

# THE MILITANT

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

## Stop US threats against Iran!

By Janice Lynn

In the face of a new wave of anti-imperialist struggles by Iranian workers, peasants, and young people, the Carter administration is threatening to take military steps against the Iranian revolution.

"An American intervention force probably would be drawn from what Secretary of Defense Harold Brown has designated the Rapid Deployment Forces—approximately 110,000 men and women drawn from all four services," wrote correspondent Drew Middleton in the November 7 *New York Times*.

"An airdrop to seize the embassy and Tehran's airport would be possible, qualified sources said."

Middleton asserted that "the balance of opinion" in Washington favors such intervention "if the crisis worsens."

The pretext for the U.S. threats was the November 4 occupation of the U.S. embassy in Tehran by students demanding that the U.S. extradite ex-shah Mohammad Reza Pahlavi to Iran to face trial for his countless crimes. The students are holding a number of embassy personnel and others as hostages.

In the oilfields of Khuzestan, strikes by oil workers are said to be responsible for an oil stoppage. There have been reports that all deliveries to the United States may be cut off by oil workers

protesting the shah's presence in this country.

Oil workers had also threatened to strike over a government decree that they must work forty-eight hours, six days per week.

The basic justice of the students' and oil workers' demands has been buried in the U.S. capitalist news media under an ocean of lies and hysteria blasting the Iranian people as "mobs of religious fanatics." Washington is even trying to blame the Iranian masses for the U.S. oil industry's plans for future gas lines and soaring prices.

The ex-shah is responsible for the torture and murder of tens of thousands of Iranians. He plun-

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## Brutal Klan murders: were cops involved?

By Jon Hillson

GREENSBORO, N.C.—With the televised image of the Ku Klux Klan-Nazi massacre of antiracist demonstrators still fresh in their minds, many here are asking: *Did the police deliberately let the murderous assault take place?*

Local cops who tailed armed Klans and Nazis from the city limits into the heart of Greensboro's Black community on November 3 were nowhere to be seen when the racist scum opened fire on some seventy-five to one hundred assembling demonstrators.

Four were killed on the spot, with a fifth dying from wounds on November 5. One protester remains critically wounded. At least nine others were hospitalized.

The barrage of bullets lasted from two to four minutes, as the hit squads calmly loaded and reloaded shotguns, pistols, rifles, and automatic weapons, firing into the fleeing crowd.

Thus far, twelve racists have been charged with four counts of first degree murder and one count of conspiracy to commit murder. Four others are being held on charges of conspiracy to commit murder. All are being held without bond.

Two demonstrators were arrested. Nelson Johnson, a leader of the action, was charged with inciting to riot. Willena Cannon, who intervened when the cops grabbed Johnson, was charged with interfering with an officer.

The Morningside community, where the killings took place, is marked by an uneasy calm. Residents, the majority of whom are on fixed incomes, are very young or elderly.

On the street where armed men poured lead into demonstrators,

smashing out apartment windows, and terrorizing the Black neighborhood; there now is a slow, steady patrol of unmarked police cars.

"There are a lot of cops here now," one young Black told the *Militant*, "but I got no idea why. Where were they on Saturday?"

This is what happened on November 3, according to eyewitness accounts.

The mood of assembling anti-Klan demonstrators suddenly changed as a carload of Klan and Nazi members drove toward the crowd, shouting, "Kill the nigger SOB's."

A small group of demonstrators encircled the car, shouting back.

One racist got out of the car and fired a pistol in the air.

"That was the signal," one eyewitness told the *Militant*. By this time several carloads of Klans and Nazis had pulled up behind the point car. As many as forty racists were in the convoy.

The armed occupants of the cars got out, aimed, and fired into the crowd.

"They weren't in any rush," one young Black Morningside resident told the *Militant*.

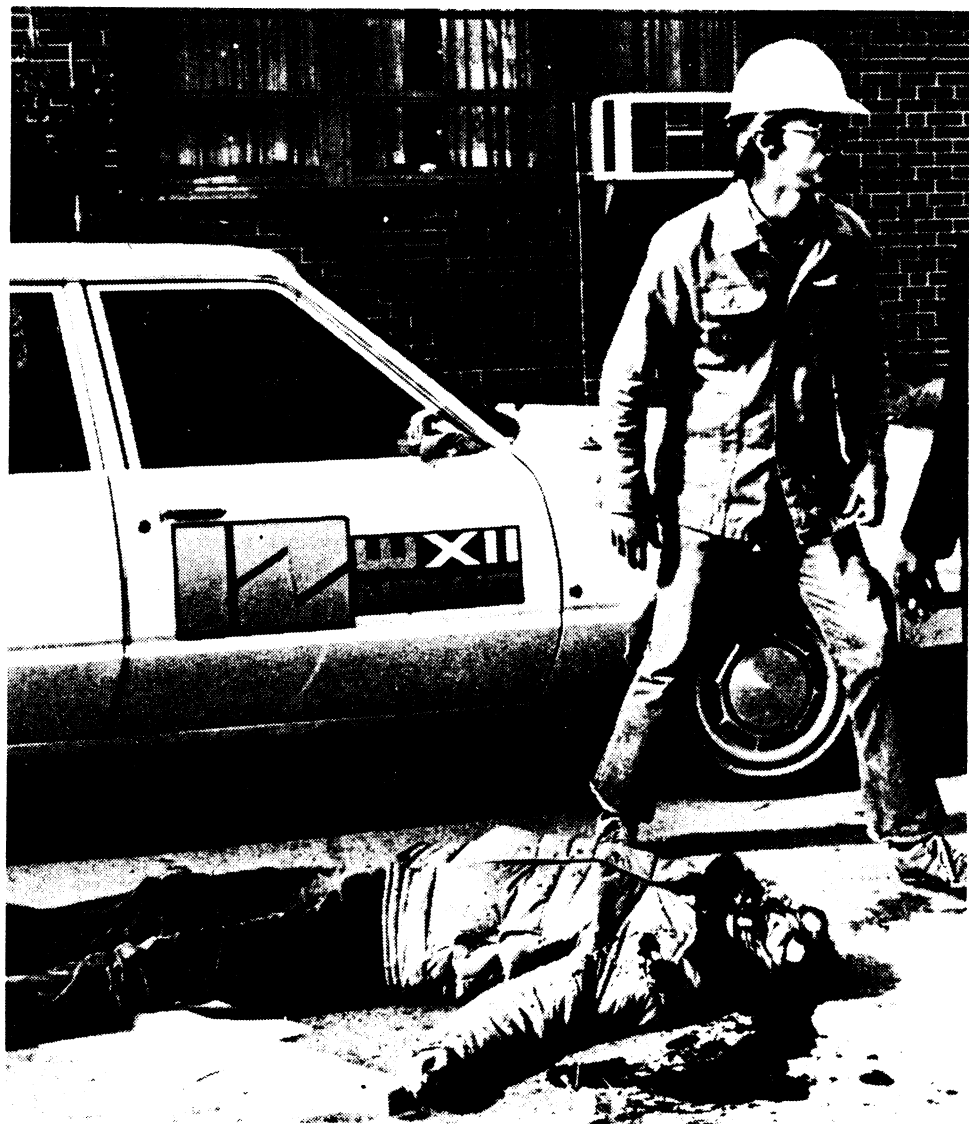
Several local media reports have carried accounts of rock-throwing attacks by the anti-Klan protesters, in an attempt to convey the impression that the heavily armed racist goons were somehow "provoked." But film clips of the shooting and the moments leading up to it show nothing of the kind.

"Look around here," one resident told the *Militant*. "There's no rocks anywhere."

As the crowd scattered, the murderers began to leave.

Police then arrived on the scene,

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One of five anti-Klan demonstrators slain in Greensboro when gang of racists opened fire. Cops had Klan-Nazi assassins under surveillance, but left the scene before murderous assault began.

## Jan. 13 can be ERA turning point

The January 13, 1980, march and rally for the Equal Rights Amendment in Richmond, Virginia, has the potential to be the most significant action ever for the ERA.

Called by Labor for Equal Rights Now (LERN), it has won broad sponsorship from both labor unions and the women's movement. January 13 deserves and needs the full effort and mobilization of all ERA supporters.

Since the 100,000-strong July 9, 1978, march on Washington forced Congress to extend the ERA deadline to June 1982, the ERA drive has faltered. No new states have ratified since Indiana in January 1978. With fewer than

1,000 days to go, three more states must ratify for the ERA to become law. To win, the pro-ERA forces must go on the offensive. January 13 can be the turning point.

Whatever state we are in, we live in an unratified nation. A nationwide outpouring of support for the Virginia march will help the fight in all fifteen unratified states.

ERA is not mere words on a page. It is a fight for equal pay, equal job opportunities, and equal status under the law.

At stake is whether women will go forward and break down the barriers of resistance to full equality or whether they will be stopped, turned back, and the movement broken.

What happens to ERA will also help determine whether a fighting labor movement is built in the next period to take on the ruling-class offensive against all working people.

The growing involvement of the labor movement in the fight for women's rights is one aspect of the rising militancy of working people.

Workers are increasingly seeking to act through their unions—and to organize unions where they have none—to fight back against employer and government attacks ranging from layoffs to high prices and the energy ripoff, from speed-up to environmental destruction and the threat of war.

These attacks are educating the entire labor movement in the heat of battle on the need for unity. More and more working people—male and female—are realizing what the LERN education/action resolution passed at its August 12 conference explained:

"The entire labor movement will gain as women win equal rights. The employers' attempts to divide workers by sex will be curbed; women will play an increasing role in the labor movement, adding their numbers and power to roll back the employers' anti-union offensive; the greater unity in our ranks will increase the unions' ability to win better wages, benefits, and conditions for all members; and the labor movement will be in a stronger position to organize the unorganized."

Sexism, like racism, divides and weakens the labor movement. It cripples labor's ability to fight back.

But these divisions of sexism and racism are breaking down precisely at the time when the

ruling class is on the offensive to exacerbate divisions within the working class as part of its antilabor assault.

January 13 can be a battering ram against this drive. It can put labor on the offensive.

It can go a long way to strengthen the fighting alliance between the labor, women's, and civil rights movements that is needed for the battles ahead.

This need to unite with allies in the labor movement was a major theme at the recent national conferences of the National Organization for Women (NOW) and the Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW). Both organizations have endorsed January 13.

William Lucy, president of the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists, will speak at January 13. And Black trade unionists—male and female—are taking the lead in the fight for the ERA and women's rights.

Women are playing a big new role in the labor movement. Reflecting the fact that women make up nearly 50 percent of the work force, union women's committees and ERA committees are growing. More women are being elected to union office, including in predominantly male locals. Union-sponsored women's conferences have sprung up across the country. Women unionists in turn are joining CLUW and NOW and thus strengthening these organizations.

By coming forward in the unions to fight for their rights and the rights of all workers, women are pointing the way forward for the kind of progressive social role the unions can play.

January 13 can only deepen this process.

In the next two and a half months, all supporters of women's rights—including both men and women unionists—need to go ahead full force to build January 13 and the December 2-9 education/action campaign leading up to it.

Given the authority this action has already won in the labor and women's movements, there is no limit on the scope of activities that can be organized.

ERA is one of the biggest battles in the class struggle in this country, pitting women and labor against big business and its government.

The stakes are high. January 13 can make the difference in this fight.

## Speakers list

Labor for Equal Rights Now has released a partial list of speakers for the January 13, 1980, march and rally in Richmond. It includes:

**Julian Carper**, president, Virginia State AFL-CIO;

**Eleanor Smeal**, president, National Organization for Women;

**William Wynn**, president, United Food and Commercial Workers union,

**Addie Wyatt**, international vice-president, United Food and Commercial Workers, and executive vice-president, Coalition of Labor Union Women;

**William Lucy**, president, Coalition of Black Trade Unionists, and secretary-treasurer, American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees;

**Frank Mont**, director of Civil Rights Department, United Steelworkers;

**Paulette Shine**, president, United Mine Workers Local 4172 (first woman president of a mine workers local);

**Alice Peurala**, president, Steelworkers Local 65 (first woman president of a basic steel local);

**Willard McGuire**, president, National Education Association;

**Ed Coppedge**, president, Steelworkers Local 8888;

**Carol Pudliner**, Virginia NOW coordinator  
**Judy Galloway**, special projects coordinator, United Mine Workers;

**Milton Brickhouse**, president, Virginia CAP Council, United Auto Workers.

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### Trotsky—one hundred years

On the hundredth anniversary of Leon Trotsky's birth, the world class struggle is heating up. From Nicaragua to Iran, from El Salvador to South Korea, the workers, peasants, and students of the semicolonial world are rising up and saying no to imperialism. And in the heartland of imperialism, the United States, working people are increasingly willing to fight back against ruling-class attacks on their democratic rights and standard of living. Trotsky would have welcomed these developments. His life was devoted to speeding their arrival. Two articles in this month's 'International Socialist Review' look at this revolutionary leader's life and ideas.

