

THE MILITANT

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

Joseph Hansen Publishing fund

An international effort

A special \$20,000 fund has been launched to publish works by Joseph Hansen, who died in New York City January 18 after forty-five years of service to the revolutionary movement.

Plans for the Joseph Hansen Publishing Fund were announced by Reba Hansen and by the contributing editors of the magazine *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor*—

Fourth International leaders Pierre Frank, Livio Maitan, Ernest Mandel, and George Novack. Hansen was the founding editor of the magazine sixteen years ago and served in that capacity until his death.

An initial collection for the fund will be taken at Joseph Hansen Publishing Fund meetings that will be held in

Continued on page 8



'An example for
youth to learn from'

—PAGE 8

IRAN: THE SHOWDOWN APPROACHES

—PAGE 7

Militant reporter in Tehran

A revolution is unfolding in Iran.

The workers, peasants, soldiers, and students of that country have already put one of the world's most brutal tyrants to flight. Now, by the millions, they are still on strike, still in the streets battling for their rights and for social justice.

Revolutions are not everyday occurrences. And the *Militant* is determined to provide our readers with the best possible coverage of these inspiring events.

That's why we've sent staff writer Cindy Jacquith to Iran. Beginning next week, the *Militant* will carry on-the-spot coverage of political developments there, interviews with leaders

of the struggle, and reports on the activities of Iranian revolutionists.

Jacquith, a member of the Socialist Workers Party National Committee, joined the *Militant* staff in 1972. She was a frequent visitor to the Kentucky coalfields during the Brookside United Mine Workers organizing drive portrayed in the movie *Harlan County*. An active feminist, she covered the historic march of 100,000 for the Equal Rights Amendment in Washington, D.C., last July 9. And she regularly shares major editorial responsibility for the *Militant*.

Twenty years ago, when the Cuban revolution toppled the hated Batista dictatorship, the *Militant* went there to counter the lies of the big-business press and get out the truth to American workers and students.

We owe no less today to our readers, or to the courageous people of Iran.



CARTER'S AUSTERITY BUDGET

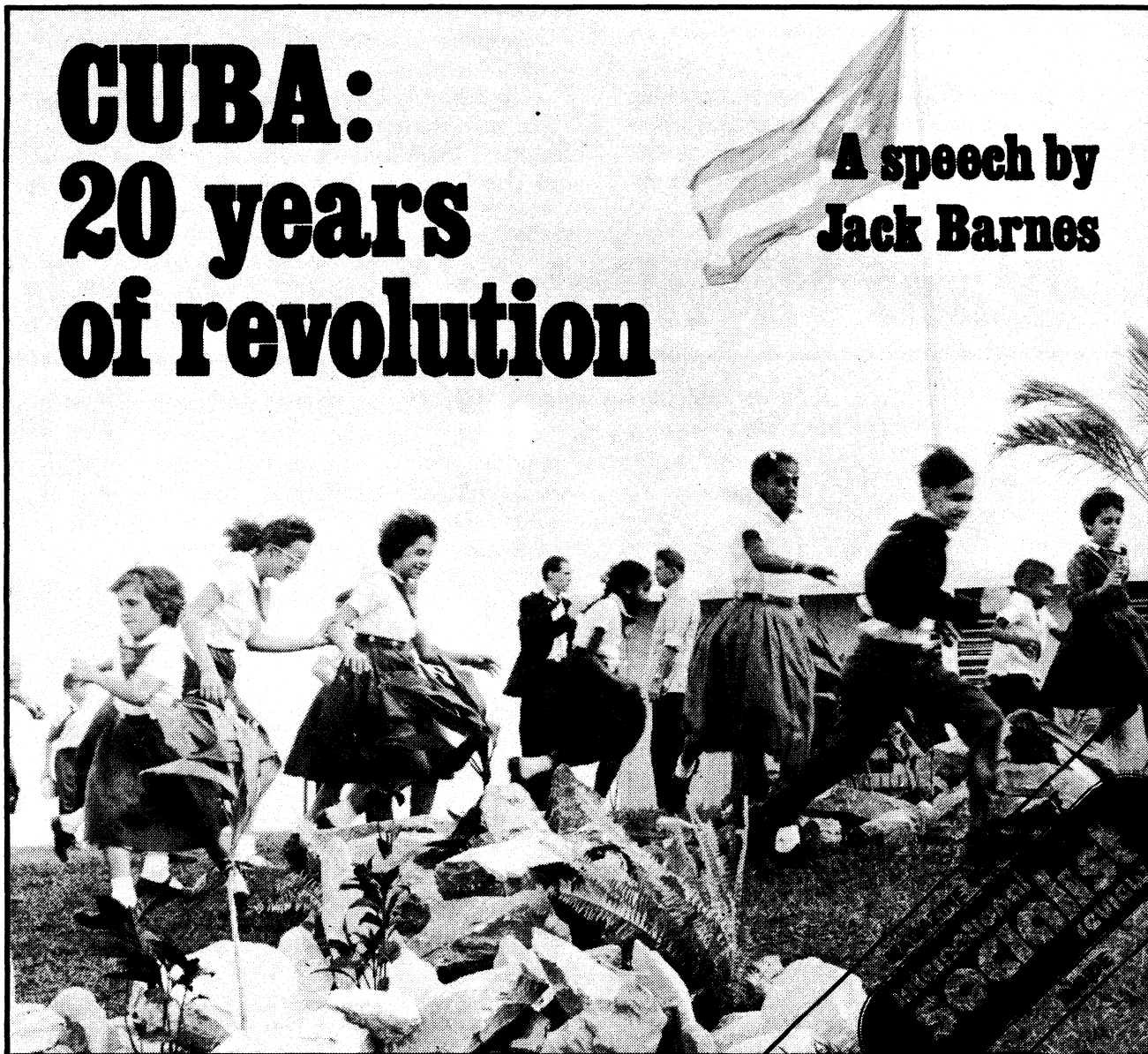


Workers foot the bill
for bigger war budget

—PAGES 2, 4

CUBA: 20 years of revolution

A speech by
Jack Barnes



Carter escalates austerity drive...

The real message in Carter's state of the union address was clear: working people must settle for fewer jobs, lower real wages, reduced public services, cuts in Social Security benefits, and further decay of the cities.

Carter's guns-instead-of-butter budget is a further step in the ruling-class campaign to drive down the living standards of American workers. The aim is to fatten profits, strengthen the competitive standing of U.S. industry in world markets, and prop up the dollar—all at the expense of working people.

The big-business press claims that Carter is merely bowing to public opinion by cutting social services and imposing wage guidelines.

That is a lie, and Carter knows it. His promise of "additional support" to some social programs and his attempt to pass off cuts as increases in "efficiency" and "competence" testify to how gingerly he is trying to tread. This cautious approach reflects fear in ruling circles that the growing resistance and resentment among working people may reach an explosive point.

Thus, *Business Week* editorialized, "The crucial test will come later this year or perhaps not until 1980. It will come when the economy begins to slow down and unemployment shows a distinct rise."

At that point, the magazine opines in another article, "Demands will arise—especially from labor and blacks—for increased spending." This big-business mouthpiece advises: "To keep both his economic strategy and his political credibility alive, Carter must say 'No.'"

The emergence of Sen. Edward Kennedy as a critic of some of Carter's proposed budget cuts is another sign that the rulers don't believe their own propaganda about where working people stand on the cutbacks. Kennedy's goal is to keep all opposition to these attacks bottled up in the two-party system—while both Democrats and Republicans proceed with the bosses' offensive.

Not one of the Republican or Democratic politicians is entitled to an ounce of confidence from working people. They speak and act for the rich.

Instead, we need a program that can provide real protection from unemployment and inflation. Such a program would start from the recognition that working people are not re-

sponsible for inflation, and working people shouldn't pay for it.

Such a program would include:

- escalator clauses on all wages and disability and pension payments to keep workers fully abreast with the real rise in the cost of living;
- a thirty-hour workweek with no loss in pay, to provide jobs for all;
- an end to the war budget, the single biggest cause of inflation—use those funds for jobs and human needs;
- free medical care for all;
- an end to all taxes on working people—tax the rich, who can afford to pay.

Measures such as these won't be forthcoming from the big-business-controlled government or from the capitalist parties. They will be won by mobilizing the power of the intended victims of the bosses' offensive—the union ranks, the Black community, women, youth, and the unemployed.

Working people need our own political instrument to speak out and fight for our interests—a mass, independent labor party based on a militant and democratic union movement.

...and arms race

Carter's speech included a pitch for congressional backing of the impending SALT II agreement with the Soviet Union. As his arguments showed, such pacts have nothing to do with disarmament. Instead, they set the stage for further escalation in the arms race.

"Just one of our relatively invulnerable Poseidon submarines," boasted Carter, "comprising less than 2 percent of our total nuclear force of submarines, aircraft, and land-based missiles, carries enough warheads to destroy every large and medium-sized city in the Soviet Union."

Far from decrying such overkill as madness, Carter promised that SALT II would mean even more armaments: "Our deterrent is overwhelming, and I will sign no agreement unless our deterrent force will remain overwhelming." Carter backed up his words by proposing a record \$135 billion arms budget. That includes funds to move full-speed ahead with the latest in weapons of mass murder: the cruise and MX missile systems.

According to Carter, this arsenal enables the U.S. government to act as the "world's peacemaker." In fact, the bloodstained beneficiaries of U.S. military "peacemaking" range from

the shah of Iran—who was forced out despite Carter's best efforts—to the dictator Somoza in Nicaragua.

Far from guaranteeing our safety, the U.S. military machine threatens us with new Vietnams and endangers the very survival of humanity.

The entire defense budget should be junked and the money used to meet the needs of working people.

Behind 'peace' talks

As the Camp David accords on the Mideast continue to unravel, the Israeli regime has begun to strike out more violently against the Palestinian people.

Using high explosive and incendiary phosphorus shells, Zionist forces have carried out the most intensive shelling of towns, villages, and Palestinian refugee camps in southern Lebanon since the massive Israeli invasion last March.

The shelling, which reached a peak January 23, was accompanied by a January 19 attack on three Lebanese villages. This was the deepest penetration of Israeli ground forces into Lebanon yet.

Israeli Defense Minister Ezer Weizman openly threatened January 23 to escalate attacks on civilian targets in Lebanon. The same day, Foreign Minister Moshe Dayan threatened the Palestinians living under Israeli rule with expulsion if they continue protesting their oppression.

Continuing military aggression, collective punishment of civilians, attempts to terrorize a whole people, and suppression of the most basic democratic rights—that is what is really behind the facade of "peace" talks being pushed by Carter.

And to keep the Zionist regime armed to the teeth, Carter's 1980 budget sets aside \$1.8 billion for aid to Israel, with the explanation that another billion or so may be forthcoming in supplemental requests.

It is the Israeli state that makes peace in the Middle East impossible. Established at the expense of the Palestinian people, who were turned into homeless refugees, Israel must continually renew its aggression simply to maintain itself.

Peace in the Middle East requires the establishment of a Palestinian state where Jews and Arabs will be able to live together as equals.

Militant Highlights This Week

3 Newport News strike

4 Carter budget

5 Abortion rights

6 Turkish upsurge

7 Iranian revolution

8 Joe Hansen

10 Hansen on Cambodia

23 Marroquin case

24 Pulp & Paperworkers' strike

32 Nuclear cover-up

2 In Our Opinion

25 National Picket Line

28 In Brief

What's Going On

29 The Great Society

Union Talk

30 Our Revolutionary Heritage

Letters

31 Learning About Socialism

If You Like This Paper...

WORLD OUTLOOK

26 Life in Soweto

27 Letelier murder

11-22 International Socialist Review

Women mark 1973 abortion victory

On the sixth anniversary of the historic Supreme Court decision the right to choose is under attack. Protests took place this month in New York, New Jersey, and other areas. **Page 7.**



Who killed Orlando Letelier?

Did Chilean dictator Augusto Pinochet (left) get a helping hand from the CIA in the 1976 bombing murder? A trial now under way in Washington is putting a spotlight on that question. **Page 27.**

WE DEMAND
OUR RIGHT
TO CHOOSE



Roots of rebellion

An eyewitness report on the giant Black South African ghetto of Soweto three years after the student upsurge. **Page 26.**



The Militant

Editor: MARY-ALICE WATERS

Managing Editor: STEVE CLARK

Business Manager: ANDREA BARON

Editorial staff: Peter Archer, Nancy Cole, Fred Feldman, David Frankel, Osborne Hart, Cindy Jaquith, Shelley Kramer, Ivan Licho, Omari Musa, Harry Ring, Dick Roberts, Andy Rose, Priscilla Schenk, Arnold Weissberg, Matilde Zimmermann.

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

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Virginia shipyard workers fight for union rights

Steel local sets January 31 strike date

By Shelley Kramer

If you're a member of United Steelworkers Local 8888 at Newport News shipyard in Virginia, there's a number you can call for up-to-date news on the year-long struggle for union recognition. This week's message is what everyone has been waiting to hear.

"Our strike for freedom shall take place on January 31, 1979," says the voice of Jack Hower, USWA staff representative.

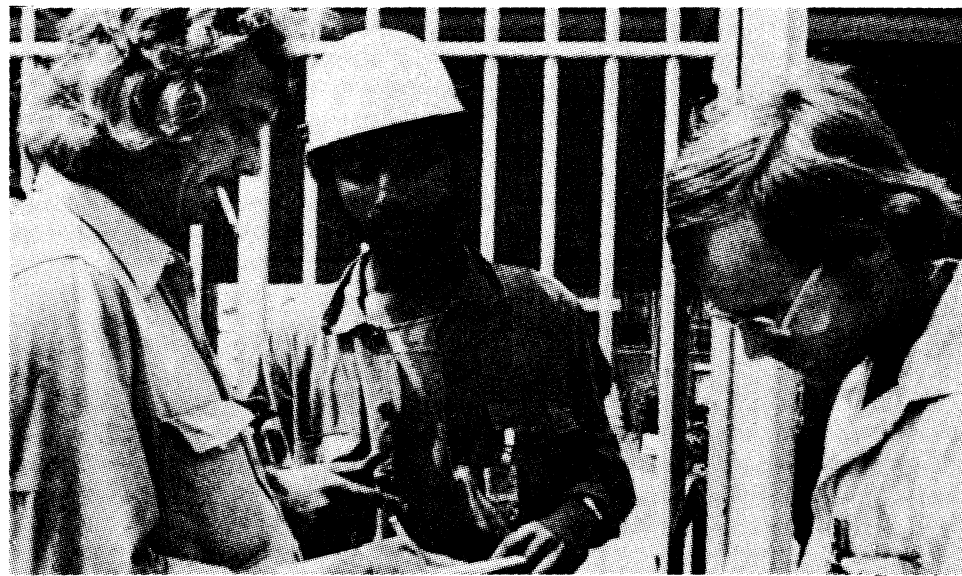
January 31 is exactly one year after a majority of the shipyard's 17,500 production workers voted to join the Steelworkers. Local 8888 now has signed up more than 13,000 members. A sister USWA local, composed of 1,200 shipyard designers, has been on strike for twenty-two months to win its first contract.

Low wages—averaging only \$5.90 an hour—as well as unsafe working conditions have spurred support for the union organizing drive.

Tenneco, the oil conglomerate that owns the shipyard and scores of other industries throughout the South and Southwest, has pulled every dirty trick in the book to drive the USWA out.

"Tenneco's trying to become the J.P. Stevens of the shipbuilding industry," is how many workers tell it.

They are particularly galled by the company's latest maneuver. In full-page ads and television and radio broadcasts, Tenneco complains that



Steelworkers have signed up more than 13,000 Newport News shipyard workers

the union is denying it a "democratic day in court."

The USWA is supposed to wait quietly until after the courts hear Tenneco's suit charging the Steelworkers with "irregular election practices." One of the practices Tenneco didn't like was inviting prominent Black community speakers to a preelection union rally! About half of the shipyard workers are Black.

Tenneco's case, which goes to court March 5, could drag out for months. Months in which the company is free

to fire and discipline union militants. Months in which bribes can be passed to well-placed politicians, a practice Tenneco has been convicted for in the past.

But the Steelworkers don't intend to wait for their rights any longer. "We have been patient," says Hower. "But still you are denied representation, justice, dignity, and a voice in your workplace."

"The time has come for shipyard workers to stand up for the very things which our forefathers through the

years have fought for and in many cases died for," he says.

"The only alternative is to strike."

Virginia's unions are beginning to rally to Local 8888. Those that service the shipyard—Communication Workers, Teamsters, Operating Engineers, Seafarers—have vowed to honor the union's picket lines. The state AFL-CIO, United Auto Workers, and United Rubber Workers have also pledged their support. Nationally, unions have raised more than \$5 million for the strike.

Leaders of the Hampton Roads Black Ministers Alliance have offered church aid to strikers.

At William and Mary College in neighboring Williamsburg, students are forming a strike support coalition. The group's first meeting was held January 23.

"Students will be out in the working world sooner than they think," explains Blaine Coleman, one of the meeting's organizers. "Everyone in the Tidewater area is hurt by the low wages Tenneco pays."

Working people all across the country are hurt by the miserable wages and working conditions forced upon nonunion labor. Unionists, Blacks, women, students—we all have a stake in the battle for union rights in Newport News. We all have a stake in the victory of USWA Locals 8888 and 8417.

Protests force Peru junta to free USLA leader

By Fred Murphy

An international campaign of protest has won the release of American human-rights activist Mike Kelly from the jails of the Peruvian military dictatorship.

Kelly, executive secretary of the U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA), was released from the State Security prison in Lima on January 19. He was then handed an "invitation to leave Peru," which he had little choice but to accept. But he was not formally expelled from the country, and there will be no charges pending against him in Peru.

Kelly was arrested January 9 while taking photographs in downtown Lima. He was held at the State Security prison along with some 700 Peruvian trade unionists, political activists, and journalists arrested between January 6 and 11. In all, more than 1,000 persons were detained as the military sought to head off a three-day general strike.

Upon learning of the mass arrests in

Peru and the detention of its executive secretary, USLA launched an emergency campaign. A picket line was held January 17 at Peru's UN mission in New York. Efforts on Kelly's behalf were also made by U.S. Senator Paul Tsongas and by Lawrence Brins, chairman of the U.S. Council on Hemispheric Affairs.

Kelly reported after his release that word of the protests in the United States reached the prisoners in Lima and bolstered their morale. He said everyone felt that USLA's campaign had been key in securing the release of most of the prisoners.

As of January 19 twenty-seven persons were still being held at State Security in Lima. At least fifteen of these were expected to be transferred to the jails of the Callao Military Zone—a branch of the armed forces notorious for the torture of prisoners.

Among those still being held were Alfonso Barrantes Langan, president of Democratic People's Unity (UDP) and Herrera Montalvo, general secre-

tary of the seamen's union.

Two prisoners, Luis Olibencia and Guillermo Bolaños, journalists for *Revolución Proletaria* (newspaper of the Revolutionary Marxist Workers Party—POMR) will be tried under Decree Law No. 22339. This new measure, imposed by the military last fall, is designed to intimidate the press and is being invoked for the first time. It is opposed by all political parties in Peru.

Olibencia and Bolaños have been questioned about their activities in the Workers, Peasants, Students, and People's Front (FOCEP) and their ties with Hugo Blanco. Blanco, the Trotskyist leader and FOCEP deputy to the Constituent Assembly, has been targeted by the government as one of those "responsible" for the general strike in Peru.

USLA urges that telegrams or letters demanding the immediate release of Olibencia and Bolaños and the other remaining prisoners, and the dropping of all charges against them, be sent to the Peruvian Embassy, 1700 Massachusetts Ave., N.W., Washington, D.C.,

20036. Send copies to USLA, 853 Broadway, Suite 414, New York, N.Y. 10003.



Militant/Nancy Cole
NEW York pickets January 17 demanded freedom for Mike Kelly and other political prisoners in Peru.

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Carter's austerity budget

Workers foot the bill for war spending

By Andy Rose

In his election campaign three years ago, Carter made a lot of promises. They have been steadily whittled down. Now there is just one.

Carter promises that if the American people will accept the austerity and sacrifices he demands, they will be rewarded with some relief from inflation.

Like all the other promises, this one is a fraud.

The heart of Carter's budget for fiscal 1980—which takes billions of dollars away from human needs in order to boost Pentagon spending—is his warning that “real sacrifices must be made if we are to overcome inflation.”

But will it be easier for working people to cope with inflation if there are fewer jobs? Less public health care? Worse schools? Fewer hot lunches for children?

Of course not.

Carter says the burden of these sacrifices will be spread “fairly and objectively.”

But are the rich to sacrifice any of their tax shelters? Are the arms manufacturers to sacrifice their cost-plus contracts? Are the corporations to sacrifice any of their bloated profits?

Of course not.

Carter's budget cutbacks will make economic inequality worse, not better. They will make it harder, not easier, for working people to protect their living standards against rising prices.

Here are some of the highlights of what Carter calls his “lean and aus-

tere” budget.

Military

Carter proposes \$135.5 billion in spending authority for the Pentagon (which includes commitments for future outlays), of which \$122.7 billion is to be spent in fiscal year 1980.

Depending on which figures you compare, it's about a 10 percent hike from the year before.

Some of the top items on the war-hawks' shopping list are:

- \$2.4 billion for one Trident submarine and its nuclear-tipped missiles;
- \$1.62 billion for one aircraft carrier;

- \$675 million for accelerated development of the MX missile (eventual cost, \$35 billion).

This incredible drain on society's resources is projected to increase even more sharply in the years to come, with outlays rising to \$133.7 billion in 1981 and \$165.7 billion in 1984.

But the announced “defense” budget is only part of Washington's war spending. It turns out that all funds for development and production of nuclear warheads are listed in the Energy Department budget. Still more military spending is squirreled away under the heading of “research.” And much of the money listed as “foreign aid” ends up as arms purchases.

Nowhere listed is the CIA and other spy agencies' budget for worldwide spying, assassinations, torture schools, and so on. This secret fund was estimated at \$10 billion a year by the 1976 House Intelligence Committee report.

Interest

To pay for past, present, and future wars the federal government borrows money from the banks, to be repaid with interest year after year after year.

These interest payments alone are one of the biggest expenses in Carter's budget: a staggering total of more than \$46 billion.

Imagine a large factory with 5,000 workers each making eight dollars an hour, forty hours a week, fifty-two weeks a year. It would take more than 550 years for those workers to receive wages equal to the amount the banks will siphon out of our pockets next year in interest on the federal debt.

Jobs

The administration projects a rise in the official unemployment rate from 5.9 percent to 6.2 percent by the end of the year. The jobless figure is generally expected to go much higher, especially given the likelihood of a new recession this year or next.

Yet Carter proposes to cut 158,000 public service jobs and 250,000 summer youth jobs.

There could be no clearer statement that *permanent joblessness for millions* is now official government policy.

It also guarantees—despite Carter's pronouncements to the contrary—that Blacks will continue to suffer an unemployment rate nearly two-and-a-half times higher than for whites.

The prospect of even more misery from unemployment is welcomed by the employers, since it puts pressure on workers to accept lower wages, speed-

up, and unsafe working conditions.

Social services

Instead of the massive increases in funding needed to provide decent medical care for all, improve education, open child-care centers, end malnutrition, and abolish poverty, Carter continues to chip away at all useful social programs. The budget allots some \$16 billion less than would be required just to keep services at their present miserably inadequate level.

Carter says he is “developing” a national health plan . . . but with no funding until at least 1983. In other words, forget it.

Farmers

In a slap in the face to thousands of farmers who have protested his policies, Carter refuses to appropriate funds to meet their basic demand—to be assured the full cost of production for their crops, including a decent standard of living for them and their families.

Nukes

Instead of admitting the danger nuclear reactors pose to all humanity and shutting them down immediately, Carter proposes \$655 million for “effective measures to deal with nuclear waste.” That is a scientific impossibility. He also wants \$564 million to continue work on the most dangerous nuke of all, the breeder reactor.

Environment

With the country suffering an epi-

British strikers take on wage controls

By Nancy Cole

In this country, it's Carter's “war on inflation.”

In Britain they call it the “social contract.”

Or at least they used to. For more than three years, British workers have been saddled with so-called voluntary 5 percent wage guidelines, devised by the procapitalist Labour Party government. Now they're saying they've had enough.

It is the “most severe concentration of labor unrest in Britain” since the coal miners brought down the Conservative Party government in 1974, declared the *New York Times* January 23.

Since early in January, 100,000 striking truck drivers have tied industry in knots, demanding a 22.5 percent pay increase. Some 26,000 locomotive engineers on the government-run railroad have staged three one-day strikes in eight days, with another scheduled for January 25.

And on January 22, an estimated 1.5 million government workers, from nurses to garbage collectors, walked off the job for twenty-four hours. In London, 30,000 of the strikers rallied and marched to Parliament, chanting, “All-out strike!”

Other public workers are just beginning to bargain, including the miners in the nationalized coal industry.

This all follows the eight-week strike by 57,000 Ford workers that smashed the 5 percent wage limit. The auto strikers returned to work last November with a 16.85 percent increase.

Fearing a bigger response from the country's unionists, Prime Minister James Callaghan has thus far



One-and-a-half million public workers struck for higher pay January 22. Thousands (above) marched on Parliament.

steered clear of declaring a “state of emergency,” as was done during the 1974 miners' strike. This would allow soldiers to try to perform the strikers' jobs. For similar reasons, he doesn't think he can get away with imposing a mandatory wage freeze.

Instead, government officials are pleading with union officials for restraint. A phony bill to “stiffen” price controls is being rushed through Parliament.

Conservative Party officials are pushing for legislation to curb union rights. In Britain, unlike the United States, the labor movement has won the right for striking unionists to picket firms not directly involved in the labor dispute.

“The [5 percent] pay policy is dead in both the private and public sectors,” moaned the British magazine the *Economist*. “But the government's industrial troubles are only just beginning.”

Such forecasts indicate a real fear on the part of Britain's rulers. The chill cannot help but be felt across the Atlantic in the White House and Congress.

Much of the news coverage in this country of the growing strike wave has focused on the “ordinary” Briton's “alienation” from the strikers. Scenes of “umbrella-wielding female workers” attacking picketing truckers (*Time* magazine) have hit the spotlight.

Such selective reporting is more akin to whistling past the graveyard than it is to accurate news coverage. The widening scope and power of the strikes are proof enough of the support they have among the country's working class.

“You see, the government goes on about inflation, but that's rubbish,” said a striking truck driver. “We suffer from the rising prices too. So all we're doing now is trying to get

ours, just like the next lads.”

The truckers—member of the Transport and General Workers Union—are demanding a modest basic wage of \$130 for a forty-hour week. Now they make about \$106.

The low-paid public service workers have a basic wage of about \$85 a week. They are demanding a hike to \$120. Faced with strike action, the government offered those on the very lowest pay level a \$7-a-week raise. It wasn't good enough.

Transport union officials have agreed to keep essential goods moving. But reports are that many on the picket lines have balked at some of these “essentials.” Food for older people and children and medicine is one thing, said a picket, “but when they ask us to let through five container loads of rotting grapes, we refused.”

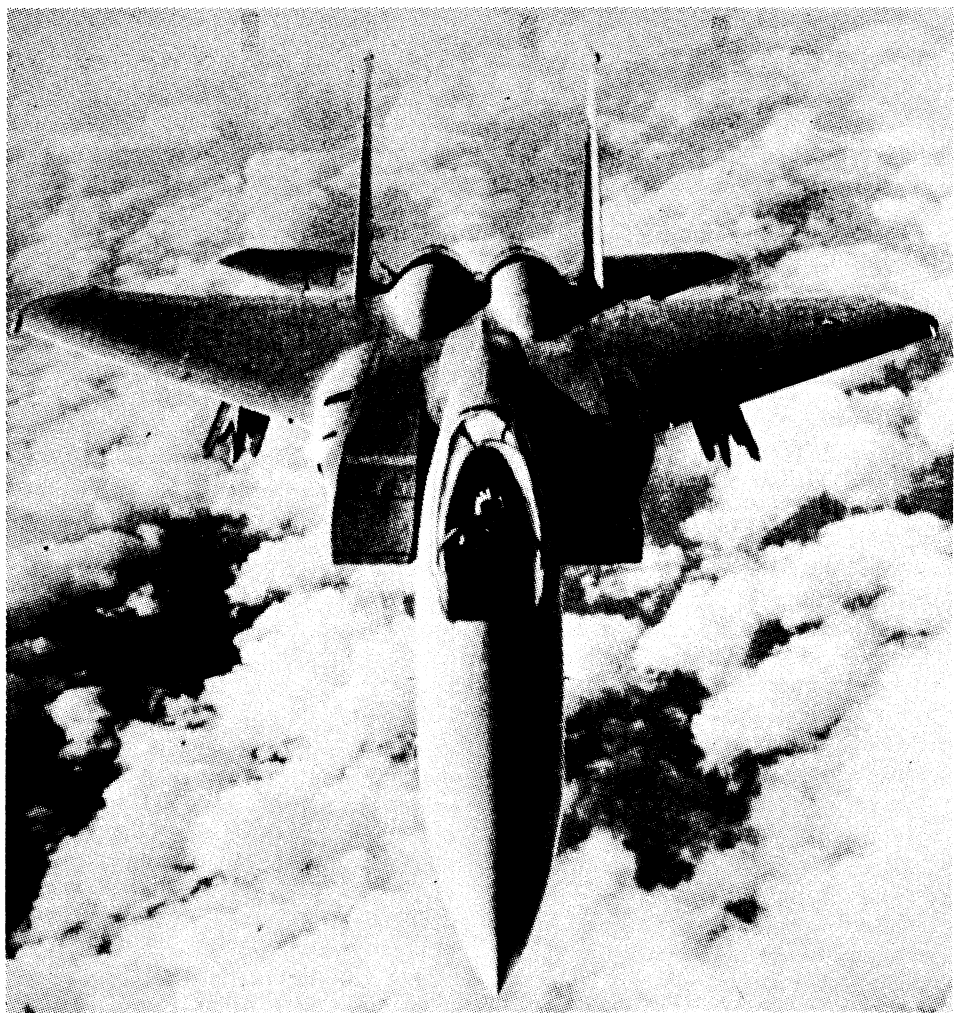
The *Economist* observes about top transport union officials that “neither Mr. [Moss] Evans nor Mr. [Alex] Kitson is much in control of anything in this strike. Real power is in the hands of unofficial strike committees up and down the country.”

