

THE MILITANT

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

Revolutionary strikes sweep Iran

Dictatorship
reeling
from
workers'
upsurge

—PAGE 5



ZANJAN, Iran—Tens of thousands marched October 21, protesting murder of demonstrator three days before.

Lynch mob justice

Grand jury lets
off Brooklyn
cops in murder
of Arthur Miller

—PAGE 3



An appeal to our readers

By Mary-Alice Waters
Editor

This year the *Militant* celebrates its fiftieth anniversary—fifty years of uncompromising struggle for the cause of social justice—fifty years of talking socialism. As you know, the *Militant* works to expose the lies of the ruling class; to bring its readers the facts; to analyze events; and to help advance the struggles of working people throughout the world.

This anniversary year also marks important political developments and important opportunities to increase the *Militant's* circulation. There is a new mood of social concern and willingness to struggle among American labor in the mines and mills, in the rail and auto industries, among Teamsters, postal workers, and others. The *Militant* wants to sell 100,000 copies of the paper to these potential new readers this fall.

But to maintain the kind of coverage we have been bringing our readers we must meet an increasingly acute financial challenge. In 1928 the first issue of the *Militant* cost five cents a copy, and we lost money.

Continued on page 9

Carter's faltering wage-price plan...

From the moment Carter announced his Phase II "anti-inflation" guidelines, it was clear the president's plan had little credibility with anyone. There is no indication that working people are fooled by Carter's promises to limit prices, or that they are ready to sign up for his "national austerity" campaign.

When the *New York Post* asked people on the street for reactions to the program, it got such comments as:

"It will work for the employers. It'll give them an excuse for not giving their employees raises. They'll volunteer to keep salaries down but not prices."

The more the details of Carter's plan emerge, the more it stands exposed as an antilabor ripoff.

The administration quickly confirmed that its 7 percent wage guideline covers not only increases in wages and so-called fringe benefits but also increased costs of maintaining current benefits. For example, suppose because of skyrocketing medical costs a union demands a 4 percent raise in employer payments just to keep up existing health benefits. Under Carter's guideline, those workers would be left with a 3 percent limit on wage increases.

Meanwhile, the "inflation insurance" tax rebate looks shakier and shakier. Now figures of \$50 to \$100 are being tossed around as a possible upper limit for refunds—laughably less than what the average family loses to inflation each year.

On the price side, however, the watchword from Washington is "flexibility." The very first action of the Interstate Commerce Commission under the guidelines was to grant the Louisville & Nashville Railroad a 22 percent rate increase for coal hauling.

Barry Bosworth, executive director of the Council on Wage and Price Stability, explained that the price standards are "meant to be self-administered" by business. He told corporate executives they should interpret the price guidelines "like they interpret the tax code." And everyone knows how scrupulously honest corporations are when it comes to paying taxes!

...rulers' dilemma

Despite the flagrantly probusiness bias of Carter's plan, it has so far failed to halt the

slide in the dollar or reassure the stock market.

The message from Wall Street is that Carter has not done enough to "restore confidence." Tougher measures must be taken. Specifically, big business wants:

- More assurance that Washington will enforce its wage limits, including breaking strikes of unions that resist.

- Faster elimination of government regulations that protect job safety, health, and the environment.

- More drastic slashes in the federal budget to reduce or eliminate the deficit. Since the corporations also want higher military spending, the cutbacks will naturally fall on education, health, and other social services.

- Further tax cuts for business and the wealthy.

These measures, the owners of U.S. industry hope, will strengthen their competitive standing in world markets, fatten their profits, and avert a disastrous breakdown of the international monetary system. Any slowdown in inflation is to come entirely at the expense of working people.

These are precisely the elements of Carter's plan. What the ruling rich lack confidence in is not Carter's dedication to their anti-working-class program but *his ability to carry it out and make it stick.*

They have reason to worry.

What has forced them to proceed cautiously is the growing combativity of the American working class. The Carter administration is still haunted by the defeat it suffered when it tried to break the coal miners' strike. The ranks of other unions—postal workers, railroad workers, Teamsters, and many more—have been inspired by the example the miners set.

This puts the capitalist rulers in a serious bind. Their drive for "givebacks" from the workers has met with some success. But not nearly enough—and they also have met with growing resistance. The rulers cannot resolve the economic crisis *on their terms* without exacting far more massive sacrifices from the workers. Yet they remain fearful of pressing toward a confrontation—a confrontation they are far from certain of winning.

[Carter's November 1 announcement of drastic new steps to prop up the dollar—including his willingness to plunge the country into recession—was an admission of Phase II's failure. The meaning of this development for working people will be analyzed in next week's *Militant*.]

...Meany's treachery

Millions of union members would surely agree with AFL-CIO President George Meany's denunciation of the Carter plan as "unfair and inequitable." But Meany then proceeded to sabotage any labor fight against the guidelines by proposing as an alternative... *mandatory controls!*

Meany urged controls "covering every source of income—profits, dividends, rents, interest rates, executive compensation, professional fees, as well as wages and prices."

Meany did not explain why anyone should trust this Congress and this administration to come up with mandatory controls that would be "fair and equitable." Moreover, Meany knows the record of every controls program from World War II through Nixon's "zap labor" policy. Every one had the same result—wages were held down while prices and profits soared.

Meany is offering to bail the rulers out of their dilemma. If there is more of a pretense of curbing prices, and if the union leaders are given some official status helping administer the program, then the AFL-CIO tops will help police wages.

For protection against inflation, workers need cost-of-living escalator clauses in all union contracts and social benefits.

We need more government spending for jobs and social services, not less. Eliminating the \$126 billion war budget would make plenty of funds available.

For protection against unemployment, we need a shorter workweek with no reduction in takehome pay.

Instead of "tax incentives" for the corporations, we need to shift the tax burden off the workers and onto the profiteers and the rich.

Measures such as these will not be forthcoming from the big-business-controlled government or the two capitalist parties. They will be won only by mobilizing the power of the union ranks—the kind of power the miners showed.

Right now workers can't take responsibility for government economic controls because workers have no control over the government. We need a mass, independent labor party—based on a militant and democratic union movement—to take the government out of the hands of the corporations and begin to organize the economy to serve the majority, the working class.

Militant Highlights This Week

- 3 Antinuke actions
- 4 'Militant' sales
- 7 Interview with Drake Koka
- 8 J.P. Cannon on the 'Militant'
- 10 Piedra tour
- 24 Inflation: Who's to blame?
- 25 Safeway strike
- 26 CP & elections
- 27 GM's 'Southern Strategy'
- 32 Chicanos hit Carter fence



Divest now!

The student battle against university investments in South Africa is exposing U.S. links to the apartheid regime. **Page 6.**

- 2 In Our Opinion
- 23 Campaigning for Socialism
- 28 In Brief
- What's Going On
- 29 The Great Society
- Women In Revolt
- 30 Our Revolutionary Heritage
- Letters
- 31 Learning About Socialism
- If You Like This Paper...
- 11-22 International
- Socialist Review

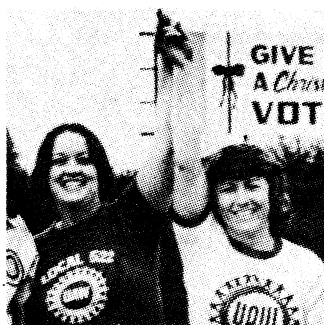


GM-UAW southern pact

Has General Motors abandoned its anti-union 'Southern strategy'? **Page 27.**

50 years of American Trotskyism

In this month's 'International Socialist Review,' George Novack reviews the history of the Socialist Workers Party. **Page 15.**



The Militant

Editor: MARY-ALICE WATERS
Managing Editor: STEVE CLARK
Business Manager: ANDREA BARON

Editorial Staff: Peter Archer, Nancy Cole, David Frankel, Cindy Jaquith, Shelley Kramer, Ivan Licho, Omari Musa, Harry Ring, Dick Roberts, Andy Rose, Priscilla Schenk, Peter Seidman, Diane Wang, Arnold Weissberg.

Published weekly by the Militant, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014. Telephone Editorial Office (212) 243-6392; Business Office (212) 929-3486.

Correspondence concerning subscriptions or changes of address should be addressed to The Militant Business Office, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014.

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

For subscriptions airfreighted to London then posted to Britain and Ireland: £2.50 for ten issues; £5.50 for six months (twenty-four issues); £10 for one year (forty-eight issues). Posted from London to Continental Europe: £4 for ten issues, £8 for six months (twenty-four issues); £13 for one year (forty-eight issues). Send checks or international money orders (payable to *Intercontinental Press* account) to: *Intercontinental Press* (The Militant), P.O. Box 50, London N1 2XP, England.

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

NY grand jury clears killer cops

Black community outraged at verdict

By Peter Seidman

NEW YORK—Widespread outrage greeted the news that a Brooklyn grand jury has joined the official cover-up of the June 14 police murder of Crown Heights Black businessman Arthur Miller.

After hearing more than eighty witnesses, including eighteen cops, during a four-month investigation, the grand jury proclaimed October 25 that Miller's death was "a tragic, unforeseeable accident which occurred during a lawful arrest."

But the more than 100 eyewitnesses to Miller's death know this is a lie.

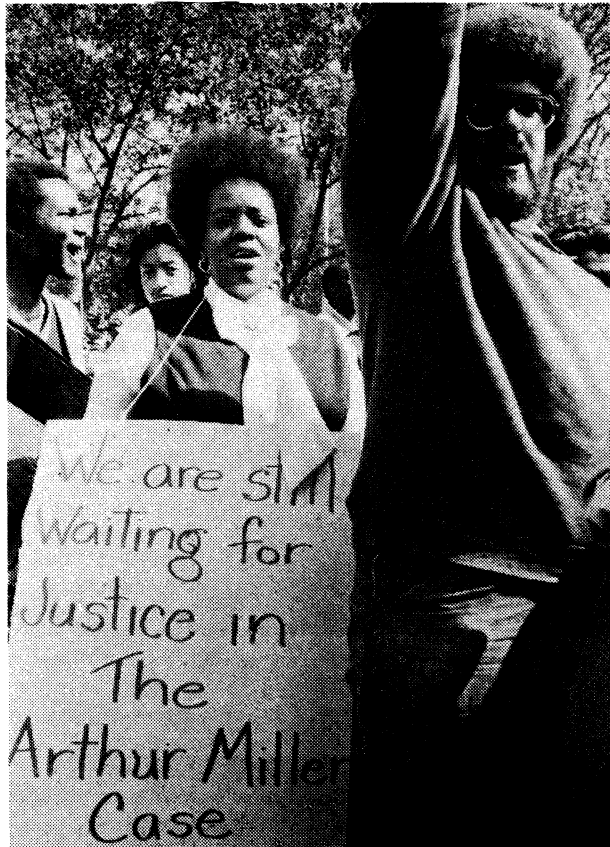
One told the *Militant*, "There must have been forty or fifty [cops] within two or three minutes. About a dozen held Mr. Miller on the ground in a stranglehold, and they were beating him. After awhile, he didn't resist anymore."

The "crime" for which Miller was arrested in the first place was his attempt to stop an altercation between his brother, Samuel, and some cops.

Brooklyn District Attorney Eugene Gold, who announced the grand jury's findings, obviously hoped the verdict would finally silence the angry protests in the Black community over Miller's death. "This was not a racial incident and should not be construed that way," he insisted.

But Democratic Mayor Ed Koch, aware that the grand jury's cover-up would only increase anger over New York's lynch-mob-style justice, asked for a second opinion.

Koch appealed to the U.S. Justice Department to



Militant/Lou Howort
Demonstration on September 28 was one of several sparked by brutal murder of Black leader by cops. After grand jury returned verdict of 'accident,' public pressure forced New York Mayor Koch to ask federal probe.

conduct its own investigation into Miller's death. Assistant Attorney General for Civil Rights Drew Days announced October 26 that an investigation will be conducted by U.S. Attorney Edward Korman.

However, these maneuvers have failed to quell Black community protests against the grand jury's whitewash.

Leaders of Brooklyn's Black community area calling for a demonstration in New York's financial district November 6. They are also urging a Black economic boycott for that day.

Sharon Grant, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Congress from Brooklyn's Fourteenth District, added her voice to the chorus of angry protests.

"Every time the killers are cops and the victims are Black people," Grant said, "it's called an accident, and the cops go scot-free. It is a double standard of justice when cops go free while Blacks and Hispanics are railroaded to prison at the drop of a hat."

The Democrats and Republicans hold the Black community in a double death grip, Grant said. "The capitalist system they defend is responsible for creating the poverty, racism, and unemployment that lead to crime in the first place. And then they try to make it appear that the victims of their system are criminals who are fair game for their killer cops."

Antinuke actions to mark Silkwood death

By Arnold Weissberg

The antinuclear movement is in high gear for a week of protests November 11-19, centered around the fourth anniversary of the death of Karen Silkwood. In many cities, significant support has come from labor unions, Black and women's groups, Chicanos, and Native Americans.

Silkwood was a worker in an Oklahoma Kerr-McGee plutonium plant. In 1974, on her way to meet with a reporter and a union official to expose unsafe conditions in the plant, she died in a mysterious auto crash. In sworn court papers, Kerr-McGee officials have admitted taking documents from her car after the crash.

While the date of Silkwood's death has been marked by memorial actions before, this year will see far more than ever. Calls for coordinated actions came from three national antinuclear conferences this year.

The National Organization for Women, which has consistently pushed for the truth about Silkwood's death, called for "active participation in November 13 Silkwood Memorial Day actions and the national rally in Oklahoma City" at its October national conference.

Following are a few of the dozens of

actions planned.

Oklahoma: The November 13 national action will consist of a march from the Kerr-McGee plant to the site of Silkwood's death. The march will be followed by a rally at Kerr-McGee's Oklahoma City headquarters. Organizers are seeking participants from all fifty states and Puerto Rico. For more information, contact Supporters of Silkwood, 317 Pennsylvania Avenue S.E., Washington, D.C. 20003, or call (202) 547-6500.

Albany, New York: A teach-in Saturday, November 11, at 1 p.m. at the First Presbyterian Church, State and Willett. The featured speaker will be Donna Warnock, national secretary of Supporters of Silkwood. Other speakers include Larry Bogart, Friends of the Hudson; Barbara Brundage, Albany NOW; and speakers from local campuses, Native American groups, and environmental groups.

An initial list of endorsers of the teach-in includes Hudson Valley Anti-Nuclear Alliance; Shad Alliance; Albany NOW; People's Power Coalition; Feminist Alliance; Young Socialist Alliance; Women's International League for Peace and Freedom; and Albany County New Democratic Coalition.

Albuquerque: A march and rally are set for downtown on December 2 (the later date because of conflict with other actions). A broad group of individuals and organizations is backing the action, including Elaine Baca, editor of *La Lucha Nuclear*, an anti-nuke newsletter; Roberto Mondragon, Democratic candidate for New Mexico lieutenant governor; Floyd Fowler, Socialist Workers candidate for Congress; Isabel Blea, Raza Unida candidate for governor; Winona LaDuke, International Indian Treaty Council.

Also, Charles Ed Steele, United Cement, Lime and Gypsum Workers Local 419 recording secretary; Jenny White, president, Albuquerque NOW; Peter Montague, Southwest Research and Information Center; and Joe Garner, president, Communications Workers of America Local 8671.

Boston: A rally November 19 will feature Dick Greenwood, International Association of Machinists; Black feminist Florynce Kennedy; antinuke activist Sam Lovejoy; Kitty Tucker, president of Supporters of Silkwood; Edith Van Horn, United Auto Workers international representative; and Nobel laureate George Wald. The rally is set for 7:30 p.m. at the Arlington Street Church.

There will also be a November 13 teach-in at U Mass Boston, sponsored by the U Mass Antinuke Coalition.

Dallas: A rally November 18 at New City Hall, 1 p.m. The action is backed by Merle and Bill Silkwood, Karen Silkwood's parents; Christine Jarosz, president, Dallas County NOW; Dwight Norris, vice-president, American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees Local 2444; Houston Coalition of Labor Union Women; Dallas Women's Political Caucus, and others.

Denver: A November 14 rally featuring Daniel Ellsberg; Carole Mangin, president of Central Denver NOW; Dorothy Hores, vice-president of the Colorado Federation of Teachers; Alan Gummerson of Aurarians Against Nukes; and activists arrested in protests at the Rocky Flats nuclear weapons plant. The rally will begin at 7:30 p.m. at St. Cajetans Auditorium, Ninth and Lawrence streets, on the Auraria College campus.

Aurarians Against Nukes will sponsor a November 13 vigil at the federal building, beginning at 11 a.m.

Houston: A November 11 march and vigil. The protest is sponsored by the Mockingbird Alliance, Houston

Continued on page 4



NEXT WEEK

WEBER 'REVERSE DISCRIMINATION' CASE: How to defend civil rights.

NEW THINKING IN WOMEN'S MOVEMENT: What NOW convention showed.

U.S. OUT OF SOUTH AFRICA: Strategy for building a movement.

Special offer to new readers

The Militant—10 weeks/\$2

Solidarity with southern Africa freedom fighters, defense of affirmative action, the drive to ratify the Equal Rights Amendment, trade-union struggles, international news—read about these every week in the *'Militant.'* Subscribe today so that you don't miss an issue.

() \$2 for ten issues (new readers only)
() \$8.50 for six months () \$15 for one year
() New () Renewal

Name _____

Address _____

City _____

State _____ Zip _____

14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014

Subscribe today

Target sales week: off to a good start

By Nelson Blackstock

As this is being written, it is midway through the second big target week of the fall socialist press circulation drive.

Reports coming into the circulation office indicate that the week is well on its way to success.

The overall goal this fall is to mark the fiftieth anniversary of the *Militant* by selling 100,000 copies of the socialist press. This includes both the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial*, the biweekly Spanish-language magazine.

During the current week, socialists in cities shown on the scoreboard at the right are intensifying their efforts to get these two publications into the hands of new readers.

An important part of the week is stepped-up sales at plant gates and to co-workers on the job and at union meetings.

It also includes a big sales effort on Saturday. About half the cities had their big day last Saturday. Others, where the papers arrive later, will have theirs this Saturday.

In Philadelphia, socialists have a particular reason for wanting to reach residents of the city with the *Militant*. The special sales issue ran an analysis of Philadelphia's arch-racist mayor, Frank Rizzo.

On Saturday alone, some 423 copies of the *Militant* and 22 copies of *PM* were sold in Philadelphia. Salespeople

had gotten a head start on Friday with an early shipment of papers. Sixty copies were bought at the University of Pennsylvania.

Cincinnati socialists sold forty-nine *Militants* and twenty-eight copies of the monthly *Young Socialist* at an antinuke rally on Saturday.

In San Jose, socialists concentrated on door-to-door sales in the community. There they found a warm response to the press, including the best sales of *PM* ever.

Meanwhile, in Los Angeles, sixty *PMs* were sold at a demonstration of 100 Nicaraguans protesting U.S. aid to the Somoza regime. During Saturday and Sunday, Los Angeles's total sales hit 400.

On Sunday, Twin Cities *Militant* supporters took part in a demonstration in Delano, Minnesota, where residents are protesting construction of a high-voltage powerline. Demonstrators bought fifty-six *Militants*.

This week's scoreboard lists totals for sales of the previous issue of *PM* and the *Militant* before the special sales week. Miami *PM* sales are continuing to go well, developing readers among Chicano migrant workers, in addition to those in the Puerto Rican and Cuban communities.

Next week, in addition to a fuller report on how the target week went, we'll print cumulative totals in the drive for each city on the chart.

Weekly sales goals

CITY	MILITANT		PM		TOTAL		
	Goal	Sold	Goal	Sold	Goal	Sold	Percent
Kansas City, Mo.	100	119	8	8	108	127	117.6
Pittsburgh	145	175	5		150	175	116.7
Cincinnati	100	114		2	100	116	116.0
Morgantown	125	140			125	140	112.0
Milwaukee	120	117	5	17	125	134	107.2
Tacoma	125	133		1	125	134	107.2
Toledo	110	119	5	4	115	123	107.0
Portland	100	106			100	106	106.0
Salt Lake City	125	137	10	3	135	140	103.7
Los Angeles	400	400	100	117	500	517	103.4
Cleveland	115	121	5	3	120	124	103.3
San Diego	105	116	20	12	125	128	102.4
San Antonio	75	77	25	25	100	102	102.0
Baltimore	120	127	5		125	127	101.6
Minneapolis	135	137			135	137	101.5
Newark	140	140	10	12	150	152	101.3
Seattle	145	149	5	2	150	151	100.7
San Francisco	250	248	25	28	275	276	100.4
Berkeley	135	147	15	3	150	150	100.0
Gary, Ind.	50	50			50	50	100.0
Indianapolis	115	115			115	115	100.0
Louisville	100	99		1	100	100	100.0
St. Louis	140	149	10	1	150	150	100.0
Dallas	125	121	20	19	145	140	96.6
Iron Range, Mn.	50	47			50	47	94.0
St. Paul	95	92	5		100	92	92.0
Albany	100	96	5		105	96	91.4
Miami	110	96	40	41	150	137	91.3
Chicago	385	348	65	38	450	386	85.8
New York	650	558	100	83	750	641	85.5
Albuquerque	115	102	20	7	135	109	80.7
Philadelphia	235	181	25	14	260	195	75.0
Phoenix	110	88	15	2	125	90	72.0
New Orleans	140	103	10	4	150	107	71.3
Raleigh	125	81			125	81	64.8
Boston	225	138	25	15	250	153	61.2
San Jose	110	60	20	12	130	72	55.4
Denver	120	74	20	2	140	76	54.3
Washington, D.C.	270	145	30	15	300	160	53.3
Oakland	160	81	15		175	81	46.3
Atlanta	200	87			200	87	43.5
Detroit	250	95			250	95	38.0
TOTALS	6,650	5,828	668	491	7,318	6,319	86.5

*Houston, Tucson not reporting.

These figures report sales for *Militant* issue #40 and the last week of sales of *Perspectiva Mundial* issue #19.

...Silkwood

Continued from page 3

Coalition of Labor Union Women, and University of Houston University Feminists. The march will begin in the early evening at the Unitarian Church, on Fannin Street, and end with a rally at Herman Park.

Hudson River Valley: A march and rally November 12 against a proposed nuclear power plant at Cementon, New York. The combined march and car caravan will begin at Olana at 10 a.m., cross the river to Catskill, and proceed to a 7 p.m. rally at St. Mary's

Church in Cementon. The protest is sponsored by the Hudson Valley Anti-Nuclear Alliance and Friends of the Hudson.

Kansas: A statewide rally on the capitol steps in Topeka November 11 at 2 p.m., sponsored by the Sunflower Alliance.

Louisville: A candlelight vigil downtown November 13.

Miami: A demonstration at the nearby Turkey Point nuclear power plant November 11, followed by an eight-day walk to the state capital, Tallahassee. In addition, the Conch-shell Alliance, a Miami-area antinuke group, will sponsor a series of educa-

tional activities and films during the week.

New York City: A teach-in November 12. Speaking will be Kitty Tucker, national president of Supporters of Silkwood; Connie Hogarth, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom; Jim Haughton, Harlem Fightback; Norma Becker, Mobilization for Survival; and Michio Kaku, a nuclear physicist.

The teach-in will begin at 3 p.m. at Horace Mann Auditorium of Columbia Teachers College (120th and Broadway).

Sponsors include: Chelsea-Village NAACP; NOW-N.Y.; Black Women

United for Political Action; Socialist Workers Party; Harlem Fightback; Friends of the Earth; Shad Alliance; Mobilization for Survival; and others.

On November 13 at 5:30 p.m., a memorial candlelight vigil will be held at Rockefeller Center, Sixth Avenue and Fiftieth Street.

New Orleans: A November 18 march and rally, beginning at Lafayette Square at 1 p.m. and ending at Jackson Square an hour later, sponsored by the Oystershell Alliance. The alliance has also scheduled a vigil at the federal building for 8 p.m. November 13.

Read the 'Young Socialist'

Karen Silkwood's story and the ongoing campaign against the nuclear power industry is featured in the November 'Young Socialist.' In this issue you can also read a speech by South African freedom fighter Drake Koka, new revelations about FBI spying at a New York college, the fight to defend abortion rights in California, and more.



Come to a socialist convention

These and other issues will be discussed in reports, panels, and workshops at the Young Socialist Alliance convention in Pittsburgh, December 28-January 1. For more information, contact the YSA chapter nearest you, listed on page 31 or return this coupon to the YSA national office.

- ☐ Send me a copy of the 'Young Socialist' (25¢ each, 20¢ for bundles).
- ☐ Enclosed is \$1.00 for a six-month subscription to the 'Young Socialist.'
- ☐ Send me more information about the YSA convention.
- ☐ Send me the 'No Nukes!' button (50¢ each, 25¢ for 10 or more).
- ☐ I want to join the YSA.

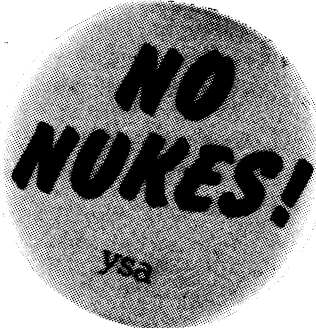
Name _____

Address _____

City/State/Zip Code _____

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

Join the YSA



Iran: shah faces revolutionary upsurge

By David Frankel

• Mass demonstrations against the government day after day in every corner of Iran.

• A month-long nationwide political strike involving workers from every sector of the Iranian economy.

• Paralysis and a loss of confidence on the part of the Iranian regime.

These are some of the factors that add up to a prerevolutionary situation in Iran today. After twenty-five years of unrelieved tyranny, the Iranian masses have had enough.

"For those not actually in this country, it is hard to realize how a once secure scene has been swept by turbulence," syndicated columnist Joseph Kraft commented in an October 26 article.

"There are daily demonstrations against the shah in every corner of the land. The tone of the protests is harsh. A student rally that I witnessed at the University of Tehran demanded 'death to the shah.' One of the placards set as an objective 'a republic of the people of Iran led by the working class.'"

A report in the October 25 *Washington Post* noted that "in Gorgan, about 180 miles northeast of Tehran, 30,000 demonstrators tried to set fire to the headquarters building of the Iranian secret police."

Demonstrations against the shah occurred in thirty-seven cities on October 29, according to a report in the *Washington Post*.

These demonstrations, according to an article by Parvin Najafi in the November 6 *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor*, "have surpassed anything previously seen in Iran's history. Cities that have a population of only 100,000, for example, have had repeated demonstrations of 60,000 to 70,000 persons."

Power of working class

One indication of the mood of the protesters is that in many cities agents of SAVAK, the shah's secret police, have been recognized by crowds of demonstrators and brought to immediate justice.

Another indication of the depth of the mass movement is the participation of the peasantry. In many areas, truckloads of peasants have come into the cities to join the marches.

But at the center of the revolutionary upsurge in Iran is the power of the Iranian working class. Since the beginning of October, strikes have hit virtually every sector of the economy.

"Although there has been a temporary lull in the public-sector strikes against the government, a new wave has started this week," Tony Allaway reported in the October 30 *Christian Science Monitor*.

"Bank workers are back on strike and are due to be joined by telecommunications employees. More seriously, oil workers are continuing a strike that sources say has virtually severed the nation's oil exports for nearly a month."

On October 30, another 37,000 refinery workers went out on strike. They demanded higher wages, an end to martial law, and the prosecution of a corrupt police chief.

Dock workers are also on strike and railroad workers went back on strike at the end of October after returning to work for about a week. Movement of exports and imports in and out of Iran has totally stopped.

Political demands

The increasingly sharp political character of the strikes has been noted by commentators from every point of view. Kraft reported that "the workers at one big bank refused to go back to their jobs unless pictures of the shah and his family were taken down from the walls."

Schools throughout Iran have been



SHAH: Iranian people have had enough of his dictatorship.

shut down by 400,000 teachers who are demanding in part:

1. Lifting of martial law.
2. Freedom for all political prisoners and a return of the exiles.
3. No forced participation in progovernment demonstrations and parades.
4. Punishment of all those responsible for the massacres of antigovernment protesters.
5. The right of teachers to form their own union and publish union newspapers.
6. Removal of the thought-control "security offices" from all schools.

A successful strike by workers at *Kayhan* and *Etela'at*, the country's two largest newspapers, resulted in a considerable easing of censorship. As a result, *Kayhan's* circulation has more than doubled.

Employees at the Ministry of Art and Culture have followed the example of the journalists and gone out on strike to demand the dissolution of the Central Bureau of Publications—the national censorship apparatus.

Among other strikes are the employees of the Ministry of the Interior, Ministry of Commerce, Ministry of Finance, the state notary service, and the iron ore workers of Yazd. This mining center normally ships ore to the steel mills in Isfahan and Ahwaz, which are now closed down.

Shah in a bind

Neither repression nor concessions have been successful in halting the mobilization of the Iranian masses. The bloody massacres that followed the declaration of martial law September 8 have been followed by almost daily reports of clashes between demonstrators and the shah's troops.

The protesters know that the loyalty of the army is the last prop of the shah's hated regime. There have been many cases in which soldiers have responded to appeals by demonstrators.

But when troops have opened fire, the masses have fought back. On October 22, for example, there was a ten-hour clash between demonstrators and police and army units in the northwestern city of Hamadan. *Kayhan* reported that afterwards the city looked like Beirut during the civil war.

At the same time, the shah has tried to defuse the opposition movement with concessions. *Washington Post* correspondent Jonathan Randal reported October 25 that "virtually with-

out negotiation, state organizations such as the state telecommunications company and the nationalized oil corporations have granted wage increases ranging from 70 to well over 100 percent and have also agreed to costly housing subsidies."

Government workers have won an across-the-board wage increase of 25 percent, and the shah has had to virtually scrap his nuclear power program and drastically cut back arms purchases in order to pay for such raises. But the strikes show no signs of stopping.

Another concession won by the mass movement was the release of 1,126 political prisoners October 26. Among those freed was Vida Hadjei Tabrizi, one of the best-known women political prisoners. However, this move has only spurred demands for the release of the tens of thousands of prisoners still remaining in SAVAK's dungeons.

