural malaise in the Western world, a malaise that is pregnant with dangerous political consequences."

For Brzezinski, as for Huntington, the danger is that people have come to expect more than this system can provide. Brzezinski adds a related twist: Egalitarianism, in his view, is coming to replace the good old ethic of bourgeois individualism:

"The preëminence of liberty," he writes, "which put a high premium on individual development, spiritual worth, and the legal autonomy of the individual, is now yielding increasingly to the concept of equality, not just equality of opportunity but equality of condition. Material equality, to be achieved through a redistribution of wealth, is becoming a dominant concern. *But with declining rates of growth, the pie to be shared will continue to get smaller.*" (Emphasis added.)

Brzezinski correctly notes that the crisis of capitalist democracy is inextricably combined with the crisis of shrinking growth rates in the world capitalist economy. Even more sharply than Huntington, Brzezinski demands curtailment of the expectations of American working people:

"The undermining of optimism has been accelerated by the increasing overload of the democratic system: an overload of participants and demands, and an overflow of information that is difficult for both the public and its legislators to assimilate. As social cleavages become sharper and demands become more difficult to resolve, democracy faces a breakdown in consensus. The condition is made worse by the weakness of our leadership—a weak Congress confronting a weak president."

Is it not ironic that the chief presidential adviser on foreign affairs who now claims to espouse "human rights" complains about the "overload of the democratic system" and an "overflow of information"? At any rate, his message is clear: The masses of American people must accept less so the ruling class can maintain or increase their share of the pie. If the masses refuse, he warns, capitalist "consensus" and capitalist "democracy" will break down.

And while we are noting ironies, a comment of David Rockefeller from the same period should not be omitted. At a national conference of Christians and Jews in December 1974, this oil billionaire warned that America's natural resources are not "bottomless." He urged consumers to prepare for a period of conservatism and to emphasize "self-denial over self-indulgence!"

Resources may not be "bottomless," but some people's hypocrisy has no limits!

On the occasion of these remarks, Rockefeller was awarded the conference's Charles Evans Hughes gold medallion for "courageous leader-



Jimmy Carter and Walter Mondale. While their campaign featured populist rhetoric, their policies in office have followed guidelines laid down by ruling rich.

ship in government, civic and humanitarian affairs," according to the December 9, 1974, *New York Times*.

The political technicians of the Trilateral Commission recognized the need for a "new face" in the presidency after Watergate.

In a perceptive article in *Le Monde Diplomatique* in November 1976, Diana Johnstone wrote: "Without doubt, the Trilateral prefers a Democratic president, one capable of assuring the support of the trade unions and diverse minorities which comprise the American working class. . . ."

According to Johnstone, "Certain sages, such as Mr. Averell Harriman, already viewed the remedy in the choice of a man from the South (like Mr. Wallace) and progressive enough, but ideologically vague enough to calm the tension between 'liberals' and 'conservatives.' Such a Southern Democrat would recement the polarized Wallaceite and McGovern wings of the majority party."

Jimmy Carter was asked to join the Trilateral Commission in 1973. It was in the context of the commission "that the Brzezinski-Carter connection was made," the *New York Times* reported October 6, 1976. "Henry Owen of the Brookings Institution and Prof. Richard N. Gardner of Columbia University were also in the commission, and along with Mr. Brzezinski, they formed the core of Mr. Carter's advisers until recently."

Here is a list—perhaps incomplete—of the U.S. government officials who are former members of the Trilateral Commission, in addition to Carter and Brzezinski:

**Lucy Wilson Benton**, former president of the League of Women Voters, now undersecretary of state for security assistance, science and technology;

**W. Michael Blumenthal**, former chairman of Bendix Corporation, now secretary of the treasury;

**Robert Bowie**, formerly Clarence Dillon professor of international affairs at Harvard, now deputy director of the CIA for national intelligence;

**Harold Brown**, former president of the California Institute of Technology, now secretary of defense;

**Warren Christopher**, former partner in the firm of O'Melveny and Myers, now assistant secretary of state;

**Richard Cooper**, formerly Frank Altschul professor of international economics at Yale, now undersecretary of state for economic affairs;

**Richard Gardner**, formerly Henry L. Moses professor of law and international organization at Columbia, now U.S. ambassador to Italy;

**Richard Holbrooke**, former managing editor of *Foreign Policy* magazine, now assistant secretary for East Asian and Pacific affairs;

**Sol Linowitz**, formerly a senior partner in the Coudert Brothers firm, now chief U.S. negotiator of the Panama Canal treaties;

**Walter Mondale**, former U.S. senator, now vice-president;

**Henry Owen**, former director of the foreign-policy studies program at the Brookings Institution, now on the staff of the National Security Council;

**Elliot Richardson**, former secretary of state and attorney general, now U.S. ambassador at large;

**William Scranton**, former governor of Pennsylvania, now a member of the intelligence oversight board;

**Gerard Smith**, previously counsel for the firm of Wilmer, Cutler and Pickering, now chief negotiator for international nuclear issues;

**Anthony Solomon**, former Wall Street consultant, now deputy secretary-treasurer for monetary affairs;

**Cyrus Vance**, former partner in the Simpson, Thacher and Bartlett law firm, chairman of the board of the Rockefeller Foundation, and now secretary of state;

**Paul Warnke**, previously a partner in the law firm of Clifford, Warnke, Glads, McIlwain and Finney, and until recently Carter's chief negotiator at the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks;

**Andrew Young**, former civil rights activist and congressman from Georgia, now U.S. ambassador to the United Nations.

And Samuel Huntington himself was a member of Carter's National Security Council in 1977-78.

This list underlines the importance of think tanks such as the Trilateral Commission in the highest echelons of government. It also reveals the types of people who hold such positions. They are corporation lawyers, executives from the most prestigious eastern law firms, professors from the top-flight universities, and a sprinkling of politicians. Many held important government, foundation, or think-tank posts previously. And it is striking how many "security" and "intelligence" positions such people occupy in Carter's administration.

Jimmy Carter said in his campaign that he was a populist: "I have been accused of being an outsider. I plead guilty. Unfortunately the vast majority of Americans are also outsiders. We are not going to get changes by simply shifting around the same group of insiders, the same tired old rhetoric, the same unkept promises. . . . The insiders have had their chances, and they have not delivered. Their time has run out."

"I'll never tell a lie," Carter vowed. "I'll never knowingly make a misstatement of fact. I'll never betray your trust."

Well, most of us were and are "outsiders" as far as the people who really rule this country are concerned—but not James Earl Carter, Jr.

### Carter's Policies

While Carter used populist rhetoric to round up votes, his policies while in power have been those of the Trilateral Commission.

A week before Carter announced his energy program in April 1977, *New York Times* correspondent James Reston described what he thought Carter and his energy chief, James Schlesinger have in common:

"Philosophically, they are very much the same: They are troubled by the slackness of American life, and want the American people to face up and shape up. Both of them are talking, not merely about a higher price of gas, but a new austere way of American life."

This is the ruling class's message. As the capitalist economic crisis deepens we should heat less and pay more for gas and electricity. Since this will lower our incomes, we should eat less and take poorer care of our health. We should tighten our belts—so the Rockefellers, Mellons, and Du Ponts can expand their profits.

Capitalism cannot deliver what it used to. So we are told we must ask less of government while it attends to the real business of making the rich richer.

Within months of taking office, Carter sacked his campaign promises to cut military spending, fight against unemployment, and reform taxes. He assured business that inflation, not unemployment, was his main concern. But he upped the military budget.

The administration is also trying to curtail democratic rights on a number of fronts. The surveillance methods used to trump up espionage



charges against supposed Vietnamese agents, the attempts to impose heavy financial penalties on former CIA agents who spill some of the beans, and the White House refusal to hand over the names of FBI informers who have spied on the Socialist Workers Party are ominous evidence that Carter is trying to shut off the "overflow of information."

The campaign against "egalitarianism" is also well under way. The gains of women and oppressed minorities are under attack. There can be no mistake about what the Supreme Court's *Bakke* decision means—it is a fundamental retreat from equal job opportunities, which can only be assured for the oppressed through quotas in hiring and educational admissions. Blacks are threatened with elimination of busing, a further retreat from equal education and desegregation.

And women face government-backed attacks on abortion rights and resistance to adoption of the Equal Rights Amendment.

In March Carter intervened against the national coal strike. He demanded that the miners accept a settlement that would have punished them for refusing to work under dangerous and unhealthy conditions. He imposed a Taft-Hartley injunction on the strikers.

The fact that no more than 100 out of 160,000 miners obeyed Carter's command was a heartening token of things to come. For workers will fight back.

### American Workers Will Fight

American history shows no example in which over a long-term period Americans have passively accepted the notion of belt-tightening for the sake of corporate profits. The Great Depression gave rise to the greatest labor struggles of the past, and the Democratic politicians and

ruling-class technocrats are kidding themselves if they think that the retrenchment the ruling class is demanding will come about without renewed class struggles, most likely of an even greater scope than in 1934-38.

The miners' strike also showed the things that people who are not in unions can do to foster the fight against the ruling-class offensive.

Student rallies to support the miners showed there are many people on campus who are inspired when working people stand up. The miners gladly accepted—and greatly needed—that help.

The miners got support from other unionists, from women, from farmers, and from many other people.

I attended a rally at West Virginia University in Morgantown, which was addressed by coal miners. In an audience of 150, at least 40 were miners.

The miners got help from other unions. About a month after I was in Morgantown, I happened to be in northern Minnesota to talk to iron miners. These miners who work in the huge open-pit taconite mines of the Mesabi Range, are in the Steelworkers union, and they had, themselves, led a long and militant strike struggle in late 1977.

By coincidence, when I walked into the office of the president of the Steelworkers' local there, he was writing out a check for \$1,000 to send to coal miners. This was the second donation to the miners from a local whose reserves had been badly depleted by their own strike.

From other Steelworkers union locals in Baltimore to a mass rally of trade unionists in San Francisco to the farmers who sent a food caravan to help the strikers, working people got behind the miners.

There is no doubt that the miners' courage to resist the White House was helped along by this support. And popular support also helped force the government and companies to offer the more favorable settlement that was finally accepted.

The starting point for what we should do in the next years is the ruling-class offensive against working people. The economic crisis is deepening, despite periodic upswings. Anyone who has seen the vast, bombed-out rubble of the South Bronx in New York City, where 500,000 Blacks and Puerto Ricans live in wretched poverty with an unemployment level of 80 percent for young people—has gotten a glimpse of what can happen if the rulers get away with the "belt tightening" drive.

### Working-Class Strategy

If there is widespread recognition of a deepening crisis in the United States, however, there is much disagreement over how to meet it. How can we respond to the ruling-class offensive?

A central question is whether the basic structural changes needed to end this crisis—namely, taking ownership and control of industry and banking away from the capitalists and placing them in the hands of society—can be advanced by working in the Democratic Party.

Michael Harrington is an eloquent voice for some progressive reforms, but he is playing another, more harmful, and more important role. He feeds illusions about the Democratic Party by joining it and claiming it can help change society. Harrington's objective role, in the last analysis, is to catch votes for the Democratic Party. He helps keep the capitalist class in power.

The most essential task for the bulk of Americans who have to sell their labor to live is to break with the capitalist Democratic Party. We have to fight for the idea that the unions in this country should form a labor party and that the Black community should take the road of independent political action. We need a party of working people that really fights for the needs of workers, women, Black people, Chicanos, and Puerto Ricans.

Breaking with the Democratic Party in favor of independent working-class politics will be no less a struggle than building the anti-Vietnam War movement or establishing the union movement. The Democratic and Republican parties are against the formation of a labor party or Black party. The U.S. government, with all of its "intelligence" and "security" arms, is against the formation of such parties. The trade-union bureaucracy, deeply tied to the Democratic Party and even more deeply tied to its cherished economic privileges, will fight the formation of a labor party.

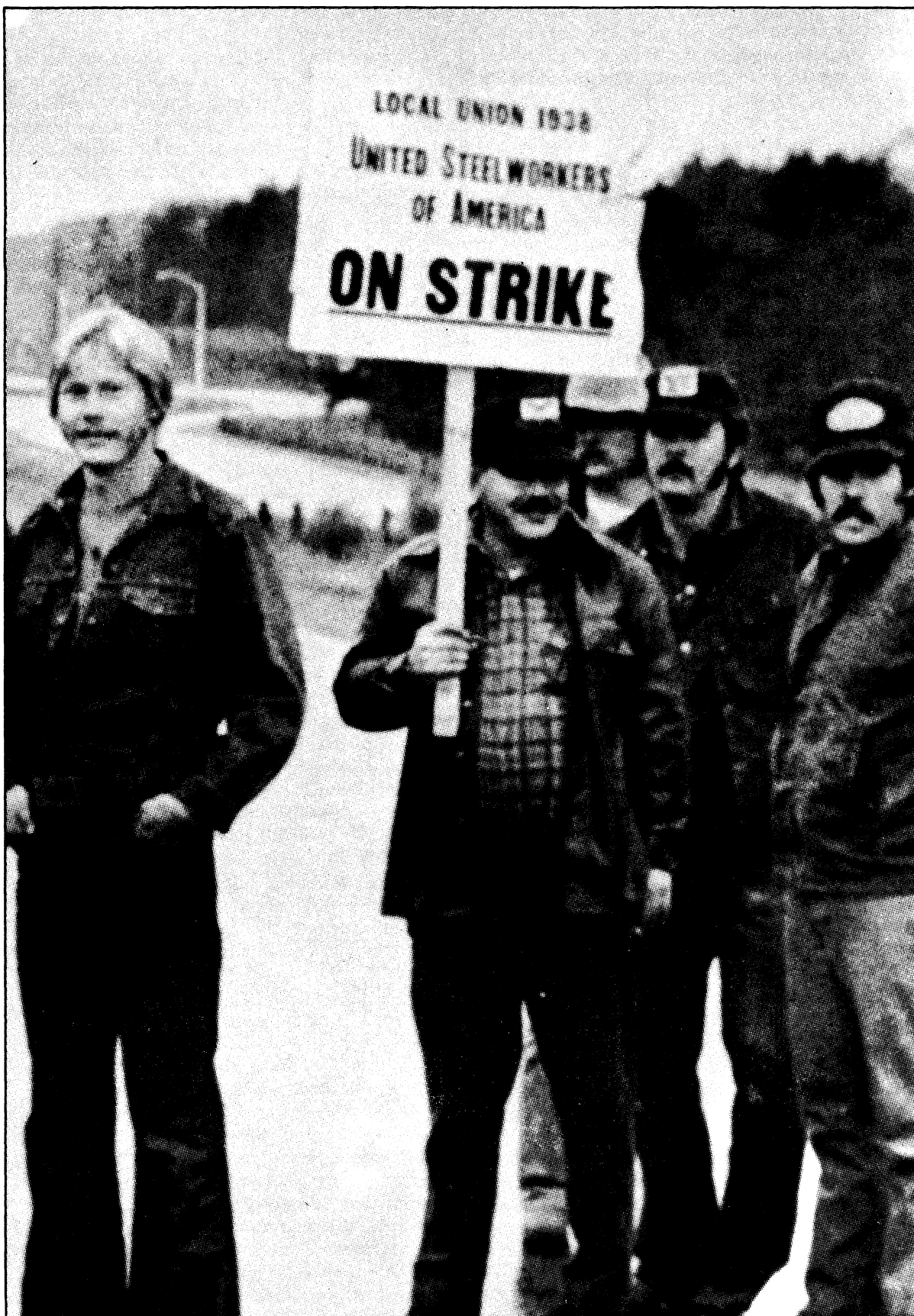
Yet the winds of change are beginning to blow in this country. The coal strike itself—110 days long—blew away some cobwebs that have accumulated in the house of labor in the past few decades. It showed that militant workers fighting together can gain victories despite the policies of their union leadership and against the policies of the bosses and the White House.