Shades of last winter's U.S. coal strike!

In standing up to the government and refusing to accept a cut in their living standards, the British unionists are doing all working people in their country a much-deserved service.

They're also providing an example and inspiration for workers across the Atlantic.

Some 4.2 million U.S. unionists face contract battles this year under Carter's 7 percent guidelines. British unionists are showing what it takes to bust through such anti-working-class schemes.



demic of cancer largely caused by industrial wastes and toxic chemicals, Carter proposes all of \$70.4 million for a program to test and control these chemicals. That nearly equals the price tag for two P3 submarine-hunting airplanes from Lockheed at \$36 million apiece.

A grand total of \$148.1 million will be spent to enforce strip-mine regulations (which the administration is stalling announcement of) and to reclaim land devastated by strip-mining. That is less than one-fourth of this year's cost *overrun* on the Trident submarine (\$668 million).

Who pays?

Where the money goes is just one side of Carter's attempt to reorganize the federal budget for the "new era" of austerity. The other side is who foots the bill.

As recently as 1967, corporate income taxes provided 23 percent of federal revenue. In Carter's 1980 budget the corporate share is only 13 percent.

Last year Congress drastically increased Social Security taxes, which fall heaviest on low-paid workers. But it *cut* taxes on corporate profits by \$3.6 billion and *cut* capital gains taxes by \$2.1 billion (a giveaway that nearly all goes to people with incomes over \$50,000).

Inflation fighter?

Despite the obvious inequities of his budget proposals, Carter argues that workers and the poor will really benefit the most if Washington succeeds in curbing inflation by cutting the federal deficit. Is this true?

In the first place, when Carter points to federal deficit spending as the real cause of inflation—which it is—he is implicitly admitting that it is false to put the blame for inflation on workers' wages. The truth is that wages have been *falling behind* prices for at least five years, by the government's own statistics.

So if Carter had any real concern with helping workers cope with inflation, he wouldn't be using the club of "voluntary" wage guidelines to try to hold wage increases to 7 percent—a figure that *makes sure* wages will fall even further behind. (His "real wage insurance" plan, devised as window dressing for this wage-cut plan, has already been pronounced dead-on-arrival in Congress.)

The government's real attitude can be seen in its hostility to cost-of-living escalators for wages—the one measure of protection some workers do have—and its attempt to roll back the limited cost-of-living protection for Social Security recipients.

Second, the U.S. rulers' determination to police the world for corporate investment and profits—reflected in the mammoth war budget—makes it *impossible* for them to reduce the budget deficit enough to bring inflation to a near-standstill.

Carter's war budget guarantees that inflation will continue and even worsen.

Behind austerity drive

If Carter is not actually trying to halt inflation, then what are his economic policies all about?

The Democratic administration's "anti-inflation" demagoguery is merely a mask for continuing the anti-working-class offensive launched under the Republican administrations of Nixon and Ford.

The real purpose of this bipartisan austerity drive is to increase the profits, military might, and economic predominance of U.S. capitalism—at the expense of the working class at home and abroad.

The budget shifts are just one aspect of this austerity campaign. Others include:

- the 7 percent wage limits;
- the "drive less, heat less, pay more" energy policy; and
- the "tight money" course signaled last November 1 to prop up the dollar in world money markets even at the cost of a recession.

Cruel as these measures are for American workers, from the standpoint of the needs of the capitalist system *they are still not nearly enough*.

"One searches in vain in the Carter budget for genuinely significant proposals for spending cuts," complained the editors of the *Wall Street Journal*.

But to achieve the qualitative increase in profit rates the capitalists are desperately seeking, more than budget cuts—even deep ones—is required.

Productivity must be significantly boosted, eliminating thousands of jobs and brushing aside safety and health considerations.

The industrial working class must be forced to accept a drastically smaller share of the wealth it produces.

Neither Carter nor the capitalist class he represents feels confident about how fast they can proceed or how far they can go without provoking an explosion. But this much is certain:

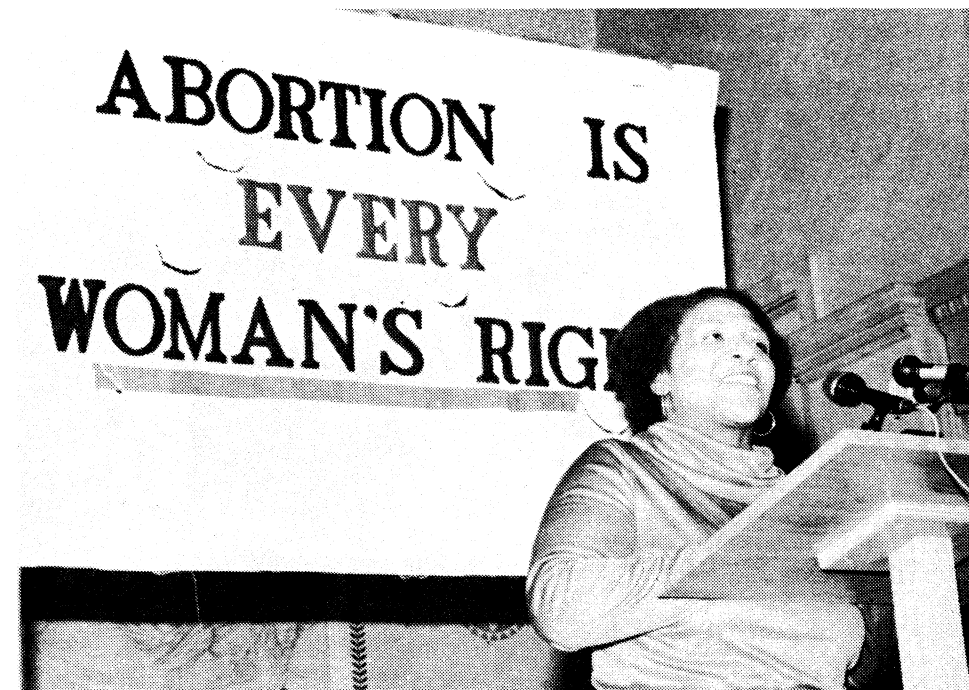
The assault will continue and escalate, with more and bigger class battles on every front as the workers try to defend themselves. And they will be able to do so successfully only through independent and uncompromising struggle against the government and the parties that are implementing the austerity drive.

Actions mark date of 1973 abortion victory

"No one is going to take this right away from us." That determination marked activities across the country commemorating the January 22, 1973, Supreme Court decision legalizing abortion.

Taking away abortion rights is exactly what the enemies of women have in mind. Most states have virtually ended Medicaid payments for abortions. Some cities and states have passed laws designed to make it nearly impossible to obtain an abortion. Anti-abortion amendments to the U.S. Constitution have been introduced in Congress.

Growing numbers of women are looking for a way to defend this precious right. Below are reports on two recent abortion rights actions.



At New York teach-in, Ruth Gilbert (above) reminded audience of pre-1973 days when women were forced to get unsafe, back-alley abortions.

New York

By Matilde Zimmermann

NEW YORK—"Things are beginning to turn around in the fight for reproductive freedom," was how the chairwoman opened a teach-in on abortion here January 19.

It certainly looked like she was right—with 500 abortion rights supporters crowded into a room set up for half that number. The size and enthusiasm of the audience showed the growing sense of emergency created by escalating attacks on the right to abortion.

Twenty literature tables lined the back of the room. Most of the groups active in the pre-1973 fight for legal abortion were represented, as well as new allies such as the antinuclear movement.

Ruth Gilbert from the Women's Division of the United Methodist Church described the situation women faced before 1973: "Those of us who had to go to a before-unknown address in Harlem, pretending we were going to a party—We say 'Never again!'"

Rhonda Copelon, an attorney from the Center for Constitutional Rights, called the new wave of anti-abortion laws and lawsuits "the establishment of a 'morality' that makes a fetish out of the fetus over and above everything else. This is just a cover for tremendous disdain for women."

Also speaking was Rubye Jones, president of the New York Coalition of Labor Union Women and an official of ILGWU, Local 91, representing workers in New York's garment district.

"What we have to do," Jones said, "is what the trade unions do all the time—unite, march, demonstrate. We all represent different groups, but it is time for all our different organizations to get together."

"The trade unions are out there picketing all the time," Jones pointed out. "We can learn a thing or two from the trade unions."

Explaining how the right to choose is related to women's fight to break into new industrial jobs, pediatrician Helen Rodríguez-Triaz spoke about five women at a Cyanamid plant who were recently blackmailed into getting sterilized to keep their jobs.

"This is industry's answer to the

growing concern about workplace health and safety," she said.

Feminist authors Alix Kates Shulman, Kate Millett, and Ellen Frankfort also spoke. Frankfort described the last days and hours of Rosie Jimenez, the first woman to die as a result of the cutoff in Medicaid funds for abortion.

Other speakers included State Sen. Carl McCall and Janet Benshoof of the American Civil Liberties Union.

Forty different organizations sponsored the teach-in. Chairwomen at the rally represented the New York chapter of the National Organization for Women; the Committee for Abortion Rights and Against Sterilization Abuse; and Catholics for a Free Choice.

New Jersey

By Alice Conner

TRENTON, N.J.—Chapters of the National Organization for Women around New Jersey, as well as from Philadelphia and New York City, sent delegations here January 20 to march and rally in support of abortion rights.

Nearly 500 demonstrators gathered at the Trenton Motor Lodge for a rally addressed by NOW national Vice-president Arlie Scott, New Jersey state assemblywoman Barbara McConnell, Dr. Helen Rodríguez-Triaz, and others.

Scott took issue with a recent *Washington Post* article admonishing women to stick to the issue of the Equal Rights Amendment. She pledged that NOW would not put aside this crucial fight.

The majority of those at the rally then marched to the State House for a picket to protest the anti-abortion Maersa-Deverin bill currently before the legislature. The bill is patterned after highly restrictive laws passed in Akron, Ohio, and in Louisiana.

The Trenton action was endorsed by a broad spectrum of groups, including the state Women's Council of the United Auto Workers. Leaflets were posted in auto plants around the state. Other endorsers included the Coalition of Labor Union Women, the YWCA, the Socialist Workers Party, Local 1082 of the Communication Workers of America, the National Council of Jewish Women, and locals 1437 and 3052 of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees.

Defy martial law

Turkey: one million protest rightist terror

By Gerry Foley

The first indication of the readiness of Turkish workers to defy the martial-law regulations banning all strikes and political meetings came on January 5, when a reported one million workers took part in a five-minute silent work stoppage to protest rightist terror.

The action, called by the left-wing union federation DISK, took place less than two weeks after the declaration of the state of "emergency." Constitutional guarantees were suspended in thirteen provinces December 26, on the pretext of countering a rightist pogrom that claimed at least 100 lives in the city of Kahraman Maras.

An indication of the militancy of the protest was given by the Istanbul daily *Cumhuriyet*, which carried on the front page of its January 6 issue a picture of protesting workers, standing by their machines giving the clenched-fist salute.

The DISK organizers faced military repression in building their action. In Diyarbakir, for example, which is in the largely Kurdish eastern part of the country, representatives of DISK and thirty other organizations were prevented by police from holding a news conference. The union representative was held in administrative detention.

The representatives of the other organizations were "manhandled" by the police, the union leadership said in a protest.

The January 7 *Cumhuriyet* carried an ad placed by DISK announcing that strikes that had been under way in twenty-four workplaces would be continued and that workers in ninety-one other workplaces had decided to go on strike. There was no comment on this by *Cumhuriyet* on either January 7 or 8.

Despite the resistance of the DISK leadership to the military's attempt to demobilize the workers movement, the federation leaders have not denounced the declaration of martial law as such or called for a campaign to have it lifted.

In general, the DISK leaders have confined themselves to saying that the military regulations must not be applied to the detriment of the democratic rights of the Turkish masses—as if they were likely to be applied in any other way.

The conservative labor federation Türk-Is, traditionally closely linked to the government and to bourgeois nationalism, took the occasion of the declaration of martial law to reaffirm its class-collaborationist principles.

In a statement issued December 29, the Türk-Is leadership said:

"One of the aims of this federation is . . . to prevent the deepening of class conflicts and to establish a policy of harmony, peace, fraternity, and solidarity among the classes. . . .

"Today is not the time for useless actions, it is a time for uniting."

Nonetheless, the organizers of the January 5 work stoppage said that their action had drawn in large sections of workers belonging to unions affiliated to Türk-Is.

The unconcealed satisfaction of the right-wing and neofascist leaders at the declaration of martial law has made it absolutely clear that this measure is aimed against the workers movement and the left.

On December 29, rightist former Premier Suleyman Demirel met openly with Colonel Alp Arslan Türkes, organizer of the rightist terror gangs that staged the pogrom and massacre in Kahraman Maras on December 22—



DEMIREL: Joins with neofascists to demand free hand for military

the sort of events that martial law was supposedly instituted to stop.

Demirel and Türkes were obviously taking the ball that Ecevit had handed to them and trying to run with it.

After his meeting with the neofascist leader, Demirel issued a statement saying: "The government must not interfere in the application of martial law." Thus, he was joining with the neofascists to demand that the right-wing military leaders be left a free hand to do as they pleased.

Such moves by the rightist leaders are a warning to the workers and the left parties that they have to begin now to organize broad struggles to prevent the military from putting them in a straitjacket, in which it and the fascists can cut their throats at their leisure.

In these circumstances, there seem to be relatively few illusions about the meaning of the martial-law declaration.

For example, in a news conference January 7, Behice Boran, chairman of the Turkish Workers Party, probably the most broadly supported left party, sharply condemned the Ecevit government for its decision to suspend constitutional guarantees:

"Terrorist actions must be suppressed. But the free exercise of democratic rights and freedoms must not be obstructed. There is no justification for banning strikes. In striking and mobilizing in other ways, the workers are by no means engaging in terrorism. The government must realize that you cannot defend democracy by banning democratic rights and freedoms."

Boran also warned that in order to continue to administer a capitalist system in crisis, Ecevit was going to move toward using more repression against the workers movement.

However, since neither the Turkish Workers Party nor the DISK leadership has yet called for a campaign against martial law as such, it remains to be seen whether the forces yet exist that can provide the sort of organization and leadership necessary.

Nonetheless, the work stoppage of one million shows that a considerable section of the Turkish working class already understands the threat represented by the declaration of martial law and is ready to fight against it.

From Intercontinental Press/Inprecor

Iranian Trotskyists appeal to ranks of army

One of the key aims of the mass movement in Iran has been to win over the ranks of the shah's conscript army. One of the appeals addressed to the troops was issued by the Iranian Trotskyists.

"Brother soldiers," it began, "the people, who for years have suffered oppression and torture at the hands of the government, have gained their freedom. . . .

"Do you remember how on the 14 of Shahrivan . . . and on the 17 of the same month [early and mid-October] we embraced each other? Do you remember how for two days not a pane of glass was broken? . . . Do you remember all the flowers we showered on you?"

The leaflet counters accusations that the demonstrators were out for loot by citing a report on the real "looters" issued by striking bank workers. This document listed large sums of money taken from the public till by top military officers.

The soldiers are reminded of the way they have always been treated by the officers and authorities. They are reminded of the small allowances they get by comparison with the amounts stolen by the officers.

The leaflet calls on the soldiers to start to think for themselves: "We say that soldiers should have a right to their own opinions, the right to vote. . . . They should not be used as a police force. . . .

"You should have the right to ask why you must drown your brothers and sisters in blood."

The concluding appeal is as follows:

"Brother soldiers, the people place their hopes in you. If you join them our criminal rulers will have no other force that can keep them in power. If you join us the workers, peasants, and poor people will be victorious. Victory to the Iranian revolution! Fight for a workers and peasants republic!"

From Intercontinental Press/Inprecor

Shah cushions exile with \$25 billion

Being a "king of kings" may not be secure work, but it certainly pays well. When the shah of Iran had to flee the country he took with him what an aide described as a "modest number of suitcases, only about forty."

Although the shah had to leave behind his royal palace, with its furnishings worth, in the words of one palace retainer, "many millions of dollars," he and the rest of the royal family will be able to set themselves up in style wherever they spend their exile.

An Iranian economist estimated the assets of the royal family at more than \$20 billion, while the Time-Life News Service put the figure at \$25 billion. The extent of this wealth can be seen from the observation that Argentina, a country of 26 million people, has a Gross Domestic Product of about \$22 billion.

The main repository of the royal family's wealth is the Pahlavi Foundation, organized as a "charity" but in fact an investment house managing the royal family's assets in Iran and abroad. Members of the royal family were as a matter of course given shares in the new businesses established in Iran, and there are indications that as much as \$2 billion a year in oil re-



SHAH: Left behind trinkets worth 'many millions of dollars.'

venues were routinely transferred by the National Iranian Oil Company to the shah's bank accounts abroad.

The royal family's business ventures were quite varied. According to Iranian sources quoted by the January 17 *Washington Post*, the shah's twin sister Ashraf was deeply involved in big-time drug smuggling. "Ashraf," they noted, "was into anything that smelled of money."

From Intercontinental Press/Inprecor

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Generals set stage for showdown in Iran

By David Frankel

Clinging to the rags of "legality" left behind by the fugitive dictator who appointed him, Prime Minister Shahpur Bakhtiar declared January 21: "I am the legitimate ruler of Iran and will continue to defend my post."

On January 24, Bakhtiar made his move, sealing off Tehran's Mehrabad Airport behind a ring of tanks and troops in an attempt to prevent the return of exiled opposition leader Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeyni.

With Khomeyni scheduled to return to Iran January 26, the stage is set for a showdown.

Even if Bakhtiar tries to back down now it is questionable whether he can control the shah's officer corps. The generals know that their forces are melting away day by day, and they may be convinced that they must try a takeover quickly to cut their losses.

The shah's flight from the country, the evident weakness of the Bakhtiar regime, and the continued appeals of the Iranian people are winning over large sections of the ranks of the army to the side of the opposition, while eroding the confidence of soldiers loyal to the shah.

In a January 23 article, *New York Times* correspondent Eric Pace cited the fact that "discipline had been crumbling at some bases." He quoted one source who predicted that "a substantial number of noncommissioned officers and junior officers . . . would not relay or carry out any orders from senior officers to shoot at Iranian civilians."

Gen. Abbas Gharabaghi, the chief of staff of the Iranian armed forces, felt it necessary to appeal for discipline and steadfastness in the military in a broadcast over the state radio January 22.

Of course, there are still forces who could be used in a coup. This was underscored the day after the shah's flight, when army units in Ahwaz and Dezful went on a rampage, killing about forty people and wounding hundreds.

Who would win?

On the other hand, an unsuccessful coup attempt could be a disaster for the Iranian ruling class and its backers in Washington. In 1974, a similar attempt by rightist officers to choke off the mass upsurge that followed the fall of the Portuguese dictatorship unleashed a mass mobilization that came close to toppling capitalism in Portugal.

Moreover, even if the military temporarily seized power in Iran, it would not solve the basic problem facing the ruling class—how to crush the mass movement. To attempt a head-on assault against the masses in this situation could split the army and provoke civil war.

Huge protests held January 19 made it clearer than ever that the mass movement is still on the upswing. In Tehran alone, a throng estimated at 1.5 to 4 million took to the streets against the Bakhtiar government. UPI reported that the Tehran march stretched for twenty miles, while *Time* magazine admitted that "it was undeniably the largest peaceful demonstration Iran had ever seen. . . ."

Calling the huge protests, which took place throughout the country, "the legitimate referendum of the streets," Khomeyni declared: "The arrival of



Soldiers in Tehran, wearing flowers and holding pictures of Khomeyni, joined celebration when shah fled.

the shah on the throne was illegal. With a popular referendum the shah has been overthrown. With pressure from the people we will take power."

Meanwhile, his residence ringed by tanks, Bakhtiar insisted: "I cannot give up the government of the country to the people because they have been persuaded by a religious personality."

Evaporating support

Although Bakhtiar has received support for this stand from the White House, members of his own government have begun to buckle.

Sayed Jaleleddin Tehrani, who was sent as Bakhtiar's personal envoy to plead for support from Khomeyni, indicated his judgment of the situation January 22 by handing Khomeyni his resignation as head of the regency council appointed prior to the shah's departure.

Pointing to the growing politicalization of the masses, *Newsweek* reported in its article on the January 19 demonstration in Tehran: "Banners identified various factions of Islamic Marxists, Turkish [Azerbaijani], Baluchi, and Arab separatists—and even one pocket of anti-Zionist Jews."

An editorial in the January 21 issue of the Tehran daily *Kayhan International* noted that "the enlightened clergy and opposition figures have already started a campaign to stem the tide of radicalization."

According to *Newsweek*, marshals in the January 19 march tried to stop communist groups from displaying their banners. But after shedding their blood for freedom, the Iranian masses are not likely to go along with such tactics for long.

Newsweek reported the statement of Sheik Mustafa Rahnama, a leader of the Islamic Socialist Party, who declared: "Democracy means that everybody has the right to express his views. Our movement must stand firmly against authoritarianism."

This sentiment was also reflected in a January 17 statement by Sadegh Ghotbezadeh, one of Khomeyni's top aides. He told *Washington Post* correspondent Ronald Koven that the Iranian Communist (Tudeh) Party, which Bakhtiar is trying to keep illegal, should be free to run in elections.

Constituent assembly

Iranian Trotskyists, meanwhile, are organizing to bring their ideas to the masses. They call for a government based on popular sovereignty, to be

organized through the democratic election of a constituent assembly. Such a representative body would serve as an arena where the various proposals for Iran's future could be debated before the eyes of the whole people.

The best way to guarantee democratic rights in Iran and to organize the masses to counter any attempts at a military coup is through the struggle for a popularly elected constituent assembly.

Socialist view of Iranian revolution

Revolutionists in the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance are on a campaign to answer the lies of the big business-controlled media about the Iranian revolution, to explain its importance for U.S. working people, and to get out the socialist perspective for advancing that revolution. As part of this campaign, SWP and YSA chapters are organizing public meetings around the country.

Doug Jenness, a member of the SWP National Committee, spoke to 250 people in New York City January 12. Sixty people heard Mark Harris of the YSA and George Sayad of the SWP in San Francisco on January 19.

Peter Buch of the SWP and Mark Harris will speak on the Iranian revolution in Berkeley, California, January 26. The meeting will be at 8 p.m. at 3264 Adeline Street (phone 653-7156). Kate Daher of the SWP will speak in Seattle on February 9 at 8 p.m. at 4868 Rainier Avenue, South Seattle (phone 723-5330).

Socialists in Baltimore are organizing a February 2 meeting, to be held at 8 p.m. in Remsen I, at Johns Hopkins University (phone 454-4758).

Meetings are planned in Albuquerque for February 9; Chicago for February 17; and in other areas. For information in your area, check the directory on page 31.

New Yorkers should also take note of an Iranian film festival to be held at the Thalia theater, (Ninety-fifth Street and Broadway, February 25-27. For information and tickets, contact the Committee for Artistic and Intellectual Freedom in Iran, 853 Broadway, Suite 414, New York, New York 10003; 673-6390.

Clark blasts U.S. policy in Iran

NEW YORK—Former U.S. Attorney General Ramsey Clark, Princeton University Prof. Richard Falk, and Don Luce of Clergy and Laity Concerned spoke at a well-attended news conference here January 22 about their just-completed fact-finding trip to Iran. They blasted Washington's support for the shah's dictatorship and the government of Prime Minister Shahpur Bakhtiar.

"The Iranian people have shown us what a people living under a tyranny—a regime with all the power of a modern army—could do," said Clark. "The overwhelming majority of the Iranian people said, 'enough,' and simply brought the economy of that country to a halt.

"If you want to know where the violence came from, it came from the government."

Calling for an end to U.S. intervention in Iran, Clark said: "I hope for our own well-being we'll learn the lesson of Iran and stop supporting dictators."
—D.F.

Joe Hansen: 'an example

By George Novack

Joseph Hansen, veteran leader of the Fourth International and Socialist Workers Party and editor of *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor* since its foundation, died on January 18 in New York City at the age of sixty-eight. Although he bore a sizable load of journalistic and organizational responsibilities up to the end, he had suffered from diabetes for some years and succumbed in a few days from infectious complications.

* * *

When Evelyn Reed and I were driving cross-country from Los Angeles to New York in 1965, we stopped at Richfield, a small town in Utah, attracted by a cowboy rodeo being staged that night. Some months later, when I told Joe Hansen how much we had enjoyed the spectacle of the Old West, known only from movies and T.V., he exclaimed, "Why, that's my hometown!"

Joe was born June 16, 1910. He was the oldest of fifteen children in a poor working-class family and became the only one to go to college.

The rugged life of this semirural territory in which he grew up made a lasting mark on his makeup. He had a sturdy physique and felt thoroughly at home in wilderness ways. He was a crack shot, a skill that was handy when he later served as a guard in the Trotsky household. He and his companion, Reba, whom he married in 1931, were most happy when they could backpack through the mountains and woods of their native state on their vacations, breathing in the pure air and hunting for unusual rock specimens.

How did this young fellow from a backwoods Mormon community become an outstanding Marxist, respected the world over as a political strategist and theoretician of the Trotskyist movement? From adolescence, he once told me, he had been intrigued by the personalities and promise of the Russian revolution, which took a stand for the poor against the rich.

However, it was the campus of the University of Utah in Salt Lake City that provided the springboard for his political career. Just as it had affected thousands of other students of that generation, the Great Depression turned his thoughts in an anticapitalist direction.

Joined Trotskyists

There fortunately he met up with Earle Birney, a professor who had broken with Stalinism in 1933 and started a branch of the Communist Left Opposition. Birney, who later became one of Canada's most promi-



With Trotsky in Coyoacán, Mexico. Hansen sought to live up to the high standards Trotsky set.

nent poets and literary critics, convinced him of the necessity for a socialist revolution and the correctness of the ideas and program of Trotskyism. Joe joined the party in 1934 and never wavered in his convictions and affiliations.

He majored in English and edited the campus literary magazine, *Pen*. Before graduating Joe moved in 1936 to the San Francisco area, where, as a party activist, he plunged into the chilly waters of maritime unionism, which was then going through turbulent internal and class battles. Together with Barney Mayes, he helped edit the *Voice of the Federation*, the organ of the Maritime Federation of the Pacific, representing all the maritime unions. He also wrote for *Labor Action*, the weekly of the California Socialist Party edited by James P. Cannon, the founder of American Trotskyism. Cannon had transferred to the West Coast from New York following the entry of the Trotskyist forces into the Socialist Party of Norman Thomas. Joe took charge of that paper from Jim.

This was Joe's initial immersion in the mass workers movement, which remained the breath of his existence. He was the finest sort of revolutionary intellectual, who placed his talents and education at the service of the socialist cause and wholeheartedly identified with the aims and aspirations of the multimillions who produce the wealth of the world.

Within the party, Joe at first fell under the influence of a group dominated by Martin Abern, one of the movement's pioneers. This induced him to distrust the leadership qualities of Cannon and to keep him at arm's length. "I can truthfully say," he later wrote in the admirable summation of that experience entitled "The Abern Clique," "that I was never more suspicious of any man than I was of Cannon—and this suspicion was wholly the result of Abernism."

His Abernite origins did not prevent him from being chosen to go to Mexico in September 1937 to act as a secretary for the exiled Russian revolutionist Leon Trotsky. Joe served in that capacity until after Stalin's assassination of

his arch-adversary in 1940.

Trotsky preferred to have the cool-headed Joe chauffeur his car on outings. According to the recently published memoirs of Jean van Heijenoort, who was a secretary for seven years, Trotsky felt closer to Joe than to any other of the American comrades who assisted the household.

He was on guard duty when the murderer drove his pickaxe into Trotsky's skull, and helped pin the assassin to the floor until the police arrived.

Responsibility no burden

Joe esteemed the training he received in the company of the "Old Man," as Trotsky was called, and tried in every respect to pattern his own political conduct upon that of his teacher. He more than fulfilled that commitment. Once in a while amongst ourselves, we would smile affectionately at the immoderate rigor he imposed upon himself—and set for others—in pursuit of that ideal.

Yet this self-assumed responsibility was not a burden for Joe; it was a pleasure. The record of his participa-

\$20,000 Hansen Publishing Fund

Continued from front page

several cities to honor Hansen's accomplishments and contributions to the Socialist Workers Party and Fourth International.

The aim is to obtain the entire \$20,000 by March 31, so that the selection and preparation of the first volume can begin without delay.

Reba Hansen, Joseph Hansen's companion and collaborator for forty-eight years, will serve as treasurer of the fund. George Novack, who had worked closely with Hansen in literary projects for four decades, will serve as chairperson.

Among the project's initial sponsors are: Tariq Ali, Robin Blackburn, Hugo Blanco, Ken Coates, Pierre Broué, Tamara Deutsch, Pierre Frank, Tom Gustafson, Al Hansen, Quintin Hoare, Pierre Lambert, Livio Maitan, Ernest Mandel, Nahuel Moreno, Louis Sinclair, Ray Spar-

row, Ernest Tate, Leon Trotsky's grandson Vsevolod Volkof, and Mary-Alice Waters.

Hansen wrote extensively on a wide range of topics, including: the post-World War II overturn of capitalism in Eastern Europe; the Cuban revolution; revolutionary strategy in Latin America; the myth of overpopulation; American fascism; and Stalinist "science" in the Soviet Union.

The New York meeting to launch the Joseph Hansen Publishing Fund will take place January 28 at 3:00 p.m. at the Marc Ballroom, 27 Union Square West (between Fifteenth and Sixteenth streets). For more information, call (212) 982-8214.

A Los Angeles meeting is scheduled for February 4 at 2:00 p.m. at the Community Service Organization Hall, 2130 East First Street (at First and Chicago) in Boyle Heights. For more information, call (213) 482-

1820.

There will be a meeting in the San Francisco Bay Area on February 11 at 3:00 p.m. at the Unitarian Church on the corner of Franklin and Geary in San Francisco. Additional information can be obtained by calling (415) 824-1992.