Faced with the revolutionary mobilization of the Iranian people, the pro-capitalist opposition forces organized mainly in the National Front and the Muslim religious hierarchy have moved sharply to the right. On October 19, leaders of the National Front announced their willingness to form a cabinet under the shah. The main religious leaders inside Iran have also publicly come out in support of the monarchy.

But, as Kraft noted in an October 31 article written in Tehran, "It is not at all clear that the moderate leaders can control their followers. On the contrary, my impression is that the clergy willing to cooperate with the regime cannot because they are constantly running to stay abreast of the de-

mands made by those they are supposedly leading."

With every sector of Iranian society in open rebellion, the shah's regime has been paralyzed by a loss of confidence at the top and by internal divisions resulting from the pressure of the mass movement.

Sixty-four members of the royal family, including the shah's brothers, sisters, and in-laws, have testified to their expectations by leaving the country.

Although the shah has apparently decided to try to ride out the upsurge, he is under strong pressure from some of his generals to crack down harder on the protests. Both Kraft and Allaway report that there have been incidents in which hardline elements in the regime have organized provocations in hopes of precipitating a decisive confrontation with the masses.

On the other hand, any attempt to use the army to break the back of the mass movement would risk an open split in the ranks. It would be surprising indeed if a mass movement as extensive as the one in Iran left the army untouched.

One indication of this came in the southern city of Jahrom on October 26, when a conscript soldier shot the provincial police chief and the local military commander at a ceremony celebrating the shah's birthday.

A dim light

A reflection of the regime's internal difficulties came October 30 when two more of the shah's cabinet ministers resigned. Four have resigned since the shah named his government of "national reconciliation" on August 27.

Of course, at the pinnacle of the

Continued on page 25

SPECIAL OFFER

For new readers of
Intercontinental Press/Inprecor

Dynamics of the Cuban Revolution, A Trotskyist View by Joseph Hansen, regularly \$5.45, at only half price with a subscription to *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor*.

You may have noticed that many of the *Militant's* articles on world events come from *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor*. Yet these represent only a small part of the coverage and analysis in each issue of this unique magazine.

Firsthand accounts from Peru, India, Spain, and Japan. Background articles on Cuba's role in Africa, the twists and turns of China's foreign policy, the freedom movements in Africa.

And for a limited time, new subscribers to *IP/I* can get *Dynamics of the Cuban Revolution* for only half price.

This special offer is good only through December 31.

Yes! Start my subscription to *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor* today.

- ☐ \$24.00 for one year.
☐ \$12.00 for six months.

For new readers only:

- ☐ Send my copy of *Dynamics*. Enclosed is \$2.75 extra.

Name _____

Address _____

City/State/Zip _____

Clip and mail to: Intercontinental Press/Inprecor, Box 116 Village Station, New York, New York 10014.

dynamics of the cuban revolution
the trotskyist view
by joseph hansen



Campus struggles expose U.S.-South Africa ties



University of Chicago students demand school dump \$60 million holdings in U.S. companies operating in South Africa

By Omari Musa

"Be it resolved that the trustees of Cornell University divest all funds from those banks and corporations that continue to do business in racist South Africa, and make their reasons known to the corporations and banks involved."

This demand is being raised by thousands of students across the country at rallies, sit-ins, and marches. It has become a focal point of campus activism, reflecting a growing awareness among the American people that U.S. corporations, banks, and the government are helping perpetuate the racist system of apartheid in South Africa.

The roots of the divestment movement flow from two interrelated developments.

One is the widespread distrust of U.S. foreign policy, produced by the Vietnam War, Watergate scandal, and the joint U.S.-South African aggression against Angola in 1975-76.

The other is the deepening struggle in South Africa itself and the growing solidarity with that struggle among African-Americans, young people, and an increasing number of trade unionists.

The demand that universities divest is a concrete expression on campus of the demand that the United States get out of South Africa.

Student divestment struggles have helped educate the American people on the extent and role of U.S. investments in South Africa. They have called into question the Carter administration's professed opposition to apartheid.

As a result, a growing number of people in the United States are looking behind Carter's rhetoric to determine why the United States is in South Africa.

What they are discovering is that U.S. corporations and banks are reaping huge profits from the brutal exploitation of cheap Black labor.

Profiting from apartheid

The more than 350 U.S. firms operating in South Africa have nearly \$2 billion invested in the country. Of the top fifteen U.S. corporations, all but three have investments there. Among the top 100, 55 wholly or partially own subsidiaries in South Africa.

These investments are concentrated in the production of automobiles and related industries, oil refining, and computer technology.

General Motors, Ford, and Chrysler control the majority of the automobile market. Mobil Oil and Caltex, a joint subsidiary of Texaco and Standard Oil of California, refine more than half of South Africa's imported oil. Mobil alone has invested more than \$333 million and refines 100,000 barrels of crude oil a day.

U.S. firms, including IBM, National Cash Register, Burroughs, and Control Data control 70 percent of the computer market.

While U.S. investments have shifted from mining to manufacturing, American firms still hold a big share of mineral production in South Africa.

For example, in November 1976 the market value of South African gold shares held by U.S. investors stood between \$1.1 billion and \$1.8 billion.

Bullish on South Africa

U.S. banks have made \$2.27 billion in loans available to South Africa. This represents one-third of South Africa's total debt to foreign banks.

These loans to South African banks, government-run corporations and locally controlled firms have helped make possible the tremendous expansion of South African capitalism.

U.S. banks have stepped in whenever the racist regime has been threatened economically by the rebellion of the Black majority.

The most recent example of this was after the June 1976 Soweto rebellions. By November U.S. banks had made \$777 million available to state-run companies, private firms, and the South African government.

Contributors to this fund included Chase Manhattan, Bank of America, Citibank, Morgan Guaranty Trust, Manufacturers Hanover, and the U.S.-government-controlled Export-Import Bank.

The biggest reason U.S. imperialism is in South Africa is the tremendous profits corporate investments bring. For example, between 1960 and 1970 the average rate of return of U.S. direct investment worldwide was 11 percent. In South Africa it was 18.6 percent!

While the wages of Black workers have increased in the wake of the 1976 rebellions and international pressure,

whites' incomes are still many times those of Blacks, and the gap between them continues to widen.

White man's burden

The policy of the Carter administration, despite its rhetoric about human rights, is to maintain the flow of profits to U.S. corporations.

The U.S. government, companies, banks, and university administrations are very much aware of the growing strength of the movement demanding that this country get out of South Africa.

They remember how the movement against the Vietnam War grew powerful enough to force the United States out.

So they have tried to sow maximum confusion to divert the anti-apartheid movement.

Their number-one argument is a rehash of the old "white man's burden" theory.

U.S. companies should stay in South Africa, they argue, because they can use their influence to bring about change in the country. These apologists point to certain "codes of conduct"—such as the Sullivan Codes or those of the European Economic Community—as the way forward.

These codes call on foreign firms in South Africa to desegregate their facilities, raise wages, and ease restrictions on Blacks getting into apprentice programs and forming trade unions.

Opponents of the apartheid regime favor these reforms. However, apologists for the South African government counterpose these codes to withdrawing U.S. investments.

The myth of "progressive" U.S. firms in South Africa can be refuted simply by looking at their practice.

In the period of greatest economic growth following World War II, U.S. and European imperialism pumped billions into the South African economy.

It was also the period of the most extensive and widespread attacks on Black political, economic, and social rights. The notorious pass laws were tightened and extended to women; racial segregation was introduced into all spheres of life; the Bantustans policy was extended; Black trade unions and political organizations such as the African National Congress

and Pan Africanist Congress were banned; and hundreds of Blacks were gunned down in the streets.

And U.S. corporations were raking in profits.

Another argument raised is that South African Blacks do not want U.S. companies to pull out because it will mean greater unemployment.

But every major Black political organization in South Africa has called for foreign companies to withdraw. They have done this despite the existence of at least three government laws that make doing so a criminal offense. Two of these laws carry a maximum sentence of death or life imprisonment.

Top cop in Africa

South Africa is not just a source of immense profits for U.S. imperialism. It also uses its power against the freedom struggle throughout Africa.

South African mercenaries played a role in crushing the Congolese nationalist struggle in the 1960s. Its troops invaded Angola in 1975-76 and still carry out murderous attacks in the southern part of the country.

The apartheid regime has maintained Namibia as a colony and now seeks to impose a regime to its liking there.

South Africa is also a major supporter of Ian Smith's government in Rhodesia.

A good beginning

Campus protests demanding university divestment have helped raise the consciousness of the American people about U.S. political, economic, and military support to South Africa.

These protests have encouraged the Black movement, trade unionists, and women to take issue with U.S. support to apartheid.

Some unions have already withdrawn their funds from banks making loans to the regime. Others have held meetings and forums on U.S. investments in South Africa and supported the tour of South African trade unionist Drake Koka.

Blacks have participated in growing numbers in African Liberation Day actions, campus divestment struggles, and actions such as the NAACP-called protest against the U.S.-South Africa Davis Cup matches in Nashville last March.

These actions have convinced many activists of the need to unite the student movement, trade unions, Blacks, and women against all U.S. support to South Africa.

Campus protests have begun to demand that universities divest and that the United States get out of South Africa. This opens the way for organizing a broad movement that can provide the most effective support for the struggle against apartheid.

What the South African freedom fighters need are powerful allies in the United States who can break the U.S.-South Africa alliance. A good beginning has already been made.

Next week's *Militant* will discuss the strategy necessary to continue building that movement.



**Join
the
YSA**

The Young Socialist Alliance helps defend South African freedom struggles. For more information, send this coupon with your name and address to the YSA, Box 471 Cooper Station, New York, New York 10003.

- ☐ Send me a copy of the *Young Socialist* reprint on the campaign to end U.S. ties to South Africa.
- ☐ Send me the 'Divest now!' button (50¢ each).
- ☐ Send me information about the YSA and its December 28-January 1 convention.

'Our policy is to break the spine of apartheid'

Interview with So. African freedom fighter

Drake Koka is general secretary of the Black Allied Workers Union of South Africa. He was a co-founder and first general secretary of the Black People's Convention in 1972. The BPC and other major Black political organizations were banned by the South African government in October 1977.

Koka participated in the Soweto rebellions that began in June 1976. To avoid arrest, he escaped to Botswana later that year.

He is currently on a seven-week tour of the United States speaking in defense of South African political prisoners and the fight for Black majority rule.

Below is part one of an interview with Koka obtained by the 'Militant' and 'Intercontinental Press/Inprecor.' Part two—in which Koka discusses the South African and U.S. labor movements—will appear in a future issue.

Question. How did you originally become politically active?

Answer. We find that most of the Black youth, right from childhood, have got elements of becoming political. They are born into a situation that is politically determined, a situation of being oppressed and having their personal dignity undermined. So I must say that right from school I had to become politically conscious.

Then I got into the teaching field, as a teacher of history, which really plunged me into political developments. But I did not formally sign up with any of the political movements. In 1954 we organized a bus boycott in Evaton. I played a role in issuing the weekly boycott paper.

Upon leaving teaching, I became politically active full-time, and in the early 1970s I became the convener of the Black People's Convention.

Q. Could you give us some idea of the goals of the Black Consciousness movement, what it is fighting for, how it sees this fight being waged?

A. At first, the people who participated were mainly from the South African Students Organisation (SASO). They were the first people to come out with printed matter, which was the expression of the Black Consciousness movement. In 1971 I was chosen as organizing secretary to call other organizations together to be involved in the formation of the Black People's Convention. Originally, we thought we were just going to create another cultural organization. But there was a very hot argument at the December 1971 conference, where they said there was no need for us to create another cultural movement. What was essential was a political movement.

We said we had to look at the whole South African situation, at the political, social, and economic situations, to see how it affects our lives. Then we said with this movement we must organize all the people, in all spheres of our lives.

What we really wanted to do was create a certain degree of consciousness. We had to find a sort of an ideology, a philosophy, that Black people could cling to. So the Black Consciousness movement became a process of introspection. We looked into ourselves, to see the potential



DRAKE KOKA: 'We totally reject the United States policy toward South Africa.'

Militant/Jeff Powers

power in us, to see our abilities and disabilities, and how we could face the situation.

The perpetual subservience of a people depends on the condition of the people's minds. The success of the oppressor does not lie in the power of the oppressor, but in the mental conditioning of the oppressed. That's why we said, "We are prepared to liberate our people psychologically and physically."

We also examined the physical shackles, the laws that cover us, the laws that restrict us. When the white man legislates, instead of executing the law himself, he puts it to us and we execute the law, we tend to police ourselves. So we decided that we were no longer going to be police over ourselves.

We decided that for a period of three years we were going to propagate the Black Consciousness movement and philosophy. After three years, we said, there was bound to be confrontation. The people would dictate the means they would resort to in their fight against the oppressive regime. If the people say, we are going to have civil disobedience, they are free to choose. If they say, we are going to have armed struggle, they are free to choose. We left it open.

In short, the Black Consciousness movement aimed at solidifying all Black people into a power bloc, to break the white apartheid power bloc.

Q. Last October, then-Prime Minister John Vorster banned most of the Black Consciousness organizations. What has happened to the movement since then?

A. In 1973, within six months of the formation of the Black People's Convention, the government set banning orders on what we called the eight "apostles" of the Black Consciousness movement. But the movement went on. In 1974 they arrested forty-nine leaders and detained us an average of between eight months and more than a year. Some were brought to trial, the Soweto Nine, and are now serving sentences. But the movement went on.

After the 1976 outburst, the govern-

ment became more and more repressive. They took everybody and put them into prison. Some of us left the country in 1976. But they found that the movement was still going on. So the best thing they could do was just ban the movement.

Now, we had a plan. In the 1972 conference, we decided to embark on a process of decentralization of leadership. And this is the process that is going on now, decentralization of leadership. A lot of leaders are still in the country, running the movement.

This is what is frustrating the South African government. It has put people in jail, but right under their nose we have got the real leadership. They can't get hold of it, simply because we had this process of decentralization of leadership. So in reality the Black Consciousness movement is going even stronger than it was before.

Q. What kind of activities is the Black Consciousness movement organizing in exile, now that a number of figures like yourself have left the country?

A. The Black Consciousness movement did not really want to organize in exile as a separate entity from the rest of the liberation forces of South Africa. Our hope in being in exile was that of joining hands with the liberation movements and working out a common strategy with them. This would come about by mutual discussions with members of the Pan Africanist Congress and the African National Congress.

Now the role of the Black Consciousness leaders outside here was to become representatives of the movement inside.

Q. What do you think about the American government's policy toward South Africa?

A. At the moment, the United States, together with Great Britain, Germany, and other Western countries, controls South Africa economically. They wouldn't like to disturb the existing government, because the existing government is the custodian of their economic power within South Africa.

Thus they do their best to retain that government, which to a certain degree has got some stability, some political stability.

Now, whatever policy they are having, is just towards improving the social aspects of our lives, that we should be able to sleep in the same hotels as whites, go to the same restaurants, travel on the same trains. They would like this to happen and be carried out within the framework of the apartheid system.

Now, how do we see that? We reject it altogether. We are not impressed by the American government, by Carter, saying they are for "human rights." This is an empty cry.

The Carter administration wants to impose its own capitalist imperialism and retain it in South Africa. People like Andy Young are just the salesmen for the policy of imperialism, this time no more in a white skin, but in a Black skin.

We totally reject the United States policies toward South Africa.

Q. Does the actual practice of American companies differ at all from South African companies, in terms of wages and working conditions for Blacks?

A. Not at all. Just as the man from General Motors says: We are here to obey the customs and traditions of the country. They accept that by tradition the Black cannot earn the same wage as the white and that by tradition a Black cannot supervise a white.

Q. Let's take up this question of divestments. There's a growing movement in the United States and in other countries demanding that foreign companies pull out of South Africa, that universities that have stocks in corporations that function in South Africa get rid of those stocks. Do you think this movement in the United States is moving in the right direction?

A. It is definitely towards the right direction. If these people should pull out their stocks, that would cripple the South African economy.

Also, this is a form of politicizing and mobilizing the American public against their government's policies of continued support to South Africa. It is a very good move. Fighting must be done from all angles, and we must utilize whatever means are within our reach. So I would encourage this movement to go on.

Q. There are twenty-seven to thirty million people of African descent in the United States. What has happened is that part of the development of the Black movement here has included support to the African liberation struggle. Do you have anything special to say to Blacks in the U.S.?

A. My appeal, really, is directly to them. And my appeal to Blacks in the United States has been influenced by one major factor: that we are sharing a common experience in the struggle for liberation. The oppression, suppression, and exploitation that we are undergoing now, they went through. They are still going through that process even now. So therefore they are just the right people who will understand our case.

Their struggle here is our struggle, and our struggle is their struggle. If we join hands and say that all Blacks should work in solidarity, then we may be able to better our conditions.



JAMES P. CANNON

Militant/John Gray

Our founding editor: 'Without a paper, how are you going to build a movement?'

By Harry Ring

James P. Cannon, the founding leader of the American Trotskyist movement, was also the founding editor of the *Militant*.

In the fall of 1973, less than a year before he died, I interviewed Cannon about the early years of the *Militant*. We were both living in Los Angeles at the time, and I did a series of oral history interviews with him so that added information about him would be available for future reference.

As Cannon filled in details and added recollections about the initial years of the *Militant*, one thing became clear. The founders of American Trotskyism had fully absorbed Lenin's concept of the role of a newspaper in building a revolutionary party.

Lenin saw the development of an effective newspaper as key to the building of a party. The press, he emphasized, is the collective organizer of the party.

When the Trotskyists were expelled from the Communist Party fifty years ago, the first thing they did was publish a paper.

The story has been told many times. "Three generals without an army," Cannon, Max Shachtman, and Martin Abern were expelled by the Communist Party's central committee for their adherence to Leon Trotsky's "Russian Opposition."

First 'Militant'

The three found themselves outside the party with literally a handful of supporters. Yet within a week of their expulsion, they were on the street with a paper, the *Militant*.

It wasn't easy.

"We didn't have any money to start with," Cannon explained. "We didn't even have a mimeograph machine."

Moreover, the new paper and movement were being launched not on the basis of an advance for the movement but a setback.

The original Communist Party press, Cannon recalled, had been founded under the inspiration of the victory of the Russian revolution of 1917.

But in 1928, "we didn't start with a victory," Cannon explained. "We started with a terrible defeat—with the exile of Trotsky, first to Alma-Ata then to Turkey, and our own expulsion and isolation."

It wasn't a passively accepted isolation. The small band of Trotskyists were determined to reach the ranks of the Communist Party with their ideas. The bureaucratic hacks who controlled the CP were equally determined that this should not happen. They regularly dispatched goon squads against the Trotskyists, and their paper.

For the Trotskyists, the semimonthly *Militant* was a crucial weapon.

"The whole movement centered around the *Militant*," Cannon said. "We didn't have enough people to make a demonstration."

"When we decided to challenge the Stalinist hooligans and to sell our paper right in front of the cafeteria, which they operated in Union Square, Abern, Shachtman and I had to go do it, take the papers and try to sell there."

He emphasized the point a half dozen times.

'Our weapon'

"It was our weapon."

"Everything we had was concentrated around the *Militant*. Just the physical process of getting out the

Militant and finding the money somewhere to pay for it—that was the biweekly achievement.

"The paper is the voice of the movement. Without a paper, how are you going to build a movement?" How did the *Militant* get its name?

It was Cannon's proposal and the idea stemmed from his relationship with Bartolomeo Vanzetti.

Cannon had been the national secretary of International Labor Defense, a nonpartisan committee initiated by the Communist Party in the mid-1920s to defend political prisoners.

Defense of Sacco and Vanzetti, the victimized anarchists, was a major activity of the ILD. Cannon visited Sacco and Vanzetti in prison several times.

He recalled a visit with Vanzetti that stayed particularly in his memory.

"We had a long talk," he said. "Vanzetti was talking about a third member of their group who had jumped, or was pushed, out of a ten-story building when the government agents had him prisoner and were examining him."

"I remember Vanzetti saying, 'He wouldn't have jumped. He was a good militant.'"

"In the old radical movement," Cannon explained, "that was an ordinary expression. That's what you say about a person who's active and giving all they've got to the movement."

"I proposed this name to designate what we were, and it was accepted."

Cannon took particular pride in the fact that the *Militant* was internationalist from the outset and that it played an important role in building the world Trotskyist movement.

Moreover, the *Militant* was the exiled Trotsky's principal voice. With its few meager pages, it

managed to publish an entire series of major articles by Trotsky analyzing key Soviet and world developments.

And despite the difficulties and pressures, members of the movement persisted in their stubborn efforts to get the paper out. They sold it to each individual they could reach and, whenever they obtained names, mailed copies abroad.

It was an extraordinarily difficult process, but it brought results.

A single copy . . .

Cannon told a story illustrating what a single copy of the paper can accomplish.

A copy of the first issue was received in South Africa by a radical journalist, Frank Graves. Graves was convinced by that first *Militant* and became a Trotskyist.

Shortly after, Graves went to China as a reporter. There he played an important role in helping to establish the Chinese Trotskyist organization.

During this same period, Graves also won another journalist to Trotskyism. This was Harold Isaacs, then China correspondent for Havas, predecessor of Agence France Presse.

Isaacs remained with the movement less than a decade, but made two important contributions.

He authored a major book, *The Tragedy of the Chinese Revolution*, which detailed how Stalin's false policies led to the bloody defeat of the 1925-27 Chinese revolution.

And he played an important role in relation to the *Militant*.

After several years in China, Isaacs was reassigned to New York. There, Cannon said, he contributed his journalistic skill to help train a *Militant* staff.

At the outset, Cannon and Shachtman were the only experienced writers in the new movement. But with the aid of Isaacs, they were able to train the newer recruits to Trotskyism and, as Cannon put it, "professionalize" the paper.

First fund drive

An early but not easily attained goal was to establish the *Militant* as a weekly.

At the founding convention of the new organization, held in Chicago in May 1929, a special fund was launched for this purpose. The tiny organization set out to raise \$1,000.

They acquired a battered old linotype machine and an even older press. In November 1929—a few weeks after the stock market crash—they began weekly publication.

As Cannon recalled that experience, you could see him relive it.

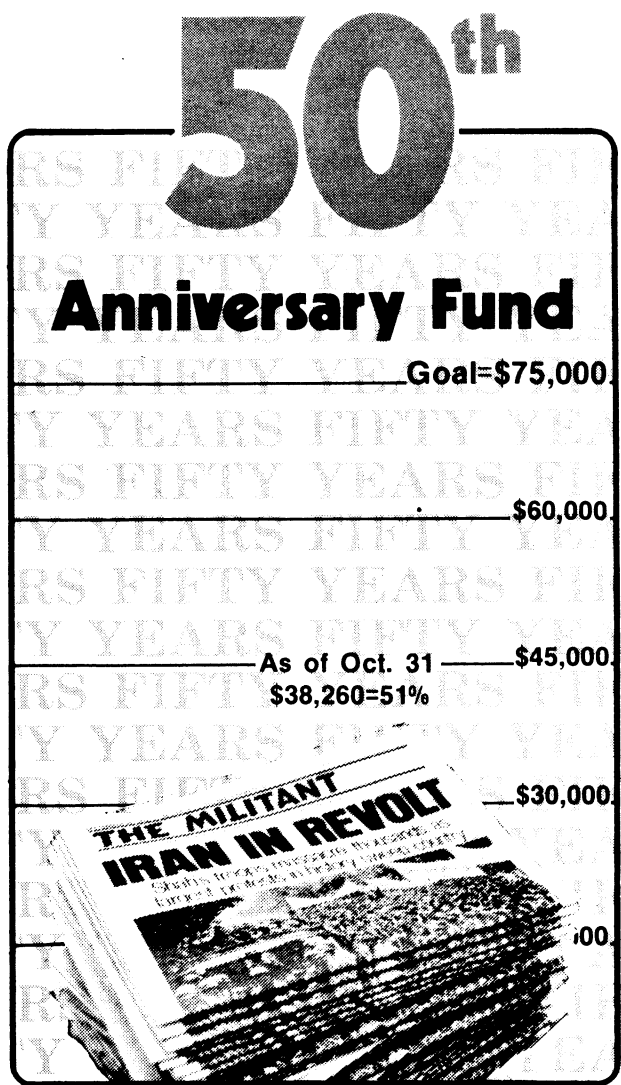
"We started out with high hopes with this thousand-dollar fund," he said. "But we never made it. It was just too much money for the comrades. . . . We overreached ourselves."

In July of 1930, they retreated back to a semi-monthly. But they persisted and finally, in July 1931, established the weekly *Militant*.

"The paper became quite professional," Cannon said. "Gradually—and sometimes by leaps—it became a recognized journal in the radical movement."

"It was never regarded as a throwaway sheet of a sect. It was known as a paper with a point of view and a method of approaching things."

I think Cannon would be pleased that on the *Militant*'s fiftieth anniversary, it's still known that way.



...to our readers

Continued from page 1

Today it's fifty cents a copy, and we are still losing money.

All of our costs, from telephone to postage to paper, are skyrocketing under the impact of double-digit inflation. During the past year alone, paper and other printing costs have risen 10 percent, second class postage 71 percent, and further big cost increases are expected next year.

To meet this challenge the *Militant* has launched a special Fiftieth Anniversary Fund. Our goal is to raise \$75,000 by December 31, 1978. It is the most ambitious fund in our history. We need every dollar. Since we launched the fund in August of this year the response has been inspiring. We have already collected \$38,260.

When the *Militant* began publishing

in 1928, it relied on the financial support of its readers. The same is true today. Over the years we have relied on the contributions of working people because the big-business interests who have the money aren't interested in publishing a paper that tells the truth and takes a stand on the side of working people. And the *Militant* doesn't want the political strings that are attached to big-business advertising and investment dollars.

Over the next few weeks we will be celebrating our fiftieth anniversary and boosting the fund drive with special rallies in cities across the country. We invite all our readers to attend. Come hear national leaders of the Socialist Workers Party speak. Get to know the socialist activists in your area. The dates for these rallies are listed in the ad below.

You don't have to wait for the rally in your city to make your contribution to our fund drive. Just fill out the coupon on this page and send in your donation today.

Every dollar we receive goes to good use to bring our readers the best *Militant* possible. Join us in celebrating our first fifty years by helping us continue that tradition in the year ahead.

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.

Fiftieth anniversary rallies for the Militant

Date	City	Speaker	Phone
Saturday, Nov. 4	Louisville	Cathy Sedwick	(504) 587-8418
Saturday, Nov. 11	Chicago/Gary	Harry Ring & others	(312) 939-0737
Friday, Dec. 1	Albany	Omari Musa	(518) 463-0072
	Kansas City	Linda Jenness	(816) 753-0404
	Phoenix	Syd Stapleton	(602) 255-0450
	Philadelphia	Jack Barnes	(215) 387-2451
	Seattle	To be announced	(206) 723-5330
Saturday, Dec. 2	Atlanta	Shelley Kramer	(404) 872-7229
	Baltimore	Andy Rose	(301) 547-0668
	Cleveland	Olga Rodríguez	(216) 991-5030
	Dallas	Omari Musa	(214) 826-4711
	Houston	Mary-Alice Waters	(713) 861-9960
	Indianapolis	Linda Jenness	(317) 925-2616
	Miami	John Hawkins	(305) 756-8358
	Milwaukee	Fred Halstead	(414) 445-2076
	Minneapolis	Larry Seigle	(612) 825-6663
	New Orleans	To be announced	(504) 486-8048
	San Antonio	Syd Stapleton	(512) 735-3141
	Tacoma	Andrew Pulley	(206) 627-0432
	Salt Lake City	Betsey Stone	(801) 355-1124
Sunday, Dec. 3	New York/Newark	Jack Barnes	(212) 982-8214
Friday, Dec. 8	Los Angeles/ San Diego	To be announced	(213) 482-1820
Saturday, Dec. 9	Albuquerque	To be announced	(505) 255-6869
	Boston	Harry Ring	(617) 262-4621
	Cincinnati	To be announced	(513) 751-2636
	Detroit	To be announced	(313) 961-5675
	Bay Area	To be announced	(415) 824-1992
	Toledo	Andrew Pulley	(419) 242-9743

Piedra tours Seattle

SEATTLE—"Political repression and terrorism by the Mexican government, army, and paramilitary organizations have reached the level where international protest is a must," said Maria Piedra Ibarra.

Piedra was speaking at a meeting at the University of Washington in Seattle on October 14. It was one of the first stops on a speaking tour that will take her to fourteen cities across the country. The meeting was sponsored by the Associated Students on campus and by the U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA) and Héctor Marroquín Defense Committee. About sixty people attended.

Piedra is a leader of the Mexican Committee to Defend Political Prisoners, the Politically Persecuted, "Disappeared" and Exiled. She is touring on behalf of Héctor Marroquín and his struggle to win political asylum in this country.

Piedra explained in her talk that she is no stranger to repression in Mexico. Her brother Jesús was "disappeared"—kidnapped by cops and never returned—in 1974. Shortly after that, her father, a prominent physician, was taken to jail, tortured, and beaten by the authorities.

Jesús was a student activist. He had been falsely accused of murder, as had Marroquín, his close friend. Marroquín escaped to the United States, but in 1977 he was arrested at the Mexican border. The U.S. government has been trying to deport him ever since.

Piedra explained that if Marroquín is deported to Mexico, he could be killed.

She also reported that the government of the state of Nuevo Leon, where her family lives, recently issued a



Militant/Susan Muysenberg
MARIA PIEDRA IBARRA

declaration calling for Jesús's arrest, although he has been missing for four years. His family fears that this is a legal cover for killing Jesús. "The police simulate an armed shootout," Piedra explained, "and then present those targeted for arrest as dead."

After the meeting, the University of Washington campus MEChA endorsed Marroquín's appeal for asylum.

During her tour in Seattle, Piedra also had the opportunity to meet with activists in the Chicano community. Juan Cepeda, director of the Concilio for the Spanish Speaking of King County, endorsed Marroquín's case. Roberto Maestas, director of El Centro de la Raza, interviewed her for *Reco-brando*, a bilingual magazine. El Centro endorsed Marroquín's appeal as a group.