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# ...stop U.S. threats against Iran

Continued from front page

dered the wealth of the country to maintain his monarchy—activities in which he had the full backing, encouragement, and financial assistance of the U.S. government for twenty-five years.

How angered the Iranian people must be at statements that the U.S. rulers are harboring this criminal for "humanitarian" reasons!

If Carter had a shred of real concern for the lives of the people in the U.S. embassy, he would turn the royal mass murderer over for trial today. U.S. military threats only serve to endanger their lives.

The Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini, Iran's de facto head of state, has under the tremendous mass pressure supported the embassy seizure and is demanding that the shah be tried in Iran for his crimes. By giving voice to the well-founded anti-imperialist sentiments of most Iranians, Khomeini is trying to regain the popularity he had begun to lose because of his government's repressive and antilabor actions.

Khomeini's anti-imperialist stance is the reason for the screaming headlines in the U.S. press denouncing him as a "holy madman."

The Carter administration's attitude was different last August when Khomeini launched a bloody war against the Kurds, shut down more than forty newspapers, executed Kurds and Arabs who demanded their rights and threatened to execute socialists and other dissidents. At that time, the Carter administration became more friendly to Khomeini and renewed arms shipments to his government.

Carter is worried that Khomeini may not be able to put the lid on the new explosion of anti-imperialist struggles in Iran. His worries were worsened when the recent events precipitated the break-up of the Khomeini-Bazargan team that has headed the government since the popular insurrection that toppled the shah last February. Prime Minister Mehdi Bazargan and his cabinet resigned November 4, and Khomeini turned governmental authority over to the "Revolutionary Council" of figures from the Islamic hierarchy.

## 'Nobody's in control'

One U.S. businessman in Tehran was quoted as saying, "Religious leaders incited the students to attack the U.S. embassy, but now they've lost control of the situation to the leftists and the Communists. . . . Nobody's in control here anymore. Not Ayatollah Khomeini, no one."

Khomeini and his "Revolutionary Council" will be trying to contain the revolutionary process. But a profound mobilization of the masses has occurred and is continuing.

The occupation of the embassy came as tens of thousands marched through the streets November 4 on the first anniversary of the shooting of students at Tehran University by the shah's security forces.

These actions were preceded by a November 1 march of tens of thousands on the U.S. embassy and by anti-shah protests in dozens of other cities and towns throughout Iran. These marches took place despite attempts by the religious leaders to cancel them.

These mobilizations and the breakup of the government in Iran take place in the context of the capitalist regime's inability to solve the problems in Iran, its repressive actions against oppressed nationalities and militant workers, and the increasing dissatisfaction of the masses.

Among the most pressing needs are 1) industrialization, free from domination by imperialism; 2)



Demonstrators outside U.S. embassy in Tehran

land reform for the two-thirds of the population who are peasants; 3) full democratic rights including the right of self-determination for the 60 percent of the population who are oppressed nationalities; 4) jobs for the millions who are still unemployed; 5) higher wages to meet soaring inflation; and 6) equality for women.

## Repression hasn't worked

Determined to preserve a capitalist state in Iran, the Khomeini-Bazargan government had to resort to increasingly repressive measures to try and prevent the revolution from going forward, to prevent the workers and peasants from gaining control over their lives.

In August, the government launched a wave of repression, centered on its brutal war against the Kurdish people.

But on October 31, Kurdish forces regained control of Mahabad, the historic capital and political center of the Kurdish region. The Iranian government is faced with increasing antiwar sentiment among the population as well as resistance in the army and air force.

In fact, the government was forced to state publicly that it was entering into negotiations with Kurdish leaders, who were previously branded by Khomeini as "enemies of God."

In addition to the dissatisfaction of Iran's oil workers, workers in many plants throughout the

country have been participating in factory councils and demanding a greater say in decisions.

Thousands of unemployed workers and high school graduates have protested the lack of jobs.

Land seizures have continued and spread to southern districts of Azerbaijan.

There have been takeovers of hotels by university students demanding they be converted into badly needed dormitories. Some 30,000 high school students took part in two days of demonstrations in Tehran October 29 and 30, effectively shutting down the city's schools. They demanded an end to a government ban on political discussions in the classrooms. They also called for nationalization of the schools. Massive high school protests also took place in Tabriz.

## Political prisoners

As Khomeini plays on the deep anti-shah sentiment of the masses, supporting and encouraging their demands for extradition of the shah, it will become harder and harder to justify the jailing of thousands of political prisoners who have devoted their lives to fighting against the shah.

The Tehran-based Committee to Defend Political Prisoners has documented the existence of at least 1,500 anti-shah political prisoners.

Among the best known are the fourteen members of the Hezb-e Karagan-e Sosialist (HKS—Socialist Workers Party) who are facing sentences of death and life imprisonment for expressing their political views.

Repression and imprisonment of anti-shah fighters are clearly against the will of the Iranian masses. The case of the Iranian 14 has become a rallying point for all those in Iran who are challenging repressive measures.

Supporters of the Iranian revolution around the world should condemn Washington's campaign of lies and threats against the Iranian people (including the threats by U.S. authorities to deport Iranian students in this country who demonstrate their support to the anti-shah protests).

No U.S. intervention in Iran!

At the same time, international pressure should continue for the release of the Iranian 14. This is the best way to press for a further retreat by the Khomeini government in its attempted crackdown on democratic rights, and to support the struggles of the Iranian masses in advancing the revolution.

## Free the socialists

The Committee to Save the Iranian 14 is coordinating the emergency effort to secure the release of the fourteen Socialist Workers Party prisoners.

Telegrams and petitions should be sent to Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini, Qum, Iran; Ayatollah Ghodosi, Prosecutor General, Tehran, Iran; and the Majlise Hebragon (Council of Experts), Tehran, Iran.

Copies should be sent to the Tehran daily *Baamdad*, Hafez Avenue, 24 Zartoshtian Alley, Tehran, Iran, which is printing copies of all protests received.

Copies should also be sent to *Ettela'at*, Khayam Avenue, Tehran, Iran; *Kayhan*, Ferdowsi Avenue, Tehran, Iran; and to the Committee to Save the Iranian 14, 200 Park Avenue South, Room 812, New York, New York 10003.

Financial contributions are urgently needed to step up the committee's efforts.

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## Help goes to Pol Pot's killers

# Carter, Red Cross, UN block Kampuchea aid

By Fred Feldman

The Carter administration, the United Nations, and the International Red Cross are working hand in hand to commit one of the most brutal crimes of this century—the deliberate starvation of more than 2.5 million Kampuchians in an effort to topple the government of Heng Samrin.

At the same time, massive quantities of arms and other supplies are being shipped—in the name of “humanitarian aid”—to the remaining forces backing ousted dictator Pol Pot and to other rightist units that are allied with Pol Pot against the Heng Samrin forces and their Vietnamese allies.

Pol Pot and his Khmer Rouge killers were responsible for the deaths of millions of Kampuchians before their overthrow last January.

An unusually frank statement of the purposes of the aid program appeared in the November 5 *New York Times*. Bangkok correspondent Henry Kamm reported that these forces “are provided with international assistance channeled through Thai military authorities, whose permission is required for every supply trip. Although no policy has been announced, field observations indicate a direct relationship between the degree of effective opposition of each group to the Vietnamese occupation forces and the readiness with which food is made available.”

With the direct assistance of the U.S.-armed Thai military, the Pol Pot forces and their allies control small strips of territory along the Thai-Kampuchean border. There they hold up to 300,000 civilian captives—in contrast to the four million Kampuchians who live in territory controlled by Heng Samrin's forces.

All observers at the border report that the aid given here is being taken by Pol Pot's troops, who are described as well fed—in contrast to the civilians under their control, who are wasting away from malnutrition and malaria.

While nothing is allowed to stand in the way of aid to Pol Pot, no pretext is too flimsy to serve as an obstacle to providing aid to the Kampuchean people.

While the Red Cross and UNICEF—not to mention the Carter administration—have no objection to aid being monopolized by Pol Pot's soldiers, they insist on ironclad guarantees that not an ounce of food given to Kampuchea will be eaten by soldiers opposed to Pol Pot.



Children suffering from severe malnutrition in Phnompenh. U.S. imperialism plays politics with Kampuchea's starving millions.

While the Red Cross and UNICEF allow the corrupt military dictatorship in Thailand to have full control over the distribution of aid, they insist on rigid controls over all aid given to the Kampuchean government.

While the Red Cross and UNICEF cooperate fully with the Thai government in aiding Pol Pot, they have refused thus far to use Vietnamese trucks, ports, or other facilities to provide food to the Kampuchean people.

UNICEF and the Red Cross have insisted that the Kampuchean government endorse the massive aid program they are carrying out for Pol Pot's forces as a precondition for aid.

This was followed by the Carter administration's phony “aid offer”—actually a demand that the Phnompenh government open its borders to a truck convoy from Thailand into the sections of western Kampuchea where Pol Pot's forces are concentrated.

When the Heng Samrin government resisted these demands, it was declared to have “barred aid.”

And when Phnompenh or Hanoi point out the simple fact that this aid program is being used to supply Pol Pot while denying food to the Kampuchean

people, capitalist newspapers and politicians reach new heights of hypocritical indignation at their “inhumanity.”

When all else fails, the imperialist governments, UNICEF, and the Red Cross declare that the Kampuchean government can't really distribute any aid anyway, since their ports and airstrips are unusable.

This claim was denied by the Phnompenh government. And its was disproven when the November 1 *New York Times* reported that five freighters—including three from the Soviet Union said to be carrying food—had arrived in the port of Kompong Som in recent days.

Britain's Oxfam—virtually the only relief agency in the capitalist world which has seriously tried to help the Kampuchean people—announced November 5 that one of its barges containing 2,000 tons of food had arrived in the supposedly unusable port of Kompong Som. It was greeted at the dock by President Heng Samrin himself—a commentary on the lie that the Phnompenh government rejects aid.

In an interview published in the October 21 *Christian Science Monitor*,

Oxfam's Jim Howard insisted that the Kampuchean government has put up no obstacles to Oxfam's aid program. “There are now no more barriers to substantial aid going in from the people of goodwill,” he told correspondent Stephen Webbe. “We have demanded and got permission to monitor all the supplies going in through the consortium [of aid donors].”

The reason Oxfam is able to supply aid while the Red Cross, the United Nations, and the Carter administration keep running into “insuperable obstacles” is simple. Oxfam is trying to feed the Kampuchean people, while the U.S. government, UNICEF, and the Red Cross are trying to supply their murderers.

These imperialist agencies oppose feeding the people of Kampuchea because they view starvation as a powerful weapon in their drive to bring down the Heng Samrin government. They aim to replace it with one that the U.S. imperialists can more easily control (whether that means the return of Pol Pot or the installation of some other regime is a secondary matter to the imperialists).

After visiting Kampuchea, Howard announced that Oxfam had decided not to provide aid to the Pol Pot forces—a shift from his earlier position in favor of aiding both sides.

According to Webbe, “Mr. Howard stresses that the former Cambodian ruler ‘can't be allowed to survive and go on battling away because this country will never come to peace. Cambodia needs peace above everything now.’”

“He says that the great fear of the Phnom Penh government is a Vietnamese withdrawal under pressure ‘from China or elsewhere’ that would bring Pol Pot sweeping back into power. ‘We see no survival under Pol Pot,’ he says gravely.