Meetings have also been scheduled for Seattle, New Orleans, and San Diego.

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the trotskyist view
by joseph hansen

First volume of Hansen's writings, 'The Dynamics of the Cuban Revolution,' is available from Pathfinder Press, 410 West St., New York, New York 10014, for \$5.45. Fund will make possible the publication of additional writings.

for youth to learn from'

tion in the revolutionary socialist movement on both the national and international arenas shows how well he lived up to the standards of his mentor.

Joe returned to New York from Mexico following Trotsky's death and the split in the Socialist Workers Party occasioned by the outbreak of the Second World War. He became indispensable as a journalist because of the shortage of qualified personnel. Very few of us could match his literary output. As a member of the National Committee, he then served his apprenticeship in the central leadership of the Socialist Workers Party.

As a result of his discussions with Trotsky in Mexico and his deeper understanding of the stakes in the factional struggles of the party, Joe's attitude toward Cannon and his associates changed into its opposite. He came to appreciate Jim's exceptional capacities at their true value. The two men grew to be steadfast friends and intimate collaborators.

This relation was so readily recognized that when news came of Cannon's sudden death at the age of eighty-four in the midst of a party educational conference in the summer of 1974, it was entirely natural that Joe be called upon to deliver the main speech at the memorial meeting.

Joe had so many accomplishments to his credit that only the most noteworthy of his contributions to the movement can be mentioned here.

Unexpected developments in Eastern Europe arising from the Soviet victory over Nazism in the Second World War posed challenging theoretical problems to the Fourth International. How were the transformations that took place in the countries occupied by the Red Army to be analyzed and appraised?

Joe was among the first to recognize that capitalist property relations had been eliminated in these countries by the end of the 1940s, giving rise to a series of deformed workers states ruled by bureaucratic castes.

He explained that while the Stalinist bureaucrats had restricted, repressed, and choked off workers' struggles in occupied East Europe, they had nonetheless been compelled by Truman's war drive to launch a distorted form of civil war against the remaining capitalist forces, even mobilizing the workers to some degree to accomplish this. This conclusion accorded with the method of analysis of the government, state, and economy Trotsky employed in his last writings on Stalinism and the Soviet Union.

Workers and farmers gov't

This basic analysis was further tested and refined in the crucibles of the Chinese, Cuban, and Algerian revolutions. In analyzing events in Cuba, Joe put special emphasis on the role of the "workers and farmers government" established in the latter part of 1959. Such a government, independent of the capitalists and based on the workers and peasants movements, can arise in the midst of a mass revolutionary upsurge. However, it finds itself in conflict with the capitalist property relations that still dominate the economy.

Thus, a workers and farmers government can lead relatively quickly to the formation of a workers state through the establishment of a qualitatively new socioeconomic foundation (as happened in China and Cuba). Or, if the upsurge is misled or aborted, such a government can lead to a relapse into a rehabilitated capitalist regime (as occurred in Algeria). The concept of a workers and farmers government, originally advanced by the Communist International in Lenin's and Trotsky's day, was made an integral part of the founding program of the Fourth International.

Joe's incisive commentaries enhanced our understanding of the role

of the workers and farmers government as a transitional instrument in the transformation of the state.

For the first decade, Joe followed every step in the progress of the Cuban revolution in the pages of the Trotskyist press. He grasped its historic importance as the breakthrough and pacesetter of the socialist revolution in the Western Hemisphere. In 1960 he visited Cuba, together with Farrell Dobbs, presidential candidate of the party, and helped launch the Fair Play for Cuba Committee. The last words he wrote were a message to the Young Socialist Alliance convention this December, saluting the twentieth anniversary of the victory of the Cuban people.

While solidarizing with the aims of the revolutionary leadership and defending its achievements against U.S. imperialism and its apologists, Joe plainly set forth his criticisms of the manifest shortcomings of Castro's regime, both in its domestic and foreign policies, from the standpoint of the Marxist program. Numerous articles and polemics of his on Cuba can be studied in the just-published book *Dynamics of the Cuban Revolution*. It offers ample insight into the progressive thrust and contradictions of the Cuban experience to date.

'Old Guard'

Joe belonged to the "Old Guard" of American Trotskyism who had to endure the hard times inflicted by the cold-war witch-hunt from 1948 through the early 1960s. He was a seaman during the Second World War and could have resumed that occupation except that Truman's loyalty purge barred him and scores of other party members from maritime employment because of their political views and affiliations.

In late 1953, when the party leadership decided to send Joe to the upcoming World Congress in Europe as the person best able to explain the opportunist and liquidationist character of the Cochran faction in the SWP and our differences with the Pablo grouping internationally, the American political police directly intervened to deepen the split in the Fourth International.

Joe's application for a passport was rejected on political grounds by the State Department. No central leader of our party was able to travel abroad to directly discuss our political views with our co-thinkers in the Fourth International until Farrell Dobbs received a passport in the late 1950s. In Joe's case, it was not until January 1961 that he was able to obtain his right to a passport.

This prolonged period of persecution and isolation bore down on and dis-



Hansen contributed to Marxist understanding of postwar social transformations in Eastern Europe, China, and Cuba.

heartened many of our former co-workers. Joe was a tower of strength throughout those difficult years, especially in the bitter faction fight that culminated in the breakaway of the Cochran group from the SWP in 1953 and the split in the Fourth International inspired by Michel Pablo.

Joe never lost confidence in the prospects of the working class or the decisive role of the proletarian party in bringing about a socialist America in a socialist world. He carefully analyzed the phenomenon of McCarthyism and helped elaborate a policy to counter its threat. During the darkest days of the 1950s he taught classes on Marx's *Capital* at the Trotsky School. We were then so short-handed that our theoretical monthly, the *International Socialist Review*, could not be produced in New York; Joe and I, assisted by Frank Graves, had to publish it for a while in Los Angeles.

World-historical outlook

Transcending his upbringing in a provincial place, Joe managed to acquire a world-historical outlook on all questions. He had assimilated the internationalism at the basis of Marxism into the marrow of his bones. He carried this into practice as an envoy of the Socialist Workers Party in promoting the unification of the Trotskyist forces that had been divided since 1953, and consolidating that unity early in the 1960s before the new wave of radicalization began. He helped draft the documents that provided the

platform for overcoming the nine-year split.

The launching of *Intercontinental Press* (then named *World Outlook*) was one of the most important products of the unification. From 1963 to 1965 it was put out in mimeographed format by Joe and Reba with the help of Pierre Frank to serve as a weekly news service to the international movement and provide its cadres with information and timely analyses of events that could help orient their thinking and activities.

If an institution can be, as Emerson says, "the lengthened shadow of a man," that was certainly the case with *IP*. The universal scope of its coverage and its exceptionally high technical and political quality have given it an enviable reputation in radical circles on all continents.

At one time or another Joe edited the principal publications of the Socialist Workers Party, the *Militant* and the *International Socialist Review*. He was an extremely exacting editor who detested slipshod work in any endeavor, whether in preparing a meal, repairing a motor, or polishing an article. I sometimes marveled at his punctilious insistence on checking a quotation or verifying a fact. He set very high standards for his staff. Yet he asked no more of them than of himself.

Joe was guided in all his political work by the method of the Transitional Program, elaborated as the charter of the Fourth International while he was with Trotsky in Coyoacán, as well as by the Leninist strategy of party building. He was constantly preoccupied with the grand problems of political strategy in the emancipatory struggles of the proletariat whether these took place in Portugal, China, Chile, or an advanced capitalist country.

Joe mustered all the knowledge he had gleaned from his teachers in the polemics over Latin American policy connected with the factional alignments in the Fourth International from 1969 to 1977. He was most proud of these writings. His contributions not only clarified the issues at stake but helped set the tone of objective exposition in the debate. This facilitated the eventual resolution of the major differences between the contending factions, which were dissolved in late 1977. He, as much as anyone else, was responsible for the fact that this most prolonged struggle of tendencies in the history of the labor Internationals ended not in separation, but in a better-grounded ideological homogeneity.

He did not feel that the task of unifying the dispersed Trotskyist cadres had been completed with the

Continued on page 24



Joe Hansen and Reba Hansen in the early 1940s

Hansen on '75 evacuation of Cambodia's cities

Among Joseph Hansen's lasting contributions to the socialist movement in this country and internationally are his many articles on subjects from the Cuban revolution, to the myth of overpopulation, to American fascism. He was a revolutionary journalist and polemicist of the first order.

The following article by Hansen first appeared in the May 16, 1975, issue of 'Intercontinental Press,' which he edited, and in the May 30, 1975, 'Militant.' We are reprinting it now both because it provides invaluable background material on the recent events in Cambodia and because it is a model of Hansen's clear, honest, and probing Marxist explanation of world events.

Those who learned revolutionary journalism from Hansen, know that one of his uppermost rules of thumb was this: behind a lack of clarity on paper lies a lack of clarity on the topic under discussion.

By Joseph Hansen

Pnompenh fell to the People's National Liberation Armed Forces of Cambodia on April 17, but accounts of what happened did not become available in the world press until May 8. The journalists who witnessed the take-over were barred from sending out dispatches. After reaching Thailand in a convoy of refugees May 3, they agreed to hold up their reports until several hundred additional refugees had crossed the border.

The accounts of the more responsible journalists must be taken as generally accurate, particularly in view of the fact that neither the new Cambodian authorities nor the governments in Hanoi and Peking have issued specific denials.

First of all—and this strengthens their credibility—the reporters deny that any "bloodbath" occurred. They also deny finding any evidence, or being able to locate any eyewitnesses, of the "executions" that the Ford administration claims to have learned about through "hard intelligence," i.e., the CIA.

A sensationalistic account of atrocities presumably witnessed by Bernard Piquart, who was chief surgeon at the French-run Calmette Hospital in

Pnompenh, was denied within a day by the doctor.

There were two take-overs on April 17. The first was carried out early in the morning by a small force led by one Hem Keth Dara. For a few hours he ruled the city as Lon Nol's troops laid down their arms, and the populace, at first fearful, poured into the streets to celebrate the victory.

The holiday mood evaporated when the main forces arrived about noon. They disarmed Hem Keth Dara. In the May 9 issue of the *New York Times*, Sydney H. Schanberg offers a vivid eyewitness account of what happened next:

"Using loudspeakers, or simply shouting and brandishing weapons, they swept through the streets, ordering people out of their houses. At first we thought the order applied only to the rich in villas, but we quickly saw that it was for everyone as the streets became clogged with a sorrowful exodus."

"In Phnom Penh two million people suddenly moved out of the city en masse in stunned silence—walking, bicycling, pushing cars that had run out of fuel, covering the roads like a human carpet, bent under sacks of belongings hastily thrown together when the heavily armed peasant soldiers came and told them to leave immediately, everyone dispirited and frightened by the unknown that awaited them and many plainly terrified because they were soft city people and were sure the trip would kill them.

"Hospitals jammed with wounded were emptied, right down to the last patient. They went—limping, crawling, on crutches, carried on relatives' backs, wheeled on their hospital beds. . . .

"A once-thriving city became an echo chamber of silent streets lined with abandoned cars and gaping, empty shops. Streetlights burned eerily for a population that was no longer there."

"Traveling across the country on the way to Thailand, Schanberg noted that other cities and towns had been similarly evacuated. He came to the following conclusion:

"The victorious Cambodian Communists . . . are carrying out a peasant revolution that has thrown the entire country into upheaval.

"Perhaps as many as three or four million people [out of a population of seven million] . . . have been forced out of the cities and sent on a mammoth and grueling exodus into areas deep in the countryside where, the Communists say, they will have to become peasants and till the soil. . . .

"The old economy of the cities has been abandoned, and for the moment money means nothing and cannot be spent. Barter has replaced it."

For the Washington propagandists, Cambodia's "peasant revolution" was a windfall. They pounced on it. The reactionary columnist William Safire, for instance, said, ". . . this is no Cambodian aberration, but the path always taken by new Communist parties as they take power." Calling it the "decapitation of a capital city," he averred that "Communism is by its nature anti-city, anti-civilization, anti-freedom."

U.S. responsibility

And what precipitated the process that led to these results? It was Nixon's incursion in 1970. B-52s carpet bombed Cambodia. The countryside was cratered. About 600,000 Cambodians were killed. Another 600,000 were wounded. This was the "civilizing mission" directed from Washington, the capital city of the United States.

Is it any wonder that the peasants of Cambodia came to view cities as evil incarnate? Behind those untouchable pilots in the giant bombers who showered their country with fiendishly destructive devices, they saw the city of Washington. And within closer reach they saw the cities and towns where dirty puppets did everything they could to help Washington destroy them and their families.

Despite this completely justifiable hatred of the foreign power that sought to bomb them back into the Stone Age, one of the leaders in the new Information Ministry told Schanberg: "We would like you to give our thanks to the American people who have helped us and supported us from the beginning, and to all people of the world who love peace and justice. Please give this message to the world."

Evidently the liberation forces are able to distinguish between the White House and the antiwar movement that played such a key role in bringing the imperialist aggression to an end.

The Cambodian people have a right to determine their own fate. This applies just as much after their victory over the foreign imperialist invaders as before. Everyone who has fought for this right must continue to uphold it. We must be particularly alert to any new imperialist attempt to intervene in the internal affairs of the Cambodian people. The slogan remains, "Hands off Cambodia!"

Nonetheless revolutionary Marxists are duty bound to voice their concern over the program that is being followed by the national liberation forces in Cambodia. It is not a communist program.

Cities' class composition

Consider the class composition of the cities and towns. The very thin layer of capitalists or would-be capitalists, left Cambodia before the collapse of Lon Nol. About 5,000 or 6,000 persons were involved. While a few individual traitors decided to remain and take their chances, they no longer constitute a serious danger. The fact is that the bulk of the city population in Cambodia consists of workers and artisans and their families.

To view them as potential, if not actual class enemies is not Marxist. And to drive them into the countryside for "reeducation" does grave injury to the Cambodian revolution. The same layers, in alliance with the peasants, constitute the key force required to move toward a socialist society.

It cannot be excluded, of course, that the new authorities had good reasons for deciding that the first major action following the victory should be the evacuation of the cities. Perhaps they will eventually say that a forced march was required to plant crops, or that transport was not available to feed the cities. But this would not explain why the evacuation was ordered in such a summary way on the very day of the victory, or why it was undertaken at such high cost in human suffering. Why wasn't it explained to the populace? Why weren't they given more time? Why weren't they consulted and brought into the planning? Why were they handled like enemies?

The answers are tied in with the pattern of the Cambodian revolution. As in China, the most massive force is composed of rebel peasants. Again as in China, this force created an army in the countryside. The peasant army, in turn, created a command structure. Here we find the key element.

In former times, the commanders led similar peasant armies against a corrupt, decayed regime. Toppling the old regime and carrying out a number of progressive measures permitting a new expansion of agriculture, the army command would mark the beginning of a new dynasty.

This ancient Asian pattern helped shape the revolutionary process that brought Mao to power.

In modern times, of course, the command structure of a peasant army created in this way is subject to international influences that block the old pattern from being merely repeated. In the case of China, it placed in power a Chinese variant of Stalinist bureaucratism. What the outcome will be in Cambodia remains to be seen.

The degree of influence Hanoi and Peking may have with the new authorities in Cambodia is not clear. Moscow's standing is very low. A rocket was fired through the Soviet embassy in Pnompenh, the building was looted, and the seven Russians there were ordered to leave the country with the final convoys of foreigners.

On May 11 the Pnompenh radio said: "The victory of the Cambodian people is the same as the victory of the Chinese. The strategic unity between Cambodia and China, which is the base of our friendship, will last forever.

Continued on page 24

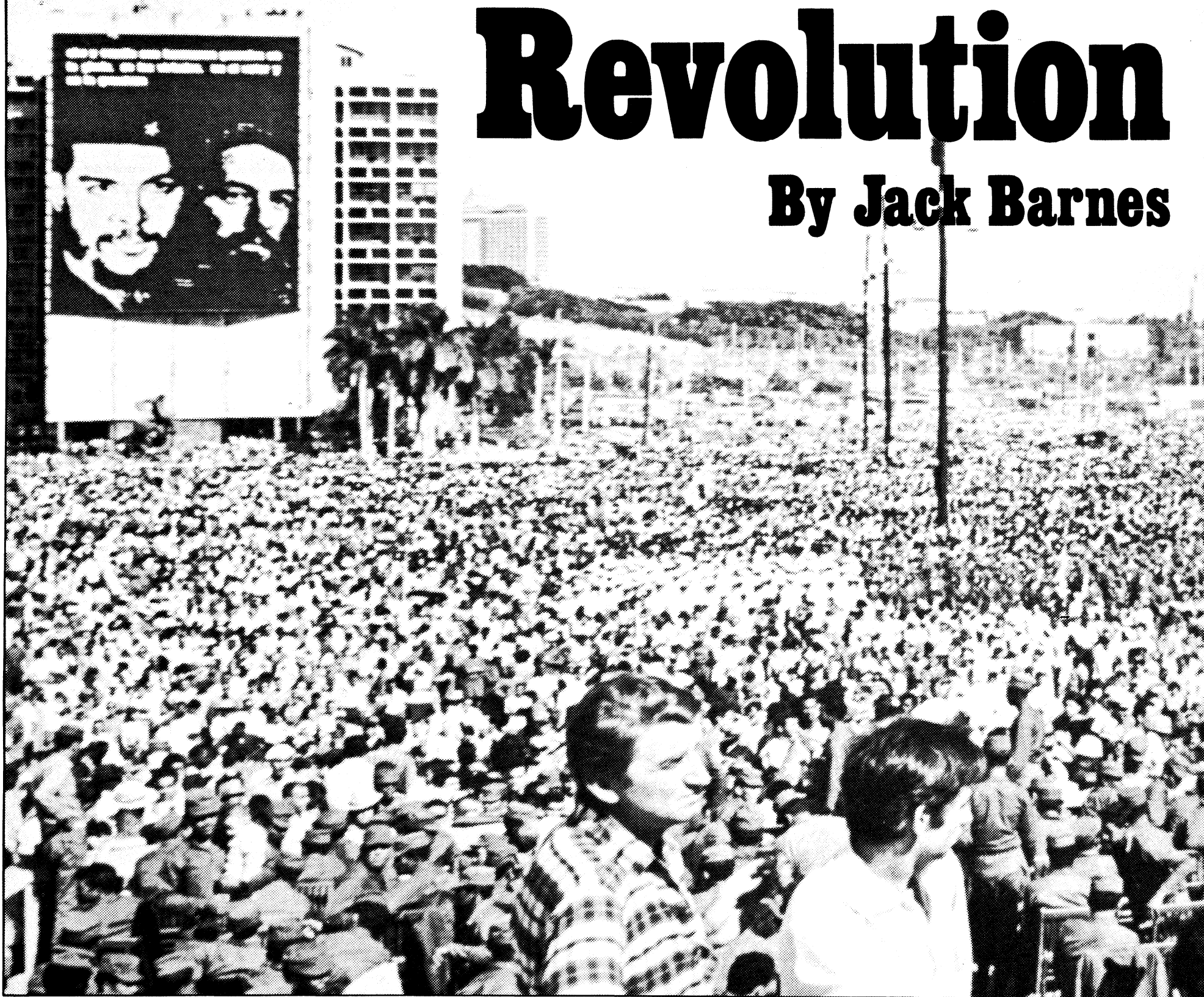


April 1975: Pnompenh emptied by forced march of 2 million

international **socialist** review

CUBA: Twenty Years of Revolution

By Jack Barnes



Trotsky's Centennial and the Iranian Revolution

THE MONTH IN REVIEW

Trotsky's Centennial and the Iranian Revolution

1979, which opened with the shah of Iran's downfall and new demonstrations of millions in Iran's cities, marks the centennial of the birth of Leon Trotsky.

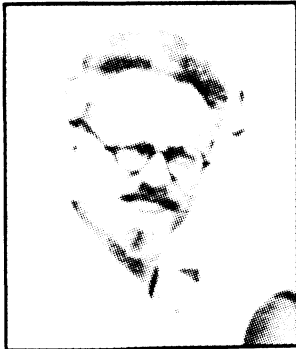
Born in a small farming community in the Ukraine in November 1879, Trotsky (named Lev Davidovich Bronstein by his parents) became one of the giant figures in the struggle for human liberation.

Trotsky played a major part in the Russian revolution in 1905. His role was second only to that of Lenin in the workers' revolution led by the Bolshevik Party in November 1917.

Along with Lenin, Trotsky was the prime exponent of and contributor to the ideas of revolutionary socialism in our century.

Today the ideas that Trotsky fought for are being tested again—and confirmed again—in the crucible of the Iranian revolution.

Millions of ordinary Iranians—workers, peasants, students, shopkeepers, and soldiers—have defied death again and again to fight for their freedom. These are the kind of people Trotsky was certain would someday remake the world.



The U.S. ruling class and its strategists have contempt for the masses. That is why the experts at the State Department and CIA were sure the shah's throne was secure. They thought that demagogic pretenses of "prosperity," "land reform," and "modernization" would placate some. But above all, they believed the masses would never be able to defy the vast army and secret police apparatus that the U.S. imperialists built for their royal puppet.

In the preface to *The History of the Russian Revolution*, Trotsky described the process that the U.S. ruling class believed would never happen in Iran:

"The most indubitable feature of a revolution is the direct interference of the masses in historic events. In ordinary times the state, be it monarchical or democratic, elevates itself above the nation, and history is made by specialists in that line of business—kings, ministers, bureaucrats, parliamentarians, journalists.

"But at those crucial moments when the old

order becomes no longer endurable to the masses, they break over the barriers excluding them from the political arena, sweep aside their traditional representatives, and create by their own interference the initial groundwork for a new régime. . . .

"The history of a revolution is for us first of all a history of the forcible entrance of the masses into the realm of rulership over their own destiny."

Revolutions such as the one in Iran are inevitable, Trotsky explained, because capitalism stands in the way of human progress. The economic exploitation, enforced backwardness, and political barbarism that the Iranian masses are rebelling against is one manifestation of this.

On a wider scale, world wars, world depressions, environmental destruction, and the creation of weapons capable of destroying our planet are among the ways humanity is paying for the maintenance of a social system that has outlived its usefulness.

But Trotsky did more than predict the inevitability of revolution. As a result of the experience of the Russian revolution of 1905, Trotsky explained the underlying dynamics of the Iranian revolution taking place today.

Trotsky showed that capitalism was not only a barrier to progress in highly industrialized countries such as the United States. Even in mainly agricultural countries such as Russia, where many tasks formerly accomplished by bourgeois revolutions had not yet been achieved, capitalism acted as a roadblock to economic development and social progress.

In Iran today—as in tsarist Russia—it is necessary not just to smash the monarchy and ensure political democracy. It is necessary to end the plundering of the peasants by landlords and money-lenders, to liberate women and the oppressed nationalities, to end illiteracy, and to develop a modern economy capable of meeting the most basic needs of the country.

No capitalist regime can accomplish these tasks. This proved to be the case not only in prerevolutionary Russia, but throughout the colonial and semicolonial world.

To accomplish their goals, Trotsky explained that the workers and peasants would have to smash the old regime through their own mass actions and go forward to establish a workers and peasants government that would defend the interests of the oppressed against the exploiters. This is what the working people of tsarist Russia, led by the Bolshevik Party of Lenin and Trotsky, did in 1917.

Trotsky foresaw that the working class—few in numbers though it might be compared to the peasantry—would play the leading role in the revolution. The role of 67,000 Iranian oil workers in the struggle that forced the shah out provides a striking example of this.

Just as Trotsky insisted that only a socialist revolution could successfully meet the needs

of the masses, he also insisted that the struggle for socialism was international in character.

Until the power of imperialism is shattered on a world scale, none of the gains made by the masses in Iran or any other country are really secure.

The imperialists themselves see their counterrevolutionary efforts in completely international terms. They intervene in other countries all the time. Right now, they are openly complaining about the implications of the Iranian revolution for their prospects in the Middle East, the Horn of Africa, southern Africa, and elsewhere.

Socialists also see the Iranian revolution as part of a worldwide struggle over the future of humanity. Success for the oppressed in any struggle helps the fight for human liberation in every part of the world.

For example, the long struggle of the Indochinese peoples against the U.S. military machine, and the mass movement against the Vietnam War inside the United States, have had a profound impact on the struggle in Iran. U.S. imperialism was unable to intervene militarily to prop up the shah's regime because of deep antiwar sentiment among the American people—sentiment that took root during the Vietnam War.

And now the Iranian revolution is making its mark on American politics. The spectacle of "human rights" Carter trying—and failing—to ram the shah down the throats of the Iranian people has further undermined the government's credibility.

American working people are watching the inspiring struggle of their Iranian brothers and sisters with increasing attention, and the lessons they draw will affect the future course of the class struggle in the United States.

Although Trotsky had boundless confidence in the power, courage, and creativity of the oppressed, he also knew that victory is not automatic, even when millions have gone into action.

The key to the victory of the Iranian revolution, as in the Russian revolution, is the forging of a mass revolutionary socialist party capable of winning the confidence of the working people and leading them to power.

Trotsky knew that the future of humanity hinged on the building of such parties throughout the world. That is why he devoted his last years to building the Fourth International.

Because of his experience in the Russian revolution, Trotsky was confident that even a handful of revolutionists, armed with a correct program, could rapidly win masses to their banner during the kind of upheaval now shaking Iran.

And he firmly believed that under the leadership of such revolutionary parties, the working people of the world will end the descent into barbarism that marks decaying capitalism, and open a new era of progress, equality, and human solidarity.

CONTENTS

The Month In Review	2
John Brooks Wheelwright: Poet and Revolutionary By Alan Wald	3

Cuba: Twenty Years of Revolution By Jack Barnes	5
Leon Trotsky Black Nationalism and Self Determination Reviewed by Fred Feldman	12
Letters	12



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John Brooks Wheelwright: Poet and Revolutionary

The poet John Brooks Wheelwright (1897-1940) was one of the artists who were radicalized by the events of the 1930s. He became a revolutionary socialist and a member of the Socialist Workers Party. His evolution from religion to Marxism can be traced in his poetry.

By Alan Wald

The history of modern poetry repeatedly demonstrates the attractiveness of revolutionary politics for many of the most dedicated poets. Testimony for this affinity can be found in the careers of William Blake, Percy Bysshe Shelley, Lord Byron, and William Morris, who blended rebel social thought with seminal verse.

The magnetism has worked in reverse as well, for the poetic muse hovered over the pioneers of scientific socialism throughout their lives. As a first year student at the University of Bonn, Karl Marx devoted most of his time to gatherings of

Collected Poems of John Wheelwright

Edited by Alvin H. Rosenfeld, with an introduction by Austin Warren. New York, New Directions, 1972. 278 pp. \$12.50.

the poets club that held readings in local taverns. Both Marx and Frederick Engels published verse in their youth, and in mature years their circle of friends and collaborators included the poets Heinrich Heine, George Herwegh, and Ferdinand Freiligrath.

In the United States, prior to World War I, poetry and socialism were frequent companions in the salons and studios of Greenwich Village, as well as in the pages of the *Masses* magazine (edited by the poet-revolutionaries Max Eastman, Floyd Dell, and John Reed). In the decades following the 1917 Russian revolution, however, attempts to marry poetry to the new center of left-wing political activity—the American Communist Party—met with only episodic success.

A good measure of the blame for this unsatisfactory union must be attributed to the theories decreed by the Soviet Communist Party in the late 1920s, in the aftermath of Joseph Stalin's consolidation of power through the defeat of his opponents Leon Trotsky and Nikolai Bukharin.

The Communists' slogan of the early 1930s, "Art is a class weapon," had two major liabilities for poetry: it fostered the judgment of the worth of literature by political criteria, and it created a suspicious attitude toward the poetic achievements of the 1920s—one of the richest decades in history for the advancement of literary forms.

Yet British radicals can point to the achievements of major figures such as W.H. Auden, Stephen Spender, and Christopher Isherwood, whose development as writers was intimately bound to their left-wing experiences in the Depression Decade. Is it possible that no parallel phenomenon existed among poets in the United States during the social dislocation and class battles of the 1930s?

A new generation of Marxist scholars will have to answer this question by resurrecting literary figures neglected or misrepresented by the elitist critics who became entrenched in academia during World War II and the cold-war years. However, there is already increasing evidence—through the appearance of several anthologies—that the 1930s radical poetry of figures such as Horace Gregory, Richard Wright, Muriel Rukeyser, Kenneth Patchen, and Kenneth Fearing has been undervalued.¹

1. See, for example, the new collection *Social Poetry of the 30s*, edited by Jack Salzman and Leo Zander (New York: Burt Franklin and Company, 1978).

Alan Wald, a frequent contributor to the *ISR*, is the author of *James T. Farrell: The Revolutionary Socialist Years*, published by New York University Press.

Among the most likely candidates for belated recognition as the outstanding revolutionary poets of the 1930s is John Brooks Wheelwright (1897-1940), a rebel Boston Brahmin and heretical Christian who turned against his class and its hypocritical ethics. Wheelwright devoted the last eight years of his life to revolutionary Marxism and the working-class movement. At the time of his premature death—he was struck down by a drunken driver in Boston at the age of forty-three—he was a member of the Socialist Workers Party.

Proof of the enduring vitality of Wheelwright's work came in 1972 when his collected poems were reissued in one volume. Not a single book of his had been in print for more than thirty years. Yet John Ashbery, who is perhaps the most celebrated of the younger generation of American poets, praised Wheelwright's "North Atlantic Passage" and other poems as "classic American" in the *New York Review of Books*.

Wheelwright was compared favorably with John Berryman, Robert Lowell, Ezra Pound, Sylvia Plath, and A.R. Ammons in leading literary journals. In the *New York Times Book Review*, John Malcolm Brinnin judged that because of the relatively small quantity of Wheelwright's work, "He cannot be accorded major status; yet, had he lived to expand the achievement of this volume, he would very likely share rank and status with his close contemporaries Allen Tate, E.E. Cummings and Hart Crane."