Piedra was also interviewed by the *Seattle Times*, which reported that in the next two weeks the U.S. government will decide whether or not to grant Marroquín asylum.

New arrests in Brazil

Two leaders of the Socialist Convergence in Brazil, Julio Tavares and Romildo Fernandes, were arrested in São Paulo on October 30. Tavares is the national coordinator of Socialist Convergence and an editor of the group's newspaper, *Ver-sus*.

Meanwhile, the Brazilian political police have demanded that eight other members of Socialist Convergence who were jailed in August be held in continued "preventive detention."

Police accuse the eight of being members of the Partido Socialista dos Trabalhadores (Socialist Workers Party) and of carrying out "political-subversive work" in Brazil.

Letters and telegrams demanding the immediate release of Tavares, Fernandes, and the other imprisoned socialists, should be sent to Brazilian embassies or to Ministro Armando Falcão, Ministério da Justiça, CEP 70064, Brasília, Brasil.

Hugo Blanco issues appeal for Marroquín

Printed below is an appeal by Peruvian Trotskyist leader Hugo Blanco demanding political asylum in the United States for Héctor Marroquín. If Marroquín is deported to Mexico, he faces possible death at the hands of the government there.

The U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) is rushing to an immediate hearing on Marroquín's asylum request, denying him evidence crucial to his case.

Emergency telegrams are needed to protest the INS moves. They should be sent to: Leonel Castillo, Director, Immigration and Naturalization Service, Washington, D.C. Copies should be sent to the Héctor Marroquín Defense Committee, P.O. Box 843, Cooper Station, New York, N.Y. 10003.

We have been informed that the United States government is unfortunately threatening to deport Héctor Marroquín to Mexico. We all know that if he is returned to Mexico his life will be in danger. He has been falsely accused there of subversive and terrorist activities, charges which he and his lawyers have proven to be completely fabricated. Many countries have used charges of this type as a pretext to justify political persecution, jailing, and often murder of numerous fighters for democratic rights and social justice.

We are outraged that the U.S. government is trying to deport Marroquín to Mexico while at the same time claiming to be a defender of human rights in Latin America and other parts of the world.

Here in Peru we are in a very difficult situation, but nevertheless we are struggling to bring about a situation of increased democratic liberties.

Speaking for all those who are fighting for a more democratic so-

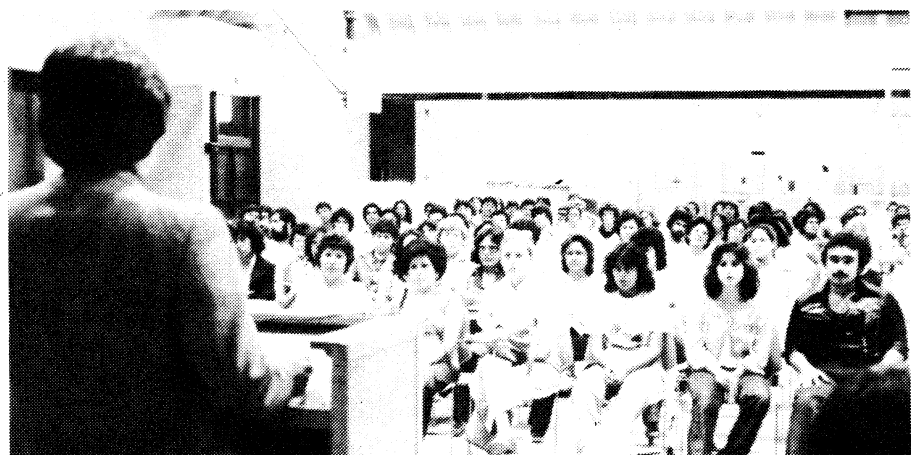
ciety, we protest this injustice that is being committed against Héctor Marroquín. We call on everyone who fought to defend my right to enter the United States, and who has defended my democratic liberties, to join in the struggle to defend Héctor Marroquín's right to political asylum.

We consider this case to be symbolic of many others. We cannot permit this open violation of the most elemental human rights of Latin American to take place in the United States, where there is so much talk about human rights.

We demand a halt to this attempt by the U.S. government to deport Héctor Marroquín. We demand that his right to political asylum in that country be immediately guaranteed.

I say this in my own name and in the names of my fellow members of the Peruvian Constituent Assembly: Enrique Fernández, Antonio Aragón Gallegos, Javier Diez Canseco, Juan Cornejo, and Genaro Ledesma.

Hugo Blanco
October 25, 1978



Héctor Marroquín speaking to students in El Paso, Texas Militant/Barry David

Raids, arrests crush Canadian postal strike

By Stu Singer

TORONTO—On October 25 the Canadian Parliament, courts, and federal cops combined to crush a militant strike by 23,000 postal workers, who had stopped the Canadian mail system for ten days.

Canadian Union of Postal Workers (CUPW) members returned to work October 26 after Royal Canadian Mounted Police simultaneously raided all the union's offices throughout English Canada and Québec. The cops seized union membership lists and files.

Five CUPW leaders, including President Jean Claude Parrot, were charged with violating a strikebreaking law passed by Parliament two days after the walkout began.

The union leaders were held for five hours by police after turning themselves in. They were not released until Parrot issued a public statement, dictated by a federal justice minister, ending the strike.

The U.S. press blacked out news of the RCMP raids.

CUPW represents inside workers at postal facilities. Letter carriers, represented by a separate union, had been honoring CUPW picket lines.

On Wednesday evening, October 25, strikers held mass meetings in cities across the country. At these meetings the union's national leaders urged members to return to work. At most meetings there was no discussion or vote.

Reports indicate that the strikers were outraged by the raids and would probably have stayed out on strike if their leaders had called for continued defiance of the strikebreaking law.

The government maintained the offensive after the strike was broken. Leading Liberal and Conservative party legislators have called for an investigation of "communist infiltration" in the unions.

CUPW—which champions national self-determination for Québec, thirty hours' work for forty hours' pay, and the right of all workers to strike—is seen as one of the most militant unions in Canada.

The weekend after the strike was smashed, meetings in solidarity with CUPW were held in Ottawa and Toronto. Each was attended by about 300 people.

The Ottawa meeting, sponsored by the Public Service Alliance of Canada, featured Jean Claude Parrot.

Joe Davidson, past CUPW president, spoke at the Toronto meeting, a Socialist Forum organized by the Revolutionary Workers League, Canadian sister organization of the Socialist Workers Party.

At both meetings, leaders of public employee unions urged support to the postal workers' and warned that the government's attacks against CUPW are a threat to all unions.

The postal strikers had considerable sympathy among other working people in Canada. Especially after the government enacted its strikebreaking legislation, many union members would have rallied to their support.

But the leadership of the Canadian Labor Congress refused to mobilize the union ranks to defend the strikers. Once it became clear the CLC would not stand by the postal workers in a confrontation, the Liberal government of Pierre Trudeau pressed ahead with its brutal attack on the union.

One of the speakers at the Toronto meeting was Dave Carrell, a CUPW steward, secretary of the Toronto strike committee, and member of the RWL. "This strike was a key test of the class struggle, like the miners' strike in the U.S.," he said. "It needed the active

solidarity of the entire union movement.

"The question of the hour is defense of our leaders and the strike activists," Carrell declared.

Joe Davidson sounded the same solidarity message. "Even the CLC leaders should be aware that taking away the right to strike from postal workers is the first step toward losing the right to strike for all public workers and later all workers in Canada."

Defense of CUPW has become one of the most important tasks facing the union movement and its allies in Canada. At the Toronto meeting \$300 was raised to defend CUPW.

Many in attendance signed a telegram demanding that the government drop all charges and end all reprisals against union leaders and members. The message also urged the CLC, New Democratic Party, and all unions to "unite in a massive public campaign . . . to force the government to stop its attempts to break the CUPW."

Messages of support from unions and civil liberties organizations in the United States can be a welcome demonstration of international solidarity. They can be sent to the Canadian Union of Postal Workers, 280 Metcalfe Street, Ottawa, Canada.

international **socialist** review

Fifty Years of American Trotskyism

By George Novack



Militant/Harris Freeman

Blacks and the Antiwar Movement

Some Lessons for Today

By Omari Musa



THE MONTH IN REVIEW

Why 'Guardian' Misreads the 1978 Elections

The 1978 election provides fresh evidence of a rightward shift by politicians of both big-business parties. Republican and Democratic liberals compete with their right-wing counterparts in "law and order" and antilabor rhetoric. The right-wingers up the ante with phony tax-cut gimmicks that benefit only the rich and, in some instances, with open racist demagoguery.

The absence of any independent, mass political voice for labor, the Black community, and their allies has guaranteed a near-monopoly for the rightist rhetoric of the capitalist politicians in the electoral arena and mass media.

Unfortunately, some radical commentators confuse this fun-house mirror image of American politics with the real views of American working people and with the real relationship of class forces. Such a misperception leads to highly pessimistic forecasts.

"No, the 'new right' is not going to take over the country in November," concedes Irwin Silber in the October 18 issue of the Maoist-leaning weekly *Guardian*. "But the 1978 elections may well prove a way station on the road to such an objective. . . . This neofascist political tendency is using the forthcoming election to strengthen its hold over the Republican Party, make inroads in the Democratic Party, and popularize the principal issues on which it hopes to build a mass-base following in the years ahead."

Silber's errors begin with the implication that the rightward thrust of electoral politics is caused by the growth of the "new right." In fact, this shift is a product of the basic policies of the U.S. rulers.

Beginning in 1971, and with escalating force since the world depression of 1974-75, the U.S. capitalists have tried to solve their economic problems—such as their weakened position in world trade—by an offensive against the rights and living standards of all the oppressed. This has meant chipping away or reversing the economic gains made by union members over many years and the advances toward equality won by oppressed nationalities and women. It has meant slashing public services, from mass transit to schools to medical care.

Since the two-party system is controlled by the capitalist class, the electoral "debate" reflects their basic political course. Liberals suddenly emerge as "new conservatives," while open right-wingers get fresh wind in their sails. The "new" rightists operate as the most vocal reactionary forces within the political strategy set by the ruling class.

By presenting the "new right," rather than the ruling class and its parties, as the driving force behind the attacks on the oppressed,

Silber lays the groundwork for supporting liberal capitalist politicians against "fascist" rightists—perhaps in a 1980 remake of the Johnson-Goldwater race of 1964. Although the *Guardian* itself has taken an abstentionist course in recent elections, the "lesser evil" stance implicit in Silber's analysis has many advocates, ranging from the Communist Party to the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee.

This is not Silber's most serious error, although it is bad enough. In misestimating the strength of the right, Silber takes no account of the resistance by those under attack. Yet the fighting capacity of working people has been powerfully demonstrated in recent months.

Beginning last December, coal miners carried out a 110-day strike that saved their union. In the process, they overruled an incompetent national leadership and defied government strikebreaking.

The reverberations of this battle are still being felt in the labor movement. Postal workers this summer overwhelmingly voted down the first contract that Washington and union officials tried to force on them. And impressive solidarity among the divided rail unions shut down almost all rail traffic for several days this fall.

The growing activity in solidarity with the Black freedom struggle in southern Africa—together with the spate of demonstrations this spring and summer against aspects of racist oppression in this country—are indications that the pace of the Black liberation struggle has stepped up, despite the setback represented by the *Bakke* decision.

At mid-year the capitalist media were chortling over the imminent demise of the Equal Rights Amendment and denouncing demands for extension of the time allowed for ratification as violating the rules of the game.

But when 100,000 people turned out July 9 for a pro-ERA demonstration called by the National Organization for Women, the tide began to turn. A thirty-nine-month extension was adopted by Congress, and for the moment the most vociferous "new right" opponents of the ERA have lost momentum.

These developments are only the most striking indications of the massive radicalization now taking hold among working people. As yet, this radicalization finds little reflection in bourgeois electoral politics. But it has not gone unnoticed by top labor officials. They are feeling pressure to step up verbal attacks on Carter and to promise a more militant course.

Nor has the deepening radicalization gone unnoticed in the ruling class and its government. The stiff resistance by workers to attacks on union rights, the determination of women to beat back efforts to sink the ERA, and the growing fear that Black anger may be reaching an explosive point is causing them to move more cautiously than they would like.

Thus Carter's vaunted program against inflation—while thoroughly antilabor in its goals—was far from the crackdown against wages, job safety regulations, and social service spending that the capitalists want. Carter drew back from attempting any severe new measures to *enforce* his program for

"givebacks" from working people—measures that could risk an head-on confrontation with a radicalized working class.

The real picture of the class struggle in the United States is different from the image of a steady drive toward the right presented by Silber. In fact, the forces opposed to the ruling class have grown stronger in the past year.

Developments in U.S. politics support the Marxist view that the deepening of the capitalist social and economic crisis will impel working people toward massive resistance to the onslaught of the ruling rich and toward fighting for a workers government. Only if workers are defeated in the giant battles ahead will it be possible for the ultraright to develop the mass following it would need to vie for power in this country.

What prevents Silber and many other radicals from accurately weighing the real changes under way in this country? The key lies in their isolation from the social forces that have the power to drive back the ruling-class offensive.

The *Guardian*, for instance, is a radical newspaper without links to a revolutionary party rooted in the unions, the communities of the oppressed nationalities, and other areas where the radicalization is taking place. It lacks access to the real day-to-day changes in the thinking of working people.

Because they are isolated from the actual battle against the ruling-class offensive, formations such as the *Guardian* are susceptible to impressions conveyed by the bourgeois media and politicians about the state of mind of American working people. And the ruling class is on a concerted campaign to spread the idea that the American masses are plunging headlong to the right.

The *Militant* and *International Socialist Review* are better situated to see the reality—and not only because of our Marxist outlook. We are helping to build the Socialist Workers Party, a revolutionary party that is rooting itself in the factories and communities where the oppressed and exploited live, work, and struggle.

Through daily contact with co-workers and neighbors on the job, in the unions, and on the picket lines, SWP members experience the real political development of working people in this country, not simply the one charted by contending bourgeois candidates and newspaper editorials. The course of the American workers and their allies is toward a deepening of their political independence, militancy, and readiness to go into action.

Because the SWP understands what is happening in the United States today, it is free from the pessimism permeating Silber's analysis. On the contrary, the SWP is in the thick of every battle of the oppressed and exploited against the rulers' offensive. Its aim is to build the mass revolutionary socialist party that is needed if those battles are to end in the victory of the working people and the creation of a new society.

Those who believe with us that American working people represent a progressive force destined to put an end to all oppression and injustice should take their place in the Socialist Workers Party.

CONTENTS

The Month In Review 2

Blacks and the Anti-Vietnam War Movement: Some Lessons for Today By Omari Musa 3

Fifty Years of American Trotskyism By George Novack 5

'The Lesser Evil?' Reviewed by Barbara Mutnick 12

The Communist Party & Gay Liberation: A Comment By Diane Wang 12



Editor: Fred Feldman
Editorial Board: George Breitman, Catarino Garza, Cindy Jaquith, Bruce Levine, Omari Musa, George Novack, Dick Roberts, Cathy Sedwick

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

Copyright © 1978 The Militant

Blacks and the Anti-Vietnam War Movement

Some Lessons for Today

By Omari Musa

The following is based on a talk given by Omari Musa as part of a symposium celebrating the publication of Fred Halstead's history of the struggle against the Vietnam War, 'Out Now!' The panel discussion was part of the August 5-12 Active Workers and Socialist Educational Conference held in Oberlin, Ohio.

Revolutionary socialists had a strategy for building the movement against the Vietnam War. As the previous speaker pointed out, we fought for mass actions in the streets, nonexclusionary united fronts, independence from the two capitalist parties, and the demand for unconditional withdrawal of imperialist forces from Indochina.

The ruling class also had a strategy—one for defeating the antiwar movement. A major target of this ruling-class strategy was the Black community.

At the time of the escalation of the Vietnam War, Black militancy was on the rise. The battle against Jim Crow legal segregation in the South was winning decisive victories, and mass struggles had also developed in the northern Black ghettos.

The ruling class wanted to block any linkup between the Black movement in this country and the mass movement against the war. Black people were in a position to deal heavy—and quite possibly fatal—blows to the imperialist war drive.

The ruling-class strategy had more than one prong. Most of you have probably heard of Cointelpro, the FBI's Counterintelligence Program. This was organized to disrupt the Black movement and other struggles.

It was an affirmative-action program of sorts—the kind the government favors. The FBI gave very special treatment to Blacks to see that we stayed down.

One goal of the program was, in the words of the FBI, to "neutralize" Black leaders and "prevent the rise of a 'messiah' who could unify, and electrify, the militant Black nationalist movement."

A second directive warned agents to "prevent the coalition of militant Black nationalist groups. In unity there is strength. . . ."

Preventing organized mass opposition to the war was not the only issue the FBI was concerned about in the Black community, but we can be sure it was near the top of the list.

Other sections of the FBI documents indicate that Malcolm X and Martin Luther King were viewed as potential "messiahs" and thus candidates for FBI "neutralization."

'Capitalist Bloodsuckers'

In the mid-1960s Malcolm X eloquently denounced the Vietnam War. He understood what the U.S. imperialists were up to there. He called the capitalists bloodsuckers and said that their system could not live without sucking someone's blood. That's a pretty accurate description.

Malcolm pointed out that the struggle of Black people in the United States was part of an international struggle of the oppressed against the oppressor. He saw the struggle of Blacks for self-determination as directly tied in with the struggle of the Vietnamese for self-determination.

And as Malcolm was speaking, the first Black rebellions took place in northern cities. The ghettos began to blaze. The ruling class needed to keep that power and anger from being organized.

When Malcolm X made the connection between the oppression in the ghettos and the Vietnam War, he was killed.

Two years later, Martin Luther King took a stand against the war. He did so only after long

Omari Musa is a staff writer for the Militant and a member of the national committee of the Socialist Workers Party.

An activist in the anti-Vietnam War movement looks back at the role Black America played in putting an end to the racist war. He suggests some lessons for today's struggle against U.S. complicity with racist regimes in southern Africa.



hesitation. On the one hand, he saw the impact the war was having on the Black community. And on the other hand, he wanted to regain the respect of young Black militants who were moving away from his liberal, integrationist posture toward revolutionary nationalist positions.

King took a lot of heat when he came out against the war. He got blasted by white liberals and politicians for trying in his own way to forge an alliance between the Black movement and the antiwar struggle. The sources of funds for his Southern Christian Leadership Conference began to dry up. And some Black leaders joined the attack too, like Roy Wilkins of the NAACP.

King spoke at the April 15, 1967, antiwar protest in New York to a crowd of about 250,000. And he was scheduled to speak at another antiwar demonstration in April 1968 when he was gunned down in Memphis—in my opinion, by a person or persons doing the work of the ruling class.

Now those two people, Malcolm X and Martin Luther King, represented the spectrum of thought of most Blacks at that time.

What was missing in the Black community throughout the war—and what the ruling class did its utmost to prevent—was a real united front in the Black community that would bring together the whole spectrum of opinion in action against the war.

Crisis in Black Struggle

One of the times we came close to having such a coalition was on April 15, 1967, when 5,000 Blacks marched from Harlem to the United Nations to join the big rally there. The major reason for this success was that King and Stokely Carmichael, leading figures in the liberal integrationist and the militant Black nationalist wings of the movement, came together for this particular action. The potential for much greater actions existed, and the ruling class knew it. King was killed and Carmichael was virtually driven out of the country.

The ruling class had an advantage in that the

organized Black movement was actually on the decline—at least the nonstudent sector of it—when the antiwar movement was on the rise. A whole crisis of perspectives had opened up with the disappearance of formal Jim Crow segregation in much of the South, combined with continued oppression and misery for the Black community as a whole.

The Black ghetto rebellions were a mammoth show of explosive power. But the size and number of mass street demonstrations and other forms of ongoing struggle were going down. Imagine how frightened the ruling class must have been that the antiwar struggle would have a reinvigorating effect on the organized Black struggle as a whole. Such an upsurge was viewed as a very serious danger by the rulers of this country. In my opinion, it would have helped end the Vietnam War much sooner.

One line that the ruling-class spokespeople of all kinds adopted was to tag the antiwar movement as a "white thing." The argument for this assertion began and ended with the fact that the demonstrations were largely organized by white students and the composition was predominantly white.

This line paralleled the propaganda that was directed toward union members to the effect that the antiwar movement was a "middle class" movement and workers had no place in it.

It didn't matter that the percentage of Black GIs was much higher than our percentage in the population.

It didn't matter that we took a big percentage of the casualties in Vietnam.

It didn't matter that when U.S. infantry patrols went out looking for the Vietnamese "enemy," the "point man" was usually Black, Chicano, or Puerto Rican.

It didn't matter that Black unemployment has been about twice the rate of white unemployment for decades.

It didn't matter that housing, schools, and medical care for Blacks were deteriorating while

resources were poured into the war against the Vietnamese people.

And it didn't matter that many, many Blacks felt an affinity with the Vietnamese struggle for liberation. This attitude found expression in slogans like, "We don't want this racist war," and "No Vietnamese ever called me 'Nigger.'"

The Black community was always more opposed to the war than the rest of the population. Blacks didn't oppose the war for moral reasons alone. They saw it as part of the racist structure. We sensed that this was part of imperialism's attack on the right of all oppressed people to self-determination.

But the ruling class had some success with putting across the idea that the antiwar movement was "white." They were able to take advantage of weaknesses in the Black leadership to maintain a certain division.

The role of conservative Black leaders paralleled that of the labor bureaucrats who supported the war (or softly criticized it) while trying to insulate union members from the struggle.

A big deepening of the Black struggle would inevitably have also meant a confrontation over the issue of the war. This danger to the ruling class was brought sharply to their attention by the ghetto explosions of 1967 and 1968. There were two weapons they used very effectively to head off such a development.

First, they used the Democratic Party. They provided elected offices and other forms of patronage to Blacks who showed leadership capacities and would accept their place in the system. The rulers launched big poverty programs, which played the same function. They offered money, prestige, and the illusion of power.

Well, many people—often people who had been quite militant—took the bait. After all, good jobs aren't easy to come by in the Black community, so the temptation was strong.

Black Antiwar Actions

A whole new layer of conservative leaders was created—like the Black mayors and Black congressional candidates. They had a stake now in not getting too far from the policies of the ruling class. They might criticize the war—and they usually did—but as a rule they weren't going to try to build a mass protest movement in the Black community. Their job was to cool the community, not organize it for struggle.

And those who wouldn't take the bait faced a brutal campaign of repression. Leaders of the Black Panther Party were the victims of systematic murder. Many who weren't killed were framed up and imprisoned. Others went into exile. Still others became isolated and demoralized.

Nevertheless, the Black population was a significant presence in all the biggest antiwar marches and moratoriums. Student strikes

against the war in 1968, 1969, and 1970 got an enthusiastic response from Black youth—especially high school students. The Black Moratorium held in 1969 at the University of California campus at Riverside drew thousands of Black participants. And at the time of the May 1970 upsurge against the invasion of Cambodia, two Black students were murdered by Mississippi state troopers while participating in an antiwar rally at Jackson State University. These are just a few examples out of many.

The irreconcilable opposition of Blacks to the U.S. intervention provided an important base of moral support to the antiwar movement, even when this sentiment was unorganized. The opposition was universal. No Black politician who wanted to get or keep an elected office dared say a favorable word about the U.S. intervention in Vietnam.

Role of Black GIs

One area where the ruling class wasn't very effective in keeping Blacks out of antiwar activity was the army. Here the antiwar movement had a big impact, providing a sense of protection for Black GIs who wanted to speak their minds about the rotten war.

It was hard to convince the soldiers that opposition to dying needlessly in Vietnam was a "white thing"—especially when they had to deal with racist white officers. Among GIs, Blacks were in the forefront of the opposition to the war. Their antiwar sentiment and their antiwar actions helped make it impossible for the government to maintain a massive invasion force in Indochina.

Black members of the Socialist Workers Party and other Black people who recognized the need to build the antiwar movement as part of a strategy of Black liberation worked in this complicated situation.

One event that thrilled us and gave us confidence that we were doing the right thing was the Chicano Moratorium in September 1970. That action brought out 20,000 Chicanos against the war. It showed that the people of the oppressed nationalities saw the link between the struggle for self-determination in this country and the struggle of the Vietnamese.

That Chicano demonstration proved that the oppressed nationalities could be organized and that the fight against the Vietnam War was part and parcel of the fight against national oppression.

Organize Forces

Our policy was to organize with any forces we could to get Black people onto the streets protesting the war. We held that what was needed was a movement that wouldn't just represent one ideology or current or organization. We needed a movement, we said, that would mobilize and express the antiwar sentiments of all Blacks.

Sometimes we built Black student antiwar committees or Black coalitions. At other times we helped build Black chapters of the Student Mobilization Committee, especially among Black high school students, where the antiwar movement often got an enthusiastic response. And on other occasions we participated in "Third World" Committees Against the War. Fred Halstead's *Out Now* contains a picture of a banner on one of the demonstrations that we helped lead in Washington, D.C. The banner reads, "United States out of Africa, Southeast Asia, and Latin America." That was the consciousness among certain layers of the Black community.

Difficulties We Faced

But we faced big difficulties. We were no substitute for the united front that was needed. And the liberal leaders and many of the nationalist ones had gotten tied up with the Democratic Party.

On the other hand many of the more militant elements were caught up in ultraleftism—talking about an isolated guerrilla war against the ruling class or waving the little red book of Mao Tsetung's thought.

These Black ultralefts tended to make the same mistake that other ultralefts made: they abstained, denouncing the movement because it didn't meet their standards of radicalism.

Black opposition to the war became more intense in the last years of the war. The repeated occurrence of mass demonstrations, combined with Nixon's policy of trying to get a military victory, caused mass antiwar sentiment among Blacks to start breaking through the logjam represented by the Democratic Party misleaders.

An example described by Fred Halstead in *Out Now* was the April 24, 1971, demonstration in Washington, D.C. The National Peace Action Coalition succeeded in winning formal endorsement for the demonstration from Marion Barry and others who constituted the recognized leadership in the Black community. But when they saw the potential for really massive Black participation building up, they all pulled out, with the honorable exception of the late Julius Hobson.

A week before the demonstration, the *Washington Post* published a poll taking in Washington's Black community. The poll said 40 percent of the Blacks polled said they were going to the protest.

Now mind you, the article didn't say that 40 percent opposed the war. That opinion was just about unanimous. The poll indicated that 40 percent would be marching. That would have meant 80-90,000 people.

As it turned out, the poll overestimated the Black turnout from the District of Columbia. But nonetheless April 24, 1971, marked the high point in Black participation in the antiwar movement. Black unionists turned out in significant numbers.

Continued on page ISR/11



Antiwar Black GIs in Dormstadt, Germany, in 1972

Joe Miles

Fifty Years of American Trotskyism

By George Novack

1978 marks the fortieth anniversary of the founding of the Socialist Workers Party. The full history of the SWP, however, goes back fifty years to November 1928 when defenders of internationalism and workers democracy who had been expelled from the Communist Party published the first issue of the *Militant*. And the real origins of the SWP go back still further—to 1919 when the communist movement was first constituted as an independent party in the United States.

The Antecedent Years

A survey of the roots and main turning points in the development of the SWP can contribute to understanding the capacity of this relatively small revolutionary socialist formation to influence the course of broad social struggles.

The American Communist Party arose out of the impact on American radicalism of two colossal international events: the First World War and the Russian revolution. The origins of the CP testify to the decisive part played by world developments in shaping American history and its revolutionary components in particular.

The formation of the CP represented an immense step forward in Marxist doctrine and party organization. It began the assimilation of the authentic scientific socialism defended and enriched by Lenin, Trotsky, and their associates in the leadership of the Russian revolution. It replaced the primitive, loose, heterogeneous, and all-inclusive concept of party organization practiced by the Socialist Party of Hillquit, Debs, and Berger—which had failed the test of events after 1917—with the superior Bolshevik model.

The new party was to be a politically homogeneous and democratically centralized organization, based on a principled program and guided by a clear perspective of the revolutionary potentialities of the working class in the United States and around the world. It was linked to the Third International, a world organization of revolutionary parties launched by Lenin and the Bolsheviks in 1919.

The history of the American CP in the first decade after its formation falls into two distinct and opposed stages. During the heroic period up to 1923, the party attracted the cream of the revolutionary-minded elements in the country in the face of often fierce repression. It worked with some success to weld these initial cadres together on the new foundations charted by the Third International. In its personnel, program, and perspectives, the Socialist Workers Party is a direct inheritor of this stride forward in revolutionary consciousness and activity.

This progressive period was followed by five years of blind factional warfare from 1923 to 1928, which impeded and disoriented the party. The gradual degeneration of the party, which began in the mid-1920s and was virtually completed by the end of the decade, was the consequence of two factors, one national, the other international.

The deadening conservatism of American life and politics generated by the unprecedented boom of American capitalism from 1922 to 1929 coincided with a reaction in the Soviet Union as the Stalinist bureaucracy rose to power after Lenin's death. As Stalinism came to dominate the Third International, the intervention and influence of the Russian leadership, which had inspired and invigorated the American revolutionists in Lenin's day, turned into its opposite and became a source of unmitigated evil. The

*George Novack is a member of the editorial board of the International Socialist Review. He joined the Trotskyist movement in 1934. The author of many books on Marxist philosophy and politics, his most recent volume is *Polemics in Marxist Philosophy* (New York: Pathfinder, 1978).*

combination of these two powerful adverse factors corrupted most of the original CP leaders and confused the ranks.

In the USSR the degeneration of the regime was opposed by the Left Opposition led by Leon Trotsky. The controversies that divided Soviet and world communism after 1923 focused on the course to be taken by the first workers state and the strategy of the international struggle against capitalism. The Left Opposition fought for increasing workers democracy against the despotism of the Soviet bureaucracy represented by Stalin. It counterposed the program and perspectives of the world revolution to the anti-internationalist Stalinist innovation of "socialism in one country." This "theory" held that socialism (considered by Marxists to be a society of material plenty and equality surpassing the most advanced capitalism) could be achieved in the USSR alone without the further extension of its material and political base to the industrialized countries, the seat of world imperialism.

