

THE MILITANT

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

World oil crisis: the hidden story

OPEC scapegoat for U.S. profiteers

By Dick Roberts
and Andy Rose

A massive propaganda campaign is under way to blame the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) for the oil crisis and every other ill plaguing the world capitalist system.

"There is no one on earth who will fail to suffer" from OPEC's June 27 increase in posted prices, President Carter declared from the economic summit meeting in Tokyo.

"The latest OPEC increases . . . threaten to push the world into recession, accelerate inflation and cut employment," said a front-page article in the June 30 *New York Times*.

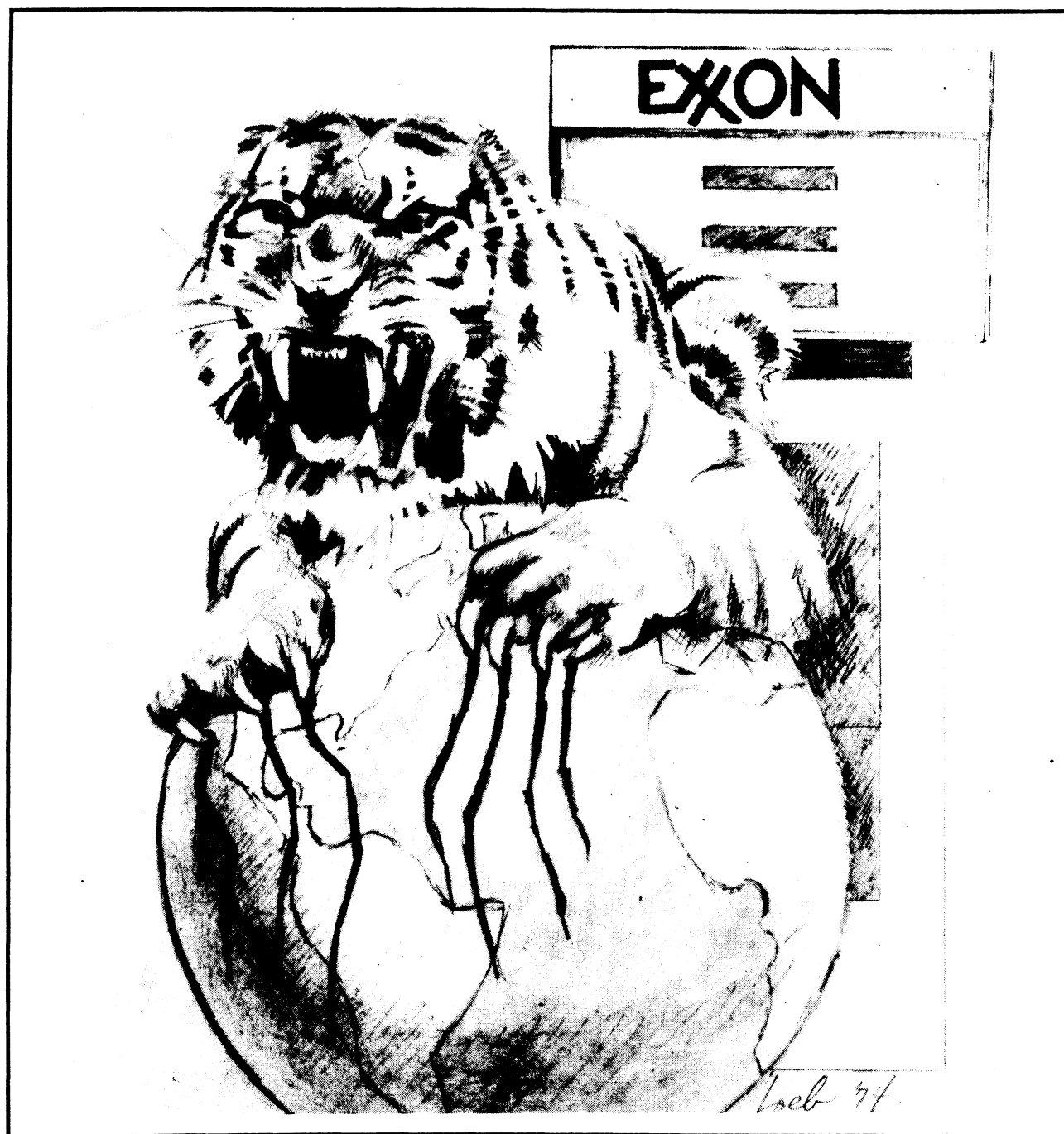
The charges against OPEC are lies. They are aimed at taking the spotlight off the real instigators of the oil crisis, namely the U.S. oil corporations.

They are also aimed at fostering an anti-Arab and anti-Iranian hysteria in which Washington can more readily win public acceptance for military intervention in the Middle East.

Typical of the racist ravings now filling the media was Jack Anderson's June 26 column, which began: "The oil lords of Islam, most of them only a generation removed from tribal feudalism, have reduced the United States and its industrial allies to petroleum penury."

"Everywhere," Anderson claimed,

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INSIDE

Behind the slanders against Vietnam

"Hate Vietnam" is the message.

The foreign minister of Singapore expressed it at the meeting of the U.S.-backed Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN) June 29 with his proposal to use the issue of the "boat people" in a concerted campaign "to make Vietnam ashamed, show it as a culprit and an international pariah."

More to the point, he called on the ASEAN governments to use the forces of the ousted Pol Pot regime to "bleed the Vietnamese in Cambodia."

Capitalist publications of every variety have chimed in. From the *Wall Street Journal* to *The New Republic*, from the *British Economist* to *Time* magazine, they are comparing the departure of the boat people from Vietnam to the flight of Jews from Hitlerism during the 1930s.

As Leon Trotsky pointed out forty years ago, capitalist publications such as the *New York Times* tell the truth about small things in order to be in a better position to lie about big ones. And this is one of the big ones.

- The capitalist news media claim the boat people are being expelled from Vietnam. They are not being expelled. They are leaving by their own choice. Imagine the hue and cry if the Vietnamese tried to prevent those who want to leave from going!

- The media claim that the refugees are the victims of racial persecution. But most of them were privileged under the old regime and object to the loss of their old position. There is no evidence whatsoever of a pattern of racial persecution.

- The media claim Vietnam is responsible for the plight of the refugees and the purported deaths of thousands on the high seas. But the Vietnamese proposed an *airlift* of those who wish to leave. Their humanitarian offer was rejected. It is the refusal of Washington and the U.S.-backed regimes to take the refugees in that is responsible for their hardship.

There is only one reason for the smear campaign against Vietnam. There is a social revolution going on there. The workers and peasants are beginning to take their destiny in their own hands.

Every great revolution has led to the emigration of a minority that is unwilling or unable to accept the new society.

In every case, the same kind of horror stories were circulated by opponents of the revolution. And in every case, the horror stories turned out to be lies. For the vast majority, these revolutions represented an inspiring step forward.

As for those refugees who choose not to live in Vietnam, *they should be allowed into the United States.*

The humanitarian problem would be solved tomorrow if Carter was willing to drop racist U.S. immigration restrictions.

But he refuses to do that. The hysteria over refugees from Vietnam has nothing to do with humanitarian concern. It is a political campaign. It is part of imperialism's drive to prepare the American people for new counter-revolutionary wars, and in particular for stepped up U.S. support to reactionary forces in Southeast Asia.

Carter in Korea

Carter arrived in Seoul, South Korea, June 29, jogged with U.S. troops the next morning for the benefit of TV cameras, and then pledged continued military and economic support to the Park Chung Hee dictatorship.

Right before he departed, Carter had Secretary of State Cyrus Vance drop off a list of more than 100 political prisoners in South Korea. Vance expressed hope that "serious and positive consideration would be given to releasing" the prisoners.

It was the only time Carter descended to the unpleasant subject of human rights—in a country where Emergency Measure 9 gives legal cover to arrests, kidnappings, and torture of even the mildest critics of the Park regime.

Carter claims that his 1976 campaign pledge to withdraw U.S. troops from Korea had to be scrapped in 1978 because of a sudden discovery of North Korean military strength. The truth is that only a handful of U.S. troops were ever pulled out, and those as a sop to domestic anger over the Korean bribery scandals.

It is no coincidence that U.S. backing for the South Korean regime is being reaffirmed now, when the United States government is urgently trying to push back the revolutions in

Kampuchea, Laos, and Vietnam.

U.S. troops in South Korea pose a constant threat of new military intervention in that part of the world. Pull them out now!

Reviving a frame-up

Along with its efforts to push back the Vietnamese revolution and make Southeast Asia "safe" for imperialism, Washington wants to revive the anticommunism of the 1950s.

It has received an assist in this from the *New Republic* magazine. A major editorial on the frame-up of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg, in its June 23 issue, claims that "all the targets of the McCarthy era are sometimes unjustifiably viewed as victims and heroes." According to the *New Republic*, new evidence has emerged that "attacks the very heart of the Rosenberg defense."

The Rosenbergs were electrocuted in 1953 on the preposterous charge of stealing the "secret" of the atom bomb and giving it to the Soviet Union.

These charges—manufactured to whip up cold-war hysteria—have been thoroughly discredited.

But in an effort to rewrite the history of this monstrous frame-up, the *New Republic* prints an article by Ronald Radosh, a social-democratic historian, and Sol Stern, a former *Ramparts* editor. The article offers added evidence that Ethel Rosenberg was framed up. But the authors' main purpose is to claim that her husband was in fact a Soviet spy.

Their "proof" is a collection of unverifiable stories woven together to establish a "spy network" after World War II. Nothing in the article offers a shred of evidence that the Rosenbergs' conviction for wartime espionage was anything but the frame-up millions of Americans recognize it as.

In a coming issue, we will discuss this new "case" against the Rosenbergs. Suffice it to say its purpose is summed up in the *New Republic* editorial, which jingoistically attacks the "anti-American" left as having a "soft spot for dictators" and a "contempt for scruples."

This smear was offered just as "human rights" Carter went to South Korea to pledge continued commitment of U.S. troops to the totalitarian regime there.

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'Weber' decision

The Supreme Court's June 27 ruling upholding affirmative action strengthened the entire labor movement, and union power was key to the victory. **Page 10.**



New threat to democracy in NOW

Instead of urging a democratic discussion of the issues before upcoming NOW convention—such as involving labor in struggles for women's rights—NOW national leadership has launched a red-baiting campaign against socialists. **Page 22.**



Marroquin wins a round

Héctor Marroquin's case for political asylum took an important step forward when an Immigration and Naturalization Service Appeals Board lowered his bond from \$10,000 to \$5,000. **Page 21.**



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30,000 say no to California nuclear plant

By Steven Ashby

SAN LUIS OBISPO, Calif.—Tens of thousands of antinuclear activists, mostly young people, came from all over California June 30 to protest the Diablo Canyon nuclear power plant here.

The Abalone Alliance and Alliance for Survival jointly sponsored the rally of 30,000. Buses and cars were backed up for miles trying to get to the rally site.

The Diablo plant, built by Pacific Gas and Electric (PG&E) at a cost of \$1.4 billion, is nearly complete. It is expected to be licensed to operate by the Nuclear Regulatory Commission (NRC) later this year.

PG&E is indifferent to the dangers to the 35,000 people living near the plant. Diablo Canyon is situated only two and a half miles from the Hosgri earthquake fault, accentuating the possibility of a catastrophic accident. The U.S. Geological Survey says the fault is capable of creating an earthquake

ten times greater than the force the Diablo plant was designed to withstand. Although PG&E claims to have reinforced the plant, speaker after speaker at the rally argued that the plant is totally unsafe and must be stopped from going on line.

Percy Edmonds, recording secretary of United Steelworkers Local 50 in San Francisco, called on workers to join the fight against nuclear power. "There's no difference between fighting against nuclear idiocy and fighting for decent living standards," Edmonds said.

"The Steelworkers are 100 percent behind you," he added, saying that they were in the process of organizing environmental committees in Steelworker locals to build future antinuclear rallies.

Gov. Jerry Brown, who has tried to use the antinuclear movement to bolster his bid for president, declared that he would urge "The NRC to deny the license to the Diablo plant and pursue

every avenue of appeal if the NRC ignores this community."

At a news conference later, Brown denied that he had the ability to stop the plant. "I have serious questions as to whether I have the power," he said.

Abalone Alliance lawyers have argued that Brown does have the power under either the California Energy Act or the Emergency Powers Act to block Diablo Canyon.

Brown avoided mentioning his call for a "moratorium" on nuclear power, which was booed at the May 6 antinuclear march on Washington of 125,000. Brown's "moratorium" proposal explicitly accepts the continued operation of the more than seventy nuclear plants now licensed to operate. The *Los Angeles Times* reported that Abalone Alliance organizers reviewed Brown's speech before allowing him to speak.

Speakers following Brown called on the protesters to rely on their own activism, not Democratic or Republi-

can politicians.

Daniel Ellsberg described the connection between nuclear power and nuclear weapons and explained that Three Mile Island-type accidents have been happening for years but the government has been covering them up. "There have been thirty-three major nuclear weapons accidents since Nagasaki," he said, "and all of them came close to massive thermonuclear explosions."

Other speakers at the rally included Dr. John Gofman, expert on the effects of low-level radiation, and Bill Wahpepah, American Indian Movement leader, who gave an impassioned speech against uranium mining on Native American lands.

Entertainers interspersed between the speakers included Graham Nash, Jackson Browne, and Holly Near. In addition, several TV actors offered their support to the antinuclear movement.

Tucson residents fight atomic poisoning

By Barbara Kingsolver

TUCSON, Ariz.—"Close Tucson, Save American Atomics?" read one sign when several hundred angry workers, antinuclear activists, and residents of the San Antonio barrio, where the American Atomics plant is located, recently gathered to protest.

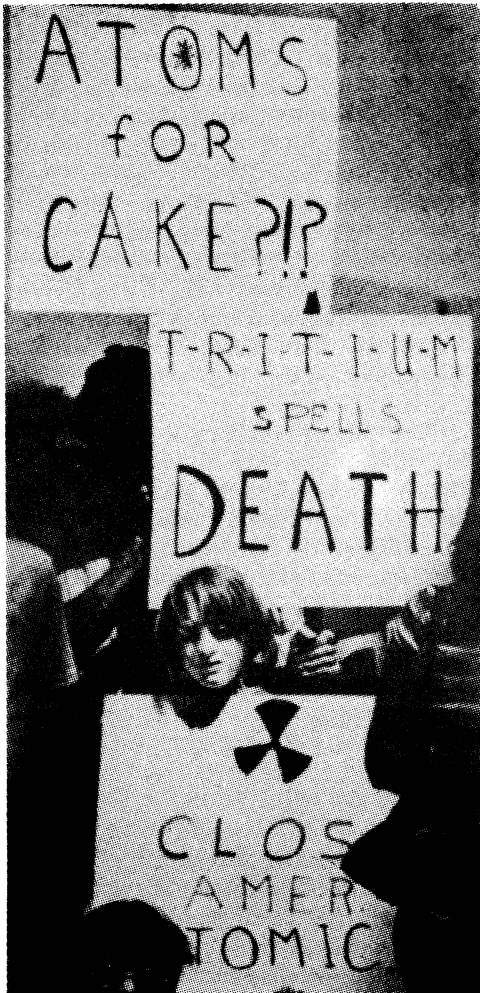
Nearby school kitchens and a neighborhood swimming pool have been forced to close because of radioactive contamination, while the polluter continued to operate.

The American Atomics Corporation, which uses the radioactive element tritium to produce luminous watchdials and signs for military use, has been a source of public outrage here since the discovery that it has been releasing tritium into Tucson's air and sewer system.

The company never reported the "accidental" emissions of radioactive gas—more than 250,000 curies in 1978—although it was required by law to do so. An inspector's report warned of the dangerous releases, but the report sat on the desk of the state Atomic Energy Commission's director for seven months before any action was taken.

The Arizona AEC, which licenses and regulates the use of radiation, has ten governor-appointed members. Their first concern appears to be the interests of the industry, not those of the public. Harry Dooley, Jr., who served on the commission for the past twelve years and whose term expired in January, is the vice-president of American Atomics.

AEC Director Donald Gilbert (who



recently resigned), when asked about the huge losses of tritium, was not concerned about the risk to workers or residents, but said that tritium is worth a dollar a curie, and "that's no way to run a business."

After unpermissible levels of radia-

tion were detected in measurements taken at the plant's stacks, company officials locked the plant gate. They insisted that wastes must be monitored at the fenceline instead. The AEC complied.

American Atomics' employees attest to the company's flagrant disregard for workers' safety. Alarms, indicating unacceptably high levels of tritium in the air inside the plant, go off several times daily. Workers typically leave the plant with enough contamination on their clothes to expose their families to low levels of radiation. No protective clothing is provided.

One former employee, Hugh Baxter, has filed suit in Superior Court, charging that the firm subjected him to a hazardous job that exposed him to excessive radiation. He was heavily contaminated in an accident last June. Baxter was fired shortly after the accident, in what he called a retaliatory effort.

Other victims of radiation are workers at the Tucson Unified School District kitchen, located across the street from the plant. The kitchen was closed June 4, after some food prepared there was found to contain 56,000 picocuries of tritium. (The maximum level considered safe for drinking water is 20,000 picocuries per liter.)

The kitchen workers, represented by the Arizona Public Employees Union, criticized district administrators for not compensating for financial losses incurred by the kitchen's shutdown, and for not showing concern for the safety of workers during and after the discovery of radioactive contamination.

There have been seven cases of cancer—including four deaths—among the kitchen's workers since 1976.

The kitchen provides lunches to 40,000 children in Tucson's Unified School District No. 1. No one knows how much contamination these students have received. Another nearby kitchen, which prepares 28,000 meals each month for the elderly, has also been closed.

Tritium is a radioactive form of hydrogen. The most serious hazard it poses is genetic damage. It replaces hydrogen in the body and particularly in the genetic material of the cells. Tritium emits beta radiation, and even after twelve years, half of it remains radioactive. Damage to the genetic structure causes cancer, mutation, and genetic defects in future generations.

The eighty families living within a half mile of the plant refer to American Atomics as "our own little Three Mile Island." Residents have complained of ailments causing fatigue and loss of hair. Petitions demanding shutdown of the plant are being circulated throughout the city.

In a statement to the people of Tucson, the Cactus Alliance, a local antinuclear group, declared that "we the members of a five-state anti-nuclear organization support your struggle. Deceptive record keeping, maintenance of illegal tritium storage levels, . . . and irresponsible waste disposals are end results of permitting a corporation to regulate itself."

Public protest forced the suspension of American Atomics' license last month pending the outcome of an AEC hearing.

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...oil crisis: the hidden story

Continued from front page

"living standards are falling so that a few oil sheiks can live in luxury beyond the excess of the Roman emperors."

We're supposed to forget that whatever luxury the "oil sheiks" enjoy is but a pale imitation of the imperial wealth of the Rockefellers, Morgans, and Mellons—the real oil barons.

Basic facts

The anti-OPEC witch-hunt ignores—or covers up—the most basic facts about the production and distribution of world oil.

First, *OPEC countries do not control the world market for oil*. This market is controlled by a handful of gigantic oil corporations, the real international petroleum cartel. This imperialist cartel is headquartered in New York, London, The Hague—not Tehran and Riyadh.

Second, *OPEC countries do not set world oil prices*. These prices are determined by global economic and political factors over which OPEC has practically no control.

The *posted price* of oil—the figure that was raised at OPEC's Geneva meeting—is simply the charge that OPEC nations get for their oil. This posted price is only a fraction of the actual selling price of world oil in the hands of the U.S. oil companies.

Drive for decontrol

The central impulse behind the current energy crisis is the drive by the U.S. oil corporations to end all price controls on *domestic* crude oil and gasoline.

Since 1973 a large portion of the oil produced in the United States has had a price limit, which now averages about six dollars a barrel. The oil companies and Washington have long been determined to bring that price up to the much higher world level.

Raising domestic oil prices has been the consistent program of the Nixon administration, the Ford administration, and the Carter administration. But doing it has not been so easy.

The biggest obstacle—as Carter repeatedly complains—has been the refusal of American workers to believe there is a genuine energy crisis that justifies sacrifices in their living standards.

The centerpiece of Carter's April 1977 energy program—laid out in his famous "moral equivalent of war" speech—was increased oil and gasoline taxes to raise domestic prices to world levels. Typical of Carter, this ripoff was demagogically concealed behind promises of "rebates" to consumers and limits on "windfall" profits. But in the face of public outrage over high fuel prices and profits, the scheme was never implemented.

Two years later, in April 1979, Carter openly came out for dropping all oil

price controls. Drastically higher domestic prices are necessary, Carter said, to force "greedy" Americans to use less and to give the hard-pressed oil companies incentives to find more oil at home.

The gash that decontrol will cut in American workers' living standards, and the profits it will bring to the U.S. oil cartel, dwarf anything OPEC could ever dream of.

Orchestrated crisis

With these basics in mind, let's outline how the latest oil crisis really unfolded.

1) The U.S. oil trust seized upon the Iranian revolution as a scapegoat for decontrol of U.S. prices. A propaganda barrage was launched blaming the Iranian oil workers' strike, which

national companies of OPEC . . . are already directly selling some 8.1 million barrels per day (b.p.d.) of oil, or 25 percent of their total production," the *Monitor* said.

"Despite this, the 'majors' still control about 80 percent of the world oil trade, including downstream operations—local subsidiaries, distribution, transport, refineries, and service stations—as well as the markets themselves. . . .

"Most of the national companies in OPEC still lack the logistics for distribution. They have just over 3.5 percent of the world's oil tanker tonnage and some downstream refineries."

Some OPEC countries hoped to buy refineries and possibly even chains of service stations in the United States and Europe. But the imperialists re-

"Late last year, when the turmoil in Teheran cut off the flow of Iranian oil, James R. Schlesinger, Secretary of Energy, saw in the chaos a chance to generate a new sense of urgency about America's energy problems.

"He saw Iran as an unexpected opportunity to effect policy changes,' an informed official said recently. 'It was a blessing in disguise—in policy terms, a splendid opportunity.'"

—New York Times, April 7

played a key role in bringing down the shah's dictatorship, for impending price increases.

2) Next the oil companies moved to make their own predictions come true. They hoarded oil internationally, creating artificial shortages on top of the temporary Iranian shortfall and driving world prices skyward.

3) *After* these price increases, not before, OPEC raised its posted prices. Yet OPEC's price still amounted to only a fraction of the actual world price.

4) Meanwhile, the oil companies curtailed oil and gasoline production in the United States. This precipitated the gas lines and shortages across the country. These served as the basis for whopping gasoline price increases. The shortages aimed to create a panic atmosphere in which Carter could ram through price decontrol, roll back anti-pollution safeguards, and push for more nuclear power plants.

5) As a result of higher domestic oil and gasoline prices the oil companies will reap vast profit increases. Most of this still lies in the future. It will come from the hidden oil reserves in the United States that have been deliberately kept out of production while controls remain on domestic prices.

This explanation, of course, is completely at odds with the racist cartoons we see every day portraying Uncle Sam as the helpless victim of Arab oil sheiks. But every point in the above outline is backed up with facts.

Control over markets

The key to the whole process is that the OPEC nations do not control the capitalist world marketing of oil. With the rise in the colonial revolution, these nations have taken over the production of most of the oil that comes from their countries. They refine a portion of this oil and directly sell it abroad.

But much more of the refining, and almost all of the distribution of oil, remains under the control of the seven biggest oil firms constituting the international cartel. These include five U.S. corporations: Exxon, Mobil, Texaco, Gulf, and Standard Oil of California; and the two foreign trusts, British Petroleum and Royal Dutch Shell. They are often called the "majors."

An article in the August 26, 1977, *Christian Science Monitor* summarized the situation as it then stood. "The

fused to allow them these outlets.

In most cases the companies that distribute OPEC oil globally are the same ones that used to own the oil in these countries. The biggest of all remains Aramco, the consortium that markets Saudi Arabian oil. It is 48 percent owned by Exxon, Mobil, Texaco, and Standard Oil of California. Saudi Arabia owns 52 percent.

Aramco alone accounts for roughly 25 percent of the oil imported into the United States.

The fact that Saudi Arabia has majority ownership in no way gives this economically and militarily weak semicolonial country the upper hand in a partnership with four of the strongest imperialist monopolies in the world. In 1977 the combined sales of these four companies, \$135 billion, were two and a half times "oil rich" Saudi Arabia's gross domestic product of \$55 billion.

World oil glut

For most of the period since 1973-74 there has been a glut, not a shortage, of oil on world markets. Last fall, for example, with oil supply exceeding demand, Saudi Arabia was compelled to reduce production to 7.5 million barrels a day, well under the official production limit of 8.5 million barrels. This caused a cash squeeze and a 30 percent cut in the Saudi government's budget.

Even with the production cutbacks, oil prices were lagging behind the general rate of inflation. According to the March 31 London *Economist*, "in the main industrialised countries, all oil product prices last autumn were 7% below their real value in 1974."

The highly publicized oil glut was an obstacle to U.S. oil plans, especially decontrol, since it further undermined the "energy shortage" myth.

Contrary to today's impassioned rhetoric, the last thing Washington wanted to see was lower oil prices as a result of this glut. *Business Week* reported on May 1, 1978, that "some American government oil strategists are as worried about any fall in the real price of oil as is OPEC. The reason: The Carter Administration's energy package—and a good deal of planning in the petroleum industry itself—is predicated on the firming of oil prices. If real prices are not maintained, then a lot of the plans of the

past two or three years go right out the window."

Business Week advised the Saudis to cut production and try to keep prices "firm"—which they did, as we've already seen.

Revolution in Iran

In 1978, the shah of Iran's massacres of protesters began to be answered by massive demonstrations and strikes. Walkouts by oil workers beginning last fall caused a reduction in Iranian oil exports. By January exports were cut off entirely. The shah fled. And in February the new government took over the marketing of that portion of Iranian oil that had been controlled by a foreign consortium.

These anti-imperialist measures were bitter setbacks for U.S. corporate interests. The Iranian revolution booted out a bloody tyranny that had been one of Washington's most reliable bulwarks in the Middle East. Throughout the region, workers and peasants aspiring to freedom from imperialist domination drew inspiration from Iran.

Carter did everything he could to back the shah to the end, but he was blocked from intervening militarily by the antiwar sentiments of the American people.

The U.S. imperialists, however, never accept defeat and just walk away. They seek to cut their losses and find in every turn of events new opportunities to bolster their profits and political positions.

Washington's scheme was bluntly laid out in the April 7 *New York Times*: "Late last year, when the turmoil in Teheran cut off the flow of Iranian oil, James R. Schlesinger, Secretary of Energy, saw in the chaos a chance to generate a new sense of urgency about America's energy problems. . . .

"He saw Iran as an unexpected opportunity to effect policy changes,' an informed official said recently. 'It was a blessing in disguise—in policy terms, a splendid opportunity.'"

Predictions come true

To take advantage of the "splendid opportunity," Schlesinger pounded away at the theme that Iran was causing a world oil shortage and soaring prices. He warned of dollar-a-gallon gasoline. And on April 5 Carter finally felt confident to announce his plan for decontrol of domestic oil prices.