A New England Blake

At first reading perhaps two-thirds of Wheelwright's poems seem to be unfathomably complex. They include a half-dozen long religio-mythic works, a "novel in sonnets," and a "masque" (which usually means court entertainment) intended to be performed before audiences of revolutionary workers. Some critics have responded with adjectives such as "obdurate," "elliptical," "abstruse," "arcane," and "gritty and gnarled." But one insightful reviewer said: "One moment, he wrote as though he were a laurelled contribu-

tor to the *Greek Anthology*; the next, he wrote as though he were a latter-day William Blake gone Agit-Prop."

It is true that Wheelwright felt at home in classical Greek and Roman literature; it is likewise true that William Blake was the primary figure influencing his poetic self-concept.

This painter and poet of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries was a mystic as well as the intimate friend of the radicals Thomas Paine and Marry Wollstonecraft. To both Blake and Wheelwright, spiritual exploration and revolutionary politics became the essence of their lives.

The contradiction that the critic suggests between classical culture (the *Greek Anthology*) and revolutionary writing (Blake and Agit-Prop) did not exist for Wheelwright. It was precisely through a defiant "Agit-Prop" stance that Wheelwright felt he could best sustain and advance the cultural legacy of humankind. He fervently believed that the assimilation and creation of artistic culture was an indispensable aspect of the struggle of the oppressed and outcast of society to gain control over their lives. "One can never be premature in arousing the masses to their cultural duties and to the joy of living," he wrote in the "Argument" of his book *Political Self-Portrait* (1940).

However, Wheelwright did not believe a poet should "arouse the masses" in the area of culture by paternalistically lowering standards or deforming natural means of artistic expression for the sake of increased popularity. In his poem "Redemption," Wheelwright urges the "Workers of Hand" to "Work your brain."

The difficulty of Wheelwright's poems should not be exaggerated, although some require knowledge of Greek and Christian mythology and the Marxist classics. But there are a good number that resemble the mystical and prophetic works of Blake—such as *The Book of Thel* (1789) and *Jerusalem* (1820)—in employing what appears to be an obscure and at times incomprehensible personal mythology.

Still, Wheelwright did not believe that William

Отъ Москва - Революціоннаго Комитета при Петроградскомъ Советѣ
Рабочихъ и Солдатскихъ Депутатовъ.

Къ Гражданамъ Россіи.

Временное Правительство низложено. Государственная власть перешла въ руки органа Петроградскаго Совета Рабочихъ и Солдатскихъ Депутатовъ Военно-Революціоннаго Комитета, стоящаго во главѣ Петроградскаго пролетаріата и гарнизона.

Дѣло, за которое боролся народъ: немедленное предложение демократическаго мира, отбѣна помѣщичьей собственности на землю, рабочій контроль надъ производствомъ, созданіе Советскаго Правительства — это дѣло обезпечено.

ДА ЗДРАВСТВУЕТЪ РЕВОЛЮЦІЯ РАБОЧИХЪ, СОЛДАТЪ И КРЕСТЬЯНЪ

Военно-Революціонный Комитетъ
при Петроградскомъ Советѣ
Рабочихъ и Солдатскихъ Депутатовъ.

25 октября 1917 г. 10 ч. утра.



Wheelwright sympathized with the Russian revolution. But working-class power as displayed by the Great Depression of the 1930s made him a revolutionary socialist. Left, October 1917 proclamation announcing that the soviets had taken power in Russia; right, textile workers on strike in Gastonia, North Carolina.

Blake was obscure, nor did he consider himself to be so. In one of his last articles, which appeared in *Partisan Review* in March 1938, he warned that "in our age, when economic contradictions are charged with many meanings and society is confronted with a choice of futures, obscurity is a natural characteristic of literature which wise writers must work against, and most especially in social revolutionary subject matter. . . . Leave the timid their obscurity. Confront communication. It devolves upon us to rediscover clarity."

But Wheelwright believed that if a work opposed obscurity and strived to communicate it would not necessarily be simple. He pointed out that an authentic revolutionary poem might recognize "mysteries and wrestle with them, which is a different matter from willful mystification, although indistinguishable to persons who have stultified their interior resources. Poets need care little if they be called obscure by Philistines."

Wheelwright genuinely believed that the most allusive of his passages would become intelligible if the reader were truly open and responsive. If that occurred, the reader would then be changed in some way: "The main point is not what noise poetry makes," he wrote at the end of *Political Self-Portrait*, "but how it makes you think and act—what it makes of you." To achieve this end, Wheelwright's *Partisan Review* article suggests that the revolutionary poet should "find examples in no academic bourgeois decay, but in experimental masters of all rising classes that struggled throughout the centuries for mastery."

For Wheelwright, the primary exemplar was Blake. But his sensibility and outlook were also shaped by the cultural history of New England, a region to which he was bonded by birth and upbringing. His poetry drew sustenance from the works of rebels from the colonial and pre-Civil War eras.

Rebel Ancestors

The poet John Wheelwright was tenth in direct descent from the most famous of these pioneers: the Rev. John Wheelwright (1592-1679), for whom the poet was named. Three hundred years earlier, between 1636 and 1638, the Reverend Wheelwright had joined Anne Hutchinson in leading a rebellion of radical Puritans against the rulers of the Massachusetts Bay Colony. He was charged with "sedition and contempt" and banished to the wilderness. The poet's evolution is not without some notable similarities to that of his namesake. In his poem "Bread-Word Giver," the poet expresses his admiration for and desire to emulate his persecuted ancestor.

His mother, a remarkable deaf woman noted for her skill at lip-reading and aristocratic bearing, was the great granddaughter of Peter Chardon Brooks—the wealthiest of Boston's famous colonial "merchant princes." She was connected by marriage with other old New England lineages such as the Saltonstall and Adams families.

His father was Edmund March ("Ned") Wheelwright, an architect who designed many of Boston's most imaginative buildings. Ned Wheelwright was an intense idealist.

The Doubting Apostle

A decisive event in Wheelwright's life occurred when he was a student at St. George's preparatory school in Rhode Island. The young poet was profoundly shaken by his father's mental breakdown in 1910. After two years of confinement in a sanitarium, Ned Wheelwright committed suicide in 1912.

Soon afterwards young Wheelwright experienced a religious conversion. He repudiated the Unitarianism of his ancestors and became an Anglican, pledging to become a priest.

However, as a Harvard student (1916-1920), Wheelwright found that his natural sympathies clashed with the dogma of that church. He became a central figure in the circle of "Harvard Aesthetes," which produced poets such as S. Foster Damon, Robert Hillyer, E.E. Cummings, John Dos Passos, and Malcolm Cowley. After expulsion from Harvard for irregular attendance at classes and examinations, Wheelwright had many close connections with Lost Generation writers in New York and in Europe. But even though he engaged in the "decadent" lifestyle of these Bohemians, his need for belief in the Christ myth remained ardent.

Politically, Wheelwright was much attracted to the English expatriate and Fabian socialist Harold Laski, with whom he studied government



JOHN BROOKS WHEELWRIGHT

at Harvard. At the time of the Russian revolution he was sympathetic to the overthrow of Tsarism. In the later 1920s, while he studied architecture at Massachusetts Institute of Technology, he was outraged by the legal lynching of the anarchists Sacco and Vanzetti.

However, as much as he railed against the immorality into which New England society had fallen, Wheelwright could not conceive of the uneducated and uncultured proletariat as a force for change. Instead, he believed in a revival of poets as a priestly caste who could provide ethical guidance.

Many of Wheelwright's religio-mythic poems from the volumes *Rock and Shell* (1934) and *Dusk To Dusk* (in preparation at the time of the poet's death and now published by New Directions for the first time), as well as the entire sonnet sequence in *Mirrors of Venus* (1938), have Wheelwright's philosophical and emotional conflicts as their subject. These were especially intense during his late adolescent and student years and persisted through the 1920s when he was torn by the contending claims of his elitist training and his passionate hatred of injustice.

"North Atlantic Passage," usually noted for its surrealist technique, is in fact an attack on those poets who adulate surrealism, Dadaism, or other art forms when they are divorced from philosophic substance. Wheelwright states that the basic "enigma" in life is the relationship of the individual to the rest of humankind. In the poem he refutes various solutions others have proposed to resolve this problem—solutions that rise and dissolve like waves. His conclusion is that a belief in "external Authority" (religion) is a necessity but that the achievement of an "internal Authority" (belief in himself) must come first.

Wheelwright tried to achieve this "internal Authority" through two major literary projects. One was a series of poems about Thomas, the "Doubting Apostle" who is supposed to have questioned the resurrection until he was permitted to touch Christ's wounds. The other was the sonnet sequence *Mirrors of Venus*. He referred to both of these efforts as "novels." This was in part a response to the new conceptions of the novel genre engendered by the literary experiments of the 1920s. But calling the works novels was also a way of emphasizing that the two groups of poems concerned character development. And in each of the works, the main character was actually Wheelwright himself, represented by various personae.

The published sections of the actual novel

include "Twilight" in *Rock and Shell* and "Evening" and "Morning" in *Dusk to Dusk*. These works are distinguished from "Forty Days" in that they reflected Wheelwright's study of apocrypha, lost gospels, and other religious materials excluded from the Old and New Testaments. These texts are usually considered to be of questionable authorship and heretical content.

The basic method used by Wheelwright is to "correct" the legend of St. Thomas by retelling or paraphrasing it and introducing various changes.

In two such changes, Wheelwright presents the argument for sexual chastity as a false and dangerous perversion of Christian thought and contends that upholders of morality must name the true enemies of humanity more specifically as a preparation for action.

The thirty-five poems that comprise *Mirrors of Venus: A Novel in Sonnets* also invoke a spiritual journey, using dualisms in a central figure. (Once more the main character is a Wheelwright persona—here called "Z.") The background of the sonnet sequence is more explicitly Wheelwright's own—the death of his architect father, World War I, the boarding school and Harvard days, Bohemian life in New York, and his religious ordeals.

The stated theme of the sequence is the transitory nature of human friendship. Wheelwright juxtaposes memories of and fantasies about a friend who dies (and whose friendship thereby becomes immortalized) with a narrative about a friend who lives (but whose friendship grows estranged).

The list of dedications in the sequence indicates that the friend who died was Ned Couch, a Harvard student who was close to both Wheelwright and S. Foster Damon. Couch was killed in an accident in a training camp during World War I, and the poem suggests that he may have been a pacifist. Wheelwright links Couch with the memory of his own dead father, also called Ned.

The intense experience described in this poem culminates in a repudiation of Wheelwright's belief in an afterlife—startling for an avowed Christian. The sonnet sequence turns to four elegies aimed at discrediting a blind optimism that Wheelwright associates with the Romantic poets. He criticizes Shelley in particular for his belief in the immortality of the individual self—a view that fosters a false perception of human existence.

In "Autumn," the third elegy, Wheelwright rejects the analogical proofs of immortality forwarded by the Greeks and others. In "Winter," the last elegy, he concludes that after death the human body is not immortalized at all but is merely a shell, not much different from an inorganic rock. Thus human existence is only a delicate, transitory phase of human nature. The ending is emotional in tone but stoical in perspective, as he rejects his former idealizations of his dear friend and father:

Our bold-voluted immortality, fallen is only
rock
—though proud in ruin, piteous in price—Ned.
Ned.
Snow on a dome, blown by night wind.

The Rebel Poet

The Thomas poems and sonnet sequence show how Wheelwright divested himself of Christianity's romantic belief in an afterlife, as well as the ordination of some of its adherents against sensual living and participation in the world of action. Thus Wheelwright was psychologically and philosophically prepared to assimilate Marxism. He began to do this at the start of the Great Depression when the working class emerged as a visible agent of effective change. At that time Wheelwright concluded that he had a distinct role as a poet: to assist in the cultural development of the revolutionary movement.

Although he first joined the Socialist Party of Massachusetts in 1932, he was not an opponent of Russian Bolshevism. To the contrary, from 1934 on he was openly sympathetic to the ideas of Leon Trotsky. He believed that Trotsky—whom he compares to Prometheus in his poem "Titanic Litany"—sought to continue the age-old struggle to develop humanity to its fullest potential, and that Stalin's triumph represented a retrogression from that goal.

In the Socialist Party, Wheelwright's main activities centered on education: he was in charge of literature distribution, he gave classes, he was poetry editor of *Arise* (the Socialist

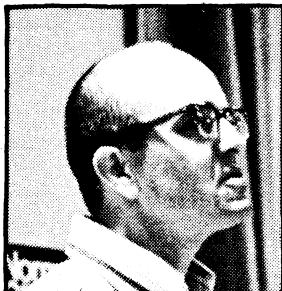
Continued on page ISR/11

Cuba: Twenty Years of Revolution



By Jack Barnes

The following talk was given by Jack Barnes to a rally in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, on December 31, 1978. The gathering of more than 600 people celebrated the twentieth anniversary of the victory of the rebel forces led by Fidel Castro over Fulgencio Batista's dictatorship. The rally was a highlight of the eighteenth national convention of the Young Socialist Alliance.



Jack Barnes is the national secretary of the Socialist Workers Party. He visited Cuba in the summer of 1960, as the revolutionary regime was instituting the sweeping nationalizations that transformed Cuba into a workers state.

The speech has been edited for publication in the 'ISR.'

This celebration of the twentieth anniversary of the Cuban revolution is a unique occasion. In the course of modern history, twentieth anniversaries of revolutions have not often been joyous occasions. Just the opposite.

Twenty years after the first American revolution was won, this country was in the grip of the alliance between the slaveholders and the mercantile capitalists. They had imposed their constitution on the country and consolidated their rule.

Twenty years, a generation, after the second American revolution—the Civil War and its aftermath—Radical Reconstruction had been completely smashed. Reconstruction, in which Blacks had fought for and won a large measure of equal rights and political power, was overthrown by force and violence. The Black leaders who had emerged were suppressed. Jim Crow was being enforced and institutionalized. American imperialism was raising its ugly head. The labor movement in the United States had been driven back. This period in our history marked the end of any progressive role whatsoever for

the American bourgeoisie, or any of its wings or parties.

In France, twenty years after 1793, the crest of the French revolution, Napoleon's rule had wiped out the democratic gains of the movement. All the popular leaders of the revolution had been murdered, suppressed, or had made their peace with reaction. And Napoleon's reign ended shortly thereafter with the outright restoration of the Bourbon monarchy.

Betrayal of the Russian Revolution

It is not just these bourgeois revolutions whose twentieth anniversaries have been less than joyous occasions. This is equally true of the proletarian revolutions of our period.

What was the twentieth anniversary of the Chinese revolution like? What was the state of affairs in China in 1969?

Now the world is learning part of the truth about the arrests and exile of hundreds of thousands by the Stalinist bureaucracy in Peking. We are being told of the murder of oppositionists, the holding down of the standard of living of the masses, and the sending of the youth by the millions to forced exile in the countryside. The regime was following a foreign policy aimed at one, and only one, objective: to maneuver to get close to Nixon, to open up relations with U.S. imperialism. And to do that they were—and are—ready and willing to help imperialism crush revolutions.

What about the twentieth anniversary of the Russian revolution, the mightiest revolution in history?

By 1937, the entire leadership of the Bolshevik revolution had been murdered or was on the verge of being murdered by those who had betrayed the revolution. Stalin's monstrous Moscow trials and the massive purges were in full swing. The Gulag had come into being and was growing, imprisoning the best proletarian fighters.

Relations between the countryside and the city were at a low point. The regime brutalized the peasants. Far from having pride in the national diversity of the Soviet Federation and respect for the oppressed nationalities, there was the rise of national oppression and crass Great Russian chauvinism.

The Soviets, the organs of workers democracy, existed only in form. Stalin ruled through terror and police-state tactics.

The internationalism that had been the hallmark of the Bolshevik Party under Lenin and Trotsky was destroyed. Stalin opposed the attempts of the colonial people to liberate themselves from imperialism if their fight was against the "democratic" imperialist powers with whom Stalin was seeking alliances. Twenty years after the Russian revolution Stalin was consciously and cold-bloodedly knifing in the back the workers' revolution in Spain.

The general staff of the once-mighty Red Army had been beheaded, gravely weakened, and virtually immobilized. The entire bureaucracy prayed that they would never have to use it even to defend their own privileged caste rule.

Far from there being any internationalism left, the policy of the leadership could be—and was—summed up in one phrase: "Socialism in one country." The bureaucracy had no desire to extend the revolution. Just the opposite: their sole desire was to extend relations with the bourgeoisie in powerful countries, and they were willing to carry out any betrayal to accomplish this.

Far from telling the truth to the Soviet people about the needs of the revolution, Stalin institutionalized the lie. A privileged caste, one of the most rapacious ruling groups in the history of humanity, was in total power. Far from a beacon to revolutionists round the world, as the Leninist regime had been, the Soviet government was a center of conscious counterrevolution.

Those were some of the facts that had to be stated on the tragic twentieth anniversary of the Russian revolution.

A Living Revolution

So this is a unique occasion. What can we say twenty years after the victory of our revolution in Cuba?

Far from the revolution devouring its leaders and children, the revolutionary leadership that brought the revolution to victory remains intact, with the exception of Camilo Cienfuegos, who was killed in an airplane crash and Che Guevara, who died on the field of battle in Bolivia.

Far from turning toward Stalinist-style "peaceful coexistence" and détente, the Cuban leadership says openly, we will never trade away our support for the Puerto Rican independence struggle; we will never bargain over our sovereign rights; and we will never trade away our right to respond to revolutionary opportunities around

the world with any means necessary—including the Cuban armed forces if we are asked.

Far from devastating the countryside and beheading the proletariat, the revolutionary alliance between the workers and peasants that has been key to the Cuban revolution remains on solid foundations. The alliance of the proletariat and the peasantry in Cuba is the firmest on the face of this earth.

Far from fostering the development of a privileged caste, a distinct, consciously counterrevolutionary grouping lording it over the rest of society, the Cuban revolution continues to advance an egalitarian consciousness, although serious bureaucratic deformations and privileges haunt the revolution.

Far from having gigantic concentration camps and spreading Gulags, Cuba is the only workers state that allowed a delegation from Amnesty International to tour the country. The delegation visited the prisons and was allowed to talk with the prisoners. And they received the full cooperation of the Cuban government.

They did have some criticisms—such as the Cubans shouldn't have executed so many of Batista's torturers. They also had some criticisms that seem correct—for instance, that there should be clear rules on how a sentence can be reduced for good behavior, to avoid arbitrariness.

But the Amnesty International team reached an extremely important conclusion: they did not challenge the Cuban government's classification of political prisoners as counterrevolutionaries who are imprisoned for specific acts against the revolution or their membership in armed counterrevolutionary organizations. Amnesty International does not consider these people "prisoners of conscience."

And now Castro has told Carter point-blank: These criminals are *your* pupils. If they want to live in the United States, you take them!

Extend the Revolution!

And why are the Cubans in Africa? They are in Africa because they are attracted by the Black African revolution—just like every other revolutionist and everyone of African descent throughout the world. They sense the coming showdown in Black Africa, and they are determined to be a part of it and to aid it.

The Cubans responded enthusiastically to the Ethiopian revolution. The scope and significance of the events that have unfolded in Ethiopia are misunderstood by all kinds of socialists in this country.

But the Cubans are not making that mistake. They identify with the Ethiopian revolution down to the marrow of their bones. They know that the land reform, the elimination of feudalism and slavery in one of the last empires of that kind, the breaking of the tie between church and state, the beginning of the eradication of illiteracy, the nationalizations—all this marks a deep-going revolution in process, one of the most profound upheavals that continent has seen.

The Cuban revolutionaries have responded to these revolutionary acts.

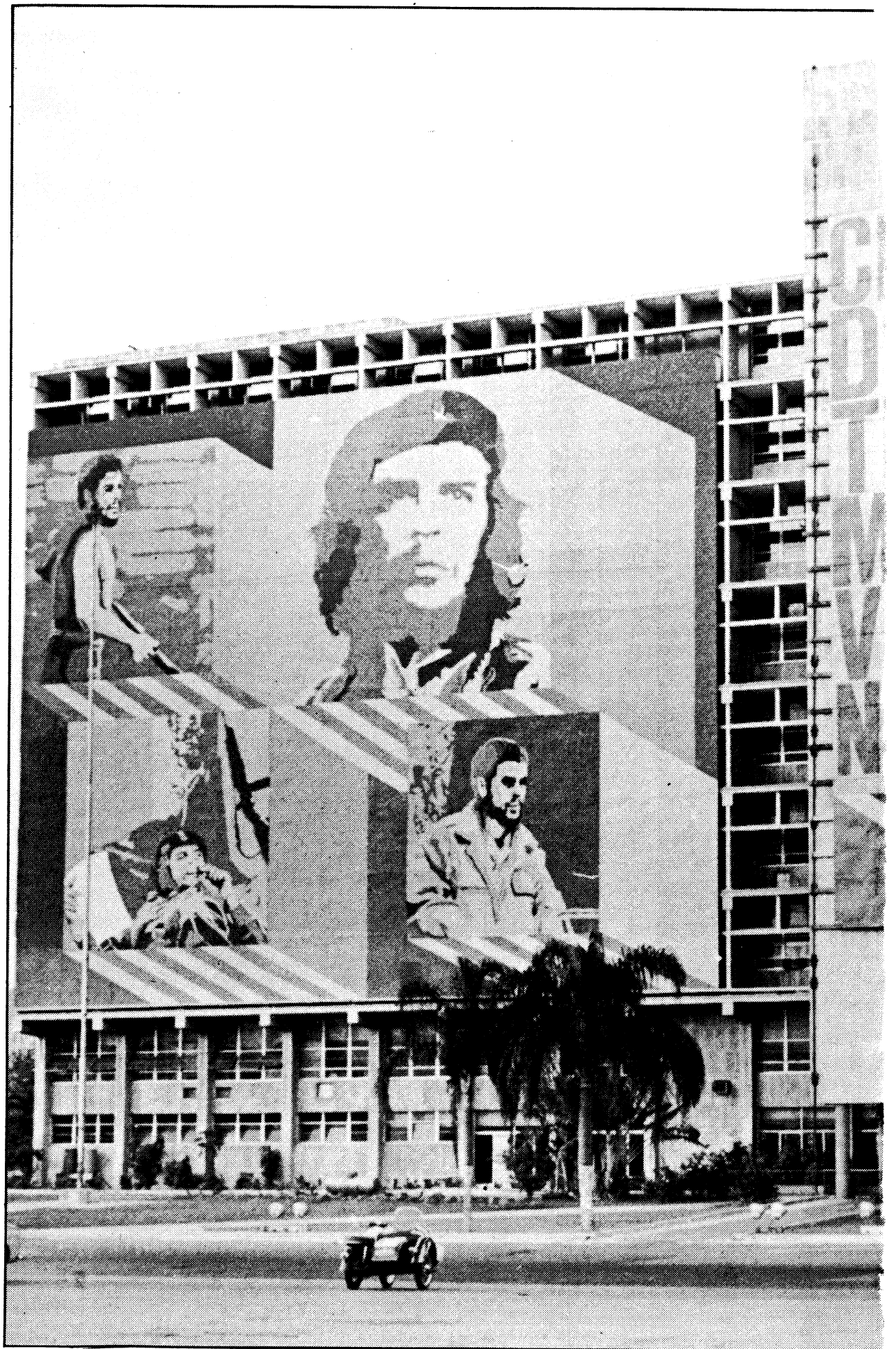
But above all, the Cubans are in Africa for one simple reason: They are there because for them there is one law above all others: Extend the revolution.

What is it that explains the unique character of this revolution and this revolutionary leadership? We have never seen a revolutionary leadership in power for this length of time. We have seen only one greater revolutionary leadership in power—the central core of the Bolshevik Party.

Bypassing Stalinism

The first thing is that the Castro leadership led their revolution over the objections and opposition of the Cuban Communist Party. They bypassed the Stalinists and bypassed Stalinism. They acted as revolutionists and in doing so proved to the whole world that the Stalinists are not fated to stand at the head of revolutionary upsurges. They proved that the Stalinists are obstacles in the way of a revolutionary leadership and have to be dragged along by the nape of the neck.

This was completely conscious on the part of the Cuban leaders. They built the July 26 Movement in opposition to all other existing organizations in Cuba. The bourgeois liberals had their own formations, which the Fidelistas broke from decisively. The Stalinists and the standard American-type corrupt trade-union bureaucrats had a stranglehold on the Cuban labor movement.



Che's slogan, 'Create two, three, many Vietnams,' was not just rhetoric. stood that only by extending their revolution . . . could they defend v

In order to lead a revolution, the Castro team had to find a way around these obstacles. And they did.

The second thing that we have to note is the political character of the Cuban leadership. There is a great myth that the Cuban revolutionary leadership was simply the *barbudos* in arms, the guerrilla army. This was the image projected by people like the French journalist Regis Debray.

But this was not the most important aspect. The Castro leadership were political people, just like we are political people. They think politically right to the very end. Military tactics were always subordinated to political strategy and aims. From the beginning, there was an interplay at each step of the revolution between political initiatives by the Castro leadership and initiatives in the streets, in the factories, and on the land by the Cuban masses—back and forth, driving the revolutionary process forward.

How Batista Was Defeated

The Castro leadership began their struggle not by taking up arms, but by doing something we emulated twenty years later—they filed a suit against the government. When Batista made his

coup in 1952, Fidel went to court. He said Batista had violated the constitution.

We demand some relief, said Fidel. Namely, throw Batista out of office and jail him. And if this court doesn't take this elementary step, it means that this court is totally corrupt and entitled to no respect as a court of law. It means that the masses will have to take things into their own hands, and this court will not be fit to pass judgment on the actions we must take. In this way, they established before the masses the legal and political legitimacy of the struggle they were preparing to undertake.

And they went forward from there. They were always willing to act—above all with the gun. That's what set them apart from those who merely talked revolution.

But they were always thinking politically. They always explained to the Cuban people what they were doing and why. In 1956, Fidel announced from Mexico that they were going to return to Cuba to start the fight again before the end of the year. They were considered fools for doing this. It was viewed as silly military tactics. But they rarely did things for reasons of military tactics. They did things for reasons of political strategy.



was the conscious line that the Cubans always held. They understood that they had won and extend it further.

In the mountains they did not primarily carry out brilliant military tactics. In fact, there was never a pitched battle between the Rebel Army and Batista's army. The fall of Batista was not primarily the result of military action.

The Rebel Army carried out propaganda in every way possible. They talked to peasants, and they set up Radio Rebelde in the mountains to transmit their program all over the island. They published newspapers. They would fight to get interviews in the *New York Times*. They fought to organize the urban working class. They even seriously considered sending Che to Santiago to lead the urban resistance. The July 26 Movement had underground operations in cities throughout Cuba.

They didn't defeat Batista militarily. They won the hearts and minds of the Cuban masses, and this totally demoralized the Batista army. In the end, it was no longer an effective fighting force.

Twenty years ago, the Rebel Army walked into Havana unopposed, after having called a successful general strike that tore away the last shreds of the Batista regime. They arrived in the capital after a leisurely political stroll across Cuba lasting almost a week. They mobilized thousands as they went from city to city on their

way to Havana.

They accomplished all this by acting as revolutionists, by telling the truth to the workers and peasants of Cuba. They knew that arming the people with the truth was decisive to the victory of the revolution.

And on this basis they went so far as to establish the first workers and peasants government, the first workers state, the first successful socialist revolution, in the Western Hemisphere.

A third thing for us to note is the capacity of the Cuban revolutionary leadership to stand up to the might of American imperialism. Cuba is a small country with a population of 6 million at the time of the revolution, no great strategic resources, no great military leverage—yet it has defied American imperialism for two decades.

They defeated Kennedy's invasion at the Bay of Pigs in April 1961. A year later, they made one of the boldest political moves of the century.

They talked the Russians into giving them nuclear arms, because they knew that another massive American-organized invasion was being prepared. They had an important decision to make.

This is what they thought: An invasion that destroys and crushes the Cuban revolution will

set back the worldwide fight for socialism. It will change the whole relationship of class forces on a world scale. It will be the green light for reaction to drive ahead in the Americas, in Asia, in Africa, all over. The *yanqui* imperialists are absolutely ruthless, they will not hesitate to use their power to incinerate our small country. The one way we can probably stop it this time for certain is to get nuclear weapons.

That's exactly what they did. And that was the heart of the Cuban missile crisis. But Kennedy backed off. Kennedy and Khrushchev made a deal—without consulting the Cubans—that the United States would not invade Cuba and the Russians would pull the missiles out. That was the end of the immediate threat of nuclear war, and the end of the immediate threat of the destruction of the Cuban revolution by a U.S. invasion.

The Cubans never forgot this lesson.

Their greatest grievance against the Stalinists in Moscow and Peking was their refusal to come to the defense of the Vietnamese revolution against the imperialist onslaught earlier and with more arms. The Cubans published and spread far and wide in many languages the speeches of Fidel Castro and Che Guevara in which they fervently argued that aid must be given the Vietnamese revolution.

Che explained that if Vietnam was declared an "inviolable part of socialist territory" where any attack would be treated as an attack on the Soviet Union, there would be no Vietnam War and there would be an end to the horrible brutalization of the Vietnamese people.

Because of their response to historic tests like this, Uncle Sam knew the Cubans were not counterrevolutionary Stalinists—even if some so-called socialists in this country couldn't figure that out.

Role of Soviet Aid

The fourth thing for us to note is the role of the Russian revolution in making it possible for the Cuban revolution to survive.

Economic aid, oil, a market for sugar, and finally arms—this assistance was essential to the Cuban revolution. Without these things it would not have been able to withstand the war of aggression, the blockade, the invasion organized by Washington.

Now you notice that I said the role of the *Russian revolution*—not the Soviet bureaucrats. The aid was available because of the victory of the Russian masses in 1917, a victory that remains alive despite the Stalinist bureaucracy that rules in the Kremlin today.

However, the Stalinist bureaucracy controls this aid, and the aid isn't given freely to Cuba. The Moscow traitors demand a political price be paid for every barrel of oil, for every machine gun, for every credit granted.

This put continuing pressure on Cuba. It led the Cubans to take many wrong positions, positions with which we strongly disagree. It led to silence about all sorts of crimes of the Stalinists around the world. It contributed to Fidel's defense of the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia.