The Left Opposition exposed and rejected the reformist conclusions of "peaceful coexistence" with the imperialist bourgeoisie that logically flowed from the theory of "socialism in one country." The Stalinist line inexorably transformed the American CP and its counterparts elsewhere from revolutionary opponents of capitalist rule into pressure groups in the service of the Moscow bureaucracy's foreign policy—all in the name of "defending socialism in one country," the USSR. It led the Stalinized CPs to reject, at first tacitly and then more and more explicitly, any strategy of independent working-class struggle aimed at taking power in their own countries.

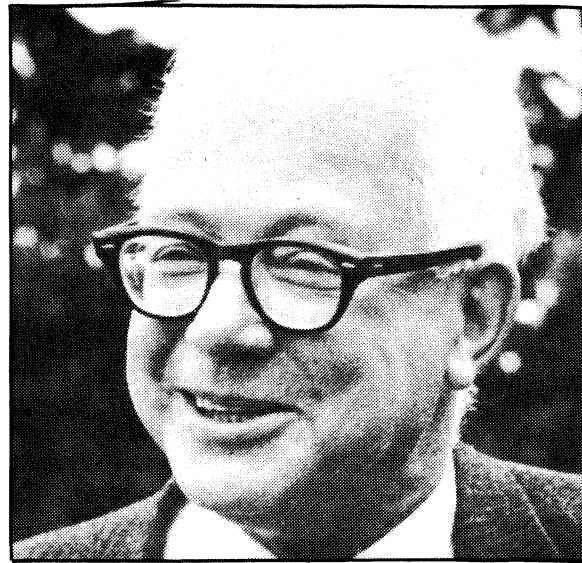
The retrogressive processes culminated in November 1928 in the expulsion from the CP of the first adherents to the Communist Left Opposition, led by Leon Trotsky. These were former party Chairman James P. Cannon, Max Shachtman, Martin Abern, and Rose Karsner. As the CP purged all questioners of the expulsion from its ranks, this initial cadre was joined by other revolutionists, including Arne Swabeck, Vincent R. Dunne, and Karl Skoglund. This schism inaugurated an entirely new chapter in the struggle for the construction of a revolutionary vanguard in the United States.

The founders of American Trotskyism did not reject or discard any of the theoretical and organizational lessons gained from the experiences of the Russian revolution and the first five years of the Third International (including those of the Communist Party). They placed these at the cornerstone of their program.

And they incorporated into their arsenal the contributions made by the Left Opposition as well.

Cannon and his associates were confident of the capacity of the working class in the advanced capitalist countries to transform society. The most decisive sector of that class was located in the United States. Basing their program and perspective on developing the consciousness of the American workers towards its revolutionary potential, the pioneer Trotskyists set out to assemble and educate a grouping of Marxists committed to the aims of combating and overturning American capitalism in order to build socialism on a world scale. Revolutionary internationalism, workers democracy, a socialist America—these three ideas have been abiding guidelines of the U.S. Trotskyist movement throughout its existence.

It was an extremely difficult task to reconstitute a revolutionary vanguard in the face of the collapse of the Communist Party and the degeneration of the Soviet state after Lenin's death. The evolution of American Trotskyism has not proceeded according to a preconceived plan or followed a direct path. It has passed through distinct phases of development, conditioned by colossal world events and the circumstances of its environment. At each phase these conditions have imposed specific tasks upon its cadres, circumscribed its sphere of action and, in the



GEORGE NOVACK

Militant/John Gray

final analysis, determined the rate of its progress and the scope of its achievements.

At its outset, the Communist League of America (Opposition), the group formed by the expelled revolutionists, put forward its program to the radical public. The clear and comprehensive enunciation of its positions on the key issues of the class struggle accorded with the mandate of Marxism, which regards the character of its program—and action in harmony with it—as the prime factor in determining the nature of a political grouping. This original set of revolutionary Marxist ideas has remained the bedrock of revolutionary Marxist activity, the basis for the recruitment and education of cadres. It is incorporated in the most extensive and enduring body of literature available to any tendency of American radicalism.

The Pioneering Years

In this pioneer period the relationship of forces, the small numbers of conscious revolutionary Marxists, and international considerations made it necessary to concentrate our activity upon the work of propaganda for our distinctive views. The leadership deliberately decided that the paramount job at that juncture was to form a firm cadre that thoroughly understood the nature of Stalinism and had assimilated the gist of the criticisms and ideas of the Left Opposition. The advice of people who urged abandonment of this task in favor of grandiose schemes for "mass work" was rejected as unrealistic.

The energies of CLA members were devoted to regularly bringing out and distributing the weekly *Militant*, publishing books and pamphlets popularizing the positions of the Left Opposition, and carrying on other propaganda activities. Participation in mass struggles of one kind or another was subordinated to these primary tasks.

The CLA then regarded itself as an expelled faction of the Stalinized CP, seeking to win over CP members and followers to its ideas. It looked to the force of events and its own pressure to reform the CP's policies. The policy applied in this country followed the general line of the International Left Opposition toward the Communist parties.

Although this tactic failed to check the degeneration of the CP, it did succeed in assembling several hundred revolutionary militants committed to fundamental Marxist principles. The consistent propaganda struggle against Stalinism armed these fighters with an understanding of what was happening in the USSR and the Third International. This enabled the CLA to survive, grow somewhat, and withstand the physical attacks and political pressures exerted by the Stalinists.

The infant movement experienced severe hardships because of the stagnation of organized labor at the beginning of the depression. Its isolation was intensified by the upsurge of official Communism supported by the mounting prestige of the Soviet Union amidst the manifest collapse of capitalism and the progress made

under the first five-year plan. This masked the internal crimes of the bureaucratic regime, while the ultraleft course imposed on Communist parties by Stalin's "third period" line from 1929 to 1934 obscured the opportunist foundations of Stalinist policy.

However, deep conviction of the correctness of its ideas was a source of moral stamina for the small group of Trotskyists, which enabled it to survive that trying time.

American Trotskyism passed its first test by the sheer fact of survival.

A Period of Growth

Hitler's ascension to power in February 1933 changed the Trotskyist attitude toward the Communist parties. The terrible defeat inflicted upon the German workers, the strongest section of the European working class; the capitulation of the German CP without a struggle, which was papered over with militant rhetoric against united fronts with the Social Democrats, who were labeled "social fascists"; and the subsequent refusal of Stalin and the Third International even to question the errors that led to the catastrophe marked the doom of the Third International as an agency of revolution. Recognition of this fact caused a reorientation of world Trotskyism. From a faction seeking to reform the Communist International and reverse the course of the American CP, Trotskyists became the heralds of a new International and the building of a new revolutionary Marxist party in the United States.

In line with these objectives, the CLA shifted its principal orientation away from the CP. It paid special attention to political groups and tendencies that were in ferment and moving in a leftward direction.

This move was facilitated and solidified by a simultaneous turn from activity as a circle of propagandists to systematic, if small-scale, participation in work among the unemployed and industrial workers. This tactical shift was made possible and produced results because of the explosive energies released by the awakening of working-class militancy, expressed in strikes and organizing drives that culminated in the rise of the Committee for Industrial Organization (CIO).

The creation in the preceding period of cadres knit together on a national scale by common ideas and methods was the indispensable prerequisite to successfully carrying out this transformation in the work of the Trotskyist movement.

The new course promptly provided an occasion for a small but highly educational conflict with opportunism, when the free-lancing B.J. Field opposed the party's class-struggle policies while playing a leading role in a strike of New York City hotel workers. Field's expulsion for indiscipline demonstrated that trade-union leaders, like other party members, are obliged to uphold the party's class-struggle program and majority decisions in word and deed.

On the other hand, the victory of the Minneapolis Teamsters' strikes in 1934 under Trotskyist leadership provided a powerful test of competence and commitment of revolutionary Marxists in trade-union struggles. Further footholds in the unions were provided by the subsequent Teamster organizing drives in the Midwest led by Farrell Dobbs.

Such tests of Trotskyist capacities in union struggles helped bring about the first success of the new orientation toward leftward-moving formations. In December 1934, the Communist League of America fused with the American Workers Party led by A.J. Muste. Leaders of this group had an important achievement to their credit: leading the 1934 strike of Toledo Auto-Lite workers. The unification, arrived at after hard negotiation on the basis of common agreement on fundamental principles, gave a big impetus to our movement.

In carrying out these progressive steps, the party had to overcome opposition. Led by Hugo Oehler, a sectarian faction denounced any step away from the necessarily ingrown and isolated past of the movement, claiming this would be a violation of revolutionary purity. Defeated in a thoroughgoing political debate, the Oehlerites pulled out of the party and eventually faded away.

Entry into Socialist Party

Unification with the American Workers Party did not eliminate the restrictions imposed by the much greater size of the Communist and Social-



a



b



c

FIFTY YEARS OF AMERICAN TROTSKYISM: (a) Martin Abern, James P. Cannon, and Max Shachtman (l. to r.), founders of American Trotskyism; (b) the first issue of the 'Militant,' dated November 15, 1928; (c) the Preliminary Commission of Inquiry into the Charges Against Leon Trotsky, headed by John Dewey (center, against wall), hears testimony from

Trotsky (second imperialist war in the 'Militant'; (f) way to prison or

ist parties. When the right wing quit Norman Thomas's Socialist Party in 1935 and he invited other radicals to join his purportedly all-inclusive formation, Trotskyists decided to join it. Their goal was to win the more militant members of its left wing and youth movement to revolutionary ideas.

During the Trotskyists' short sojourn in the Socialist Party, Stalin launched the Moscow frame-up trials. We organized a campaign to secure asylum for Trotsky in Mexico (he was expelled from France and Norway under Stalinist pressure) and worked with others in the Trotsky Defense Committee to expose Stalin's monstrous frame-ups. The latter effort culminated in the commission of inquiry headed by philosopher John Dewey. The commission exonerated Trotsky and his son Leon Sedov and declared Stalin's charges to be baseless. This undertaking was a landmark in the long and

honorable Trotskyist record of defending victims of government frame-ups.

The SP officialdom feared the spread of Trotskyist influence. Thomas and his ilk felt threatened by revolutionary socialist criticism of the SP leaders' support to the popular front government in Spain during the Spanish civil war. (The left wing favored militarily defending the republic against the fascists while giving no political support to the bourgeois government.) When the left objected to SP endorsement of the reelection campaign of New York's Republican-Fusion Mayor La Guardia, the SP tops responded with mass expulsions of their left-wing critics.

The balance sheet of entry showed positive results: (1) The majority of the socialist youth and those really interested in working for a socialist revolution were won to the Trotskyist current; (2) the cadres accumulated valuable political experience; (3) entry increased Trotsky-



d



e



f



(a) group of men in suits and hats standing on the steps of a building in New York City in 1939; (b) Trotsky in exile reads February 1, 1937, issue of *The Militant*; (c) fifteen SWP members, prosecuted for opposing imperialist war, on their New Year's Eve 1943; (d) socialist literature on display outside the 1946

convention of the United Auto Workers in Atlantic City, New Jersey; (e) December 1975 convention of the Young Socialist Alliance in Milwaukee, Wisconsin; (f) selling the *'Militant'* in 1975; (g) Paul Boutelle, SWP's vice-presidential candidate in 1968, addresses antiwar rally at Columbia University on October 15, 1969.

ist forces in the unions, enhancing our proletarian orientation; and (4) by expelling its left wing the SP cut itself off from the radicalized youth and union militants, dealing itself crippling blows from which it never recovered.

While these developments reduced the numerical superiority of the SP over the Trotskyists, the CP retained its overwhelming predominance in the radical movement. Despite (and in part because of) its opportunism, which now extended to outright support of the Roosevelt administration, the CP grew considerably.

It was solidly entrenched in the CIO, exercised a strong attraction on radicalizing intellectuals and in cultural circles, and had the greatest influence of any current among the youth and Blacks.

The Stalinists conducted a merciless slander campaign designed to keep our movement quarantined and our ideas tabooed. It proved diffi-

cult to get an objective hearing for our revolutionary ideas because of the sheer weight and size of the forces under CP sway.

The Socialist Workers Party was founded at a convention in Chicago on New Year's Day 1938. The Fourth International was launched nine months later. It adopted as a programmatic guideline the *Death Agony of Capitalism and the Tasks of the Fourth International*. This document laid out a strategy for overcoming the contradiction between our small numbers, the consciousness of the working class, and the revolutionary tasks that needed to be accomplished.

The central task set by the party was to establish itself as a powerful current in the profound radicalization of the working class, a radicalization that was bringing about the organization of industrial workers into mass unions under the banner of the CIO. In addition to the

base won in Minneapolis and the Midwest through the work of our members in building the Teamsters union, the party strengthened its forces in the maritime field and the new unions in the automobile, steel, electrical, and other industries. The party began to acquire a less literary and middle-class and a more proletarian composition, spirit, and activity. The extension of trade-union work became the top priority of the Trotskyist movement.

Although the newly formed SWP made some headway, it was not given much time to display its capacities. The shadow of the oncoming war, following upon the horror of the Moscow trials and the defeat of the Spanish masses, led to a retreat of the formerly prosocialist intellectuals and a dampening of radicalism. Then the Stalin-Hitler pact, which ushered in the Second World War in August 1939, hit the party. These intertwined events brought out latent weaknesses and



James Kutcher, veteran fired from his government job for SWP membership, and George Novack. Kutcher got broad support to win a victory over the witch-hunters.

precipitated the most thoroughgoing internal struggle in the movement since its inception.

An opposition emerged reflecting the changed mood among the radical intellectuals. Led by Burnham, Shachtman, and Abern, it began its assault on the program of the Fourth International by opposing defense of the Soviet Union from imperialist attack and by challenging the Trotskyist analysis of the Soviet Union as a degenerated workers state.

The conflict soon involved most of the basic tenets of Marxism—from the validity and value of dialectical materialism to the character of the party. Trotsky described the aim of this opposition as an “attempt to reject, disqualify, and overthrow the theoretical foundations, political principles, and organizational methods of our movement.”

Impelled by the ferocious anti-Soviet propaganda and the growing pressure of prowar fever, Burnham, Shachtman, and their followers broke away from the SWP in April 1940. They founded the Workers Party to compete with the SWP. This grouping led a vacillating existence until 1957 when it vanished into the remains of the Socialist Party.

American Trotskyism gained more than it lost from the struggle and split with the petty-bourgeois opposition. The struggle tempered the party majority which proved its fidelity to Marxism, its ability to defend its program under fire, and its determination to be a genuinely Leninist and working-class organization.

The controversy also produced two precious contributions to Marxist literature: Trotsky's collection *In Defense of Marxism* and Cannon's *The Struggle for a Proletarian Party*. These classics, which are published today by Pathfinder Press, have ever since been indispensable to the education of revolutionary socialists.

The showdown with the minority was concluded months before the USSR was invaded and the United States entered the Second World War. Thanks to its stand in defense of Marxist principles the party was well equipped to meet these earth-shaking events without wavering or flinching. The break with the petty-bourgeois current also enabled the party to make new strides in rooting its forces in the unions.

The War Years

Shortly before Pearl Harbor was attacked, the party and its foremost unionists were subjected to combined assault by the Teamsters union bureaucracy and the federal government. Minneapolis Teamsters Local 544 had been the principal base of Trotskyist influence in the unions and the leading force for labor organization throughout the Northwest.

After the officers of Local 544 refused to bow before his dictatorial edicts, Teamster President Dan Tobin, who was also the head of the Democratic Party's Labor Committee, appointed a receiver over the local. When the members voted to disaffiliate from the AFL and join the CIO, Roosevelt, at Tobin's behest, ordered the Department of Justice to indict the Local 544 officers and SWP leaders under the Smith “Gag” Act. This was the first time the act, which penalized people for their ideas, had been invoked. Roosevelt's prime objective was to eliminate any source of opposition to his war policies in the union movement by indicting the principal leaders of Local 544 and the SWP.

The prosecution tested the capacity of both the party and its working-class militants to stand by their avowed principles under the most intense pressures. The party proceeded to organize a nationwide campaign against the indictments. Through the Civil Rights Defense Committee it developed a strong and broad defense movement, which secured support from 150 unions representing more than 5 million members. It made the Minneapolis case the most important civil liberties cause during World War II. The activity of the entire party from July 1941 to February 1945, when the imprisoned Trotskyists were released, revolved around work on this case, which endangered the legal existence of the SWP and involved the imprisonment of its best political and union leaders.

The defendants used the courtroom to expound their real views against the allegations of the prosecutors. One of the most enduring byproducts of the Minneapolis trial is the official court record of the testimony given by James P. Cannon, published as *Socialism on Trial*. It is an outstanding introduction to the application of Marxist ideas to American problems.

The prosecution of the eighteen, and the U.S. declaration of war on the day they were sentenced, signaled the beginning of another period of intense hardship for the party. Unlike the Vietnam War decades later, the war of American imperialism against the Axis powers was accepted as necessary by the people; socialist opposition to it received scant support. Many young party activists were drafted into the armed forces. The unionists who remained had to swim against the stream. After effectively withstanding the first governmental assaults, however, the membership held on tenaciously and successfully weathered the wartime isolation.

The first outstanding act of mass resistance in this period was the movement that sprang up around A. Philip Randolph's call for a march on Washington to demand equal employment opportunity. This was called off after Roosevelt offered a token gesture in the form of a toothless Fair Employment Practices Commission. Some jobs in industry were nonetheless gained for Blacks through this effort. Most important, the movement for the march indicated that Blacks were not willing to postpone their struggle for human rights in the interests of the U.S. war effort. This attitude was given added emphasis by the 1943 uprising of Blacks in Harlem.

Following discussions with Trotsky in 1939, the SWP had become more actively involved in the Black struggle and placed a new stress on its importance for the American revolution. When Black protests broke out during the war, the SWP was politically prepared to participate and to recruit to its banner. The Communist Party, which had previously dominated Black radicalism, began to lose ground because of its objections to demands for Black rights in wartime.

The second major outbreak of resistance was the coal miners' strikes of 1943. Despite the frenzied propaganda of the government, the liberals, and the Stalinists against the United Mine Workers and its President John L. Lewis, the strikers won important gains against the wage freeze and dealt a big blow to Roosevelt's efforts to impose a no-strike straitjacket on the unions.

The second phase emerged as the war fever wore off. Hitler's defeat began to seem certain after the Soviet victory at Stalingrad, and new stirrings agitated the ranks of labor.

While its leaders were still behind bars, the party moved out to take advantage of the openings presented by growing battles against the wartime wage freeze, the no-strike pledge adopted by top union leaders, and in favor of the formation of a labor party based on the union movement.

The national convention in November 1944 already recorded appreciable signs of progress in various fields: increased sales and subscriptions of the *Militant*, stepped-up recruitment of workers and Afro-Americans, greater influence in key union locals, and a burst of optimism in the membership.

This expansion continued without letup for the next three years. The entire party stepped out boldly and made progress in numerous directions. It established sizable and influential fractions in several industrial unions: auto, steel, rubber, aircraft, and maritime. It energetically intervened in movements for Black equality and drew hundreds of Black militants into its ranks. The press attained its highest circulation. Party

branches were set up in many new localities.

By its 1946 convention in Chicago, the SWP membership reached a level surpassed only in the past few years, having doubled its membership since 1945. It had strong bases of support among workers and in many Black communities from coast to coast.

Despite the growth of the party, Trotskyism still confronted weighty obstacles and resultant pressures. The continuing strength of the Stalinists and Social Democrats in Europe blocked the progress of the Fourth International and prevented the workers from taking power in Western Europe after the downfall of Hitler and Mussolini. These setbacks produced a smaller repetition of petty-bourgeois pessimism and indiscipline in the form of an opposition led by Albert Goldman and Felix Morrow, two of the eighteen imprisoned in the Minneapolis case. This tendency was easily defeated. Shortly after leaving the Trotskyist movement Morrow and Goldman broke with Marxism and moved well to the right.

Among our rivals, the Socialist Party had by this time largely fallen out of the running. The Communist Party, on the other hand, had acquired a membership of almost 100,000 and retained some commanding positions in the unions and the Black community.

However, the CP had been discredited among the best union militants and the Black communities by its abject support of Roosevelt's antilabor policies, its support to the no-strike pledge (which it favored continuing in the postwar period), and its opposition to all struggles against racism during Stalin's alliance with Roosevelt.

At the same time the unblemished record of the SWP in defense of labor's rights, the interests of the Afro-Americans, and its socialist ideas enhanced its reputation in these circles. The magnificent offensive of the unions against the corporations during the massive strike wave of 1945-47 energized our members and supporters. American labor's greatest upsurge coincided quite properly with the quickest and greatest growth of the revolutionary socialist movement.

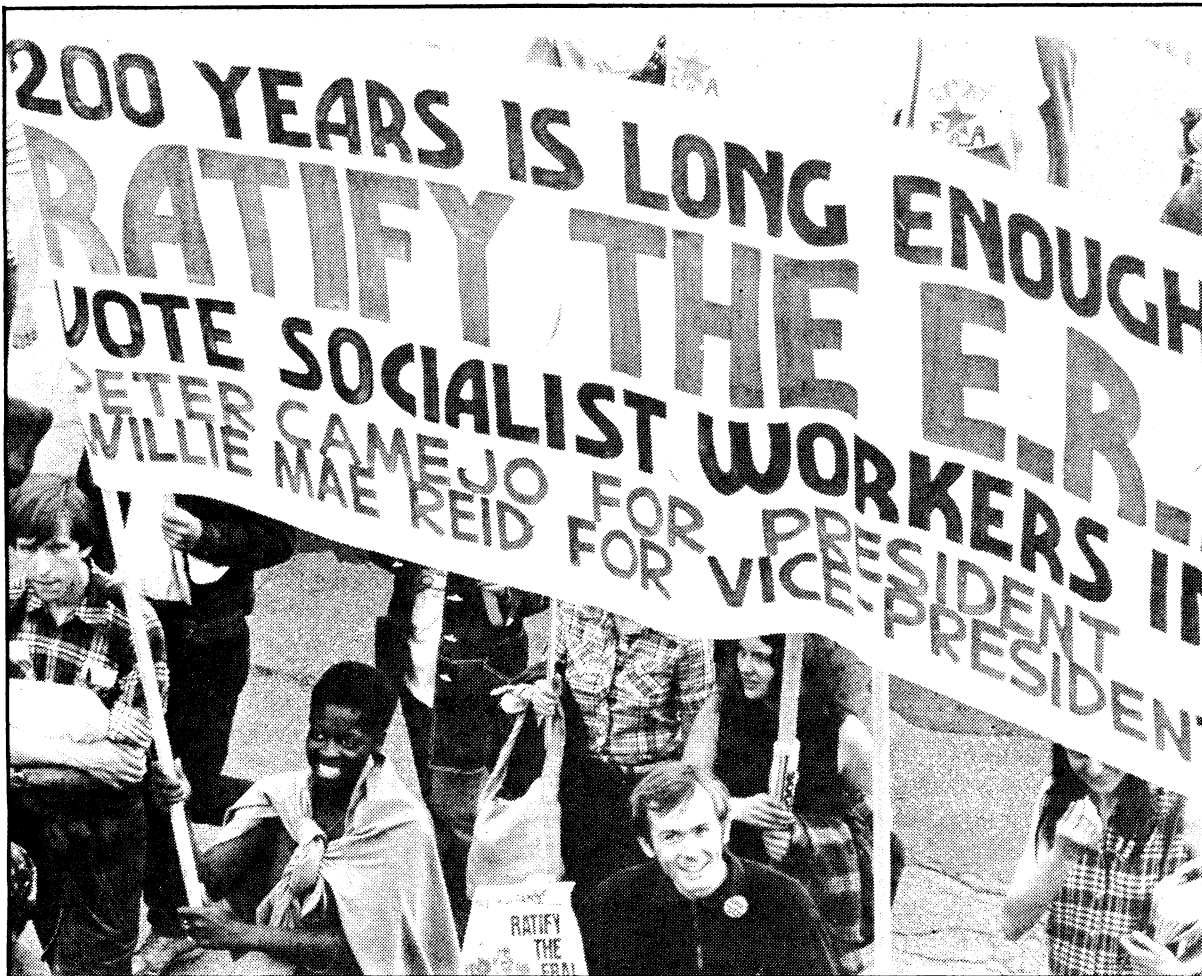
Owing to the relative absence of ferment on the campuses, the weakness of the organized student movement, and a certain lack of initiative on the part of the Trotskyists in the student arena, the party was unable to reconstitute a youth organization on a national scale. (Most of the Young People's Socialist League, composed primarily of youth won from the Socialist Party, had gone with the Shachtmanite splitters.)

For a brief time it appeared that the SWP was on the way to transforming itself from a small and restricted propaganda group into an organization of mass agitation and action. Its expanding influence in the left wing of the industrial unions and among the Black militants placed that almost within reach. The ranks were poised and ready to realize this objective.

Then, quite unexpectedly, a sharp turn occurred in the national and international situations that altered and nullified this outlook for the near future. Emboldened by their victories in Europe and the beginnings of a new capitalist boom, the U.S. imperialists launched the cold



The SWP threw itself into defending the Cuban revolution, helping to organize the Fair Play for Cuba Committee. Here demonstrators denounce U.S. aggression against Cuba and U.S. role in crushing nationalist forces in the Congo.



Socialist Workers Party contingent in May 16, 1976, demonstration for the ERA in Springfield, Illinois

war against the USSR and an anticommunist crusade at home. For a prolonged period this closed off further possibilities of expansion for the SWP, thrusting the party back into agonizing isolation.

The Witch-hunt

Beginning in 1947, the anticommunist witch-hunt, the consolidation of the labor bureaucracy, and the conservatizing of the better-off workers under the sway of prolonged prosperity administered a stiff setback to American radicalism in all its forms. While the CP was the main target and victim of capitalist persecution and was dealt the heaviest blows, the SWP likewise suffered severely at the hands of reaction.

Nonetheless, at the opening of this dark period, the party took one of its biggest steps forward in national politics. Up to this point, it had not had the resources to enter candidates in the presidential race. In 1948 our party launched its first presidential ticket. Its candidates conducted a rigorous nationwide campaign to popularize its program against the two major capitalist parties. It also challenged the radical pretensions of the Progressive Party, a short-lived third capitalist effort, which fielded Roosevelt's former vice-president, Henry Wallace. The Progressive Party was strongly backed by the Communist Party.

This has been a permanent advance. Overcoming many obstacles, the SWP has never been absent from the national elections, regularly running a presidential slate every four years. In 1976 it was on the ballot in twenty-six states and the District of Columbia.

The intensified reactionary atmosphere during the Korean War years from 1950 to 1953 placed the party in deepening difficulties. The youth and the union militants were immobilized, and the possibilities of recruitment dwindled to a minimum. The Black population continued to wage spasmodic struggles against their oppression, but these could not reverse the conservative tide. However, they did win some major concessions, the most important being the 1954 Supreme Court decision outlawing school segregation.

With the workers increasingly unresponsive to socialist ideas and proposals, virtually the entire membership of SWP fractions in auto, aircraft, steel, and maritime unions were driven from their jobs and blacklisted. Many fine worker militants, seeing little chance for effective opposition to the ascendant labor bureaucracy, drifted out of the party, as did many Black members who had expected the party to mobilize wide support for their demands. Party branches withered and disappeared.

The Johnson-Forest group (headed by C.L.R. James), which had returned to the party in 1947 after breaking with Shachtman's Workers Party, again bolted from the party in 1951 under the impact of the Korean War. (They opposed the

SWP's defense of postcapitalist China and North Korea.)

The processes of desertion eventually affected the inner core of the party. This was expressed in the emergence of the Cochran-Clarke-Bartell faction. The assault of these leading figures on the party program, which was intertwined with a split in the Fourth International, erupted at the height of McCarthyism and its excruciating squeeze on the Trotskyist movement. The Cochran-Clarke-Bartell group enlisted the most exhausted and disillusioned elements of the membership.

These cadres had been disheartened by the postwar strangulation of the revolution in Western Europe and disoriented by the Kremlin's expansion in Eastern Europe and the Stalinist role in the revolutionary victory won in the Chinese civil war.

Softened by prosperity and wearied by incessant and inconclusive struggling against the stream, they lost faith in the revolutionary potential of the American working class and began to challenge the principles of Marxism and the future of Trotskyism. They no longer believed it possible to build a mass revolutionary party capable of leading a successful struggle to replace capitalism with a workers regime in the United States.

This minority threatened to undo all the basic conquests of our movement since its birth. They were dead set against our aim of building a proletarian vanguard party. At the cost of an unavoidable split, the majority succeeded in beating back this challenge to its heritage and

further existence. Soon after its defection, the Cochran-Clarke-Bartell combination disclosed its true liquidationist nature and disintegrated. It did not last out the decade.

Case of Legless Veteran

One of the brightest achievements of those years was the seven-year fight waged against the victimization of a legless veteran, James Kutcher, whose case became the SWP's most dramatic vehicle for opposing the government loyalty purge. The campaign on his behalf mobilized widespread sympathy and support. After eleven hearings, Kutcher was restored to his Veteran's Administration job. This was one of the outstanding victories against the witch-hunters.

All energies were absorbed during this period in keeping the party intact and as active as external conditions permitted. There was no alternative but to ward off the blows as best as possible and wait out the onrush of reaction.

All other tendencies confronted the same problems. The SP went from bad to worse politically and organizationally and had little life left by the end of the fifties. The CP suffered the greatest losses. The unions under its domination were expelled from the CIO and many of its opportunist supporters in the trade unions, such as Curran of the National Maritime Union and Quill of the Transport Workers Union, went over to the anti-Soviet, pro-imperialist labor bureaucracy.

The CP had become so discredited that it could not muster any broad support for its defense against government prosecution. Its ranks grew more and more demoralized and divided.

The repercussions of the Khrushchev report confirming Stalin's crimes and the crushing of the Hungarian revolt in 1956 delivered smashing blows to its unity and morale and decimated its ranks. Thousands walked away in dreadful disillusionment from the party. The CP is still hemorrhaging from the continuing effects of the decomposition of world Stalinism.