Who now would dare to dispute that the crisis was real?! As if to underline the point, within weeks of Carter's speech gas shortages were spreading across the country. With the latest OPEC price increases, of course, the anti-Arab and anti-Iranian propaganda reached fever pitch.

How big a shortfall in worldwide oil production actually took place during the Iranian revolution—if any—is disputed even among government officials and international energy agencies.

Nevertheless, *spot prices* for oil did begin climbing as the Iranian oil strikes mounted. These are the prices at which oil is traded in the open market. Most oil is traded in long-term contracts. In February spot prices topped twenty dollars a barrel; in May and June they hit forty dollars. Why?

The secrecy of global oil operations makes it difficult to tell to what extent the cutoff of Iranian oil initially caused the upturn.

Israel & South Africa

One political factor should be mentioned: The Iranian workers—out of solidarity with the struggles of the Palestinians and the Black African masses—enforced a cutoff of oil to Israel and South Africa. Under the shah, Iran had been the main oil supplier to these two racist regimes.

Israel and South Africa rushed to purchase as much oil as possible on the open market, driving spot prices

Who profits?

When a mysterious crime is committed, that's the first question an investigator is supposed to ask.

Well, the July 3 *Wall Street Journal* provides some evidence.

In the past three months, the market value of U.S. oil company stocks has jumped nearly \$13 billion.

On the New York Stock Exchange, just twenty oil stocks accounted for more than \$10 billion of the \$18 billion increase in total stock prices.

On the American Exchange, twenty-two oil and gas issues accounted for \$2.8 billion of the \$3.7 billion increase in market valuations.



way up. And the oil companies made sure these imperialist states got what they needed.

Business Week March 5 told of one Shell Oil tanker that had begun to unload at a U.S. port, but was stopped halfway through to rush the rest of its cargo to South Africa.

With Israel and South Africa snapping up oil at twenty-six dollars a barrel while the posted prices were twelve to fourteen dollars a barrel, the OPEC countries were being kept out of a massive profit grab by the oil trust.

"According to Halsey Peckworth, editor of *Platt's Oilgram Price Report* . . . one cargo of 750,000 bbl. of Dubai crude was recently sold three times in as many days, with the resellers sharing a quick profit of more than \$1 million. 'This is a situation that can't last for long before OPEC figures that everybody else is making money that should be going to the producers,' he says" (*Business Week*, February 19).

In response to this situation, OPEC selectively raised prices \$1.25 to \$2.50 a barrel from the earlier benchmark level of \$12.70.

But spot prices continued to rise, hitting forty dollars. *Business Week* revealed April 16 that the Aramco partners were buying Saudi oil at \$14.55 and reselling it, especially in Europe, at much higher world prices. A Gulf Oil official described them as "laughing all the way to the bank."

The latest OPEC increase thus followed the same pattern: OPEC raised prices to about twenty dollars a barrel to *partially catch up with* the prices the oil companies were getting on the open market. They have every right to do so.

Hoarding

The biggest factor in the runup of world oil prices, however, is neither the Iranian boycott of sales to Israel and South Africa nor even the temporary cutoff of all Iranian exports. Much more important was the hoarding of oil.

The international companies began stockpiling oil in the summer of 1978 with the first whiff of crisis in Iran.

U.S. OIL IMPORTS (crude and refined, millions of barrels per day)

	1977-78	1978-79
Nov.	8.1	9.0
Dec.	8.0	8.9
Jan.	7.7	8.8
Feb.	7.9	8.7
Mar.	8.4	8.3
Apr.	7.6	7.9
average	8.0	8.6

Despite Iranian cutbacks, imports were 8 percent higher than previous year.

source: "World Oil"

Instead of making their stockpiles available to compensate for Iran, they stockpiled more right on through the crisis. They hoarded crude and gasoline stocks in storage tanks and in the ground itself.

No one but the oil companies knows for sure just how much oil is produced, traded, and stored. They keep these facts a closely guarded secret. But figures compiled from the publication *World Oil* (see chart) indicate that while U.S. oil imports declined from November 1978 to April 1979, they still averaged 8 percent higher than the year before. Where did that oil go, if

\$6 a barrel. Decontrol of oil prices would eliminate overnight the shortfall of supply caused by the shutdown of the Iranian oil fields."

On April 20 *Value Line* reported that so much oil was then stockpiled on the West Coast that there was "difficulty finding markets for the 1.2 million barrels coming through the Alyeska Pipeline. . . ."

Yet at that very moment gas lines were spreading across California! The oil trusts had refused to make gasoline available, waiting for the profit bonanza that will result when price controls are lifted.

"The U.S. will not run out of oil. There is more than enough 'old oil' sitting in the ground that the oil companies refuse to sell at \$6 a barrel. Decontrol of oil prices would eliminate overnight the shortfall of supply caused by the shutdown of Iranian oil fields."
—Value Line Investment Survey, February 23

not into stockpiles?

It's no wonder that as recently as April 2, *Business Week* reported that "stocks of gasoline, heating oil, and crude are not seriously low by any measure."

In March, U.S. Rep. Albert Gore (D-Tenn.) revealed that unclassified CIA figures showed an increase in U.S. stockpiles from the beginning of 1978 to the beginning of 1979.

"The shortfall of supplies from place to place is due to market dislocations caused by the oil companies," Gore charged. "They're doing just what they did in 1973—buying oil at a low price, holding it in inventory, then using their allocation powers during the perceived shortage to sell it wherever they can get the highest price."

The U.S. oil companies are hoarding oil not only in storage tanks but also in the ground.

A June 24 dispatch from Associated Press reports that Justice Department investigators are "trying to find out why crude oil production in the United States went into its deepest decline in seven years last winter, just as a revolution in Iran cut oil imports from that country."

According to this report, the "unexplained" domestic dropoff plus cutbacks in gasoline refining "cost the United States more gasoline than the widely blamed cutback in Iranian imports. . . ."

Of course, the production cutback is not "unexplained" at all. The companies are simply holding back in the expectation that they can extort higher prices.

The weekly Wall Street magazine for investors, *Value Line*, declared in its February 23 issue: "The U.S. will not run out of oil. There is more than enough 'old oil' sitting in the ground that the oil companies refuse to sell at

A variety of figures have been raised in congressional debates on the expected profit increases the oil companies will reap from decontrol. It depends on world crude oil prices and on final gas and oil prices, both of which are spiralling upward. It also depends on the amount of "old oil" in the ground (oil wells operating before 1973), previously held to the six-dollar-a-barrel limit. Finally, it depends on the figures for crude oil reserves, which are among the most closely guarded of all oil-trust secrets.

We can make extremely tentative estimates. The April 20 *Value Line* estimates that "for many of the older

and larger companies . . . old oil makes up about 50% of domestic output."

Present "proved" reserves are calculated at close to 30 billion barrels. If we assume the 50 percent ratio holds true for the known domestic oil still in the ground, it would mean that 15 billion barrels of oil could be pumped by the "old" wells. The increase of fourteen dollars per barrel, bringing old oil up from six dollars to the approximate world level of twenty dollars, would amount to an increase of \$210 billion in the price of this oil.

That is only the beginning. There remain vast reserves that the oil companies refuse to develop at controlled prices. A 1974 Ford Foundation project calculated the undiscovered recoverable U.S. petroleum both onshore and offshore at 200-400 billion barrels. Its potential price tag at twenty dollars a barrel is \$4 to \$8 trillion. It is this formidable reserve the U.S. oil trust ultimately hopes to bring on tap—and at ever higher prices, both here and abroad.

War drive

We have stressed how Washington tried to make the best of the Iranian events by using them as a cover for its own aim—decontrol. But the increasing militancy of the Arab and Iranian masses poses a deadly threat to the imperialists, as they well know.

This much of the anti-OPEC propaganda is absolutely sincere: The U.S. oil companies hate and fear *any* loss of their former total control over world oil sources. Especially since the Iranian revolution they view Middle East supplies in particular as uncertain. They would like to remove that oil as fast as possible, paying OPEC as little as possible.

The most dangerous aspect of this drive is the attempt to lay the groundwork for direct U.S. military intervention in the Middle East. That is the meaning of Carter's highly publicized plan for a "unilateral force" of some 100,000 troops; the airlifting of arms and military advisers to Yemen; the trial balloons about a U.S. military base in the Sinai; and the moves toward reestablishing the draft.

Addressing the National Coal Association in Colorado last month, James Akins, former U.S. ambassador to Saudi Arabia, casually mentioned that a congressional committee the week before had seriously discussed the possibility of invading the Middle East to reassert control over oil supplies.

Crucial to the U.S. war drive is the attempt to convince American workers that they are under attack not from the U.S. capitalists but from "Arab oil sheiks." This lying propaganda sabotages any effective struggle to defend living standards at home and heightens the danger of war abroad. It should be exposed and opposed by the entire American labor movement.

Time to fight back

The latest oil crisis holds a chilling lesson: capitalist ownership and control of energy resources is leading to catastrophe.

Shortages, breakdowns and blackouts, gas lines, soaring prices, pollution of the air and water, proliferation of deadly nuclear plants—these are the results when energy production and distribution are governed by the drive for profits instead of social needs.

The labor movement should fight for a halt to this irrational, profits-before-people system that is jeopardizing the well-being of millions. There is a power that can challenge the profit rampage of the oil corporations—the power of millions of organized workers in basic industry. The unions can take the lead in a massive counteroffensive against the energy ripoff:

- Open all the books, financial records, and "business secrets" of the oil corporations to public scrutiny. Workers have a right to know the facts about production, costs, profits, imports, stockpiles, refining capacity, alternative energy sources, and health and safety.

- The entire energy industry should be taken over by the government and placed under public ownership. It should be run as a real public service providing abundant energy at a price that workers, farmers, and small businesses can afford. Workers in the industry should exercise control over production, especially health and safety conditions. They are in the best position to make sure supplies are not held back or profits concealed.

Socialist steelworker offers gas crisis plan

By Glova Scott

BALTIMORE—The long gas lines that first plagued the West Coast are now a feature of working people's lives across the country.

"Next winter, this crisis will be over heating oil shortages. More people will freeze to death in their homes because the oil companies want higher profits," declared Norton Sandler at a rally here June 24 launching his campaign for mayor of Baltimore.

Sandler, a thirty-three-year-old steelworker at Bethlehem Steel's Sparrows Point plant, is running on the Socialist Workers Party ticket.

Sandler plans to take his proposals for solving the gas crisis to the workers of Baltimore—proposals that are far different from those of any Democratic or Republican politician.

For instance, William Schaefer, the present Democratic mayor, recently spent hours in several emergency meetings with other top Democratic officials in Maryland, Virginia, and Washington, D.C. The result? He imposed even-odd rationing and minimal purchasing limits. But the long lines continued.

"Every politician from Carter to Mayor Schaefer will tell you the same thing—that the gas shortage is real and that we have to get used to it," Sandler told the rally. "They pit worker against worker by saying that the striking truckers are to blame for higher food prices. Truckers will be responsible for layoffs. Truckers are responsible for crops rotting in the fields, they tell us."

Sandler explained the Socialist Workers Party's proposals for the gas crisis. "We demand an opening of the books of the oil companies. Let us see the facts. How much oil is there? Where is it being hidden? How is it being shipped? Who is responsible for making these decisions?"

"We also demand public ownership of the utilities and the oil companies. Nationalize them. Management should be elected by the public, not appointed by government bureaucrats or politicians beholden to the corporations. And the real experts, the workers, should have the right to make decisions on how the industry is operated."

This, Sandler said, should be the program of the labor movement to solve the gas crisis. In carrying out such a campaign, the unions would run smack into resistance from both the Democratic and Republican parties. It would highlight the need to form a labor party based on the trade unions.

Many union leaders in Baltimore don't think the political climate is ripe to launch a labor party. But Sandler pointed to the deteriorating living and working conditions for everyone.

The Democratic Party slashes social services in a city where youth unemployment is extremely high, Sandler said. The "urban homesteading" program forces Blacks out of old neighborhoods. Many Baltimore residents are on long waiting lists for public housing while the city government clears land free of charge so that wealthy busi-



'Keep an eye on those ayrrabs, boy'

nessmen can build their skyscrapers. Homeowners have to pay higher assessment taxes every year, but corporations downtown pay little or no taxes.

The city's advertising campaign slogan, "Baltimore is Best," means "Baltimore is best for the big corporations and working people have to foot the bill," Sandler said.

Working people are getting no answers from Democratic and Republican officials. They're looking more and more to their unions for solutions, Sander said.

He reviewed some activities that the

two locals of the United Steelworkers at Sparrows Point had participated in—support for the coal miners' strike last year, support for the organizing drive by Steelworkers in Newport News, Virginia, and a meeting protesting the anti-affirmative-action Weber case.

Sandler also pointed with enthusiasm to the recent activities of several other Baltimore unions. Thousands of government workers held a work stoppage and rally protesting the 5.5 percent federal wage freeze. The Baltimore Teachers Union turned out 300 members at a city government meeting to demand that education be made a priority. Members of the Communications Workers of America demonstrated at the Chesapeake & Potomac Telephone headquarters demanding an end to job harassment. Hospital workers protested deteriorating nursing home conditions. And the independent truckers have set up blockades in and around Baltimore.

"We get a vision of the kind of a fighting labor movement that would become the bedrock of a labor party," Sandler said.

Campaign supporters at the rally contributed \$785 to go towards posters, brochures, statements, and more campaign stickers. Already many steelworkers at Sparrows Point are wearing these stickers on their hardhats.

One Black crane operator at the point decided after the rally that she will do more than vote for Sandler. She decided that now was the time for her to join the Socialist Workers Party.

Shutdown put industry on notice

'We can't run trucks on Carter's promises'

By Nancy Cole

Many independent truckers were reportedly winding down their national strike by the time of the Fourth of July holiday.

Michael Parkhurst, president of the Independent Truckers Association, said July 2 that the battle was not over, but "people have gone back to work as they are forced into the position of going completely bankrupt."

The 400-member Michigan Independent Truckers Association voted July 2 to maintain the shutdown, and convoys in some cities continued to bring the truckers' demands and problems to the public.

The Michigan truckers, according to association president Harold Wilcox, were responding to the Carter administration's proposed answer to the strike: all promises and no action.

White House officials unveiled Carter's six-point plan June 29, declaring it is "all that can be done" to meet truckers' grievances.

Carter promised to continue the inadequate 7 percent "pass through" surcharge for fuel prices. He said he would support federal legislation to establish uniform national weight and length standards. He pledged equal allocation of available fuel supplies for truckers. The rest of the plan called for ongoing government groups to study the truckers' problems.

The White House followed this act with a threat to use state police escorts to "protect" truck convoys. Eight highways were designated as "safety corridors" as part of the government's strikebreaking plan.

Carter's appointed trucker-task-force head, Jack Watson, added that the administration also favored the moves by some governors to call out the National Guard to drive trucks.

The administration's "final offer" to strikers provoked a walkout of truckers

from the White House meeting. William Hill, head of the Independent Truckers Unity Coalition, told a news conference later that "nothing has been resolved. We were given government promises only. Our people can't run trucks on promises."

Hill repeated that evaluation in remarks over a telephone hookup to a rally of more than 200 truckers in Kansas City, Kansas, the same day. "The government is doing everything it can to try and destroy this shutdown," Hill added.

Jim Johnson, president of the Owner/Operators Independent Drivers Association, also spoke over the hookup, asking the meeting for an opinion on the White House proposals. "Tell them to shove it," someone shouted from the audience.

The Kansas City rally, one of many held across the country to decide whether to continue the shutdown, included trucker representatives on the platform from Illinois, Nebraska, Louisiana, Iowa, Oklahoma, and other states.

Militant correspondent Sandi Sherman reports that many truckers there were unhappy about Carter's rescinding of the diesel priority allocation for farmers, recognizing it as a bid to pit farmers and truckers against each other.

The Kansas City meeting voted unanimously to continue the shutdown.

So did other meetings. But still other chapters of independent trucker groups voted to return to work.

One problem was expressed by a trucker at a protest June 26 in Denver. "We should have gone out with the Teamsters," he told *Militant* correspondent Sue Adley. "Now the Teamsters are working, and the independents are shut down. I believe if the Teamsters and independents shut down for

two weeks then we'd get something."

Despite the fact that truckers have yet to win their just demands, they *did* make gains. They won respect from working people across the country for standing up to the oil companies. They

spotlighted their problems. They gained new experience in how to organize a fight against a powerful energy monopoly and its government. And they put that industry on notice that this is only the first round.

Northeast drivers form group



Militant/Bill Hutton

By Pat Mayberry

ALBANY, N.Y.—The nationwide truckers' shutdown prompted formation of the Northeast Independent Truckers Association.

At a spirited meeting of seventy-five on June 24 in Canaan, New York, the truckers also voted to affiliate with Colorado Convoy, an organization of independent truckers with a membership of 8,500.

Local Teamsters, supporters of the strike, also attended the meeting.

The truckers voted to drive a con-

voy of trucks through downtown Albany June 27 to inform the public and state officials of their demands.

Hundreds of people poured out of stores and office buildings during lunchtime June 27 to cheer on the striking truckers. The news media couldn't get over the favorable response to the truckers, and newspapers reported it separately.

The Northeast Independent Truckers Association plans to be an ongoing group. One driver told the *Militant*, "This is only the first crisis. We know there'll be others."

50,000 in Tehran hit jailing of revolutionaries

More than 50,000 persons gathered at a June 29 Tehran rally sponsored by the People's Fedayeen organization.

The rally, which was held to honor guerrillas killed in the struggle against the shah, demanded the release of the more than forty Fedayeen now in prison. A speaker also condemned the jailing of nine members of the Socialist Workers Party of Iran (HKS) who have been held without charges in Ahwaz for a month.

In addition to the nine HKS members arrested in late May and early June for their support to the struggle of the Arabs of Khuzestan for their rights, seven more HKS members were arrested in Ahwaz on June 23 while circulating petitions calling for the release of the first prisoners.

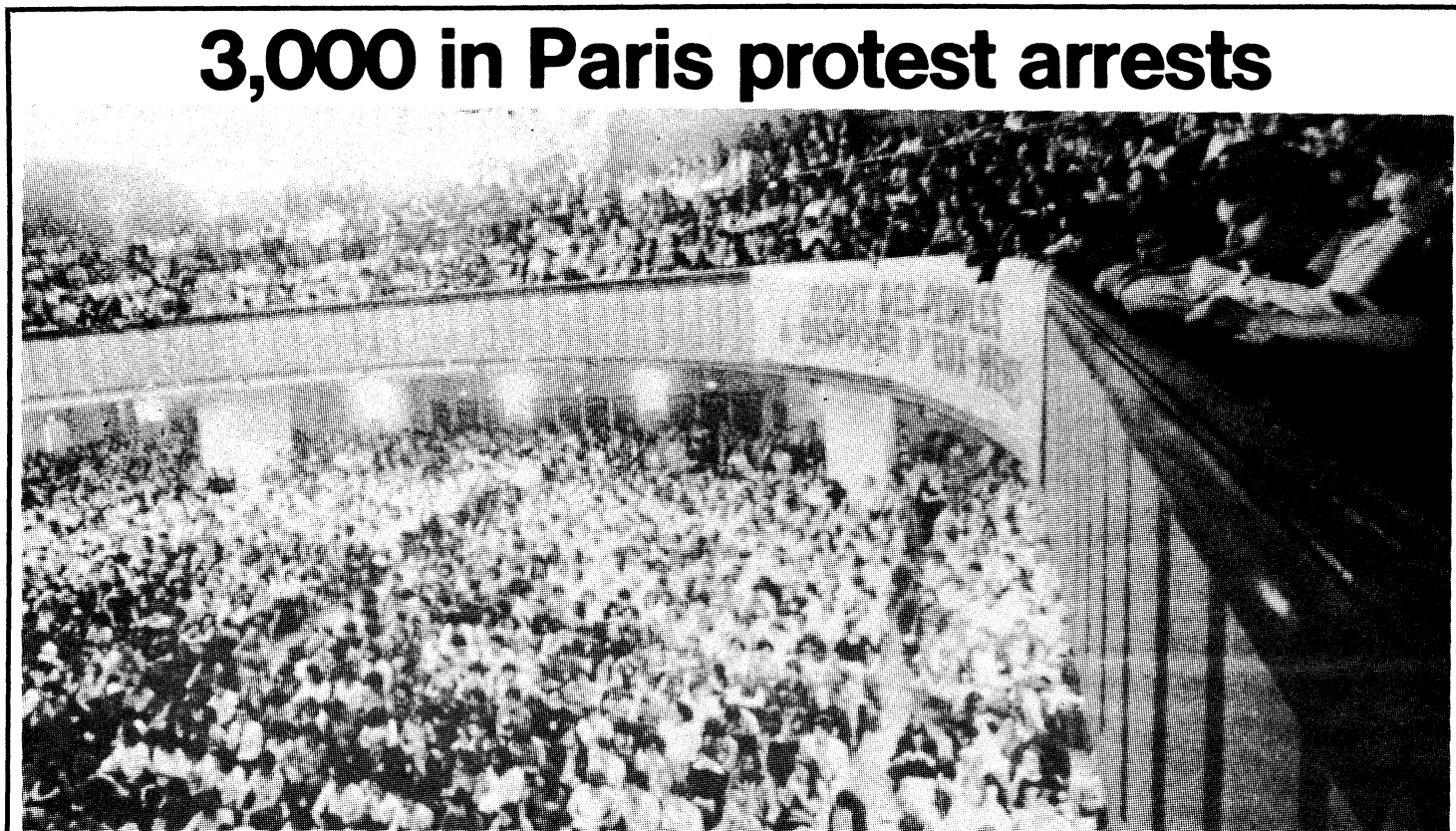
The newly jailed Trotskyists are Haid Adib, Kambiz Lajepardi, Firooz Farzinpour, Mahmoud Kafaie, Hojabr Khosraji, Ali Hashemi, and Kia Mahdevi. One of the original nine prisoners, Mahsa Hashemi, is seriously ill with a bleeding ulcer.

A June 24 press conference protesting their arrest and demanding the release of all sixteen HKS members was widely reported in Iran.

The news conference also called for the release of the oil workers council leaders under arrest and the Fedayeen prisoners. Large demonstrations took place at the end of June in Khorramshahr and Abadan calling for the release of Arab prisoners who have been held since May, when the central government sent troops to Khuzestan Province to put down protests by Arabs and other workers.

There have also been sitdown strikes in factories over economic demands.

Sheikh Ezzedin Hoseini, the recognized leader of the Kurdish people, has added his voice to those protesting the arrests. His statement noted that since the repeated protests against the jailing of the Fedayeen, the HKS members, and Arabs have gone unanswered, "we call on the Bazargan government to immediately and uncondi-



3,000 in Paris protest arrests
Some 3,000 people attended a united rally in Paris June 25 to defend Iranian Trotskyists and other revolutionaries imprisoned in Iran. The meeting was cosponsored by the three Trotskyist groups in France—the Revolutionary Communist League, Internationalist Communist Organization, and Workers Struggle. French supporters of the Iranian defense case have gathered 15,000 signatures on petitions demanding the release of the militants.

tionally release these people or to publicly state the charges against them."

Prominent members of the Writers Association also issued a statement calling the jailings "a serious attack on the achievements of our revolution, on freedom of political parties, freedom of expression, freedom of writers, and freedom of assembly."

The writers added that "by arresting nine socialists [from the HKS] the government is trying to prevent the propagation of socialist views and deny socialists their democratic right

to put a different point of view before the people."

Two dozen professors from the Polytechnic University also issued a statement calling for the release of the Trotskyist prisoners.

Protests from around the world against the arrests of Iranian Trotskyists have been sent to the Iranian government. Bala Tampoe, general secretary of the Ceylon Mercantile Union, sent a letter to Bazargan protesting the arrest of HKS members, oil workers, and steelworkers in Khuzestan. Tampoe noted that "the revolutionary mass uprising of the people of

Iran against the Shah of Iran and his hateful pro-imperialist regime was greeted with enthusiasm by my Union, as well as the vast majority of the people of Ceylon. . . ."

Protests demanding the release of the oil workers, HKS members, and Fedayeen are needed from supporters of the Iranian revolution around the world.

Telegrams should be sent to Prime Minister Mehdi Bazargan, Office of the Prime Minister, Tehran, Iran; or the Iranian Embassy, 3005 Massachusetts Avenue NW, Washington, D.C. 20008. Send copies to the *Militant*.

Peru assembly drops charges against Blanco

The Peruvian military dictatorship has been forced to drop its attempt to prosecute Trotskyist leader Hugo Blanco on a series of charges ranging from "wrecking and sabotaging production" to "attacks on public security and public tranquility."

Blanco, a deputy in Peru's Constituent Assembly, was arrested on June 8 but released on the orders of the Assembly's Executive Committee. As a deputy, Blanco is supposed to enjoy immunity from prosecution unless the Assembly decides otherwise.

On June 27 the Rules Committee met and voted to reject the charges the regime had brought against Blanco, thus ending the case. The only "evidence" the military had presented of Blanco's alleged crimes was his travels around Peru as part of his duties as an Assembly deputy.

The Rules Committee, dominated by deputies from two big bourgeois parties, the APRA and the PPC, acted under the pressure of an international defense campaign and broad support for Blanco inside Peru. Thirty-five of the 100 deputies in the Assembly had signed a petition demanding a special session to take up the charges against the Trotskyist leader.

Telegrams and messages demanding that the charges against Blanco be dropped had poured in from Europe, Canada, the United States, and Latin American countries. Four members of the Canadian Parliament from the New Democratic Party (Canada's labor party) and several Canadian trade-union leaders signed such a telegram.

In the Dominican Republic, the news of Blanco's arrest was featured promi-

nently in newspaper and radio reports. Several major Dominican trade unions, including the metalworkers, signed a statement demanding Blanco's release. The miners union at the big U.S.-owned Rosario gold mine paid for a newspaper advertisement urging further messages of protest.

At the special Constituent Assembly session held June 27, Blanco and other leftist deputies introduced a motion reaffirming that Blanco was absolved of the military's charges and demanding sanctions against the minister of the interior and the political police for Blanco's unlawful arrest on June 8. The motion was tabled by the bourgeois majority.

The Peruvian government is continuing its repressive efforts aimed at breaking the nationwide strike by

140,000 public-school teachers that began June 4. As of June 28, the strike remained nearly 100 percent successful despite the fact that some 350 leaders and activists of the teachers union, SUTEP, remained in jail in various parts of the country. More than 1,000 teachers have been dismissed from their jobs, and on June 18 SUTEP General Secretary Horacio Zeballos was seized by State Security agents after addressing a teachers rally at San Marcos University in Lima.

Zeballos's imprisonment could gravely threaten his health.

Telegrams and messages demanding the release of Horacio Zeballos and the other SUTEP activists should be sent to Peruvian embassies or to Gen. Francisco Morales Bermúdez, Palacio Presidencial, Lima, Peru.

From Intercontinental Press/Inprecor

3,500 Toledo city workers 'shut it down'

By Janet Post and Jeff Stevens

TOLEDO, Ohio—"Shut it down" was the cry of 3,500 public workers here as they began a strike July 1.