An important contribution can be made by people in this room simply by exposing the lie that Carter and the Democrats (not to mention the Republicans) in some sense represent working people. One way of doing this is to support socialist candidates in the elections.

Finally, can there really be a Christian-Marxist dialogue in this country? The answer will be found in the struggles that lie ahead. A consistent Marxist, as a materialist, rejects belief in God or immortality. But we believe thoroughly that religious belief and worship are an elementary civil right that should not be abrogated or denied.

Philosophical differences need be no barrier to joining together in practical actions to bring about urgently needed change in this country. There are many areas where fruitful work can be done—the fight for the ERA, for affirmative action and school desegregation, for the rights of immigrant Mexican workers, in defense of the rights and gains of unions such as the United Mine Workers. There is also crucial international work to be done: the defense of victims of political persecution, from the United States to the semicolonial nations to the Soviet Union.

Our party has collaborated fruitfully with religious people of many denominations on this urgent human rights battlefield. We hope such efforts can be accelerated.



Striking steelworkers on Minnesota's Mesabi Iron Range. American workers will not passively accept cutbacks in their standard of living.

# ...Stalinism

Continued from page ISR/5

Stalin's programs, imposed upon communists in the 1920s and 1930s, led to historic defeats for workers in several countries. These setbacks prepared the way for driving out of the world movement all those who opposed Stalin's bureaucratic machine in the Kremlin. Those who survived were the most pliant tools of the Soviet bureaucracy.

In writing of the years when the Communist Party grew in numbers, 1935-39 and 1941-45, Cochran blinks at some of the greatest crimes committed by the Stalinists. Among them was the misleadership that thousands of new, young recruits were subjected to. These people were sent by the CP into the factories and the rapidly growing, militant CIO. They were inspired by idealistic notions of building not only powerful industrial unions but of winning influence and members for the CP and advancing the cause of socialism.

Instead, under Moscow's orders, they were turned toward class collaboration in the unions and in politics, supporting Roosevelt and other capitalist politicians in the American version of the popular front. As a result, the CP added a heavy conservative component to the CIO leadership in which they participated at the time.

The Stalinized union members opposed independent working-class politics in favor of unprincipled accommodations with capitalists. On every occasion when the idea arose, for example, they opposed forming an independent labor party based on the unions.

The Stalinists shared control in the American Labor Party of New York with bureaucrats such as David Dubinsky of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union and Sidney Hillman of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers union. CP policy in the ALP almost always favored endorsement of capitalist candidates for election to public office.

The miseducation that CP members received later served to demoralize them when the post-World War II witch-hunt began. Some turned their backs on the party and made careers in the service of conservative union leaders. Others fell away from the struggle. In any event, Stalinist methods and politics destroyed a generation of young, communist militants.

The Communist Party never provided a democratic, crusading leadership in the unions they influenced. They tail-ended other figures (from John L. Lewis to Franklin Roosevelt) most of the time. When they did try to take the lead, it was to promote conservative ideas. This was vividly demonstrated during World War II.

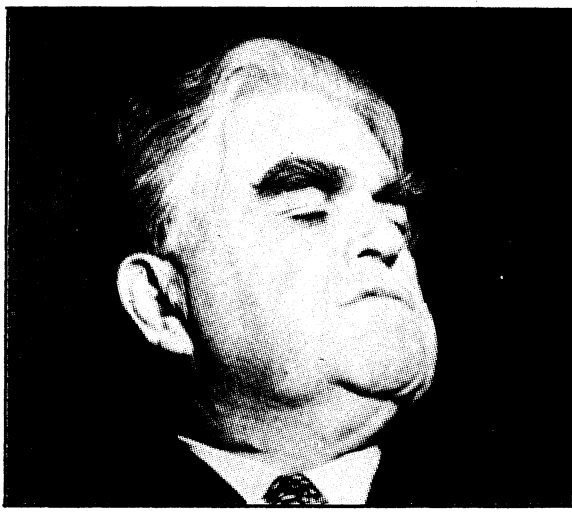
## CPUSA in Wartime

Following Hitler's invasion of the Soviet Union in June 1941, the American Stalinists gave Roosevelt's imperialist war program all-out support. In fact, they went far beyond other union and labor leaders in demanding that the workers submit to the president's fake program of "equal sacrifice." They were the most fanatical advocates of wage freezes, speedup, and no-strike pledges. They became open strikebreakers against the coal miners and other workers.

CP leader Earl Browder, who had been jailed for a minor passport infraction during the Stalin-Hitler pact days, was released from prison by Roosevelt a few months after the United States entered the war. Hewing to the Stalinist line, Browder embarked on a jingoistic binge. The CP campaigned to install piecework and incentive pay in the factories, with a view to increasing war production. Labor had fought for years against all forms of piecework, but this did not daunt the Stalinists.

After the Tehran conference of the United States and its wartime allies, the Stalinists launched a campaign for a permanent no-strike pledge. Their premise was that the wartime pacts of Roosevelt, Stalin, and British Prime Minister Churchill had rendered the class struggle obsolete. It was a matter of indifference to the Stalinists that surrender of the strike weapon would deprive the unions of the most elementary form of working-class defense against capitalist encroachments.

The Stalinists compounded these crimes by an abortive attempt to get the CIO Executive Board to endorse Roosevelt's National Service Act—a scheme to conscript labor under military control. Cochran mentions such wartime betrayals, but,



**Union bureaucrats like John L. Lewis (top) used CP forces in the unions to advance their own ends; others, like Joseph Curran of the National Maritime Union, supported CP policies until cold-war witch-hunt, and then became ardent redbaiters.**

with a light touch. More important, he downplays the fatal erosion of CP standing among militant workers as a result of their wartime betrayals.

## Cold-war Witch-hunt

In discussing how Stalinist influence in unions was rooted out during the cold-war witch-hunt Cochran omits two other important reasons why so little support was given by workers to Communist Party members.

One reason was the Stalinists' attitude toward the Minneapolis Teamsters and Socialist Workers Party leaders who were arrested, indicted, tried, and convicted in 1941 (and later jailed) as the first victims of the antidemocratic Smith "Gag" Act.

The Stalinists, both in the unions and out, supported Roosevelt's witch-hunt and screamed for the hides of the Trotskyists. They demanded that the government proceed with the trial, asking only that the government's charge that the defendants were Marxists be changed to a charge that they were fascists.

Leading the Stalinist pack in the unions was Julius Emspak, secretary-treasurer of the United Electrical Workers (one of the largest CIO unions) and a member of Roosevelt's Labor Victory Board. Emspak and other highly placed Stalinist union leaders did their best to persuade unions to deny support to the Minneapolis defendants. Although they were not particularly successful in this, they not only disgraced themselves but laid the basis, as the Socialist Workers Party pointed out at the time, for their own victimization at a later stage.

A few years later, when CP leaders and unionists were witch-hunted and the party's top leaders were charged with violations of the very same Smith Act that had sent the SWP leaders to prison, few independent unionists came to the CP's defense.

A typical example of how the Stalinists had cut their own throats was the reaction of Irving Abramson, eastern regional director of the CIO at the time. When approached to give support to CP defendants in the new Smith Act trial, Abramson refused, pointing out how the CP had declined to support the Trotskyists under similar circumstances. He wrote to the *Daily Worker*, the CP paper, "You were 'vindictive.' You hated the Trotskyites more than you loved civil liberties. Yes, you were not even decent enough to be 'silent.'"

Another incident damaged CP standing in the unions as well as outside the labor movement. Jimmy Kutcher, a veteran whose legs had been shot out from under him in the Second World War, was fired from his job by the Truman

administration for his socialist beliefs and membership in the Socialist Workers Party. The government also took away his disability pension and even tried to evict his elderly parents from an apartment they occupied in a federally financed housing project.

The outrageous persecution of Kutcher and his parents brought an outpouring of opposition from many quarters and especially from unions. But the Stalinists denounced Kutcher's efforts to stop the witch-hunting attack on himself and his family.

(Despite the treacherous behavior of the Stalinists, be it noted, the SWP defended the democratic rights of the CP victims of the witch-hunt.)

## UAW Faction Struggle

Another omission from Cochran's magnum opus is the part he himself played in the internal factional struggle in the United Automobile Workers union. Although a good deal of space is devoted to the long struggle between the Reuther faction and the Thomas-Addes group, Cochran says nothing about his experiences.

Just before the Reutherites had finally won complete control of the international leadership, at a time when the struggle had reached its most critical point, Cochran was appointed editor of the Thomas-Addes faction's newspaper, opportunistically dubbed "FDR."

From this vantage point Cochran must have been privy to a good deal of the internal workings of the Thomas-Addes faction, which had controlled a majority of the union leadership from 1939 until Reuther's election in 1946. Unfortunately, the book discloses little or nothing about developments within that faction. It would be interesting, for example, to have the author's views on how and why Stalinist influence in the Thomas-Addes grouping, once very impressive, had declined to virtually nothing.

Cochran's reticence may stem from the red-baiting to which the Thomas-Addes group was subjected by the Reuther faction despite the minor part played by the discredited Stalinists in that caucus. The Reuther caucus, riding the crest of the cold-war witch-hunt, smeared their opponents as "reds" in service of their objective of winning total control of the union.

Given his present exalted position as "senior fellow" of the Research Institute on International Change at Columbia University, Cochran is understandably shy about being identified with any "reds" either real or imagined, past or present.

A further clue to Cochran's discretion is the fulsome expression of pleasure Cochran gives in the preface acknowledging "the assistance I received in writing this book."

"My thanks," Cochran avows, "go to Zbigniew Brzezinski, director of the Research Institute on International Change at Columbia University, for the senior fellowship that he and his colleagues on the administrative board awarded me beginning with the fall semester of 1973, and for his unflinching consideration during the period of my residence."

How touching! For those who may not be hip, the aforementioned "institute" is Brzezinski's think-tank, designed to provide ammunition to the American imperialist government's State Department and "intelligence services." Brzezinski himself is currently President Carter's "national security adviser."

A reviewer for the *Nation* unwittingly etched an illuminating pen portrait of Cochran when he observed, "Cochran's book, whether consciously or unconsciously, is suffused with a profound and, alas, probably justified pessimism; about American society, about the American Left, and, especially, about the labor movement as an instrument of significant change in the United States."

That's Cochran, all right!

Cochran was a trade-union militant and a leader of the Socialist Workers Party in the 1930s and 1940s. He knew the differences between communism and Stalinism, and he was intimately acquainted with the history, aims, and inner workings of the various factions of the labor bureaucracy. The superficiality and evasiveness of his book are thrown into bold relief against this background.

Cochran threw in the towel as a fighter against capitalism some twenty-five years ago and has since devoted his life to justifying his desertion of the socialist perspective of human development. This overpriced book is but a stage in the process.



# ...Trotsky

Continued from page ISR/4

power in other revolutionary situations.

It is an interesting comment on Howe's and Knei-Paz's level of comprehension of Trotsky's ideas that in their books the Transitional Program rates hardly a mention. One of Trotsky's most important works, this document was adopted by the Fourth International at its founding conference in 1938. It presents Trotsky's most mature thinking on the program and strategy needed to build effective revolutionary parties and thus resolve the crisis of working-class leadership.

Knei-Paz's opinion that Trotsky "forced" a schema on the reality of 1917 leads him, not unnaturally, to conclude:

- that Trotsky's *History of the Russian Revolution* is of little value as history and should be treated as a "work of art";
- that Trotsky's writings on European politics after 1917 are of "purely historical interest";
- that the Fourth International was "solely a podium for Trotsky's pronouncements";



IRVING HOWE

• and that Trotsky's defense of dialectical materialism was "dogmatic" and "unfortunate." Even among knowledgeable bourgeois opponents of Trotsky, few can be found to underwrite such a sweeping dismissal of his work. A serious study of Trotsky's writings, and of the history of the Fourth International, will disprove all of Knei-Paz's contentions. Knei-Paz, who devoted much time and effort to Trotsky's writings, doesn't seem to have understood them at all. His contention that Trotsky "imposed" his theories upon facts simply doesn't hold water. Trotsky's writings, on the contrary, show that he

made a close study of the facts and, whenever necessary, adjusted his theoretical generalizations accordingly. Not to do so would have violated a basic law of the dialectical materialism that Trotsky upheld against its critics.

### Value of Trotsky's Writings

Far from being of "purely historical interest," Trotsky's writings during his last exile show a remarkable perception of processes (including the colonial revolution, the development of the Soviet Union, the roots of war and unemployment, the causes of fascism, and the methods of building revolutionary parties) that continue to unfold today.

Working people who are interested in effective ways of changing society should not be deterred from studying Trotsky by the attempts of Howe and Knei-Paz to bury his ideas while praising him. There is no substitute, as the weakness of these studies again demonstrates, for reading his works. The publication of Trotsky's writings from his last exile makes it more possible than ever before to study and assimilate the ideas of one of the greatest revolutionary leaders of our time.