“‘After all, we've been and looked inside the gas chambers, if you like, and if we ignore this, then it's on our heads.’”

The United States has 400,000 tons of surplus rice in storage—more than enough to end the famine in Kampuchea in a matter of days.

The American people must demand that Carter stop arming and supplying the forces of Pol Pot and his rightist allies for their bloody war against this long-suffering people. Instead, Carter must send the Kampuchean people all the food they need now.

## Columnist exposes gov't lies on Kampuchea

The following column by Jack Anderson is reprinted from the October 29 *Washington Post*.

Jimmy Carter's sanctimonious sermons on human rights have become a cruel mockery to millions of Cambodians, who are dying of starvation and disease—helpless pawns being sacrificed in the deadly chess game of big power politics.

Despite assurances from the Carter administration that the United States would give food to Cambodians “irrespective of their political authority,” officials within the State Department have deliberately sabotaged this humane policy, according to a wide variety of sources.

“The problem has been that people in lower levels, specifically in the East Asian desk, have been doing nothing but obstructing efforts to aid the Cambodians,” one Capitol

Hill source told our reporter Lucette Lagnado.

The Foggy Bottom bureaucrats have been blaming legal and congressional roadblocks for their inaction. But the real reason, according to our sources, is a deep-seated anti-Vietnam bias in the State Department.

Apparently it was feared that some relief supplies might fall into the hands of the Vietnamese invaders, helping them solidify their authority in Cambodia. Rather than run the risk, our callous diplomats chose not to implement the massive food program needed to prevent the virtual extinction of the Cambodian people.

The anti-Vietnamese “tilt” in the State Department was recently reflected in the shameful U.S. vote to seat the infamous Pol Pot regime in the United Nations, despite the

evidence—which we have been reporting for more than four years—that it was responsible for the slaughter of millions of Cambodians since it seized power in 1974.

For reasons of global strategy, the United States deems it important to join the Chinese in support of Pol Pot, and oppose the rival government set up by Soviet-backed Vietnamese troops. “It was more important for us to give the Soviets a diplomatic kick than it was for us to feed the people,” charged one knowledgeable source.

It's not as if the horrors of Cambodia's starving millions came as any surprise to our policymakers. The State Department has known since at least March that the unhappy country was facing a food shortage of catastrophic proportions, according to sources in the department and Congress. Intelligence reports in-

formed the administration that only 5 to 10 percent of Cambodia's arable land was being planted last spring.

This was confirmed by a secret CIA report in early August, which offered the harrowing prediction that as many as 3.5 million people would starve to death as a result of poor harvests next December and January. Other reports indicated that typhus and malaria were decimating the population. There are virtually no children under age 5, and for every birth there are 10 deaths.

Footnote: Robert Oakley of the State Department's East Asian bureau denied that his office had failed to implement the policy on food aid to Cambodia. “The Vietnamese wouldn't let us” distribute the relief supplies, he said, and the program was hampered by strict monitoring procedures insisted on by Congress.



# Nicaragua takes over foreign-held mines

By Fred Murphy

MANAGUA—All foreign-owned mines in Nicaragua were nationalized November 2 by order of the Junta of National Reconstruction.

The Sandinista-led government's decree also cancelled all concessions that had been granted to foreign concerns by the Somoza dictatorship for the exploration and further exploitation of Nicaragua's mineral wealth.

In taking this step, an editorial in the Sandinista daily *Barricada* explained November 3, the government "is upholding our national sovereignty, the inalienable right of our people to the exploitation of our natural resources and the interests of thousands of workers . . . who for decades were the object of crude exploitation by the foreign owners."

Three mining concerns owned by U.S. and Canadian capitalists are affected by the decree. One of these, the Rosario Mining Company, was a subsidiary of the huge multinational metals corporation, ASARCO.

Junta members Daniel Ortega, Ser-

gio Ramírez, and Moisés Hassan traveled to the gold mining town of Siuna in the northeastern part of the country on November 2 to make the announcement at a rally of gold miners.

The mine workers—who have recently organized a union and joined the Sandinista Workers Federation—greeted the measure enthusiastically. Two provisions of the decree are especially important to the miners: One provides for workers representatives in the management of the new Nicaraguan Mining Development Corporation (CODEMINA) that will administer the mines. The other reserves Nicaragua's right to demand indemnities for the "human damages" caused by the mine owners during their more than fifty years of operations.

Many miners suffer from tuberculosis and other respiratory ailments owing to inadequate ventilation in the mines. Falsification of X-rays by the companies to avoid paying compensation was a common practice.

Gold is the main mineral produced by Nicaragua's mines, although some silver, zinc, lead, and copper are also

mined. At the close of World War II, Nicaragua ranked seventh in gold production internationally. Since that time there has been a big decline in the amount of the precious metal produced.

The revolutionary authorities now suspect, however, that production levels were actually greater in recent years than the companies reported and that much gold was smuggled out of Nicaragua in order to avoid payment of taxes.

Thus the nationalization decree also calls for indemnities for tax evasion as well as for damages to the environment caused by the mine owners.

Once all the indemnities are deducted, the former owners are to be compensated with bonds that will be redeemable in six years.

Gold will now be a potentially important source of badly needed foreign exchange for Nicaragua's revolutionary government. The mines produced a recorded value of \$6.2 million in 1978—before the recent jump in gold prices on the world market.

From Intercontinental Press/Inprecor



Militant/Fred Murphy

Sign in union demonstration reads 'Workers and peasants to power.'

## Right-wing Cuban threat halts Miami meeting

By Andrea Baron

MIAMI—Threats of physical violence by right-wing Cubans have again forced cancellation of a film showing here sponsored by the Antonio Maceo Brigade.

The brigade is made up of young Cubans abroad who support normalization of relations between the United States and Cuba.

The highly acclaimed Cuban film, *Memories of Underdevelopment*, was originally scheduled to be shown September 29. That meeting was broken up by armed members of the anti-Castro group Abdala. They smashed the film projector, beat up brigade activists, stole several hundred dollars, and fled after firing shots into the air.

The film showing was rescheduled for November 3 at the Temple Israel of Miami. However, because of threats received against the safety of the meeting, Temple administrators canceled the showing.

Right-wingers in Miami have been driven into a frenzy by the rapidly

growing openness of the Cuban community here to the Cuban revolution. Incensed by the UN visit of Cuban President Fidel Castro, these right-wing terrorists, a minority within the Cuban community, have sought to use violence and fear to keep people from learning the truth about Cuba.

Over the past month a public defense campaign has been conducted here by a broad spectrum of civil libertarians and Cuban community groups.

Delegations representing groups such as the American Civil Liberties Union, Concerned Democrats of Dade County, and the Committee of 75, a coalition of Cuban community groups in favor of the dialogue with Cuba, have gone to the offices of the state attorney and local police officials. They have demanded an investigation of the September 29 assault, prosecution of all the assailants, and police protection for the November 3 film showing.

The police refused to provide protection. So far they have arrested only

two members of Abdala, despite the fact that witnesses can identify most of the twenty or more attackers.

At a well-attended press conference November 1, representatives of the brigade, the Committee of 75, and the Socialist Workers Party denounced the right-wing terror campaign.

The Miami office of the Socialist Workers Party 1980 Campaign has received two anonymous bomb threats during the past several weeks. One occurred on October 12, the same day as Fidel Castro's address to the UN.

On October 20, a caller claiming to be from the "American National War Council" said a bomb would go off in ten minutes. The police were called, and they made a superficial check. Fortunately, the call was only a threat.

The SWP campaign is demanding a thorough investigation, pointing to the October 27 bombing of the Cuban Mission in New York as just the latest in a series of counterrevolutionary actions encouraged by the Carter administration's stepped-up attacks

against Cuba.

Andrés Gómez, Florida coordinator of the brigade, told reporters, "The Antonio Maceo Brigade, alongside other Cuban-American groups, will continue to peacefully exercise its right to present its views on the problems confronting the Cuban community abroad."

After the film cancellation, a November 3 press conference was held denouncing the continuing campaign of terrorism and demanding police protection of the next film showing.

Brian Peterson of the Florida International University chapter of United Faculty of Florida announced that the group would request university facilities and adequate security to assure that the film showing can proceed safely.

Support was also expressed by the Coalition for Human Rights for Haitian Refugees, Nicaragua Support Committee, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, and others.

## Bolivian general strike protests military coup

By Dick Roberts

As we go to press the Bolivian masses are holding out strongly against the military forces that proclaimed a coup in La Paz last week.

Early November 1, Bolivian troops led by Col. Alberto Natusch Busch seized control of the presidential palace. They ousted President Walter Guevara Arze.

A general strike was immediately called by Bolivian workers to protest the coup.

*New York Times* correspondent Juan de Onis reported from La Paz that Natusch's troops shelled the headquarters of the powerful Bolivian Workers Confederation on the third night of the coup.

On November 5 Natusch's troops opened fire with machine guns on demonstrators in downtown La Paz killing at least nine persons, according to the *Washington Post*.

Troops also opened fire on houses in working-class neighborhoods. Union and political leaders have been arrested.

Reports indicate that the army has met heavy resistance from strikers in La Paz's working class neighborhoods. As well, "sketchy reports from the provinces said striking miners had armed themselves with dynamite and

small arms to resist government troops controlling the country's all-important tin mines," according to the *Washington Post*.

Martial law was established November 4. The newspapers, radio, and TV are under official control. But the general strike was "100 percent effective" November 4, the *Washington Post* declared.

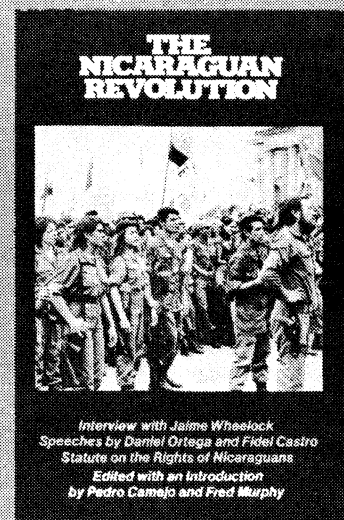
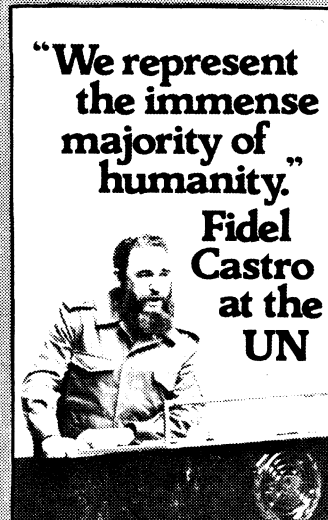
Bolivia is an extremely poor nation of 5.2 million people, more than half of whom are Indian peasants. The economy largely depends on exporting tin.

The situation threatened to become all the more unbearable in recent weeks because of moves undertaken by Washington. In September the Senate Armed Services Committee empowered the government to dump a considerable amount of tin from its "strategic stockpile" on the world market.

This would result in a sharp drop in prices, crippling the Bolivian economy. "Political, congressional, and economic circles in Bolivia reacted violently to the news; they rejected and condemned it with unprecedented unanimity," according to the Cuban newspaper *Granma*, September 23.

*Granma* warned that Washington's move might be aimed at destabilizing the country in order to prepare the way for a new military coup.

## Voices of revolution



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# Nat'l meeting aims to strengthen solidarity drive

By Nancy Cole

Nicaraguan junta member Moisés Hassan will represent the Government of National Reconstruction at the November 16-18 national solidarity conference in Detroit.

Also scheduled to speak is Doris Tijerino H., head of the Secretariat for Foreign Relations of the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN).

The latest issue of the newsletter of the National Network in Solidarity with the Nicaraguan People, the conference sponsor, explains that "key-note addresses by the Nicaraguans will focus on political analysis of the current situation in Nicaragua."

According to the newsletter, workshops at the conference, the second for

the National Network, will focus on:

- "Defense of the Revolution, examining imperialism as it relates to the Nicaraguan struggle, and looking at the counterrevolutionary forces operative within the country;
- "Economic Situation and Needs of Reconstruction;
- "Nicaragua in the Central American Context."

The newsletter continues, "The conference participants will work on strengthening the mechanisms of the National Network and the organizing of solidarity work throughout the country."