All city workers, from clerks to firefighters and road repair crews, united against the paltry offer by the city administration of a 4.5 percent wage increase over three years.

Four major union locals led the strike: Teamsters Local 20; American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees locals 7 and 2058; and Firefighters Local 92.

Picket lines formed with signs, such as "No contract, no work," "What would a mayor know about earning a

living?" and "I'd rather work than strike but I can't afford to."

On the first night of the strike, workers at the main drawbridge leading into Toledo raised the bridge and walked off the job. For many, the raised bridge became a symbol of the strike.

The unions demanded a 7 percent pay increase over three years, an uncapped cost-of-living clause, a dental plan, longer vacations, the right to determine their own work time, and a holdback on scheduled layoffs of Teamster Local 20 members.

On July 2, a court handed down an injunction against the unions participating in the strike. The court fined each striking union member \$2,500

and fined the unions \$25,000 per shift absent from work.

By the morning of July 3, the city had changed its offer to 6 percent over three years, plus a few other improvements. The union officials then instructed the strikers to return to work.

As we go to press, complete results of contract voting are not in, but most city workers are reportedly back at work.

As soon as the strike began, Sue Skinner, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Toledo and a member of United Auto Workers Local 12, issued a statement urging united labor support for the city workers.

Skinner hit the 4.5 percent offer—1.5 percent over each of the three years—

as "an insult to every working person in Toledo. When I spoke to one city worker on a picket line, he told me, 'My gasoline went up by that much just last week.'"

"City workers have a right to a decent contract," the socialist's statement went on, "one that enables them to keep up with spiraling inflation."

"The wretched offer by the city council and Mayor DeGood shows that when it comes down to the wire, these politicians of the Democratic and Republican parties will stab working people in the back without a second thought."

"That's why I say workers need our own party, a party of labor based on the strength of our trade unions."

Khmer Rouge details rightist ties

Indochina: imperialists step up pressure

By Fred Feldman

The chief international spokesman for the former Khmer Rouge government of Kampuchea has made available further information about the Khmer Rouge's part in the imperialist drive to contain and roll back the Indochinese revolutions.

The new details came in an interview given to correspondent Nayan Chanda by Ieng Sary, deputy prime minister of Kampuchea under Pol Pot. Chanda's report of the conversation appeared in the June 22, 1979, *Far Eastern Economic Review*.

The interview took place in Colombo, Sri Lanka, where Ieng Sary attended a meeting of "nonaligned" nations. At the insistence of the governments of Malaysia, Indonesia, and Singapore—all members of the U.S.-dominated Association of Southeast Asian Nations—the gathering recognized Pol Pot's regime as representing Kampuchea, even though it controls virtually no Kampuchean territory.

In previously published interviews with correspondent Henry Kamm of the *New York Times* and R.P. Paringaux of *Le Monde*, Sary described the Khmer Rouge's counterrevolutionary alliance with forces of the former Lon Nol regime and the Thai military dictatorship.

The prime aims of this alliance, Sary made clear, are to force Vietnam to withdraw its troops from Kampuchea and to install a proimperialist government there. He called for more imperialist aid to the Khmer Rouge, which has been badly battered by Kampuchean government and Vietnamese forces in recent months.

Backs capitalism

In his talk with Chanda, the Khmer Rouge leader reiterated the willingness of the Pol Pot forces to help preserve capitalism in Kampuchea.

The interview placed the counterrevolutionary front forged in Kampuchea in the context of what Chanda called "a broader Indochinese conflict."

According to Ieng Sary, the Thai government "is unwaveringly behind Democratic Kampuchea. The Thai Government understands that a neutral and independent Kampuchea as a buffer means their own security."

And he told Chanda, the "Asean countries are helping us a lot."

Sary "confirmed that some Khmer Serei groups have been fighting the Vietnamese in Kampuchea side by side with Pol Pot forces," Chanda said.

"In the past the Khmer Serei considered us to be their Number One enemy. But now the Vietnamese aggressors have become the enemy Number One," Sary told Chanda. "We are willing to forget the past and I hope that others too forget the past to join in a national patriotic united front."



Khmer Rouge forces inside Thailand. Thai dictatorship is openly aiding rightist forces.

Chanda noted that the Khmer Serei rightists "were once backed by the American CIA to harass Prince Norodom Sihanouk's government and later to fight the Khmer Rouge." Today the Khmer Serei are headed by In Tam, former prime minister of Kampuchea under Lon Nol. In Tam now lives in exile in the United States.

Pol Pot's spokesman revealed that the Khmer Rouge is also working with CIA-organized forces fighting the Pathet Lao regime in Laos.

Veteran U.S. organizers of the CIA's 1964-73 "secret war" in Laos (such as Edgar Buell) are now overseeing "refugee camps" in Thailand. From these bases veterans of the CIA-built private armies launch raids against northwestern Laos. The counterrevolutionary forces are based in a section of the Meo nationality that is economically linked to U.S. and French imperialism through the opium trade.

Attacks inside Vietnam

Ieng Sary explained to Chanda that the Pol Pot regime's political and military ties with forces opposed to the socialist revolution in Vietnam long predated the January 1979 overthrow of the brutal Khmer Rouge dictatorship.

According to Sary, apart from Kampuchea the most serious resistance to Hanoi in Indochina is coming from . . . rebellious hill tribes in Vietnam's Central Highlands organized by Fulro [Front Uni pour la Libération des Races Opprimées—United Front for the Liberation of the Oppressed Races]. He confirmed what Western intelligence analysts have long suspected—that the Khmer Rouge has been collaborating with Fulro, which was once backed by the French and Americans: "The Fulro approached us for cooperation—to exchange intelligence, military experience and guerrilla warfare training."

However, following the overthrow of the Khmer Rouge regime it has obviously become difficult for them to supply Fulro with food and ammunition: "On the contrary, they supply us with the powerful poison which only they know how to produce. Once

it enters the body it immediately coagulates blood and leads to death." He claimed that in February-March Fulro killed some 200 Vietnamese soldiers in Ban Me Thuot, Pleiku and the Kontum area.

Counterrevolutionary bands

As Chanda noted, this was far from the first indication of the Pol Pot regime's solidarity with proimperialist military operations in Vietnam. Elizabeth Becker, a correspondent who visited Phnompenh in the early part of December, reported in the December 31, 1978, *Washington Post* on a conversation with a high Pol Pot official:

Pin was the commander of Cambodian troops fighting against the Vietnamese soldiers in bordering Tay Ninh Province. Earlier this year, Western journalists had visited that Vietnamese province and photographed villagers who had been beheaded, disemboweled and mutilated in the border war.

I asked Pin why his troops engaged in such atrocities. "That was not us," he claimed. "It was probably the national minorities uprising in Vietnam, the FULRO (the mountain people) and the Kampuchean Krom (ethnic Cambodians who live in Vietnam)."

Pin's reference to the decades-old proimperialist FULRO as a "national minorities uprising" indicated where the Pol Pot regime stood on support to the counterrevolutionary bands in Vietnam.

Vietnam's action in pouring troops into Kampuchea to help topple Pol Pot put a stop to Khmer Rouge attacks along Vietnam's border. It also broke the supply lines the U.S.-backed FULRO had forged through Kampuchea.

Imperialist drive

These gains did not mark an end to the imperialist drive against the Indochinese revolutions, but shifted the center of action for the counterrevolutionary alliance from the Vietnamese-Kampuchean border to the Thai-Kampuchean border. The stakes in the battle are no longer the preservation of the proimperialist Pol Pot regime, but protection of the Thai military dictatorship.

Ieng Sary's interviews are intended to prepare international public opinion for further imperialist moves against Vietnam and the new Kampuchean government headed by Heng Samrin.

At a meeting of Southeast Asian capitalist foreign ministers June 29, Singapore's Foreign Minister Sinaratnanby Rajaratnan indicated those moves.

Using the imperialist campaign of lies about refugees from Vietnam as a pretext, he called for making Vietnam "a culprit and an international pariah."

"The second part of the proposal would be to 'bleed the Vietnamese in Cambodia,' Mr. Rajaratnan added. He said the Cambodians fighting the Vietnamese invaders should be regarded as patriots rather than as forces fighting

for the regime of former Prime Minister Pol Pot" (*New York Times*, June 30).

At the June summit meeting in Vienna between Carter and Brezhnev, the U.S. government openly demanded that the Kremlin pressure Hanoi into dropping its support for the new Kampuchean regime:

"Carter appealed in his toast tonight for the Soviet Union's ally, Vietnam, to withdraw its troops from neighboring Cambodia," reported the June 18 *Washington Post*.

The imperialists have been tightening the economic screws on Vietnam as well. One brutal aspect of the economic sabotage of the Indochinese revolutions is the refusal of proimperialist bodies such as the United Nations to help the Kampuchean people meet the growing danger of a devastating famine.

Hun Sen, the twenty-eight-year-old foreign minister in Heng Samrin's government, discussed the need for international help to overcome food shortages in an interview with Nayan Chanda that also appeared in the June 22, 1979, *Far Eastern Economic Review*:

He said his government has made requests to all friendly countries (so far only 17 countries recognise the new regime) for emergency aid, but very little has come yet.

His government has requested aid from international organizations, Sen said, but only the International Democratic Women's Organisation has responded positively. The International Committee of the Red Cross has been contacted, "but we're still waiting for their visit." Referring to their international and humanitarian organizations, Hun Sen bitterly said: "They say they would like to help Kampuchea but they don't have the means. They only talk and promise but nothing has come."

The Thai military dictatorship continues to step up its attacks on Kampuchea. The Heng Samrin government claimed June 11 that Thai troops are occupying part of the country. The Beijing (Peking) Stalinists have threatened to come to the Thai rulers' "defense" if forces supporting the Heng Samrin government strike back against the occupiers.

In an attempt to avoid clashes with Thai troops, progovernment forces in Kampuchea have been treating a strip of territory along the border as a "no man's land."

In late June, Thai troops carried out a brutal assault on thousands of Kampuchean civilians who had sought refuge from Pol Pot's gangs in Thailand. About 45,000 were forced by Thai troops into the desolate and heavily mined strip of territory that borders on Thailand. More than 300 were killed.

Although most were able to find their way into government-controlled territory, about 10,000 are reported to be trapped in the mine fields and forests along the border, without food, and suffering from epidemics of several diseases.

From Intercontinental Press/Inprecor

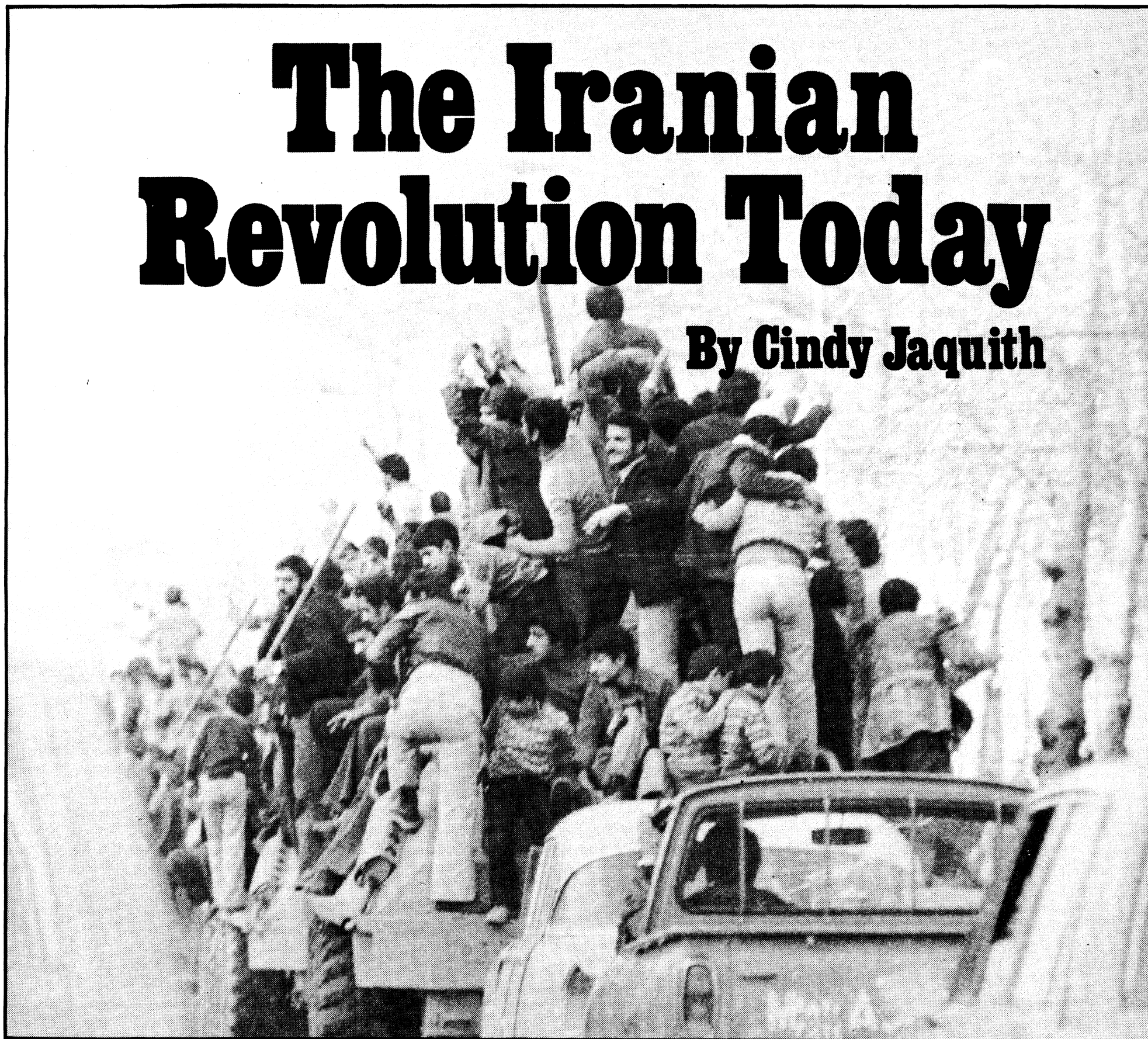


U.S. ruling class devastated Kampuchea during Indochina war. Now it wants to starve out survivors.

international socialist review

The Iranian Revolution Today

By Cindy Jaquith



Militant/Cindy Jaquith

Feminism and Human Nature

By Evelyn Reed

THE MONTH IN REVIEW

Union Power: Key to Defeat of 'Weber'

The Supreme Court's June 27 ruling in the *Weber* case was a victory for the union movement, Blacks, and women—and a setback for the ruling-class drive against the rights and living standards of working people.

The decision rejected Brian Weber's claim that he was the victim of "reverse discrimination" because half the places in a job-training program at Kaiser Aluminum in Gramercy, Louisiana, were allotted to Blacks and women. Before the training program was instituted, Blacks and women were effectively excluded from skilled jobs at Kaiser.

The job-training program was won by Kaiser employees in the 1974 contract negotiated by the United Steelworkers of America.

The Supreme Court upheld the legality of "affirmative action plans designed to eliminate conspicuous racial imbalance in traditionally segregated job categories."

Big business—which profits by keeping Blacks, *latinos*, and women at the bottom of the heap in the job market—wasn't happy about the ruling. They hoped to use claims of "reverse discrimination" to gut affirmative-action programs.

The *Wall Street Journal* voiced dismay that "employers will find it harder to resist demands for preferential programs from civil rights groups, their own employees and the government."

A Georgia businessman interviewed by the *Journal* stated: "God knows I'm not a racist, but I'm a businessman first, and my native instinct is to produce goods and services at the lowest cost. You can't do that on an affirmative-action program."

This "non-racist"—who figures to make piles of money out of discrimination—knows that equal job opportunity raises the job conditions and pay of all workers. And that means less profit for him.

Kaiser Aluminum is portrayed in the capitalist press as a defender of civil rights for its stated opposition to *Weber*. But the Kaiser owners would have been glad to see affirmative action eliminated.

It was Kaiser in Gramercy that excluded Blacks for many years. And the job-training program was instituted only to fend off threatened suits and meet employee demands.

It is the action "their own employees" might take to press for affirmative action that worries the employers most. They fear more and more unions, under membership pressure, will demand programs like the one at Kaiser.

Leon Lynch, vice-president of the USWA,

saw the union's victory in the case as meaning that "other employers and unions will now be able to adopt similar programs without having to worry about 'reverse discrimination' suits."

It is only one year since the same Supreme Court upheld the racist concept of "reverse discrimination" in the *Bakke* case. The judges did not become more friendly to racial equality in the interim. They retreated from a further attack on affirmative action because they feared the forces arrayed against them.

In the *Bakke* case, only a few unions took stands—very soft-spoken ones—in defense of affirmative action. But the United Steelworkers of America treated *Weber* as a challenge to union rights. It got the backing of the AFL-CIO for this position. Union newspapers across the country carried articles against Weber's suit. A modest number of labor meetings and rallies were held. Growing numbers of workers—white as well as Black—came to view Weber's attack on affirmative action as a threat to themselves and their unions.

Even though there were few street demonstrations against *Weber*—in contrast to the thousands who marched and rallied to protest *Bakke*—the weight of the anti-*Weber* forces was much greater.

Faced with opposition to *Weber* by nearly all major unions, the Supreme Court chose not to throw down the gauntlet.

The union officialdom's opposition to *Weber* was a shift. In the past, top union officials—such as AFL-CIO President George Meany and former USWA president I.W. Abel—have been enemies of affirmative-action quotas like the one upheld in *Weber*.

Affirmative action in industry was initially a victory won through struggles by the civil rights movement, not the unions. The government, acceding to Black demands, would pressure employers and union officials to institute a minimal program.

The civil rights movement today is weaker, and the government and employers are trying to cut back affirmative action.

But unions like the USWA have changed. More union members are Black, *latino*, and female—and they want their unions to do something about the blatant discrimination practiced by the bosses. Other workers, including whites and males, are in growing sympathy with these demands. They are beginning to see them as strengthening the whole union in the fight with the employers.

Unions like the United Steelworkers cannot ignore the crippling effects that a stand against affirmative action could have on organizing efforts, where support of Black workers is crucial. A pro-*Weber* stand—or even a hint of neutrality—would have cut across the possibility of organizing the Newport News shipyard in Virginia, for example.

Union opposition to *Weber* cut across the ruling-class propaganda that portrayed him as a "blue collar Bakke" or, as the June 28 *New York Times* called him, a "resolute union man." Through their unions, many workers

learned that Weber was a racist, antilabor agent of the employers.

The *Weber* case marked a shift in the attitude of civil rights fighters toward the unions. In the past it was often taken for granted, because of the reactionary stand taken by top union officials, that the unions—perhaps even more than the companies—were foes in the fight against job discrimination. The unions' role in the *Weber* case, as the *Wall Street Journal* fears, points toward the unions becoming the champion of the fight for equal job opportunity against the employers.

Weber is far from ending the battle. The rulers were forced to retreat, but they have every intention of finding avenues to press the attack on affirmative action. The outcome of the *Weber* case points the road forward in fighting discrimination: the mobilization of the power of millions of union members.

A different estimate of the *Weber* ruling appeared in the July 4 *Guardian*. "Initial responses pointed out the positive, but extremely limited nature of the ruling," it stated. It quoted attorney Jack Hartog complaining that the *Weber* decision "seems to invite further attacks."

The *Weber* decision—like the *Bakke* decision last year—was hedged in with legal rigamarole. But it was a clear-cut victory for affirmative action just as the *Bakke* ruling was a clear-cut defeat.

The *Guardian* also quoted Frances Beal of the National Anti-Weber Mobilization Committee, which organized a small demonstration against *Weber* before the decision came down. She cited the decision as "a call to strengthen the antiracist movement." The victory is, of course, an inspiration to struggles for equality. But it also tells us something about where the power to win that struggle is to be found: in the ranks of organized labor. About this the *Guardian* has nothing to say.

The *Weber* ruling is incomprehensible to the *Guardian*. That's why the significance of the victory is played down. It is incomprehensible because it flies in the face of the *Guardian's* schema of American politics. Like the rest of the petty-bourgeois left, the *Guardian* sees "the country"—both the ruling class and the workers—drifting steadily to the right. Having no roots in the American working class, the *Guardian* has no way of knowing the depth of discontent, anticapitalist sentiment, and desire for action in their own self-defense that is spreading among U.S. workers—Black and white, female and male, old and young.

Revolutionary socialists in the unions—like the members of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance—know about this from firsthand experience.

The ruling-class offensive against working people is being met by growing resistance. Workers are beginning to turn toward the unions as instruments of basic self-defense. The *Weber* decision is one of the first fruits of that resistance.

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Feminism and Human Nature

By Evelyn Reed

The following talk was prepared by Evelyn Reed shortly before her death on March 22, 1979, at the age of seventy-three. Reed was an activist and leader of the Socialist Workers Party for four decades, an outstanding Marxist anthropologist, and the author of 'Problems of Women's Liberation,' 'Woman's Evolution,' and 'Sexism and Science.'

One of the most significant developments in the current struggle for women's liberation is the focus on women's history. The reason is, women are looking for answers to some basic questions of vital concern to them now and in the future. How did it come about that women, although half the human species, have not been regarded as full human beings? Just what is it about being female that makes women the inferior or "second sex?" How long has this situation existed and what do women have to do to become recognized as equal human beings?

These questions were the opening wedge into a hitherto relatively unexplored realm for women—an examination of their own history. From the first this initiative produced great excitement. An early conference on the history of women, held in Cambridge, was featured by the *New York Times* under the banner headline: "The Woman in History Becomes Explosive Issue in the Present." According to the report, 2,000 teachers, graduate students, and other specialists, 10 percent of them men, "overran Radcliffe College and Harvard Yard for three days of intensive, sometimes furious discussion and debate." It added:

"Woman's multifarious part in history, long neglected or underestimated by traditional historians in the West—mostly male—is now being uncovered, publicized and promoted with extraordinary zeal. Indeed, the study of women in history is exploding in the academic skies like a supernova."

That is what my book, *Woman's Evolution*, is all about. It is a contribution toward reconstructing the earliest part of woman's history. It is an extension of the work done by Lewis Morgan and other nineteenth century founders of anthropology, who made the first breakthrough in women's history by discovering the maternal clan system of social organization—popularly known as the matriarchy. This in turn led by the writing by Frederick Engels of *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*. My book adds further documentation and arguments to support the priority of the primitive matriarchal period in which female oppression did not exist.

These pioneer evolutionists proceeded from the proposition that, just as society itself has radically changed in the course of history, so has the position of women changed. The earlier matriarchal society was communal and egalitarian. Because it was communal there was no class exploitation, racial discrimination, or sex oppression. It was only when that system was overturned and replaced by patriarchal class society that the historic downfall of the women occurred. But this stage represents only about 6,000 years in the million-year history of humankind.

Anti-evolutionists vs. Women

My new book, *Sexism and Science*, explains how and why the study of the matriarchy has been shunted aside for the past sixty or seventy years. The twin discoveries that primitive society was both communal and matriarchal runs counter to the capitalist myth that private property and class divisions have always existed and that women have always been the inferior sex, dominated by the superior male sex. The current schools of anthropology have closed off further study of the matriarchy because it revealed too



much about the high status of women in prehistoric society.

The anti-evolutionists do not recognize the drastic social change that came about with the downfall of the matriarchal communal society and its replacement by patriarchal class society. They deny that it was this social upheaval that brought about the degradation of women and the elevation of men to the dominant place in economic, cultural, and political affairs. Instead of this social cause, they advance a biological reason for women's inferiority. To them biology is and always has been woman's destiny and the source of her degradation. To uphold their position, they present assertions based upon a misinterpreted anthropology and a falsified biology.

We are told that women occupy a subordinate position in society because of their physical handicaps. These come down to their childbearing organs and functions, their menstrual periods, and other disabilities. Weighed down by their motherhood functions, the female sex is presumably rendered helpless and dependent upon the male sex for their sustenance and support.

So women, instead of being told that they are oppressed by the capitalist system which profits from their subjugation, are led to believe that their troubles stem from a defective anatomy—from the fact that they bear children. The truth is, women are socially, not biologically, handicapped. Class society takes advantage of the fact that women are the procreators to dispossess them of cultural and political opportunities. Such a dispossession did not occur in matriarchal society precisely because it was communal and egalitarian. Women bore children then as they do today. But this did not prevent them from being the prime producers and the "female governesses" of the primitive communities.

Unfortunately, millions of women have come to believe that their inferiority is due to a defective biology. This is not surprising since, on the one hand, they know little or nothing about their earlier history. And, on the other hand, they are subjected to a systematic bombardment of the sexist myth that women have always been the inferior sex. This brainwashing takes many forms, of which a few examples will suffice.

In its crudest form, we have a prominent male doctor, Edgar Berman, (who treated the late Hubert Humphrey), publicly announcing that the reason why a woman can't become an astronaut or the president of the United States is because of her "raging hormones," which make all women "emotionally unstable." But there are other, more subtle ways of making gullible women believe they are inferior. These permeate the media from books and articles to TV shows.

One of these TV shows was called *The Ascent of Man*. College credits were granted to students who watched it. It was a collection of vignettes describing various accomplishments of "man" through the ages. It didn't say anything against women—it didn't have to, since women were virtually invisible in it. You would never suspect that women even belonged to the human species, much less that they played any part in this all-male ascent. And yet a reputable scientist, the late Jacob Bronowski, is responsible for this one-sided travesty of history—which has been seen by tens of millions here and abroad. This blanking out of women from history illustrates the kind of brainwashing by which women are led to believe they don't amount to much and have never played any important social role.

Considering the damage that has been done to women through these psychological manipulations, it is worthwhile spending a little time on the subject. Most of the argumentation can be assembled under the general category of "human nature." It is only "human nature," we are told, for the aggressive, strong, and brainy males to occupy the posts of leadership and power, and for the passive, weak, and somewhat stupid women to be their childbearers and obedient followers. This theme, endlessly repeated, is supposed to convince women to resign themselves to their humbler lot in life.

Here it is pertinent to ask: What do those who talk so glibly about "human nature" conceive it to be? The first point to be made here is that those who cannot see humans as a qualitatively different species from animals cannot distinguish between human nature and animal behavior.

Human Nature is not Animal Nature

Two propositions are joined together to erase the vast distinctions between humanity and animality. One is: "Man is nothing but an animal with a few added tricks." The other asserts that "human nature never changes," which implies that humans have never shed their essentially animal characteristics. These



Soldiers at the battle of Verdun, World War I. Some pseudoscientific writers argue that war stems from human nature. Reed shows that this claim that war is an extension of primitive fighting has no foundation in fact and covers up the real causes of war.

propositions are advanced by biological determinists (or Social Darwinists). The best known today are such vulgar and venal popularizers as Robert Ardrey, Desmond Morris, and Lionel Tiger. Their view of an unchanging human nature does not correspond even to the reality of animal relations, much less social relations. And these crude portrayals not only degrade women, but men as well.