The radical movement as a whole lost virtually an entire generation of recruitment to the cold war and witch-hunt. Relative to other currents, the SWP came out of that ordeal with the best morale, since world events had substantiated its basic ideas. It made the most of the upheaval in American radicalism generated by the crisis within the hard-hit CP. The immense disproportion of forces and influence between the Trotskyists and Stalinists, which had prevailed for more than three decades, was steadily lessened to the advantage of the Trotskyists.

Years of Revival

At the beginning of the sixties the victory of the Cuban Revolution, the civil rights movement, and the end of student apathy spurred the revival of radicalism. This was manifested within our own movement by the reconstitution of a Trotskyist youth organization for the first time in twenty years. The Young Socialist Alliance became the prime vehicle for the regeneration of the SWP.

Our party did its utmost to recruit and integrate young rebels from the campuses into its depleted ranks and bring them into the leader-

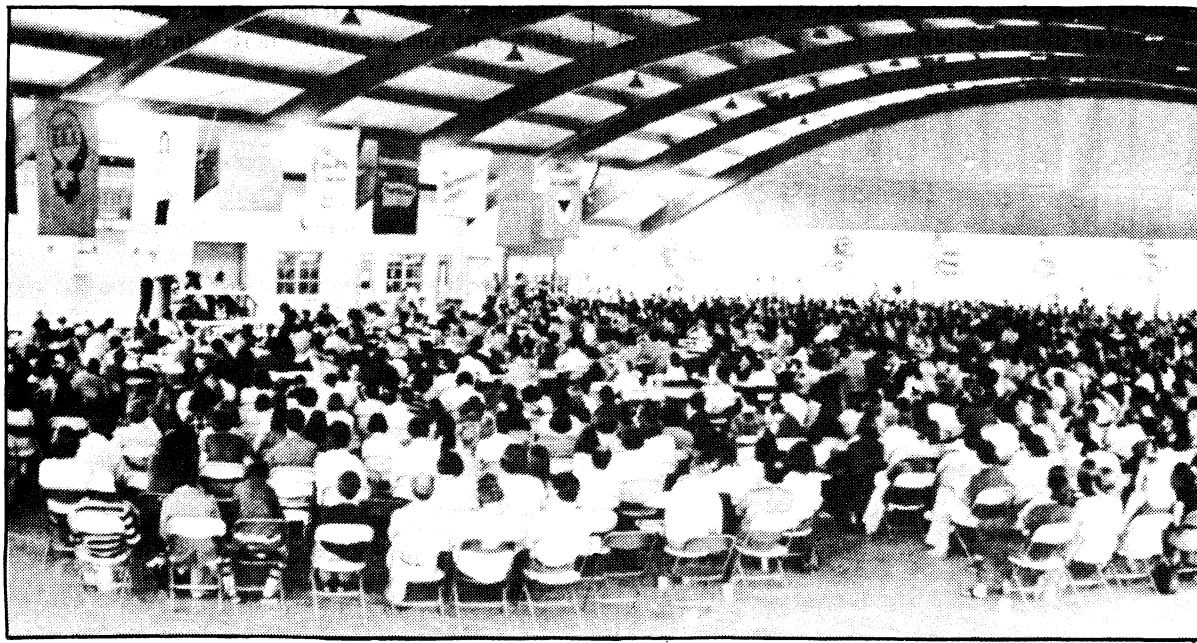
For Further Reading...

The History of American Trotskyism by James P. Cannon. A vivid and exciting account of the early struggles of the American Trotskyist movement. It concludes with the founding of the Socialist Workers Party in 1938. 268 pp. \$4.45.

The Struggle for a Proletarian Party by James P. Cannon. This volume was written during a struggle over the character and program of the Socialist Workers Party in 1939-40. It is a classic defense of the strategy and methods of building a working-class revolutionary party organized along democratic-centralist lines. 302 pp. \$4.45.

The Socialist Workers Party in World War II by James P. Cannon. This volume of writings and speeches tells how the SWP stood up to government persecution in World War II. The SWP was almost alone in exposing the imperialist character of the war. The book describes the party's important role in opposing government strikebreaking and defending unions against wartime speedup and wage freezes. 446 pp. \$5.45.

Prospects for Socialism in America by Jack Barnes, Mary-Alice Waters, Tony Thomas, Barry Sheppard, and Betsey Stone. The program and proposals of the SWP for defending the interests of working people today. 269 pp. \$2.95.



August 1975 convention of the Socialist Workers Party

ship. This was imperative if the party was to cope with the enlarged opportunities presented to it.

The reorientation of our movement to the changed national and international situation and the transition to a wider arena was not accomplished without internal controversies and breaks with a diversified range of dissidents who responded in a sectarian way to new openings or had abandoned the positions we held in common. These included the currents that today function as the Workers League and Spartacist League, as well as a few individuals who went over to Maoism.

All together, these did not amount to as much as earlier oppositions, and their departure did not impede the progress of our movement from 1960 to 1965. The domestic defections were more than counterbalanced by the healing of the ten-year split in the Fourth International in 1963, which unified the main forces of world Trotskyism—a move opposed by most of the dissidents.

The party's attention during the decade was directed not toward internal dissensions but outward to the social struggles agitating the country. Its principal areas of activity were the defense of the Cuban revolution, the Black liberation struggle, the student ferment, and the anti-Vietnam War movement.

When the leaders of the Cuban revolution pulled that country out of the orbit of imperialism and overturned capitalism, Trotskyists hailed the action and set out to defend the embattled island from U.S. assault. The SWP and YSA participated in the Fair Play for Cuba Committee. Farrell Dobbs, the party's national secretary, visited Cuba and made defense of that revolution a central plank in his 1960 campaign for president. The SWP recognized that the Cuban revolution was not only a hammer blow to capitalism but also a promising departure from Stalinist bureaucracy because of the non-Stalinist origin and refreshing honesty of revolutionary leaders such as Castro and Guevara.

Collaboration with Malcolm X

While the SWP supported every action against racism, it was especially concerned to establish collaboration with the most combative and progressive forces in the Black liberation struggle such as Robert F. Williams, the leader of the Monroe, North Carolina, NAACP who organized Blacks to defend themselves against Klan terror; Malcolm X the Black Muslim leader who broke with the religious sect in a revolutionary nationalist direction; the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, which organized antisegregation struggles in southern communities and first raised the slogan of "Black Power"; and the militant caucuses of Black workers.

Through our solidarity with these militants and the publication of our resolutions, books, and pamphlets on their problems—particularly through the contributions of George Breitman—the SWP won a hearing and respect for its ideas. The SWP was the first radical group to recognize and explain the progressive nature of the revolutionary implications of Black nationalism, particularly as expounded by Malcolm X.

The rise of Black nationalism placed the long-standing position of the SWP in favor of the right of self-determination for Black people in a striking new light. The demand for a Black party was added to the proposal for a labor party based on the trade unions, which had been advocated by the party since 1938, as an expression of the

need for workers to break with the capitalist political apparatus.

To the impact of the deepening Black struggle was added that of the Chicano struggle. Growing sentiments of Chicano nationalism and solidarity found expression in the farm workers' organizing drives in California and Texas, the demand for bilingual education, and more recently in opposition to the deportation of undocumented immigrant workers.

The SWP has supported these manifestations. It encouraged and backed the candidates of the Raza Unida parties in local and state elections in the Southwest. Trotskyists viewed this practical step toward political action independent of the Democrats and Republicans as being worthy of emulation by Black organizations and the trade unions.

Thanks to these experiences, the SWP has deepened its understanding of the dynamics of class and national struggles unfolding on American soil. It has concluded that the coming American revolution will have a combined character. The democratic aspirations of the Blacks and other oppressed nationalities for equality and freedom from racial oppression will be intertwined with the movement of the working class as a whole to throw off capitalist domination. The one will reinforce the other. This concept is one of the most important contributions of the SWP to the theoretical understanding of the foundations of the coming American revolution.

Young Socialist Alliance

From its inception the YSA sought to establish itself on the campuses as the chief voice and organizer of socialist-minded students. The YSA's success was largely attributable to the role it played in the anti-Vietnam War movement, which was based upon student activists.

The SWP was the only working-class current to run against Johnson in the 1964 presidential campaign and warn against his warlike intentions in Indochina. The SWP and YSA threw their full force into the antiwar protests that mounted after Johnson began a full-scale air war, supplemented by massive troop landings in South Vietnam, in February 1965. This gave the party its first opening in many years to participate in extensive mass action on a nationwide scale.

The SWP consistently strove to build an antiwar coalition of diverse forces aimed at the mobilization of the largest body of protest around the issue of getting the United States out of Vietnam. Within the broad movement, party and YSA members fought—with considerable success—for adoption of the slogan of immediate, unconditional withdrawal from Vietnam. They combated tendencies that sought to derail the movement by orienting it to Democratic Party election campaigns.

The experience of working within the antiwar movement from 1964 on was an immensely educative one for young Trotskyist cadres.

The anticapitalist and antiwar positions of the SWP and YSA; their fight for democratic rights in the workers states; for independent Black and labor political action, and for revolutionary socialism have earned wide esteem in radical circles.

Rival tendencies did not benefit as much during this period—largely because of their class-collaborationist or sectarian politics, which rendered them unable to adjust their policies to the necessities of the antiwar and Black movements.

The Trotskyists made gains because they responded favorably to militant, independent struggles, recognized the requirements of these movements, and worked out a correct and consistent attitude toward them.

U.S. imperialism suffered its first defeat in a war as a result of the tenacious resistance of the Vietnamese, Laotian, and Cambodian peoples and the massive opposition at home to its criminal and bloody intervention in Southeast Asia. With the end of the Indochina war, the SWP continued and deepened its participation in all other movements of social protest.

The Seventies and the Prospects for Socialism

It was among the first to recognize the importance of the resurgence of feminism at the close of the sixties. And it has published more literature on the problems of women's liberation than any other working-class tendency. SWP members have been in the forefront of struggles to win abortion rights, the Equal Rights Amendment, and affirmative action, and to direct the attention of women's rights organizations to the needs of working women and women of the oppressed nationalities. The SWP has likewise been a firm supporter of the movement to achieve democratic rights for gays.

Unstinting support to women's and gay rights has given the SWP added advantages over its reformist opponents, the Stalinists and Social Democrats, who have reacted with fear, hostility, and incomprehension to these struggles.

Following Watergate, the SWP undertook a bold and unprecedented step for a small, revolutionary party. In 1973 it instituted a \$27 million lawsuit against the government, demanding an end to its forty-year harassment of the SWP. This action has succeeded in documenting Nixon's Cointelpro program and securing proofs of such illegal operations as break-ins at party headquarters, stealing records, wire-tapping, mail openings, and interference in individuals' private lives.

The thousands of documents pried out of FBI files have disclosed damaging information withheld even from congressional investigators. The campaign around this landmark civil liberties suit, which has been publicized from coast to coast for five years, has become the main challenge to the methods of disruption practiced by the FBI, CIA, and other government agencies to stifle dissent.

Since the ending of the long postwar capitalist boom and the recession of 1974-75, the labor movement, the oppressed nationalities, and women have been compelled to cope with the offensive launched by the ruling class to roll back our gains and reduce our living standards. Whatever defensive struggles have broken out—such as the fight to defend busing in Boston—SWP members have participated in them to the best of their ability.

The long-term decline of U.S. imperialism and the ruling-class offensive, aimed at recouping some of its lost positions, has sparked the beginnings of a new period of labor radicalization. This has opened new possibilities for the SWP to take strides toward its historic goal—building a party of revolutionary workers capable of leading all struggles against oppression toward the socialist revolution.

The composition of the party is changing. More of its members are employed in and recruited from basic industry. This is imperative to promote its aim of building a class-struggle left wing in the labor movement. Such a force can give leadership to the militants who want to transform their unions into organizations controlled by the ranks and acting in their interests. All steps in this direction, such as the Steelworkers Fight Back election campaign in 1977 and the miners' strike, have had the enthusiastic support of SWP militants.

The stress on the importance of the organized labor movement is hardly a new one for the Trotskyists. It is part of the historic proletarian orientation of the Leninist-Trotskyist movement. What is new today is that the thinking and outlook of the U.S. working class as a whole is changing, making possible further strides in applying that orientation within the unions.

* * *

Three times our party has had to endure isolation and fight for its survival: from 1929 to 1933; in the first years of the Second World War; and during the cold war. It successfully wea-

thered these periods of extreme adversity, despite defections.

The variable development of the Trotskyist movement in the United States was not caused by the occasional misjudgments of the leadership on national or international questions. These errors were overcome through further experience and corrected upon collective reconsideration. The rate of growth was fundamentally regulated by the enviroing conditions. When these were adverse, the party was pushed back. As the tide turned, it picked up momentum and surged forward again. The necessity of periodically readjusting to the ebb and flow of the class struggle taught our central cadres the value of objectivity. They learned not to give way to impressionism and impatience but to view their vocation in a long-term perspective. If Rome

wasn't built in a day, the forces to combat the mightiest of imperialisms on its home ground could hardly be assembled in a year or a decade.

A revolutionary party that has set itself the goal of combating U.S. imperialism must always be prepared to parry the blows of reaction. But that is not the situation today. From all signs, this country is entering a phase of working-class revival with highly promising conditions for the growing influence of its vanguard.

All the developments we have outlined have paved the way for outstripping other tendencies within American radicalism. Since the latter part of the sixties, the relationship of forces in the radical movement has continued to shift in our favor. Today in some regions the SWP is stronger than the CP, and in some places it is the only active, organized radical group. It has

begun to attract convergent political currents, as its recent merger with the Revolutionary Marxist Committee testifies.

That is why, on this fortieth anniversary of the SWP's founding, our forces face the future with assurance. The party consciously carries forward the best traditions of America's revolutionary past embodied in such figures as Sam Adams and Tom Paine, Frederick Douglass, Sojourner Truth and Nat Turner, Wendell Phillips and John Brown, Albert Parsons, Mother Jones, Eugene Debs, and "Big Bill" Haywood. It is determined to become the kind of multinational Marxist workers party that can lead the masses of America to victory over the capitalist rulers and to socialism in association with the other liberated peoples on this planet.

...Black Americans

Continued from page ISR/4

cant numbers. They belonged to unions like District 1199 of the Hospital Workers and others with large Black memberships.

But this didn't prevent the Black misleaders from trying to block the road to mass antiwar action by Blacks. When Nixon mined Haiphong Harbor in May 1972, Black students at Washington's Eastern High School walked out of class. They marched and held rallies against the war. The students asked the predominantly Black school board, presided over by former civil rights activist Marion Barry, to call assemblies in all schools to discuss the war on May 19, Malcolm X's birthday. Barry flatly refused.

Later Barry, Walter Fauntroy, and sixty-two other Democratic Party stalwarts issued a statement, full of militant and nationalist phrases, denouncing Women's Strike for Peace as racist and demanding that it call off a protest it had planned at the Capitol against Nixon's policies. Among the charges leveled against the antiwar movement by these Black Democrats was failing to offer "substantial backing of Black political candidates."

In their list of priorities, these leaders put the preservation of a Democratic Party monopoly in the Black community and favors they hoped to receive from it above the need to end the war.

The fact that there was never a truly gigantic outpouring of the Black community against the war, despite the sentiment that existed for such action, is a measure of the death grip that the Democratic Party has on the Black community.

In my opinion, however, if the ruling class had pursued the war on the level that it was doing in 1971 and 1972 for very much longer, there would have been such an outpouring, not only of the Black community but of the trade-union movement and many others. In those days—particularly at such times as the mining of Haiphong harbor—we began to see the big battalions of the working people stirring into action.

The ruling class decided to back off before that happened.

Black Struggle Today

I want to conclude by looking at what is happening today, because a new struggle is emerging that poses some of the same issues as the struggle against the Vietnam War.

The U.S. is propping up racist regimes in southern Africa, and there is a growing danger of U.S. military intervention against the African liberation struggles.

Even before it reaches the point of a hot war as far as U.S. forces are concerned, we are seeing growing protests and demands for an end to all U.S. intervention. If there had been such a movement in the early 1960s, for example, the imperialists would have found it much more difficult to smash the Congolese liberation movement and murder Patrice Lumumba.

There are some ways in which the Black movement is better situated to act effectively in defense of Africa than it was in Vietnam. The feeling of solidarity among Black people with the antiracist struggle in southern Africa is deep.

It's going to be pretty hard for anyone to sell Blacks the idea that racism in South Africa or Zimbabwe is a "white issue." No, it's clearly a gut issue for the Black community. It not only deals with the issue of freedom for Blacks in Africa, but poses the question of racist institutions in the United States.

One indication of this depth of feeling is the fact that the NAACP, which abstained from the fight against the war in Vietnam, organized an anti-apartheid demonstration last March in Nashville. Five thousand people participated even though the NAACP leadership didn't throw all its resources into building the action.

The movement against U.S. support to the white racists in southern Africa is beginning at a time of reawakening in the Black struggle.

A lot of thought is going on about the lessons of the last two decades of struggle. The new deepening of Black nationalist ideas and the radicalization taking place in the trade unions is bringing a new layer of potential Black leaders into action.

What's going on in Africa is the top international issue in the Black community today. We are recognizing more and more that the Black liberation struggle is indeed international. Our enemy in the United States is the same enemy in South Africa, Namibia, and Zimbabwe.

And this movement is beginning when there are many more Black revolutionary socialists than at the time of the anti-Vietnam War movement.

Our task is to do our utmost to forge a united front in the Black community, as well as the allies of the Black struggle, in the streets, in massive demonstrations against U.S. intervention in Africa. This is the job that confronts us in the struggle for national liberation and self-determination.

FRED HALSTEAD'S OUT NOW!

A Participant's Account of the
American Movement Against
the Vietnam War



• A vivid and valuable account of a mass popular movement that had a tremendous impact on modern history . . . an important contribution.

Noam Chomsky

• *Out Now!* is an exceptionally well-researched and interesting book.

Sidney Lens

• *Out Now!* brings back vividly the whole story of the struggle to end the Vietnam War. It is told by one of the key organizers who knew personally all the others, and he pulls no punches.

Dr. Benjamin Spock

A Monad Press book, 759 pages, \$8.95 (include \$.75 for postage). Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, New York 10014.

...gay liberation

Continued from page ISR/12

statement of support to gay rights.

Last summer, members of the CP on the National Preparatory Committee organizing the U.S. delegation to the World Youth Festival in Cuba succeeded in having feminist singer Holly Near barred from the festival.

By a vote of twenty-eight to three, the committee denied Near a seat on the delegation, citing her lesbianism as the reason.

The CPUSA's attitude and the Soviet Union's

current antigay laws do not represent the Marxist approach to this question.

When the Bolshevik revolution swept away tsarism in 1917, it moved quickly to abolish legal inequalities and persecution. In December 1917 the new regime did away with all laws against homosexuality. It was not until March 1934 that Soviet law again outlawed homosexuality, making it a "social crime" that could result in a three-to-eight-year prison sentence.

The outlawing of homosexuality went along with the reinstituted oppression of national minorities and steps away from women's emancipa-

tion. These moves occurred when a privileged and reactionary bureaucracy took control of the government.

The CP continues to sneer at homosexuality and give only the most grudging defense to human rights against the Anita Bryants and John Briggses of this country.

The reason is that support for full human rights for gays and lesbians in this country would be too great a contradiction with the Soviet bureaucracy's current practices. Human rights for all is too great a challenge for a bureaucracy to tolerate.

Until the mid-1930s, a large section of the working class opposed voting for capitalist parties. By the tens of thousands, they voted for the Communist Party, the Socialist Party, or some other working-class current. The dramatic rise of industrial unionism and the formation of the CIO raised the possibility of building a mass working-class alternative based on the unions, a labor party.

But a cynical, class-collaborationist union bureaucracy managed to divert the labor movement from this road and channel it into

The Lesser Evil? The Left Debates the Democratic Party and Social Change

By Michael Harrington, Peter Camejo, and others.
New York. Pathfinder Press. 1977. 128 pp.

the morass of the capitalist two-party system.

"Why do workers need a party of their own when they could be part of a powerful, progressive coalition—the Democratic Party?" argued the union tops.

What is the Democratic Party? Is it practical to support liberal capitalist politicians? Can the Democratic Party be "used" or reformed in such a way to serve the interests of the working class?

These questions are debated in three exchanges, spanning a seventeen-year period, in *The Lesser Evil?*

The debate format makes the book very readable. It is a timely contribution to the discussion that's opening up on the job and in the unions about the political road for organized labor.

This discussion has a central place on labor's agenda today, because the ruling class has been successful in using its control of both parties to cut deeply into the

Pathfinder's November Discount Choice

'The Lesser Evil?' Contribution to a Growing Debate

rights and living standards of workers. As a result, some top union officials have had to admit that their policy of backing Democratic hacks who claim to be friends of labor is meeting with abysmal failure.

The most recent of the three debates in *The Lesser Evil?* was held on the eve of the 1976 presidential election. The participants were then-Socialist Workers Party presidential candidate Peter Camejo and Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee leader Michael Harrington.

The policy of supporting the "lesser evil" in elections is thrashed out in all three debates, but it is most developed in the Camejo-Harrington confrontation.

The proponents of supporting capitalist candidates often grant that these candidates are a pretty sorry lot. Thus Harrington remarked, "If Carter wins, he will do some horrendous things—I guarantee it." But, the argument went, we can expect worse from Gerald Ford.

Harrington, like the union bureaucrats, figured that Ford would block pro-union legislation while Carter would not. So "socialists" such as Harrington and the union officialdom placed labor's votes in Carter's pocket. Now, two years later, these officials are forced to admit that something's gone awry.

AFL-CIO President George Meany and United Auto Workers President Douglas Fraser have accused the employers of launching "class warfare," and they charge the Carter administration with helping the bosses press their offensive. "Whatever happened to our partnership, our coalition?" they complain.

The response of Fraser was to hold a national meeting at the end of October to form a coalition with

the aim of "transforming the Democratic Party into a genuinely progressive people's party." He wants to reinvigorate the old labor-Black-liberal Democratic coalition as a means of pressuring Carter for some concessions.

Jack Barnes, explaining the revolutionary socialist position in a 1965 debate with Stanley Aronowitz published in *The Lesser Evil?*, explained the nature of this coalition:

"What we are really talking about when we use the phrase American labor-Negro-liberal coalition is a coalition between the owners of American industry and finance and, on the one hand, the professional ward-healers and politicians who keep the party machinery oiled, and, on the other hand, the various trade union bureaucrats and leaders of protest movements in American society, whose job is to bring out the ranks of the coalition at voting time to guarantee the continuance of the rule of this party as opposed to the Republican Party."

Barnes goes on to say, "Who really needs this coalition? If you stop to think about it for a moment, it is crystal clear that the small

minority who manage their rule through this coalition—the American capitalist class—are the ones who need the coalition."

The Lesser Evil? also features a 1959 debate between SWP representative George Breitman and the late Carl Haessler, who sympathized with the views of the Communist Party. Haessler argued for the "practicality of organized political action by taking over an already established party [the Democrats], instead of going through the agony of trying to set up one of your own."

Breitman answered, "The union leaders not only have become dependent on the Democratic Party, they have become its captives. . . . Labor's support of the Democrats is wrong in all respects—from the standpoint of principle, from the pragmatic standpoint of results."

The Lesser Evil? shows that socialists understood from the start that the labor bureaucrats' strategy had led the movement into a blind alley and that socialists have realistic proposals for another course. Union activists should read the book, think about it, and make it available to co-workers.

—Barbara Mutnick

25% Discount Offer

The Lesser Evil? is available at a special discount price of \$1.30. The regular price is \$1.75. Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, New York 10014. Send check or money order, or return this coupon to one of the socialist bookstores listed on page 31. Offer expires December 31, 1978.

Name _____

Address _____

City, State & Zip _____

The Communist Party and Gay Liberation: A Comment

By Diane Wang

Mary-Alice Waters's article about the American Communist Party in last month's *ISR* described how and why the CPUSA has betrayed the labor movements, Blacks, and women.

Another stain on the Stalinists' record has been their opposition to human rights for gays and lesbians.

In 1971 Carmen Ristorucci summed up the CP's attitude, writing in *Political Affairs* magazine that homosexuality is "a product of decaying capitalism which confuses and corrupts the minds of people."

The CPUSA was, of course, mimicking its mentors in the Soviet Union. The 1971 Great Society Encyclopedia also described homosexuality as "a sexual perversion" punishable under law.

During the 1976 presidential election, the CP's vice-presidential candidate, Jarvis Tyner, was interviewed by the Boston weekly *Gay Community News*. He explained the CP's stand on gay rights legislation: "The Party does not believe

that it is right to politicize people's sexuality, so I don't think we would support such a bill."

The ultrarightist thrust of Anita Bryant's antigay crusade, which has focused its attacks on the kind of gay rights legislation Tyner opposed, placed the CP in an embarrassing position. To avoid seeming aligned with Bryant on the issue, the CP downplayed its "homosexuality is a perversion" theme, insisting instead that "homosexuality is a diversion."

Last May the magazine supplement to the CP's *Daily World* carried a commentary by Francis Henry Touchet in its "Ask an Expert" column. Touchet, psychotherapist and vestryman at a New York church, was asked about the current state of churches.

He explained that the "main-line white churches . . . are beset with the diversion of women-priests, gay rights and Biblical interpretation.

"In the face of social and moral collapse, conservative forces are growing," Touchet continued. "Liberal groups play host to parasitic post-graduate SDS 'Marxists,' women's liberationists, gay activists and cultural entrepreneurs. . . . Many laypeople and clergy are disturbed with these futile forms of disguised despair."

Waters's article told what trouble the Equal Rights Amendment has been for the CPUSA. Opposing the ERA, the Stalinists found them-

selves lined up alongside Phyllis Schlafly and her ilk against women and the labor movement. The CP was forced to hedge.

A similar process has been going on in California around Proposition 6, the Briggs initiative that would drive gay rights advocates out of the state school system.

In California, prominent CP leader Angela Davis has publicly opposed Proposition 6, saying, "What began with the antibusing hysteria in Boston moved rapidly in the direction of the Bakke decision, the anti-ERA drive, the anti-abortion rights campaign and the vicious assaults led by Briggs in this state . . . on the rights of gay people.

"Since we are all in this together, since we are all confronting, in one way or another, wealthy financial interests and reactionary politicians, it seems we should resolve to fight back together."

Davis's support for gay rights is a welcome change in CP policy.

The CP has not completely changed, however. In the CP's west coast paper, the *People's World*, Mark Allen explains that "Briggs has mobilized a hysterical campaign around what evidence indicates is a non-issue."

Allen's article quotes labor leaders opposed to Proposition 6. So far, so good. But even while opposing Briggs, Allen and the CP evade a clear

Continued on page 11

Diane Wang, a staff writer for the *Militant*, is co-author of the pamphlets *Gay Liberation Today* and *FBI Vs. Women*, both published by Pathfinder.

SWP candidate told 'no campaigning on job'

By David Salner

SAN ANTONIO—To many transit workers, the bus garage is by necessity a second home, where we kill time between show-ups.

On October 3, while I was on one of these breaks in the San Antonio-area Metropolitan Transit Authority bus garage, I handed a socialist campaign leaflet to another bus driver and was about to talk to him about some of the Socialist Workers Party campaign proposals.

This particular discussion never took place. The MTA chief station foreman called me into his office to tell me that the front office would not allow me to pass out any more campaign leaflets.

A few days later, a campaign worker and I went over to the front office and talked to the MTA general manager and an assistant general manager.

They told us that I could only campaign on a specified day prior to the election, "the same as any other candidate."

But I am not "any other candidate." Like other bus drivers, I am compelled to spend time in the bus garage off the clock.

When the transit system is not paying us, they have no right to interfere with our discussions, which may include exchanging literature.

David Salner is the Socialist Workers Party candidate for San Antonio City Council in the Ninth District.

And they have no right to examine our literature in order to put their stamp of approval on it. Management cannot supervise our ideas.

What is behind this attempt to restrict free speech in the MTA bus garage? Management knows that I am a socialist and that my party has spoken out strongly against the abusive working conditions that transit employees and other San Antonio workers face every day on the job.

Supporters of my campaign are planning a fight to win back free speech rights in the bus garage. The San Antonio branch of the American Civil Liberties Union has agreed to back this effort.

Why are they afraid to let drivers read a campaign leaflet? Decide for yourself. Here's part of the text:

"Our unions have flushed millions of our hard-earned dollars down the drain of the Democratic Party.

"The Democratic Party supports 'right to work' laws and laws against collective bargaining for public employees. Jimmy Carter, elected with labor support, opposed the miners' strike, postal workers' wage increases, and has betrayed his campaign promises to provide national health insurance, raise the minimum wage, and pass the Equal Rights Amendment.

"We need a labor party, based on our unions, to mobilize support for our strikes and organizing drives. We need a labor party to educate the public about the need to defeat 'right to work' laws and cutbacks.

Flint takes campaign to W. Va. coalfields

MORGANTOWN, W. Va.—Rosalinda Flint, Socialist Workers candidate for U.S. Senate, recently completed a campaign swing through the cities and mining communities of southern West Virginia.

Flint campaigned at mine portals and factory gates, addressed campus meetings, was interviewed by the Charleston press, and met with campaign supporters.

Many workers nodded in agreement as Flint charged that the Democrats and Republicans turn a deaf ear to the needs of working people.

While on her tour, Flint sought to testify at hearings conducted by the president's Commission on Coal, but was turned down. The commission was set up by Carter after the 110-day coal strike to investigate "problems" in the coalfields.

The commission members include Gov. John D. Rockefeller IV; Dewey Presley, on the board of directors of Continental Oil, which owns Consolidation Coal Company; and a retired U.S. Steel executive. They say the "problem" is that miners are resisting the coal companies' speedup schemes.

"In her two-week sweep through the West Virginia southern coalfields," wrote the *Charleston Gazette-Mail* October 22, "[Flint] says that many miners have been receptive to her charges that miners' safety is being traded for increased productivity.

"'Miners' rights and safety should be more important than money,' Ms. Flint says. Her message to factory workers is similar."