It was inevitable, given the relationship of forces, that the Cubans would be forced to pay a political price. Some price would have to have been paid by the best and most conscious revolutionary leadership.

What was inevitable was the price, and the damage resulting from paying this price. What was not inevitable was the Stalinization of the revolutionary leadership. That has not occurred.

The final thing we should note is that the political stance of the Cuban leadership has remained constant since the beginning. It has not changed.

Strengths and Weaknesses

Everything I was taught when I was down in Cuba twenty years ago remains the basic political line. They haven't changed either the strengths or the weaknesses of their line.

They believe that the only real revolutionists are those who *act* to advance the revolution. They don't really care much about what you say. They care about what you do.

Now, on the whole, this is not a bad approach. It is much better than the opposite stance. But there is a political weakness in it, because it tends to ignore theory, to downgrade the importance of the hard-earned accumulated political lessons and experiences of the workers movement.

Another aspect of their outlook is their belief



Castro and other guerrilla fighters greet peasants joining the Rebel Army to fight Batista

that the revolution in the advanced imperialist countries is far, far off in the future. They simply do not believe it is possible to think seriously about victorious revolutions in France, Britain, West Germany, Japan, or the United States. They do not believe it is possible in their lifetimes, or their childrens' lifetimes. They don't believe in it, don't think about it, and consequently don't do many things they could do to advance it.

Another weakness we have to recognize is that the Cuban leadership never developed a Leninist-type organization, with the right of minorities to argue for their point of view in front of the entire membership. This did not change with the institutionalization of the party.

The Cuban revolution occurred without the creation of large-scale democratic committees of the working masses—what the Russians called “soviets”—that could organize the society effectively, settle differences in the most efficient way, and mobilize the masses to do everything possible to extend the revolution to other countries.

The party and the government got all mixed up together as a result. Fidel acts at one moment as the head of state, another as the foreign minister, another as the head of the party, and another as the guerrilla trainer.

From the beginning, they would remain silent about reactionary actions of some governments, such as Mexico's, that maintained friendly diplomatic relations with Cuba. They have often taken an uncritical stance toward governments that take some anti-imperialist stands or actions, as in Chile under Allende and Peru under Velasco.

They fail to understand and take the right line on questions like the Eritrean national liberation struggle. Fortunately, the Cubans have sharply differentiated themselves from the all-out support offered by the Kremlin to the Dergue's war against the Eritreans. However, they have failed to come out in favor of the right of Eritrea to independence.

So these are some of the weaknesses of Castroism. They have been there from the beginning of the Cuban revolution. And they have not been surmounted yet.

But beneath all these weaknesses is something much mightier—the tremendous egalitarian thrust of the revolution; the uncompromising belief on the part of the entire leadership that made the revolution that one must *act* on revolutionary beliefs; their willingness to tell the truth to the world as they see it; and, most important, their refusal ever to give up the fight to extend the revolution as the key to everything.

Never for one minute have the leaders of the Cuban revolution been interested in the line of “peaceful coexistence,” that is, the total subordination of the interests of the world revolution to seeking diplomatic and economic deals with imperialism. None of the leaders of the Cuban revolution have ever gone for this.

They have known from the beginning that the only hope they have in the long run is the successful extension of the Cuban revolution. And that helps to explain the uniqueness of this anniversary celebration.

We Trotskyists have learned quite a few things from the Cuban revolution and from its leaders.

I realize now that I oversimplified it when I was younger. If people responded positively to the Cuban revolution, I thought they were potential members of the Young Socialist Alliance. If they responded negatively, I didn't think they were worth much, and, frankly, didn't want them in the Young Socialist Alliance.

Now I have learned that you can't organize that way because every once in a great while you miss someone who might have made it as a revolutionary. But I still think it's not a bad method, in general. We used the same approach with the rise of Malcolm X, and the new wave of feminism, and the beginning radicalization of the American working class, and it didn't turn out too bad.

What we learned to do was to recognize a revolution and to recognize a revolutionary leadership. Now, that sounds simple. Any fool should be able to do it.

But many people who considered themselves not only progressive-minded, but even socialists and revolutionaries, were incapable of that. Faced with the living reality of a revolution, with all its contradictions and imperfections, some people couldn't recognize reality for what it was. It didn't match exactly the schemas they had learned from books.

Jim Cannon, the founding leader of the Socialist Workers Party, considered it the number one test of our movement that we take the right stance toward the Cuban revolution.

In letters to Farrell Dobbs and Joe Hansen, he expressed the judgment that the leadership of the party had proved it not only knew how to recognize a revolution when it happened before our eyes, but we had recognized a revolutionary leadership and had shown how to fight shoulder to shoulder with them against our common enemies.

A Bloc Against the Stalinists

We made a bloc with the Castro team against the Stalinists from the beginning. We did that because the Stalinists have been the number one internal enemy of the Cuban revolution.

There have been, and are today, two basic wings inside the current Cuban Communist Party: the Castroist wing and the Stalinist wing.

We made a bloc with Castro against the Cuban Stalinists in the fight against the bureaucratic course of Anibal Escalante in the early 1960s, and later in the conflict with the Stalinists internationally over defense of the Vietnamese revolution and the Cuban leadership's efforts to extend the revolution to Latin America.

We learned how to bloc with Castro against the Stalinists in the fight to defend and extend the revolution. And that conflict between the Castroists and the Stalinists is still going on.

So we learned quite a bit. And we were fortunate, because revolutions led by revolutionary leaderships haven't come along very often.

Everything the Socialist Workers Party and the YSA did in defense of the Cuban revolution was done from the point of view of building our movement. This is not a contradiction. Not at all.

We were always convinced that everything that helped strengthen the YSA and SWP also helped strengthen the Cuban revolution, and that everything that aided the Cuban revolution aided the party and the YSA.

We also learned the difference between real-life politics and textbook politics. We learned to recognize real forces and real processes and real revolutionary contradictions when they were messy and didn't live up to the letter of our norms.

We learned a lot about Stalinism and Trotskyism by watching the way the Stalinists try to subvert the Cuban revolution and the way the Trotskyists defended it and tried to extend it.

We discovered that the real line to be drawn is the line between the revolutionists—meaning Castro and those around him, including us—and the counterrevolutionaries on the other side, including the Stalinists and the so-called “Third Camp” social democrats.

Petty-bourgeois Socialists

We also learned that we had to get rid of any kind of fatalism, which in politics is just another word for cowardice. You have all heard this attitude: “Well, Cuba is just a little island, it doesn't have a Trotskyist leadership, so it's only a matter of time before they are swamped, overthrown, or degenerate and become Stalinists. So why bother ourselves too much about defending the Cuban revolution? It's only a matter of time.”

That sounds sickening to us, but that is the standard line of group after group of petty-bourgeois socialists.

I had read, in Lenin's writings, about petty-bourgeois socialists. I used to think it was some kind of curse word, an epithet. But I sure found out what petty-bourgeois socialists were, what petty-bourgeois revolutionary phrasemongering is. We all learned that in the struggles to defend the Cuban revolution.

There were quite a few people who considered themselves socialists but didn't recognize the Cuban revolution as a socialist revolution. I assume many of you here tonight have never heard of them. They were known as the Young People's Socialist League (YPSL). They have modern day clones like the Spartacist League, wings of the Maoists, people you run into today.

In the early days of the Cuban revolution, the YPSL had quite a bit of influence on a number of campuses. In some cases we had to argue for and physically defend our right to carry picket signs in demonstrations that said, “Hands Off Cuba!” The YPSLs tried to tell us that signs had to say “All Hands Off Cuba.” They drew an equals sign between the Soviet aid for the Cuban revolution and Kennedy's attempt to invade Cuba and crush the revolution.

To them, the Russian revolution was dead, the Soviet Union was not a workers state. There was no socialist revolution in Cuba, nor was there any revolutionary leadership there, and that was that.

Meany's New Anti-Cuba Move

A few days ago, George Meany made a big announcement that the AFL-CIO was going to boycott Chilean goods. This was presented as a progressive step. He was congratulated in editorials by the *Washington Post* and the *New York Times* explaining that this was an unfortunate but necessary step to secure human rights in Chile. But when you read Meany's statement more carefully, you discover that his action is really an attempt to tighten the imperialist blockade of Cuba.

Meany is sending delegations to meet with counterparts of the AFL-CIO bureaucracy all over this hemisphere and in Europe to make the final plans for the hemispheric boycott of Chilean and Cuban trade. So the boycott of Chile is just a fake cover for the Cuban boycott.

I mention this here because some of Meany's speechwriters were leaders of YPSL in the late 1950s and early 1960s, whom we in the YSA battled over Cuba. Their line during the Bay of Pigs invasion was very simple: they defended it publicly. They urged socialists to align themselves with the “democratic trade-union” wing of the invading army!

We also learned how to combine understanding of reality and our norms. Reality was very rich and complicated in Cuba.

You didn't have cardboard figures such as you find in allegorical novels—figures like Betty Good, Bobby Bad, Willie Wise, Lucy Lustful, and

people like that. These are not human beings but cardboard figures representing an idea or passion or tendency.

That's how most petty-bourgeois socialists look at a revolution. But we knew the Cuban revolution, we knew the Cuban revolutionists, and we knew the Cuban workers. We knew they were real flesh-and-blood people and a lot more complicated than Betty Good and Bobby Bad.

We learned that reality came first. Our task was not simply to understand reality but to participate in it and try to change it, move it forward, working with everyone moving in a revolutionary direction.

Revolutionists of Action

The Cuban leaders were revolutionists of action. In one of Trotsky's discussions with members of our party at the end of the 1930s, he predicted that the next great revolutionary leaders would not be great theoreticians like Marx, writing things like *Capital*. We are in an epoch now where we will see great revolutionists of action come forward, and we must come forward and meet them.

That's what we saw in Cuba: an installment on that promise by Trotsky. At the 1961 convention of the SWP, Morris Stein, one of the experienced veteran leaders of the party, explained to a minority grouping inside the SWP that was opposed to recognizing the realities of Cuba that the Castro leadership team was superior to the Bolshevik leadership, once you leave aside Lenin, Trotsky, Sverdlov, and people like that.

That was what we were dealing with historically, that is what our responsibilities were, and are.

On the other hand, we also learned the great value, irreplaceability, and strategic importance of our norms. It is only by having the right strategy and the right norms, only by absorbing theory *politically*, that we can successfully defend and extend the revolution.

In the very first report that Joe Hansen gave on Cuba for the SWP Political Committee, we pointed to three central political questions:

First. Over time, it is absolutely necessary for forms of proletarian democracy to be developed in Cuba if the revolution is to continue to advance.

Second. The fight to construct a revolutionary party along Leninist lines on a national and international scale is crucial to this process.

And, third, the key to everything is to participate in the fight to extend the Cuban revolution and to defend it against American imperialism.

This third point is also the key to helping the Cubans to understand the first two points. Maybe I can explain what I mean by telling you how I became a Trotskyist.

When I first met our movement, I didn't thoroughly understand the role of soviets, the exact character of workers democracy, the nature of a workers state. These were all somewhat abstract questions.

I didn't fully understand the role of a Leninist party, a Trotskyist party. I don't think most of us do when we first come around.

But I understood one thing. I knew there was no one in this country like the SWP and YSA for defending the Cuban revolution—a real socialist revolution—and fighting to extend it right into the United States. And I said, that's my party, that's my organization. After that, I learned the other things as I went along.

And that is the way the Cubans will learn about those questions. The only way. They won't listen to anybody who sits on the sidelines and flaps their gums. They *watch*. And the time will come when they will listen to revolutionists who show in deeds that they are worthy of respect and worth listening to.

It would be faster and better if there were another way—but there is not. That's the only way the Cubans—not just the leaders but the Cuban revolutionists as a whole—will be convinced.

How Trotskyists Defended Cuba

It really came down to understanding the most important fact of all: the Cuban revolution is *our* revolution. Our fate and their fate are totally intertwined.

The YSA wrote several genuinely heroic chapters in defense of the Cuban revolution.

The first stage is one I'm sure most of you know about. That was building the Fair Play for Cuba Committees and turning the YSA into the propagandists and tribunes of the Cuban revolution.

We did everything we could. We showed slides. We walked picket lines. We sold pamphlets. A few of us wore militia hats and committed one or two ultraleft excesses. We went to the workers and farmers of the United States with the message of the Cuban revolution. That was harder to do then than it is today. The country was not that far out of the McCarthy era. The radicalization was at its bare beginning with the sit-ins against segregated lunch counters in the South.

We went to a lot of churches. We discovered that if you got the use of a church and showed slides about this island and how the conditions of the people had been improved as a result of the revolution, some workers came, some students came, and in Minnesota some farmers came.

We figured that any student or worker or farmer who was interested in Cuba was a prime candidate for recruitment to the revolutionary movement.

We also learned about Black nationalism from the Cubans. We learned about it even before we learned from Malcolm X and from the changes going on in the Black Muslims. Of course it was only with the rise of Malcolm X and the split in the Nation of Islam that we really were able to grasp completely what Trotsky had tried to teach us a long time ago about Black nationalism.

But the Cuban revolution played a big role in opening the doors for us. From the beginning, the Cuban revolution had an Afro-Cuban side that was deep-going and had a big impact in this country among Black people.

Impact on Black Community

Of course the colonial revolution, the upsurge of the nonwhite masses against their oppression, struck a deep chord among Afro-Americans. But Cuba had a special impact because it was a successful revolution, because of the role that Afro-Cubans played in it, and because of the determination with which the revolutionary government abolished race discrimination.

When Castro came to New York in 1960 for the session of the United Nations General Assembly and moved from a midtown hotel to the Hotel Theresa in Harlem, it had an impact on the entire Black population.

The founding supporters of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee included some of the most

prominent of the Black nationalist intellectuals, poets, and musicians in this country.

Robert F. Williams, a revolutionary-minded Black nationalist and civil rights leader from North Carolina, and Socialist Workers Party leader Ed Shaw carried out joint tours in defense of Cuba and of the Black struggle.

So this was the first stage of our defense of the Cuban revolution. It was an exciting stage. We printed Castro's speeches. We published *The Truth About Cuba* by Joe Hansen. We campaigned for Farrell Dobbs—the only presidential candidate who told the truth about Cuba and socialism.

We picketed and marched. We fought with those spineless YPSLs. We held meetings at churches. We had forums. We sold the *Militant* and the *Young Socialist* everywhere. And we recruited to and strengthened the SWP and the YSA.

There is a second stage that more of you are familiar with, although you might not think of it this way. This was the period of the Vietnam War. This is a side of our defense of the Cuban revolution that we don't talk about enough. Everything that we did to oppose the U.S. war of genocide in Vietnam was a concrete fight to defend and extend the Cuban revolution. The Cuban leadership understood their stake in Vietnam completely.

Che's slogan, "Create two, three, many Vietnams," was not just rhetoric. This was the conscious line that the Cubans always held. They understood that only by extending their revolution, only by having heroic people like the Vietnamese standing up and fighting, only by putting everything on the line, could they defend what they had won and extend it further. That is what they believe. And so do we.

Che Guevara gave his life as much in defense of the Vietnamese revolution as of the Bolivian revolution. And what you accomplished, along with millions more like you who marched and rallied against the war, was to buy time for the Cubans while we fought—successfully—to win over the American people to oppose that war.

The Vietnamese revolution bought the Cuban revolution some crucial time, a breathing space, to overcome some of their economic problems, to combat the blockade, and to be ready to move into Africa in solidarity with the battle against apartheid and imperialism when the opportunity opened up.

Now we are in a third stage. We have to take the lead in direct defense of the Cuban revolution and in defense of the emerging Black African revolution. It is the same fight.

This is the continuity in our defense of this revolution going back twenty years.

Cuba is right at the center of world politics. It has been from the day the revolution triumphed, and it will be until that revolution is defeated or we prevail. It is at the center of everything, because the existence of a workers state with a revolutionary leadership poses a permanent challenge to all that is reactionary, all that exploits and oppresses, and to all the privileged bureaucrats in the world.

Cuba and U.S. Politics

The Cuban revolution and the attitude we take toward it remains the acid test for revolutionists.

And because the fate of the revolution in this country is so intertwined with the Cuban revolu-



The basic core of Cuba's revolutionary leadership has remained intact over twenty years. Above are pictured (from left to right) Juan Almeida, deputy prime minister; Osvaldo Dorticos, president; Raul Castro, head of the armed forces; Celia Sánchez, secretary to the presidency; and Che Guevara, who died fighting to extend the revolution in Bolivia.

tion, we should realize thoroughly how horrible a defeat in Cuba would be for us. A defeat of the Cuban revolution, or the Stalinization of Cuba, would be a terrible blow to the world revolution.

For twenty years we have understood the interpenetration of the Cuban revolution and the coming American revolution. We can see this growing more concrete every day.

Think about the overtures Castro is making to the Cuban Americans and the significance of this.

This is a bold, audacious, political move against the Carter administration's hypocrisy about human rights. But more than that even, it is a small but important move into American politics—a first for the Cuban revolution.

At the very beginning, the Cubans had the idea that maybe someone in the United States would go up into the Appalachians or somewhere and do it here like they did it in Cuba. They gave Robert F. Williams—who lived in exile in Cuba for many years after being framed up on kidnapping charges in this country—a radio station to beam messages to Mississippi and Alabama. They were ready to help train guerrilla fighters, but of course nothing ever came of this.

The Cubans never tried to use their strength and leverage to influence the U.S. labor movement. They wrote it off. But times have changed.

The current dialogue with the Cuban community in the United States involves thousands of Cubans who are in this country to stay. They are divided by class. Many work in factories, they go to schools, and they are moved by the same things in the class struggle that affect you and every other worker. They also find *latinos* aren't treated equally in the land of Carter's human rights hypocrisy.

The new relationship emerging between Cuban-Americans and the Cuban revolution is going to mean a change in the attitude of a section of the American working class to the Cuban revolution.

And a new stage is opening up in the Cuban revolution's relations with Afro-Americans. Afro-Cubans are fighting in Africa, and they are watched and cheered on by Afro-Americans. If an upheaval takes place and Cuban troops are called on to help and do battle for the freedom of Zimbabwe, Namibia, and South Africa, I am convinced that Afro-Americans and other American workers will go over there to join the fight. You will see international brigades fighting for the liberation of Africa.

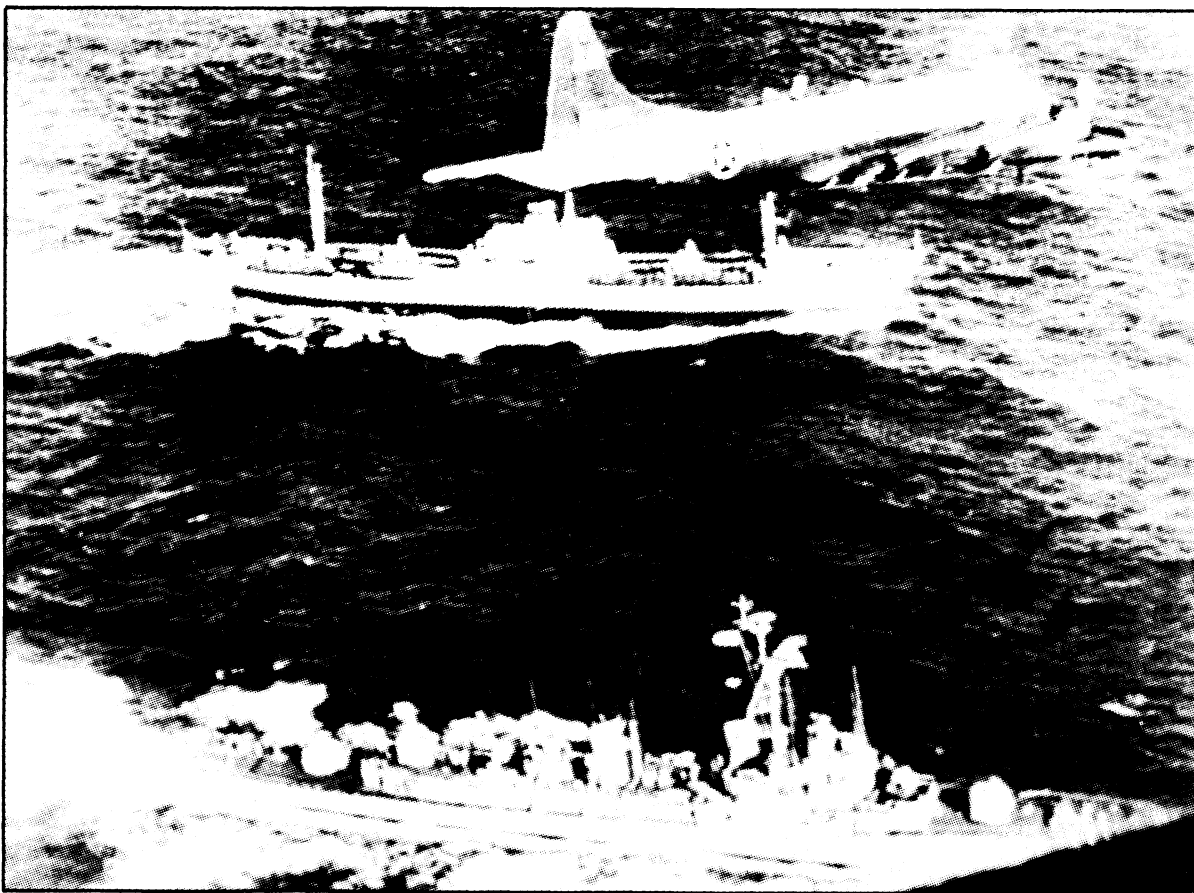
Just use your imagination and think what will happen when those battles begin—the attitudes and feelings this will inspire in millions of people.

So we don't change a single, fundamental thing in our position after twenty years. We celebrate. We defend this revolution with all our heart. And we fight to extend it.

We recognize the revolutionary character of its leaders, and we make a bloc with them against their enemies abroad and against the Stalinists at home. The Socialist Workers Party, the Young Socialist Alliance, and the Fourth International will influence the Cuban revolutionists by show-



Cuban troops in Angola pushed back South African invasion, advanced liberation struggle in all of southern Africa.



U.S. ships blockading Cuba in October 1962. Soviet nuclear missiles helped block a new U.S. invasion.

ing in action what revolutionary Marxist politics is.

The world Trotskyist movement must accept the responsibility for missing two great opportunities to influence the Cuban leadership. The first was right after the victory over Batista. Unfortunately, in Cuba Trotskyism was misrepresented by a group that followed a cult leader named Juan Posadas. Their specialty was passing out leaflets demanding a march on the Guantanamo naval base, while the Cubans were trying to consolidate the revolution.

They denounced the leaders of the revolution for not being socialists.

I will always remember one night in that summer of 1960 in Havana. A few nights earlier Fidel had spoken to a gigantic meeting in Havana. He had announced that they were going to nationalize every piece of American-owned property in Cuba.

On this particular evening there was a big meeting at the Blanquita Theatre. There Che Guevara told a gathering of thousands of students from all over Latin America that this was the beginning of the *socialist* revolution in our hemisphere. This was the first time a central leader of the Cuban government had described the revolution in those terms.

The Posadistas were out there again, denouncing the Cuban leadership for not being revolutionary enough.

Fortunately, there were people like Peter Buch, Pedro Camejo, Eva Chertov, and Suzanne Weiss in Cuba at the time, so I learned that there was quite a difference between Trotskyism and the Posadista insanities.

But the Fourth International lost an opportunity to influence the Cuban leadership as much as it could have because of the character of the Cuban organization that called itself Trotskyist. This resulted, in part, from an unnecessarily long and brutal split in the Fourth International. This split, which wasn't healed until 1963, weakened the world movement, and blocked the international leadership from using its full strength to influence the Cuban Trotskyists.

New Openings

There was a second missed opportunity. This was the period from about 1967 to a little more than a year ago. During this time a majority of the leadership of the Fourth International themselves turned toward a strategy of guerrilla warfare. The Cuban leadership was trying to think out how to move forward in the aftermath of the collapse of the guerrilla orientation in Latin America, symbolized by the defeat in Bolivia and the death of Che. At that very moment, several sections of the Fourth International were speeding right past the Cubans in the opposite direction.

The Trotskyist movement was giving the Cubans an outmoded answer that the Cubans themselves were trying to move beyond.

It took some years and much discussion, but the Fourth International has now rejected these errors and puts forward a revolutionary strategy

for Latin America that does provide correct answers to the questions the Cubans were weighing. But valuable time was lost in this process.

But now we have opportunities like we never had before. We have opportunities because the one thing above all is that the Cubans watch politics, they watch revolutionists, and they watch revolutionary activity.

The changes coming in this country are a great opening for deeply influencing the Cuban revolution. The rise of working-class struggle in this country and the role Trotskyists will be playing in it is going to spark some new thinking in Cuba about the revolutionary prospects in the imperialist countries.

Learning from the Cubans

So this is a unique, happy anniversary for the Cuban revolution, and for the twenty years we have been fighting shoulder to shoulder with the Cubans.

The Cubans have done a few things for us and are still doing some things for us.

They have inspired us with confidence in the power of the proletarian revolution. Think about the powerful forces that are actively working, and have been actively working for twenty years, to crush that revolution. Think of what they have stood up against—and what they are still standing up against.

A little island, a superexploited country a few miles away—opened the socialist revolution in our hemisphere!

They taught our generation that our class can take over and run this society. They taught us that you should be proud of your African heritage, your *latino* heritage, because it deserves pride.

They showed us that the mobilization of the working class and its allies, under a leadership that is conscious, that tells the truth, is more powerful than the mightiest economic and military power that has ever existed on the face of the earth.

They demonstrated in practice that the Stalinists are not ordained to be at the head of every revolution, to smother it, derail it, betray it. We are in the epoch of revolution, not counterrevolution.

At the Bay of Pigs, in Bolivia, and in Africa—the Cubans have taught us how to fight, how to live, and if necessary, how to die for the liberation of humanity. And they showed us that Che was absolutely right when he said that the uncompromising revolutionist is motivated by great love.

And they taught even those of us who are ignorant of Spanish the meaning of one word in Spanish that we must know—*Venceremos*, we shall win.

In exchange for all this, we only owe them one small thing. That is to organize a revolutionary movement capable of leading the American workers to do exactly what the Cubans did. And that is what we will do.

...Wheelwright

Continued from page ISR/4

Party's cultural journal) and a leading member of the Rebel Arts Society (which was affiliated with the party). But he also participated in demonstrations and was arrested on picket lines; he ran for local office in elections on the Socialist Party ticket; he worked in defense of political prisoners and in antiwar organizations of the 1930s.

Wheelwright's several poems against the threatening imperialist war indicate that his socialist views were not based on mere sentimental feelings; they stemmed from his understanding of the class basis of war. "You-U.S.-US" is a satire underscoring "the chief difficulty in proletarian revolution, the subservience of the masses to war-hysteria. . . ." "Skulls as Drums" is an answer to the Civil War poetry of Walt Whitman, which Wheelwright felt was naïve about the nature of the conflict. His philosophic "Train Ride," dedicated to Horace Gregory, uses as its refrain a slogan attributed to Liebknecht: "Always the enemy is the foe at home."

In 1934 Wheelwright initiated a new project called "Vanguard Verse," which sponsored the publications *Poems for a Dime* and *Poems for Two Bits*, as well as a correspondence course on "The Form and Content of Rebel Poetry." Assisting Wheelwright in this venture were Kenneth Porter, a Christian socialist poet who later became a labor historian, and Sherry Mangan, a friend from the Harvard Poetry Society.

Although Mangan had edited several magazines and published a novel and collection of poems in the early 1930s, financial necessity forced him to work as a printer. He designed Wheelwright's first two books as well as the Vanguard Verse publications, and he soon came under Wheelwright's political influence. Wheelwright refers to his relationship with Mangan in the poem "Resurge from Desecresence," in which Mangan and "M" (the nickname for Marguerita Landin, Mangan's second wife) review a complex theological argument that had occurred between the two poets.

As Wheelwright continued his study of Marxism, the positions of the Trotskyists became increasingly attractive to him. After the Trotskyists of the Workers Party were admitted into the Socialist Party in June 1936, Wheelwright joined their caucus and developed a close relationship with local Boston leaders such as Antoinette Konikow and Larry Trainor.

In late 1936 Sherry Mangan also joined the Trotskyist caucus, and the two poets collaborated in cultural activities and in work on behalf of the American Committee for the Defense of Leon Trotsky during the Moscow Trials. When the Trotskyists were expelled from the Socialist Party in the fall of 1937, both poets became founding members of the Socialist Workers Party.

2. Complete biographical information can be found in the essay "The Pilgrimage of Sherry Mangan: From Aesthete to Revolutionary Socialist" (*Pembroke Magazine*, no. 8, 1977, pp. 85-99).

In 1938 Mangan moved to Paris and remained an active figure in the Fourth International until his death in 1961.²

As a member of the Boston branch of the Socialist Workers Party, Wheelwright continued his literary and educational activities. He also did public speaking on soapboxes. The rebel Brahmin made a rather startling sight with his bowler hat, full-length raccoon coat, and walking stick.

Wheelwright was also active in the League for Cultural Freedom and Socialism, an organization of revolutionary writers in the United States inspired by a manifesto signed by Trotsky, the surrealist author André Breton, and the painter Diego Rivera. In 1939-1940, during the dispute between the followers of Max Shachtman and James P. Cannon over the defense of the Soviet Union, Wheelwright supported Cannon and wrote him that the view of Shachtman's faction "leads logically to surrender to democratic chauvinism in the U.S.A."

Wheelwright was killed on September 14, 1940. An obituary in the Trotskyist newspaper *Socialist Appeal* remarked on his "firmness and loyalty to the revolutionary movement" and concluded: "The revolutionary party is rooted in the working class but it draws to itself the best from all classes. Among them was John Brooks Wheelwright."

'The Permanent of Rebellion'

One disadvantage of the publication of all of Wheelwright's poems together in one volume is that even with the introductory material the book gives an unclear picture of Wheelwright's political, philosophical, and poetic development. For example, much of "Dusk to Dusk," which appears as the fourth section, was written before many poems in "Political Self-Portrait," which appears as the third section.