In the relations among males, for example, we find ape-like or Neanderthal-type males battering one another with spiked clubs to support the thesis that both humans and animals fight—therefore aggression rules everywhere and nothing has essentially changed from animals to men. In the relations between males and females, the Neanderthal hero is depicted dragging his woman by her hair into his cave, which is supposed to demonstrate that the strong and powerful male has always dominated the weak and helpless female. Or that women need protection even if they are dragged by the hair into such protection.

These fictions about “eternal human nature” are useful to the rulers of capitalist society because they serve as cover-ups for the real situation. When they dragoon men into their imperialist wars they can justify the slaughter by referring to the “innate aggressive instincts” of man the animal. Similarly, they can attribute the social degradation of women to their biological weaknesses and disabilities.

The truth is entirely different. It is a fact that society has grown up out of nature, but social life is fundamentally different from animal conditions of existence. While humans grew up out of the highest animal species, the primates, once they became human they outgrew their animal nature and acquired a distinctively new nature. With the advent of humankind there arose a wholly new species never before known on this planet. Our uniqueness lies in the fact that we alone of all species have created ourselves—and we alone have the power to take control over directing our own destiny. No animal species has that power of conscious direction.

How did this colossal achievement come about? It began with labor activities—a factor that is too often overlooked by anthropologists and other investigators. All society from the very beginning to the present day is founded on the twin pillars of production and procreation. Only one of these functions is common to both animals and humans, and that is procreation. Animal females, like human females, give birth to offspring and thereby perpetuate their species. But only humans can engage in labor activities that produce the necessities and comforts required for their survival and progress. Production, therefore, which is exclusively human, marks the great dividing line between social life and animal existence.

Society began when our branch of the primate order, already equipped with the flexible hand—that indispensable biological organ—took to the making and use of tools in systematic labor activities. As the archaeologist, Sherwood L. Washburn, sums this up:

“Man began when populations of apes, about a million years ago started the . . . tool-using way of life that gave rise to the man-apes of the genus *Australopithecus*. Most of the obvious differences that distinguish man from ape came after the use of tools.” (*Scientific American*, September 1960).

Out of the development of labor activities there

came the development of the brain and thought, of speech and language, and the beginnings of the new world of culture that is based in the first instance upon the process of production. As Engels put it, labor is so much the key factor in the change from animal to human that it can be said that labor created humanity itself.

Labor brought about a great reversal in the relations between humans and nature as contrasted with the animals. All creatures below our level are completely dependent upon what nature yields in the way of sustenance; they cannot grow their own food as humans do. Animals are rigidly restricted to certain environments and cannot survive in any other. For example, apes would perish in the icy north and polar bears would die out in the tropics. In essence, animals are the captives of external nature, governed by blind physical laws and processes.

Humans, however, escaped this captivity through their ever-growing productive powers. Once they began to work for a living they became increasingly the controllers and masters of nature. They could live in any environment, utilizing fire for warmth, building their own shelters, and transforming all kinds of nature substances into useful products to serve their needs.

Most important, only humans can generate *new needs*, which no animals can do. As V. Gordon Childe sums this up:

“Through his control of fire and the skill to make clothes and houses, man can, and does, live and thrive from the Arctic Circle to the Equator. In the trains and cars he builds, man can outstrip the fleetest hare or ostrich. In airplanes he can mount higher than the eagle, and with telescopes see farther than the hawk. With firearms he can lay low animals that a tiger dare not

tackle.” (*Man Makes Himself*).

There is one flaw in this otherwise accurate description of the vast distinction between human and animal life. Like most men scholars, even the best, Childe omits the decisive part played by women in the productive activities that liberated humankind from their former animal limitations of existence. By the same token, they leave out the part played by women in creating society which transformed animal behavior into human social nature.

Creating a Cooperative Organization

Society, as Childe defines it, is a cooperative organization for producing the means to satisfy its needs, for reproducing itself, and for producing new needs. This cooperative organization had to be created by the first humans, since it does not exist ready-made in the animal world. It was initiated by the females because that sex was preadapted to cooperation through the maternal functions they exercised in the animal world.

Far from being the inferior sex because of their biology, exactly the opposite was the case. Females were biologically the advantaged sex; they were the mothers upon whom the survival of the species depended. While all animals forage for their food on an individualistic basis, females alone provide for others than themselves; they feed and care for their offspring. Among the primates this nurturing relationship reaches a high degree of prolonged maternal care and sentiment—only one stage below that of human mothers.

These maternal functions provided the springboard for the group of clan functions assumed by the females at the start of human life. Unlike males, who are condemned by nature to antagonistic relations with other males, females can band together for mutual care and protection. This provided the nucleus for the subsequent broader economic and social cooperation that arose through systematic labor activities.

Society could not begin without this close-knit cooperation because productive activities could not succeed without it. As Childe points out, “Even the simplest tool made out of a broken bough or a chipped stone is the fruit of long experience—of trials and errors, impressions noticed, remembered and compared.” In addition, the productive skills gained by the whole group must be handed down to new generations so that each generation can improve upon the work of its predecessors.

Females, with their natural capacity to cooperate, carried this trait forward and extended it to the male sex, so that it also became part of their new and human heritage. Men did not lift themselves by their own bootstraps, so to speak, out of the individualistic, competitive struggle for survival that prevails in nature. They were lifted up by the women, who trained and educated them

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EVELYN REED (1905-79)

Bob Tilden

The Iranian Revolution Today

By Cindy Jaquith



Militant/Cindy Jaquith

When the Iranian working masses took over the shah's glittering palaces, his torture chambers, and his army barracks in mid-February, they struck a giant blow for freedom around the world.

They tore down with their bare hands one of imperialism's chief bulwarks in the Middle East and by their action weakened capitalism on a world scale.

American working people shed no tears when the shah and his venal gang of supporters were overthrown.

A public opinion poll conducted shortly after the insurrection showed that the majority of the American people opposed U.S. intervention to save the shah.

That deep opposition to the use of U.S. military forces abroad—a product of the Vietnam War and events since—stayed Carter's hand, preventing the U.S. ruling class from intervening directly to crush the popular rebellion of the Iranian masses.

But the U.S. government has not given up its aim of regaining full, firm control of Iran, both for military-strategic reasons and to reinstitute its plundering of that country's resources, particularly oil.

In the wake of the February insurrection, American capitalists have stepped up their propaganda campaign against the revolution.

U.S. Capitalist Offensive

This campaign is part of a broader offensive of the U.S. capitalist class. It represents the rulers' response to a series of events that has shifted the relationship of class forces internationally to the advantage of the world proletariat: the U.S. defeat in Vietnam and the subsequent creation of a unified workers state there; the overthrow of the capitalist Pol Pot dictatorship in Kampuchea; the disintegration of the Portuguese empire in Africa and the rising independence struggles throughout that continent; the defeat of the Somalian imperialist-backed invasion of Ethiopia; and now the Iranian revolution.

The Carter administration has reacted to these developments by stepping up its drive toward war, trying to reverse public opposition to the use of American troops abroad. This is the meaning of its intensified propaganda against the Vietnamese revolution. This is what lies behind the campaign against the revolutionary Cuban gov-

ernment and its support to anti-imperialist struggles in Africa and Nicaragua.

In the Middle East, in the wake of the Iranian revolution, Washington rushed to aid the reactionary North Yemen regime; openly supported counterrevolutionary guerrillas against the Afghanistan government; and hastily concluded an Israeli-Egyptian "peace" treaty.

The U.S. rulers openly discuss today the "option" of using military force in the Middle East to stop the spread of the Iranian revolution.

But the opposition of American workers to the use of U.S. troops abroad and the solidarity felt with the Iranian masses is a formidable obstacle to the U.S. goal of rolling back the Iranian revolution. To do that, the capitalists must first convince workers that the revolution is neither in their interests nor in the interests of the Iranian people.

'Human Rights' Campaign

The American big-business press has embarked on a campaign to accomplish this, to portray the revolution as a victory for religious reaction, a throwback to the eighth century. Having remained silent for years about the terror of the shah's regime, today the newspapers are suddenly voicing a cynical concern for human rights in Iran. Thus the headlines scream: "Iran—cruel mockery of humanity" (*Christian Science Monitor*); "Rights Violations Under Khomeini Rival Shah's Era" (*Washington Post*); and "Iran's Holy War—With Itself" (*U.S. News and World Report*).

The point of all this was summed up in an editorial in the April 23 *Wall Street Journal*, which explained that "the shah, for all his failings, was fundamentally a progressive" compared to the new regime.

And if the shah was progressive, then U.S. policy toward Iran, for all its "failings," was also progressive.

Coupled with this drive to present the revolution as a setback for democracy and human rights is the campaign to convince American working people that the revolution is a genuine threat to their standard of living. The current oil crisis, according to this line, is not due to the profit gouging of the U.S. oil trusts. It all started when Iranian oil workers and their allies decided to throw out the shah and his American backers.

Thus the world imperialists' energy meeting in Tokyo at the end of June dubbed itself the "Khomeini summit." "The Iranian Ayatollah is not here," wrote the June 29 *New York Times*, "but the oil crisis he set in motion with his Islamic revolution is at center stage."

What is the real stake of American labor in the Iranian revolution? Were the Iranian people better off when the shah was in power?

To answer these questions, we need to first look at Iran before the insurrection.

In Tehran under the shah, if the secret police (SAVAK) found a pair of hiking boots in your apartment, you faced arrest, torture, and perhaps death. It was assumed you used the boots to go climbing in the nearby Alborz mountains, where you could escape the pervasive surveillance of the regime and hold political meetings or read banned literature.

It is only since the revolution that the brutal scope of the secret police apparatus in Iran has begun to be exposed. This has been accomplished by the masses themselves, who took over SAVAK's offices and the police stations and demanded the media report what they found.

They discovered torture houses throughout Tehran, some with rooms filled with parts of human bodies, used to psychologically terrorize prisoners into making "confessions."

The eyes and ears of SAVAK penetrated every corner of Iranian society—from the newspaper offices, where SAVAK agents censored out the truth; to the hospitals, where doctors were forced to falsify death certificates to disguise SAVAK murders; to the factories, where the secret police functioned openly, and often were the foremen.

Why was this system of terror needed and why did the U.S. government support it until the end?

SAVAK was created in 1957 as the shah sought to consolidate his power and carry out economic changes at the behest of his imperialist bosses. The CIA and the Israeli secret police provided the training for SAVAK agents.

Four years earlier, the CIA had openly collaborated with the Pahlavi royal family to overthrow the capitalist regime of Mohammed Mosadeq and return the shah to his Peacock Throne. A revolutionary uprising of the Iranian working masses had forced the tyrant to leave the country and pressured the regime to nationalize foreign oil interests.

In order to decisively crush the power of the workers and all his political opponents, the shah unleashed SAVAK. This went hand-in-hand with restructuring the Iranian economy to deepen direct investment and tighten control by world imperialism, especially U.S. interests.

In the oil industry, which produced a significant portion of the world's oil supply, a consortium was established to distribute it on the world market. Forty percent of the oil was controlled by British Petroleum, and another 40 percent by U.S. corporations. Among other things, the con-

Cindy Jaquith, associate editor of the 'Militant,' was in Iran during January and February of this year. She reported for the 'Militant' on the insurrection that toppled the shah's regime.

sortium made sure that Israel got 60 percent of its oil from Iran, and South Africa 90 percent.

U.S. investments dominated other industries in Iran as well. At the end of 1978, the U.S. had \$700 million invested there. Far from improving the lives of the Iranian workers, however, the imperialists' sole aim was to maximize profits off their labor. The average wage of a textile worker, for example, was \$7.50 a day.

Industrialization in Iran was also carried out in such a way as to maintain Iran's underdevelopment and dependency on imperialism. For example, factories were built to construct cars from imported parts so as to prevent the Iranian auto industry from becoming self-sufficient. Huge areas of the country were deliberately kept in a backward state. In Kurdistan, for example, there are at most a dozen factories. The majority of Kurds, an oppressed nationality, are trapped in a meager peasant existence.

The United States also reaped enormous profits in Iran through the sales of arms. Before his downfall the shah had contracted for an additional \$11.56 billion in arms purchases, making Iran the biggest customer in the world for the U.S. war industry.

Taken as a whole, in 1977 U.S. corporations took in almost \$2 from sales to Iran for every \$1 they paid out for Iranian oil. As one business executive put it as the shah fell, "It was too wild, too good to be true."

Destruction of Agriculture

Just as he "modernized" industry tailored to the needs of his imperialist backers, the shah "reformed" agriculture, leaving it in ruins.

The "land reform" of 1962-63, known as the White Revolution, left millions of peasants landless. For many, access to irrigation was cut off in favor of capitalist agribusiness complexes. Ruined peasants were forced into the cities and unemployment.

As a result, Iran's former self-sufficiency in agriculture was destroyed—forcing it to import 60 percent of its food.

The role of U.S. capitalism in the exploitation of the Iranian masses led to deep anti-imperialist sentiment. It also led to strong opposition to the U.S.-backed state of Israel, recognized by the Iranian people as a bastion set up to protect the interests of imperialist oil trusts in the Middle East.

Resentment also grew against the attempts of the shah, in collusion with the Israeli Zionists, to act as a cop throughout the region. The shah sent troops against rebels in Oman in 1973. He aided the Somali regime of Siad Barre in its war against the Ethiopian revolution.

How the Insurrection Was Made

As awesome as the shah's repressive apparatus was, once the Iranian masses gained confidence in their power to overthrow it, neither guns, nor tanks, nor troops could stop them.

The insurrection that toppled the Pahlavi dynasty in February was the culmination of more than a year of mass mobilizations. The workers, students, oppressed nationalities, and semiproletarian masses—supported by the peasants—carried out mass demonstrations, waged a general strike, set up struggle committees, and appealed to rank-and-file soldiers to join them.

In the absence of any unions or workers parties, the Shi'ite Islamic hierarchy, under the pressure of the upsurge, played the main organizational leadership role. The mosques were the one institution that the shah had been unable to destroy.

It was Iran's relatively small, but powerful industrial working class, led by the oil workers, that gave the movement the strength to paralyze the shah's regime. Once the oil workers went on strike, bringing the country's economy to a total halt, it proved impossible for antishah capitalist politicians or religious leaders to persuade the masses to seek the road of compromise with the monarchy. The insurrection itself, sparked by young workers in the air force who armed civilians, took place in the absence of direction by either bourgeois forces or the Islamic hierarchy.

Yet, while it was the workers and their allies who made the revolution, the working class did not take power. Due to the political and organizational weaknesses of the workers movement, capitalist forces were able to take over the reins of the new government.

The Khomeini-Bazargan government has spent the last five months trying to consolidate a new state apparatus and a stable capitalist

regime. But there are two major obstacles: the government is caught in a scissors between the self-confidence and expectations of the masses on the one hand; and the enormity of Iran's economic backwardness, combined with stepped-up sabotage by the imperialists, on the other.

As every twentieth century social revolution in an underdeveloped country has shown, a capitalist government *cannot* solve the basic problems of land reform, industrialization, or independence from imperialist domination. It cannot meet basic social needs such as health care, housing, or education, or provide self-determination for oppressed nationalities, or equality for women.

A new leadership must be forged that breaks with the capitalist class and mobilizes the masses behind the struggle for a workers and peasants government as in Russia or Cuba. If that does not happen, the capitalists will eventually turn to world imperialism for help in crushing the revolution and restoring a stable capitalist regime.

Terrified that even small concessions will encourage the masses to fight for more, the Khomeini-Bazargan government has thus far stalled on most of the social measures demanded by the masses.

Under pressure, however, it has carried out some popular anti-imperialist moves such as cutting off oil supplies to the racist regimes in Israel and South Africa—a demand of the oil workers—and closing down U.S. military and CIA posts.

The regime has also brought some of the shah's henchmen and mass murderers to justice. The executions of these criminals, responsible for the slaughter or torture of thousands, has also been at the insistence of the masses, who are determined to root out every vestige of the system of terror and corruption run by the shah and his U.S. advisers.

The imperialists have responded to the executions with an international "human rights" campaign on behalf of the sinister creatures it installed in the old government.

The Iranian masses have responded to these attacks with large demonstrations defending their revolution and asserting their right to punish all those who opened up their country to imperialist exploitation.

Unlike in Cuba, however, the new government has not used the executions to mobilize the population behind the revolution. Most of the trials and executions have been conducted in secret, denying the masses the right to know the full truth about the barbaric crimes of the old regime.

Meanwhile, the Khomeini-Bazargan government has tried to crack down on every new initiative to extend the revolution. It has tried to break up workers committees in the factories, or where that is impossible, to saddle them with progovernment leaderships. It continues to deny the right to form trade unions.

In the provinces where oppressed nationalities organized after the insurrection to demand the right to govern themselves, use their own language, and observe their own culture, Khomeini and Bazargan responded by sending in troops and bombers, killing hundreds in Kurdistan alone.

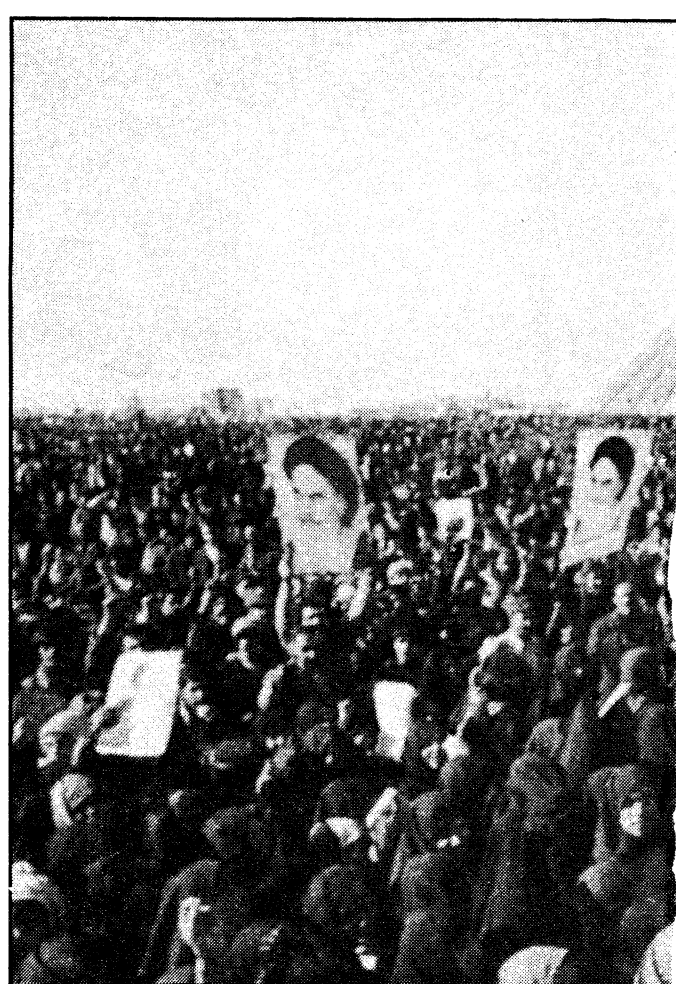
Reactionary decrees have been issued against women.

In an attempt to put the lid back on the explosion of political discussion and organization opened up by the revolution, the government has continually attacked freedom of speech and of the press.

While continually postponing the elections promised for months, the government has also refused to legalize most political parties. It has arrested worker leaders, Trotskyists, Fedayeen and members of the Mujahedeen. In Ahwaz leaders of the oil workers council and nine members of the Trotskyist Hezb-e Kargarane Socialist (Socialist Workers Party) have been jailed for more than a month.

But on every front, the regime's efforts to curb the revolution have met resistance. The central government has been unable to establish its authority in the Kurdish, Arab, or Turkmeni regions, for example. Job actions and strikes continue in the factories. The army and air force barracks remain in political ferment.

Pressure is now intensifying on the government to hold elections. Five months after the insurrection, which the working masses of Iran carried out themselves, they are still denied any voice in the government, which was appointed



Women participated in the millions in revolution that overthrew the shah in Iran.

from above.

The demand for a democratically elected, sovereign constituent assembly is being widely voiced. The government's fraudulent referendum establishing an "Islamic Republic" clearly has resolved none of the critical economic and social problems plaguing the country. The masses feel they themselves must decide the next steps in the revolution.

The 'Islamic Republic'

Because of its difficulties, the government has relied heavily on the one figure who has authority with the masses—Khomeini.

In the last months leading up to the insurrection, Khomeini was the one individual among the procapitalist forces who rejected a compromise with the shah or U.S. imperialism. Because of his progressive role in urging the masses to drive ahead and overthrow the monarchy, he won great popularity in Iran.

Khomeini is now trying to use his authority to win acceptance for a capitalist government under the cover of an "Islamic Republic." Each new move to reinstitute the capitalist prerogatives is being presented under the Islamic guise.

Like the Iranian capitalists, the U.S. government has exploited this religious cover to obscure the real class forces at work in the revolution.

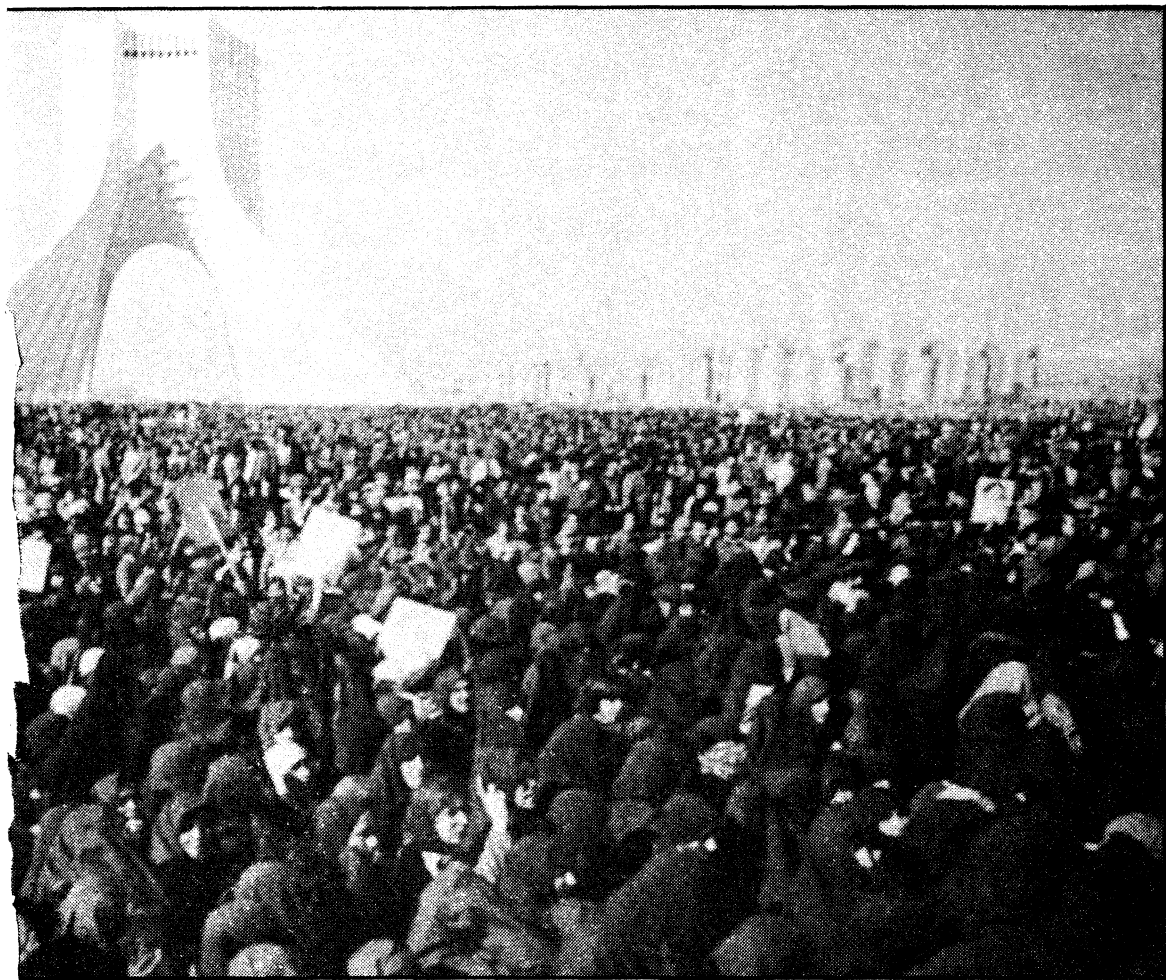
The American bourgeois press paints a picture of a country torn apart by religious ideas, not class struggle. All the Iranian masses have accomplished, we are told, is to put in power a bloodthirsty, reactionary clerical regime—just what the shah warned about.

Needless to say, the Carter administration has quite a different attitude toward the reactionary religious state of Israel, which remains at imperialism's beck and call. No separation of church and state needed there!

With Khomeini and Islam it is different. What the U.S. rulers fear is the *anti-imperialist* dynamic of what they call the "Islamic revolution." They know full well that the actual force driving the revolution forward is not mysticism or superstition, despite the religious beliefs of many in the population, but the aspirations of the Iranian people for social and economic progress. For independence from Western capitalist domination.

When the Islamic Republic concept became popular in Iran, it was most often identified with the nationalist aspirations of Iranians and other subjugated peoples of the Middle East. It was understood to mean a break with decades of control by the governments of the United States, Great Britain, France, and Israel.

The term also meant to the masses an end to exploitation by the rich. Shortly before the insurrection, for example, striking gas workers in Tehran put out a statement supporting an Islamic Republic, explaining that its purpose would be to establish "a classless society, a socialist society," free from "U.S. imperialism and world capitalism."



Free shah. Breaking grip of imperialism is precondition for advancing struggle for women's equality

When Iranian women held big demonstrations for equal rights in March of this year, the U.S. capitalist media tried to portray their actions as protests against the revolution. The *New York Post*, for example, claimed that "many of the freedoms Iranian women are now demanding we made available to them during the reign of the Shah whose sister, Princess Ashraf, was a leading feminist."

This false picture of women's rights under the shah, designed to discredit the revolution, was echoed in the *National NOW Times*, newspaper of the National Organization for Women, just before the tyrant fell.

In a column titled "Back to the Veil?" June Budy Csida wrote, "By fighting to free Iran from the shah and establish a new Islamic republic, the women may well end up enslaved by conservative religious traditions . . . particularly if ultraconservative exiled revolutionary leader Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini returns to reign."

Are women more free under the shah? Why is the new government attacking women's rights? What will it take to lift the centuries of oppression from the backs of Iranian women?

The impoverished, backward situation of women in Iran today is the direct legacy of the monarchy and imperialism. The brutal class exploitation of the Iranian working masses and the conscious underdevelopment of the country is at the heart of women's oppression there. The chance of women to full equal status in society is inextricably linked to the economic development of the country as a whole.

The limited industrialization of Iran in the 1950s, combined with driving peasants off the land and into the cities, did bring a few more women into the urban work force. The need for a more educated work force also opened up some school opportunities for women.

But there are only about 500,000 women workers in a working class of about 10 million. Most women industrial workers are concentrated in the low-paying carpet and textile industries. The majority of others are domestic servants, public employees, and office workers.

The vast majority of women are still on the land. Ninety percent of peasant women are illiterate.