At a November 1 meeting in San Francisco, Tijerino explained just how important international solidarity had

been in the victory over Somoza and how the new government is in urgent need of medical supplies, food, and tools.

Tijerino, who said she may have to return to her country before the Detroit conference, explained she had come to inform people of what is happening in Nicaragua, to answer the slanders being made against the new government, and to thank U.S. supporters for their solidarity.

"We inherited the problems of illiteracy and destruction. No one said the revolution could solve them overnight," she told the meeting of sixty supporters of Casa Nicaragua, the Bay Area solidarity group.

Asked about moves by counterrevo-

lutionaries, Tijerino said that she expected opponents of the new government to try "to starve the revolution, to stifle the revolution, rather than attack it directly."

Casa Nicaragua, like other solidarity groups across the country, plans to be represented at the Detroit conference. It will be the first national gathering since the fall of Somoza and will be a great opportunity for activists to exchange ideas and experiences, as well as digest some firsthand reports from the Nicaraguan representatives.

For information on the conference or to obtain the National Network Newsletter, contact the national office at 1322 Eighteenth Street NW, Washington, D.C. 20036. Phone: (202) 223-2328.

## TO RECONSTRUCT Nicaragua

### We need WORKING INSTRUMENTS



October-November '79 Campaign

Nicaraguan poster appeals for U.S. aid



## Solidarity with Nicaragua!

### Albuquerque benefit wins new labor support

New labor support has come for a November 17 benefit organized by the Nicaragua Solidarity Coalition in Albuquerque, New Mexico. *Militant* correspondents Patty Nixon and Araceli Needham report that Rex Brasell, president of the Bernalillo County AFL-CIO Central Labor Council, and Luis Montenegro, an international representative of the American Federation of Government Employees, will speak at the Nicaraguan solidarity event. The featured speaker is Roberto Vargas, an official representative of the Ministry of Culture of Nicaragua.

The benefit, which will also include entertainment and a video showing, will be at 7 p.m. at the University of New Mexico. A reception is to follow. For more information, call (505) 277-5029.

### Ann Arbor committee launches aid drive

At the University of Michigan, the Ann Arbor Committee for Human Rights in Latin America began a campaign in solidarity with Nicaragua with two showings last month of the film *Nicaragua: Patria Libre o Morir* (*Nicaragua: Free Homeland or Death*). Two hundred people attended the showings, and collections netted \$160.

The film begins with scenes of the fall 1978 popular uprisings in Nicaragua, and goes on to describe the history of U.S. intervention in Nicaragua. Interviews with young Sandinistas are interspersed with scenes of their military training. The film is available from Tricontinental Film Center, 333 Sixth Avenue, New York, New York 10014.

The university's *Michigan Daily* ran an article by Bob Warren on October 4, titled, "The new Nicaraguan regime needs U.S. support." Warren, a member of the Ann Arbor Committee for Human Rights in Latin America, explained the needs of Nicaragua—paper to print books for their literacy campaign, tools to aid in reconstruction, and so on—and urged a full-scale campaign for material aid.

### Canadian meeting raises \$6,000

Six hundred people attended a benefit in Edmonton, Canada, September 8, which raised \$6,000 for Nicaragua. The meeting, organized by the Committee for Peace and Reconstruction in Nicaragua, heard Pastor Valle-Garay, official Canadian representative of the Sandinista government. He stressed the urgency of material aid for Nicaragua.

"Valle-Garay singled out two groups who have given important support in Canada," reported the October 1 *Socialist Voice*, "the Chilean exile community, and the workers movement. Noting the 'complete isolation' his country now faces internationally, the Nicaraguan representative urged Edmonton union members to use the CLC's [Canadian Labor Congress] solidarity campaign to pressure the Canadian government to provide the relief needed by his people."

### New Orleans fair set for November 18

Live music, raffles, games, refreshments, and a demonstration of Nicaraguan folk dancing will make up the festivities at a fund-raising fair for Nicaragua in New Orleans November 18. Admission is one dollar or the donation of a tool to be sent to Nicaragua.

The event is sponsored by the New Orleans Nicaragua Solidarity Organization and the Committee for Emergency Relief Aid to Nicaragua. It begins at 1 p.m. at the Latin American Apostolate, 821 General Pershing in New Orleans.

### Swiss group collects funds for hospital

A recently formed Swiss Association for Solidarity with Nicaragua has decided to help raise funds for the construction of a municipal hospital in Esteli, Nicaragua. The hospital is expected to cost \$3.6 million. The solidarity group also plans to collect drugs and medicines for Nicaragua. According to the Swiss socialist newspaper *La Brèche*, the solidarity group has already set up information booths on the campaign, including at a recent hospital workers picnic.

The association is also demanding that the Swiss government send immediate material aid to Nicaragua and that there be no imperialist intervention in Nicaragua.

—Nancy Cole

## Steelworkers and Nicaragua

At Bethlehem Steel's Sparrows Point plant in Baltimore, supporters of the Nicaraguan revolution have begun circulating a petition calling upon President Carter and Congress to send immediate material aid to Nicaragua.

Martin Koppel, a member of United Steelworkers Local 2609 at the Point, has already collected about thirty signatures, nearly half of the workers on his unit shift. He hasn't had time to talk to the others. Only about two people he's asked have turned him down.

"Some I've talked to thought Carter was already sending a lot of aid," Koppel says. "People who have been reading the *Militant* know what's going on in Nicaragua. But for others who rely on the daily papers here, which haven't said anything lately about Nicaragua, I have to explain the situation."

"I've been showing people the Nicaraguan Bill of Rights to explain what the government is, what it stands for. It really helps when people see that the Nicaraguan people have rights we don't even have."

Koppel's shop steward signed the petition because of the Nicaraguan government's pro-union stance. Other co-workers have also been

impressed by the union and strike guarantees in the Nicaraguan Bill of Rights.

"It's been pretty easy to get people to sign. Some sign for humanitarian reasons, some because of Nicaragua's pro-union stand, some because of the rights guaranteed to women."

At another huge steel mill, Inland Steel in East Chicago, Indiana, there has also been a lot of interest in Nicaragua, according to Dick McBride. The 18,000-member USWA Local 1010 at Inland is up to one-third Latino.

But the news blackout there on Nicaragua is glaring. "A lot of people think that Somoza was a butcher and it was a good thing he got thrown out," says McBride. "They followed it when it was big in the news before he left Nicaragua. But now there is a general attitude that everything is okay there. They really listen when you explain how bad the Nicaraguan people need material aid."

There are a lot of young workers at Inland, and one thing they are impressed with is the youthful Sandinista fighters. "If young people are running it," McBride says, "they think it's got to go right."

—N.C.



By Pedro Camejo  
and Fred Murphy

MANAGUA—Since the fall of the Somoza dictatorship July 19 to the Sandinista-led popular insurrection and military offensive, a series of radical social measures has been taken to benefit the workers and peasants, striking blows at the native capitalist class and at imperialism. The bourgeois forces, greatly weakened by the revolutionary victory, have begun to organize themselves and are putting up growing resistance.

Within this framework, various views have arisen inside the revolutionary camp of the workers and peasants on how best to carry the struggle forward and defeat the counterrevolution.

Among those putting forward proposals, and seeking to demonstrate their validity in action, have been several radical groups whose policies could best be described as ultraleft and sectarian, a stance that also leads them to adopt opportunist positions.

These organizations fall into two categories:—those of Maoist origin; and those who consider themselves Trotskyist despite the fact that their political positions run directly counter to those of the Fourth International, the world Trotskyist organization.

### Sectarian positions

The group of most significance is the Movimiento de Acción Popular (MAP—People's Action Movement), which leads a trade-union current known as the Frente Obrero (FO—Workers Front). The MAP originated in a 1971-72 split from the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN). It held pro-Peking positions until around 1977, when it became disillusioned with the Chinese Stalinists' ever more openly pro-U.S. imperialist position.

Today the MAP considers both the Soviet Union and China to be state capitalist societies. It holds that Cuba has had a socialist revolution but suffers gravely from the negative influence of the Soviet Union.

In Nicaragua, the MAP expresses its views mainly through the pages of the Managua daily *El Pueblo*, where it has preponderant influence on the editorial staff.

The other component of the ultraleft sectarian forces includes three small groups that call themselves Trotskyist—the Liga Marxista Revolucionaria (LMR—Revolutionary Marxist League); the Nicaraguan supporters of the Organización Socialista de los Trabajadores (OST—Socialist Workers Organization) of Costa Rica; and the Nicaraguan supporters of the Colombia-based Bolshevik Faction (BF) led by Nahuel Moreno.

Moreno's Nicaraguan followers are the remnants of the Simón Bolívar Brigade, which was organized in June by the Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores (PST—Socialist Workers Party) of Colombia. The brigade publicly presented itself as an armed unit of the FSLN but in fact rejected the FSLN's military discipline. When the brigade's non-Nicaraguan leaders refused to call a halt to this criminal policy, the FSLN expelled them from Nicaragua (see August 31, 1979, *Militant*).

All the ultraleft sectarians reject the stance that, given the FSLN's record up to now, no a priori limits should be placed on how far decisive sectors of the FSLN can go as the revolution unfolds. Instead, the sectarians act on the assumption that the FSLN cannot lead the revolution forward to the establishment of a workers state.

They charge that the Sandinistas are committing serious errors in the pace of anticapitalist actions and thus making unwarranted concessions to the capitalists.

### Mobilization of masses

The sectarians tend to view the process of socialist revolution as resulting from administrative decisions by a determined leadership, rather than the conscious mobilization of the toiling masses in anticapitalist struggle by a revolutionary leadership. As a result,

# FSLN discusses workers democracy

## How to answer ultraleft sectarians



'Working people, Sandinista power.' Ultraleft sectarians fail to recognize dynamic relationship between the masses and FSLN leadership.

they cannot understand why the FSLN doesn't simply proclaim socialist decrees that "set up" a workers state.

The LMR, OST, and BF go further, presenting the view that the Sandinistas are consciously following a course of class collaboration and seeking to reconsolidate bourgeois rule in Nicaragua.<sup>1</sup> Thus, the Costa Rican OST's newspaper, *Qué Hacer*, explained that the banks were nationalized to deepen the exploitation of the workers, and the Moreno-inspired *El Socialista* in Colombia even slandered FSLN militias in the Atlantic port of Bluefields as "the watchdogs of Somozaism."

When the revolutionary government on August 25 ordered the withdrawal from circulation of all 500 and 1,000 cordoba (US \$50 and \$100) banknotes, and declared that their equivalent value would be turned back at the end of six months, the MAP's *El Pueblo* carried a front-page story criticizing the measure and creating the impression that the masses were against it.

In fact, it was aimed at the capitalists who were hoarding funds and at Somozaists in Honduras, El Salvador, and Miami who were selling their large banknotes for dollars to Nicaraguans.

The workers and peasants supported the measure overwhelmingly. Whatever uneasiness there was dissipated immediately with the announcement that all who had turned in 3,000 cordobas or less would have their funds returned within three days—a provision that obviously could not have been made known beforehand without allowing the hoarders a means of sidestepping the measure's intent.

But *El Pueblo*'s editors could not even wait to check out the facts since they thought they had an opportunity to discredit the FSLN. Once the criticisms were proven to be groundless *El Pueblo* lamely explained that the masses had forced the refund.

1. The world Trotskyist movement, the Fourth International, rejects these sectarian views and defends the Nicaraguan revolution. For example, see the statement of the United Secretariat of the Fourth International published in *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor*, October 22, 1979, p. 1023.

*El Pueblo* has tried to partially camouflage its basically anti-FSLN stance, while heavily criticizing all the real or imagined errors of the Sandinistas. It tends to portray the regime's progressive measures as concessions granted solely because of mass pressure.

It doesn't recognize the dynamic relationship between the masses and the FSLN leadership, who have shown themselves capable of learning from and responding to mass initiatives that go beyond the immediate plans of the FSLN as it leads the class struggle forward. The insurrection itself was an example of this.