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# BOOK OF THE MONTH

Like other volumes of the *Writings of Leon Trotsky* series, these two contain a wide variety of material not available elsewhere. One example is the document in "War and the Fourth International" in *Writings 1933-34*, which the editors call "the most complete and systematic presentation of the Leninist attitude toward war in the epoch of

## Writings of Leon Trotsky 1933-34.

Edited by George Breitman and Bev Scott. New York. Pathfinder. 379 pp.

## Writings of Leon Trotsky 1934-35

Edited by George Breitman and Bev Scott. New York. Pathfinder. 416 pp.

imperialism that has ever been written." There is no better definition of centrism, in my opinion, than in the article "Centrism and the Fourth International" in the same volume.

Included here as well is Trotsky's correspondence with co-thinkers of the International Communist League in Britain, Greece, France, Germany, Belgium, and elsewhere, concerning relations with leftward-moving currents in those countries. His letters and articles on France, together with those collected in *The Crisis of the French Section (1935-36)* and the soon-to-be-published *Leon Trotsky on France*, constitute one of the most interesting chapters in the history of the Fourth International.

On a personal note, Trotsky offers a political and personal appraisal of Anatoly Lunacharsky and an analysis of the capitulation to Stalin of the Old Bolshevik Christian Rakovsky, one of Trotsky's closest friends and associates.

These articles and letters are all worth reading, and it is worth taking advantage of the *ISR* special offer to get them. But two articles stand out above the others

# BOOKS RECEIVED

**Alexandra Kollontai: Selected Writings.** Translated with introduction and commentaries by Alix Holt. Lawrence Hill. 335 pp. Cloth \$12.95.

**Britain: A Future that Works** by Bernard D. Nossiter. Houghton Mifflin. 275 pp. Cloth \$9.95.

**Chance and Circumstance: The Draft, the War and the Vietnam Generation** by Lawrence M. Bakir and William A. Strauss. Vintage. 312 pp. Paper \$3.95.

## Pathfinder's Choice for December

# A Key to Understanding Stalinism



LEON TROTSKY

for their value as contributions to discussions on the nature of the Soviet Union and Stalinism. These are "The Class Nature of the Soviet State" in *Writings 1933-34* and "The Workers' State, Thermidor and Bonapartism" in *Writings 1934-35*.

Is the Soviet Union a workers state based on noncapitalist economic relations? Is it "state capitalist"? Or is it based on a new form of class exploitation, neither capitalist nor socialist?

Does the brutal, tyrannical rule of the Stalinist bureaucracy (with or without Stalin) determine the fundamental character of the Soviet Union? Can such a bureaucracy be justified as a historical necessity in the struggle for socialism? What is the relationship between the economic and social foundations of a state and its specific political regime at any one time?

In these two essays, Trotsky took up these questions from every angle, getting beyond the superficial identifications and comparisons to the fundamentals. The character of the Soviet Union, he wrote, is determined not primarily by the political regime, but by its economic relations. "So long as the forms of property that have been created by the October Revolution are not overthrown, the proletariat remains the ruling class."

There are no a priori norms for

defining the political regime of a workers state. "In the interim between the conquest of power and the dissolution of the workers' state within the socialist society," Trotsky explained "the forms and methods of proletarian rule may change sharply, depending upon the course of the class struggle, internally and externally."

This general historical explanation, elaborated through comparisons with revolutions of the bourgeois epoch, was not at all a justification for the Stalinist bureaucracy. This caste, because of its role as a social parasite, living off the gains of the socialist revolution, was politically counterrevolutionary, dead set against any revolutionary overturns in the capitalist world.

Since, as Trotsky noted, "under the conditions of the transitional epoch, the political superstructure plays a *decisive* role," the bureaucratic misrule of the Stalinists is a mortal danger to the workers state. A political revolution to replace the bureaucracy is a necessity for the achievement of world socialism.

These articles were written in the 1930s, and they focus on Stalinism in the Soviet Union. However, their general methodological criteria for understanding Stalinism—established by Trotsky in these articles and in *The Revolution Betrayed*—are essential for understanding the present regimes and policies not only of the Soviet Union but of China and Eastern Europe as well.

—Duncan Williams

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**The International Sakharov Hearing.** Edited by Marta Hara-sowska and Orest Olhovych. Smolokyp Publishers. 335 pp. Paper \$4.75.

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**The Ragged Trousered Philanthropists** by Robert Tressell. Monthly Review Press. 633 pp. Paper \$7.50.

**The Social Democratic Image of Society: A Study of the Achievements and Origins of**

**Scandinavian Social Democracy in Comparative Perspective** by Francis G. Castles. Routledge and Kegan Paul. 162 pp. Cloth \$15.50.

**Socialist Construction and Marxist Theory: Bolshevism and Its Critique** by Phillip Corrigan, Harvie Ramsay, and Derek Sayer. Monthly Review. 232 pp. Cloth \$15.

**Ten Times More Beautiful: The Rebuilding of Vietnam** by Kathleen Gough. Monthly Review. 277 pp. Cloth \$12.50.

**Women in Class Society** by Heleieth I. B. Saffioti. Monthly Review. 378 pp. Cloth \$16.50.

**World Accumulation, 1492-1789** by Andre Gunder Frank. Monthly Review. 303 pp. \$16.50.



# We've topped the 100,000 mark!

## Sales at Texas steel plant

The drive to sell 100,000 copies of the 'Militant' and 'Perspectiva Mundial' between September 1 and December 15 has now gone over the top!

During the Thanksgiving holidays, supporters sold 3,835 papers and 127 subscriptions—bringing the cumulative total to 104,635.

There are still two issues left to go in the drive.

### By Susie Winsten

BAYTOWN, Tex.—Neither the U.S. Steel Texas Works nor the state police here think steelworkers should be able to read whatever they want or vote for whomever they want.

That's why they attempted to chase away teams of Socialist Workers Party supporters who came to campaign outside Texas Works's main gate on Fridays leading up to the November 7 election.

Despite increasing harassment by the company and its uniformed guards, the socialists sold as many as 135 copies of the *Militant* in one month outside the plant, and distributed many election platforms for their candidates—Miguel Pendás for U.S. Senate and Sara Jean Johnston for governor.

The harassment reached its peak on November 3, when Johnston joined her supporters outside the main gate.

A steelworker herself, Johnston is employed at Hughes Tool Company, and is an activist in the United Steel Workers of America Local 1742.

When she and her supporters arrived outside Texas Works, they were forced to move to the shoulder of the road.

Then a right-winger threatened to punch Johnston. A police sergeant was looking on, but he made no move to protect the socialist candidate.

Refusing to be intimidated, John-

ston's supporters continued to distribute literature.

Later, cops started issuing traffic tickets to individuals who slowed their cars to talk to Johnston.

In a statement released to the media, Johnston protested that, "the U.S. Steel Corporation Texas Works and the state police think they're bigger than the Bill of Rights.

"Can you imagine state police officers ticketing workers who stopped to shake hands with Democratic and Republican candidates John Hill and Bill Clements? Can you imagine a state police officer standing idly by while someone threatened to physically assault Hill or Clements?"

On Monday, Johnston and nine supporters returned to U.S. Steel. With them was a statement supporting the SWP campaign's right to distribute literature. Signers included: Rodney Dargin, chairperson, Phillips Products Group, Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Union (OCAW), Local 4-227; Richard Cobb, chairperson, ARCO Pipeline Group, OCAW Local 4-227; Sister Victoria Zúñiga, Hermanas Unidas; and Isaiah Lovings, Black rights activist.

Plant workers in support of the Democratic party slate also distributed material. There were no incidents, and twenty-six workers bought the *Militant*.

"We hope the successful campaigning November 6 means that U.S. Steel has backed off from its bullying," Johnston says. "If not, we will consider seeking a court injunction against their illegal harassment.

"If our party wins the right to pass out literature at Texas Works, it will be a victory for anyone else desiring to distribute materials there. And it will be a victory for all the workers at U.S. Steel, who will finally be able to listen to whatever ideas they please."

## Weekly sales goals

CITY	MILITANT		PM		TOTAL		
	Goal	Sold	Goal	Sold	Goal	Sold	Percent
Gary, Ind.	50	80			50	80	160.0
Salt Lake City	125	137	10	1	135	138	102.2
Seattle	145	151	5		150	151	100.7
Albuquerque	115	118	20	17	135	135	100.0
Morgantown	125	125			125	125	100.0
Tucson	30	30			30	30	100.0
Phoenix	110	80	15	36	125	116	92.8
Portland	100	85			100	85	85.0
New Orleans	120	100	5		125	100	80.0
San Jose	110	82	20	19	130	101	77.7
San Diego	105	85	20	8	125	93	74.4
Miami	100	77	30	18	130	95	73.1
Milwaukee	120	88	5	3	125	91	72.8
Los Angeles	400	265	100	85	500	350	70.0
Pittsburgh	145	100	5	1	150	101	67.3
San Antonio	75	47	25	20	100	67	67.0
Denver	120	88	20	2	140	90	64.3
Dallas	125	86	20	3	145	89	61.4
Cincinnati	100	60		1	100	61	61.0
Newark	115	70	5		120	70	58.3
Detroit	180	100			180	100	55.6
San Francisco	250	120	25	25	275	145	52.7
Oakland	160	86	15	6	175	92	52.6
St. Louis	140	78	10		150	78	52.0
Tacoma	125	63			125	63	50.4
Berkeley	135	75	15		150	75	50.0
Washington, D.C.	260	132	40	15	300	147	49.0
Kansas City, Mo.	100	45	8	2	108	47	43.5
Indianapolis	115	48			115	48	41.7
Raleigh	125	50			125	50	40.0
Albany	100	40	5		105	40	38.1
Baltimore	120	45	5		125	45	36.0
Toledo	110	41	5		115	41	35.7
Atlanta	200	70			200	70	35.0
Minneapolis	135	47			135	47	34.8
New York	650	215	100	40	750	255	34.0
Chicago	385	128	65	3	450	131	29.1
Philadelphia	235	70	25		260	70	26.9
Boston	225	60	25	4	250	64	25.6
St. Paul	95	25	5		100	25	25.0
Cleveland	115	23	5	1	120	24	20.0
Iron Range, Mn.	50	10			50	10	20.0
<b>TOTALS</b>	<b>6445</b>	<b>3525</b>	<b>658</b>	<b>310</b>	<b>7103</b>	<b>3835</b>	<b>53.9</b>

Houston and Louisville are not reporting.

These figures report sales for issue No. 44 of the 'Militant' and the second week of sales of issue No. 21 of 'Perspectiva Mundial'.

# Our contributors take the floor

### By Harry Ring

It takes hard persistent work to build a broadly circulated, influential socialist press. It requires effort on the part of those involved in publication of the paper and equally solid commitment from those who read, support, and circulate it.

Right now, it means assuring that we complete our Fiftieth Anniversary Fund in full and on time.

With the end of the year—and the fund drive—rapidly approaching, we need to receive all the outstanding pledges to the fund.

It's worth considering how valuable each contribution is. Simply put, each dollar received helps the *Militant* get around. And, to indicate how well it does get around, we offer the following letters from subscribers who have sent in fund contributions.

A new reader in Philadelphia wrote:

"Even though I've just begun to receive the *Militant*, I have been very much impressed with its analysis of social issues.

"I especially admire the work of David Frankel. In my opinion, his articles on the Mideast are masterful in their presentation of the historical data surrounding the current upheavals in that part of the world.

"I wish to assure you that as soon as my introductory subscription lapses, I will renew."

A Chicago subscriber writes:

"As a union member/activist with a corresponding deep interest in social reform, I have been a subscriber and avid reader of your weekly for several years. I don't always agree with everything you say—as is my prerogative—but I wholeheartedly agree you fill a definite gap.

"You consistently provide workers with the kind of information that we cannot get from the capitalist papers in this country. . . ."

And, finally, there is the following from a reader in Virginia:

"Enclosed is my family's contribution to the Anniversary Fund. The more we study the theory of Socialism and then the *Militant's* weekly coverage of world events the stronger burns our commitment to revolutionary change.

"Congratulations! And may we secure the future for our children.

J.S.

"P.S. I believe we may be interested in joining the party. Please advise.

"Also, this is the address of our mailman. He asked me to see about sending him some copies of the *Militant*.

"Also, I would like to have some subscription blanks. Maybe I could push some subs."

### COUNT ME IN

Here's my contribution of  \$5,  \$10,  \$25,  \$50,  \$100,  \$500,  other.

Name \_\_\_\_\_  
Street \_\_\_\_\_  
City \_\_\_\_\_ State \_\_\_\_\_ Zip \_\_\_\_\_

Send check or money order to: Militant 50th Anniversary Fund, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014.

# 50<sup>th</sup>

## Anniversary Fund

Goal=\$75,000

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\$60,000

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As of Nov. 28  
\$45,255=60%

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\$45,000

# Debs's message for labor

By Dick Roberts

The railroad companies helped turn a young fireman into one of the greatest American labor leaders and revolutionary socialists: Eugene V. Debs.

Debs was an early builder of the railroad craft unions, a pioneer in the struggle for industrial unionism, and the most popular leader of the American socialist movement until his death in 1926. He ran as a socialist candidate for president five times, polling nearly 1 million votes from his jail cell in the 1920 presidential elections.

Debs's history, as told by his biographer Ray Ginger and his speeches collected in *Eugene V. Debs Speaks*, is an important manual for the struggles of railroad workers today. As the companies deepen their attack on railroad jobs and working conditions, more and more workers will want to study these rich lessons of the past.

They will find that the real Debsian tradition is nothing like the image projected by many union officials today. Debs found bureaucracy odious, he turned down the salary raises voted by the ranks countless times, and he was a class-struggle fighter from beginning to end.

Once Debs became a convinced socialist, he completely rejected the idea of voting for "friends of labor" Democrats. On the contrary, he believed that independent labor political action against the ruling capitalist parties was the most important step labor could take.

## Railway firemen

Debs, who came out of Terre Haute, Indiana, worked as a fireman for the Vandalia line from age fifteen to nineteen. The hazardous working conditions of the railroads made a lasting impression on him.

"Several railroads," according to Ginger, "used unsafe equipment in order to cut their operating costs. . . . Faulty trestles collapsed under passing trains. A poor coupling system caused many railroads to be smashed between cars. . . ."

"Finally, in the autumn of 1874, one of Eugene's friends slipped under a locomotive and was killed." From that year on Debs worked tirelessly, first to build the Brotherhood of Locomotive Fireman, after that to try to build a federation of railroad unions, and finally, to build the socialist movement.