As her campaign continues, Flint will visit the mining communities of Beckley and Bluefield. She will visit the site of the Tug Fork River disaster, where residents who have been flooded out of their homes are fighting the coal companies and the government. They are demanding sites for new homes and a dam to protect the area from future floods, which are made ex-

tremely serious because of strip mining in the area. Flint will also attend the Kanawha Valley Central Labor Council reception for candidates.



ROSALINDA FLINT Militant/Martha Harris

Campaigning for socialism

No to the neutron bomb

President Carter's decision to build some elements of the neutron bomb was protested October 21 in St. Paul, Minnesota. SWP campaign supporters picketed Carter's speech to a Democratic Farmer Labor Party "victory rally." A separate picket by supporters of the Iranian Students Association protested U.S. support for the shah's brutal dictatorship.

Carter was in town to boost the U.S. Senate campaign of Bob Short, who beat incumbent Don Fraser in the Democratic primary. Short is



Picketing Carter in Minneapolis

Militant

considered by many DFL members to be more conservative than Fraser. All-out support for Short's campaign has threatened to split the party. Carter and Vice-president Walter Mondale have campaigned in Minnesota to try to heal the rift.

When the socialist pickets arrived, many of the DFL supporters already lined up to get into the auditorium cheered and clapped. Inside the meeting Carter was booed twice when he tried to introduce Short as "the next Senator from Minnesota."

Most DFL members who oppose Short are threatening to vote for his Republican opponent David Durenberger. But the ferment in the party is also shown by a "Viewpoint" column in the *Reader*, a widely circulated alternative newspaper. DFL activist Philip Moe, who wrote the article, called for a vote for Christine Frank. "The Socialist Workers party and Christine Frank, their candidate for the four-year Senate term," Moe reasoned, "take positions on major issues that we can support."

Open the debates—I

"We probably don't have too much in common with the views of Mark Zola, the Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor, but we do share with him the belief that he should have been allowed to participate in the debate between major party candidates Richard Thornburgh and Peter Flaherty to be aired on Channel 33 tonight." That's the way the Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, *Patriot* begins its editorial October 12.

The state capital daily points out that Zola "is a bona fide candidate for the state's highest office. As such, his position on the issues facing the state ought to be represented in what is billed as a non-partisan debate by the candidates for governor."

The paper goes on to point out that "aiding and abetting the two major parties in maintaining their preeminent position in the hearts and minds of the electorate may be perfectly legal, since it is, after all, the Democrats and the Republicans who make the laws, but it strikes us as alien to the American tradition in which there are no government-established political parties and every shade of opinion is tolerated. And as a practical matter, the debates could well benefit from an infusion of spirit and novelty to offset the blandness and repetition of the same few issues that have marked the campaign of the major party rivals to date."

Open the debates—II

Exclusion of SWP congressional candidate Bill Hoyle from a televised debate has become a major issue on the Salt Lake City campus of the University of Utah. KUED-TV, the city's "Public" Broadcasting System outlet, scheduled a program with Ed Firmage and Dan Marriot, Hoyle's Democratic and Republican opponents. Hoyle asked to be included.

But KUED and the debate's cosponsor, the Associated Students, refused. A.S. Public Relations Director Pat Butcher said, "We're paying for this, we don't have to give equal time to these obscure parties."

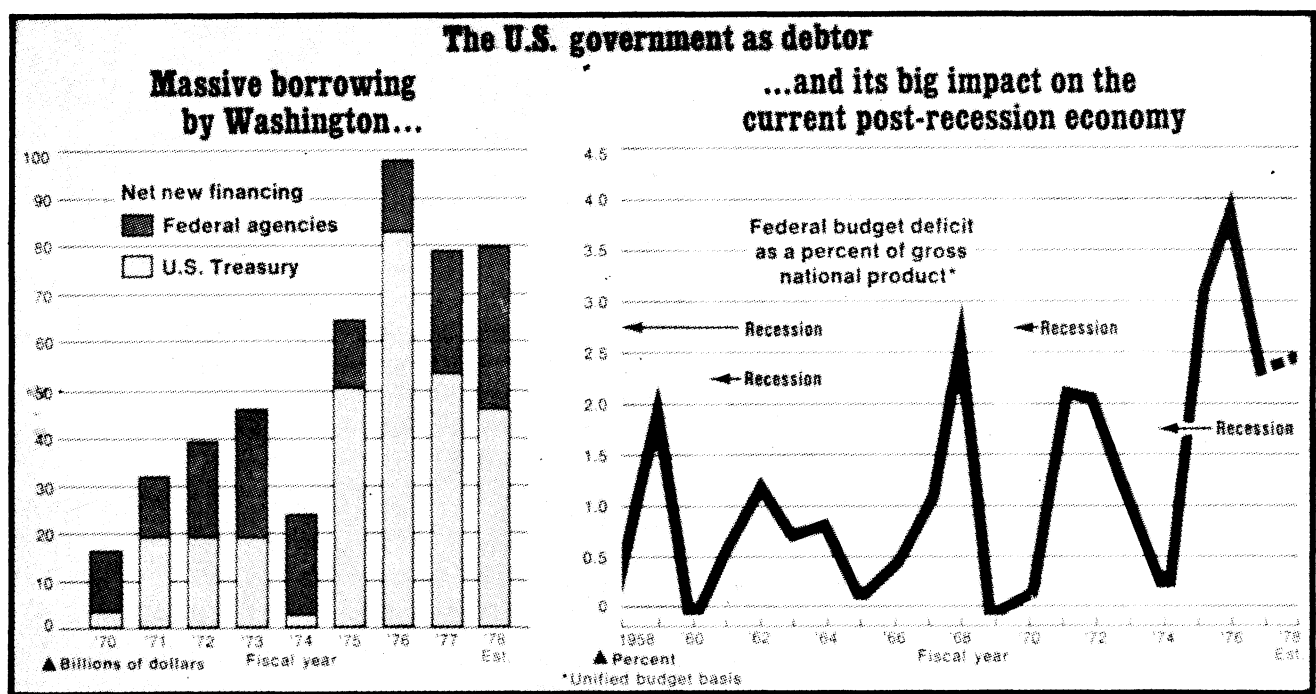
A letter of protest from professors at the university sparked a debate in the letters column and the controversy became front-page news in the campus daily.

During the discussion period at the debate, Hoyle asked his opponents if they thought he should be part of the program. Both candidates said yes, but moderator Jeff Morrow, refused, to a chorus of boos from the audience.

The sponsors have claimed they met equal-time requirements by having "minor party candidates" on an earlier show without a studio audience. Such an approach, Hoyle said, "turns fairness upside down."

Many Utah students seem to agree with him. A Young Socialist Alliance table on campus the next day received an excellent response and thirty copies of the *Young Socialist* newspaper were sold.

—Bob Schwarz



Washington's multi-billion-dollar war budget—financed by expansion of credit—is main engine of inflation

INFLATION

Who's at fault?

By Dick Roberts

President Carter's main pitch in his inflation speech October 24 was that everybody is responsible for inflation. He said that in the past decade Americans have developed "attitudes and habits" that keep prices rising.

Once inflation is going, he said, wages and prices "chase each other up and up."

"It is like a crowd standing at a football stadium," Carter said. "No one can see any better than when everyone is sitting down—but no one is willing to be the first to sit down."

But it depends on what's happening on the field whether people stand up or sit down. If Joe Namath has just gotten off a seventy-yard pass no one is going to sit down until they know whether it is complete.

In America today it is not the people in the stands, not working people, who are responsible for what is happening out in the field of capitalist finance.

The inflation is caused by deepgoing problems of the capitalist system. These are in no way under the control of working people.

Postwar boom & crisis

The inflation that has increasingly gripped American and world capitalism in the 1970s results fundamentally from the end of the prolonged period of overall capitalist expansion that followed World War II.

Building on the ashes of the war and utilizing computer and chemical technology developed in the war, industry expanded. More and more workers were hired. Wages increased. In America many working-class families could afford to buy houses and cars and send their sons and daughters to college.

But capitalism cannot expand indefinitely—either in one country or in the capitalist world as a whole—without leading to crisis.

As each industry manufactures and sells more goods, markets inevitably become saturated. There aren't enough customers. Industry slows down production. Workers are fired. In turn their purchasing power declines, all the more undercutting sales. The economy slumps into recession.

In the postwar period recessions occurred regularly in the United States, but both Europe and Japan expanded almost uninterrupted into the middle 1960s. This expansion abroad provided a "safety valve" for the U.S. economy. Even though goods couldn't be sold here, they could be exported abroad.

The crisis developed on a world scale when the long postwar booms in Europe and Japan ultimately crested. Recessions reappeared abroad. Now all major capitalist powers have to find foreign outlets for goods and capital.

Each is threatened with overproduction. But their attempt to resolve their own problems exacerbates

the problems of the next country. The end result is a tendency toward simultaneous world downturns as occurred in 1974-75.

Inflation

Inflation is a direct consequence of the overproduction crisis of world capitalism.

The 1930s taught the capitalist rulers that they cannot afford to let a world downturn reach its "natural" limits. These were drastic price slashes, the imposition of massive tariff and quota barriers against world trade, chain-reaction bankruptcies around the globe, and the growth of unemployment everywhere by leaps and bounds.

These crisis conditions prompted a working-class response. By the mid-1930s socialist revolution was on the agenda in such major European countries as Spain and France. There was a massive labor upsurge in the United States.

Since that time the capitalist governments have resorted to inflationary deficit spending to partially offset cyclical downturns.

The government spends more money than it takes in in taxes. This deficit is financed by the creation of new money by the central bank—in this country the Federal Reserve Board. As Washington borrows money to finance its deficit, the Federal Reserve pours new money into the banking system.

The end result is that even when companies have overproduced and find that they can't sell goods, instead of lowering prices to get rid of their inventories, they tend to raise prices. They try to make up for slack sales with higher prices. Government deficit spending and monopoly pricing consequently dovetail to unleash inflation, even when production is declining.

Credit explosion

The process was already well underway by the end of the 1960s. U.S. deficit spending to finance the Vietnam War helped to extend the upturn well beyond the normal limits of a capitalist business cycle. But it did so only at the expense of intensified inflation.

In fact, the real wages of American workers—the real purchasing power of our dollars after inflation is taken into account—have pretty much been frozen since the escalation of the Vietnam War in 1965.

With the onset of international depression in 1974-75, however, deficit spending took on immense proportions.

"In 1974, as the economy was sliding into recession, the public debt of the U.S. government stood at \$474 billion," *Business Week* said October 16. "By the end of this year, with the recession three years gone, it will be nearly \$800 billion—more than one-third of the country's gross national product."

Washington has borrowed these immense amounts of money to finance its international military apparatus and to prop up the economy.

This deficit spending—not wage increases by workers—is the central cause of inflation.

In 1974 during the depression the gross average weekly earnings of American workers, measured in 1967 dollars, was \$104.57. (By measuring wages in terms of a fixed dollar the effect of inflation is taken into consideration.) In May 1978 the gross average weekly earnings, also measured in 1967 dollars, had grown to \$104.75. Four years of labor brought a whopping 18-cent increase in real purchasing power!

In his speech Carter did promise to limit the fiscal 1980 deficit to about \$30 billion.

That deficit, even though it is half the originally projected \$60 billion for fiscal 1978, is still huge. It is higher than any of the deficits during the Vietnam War and was only topped before the 1970s during World War II. It is a *guarantee of continuing inflation*, regardless of Carter's promises.

But should workers demand that the federal government stop deficit spending? The trap of California's Proposition 13 should be a warning of the consequences of this approach when implemented by the capitalist state.

When California's tax income was slashed the first people fired were those who needed jobs most and who were most needed by the communities. It is and will be no different with budget slashes in Washington.

The Carter administration has already slashed health, medical, and jobs programs, while steeply increasing military expenditures.

Further, is it actually to workers' benefit that the government *deflate* the economy? Right-wingers can sound off all they want about balanced budgets and fiscal conservatism. The truth is that if Washington did not deficit spend the economy would end up right back in the devastating blight of the Great Depression, or worse.

The inflation-deflation dilemma, in other words, is built into the capitalist system. It's a no-win game.

Military spending

Socialists believe that the only solution to these pressing problems is to abolish the monopoly profit system, to end national and international competition, and to put the regulation of world agricultural and industrial production under a plan worked out for the benefit of working people.

We do not pretend that there is any solution to capitalist contradictions short of this. The 1974-75 depression was only a prelude of a much worse economic and social crisis that could follow.

Meanwhile, however, working people can attack the problem of capitalist inflation along two main lines—both of which will advance the struggle to end capitalism.

We must never cease to point out that the overwhelming government expenditure is on military forces and arms.

The U.S. armed forces, secret intelligence forces, and global nuclear arsenals have no other purpose than to defend and extend the global rule of U.S. capitalism. They should be abolished.

Military expenditures should be slashed to zero. The huge funds that are released should be used to build the houses, hospitals, urban mass transportation, parks, and playgrounds that this country needs.

Such a mass public works program would provide tens of thousands of jobs.

Escalator clause

At the same time, however, working people must fight to gain protection against inflation. The cost-of-living escalator clause in union contracts, which automatically raises wages as prices increase, is the best way to defend our paychecks against inflation.

Since the Consumer Price Index is rigged by the capitalist government to understate the real impact of inflation, consumer price committees are needed to follow actual price increases in the gas stations, supermarkets, and shopping centers.

Moreover, cost-of-living clauses should cover not only wages but also Social Security pensions for the aged, unemployment programs for the jobless, and social welfare programs for the needy.

To this the capitalists scream bloody murder. You begin to think that there is nothing more sacred in this world than their right to raise prices and their insistence we should not have the right to protect ourselves against their price increases.

"Escalator clauses are inflationary," they shout.

They should also take a closer look at the ball game. We are confronted with a deepgoing world capitalist crisis. It has thrown us into one international recession already. It has eliminated millions of jobs on the world scale. And it has unleashed rampant inflation.

"Down in front!" we might respond. "We want to protect our wages against your system and that is our right!"

Safeway striker appeals for solidarity

By Shelley Kramer

Jim Watzek is a driver for Safeway markets in Richmond, California. He is a shop steward and member of the rank-and-file negotiating committee of Teamsters Local 315.

For more than four months he has been fighting one of the most grueling strikes in recent West Coast history.

Safeway and its allies in the Food Employers Council have hit Local 315 and eight other striking Teamster locals with a union-busting assault reminiscent of the violent labor battles of the 1930s. But Watzek and many other young strikers have been inspired by these early union struggles as well.

"The old union ideas have been kept alive in our nine striking locals," Watzek told the *Militant* in an interview at the Teamsters for a Democratic Union convention, held October 21-22 in Windsor, Ontario. "And we sure as hell aren't going to let those ideas be sacrificed now."

The Teamsters' strike began July 18

over a brutal speedup plan Safeway had instituted. But it soon escalated into a major test of forces in which the union's very survival is at stake.

Despite the fact that the international union officialdom's support for the strike has been lukewarm at best, the strikers have held firm. They have organized mass rallies and pickets and unanimously voted to turn down Safeway's last contract offer.

"The backbone of this strike is solidarity," Watzek explained. "From day one we worked to patch up differences between Safeway drivers and warehouse workers. Safeway tries to keep its workers divided—blaming the problems of one group of workers on the other. But now we're all out on the picket lines together and no one's going back until everyone wins."

We discussed what Teamsters, other unionists, and their allies can do to aid the strikers.

"Well, they can begin with the most basic gesture of union solidarity," Watzek said. "Whenever a unionist sees our picket lines they should come up and talk."

"You wouldn't believe how many negative comments you hear out there. It really makes a difference to hear something positive. It really raises morale. Workers should do this in any strike—I know I would."

Grocery workers who are not on strike can serve as the eyes and ears of strikers on the inside, Watzek explained. "They should get information on sales, pass it on to the media, and try to talk to customers. When the TV news reports empty store shelves, customers stay away, markets worry, and the strikers' spirits go up."

Customers, of course, can help by refusing to patronize the struck stores, Watzek added. The striking locals are seeking international sanction for a national strike and boycott against Safeway. Watzek, who was active in miners' strike support activities on the West Coast last winter, compared that solidarity movement to what the Teamsters need today.

"Any financial or food supply donations would be appreciated," said Watzek. "They can be sent to the offices of any of the striking locals."

Other suggestions that came up were also based on the experience of the miners' strike—union resolutions supporting the Safeway strikers and invitations to strikers to address meetings of unions and community organizations.

"We're in a head-on battle," Watzek concluded. "Not just here on the West Coast but between big business and unions across the country. Our first job is educational—we've got to win support for our side."

Messages and contributions can be sent to Teamsters Local 315, 2727 Alhambra Avenue, Suite 1, Martinez, California 94553.

Boston meeting: 'Lift shah's martial law'

By Lisa Potash

BOSTON—More than 300 people attended a meeting at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology on the new upsurge of the freedom struggle in Iran October 15.

The audience, which included nearly 100 Iranian students, heard a panel of speakers that included: MIT Prof. Joseph Weizenbaum, who was centrally responsible for the cancellation of a contract to train nuclear engineers between MIT and the Iranian government; Sharif Elmusa, a representative of the Committee of Palestinians in New England; Harvard University Noble Prize-winning biologist George Wald; and MIT Prof. Noam Chomsky, the well-known human rights activist.

Babak Zahraie, the editor of *Payam Daneshjoo*, and Parvin Najafi, a writer for the publication, also spoke.

Payam Daneshjoo is a Persian-language magazine published by Iranian student opponents of the shah's dictatorship.

A broad range of organizations and individuals endorsed the meeting. These included: the New England



Three hundred people heard Parvin Najafi (at podium) and other speakers on repression in Iran. Threats to disrupt protest meeting at MIT were defeated.

Chile Solidarity Committee; Mobilization for Survival; Unitarian Universalist Service Committee; Young Socialist Alliance; and John Roberts, executive director, Civil Liberties Union of Massachusetts.

The meeting—which took place without disruption—was called after a September 17 MIT campus forum sponsored by *Payam Daneshjoo* had been disrupted by four factions belonging to the Iranian Students Association.

The disrupters accused both *Payam Daneshjoo* and the Committee for Artistic and Intellectual Freedom in Iran of being agents of SAVAK, the Iranian secret police.

Prior to the October 15 meeting, two Maoist-oriented factions among the attackers issued a statement threatening "political and decisive struggle and even a forceful one" if supporters of *Payam Daneshjoo* or CAIFI "hold their meetings and make propaganda of their reactionary views one more time."

These slanderous and crude threats against free speech were repudiated in a statement signed by a broad range of organizations and individuals.

These included, in addition to many of the panelists at the October 15 meeting: poet Denise Levertov; MIT Prof. Salvador Luria; and Edward Texiera, chairman, Massachusetts Communist Party.

Such united opposition ultimately forced the ISA to dissociate itself from the threats made by two of its own factions in an October 12 statement printed in *Thursday Voodoo*, a campus newspaper.

...Iran

Continued from page 5

shah's byzantine regime stands the "Light of the Aryans" himself. Even the shah's most fervent well-wishers have had to admit that the light has been shining a bit dimly of late.

An October 31 editorial in the *Washington Post* complained that "the shah seems uncertain what to do. . . . Leadership, supposedly his long suit, is simply not coming through."

In his October 26 column, Kraft described the mood of the shah: "He shrugs his shoulders when asked what he thinks will happen next. He shakes his head when asked if his allies can help."

Now that the shah is running into trouble, the imperialists are bemoaning the corrupt and repressive character of his regime. But the truth is that corruption and repression are the only methods that imperialism can use to maintain its control in the countries that it exploits.

In fact, the shah came to power in the first place through a CIA-organized coup in 1953. For the past twenty-five years, he has been one of Washington's most important clients.

Fear of revolution

Having helped entrench a regime that outlawed even the mildest opposition and that gathered every strand of

power into the hands of a small, bureaucratic clique, the U.S. imperialists have been left without any credible alternative to the shah.

In the context of the revolutionary mobilization of the working class, the downfall of the shah could quickly threaten the survival of capitalism in Iran. This is especially true because the royal family and its hangers-on have established themselves as the wealthiest section of the Iranian ruling class through their control of the state apparatus.

Socialist ideas are receiving a broad hearing in Iran. At Tehran University, the majority of participants in student demonstrations October 25 rallied under the red flag of socialism rather than the green of Islam.

They called for "a revolutionary democratic republic of Iran, under the leadership of the working class," termination of economic and military treaties that keep Iran in bondage, and expulsion of all imperialist military advisers from Iran. Solidarity with the students was voiced by representatives from a number of factories.

For the U.S. ruling class, a social revolution in Iran would be a disaster. It would tear Iran's immense reserves of oil out of the grip of the imperialists; it would deprive them of a strategic military base on the Arab-Persian Gulf and the Soviet border; and it would be a radicalizing factor throughout the Middle East.

As the *Washington Post* declared in an October 31 editorial on the shah and the crisis in Iran, "the United States has no good choice but to help him see it through."

President Carter himself reiterated Washington's support for the shah, declaring October 31 that "our friendship and our alliance with Iran is one of our important bases on which our entire foreign policy depends."

With tens of thousands of U.S. advisers already in place in Iran, and in light of the stakes for the imperialists there, it is necessary to warn against the danger of a military adventure by Washington.

Constituent assembly

It is clear that Iran is at a turning point. The question of who will rule the country—the Iranian people or the Pahlavi dynasty—has been posed and is now being decided in the streets.

The Iranian Trotskyists, organized in the Sattar League, have raised the demand of a constituent assembly in which the elected representatives of the Iranian people would decide on the kind of government they want.

This demand is already being taken up by newspapers inside Iran. It strikes at the heart of the shah's dictatorship and opens the way for the further development of the Iranian revolution.

The Trotskyist program, with its call for a constituent assembly and for the

formation of a workers and farmers government to begin the construction of a socialist Iran, is in accord with the most basic interests of the Iranian people. The depth of the mass mobilization now shaking Iran means that a revolutionary socialist party can grow with explosive rapidity.

Even if the shah manages to survive the current upsurge, the days of October 1978 will go down in Iranian history as the beginning of the end for the Pahlavi dynasty.

Committee for Artistic and Intellectual Freedom in Iran

... is a civil liberties organization publicizing the cases of victimized Iranian artists, intellectuals, and political prisoners.

853 Broadway, suite 414
New York, New York 10003

☐ Enclosed is my contribution of \$ _____

Name _____

Address _____

City/State/Zip _____

Are there antimonopoly capitalist politicians? CP answers yes, but SWP says no

By Steve Clark

(Second of three articles)

How does the Communist Party attempt to square its support for Democrats with its rhetoric about "the need for a new political course—out of the two-party, big business trap"?

The CP isn't stymied by this question. It's been called on to answer it before. And it has a ready answer:

"How can a third political party be created without the workers and progressive forces now in existing parties?"

The quotation is from a July 26 article by *Daily World* writer Paul Klausen.

On the surface, Klausen makes a telling point. Tens of millions of working people vote for the Democrats and Republicans today. Any political break from those two big-business parties must strive to win the allegiance of those workers.

But Klausen is begging the question.

The question is, how will a political break with the big-business parties ever be accomplished if those who call themselves socialists help con workers into staying in those parties?

Not for labor party

The CP has a ready answer to that question too—but not for public consumption.

The answer is that the CP is *not really interested* in such a break. Not wanting to put it so boldly, however, the CP clouds the issue by talking about an eventual third "antimonopoly people's party."

Working inside the Democratic Party, the CP argues, is a "tactic" to bring about such a third party.

That, for example, is how Bill Whitney explained the CP's support to Black Democrat Ernest Morial in the 1977 race for mayor of New Orleans. Writing in the January 1978 *Political Affairs*, a CP monthly, Whitney saw in Morial's victory the "sprouts" of a "broad, independent anti-monopoly coalition—a coalition based on the unity of all of the working people of New Orleans. . . ."

Whitney chided "petty-bourgeois leftists, such as the Trotskyite Socialist Workers Party" for running an independent campaign against Democrat Morial.

A similar point was made by *Daily World* writer Paul Klausen in the article cited above. Klausen charged that the SWP's refusal to support "progressive" Democratic Party politicians is "sectarian."

"To fence oneself off from all those who do not fully agree with you is suicidal," Klausen said.

And, "To write off all members of

bourgeois political parties, as the SWP does, is infantile."

All this is deliberate distortion. The SWP does not "write off" all those who vote for Democrats and Republicans. Socialists run election campaigns, publish the *Militant*, and carry out other activities to convince working people that *they*, not big business and its parties, should run the government.

Klausen pulls out this red herring to cover up what is really involved. That is the CP's refusal to break from the politicians who keep their wallets full by suckering workers into remaining in the bosses' parties.

It is reliance on these parties that is "suicidal" for working people. And it is not "sectarian" for socialists to tell workers that. It is simply honest politics.

Keep the puddle muddy

The CP's talk about a third "antimonopoly" party—sometime in the future—is designed to obscure all this by holding workers inside the existing capitalist political framework, while paying lip-service to political independence.

The CP's unflagging devotion to Dennis Kucinich, Cleveland's Democratic Party mayor, is a good indication of what it has in mind when it talks about "antimonopoly" politics.

The man the *Daily World* calls the "antimonopoly mayor of Cleveland" was almost recalled in an August 13 election. Kucinich squeaked by with a few hundred votes.

The anti-Kucinich Recall Committee to Save Cleveland was made up of both Democrats and Republicans, and was endorsed by the Cleveland AFL-CIO.

On the other side, lined up behind Kucinich, were many Democratic Party liberals, the United Auto Workers . . . and the CP.

Here is how the *Daily World* assessed these events in an August 5 article headlined: "Reactionary forces press drive for Kucinich recall":

"Disgust and disaffection with the two major party machines is so widespread that some observers believe the recall drive could provide the spark to ignite a surge towards a new independent political formation to carry forward the antimonopoly policies begun by the Kucinich administration," the CP daily asserted.

"They point out that the combined forces around Kucinich, plus the UAW which is the largest union in Cleveland, plus a number of independent-minded councilmen, Democratic committee-members and other independent progressives could pull it off and become the major political force in the city in a relatively short time."



Communist Party says campaign against recall of Cleveland Mayor Dennis Kucinich (above) was model of independent 'antimonopoly' coalition.

There you have it. An "independent, antimonopoly coalition" made up of whom? "Independent-minded councilmen and Democratic committee-members"—with some union bureaucrats assigned to try to round up workers' votes.

And organized around what? Backing the incumbent capitalist politician.

Real alternative

The Cleveland Socialist Workers Party, in contrast, backed the recall. They saw it as a chance to educate around the need for a working-class political alternative to the Democratic and Republican parties.

The SWP denied that Kucinich was a "people's" candidate. Some 40 percent of the people in Cleveland are Black, for example. Yet the mayor opposes what he calls "forced busing" to achieve quality, desegregated education.

And Kucinich never publicly repudiated the racist methods his supporters used to fight recall on Cleveland's largely white West Side. A pro-Kucinich scare campaign was conducted there, warning that the Black city council president would become interim mayor if the recall were passed.

Despite Kucinich's publicized vetoes of tax abatement proposals for several major corporations, he has done nothing about the big tax giveaways that were instituted prior to his election. And Cleveland banks continue to rake in exorbitant interest payments on municipal bonds.

Meanwhile, social service cutbacks and layoffs of city workers continue. Kucinich has assured bankers and businessmen that the city will pay off every penny of interest and principal on the bonds.

Profits before people—that is the program of Cleveland's "antimonopoly" mayor.

Shortly after his recall victory, the "people's" mayor flunked another test. He failed to say one word in support of teachers during their more than month-long strike. During that time, teachers faced strike-breaking court orders and threats of major layoffs.

Kucinich also stood idly by while the city department that was supposed to implement the court-ordered school-desegregation plan was dismantled in order to "balance the budget."

Despite all this, the CP encouraged the labor movement and Black community to fall in line behind Kucinich.

The *Daily World* was right on one thing. The recall debate could have provided "the spark to ignite a surge towards a new independent political formation."

But not by supporting a "people's" Democrat.

Instead, discussions of Kucinich's antilabor record could have been held at union meetings and in Cleveland's large Black community. These could have culminated in a union-Black community conference called together by the Cleveland labor movement to discuss fielding a political alternative to Kucinich—and all the rest of the Democratic and Republican politicians.

At such a conference, unionists, Black activists, women's rights fighters, and students could have hammered out a political platform that reflected the interests of working people, not big business.

That program would have included full support for busing to achieve school desegregation; a plan to tax the rich, not workers, to pay for schools, child-care centers, hospitals, mass transit, and other needed social services; and cancellation of all bond payments to the banks.

On the basis of such a fighting program, the conference could have nominated a candidate that truly spoke for Cleveland labor and all the oppressed.

Classes & parties

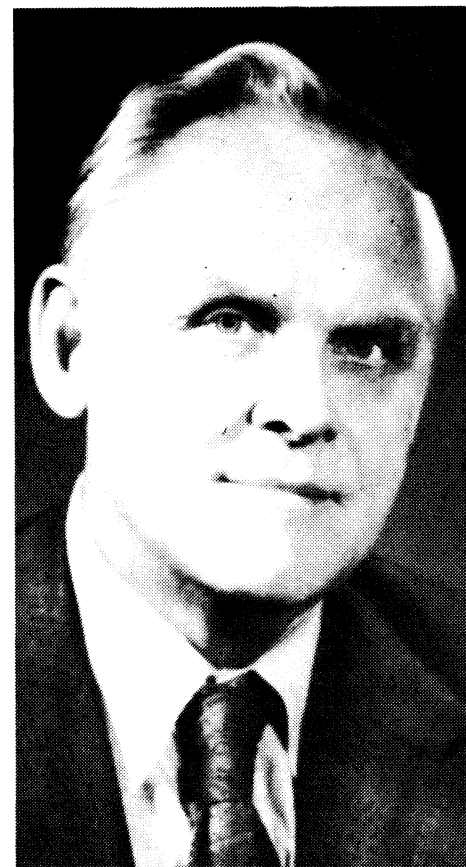
The CP's support for Democrats such as Kucinich represents a rejection of the ABC's of revolutionary working-class politics as practiced by socialists from the time of Marx and Engels, to Lenin and the Bolsheviks, and in the United States by Eugene V. Debs, and the SWP today.