### A bourgeois government?

The sectarians' political stance has led them to press the revolutionary government for concessions as though it represented the bourgeoisie. In their desire to appear to the left of the FSLN, these groups tend to automatically "up the ante" on any FSLN proposals, without regard for the real needs and interests of the peasants and workers and the stage of the class struggle.

For example, the ultralefts have encouraged *campesinos* on expropriated land to view the Nicaraguan Institute of Agrarian Reform (INRA)—which administers the land expropriated from the Somozaists and is planning further steps against the landholding capitalists—as just another landlord.

This is at a time when INRA is pressing forward with plans to establish democratic organizations on the small peasant communes and workers' administration on the big state farms, while providing technical and financial aid to small farmers.

In general, the ultraleft sectarians play on the objective problems facing the revolution, seeking to place the blame for them on the Sandinistas abstracted from the framework of the massive destruction left by Somoza and the failure of the imperialist countries to provide adequate reconstruction aid.

Their sectarian stance has also led these groups into opportunist posi-

tions. For example, they opposed the reorganization of the revolutionary armed forces, a measure that involved centralizing all arms seized during the insurrection under the control of the army, police, and militia.

### Opposed building army

The Bolshevik Faction's supporters even opposed the building of a well-trained, professional army. Given the ongoing threat of imperialist intervention, which will grow as the class struggle deepens, such an error runs against the elementary need to defend the revolution.

At times, the sectarian stance of these groups even leads them into political blocs with sectors of the bourgeoisie that are seeking to hold back the revolution.

A striking example of this reactionary logic was the Frente Obrero's participation in several meetings called by the Chamber of Commerce to press for immediate convocation of the Council of State, a legislative body whose original composition was heavily weighted toward the most conservative bourgeois sectors of the anti-Somoza front.

The FSLN-led Junta of National Reconstruction has recently postponed convoking the Council of State to May 1980 and has announced that it will be "restructured" to reflect changes subsequent to Somoza's fall—generally interpreted to mean alterations that will give predominant representation to mass organizations of workers, peasants, women, and youth that took part in the insurrection and have been expanding under the FSLN's leadership since then.

By supporting the call for the immediate convocation of the Council of State in its original form, the FO helped the bourgeoisie counterpose an unrepresentative, capitalist-dominated parliamentary body to the Sandinista Defense Committees (CDS) and other mass-based organizations. The bourgeoisie's aim was to gain a means of slowing down or blocking the revolution's progress and begin placing in question the legitimacy and sovereignty of the revolutionary government.

The sectarians fell into this trap.

The LMR has presented itself as "consistent revolutionary democrats," fighting for the immediate "convocation of a constituent assembly." This is similar to the MAP/FO's backing for the Council of State. In the current situation in Nicaragua, a constituent assembly would mean a step back from the process in which the existing mass organizations can move toward broader organization and begin taking on increasing characteristics of organs of workers and peasants power.

### Campaign against ultralefts

Impatience with the ultralefts' sectarian blindness toward the real prospects and problems of the revolution, and irritation at their often adventurist actions in the countryside and the nationalized workplaces, led the Sandinistas to launch a campaign against the ultralefts in mid-September.

In speeches by FSLN leaders and articles in *Barricada*, the FSLN's daily newspaper, the ultralefts were lumped together with the counterrevolutionary Somozaists. Under the slogan "Control Somocismo—Defend the Revolution," the CDSs were mobilized to be vigilant not only against right-wing terrorism and the exploiters' sabotage but also against the sectarian groups.

An editorial in the October 2 *Barricada* vowed to "smash" those "who play with the interests of our workers, take advantage of the freedoms offered by the state and of the generosity of this revolution. . . ."

The Milicias Populares Antisomocista (MILPAS—Anti-Somoza People's Militias)—the MAP's armed wing under the dictatorship—was accused by the FSLN of participating in bank robberies and harassment of Sandinista army and militia patrols. The MAP has repeatedly asserted that the

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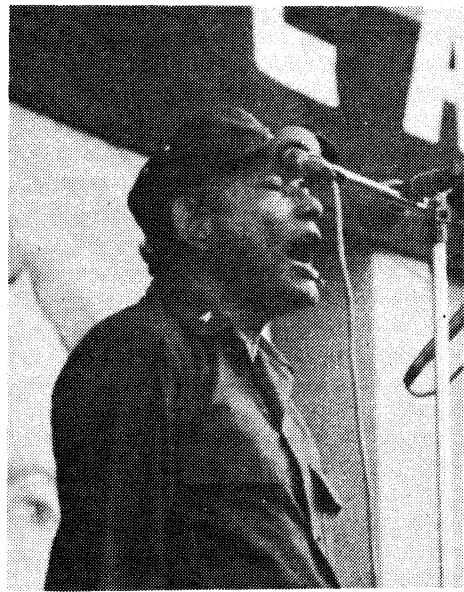
MILPAS were disarmed and disbanded after July 19.

## Arrests

On October 9, army commander Humberto Ortega announced the arrest of several Frente Obrero activists and *El Pueblo* staff members on suspicion of illegal possession of arms. In subsequent days, some seventy FO members were detained throughout the country.

FSLN security chiefs would say only that "investigations" were under way; no charges were brought.

In the city of Granada several LMR members were arrested. LMR leader Fernando Bárzenas was detained twice



Militant/Lynn Silver

**TOMAS BORGE: 'Jail is not the best place for a dialogue.'**

in Managua, held briefly, and released. Carlos Petroni, an Argentine supporter of the Bolshevik Faction, was also arrested during this period.

The FSLN's repressive moves against the ultralefts were combined with efforts to explain what was wrong with their policies. One example of this was a speech by Agrarian Reform Minister Jaime Wheelock to *campesinos* at the Germán Pomares Agrícola Commune near León. Wheelock said:

There are some elements that we call ultraleftists. This means those persons who want to cause problems for the revolution, making use of deceitful and opportunist explanations of the difficulties we face. If someone comes here and says, 'That tractor doesn't work; let's fight INRA and make them give us three tractors,' and then the same person says the same thing at all the other communes, they are going to cause a very big problem for INRA because we don't have these tractors.

So then, those individuals say we have betrayed the revolution. . . . Those elements want to provoke unnecessary problems by defining INRA as the landlord. INRA is an institution that has been established by the new state. It is the organization that is going to coordinate all agricultural production in Nicaragua. That signifies that we are concerned about the situation in the countryside.

But we are also concerned by these groups that are sowing doubts among the people in the countryside by saying that INRA and the Sandinista Front don't solve the problems. In their plan, such elements are coinciding with the most reactionary elements of the bourgeoisie. Despite being at opposite extremes, the two are the same when the time comes for struggle against revolutionaries.

The fundamentally correct political arguments the Sandinista leadership presented against what they termed the ultralefts' "economism," "infantile radicalism," and "opportunism" were weakened and obscured by charges that these groups were "neo-Somozaists" or "the same thing as the counterrevolutionaries."

One effect of this was to further weaken the FSLN's standing in some sectors of the population where the Frente Obrero or other groups already had a certain influence, since many of the militants who to some degree followed the sectarian leaders were

known as fighters against the dictatorship.

## MAP/FO responds

As the only ultraleft sectarian group with a certain base among the masses, MAP/FO was the central target of the FSLN's campaign. It began to respond to the campaign in two ways.

First, it asserted its right to exist and to present its ideas. *El Pueblo* began to carry articles explaining the need for workers democracy (thus implicitly casting aside some of its Stalinist conceptions). For example, Pablo Ruiz wrote in the October 25 issue:

Differences inside the workers and peoples movement are the problems of the working masses. The state has no business using force and coercion to impose a "solution" or decide disagreements. This can only harm the people's movement and the course of the revolution. The working classes have the right to listen to the various alternatives that different currents present so as to choose the one they consider most appropriate to their interest.

Letters of protest against the arrest of FO members began to appear in *El Pueblo*. A few came from CDSs or union locals in neighborhoods or workplaces where the jailed activists were known.

On October 23, some 300 highway maintenance workers held a peaceful demonstration at Managua police headquarters to press for the release of the FO prisoners or for verification of the charges against them.

The same day, a delegation of mothers of the detainees carried out a brief sit-in at the Red Cross headquarters.

The second aspect of the MAP/FO's response to the FSLN campaign was to issue a call on October 10 in the name of the FO's Central Committee for a "dialogue" with the Sandinistas, with the aim of "publicly clarifying . . . a whole series of falsehoods and misinterpretations arising from the development of our political line and organized activities."

Along with this came certain modifications of the MAP/FO's political stance. The Frente Obrero declared October 19, for example, that

in view of the fact that there are those who want to speak out from the tribune of the Council of State against the revolution and against the working class . . . we share the opinion that so long as each organization has not clearly defined its intentions we will not support the demand for its installation.

## Evolution of FSLN approach

By the last week of October, the public campaign against the MAP/FO and other sectarian groups had greatly diminished, although dozens of their members were still detained.

An evolution in the FSLN's thinking was also becoming evident. On several occasions Comandante Tomás Borge stated his belief that there were "honest people" among the ultraleft groups and that the FSLN was open to having political discussions with them. "We think that jail is not the best place for a dialogue," Borge said October 22.

The FSLN's Secretariat of Mass Organizations on October 23 disavowed and condemned a leaflet that had been circulated among many CDSs. The leaflet had called on neighborhood residents to denounce and keep under surveillance all "counterrevolutionary individuals (Somozaists, MILPAS, Frente Obrero, Trotskyists)."

A major article on "Revolution and Counterrevolution" that appeared in the first issue (dated October 18) of *Poder Sandinista*, the weekly paper of the FSLN Secretariat of Propaganda and Political Education, explained that "we need a conception that allows us to unite the efforts of all the truly revolutionary tendencies." It urged the "impatient left" to "demonstrate to the people the guidelines of social participation in a country with the conjunctural and structural characteristics such as ours. . . ."

The article continued:

. . . it is necessary to be clear in the sense that the best way to fight the counterrevolution is by making the revolution and the best way to combat ultraleftism is by taking

positions that are truly leftist. And all this has only one road: showing the people the contradictions of their own revolution and making all means available for their participation. In this way we will be, in passing, fighting against the counterrevolution of the right.

In explaining the source of the counterrevolution, *Poder Sandinista* stated the following:

Expropriating the Somozaists meant expropriating the biggest sector of the bourgeoisie and thus mutilating the bourgeoisie as a whole and weakening it as a class. But the bourgeoisie has no borders—the North American bourgeoisie is also part of it. If this bourgeoisie is going to strengthen the interests of anyone in Nicaragua it will not be those of the workers and peasants. If U.S. imperialism could not defend its class interest in Nicaragua with arms it will now try to do so with its economic and financial might.

No reference was made in the article to the ultraleft sectarians being part of the counterrevolution.

The *Poder Sandinista* article drew a favorable response from *El Pueblo*'s editors who quoted it at length October 27 and expressed hope that it would be "translated into practice as a general, everyday means of handling problems or differences with the other progressive forces of this country. . . ."

## Readiness for dialogue

These developments were followed by a series of statements by FSLN leaders indicating a willingness to deal in a fraternal way with other organizations on the Nicaraguan left. In an October 28 speech, Tomás Borge reiterated a readiness for a dialogue with "the sectors identified by their dogmas."

The following day, Comandante Daniel Ortega told thousands of university students that "today we make a fraternal call for unity" around the CDSs and other mass organizations to the groups that "continue speaking as the vanguard of the proletariat as if the FSLN has not been the vanguard of the proletarians, of the workers and peasants of this country."

And on October 31, Comandante Wheelock publicly acknowledged that the MILPAS, the MAP's former armed wing, had not been involved in any attacks on the army. Confusion on this score, he said, had been due to counterrevolutionary Somozaists trying to pass themselves off as the MILPAS. Wheelock affirmed that the MILPAS was a legitimate organization that had participated in the armed struggle against Somoza.

On November 2, Frente Obrero leader Marvin Ortega expressed optimism to *Perspectiva Mundial* that all members of his group still detained would be immediately released. He said that a dialogue between the Frente Obrero and the FSLN on the tasks and perspectives of the revolution had already begun and was moving forward.

No word was available as of November 3 on the situation of four LMR members who were still being held in Granada, or on the Argentine, Carlos Petroni.