After some ten years of working for the BLF, Debs recognized that little headway could be made in the struggle against the railroad trusts by isolated craft unions—especially when most had no-strike clauses.

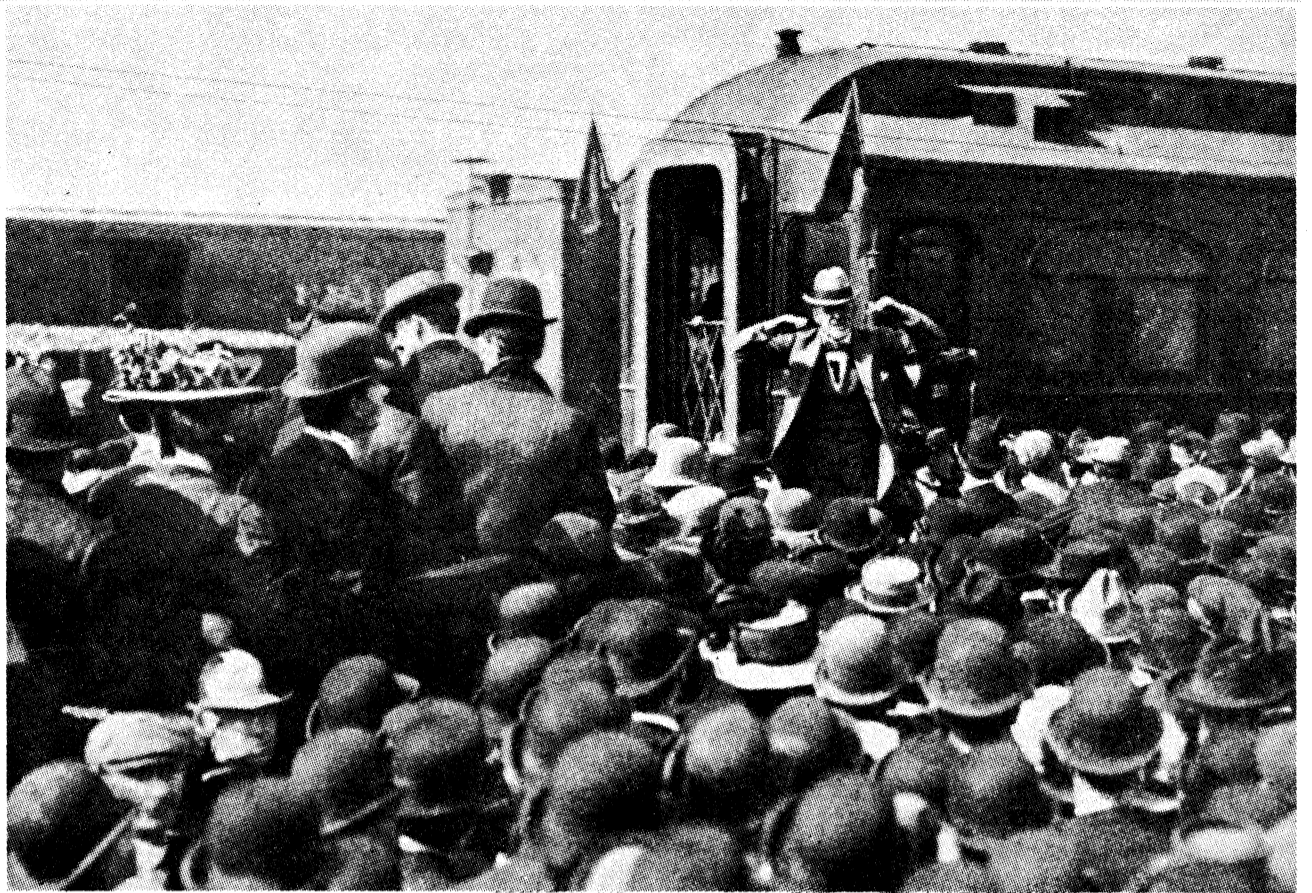
Beginning in the late 1880s Debs traveled up and down the rails and across the country campaigning for federation of the railroad unions and for the right to strike.

At a national convention of brakemen in 1888, Debs declared that when "we come in contact with a narrow minded, bigoted, and infamous railroad official, who will not accord us our common rights, then I am in favor of strikes. Why, my friends, there is not a star or stripe in our national flag that does not tell of a strike. . . . From Lexington, from Corcord . . . clear down to Yorktown, is one succession of strikes for liberty and independence."

Yet the effort to bring the brotherhoods together was not successful. And there are crucial lessons to be learned from the failure to unite the rail unions. Above all is the fact that *the rulers of the United States pulled out every stop, resorted to every antilabor maneuver in the books, to block the unity of railroad workers.*

## 1893 depression

Beginning in 1892-93 the country slipped into its second depression, even worse than that of 1873-77. Once again, overbuilding of the railroads and



Eugene V. Debs campaigns for president on socialist ticket. Behind him the famed 'Red Special.'

subsequent railroad bankruptcies were the main economic factor causing the depression.

"Factories closed," writes Ginger. "Families were evicted from their homes. Mothers plundered garbage cans in their search for food. Children were turned out to forage for themselves. Highways and city streets were clogged with wandering, homeless, barefoot men."

Debs and the other most farsighted railroad union leaders responded with the formation of the American Railway Union, open to workers from all the crafts. But in a dangerous concession to the racism of the period, Blacks were excluded.

Debs later said of this disastrous policy, "The leaders of the opposition [to Black membership] proved subsequently to have been traitors to the union, sent to the convention, doubtless, at the



instigation of the corporations to defeat the unity of the working class."

Despite this, the ARU grew by leaps and bounds. Rail workers joined who could not afford the craft-union dues of the other brotherhoods. Even more, unorganized workers joined. Hundreds of ARU locals were formed across the Midwest and West.

And in a short time the ARU was deadlocked in one of the bitterest battles against the owners of American corporations: the Pullman boycott of 1894.

## Pullman boycott

Like all workers in those days, the workers at George Pullman's sleeping-car company were faced with sharp wage cutbacks and layoffs. But on top of this, Pullman, Illinois, was a company town. The jobless and poverty-stricken workers had to continue paying rent to the company for their houses and going into deeper debt to the company as the depression intensified.

In May 1894, the workers went on strike. And they called on the ARU for help.

The militant workers of the new industrial union demanded and carried out a national boycott of trains carrying Pullman cars.

The American ruling class responded with fury. In Chicago, where the ARU was headquartered, newspapers lied about and blasted Debs day in and day out. "Strike is Now War," the *Chicago Tribune* declared. A caption over its editorial said:

"Six Days Shalt Thou Labor —Bible  
"Not Unless I Say So —Debs"

Court injunctions were used for the first time in a

major way to punish supporters of the Pullman strike. The railroad companies bought lawyers and judges by the bushel.

Railroad spies followed Debs wherever he went. ARU members—including Debs—were fired, black-listed, and imprisoned. (The lawyer most responsible for landing Debs in the Cook County Jail in Chicago worked for the Chicago, Milwaukee and St. Paul Railroad, predecessor of the present-day job-slashing Milwaukee Road.)

And Grover Cleveland, the Democratic president for whom Debs had campaigned, sent the army into Chicago to crush the strike.

As is invariably the case, these armed strike-breakers incited violence. Innocent people were murdered—and the ARU was blamed. The U.S. government and state troops, the police and courts, and the opposition of the railroad brotherhoods themselves ultimately crushed the Pullman boycott and along with it the power of the ARU.

## Debsian socialism

But by this time the ARU and the Pullman fight had gained the attention and support of working people everywhere. The concept of the potential power of industrial unionism was indestructibly afoot in the land. After the battle, Gene Debs spent a six-month term in jail studying, among other things, socialism.

This study and future thought helped Debs see through the railroad companies to the capitalist system itself—its government, its parties, and its courts—which front for the railroad trusts. Looking back on the ARU experience, Debs said, "I had yet to learn the workings of the capitalist system, the resources of its masters, and the weakness of its slaves."

Debs subsequently campaigned for almost three decades, until his death, to build a mass revolutionary party of workers to overthrow American capitalism.

There are many lessons in Debs's experience and teachings that can help rail workers today. In light of recent events, perhaps one central thought should be singled out.

When President Cleveland and the railroads conspired to crush the Pullman boycott in 1894 Debs said, "there was delivered, from wholly unexpected quarters, a swift succession of blows that blinded me for an instant, and then opened wide my eyes—and in the gleam of every bayonet and the flash of every rifle *the class struggle was revealed.*"

Railroad workers today are also up against the combined power of the American ruling class. The union-busting operation on the Florida East Coast, the crew consist reductions on the Milwaukee Road and Conrail and President Carter's recent court injunction against the BRAC strike on the Norfolk and Western—these are not isolated incidents. They are manifestations of a massive profit drive by the railroad companies. The government, the Democratic and Republican politicians, and the courts are acting and will continue to act in concert to carry out this attack on railroad workers.

(next: *who owns the rails today?*)

## Reading on rail

**A Struggle for Union Democracy** by Ed Heisler. 48 pages, \$0.75

**Hear That Lonesome Whistle Blow** by Dee Brown. 312 pages, \$2.50

**The Great Labor Uprising of 1877** by Dr. Philip S. Foner. 288 pages, \$3.95

**Eugene V. Debs, A Biography** by Ray Ginger. \$3.95

**Eugene V. Debs Speaks** edited by Jean Tussey. 320 pages, \$4.95

Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, New York 10014. Please add \$0.50 for postage, \$0.75 if order for more than one book.



# Rail workers demand right to ratify

By Joel Britton

The workers who operate the country's trains are discussing the need to win the right to vote on their contracts.

Two locals of the United Transportation Union have undertaken right to ratify campaigns and are reaching out to other members of the UTU.

Local 324 on the Burlington Northern, centered in the Seattle, Washington, area, voted earlier this fall to propose that the June 1979 UTU convention change the constitution to provide for a direct membership referendum on contracts. The local voted to notify all other UTU locals and lodges in the United States (Canadian members of the union won the right to vote earlier.)

Meanwhile, UTU Lodge 772 in Alabama has issued a call for a special convention to take up membership ratification of contracts. If 200 UTU locals and lodges vote by December 31

for such a convention, the union's top officers are mandated to convene it.

Lodge 772's call says, "Your neighbors that belong to the United Auto Workers, United Mine Workers and all other craft unions got to vote on their contracts. Did you? We at 772 would sure enjoy this privilege."

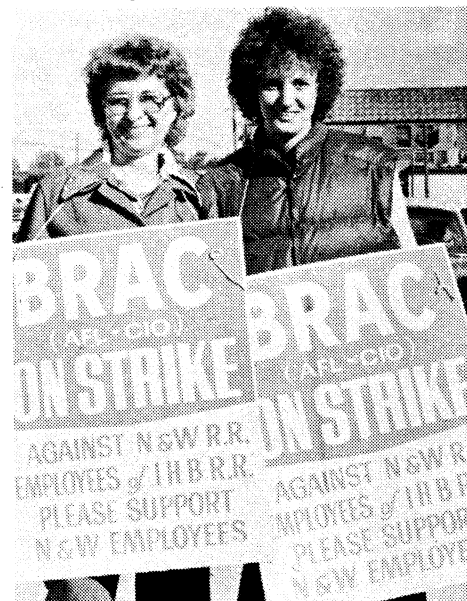
Local 324 members voted to recommend to next summer's convention that the constitution be changed to provide for election of top officers by direct membership referendum. They also propose that each delegate to UTU conventions get one vote for every fifty members in the local, instead of the current method of one vote for each local, no matter what its size.

These proposed steps to democratize the UTU are part of the increasing concern of working people to strengthen their unions in the face of increased attacks by the employers. A year ago a number of rail workers

issued a "Call to all railroad workers to defend our unions." Thousands of copies were distributed around the country. The "Call" centered on the need to win the right to vote on contracts and the right to strike.

Since then, the Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employees changed its constitution to provide for membership ratification. And the strike of the Brotherhood of Railway and Airline Clerks in September showed that with the solidarity of the other unions, rail workers can cripple transport despite the antistrike Railroad Labor Act.

The *UTU Informant*, Local 324's newsletter says, "Thanks, a lot BRAC, we needed that. . . . Some new life was instilled to the union movement in the railroad industry. Top leadership of the UTU should take note. Your membership would welcome the opportunity to demonstrate their economic strength if the issue was right."



Militant/David McDonald

UTU members say they were inspired by last fall's BRAC strike.

# Students fight ban on use of Spanish

By Bruce Kimball

SAN ANTONIO—"Solamente en San Antonio"—"only in San Antonio"—is a popular slogan on T-shirts distributed by this city. But if San Antonio College (SAC) has its way, students wearing these shirts could be barred from campus.

The reason? The SAC administration has ruled that all non-English languages, such as Spanish and Persian, are prohibited on campus.

Dr. Earl Wright, associate dean for student affairs, issued the ban to prevent distribution of a Young Socialist Alliance bilingual leaflet in September. Since then, Wright has confirmed the ban in several interviews in the campus newspaper, *The Ranger*.

"This is an English-speaking institution," Wright told the paper. "The educational program is in English, and all other functions of the college rely upon the English language."

Could any bilingual materials be distributed? Wright answered, "The only reason I could see for approving such a piece of literature is if it would lose some of its cultural impact in the English translation. But if it does not lose that impact then it should be written (only) in English."

Yet Spanish is the first language of more than half SAC's student body.

The majority of the 21,100 students are Chicano.

Agnes Chapa, chairperson of the YSA at SAC, told the *Militant*, "Chicanos in this city have fought for years to have the right to a bilingual education. Only recently have school children not been punished for speaking Spanish in the classroom."

"Now the administration of one of the nation's largest two-year colleges is trying to reinstitute these racist practices in a city that is overwhelmingly Hispanic."

The ban on languages goes back to SAC's attempts last year to control the activities of its several hundred Iranian students. Last year, the campus administration ruled that Iranian students could not form their own organization or distribute any literature in Persian.

Larry Adamson, student activities director, claimed this was necessary to protect foreign students from deportation. He claimed foreign students are not allowed to print non-English papers for distribution in this country. There is no such immigration law.

Many groups in San Antonio have joined the fight for freedom of speech at SAC. In addition to the YSA, the United Mexican American Students on

campus voted to make the fight a major priority. MEChA, the Chicano group at the University of Texas at

San Antonio, pledged its support. The ACLU has agreed to begin legal proceedings against SAC as well.