The much-publicized measures of the shah, which supposedly liberated women, are a fraud. Although equal pay was made the law, women workers in fact earned roughly half of what men were paid. Women workers at a light-bulb factory in Isfahan, for instance, took home 95 cents an hour in 1974. Male workers in the same plant earned \$1.90 an hour.

The shah's other "pro-women" legislation was all a mockery. He gave women the vote—but made all parties illegal except his own. Divorce laws were liberalized, but the law permitting murder of women for "crimes against the male honor" stayed on the books. So did laws giving full legal control of the family to men.

The shah's women's liberation program was

more than anything else a demagogic political weapon against his opponents. He wielded it at home against the Islamic hierarchy, playing on the religious leaders' backward stand on women. Abroad, he used his "feminist" sister Ashraf—later exposed as Iran's main opium trafficker—as an ambassador to paint up his barbaric regime as "progressive."

The real record of the monarchy exemplifies the situation faced by women throughout the neocolonial world. While economic development under imperialism lays the foundation for the liberation of women, this process is combined with maintaining precapitalist forms and traditions that intensify women's oppression. Superstition and backward prejudices are upheld to keep the entire population under control, doubly exploit the labor of women, and reinforce divisions in the working class as a whole.

Breaking imperialism's grip is a precondition for altering the relation of class forces so that women can move forward in every underdeveloped country. Iranian women have placed themselves in a qualitatively better position through the revolution to accomplish this.

The scope of women's participation in this revolution differed from what it was in the previous two revolutions in Iran. Millions of women joined in and helped organize demonstrations. They went on strike. In doing so, they gained a new political awareness and self-confidence that is a threat to the new regime.

Barrier of Capitalism

But the problems faced by Iranian women cannot be fundamentally altered without a complete break with imperialism and the uprooting of capitalist property relations as a whole. Massive industrialization, child care, other social services, and sweeping educational reforms are needed as immediate steps to bring women into the urban work force. Land reform is needed to upgrade their condition in the countryside.

This is why the capitalists reacted so swiftly when women students and others began organizing to put forward their demands after the insurrection. Khomeini went on an offensive against women's rights and their anticapitalist logic by appealing to the conservative Islamic traditions.

His decree that women must wear the veil provoked large protest demonstrations. In the main, the participants were high school and college students, professional women, and office workers. They had supported the revolution and appealed for equality on that basis. "To deny women freedom is to deny freedom to the rest of society," they declared.

While protests by women have been less visible since March, the issue remains explosive. Prior to the insurrection, the oil workers came out in support of equal pay for women. Teachers and coal miners demanded child care. Since February, carpet workers in Tabriz have demanded equal pay.

Advancing the struggle for women's liberation hinges not only on support for that struggle within the working class, but also on broader developments within the class.

Catastrophe Facing Workers

The Iranian working class today faces catastrophic unemployment, soaring inflation, and austerity measures. This crisis will deepen as the imperialists step up their economic sabotage of the economy, producing shortages, breakdowns, higher prices, and even greater unemployment.

The current jobless rate in Iran is conservatively estimated at 35 percent. This is the result of the abandonment of plants by both foreign and Iranian capitalists. Construction, steel, and sections of the oil industry have been particularly hard hit. There has been a massive flight of capital, forcing the new government to nationalize the banks.

The workers have responded through local but widespread job actions, strikes, and other protests:

- Laid-off oil workers in Abadan demonstrated in May for higher unemployment benefits.
- Steelworkers in Ahwaz fought for and won a forty-hour week.
- Customs workers threatened a national strike for the right to form a union and for other demands.
- Twelve thousand carpet workers issued a statement in Tabriz demanding more benefits, a shorter workweek, and an end to capitalist interference in their industry.
- Fishermen in the Caspian Sea area have demanded a union and the right to control over fishing and marketing.

While the bourgeois press in this country deliberately blocks out most news about struggles by the workers—as does the Iranian regime—perhaps the clearest picture emerges around the oil industry.

'Searing Unrest

A series of articles in the big-business press in the United States in early June indicated the imperialists' concern that stability has yet to be achieved in the most strategically important industry in Iran.

The June 4 issue of *Time*, featuring a report from the Abadan refineries, predicted that "searing unrest among workers could blow up into crippling strikes."

"Convinced that they were the dominant forces in ousting the Shah, oil workers feel that they are being neglected by the revolutionary government," wrote correspondent Bruce van Voorst. He reported struggles by oil workers for 50 to 100 percent wage increases, for the firing of the old management, for higher unemployment benefits.

A similar theme was struck in the June 20 *Wall Street Journal*, which noted that the high percentage of Arab workers compounds the difficulties faced by the capitalists in the oil fields:

"The Arab nationalism extends across the Karum River to Abadan, site of NIOC's giant oil refinery. . . . The refinery seems well-enough defended . . . but many of the 13,000 workers inside are restless. Their dissatisfaction sometimes takes the form of campaigns against managers who are disliked or are suspected of having backed the shah, perhaps only because before the revolution they had his picture on their office walls.

The picture emerges of a running battle in the oil fields for economic demands and for elements of workers control—from control over job conditions and management, to opening the books of the industry, to deciding where Iran's oil will be sold.

The current stage of these battles also points to the central weakness of the workers' movement in Iran—the absence of unions and the small size of the revolutionary workers party.

Workers Movement

The shah destroyed the union movement in Iran after he regained the throne.

The workers began to reconstruct their movement in the months leading up to the revolution. Strike committees were formed and mass meetings of workers held.

After the insurrection, the workers sought to turn their strike committees into factory committees that could run the plants.

But because the workers organizations were

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American Stalinism: Views from the Inside

By Paul Siegel

The Autobiography of an American Communist. By Peggy Dennis. Westport, Connecticut, and Berkeley, California: Lawrence Hill and Creative Arts Book, 1977. 302 pp., cloth \$12.95, paper \$5.95.

The Romance of American Communism. By Vivian Gornick. New York, Basic Books, 1978. 265 pp., \$10.00.

In *The First Ten Years of American Communism*, James P. Cannon draws a distinction between two types of American Communist Party members. William Z. Foster, a cynical careerist who, coming to the CP in 1921 when it was still revolutionary, played an important role in its Stalinization, and "that generation of young idealists who came into the party [in the 1930's] after it had become completely Stalinized and who never knew any other school."

The story of "this deceived and betrayed generation of young idealists," he comments, "remains to be written, but I suppose it would take a deep-seeing artist to do justice to the theme." Neither Peggy Dennis nor Vivian Gornick is a "deep-seeing artist," but, if they have not done full justice to the theme, each in her own way has made a significant contribution toward supplying materials for the telling of the story.

Peggy Dennis was for thirty-two years the wife of Eugene Dennis, a Communist Party leader who died in 1960. Having decided that the Communist Party was weakening rather than strengthening the struggle for socialism, she resigned from it in 1976 at the age of sixty-four, after fifty years as a full-time activist.

Her book, *The Autobiography of an American Communist*, is remarkable for the honesty with which she tells of her personal and political life. It gives a valuable description of the inner workings of the American Communist Party and the Stalinized Communist International (Comintern). Despite the author's deep love and admiration for Eugene Dennis, it is also valuable as a partly unwitting account of his transformation from a militant dedicated to the working-class struggle and truth into a willing puppet of the Kremlin.

When she met Eugene Dennis, he was a twenty-three-year-old instructor and she an eighteen-year-old student at a Communist summer school. One of the things that impressed her about him was that he did not present authoritarian, "correct" answers but asked probing questions and encouraged students to think for themselves.

After acting as union organizer among seamen, farm workers, and unemployed, and as assistant editor of *Pan Pacific Monthly*, a magazine directed toward the revolutionary movements of the Far East, he was called by the Comintern to Moscow in 1931 at the age of twenty-six.

From there he was sent to South Africa, the Philippines, and China. In Shanghai, where he was joined by his wife, he complained to her about "advisers who came here with blueprints made elsewhere."

Both of them, however, knew from their experience in Moscow how Stalin's Comintern determined the course for parties of the individual countries. "Section heads," representatives of the home parties living in Moscow, "in meetings with top Comintern committees usually headed by leading Soviet comrades, hammered out policies and directives for each Party." This often rankled Eugene Dennis, but he posed no open objections.

Paul Siegel, a frequent contributor to the *International Socialist Review*, is the author of *Revolution and the Twentieth Century Novel*. Published by Monad Press, this study of ten novels is distributed by Pathfinder Press.



Victims of Moscow trials included most leaders of Lenin's Bolshevik party. Millions of other people perished in purges. Eugene and Peggy Dennis, then in Moscow, went along with claim these were 'saboteurs' and 'agents of Hitler.'

In 1937, however, having returned to Moscow after two years in the United States, Dennis himself became the U.S. section head in Moscow, although he would have preferred to fight in Spain.

In 1938 the Comintern decided that Eugene Dennis was to become "part of the national leadership in New York."

Peggy Dennis says of Browder's accession to the leadership some ten years before that "Browder had returned from a two-year stay in China to be tabbed new national leader in the aftermath of the Lovestone-Foster factional fight. His main qualification at the time was that he had been, of all national comrades, least identified with that factional situation; it was hoped that he could bring unity to the Party." In reality, Browder without any following of his own, was selected by the Comintern as its puppet after the revolutionists led by Cannon and the right wing led by Jay Lovestone had been expelled.

She fails to see how this was also true of the imposition of Dennis. "Manuilsky and Dimitroff [two Comintern officials] defined Gene's new responsibility as that of 'balance' between what they saw as Browder's reformist tendencies and Foster's sectarian tendencies."

When the Dennises had been in Moscow, the purges were reaching their height, killing hundreds of thousands. "We did not know the extent of those purges," Peggy Dennis writes, "but we cannot claim we did not know what was happening. We knew that the Comintern had been decimated. We read of the public trials. True, we read in silence, puzzled and uncomprehending, but we read the accounts and we accepted them. . . . We accepted the belief of the infallibility of our leaders, the wisdom of our Party."

They made no inquiries about the old comrades at the Comintern who had disappeared and "avoided the questions that hung silently in the air between us." Eugene Dennis no longer asked questions to find the truth.

The news of the Hitler-Stalin pact in 1939 hit the Dennises like a thunder-bolt. For several years before this, CP propaganda had centered

on emotional appeals for unity of the workers movement and "democratic" imperialist powers against German Nazism. After the first shock had passed, Eugene explained to Peggy that the Soviet Union had outwitted the bourgeois democracies, which had attempted to set Nazi Germany against it. He assured her that their basic attitude toward "the anti-fascist peace front" would remain the same.

Within two months after Soviet Foreign Minister Molotov's statement that the war conducted by England and France was an imperialist war "camouflaged as a fight for 'democracy,'" the CP Political Committee—including Eugene Dennis—"scrapped the policy which had determined the Party's every action for five years. . . . I demanded plausible answers, but Gene did not respond." She concludes that "he was in conflict."

It was this reversal of policy, Peggy Dennis holds, "the inability or unwillingness of the American Party, including Gene, to analyze the American scene independently from Moscow," not the Hitler-Stalin pact itself, that shattered the credibility of the Communist Party.

Eugene Dennis was in prison as a Smith Act victim during 1951-1955 when the Communist Party, suffering the blows of repression and believing fascism to be imminent, went underground. Going underground, Peggy Dennis says, was a terrible mistake, an almost fatal self-inflicted wound.

Many who were underground, freed from party discipline, took the occasion to re-examine the party's pronouncements. The "old mystique of the omnipotence of 'The Party' was badly shaken."

When Dennis came out of prison and addressed a meeting at Carnegie Hall on the occasion of the party's return to open activity, he stirred enthusiasm, Peggy Dennis says, when he denounced "the mechanical and doctrinaire fashion" in which the leadership (implicitly the Fosterites) had applied "the experiences of other parties." He "rejected the established use of democratic centralism." She does not, however, go into detail as to the changes in internal procedures and modes of functioning that he proposed.



Many in CP couldn't support Soviet rulers' suppression of Czech struggle for democratic rights in August 1968.

He did not in any event stick fast to his proposals. The publication of the Khrushchev report on Stalin threw everything into turmoil. Once again the Dennises were stunned, and once again Eugene was able after the first shock to persuade her that it was not the end of their world, that the report marked a "new era of candid admission and correction of errors that we here and the comrades in Moscow were launching."

But this "new era" did not materialize. For four years the American Communist Party was locked in an internal struggle between a Foster faction and a faction led by John Gates, the editor of the *Daily Worker*, which Peggy Dennis calls "revisionist."

Eugene Dennis objected to the way in which the *Daily Worker* under Gates handled the Hungarian uprising, and Peggy Dennis still thinks he was right.

The *Daily Worker*, he said, denounced the occupation of Hungary by Soviet troops "in inflammatory anti-Soviet and anti-socialist terms." "The editors . . . did not place prime responsibility where it belonged, . . . upon the Hungarian Stalinist leadership for the crimes which forced the people to rebel against a socialist government"—as if Rakosi's purge trials and other crimes were not performed at the behest of the Soviet bureaucracy! Moreover, he continued, "the fascist elements grouped around Cardinal Mindszenty had turned the people's rebellion into a bloodbath"—as if the bloodshed had not come from the Soviet troops' attack on a national and popular uprising, with the fascists serving only as a pretext for this attack.

Eugene Dennis was opposed to both the Foster faction and the Gates faction but "refused to fight for his views" and, abiding by a concept of the party in which factions per se are evil, "refused to actively fight factionalism with a factionalism of his own."

Thus Eugene Dennis until the day he died failed to break with Stalinism. His widow, although she has been unable to rid herself completely of Stalinist politics, is now much more critical of the Soviet regime and its American followers than he ever was. How did she arrive at her present position?

We have seen her periodic doubts, which were overcome by his persuasion, and her questioning of the infallibility of the leadership while she was on her own, with her husband in prison and other leaders either also in prison or underground. Her respect for the leadership was further diminished by the "conniving, unprincipled scramble for personal position by Gus Hall, Bill Foster and Ben Davis" and their "manipulation of a prostrated, exhausted Party for their own purposes" when Dennis was ill as well as by the cynicism and hypocrisy with which they made his funeral a public display of a supposed unity.

In retrospect she sees many of the Stalinist "mistakes" ("crimes" would be a better word). Her sharpest criticisms are reserved for the ultra-left "third period" that preceded the proclamation of the "antifascist people's front." She excoriates the blindness to the danger of Hitler and the consequent attack on the German Social Democrats as the main enemy. More grudgingly (since she still sees Roosevelt's war as antifascist, not imperialist), she criticizes policies of the "popular front" period also: the "subordinating" of "labor's interests to the war effort," the support of the herding of Japanese-Americans into

concentration camps, the hailing of the dropping of the atom bomb—"mistakes" which were denounced by Trotsky at that time and until his death and by the Socialist Workers Party.

Yet she stayed in the Communist Party for twelve years more, although she perceived its inability to respond to the youth movement, to Black nationalism, and to feminism.

Her decision to leave was delayed for some years by personal health problems and the difficult adjustment in her sixties of holding a job after a lifetime as a party worker. Undoubtedly, she was affected by her son, who resigned from the Communist Party in 1970.

She still remains influenced, however, by the "people's front" politics of the past by which working-class parties subordinated themselves to "progressive" bourgeois parties. She tells of how she "hotly defended the intent of the youth efforts around the McGovern electoral campaign and emphasized the importance of the reform movement inside the Democratic Party as an expression of the kind of upsurge we should not contemptuously discard as 'liberal.'"

The words of Eugene Dennis on working in a coalition with "New Deal" politicians offer their own commentary on such class collaboration. The Communist Party, he wrote, should work "in such a way as to improve, not exacerbate" its relationships with these politicians.

The value of Peggy Dennis's book, however, lies not in its political analysis but in its insider's view of what happened at the top of the Communist Party.

The value of Vivian Gornick's *The Romance of American Communism* lies in its vignettes of local and regional leaders of the Communist Party, members of the "deceived and betrayed generation of young idealists" of whom Cannon spoke. The weakness of Gornick's book is the thesis she seeks to impose on it.

Gornick was a twenty-year-old member of a Stalinist family when Khrushchev's revelations of Stalin's crimes were published. They caused her already frayed ties to the Communist Party—she had been a member of its youth organization affiliate—to snap. She became "profoundly depoliticized" until 1968 when she was caught up by the wave of feminism.

This experience recalled to her what Communism meant to her youthful self and the members of her family. The fear that the feminist movement would end up in the same kind of morass as did the Communist Party awoke in her a desire to recapture and record what membership in the Communist Party meant for people like her father.

To do this she traveled through the country for a year, interviewing former Stalinists who were more than "revolving door" members and whose years in the party profoundly influenced their lives, asking them questions about "the emotional meaning" of their experience.

The book describes the experience of forty-seven persons, their backgrounds, what impelled them to join the party, how they felt about their lives at the time, what impelled them to leave and how they felt about leaving, how they regard their lives now.

Gornick tries to draw lessons from these life histories in her opening and closing chapters.

In a style that is both strained and vague, she presents the thesis that the Stalinists' "passion," the intensity of their commitment, was "both compellingly humanizing and then compellingly dehumanizing." "It was passion that converted

them, passion that held them, passion that lifted them up and then twisted them down." "Passion" brought them "the deepest sense of their own humanness, allowing them to love themselves through the act of loving each other"; it also caused them to participate in witch-hunt trials in the party in which friends of many years' standing were expelled on the most insubstantial suspicions.

"Passion," moreover, led to "dogma," a "hard-edged theory of revolution," and the making of "revolutionary *apparatchiks*," dangers that she sees as present in the women's movement of today. For her, "feminist consciousness" is everything, and political organization is nothing. "Break the psychology," she states, and "the institutions" will "crumble."

But social institutions do not crumble of their own accord. They have to be destroyed in struggle by masses of working people imbued with a new consciousness and acting through organizations that serve their needs. What was and is wrong with the Communist Party is not its members' devotion to a political organization, but the party's subordination of the interests of the working class to those of the Soviet bureaucracy and its demand that members give up independent thinking in response to orders from above.

This is in contrast with the practice of Lenin's Bolshevik party, which engaged in the freest debate prior to the arrival at a decision. Nor were members required to give up minority views once a decision had been reached—only to help carry out the common decision. Far from prohibiting factions, as Stalinist parties do, it ensured that the representatives of different tendencies be heard by the entire party. With the coming to power of the Stalinist bureaucratic caste after Lenin died, Leninist democratic centralism was pushed aside by Stalinist bureaucratic centralism, with its doctrine of the infallibility of the leadership.

It was not "passion" that led American Stalinists to acquiesce in the witch-hunt trials of their comrades but the fear that they themselves would be denounced and expelled as heretics. The same kind of fear caused many politically disengaged persons—persons without "passion"—to acquiesce in the McCarthyite persecution of their friends and associates.

But if Gornick is poor at generalization, she is good at interviewing and writing vignettes when she is not pressing hard on her thesis. From the life stories she relates, we get a picture of generations of honest militants being miseducated and misused.

This picture is perhaps best epitomized in the interview with "Marian Moran" (Gornick uses pseudonyms throughout), who for twenty-five years had been state chairperson of the party of a large western state. In 1930, at the age of eighteen, she became an organizer among the farm workers of California, who were engaged in a number of spectacular strikes, and took a leading role in their struggle for four years.

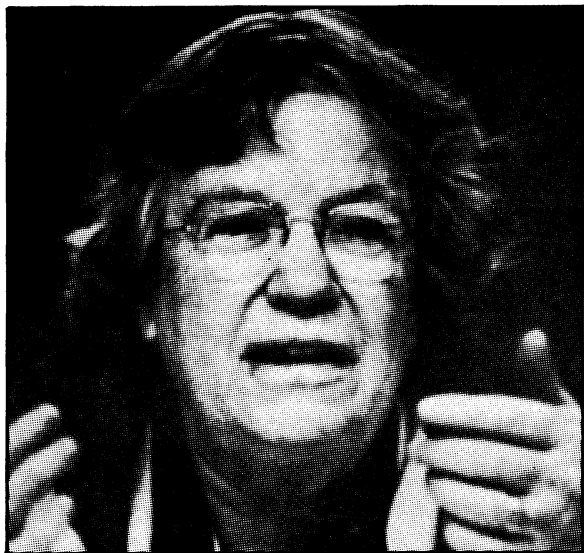
The "image-memory of the Thirties" sustained her during "the dullness" of "Party life," especially at the times when "the twists and turns of that daily life grew confusing." By "the twists and turns of that daily life" she means of course the twists and turns of the Communist Party line in accordance with the foreign policy needs of the Soviet bureaucracy.

"Marian Moran" left the Communist Party when it defended the Soviet bureaucracy's intervention in Czechoslovakia. So did a member of the younger generation, "Larry Dougherty," whom she had recruited.

He had been drafted into the army in 1960, escaped to Costa Rica, became involved in an uprising there, was deported, imprisoned in Texas, and rejected by the army as a "hard-core Communist." At this point he joined the Communist Party, where he remained for six years, three of them as a member of its national committee.

"He left for the age-old reasons, but he describes his leaving in the voice and language of his own generation: 'It was impossible to talk to them. Open debate was unknown among them. We, the young ones, weren't used to that. They tried to go easy with us. Expulsions were no longer the order of the day. But it was no use, it was like coming up against a stone wall.'"

It is a stone wall that still stands.



MARGARET MEAD. While not an evolutionist, her investigations of primitive societies showed falsity of theory that human nature is fixed.

...feminism

Continued from page ISR/4

into a cooperative clan brotherhood. By the same token, animal nature was converted into human nature.

The essence of the matriarchy is that it represents not only a sisterhood of women but a brotherhood of men. This can be seen more clearly when we examine the real situation with respect to the first division of labor between the sexes.

Woman's Part in Social Labor

Descriptions of the primitive division of labor between the sexes almost invariably begin with the male hunters and warriors. They imply that men, roaming footloose and fancy-free in search of game animals, are responsible for the foundation of the earliest social formation. Women are portrayed as so burdened down by childbirth that they are unable to become hunters and therefore are restricted to gathering a few roots and vegetables around the cave or campsite.

Even the eminent archaeologist, Grahame Clark, does not hesitate to offer a distorted picture of the "lowly female" engaged, like her ape forebears, in collecting roots, while he refers to "the resplendent figure of Man the Hunter, prototype of Man the Warrior." The occupations of hunting and fighting are exalted beyond all the productive labors performed by the women in order to make a case for eternal male supremacy.

Recently, a leading American anthropologist, Marvin Harris of Columbia University, upheld the same view as the Englishman. In an interview in *Psychology Today* (January 1975) he stated: "Male supremacy derives from the need for warfare, because the male's greater strength with hand-held weapons was crucial for survival." He, too, ignores the productive foundation laid down by the women, while glorifying warfare to explain male superiority.

It is undeniable that in the hunting period men had to protect themselves from dangerous animals and other predators, and to do so they had to use artifacts as weapons. But what is much more important is the fact that these artifacts were also tools used by women in the productive process. In the earliest period little or no distinction was made between the hand-held implements used as tools or as weapons; only later did they become separated out for different functions. So with all due respect to the contributions made by these scholars, their male-biased interpretations of the data are grossly misleading.

The foundation for social life was established not by men at war but by women collectively engaged in the production of the necessities and comforts of life. As the anthropological record shows, women were the first and principal producers. Aborigines have described this primitive division of labor as follows: "Man hunts and fights and then sits down; women do all else." The details of what is included in this "all else" fill a whole chapter in my book, *Woman's Evolution*.

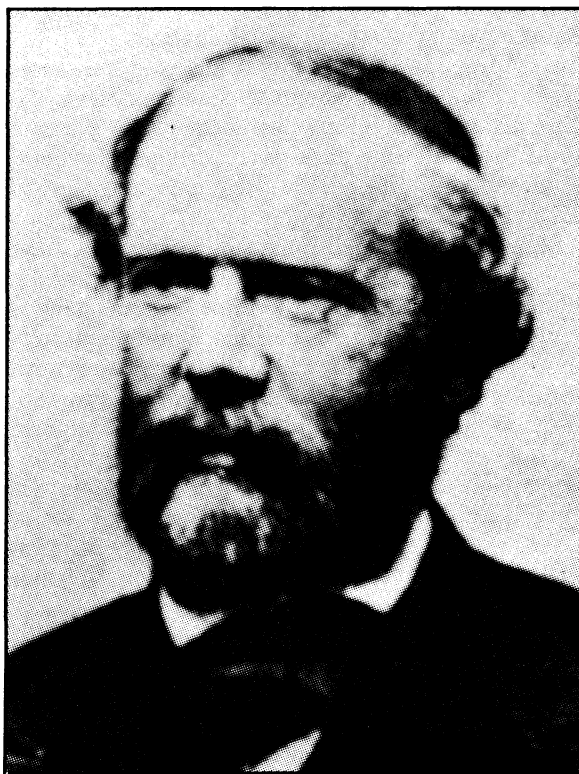
Briefly, even in food getting, the major supplies were obtained by the women gatherers of vegetables and roots rather than by the men hunters. Women were also the preservers and conservers of food for future needs, and they developed all the cooking techniques as well as those required for storing the supplies. Women developed the arts of cultivating the ground through their digging-stick activities, which eventually led to

agriculture. They were the first domesticators of animals, which led to stock raising. Their extensive record of industrial crafts range from cordage, basketry, leather making, and pot making to medicine and architecture, and they developed the rudiments of the sciences and the arts.

Thus it was not the roaming hunters but the women producers and settlement makers who established the stable life required for social and cultural advancement of the human species. *And in the same process by which they transformed animals into humans, they converted animal nature into human nature.*

Those who distort the real situation with regard to the first division of labor do an injustice not simply to the women but also to their own male sex. By emphasizing the fighting proclivities of men and presenting them as aggressive animals, they overlook the vast distinction between human and animal fighting. This question of male fighting—which is usually called warfare—is often as grossly distorted as the question of the matriarchy.

Animals, which are governed by nature's competitive conditions, are often compelled to fight to satisfy their natural needs—their hunger for food or for mates. This is not warfare. Animals fight because they have no alternative except to follow their instincts, and they do so when they are



Nineteenth-century anthropologist Lewis Morgan. His evolutionary method helped him to begin to reconstruct the origins of human society.

likely to be deprived of the means to satisfy their needs.

However, if this sort of individualistic scramble had continued into the early human world, there simply would not have been an opportunity for a cooperative society to develop. The most imperative task that faced budding humankind—and this has been emphasized by many historians—was to band together in social organization to produce the necessities of life and furnish one another with mutual protection. As Marshall Sahlins summed this up:

"The emerging human primate, in a life-and-death economic struggle with nature, could not afford the luxury of a social struggle. Cooperation, not competition, was essential."

In other words, humans had to change nature's mode of survival into a new and human mode of survival. They had to overcome individualism, separatism, and competition, and replace these traits with unreserved cooperation. And, as the record shows, they did just this. They created a communal, egalitarian society in which all the members of the group worked collectively and shared the fruits of their labors. These fundamentals of the primitive maternal clan system, communal production and sharing, are exclusively human acquisitions not to be found in the animal world. They testify to the dramatic changes that took place as primate nature evolved into human nature.