## Need for workers democracy

The FSLN's moves toward correcting its initial errors in the handling of differences with the sectarian groups are to be welcomed.

Combating capitalist sabotage and reconstructing the country will require an ever-widening exchange of viewpoints within the camp of the workers and peasants over how best to move forward or solve problems.

The greatest possible democracy and the cultivation of an atmosphere encouraging the free and frank expression of ideas can only strengthen the revolution, the commitment of the masses to it, and the fullest expression and utilization of the creativity and untapped talents of the workers and peasants.

It is also one of the best ways for the leadership to judge the correctness of its course and tempo and to spot new tasks. It will be the source of thou-

sands and thousands of political cadres who will come out of the working-class movement itself, tempered in struggle and educated in debate.

The pro-Moscow Stalinists<sup>2</sup> in Nicaragua, who had always attacked the FSLN itself for being "ultraleft," will continue to push in the direction of stifling workers democracy. Their attacks are in reality aimed at the toiling masses and at all revolutionists—including the FSLN—since their objective is to arrest the revolution at the "bourgeois democratic stage." Any policy of repression within the workers movement would play into their hands.

Equating Somozaism and counterrevolution with those under the influence of petty-bourgeois pressures and ideas could also lead to an underestimation of the dangers posed by the real class enemy—both among the capitalists who backed Somoza, those who opposed him for whatever reason, and their powerful allies centered in the United States.

As the class polarization deepens, it will be the bourgeoisie that spearheads the counterrevolution, as *Poder Sandinista* pointed out.

The revolutionary leadership must be able to distinguish between those in the radical movement who operate within the framework of the revolution and those who—and there will be some—desert to the camp of the class enemy and carry out crimes against the revolution.

This distinction was drawn by Tomás Borge in the October 28 speech cited earlier. While expressing openness to a discussion with the sectarians, he ruled out any such dialogue with "the sellout bourgeoisie, the Somozaists, and other traitors to this process."

## Problems are real

The problems the Nicaraguan revolution faces are real. It is sometimes necessary to make tactical concessions to the capitalists to avert economic reverses and premature confrontations.

The sectarian groups are wrong in their tendency to view such necessary concessions as incorrect in principle. They are a vital necessity in Nicaragua. At the same time, however, these organizations can sometimes reflect in a distorted way moods of sections of the masses.

In order to effectively lead the masses, the revolutionary vanguard should openly explain its considerations to the workers and peasants when it believes concessions are necessary.

An important part of this process of interaction between the masses and their vanguard is politically confronting the ultraleft sectarians, and explaining what is wrong with their infantile proposals. Repression cuts across this political clarification, and makes it more difficult to win these cadres to a genuinely revolutionary course.

Furthermore, the workers and peasants will take initiatives that go beyond the leadership's immediate plans. This is one of the keys to all revolutionary uprisings and victories. Such initiatives might well coincide with some position or other of the ultralefts. But the leadership's capacity to respond positively to such initiatives to drive the process forward will be a key element in the victory of the revolution.

From Intercontinental Press/Inprecor

2. The Stalinists in Nicaragua are relatively few and are split into three separate parties, but they do exercise some influence in the trade unions and hold some secondary posts in the government. Two of these groups call themselves the Partido Socialista Nicaragüense (PSN—Nicaraguan Socialist Party), the name originally taken by the Stalinist movement when it was founded in 1944. The third group is known as the Partido Comunista de Nicaragua (PCN—Communist Party of Nicaragua).

The PSN headed by Alvaro Ramírez has adopted a perspective of fusing with the FSLN; it is the only one with governmental positions.

# 2,000 march against KKK in Dallas

By Alan Epstein

DALLAS—"The days of being stepped on are through. No Klan is pushing me around!" said a young Black demonstrator.

The youth was part of a November 3 demonstration of 2,000 here, called to counter a Ku Klux Klan march in the city the same day.

While police in Greensboro, North Carolina, allowed the Klan to murder five antiracist demonstrators the very same day, here the cops turned out in force to protect the KKK scum.

Thirty-seven Klan members started their march, dwarfed by 600 counterdemonstrators. Hundreds of cops whisked the KKKers away to an underground parking facility and from there they were then bused to another location.

Meanwhile, the counterdemonstration, organized by the Coalition for Human Dignity, swelled to 2,000.

The city council had tried from the beginning to derail the mobilization against the racists. First, the council denied a permit for the anti-Klan march, claiming it was illegal to have two marches on the same day.

Then the city offered antiracist demonstrators a parade route that

would have placed them right behind the Klan, vulnerable to attack from KKKers and cops.

When this failed, the city tried to postpone the anti-Klan march and to water down its character.

But antiracist organizers held firm on their right to march, rejecting editorials in both daily newspapers to ignore the Klan.

The demonstration exceeded all expectations. The mood was one of strength against the racist minority in this city.

Blacks and Chicanos initiated the protest to answer the Klan and racist abuse from city officials. The Dallas school board has been maneuvering for twenty years to avoid desegregation. Recently the board has been on a campaign to expel Spanish-speaking students whose parents are undocumented workers. And a federal court has ruled that Dallas municipal voting districts deny Blacks and Chicanos equal representation.

Many people on the march pasted bumper stickers on their backs reading "Santos lives." Santos Rodríguez was a twelve-year-old Chicano murdered here by the cops.

"In the past, it was the Spanish



Militant/Alan Epstein

Dallas anti-Klan demonstrators

who stood up to the racists," said a young Black marcher. "Now it's our turn too!"

Participants came from the NAACP, Brown Berets, University of Texas at Austin, North Texas State University, Socialist Workers Party, Young Socialist Alliance,

women's and gay organizations, antinuclear groups, and Catholic and Jewish organizations.

The march dealt the racists a heavy blow. And it gave all victims of right-wing attacks here a renewed conviction that working people in Dallas are on their side.

## ...were cops involved in Klan murders?

Continued from front page

arresting one group of racists.

Greensboro Police Chief W.E. Swing has admitted that the KKK vehicles were "under surveillance" as they entered Greensboro. Some of those arrested drove from as far as Gastonia, seventy miles away.

Despite such knowledge, cops were at least two blocks from the rally site when the shooting began. Swing has since refused to reveal the source of the information that prompted the police surveillance.

Initially, police were present at the anti-Klan assembly site. But they withdrew before the massacre.

Why?

Because, they assert, they encountered "hostility" from the demonstrators!

Swing told reporters that the cops kept a "low profile" in response to demonstrator demands to keep out.

At a news conference prior to the event, called by the Workers Viewpoint Organization, the group sponsoring

**GREENSBORO, N.C. Nov. 7—**Police today admitted that two days before the anti-Klan rally, they provided a copy of the rally permit, including the precise location, to a man who identified himself as a member of the KKK.

the event, WVO leader Nelson Johnson urged the cops "to stay out of our way" and not to interfere.

Johnson made plain that he was making this demand because he was concerned with the problem of police harassment of the demonstration. He had no knowledge of the impending Klan attack.

At 11:03, the morning of the march, police logs confirm, Swing knew something that Johnson and the demonstrators didn't.

Eight cars carrying Klan and Nazi members were swinging into the Black community, soon to pick up a ninth vehicle. They were on their way to commit murder, and the cops let it happen.

Johnson termed the murders "selected political executions." All five were leaders of the Communist Workers Party. The Workers Viewpoint Organization, a small, national Maoist grouping, renamed itself the CWP sev-

eral weeks ago.

Three of those murdered—Michael Nathan, William Sampson, and James Waller—were white. One, César Cauce, was Cuban, and one, Sandra Smith, was Black.

Four were involved in union organizing activity, three in textile mills and one in a hospital.

One of the slain CWP leaders, James Waller, helped lead a strike at Cone Mills Haw River plant in 1978. He was, according to Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union spokesperson John Kissick, victimized for his role in the strike.

"This was a SWAT-team-like assassination coup," Johnson told a November 5 news conference. "There were 100 [people at the assembly], twenty-five who were in the party and about six who were leaders in the organization. The gunmen knew who to kill before they got there."

Dr. Page Hudson, North Carolina's chief medical examiner, confirmed the dead had been hit in the head or heart.

Johnson also told reporters that the starting point of the march had been changed after it had been publicly announced on a leaflet. Only the Workers Viewpoint leadership and the police, he said, knew the new starting site.

How did the Klan killers know where to go?

### Armed invasion

For Greensboro's Black residents, the assassination was an armed invasion of their community. Bystanders were hit. Several residents of the Morningside community told the *Militant* of seeing a child bleeding from buckshot wounds in the mouth.

"I know one thing," an angry resi-

dent told the *Militant*. "When the Klaners drove up, they were shouting, 'Kill the niggers,' not 'Kill the com-mies.'"

The assault has left the Morningside community in a state of shock. "I walked around, and five feet in front of me there's someone with his skull blown off. There's brains and guts and insides on the ground. People are screaming," one resident told the *Militant*.

Outrage and anger in Greensboro's Black community is widespread, and there is uniform condemnation of the Klan-Nazi brutality. Much of the indignation is directed at the Greensboro police.

Rev. Leon White, chairman, of the Raleigh-based Commission for Racial Justice, explained the sentiment at a November 5 news conference here.

"We can't understand why every time Black people and poor people stand up for their human rights that the police can never be found," he said.

The news conference included representatives of the American Civil Liberties Union, who called for an investigation of police conduct independent of Greensboro city officials. NAACP officials have called for a federal investigation of the incident.

### Victims red-baited

An emerging theme of the Greensboro cover-up of potential police complicity in the murders is to try to minimize the horrifying crime by emphasizing that the victims were "communists."

Rev. White effectively countered this McCarthyite effort. He condemned the witch-hunt rhetoric of the media and city officials. "We've got to find a way to make sure that these brothers and sisters did not die in vain," White said.



Woman kneels besides Klan victim

"Everybody's calling them a bunch of communists, but they were my brothers and sisters in the struggle."

A bizarre feature of the shootout, which combined Klaners and well-known Nazis, is a falling-out between some of these two subhuman elements.

In September, Ku Kluxers and Nazis had joined in a United Racist Front. But Winston-Salem Klan leader Joe Grady claims to have left the URF and formed a new white supremacist group.

Grady fingered the Nazis as the murderers and said there had been a hit list prepared in advance of the assassinations.

Grady claimed that Raeford Caudle, one of the arrested Klaners, told him prior to the shoot-out that he had been informed who was on the November 3 hit list.

### Behind-the-scenes force?

But behind the strange family feud between terrorists may be a more powerful force.

That force is the employers at the three Cone Mills textile plants where the slain CWP leaders worked.

News reports indicate that they had been under employer surveillance on their jobs. In each case management personnel refused to comment on corporate spying.

This may be just the tip of the iceberg. The Piedmont area in North Carolina is the scene of a deepening battle between union-led organizing drives and corporations that are willing to use any trick in the book to stop the advance of the labor movement. The chief target of the employers is the Teamsters, against whom a steady stream of red-baiting and charges of inciting "violence" have been leveled.

The November 3 attack also fuels the ongoing media campaign to portray the Klan as a rising organization, whose alleged growth is aimed at demoralizing the fighting spirit of North Carolina workers, both Black and white.

The cold-blooded assault may have done just the opposite, however.

One resident of the Morningside community seemed to speak for many when he told the *Militant* of his belief in police-Klan partnership. "If we step out of line, the cops are here in a second," he said. "But I'll tell you this. If those Klaners get off, city hall will have hell on its hands," he said.



# N. Carolina workers outraged by killings

By Jon Hillson

GREENSBORO, N.C.—“It was an attack on all of us,” the young white International Association of Machinists member said.

“It was just awful, it shouldn’t have happened,” said the older white woman, a member of the Teamsters union.

“The cops got the Black Panther Party, they got Malcolm X, but they won’t get the Klan,” said the thirtyish Black worker, an IAM unionist.

It is Monday, November 5, the first day back at work since Ku Klux Klanners and Nazis murdered five anti-Klan demonstrators here. The main topic of discussion in area plants is the bloody attack.

Among Black workers, there is general condemnation of the murders and a clear perception that Greensboro’s cops participated in a set-up that allowed the Klan-Nazi hit squad to carry out the assassinations.