## Argentine activist in danger

Daniel Bilbao, political activist and opponent of the Argentine military regime, was arrested by the junta's armed forces November 16 in Buenos Aires.

On November 22 Daniel's brother Luis, in exile in Stockholm, called the U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA). He reported that his parents had immediately filed a writ of habeas corpus for his brother, but to no avail.

Daniel Bilbao, twenty-nine years old, has joined the ranks of more than 15,000 political activists who have been "disappeared" since the 1976 military coup in Argentina.

Bilbao had run a publishing house until the terrorist Argentine Anti-Communist Alliance (AAA) threatened him repeatedly in 1974, and he was forced to close it down. He has had several jobs since then, including his current one as a taxi driver.

His taxi was taken when he was arrested.

Daniel Bilbao's sister-in-law, Ana Maria Piffaretti, was arrested and disappeared June 28, 1978. She is married to Luis Bilbao. A trade unionist and feminist, she was abducted by uniformed police from the Guemes Clinic in Buenos Aires, where she worked as a dietician and nutritionist. She has not been seen or heard from since then, despite numerous appeals made on her behalf throughout the United States and Europe.

Luis Bilbao urges people to send letters and telegrams demanding to know the whereabouts of his brother and Piffaretti, and calling for their immediate release to: Argentine Embassy, 1600 New Hampshire Avenue, Washington, D.C. 20009.

Please send copies of all letters and telegrams to USLA Justice Committee, 853 Broadway, Room 414, New York, New York 10003.

## ...S. Africa

Continued from page 5

Against Apartheid; Young Socialist Alliance; Revolutionary Student Brigade; and Workers Viewpoint Organization.

The lively exchange of ideas that took place in the conference workshops was continued in informal discussions around the literature tables. Only one incident marred the weekend, when members of the Workers Viewpoint Organization attacked leafleters from the Revolutionary Communist Party. But the outrage of other conference participants and the intervention of student guides, organized to keep the conference running smoothly, quickly stopped the attack.

An indication of the interest in socialist ideas among anti-apartheid activists was the sale of 150 copies of the *Militant*, twenty subscriptions to *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor*, fifty copies of the *Young Socialist*, and \$473 worth of books and pamphlets from Pathfinder Press.

\* \* \*

A trade-union workshop held at the conference drew about 175 participants during two sessions. A resolution

passed by the workshop noted that the North East Coalition for the Liberation of Southern Africa, "a student-based movement, recognizes the importance of collaboration between student anti-apartheid groups and trade unionists."



Militant/Lou Howort

The resolution suggested activities such as educational work within the unions, seeking union endorsement for anti-apartheid actions, and cooperation between unionists and students in carrying out specific projects.

Steelworkers from Baltimore and auto workers from the Midwest gave examples of some of the opportunities in the unions by describing their work in getting support for the tour of South African union leader Drake Koka.

A Black African member of the New York United Federation of Teachers discussed her activity in circulating petitions calling for the union to stop investing its pension funds in firms doing business with South Africa.

Ray Markey, a New York library worker whose local union has already endorsed the April 4-11 week of action called by the conference, points out that "it's possible to get broad support in trade unions for anti-apartheid actions."

Comparing the situation today to that which existed during the time of the movement against the war in Vietnam, Markey noted that "you can get resolutions passed now that you could have never gotten during the antiwar movement. The field is wide open."

## Marxism and religion

**Marxism & Religion Are They Compatible?**

by Rev. Blaise Bonpane and Theodore Edwards, 21 pp., \$40

**On Religion**

by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, 382 pp., \$3.45

**Foundations of Christianity**

by Karl Kautsky, 480 pp., \$7.95

**The Essence of Christianity**

by Ludwig Feuerbach, 339 pp., \$4.95

**Mohammed**

by Maxime Rodinson, 360 pp., \$3.95

Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014. Please enclose \$.50 for postage, \$.75 for two or more books.

# Antinuke actions mark Silkwood death

Between November 11 and 19, antinuclear activists in some 120 areas coast to coast commemorated the anniversary of Karen Silkwood's death. Silkwood, who worked in the Kerr-McGee plutonium plant in Cimarron, Oklahoma, died in a mysterious auto crash November 13, 1974. She was on her way to meet a reporter and was carrying documents proving her charges of unsafe conditions in the plant. After the crash, the documents disappeared.

Following are accounts of some of these actions, continuing our coverage begun last week.

The Boston area saw a series of teach-ins, at MIT, Harvard, Tufts, Wellesley, and Brandeis. The actions

culminated in a city-wide meeting November 19 at the Arlington Street church. Between 350 and 400 people attended.

Nobel Prize winner George Wald effectively demolished many pro-nuclear arguments and presented a powerful case against nuclear power.

Also speaking were Dick Greenwood of the International Association of Machinists; Leslie Sullivan of District 65, Distributive Workers of America; Black feminist Florynce Kennedy; and Kitty Tucker, national head of Supporters of Silkwood.

A message of support from the Committee for Artistic and Intellectual Freedom was warmly received. CAIFI noted that the giant rebellion against the shah had forced the Iranian gov-

ernment to cancel plans to build nukes in that country.

In Dallas, 175 people gathered for a rally at city hall November 18. Speakers included Jana Pellusch, a member of Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Local 4-227 in Houston; Sherry Ellis, who had been Karen Silkwood's roommate when she died; Christine Jarosz, president of the Dallas chapter of the National Organization for Women; Gene Lantz, Socialist Workers Party; and others.

Karen Silkwood's parents, Bill and Merle Silkwood, were among the action's sponsors.

About 150 people marched through downtown New Orleans November 18. The march route passed the headquarters of Louisiana Power and Light, which is building a nuke at

nearby Taft. Speakers included Sara Jeffries, vice-president of New Orleans NOW, and Scott Breen, Socialist Workers Party.

More than 250 people came to a teach-in November 15 at Washington University in St. Louis. Speakers included Barry Commoner; Sid Lens, a founder of Mobilization for Survival; Ada Sánchez of Supporters of Silkwood; Jane Goodwin of St. Louis NOW; and others.

Two days earlier, eighty people had picketed the FBI offices downtown. The protest was widely reported in area media.

Other actions took place in New Jersey; Cleveland; Phoenix; Bloomington, Indiana; and many other cities.

## ...NOW

Continued from page 6

of the "Defending Women's Rights Resolution."

The *NOW Times* editors don't even try. They do the same thing that was done at the 1977 conference itself: dismiss the resolution as "the SWP march proposal" and suggest that it was really just "an organizing tool."

The editorial asserts that "when large numbers of SWP members belong to a NOW chapter, that chapter tends to decline in numbers and activity as it suffers from internal strife. This pattern has been reported in all regions and areas of NOW."

The editors do not produce a single example of this nationwide phenomenon, which is absurd on the face of it. The truth is that NOW is growing around the country and nearly doubled in size between the 1977 and 1978 conventions. And it is no secret that the SWP encourages all women who

want to fight for equal rights—including, obviously, its own members in cities across the country—to join NOW and build its activities.

What can lead chapters "to decline in numbers and activity" is the kind of red-baiting to avoid political discussion that is reflected in the *NOW Times* editorial.

The editorial shows where the dangerous logic of anticommunism can lead. The "evidence" against the SWP consists of a long quotation introduced into the Congressional Record by Democratic Rep. Larry McDonald, an arch-reactionary woman-hater.

The *NOW Times* prudently neglects to identify the source of the Congressional Record item. It does not note, for example, that McDonald is on the national council of the John Birch Society and a member of the Georgia Right-to-Life committee.

*People* magazine once quoted McDonald as saying that "screwballs who run around screaming women's lib, free love, nickel beer and abortion are kooks and a menace to women."

It is an outrage for the national

newspaper of NOW to quote this contemptible enemy of women against sister members of NOW who are socialists.

The *NOW Times* implies that the conference authorized the NOW leadership to deal with what it calls the "unwelcome presence" of the SWP. It quotes a conference resolution "that no political party be allowed to use NOW or any subunit of NOW as a vehicle to further its political goals."

It is true that some people backed this resolution as a way of dealing with the "problem" of socialists in NOW. It is also true that several speakers opposed the motion when it came before the plenary on the grounds that it was a thinly disguised red-baiting move.

But the fact is that the *only* speaker in favor of the resolution stated specifically that it was not directed against the SWP, and that SWP members had always been and would continue to be welcome in NOW. That was the basis on which the motion passed.

There was one motion that was motivated by some delegates as di-

rected against the SWP. The by-laws committee had proposed a new rule under which members could be expelled for disagreeing with NOW "policies." This dangerous proposal was decisively rejected. The chair ruled it a unanimous vote.

When this motion was voted down, women stood up and cheered. They had turned around a serious threat to NOW itself.

In voting down the expulsion motion, the conference reaffirmed that NOW is an organization in which there will always be women with many different points of view. Even the *NOW Times* editorial admits that the vote was a move to uphold democracy within NOW.

But the editorial itself is a step backwards from that affirmation of democracy. It is a step away from the desire for unity expressed at the conference. It should be repudiated by the NOW membership and by activists around the country. This will put NOW in a stronger position to go forward and build on the victories it has achieved.

## ...Tupelo

Continued from back page

Speaking next, Louis Myers, Jr., attorney for the United League, read a letter of solidarity from Wilmington Ten defendant Rev. Ben Chavis.

Myers declared to loud applause, "We will be nonviolent if those opposing us are nonviolent . . . but we are not prepared to die on our knees. If we are to die in the struggle, it'll be standing up, fighting for justice."

Then Skip Robinson, president of the United League, took the microphone for an important announcement.

"The KKK is marching towards us now."

Just two hundred yards away, in full view of everyone there, the robed Klansmen filed past. Robinson urged restraint and discipline.

"This is a provocation by the Klan. They are trying to provoke something so that the cops can come in and start a massacre. Don't be provoked. We will march back united to the center and continue our program there."

Marchers assembled to go back and, as they started, they saw that the KKK had lined up in front of the police station and local jail as if protecting it.

Back at the Augustus Center, Skip Robinson talked to the *Militant* during a meal prepared by volunteers.

"You saw the Klansmen at the jail?" he asked. "They were at home. That's their office."

Robinson explained that one Black policeman had opened a locked room at the police station by accident. He discovered "machine guns, flame-throwers, and rope for the KKK."

At an earlier Klan rally, four Klans-

men were identified as police officers when they removed their hoods. Until recently, a Klan recruitment poster was pinned on a bulletin board at the police station.

The boycott and the demonstrations have had an important effect, Robinson said, as the recent compromise offer from the city government indicates. But, he insisted, the people won't settle for anything less than justice for all.

"We're giving the city two more weeks to meet our demands. And then hundreds of people from all over the country, already committed, will return to picket the downtown businesses and expand the economic boycott."

For more information, write to: United League, Post Office Box 517, Holly Springs, Mississippi 38635, c/o Alfred (Skip) Robinson.

## Ruth Querio dies

By Kipp Dawson

PITTSBURGH—Ruth Querio, a forty-five-year veteran of the labor and socialist movements, died here on November 26.

Querio's first contact with the Trotskyist movement was in 1933, when leaders of the Socialist Workers Party, including Art Preis, helped her and her young daughter fight a depression-time eviction from their home in Allentown, Pennsylvania.

She became an activist in the unemployed movement, and subsequently joined the Trotskyist movement. She remained a dedicated builder of the Socialist Workers Party until her death.

The Pittsburgh branch of the Socialist Workers Party will host a memorial meeting for Querio in mid-December. Querio's family and comrades ask that messages be sent to the SWP, 5504 Penn. Avenue, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania 15206; and that contributions in her name be made to the Militant Fiftieth Anniversary Fund, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014.



Blacks have repeatedly mobilized against racism in Tupelo. Above, May 6, 1978, march.



**While gov't, industry say 'trust us'**

# Atomic wastes piling up

By Arnold Weissberg

The year is 1950. A ship passes through the Golden Gate, heads out thirty miles into the Pacific. Near the Farallones Islands, the ship dumps its cargo—a load of fifty-five-gallon metal drums containing radioactive waste materials.

Ship after ship retraces the route, until by 1962, after sixteen years of dumping, 47,500 barrels have been dropped into the ocean.

In 1975, someone figures it might be a good idea to look at the drums and see how they're doing.

So two submarines descend 3,000 feet and have a look around. And what do they find? One out of four drums has broken open. And that's just for starters.

Attached to most of the drums are giant sponges—of a previously unknown type. Some of the drums are completely covered by the strangely shaped animals.

Government scientists deny the four-foot sponges are mutants, the result of the radioactivity from the broken drums. One scientist suggests that actually they're a rare type of sponge that just happens to like fastening itself on hard, smooth surfaces, like fifty-five-gallon drums.

In fact, the expert says, it's odd that with all the studies of Pacific marine life, no one has noticed this kind of sponge before.

Meanwhile, a report says, plutonium levels in the area are twenty-five times higher than they're supposed to be.

This is perhaps the most bizarre chapter in the horrifying nuclear waste story.

Millions of gallons and tens of thousands of cubic feet of highly radioactive wastes have been produced since the beginning of the atomic age.

And the simple fact is that no one has any idea how to store them permanently.

Even the idea of "permanent storage" may be a fantasy. One nuclear waste product, plutonium, remains radioactive for a half-million years, and must be stored safely the entire time.

High-level wastes—so named because of their levels of radioactivity—must be kept isolated from all living things as long as they are radioactive.

That means keeping them out of the air and out of the water. It means guarding the wastes against earthquakes and climate changes. It means that no matter what geological, social, or political changes take place, those wastes will stay right where they were put—for a half-million years.

The frightening truth is that the necessary 100 percent isolation can't be guaranteed for even thirty years.

At the Hanford, Washington, federal nuclear complex, about 55 million gallons of high-level liquid wastes are stored in buried drums. These wastes are the by-products of the production of plutonium for nuclear weapons.

Storage began there in 1943. In 1973, a tank leaked more than 100,000 gallons of its fiercely radioactive contents into the soil, only a few miles from the Columbia River.

It was the worst leak at Hanford, but not the only one. So far, more than 400,000 gallons have escaped.

If they can't keep the stuff in one place for thirty years, how are they going to do it for half a million?

## Military and civilian

Ninety-nine percent of the volume of atomic wastes comes from production of plutonium for atomic weapons. Virtually all the rest comes from nuclear power plants.