But even "Political Self-Portrait" does not fully present Wheelwright's evolution. In his final phase, he renounced Anglicism and then Christianity altogether—a not-unexpected conclusion to the course he had been following. Many of the poems in this volume reflect stages in that transition.

"The Word is Deed," first published in 1938, is clearly an attempt to reconcile his waning faith in Christ with scientific socialism. Wheelwright argues that Engels was incorrect in *Anti-Dühring* when he changed the statement of St. John to read that the deed preceded the Word. Nevertheless, Wheelwright says, both he and Engels agree that humanity transforms itself through its deeds, and therefore he and Engels can share a common strategy for liberation.

In "Lanterns of Time," a poem dedicated to Kenneth Patchen, Wheelwright discusses the degeneration of the Russian revolution and the rise of Stalinist gangster rule. Putting forward the view that the main hope for proletarian revolution now lies in the activation of the proletariat in the West, his analysis resembles Trotsky's ideas at the time. Yet at one point Wheelwright utilizes the term "Stalin's Red Fascism"—likening the degenerated workers state in the Soviet Union to Nazi Germany, a superficial equation that Trotsky rejected. And at



Sherry Mangan, a revolutionary journalist and friend of Wheelwright.

the end of the poem, Wheelwright uses the Kronstadt uprising of 1921, which Lenin and Trotsky believed threatened to throw the fragile young workers state into the hands of the White Guard, as a symbol of the coming political revolution.

However, in a note at the beginning of the book, Wheelwright apologizes for the fact that some of his poetic expressions might mislead the reader into a false understanding of his political outlook:

"The author regrets that such references as those to Kronstadt and to 'Red Fascism' pass beyond poetic license towards political license; but is unable to find apter language."

"Redemption" is a poem about Marxist aesthetics. In the first sections he defends the thesis of Trotsky's *Literature and Revolution* that the aim of the socialist revolution is to produce a higher form of culture based on a classless society, and not a "proletarian culture":

*What do you want, you who form our Army?
More bottled Mayonnaise? D'y' want ham-
burger?
More beefsteak (like your boss)? More baseball
bleachers?
Shorter (but duller) jobs; longer (but duller)
loafing?*

While Wheelwright does not feel that revolutionary poets can force their concern with culture onto the proletariat, he warns about what might happen to the course of the proletarian revolution if the poets are not heard:

*. . . make sure not to board the wrong train for
Beulah [the future paradise]
—(it may land you up in Englewood, New
Jersey).*

After satirizing various schools of literary criticism, Wheelwright explains the Marxist view of the evolution of art from its origins in labor, and he looks forward to the day when class society's bifurcation of a high culture for the rich and a so-called lowbrow culture for the masses will be as obsolete as war and dinosaurs:

*. . . (soon soon) work and play be recreate
and (shadow souls in worlds of shadow fires)
intellectual highbrow, lowbrow proletariat
forgot with battleship and mastodon.*

Wheelwright's devotion to art and literature stems from a perspective very much at odds with the scholasticism of bourgeois academic critics and the general tendency of capitalist society to transform culture into a commodity used for escape or status. Wheelwright regarded the culture of the world from a revolutionary perspective as a potential treasure to be shared, appreciated, and transformed by all humankind.

But above all Wheelwright believed he had a special obligation to understand and interpret from a revolutionary point of view the culture of New England, his own region. Even his studies of rebel divines and their theological disputes were not undertaken for an abstract purpose. His intentions were made clear in his poem celebrating his radical Puritan ancestor, the Rev. John Wheelwright:

*Keep us alive with your ghostly disputation
make our renunciation of dominion mark not
the escape, but the permanent of rebellion.*

Leon Trotsky on Literature & Art

A collection featuring Trotsky's polemics against Stalinist censorship of literature and art and against the theories of 'proletarian culture' that were used to defend this censorship. The volume also contains essays on Leo Tolstoy, Jack London, Vladimir Mayakovsky, Louis-Ferdinand Celine, and others. The most complete collection of Trotsky's writings on art and literature.



252 pp. \$14 cloth; \$4.45 paper.

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When the Socialist Workers Party responded enthusiastically to the rise of Black nationalist ideas and struggles in the early 1960s, more than a few white liberals and radicals were taken aback. James

Leon Trotsky on Black Nationalism and Self Determination.

Edited by George Breitman. New York. Pathfinder Press. 96 pp.

Wechsler, a liberal Democratic journalist, wrote of the collaboration the SWP established with Malcolm X: "It was hard to believe that Leon Trotsky had ever anticipated such an alliance would be welded in his memory." And more than a few ultraleft sectarians—who imagined they stood at the opposite pole from Wechsler—reacted the same way.

As George Breitman writes in an editorial introduction to this collection, "Despite the air of knowingness he sought to convey, [Wechsler] was quite ignorant of what Trotsky thought about the American Negro struggle. Malcolm, the self-educated man, knew more than the politically sophisticated Wechsler about Trotsky's views on the Negro; he knew they were revolutionary, not liberal, because he had read, in 1963, Trotsky's four discussions with his American comrades."

These discussions are reprinted in this volume together with introductory material placing the exchanges in historical and political context. The discussions took place in 1933 and 1939 between Trotsky and leaders of the Communist League of America and its successor organization, the Socialist Workers Party.

In large part as a result of these exchanges, the Socialist Workers Party voted at its 1939 convention to call for the right of self-determination for Black people. This put the SWP on record in support of the right of Black people to form their own separate state in the United States, if they so decide.

In addition, the SWP adopted the perspective of fostering an independent Black struggle against racial oppression as a vital component of the struggle for socialism. The resolutions embodying these decisions are also included in *Leon Trotsky on Black Nationalism and Self Determination*.

This decision marked a qualitative advance for American revolutionary socialists. Breitman quotes an essay by James P. Cannon (a founding leader of the SWP), to point out that before the Russian revolution of 1917, American revolutionists tended to view Black oppression as "an economic prob-

Pathfinder's Choice for February

Trotsky on Black Nationalism and Self-Determination

lem, part of the struggle between the workers and the capitalists; nothing could be done about the special problems of discrimination and equality this side of socialism.' In practice, Cannon says, this turned out to be 'a formula for inaction on the Negro front. . . .'

With the formation of the Communist Party in 1919, the leaders of the Bolshevik Party began to re-educate American Communists on this issue. Lenin, Trotsky, and others brought their experiences in combating the national oppression in tsarist Russia to bear in examining the special problems of Blacks in America.

Progress was made, but further advances were blocked for a time by the Stalinist degeneration of the Soviet regime. The American CP split in 1928 between revolutionary Marxists, who supported Trotsky, and the Stalinists. A few years later, Trotsky moved to renew and deepen the discussion among American revolutionists of the nature and importance of the Black struggle.

Trotsky and his cothinkers approached these discussions from the standpoint of seeking to unite the working class against the capitalist rulers and win new members to the revolutionary party.

Pointing to the especially intense oppression Black people face, Trotsky predicted that "they are convoked by the historic development to become a vanguard of the working class. . . . If it happens that we in the SWP are not able to find a road to this stratum, then we are not worthy at all. The permanent revolution and all the rest would be only a lie."

He predicted that Black workers would be the best fighters for the right of self-determination: "When . . . the Negroes say 'we want autonomy,' then they take a position hostile toward American imperialism. At that stage the [Black] workers will be much more determined than the petty bourgeoisie."

The claim that the fight of Blacks for the right of self-determination would split the working class was "an adaptation to the ideology of the white workers," in Trotsky's view.

Far from dividing Black and white workers, Trotsky saw defense



Malcolm X addresses 1963 Harlem rally

of the right of self-determination for Blacks as a means of educating white workers and forging revolutionary unity in the working class:

"Ninety-nine point nine percent of the American workers are chauvinists. In relation to the Negroes they are hangmen as they are also toward the Chinese, etc. It is necessary to make them understand that the American state is not their state and that they do not have to be the guardians of this state. Those American workers who say: 'The Negroes should separate if they so desire, and we will defend them against our American police—these are revolutionists, I have confidence in them.'"

The evolution of the revolutionary socialist view of the Black struggle did not stop with the discussions with Trotsky and the resolutions adopted in 1939. But the advance they represented made it possible for the SWP to respond in

a revolutionary way to the development of the Black struggle, including the rise of Malcolm X.

The deepening of the Black struggle and the rise of the Chicano movement demonstrated that the American revolution would have a combined character. It would be both a working-class struggle for socialism and a struggle of the oppressed nationalities for liberation.

The discussions and documents published here, together with resolutions subsequently adopted by the Socialist Workers Party, richly deserve study by anyone seeking a consistently revolutionary view of the Black struggle.

This volume also includes selections from Trotsky's writings on the struggles of oppressed nationalities. Of special interest at this time is "The National Character of a Social Revolution" in which he argues for Black majority rule in South Africa. —Fred Feldman

25% Discount Offer

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LETTERS

Nonexistent radicalization?

In the editorial, "Why 'Guardian' Misreads the 1978 Elections," in the *ISR* section of the November 10 *Militant*, you claim that there is a "massive radicalization now taking hold among working people."

To support this startling claim, you cite the coal miners' strike, the postal workers' rejection of the first contract they were handed, and the rail unions' shut down of most rail

traffic. While these were all welcome and progressive events, they seem to be no more evidence of a massive radicalization than were similar events during the 1950s.

You also see evidence in the slight upturn in the Black liberation struggle, even though a lot of this new activity appears to be campus-based.

Your best evidence seems to be the July 9 pro-ERA demonstration—together with the unmentioned gay rights activity that has manifested itself over the past several months. But by themselves they do not constitute more than a hope for a generalization of massive, militant developments.

You also claim that the ruling class has been cautious in its move to the right because it sees the working class moving massively to the left. But their caution could be explained as simply the fear of provoking a reaction among workers where not much class-struggle activity now exists.

In the end, you seem to rely most heavily on your claim that you know what is going on because Socialist Workers Party members are rooted in "the factories and communities where the oppressed and exploited live, work, and struggle." However, this is the case with most left political organizations and, so far as I

know, none of the larger or more sensible of these agree with your assessment. None of the nonorganizational socialist working people that I have spoken to on this point can see any basis for your assessment, either.

So, could it be that you are mistaking currently successful membership recruitment for a massive radicalization that doesn't really exist? This idea came to me when I recalled the *Militant* article from some time ago that claimed workers were more open to socialist ideas now than at any time during "this century."

Arthur Maglin
New York, New York

Delegation meets INS official

Detroit picket demands Marroquin asylum

By Nan Bailey

DETROIT—At noon on January 18, Paul McKinnon, District Director of the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service here, looked out of his office window. He saw a picket line of twenty-five protesters carrying signs demanding, "Justice for Héctor Marroquin." "Reverse the INS decision!" and "Political asylum for Héctor Marroquin!"

Pickets were protesting the INS's recent decision to deny Marroquin's request for political asylum in the United States. If he is deported to Mexico, as the United States government is seeking to do, Marroquin will face certain police persecution on frame-up murder charges. These charges were lodged against him when he was a Mexican student leader in the early 1970s.

Twenty minutes after McKinnon's first glance out his window, he met with a delegation of prominent Detroiters: E. Faye Williams, vice-president of the Michigan Education Association; Maurice Geary of the Detroit Héctor Marroquin Defense Committee; Carole King from the office of U.S. Rep. John Conyers; Father Power, pastor of St.

Anne's Church, whose congregation is overwhelmingly Spanish-speaking; and Monsignor Clement Kern.

Williams read a protest statement signed by members of the delegation along with two Detroit City Council members, Clyde Cleveland and Maryann Mahaffey, who were unable to attend.

"We call on our government to honor its stated commitment to human rights," the statement said. "Our government's obligation to accept political refugees can no longer be limited to those escaping regimes out of favor with the U.S. State Department. . . . Human rights cannot take a back seat to international diplomacy."

McKinnon claimed he had never heard of Marroquin's case before. He promised to forward the protest letter to the INS in Texas, where the hearing on deporting Marroquin will be held.

Protest messages demanding asylum for Marroquin, along with needed financial contributions, should be sent to: **Héctor Marroquin Defense Committee, P.O. Box 843, Cooper Station, New York, New York 10003.**



Militant/Elizabeth Ziers

Delegation demanding asylum for Marroquin included (left to right): Fr. Robert Power, Maurice Geary, E. Faye Williams, Carole King, Clement Kern.

GE workers discuss rightist harassment on job

The following is an article by Jim Burfeind about some recent incidents of right-wing harassment on the job at General Electric's Appliance Park in Louisville, Kentucky, where he has worked for more than two years as an apprentice tool and die maker. Burfeind, a member of International Association of Machinists Lodge 2409, was the 1978 Socialist Workers Party candidate for Congress from Louisville's Third C.D.

On January 3, Burfeind was transferred to a new shop at the giant GE plant. The next day the harassment campaign began. It had continued for eleven of thirteen days when Burfeind wrote this article.

Burfeind had also been the victim of right-wing incidents last fall in his previous workshop. And a gas grenade had been tossed into an SWP campaign rally where he was speaking November 4.

During the most recent harassment campaign, Burfeind's work area has been repeatedly painted with hammers and sickles, water

has been dropped on him from catwalks, and threats have been posted on shop bulletin boards.

By Jim Burfeind

I have responded to the right-wing harassment by doing two things. First, along with my shop steward, I went to GE officials and told them I held them responsible. I demanded that GE put a stop to the harassment.

Second, I began to talk about the harassment with my co-workers. About fifty people work on three shifts in my shop, the Building 3 Tool Room. All are white males, mostly over thirty. Everyone I talked to was absolutely opposed to any violence against me. But at first, most of them said I should just laugh off the incidents. This was just everyday horseplay, they said.

I disagreed. I explained that this harassment benefited only the company and threatened everyone's rights. I said I was being threatened for my ideas, and that it was part of an atmosphere of intimidation of defenders of unions, civil rights, and women's rights in Louisville.

I pointed out that our IAM lodge voted last fall to condemn the gas-

grenade attack against me and my party.

Many workers have gone out of their way to make me feel welcome in the shop by helping me out. One man approached me and said, "I just wanted you to know that some of us were talking and wanted to make it clear that not everyone supports this."

Another journeyman told me, "There are only a couple of people doing this." He was disgusted by it. He thought my support of busing in Louisville was a major reason for the harassment. He said he considered busing for Blacks a simple question of equal education but that some people just couldn't see past their prejudices.

"These people talk a lot about America and our freedoms," he went on to say. "But as soon as they run up against someone who disagrees with them, they don't think the other person has any rights."

Another worker said he opposes busing. But then he pointed out that many people used to think slavery was right, while now almost everyone looks back and says it's good we got rid of it. He said we would probably look back and say busing was a good thing.

When I'm not around, a few co-workers have started arguing with those responsible for the harassment. Some of them have drawn small reprisals, such as having Prussian Blue Dye put on the handles of their tool boxes. (The dark blue dye cannot be washed off.)

Almost without exception, the workers most active in the union are the ones most opposed to the harassment. On January 11 I found a piece of literature from "The Review of the News" on my tool box. This is a right-wing outfit that supports so-called right-to-work laws, opposes most job safety laws, and attacks congresspeople who vote for prolabor legislation. This literature illustrates how the campaign against me is in the interest of GE and against the union.

In the course of discussing the harassment, I've found that people are eager to talk about everything from inflation to pollution. Every day it is clearer that a few people are attacking me with the growing disapproval of the rest.

What is needed now is for the majority of my co-workers to make it known that this harassment must stop.

SWP runs steelworker for Salt Lake mayor

By Dave Hurst

SALT LAKE—Pam Burchett will be the Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of this city in the November 1979 election. Burchett is thirty-two years old, works at Eimco Tunneling and Mining Machinery Division as a template operator, and is a member of the United Steelworkers of America Local 4208.

At a press conference here January 17, Burchett explained why she is running. "As a working person I am keenly aware of the problems faced by other working people in this city," she said. "I think the Republicans and Democrats are responsible for these problems."

"Workers here are caught in a three-way squeeze between inflation, unemployment, and taxes. This is made worse by the fact that wages in Salt Lake are among the lowest in the country."



BURCHETT: defends right to choose, opposes 'right to work.'

Burchett advocates abolition of Utah's antilabor "right to work" law; taxing the rich and eliminating all taxes on working people; shortening the work week with no cut in pay to provide jobs for the unemployed; and a guaranteed cost-of-living adjustment on wages and social benefits.

Burchett will also campaign for passage of the Equal Rights Amendment and the right of women to have access to abortion and birth control.

Burchett responded to a reporter's question on whether she would get a "hostile reaction" in Salt Lake to her position on abortion. She answered that growing numbers of people in Utah agree with her view that every woman should have the right to decide for herself whether or not to have a child. She pointed out that of the 10,000 abortions performed in Utah since 1973, 40 percent have been per-

formed on Mormons, despite the stand of the Mormon church hierarchy against abortion and birth control.

Burchett will also speak out on the possibility of a police cover-up or involvement in the murder of SWP leader Tony Adams last November. "One of my first acts as a mayoral candidate will be to join a delegation of concerned citizens who will address a City Commission meeting later this month to insist on a full investigation of the events surrounding Tony Adams's murder," she said.

Other issues Burchett will be raising are opposition to nuclear power and the death penalty.

The press conference announcing Burchett's campaign was covered by both Salt Lake dailies, the local CBS and ABC television affiliates, and a number of radio stations.

Strike enters sixth month

Ore. paper workers battle company and courts

By Joel Shapiro

TOLEDO, Ore.—Striking workers at the Georgia-Pacific paper plant will soon enter their sixth month on the picket line.

As with other striking locals of the Association of Western Pulp and Paper Workers, little progress has been made in negotiations. Ten locals settled earlier in the strike and one in December. But since Carter's wage guidelines were announced, Georgia-Pacific has insisted it has no choice but to stick with its "final" offer made last November.

To the members of Local 13 in Toledo, however, it is not a question of

in. By the time it was over, twelve members of Local 13 were arrested, and an injunction was issued limiting pickets to four per gate.

The union investigated the incident and produced evidence showing it was a company provocation. Cameras and sound equipment had been placed on the buses to record the scab-running. Georgia-Pacific had insisted on using the main gate even though the local police urged them to use a side gate that was not picketed. And union members say there were people among the pickets that no one recognized.

In spite of all this evidence, the injunction against mass picketing remains in effect.

Teams of striking unionists have picketed G-P lumber mills throughout Oregon and northern California, shutting them down. In Portland, AWPPW members picketed the Georgia-Pacific headquarters.

On October 28, Local 13 organized a march through the streets of Toledo. Union members and their families, along with other townspeople and local longshore unionists, joined the demonstration.

Many Toledo merchants have lent a hand. The G-P plant of some 550 workers has a big impact on a town of 3,000 people. The local café has donated food and coffee to the pickets. A sign in the front window reads, "Frank and Judy Are 150% Behind Local 13—Where Are You?"

But the mill still operates. Materials are brought in, and paper is shipped out. Although Teamsters are not crossing the picket lines, they allow scabs to drive their rigs into the mill.

Construction workers were entering the mill to do repair work, but the National Labor Relations Board ruled they were doing the work of strikers.

For more coverage of the striking pulp and paper workers, see 'Union Talk' on page 25.

what the company is offering, but what it is trying to take away. According to Chuck Ritz, Local 13 financial secretary, the most serious is the company's demand to eliminate the right to strike and the right to honor picket lines.

Another important issue is the absentee policy. Currently the company allows excused absences only for funerals. Now it wants to take away Labor Day as a holiday when the plant is shut down.

Amnesty for the strikers is also at issue here. "Georgia-Pacific plans on firing some of our people when we go back," says Ritz. "It doesn't matter if it's 1 or 100, there must be no reprisals against any member of Local 13."

On August 24, about sixty strikers were picketing the main gate of the mill when buses of scabs were brought



The issue is what Georgia-Pacific is trying to take away

Militant/Joel Shapiro

Now a picket line is up at the construction gate.

According to Ritz, the most impor-

tant thing needed to win this strike is "support from all the other unions, so no one will go in the mill."

...Hansen

Continued from page 9

fading of the factional situation in the leadership of the United Secretariat. He looked forward to the next steps in that process whereby the comrades of the Organizing Committee for the Reconstruction of the Fourth International, who had refused to go along with the 1963 reunification, would be brought together with us in a single organization. He did what he could in these last years to accelerate this convergence, which has still to be consummated.

* * *

My own association with Joe goes back to the grim days of the Moscow Trials in 1937-38 when we collaborated with Trotsky to unmask these frame-ups to the world. He, as part of the secretarial staff in Coyoacán; myself as national secretary of the American Committee for the Defense of Leon Trotsky in New York.

Our first joint literary venture was the writing of the introduction to Trotsky's last work, *In Defense of Marxism*.

Felix Morrow had made a draft that focused exclusively on the political issues posed by the conflict with the petty-bourgeois opposition of Burnham, Shachtman, and Abern and impermissibly omitted the underlying philosophical and methodological aspects. We, like Trotsky, considered the fundamental questions of Marxist theory involved of greater long-term importance than the immediate issues that had precipitated the factional disputes.

The Political Committee rejected Morrow's treatment as inadequate and turned the assignment over to us. Our agreement on basic matters provided a durable basis for intimate collabora-

tion over the succeeding decades.

We worked together on the editorial boards of the *ISR*, the *Militant*, and *IP*. We also drafted countless resolutions and theses for the movement over the years. I had the habit of submitting much of what I wrote to his discerning judgment, and he rescued me, as he did so many others, from committing errors, large and small.

We had dissimilar temperaments but were of like mind in our conceptions of philosophy, politics, and methods of organization. We had learned from Trotsky and Cannon the indispensable necessity of teamwork and spurned the "star system" so rife in bourgeois society and among intellectuals that elevates considerations of personal prestige and individual accomplishment above the collective needs of the movement.

Joe was skilled at shorthand and a paragon of industriousness. We never worried whether he would fail to meet a deadline. This highly versatile man had wide-ranging interests. He was an assiduous student of Freud, of botany and geology, and of the latest developments in the physical sciences and theories of artistic creativity. His acquaintance with rather esoteric subjects and his skills in handicraft often amazed me.

Joe sometimes impressed people as being taciturn. Though he was convivial enough among close friends, he was not given to chitchat. He grew more and more reserved in that respect in later years, as though he was husbanding his energy for priority matters.

He came of sturdy stock (his father is still living at ninety-five) and was physically vigorous and active up to 1965, when he suffered a massive peritonitis attack in Paris that brought him close to death's door. When Evelyn and I and Farrell met him and Reba at the airport upon their return to the United States, we were shocked and dismayed to see how frail his

bodily frame looked. He never fully regained his health from that time on.

Just as we joined forty years ago in exposing the Moscow Trial frame-ups against Trotsky and the Old Bolsheviks, so I stood by Joe's side when he became the target of a pettier but no less perfidious and shameless slander campaign engineered by Gerry Healy, leader of the Workers Revolutionary Party of Britain, who had broken from the Fourth International in 1963. The Healyite poison penmen accused Hansen of being an agent of the GPU and the FBI and of conspiring in Trotsky's assassination. They have dumped buckets of dirty lies week after week since October 1975, designed to discredit Joe and compromise the SWP and the Fourth International.

Healy's vengefulness is traceable to his rage at Joe's effectiveness in consummating the 1963 unification and preventing him from blocking it. He was infuriated by Joe's scathing indictment of his sectarian politics and hooligan organizational practices.

Joe remained unflappable amidst these unremitting provocations. He neither ignored the false charges nor became entangled in answering them bit by bit to the detriment of carrying out other tasks. Taking his cue from Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Trotsky, who were likewise victims of slanders in their day, he set subjectivity aside and took the occasion of Healy's vendetta to show its political motivation as the expression of sectarianism gone berserk and the bankruptcy of that type of anti-Marxist politics.

His articles refuting the allegations, assembled in an educational bulletin entitled "Healy's Big Lie," can serve as a textbook on how Marxists handle the most despicable attacks by enemies of their movement.

Joe was one of the twelve plaintiffs in the landmark suit of the SWP against government harassment.

Joe's reputation as a revolutionist

remains spotless; the results of his forty-five years of service are enduring. He was the trusted confidant of Leon Trotsky and James P. Cannon for good reasons. At the moment of his death he was one of the most respected leaders and influential theoreticians of the Fourth International.

We commend his career to younger revolutionists as an example to learn from and emulate. As he said in his message to the Young Socialist Alliance this New Year's:

"At some point in life, youths are confronted with a crisis of orientation—that is, to what course should they dedicate themselves for the rest of their lives? My choice was Trotskyism, a choice I have never regretted.

"I hope this will be the occasion for others to make a similar choice.

"For the Fourth International!

"For the Socialist Workers Party!

"For the Young Socialist Alliance!"

January 20, 1979

....Cambodia

Continued from page 10

We warmly respect each other's cause both internally and internationally."

The decision of the Cambodians to evacuate the cities may have been done in emulation of the Maoists, who have sent hundreds of thousands of dissidents or potential dissidents, particularly among the youth, into the countryside for "reeducation." Does Peking consider the Cambodians to have been overzealous? So far the writers for Hsinhua have maintained a discreet silence.

The lineaments of the Cambodian revolution are beginning to emerge. It should not take long until a more concrete assessment can be made. However, it is still too early to accurately forecast its coming stages.

Newark school board to lay off 1,100 workers

By Richard Ariza

NEWARK—At a tumultuous meeting of 1,300 school employees, students, and parents on January 20, the Newark School Board voted to proceed with mass layoffs.

Firing more than 1,100 school employees is the way the board has chosen to close the district's \$4.6 million budget deficit.

The angry reaction of the audience forced the board to suspend the reading of their school "restructuring" plan and move directly into discussion. One after another, teachers, parents, and students voiced their opposition to the cutbacks.

Many speakers complained that art and music are especially hard hit and that the entire after-school recreational program is being dismantled.

Amiri Baraka received cheers when he said, "These cuts will make Newark's third-rate schools tenth rate."

Layoff votes taken at two previous meetings were invalidated in court because the board failed to comply with the state's "sunshine" law, requiring adequate public notice of such meetings.

Alonzo Kittrels, the superintendent of schools, now claims that the delay in the layoffs will necessitate an additional cut of 200 jobs unless the Newark Teachers Union agrees to various give-back demands. These include forgoing several days' pay and assuming the cost of health insurance through next September.

NTU President Carole Graves has warned Mayor Kenneth Gibson that there will be a "thorough shut down of the school system" if he doesn't intervene. Despite Gibson's pretense that he

bears no responsibility for the cuts, the mayor appoints the members of the school board.

In a leaflet distributed at the January 20 meeting, members of the Socialist Workers Party called for taxing the banks and corporations to pay for the school deficit.

The \$4.6 million needed is a drop in the bucket compared to the \$60 million the state pays out annually in interest payments on its bonds, the SWP said. Moreover, 60 percent of Newark's property—all of it owned by private corporations and the Port Authority—is not taxed at its assessed value. More than \$30 million could be raised by taxing the Port Authority alone.



Newark Mayor Gibson, who pretends to 'stand above' school layoffs, appoints school board members.

NY doctors strike to protest hospital cutbacks

By Vivian Sahner

NEW YORK—The Committee of Interns and Residents staged a one-day strike here January 17 to protest hospital cutbacks and closings planned by Mayor Edward Koch. The job action at nine of the seventeen municipal hospitals was the first ever by doctors against the city's hospital system.

More than half the CIR, a bargaining unit for some 2,000 doctors, took part in the walkout. Others, under the direction of the CIR, remained on duty to cover for the demonstrators outside.

CIR President Michael Schoolman told the *Militant* that his organization believes the one-day action was "an unqualified success."

Referring to news coverage that dismissed the action as ineffective because hospital services were uninterrupted, Schoolman said, "The papers just want to smear us for putting the spotlight on the proposed cutbacks. First they said that we would kill patients if we went out on strike. Now they say that the strike failed because we didn't kill patients. But killing patients was never our goal. The cutbacks will kill people, and that is what we are protesting."

The biggest municipal demonstration was at Harlem Hospital Center. Dr. Jonathan House, head of the CIR strike committee, told 200 physicians, hospital employees, and community members on the picket line that "the mayor and [City Health Advisor] Cherkasky are trying to balance the city's budget on the backs of the poor."

"We're outraged that more and more the right to health care, which is the right to life, is not a priority in this city," Lillian Roberts told the crowd. Roberts is associate director of District Council 37 of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees.

"When the city proposes to cut from health care, it is a disgusting and sad situation . . . a class and race situation," Roberts said.

The one-day action occurred despite an injunction against it by the state supreme court and threats by city officials to penalize leaders of the strike under the New York State Taylor Law.

Solidarity pickets were held at several voluntary hospitals. The largest was in front of Montefiore Hospital in the Bronx, which is headed by Koch's adviser, Cherkasky, the reputed architect of the cuts.

Among the groups that issued statements of support for the striking doctors were the NAACP Metropolitan Council, AFSCME District Council 37, Licensed Practical Nurses of New York State, New York State Nurses Association, Brooklyn Medical Society, and Doctor's Council.

Three days after the protest, Koch's latest "money saving" scheme was disclosed. He is now trying to give away the recently completed \$200 million Woodhull Hospital in Brooklyn to the U.S. Justice Department. The feds could convert it, city officials say, into a prison or a detention center for so-called illegal aliens.



District Council 37 leader Lillian Roberts speaking to January 17 demonstration at Harlem Hospital Center.

National picket line

St. Louis teachers defy court order

Striking St. Louis teachers have closed down the city's schools in defiance of a court order prohibiting their walkout.

Members of American Federation of Teachers Local 420 struck January 16 over wages, class size, and preparatory time. The school board immediately obtained a temporary antistrike injunction.

Despite court threats and the arrest of five AFT pickets, the strikers have held firm. Before classes were canceled January 18, only 644 out of some 4,000 teachers reported for work, and only 23 percent of the system's 74,000 students attended classes.

A permanent injunction is expected January 24. But in two spirited mass rallies this past week, the teachers voted to press on with their fight.