There are divisions among the white workers. But racist workers who back the Klan are in a distinct minority. The overwhelming majority are outraged at the killings. They, too, sense police complicity in the brutal assault.

Several workers, members of the Socialist Workers Party in Winston-Salem, described their discussions on the job about the shootings.

“There are Klanners where I work,” said Doug Cooper, an installer at Bahnson Company, which is organized by the IAM. “Everybody knows it. But I didn’t run across anybody who supported the Klan action. Even those who felt there was blame on both sides thought the shooting was an outrage.”

One white worker put it this way. “We pay taxes to keep up the police,” he said. “And they should protect everyone.”

Another young white asked the obvious question, “How many police are in the Klan?”

Even whites taken in by the Klan’s “white rights” sales pitch took their distance from the murderous assault. “People have a right to belong to it [the Klan],” one such worker said, “but what they did was an outrage.”



Klansmen take weapons from car moments before gunning down antiracist demonstrators. Only a tiny minority of white workers backs the Klan; even fewer condone its violence.

“The Klan is against everybody and everything progressive, not only Blacks,” one Black IAM member said. “They are against women, against labor. It’s all of us at stake in this.”

A group of Black workers at lunch spent their break trying to convince a conservative friend of theirs of the implications of the assault. “What if they [the Klan] attack our picket lines if we have to strike? What side will you be on?”

One white worker at Bahnson, who is also a farmer, supported the Klan before the Saturday shooting. But the massacre changed his mind. At a break on Monday, he joined in a discussion, arguing with a close friend against the Klan. “The violence,” he said, “is just too much.”

At one break, the talk turned to the situation in Boston, “up South,” where white racist gangs have recently terrorized Black students. “Look,” said a white worker, “they don’t protect school children there, so why should we expect it here?” The worker, a former member of the United Mine Workers of America, said that police

inaction in Boston “makes these people [Klanners] bolder down here.”

Several Black workers talked about the double standard of police protection, noting how in Dallas, when Klanners were recently outnumbered by anti-Klan protesters, the cops turned out in force on the side of the racists.

Despite the shock waves sent out by the murders, several Blacks emphasized that things are different in the South today.

“It’s better than in the 1960s,” said a Black Teamster, a shop steward. “Then, it was just a Black thing. Now it’s Blacks and whites getting together.”

“The Klan, its racist backers, have less impact today,” said a Black IAM member, “because Blacks are more together and because whites understand more. It’s not like it was ten years ago.”

What has forged this understanding among whites is the growth of union organizing drives in the open-shop, right-to-work-for-less South. Here in the Piedmont area, the bosses’ paradise has become a center of Teamster-

led organizing drives.

While not openly flying anti-union flags, the labor-hating Klan has become increasingly isolated by the organizing battles whose victories are based on unity between Black and white workers.

In the plants and mills the most open Klan types are company men, supervisors and foremen.

One white worker, in a discussion with co-workers, agreed about how bad the Greensboro Klan assault was. As he got up, a racist supervisor said the demonstrators “got what they deserve.” The worker quickly nodded in agreement.

The bosses use this kind of intimidation in an effort to maintain a climate of disunity between Blacks and whites. But it’s a climate that’s breaking down rapidly.

One Black unionist, a former employee at the Newport News shipyard in Virginia, and a supporter of the Steelworkers’ organizing drive there, said: “The Klan is and has been disrupting working people. We need to make sure everyone is aware of this terror in North Carolina.”

A Socialist Workers Party member said, “Workers are still confused by the idea promoted by the capitalist media—that the murders resulted from some kind of ‘left vs. right’ gang war. This idea is a pure fraud, designed to explain away what the Klan and the cops did.”

“But two things stand out. People are shocked and angered and don’t think it should have happened. And, white or Black, people believe the cops had a hand in it. Let the Klan do it, and there’s going to be a cover-up.”

That’s the way one temporary worker at a local plant saw it as well. He was there to make some money, while spending his off-time on a picket line at Halstead Metal, where the Teamsters are in the fourteenth week of a strike. He was angered at the attack, like the other workers. He hoped the Klanners and Nazis “get life imprisonment.”

“If they don’t,” he said, “it will be an outrage.”

## Pulley: ‘Murderous attack on every worker’

The following statement was released November 6 by Andrew Pulley, Socialist Workers Party candidate for president of the United States.

The November 3 assassination of five anti-Klan demonstrators in Greensboro, North Carolina, was a murderous attack on the rights of every working person in this country.

I urge the labor movement nationwide, Black and other civil rights organizations, women’s groups—every decent human being—to unite to condemn this massacre. We must stand up and call a halt to Ku Klux Klan and Nazi violence and demand that the murderous scum responsible for this outrage be brought to justice.

If antiracist protesters can be gunned down in Greensboro with impunity, rightist goons and company thugs will be emboldened to step up their attacks on Blacks, Latinos, picket lines, and union organizing drives across the country.

There should be an immediate outcry against the November 3 bloodbath—through telegrams, protest meetings, and rallies—by trade unions, Black and Latino organizations, women’s groups, student organizations, and other defenders of civil rights.

We must demand the arrest, prosecution, and conviction of *all* those responsible for the murders.

We must demand the dropping of all charges against the two anti-KKK survivors of the attack, who have been arrested on frame-up charges for par-

ticipating in a peaceful, legal protest.

We should demand that President Carter open a full investigation of the killings *and* the cover-up that is now occurring in their wake.

Working people in Greensboro and around the country want to know the answers to these questions: Why did the Greensboro cops *leave* the demonstration just when they knew the racist killers were on their way? Were they informed in advance of the murderers’ plans?

What about the FBI? Did it have agents in the Klan-Nazi hooligan gang, just as it had agents in the bombing of the Birmingham church in 1963 and the 1965 shooting of civil rights worker Viola Liuzzo?

What about the owners of the textile mills in the area, such as Cone Mills? They have admitted spying on their workers, including some of the victims of the November 3 attack, and have used gun thugs to intimidate strikers.

We must demand that all the FBI, state, and local police files be opened to determine the full extent of the bloody conspiracy that has claimed the lives of five people.

Greensboro Mayor Jim Melvin, backed up by the capitalist media, has portrayed the KKK’s murderous assault as just a “gang war” between the left and the right. He has praised the role of his cops in the whole affair.

But the source of the violence on November 3 in no way lies with those who were protesting the racist, antilabor scum of the KKK.

No one knows better the real root of

violence in the country than the courageous workers in the right-to-work-for-less states like North Carolina—where recent union organizing drives are breaking down the openshop bosses’ paradise despite goon attacks, spying, and intimidation from the employers.

It is the success of these union drives—like the victory of Steelworkers in Newport News, Virginia, and Teamsters at Hanes Dye and Finishing Company in Winston-Salem, North Carolina—that the ruling class of this country fears. And it is the determination of Black and white workers to fight *together* for the union that is driving groups like the Klan into a murderous frenzy.

The South of today is not the South of twenty years ago. The bosses’ strategy of pitting white workers against

Blacks is losing its appeal—shown most dramatically by labor’s defeat of the racist *Weber* suit in Louisiana. The Klan and other rightist groups, while increasing their violent attacks, are small and isolated.

What is happening in the South today gives the labor movement confidence that we *can* stand up to scum like the Klan, we *can* isolate them, we *can* drive them out of existence.

Dallas anti-Klan forces demonstrated this November 3 in their march against a handful of KKKers. Blacks and other opponents of racism have similarly driven back the Klan in Decatur, Alabama.

We—the labor movement and our allies—are the *majority*. In the wake of the Greensboro massacre we must stand up and let the world know it.

### SWP pledges solidarity

The following telegram was sent to the Communist Workers Party by Andrew Pulley and Matilde Zimmermann, Socialist Workers Party candidates for president and vice-president.

Sisters and Brothers,

We extend our fullest solidarity to you in the wake of the November 3 murders of five of your leaders in Greensboro, North Carolina.

The brutal assassination of these

anti-racist fighters, several of whom were also trade unionists, is an attack on the entire labor movement.

We pledge to do everything in our power to help mobilize the broadest possible protest to win the conviction of the murderers; to force the city to drop the frame-up charges against Nelson Johnson and Wilena Cannon; and to expose the role of the Greensboro police, FBI, and other authorities in this massacre.



# International Socialist review

## LEON TROTSKY: 100 YEARS

Nov. 7, 1879

Nov. 7, 1979



Trotsky, organizer of the Red Army, speaks in Moscow's Red Square in 1920 during civil war.

## The Meaning of His Work for Today

As we celebrate the hundredth anniversary of Trotsky's birth, the world class struggle is unfolding at a rapid pace. History seems to be marking the occasion in an especially fitting way.

The centenary year began with the massive revolutionary upsurge in Iran.

Then in Nicaragua a guerrilla offensive and mass insurrection in July overthrew the U.S. backed Somoza dictatorship, and the revolution continues to march forward in that coun-

try.

Mass demonstrations in El Salvador threatened the U.S. backed dictatorship this summer and fall and Washington responded with a preventive coup. The struggle continues in El Salvador as well as in neighboring Guatemala.

In Grenada, the popular struggle of the New Jewel Movement brought in a new government on March 13.

More recently, demonstrations began again in South

*Continued on next page*



## ...Trotsky's Work

Continued from preceding page

Korea, answered by another preventive coup.

Trotsky would have identified completely with the revolutionists of action who are making history throughout the semi-colonial world today.

Trotsky himself was a man of action, a central leader of the great Russian revolution and head of the Red Army which defeated the reactionaries and imperialist armies in the civil war that followed.

And the tenacity and power of the struggles taking place today would not have surprised Trotsky.

His attitude on this was made clear in the 1939 introduction to the Communist Manifesto he wrote for publication in South Africa. He endorsed Marx and Engels's exhortation: "The Communists everywhere support every revolutionary movement against the existing social and political order of things." And he added, "The movement of the colored races against their imperialist oppressors is one of the most important and powerful movements against the existing order and therefore calls for complete, unconditional, and unlimited support on the part of the proletariat of the white race."

The revolutionary ideas and spirit of Trotsky are alive today. They live not only in the ranks of the Fourth International, the world revolutionary organization Trotsky helped found, but also among much broader layers of revolutionary fighters.

Trotsky was first and foremost an internationalist. His greatest and most heroic contribution to the workers movement came after Lenin's death, with the rise of the Stalinist bureaucracy in the Soviet Union, when he championed the revolutionary internationalist positions of Lenin against Stalin. He was exiled, maligned, attacked, and eventually killed by the Stalinists as a result of this struggle. During his exile he was also attacked and hounded by the imperialist governments, which refused him asylum.

During the 1930s Trotsky witnessed one defeat of the revolutionary movement after another due to Stalinist betrayals. He saw the rise of fascism in Germany, the murder by Stalin of an entire generation of Bolshevik leaders in the Soviet Union, the defeat of the Spanish revolution and the opening salvos of World War II.

He analyzed these defeats, explaining that the Stalinist Communist parties were sacrificing the needs of revolution to the desire of the Soviet bureaucracy for deals with imperialism. He devoted all his strength to building a new world revolutionary movement, with an internationalist perspective. And he had an unswerving conviction that the workers movement would break free of the domination of the Stalinists and Social Democrats, that new revolutionary leaderships would be built.

At the time of the founding of the Fourth International in 1938 Trotsky predicted, "During the next ten years the program of the Fourth International will become the guide of millions and those revolutionary millions will



Action of Nicaraguan masses brought about overthrow of hated Somoza dictatorship.

know how to storm earth and heaven."

The revolutionary millions of Iran, Nicaragua, Indochina, El Salvador, southern Africa, and Cuba—to name a few—are indeed showing today that they "know how to storm earth and heaven!" Although only a small number of these millions are part of the Fourth International, significant new forces are reviving the revolutionary internationalist tradition of Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Trotsky.

The Sandinista National Liberation Front in Nicaragua, the revolutionary Cuban government and revolutionary masses from Grenada to Iran—all these are exhibiting attitudes of revolutionary internationalism and all are on the front lines of the struggle against imperialism.

On the part of the Cubans, this internationalism is not new. After the victory of the revolution in Cuba, the Cuban leadership immediately began to inspire others in Latin America to follow their example. During the Vietnam war, the Cubans sought to build the greatest possible solidarity with Vietnam, offering aid and proclaiming the need to create "two, three, many Vietnams."