Measured in terms of radioactive content, though, power plant wastes account for about half, because they are more radioactive than the military wastes.



Hundreds of used atomic fuel rods like this one are stored 'temporarily' next to nuclear reactors—because there is no safe place to store them permanently.

What is radioactive waste? The largest volume of waste consists of low-level wastes—gloves, protective clothing, rags, tools—that have been contaminated.

The big problem comes from the high-level wastes.

As a nuclear power plant uses up its fuel, radioactive by-products are created. Most of these elements are of no use, but they do remain dangerous for a long time.

About 5,000 tons of spent fuel rods are stacked up in pools near the reactors. The amount is expected to double in five years.

## Wishful thinking

Now, according to theory, the spent fuel rods should go to a fuel reprocessing plant where the useful elements can be extracted and the rest isolated.

Unfortunately for the nuclear industry and its government apologists, no such plant exists, nor will one exist in the near future. Two attempts have failed. One, at West Valley, New York, left behind 600,000 gallons of high-level wastes when Getty Oil, unable to turn a profit on the plant, simply abandoned it.

Cleanup costs are estimated at \$600 million. Under an agreement with New York State, Getty will pay no more than \$4 million.

Because there are no commercial fuel reprocessing plants, each nuclear power plant must store its spent fuel rods on site. The deep water pools in which the 1,600-pound rods are stored will soon be full.

Even if the fuel could be reprocessed, the waste problem would remain unresolved.

The stuff that can't be reused has to be buried. No one has come up with a scheme for burial of nuclear wastes that promises to keep them buried for half a million years.

One more popular notion, still under investigation, is burial in deep salt mines. But there are serious questions about salt. Nuclear wastes are enormously hot, and no one knows the long-term effect of that heat on the salt.

Deep salt-bed burial even got a poor rating from the President's Office of Science and Technology

Policy earlier this year. And criticizing a plan to bury wastes in granite, an Interior Department report said, "We still don't know enough about such major geologic events as earthquakes and climate changes to predict their occurrence for the next thousand or hundreds of thousands of years."

The unknowns haven't stopped the government from plunging ahead with its billion-dollar Waste Isolation Pilot Project (WIPP), which will subject New Mexico to a ten-year program aimed at finding out if wastes can be stored safely in salt. WIPP has aroused fierce opposition.

## Receding horizon

In 1977, the government said it might have the waste storage problem solved by 1985. In March of 1978, the target date moved back to 1988. The latest goal, announced in October, is 1995.

But storage of high-level waste is only one part of the waste problem.

When uranium ore is mined, tons of sand called tailings, are cast aside. Tailings are radioactive because of their million-year proximity to the uranium.

Uncounted thousands of tons were used as landfill around the West. Six thousand buildings in Grand Junction, Colorado, are built on tailings—and that's not including streets and sidewalks.

Grand Junction's leukemia rate is twice what scientists expected to find.

For thirty years, the government and the nuclear industry simply ignored the waste problem.

In its mad rush to make nuclear weapons, the government, keeping the truth wrapped in a cloak of "national security," hid the truth about nuclear wastes.

And the nuclear industry, in its mad rush for profits, just didn't want to bother with nuclear wastes, leaving it to the taxpayers to pay the cleanup bills—or just leaving the wastes, as in the case of the uranium tailings.

One reason that the nuclear industry has been profitable is because it doesn't pay its own bills. The federal government does—with our tax money.

The Carter administration has proposed to pick up 75 percent of the costs of burying the tailings, and the states are supposed to pay the rest. The total cost is estimated at about \$100 million.

But the *entire* cost should be borne by the companies that left the mess behind in the first place.

In an attempt to bail out the nuclear industry, the Carter administration has proposed a "solution" to the nuclear waste problem: The federal government will buy the used fuel rods and take the responsibility for disposing of them. This lets the industry off the hook and forces working people to foot the bill.

Without claiming to have a solution, all the industry and government can say is, "trust us—we'll think of something eventually."

That's not too promising coming from the \$100 billion nuclear industry, which so far has brought us higher electric rates; perhaps 32,000 extra cases of cancer and leukemia a year; potential accidents that could kill 45,000 people immediately; and a growing pile of killer substances that just won't go away.



Drums like these, buried at Hanford, Washington, leaked hundreds of thousands of gallons of radioactive materials into the soil.

## On nuclear power

**Nuclear Power** by Walter Patterson. Penguin Books, 302 pp., \$3.50.

**The Poverty of Power** by Barry Commoner. Bantam Books, 297 pp., \$2.75.

**The Silent Bomb** ed. Peter Faulkner. Vintage, 382 pp., \$3.95.

**We Almost Lost Detroit** by John G. Fuller. Ballantine, 288 pp., \$1.95.

Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, New York 10014, or visit the socialist bookstore nearest you (see listing on p. 31). Please include \$.50 for postage; \$.75 if order for more than one book.

## Quote unquote

"We've got people scouting all over the world. They're constantly watching the military threats develop, beating the bushes for what's needed and feeding it back to our design people."

—A. William Baker, vice-president of McDonnell Douglas Aircraft, describing how his company wins military contracts.

## SCIENTISTS CHARGE GOV'T NUKE COVER-UP

Government inspectors check between only 1 and 5 percent of all safety-related activities at nuclear power plants, according to documents made public by the Union of Concerned Scientists November 25. The UCS obtained the papers through the Freedom of Information Act.

Even with the slipshod inspections, fourteen nukes were rated below average for safety.

UCS spokesperson Lawrence Tye accused government regulatory agencies of "persistent cooperation" and "collusion" with the nuclear industry.

## 'TIMES' SETTLES SEX BIAS SUIT

The *New York Times* has agreed to pay \$350,000 to 550 women employees who had filed suit charging the paper with sex discrimination. The *Times* also agreed to start an affirmative-action program, with a goal of 25 percent women in key news-department and commercial positions.

In 1970 and 1971 combined, only 6 percent of the editors

and reporters hired by the paper were women. Charges were filed with the Equal Employment Opportunities Commission in 1972. Under this pressure, 47 percent of the new reporters and editors hired in 1973 were women.

The *Times* claimed a victory in the out-of-court settlement, calling it "total vindication and full refutation of the charges against us."

Plaintiffs' attorney Harriet Rabb said; however, that there was plenty of "blood and gore" evidence of discrimination that would have come out at a trial.

## ...JUST H-BOMBS

The government says it will modify the design for a fence aimed at keeping Mexicans from coming to the United States. The original design for the ten-foot-high barrier, called the "tortilla curtain" by Chicanos and Mexicans, included razor-sharp edges that could cut off fingers and toes.

The Immigration and Naturalization Service announced the change after President Carter said it would be a mistake to build "any sort of fencing device that would injure people."

## RACISM AT PUBLIC BROADCASTING

Programming by and about Blacks, *latinos*, and other minorities on public radio and television is "seriously deficient," according to a recent study by a task force of the Corporation for Public Broadcasting.

The report found that in 1977, less than 10 percent of public television series funded by the corporation dealt with minorities. Nearly half the station managers responding to a survey said they spend \$5,000 or less yearly on national minority programming.

National Public Radio spend

## Coal company admits sex bias

The Consolidation Coal Company has admitted to discriminating against women in hiring and will pay \$370,000 to seventy-eight women, the Department of the Interior announced November 25.

The women were turned away from jobs between 1972 and 1976. According to the Interior Department, Consolidation has begun to contact and hire women who had been refused jobs as miners.



Earl Dotter  
Consolidation Coal Company settlement will make it easier for women like these to get jobs in mines.

only 3 percent of its budget on programs aimed at minorities. On 1,543 hours of broadcasting during a one-week survey, only 71.5 hours were designed for minorities—and most of that was music.

## CENSORSHIP ON THE RISE

Some 30 percent of public schools censor books, school newspapers, or other materials, according to a recent survey by the National Council of Teachers of English Committee on Censorship. This represents a 50 percent increase over 1965.

"Library censorship is quite severe and is growing," said Lee Burress, a member of the committee.

Burress cited as an example the Texas State School Book Commission, which bans several dictionaries because they contain "bad words." One of the "bad words" is "bed," which is cited in some dictionaries as a verb meaning "sexual intercourse."

## MARKEY ON IRELAND

A preelection letter from Ray Markey, criticizing Irish-American support to Republi-

can New York gubernatorial candidate Perry Duryea, was printed in *An Phoblacht*, a Dublin newspaper reflecting the views of the Provisional wing of the Irish Republican movement.

Markey was Socialist Workers Party candidate for New York State attorney general in last month's election.

Markey's letter noted that Duryea's Democratic opponent, Gov. Hugh Carey, had denounced Irish fighters against British colonialism as "marxists and killers."

The socialist candidate said that supporters of the Irish freedom struggle were justly outraged by such expressions, but that backing Duryea was no help to Ireland.

The Republicans and Democrats, Markey explained, both have been staunch defenders of British colonial rule in Ireland. And both parties support the system—capitalism—that keeps Ireland in bondage.

"We must march in the thousands and tens of thousands," Markey said. "Such a movement forced Washington out of Vietnam and such a movement can force London out of Ireland."

## FROM THE MAKERS OF THE NEUTRON BOMB

The Pentagon's latest pet project is the "land and launch" missile system. This scheme is part of a carefully orchestrated scare campaign about the "Soviet nuclear threat."

The "land and launch" system would put intercontinental missiles, together with their launch apparatus, on giant cargo planes. In the event of "enemy attack," the planes land at any of 2,000 airstrips and unload the missiles, which are then launched.

The price tag? A modest \$40 to \$50 billion.

# What's Going On

## CALIFORNIA

### BAY AREA

**'MILITANT' FIFTIETH ANNIVERSARY CELEBRATION.** Speaker: Betsey Stone, Socialist Workers Party Political Committee. Sat., Dec. 9, 7 p.m. social hour and entertainment, 8 p.m. program. Dove Hall, 3543 18th St., San Francisco. Donation: \$2.50. For more information call (415) 653-7156 (Berkeley); (415) 261-1210 (Oakland); (415) 824-1992 (San Francisco); or (408) 295-8342 (San Jose).

### LOS ANGELES

**DYNAMICS OF THE CUBAN REVOLUTION.** A socialist educational conference. Fri., Dec. 8, 8 p.m., "The Cuban revolution." Speaker: Pedro Camejo, 1976 presidential candidate of the Socialist Workers Party and founder of Fair Play for Cuba Committee. Sat., Dec. 9, noon, "The Class nature of the Cuban state." 3 p.m., "Cuba's role in Africa." Speaker: Catarino Garza, author of *Puerto Ricans in the United States: the Struggle for Freedom*. All classes at Cal State L.A. Ausp: SWP & Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (213) 482-1820.

### COLORADO DENVER

**WHAT IS SOCIALISM?** Speaker: Rose Peery, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., Dec. 8, 7:30 p.m. 126 W. 12th Ave. Ausp: SWP. For more information call (303) 534-8954.

**FIFTY YEARS OF THE MILITANT** Speakers: Raúl González, Socialist Workers Party; Elsa Blum, SWP candidate for governor; others. Sat., Dec. 9, 7:30 p.m. Denver Labor Center, 360 Acoma St. Rm. 2. For more information call (303) 534-8954.

### FLORIDA MIAMI

**MILITANT FIFTIETH ANNIVERSARY RALLY.** Speakers: John Hawkins, Social-

ist Workers Party National Committee; Leo Harris, victor in fight against frame-up; Rulx Jean-Bart, director, Haitian Refugee Center. Sat., Dec. 9, reception 7 p.m.; program 8 p.m., party to follow. 7623 N.E. Second Ave. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (305) 756-8358.

## MASSACHUSETTS BOSTON

**FIFTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF THE MILITANT RALLY & BANQUET.** Speaker: Harry Ring, former editor of the *Militant* and political committee member of the Socialist Workers Party. Greetings from Boston political and community figures. Sat., Dec. 9, 6:30 dinner (full-course gourmet meal); 8 p.m. rally. Community Church, 565 Boylston St. (at Copley Sq.). Donation: \$5 (banquet & rally); \$2 (rally only). For more information call (617) 262-4621.

**SOCIALIST EDUCATIONAL CONFERENCE.** Classes for Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance members and friends. Three classes by Harry Ring. Fri., Dec. 8, 8 p.m. "The Leninist concept of a revolutionary party"; Sun., Dec. 10, 11 a.m. "How revolutionists work in the trade unions"; Sun., Dec. 10, 2 p.m. "A revolutionary party's approach to the elections." Donation: 50¢ per class. All classes at 510 Commonwealth Ave. (Kenmore Sq.). For more information call (617) 262-4621.

## NEW YORK NEW JERSEY

**'MILITANT' ANNIVERSARY RALLY.** Speaker: Jack Barnes, national secretary of the Socialist Workers Party. Sun., Dec. 3, 2:30 p.m. rally followed by cocktail party. Rutgers Univ., Robeson Center, Central Ave. & High St., Newark, New Jersey. Donation: \$3. Ausp: SWP. For more information call (201) 643-3341 or (212) 982-8214.

## NEW YORK

### NYC: LOWER MANHATTAN

**WITH BABIES AND BANNERS.** A film about the role of the Women's Emergency Brigade in winning the General Motors sit-down strike in Flint, Michigan, in 1937. Introductory remarks by Claire Moriarty, Socialist Workers Party. Also speaking, member of the Women's Labor History Film Project. Fri., Dec. 15, 8 p.m. 155 Bank St., West Beth Community Room. Donation: \$2. For more information call (212) 260-6400.

## OHIO TOLEDO

**FIFTIETH ANNIVERSARY RALLY FOR THE 'MILITANT.'** Speaker: Andrew Pulley, Socialist Workers Party National Committee member. Sat., Dec. 9, refreshments 7 p.m.; rally 8 p.m. 2507 Collingwood. Ausp: SWP. For more information call (419) 242-9743.

## OREGON PORTLAND

**FIFTIETH ANNIVERSARY RALLY FOR THE 'MILITANT.'** Speakers: Joel Britton, member of the Socialist Workers Party Political Committee; Louise Haberbush, 1978 SWP candidate for Senate. Sat., Dec. 9, dinner, 7 p.m.; rally 8:30 p.m. Friends' Hall, 4312 S.E. Stark. Donation: \$3 (dinner and rally); \$1.50 (rally only). For more information call (503) 222-7225.