Court breaks steel haulers' strike

Threatened with the imprisonment of their leadership and crippling fines, 300 striking members of the Fraternal Association of Steel Haulers (FASH) voted overwhelmingly at a January 19 meeting in Pittsburgh to end their nine-week shutdown.

Federal District Judge Louis Rosenberg ordered the strikers back to work after ruling that as a "business organization" FASH does not have the right to strike. The "antitrust" suit was hypocritically filed by U.S. Steel and six other Pittsburgh-area steel companies.

"It was the unfair ruling by the court that broke the strike and made us discontinue our fight at this time," said FASH leader Bill Hill.

The independent truckers were striking to gain union recognition for FASH and to win better pay and decent working conditions. Out of some 30,000 steel haulers, 10,000 are Teamsters. But even they are denied the right to vote on their contracts.

The steel haulers' shutdown slowed steel shipments and forced a few smaller plants to close. But with the aid of the Teamster bureaucracy, state police, and courts, the big steel companies were able to make most deliveries.

According to Hill, FASH will continue to fight to reinstate some 200 strikers who have been fired. Citing the establishment of new FASH chapters and increased pressure by the steel haulers on negotiators for the Teamsters Master Freight Agreement, Hill concluded, "FASH has come out of the strike much stronger. . . . This has just been one battle in our struggle to represent ourselves and direct our destiny."

BRAC contract settlements

Three days before their January 18 deadline, officials of the Brotherhood of Railway and Airline Clerks reached a tentative thirty-nine-month pact with the major U.S. railroads.

According to BRAC President Fred Kroll, the new contract includes a 36 percent wage increase and "significant" improvements in health and welfare benefits.

The wage and benefit package exceeds Carter's 7 percent guidelines. But negotiators expect the BRAC contract will be okayed by Carter because eleven other rail unions had already agreed to a similar settlement before the imposition of the government's wage guidelines.

BRAC members will vote on the agreement by mail ballot—with one catch. Under the union's ratification procedure, workers who do not cast a vote are counted as voting for approval.

The national BRAC settlement followed the January 8 announcement of a local union agreement with the Norfolk and Western Railway. Last summer BRAC members struck the N&W line for eighty-two days, eventually causing a national work stoppage when their pickets spread to railroads engaged in a mutual-aid pact with the N&W. The rail strike was quickly broken by presidential injunction.

The main strike issues were union jurisdiction and job security. According to the January 22 *Business Week*, the N&W settlement prohibits the removal of jobs covered by the union contract and restores to BRAC 400 jobs previously removed.

BRAC did not win its demand for a union veto over technological work changes and for extending the union's jurisdiction to nonclerical workers. Worst of all, BRAC officials agreed to a wage scale that assigns new workers second-class status. They will be paid only 85 percent of full wages their first year and 95 percent their second.

Judge rules against Stearns miners

Kentucky Judge J.B. Johnson, Jr., has once again shown whose side he's on in the confrontation between Stearns miners and the Blue Diamond Coal Company. The miners have been on strike for a United Mine Workers contract since July 1976.

On January 15, Johnson rejected the UMWA's request that the company be found in contempt of Johnson's own court order. He also denied the union's request that the number of court-allowed pickets be increased at the mine entrances.

It took six months for the UMWA to make it to a court hearing to air their charges. At that hearing last September, the union submitted evidence to prove that Blue Diamond is exceeding Johnson's limit on the number of private guards on duty inside the mine. And the union contended that state police are refusing to enforce the order against carrying weapons across the picket line into the mine.

The evidence included a tape recording of one side of a radio-telephone conversation between a guard and his head office. The guard talked of bringing the outlawed guns into the mine, and of how the head of the state police had told him it was okay as long as the guns were not visible.

In delivering his all-out rejection, Johnson said the union's charge that police and the security outfit were conspiring to smuggle weapons inside the mine "bordered on utter ridiculousness."

Johnson—who has closed his eyes to mass beatings and arrests of strikers, steady gunfire aimed at pickets from Blue Diamond's hired thugs, and countless other criminal violations of miners' rights—declared that to search the cars of guards entering the mine, as the union requested, would violate their Fifth Amendment rights.

—Shelley Kramer

World Outlook

News, analysis, and discussion of international political events

Life in a South African ghetto

Inside Soweto today

By Ernest Harsch

SOWETO—Fully two years after the massive political upheavals that swept this Black township, little, if anything, has been done to improve the depressed conditions here.

A visit through a number of the townships that make up Soweto* reveals a sprawling urban ghetto, a segregated residential area for "Africans only."

For more than a million and a quarter Blacks, Soweto is home. Although it is not officially designated as a city, it is the largest urban area in South Africa in terms of population size, and among the five largest in Africa south of the Sahara. It lies over thirty-three square miles of generally level terrain, southwest of the "white" city of Johannesburg, from which it is separated by a wide *cordon sanitaire* of open fields.

Unlike Johannesburg, with its modern apartment complexes, office buildings, and skyscrapers, Soweto is flat. Only a handful of buildings in Soweto are more than one-story high. The skyline is interrupted only by the two huge cooling towers of the Orlando power station on the outskirts of the township, and the rows of almost identical houses stretch on for mile after mile.

One is immediately struck by the bleakness of Soweto: the unpaved red dirt roads scarred by mammoth potholes, the absence of any sidewalks, the litter in the streets and the open fields, the wrecks of old cars, the uniform rows of unadorned red or gray brick houses, the lack of any malls or downtown areas.

Soweto has few of the social amenities usually associated with urban life. It has only three cinemas, one hotel, three banks, three post offices, one hospital, and few stores that sell anything more than groceries or the commonest household items. There are no supermarkets or shopping centers, and only one produce market. Most sports fields are bare stretches of dusty land. Telephones are rare, and street lighting is absent in most of the township.

Heavy pall of smoke

In both summer and winter, a heavy pall of grayish smoke emanating from coal and wood stoves hangs over Soweto for much of the morning.

"The health services are terrible," says Dr. Nthato Motlana, chairperson of the Soweto Committee of Ten, a broad-based community group. "I haven't seen roads being tarred in the last ten years and there's barely any street lighting. And as for housing, thousands have no hope of ever having their own homes."

Those who are lucky enough to get houses have little to brag about. The houses themselves are tiny cubicles, most with only four rooms. Sowetans call them "matchboxes."

Aside from the large single-sex barracks that Soweto's 100,000 migrant contract workers must live in, all of the houses in Soweto are officially allotted to families only.

These "matchboxes" are grossly overcrowded, with around six or seven persons living in each one. Despite Soweto's expanding population, the

white authorities have refused to construct enough housing. In fact, the number of new houses built each year has steadily declined since the mid-1960s. During 1978, no houses whatsoever were put up by the West Rand Administration Board (WRAB), which runs Soweto.

As a result, 25,000 Soweto families—more than 100,000 persons—are now on the official waiting list for new houses; many others have not even bothered to apply, since they are in Soweto illegally or are ineligible to obtain houses (a category that includes widows, deserted or divorced wives, and unmarried mothers).

But they must live somewhere. So they squeeze in with friends or relatives.

A mere 15 percent of Soweto's houses have bathrooms; almost all toilets are out in back. Two-thirds lack hot running water. Most are without electricity and are lighted only by candles and paraffin lamps. Some areas of Soweto have only one bed for every three occupants. Three-fourths of the houses lack ceilings; since most have roofs of corrugated iron sheeting, they are quite hot in the summer, and chilly in winter.

No security

The residents of Soweto have almost no security and cannot own their land they live on; it is owned by the WRAB, to which they must pay up to a quarter of their incomes in rent. The ownership of houses is prohibitive to all but a privileged few: around R6,600 (US\$7,590) for the newer type of houses, a figure a number of times higher than the average family income for an entire year.

A few of the houses in Soweto, especially in Dube township, are large and impressive, with well-manicured flowerbeds and exteriors that speak of affluence. They belong to Richard Maponya, Ephraim Tshabalala, and other Soweto "millionaires," who are favored by the authorities for their collaborationist roles.

For the vast bulk of Soweto's population, however, poverty is the norm. It can be seen in the unpainted walls and old furniture in countless houses, in the worn and faded clothes of children and adults alike, and in the skinny limbs and short stature of many young Sowetans.

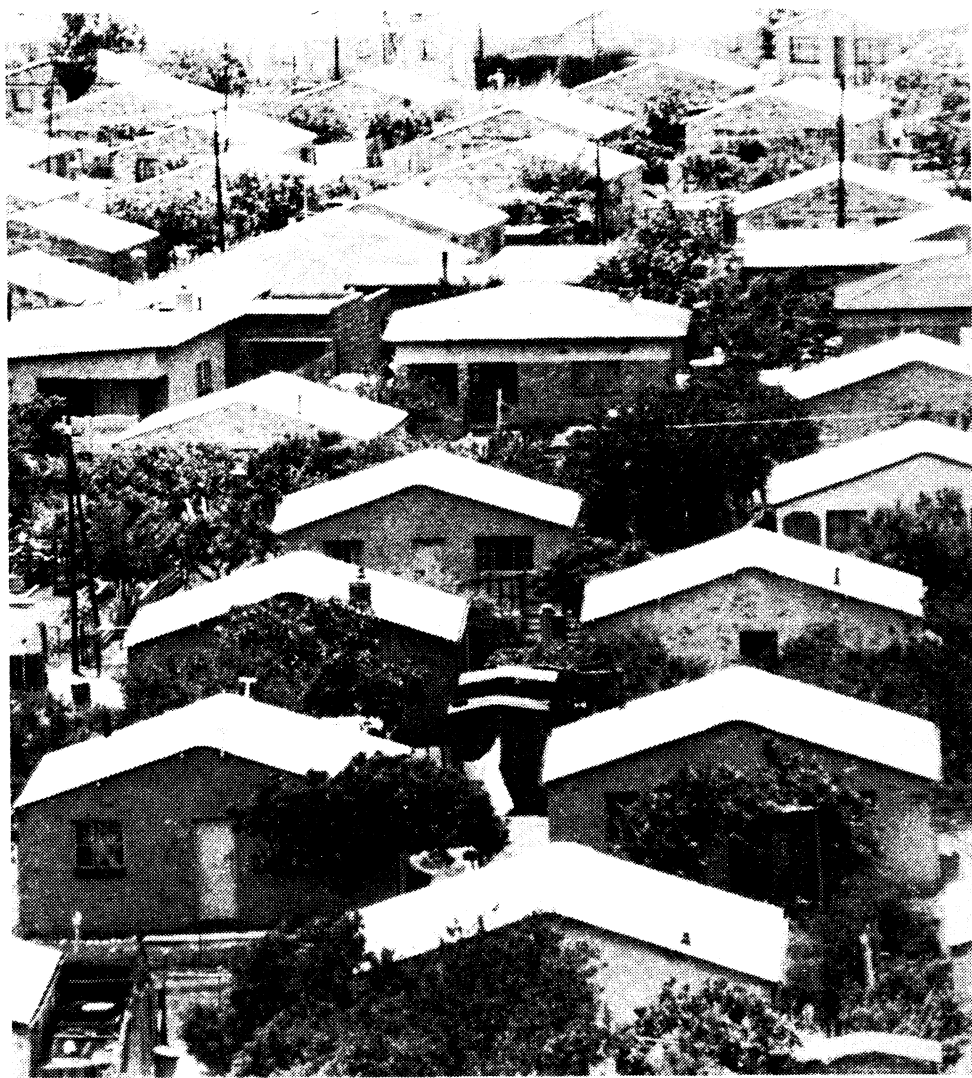
Fully 80 percent of all Soweto households live *below* the semiofficial Minimum Effective Level, a common poverty indicator. That level, currently at about R200 a month, is supposed to be just enough to keep a family of six in a state of subsistence. In practice, however, even those families who earn that much have trouble making ends meet.

Hunger is constant. A recent study found that protein malnutrition is a "major clinical problem" among Blacks in the Johannesburg area. Some 45 percent of all ten-to-twelve-year-olds suffer from it.

Disease is also prevalent. Tuberculosis is among the most common. Soweto schoolchildren have the highest known incidence of rheumatic heart disease in the world, a disease in which nutritional and socioeconomic factors play an important part.

High crime rate

Given the overcrowding and poverty—combined with the frustrations generated by white supremacist society—it is not surprising that



Intercontinental Press-Inprecor/Ernest Harsch

Soweto residents live six and seven to a house

Soweto has one of the highest crime rates in the world. Apartheid, a system of institutionalized violence against Blacks, produces violent reactions.

The problem of crime is intensified by widespread alcoholism, for which the white authorities are directly responsible. The WRAB has a monopoly on all legal sales of alcoholic beverages in Soweto, selling, according to a WRAB official, 160 million barrels of beer a year, at 9 cents a liter.

Many beer halls and liquor stores in Soweto were put to the torch during the 1976 rebellions, as symbols of the regime's attempts to keep Soweto submissive.

The material conditions of life in Soweto are made that much worse by the severe political and social oppression every Sowetan faces daily.

Every African over sixteen years of age must carry a reference book—commonly called a pass—which includes information on the individual's personal background, employment record, tax payments, and authorization to live in Soweto.

Because of the regime's rigid system of "influx control," which limits who can legally live in Soweto, it is very difficult for anyone not born in Soweto and actively employed in the area to obtain permission to live there with their family. But many Blacks from other townships or from the rural areas go to Soweto anyway, either to be with relatives or in hopes of finding a job. Since they lack the proper signatures in their passes, they live in fear of being stopped on the street for a pass check or of being caught in the nighttime police swoops for pass "offenders."

In a half-hearted attempt to lessen South Africa's image as a police state, and to provide a slight fiction of Black political representation, the authorities have installed a Black-staffed Community Council in Soweto. It is composed of prominent collaborators with the regime. Though it is claimed that it "runs" the township, it has no real powers. Its members are considered government stooges by most Sowetans. It is regarded as such a fraud by the township's inhabitants that fully 94 percent of the eligible voters in Soweto

stayed away from the polls during the "elections" to the council in early 1978.

The regime's claims aside, Sowetans have no control over their conditions of life. Those are dictated by the white minority regime.

Just as Blacks in Soweto itself have no real rights, they are totally excluded from the franchise on a national level. They have no say over the laws adopted by the all-white parliament, nor can they legally object to the implementation of Pretoria's racist policies.

Reflects oppression

Soweto reflects, in microcosm, the kinds of oppression that Blacks are subjected to throughout the country. Sowetans cannot own the land on which their houses stand; on a national level, they are excluded from land ownership in 87 percent of the country. Africans in Soweto are segregated residentially *within* the township along ethnic lines; nationally they face a divide-and-rule policy that seeks to fragment them as Zulus, Xhosas, Sothos, Pedis, Vendas, and so on.

Just as Blacks throughout South Africa are viewed as rightless laborers for the white businessmen and entrepreneurs, Soweto is considered an economic appendage to Johannesburg, the industrial and financial hub of the South African economy. Soweto is, in effect, little more than a dormitory for Johannesburg's Black work force.

The reality of this situation is strikingly apparent. Every morning some 350,000 Black workers in Soweto crowd onto the township's train platforms and bus stops, pile into the dilapidated transport, and within a few minutes whisk off to their jobs in Johannesburg. Every night they are hauled back to Soweto, their presence in the "white" city being tolerated only during working hours.

The same goes for their residency "rights" within Soweto itself. Blacks are allowed to live there only as long as they fulfill their assigned function as cheap and docile laborers. As soon as they are thought to be negligent in that role, they can be unceremoniously booted out, no matter how long they may have lived in Soweto. And while

*Greater Soweto is divided into twenty-eight townships. The ones this correspondent visited were Orlando East, Orlando West, Dube, Mofolo, White City, Moletsane, Tladi, Jabavu, Mapetla, Zola, and Jabulani.

Black workers are permitted to live in the area, they receive only the barest minimum—and in many cases not even that—to keep them going.

Soweto's basic function as an urban labor reservoir for the white-owned factories and mines is repeated throughout the country in the hundreds of Black townships and shantytowns that are clustered around every "white" city. Visits to Lamont, KwaMashu, and Ntuzuma near Durban and to Diepriver, Retreat, Grassy Park, and Crossroads near Cape Town revealed conditions similar to—and in some cases worse than—those in Soweto.

Soweto, of course, is much better known than the other townships, partly because of its sheer size, but most of all because of the way in which the people of Soweto stood up against the racist system of apartheid. It was the focus of the 1976 rebellions.

The signs of those uprisings are still visible today: the burned-out remnants of liquor stores and WRAB offices, the broken windows in many high schools resulting from protests against the racist educational system, the small, metal grave markers for the victims of the police terror.

The bristling police stations still stand in Soweto, surrounded by heavy barbed-wire fences, like outposts in an occupied territory. The cars of the security police still converge on houses in Soweto at any time of the day or night, to round up real or suspected political activists for the terrifying ride to John Vorster Square, the main police headquarters in Johannesburg. The newspapers in Soweto still carry the virtually daily reports of political arrests and trials, and every now and then of yet another death in detention.

The massive repression of the past two years has imposed an uneasy calm on Soweto. But the population has not been beaten into submission. Political activists are cautious, but their continued willingness to resist is reflected in the activities of groups like the Soweto Students League, the Soweto Action Committee, and others that are trying to give some focus to the discontent through the few open and legal channels left to them. Some activists are organizing clandestinely.

In the wake of the initial Soweto uprisings, the authorities tried to defuse some of the anger by promising improvements in Soweto's conditions. But two years later, few things have changed. In the words of one Soweto resident, "Soweto's even deteriorated, if that's possible."

The uneasy calm that now hangs over Soweto can be easily broken. Life under apartheid makes that inevitable.

From Intercontinental Press/Inprecor



Intercontinental Press-Inprecor/Ernest Harsch
Soweto children

Trial puts spotlight on CIA link to Letelier and Moffitt murders

By Arnold Weissberg

Who killed Orlando Letelier and Ronni Moffitt?

The answer, slowly coming to light, takes us to the highest levels of the U.S. government via the secret rooms of the CIA and its client, the bloody Pinochet regime that rules Chile.

Letelier was an official in Salvador Allende's Popular Unity government that was overthrown by the Chilean military in 1973. Letelier lived in exile in Washington and was an outspoken opponent of the butchers who run his country. On September 21, 1976, he and Moffitt were killed in Washington, when a remote-control bomb destroyed the car in which they were riding.

A trial now in progress has shed new light on responsibility for the double murder.

The defendants are three anti-Castro Cubans. The chief prosecution witness is a confessed participant in the murders, Michael Townley. Townley worked for Pinochet's secret police—the DINA. In return for his testimony, the U.S. government agreed to seek parole for him after he serves forty months of a ten-year term.

Trial proceedings January 23 revealed a secret deal signed by the U.S. and Chilean governments to keep the lid on explosive findings that might surface in the Townley investigation. Explaining the agreement to Federal Judge Barrington Parker, U.S. prosecutor Eugene Propper said, "... We would not spread it to the press, and Chile, it turn, said if it came up with any information in the Letelier case it

would give it to the United States."

Townley testified January 18 that the orders for the killings came from Chilean Lieutenant Colonel Pedro Espinoza in the summer of 1976. Espinoza was then DINA's operations chief.

Townley testified that he made his way into the United States under a false name and contacted members of the Cuban Nationalist Movement, a terrorist outfit.

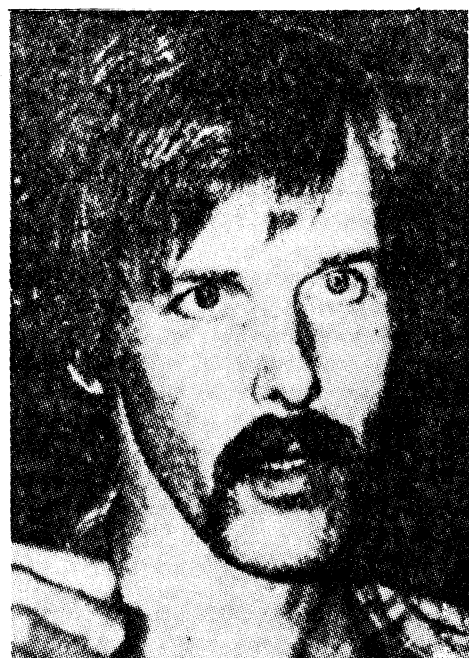
The defendants claim that Townley set up the Letelier bombing on orders from the CIA. "CIA traitor" they shouted at him as he entered the courtroom to testify.

The CIA admitted last month that it sought a security clearance for Townley in 1971 in order to use him "in an operational capacity." The agency—not noted for its honesty—claims it has no record that it ever employed Townley, however.

Meanwhile, the U.S. government has asked Chile to send Espinoza and General Manuel Contreras, former head of the Chilean secret police, to testify at the trial.

A growing body of evidence links the CIA to the Letelier and Moffitt murders. DINA was trained and organized under CIA auspices. Washington's efforts to topple the Allende regime were carried out by the CIA.

And the U.S. government has worked hand in glove with anti-Castro terrorists in its unending effort to restore capitalism in Cuba against the wishes of the Cuban people. These terrorists have used sabotage, bombs, and—under air protection provided by



TOWNLEY: Admits killing Letelier. Did he also work for CIA?

President John Kennedy—an outright invasion of the island.

Washington has also employed anti-Castro terrorists in violent operations against opponents of government policies in this country, too.

As the pact of secrecy between the U.S. and Chilean governments shows, the full story of the Letelier murder—and the dozens of other crimes like it—will not be uncovered at the current trial. That will happen only when the CIA is forced to open for public scrutiny all its files on ties to the Chilean butchers and right-wing Cuban outfits.

Meany's boycott and Carter's blockade

By Steve Clark

Last fall AFL-CIO President George Meany announced plans to participate in a "human rights" boycott of Chile, Nicaragua, and Cuba. The boycott had been called by the AFL-CIO-dominated Inter-American Workers Organization (ORIT).

Since Washington and its closest Latin American allies already maintain a blockade against Cuba, some people initially greeted Meany's action as a welcome initiative to put the U.S. labor movement behind the fight for democratic and trade-union rights in Chile and Nicaragua.

The Cuban newspaper *Granma*, however, expressed a different view in its December 31 issue. Pointing to the hypocrisy of the AFL-CIO's charges of human rights violations in Cuba, *Granma* said:

"This criminal [U.S.] blockade... is the most serious violation of human rights this century. Deep down, this campaign of the imperialists and their trade union agents is not intended to boycott either Pinochet or Somoza. Wait a few more weeks and see."

A few weeks was all it took.

On January 16 ORIT and the AFL-CIO dropped plans for their boycott of Chile, after concluding that the bloody regime there is mending its ways with regard to union rights.

According to a Chilean embassy official in Washington, "The decision was to give Chile time to do what it has promised."

The January 17 *New York Times* quotes an unnamed U.S. labor offi-

cial explaining that the Chile boycott was canceled because "We don't want to give Pinochet an excuse for calling off the reforms." He also said the Nicaragua boycott had been deferred pending a possible plebiscite on the future of the Somoza government—a ploy to keep the dictator in power that has been rejected by most opposition groups in Nicaragua.

What about the Cuba boycott?

It's been deferred, too.

Why? "It was also felt that more time was needed to plan an effective boycott against Cuba, which has no trade with the United States," according to the *Times*.



MEANY: Wants to give junta 'more time'

So Meany and his cronies will give Pinochet "more time," while they figure out how to make the blockade of Cuba "more effective." Just by coincidence, the Carter administration, too, is now trying to make the blockade more effective in retaliation for Cuba's stubborn refusal to withdraw its support to liberation struggles in Africa.

ORIT made its decision to drop the Chile boycott after negotiations in December with the military junta carried out by Peter Grace.

Who is he?

A rank-and-file unionist? Certainly not.

A trade-union official, then? Not even that.

Grace is president of the huge W.R. Grace and Company, a U.S. sugar monopoly with major holdings in Latin America and the Caribbean! He, along with Nelson Rockefeller, is a board member of the AFL-CIO-inspired American Institute for Free Labor Development, which is notorious for fronting for the CIA. The AIFLD is closely linked to ORIT.

Grace is a close friend of the new Chilean labor minister, José Piñera, according to the January 17 *Washington Post*. Piñera promised Grace "to allow collective bargaining, union dues checkoff and other activities demanded by the unions. However, strikes 'against the national interest' are prohibited and some of the other concessions are not to take effect until June."

No wonder *Granma* headlined its article, "Boycott imperialist-style."

Quote unquote

"This kind of situation is a learning experience."

—A spokesperson for Bay Area Rapid Transit after an explosion and fire in which one fireman was killed and fifty-one passengers injured.

KILLER COP OFF THE HOOK

An all-white federal court jury was unable to reach a verdict in the trial of William Walker, a former New York City cop who shot and killed an unarmed Black student in 1973. Walker was charged with violating the civil rights of John Brabham. He had earlier been acquitted in state court of murder.

The prosecution charged that Walker had tossed a toy gun next to Brabham's body to justify the shooting.

Walker claimed he thought

Brabham was armed. But U.S. Attorney Peter Schlam charged that Walker "went into a crouch, pointed his gun at John Brabham's head, lined him up in his sight, and calmly and coolly pulled the trigger."

Testimony from Walker's partner bore out Schlam's charge.

No decision has been made on a retrial for Walker again.

NUKE TRIALS: ONE WIN, ONE LOSS

Twenty-five anti-nuclear power protesters were freed in Indiana after a six-member jury was unable to reach a verdict in their trespassing trial last month. The supporters of the Paddlewheel Alliance were arrested October 7 after climbing a fence onto the Marble Hill, Indiana, reactor site near Louisville.

Prosecutor Merritt Alcorn announced he would not try another trial, but asked the defendants to plead guilty.

Meanwhile, on January 2, 176 people were convicted in Seattle federal court for protest-

ing the Trident submarine base at nearby Bangor last spring. They were charged with illegally entering the base.

The Trident sub and missile system costs \$2 billion each. Each sub carries twenty-four missiles with 17 warheads. All 408 warheads are five times as powerful as the atom bomb dropped on Hiroshima in 1945. The navy wants thirty Trident subs.

Two hundred sixty-six people had been arrested at the protest. Charges were dropped against 85, and the rest pleaded guilty.

After the trial, the defendants turned in a petition signed by thousands of supporters who declared their solidarity with the protest.

PENSION NO SECURITY

A January 16 Supreme Court ruling on pensions has both corporate bigwigs and trade-union bureaucrats smiling.

The court ruled that workers who have been cheated out of their hard-earned pensions have no legal right to sue

under federal laws.

This leaves millions of workers unfairly deprived of their pensions with no legal recourse.

If the court had ruled differently, billions of dollars in pension payments would have been collectible. Workers could have sued pension fund managers for failing to tell them that they had only a slim chance of ever collecting a dime.

The decision came in the case of John Daniel. Daniel retired as a truck driver in 1973 after more than twenty-two years as a member of a Teams-

ters union pension fund. He expected a \$400 monthly pension.

But the fund wouldn't pay, because he had been laid off for four months in 1960. Therefore, he had failed to work the twenty consecutive years necessary to qualify.

Daniel's case is all too typical. Pension funds—both union and corporate—take in billions and pay out peanuts.

Every worker has the right to a secure, federally funded retirement. And the employers, not working people, should foot the bill.

Vets seek discharge upgrading

Some 1.3 million veterans have received less-than-honorable discharges from the U.S. armed forces. A disproportionate number are Blacks and *latinos*, many of whom were penalized for anti-Vietnam War activities or protests against racist treatment.

Two veterans groups have now sued the government to end arbitrary and illegal less-than-honorable discharges. The two groups, the Veterans Education Project and the National Association of Concerned Veterans,

also want the names of all vets who have received less-than-honorable discharges. Under a 1978 law, vets have only until the end of this year to have less-than-honorable discharges reviewed for upgrading.

"Receipt of a less-than-honorable discharge stigmatizes its recipient," declares the court brief filed by the groups, "impairs his or her social and economic opportunities in civilian life and engenders substantial prejudice against him or her in civilian life."



How many Black GIs got less-than-honorable discharges for merely opposing army racism?

NO U.S. INTERVENTION IN NICARAGUA TO THE U.S. SPONSORED PLEBISCITE

DEMONSTRATE SAT. FEB. 3 AT 1:00PM

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For more information call: (212) 675-9158 or 926-7331 or 876-2992

Partial list of endorsers: Association for Human Rights in Nicaragua; Comité de Centroamericanos Unidos; Committee in Solidarity with the People of Nicaragua; Comité Chileno Antifascista; New York Committee on Nicaragua; Dirigentes Sindicales Chilenos en Exilio; Hostos Community College (Student Government); N.A.P.P.; M.A.P.U.-Chile; El Comité M.I.N.P.; Anti-Imperialist Movement for Socialism in Argentina (M.A.S.A.); Puerto Rican Democratic Union; Caribbean Village; Center for Cuban Studies; American Indian Movement-International Indian Treaty Council; Suramericanos Unidos; Renegade Housing Movement; F.U.S.P.; M.I.L.L.; Mexican Brotherhood; Venceremos Brigade; United Front Trades; N.I.C.H. (Non Intervention in Chile); The Guardian; N.A.C.L.A.; Homefront; Commission for the Elimination of Racism; Martin Luther King Jr. Freedom Association for Community Action; Council of Churches; City of New York; Rev. Dr. Robert M. Kinlock; New York City Unemployed and Welfare Council; Marilyn Clemmens; Center for Constitutional Rights; Iranian Students Association (Left Platform); Coalition of Grassroots Women; U.S. Ethiopian Friendship Committee; Fightback; Black Action Committee; Peoples Herald-Peoples Democratic Assn.; Workers-Vietnam; Socialist Workers Party; Puerto Rican Socialist Party (PSP); Youth Against War and Fascism; Workers World Party; Poor and Working Peoples Party (New York City); Progressive Iranian Committee.

What's Going On

CALIFORNIA

LOS ANGELES: SOUTHEAST WOMEN'S STRUGGLE IN U.S. HISTORY. Speaker: Stephanie Coontz, professor of history in women's struggles and coordinator of women's studies, Evergreen College, Washington. Fri., Feb. 2, 8 p.m. 2554 Saturn Ave. Huntington Pk. Donation: \$1.50. Aup: Militant Forum. For more information call (213) 582-1975.