How Women Led the Transition

Which sex led in this transformation? Not much has been written on the subject and what little has been said is carefully screened to leave women out. For example, Marshall Sahlins attributes the change to "culture." He writes, "Culture saved man in his earliest days, clothed him, fed him and comforted him . . . in so doing

it was forced to oppose man's primate nature on many fronts and to subdue it."

This abstraction of "culture," presented as the savior of mankind, is somewhat absurd since humans created society and its cultural superstructure in the first place. When we come down to the flesh-and-blood reality, we find that the women were in the forefront of this transformation.

It would therefore be more forthright and accurate to say, paraphrasing Sahlins, that women "saved man in his earliest days, clothed him, fed him, and comforted him." And it was the women who "opposed man's primate nature on many fronts" when they found it necessary to discipline them and subdue any antisocial impulses.

My book shows how the women laid down the social rules by which primitive society was governed. These mandates are embodied in the institution known as totemism and taboo. Originally it furnished a protectorate against animalism and cannibalism; against individualistic antisocial behavior. All the members of the totem-kin group were governed by these rules. In the course of time, totem kinship led to the classificatory system of clan kinship. All the members of the clans and related clans were sisters and brothers to one another, cooperating in social activities and bound to defend and protect one another's lives.

Because the women created this social structure, it comes through as the maternal clan system or matriarchy. Aborigines use the term "the motherhoods," which indicates the same thing. These furnished the model for the "brotherhoods," by which the male component of the maternal clan system is expressed.

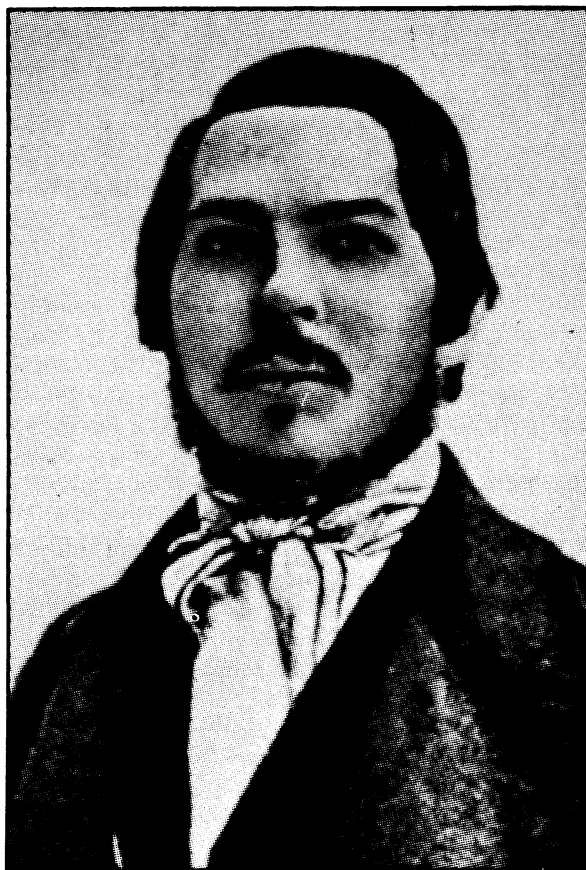
In short, men did not liberate themselves from animal conditions of existence through endless strife, competition, warfare, and male supremacy. *They became humanized and socialized by learning the arts and techniques of communal labor and cultural behavior from the women.*

Primitive Fighting

To be sure, as the record shows, primitive men fought one another, but this like so much else has been seriously misinterpreted. For example, it is widely propagated that warfare is a built-in trait of humans and therefore has always existed. This is a false assertion.

Fighting, like everything else in society, has a history. The fighting between groups of men in primitive times was not caused by any animal-like scramble for food or mates. That kind of fighting was absolutely taboo. Nor can primitive fighting be called warfare, as I show in detail in my book. Warfare arose only in patriarchal class society, founded upon private property, which brought with it the aggression of more powerful peoples and nations against weaker ones to exploit their peoples and control their natural resources.

Primitive fighting, which occurred in a communal society, had a totally different character. It was due to the ignorance of the biological facts of life in that remote prescientific era. Just as



Frederick Engels supported materialist evolutionary view of human nature.



Militant/John Cobey

Striking Steelworkers in Newport News, Virginia. View of human nature as inherently competitive is challenged by cooperation of workers both in labor and in struggle for a better life. Socialist society will mark a new stage in evolution of human nature.

primitive peoples did not know how babies were conceived, so they did not know that natural death could occur and in fact inevitably occurred with everyone. They believed that no one would die unless he were killed by some enemy.

In that early period, all those who were strangers or nonkinsmen were regarded as enemies. Under the clan obligation to defend the lives of all the "blood-kin" members, this resulted in fights and counterfights to punish the enemies (or animals) held responsible for these deaths. Thus primitive fighting—which was never to enslave or exploit other people—has no connection with the armies of modern warfare. It should be called by its right name—"blood revenge."

However, despite their ignorance about death, primitive men, aided by the women, worked out the ways and means to cut fighting down to the barest minimum. They achieved this through the interchange system, usually called "gift-giving," by which former enemy groups interchanged food and other things with one another. These interchange relations converted former enemies into new kinds of kin and friends. In my book I utilize Malinowski's data about the Trobriand Islanders to show how this interchange system, which began in a small way, grew into the vast proportions of the intertribal system he describes.

In the course of time, even the ritualistic survivals of blood revenge, as expressed in sham or mock fights, faded away. They were replaced by sports, games, and arts. As some aborigines put it, "only animals fight, humans do not fight." In fact, so repugnant did fighting become that it was difficult to maintain the old traditions and ceremonials surrounding it.

Margaret Mead gives a picturesque illustration of this among the Arapesh, where men were unwilling to even put on a show of aggressiveness as had been customary in the sham fights.

She writes:

"No one, it is assumed, really wants to be a leader, a 'big man.' Big men . . . have to boast of what they have done in the past and are going to do in the future. All of this the Arapesh regard as most uncongenial, difficult behaviour, the kind of behaviour in which no normal man would indulge if he could possibly avoid it." (*Sex and Temperament in Three Primitive Societies*).

So, in the end, despite their ignorance about the origin of their fighting traditions, primitive men came to look upon fighting as an "abnormal" activity for human beings that had to stop. It was only with the advent of the European colonizers that they were trained into modern warfare.

A similar situation prevailed with respect to introducing social and sexual inequalities into communal tribal society. Early settlers, priests and others who came to this continent from patriarchal Europe were completely frustrated in their attempts to introduce male domination over women among the aborigines. They wrote reports complaining that Indian men would not do anything without first consulting their women and deferring to their wishes, and that the women simply ignored their efforts to teach them to be subordinate to men. Even after the conquest they could not completely change the human nature of these kind, considerate, and egalitarian native Americans.

The point is: the characteristics and capacities of human beings are molded by the kind of society in which they live. The primitive social structure, which was communal, bred a totally different kind of human nature than that which is shaped by capitalist society today. Tribesmen would rather starve themselves than let a fellow clansman go without food. A society in which millions go hungry while a few rich are surfeited would be inconceivable to them.

Today the term "human nature" has become almost a dirty word because it refers to the greedy, grasping, and competitive relations that prevail in modern life. However, people have not adopted these behavior patterns of their own free choice. They are forced, or manipulated, into these attitudes by a greedy, grasping, profiteering system. The ruthless monopolists, who own and control all the necessities of life, from food and fuel to housing and clothing, stand at the tollgates, saying, "pay up or perish." This fosters injurious relations all along the line as people become debased and dehumanized in the scramble for survival.

But this is no reason to become cynical or despairing. *What has been changed once can be changed again in the further course of social evolution*—when capitalism is scrapped and replaced by a higher form of collectivist and egalitarian system, socialism.

The theory of evolution is the bedrock of any scientific approach to both nature and society. It teaches that everything changes in the course of its development. The elements change, galaxies change, the earth has passed from inorganic to organic life. In the course of organic evolution fish changed into reptiles and reptiles into birds and mammals. Then a branch of the primate species became humanized, and humans have passed through a sequence of stages of development over the past million years.

A few thousand years ago society changed from tribal collectivism to class relations. Today we have reached the threshold of an even more colossal change—from capitalism to socialism. We are the transitional people, passing from the one to the other.

In defiance of this vast panorama of universal evolution, some thick-heads have the effrontery to tell us that there is one thing in the world that does not change—and that is human nature. Such a view might have been tenable in the Dark Ages but not in this age of science and enlightenment. *Humans are the most plastic of all living things and have changed more in a shorter time span than any other species on earth—and this is only the beginning.*

The notion that men have always been on top and women beneath them—because of their respective physical characteristics and a permanent division of labor based upon them—is a variant of the view that human nature is unchangeable. In this case the conception is applied to the relations between the sexes. Marxism has firmly contested as unscientific all those explanations of history resting upon an invariable human nature through the ages. "All history," Marx wrote, "is nothing but a continuous transformation of human nature."

It is not difficult to see why an anti-evolutionary view is applied to our history and our human nature. It is only another way of saying that women have no history and you can't change woman's nature. It is another, subtle attempt to keep women down and the system that oppresses them up.

However, the time has come when this play will no longer work. Women who are now discovering their earlier history and former accomplishments will come to see the real source of their oppression today—and what has to be done to eliminate it. That is why the title of my book is *Woman's Evolution*. It highlights the reality of social change and the part played by women in it. This is not only a clue to the past, but a guideline for the future.

Books by Reed

Evelyn Reed
**WOMAN'S
EVOLUTION**
from matriarchal clan to
patriarchal family



WOMAN'S EVOLUTION. From Matriarchal Clan to Patriarchal Family. In this historic work Marxist anthropologist Evelyn Reed takes us on a million-year expedition through prehistory from cannibalism to culture—and uncovers the world of the ancient matriarchy. She offers a fresh insight into the issues raised by today's feminist movement—and refutes the myth that 'human nature' is to blame for the male supremacy, greed, wars, and inequalities of modern society. 491 pages, cloth \$20.00, paper \$5.95.

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"It is not sufficient for the party to have a proletarian program. It also requires a proletarian composition. Otherwise the program can be turned into a scrap of paper overnight."

That was one of the key lessons drawn by James P. Cannon from the 1939-40 faction struggle in the Socialist Workers Party. It was this battle for the program and principles of the revolutionary socialist party that inspired the essays, resolutions, speech, and letters that make up the bulk of *The Struggle for a Proletarian Party*.

Cannon defended the need for a disciplined democratic combat party deeply rooted in the industrial trade unions as the key to fighting U.S. imperialism. His opponents, who were losing confidence in the capacity of the workers to replace capitalism with socialism, rejected this kind of party.

The faction fight was the turning point in an effort to turn the SWP and the Young People's Socialist League, its youth affiliate, toward the industrial workers. In the preceding years, the party's work had necessarily been centered among highly politicized workers, intellectuals, and students. But great opportunities had emerged for revolutionary socialists to win

The Struggle for a Proletarian Party.

By James P. Cannon. New York. Pathfinder. 302 pp.

recruits in the industrial unions.

The SWP began this turn in the midst of an escalating imperialist drive toward war. The pressure exerted by that war drive was having a profound impact on the generation of middle class radicals that had developed in the 1930s—including many members of the SWP.

This pressure was reflected in the SWP by James Burnham, a professor of philosophy who rejected Marxist materialism in favor of logical positivism, and by veteran party leaders such as Max Shachtman and Martin Abern.

The pressure of the imperialist war drive on the SWP reached an explosive point when the Stalin-Hitler pact was signed in September 1939. Hitler invaded Poland and Stalin—by agreement with

Pathfinder's Choice for July

Building a Party of Workers

Hitler—sent troops into Eastern Poland, fostering the overturn of property relations, under police control, by the workers and peasants.

Then the Soviet army struck against Finland, an imperialist outpost on the Soviet border.

These moves were a subordinate part of the overall Stalinist policy of seeking peaceful coexistence with world imperialism. Having been rebuffed by the "democratic" imperialists in his calls for a bloc against Hitler, Stalin had now shifted to allying with Hitler.

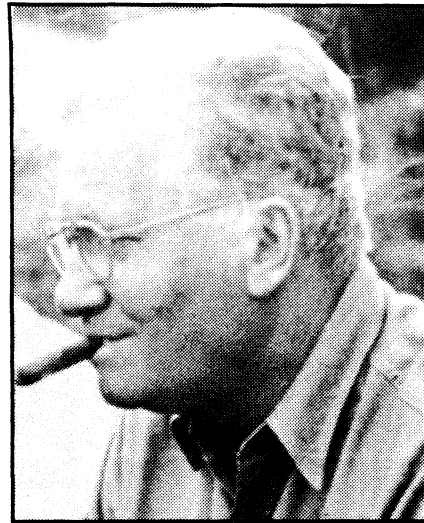
The Stalin-Hitler pact and the Soviet-Finnish war provided the pretext for an imperialist propaganda campaign against the Soviet Union. For more than a few radical intellectuals, opposition to Stalinism now became an excuse for making their peace with U.S. imperialism.

Reflecting this current, a big minority in the SWP refused to defend the conquests of the Soviet workers and peasants against imperialism—in the name of opposing the crimes of Stalin.

"We have not a few people who react to every headline and editorial against the Soviet Union in the bourgeois press as a seismograph reacts to tremors in the earth," commented Cannon.

By contrast, he summarized the reaction of the majority of the SWP leadership to the Soviet-Finnish war:

"I constructed my whole argument around the idea that [President Franklin D.] Roosevelt and [former president Herbert] Hoover are mobilizing the American and world bourgeoisie for a political and ideological war against the Soviet Union on the pretext of the Finnish events; that this campaign in fact has already advanced to the stage of providing material aid, which can have all the significance of direct military intervention (Hoover's fundraising committee, remission of Finnish debt, war materials from Italy, England, etc.); and that in these circumstances we must reassert and stand by the two basic points of our thesis on 'War and the Fourth International':



Militant/Joseph Hansen
JAMES P. CANNON

"1. The main enemy is in our own country—expose and fight the Roosevelt-Hoover combination.

"2. Defend the Soviet Union in spite of Stalin against Stalin."

In the end the party majority defended the party's Marxist program. Following the split with Burnham-Shachtman in 1940, the turn to the industrial unions was completed, bringing the composition of the party into line with its working-class program.

Today the Socialist Workers Party is carrying out a similar turn under much more favorable conditions. The devastating defeats the workers suffered on a world scale in the 1930s (such as in Germany and Spain) have no parallel in recent years. On the contrary, imperialism is still reeling from its setback in Indochina. And a deep-

ening economic crisis has brought the American working class to center stage in U.S. politics.

Nonetheless, the imperialist offensive against the workers of the world exerts pressure on political currents that are not deeply rooted in the working class. This can be seen in the pessimism of those who believe that a rightward trend predominates in American politics, whereas in fact the American workers are moving left. Or in the susceptibility of some former antiwar leaders and supposedly "anti-imperialist" publications such as the *Guardian* to the imperialist propaganda against the Vietnamese revolution.

In order to counteract that pressure, a revolutionary party must become fully a part of the struggles of the working class. This is the class whose material conditions of life drive it toward irreconcilable opposition to imperialism. And it is the only class with the power to topple imperialism and lead the construction of socialism.

Studying James P. Cannon's *The Struggle for a Proletarian Party* is a vital part of building a working-class party in the American labor movement. Leon Trotsky, the exiled leader of the Russian revolution and founder of the Fourth International, fought side by side with Cannon in the 1939-40 fight. He said of *The Struggle for a Proletarian Party*: "It is the writing of a genuine workers' leader. If the discussion had not produced more than this document, it would be justified." —Fred Feldman

25% Discount Offer

The Struggle for a Proletarian Party is available at a special discount rate of \$3.30. The regular price is \$4.45. Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, New York 10014. Send check or money order or return this coupon to one of the socialist bookstores listed on page 27. Offer expires August 31, 1979.

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...Iran

Continued from page ISR/7

only in the initial stages, while the forces around the Islamic hierarchy were better organized, the new government was able to impose leaderships of its own choosing on many factory committees.

Despite the domination of many of the committees by forces who want to consolidate a capitalist regime, struggles by the workers continue. Confrontations with this misleadership will intensify as the workers think through politically how to achieve their demands. Ultimately this requires a break with the ruling-class politicians and their agents in the factories.

The government may be forced to make more and more concessions to stave off the deepening class consciousness of the workers. Its nationalization of the banks, insurance companies, and some factories is already a concession to the demands of the workers for jobs.

But as imperialist sabotage intensifies, and the Khomeini-Bazargan government tries to foist the crisis of capitalism onto the backs of the working masses, the class struggle will deepen. It will develop as a combination and interrelation of the struggles of the workers, peasants, oppressed nationalities, women, and semiproletarian urban masses.

There will be sharper clashes with the government, with both victories and setbacks for the masses.

The decisive battles are yet to come. But unlike the post-World War II upsurge in Iran, when there was no working-class leadership, no Marxist party, the prospects today are qualitatively better. For the first time in Iranian history, a Trotskyist party, the Hezb-e Kargaran-e Sosialist (HKS), exists.

The HKS is putting forward a program that can mobilize the masses to extend their revolution and in the process forge the working-class leadership they need.

The Trotskyists call for vigilant defense of the Iranian revolution from imperialist attack and for the expropriation of all imperialist-owned property.

They demand the immediate convocation of a Constituent Assembly free from government interference.

The HKS calls for extension of workers organizations, especially for the right to form unions and for factory committees independent of the government.

To solve the unemployment crisis, a shortening of the workweek and a crash program of public works to alleviate the problems of housing, health care, education, and malnutrition, is needed.

The books of the banks and corporations should be opened to public inspection. Abandoned plants should be reopened. Industry should be nationalized and placed under workers' control.

The HKS also calls for immediate, massive land reform as the first step to overcome the impoverishment of the countryside.

It demands full national rights for oppressed minorities and equality for women in all spheres of society.

In the course of fighting for these demands, the Iranian working masses will realize that no capitalist government can meet their needs. To carry out the measures needed to end centuries of economic and social misery, they must break with the ruling-class politicians and create a new leadership based on the power of the working class.

Only a workers and peasants government can mobilize all the exploited masses of Iran to smash the grip of imperialism and capitalism, expropriate the banks and industry, and institute a planned economy.

This is the only road forward to achievement of the goals for which the Iranian people have so courageously fought. This is the road forward to a socialist revolution in Iran, which would be a major victory for the working masses of the world.

Protests make impact

Marroquin wins reduction in bail by INS

By Jane Roland

In an important step forward in Héctor Marroquin's fight to win political asylum, the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) Board of Appeals has reduced his bond from \$10,000 to \$5,000. The outrageously high bond had been paid by Marroquin's supporters in December 1977 in order to release the socialist activist from jail.

"This is a victory for us," said Margaret Winter, Marroquin's attorney. "The INS Board of Appeals has admitted that the \$10,000 bond was 'excessive.'"

"Five thousand dollars is still about five times the usual bond on undocumented workers," she added. "There is no question in my mind that Marroquin would be released on a nominal bond if he were not a political activist."

The decision can be credited to the many people who have voiced support for Marroquin's struggle to win political asylum. "This new victory encourages me very much," said Marroquin. "It is a result of the large number of letters and telegrams and petitions received by INS Director Castillo, the phone calls, the picket lines, the meetings and defense committees all over the country. This has made a real impact on the government."

At the time of Marroquin's deportation hearing in early April, Winter asked INS Judge James Smith to drop the bail and release Marroquin to the custody of the Héctor Marroquin De-



San Antonio supporters demand asylum for Marroquin

Militant/Harry Ring

fense Committee or the Socialist Workers Party. The judge refused, keeping the bond at \$10,000.

Marroquin appealed this decision. In a thirty-page brief, Winter detailed the reason why the bond and other restrictions on Marroquin did not comply with federal law. The other restrictions prohibit employment and make it necessary for Marroquin to request permission from the INS every time he travels out of New York. Since Marroquin travels frequently to bolster his public defense campaign, this is a real burden.

Smith's bond ruling did not even mention the travel and employment

restrictions. The Appeals Board had ordered these back to him.

Ignoring the laws on bond, Smith's decision focused on Marroquin's membership in the Socialist Workers Party. INS prosecuting attorney Daniel Kahn's arguments at both the deportation hearing and the bond hearing were the same: that Marroquin is a "communist" who favors "force and violence" and thus is unworthy of either reduced bond or political asylum in this country.

Marroquin was as open about his socialist views at the bond hearing as he is when explaining his case to unionists, students, and other audiences he seeks support from. His socialist

beliefs and his membership in the SWP and Young Socialist Alliance are protected by the Bill of Rights and should have no bearing on his right to asylum or to reasonable bond.

As the appeals board pointed out in its decision, Marroquin has kept to the letter of the restrictions imposed by the INS since his release from jail.

Furthermore, Marroquin knows that his real defense is his broad public support, and he will continue to make his case as widely known as possible. It is his commitment to pursue this defense that will continue to ensure his appearance at every INS proceeding, not the posting of a ransom-like bond.

The bond money, which was loaned specifically to free Marroquin from jail, will be immediately returned to the person who loaned it.

One of the three board members dissented from the majority opinion. She felt that, on the basis of the record and in view of the INS's failure to rebut any of the facts in the appeals brief, the bond should be reduced to \$1,000 and the other conditions removed.

Winter is now preparing to appeal the decision to deport Marroquin. The appeal brief will be submitted to the INS on August 3. Meanwhile, defense committees around the country are gearing up for the fall, when Marroquin will again travel coast-to-coast to explain his case and his ideas.

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

Protests mount in beating of Ala. socialists

By Garrett Brown

BIRMINGHAM—New protests have been voiced against the company-instigated beating of two *Militant* salespeople at a U.S. Steel coal mine here June 7.

Fifteen members of International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union Local 19 in Seattle, including two executive board members and the local's business agent, sent a telegram holding U.S. Steel responsible for the attack.

"This highly organized and totally unprovoked attack by a gang of twenty-five thugs was carried out under the direction of company personnel," the dock workers said. "United States Steel bears full responsibility for this violation of democratic rights."

"We insist that all company foremen and other supervisory personnel involved in this assault be fired. We also demand that U.S. Steel Corporation immediately issue a policy statement condemning such violence and affirming the right of everyone to engage in

activities protected by the First Amendment without interference."

On June 7, Nelson Blackstock and Eric Flint were attacked and brutally beaten while selling the *Militant* on public property near the entrance to U.S. Steel's Concord coal mine.

Blackstock was hospitalized for two weeks following an operation to implant two metal pins in his left hip socket, which was crushed during the assault.

Blackstock, Flint, and the *Militant* filed a \$2 million lawsuit against U.S. Steel and its supervisory personnel in federal district court here June 19. At the same time, unionists and civil rights activists from throughout the country have sent protests to U.S. Steel.

Steelworkers on the Mesabi Iron Range in Minnesota are circulating a petition demanding a halt to such company-inspired attacks. United Steelworkers Local 6115 President Roger Klander and executive board member Steven Hender have already signed the petition.

Jerry Lamecker of United Auto Workers Local 879 in Minneapolis, and Eric Peterson, Boat Builders Local 1300 in San Diego, also sent messages defending the First Amendment rights of the *Militant* and its supporters.

Three rank-and-file members of United Mine Workers Local 1949 in Fairmont, West Virginia, telegraphed the company's boss, "Coal miners don't need U.S. Steel Corporation or the KKK to decide for us what we can or cannot read."

On June 27, Eric Flint addressed a workshop on harassment of Black elected officials and civil rights leaders at the NAACP convention in Louisville, Kentucky. Flint received a friendly response and offers of support for the defense campaign being waged by union and civil rights activists.

NAACP leaders Leon Harris and Charles Kimbrough signed statements at the convention denouncing the at-

tack and demanding that U.S. Steel "take all necessary measures to immediately halt this kind of violence."

Meanwhile, a July 7 rally to celebrate the grand opening of a public headquarters and bookstore of the Socialist Workers Party here has gained wide publicity.

The week before the rally, Cathy Sedwick, national chairperson of the Young Socialist Alliance, in town to build the meeting, was interviewed on a weekday noontime TV newscast and a Sunday morning TV talk show.

Following the Sunday broadcast, a twenty-eight-year-old white construction worker from rural Calera, Alabama, called the bookstore to say, "Not all white males in Alabama are racist" and to request more information about the rally and the SWP.

Ed Warren, cochairperson of the Birmingham SWP, reported socialists from Atlanta, New Orleans, and Greensboro, North Carolina, were planning to attend the rally. "This rally and our new headquarters will be a powerful statement that U.S. Steel and the Ku Klux Klan cannot run the state of Alabama or the South without challenge."

"The voice of the socialist alternative will be heard loud and clear and everyone will know we're here to stay," Warren said.

Protests should be sent to U.S. Steel Corporation, Southern District Mines, Attention William Myers, RM-1, P.O. Box 599, Fairfield, Alabama 35064. Copies should be sent to Pathfinder Books, P.O. Box 3382-A, Birmingham, Alabama 35205.

Action demanded on killer-cop

By Garrett Brown

BIRMINGHAM, Alabama—The police killing of an unarmed twenty-year-old Black woman here June 22 has sparked massive protests in the Black community and rocked the city administration.

Bonita Carter was shot three times in the back by George Sands, a white plainclothes cop, as she sat in a car outside a Kingston community convenience store. Cops were there as the result of a dispute between the white storeowner and a Black patron.

Following the killing, police sealed off the Kingston area and heavily armed SWAT teams forced residents into their homes in an attempt to suppress three days of angry street demonstrations.

Nonetheless, community meetings involving hundreds, a demonstration at City Hall, and a funeral procession of 150 cars have displayed the deep outrage here at the latest police killing.

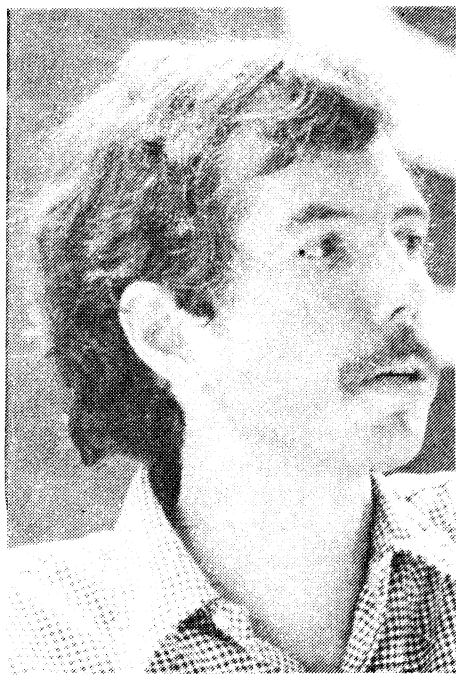
Mayor David Vann, in an unprecedented move bitterly opposed by the Fraternal Order of Police, appointed an eight-member interracial citizens committee to investigate the killing. The committee has held four days of public hearings.

Vann also attended Bonita Carter's funeral.

Black leaders have demanded the dismissal and murder prosecution of Sands, who remains on paid administrative leave. They pledged continuing protests if the official police investigation results in a whitewash.

Birmingham Southern Christian Leadership Conference president Rev. Abraham Woods reported June 26 that Sands was the subject of at least seven citizen complaints in the last three and a half years, including five for excessive use of force.