## PENNSYLVANIA PITTSBURGH

**FIFTIETH ANNIVERSARY RALLY FOR THE 'MILITANT.'** Speaker: Andrew Pulley, national committee member of the Socialist Workers Party. Fri., Dec. 8, 6 p.m. cocktails; 7 p.m. dinner; 8 p.m. rally. 1st Unitarian Church, Morewood & Ellsworth. Donation: \$3.50 dinner; \$1 children under twelve. Rally free. Ausp: SWP. For more information call (412) 441-1419.

## UTAH

### SALT LAKE CITY

**'MILITANT' FIFTIETH ANNIVERSARY RALLY.** Speakers: Betsey Stone, Socialist Workers Party Political Committee; Charles Bakhid, president, Palestinian Action Committee, Univ. of Utah; Frank Cordova, president, Chicano Students Association, Univ. of Utah; others. Sat., Dec. 2, 6 p.m. social; 7 p.m. banquet; 8 p.m. program. All Saints Episcopal Church, 1710 Foothill Drive. Donation: \$4 for dinner & program. Tickets available at Militant Bookstore, 677 So. 7th E. Ausp: SWP. For more information call (801) 355-1124.

## WASHINGTON, D.C.

**FIFTIETH ANNIVERSARY RALLY FOR THE 'MILITANT.'** Speakers: Dick Roberts, staff writer for the *Militant*; Jerry Gordon, vice-president of Amalgamated Meat Cutters union and former national leader of the anti-Vietnam War movement; Reza

Baraheni, exiled Iranian poet; Robert Taylor, general manager of WHUR Radio; Julius Weisser, longtime activist in movement to reopen the Rosenberg case; Maude Wilkinson, victim of FBI Cointelpro; Abe Bloom, leader of anti-Vietnam War movement. Fri., Dec. 8, reception 7 p.m.; rally 8 p.m. All Souls Church, 16th & Harvard N.W. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: SWP. For more information call (202) 797-7699.

## WEST VIRGINIA MORGANTOWN

**FIFTIETH ANNIVERSARY CELEBRATION FOR THE 'MILITANT.'** Speakers: Les Evans, Socialist Workers Party National Committee member, former editor of *International Socialist Review*; Dennis Boyer, labor lawyer active in W. Va. public employees organizing coalition; others. Food and refreshments. Sat., Dec. 9, 7 p.m. 957 University Ave., Morgantown. Donation: \$1. Ausp: SWP. For more information call (304) 296-0055.

# Militant anniversary rallies

During December, supporters of the 'Militant' in many cities around the country will be celebrating the paper's fiftieth anniversary. Below are some of the cities and speakers who will be

participating in the celebrations. For more information about these events, contact the Socialist Workers Party branch in your area listed on page 31.

### SUNDAY, DECEMBER 3

New York/ Jack Barnes  
New Jersey  
Albany Reba Williams

### FRIDAY, DECEMBER 8

Pittsburgh Andrew Pulley  
Washington, D.C.  
Raleigh Dick Roberts

### SATURDAY, DECEMBER 9

Boston Harry Ring  
Bay Area Betsey Stone  
Toledo Andrew Pulley  
Albuquerque Miguel Pendás  
Portland Joel Britton  
Denver Raúl González  
Morgantown Les Evans  
Miami John Hawkins

**SUNDAY, DECEMBER 10**  
Los Angeles Betsey Stone





### Women trade unionists meet

More than eighty women from fifteen area trade unions took part in a New England conference for trade union women in Boston November 11. The conference was sponsored by the women's committee of the Boston Teachers Union.

Keynote speaker, Judge Margaret Burnham, emphasized the *Weber* case, in which a white worker has challenged an affirmative-action plan negotiated by the United Steelworkers on the grounds of "reverse racism."

"The effects of the *Weber* case are broader and deeper than the *Bakke* case," Burnham said.

An affirmative-action workshop passed a resolution opposing *Weber*, and a job safety workshop backed upcoming Karen Silkwood memorials.

Other workshops covered Black and minority women, political action, and other issues.

The conference established an affirmative-action committee to work on the *Weber* case.



Militant/Augusta Trainor

### FBI SPIED ON U.S. SENATOR

The FBI kept surveillance files for more than twenty years on Paul Douglas, who was U.S. senator from Illinois between 1949 and 1966. The surveillance began in 1941 and went through 1964, according to documents received through the Freedom of Information Act by the *Chicago Tribune*.

In 1941, according to a November 14 *Tribune* story, the bureau put Douglas on a list of people "whose arrest might be considered necessary" in wartime.

Among the "charges" against Douglas: An informant reported he was "particularly active among the Negro population" and had "participated actively in meetings of the National Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People [NAACP]."

### SETBACK FOR ABORTION RIGHTS

The Minnesota Department of Public Welfare must release to newspapers the names of doctors who perform abortions for women on welfare. This is how the Minnesota Supreme Court ruled November 24 in a suit filed by the *Catholic Bulletin*, a St. Paul newspaper.

A dissenting judge noted that such disclosure was aimed at making it more difficult for poor women to get abortions. Judge James Otis also noted that legal abortion clinics have been the target of firebomb and vandal attacks in several cities, including St. Paul.

The Minnesota Medical Association had opposed the suit, charging it would make doctors less willing to perform the abortions, thereby limiting the right of women to choose their own physicians.

### TEAMSTERS REJECT SAFEWAY OFFER

For the second time in their fifteen-week-old strike, nine northern California Teamster locals have cast unanimous votes against a settlement negotiated by regional union officials.

The latest pact, announced in Washington November 17, proposed sending all disputed

strike issues to arbitration. The striking Teamsters delivered their answer November 20: 1,923 to 0 against the agreement.

The Teamsters strike, which began July 18, is directed against Safeway markets and allied foods chains. Safeway provoked the walkout by instituting a brutal computerized speedup plan. Doing away with this plan—and winning amnesty for all strikers—are the central concerns of the union's ranks. Under the rejected proposal, these issues would be resolved only after ratification and a return to work.

### MINNESOTA SHORTER WORK WEEK CONFERENCE

Members of sixteen local unions gathered in Minneapolis November 11 to found the Minnesota All Unions Committee to Shorten the Work Week. The conference was a local response to the national shorter work week conference held in Detroit last spring.

The Minnesota conference drew forty-five people from such unions as United Auto Workers, United Electrical Workers, United Steelworkers, Grain Millers, and Teamsters.

Conference speakers included Frank Runnels, president of the National All Unions Committee to Shorten the Work Week (Runnels's speech was delivered on tape); Joe Samargia, president of United Steelworkers Local 1938 in Virginia, Minnesota; and Bill Onasch, president of United Electrical Workers Local 1139 in Minneapolis.

### WOMEN WIN \$3 MILLION AWARD

The city of Chicago must pay nearly \$3 million to 225 women employees of the public works department. The women charged they had been the victims of pay and job classification discrimination.

Under the November 17 ruling by federal Judge John Grady, the women will collect between \$1,000 and \$52,880 each.

The suit was filed by the National Organization for Women in 1974.

**Dept. of ready responses**—One wintery afternoon in Denver some office workers were watching workers on a high-rise construction job. One of the office people held up a sign saying, "It's seventy-two degrees in here." One of the construction workers wrote one in response: "It's \$15 an hour out here."

**Need storage space?**—What with inflation, we decided to skip our annual Xmas listing of supergifts. But we can tell you what to do with them. Neiman-Marcus is renting safety deposit boxes in a Utah mountain. Divided equally—his and hers—they feature elaborate safety devices for protection against thieves, A-bombs, etc. A fifty-year lease, \$90,000.

**Good as being a bureaucrat**—"I've known plenty of people who never did a day's work, and they lived to a ripe old age."—I.W. Abel, retired president of the United Steelworkers of America.

**Antisin**—The Worldwide Church of God, which takes 23 percent of its members' income in tithes, will gross \$76 million this year. Stanley Rader, a church official who draws \$85,000 per annum, says the members learn, "It would be a sin not to tithe. It would be stealing from god."

**See, just like you and me**—"The rich like bargains more than anyone I know," Marylou Whitney confided to the *New York Times*. "I always buy cases of canned soups and canned tomatoes," the

spouse to the Whitney-Vanderbilt millions added. She clips the cents-off coupons and even saves the supermarket stamps, which she gives to the servants. They, in turn, sometimes buy her an xmas present from the stamps.

**Progress report**—The South African government has lifted its twenty-one-year ban on the novel *Peyton Place*.

**Final performance**—Civil defense officials commissioned physicist Leonard Reiffel to prepare a five-part TV series on what to do in the event of impending nuclear attack. Reiffel said he hoped the show would never be used. "No human being," he observed, "could want to be the star of the largest and last television show in history."

**What street was that?**—Bullock's, Los Angeles, is offering its "latest coup from the European street scene." Leather jeans "to go everywhere your old jeans went but with lots more pizzazz!" Only \$128. Plus an electric blue shirt by Sasson. \$62.

**A premonition?**—Patrick Gray, who succeeded J. Edgar Hoover as snooper-in-chief, rewrote the FBI dress code, permitting agents to wear striped shirts. Hopefully Gray, who faces prosecution for violating the civil rights of relatives and friends of Weatherpeople, will get to wear a striped suit.

## Union Talk

### No to red-baiting!

This week's column is by Chris Driscoll, a member of International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers Local 2112 at GTE-Lenkurt in Albuquerque.

ALBUQUERQUE, N.M.—Union members here have responded angrily to a red-baiting attack on our union, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers Local 2112, by the management of the General Telephone and Electronics Lenkurt plant.

In an interview given to the *Albuquerque Tribune* in October, General manager Thomas Blinn blamed a "walkout" last May on "communists." He also decied the fact that "subversive" groups such as the Socialist Workers Party were distributing literature at the plant.

Even though the "walkout" took place last May, it is not surprising that management has launched this attack now. They are obviously quite nervous about the contract negotiations coming up in December. Many union activists expect a major battle to remedy intolerable conditions.

The company has good reason to be worried, not because of "communist subversion," but because of widespread dissatisfaction among Lenkurt workers over low pay, poor benefits, and arbitrary and unjust company practices.

It was those conditions that led to a demonstration by several hundred workers last May—to which the company responded with a two-week lockout. By raising the red scare now the company hopes to divide the workers and prevent a broad, democratic discussion among union members about conditions at Lenkurt.

Unfortunately, the union leadership caved in to this attack. Instead of directing his fire at the company's attempt to divide the union, Local 2112 President James Montano told the press: "We will

find and expel from our midst any who might attempt to destroy by subversion all that we stand for." Thus Montano set the stage for a witch-hunt, the real way to "subvert" all that the union stands for.

The response of the union ranks was different. On October 15 some 250 attended a general membership meeting. With only one vote opposed, we adopted a resolution that upholds the rights of all members regardless of political creed or affiliation.

Under pressure from the workers, Lenkurt management backed off slightly and issued a statement to all 1,800 workers at the plant stating they did not intend "to associate any individual employee involved in the unfortunate incident last May with any political affiliation or ideology."

A strong stand by the union against red-baiting is especially important because as contract negotiations draw closer the company will be increasingly tempted to resort to this antiunion weapon.

Many Lenkurt workers received copies of a statement by Floyd Fowler and Carole Newcomb, Socialist Workers Party candidates for U.S. Congress (District 1) and U.S. Senate. Both candidates are construction workers and union activists.

They blasted red-baiting as "management's game. Our unions should be democratic," they said. "Every member should have the same rights whether he or she is a Democrat, a Socialist, a Republican, or a Communist."

"We think working people are capable of making intelligent decisions," the candidates wrote. "If they have access to all points of view, the workers of GTE-Lenkurt can decide for themselves whether the Democrats, the Republicans, or the Socialist Workers candidates have the best solutions to the problems they face. They don't want their bosses to tell them how to think."

## Lenin on the press

On December 11, 1900, the newspaper *Iskra* was founded—a newspaper that Lenin and the other Bolsheviks made into an effective instrument for popularizing socialist ideas and organizing the Russian revolution.

Just over a quarter-century later, the first issue of the *Militant* rolled off the press, a newspaper that aims to play a similar role in organizing the American socialist revolution.

As the *Militant* celebrates its fiftieth anniversary, readers will find much that is relevant in a discussion that took place during *Iskra's* early years concerning the character of the revolutionary newspaper.

Some revolutionaries in Russia argued that it was a misuse of scarce resources for a tiny clandestine organization to try to publish a national newspaper. They said all available energy should be put into "live political work," by which they meant local organizing around economic issues. They believed propaganda efforts should begin with small, local newspapers.

Lenin answered these critics in *What is to be Done?*, published in 1902. He said it was absolutely wrong to counterpose carrying out concrete activity to publishing a newspaper that sets political line: "The only way 'live political work' can be begun is with live political agitation, which is impossible unless we have an All-Russian newspaper, frequently issued and regularly distributed" (all emphases are Lenin's).

"The publication of an All-Russian political newspaper must be the main line by which we may unswervingly develop, deepen, and expand the organization (viz., the revolutionary organization that is ever ready to support every protest and every outbreak).

"Pray tell me, when bricklayers lay bricks in various parts of an enormous, unprecedentedly large structure, is it 'paper' work to use a line to help them find the correct place for bricklaying; to indicate to them the ultimate goal of the common work; to enable them to use, not only every brick, but even every piece of brick which, cemented to the bricks laid before and after it, forms a finished, continuous line?"

A newspaper not only puts forward a general political line; it also helps people organize themselves to put the line into practice.

Or in Lenin's words: "A newspaper is not only a collective propagandist and collective agitator, it is also a collective organizer. In this respect it may be compared to the scaffolding erected around a building under construction; it marks the contours of the structure and facilitates communication between the builders, permitting them to distribute the work and to view the common results achieved by their organized labor."

Lenin explained what this meant concretely by pointing to the problems revolutionaries in different Russian towns had in communicating among themselves: "If we had a newspaper, however, such communication would become the rule and would secure, not only the distribution of the newspaper, of course, but (what is more important) an exchange of experience, of material, of forces, and of resources. Organizational work would immediately acquire much greater scope, and the success of one locality would serve as a standing encouragement to further perfection; it would arouse the desire to utilize the experience gained by comrades working in other parts of the country. Local work would become far richer and more varied than it is at present. Political and economic exposures gathered from all over Russia would provide mental food for workers of all trades and all stages of development; they would provide material and occasion for talks and readings on the most diverse subjects, . . . Every outbreak, every demonstration, would be weighed and discussed in its every aspect in all parts of Russia and would thus stimulate a desire to keep up with, and even surpass, the others. . . ."