Socialists start from the recognition that capitalist society is fundamentally divided between two social classes. Their interests are antagonistic.

- On the one hand there are the capitalists. They are the bankers, financiers, and industrialists who own and control the mines, mills, and factories where America's wealth is produced. *But they do not produce that wealth.* To the contrary, they reap their profits from the ore, automobiles, and myriad other commodities produced by the majority, the . . .

- Working class. Workers' only means of livelihood is to sell their capacity to labor in return for wages. They produce all of society's wealth, but receive only a small portion in return. Those at the very bottom—Black, Chicano, and Puerto Rican workers, and working women—receive an even smaller share due to their double oppression.

To maintain their hold over the wealth of society, the capitalists control the government, cops, and army at every level—from the White House and Pentagon, to city hall and the corner precinct house. They implement this governmental power through their two



GUS HALL: Urges workers to keep eyes open for elections 'where there are some important differences' between bosses' candidates.

parties—the Democrats and Republicans.

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.

Workers have no voice

Today there is no mass party in this country that represents the interests of labor and the oppressed. A quarter of the working class is organized in trade unions to protect them against their bosses on the job.

But workers have no political organization to protect themselves from those same bosses on the governmental level.

The CP admits that the Democrats and Republicans are big-business parties. But they counterpose a vague “antimonopoly” alternative to avoid posing a clear working-class break from the bosses. It is not at all just another term for a labor party, or for an independent Black or Chicano party.

Contrary to the CP’s claims, there are no “antimonopoly” Democratic Party mayors, legislators, or members of Congress.

To be a political representative of the Democratic Party is to be a mouthpiece for U.S. capitalism. *And U.S. capitalism in the twentieth century is monopoly capitalism; there is no other kind.*

The entire American economy is dominated by a handful of giant banks and corporations. And these monopoly interests are controlled by an even tinier club of fantastically wealthy families—the Rockefellers, Mellons, DuPonts, and Pews, to name a few of the more well-known.

The Democratic and Republican parties are *their* parties. Working people have no effective voice in these parties now, and never will.

The CP does not rule out some future realignment of liberal capitalist politicians—along with misleaders of the union and other social movements—into a more “progressive” big-business party.

And if a labor party were formed in this country, the CP would be there pushing its policy of conciliation with, rather than opposition to, the programs of capitalist politicians.

But even these eventualities are not what the CP is talking about today. It is still telling workers to stay in the Democratic Party. And its talk about political independence is simply designed to make this more palatable in times when there is growing working-class disenchantment with the two-party charade.

Lesser evil?

“... Our emphasis on political independence and Communist candidates never meant that we were not interested in what happened in the two old parties,” CP General Secretary Gus Hall told the party’s National Council in June.

“This never meant that we should close our eyes to the significance of who wins the elections in cases where there are some important differences between candidates.”

But this “lesser evil” approach has nothing whatsoever to do with working-class political action.

In fact, the capitalists hang on so tightly to the two-party system precisely because it helps create the *illusion* that “there are some important differences between candidates.”

“You don’t like the bum in office?” they tell working people. “Vote for a better Democrat, or a better Republican next election.”

Yet Gus Hall dresses up this tired trick of the bosses as a step toward political independence.

But why is the CP so hell-bent against independent working-class politics? Is it just a well-intentioned mistake? One road among many toward a common socialist goal?

That will be the topic of next week’s article.

Is GM’s ‘Southern Strategy’ over?

By Shelley Kramer

Haven’t we heard this before?

That’s what came to mind when United Auto Workers President Douglas Fraser announced in September that General Motors had agreed to “abandon” its Southern Strategy—the company’s ruthless campaign to keep the union out of its new plants in the open-shop South.

GM President Elliott Estes stated that UAW members already working for GM would be given “preferential consideration” in hiring. Estes added, “The Corporation has no objection to the UAW becoming the bargaining representative of employees in the new GM plants.”

This agreement covers thirteen new or recently opened plants. All but two are located in the South. Most are smaller parts plants. But two are new assembly divisions, including the 5,000-employee Oklahoma City plant

bor laws. It harassed and fired union organizers. It subjected workers to antiunion threats and intimidation.

Solidarity reported: “The company’s antiunion attitude means ‘workers are scared to death to talk to me,’ said Southern UAW organizer Lloyd Darby. “It’s as though someone’s got a gun to their heads.”

Something different?

Has GM holstered its guns? Is this latest peace pact more trustworthy than the one in 1976?

Let’s look at some of the agreement’s provisions:

- Under the current national contract between the UAW and GM, union recognition in plants that move their operations elsewhere is supposed to be automatic. Four plants covered by the new GM pledge would fall into this category. Union recognition in these locations would, of course, be a gain.



Solidarity

Monroe GM workers celebrate organizing victory in 1976. Company-inspired sign in background urged a vote against the UAW.

due to open next spring.

“The UAW is confident,” declared Vice-president Irving Bluestone, “that this agreement with the General Motors Corporation means the end of what the union has called GM’s ‘Southern Strategy.’”

Second time around

This is not the first time GM has promised to ease its open-shop campaign. The company signed a “neutrality pledge” during 1976 contract talks, vowing to “neither discourage nor encourage the Union’s efforts in organizing.”

With the same fanfare as today, union leaders hailed GM’s statement. Bluestone claimed it would “play an important role” in helping the union “organize the unorganized.”

But while the ink was drying on this peace treaty, GM was waging war against workers trying to unionize its Monroe, Louisiana, Guide Lamp plant.

Union forces finally won the day in Monroe. “Breaking GM’s Southern Strategy” is how the UAW’s magazine *Solidarity* described this victory in January 1977.

But in the next two years the UAW did not organize another southern GM plant. By July 1978 *Solidarity*’s cover read, “Is GM Trying to Destroy the Union? Revival of the ‘Southern Strategy.’”

GM’s southern management continued to fight tooth and nail to keep the UAW out—using the same dirty tricks as such notorious southern union busters as J.P. Stevens.

With the collaboration of local politicians, cops, and state employment offices, GM screened out job applicants with union backgrounds. It defied la-

But *Solidarity* reports that recognition is only “expected” in these shops—not yet certain.

- The most publicized feature of the pact is “preferential consideration” of union employees in hiring. GM workers can apply for new jobs through their home plant and even receive excused absences to visit job locations.

But promises of “preferential consideration” do not amount to guaranteed hiring. The union has no contract with GM covering hiring in these thirteen plants. The company is free to come up with any excuse it wants to screen out militant unionists.

It’s up to the workers’ present management to determine the “eligibility” of applicants—to pass on job qualifications and work records.

- While workers who are hired in new plants retain company seniority, they lose their home-plant seniority. If they are fired from a nonunion southern plant—hardly unusual for union organizers today—they have no right to return to their old job.

- Workers are allowed to apply to only one plant at a time—and are expected to wait for an opening for up to two years. In the meantime, if they submit another application, the first is automatically voided. If a worker receives an employment notice—whether or not the job is accepted—he or she is out of the hiring program for good.

‘Constructive approach’?

- In GM’s press statement the following hitch is attached to union recognition. The company “expects that the union will take a constructive approach so that parties working together can effect real and measurable

improvements in quality and efficiency of production in these modern facilities.”

Just what such “improvements” will be are not spelled out—but the wording smacks of a productivity deal. Union recognition in exchange for speedup.

UAW leaders struck a similar bargain with Volkswagen recently when the West German company opened its New Stanton, Pennsylvania, assembly plant. UAW officials signed a contract setting lower wages than provided in the Big Three contracts.

But VW’s workers fought back in a week-long strike. If GM and *Solidarity* House have the same plans in mind for the South, the rank-and-file response could be similarly explosive.

While GM has deferred a confrontation with the UAW, there is no evidence that it has given up its Southern Strategy. That strategy is a central part of the antilabor offensive

launched by the biggest corporations in the country. Like the coal companies’ assault on the United Mine Workers last winter—but on a smaller scale so far—its goal is to weaken and eventually eliminate the industrial unions.

Even when corporations such as GM talk peace, they are preparing for war. In the September 9 *Nation*, labor commentator A.H. Raskin recounted a conversation with an unnamed corporate executive about GM’s 1976 neutrality pledge.

“All big managements want to operate ‘double-breasted,’ [with nonunion operations] whatever they say,” the executive told Raskin. “That goes for du Pont, General Electric, General Motors, Union Carbide, you name it. Most of the new plants they open are nonunion and they are staying that way.”

Business Week has speculated that GM’s southern agreement is intended to head off sentiment for a national strike against the company in 1979.

“GM’s new policy now defuses a highly emotional issue that would have been a major barrier to a peaceful settlement in next year’s critical auto negotiations,” the big-business magazine states.

It remains to be seen whether the UAW ranks, once they read the fine print, will accept GM’s promises as good coin for now.

But this is certain: GM’s antiunion strategy, North and South, cannot be stopped or settled through such flimsy deals. It can be broken only when the union’s 1.5 million members are mobilized in the kind of militant actions that conquered GM’s open-shop fortresses in the 1930s.

Quote unquote

"Our storm troop section is always ready to take to the streets in support of our policy."

—A letter from the *National Socialist (Nazi) White People's Party* to antigay crusader John Briggs, offering support to California's Proposition 6.

FBI VS. CIVIL RIGHTS

FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover, fearful the murder of Viola Liuzzo would rally the civil rights movement, embarked on a slander campaign against the civil rights worker after her death in 1965, according to FBI memos reported in the *Detroit News*.

Liuzzo, thirty-nine, was shot to death in a car outside Selma, Alabama. Two members of the Ku Klux Klan were convicted of the federal crime of violating her civil rights.

Hoover falsely alleged that Liuzzo used drugs and was mentally unstable.

Revealing his own deepgoing racism, Hoover added what he must have thought was the most serious "charge" of all: that Liuzzo was "necking" with a "Negro man" when she was killed.

Hoover also sought to talk President Lyndon Johnson out of becoming publicly involved in the case.

Liuzzo's family has sued the FBI for \$2 million, charging the bureau could have averted her death. FBI informant Gary Rowe has admitted he was in the car with the two convicted Klansmen when they fired at Liuzzo.

COURT DENIES APPEAL BY CHICANO ACTIVIST

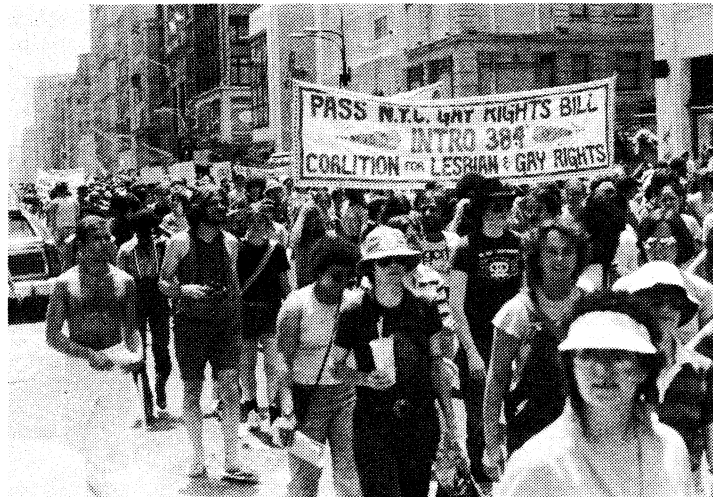
A federal judge in Denver denied a request October 18 by Chicano activist Juan Haro for reconsideration of the six-year sentence he received in 1976

Hearings on gay rights bill

The New York City Council will begin hearings on that city's gay rights bill, Intro 384, on November 8. The Coalition for Lesbian and Gay Rights is urging people to attend the hearings, which begin at 9:00 a.m., and to join a picket

line at Broadway and Warren Streets from 4:30 to 7:00 p.m.

The CLGR also plans a rally on November 9 at 8:00 p.m. at Sheridan Square to demand passage of Intro 384.



New York City, June 1978

Militant/Anne Teesdale

after conviction of possession of firearms.

The motion noted that a former Denver cop, convicted of the same charge, got an eighteen-month suspended sentence.

Haro—a leading Crusade for Justice activist—was convicted solely on the word of one witness, a police informant. There was not a shred of evidence linking Haro to the four hand grenades he supposedly gave away.

Haro was ordered to report to Leavenworth federal prison—at his own expense!—November 2.

FLOOD INDICTED

Democratic Rep. Daniel Flood of Pennsylvania was indicted on ten counts of conspiracy and bribery October 12. A federal grand jury charged that Flood and his former executive assistant sought and received \$65,000 and 100 shares

of bank stock in return for their influence in awarding federal contracts. Flood is also charged with receiving \$16,500 in bribes and soliciting another \$100,000.

The congressman was also indicted September 5 by a grand jury for lying about alleged payoffs from lobbyists.

BIRDS OF A FEATHER

President Carter posthumously restored the citizenship of Jefferson Davis, president of the Confederacy during the Civil War, on October 17.

Referring to the war that abolished slavery as "the tragic conflict between the states," Carter declared that Davis "had served the United States long and honorably. . . Gen. Robert E. Lee's citizenship was restored in 1976. It is fitting that Jefferson Davis should no longer be singled out for punishment."

DAMAGES SOUGHT IN A-TEST DEATHS

In a landmark action, relatives of four civilian victims of U.S. bomb testing have filed damages claims, seeking in excess of \$1 million. Additional claims will be filed by others.

The victims lived in the path of the radioactive fallout from Nevada bomb tests. Three died of leukemia and one of lymphoma. One was fourteen, the others, married men with children.

A Tucson attorney for several of the claimants said that his clients alone represented 6 leukemia deaths among 2,000 in two towns in the Arizona-Utah area.

A normal rate, he said, is 6 cases in a population of 100,000.

One resident of the area commented that the bombs would be detonated only when the wind was coming in their direction, not toward Las Vegas.

ROSENBERG MEMORIAL

Three hundred people attended a meeting in Cleveland October 21 to mark the twenty-fifth anniversary of the execution of "atom spies" Julius and Ethel Rosenberg. A multimedia presentation related the government's role in the Rosenberg frame-up to the constant harassment faced by activists today.

Rosenberg son Michael Meeropol, one of the founders of the Fund for Open Information and Accountability, pointed out the legal victories which have already been won against government spying, and the need to keep pushing for additional gains.

PROTESTERS GREET CARTER IN FLORIDA

President Carter flew into Miami October 26 to campaign for Democratic gubernatorial candidate Robert Graham, and 400 people lined the sidewalk to protest the president's "human rights" hypocrisy. The crowd included members of the Iranian Students Association,

American Friends Service Committee, Socialist Workers Party, supporters of Haitian rights and gay rights, antinuclear activists, and others.

The largest group was a contingent of 300 Iranian students, who demanded an end to U.S. support for the shah.

Supporters of Leo Harris's fight against frame-up charges in Miami carried a banner calling for freedom for all political prisoners.

The *Miami Herald* described the 3,500 people who came to hear Carter as "mildly friendly" and noted that only "ear-pummeling amplifiers" were able to drown out the "cacophony of banner-shaking protesters."

MILLION DOLLAR AWARD

Twenty-one Black workers at Fieldcrest Mills of Eden, North Carolina, have been awarded \$1 million in damages after charging the company with racist hiring and promotion practices, the *Carolina Times* reported October 21.

Although neither the company nor its codefendant, the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union, admitted any wrongdoing, the out-of-court settlement provides for recruiting more Black workers and ending the use of tests that discriminate against Blacks.

CALIFORNIA SCHOOLS MORE SEGREGATED

Nearly 1 million Black and Chicano students in California go to segregated schools, according to a state survey released October 18. The figure represents a 27 percent increase over 1974.

Nearly half of all Black students go to schools that are majority Black, and 35 percent go to schools at least 80 percent Black.

Forty percent of *latino* students go to segregated schools.

The study showed a steady increase in school segregation since 1967, when the first such survey was undertaken.

What's Going On

CALIFORNIA

LOS ANGELES

THE FIGHT FOR LABOR AND BLACK RIGHTS IN SOUTH AFRICA. Speaker: Drake Koka, founder and secretary-general of Black Allied Workers Union of South Africa. Fri., Nov. 10, United Steelworkers Local 1845 union hall, 60004 Maywood Ave. For more information call (213) 234-1995.

ILLINOIS CHICAGO

FIFTIETH ANNIVERSARY CELEBRATION OF THE 'MILITANT.' Speakers: Harry Ring, former editor of the 'Militant,' Pat Grogan, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senate; Bill Hampton; others: music by Carlos Torres, guitarist. Sat., Nov. 11, dinner 6:30 p.m., rally 8 p.m. Shoe Workers Union Hall, 1632 N. Milwaukee. Donation: \$5 for dinner and rally, \$1.50 for rally only. Ausp: SWP. For more information call (312) 939-0737.

LOUISIANA NEW ORLEANS

LOUISIANA ABORTION LAW: WOMEN'S RIGHT TO CHOOSE ON TRIAL. Speaker: Peggy Cottle, Delta Women's Clinic, others: Fri., Nov. 10, reception 7:30 p.m.; forum, 8 p.m. 3319 S. Carrollton. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (504) 486-8048.

MARYLAND BALTIMORE

THE FIGHT AGAINST NUCLEAR

POWER. Speakers: Gordon Fox, Socialist Workers Party; Greta Coleman, Chesapeake Energy Alliance; Roger Hansen, American Friends Service Committee. Sun., Nov. 5, 7:30 p.m. 2117 N. Charles. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (301) 547-0668.

MASSACHUSETTS BOSTON

'TEN DAYS THAT SHOOK THE WORLD.' A film by Sergei Eisenstein. Fri., Nov. 10, 8 p.m. Harvard Univ., room to be announced. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (617) 262-4621.

MICHIGAN DETROIT

MY FIGHT FOR POLITICAL ASYLUM IN THE UNITED STATES: HEAR HECTOR MARROQUIN. Other speakers: John Conyers, U.S. rep., 1st District; Faye Williams, National Education Association, Metro Detroit assistant director; Pete Camarata. Thurs., Nov. 9, 7:30 p.m. Hilberry A&B Student Center Building, Wayne State Univ. Ausp: Hector Marroquin Defense Committee. For more information call (313) 526-4828.

NEW YORK NEW YORK CITY

SOCIALIST WORKERS ELECTION NIGHT CELEBRATION. Meet the candi-

dates; refreshments; TV; music; 'Militant' sales awards. Tues., Nov. 7, 7:30 p.m. 325 E. 17th (between 1st & 2nd Ave.) Donation: \$1. Ausp: Socialist Workers 1978 Campaign. For more information call (212) 982-5963.

WILMINGTON 10—USA 10,000. A film by Haile Gerima. World premier Sat., Nov. 11, 7 p.m. Hunter College Assembly Hall (69th St. & Lexington). Tickets \$10, \$15, \$50. Tickets available at Liberation Bookstore, 421 Lenox Ave.; Tricontinental Film Center, 333 6th Ave.; Brooklyn New Muse, 1530 Bedford, Brooklyn; Ashanti Bazaar, 872 Lexington Ave. For more information call (212) 686-0394.

WHO KILLED KAREN SILKWOOD? HOW THE NUCLEAR INDUSTRY SILENCED THE TRUTH. A teach-in on the dangers of nuclear energy. Speakers: Bella Abzug; Barry Commoner; Kitty Tucker, Supporters of Silkwood national president; Jim Haughton, Harlem Fight Back; Norma Becker, Mobilization for Survival; Connie Hogarth, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, WESPAC; Michio Kaku, nuclear physicist, CCNY. Sun., Nov. 12, 3 p.m. Columbia Teachers College, Horace Mann Aud., 120th St. & Broadway. Ausp: NYC Shad Alliance and NY Mobilization for Survival. For more information call: (212) 249-7649.

NYC: QUEENS

SOLIDARITY WITH SOUTH AFRICAN FREEDOM FIGHTERS! Fri., Nov. 10, 7:30 p.m. 90-43 149th St., Jamaica, Queens. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (212) 658-7718.

NORTH CAROLINA

RALEIGH

MEET THE SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY CANDIDATE FOR SENATE. Food, drink, music, dancing. Sat., Nov. 4, 8 p.m. 630 Sasser St. Ausp: Socialist Workers Campaign Committee. For more information call (919) 821-2869.

OHIO

CLEVELAND

CARTER'S ANTI-INFLATION PLAN: 'MAKE WORKING PEOPLE PAY.' Speaker: Steve Tormey, organizer for United Electrical Workers. Sun., Nov. 12, 7 p.m. 13002 Kinsman. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (216) 991-5030.

PENNSYLVANIA PHILADELPHIA

SOCIALIST WORKERS CAMPAIGN PARTY. Speakers: Naomi Berman, Socialist Workers Party candidate for lieutenant governor; Ben Bailey, SWP candidate for Congress. Tues., Nov. 7, 8 p.m. 218 S. 45th St. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Socialist Workers Campaign Committee. For more information call (215) 387-2451.

THE WOMEN'S LIBERATION MOVEMENT TODAY: WHERE DO WE GO FROM HERE? A panel discussion. Fri., Nov. 10, 8 p.m. 218 S. 45th St. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (215) 387-2451.

KAREN SILKWOOD MEMORIAL ACTIONS. Rally, Mon., Nov. 13, noon; 5-6:30, candlelight vigil, JFK Plaza, 15th & JFK Blvd. Ausp: Mobilization for Survival & Keystone Alliance.

THE FIGHT AGAINST APARTHEID IN SOUTH AFRICA. Speaker: Drake Koka, founder and secretary-general of Allied Black Workers Union. Tues., Nov. 14, 12:30 p.m. Temple Univ., Room 302, Student Activities Center. There will be a second meeting at 7:30 p.m. United Electrical Workers Hall, 5700 N. Broad St. For more information call (215) 849-3399.

PITTSBURGH

SOCIALIST WORKERS CAMPAIGN PARTY. Speaker: Mark Zola, SWP candidate for governor of Pennsylvania. Tues., Nov. 7, 8 p.m. 5504 Penn Ave. Ausp: SWP Campaign Committee. For more information call (412) 441-1419.

UTAH

SALT LAKE CITY

SOCIALIST CAMPAIGN RALLY. Speakers: Bill Hoyle, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Congress; Dr. Joseph Navarro, professor of political science, Univ. of Utah; Howard Johnson, attorney; Pam Burchett, United Steelworkers Local 4208. Sun., Nov. 5, refreshments 6:30 p.m.; rally, 7:30 p.m. 677 S. 700 East. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Socialist Workers Campaign Committee. For more information call (801) 355-1124.

The Great Society

Harry Ring



Victory for Chicano college

The federal government has finally agreed to stop trying to foreclose on Colegio César Chávez, a Chicano college established five years ago in Mt Angel, Oregon.

After buying the five-acre campus, the institution found itself saddled with a \$1 million mortgage held by the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development.

When the school couldn't make the payments, HUD tried to sell the campus and throw out the staff and students.

For five years the Chicanos organized widespread support and held off the government.

Now, HUD has announced it will write off the \$1 million. The *colegio* will buy the campus for \$250,000.



1975 picket in support of Colegio César Chávez

Militant

PARENTAL CONSENT FOR ABORTIONS?

The Supreme Court has agreed to hear arguments about a Massachusetts law that requires single women under eighteen to get their parents' or a judge's permission for an abortion.

The high court had ruled several years ago that a state cannot have a blanket law requiring parental consent. So several states passed laws saying young women could avoid getting their parents' consent by getting a judge's permission.

A federal court struck down the Massachusetts law last May, saying, "A minor has a basic constitutional right to abortion." But the state appealed that decision.

UNION POLITICAL RIGHTS ATTACKED

The right of trade unions to support candidates for public office came under attack October 30 when the National Right-to-Work Committee, a right-wing union-busting outfit, charged that labor unions had made more than \$700,000 in illegal campaign contributions.

An AFL-CIO spokesperson

denied any violation of campaign spending laws, and said the charges "smack of harassment."

The right-wingers have declared their intention to file formal complaints with the Federal Election Commission.

Virtually all the contributions under attack went to Democrats, who have consistently stabbed working people in the back. But any infringement on labor's right to financially support candidates is a further obstacle to the unions' breaking with the two capitalist parties and running labor candidates.

BACK IN BUSINESS

Bernard Bergman, convicted of stealing \$2.5 million in Medicaid funds while a New York nursing home operator, is back in the nursing home business. Bergman, who got out of jail October 5, purchased his son's real estate interests in the White Plains Nursing Home. Although Bergman is barred from getting a license to operate a nursing home, nothing prevents him from owning the land on which it sits.

Bergman, who promised to pay back the stolen money, still owes \$1.1 million.

LBJ's secret front group

A "nonpartisan" group set up in 1967 to support the war in Vietnam had the secret backing of President Lyndon Johnson, and was established by White House aide John Roche, the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch* revealed October 25. Roche was a professor brought into the administration to provide intellectuals with

prowar arguments.

The "Citizens Committee for Peace with Freedom in Vietnam" signed up former presidents Truman and Eisenhower as co-chairmen. The group's purpose was to provide support for Johnson's goal of crushing the Vietnamese revolution by force.

He's no crook—Special copies of *RN's Memoirs*, which were peddled for \$50 to \$150 each, included Nixon's signature and the inscription, "This copy has been signed by the author." But several leading autograph experts refuse to handle the books, convinced the signatures are not authentic. "Absolutely false," huffed a Nixon aide.

And rightly so—"Business Bids Fond Farewell to 95th Congress"—Headline in *Advertising Age*.

Things are tough all over—A study disclosed that corporations are getting more "tight-fisted" with executive-pay increases. For instance, the average cash compensation for top execs rose only 11% in 1977 as compared with 14% in 1976. Chief executive officers at manufacturing corporations drew an average base salary of \$251,600, plus an average bonus of \$101,700.

Art for the masses—Nelson Rockefeller is offering quality reproductions of some of his art works through better department stores. Art, he explains, "is a

joy I want to share." For instance, drop by Neiman Marcus and pick up a photographic reproduction of an early Picasso. Framed, \$850.

Final shortage—New York is running out of burial ground so fast that by the end of the century morticians may have to take their business elsewhere. In Queens, the principal burial area, there are now more than 2 million graves. In fact, there are more dead than living in the county. Cemetery rates, needless to say, are keeping pace with the shortage.

Lucky it wasn't meat—Two men with sawed-off shotguns hijacked a truck in Pennsylvania carrying a shipment of coffee worth \$75,000.

First lesson—A business flyer advises: "If your competitors, your employees, your suppliers and your local bureaucrats are calling you 'a no good son of a bitch' behind your back—you are probably running a very successful enterprise." If not, send a mere \$20.65 for a copy of "Why Son's of Bitches Succeed and Nice Guys Fail in a Small Business."

Women in Revolt

Diane Wang



Give us an inch...

Picture the scene in 1928. The Olympic Games included an 800-meter run for women. That's only about half a mile. But in those days it was a long-distance women's race.

All the women who entered were used to running 100- or 200-meter dashes. They had no training for distances and tried to sprint the entire half mile. Many collapsed. Those who managed to finish were in bad pain.

Proof positive! declared the Olympic officials. "The distance seemed so far for the weak sex that many finalists showed great signs of distress," said a report then.

It was 1960 before the Olympics again had a women's 800-meter run. In 1976 the longest women's race in the Olympics was still less than a mile.

What a difference from the 1978 New York City marathon on October 21! About 1,100 women ran the twenty-six-mile race. That was up from the 88 women who ran the marathon two years ago.

Leading the women to the finish line was Greta Waitz, an English teacher from Norway. This was her first marathon; usually she runs 3000-meter races. But she set a new women's world record, running the twenty-six miles in two hours, thirty-two minutes, and thirty seconds.

Waitz's 2:32:30 time is so fast that it would have won the gold medal in nine of the eleven men's Olympic marathons up until 1952.

Posing for a picture with Waitz, the men's winner, Bill Rodgers, handed over his winner's wreath to Waitz. "Make her wear it," he said. "I can't believe what she did today."

A few years ago nobody would have believed it. The Amateur Athletic Union only gave women "permission" to run official marathons in 1972. When Kathy Switzer ran the 1967 Boston marathon, a race official tried to throw her off the road when he realized she was female. (He failed.)

It's true that everyone's times are improving, both men's and women's. But women's records are improving more quickly than men's.

The men's marathon world record has stood at 2:08:33.6 since 1969. But women's

records have been broken almost every year. In 1967 the women's marathon record was 3:15:22. Waitz has trimmed about forty-five minutes from that!

That means the gap between men's and women's performances is closing. In 1969 the men's record was more than an hour faster than women's. But in the New York marathon Rodgers crossed the finish line only twenty minutes earlier than Waitz.

Who knows how far women will go in closing the gap? Before insisting that women can never be as fast as male runners, take a look at long-distance swimming. Women already hold the speed record for crossing the English Channel.

The most important thing is that women are proving to the world—and to ourselves—that biology does not determine destiny. Social norms, exclusion, lack of training—these held women back. But now we are catching up.

The same, no doubt, is true for just about every other field of human activity. Once women are allowed to participate there is no telling what new achievements lie ahead.

Or, to adapt the old saying, give us an inch and we'll take our miles.



When Kathy Switzer ran the 1967 Boston Marathon, a race official (in black) tried to throw her out. Another runner came to her defense.

Our Revolutionary Heritage

Celebrating 50 years of the Militant, 1928-1978

Volume One, Number One

Volume One, Number One of the *Militant* rolled off the press fifty years ago this week.

On October 27, 1928, three prominent leaders of the Communist Party—James P. Cannon, Martin Abern, and Max Shachtman—were expelled because they supported the views of Leon Trotsky and the Left Opposition inside the CP of the Soviet Union.

The three published the first issue of the *Militant* only one week later.

They protested that their expulsion "was designed to deprive . . . Party members of the opportunity to hear our views."

This "abrogation of the Party constitution" and "denial of our rights," the three explained, "compels us to take this method of direct appeal. . . . We will continue to expound our views in the columns of *The Militant* until our Party rights are restored."

The goal of Cannon, Abern, and Shachtman—as was the case with all of Trotsky's followers at that time—was to remain inside the CP and win over a majority of its membership.