Between 1975 and 1977, the latest statistics available, the Birmingham police officially reported killing ten Blacks and wounding sixty-one more.



NELSON BLACKSTOCK

Militant/Lou Howort

On eve of nat'l conference

New threat to democracy in NOW

By Suzanne Haig

The upcoming conference of the National Organization for Women, slated for October 5-7 in Los Angeles, will face a number of important issues. These will include an assessment of the fight for ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment, the continued erosion of abortion rights, and the Supreme Court decision upholding affirmative-action programs in the *Weber* case.

The growing interest of women trade unionists in the fight for their rights on the job and in society as a whole is a significant development that the conference will want to address.

NOW has the important challenge and opportunity to bring the labor movement actively into the fight for women's rights.

Unfortunately, this is the context in which the national leadership has chosen to send out to the chapter and state leadership an ominous red-baiting memo. The memo's aim is to introduce a witch-hunt that threatens the full and democratic participation of the membership in the NOW conference and the chapter discussions leading up to it.

'Unwarranted interference'

This course of action, unless repudiated, will seriously undermine democracy in NOW. Already, NOW officials in New Jersey have issued a statement against the memo, as have several chapters in the state. At its June 23 meeting, the NOW-NJ State Board passed a resolution protesting the memo as an "unwarranted interference in the democratic selection process for national convention delegates."

The memorandum, entitled "Possible activity by Socialist Workers Party in the delegate selection process for the 1979 National NOW Conference," was sent out by NOW's National Board June 15.

It was prepared by Jean Marie Brough, identified as the "chair of the NOW National Board Committee on the Socialist Workers Party, as directed by the National Board at its May 1979 meeting."

The ostensible purpose of this letter is "to inform NOW leadership of the possibility of an organized Socialist Workers Party effort to secure for their members delegate status from local NOW units."

The letter was not sent to the membership. This is the first time that NOW members have heard of the formation of this McCarthyite witch-hunt committee whose function is to ferret out SWP members from the delegate process. Who appointed it? Why? Was it a unanimous decision? Who is on the committee? Will the membership be told more about it—or is it to remain secret?

The board memo warns that because of a decrease in membership participation at NOW meetings in the summer months a "concerted effort" by members of the SWP in NOW "could easily result in their selection as delegates." It points to increased SWP activity in "rural and southern chapters" and to "requests for aid and support in dealing with the SWP activities within our organization."

"Our national conference," it continues, "is the only forum within our organization that provides the opportunity for a well organized minority to appear to represent a grassroots majority."

A picture is painted of a small group of devious delegates plotting to take over a convention, where hopefully thousands of women will be present, by raising popular "grassroots" ideas.

The memo has a very dangerous logic which the leadership that voted on it is quite aware of and must take full responsibility for.

It is not just directed at members of

the Socialist Workers Party who are NOW members. It is an attack on the entire membership, and unless repudiated it will become a precedent to be used against the right of every member to express her ideas.

It aims to create a climate of intimidation and finger pointing, denying all members the right to freely raise different points of view for fear of being labeled a member of the Socialist Workers Party or some other "subversive" organization. It gives the board a handle to try to dismiss any ideas it does not support by merely attributing them to the SWP.

It implies that if someone suspects a NOW member is also a member of the SWP, that person should be denied delegate status.

And it infers that anyone who withstands this slander and innuendo campaign and speaks out on a non-approved idea will be attacked as a

presidential elections. Should NOW use its resources to promote various Democratic and Republican politicians who promise support to women's rights? This strategy has been followed by NOW in the fight for ERA and has had disastrous results.

Socialists and many other members think NOW should chart another course of action—going to the power of the labor movement and bringing it into the fight for women's rights, including the ERA, abortion rights, and affirmative action.

For example, an important priority of NOW's work should be the carrying out of the proposals passed by the labor task force at the last convention—not spending energies ringing doorbells for the politicians of big business.

Hopefully, the convention will discuss the important developments in the labor movement within the last

of the U.S. population in the aftermath of this deadly accident.

We, along with many other NOW members, actively support gay and lesbian rights.

Socialist Workers Party members are among the active trade unionists championing the fight for women's rights in the unions as well as other issues vital for working people.

The Socialist Workers Party supports the revolution in Iran that threw out the U.S.-backed shah, one of history's most ruthless dictators. This is a victory for Iranian women and the masses of workers and peasants. It is also a victory and an inspiration for women here.

And yes, we plead guilty to the belief that a socialist revolution is needed in this sexist, racist, class-divided country.

The board's reference to manipulation by a "well-organized minority" is



Militant/Ginny Hildebrand

NOW supported the January 1978 Labor March for the ERA in Virginia. Growing opportunities exist for reaching out to trade unions to build a powerful women's movement. Democratic discussion at upcoming NOW convention is crucial to take next step forward.

member of the SWP and her proposals disregarded.

The logic of this smear campaign is that only those proposals for NOW's priorities that emanate from the board will be considered legitimate for discussion at the conference.

The NOW conference is the organization's highest body, where all NOW members can come together and hammer out a common strategy. This memo, however, creates a climate where any decision democratically made there could later be challenged as not really representing the wishes of the majority, but only a "well-organized minority."

An insult to NOW

This is not a democratic process and is an insult to the 108,000 members of NOW. If any member of NOW, regardless of other organizations she belongs to, raises a proposal that meets with the approval of the majority, the reason for the support is not that women are easily manipulated—but because the majority likes the idea and wishes the leadership would carry it out. Women are not dupes, incapable of thinking for themselves and needing someone to screen our ideas.

A democratic convention free of red-baiting is an absolute necessity for an organization to survive. It allows for the correction of errors, arrives at the best, most thought-out and well-rounded proposals for actions, and maintains an informed membership.

The concerns expressed in the memo lead one to believe that the leadership feels its proposals may be met with opposition.

One question that is sure to be discussed is NOW's position in the 1980

year that point to the tremendous potential for women trade unionists joining in building a massive women's movement. Conferences of women coal miners, women postal workers, steelworkers, and electrical workers have all recently occurred.

A conference for the ERA, sponsored by a number of trade unions, will be held in Virginia August 12. One of the keynote speakers will be NOW national president Eleanor Smeal. NOW members will want to hear reports on this important conference of the labor movement.

These are significant indications of the willingness of a growing number of trade unionists to fight for women's rights.

It is to these women and men in the labor movement—not capitalist politicians—that NOW must reach out.

The NOW memo states that Socialist Workers Party members have not been too active in NOW chapters this year.

One wonders how socialists can be guilty of all the board's charges of manipulation and cooptation when, according to the memo, they also have been "virtually inactive since Christmas."

The memo states: "The revolution in Iran, the nuclear crisis and the increased activity in both the gay and labor movements are absorbing the energies of SWP members."

This is quite true. These and many other events have absorbed the energies of the Socialist Workers Party as well as many other NOW members, and thousands of working people in this country.

Who was not affected by the near nuclear meltdown at Three Mile Island? Many NOW chapters actively participated in the outraged response

a classic witch-hunt term straight out of the government's 1950's propaganda arsenal. In fact the witch-hunt grew out of the need of the ruling class to tear the unions apart and break labor militancy.

Witch-hunt in unions

After World War II, the FBI and government organized a massive witch-hunt campaign in the unions. Unfortunately many union leaders aided the government and carried out their own purges. They played the same role the board is now playing.

This wreaked havoc with the unions and it will wreak havoc with NOW if it is not stopped. That is why it is in the interests of all NOW members who are for building a strong women's movement to repudiate this attack on democracy by the board.

As a result of the post World War II witch-hunt, trade-union militants, socialists, communists, and liberals were blacklisted and the unions housebroken.

It was precisely this kind of climate, moreover, that aided the employers' campaign to drive women out of industrial jobs and hammer home the myth of our inferiority.

This is exactly what women are fighting against today. We do not need any more witch-hunts.

The NOW National Board will be holding its next meeting in Denver July 28 and 29. All NOW chapters and individual members should join the protest campaign to demand that this board meeting abolish the committee on the Socialist Workers Party; repudiate the Brough letter; and reaffirm the membership's right to a full and democratic discussion leading up to and during the October conference.

Tenneco stalls with appeal

NLRB rules for Steelworkers at Va. shipyard

By Jack Garfield

NEWPORT NEWS, Va.—The National Labor Relations Board has again ordered Tenneco to recognize the United Steelworkers of America as the union at its Newport News shipyard.

The NLRB announced its decision on June 27. It first certified the USWA's January 1978 shipyard election victory last October.

This time around, the NLRB was

NEWS BULLETIN

NEWPORT NEWS, Va., July 3—Tenneco announced yesterday that it will appeal the decision by the National Labor Relations Board ordering the shipyard owner to recognize United Steelworkers Local 8888. The appeal can spell years of delays.

The company's decision was greeted with outrage today by shipyard workers. "We should be out in the streets, with signs in the air," one Steelworker said. Others were waiting for a statement from the USWA international office.

"We're signing up new workers," a Black worker said. "They want to strike. We can't wait any more. 8888 is ready, willing, and able to do whatever it takes to win."

upholding the opinion of an administrative law judge, who cleared the election of fraud charges raised by Tenneco and the Peninsula Shipbuilders Association, the discredited company union.

"The decision is a big victory for the

Steelworkers," USWA staff organizer Roosevelt Robinson told the *Militant*. The long, drawn-out process of NLRB hearings and decisions was compressed into three months. This "record time," said Robinson, is because of "the effect of the strike."

The Steelworkers' eighty-two-day strike for recognition was suspended April 23.

Reaction to the decision among members of Local 8888 was enthusiastic. But, as one shipyard worker told the *Militant*, "Everybody's wondering if Tenneco will appeal the decision to the courts."

Some Steelworkers talk about the need to resume the strike. Others want to see what Tenneco will do next.

"We're in a waiting game right now," Local 8888 President Wayne Crosby says. "It's an interim period. The next move is Tenneco's."

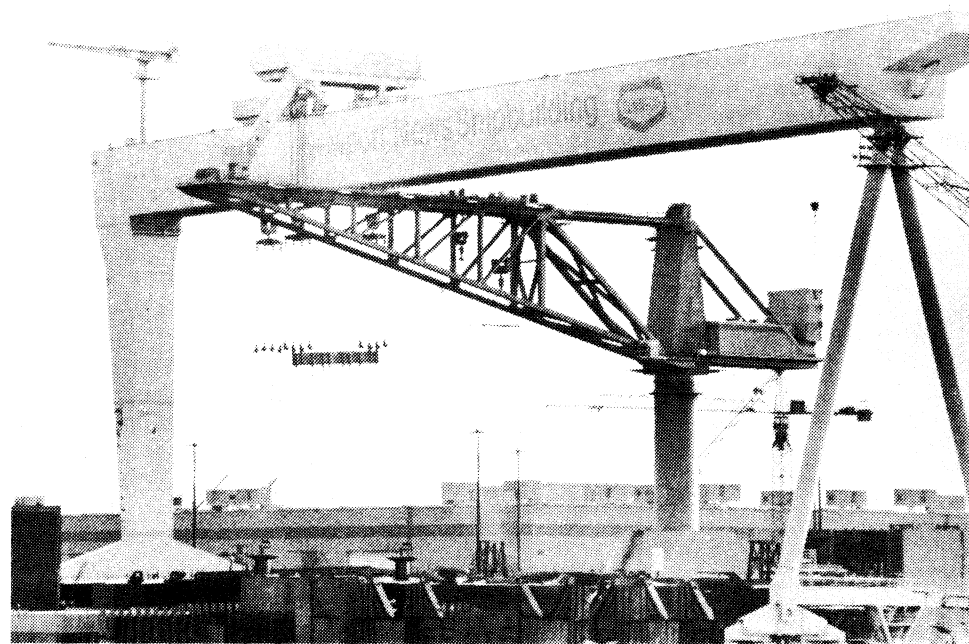
The shipyard owners have a "reasonable" amount of time to decide whether to appeal the NLRB decision.

The PSA announced June 28 that it would take the ruling to court. The Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals must now decide if the PSA has appeal rights.

Crosby said Tenneco has found that "the strike was more effective than they thought. They lost repair work. They have to think about [shipbuilding] contracts."

Such economic pressure and the threat of a strike may "force Tenneco into abiding by the law," he said.

The company has begun to rehire, with back pay, some 150-200 workers fired between the NLRB's certification of the union and the beginning of the strike last January. All the fired



Militant/John Cobey
'Tenneco found strike more effective than they thought,' says Local 8888 President Wayne Crosby. But shipyard owners refuse to give up battle against the union.

workers had filed charges against Tenneco.

But the courts and Tenneco have hardly gone soft on union activists. In the last four weeks, seven Steelworkers were convicted of charges stemming from the strike, most of them for violating the antilabor "right to work" laws. Tenneco's policy has been to fire such workers.

In the same trials, charges against fourteen Steelworkers were dismissed or dropped.

Harassment also continues inside the yard. Recently, an employee was laid off who had worked at the yard twenty-three years and was a dedicated Steelworker activist. He was rehired a week later by the "good-hearted" bosses, who told him he had lost all his seniority and retirement benefits in the past seven days.

This, in a nutshell, is why the shipyard's workers need, want, and are fighting for the Steelworkers union.

Blew whistle on bankruptcy sham

Milwaukee Road fires outspoken employee

By Susan La Mont

MINNEAPOLIS—On June 22, Kendall Gustafson was fired for blowing the whistle on the Milwaukee Road (MR) bankruptcy.

Gustafson, who worked in the MR's Portland, Oregon, sales office, had spoken out against the Milwaukee's manipulated liquidation scheme and the disastrous effects it will have on thousands of rail employees as well as farmers and others who depend on MR services.

Gustafson became known to workers throughout the MR system in May, when he sent a statement over the railroad teletype to rail yards all over the country, detailing his charges that the owners were purposely driving the railroad into bankruptcy. He also sent telegrams to President Carter and members of Congress.

On June 5, Gustafson was a featured speaker at a rail-union-sponsored protest meeting held in the Twin Cities. The protest meeting, attended by nearly 300 rail workers, demanded an immediate halt to all attempts to shut down the Milwaukee Road. The meeting received wide media publicity which reached beyond the Twin Cities.

Rail workers who attended the meeting from places as far away as Idaho and Chicago took back news of the protest to their areas.

The Milwaukee Road management fears that their proposal to dismantle the railroad is not going to go over as quietly as they had planned. Their attempt to silence Gustafson is designed to intimidate other employees from speaking out.

Gustafson, however, is not easily

silenced. He immediately sent out a news release, accompanied by a letter to top Milwaukee Road management.

"I regard this [firing] as a clear case of victimization of me because I have spoken out publicly against the closure of the Milwaukee Road," Gustafson wrote. "I demand that I be immediately reinstated in my job, which I have done well for twelve years. . . ."

"I know and all the employees of the Milwaukee Road railroad will clearly appreciate, that this firing is a punishment—a punishment for speaking out publicly against the mismanagement of the railroad and threatened liquidation. The punishment for demanding a Congressional inquiry into the way you gentlemen have been managing this railroad. . . ."

"I intend to fight in every way possible to get my job back. This could

include employing an attorney and enlisting the aid and support of all interested persons and organizations."

Responding to the charge that the reason for his dismissal was his failure to pay for the telegrams he sent, Gustafson replied that management was well aware that he "had an agreed plan to return the \$2,634.91 the telegrams cost."

Rail workers, especially on the Milwaukee Road, have a big stake in supporting Gustafson's fight to regain his job. Telegrams and messages demanding his reinstatement should be sent to: Worthington Smith, President, The Milwaukee Road, 516 W. Jackson Boulevard, Chicago, Illinois 60606. Copies should be sent to: Kendall Gustafson, 7472 N. Haven, Portland, Oregon 97203.

...Nicaragua

Continued from back page

necessary to assure the imperialists that Somoza's debts will be paid. Otherwise, Carter may send the Marines.

But the Nicaraguan workers and peasants are not about to bow down to such U.S. threats without a fight. "As the dictatorship slowly crumbles," *Times* correspondent Riding reported June 27, "revolutionary fever is spreading. As rebel columns take town after town in the provinces, they are mobbed by young volunteers. . . ."

On July 2 workers employed by Somoza's fishing company, Pesca-Nica, joined the dockworkers in the town of Bluefields and took over three fishing vessels.

Meanwhile, demoralization is spreading among Somoza's officer corps. "When he wants to, Somoza will fly off in his private jet," one unhappy official noted, "and we'll be left facing the firing squad."

At a news conference in Costa Rica July 3, Col. Guillermo Mendieta appeared along with four other officers who had defected from the National Guard. "Our oath as members of the military is to defend our country and not to defend Somoza's genocide," Mendieta declared.

Complaining that Washington "won't cease trying to minimize the possible influence of the Sandinistas in the new government," Mendieta added: "The reality is that the entire Nicaraguan people are totally and massively with the Sandinistas."

Protesters demand no U.S. intervention

More than 1,000 demonstrators turned out in New York City June 30 to show their solidarity with the struggle of the Nicaraguan people and to oppose U.S. intervention in Nicaragua.

A Colombian immigrant on the protest march—which included many Latin Americans—told *Militant* reporter Gerardo Nebbia that "it is very good to see so many come out in defense of a small country like Nicaragua. We must prevent the U.S. from ever invading us again!"

The protest was organized by the Committee for a Free Nicaragua.

Militant correspondent Al Twiss reports that in Los Angeles the Nicaraguan community has responded to the upsurge with almost nightly actions of 200-400 people organized by the Frente Amplio Anti-Somocista (Broad Anti-Somoza Front). They have demanded recognition of the Sandinista provisional government by Washington and no U.S. intervention in Nicaragua.

Quote unquote

"God knows I'm not a racist, but I'm a businessman first, and my native instinct is to produce goods and services at the lowest cost. You can't do that on an affirmative-action program."

—Atlanta business executive Dillard Munford.

NEW MEXICANS SAY NO TO NUCLEAR WASTE

Seventy-five people held a picket line in downtown Albuquerque June 7 to protest plans for a huge nuclear waste dump in Carlsbad. The project is called the Waste Isolation Pilot Project (WIPP) and could cost \$1 billion.

This action helped draw attention to Department of Energy hearings on WIPP, which 500 people, most of them opposed to WIPP, attended.

Antinuclear groups also held their own "Citizens Hearing on WIPP."

Among the people addressing the Citizens Hearings was Eileen Berlow, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Albuquerque City Council District 2. She called for switching to coal as an immediate alternative to nuclear power.

Berlow emphasized the need to bring the organized power of the labor movement into the fight against nuclear energy. She cited the example of her own union, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers Local 2112, which voted to oppose WIPP.

She noted that such resolutions are an important first step in educating working people about the dangers of nuclear power.

JUDGE BLOCKS ANTI-BIAS EFFORT

A federal judge enjoined the federal government from terminating contracts with the giant Uniroyal rubber company July 2. The government had declared Uniroyal in violation of equal opportunity laws and announced June 29 it would end \$36 million in contracts with the company.

The government cutoff came as a result of a complaint filed by 521 women workers laid off at a Uniroyal plant in Indiana in 1968. Labor Secretary Ray Marshall sat for fourteen months on a recommendation that they be rehired, until the women filed suit against the government for inaction June 25.

Uniroyal is the largest company ever barred from federal

Blue Diamond indicted for Scotia disaster

More than three years after explosions ripped through the Scotia mine in southeastern Kentucky killing twenty-six men, a grand jury has indicted the murderers: the Scotia Coal Company and its parent firm, the Blue Diamond Coal Company.

The March 1976 disaster at the nonunion mine is blamed largely on inadequate ventilation, which allowed explosive methane gas to accumulate.

The six-count criminal indictment charges that the companies revised the ventilation plan without approval,

failed to ventilate all working sections of the mine, failed to inspect the section where the blast occurred, and failed to train miners to use self-rescue devices—all violations of federal law. The final two counts charge that the companies lied, or filed "false reports," about inspections and the ventilation system.

Of course, nobody is going to go to jail for these crimes. The biggest penalty possible for a guilty verdict on all six counts is a fine of \$120,000. Plus, the indictments were turned over to Federal District Judge H. David Her-

mandorfer, who has proven himself a loyal friend of Blue Diamond.

In September 1977 Hermansdorfer dismissed a \$60 million case brought against Blue Diamond by widows of the Scotia victims. On appeal, the case was sent back to Hermansdorfer for trial. Motions on that case began June 25.

Hermansdorfer said he may yet again delay the widows' case by sending it back to the appeals court for "definition" of how Blue Diamond could be liable for the disaster.



Relatives and friends of miners trapped in Scotia blast await word of their fate.

contracts because of sex discrimination. In order to become eligible again, the company would have to comply with anti-discrimination statutes and perhaps settle back-pay claims by the women who brought the suit.

HOUSE AGAIN SAYS NO TO ABORTION RIGHTS

The House of Representatives vote 241 to 180 June 28 to further tighten restrictions on federally funded abortions. The bill, if passed, will permit federal funding only if the life of the pregnant woman is in danger.

Rejected was a measure that would have extended federal benefits to victims of rape or incest or for women who would suffer severe and long-lasting health damage if the pregnancy were carried to term.

Meanwhile, on July 2, the

Supreme Court struck down a Massachusetts law that required unmarried women under eighteen to get permission from their parents or a judge before they could get an abortion.

However, the ruling would give state legislatures the right to have judges declare a young woman "immature" and unable to make the decision herself, placing the decision whether to have an abortion in the judge's hands.

PALESTINIAN PRISONER'S LIFE IN DANGER

Ali Awad Al Jamal is a twenty-two-year-old Palestinian shoemaker who has been imprisoned for more than four years without charges by the Israeli government. He is reported to be in very poor health by the Palestine Human Rights Campaign, which has issued

an appeal on his behalf. Al Jamal has been on an intermittent hunger strike since March 3 when his administrative detention, the legal cover by which the Zionist government can commit such violations of elementary human rights, was renewed for the ninth time.

Al Jamal was brutally tortured for 101 days in an effort to get him to sign a "confession." His case has been adopted by Amnesty International.

PHRC asks for protest letters to be sent to Ambassador Ephraim Evron, Israeli Embassy, 1621 22nd St. NW, Washington, D.C. 20008; and to Pat Derian, U.S. Department of State, Human Rights Division, Washington, D.C. 20520.

PRISONER ACTIVIST GETS 2-4 YEARS

Felix Castro, a member of the August 8th Brigade, a prisoner activist group, was sentenced June 14 to two to four years for his part in a 1977 prison rebellion at Napanoch, New York.

The prisoners had spent four years seeking through legal channels the end of Ku Klux Klan terror by guards, to no avail.

Defense attorney Doug Colbert noted thirteen violations of Castro's rights in the course of the trial, including the violation of his right to a trial by a jury of his peers. Blacks and Latinos were deliberately excluded from the jury.

Castro's sentence will be served when he finishes his current sentence. He won't be eligible for parole until 1985.

The next Brigade member is scheduled to go on trial July 16 in Kingston, New York.

NAACP MARCH PROTESTS INDIANA KLAN THREATS

A hundred people, organized by the local chapter of the NAACP, marched in Muncie, Indiana, June 23 to protest racist violence instigated by the Ku Klux Klan. Two weeks earlier, an interracial couple in their rented home were terrorized by twelve thugs armed with clubs and baseball bats. KKK activities have been reported in the area.

Muncie NAACP President Warren Gamble declared the march was "just the beginning. It is necessary to get the whole community involved in fighting the Klan. The NAACP can't do it alone."

FBI DESTROYING SECRET FILES

A group of historians, writers, scientists, and political activists filed suit June 26 to force a halt to FBI destruction of its secret files. The plaintiffs, including Daniel Ellsberg, Angela Davis, the American Friends Service Committee, American Indian Movement, and *The Nation* magazine, charge the FBI with an "indecently stepped-up program" of destruction.

"The real reason for the destruction policy is to keep a cloak of secrecy over the illegal activities" of the FBI, they charge.

A release on the suit from the Fund for Open Information and Accountability noted that FBI chief William Webster has called for a ten-year moratorium on releasing any investigative files. With field office files six months or older already

Senate Panel votes for reopening draft registration

The Senate Armed Services Committee voted June 11 for a bill that would require all men aged eighteen to twenty-six to begin registering for the draft as of next January 1. This is another step in the Carter administration's attempt to reinstitute the draft.

Meanwhile, the Congressional Black Caucus issued a statement opposing registration and the draft.

"The inequities and unnecessary hardships of the draft system are too fresh in the public consciousness to permit its revival," the CBC said. "The poor and minori-

ties were forced to serve in numbers far exceeding those who enlisted and out of proportion to their numbers in the draft pool.

"Equally as troubling is the extent to which the draft facilitates involvement in foreign conflicts. . . .

"We are equally as opposed to a system of universal registration for military service in the future as we are to the actual draft. The registration system facilitates actual conscription, and we believe that it is being offered as a first step in that direction."

What's Going On

CALIFORNIA

SAN DIEGO

SOCIALIST WORKERS '79 CAMPAIGN RALLY. Speakers: Raúl González, SWP candidate for mayor, member International Association of Machinists, Lodge 685; Ed Heister, member, SWP National Committee, author of "A Struggle for Union Democracy." Sat., July 7, reception & buffet 6 p.m., rally 8 p.m. 1053 15th St. Donation: \$2.50. Ausp: SWP '79 Campaign Committee. For more information call (714) 234-4630.

NEW MEXICO

ALBUQUERQUE

THE MX MISSILE—NEW STEP TOWARD NUCLEAR DISASTER. Speakers:

Craig Simpson, War Resisters League; Dick Geyer, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., July 13, 7:30 p.m. 108 Morningside Drive N.E. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (505) 255-6869.

NEW YORK

LOWER MANHATTAN

THE ENERGY CRISIS: A BONANZA FOR THE OIL GIANTS. Speaker: Dick Roberts, staff writer for the *Militant*. Fri., July 13, 8 p.m. 108 E. 16th St., 2nd floor (east of Union Square). Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (212) 260-6400.

NEW YORK-NEW JERSEY

CELEBRATE THE CUBAN REVOLUTION. U.S. HANDS OFF CUBA! U.S.

HANDS OFF NICARAGUA! Speakers: Harry Ring, staff writer for the *Militant*; others. Sat., July 21, 7:30 p.m. P.S. 41, 116 W. 11th St. (at 6th Ave.), New York City. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum, Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (212) 533-2902.

MICHIGAN

DETROIT

CHRYSLER LAYOFFS: WHAT CAN BE DONE. Sun., July 8, 7:30 p.m. 6404 Woodward. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (313) 875-5322.



Cubans charge FBI drags feet

"We are worried about the slowness with which the Puerto Rican authorities and the FBI are carrying out the investigations on the assassination of Carlos Muñiz," Raúl Alzaga, a leader of the Antonio Maceo Brigade, told a press conference in Havana. Alzaga's charges were reported in the June 17 issue of *Granma*, the newspaper of the Cuban Communist Party.

Muñiz was a leader of the Brigade, an organization of

Cubans living in the United States that seeks an end to the U.S. blockade of Cuba and calls for establishment of diplomatic ties. Muñiz was shot to death in Puerto Rico earlier this year.