Around a revolutionary newspaper, Lenin concluded, you can organize a revolutionary party. "Around what is in itself still a very innocuous and very small, but regular and common, effort, in the full sense of the word, a regular army of tried fighters would systematically gather and receive their training."

That's one of the central concepts on which publication of the *Militant* has been based for the past fifty years.

—Matilde Zimmermann



V.I. LENIN

## Government denies GIs democratic rights



Demonstration during Vietnam War. S-274 is latest government attempt to deny GIs basic democratic rights.

Being a soldier, your newspaper coverage and explanation of current events comes as a welcome relief from the military propaganda and regular press.

I do, however, have a criticism. I have not seen any coverage of what many, myself included, consider a major attack on our constitutional rights.

The military anti-union bill, S. 274, passed Congress with hardly any opposition. Not only does the bill outlaw unions and their organization in the armed forces, but it makes it illegal for any person or organization to bargain or negotiate on behalf of servicepeople. This could include civilian legal-aid organizations or religious organizations. The vagueness of the bill's wording could also be used to victimize GIs who seek grievance redress as a group or in the form of a petition or any other manner that could be considered "unionized."

The reasons for this bill are obvious. At a time when Congress seeks to slash

benefits and pay raises for servicepeople, they do not want GIs raising their voices against it.

GIs are a division of the working class. Unemployment and need for education drove many of us into the volunteer armed forces. Victory for S. 274 means a defeat for all workers, including servicepeople.

Otherwise your paper is very good, and I intend to keep reading it and getting others to read it. Just remember that a few articles on subjects of concern to GIs would increase your circulation.

A soldier  
Fort Knox, Kentucky

[In reply—We agree with you that S. 274 is a blatant attack on the civil liberties of GIs and all Americans.

[Our November 17 issue carried a report on the passage of this bill in Congress. Since then President Carter has joined in this anti-GI-rights attack by signing this bill into law.]

## Students vote socialist

The Socialist Workers Party received about 17 percent of the votes in a mock election at Edwards County, Illinois, high school. Everybody in the county goes to the same high school, so the vote represents nearly a 100 percent sample of the high-school-age people there.

This area is far from cities and industry, strictly hog and soy bean country. When the farmers' sons and daughters start voting the way they did in this election, I wonder how the Democrats and Republicans will be able to call themselves "the major parties."

S.G.  
Salt Lake City, Utah

## Canadian postal strike

In your article "Raids, arrests crush Canadian postal strike" [November 10 *Militant*], one important item is left out, the reason why the union's national leaders urged members to return to work.

The Post Office department sent out 23,000 letters to postal

workers threatening to fire them if they did not report for work by 12:01 a.m. Thursday. Several hundred postal workers in Toronto returned to work in fear without waiting for instructions from the union's national executive.

At the Toronto meeting, with 25 percent of the local's membership there, they wanted to stay out, but no discussion or vote was taken.

Canadian Union of Postal Workers head Jean Claude Parrot stated in a press release: "Thousands of our members across the country have received letters from the Post Office telling them their actions between October 19 and October 26 are being investigated. These letters are being placed in their files as a threat—at the first sign of anything a supervisor doesn't like, they'll be used as a club against these members."

Nine union officers were arrested. The charges were under Section 115 of the Canadian Criminal Code, not the strikebreaking law passed by parliament.

Most members are mad at the Canadian Labour Congress

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# Learning About Socialism

## 'Human nature' and socialism

for not backing up the strike and want to get rid of the leadership.

M.S.  
Toronto, Canada

### Ruling-class party?

I just finished reading Steve Clark's interesting article, "Are there antimonopoly capitalist politicians?" in the November 10 issue.

In the article, Clark states: "Political parties are not a loose collection of individuals from different social backgrounds and interests who compete for influence over policies and programs. Parties represent the interests of classes."

He goes on to imply that a tiny "club of fantastically wealthy families" have control over the program and policies of the Democratic Party.

Given the pro-big-business program of the Democratic Party throughout its history, this would indeed seem to be the case.

However, it seems to me that large numbers of working people and radicals still do believe that the Democratic Party is a loose collection of different interests and social backgrounds and that therefore a transformation of the Democratic Party to serve working-class interests is possible.

I hope the *Militant* will be able to respond to this through an article that explains in some detail what the actual and concrete links of the ruling class are with the Democratic Party.

Kent Johnson  
Milwaukee, Wisconsin

[In reply—You will find answers to many of the questions you raised in this month's *International Socialist Review*, a supplement to this issue of the *Militant*. See the article by Dick Roberts on page 16.]

### Correction

Two errors appeared in a previous week's election coverage. The story on the referendum results incorrectly reported the "right to work" amendment failed in every Missouri county except two. It failed in 63 of 114 counties.

The elections story should have reported that Mississippi Black independent Charles Evers received 23 percent of the vote, not 3 percent.

In our last issue, former *Militant* editor George Breitman was interviewed about the World War II experiences of the paper. He was incorrectly identified as editor of three books about Malcolm X. The three books referred to are books by Malcolm X: *Malcolm X Speaks*; *Malcolm X on Afro-American History*; and *By Any Means Necessary*.

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.

"You can't change human nature." Every socialist has heard this more than once when trying to convince others that revolutionary change is possible. Most likely, the people who make these statements rarely stop to think what they mean, or if they are really true.

The idea that our behavior is a result of some innate, unchangeable character has been around for thousands of years. But the specific attributes ascribed to "human nature" have not always been the same.

In Medieval Europe it was believed that different social classes had different natures—natures decreed by the almighty. Those of high rank were supposedly born with the requisites of nobility, while serfs were suited by birth for tilling the soil and tending livestock.

In the pre-Civil War South, defenders of slavery argued that Blacks were suited by nature to be slaves, as opposed to whites, who were supposedly born more intelligent, creative, and responsible. The argument that what exists is part of the natural order has always been used to justify inequality and oppression.

Today, all people are supposedly acquisitive, individualistic, and competitive; that is, they correspond to the ideal of our "free market" economy. The uncanny parallel between "human nature" and currently dominant economic and social norms should make anyone stop and question the validity of ideas about an unchangeable, inborn character.

Nor is it surprising that the scientific establishment, which is part of the capitalist system itself, frequently looks for ways of justifying that system's view of human nature.

There have been numerous attempts to show that people are naturally competitive, aggressive, territorial, and violent. These supposedly scientific conclusions are then used to bolster reactionary social and political positions.

In the past, leading scientists have "proved" that women were less intelligent than men, that southern Europeans were less intelligent than northern Europeans, and that the lower classes were poor because of genetic inferiority. Current theories that individual behavior and social structures are a result of genetic determinants (and also current racist notions about intelligence) are based on selective, incorrect data and faulty reasoning, but the opposing scientific view does not get the same publicity.

The blindness of theories about "human nature" can be clearly seen if one examines pre-class societies which have not yet reached a stage of economic exploitation of one individual by another. Here such values as cooperation and sharing are characteristic social norms, and are seen by such peoples as being essential to the nature of humanity.

A simple look at our own lives should remove any further question. What is surprising is not that people frequently behave according to the violent, selfish, and acquisitive motives encouraged by our capitalist-dominated culture, but that they so frequently rebel against them. In fact, many

individuals find these cultural values impossible to conform to with exactly because of their humanity.

Social consciousness, cooperation, and sharing are at least as much a part of human nature as their oft-cited counterparts. Look at the participation of workers in labor unions, the willingness of millions to donate time and money to charities and other social projects, as well as the participation of large numbers in political movements such as that against the Vietnam War in this country.

It is interesting that the violence perpetrated by this system is only made acceptable by claiming its purpose to be the opposite. Wars are always to "preserve democracy." Barbaric conditions in prisons and police brutality are turned into "protecting the public from violent criminals."

Why must the government defend its actions by blaming the victims for the violence perpetrated upon them? Why must Jimmy Carter support the shah of Iran by claiming he is upholding "human rights"?

Why must racist and sexist stereotypes be created to justify the oppression of Blacks and women? Why must soldiers be indoctrinated to think the enemy is less than human before they can be expected to kill?

The explanation is exactly that violent cultural institutions are not natural expressions of "human nature," but are externally imposed upon it.

Social and economic inequalities, brutality, and war are not caused by our genetic makeup any more than they were once caused by the will of God. They are the product of an unjust and violent social system—a system which can be changed.

A socialist society will bring out the cooperative human spirit, where all people can contribute to the overall social good, while at the same time enriching their own lives. The creation of such a society, which will allow the full flowering of a diverse and rich human nature, is the vision which socialism counterposes to the pessimistic and narrow view presented by the ideologists of the capitalist system.

—Steve Bloom

## FOR FURTHER READING

HUMANISM AND SOCIALISM by George Novack. 159 pp. \$8 cloth; \$2.95 paper.

UNDERSTANDING HISTORY by George Novack. 175 pp. \$3.95.

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## 2,500 march against racism in Mississippi

By Scott Breen

TUPELO, Miss., Nov. 25—"We're fired up, won't take it no more!" was the favorite chant of the 2,500 people who marched through Tupelo today.

Organized by the United League of Mississippi, the march was the largest action yet in the Black community's nine-month boycott of white-owned businesses in Tupelo. People came from as far away as New York and Chicago to protest racial discrimination, police brutality, and Ku Klux Klan terror.

Reverend Jenkins, a leader of the United League, explained in an interview just before the march began that "job discrimination is a fact of life. The only city workers who are Black are garbage men."

Currently, less than 5 percent of the city government jobs are given to Blacks, yet Blacks are 30 percent of the population.

The United League's main demands are implementation of an affirmative-action program to increase the number of Blacks in city jobs to 25 percent, and

an end to racial discrimination against Black workers by white-owned businesses. The league is also demanding that two policemen be fired for brutality against Black people.

The march assembled at Augustus Community Center, in the middle of a Black housing project. As the demonstrators made their way downtown, people came out of their homes and yards to join in. A contingent of the Meat Cutters union, a mostly Black union that is on strike against unfair labor practices, joined the march with

their picket signs.

Also taking part were contingents from various groups on the left, including the Revolutionary Communist Party, the Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist), the Socialist Workers Party, the Revolutionary Student Brigade, and the National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression.

When the march headed up Main Street the shouting became sharper—and the reason soon became clear. A few blocks away, fifty white-hooded and robed Klansmen had assembled. Rumors spread that they were armed. United League deacons kept the marchers moving, however, and they arrived shortly at the county courthouse for the scheduled rally.

One speaker was Dr. H. Gunn, coordinator of the United League. Just two months ago someone fired sixteen shots into his car in an unsuccessful assassination attempt. The militancy of his speech set the tone for the rest of the rally.

"We're not going to run away," Dr. Gunn boomed out, referring to Klan intimidation. "We'll defend ourselves with every available means."

Later, Dr. Gunn spoke of a compromise offered by the city government two days earlier—a proposal to increase Black and female hiring to 21 percent of the total work force. To cheers from the crowd, Dr. Gunn said, "We're not going to say 'yes' when we mean 'hell no.' We aren't going to settle for anything less than what we are demanding."

The Rev. Wendell Phillips, a guest speaker from Baltimore, said:

"In 1954, we got the *Brown* desegregation decision. But this year we got the *Bakke* decision. We aren't going to be turned around. . . . From Tupelo, Mississippi, to Boston, Mississippi, to Johannesburg, Mississippi, we must demand, 'freedom now,' in 1978."

Continued on page 26



Striking meat cutters joined protest march in Tupelo

Militant/Scott Breen

## Steel haulers: 'we'll picket like miners did'

By Brett Merkey

PITTSBURGH—A few minutes before 2 p.m. the Beaver Falls Truck Stop was quiet and empty. I stood next to a plywood and barrel structure which was plastered with signs, "FASH Shutdown," "Park your truck. Displeased with Teamster contract," "Right to vote." Then, at two o'clock, one car after another began to pull up.

Members of the Fraternal Association of Steel Haulers—the leading force behind the nation's two-week-long steel haulers' strike—had decided to rendezvous here for a quick conference. "We're going over to Beaver County Trucking," one of them told me. "We want to convince the people there to respect our picket lines."

When we arrived at the picketing site we were met by company representatives escorted by a guard and photographer who proceeded to take pictures of FASH members.

A group of employees—all truckers in the Teamsters union watched si-

lently a few yards away. As some strikers conferred with company representatives, others walked over to the nonstriking Teamsters and talked quietly with them. "Some of those Teamsters are our friends," a picket next to me commented. "We know them, we work with them, we're in the same union. We're not fighting them."

Twenty-four hours earlier in Pittsburgh, FASH chairperson Bill Hill had addressed a meeting of more than 500 steel haulers. They voted unanimously to stay off their rigs "as long as it takes." The strikers also vowed, in Hill's words, to picket "in mass from now on, just like the miners did during their strike."

Like the coal miners, the steel haulers face strikebreaking court injunctions. Steel companies in both Pittsburgh and Cleveland are seeking these injunctions on the basis of antitrust laws—claiming FASH is composed of "small businessmen" and should not be accorded the rights of a labor union.

But the strikers are taking their lead from the union movement—specifically, from the militant miners—and closing their ranks to meet the court challenge.

They see mass picketing as the only way to stop scab shipping and protect themselves from roving goon squads. These thugs operate in the name of the Teamsters, but not with the support of the Teamster ranks. Earlier this week two FASH members were severely beaten by a squad of more than forty goons while peacefully picketing.

"We get blamed for all the violence, when the truth is we're usually the victims," said one young trucker sporting a FASH windbreaker. "We always have to take it. We're the little men getting squeezed out of the picture. We took another pay cut this year."

An older trucker cut in, "The government won't let us get organized because they say we're businessmen. What kind of businessmen don't have any say over the prices they charge?

Hell, U.S. Steel can just announce a 15 percent price hike any time they want. Then, when they lower their hike to 12 percent, the government actually gives them a pat on the back."

The pickets emphasized that all they wanted was proper representation and a right to vote on their contract.

Most of the nation's 30,000 steel haulers are paid by rates set under the Teamsters' Master Freight Agreement. But even the 10,000 haulers who are Teamster members are denied the right to vote on their supplemental rider to the MFA. This is why the strikers are demanding the right to elect their own collective-bargaining representatives.

One man, saying he had been a Teamster member his entire life, summed it up for the others: "What we want is the right to vote on our contract. If we had people like Bill Hill to represent us in the Teamsters this [electing a new bargaining agent] wouldn't even be an issue."