SANTA MONICA

CONFERENCE ON NO NUKES. Speakers: Daniel Ellsberg; Helen Caldicott, physician. Sat.—Sun. Jan. 27—28, 10 a.m. Santa Monica College. Aup: Alliance for Survival. For more information call (213) 839-0240.

COLORADO

DENVER
HECTOR MARROQUIN'S FIGHT FOR POLITICAL ASYLUM. Speakers: Silvia Zapata, Denver coordinator of Marroquin Defense Committee; others. Fri., Feb. 2, 7:30 p.m. 126 W. 12th Ave. Donation: \$1. Aup: Militant Forum. For more information call (303) 534-8954.

ILLINOIS

CHICAGO

CHICAGO: THE CITY THAT WORKS? Hear the socialist alternative to the Dem-

ocratic Party. Speakers: Andrew Pulley, member of United Steelworkers Local 1066, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Chicago; Fred Halstead, leader of the anti-Vietnam War movement, 1968 SWP presidential candidate; Thabo Ntweng, SWP candidate for mayor of Cleveland, member of United Auto Workers Local 217. Sat., Feb. 3, 7 p.m. Shoeworkers Hall, 1632 N. Milwaukee. Donation: \$2. Aup: Socialist Workers Mayoral Campaign. For more information call (312) 939-0737.

MICHIGAN

DETROIT

THE MILITANT: FIFTY YEARS OF STRUGGLE. Speakers: Larry Seigle, former editor of the 'Militant'; David Herreshoff, Wayne State prof. of English; Liz Ziers, United Auto Workers Local 600 Women's Committee, member of Socialist Workers Party; Jim Lafferty, former national coordinator of National Peace Action Coalition; Mac Warren, UAW Local 600, member of SWP National Committee. Sun., Jan. 28, Cocktails 6:30 p.m.; classical guitar music, 7 p.m.; program, 7:30 p.m. 6404 Woodward. Donation: \$2.50. Aup: Militant Forum. For more information call (313) 875-5322.

MINNESOTA

MESABI IRON RANGE

HOW THE TRADE UNIONS WERE BUILT. Speaker: Harry DeBoer, participant in the historic 1934 Minneapolis Teamster strike. Fri., Feb. 2, 7:30 p.m. Carpenter's Hall, 307 1st St. N., Virginia. Donation: \$1.50. Aup: Iron Range Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (218) 749-6327.

MINNESOTA

ST. PAUL

HOW TO FIGHT NAZI ATTACKS. Speakers: George Latimer, mayor of St. Paul; Charles Breese, president of St. Paul NAACP; Yusef Mgeni, coordinator of Malcolm X Pan African Nationalist Institute; Jim Kendrick, Socialist Workers Party. Thurs., Feb. 1, 7:30 p.m. 373 University Ave. Donation: \$1.25. Aup: St. Paul Militant Forum. For more information call (612) 222-8929.

MISSOURI

KANSAS CITY

BENEFIT DINNER FOR HECTOR MARROQUIN. Full Mexican dinner. Sat., Feb. 3, 7-9 p.m. Guadalupe Parish Center, 1015 W. 23rd St. Donation: \$2.50. Advance tickets available from Parish Center or at Fool Killer, 2 W. 39th St. Aup: Hector Marroquin Defense Committee. For more information call (816) 753-4356.

MISSOURI

ST. LOUIS

EUGENE V. DEBS AND THE AMERICAN MOVEMENT. A film. Speaker: Joe Henry, Socialist Workers Party. Sun., Feb. 4, 7 p.m. 6223 Delmar Blvd. Donation: \$2. Aup: Militant Forum. For more information call (314) 725-1570.

NEW MEXICO

ALBUQUERQUE

EDUCATION AND THE CHICANO COMMUNITY. Speakers to be announced. Fri., Feb. 2, 8 p.m. 108 Morning-side NE. Donation: \$1.50. Aup: Socialist Workers Party. For more information call (505) 255-6869.

NEW YORK

NEW YORK CITY

CHILE TODAY: THE LETELIER ASSASSINATION. Film, 'Chile's Watergate'; Speaker, José Letelier, son of Orlando Letelier. Thurs., Feb. 1, 7:30 p.m. Earl Hall Auditorium, Columbia Univ., 118th St. & Broadway. Aup: Columbia University Committee for Human Rights in Chile.

HOW TO STOP NUCLEAR POWER AND NUCLEAR WEAPONS. Speakers: Fred Halstead, author of 'Out Now!', member of Socialist Workers Party Na-

tional Committee; David McReynolds, staff member, War Resisters League. Fri., Feb. 2, 8 p.m. Marc Ballroom, 27 Union Sq. West. Donation: \$1.50. Aup: Militant Forum. For more information call (212) 982-8214.

OHIO

CLEVELAND

THE CLEVELAND CRISIS. Speakers: Ernest Harris, Bell Neighborhood Center; Steve Tormey, United Electrical Workers; Thabo Ntweng, Socialist Workers Party mayoral candidate; others. Sun., Feb. 4, 7 p.m. Room 346 University Center, Cleveland State University. Donation: \$1. Aup: Militant Forum. For more information call (216) 991-5030.

WASHINGTON

SEATTLE

CHINA AFTER MAO. Speaker: Chu-lai Lee, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., Feb. 2, 8 p.m. 4868 Rainier Ave., South Seattle. Donation: \$1. Aup: Militant Forum. For more information call (206) 723-5330.

THE REVOLUTION IN IRAN. Speaker: Kate Daher, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., Feb. 9, 8 p.m. 4868 Rainier Ave., South Seattle. Donation: \$1. Aup: Militant Forum. For more information call (206) 723-5330.



CONVICTED 'SPY' APPEALS

David Truong, a Vietnamese student convicted last spring on trumped-up espionage charges, has challenged that verdict on the grounds that the government obtained evidence by illegally wiretapping and bugging his home.

Truong's phone was tapped and hidden microphones were installed in his home for eight months without a court order. President Carter personally approved the bugging. The government claims that the president has the power to order warrantless electronic surveillance in cases involving "national security."

The Carter administration has sought to use the case in its efforts to justify Watergate-style tactics that have been exposed and discredited over the past several years.

Truong and codefendant Ronald Humphrey were sentenced to fifteen years in prison. Both are free on bail pending appeal.

CARCINOGEN, MEDIUM RARE

Fourteen percent of the meat and poultry sold in supermarkets contains illegally large amounts of dangerous chemicals, a federal study has revealed. The chemicals—including drugs, pesticides, and arsenic—are capable of causing cancer and birth defects.

The General Accounting Office report explained that it was impossible to keep contaminated meat off the market. By the time the tests on slaughterhouse samples are completed, the meat is already in the store.

No federal agency has the power to remove dangerously tainted meat from the market, the GAO report noted.

Freedom of the press?

By Jeff Powers

CLEVELAND—The *Cleveland Plain Dealer* that hit the streets January 16 had no reporter bylines or photo credits on any local news stories.

The reporters were protesting management's decision to prohibit one of their ranks from writing any more stories on the Cleveland Electric Illuminating Company.

During the past year Bob Holden wrote a series of in-depth articles detailing CEI policies. Apparently these revealing stories so rankled the giant utility's executives that they pressured the *Plain Dealer* to get Holden off their backs. He was removed from the utilities beat with the excuse that he might be "unfair" to CEI.

CEI currently has a request for a \$65 million rate

increase before the Public Utilities Commission of Ohio.

At an emergency meeting of the Newspaper Guild unit at the paper January 12, reporters decided to demand Holden's reinstatement on the utilities beat, to withhold all credit lines and bylines until that demand was met, and to hold an informational picket line January 13.

Two days after the byline protest began, management and the Guild worked out a compromise, assigning Holden to the book beat while collaborating with the utilities reporter.

But on January 22, Holden told the news media that two articles on the CEI within the past week had been tampered with by management and that the issue remained unresolved.

Tractorcade on D.C.

According to the American Agriculture Movement, more than 1,500 farmers—with their tractors—are en route to Washington, D.C., for a tractorcade demonstration in early February. The AAM sponsored widely publicized tractorcade protests in Washington and other cities last year.

The AAM is calling on the Carter administration to guarantee family farmers a decent standard of living in the face of rising production costs, and to enforce legisla-

tion already on the books that benefits small farmers.

Tractorcade processions from different parts of the country have been on the road for several weeks—despite snowy weather in many areas—and support rallies have taken place in Kansas, Missouri, South Dakota, Georgia, and Tennessee.

The AAM has set up a national telephone hot-line for daily reports on weather conditions, progress of the tractorcade, and other news. Phone (202) 544-5750.



The wheels of justice—Joseph Stabile, the first FBI agent sentenced to prison, admitted filing false documents to obstruct a grand jury investigation of charges that he took a \$10,000 bribe from a bookie. The sentence? A year and a day. Which means that with time off he should be back on the street before you can say this is one country where everyone gets treated the same.

Reverse rigging?—South African police confiscated a game called, "South Africa—The Death of Imperialism." The game pits white government troops against Black guerrillas. And, the cops complain, it's weighted so Blacks always win. Declared one minion of the law, "It was politically biased."

Like a cleaner bomb—President Carter says he favors pointing out the dangers of smoking, but intends to continue federal tobacco subsidies because "we now have safer cigarettes . . . with less nicotine and tar." Sure. And when it's diluted a bit, cyanide is safer, too.

Blessed wit—Stanley Rader, treasurer of the Worldwide Church of God, was given three homes by the church, includ-

ing one in Beverly Hills that he resold, netting a cool \$1 million profit. Commented Rader: "Buy low, sell high. I don't take 'stupid pills,' you know."

Union elves?—From an Xmas essay by a second-grader in Atlanta: "Santa told the elves to make toys. So the elves went to work. They made lots of toys, but the next day the elves didn't work. Santa was very mad! He told the elves they were fired. The elves were very sad. . . . Santa could not make toys by himself, so he told the elves to come back."

Let 'em eat canned stringbeans—The president of the Green Giant Company was appointed a member of the Presidential Commission on World Hunger.

The march of science—Researchers have abandoned efforts to develop a featherless chicken because of the physical and emotional problems involved (for the chickens, we assume). But they are moving ahead with plans for a powdered martini. Which should go nicely with the pizza of the future, topped with sausage made from soy flour and mozzarella fabricated from vegetable fat.

Union Talk

Grinch Pacific couldn't do it

The following column by Judith Menschenfreund was written after a visit to striking pulp and paper workers during the holidays.

TOLEDO, Ore.—The sign by the plant gate said it: "Grinch Pacific Stole Christmas." At least they tried to. But for the families of striking pulp and paper mill workers in Toledo, Oregon, Christmas happened anyway.

Toledo is a town of 3,000 people, and prior to August 1978, more than 500 of them were employed in the Georgia-Pacific paper mill. In July a strike by the Association of Western Pulp and Paper Workers (AWPPW) began, and it spread to more than thirty mills in the Northwest.

With jobs scarce and the union's strike fund depleted, Christmas might well not have been celebrated here if Toledo residents had not demonstrated their solidarity by contributing everything from money to tree tinsel for a children's party.

For example, one tavern owner traveled up and down the coast collecting donations from other taverns.

Another local of the AWPPW sent a pickup truck filled with wrapped toys. Despite Grinch G-P, the AWPPW Local 13 union hall became the center of Christmas festivities for more than 550 children.

Mary Nelson, coordinator of the Christmas party and the wife of a striker, told me, "For some of these kids it's the best Christmas they've ever had."

"And it's important for our morale to be able to do this," she continued. "The strike hasn't been easy. Let's face it, when you're losing your home and your furniture, you've got problems. Twenty percent of the strikers have been forced to leave. Georgia-Pacific runs so much of this town that when you need a job, there's not much else."

"What keeps us going is that we know we're right. I honestly don't think that 17,000 of us are wrong. We have people in Oregon, Washington, Canada, and California, and we're all fighting for the same thing. What's at stake here is the working man's right to defend himself."

The company has demanded that the next contract include pension cuts, no-strike clauses, and unlimited, forced overtime.

"The major TV stations are giving about 20 percent coverage to the strikers, and about 80 percent to G-P," says Nelson. "As far as the newspapers are concerned, GP is a big advertiser. They can't afford not to favor their side. We haven't had a chance to give our side."

When asked what forced overtime meant for her husband, she said, "My husband's a pipefitter. They can require him to work up to sixteen hours, seven days a week. After sixteen hours, they're required to send him home for eight hours. But after that, they can put him to work for another sixteen. It's great for the paycheck but not so great for the human being."

Many Toledo strikers feel that the company is trying to wreck their union. They are particularly angry that the company has flown in scabs from as far away as Miami, Florida, to run the mill.

The strikers say they will not give up their fight until G-P becomes reasonable or, as one striker put it, "G-P becomes a duck swamp again," like the area used to be.

So on Christmas Eve in Toledo, picketing strikers stood in the pouring rain and sang union solidarity songs along with Christmas carols. A generator lit up the Christmas tree and illuminated the sign below it: "We're home for Christmas, scabs, where are you?"



Luxemburg on economics

Sixty years ago, on January 15, 1919, Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht were murdered. The two were leaders of the German Spartacus League, which led an insurrection against the German capitalist state in 1919. The revolution failed, and the German government, led by the Social Democrats, launched a bloody wave of repression against the defeated workers. It was as part of this repression that Liebknecht and Luxemburg were murdered.

Rosa Luxemburg was for many years a leader of the German Socialist Party. She wrote extensively on economic and political questions. The following excerpt from her pamphlet 'What Is Economics?' shows her at her best as a Marxist educator. The full text of the pamphlet is available in 'Rosa Luxemburg Speaks' (Pathfinder Press, 1970).

Today, a person can become rich or poor without doing anything, without lifting a finger, without an occurrence of nature taking place, without anyone giving anyone anything, or physically robbing anything. Price fluctuations are like secret movements directed by an invisible agency behind the back of society, causing continuous shifts and fluctuations in the distribution of social wealth. . . .

And yet commodity prices and their movement manifestly are human affairs and not black magic. No one but man himself—with his own hands—produces these commodities and determines their prices, except that, here again, something flows from his actions which he does not intend nor desire. . . .

How does this happen, and what are the black laws which, behind man's back, lead to such strange results of the economic activity of man today? These problems can be analyzed only by scientific investigation. It has become necessary to solve all these riddles by strenuous research, deep thought, analysis, analogy—to probe the hidden relations which give rise to the fact that the result of the economic activity of man does not correspond to his intentions, to his volition—in short, to his consciousness. In this manner the problem faced by scientific investigation becomes defined as the lack of human consciousness in the economic life of society. . . .

Where the bourgeoisie is at home, free competition rules as the sole law of economic relations and any plan, any organization has disappeared from the economy. . . .

In the entity which embraces oceans and continents, there is no planning, no consciousness, no regulation, only the blind class of unknown, unrestrained forces playing a capricious game with the economic destiny of man. . . .

And it is precisely this anarchy which is



ROSA LUXEMBURG

responsible for the fact that the economy of human society produces results which are mysterious and unpredictable to the people involved. Its anarchy is what makes the economic life of mankind something unknown, alien, uncontrollable—the laws of which we must find in the same manner in which we analyze the phenomena of external nature—the same manner in which we have to attempt to comprehend the laws governing the life of the plant and animal kingdom, the geologic formations on the earth's surface, and the movements of the heavenly bodies. Scientific analysis must discover *ex post facto* that purposefulness and those rules governing human economic life which conscious planfulness did not impose on it beforehand.

It should be clear by now why the bourgeois economists find it impossible to point out the essence of their science, to put the finger on the gaping wound in the social organism, to denounce its innate infirmity. To recognize and to acknowledge that anarchy is the vital motive force of the rule of capital is to pronounce its death sentence in the same breath, to assert that its days are numbered. . . .

At the very first step over the threshold of economic understanding, even with the first basic premise of economics, bourgeois and proletarian economics experience a parting of the ways. With the very first question—as abstract and as impractical as it might seem at first glance in connection with the social struggles taking place today—a special bond is forged between economics as a science and the modern proletariat as a revolutionary class.

Likes Iran coverage

I've thoroughly enjoyed your articles on Iran. I can see that you recognize the Iranian situation as a history-making event and a step forward for working people the world over.

I've also really enjoyed the articles by Dick Roberts.

Thomas Jacobs
San Francisco, California

U.S. political prisoners

It is extremely unfortunate that United Nations Ambassador Andrew Young has failed to define in specific terms America's political prisoners.

Political prisoners are individuals, groups, or organizations that have committed no crimes, although they have been designated for extermination by whatever method workable by the establishment's clandestine operations.

The ability and skill of the establishment to suppress the facts and distort and confuse the truth serve as major techniques to divert public attention away from the predicament of a totally innocent person.

It is the ruling elite that hides behind the banner of the people enforcing its oppressive and exploitative programs. By their absolute control over the judicial system, it provides a lethal weapon no poor citizen can defend against. This is why Ambassador Andrew Young should strenuously act to aid political prisoners whose only crimes were being too poor to defend themselves. Then, and only then, will justice and human rights be preserved in America.

J.B.
Joliet, Illinois

Mingus's death

With the death January 5 in Cuernavaca, Mexico, of fifty-six-year-old Charles Mingus, Afro-American music has lost one of its most renowned and most uncompromising exponents.

Born in Nogales, Arizona, and raised in Los Angeles, Mingus began studying bass at age sixteen, becoming a full-time professional musician in the 1940s, performing with top musicians including Charles Parker, Art Tatum, and many others.

Mingus's compositions have become internationally acclaimed. His working band, the Jazz Workshop, was a school through which numerous subsequent leaders and innovators passed, such as Eric Dolphy and Charles McPherson.

Known as an exacting and demanding teacher, Mingus literally forced the other musicians in his bands to play their best.

Mingus earned the enmity of many by his readiness to denounce the racism of this country. This was reflected by the fact he found his greatest appreciation, like many jazz musicians, outside the United States. Mingus's autobiography, *Beneath the Underdog*, was published in 1971.

An outstanding interpreter of the works of Duke Ellington, such as "Sophisticated Lady," "All Too Soon," and "Mood Indigo," his own most outstanding compositions include "Meditations on Integration," "Good-Bye Pork Pie Hat," and "Orange Was the Color of Her Dress, Then Blue Silk."

A comprehensive introduction to Mingus's music may be found in *The Great Concert of Charles Mingus* (Prestige 34001).

Walter Lippmann
Los Angeles, California

A terrible stain

I can only express dismay at your otherwise fine coverage of the Young Socialist Alliance and Socialist Workers Party support for the Cuban revolution, which has just celebrated its twentieth anniversary. I, too, look to the Cuban revolution as the event that radicalized me. But, as a revolutionary socialist homosexual, I cannot join the adulatory praise expressed by various writers in your January 19, 1979, issue.

This year, the Cuban government adopted a new penal code, which places Cuba in the shameful category of being the country with perhaps the most antihomosexual legislation of any on earth. Hardly an encouraging development, it is one that seems to servilely ape the Soviet penal code in this area and even to go beyond it in its heterosexist harshness.

I know that the *Militant* does not support the Cuban Stalinist position on homosexuality. But it is extremely misleading, to say the least, to brush over and ignore this terrible stain on the Cuban revolution, as you did in your January 19 issue, and as the entire American left has done by ignoring this new penal code.

It must be stated, frankly, that the Cuban position on homosexuality is the single greatest obstacle to winning American homosexuals to an enthusiastic support for this great revolution and its impressive accomplishments in many other areas.

David Thorstad
New York, New York

Wants socialist info

I came across your paper for the first time on November 11, at the antinuke protest caravan that began in Miami.

As a result of many discouraging incidents that I have observed recently, I have slowly but definitely become disgusted with today's world. I am therefore interested in becoming informed of other possible forms of government, such as socialism.

I would appreciate it if you could help me in any way by referring me to places where I could write for information on radicalism, anarchism, socialism, communism, etc.

T.B.
Leisure City, Florida

[In reply—We are sending you a copy of Pathfinder

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Learning About Socialism

The special role of industrial workers

Why do socialists single out industrial workers as the most powerful and politically decisive sector of the working class?

As this column explained last week, the vast majority of the American people are wage workers, who must sell their labor power in order to live. Socialists aim to win the majority of the working class to our ideas and to organize them in a mass revolutionary party.

But in the political struggle against capitalism, certain sections of the working class have greater power than others. Oil workers, for example, have far more leverage than teachers—a point that is evident from recent events in Iran. Although millions of workers took part in the strike wave there, it was the action by 38,000 oil workers that had by far the biggest impact.

From a purely economic point of view, there are two aspects to the great power exercised by industrial workers. The first is that without the operation of certain basic industries, the economy of any modern country will rapidly grind to a halt.

Among industries that fall into this category are: *agriculture*; *energy*—coal, oil, and electricity; *raw materials*—rubber, mining and refining of metallic ores, plastics, chemicals, lumber, cement, etc.; *transportation*—rail, shipping, and trucking; and finally, production of things such as machine tools, major electrical components, and automotive equipment.

These are the things that enter into the earliest stages of production. Without them everything else comes to a stop.

Moreover, these basic industries also represent the single biggest source of profits for the American ruling class. They are the ultimate source of all those revenues that are used to keep the government, service, and “professional” sectors of the economy going.

Because of this, as the ruling class seeks to increase its profits and to improve its competitive position on the world market by driving down wages, the brunt of its attack *must* increasingly be directed against the industrial workers. Assaults on the wages and working conditions of workers in the service sector represent only the preliminary skirmishes in the class battle that is shaping up.

But just as the industrial workers represent the main target of the ruling class, they are also in the best position to resist. This is true not only because of their economic weight but also because of political considerations.

For example, workers in basic industry tend to be concentrated in huge factories to a greater extent than workers in other sectors of the economy. When 18,000 electrical workers

or steelworkers are brought together in one plant, it magnifies their social weight and makes it easier for them to organize for collective action.

This aspect of the power of the industrial working class has been furthered by the historical fact that basic industry tends to be more heavily unionized than other sectors of the economy.

Another point is that industrial unions such as the United Mine Workers and the United Auto Workers wield decisive influence not only within specific industries but also within whole regions of the country.

During the coal miners’ strike last year, for instance, all of Appalachia was directly involved in one way or another. There was hardly a person in Kentucky, West Virginia, or Western Pennsylvania who didn’t have a direct personal stake in the outcome of that strike.

Developments in the steel industry affect the future of whole cities—Chicago, Gary, Pittsburgh, Birmingham, Youngstown, and so on.

Similarly, the organizing drives of the United Farm Workers affect the politics and social relations of whole states—California, Arizona, Texas, and others.

Of course, there is nothing new about the strategic weight of the industrial working class in capitalist society. Marx and Engels pointed to this more than a century ago.

In our epoch, the working class plays a central role in politics not only in the industrialized countries but also in predominantly peasant societies, as we have seen in Iran. Historically, this was shown by the experience of the Russian revolution, where the working class led the peasant masses in overthrowing capitalism.

Here in the United States, capitalism is no longer promising American workers the prospect of gradually increasing prosperity. Instead, we are told that continuing unemployment, cutbacks in social services, lower wages, and worse working conditions are necessary if American industry is to compete successfully with its foreign challengers.

This same line is being pushed by governments throughout the capitalist world. And just as the crisis of capitalism has forced the employers and their governments to turn on the workers, the world working class is being forced to defend itself.

That is why new opportunities to win a hearing for socialist ideas are opening up among industrial workers around the world. And that is why Trotskyist parties around the world are turning toward these opportunities in the fight for socialism.

—David Frankel

Press’s catalog of books, pamphlets, tapes, and Education for Socialist bulletins. Other readers of the *Militant* can request this free catalog from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014.

[There is also a socialist bookstore in your area (Miami) listed below, which carries a wide variety of books and pamphlets.]

Urgent prison message

The Black inmates here at Georgia State Prison at Reidsville are trying our best to bring about conditions that were ordered by the District Court for the Southern District of Georgia.

Experience has shown an escalated rate of violence and tension, commensurate with the increased racial imbalance in the open-dormitory area. All parties agree that the prison must be reintegrated.

As the reintegration deadline draws near, some white inmates, with the help and organization of the racist guards, are trying by every available means to see that the order is not carried out.

During the present cooling-off period, the food has gotten worse and the work has gotten heavier. It is our belief that the Black inmates are the only ones going out in subfreezing temperatures and working in rain without raincoats during the months of December 1978 and January 1979. And the guards are helping the white inmates gain access to all kinds of knives and weapons.

We are asking that all concerned citizens join together and look into this matter. The outcome will affect all our lives.

We pray, beg, and plead that everyone will share this urgent message with their churches, schools, newspapers, local TV and radio stations, and so on.

In struggle.

A prisoner
Georgia

My first ‘Militant’

I hope things are going smooth with you and the struggle. I just wrote to let you know that I have received my first *Militant* paper. All of the articles are very unique. The paper seems to really give me strength. Being incarcerated is a struggle itself. Thanks for my paper.

A prisoner
Kentucky

The ‘Militant’ special prisoner fund makes it possible to send reduced-rate subscriptions to prisoners who can’t pay for them. To help out, send your contribution to: Militant Prisoner Subscription Fund, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014.

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.

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THE MILITANT

Gov't admits 4-year nuclear cover-up

By Arnold Weissberg

The last leg holding up the tottering argument that nuclear power plants are safe has been kicked out. On January 19, the U.S. Nuclear Regulatory Commission admitted that a pronuclear study it published in 1975 is virtually worthless.

This admission underlines the urgency of the antinuclear movement's demand to shut down all atomic power plants immediately.

Known as the Rasmussen Report, after its main author, MIT Prof. Norman Rasmussen, the 1975 document asserted that a reactor accident killing 1,000 people was possible but could only happen once in 1 million years per plant.

The NRC now confesses that Rasmussen's probabilities are meaningless.

A sometime consultant to the nuclear industry and an outspoken advocate of nuclear power, Rasmussen was hired by Washington in 1972 after two previous reactor safety studies showed that an accident could kill tens of thousands of people.

Rasmussen's study, carrying the stamp of government approval, produced a soothing antidote, eagerly seized by the nuclear industry and peddled to the public.

The Union of Concerned Scientists produced a meticulous rebuttal to the report, showing it to be riddled with statistical errors, unproven assumptions, and errors of method.

For example, in calculating the possibility of serious reactor accidents, Rasmussen virtually ignored earthquakes. Several reactors are built on or



Deepgoing opposition to nuclear power forced government to admit 1975 'safety study' was a fraud

Militant/Richard Rathens

near active earthquake faults.

Caught between thorough scientific criticism and the rapidly growing antinuclear movement, the NRC decided in 1977 to have a panel of experts investigate the Rasmussen Report. The panel concluded that Rasmussen's results "should not be used uncritically either in the regulatory process or for public policy purposes."

Panel member Dr. Harold Lewis commented, "[Rasmussen] was driven to make numerical assessments for the sake of public policy."

Despite these admissions about the Rasmussen Report, however, the NRC still hasn't shut down the nukes—or even called a halt to the construction of new ones. It continues to ignore the grave dangers posed by the unsolved

problems of nuclear waste disposal and reactor decommissioning.

The government has again been caught lying to the American people in order to protect corporate profits. They lied to us about Vietnam. They lied to us about Watergate, the FBI, and the CIA.

And they're lying to us about nuclear power.

New Orleans unions, Blacks say 'Overturn the Weber decision!'

NEW ORLEANS—Support is growing here for the fight to defend affirmative action and defeat Brian Weber's "reverse discrimination" lawsuit.

At its January 14 statewide meeting, the Louisiana NAACP added its endorsement to the efforts of the New Orleans Committee to Overturn the Weber Decision and Defend Affirmative Action. The committee was also recently endorsed by the New Orleans chapter of the A. Philip Randolph Institute, an organization of Black union leaders.

The New Orleans committee is organizing a rally March 4.

Weber, a white lab technician for Kaiser Aluminum in Gramercy, Louisiana, is seeking to outlaw an affirmative-action agreement negotiated by the United Steelworkers union. That agreement, which applies to Kaiser plants across the country, provides that half of the training positions for skilled jobs go to Black or women workers.

Before the affirmative-action agreement was won in 1974, less than 2 percent of the skilled crafts jobs at

Kaiser Gramercy were held by Blacks. There were no women in skilled jobs.

Nevertheless, two lower courts have agreed with Weber that the plan was "reverse discrimination" against white males. Last December the U.S. Supreme Court agreed to rule on the case.

A press release from the New Orleans committee states: "This suit not only poses the gravest threat to affirmative action to date, it also attacks the entire trade union movement."

"It questions the right of a union to contract an affirmative action program on behalf of its membership, and threatens to divide the unions and cripple them."

Other organizations participating in the New Orleans committee include the United Teachers of New Orleans; the National Organization for Women, New Orleans chapter; and the National Association of Black Social Workers.

Also active in the committee are individual members and leaders of Steelworkers Local 13000, Longshoremen's Local 1419, Laborers Local 689,

Hotel and Motel Workers Local 166, and several other unions. The Laborers union has donated its hall at 400 Soniat Street for the March 4 rally.

The committee has printed literature on the Weber case and is providing speakers to unions and community groups. In early January a representative of the committee was an invited

guest at a meeting of the AFL-CIO organizing committee for Louisiana, speaking to leaders of twenty key unions.

For more information, contact the New Orleans Committee to Overturn the Weber Decision and Defend Affirmative Action at 2803 Martin Luther King, Jr., Boulevard, New Orleans, Louisiana 70113.

Weber pamphlet out Feb. 1

The Weber Case: New Threat to Affirmative Action will be published February 1 by Pathfinder Press.

This pamphlet by *Militant* staff writer Andy Rose presents the truth about Weber's assault on the rights of Blacks, women, and the entire union movement.

It takes up key issues posed by the case:

Is affirmative action "reverse discrimination" against white males? What about seniority?

How can the labor movement win jobs and better conditions for all?

The Socialist Workers Party is launching a campaign to get out to working people the facts on the Weber case. Socialists plan to make a special effort to sell thousands of copies of the new pamphlet to co-workers on the job.

Individual copies of the pamphlet are seventy-five cents. Discount of 25 percent on orders of five or more. Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, New York 10014. Please include fifty cents for postage.