In its first issue, the *Militant* began serializing Trotsky's "The Draft Program of the Comintern, a Criticism of Fundamentals," later published in book form as *The Third International After Lenin* (available from Pathfinder Press, New York, for \$4.95).

Drawing on the lessons of defeats for revolutionaries in Germany, Great Britain, and China during the 1920s, as well as the positive lessons of the Russian revolution of 1917, Trotsky explained what was wrong with Stalin's policies of "building socialism in one country."

Setbacks in the United States could also be expected if the CP followed Stalin's course, the first *Militant* warned in a reprint of the statement Cannon, Shachtman, and Abern made to the kangaroo court that expelled them from the CP.

The statement insisted that "the problems of the American Party are organically bound up with the fundamental questions confronting the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Comintern. . . .

"The left wing of the American party . . . will go forward only insofar as it recognizes the necessity of a struggle against the right danger on an international scale and links up its fights in the American Party with the Bolshevik fight for the fundamental tenets of Leninism in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and in the Comintern."

The *Militant* has hammered away ever since at this theme. Building a revolutionary party in the United States is impossible without absorbing fully the lessons of the international class struggle. It has also made the building of such a party one of its central priorities.

The first *Militant* began the serialization of "The Right Danger in the Ameri-

can Party," as a contribution to this party-building work.

This document aimed at getting the CP ready for the explosion of radical activity among the masses of unorganized workers in basic industry. The Trotskyists expected such an explosion as a result of the then-sharpening crisis of U.S. capitalism.

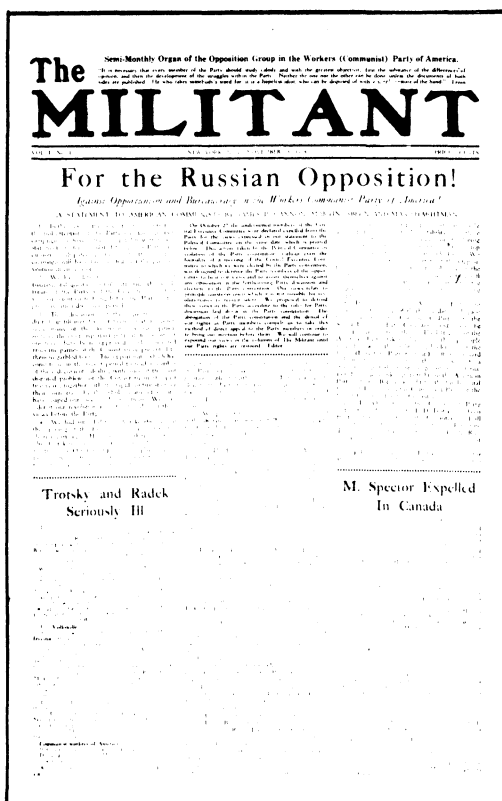
The document called for "a reorientation of the Party's perspectives to changing conditions and a reformulation of Party policy toward more aggressiveness, initiative and militancy."

It complained that instead of such a turn, "we confront the danger of holding on to old perspectives, outworn policies and methods of work, which prevent a full unfolding of the Party's leadership in the developing struggles."

Another *Militant* tradition that began with Volume One, Number One, is its unwavering defense of the victims of capitalist injustice.

The first issue carried an appeal for support to the campaign by the International Labor Defense to free Tom Mooney and Warren K. Billings. Mooney and Billings were two antiwar labor leaders who at that time had been in prison for twelve years. They had been framed up on charges that they set off an explosion in downtown San Francisco during a prowar parade.

"A militant fight, led and organized by the class-conscious elements, is the best assurance for a speedy victory in this fight," the *Militant* declared. "The hope of Mooney and Billings, of the Centralia I.W.W. [Industrial Workers of the World] and of every other labor prisoner in the country lies in the protest movement of the masses." —Peter Seidman



Letters

U.S. out of Vieques!

When Carlos Zenon, president of the Fishermen's Association of Vieques, was here in New York as part of a Puerto Rican Solidarity Committee-organized national tour, he spoke with anger and bitterness of the actions of the U.S. Navy and of the attempt of the U.S. District Court in San Juan to keep him silent by imposing a "gag" order on him for the length of the Vieques court case.

He expressed at the same time warm appreciation for the efforts of the PRSC and others in the U.S. who support the Viequeses' struggle. He appealed to "all people of conscience in the United States" to stand with the Viequeses in their struggle against the U.S. Navy

me with information that has become a great asset in aiding me in developing my life in the right direction.

A prisoner
California

Discussing Nicaragua

The coverage of the events in Nicaragua in the *Militant* and in *Perspectiva Mundial* have been very helpful at work.

It all started one day during lunch when I gave a leaflet to a Chicano co-worker. Half talking to myself, I asked, "H-m-m, I wonder who else I should give a leaflet to?" He introduced me to some Nicaraguan workers and gave them a leaflet. I found out that they are involved in a Nicaraguan political group.

The next day, I sold them

Supporters comment on socialist campaign

The 1978 campaigns of the Socialist Workers Party have reached thousands of people across the country. As the elections approached, the SWP National Campaign Office and the 'Militant' received many letters and comments from people looking for a socialist alternative. Below is a sampling.

Fox vs. wolf

I find it impossible to support either of the two major candidates for governor of California.

One is a foxy, backtracking opportunist (Jerry Brown) who will say or do anything to win. The other is an overt reactionary wolf (Evelle Younger).

I throw my support to Fred Halstead, the principled socialist candidate from the Socialist Workers Party.

Frank Greenwood
Los Angeles, California

(Frank Greenwood is the Black writer and producer of the play, "Malcolm X, Reminiscences of a Revolutionary")

Tired of 'two parties'

As a concerned voter, I am rapidly tiring of the "two party" system both nationwide and in the state of Massachusetts.

I was given your address

and would be interested in any information regarding the Socialist Workers Party, since there is a major election here in November.

R.C.
East Long Meadow, Maine

'Highly impressed'

Enclosed is a check for as many copies as possible of your "Bill of Rights for Working People." I have only recently gotten in touch with the Socialist Workers Party, and I find your ideas refreshing and extremely progressive.

I take issue with several points in the brochure I requested, but I was for the most part highly impressed with its content.

I have not yet joined the SWP, but I will continue to stay in touch. I will also introduce others to your group. You have much to offer us all.

C.T.
Willow Street, Pennsylvania

occupation and destruction of their island.

While more hospitals are being closed, while minority unemployment remains at crisis levels, while city workers are being threatened with "furloughs," our tax dollars are being spent to bomb a peaceful island and for the military to practice maneuvers for potential use in support of corporate interests in Puerto Rico, Latin America, and Africa.

When we stand up with the Viequeses against the navy and the U.S. government, we stand up for ourselves as well.
Paul Horowitz
Coordinator, N.Y. PRSC
New York, New York

'Great asset'

I would like to thank you for the sample copies of the *Militant* that you have sent me. I do hope that I am fortunate enough to continue to receive your paper because it provides

copies of the *Militant* and *PM* that carried articles on Nicaragua. That evening, when they read the papers, it provided them with a lot of information about my view of the situation.

For the past couple of weeks, we've been spending our lunch period nearly every day discussing a variety of aspects of the Nicaraguan upsurge. The need for a socialist revolution (as opposed to just getting rid of Somoza and installing other capitalists). Broad involvement of the masses in running the country under socialist democracy. The similarities between the Cuban revolution and the events today in Nicaragua. The tasks we must undertake to prevent U.S. intervention. The crisis of a lack of revolutionary leadership. The scandalous role of the Nicaraguan Socialist and Communist parties. And, most recently, the role of women in the upsurge.

They brought me an article

Our party is your party

THE MILITANT is the voice of the Socialist Workers Party.

IF YOU AGREE with what you've read, you should join us in fighting for a world without war, racism, or exploitation—a socialist world.

JOIN THE SWP. Fill out this coupon and mail it today.

- ☐ I want to join the SWP.
☐ Send me _____ copies of *Prospects for Socialism in America* at \$2.95 each. Enclosed \$_____
☐ Please send me more information.

Name _____
Address _____
City _____
State _____ Zip _____
Telephone _____

SWP, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014

JOIN THE SWP

Learning About Socialism

on the latter subject and have promised to bring me a copy of their group's political program. They have invited me to attend their next meeting, and they have agreed to get subscriptions to the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial*.

Sure makes for better lunchtime conversation than sports!

I ask that my name not be printed, not so much for myself as for my co-workers' right to political privacy vis-à-vis the company.

A steelworker

Zimbabwean reader

Enclosed is my initial subscription fee for the *Militant*.

I have followed your newsweekly since my arrival to this country through a friend, and my decision to subscribe was logical more than anything. What struck me foremost is the accuracy with which the articles are portrayed and its revolutionary essence that cannot escape a conscious reader.

I am a Zimbabwean political exile, and I am affiliated to ZANU (Zimbabwe African National Union) based in Maputo and a component of the Patriotic Front.

Revolutionary greetings to all the *Militant* staff!

A Texas student

A criticism

While reading the interview with John Briggs, the antigay California legislator, which was reprinted in the October 27 issue of the *Militant*, I was concerned with what I felt was a missed opportunity to educate your readers.

Briggs states unequivocally, "Well, we already know that homosexuals are attracted to children. . . ."

This was not answered by the interviewer, Robert Scheer, and could have been answered by the *Militant*.

Less than 5 percent of all child molesters are homosexual. Yet, Briggs and others, like Anita Bryant, conduct a rather successful fear campaign around the claim that *homosexual* is synonymous with *child molester*.

This lie must be refuted repeatedly! We cannot dismiss it as ridiculous. Too many people have been convinced of its truth by antigay propaganda.

Jane McComsey
New York, New York

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.

Financing the socialist movement

As more people become interested in socialism, it is not unusual to hear the question, "How does the Socialist Workers Party finance itself?" Frequently this is asked by someone who is impressed with the way a relatively small party manages to do so much.

Sometimes it's asked by people who are a little suspicious, too. By unionists who are fed up with bureaucratic officials who squelch democracy and regard the union treasury as their own private feeding trough. Or by working people who watch the Democratic and Republican party "fund raising" techniques and come to the conclusion that any kind of politics is crooked.

As working people discover that Socialist Workers Party supporters do not sell the *Militant* for profit, and do not support SWP candidates in hope of getting soft jobs, they also begin to understand the SWP.

They begin to realize that the SWP is different from other organizations. Our approach to financing our activities is based on this difference.

The SWP's goal is to lead the majority to make the American socialist revolution. Everything we do is considered in light of that, including how we raise and use our funds.

How does this work? The SWP constitution states that every member of the party, in addition to a one-dollar initiation fee, pays monthly dues of four dollars if employed and two dollars if totally unemployed.

Our dues, which are the only fixed financial requirement for membership, are minimal. In addition, each member makes a regular weekly contribution to the party according to her or his commitment and ability. This voluntary contribution is the heart of the party's finances.

How this worked in the early forging of the American Trotskyist party is described by James P. Cannon in *The History of American Trotskyism*.

Referring to the cadre who in the 1930s helped make Minneapolis a union town, he said:

"Our comrades who later gained great fame as labor leaders weren't always famous labor leaders. In those days [the early 1930s] they were coal heavers, working ten and twelve hours a day in the coal yards, heaving coal, the hardest kind of physical labor. Out of their wages they used to dig up as high as five or ten dollars a week and shoot it in to New York. . . . Once or twice a sympathizer would give us \$25.00. Those were real holidays in our office."

How was this money used? One example was that our movement, despite its poverty and weakness, managed to publish a full-sized book, *The Problems of the Chinese Revolution* by Leon Trotsky.

Then as now funds were raised from class-conscious workers for one purpose alone: to build a revolutionary socialist party.

Our full-time staff only takes what it needs to cover basic necessities. What staffers receive is quite a bit less than can usually be earned in an industrial job. Our guidelines on this allow for no difference between our highest elected officials and other party staff members.

In most other organizations, finances are the concern and responsibility of just a selected few. The opposite is the case in the SWP. In our party the basic units are the branches located throughout the country. There, every single member participates in discussions and votes on all proposals relating to policy and activity. An important point our members consider and decide on is how best to use and augment our limited funds. This is regarded not only as a right but as a duty.

Thus, the elected branch leaderships give the most careful thought and attention before submitting proposals to the membership for approval. This process continues up to and during our national convention, the highest body of the party.

That political commitment to building the revolutionary socialist party demonstrated by the pioneer Trotskyists in Minneapolis is the bedrock enabling us to build today. Regularized financial support from party members and from those who support us is crucial to achieving our goal.

—Paul Montauk

Education for Socialists Tapes

Maoism and the Chinese Revolution, 1949-1978, by Leslie Evans, 1978. Two talks. Price: \$9.

The Fourth International After World War II: Reconstruction and Split, by Leslie Evans, 1978. Price: \$6.

Trade Unions and the Revolutionary Party: Past and Present, by Tom Leonard, 1978. Two talks. Price: \$9.

American Stalinism and Trotskyism, by Harry Ring, 1978. Three talks on two cassettes. Price: \$9.



All talks recorded on 90-minute cassette tape. For complete catalog or further information contact Education for Socialists Tapes, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014.

If You Like This Paper, Look Us Up

Where to find the Socialist Workers Party, Young Socialist Alliance, and socialist books and pamphlets

ARIZONA: Phoenix: SWP, YSA, 314 E. Taylor. Zip: 85004. Tel: (602) 255-0450. Tucson: SWP, YSA, SUPO 20965. Zip: 85720. Tel: (602) 795-2053.

CALIFORNIA: Berkeley: SWP, YSA, 3264 Adeline St. Zip: 94703. Tel: (415) 653-7156. East Los Angeles: SWP, YSA, 1237 S. Atlantic Blvd. Zip: 90022. Tel: (213) 265-1347. Los Angeles, Crenshaw District: SWP, YSA, 2167 W. Washington Blvd. Zip: 90018. Tel: (213) 732-8196. Los Angeles: City-wide SWP, YSA, 1250 Wilshire Blvd., Room 404. Zip: 90017. Tel: (213) 482-1820. Los Angeles, Southeast: SWP, YSA, 2554 Saturn Ave., Huntington Park, 90255. Tel: (213) 582-1975. Oakland: SWP, YSA, 1467 Fruitvale Ave. Zip: 94601. Tel: (415) 261-1210. San Diego: SWP, YSA, 1053 15th St. Zip: 92101. Tel: (714) 234-4630. San Francisco: SWP, YSA, 3284 23rd St. Zip: 94110. Tel: (415) 824-1992. San Jose: SWP, YSA, 942 E. Santa Clara St. Zip: 95112. Tel: (408) 295-8342.

COLORADO: Denver: SWP, YSA, 126 W. 12th Ave. Zip: 80204. Tel: (303) 534-8954.

DELAWARE: Newark: YSA, c/o Stephen Krevisky, 638 Lehigh Rd. M4. Zip: 19711. Tel: (302) 368-1394.

FLORIDA: Miami: SWP, YSA, 7623 NE 2nd Ave. Zip: 33138. Tel: (305) 756-8358.

GEORGIA: Atlanta: SWP, YSA, 509 Peachtree St. NE. Zip: 30308. Tel: (404) 872-7229.

ILLINOIS: Champaign-Urbana: YSA, 284 Illini Union, Urbana. Zip: 61801. Chicago: City-wide SWP, YSA, 407 S. Dearborn #1145. Zip: 60605. Tel: SWP—(312) 939-0737; YSA—(312) 427-0280. Chicago, South Side: SWP, YSA, 2251 E. 71st St. Zip: 60649. Tel: (312) 643-5520. Chicago, West Side: SWP, 3942 W. Chicago. Zip: 60651. Tel: (312) 384-0606.

INDIANA: Bloomington: YSA, c/o Student Activities Desk, Indiana University. Zip: 47401. Indianapolis: SWP, 4163 College Ave. Zip: 46205. Tel: (317) 925-2616. Gary: SWP, P.O. Box M218. Zip: 46401.

KENTUCKY: Lexington: YSA, P.O. Box 952 University Station. Zip: 40506. Tel: (606) 269-6262. Louisville: SWP, 1505 W. Broadway, P.O. Box 3593. Zip: 40201. Tel: (502) 587-8418.

LOUISIANA: New Orleans: SWP, YSA, 3319 S. Carrollton Ave. Zip: 70118. Tel: (504) 486-8048.

MARYLAND: Baltimore: SWP, YSA, 2117 N. Charles St. Zip: 21218. Tel: (301) 547-0668. College Park: YSA, c/o Student Union, University of Maryland. Zip: 20742. Tel: (301) 454-4758.

MASSACHUSETTS: Amherst: YSA, c/o Rees, 4 Adams St., Easthampton 01027. Boston: SWP, YSA, 510 Commonwealth Ave., 4th Floor. Zip: 02215. Tel: (617) 262-4621.

MICHIGAN: Ann Arbor: YSA, Room 4321, Michigan Union, U of M. Zip: 48109. Detroit: SWP, YSA, 1310 Broadway. Zip: 48226. Tel: (313) 961-5675. Mt. Pleasant: YSA, Box 51 Warriner Hall, Central Mich. Univ. Zip: 48859.

MINNESOTA: Mesabi Iron Range: SWP, P.O. Box 343, Eveleth, Minn. Zip: 55734. Tel: (218) 741-4968. Minneapolis: SWP, YSA, 23 E. Lake St. Zip: 55408. Tel: (612) 825-6663. St. Paul: SWP, 373 University Ave. Zip: 55103. Tel: (612) 222-8929.

MISSOURI: Kansas City: SWP, YSA, 4715A Troost. Zip: 64110. Tel: (816) 753-0404. St. Louis: SWP, YSA, 6223 Delmar Blvd. Zip: 63130. Tel: (314) 725-1570.

NEBRASKA: Omaha: YSA, c/o Hugh Wilcox, 521 4th St., Council Bluffs, Iowa. 51501.

NEW JERSEY: Newark: SWP, 11-A Central Ave. Zip: 07102. Tel: (201) 643-3341.

NEW MEXICO: Albuquerque: SWP, 108 Morning-side Dr. NE. Zip: 87108. Tel: (505) 255-6869.

NEW YORK: Binghamton: YSA, c/o Larry Paradis, Box 7261, SUNY-Binghamton. Zip: 13901. Capital District (Albany): SWP, YSA, 103 Central Ave. Zip: 12206. Tel: (518) 463-0072. Ithaca: YSA, Willard Straight Hall, Rm. 41A, Cornell University. Zip: 14853. New York, Bronx: SWP, 2271 Morris Ave. Zip: 10453. Tel: (212) 365-6652. New York, Brooklyn: SWP, 841 Classon Ave. Zip: 11238. Tel: (212) 783-2135. New York, Lower Manhattan: SWP, YSA, 7 Clinton St. Zip: 10002. Tel: (212) 260-6400. New York, Queens: SWP, YSA, 90-43 149 St. Zip: 11435. Tel: (212) 658-7718. New York, Upper West Side: SWP, YSA, 786 Amsterdam. Zip: 10025. Tel: (212) 663-3000. New York: City-wide SWP, YSA, 853 Broadway, Room 412. Zip: 10003. Tel: (212) 982-8214.

NORTH CAROLINA: Raleigh: SWP, YSA, P.O. Box 5714 State Univ. Station. Zip: 27607.

OHIO: Athens: YSA, c/o Balar Center, Ohio University. Zip: 45701. Tel: (614) 594-7497. Cincinnati: SWP, YSA, 970 E. McMillan. Zip: 45206. Tel: (513) 751-2636. Cleveland: SWP, YSA, 13002 Kinsman Rd. Zip: 44120. Tel: (216) 991-5030. Columbus: YSA, Box 106 Ohio Union, Rm. 308, Ohio State Univ., 1739 N. High St. Zip: 43210. Tel: (614) 291-8985. Kent: YSA, Student Center Box 41, Kent State University. Zip: 44242. Tel: (216) 678-5974. Toledo: SWP, 2507 Collingwood Blvd. Zip: 43610. Tel: (419) 242-9743.

OREGON: Portland: SWP, YSA, 711 NW Everett. Zip: 97209. Tel: (503) 222-7225.

PENNSYLVANIA: Bethlehem: SWP, Box 1096. Zip: 18016. Edinboro: YSA, Edinboro State College. Zip: 16412. Philadelphia: SWP, YSA, 218 S. 45th St. Zip: 19104. Tel: (215) 387-2451. Pittsburgh: SWP, YSA, 5504 Penn Ave. Zip: 15206. Tel: (412) 441-1419. State College: YSA, c/o Jack Craypo, 132 Keller St. Zip: 16801.

RHODE ISLAND: Kingston: YSA, P.O. Box 400. Zip: 02881. Tel: (401) 783-8864.

TEXAS: Austin: YSA, c/o Mike Rose, 7409 Berkman Dr. Zip: 78752. Dallas: SWP, YSA, 5442 E. Grand. Zip: 75223. Tel: (214) 826-4711. Houston: SWP, YSA, 6412-C N. Main St. Zip: 77009. Tel: (713) 861-9960. San Antonio: SWP, YSA, 112 Fredericksburg Rd. Zip: 78201. Tel: (512) 735-3141.

UTAH: Logan: YSA, P.O. Box 1233, Utah State University. Zip: 84322. Salt Lake City: SWP, YSA, 677 S. 7th East, 2nd Floor. P.O. Box 461. Zip: 84110. Tel: (801) 355-1124.

WASHINGTON, D.C.: SWP, YSA, 3106 Mt. Pleasant St. NW. Zip: 20010. Tel: (202) 797-7699.

WASHINGTON: Seattle: SWP, YSA, 4868 Rainier Ave., South Seattle. Zip: 98118. Tel: (206) 723-5330. Spokane: SWP, P.O. Box 672. Zip: 99210. Tel: (509) 535-6244. Tacoma: SWP, 1022 S. J St. Zip: 98405. Tel: (206) 627-0432.

WEST VIRGINIA: Morgantown: SWP, 957 S. University Ave. Zip: 26505. Tel: (304) 296-0055.

WISCONSIN: Madison: YSA, P.O. Box 1442. Zip: 53701. Tel: (608) 255-4733. Milwaukee: SWP, YSA, 3901 N. 27th St. Zip: 53216. Tel: (414) 445-2076.

Chicanos hit Carter's fiendish border fence

By Bruce Kimball

SAN ANTONIO—Chicanos and Mexicans have condemned a Carter administration plan to build a ten-foot-high border fence that could cripple climbers.

The galvanized steel grating is to be "so sharp it will shear off toes," according to the government contractor, and the Anchor Post Products company of Baltimore.

Plans for the fence, dubbed the "torilla curtain" by its opponents, were announced October 23 by the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS). In addition to the razor-sharp grating, the fiendish device will be set in a concrete base to prevent tunneling.

Fences are initially planned for two locations: between El Paso, Texas, and Ciudad Juarez; and the San Diego-Tijuana border. Total cost for the two projects is estimated at \$3.5 million.

In addition to brutality by INS cops, Mexican workers will now face a further risk in trying to escape Mexico's subpoverty wages and 60 percent unemployment.

"Building these fences is an act of unwarranted, stepped-up hostility directed both toward Mexico and

Mexican-Americans," declared Vilma Martínez, president of the Mexican American Legal Defense and Education Fund (MALDEF).

"Is this the administration's new Good Neighbor Policy?" Martínez asked. "Is this the new proposal to defend human rights—barbed wire fences?"

Rubén Bonilla, Texas director of the League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC), noted, "Most people equate a wall with oppression."

INS Commissioner Leonel Castillo, himself a Chicano, has responded to these protests by announcing that some aspects of the fence may be modified. An INS spokesperson granted that the fence may have "too many exposed edges."

"They may try to round them off, or something like that," the spokesperson said.

But Castillo remains firm on the need for a "better" barrier. "The current fence is filled with holes and is constantly being repaired," he said. "It's really not much of a fence at all."

The fence is part of Washington's attempts to blame U.S. economic prob-

lems on "aliens." Congress recently approved \$1.5 million for a fence on the Arizona border and \$900,000 to repair the existing fence near San Diego. It also voted to allow INS and Border Patrol agents to search vehicles without warrants.

A *Los Angeles Times* dispatch noted that the proposed new barriers "are steps along a technological road that could one day seal the entire border."

Shortly after taking office, Carter

announced a "plan" for dealing with the "problem" of undocumented workers. He wanted to step up deportations of these immigrants, while denying democratic rights to those allowed to stay.

United opposition from the Chicano movement forced the administration to recently shelve its plans.

The proposed fence, though, is part of the same scheme. And the same kind of united opposition is needed to turn back this latest attack.

Socialists: 'Stop the wall!'

In a joint statement released October 24, the U.S. Socialist Workers Party and Mexican Partido Revolucionario de los Trabajadores (Revolutionary Workers Party) declared that the proposed border fence reveals "the true face of the Carter administration—which praises itself for its humaneness, while it builds a wall that would seriously injure anyone who tried to cross it."

The SWP and PRT said that "at-

tacks against undocumented workers are attacks against the entire labor movement, against the Chicano people, against the civil liberties of U.S. citizens, and against the people of Mexico."

The two groups called for a united response to halt construction of the fence, bring an end to deportations, and win full rights for undocumented workers.

Drastic drop in Medicaid abortions reported

By Diane Wang

The number of Medicaid-funded abortions has dropped 98 percent in states following new government guidelines.

What has that meant for thousands of women in the past year?

Home-made abortion remedies. Visits to back-alley abortionists.

Desperate attempts to raise money for an abortion, delaying the operation until it is too late.

There is a critical need to sound the alarm on the government's war on the right to choose abortion, before more women become casualties.



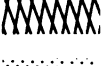



After the Hyde amendment cutting Medicaid funding for abortions went into effect in August 1977, state after state began cutting their funds for abortions too. Before the Hyde amendment was enacted, forty-seven states and the District of Columbia paid for most Medicaid abortions. Today only six do.

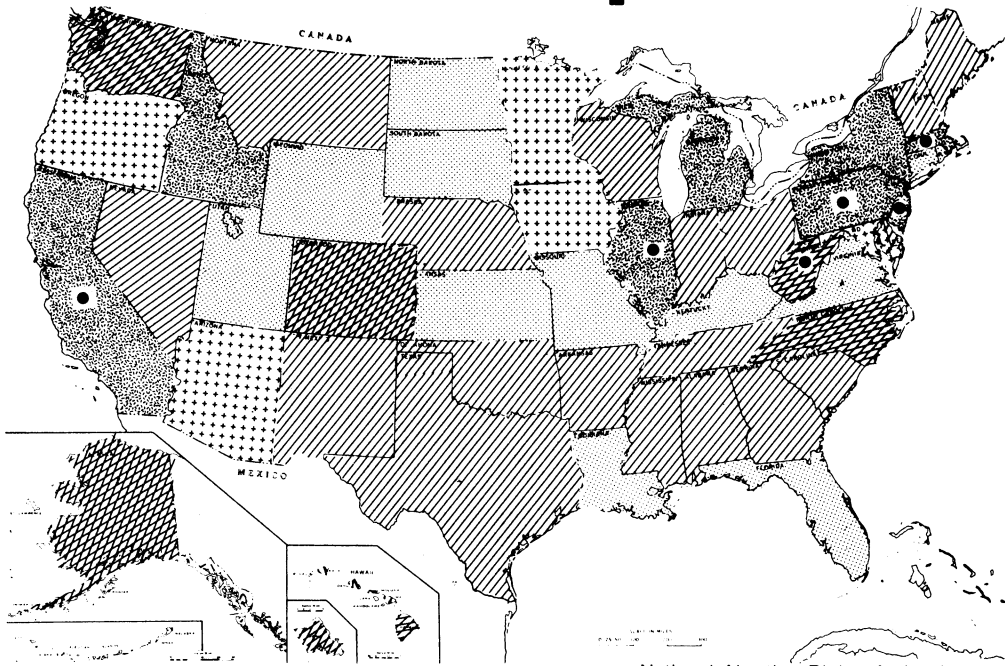
Nineteen states follow the restrictive guidelines published by the Department of Health, Education and Welfare. Those allow payment for abortion only in cases of "rape, incest, severe and long-lasting health damage, or life endangerment."

Another eleven states pay only for abortions when the pregnancy threatens a woman's life.

Illinois, Massachusetts, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and California are under court order to pay for "medically necessary abortions." And on October 20 a court ordered Virginia to ease its restrictions and pay for abortions when the pregnancy is a "substantial endangerment of health."

The cutoff of funds has been almost total in many states, regardless of the

-  Paying according to HEW guidelines
-  Paying for all medically necessary abortions
-  Paying for all abortions
-  Paying only if the life of the woman is endangered
-  Varying circumstances; usually rape, incest and life endangerment
-  Waiting for court action



exceptions that are supposed to be made.

Between February, when the HEW guidelines were issued, and June, ten states funded no abortions.

The decrease in other states was equally shocking. New Jersey, for example, previously funded about 1,150 abortions a month. Now it funds about 19 a month. In Texas the number fell from 257 to 1.9 abortions funded each month.

The Ninety-Fifth Congress extended still further the attack on women's right to choose. Specifically Congress:

- again passed a HEW-Labor Department budget restricting abortion funding;
- denied abortion funds to those who get their health care through the defense budget;

• denied abortion funds to Peace Corps members;

• passed a pregnancy disability bill requiring bosses to give sick leave and medical insurance to pregnant workers—except for abortion;

• gagged the Civil Rights Commission, saying it could not study or write about the denial of women's right to choose abortion.

Moreover, several states and cities have imposed severe abortion restrictions. Anti-abortion vigilantes have staged invasions and arson attacks on clinics.

In response, women have called for a defense effort. At its October 6-9 national conference, the National Organization for Women passed a resolution affirming that "NOW's efforts on be-

half of the right to choose will not let up until that right is regained on behalf of all women, and until a threat to that right no longer exists."

The resolution called for coordinated local actions across the nation on the weekend of January 20-21, as well as educational activities, lawsuits, and lobbying.

The National Abortion Rights Action League reports that it is also planning coordinated actions, targeting state legislatures that will be in session in January.

January 22 will be the sixth anniversary of the Supreme Court decision recognizing women's legal right to choose abortion. Unless we rally to defend that right, it may become only a memory.