Alzaga said the Brigade would continue to cooperate with the police investigation of Muñiz's murder. He said that the next Brigade contingent to Cuba, scheduled for this month, would be named after Muñiz.

being destroyed, a moratorium could mean permanent loss of access to the record of secret police crimes.

Destruction of the files has proceeded in violation of court orders and a U.S. Senate resolution.

INDIANS WIN FISHING VICTORY

The Supreme Court, upholding two nineteenth century treaties, ruled July 2 that Indians in Washington State are

entitled to up to half the salmon catch in various parts of the state.

The Indians' fishing rights had come under severe attack from commercial fishing interests. A federal appeals court noted that the decision to allow the Indians half the salmon had provoked the heaviest efforts "to frustrate a decree of a federal court witnessed in this century" except from some desegregation cases.

Gas for the guv—Gov. Edward King of Massachusetts has an arrangement with Texaco, Mobil, and Exxon assuring an unlimited supply of gas for his limousine. Officials declined to reveal the location of the stations where he tanks up for fear ordinary people might demand the same service. Meanwhile, in Delaware, an apparently irate airport bus driver punctured the four tires of the parked limousine of Gov. Pierre DuPont IV.

Odd-even visits?—Thinkers at the Brookings Institute believe the cost of medical care will continue soaring as long as there is the belief that "no one should have to forgo medical care that might save his life or preserve his health because he cannot afford to pay." This means, the study suggested, that there will have to be some form of medical "rationing." It didn't say how this will differ from what we have today.

In full command—No need to worry about Skylab with NASA in charge, right? Of course, but the space agency has advanced its prediction on when the 12-

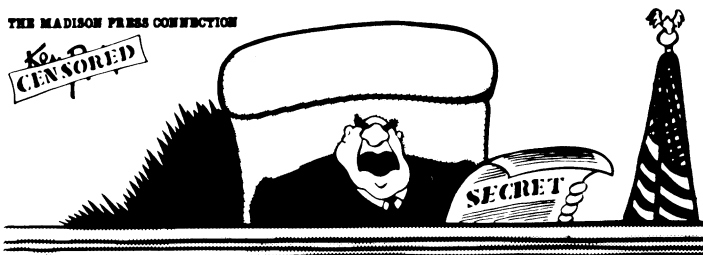
story-tall vehicle will come crashing down. It may be sooner because a series of computer commands were radioed in the wrong sequence, causing the craft to wobble out of its previously stable course.

Safeguarding the environment—The Syncrude Canada company is dealing with the problem of an Alberta pond contaminated by a bitumen residue from its tar extracting project. The bitumen can destroy the insulating quality of the feathers of migrating birds and poison them when they preen themselves. The company is installing a small army of mechanical scarecrows that look human and periodically make explosions like shotguns.

Underselling the hawks—Recently we pointed to Rep. Les Aspin (D-Wis.) as a classic liberal. To avoid the problem of confrontations at future draft boards, he proposed to register potential draftees by computer. Now Aspin is rapping the Pentagon for approving the \$3.7 billion Rowland missile system when there are at least two other systems that are cheaper and deadlier.

Court turns down 'Progressive' plea for speedy hearing

THE MADISON PRESS CONNECTION



Konopacki/Madison Press Connection

'The case for the defense has been classified a secret. Take him away!'

The Supreme Court refused July 2 to speed up a hearing on the *Progressive* magazine case, in which the government has blocked publication of an article on the H-bomb on the false grounds that it would reveal secret information.

The next hearing is set for September 10. The magazine had asked the court to move the date up because of the case's significance, the first time a court has barred publication of an article in 203 years.

On June 15, federal judge Robert Warren refused to lift his injunction forbidding publication of the article. His ruling came despite new evidence that all the information in it had been available in government libraries for years. The government admitted that if any "competent scientist" had read the material first, the proposed

Progressive article would have added "no significant additional information."

Warren apparently ignored the government's admission—but the editors of the *Progressive* and the public won't get to find out. The judge's opinion is secret.

Meanwhile, the government refused to allow publication of the *Progressive's* brief on the case until huge portions of the contents had been censored. According to the magazine, many of the deletions made by the government are the very arguments proving that alleged secrets exposed by the article are in fact accessible to the public!

In a decision that could further shroud courtrooms in secrecy, the Supreme Court July 2 gave judges broad freedom to bar public and press from trials.

Union Talk

UAW solidarity committee

This week's column is by Rick Smith and Jeff Stephenson, members of the solidarity committee of United Auto Workers Local 1058 in Toledo, Ohio.

TOLEDO—We have a different kind of committee in UAW Local 1058, a solidarity committee. Its purpose is simple—to support the struggles of other workers.

Five people came to our first committee meeting on June 3. By our second meeting, which was held at the union hall June 24, six more came. Now we have more than sixteen active members.

The idea of forming a solidarity committee grew out of discussions in our union local over the Newport News Steelworkers strike. In April, just before their strike for recognition was suspended, we unanimously resolved to "go on record in full support of USWA Local 8888 in their struggle for justice, human dignity, and a better life. And that a volunteer solidarity committee be formed to aid not only the brothers and sisters of Local 8888, but also to act in solidarity whenever and wherever it is necessary."

Our committee has begun to carry through on this pledge. During the rubber workers strike, representatives from our local visited Uniroyal picket lines in nearby Port Clinton.

We've also lent support to UAW strikers at Rowe Industries here in Toledo. The forty-three Rowe workers—mostly women—have been on strike over wage and pension demands for more than a year. Rowe, which manufactures cables for Trident submarines, started trucking in scabs a year ago, the very day the company had agreed to sign a new contract.

The committee has invited a representative of the Farm Labor Organizing Committee to address our local. We also plan to send a representative to the August FLOC convention. FLOC, which organizes farmworkers in the tomato fields of northwest Ohio and parts of Michigan and Indiana, is preparing to strike during the fall harvest.

Besides these local activities, the committee is writing Newport News for an update on the situation there and suggestions of how we can help. It distributed anti-Weber literature to workers in our plants. It sent representatives to truck stops in the area where striking truckers

have set up pickets. And it expressed support to the recently won Inco miners strike in Canada.

But the significance of the committee extends beyond what it has done so far.

Workers know they're getting burned today—in a million ways. Wage guidelines, layoffs, high gas prices and low supplies, bloated taxes and decaying cities, to name just a few. But they don't necessarily see the way out. And they don't feel the confidence—the class confidence—that it will take to fight our way out of all this.

One of our co-workers put the problem this way.

"When you get screwed at work you feel like belting the foreman, right? But you know you can't hit him. And you sure as hell can't hit the plant supervisor, or the president. So you go across the street to the bar and end up in a fight with the guy that works across from you. Or worse yet, you go home and take it out on your family."

What's the solution? "We've got to get the union back," this worker said. "We've got to organize. We've got to stick together."

Our solidarity committee is a start. Workers like the way it is run democratically. Everyone has a say and then we vote on all decisions. This in itself is a new, morale-boosting experience for many of us.

The experiences we have on picket lines, in demonstrations, in meetings with farmworkers or other unionists give everyone involved a sense of our common problems, common interests, and common strength.

Right now our committee is planning ahead. Big layoffs are predicted for Toledo-area auto workers this summer and fall. So we've started to think about how we can bring together employed and unemployed union brothers and sisters.

One idea that's come up is to form special unemployed committees in the UAW. We've already discussed how the alliance between Toledo Auto-lite strikers and the unemployed during the 1930s was key to establishing the UAW here.

Word is spreading about our solidarity committee. And workers like what they hear. One indication was the way our local received its first report of the committee's progress June 25—with a big ovation.

S.F. general strike

This year marks the forty-fifth anniversary of three great strikes that paved the way for the founding of the Congress of Industrial Organizations and the unionization of basic industry in the United States.

In Minneapolis, truck drivers struck for recognition of the Teamsters as their union. In Toledo, workers at Auto-Lite also struck for union recognition. Both were led by class-struggle militants, members of groups that were forerunners of the Socialist Workers Party. The strike victories inspired workers from coast to coast.

The third historic strike was in San Francisco. The following account is excerpted from 'Labor's Giant Step,' by Art Preis, available from Pathfinder Press for \$6.95.

The San Francisco general strike—involving 125,000 workers at its peak—carried the American class struggle to new heights.

On May 9, 1934, from 10,000 to 15,000 West Coast members of the AFL International Longshoremen's Association went on an "unauthorized" strike. Soon the strike included 25,000 workers, many of them members of seamen's organizations who joined in sympathy.

The original demands had been for a coast-wide agreement, union control of hiring halls and a closed shop. The strikers added demands for \$1 an hour instead of 85 cents and the 30-hour week instead of 48.

From the start, the strike was waged with great militancy. Frederick J. Lang, [Frank Lovell] in his book *Maritime: A History and Program*, wrote: "It was a real rank-and-file strike, with the 'leaders' swept along in the flood. It encountered every weapon then in the arsenal of the employers. The shipowners hired their own thugs who tried to work the docks and man the ships. The city police of every port on the Coast were mobilized on the waterfronts to hunt down the strikers. The newspapers, launching a slander campaign against the strikers, called on the citizenry to form vigilante committees to raid strike headquarters, the actual organization of this dirty work being entrusted to the American Legion and other 'patriotic' societies."

ILA President Joseph Ryan hastily flew into San Francisco from New York in an effort to squelch the strike. Over the heads of the strikers and their local leaders, he signed an agreement giving up the main demand—the union-controlled hiring hall. He was repudiated by the strikers in a coast-wide poll.

The chief strike leader was the then

unknown Harry Bridges. He was under Stalinist influence but fortunately, at that time, did not adhere so closely to Communist Party policies as to carry out its line of not working inside the "social fascist" AFL unions.

Ryan—a consort of shipowners, stevedore bosses, gangsters and Tammany politicians, who 20 years later was to be dumped by these elements when he was no longer useful to them—tried to split the strike by making separate settlements in each port. He succeeded only in Seattle. AFL President William Green joined in denouncing the strike and yelling "reds" and "communists."

On July 5 the bosses tried to smash the strike by attacking its strategic center, San Francisco's waterfront, with calculated force and violence. At the "Battle of Rincon Hill" the police blasted away with tear gas, pistols and shotguns at the waterfront pickets. They killed Howard Sperry and Nick Bordoise and wounded 109 others. As in the third Minneapolis strike and the Toledo Auto-Lite battle, the deliberate massacres perpetrated by the police were the signal for sending in the National Guard.

The murder and wounding of strikers did not crush the workers. Instead, San Francisco labor answered with tremendous counterattack—a general strike. For two days, the working class paralyzed the city. The workers took over many city functions, directing traffic and assuming other municipal tasks.

On the third and fourth days, the general strike petered out when the AFL leaders, who were swept along in the first spontaneous protest against the killings, ordered an end to the stoppage.

The bosses and police, with the aid of organized vigilantes, vented their fear and hatred of the workers on the small radical organizations, not daring to hit directly at the unions. Thirty-five gangs of vigilantes, heavily armed, raided headquarters of Communist, IWW [Industrial Workers of the World] and Socialist groups. They smashed furniture, hurled typewriters and literature out the windows, beat up many defenseless workers.

In some instances, the police who arrived after the vigilantes left completed the work of destruction. They jailed more than 300 persons.

After 11 weeks, the longshore strike was ended on July 31 with an agreement to arbitrate. It was a poor settlement, but the workers returned to the job in an organized body.

Within a year, in job action after job action, they won the union hiring hall up and down the Coast. Their struggle gave impetus to maritime organization on the East Coast, leading in 1937 to establishment of the CIO National Maritime Union, and opened the way for organization of West Coast industrial labor.

Likes Cuban example

"I have never had so little confidence in the government," bemoaned a friend of mine at work at the bulk mail center today. He had just come in from the parking lot where he had tried unsuccessfully to siphon gas from another friend's car in order to get home. He had only succeeded in getting the poisonous fumes in his lungs.

We have had many discussions about what to do about the phony gas shortage. Last week he read the *Militant* article, "How Cuba solved the energy crisis" and went around telling everyone in our work area that we should march to the Exxon refinery in Linden, New Jersey, and take over the way the Cubans did.

Once he understood that the U.S. corporations had taken the offensive against Cuba by refusing to refine Soviet crude oil, the Cubans' defensive response of taking the refineries into their own hands made perfect sense.

He immediately drew the parallel that we, too, are being attacked and must defend ourselves. But mostly he sees fighting back in terms of individual actions.

I explain that the only way to fight the cruelty of the energy companies and the government is with the power of our unions. But there is cynicism about the possibility of transforming our unions from what they are today to what they must become.

More articles like the June 22 centerfold on Newport News will help inspire everyone with the vision of what our unions can be—democratic organizations that we will use to protect our standard of living and our political rights.

Our revitalized, powerful unions will then be able to solve the energy crisis by demanding the opening of the books of the oil companies and their nationalization.

Rachele Fruit
Jersey City, New Jersey

Defends pope—I

I have been an avid reader of the *Militant* for six years and agree in principle with many of the points of view that have been expressed.

I do, however, wish to take issue with your editorial of June 22, 1979, "The pope in Poland." To imply that the Catholic hierarchy supports acceptance of tyranny in Poland and around the world creates an unfair impression.

The church has never been in favor of the communist power in Poland. In Central America, the church continues to support popular organizations of the poor, against dictatorial powers. The *Militant's* coverage of the Nicaraguan upsurge, same issue, does not mention that Catholic clergy are members of the Group of Twelve, the political arm of the Sandinista Liberation Front opposing the dictator Somoza.

The advancement of humanistic values and democratic rights might better be served by fostering cooperation between organizations such as the church and the socialists, as

opposed to stimulating antagonism by jaundiced editorializing.

J.P.
Cleveland, Ohio

Defends pope—II

I strongly object, both for reasons of principle and tactics, to the June 22 *Militant's* attack on Pope John Paul's visit to Poland.

True, religion has been and is at times an opium of the masses, and so too has Stalinist ideology. There also have been some great revolutionists and protesters who drew their ideological inspiration from religious roots. Witness opposition to the imperialists' war against Vietnam or the struggle for civil rights.

It takes tortured reasoning indeed, to see the Roman Catholic role in Poland as defensive of Stalinism. Its positions on the upsurges of 1970 and 1976 appear to me to have been motivated by the desire to protect the faithful from massacre and to preserve as much as possible the legal status of the church.

One can hardly expect a Bolshevik stance from the church as an organization. But its very presence strengthens the resistance of the masses and the intelligentsia against the unsocialist, undemocratic, and unjust rule of the Stalinists. By simply existing, it weakens the kind of monolithic society the Stalinists seek to impose.

The *Militant* has correctly defended the democratic rights of a reactionary Solzhenitsyn and others—simply as defense of democratic rights. Why then the excited attack on the papal visit?

As a Lutheran, I feel strange defending the Bishop of Rome. But the disrespect basic to your editorial compelled me to speak out.

Even more, I was disgusted by your parting shot—for the symbol of Christ's presence, the wafer, in Holy Communion. In this fanaticism you are doing what Gerry Foley accused the Ahwaz Maoists of doing—alienating people of religious faith from the revolutionary struggle.

P.C.
Chicago, Illinois

Nukes ride the rails

One night while I was at work, a worker in the [rail] yard was closing a valve on a tank car and accidentally got some of the liquid on his hand. A supervisor called the yard office to find out what was in the tank. No one knew what it was.

The car had been delivered by another railroad and when they were called they said that the car was empty. After several calls, it was determined that the car contained chemical waste. The other railroad said that they would have to call the shipper to find out what the exact commodity was.

It was hours before any action could be taken. Workers in the yard office were aghast that such a thing could happen. They expressed immediate and continuing

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Learning About Socialism

Why witch-hunters aim at labor

concern for the safety of the worker.

Among other concerns of the rail workers here is the shipment of radioactive materials. These cars are labeled as dangerous and radioactive, but instructions on how to handle them if they are involved in an accident are not readily available.

A hazardous materials-handling report is required to accompany any car labeled as dangerous. It gives a detailed description of the commodity and detailed instructions on how to handle an accident involving the substance. The train crews receive two copies of this report for each dangerous car.

However, when I tried to get a hazardous-materials report from the computer for a radioactive car containing uranium products, the computer merely said that it required no special protection (the car, that is). It said if the car was involved in an accident, to consult a Bureau of Explosives handbook.

I asked one co-worker why I could not provide the crew with more information on this radioactive car. He said that he felt that the radioactive cars were so dangerous that emergency handling instructions are a secret.

I asked if the crews had the book that they were supposed to consult in the case of an accident. He said he doubted it.

This car came into the yard on a train containing numerous cars of prunes and tomato paste.

A reader
Denver, Colorado

Accurate reporting

My husband (who was on strike against Tenneco) and I have enjoyed reading your paper. We are no longer on strike but have some financial catching-up to do. So, I enclose the two dollars I agreed to pay even though that doesn't begin to pay for the numbers of issues we have received or for the enjoyment and stimulation.

We both had socialist ideas before, and we were impressed with the strike reporting—found it to be accurate. Because we could check your reporting in the area familiar to us, we believed stories that were not strike related. The *Militant* has reenforced our analyses of world events. We have felt less alone.

C. & B. M.
Suffolk, Virginia

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.

In its June 26 issue the liberal 'New Republic' magazine ran an editorial and a feature article trying to rehabilitate the post-World War II witch-hunt and the frame-up of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg as atomic spies. (See page 2.)

Although its defenders try to portray McCarthyite anticommunism as a defensive reaction to the danger posed by "spies" and "subversives," the truth is that the witch-hunt was an attack on the rights and well-being of American working people as a whole. It eroded democratic rights and prepared the atmosphere for the government to carry out its counterrevolutionary wars in Korea and Vietnam.

The following is an excerpt from the resolution on the political situation in the United States that was submitted to the December 1954 convention of the Socialist Workers Party. It puts in perspective both the postwar witch-hunt and the current attempts to revive anticommunist ideology, to build up U.S. military might, and to attack the labor movement.

Symmetrical to the weakening of its international position, American capitalism has become increasingly malignant in its domestic politics. With the opening of the "cold war" in 1946 under Truman, American imperialism became the chief organizer of the world counterrevolution. It is not possible to revive, bolster, and sustain every reactionary force abroad without affecting the ideology of the home front. The rantings of a Chiang Kai-shek or Syngman Rhee on the need for a supreme effort to reduce the anticapitalist countries to an open arena for imperialist exploitation strike a responsive chord. Their views become a factor in American politics.

And while organizing counterrevolution abroad, Big Business at home opened a reactionary drive to prepare the domestic front for World War III. The sacrifices that would be demanded of the workers in the projected atomic conflict are of an order qualitatively different from anything demanded of the workers in the past. The ruling class does not count on buying off this opposition or seriously expect that the labor bureaucracy can contain it. Consequently they are resorting more and more to the club.

The unions are marked as the major objective, but the dollar plutocracy is not so stupid as to begin with a head-on struggle against such a force. Their strategy is "one at a time." They have carefully singled out unpopular victims to whose defense the labor movement would be least likely to rally, and given them the works first. At the same time they have moved step by step to construct a police state capable of strangling all democratic institutions and traditions and transforming the trade unions into an integral part of the police-state apparatus. The norm of democracy in America is thus disintegrating. The disintegration has gone so far that for the first time in American history a political party

[the Communist Party] has been outlawed.

The beginnings of the witch hunt can be traced back to 1940 when Roosevelt signed the Smith "Gag" Act and personally gave the word to prosecute the leaders of the Socialist Workers Party and Local 544 of the Teamsters. However, the need to appear as champions of democracy in the war, coupled with the support that both the labor bureaucrats and the Stalinists gave the war, caused the Roosevelt administration to defer a wide-scale witch hunt.

With the fall of Japan, a new chapter opened. The administration sought to begin its drive against the labor movement by driving a wedge into it, inspiring certain labor leaders to carry the ball first.

An attempt was made as early as 1945 to use the AFL as a bludgeon against the "Communist CIO."

The Murray leadership of the CIO responded by opening a preventive witch hunt of its own in the CIO. The Stalinist trade union leaders cooperated with Murray in this in the early stages, hoping to salvage their posts and positions by going along with the relatively mild edicts of the Buffalo CIO convention in 1946 ending the autonomy of the CIO councils.

But with this infringement on trade-union democracy, the sluice gates were opened. The inner CIO witch hunt gained momentum, finally engulfing every union and resulting in the expulsion of the Stalinist-dominated internationals.

The witch hunt became the main political instrument in the drive against the democratic form of government. This was accompanied by administrative orders and a wave of federal and local antilabor legislation beginning with the Taft-Hartley Act in 1946, all of which was aimed at shackling the unions and reducing the Bill of Rights to a scrap of paper.

In the country as a whole, Truman's so-called "loyalty" order of 1947—the domestic parallel to the launching of the "cold war" abroad—gave enormous impetus to the witch hunt. From the government, the hunt for "reds" spread to the waterfront and to industries engaged in production of war materiel, and from there to industry as a whole. The purge swept Hollywood, radio, TV, the schools, and the churches.

But a witch hunt has a logic of its own. It can be kept going only by providing fresh sensations, each more startling than the last. Otherwise it tends to die down. Since the witch hunt is an essential element of the drive to psychologize the people for war and for smashing the union, Big Business cannot permit it to die down. And so the fresh sensations are provided. America is even given the electrocution of "spies."

(For more on McCarthyism, see *What Is American Fascism?* by James P. Cannon and Joseph Hansen. Available for \$1.25 from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, New York 10014. Please include \$.25 for postage.)

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Stop Carter's threats against Nicaraguan freedom fighters!

By David Frankel

Like the Medici popes who preached the sanctity of life over the bodies of their poisoned victims, President Carter is posing as a defender of democracy in Nicaragua.

"It's unbelievable," rebel spokesperson Miguel D'Escoto said June 27. "Nicaragua has never had democracy and it's been the United States which has squelched attempts to create it."

Of course, Carter's real worry is precisely that the people who have been fighting for democracy in Nicaragua are on the verge of winning. As long as dictator Anastasio Somoza was firmly in the saddle there was no sense of crisis in Washington, no alarms about the need to strengthen "democratic forces" in Nicaragua.

With the dictatorship crumbling day by day, Carter has urged Somoza's resignation. At the same time, however, he has refused to cut ties to the tyrant. As of July 4 Washington was still recognizing Somoza as the legal ruler of Nicaragua.

Explaining this two-faced game, *New York Times* correspondent Alan Riding reported July 1 that "senior United States officials have suggested that the 'democratic forces' of Nicaragua be strengthened *before the President steps down*, if in fact his resignation can be arranged" (emphasis added).

In other words, Washington is demanding that the Nicaraguan people accept its conditions, or the slaughter will go on!

Nobody knows how many thousands have been killed by the indiscriminate bombing, rocketing, and shelling that Somoza's National Guard has used as its main tactic. In Managua alone there are estimated to be 150,000 refugees.

By "democratic forces" the imperialists do not mean the Nicaraguan workers and peasants who are giving their lives in the fight against the dictatorship. On the contrary, Washington's first proposal was for the appointment of a "constitutional" council by Somoza's rubber-stamp Congress.



MANAGUA—"The entire Nicaraguan people are totally and massively with the Sandinistas."

In addition, Riding reported that "opposition sources said that Washington particularly wishes to avoid the destruction of the 15,000-strong National Guard, which it saw as a guarantee against radicalism."

One oppositionist likened these proposals to the suggestion that Hitler resign but that the Nazi party and the SS be retained.

Fearful that a victory by the Sandinista rebels in Nicaragua will lead to radical social measures, and perhaps the overturn of capitalism there, Carter earlier tried to get the Organization of American States to send troops. The

OAS refused, but U.S. officials continue to claim that Cuba is intervening in Nicaragua—the potential pretext for U.S. military action.

"If Cuban silhouettes do emerge through the murk in Nicaragua, the Americans will have to act," the *British Economist* editorialized June 30.

U.S. News & World Report pointed out in its July 9 issue that "State Department officials privately concede that the OAS resolution gives Carter an 'umbrella' to commit troops if he so decides—a move that they say is unlikely but cannot be ruled out."

Such statements are themselves a

form of intervention in Nicaraguan affairs. By threatening that the use of U.S. troops "cannot be ruled out," the imperialists pressure the Nicaraguan people to accept their dictates. Thus, the provisional junta appointed by the Sandinistas has already promised to honor the \$1.5 billion foreign debt of the Somoza regime.

Most of this debt—incurred without the agreement of the Nicaraguan people—was due to the import of arms to repress the workers and peasants. Nicaragua's economy is now in ruins. But the provisional government feels it

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GE workers condemn miserly contract

By David Frankel

Union negotiators and the giant General Electric Company announced July 2 that they had reached tentative agreement on a new contract.

"Workers here think it's an insult, a deliberate slap in the face by GE," was the response of one worker at GE's big Lynn, Massachusetts, plant after hearing the terms of the proposed contract.

Handwritten signs blossomed on the walls of the plant July 3. Most said "Vote No, Vote Strike." Another said, "We'll vote for this contract when gas goes down to 50 cents a gallon and you can buy a loaf of bread for a quarter."

The average wage of GE workers is only \$6.70 an hour—far below the standard set in auto, steel and other basic industries. Due to inflation, GE workers have fallen about \$1.05 an hour behind where they were when their last contract was signed in 1976.

But the proposed contract offers a first-year raise of only 50 cents an

hour—not even enough to make up for the past losses from inflation.

Measly increases of 17.5 cents and 15 cents an hour are promised for the second and third years of the contract—a total wage increase that comes to only 12.3 percent over the next three years.

Inadequate as the 1976 contract was, it was still better than this one. That contract gave union members a sixty-cent increase the first year and twenty-five-cent increases in each of the next two years.

Although improvements were won in the cost-of-living clause, it is still not strong enough to fully protect wages from the ravages of inflation.

GE management backed up its penny-pinching "final offer" with the authority of President Carter's 7 percent wage guidelines. On the same day as the contract agreement, the U.S. Supreme Court announced it was refus-

ing to hear a legal challenge to the guidelines brought by the AFL-CIO.

By presenting the thirteen unions in the Coordinated Bargaining Committee with its take-it-or-leave-it offer, GE was continuing its hard-nosed tradition.

The bargaining committee took it. But there was a lot of dissatisfaction, as was shown by the committee vote of 368 to 226.

Sixty percent of unionized GE workers are represented by the International Union of Electrical Workers. Representatives of IUE Local 201, from Lynn, and Local 761 from Louisville, which together represent more than a third of the IUE membership in GE, voted against the proposed contract.

As Local 761 President Kenneth Cassady noted, "It does not fulfill the needs of our members."

For rank-and-file electrical workers, the need for their unions to take a

stand against the companies is becoming clearer each day. The continuing economic crisis can only mean more attacks on wages, working conditions, and workers' rights.

Meeting the challenge of organizing the unorganized is becoming a question of life or death. When the electrical unions joined forces in 1969 and conducted a victorious nationwide strike, they had some 147,000 members at GE. Since then the number of GE workers has grown, but the number of union members has shrunk to 114,000—less than half the company's work force.

Union negotiators demanded a union-shop clause in the contract negotiations, but GE is hardly about to hand that over without a fight. Whether they will get one this time around will be decided by the workers voting on the proposed contract this week.