In the past several years, the Cubans have moved out again in a particularly bold and inspiring way due to openings provided by the victory in Vietnam and the rise in the world class struggle. They are aiding revolutionary efforts throughout the semicolonial world, most importantly in Nicaragua. And at the Non-aligned conference in Havana, and more recently at the United Nations Fidel Castro championed the struggles of the exploited and oppressed and laid blame for the

misery of the masses of the semi-colonial world at imperialism's doorstep.

The appearance of a new wave of revolutionists of action will not be limited to the semicolonial world. Such currents will appear also in the labor movements of the United States, Europe, and Japan—an inevitable product of the deepening crisis of world capitalism.

Trotsky would have welcomed such developments. He knew that any deepening of the class struggle would bring forward new revolutionary forces and leaderships. His stance would have been to fight shoulder to shoulder with such forces, against the class enemy with the goal of winning them to a full understanding of Marxist ideas and of creating a mass revolutionary international made up of millions of such fighters.

Trotsky knew that the new generation of revolutionaries, if they were to be successful, would need to base their struggles on the theory of Marxism. They would have to learn from the struggles of the revolutionary Marxists before them, most importantly from the victorious struggle of the Russian Bolsheviks. He saw the role of the Fourth International as one of building mass revolutionary parties which could bring the ideas and continuity of Marxism to a new generation, using these ideas as a guide to revolutionary action.

Revolutionary socialists today have the opportunity to carry forward these tasks under much more favorable conditions than Trotsky faced.

And revolutionary socialists in the U.S. are no exception.

The world economic crisis and the rise in international struggles are having an impact throughout the capitalist world. In the U.S. events are confirming Trotsky's prediction that the death agony of capitalism would of necessity begin to deeply effect and awaken the working class in the heartland of imperialism.

There are important new winds blowing in the American trade union movement, showing a greater desire to fight back against attacks on the workers' standard of living and a greater readiness to take up social issues in the unions.

The new attitudes of internationalism and interest in worldwide issues seen in other countries also affect American workers. Black people in the U.S. identify increasingly with the plight of the Palestinians. Caribbean and Latino populations are showing sympathy for anticapitalist movements in their home countries. The U.S. Cuban community has opened up a dialogue with the Cuban government. And, most important, the masses of American working people staunchly maintain the strong antiwar attitude and suspicion of U.S. foreign policy initially brought about by the Vietnam war.

Largely because of Trotsky's role in helping to educate and guide the founders of the Socialist Workers Party in the U.S., a revolutionary party exists in this country preparing to meet the challenges of the struggle ahead.

Trotsky's revolutionary ideas will be important weapons in these struggles. And his revolutionary example will serve as an inspiration for revolutionary fighters in the battles to come.

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# Leon Trotsky: A Life Shaped by Confidence in the Working Class

By Harry Ring

For those who are determined to change the world, Leon Trotsky's life is well worth learning about. It offers a model for working-class fighters.

When you first think about it, the idea of Trotsky as a model for working people may seem a bit unreal. He was a man of genius whose revolutionary accomplishments were staggering. And his personal life—filled both with triumphs and the cruelest setbacks—has an epic quality.

But there was a consistent pattern to Trotsky's life. A pattern that made possible his enormous accomplishments and carried him through adversity.

Trotsky was won to Marxism in his late teens. He became convinced that capitalism must and will be abolished. He became equally convinced that the workers of the world were the ones who would lead in accomplishing that great mission.

He never wavered from that conviction.

His life was imbued with revolutionary confidence in the future of humanity. For him, the life of a revolutionary socialist was the key to the greatest fulfillment for an individual human being. Whatever the hardship, total devotion to the revolutionary cause was the richest kind of personal life.

This is the aspect of Trotsky's personal life that is so relevant for revolutionary-minded working people.

## A Towering Figure

Along with Marx, Engels, and Lenin, Trotsky was one of the towering revolutionary figures of our time.

He was a gifted, prolific writer. He was also one of the great orators of his time.

At age twenty-six, he was a central leader of the Russian revolution of 1905, serving as chairperson of the St. Petersburg workers council, or soviet.

Twelve years later, he was co-leader, with Lenin, of the victorious 1917 socialist revolution.

He organized and led the Red Army, which successfully fought off Russian counterrevolutionaries and foreign imperialist troops.

When the beleaguered Soviet state began to fall into the grip of a privileged Stalinist bureaucracy, Trotsky fought for a return to the working-class policies of Lenin and for the socialist democracy of the first years of the revolution.

Defeated in that fight and driven into exile, he moved to build a new revolutionary socialist international, the Fourth International.

Trotsky spent nearly half of his life in prison, in Siberian exile, and in enforced emigration.

During his last years in exile, he suffered the loss of all four children.

One daughter died of tuberculosis. A second committed suicide. One son vanished in a Stalinist concentration camp. The other, who had become Trotsky's close political collaborator, died suddenly in Paris with all evidence pointing to Stalinist killers.

Many of his closest personal friends and political associates suffered the same bloody fate.

Yet, with all these savage blows, Trotsky never lost his socialist perspective.

In 1940, he died at the hands of a Stalinist assassin. He went to his death voicing confidence in the socialist future.

It's an exciting experience to read his autobiography, *My Life*. Few novels can match it.

## A Radical Youth

Trotsky was born into a rural middle-class Jewish family. His name was Lev Davidovich Bronstein. The name Trotsky was assumed during a political escape from Siberia.

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Trotsky speaking to revolutionary soldiers in Moscow in 1917

His parents, by dint of unrelenting struggle, became relatively prosperous small farmers.

The house he was born in had a straw roof and some of the rooms had dirt floors. It was not until he was seventeen that a tin roof was installed.

As with many middle-class youth, his early surroundings helped to form his radical outlook. He saw the suffering and privation of the landless peasants who came to work the harvest on his father's and neighboring farms. He saw how his father, although less grasping than average, exploited these workers. All of the injustices of country life were burned into his consciousness.

Sent to the city to attend school, he proved a gifted student.

He loved learning, but he was turned off by most of his teachers.

In *My Life*, Trotsky wryly observes that "the percentage of freaks among people in general is very considerable, but it is especially high among teachers."

Although he was a star pupil, he quickly found himself at loggerheads with his teachers. He rebelled against the abuses they visited upon the pupils. And, with his keen mind, he could not abide the obvious inconsistencies and irrationalities of so many of their views.

Trotsky's entry into the illegal radical movement of the time suggests there wasn't too much new about the "new left" of the 1960s. He and a half-dozen like-minded friends moved into a commune, distributed useful books among the people, fought on such issues as increased library fees, and for a period established a free university of twenty students.

Trotsky soon came to grips with Marxism, then a rising current in Russia. Initially he argued against it, asserting it was "too complete" a theoretical system. Before long he was won to it.

In 1896, when Trotsky was seventeen, there was a big labor upsurge in Russia. This in turn gave new impetus to the student movement.

And for those radical students who were serious about revolutionary change came the realization that it was time to go beyond discussion and debate.

Trotsky recalls his decision. Walking down the street with another member of his commune, he said, "It's about time we started."

"Yes, it's about time," the other youth answered. "But how?"

"We must find workers," Trotsky said, "not wait for anybody or ask anybody. Just find workers, and set to it."

They did.

Their successes astonished them. There were shipyard workers and others who responded quickly and became part of a clandestine group that grew into a significant organization, the South Russian Workers Union.

In 1898, Trotsky was caught in a police crackdown. He was jailed for two years and then banished to Siberia.

Prison and exile were his political university. He studied everything at hand, particularly Marxist literature. He deepened his grasp of Marxist theory and wrote studies applying the Marxist method to historical and sociological phenomena.

## Turning to Workers

Meanwhile, his early experience with the workers stood him in good stead.

Often people who come to the workers movement from middle-class backgrounds are unaware how much of this society's prejudice they have absorbed about workers, seeing them as limited intellectually and unable to comprehend complex political ideas.

Trotsky seemed free of such prejudice from the outset. He had the healthiest respect for the workers he became involved with and he soaked up all he was able to learn from them.

His studies of Marxism generalized that appreciation. He came to the deepest understanding that the job of leading the liberation of humanity from capitalism rested with the working class. That it alone had the social power and capacity to do the job.

From then on, Trotsky was a member and a leader of the working class and in this allegiance he never wavered for a moment.

In Siberia he joined the Social Democratic Siberian Union, an affiliate of the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party, the principal socialist organization.

Peasants in the Siberian villages, as well as political exiles, were being won to socialism. But the impact was limited.

Trotsky wrote in *My Life*, "The revolutionary movement had spread far and wide, but it still lacked unity. Every district and every town was carrying on its individual struggle. Czarism had the invaluable advantage of concerted action."

The Siberian socialists began to focus on this problem. Trotsky wrote a pamphlet on the need for creating a centralized party to weld the





Trotsky as a young man in exile in Siberia

struggles into a cohesive whole.

It was at that time that he read Lenin's now classic pamphlet, *What Is to Be Done*. It was devoted to precisely this theme.

### Debate Over the Party

Lenin explained why socialists had to build a strong centralized party; why they needed a widely circulated national newspaper rather than numerous local ones; why it would be a disaster for socialists to limit themselves to economic issues in the unions and why they could and must win workers to their socialist program.

Trotsky read that and decided he was wasting his time in Siberia. He made a dramatic escape.

He made his way to Europe in 1902 and, on Lenin's initiative, went to London to join the staff of *Iskra* (Spark), the publication circulated by Russian socialists from abroad.

When Trotsky, then twenty-three, began working on *Iskra* with Lenin and other leaders of the Russian party a split was developing in the organization. The split took place at the underground party's second convention, held in London in 1903.

Lenin argued that in the conditions of Russian illegality, the party had to have a highly centralized, full-time leadership staff, what he called "professional" revolutionaries. Membership, he argued, had to be strictly on the basis of commitment to the program and willingness to work actively as members of and under the direction of established party units.

Others saw this as needlessly stringent and favored a more modest basis for membership.

The party congress split into two factions. The Bolsheviks, led by Lenin, and the Mensheviks, led by Martov. (That strange-sounding word, "bolshevik," simply means "majority," and "menshevik," "minority.")

Initially Trotsky sided with the Mensheviks.

Soon after, he separated from them, taking an independent stand in favor of reuniting the two factions.

He remained independent of the Bolsheviks and Mensheviks until the revolution of 1917, when he became completely persuaded of the validity of Lenin's fight for the kind of party capable of leading a workers revolution.

Two years after the 1903 split, a revolution broke out in Russia. Sparked by a vast upsurge of workers struggles, that revolution set out to topple the czar. The still young Russian working class played a key role throughout, with the formation of delegated workers councils—the soviets—being the crowning accomplishment.

Returning from exile, Trotsky quickly became a central figure. He was elected to the executive committee of the powerful St. Petersburg soviet and then elected its chairperson.

The revolution itself did not have the strength to carry through to victory. After several months, the czarist troops succeeded in crushing the soviets. Reaction and political persecution set in.

Fifty-five members of the St. Petersburg Soviet were tried for treason. A highlight of the trial was Trotsky's speech from the stand, defending the revolution and the Soviet.

He was again banished to Siberia.

Before he even arrived at his final Siberian

destination, Trotsky escaped his jailers and again made his way out of the country.

A decade later, he was to return to join with Lenin in leading history's first successful socialist revolution.

### Trotsky in the United States

During the years of exile, Trotsky continued his socialist work, editing, writing, speaking, organizing.

Escaping Russia, he went to Vienna, from there to Switzerland, and then to France. With the outbreak of World War I, he was expelled from France and found himself in New York.

Trotsky was an internationalist. He opposed all the imperialist powers in World War I, viewing the war as a bloody crime against working people. This separated him definitively from the Mensheviks, most of whom were inclined to defend the czarist "fatherland," and drew him closer to Lenin.

In New York, he plunged into revolutionary work. There was a big Russian emigre community and a daily paper, *Novy Mir* (New World). Trotsky wrote for the paper, served as editor, and, with his reputation as an orator, was much in demand for speaking.

He was here but two months. The revolution



Trotsky arrives at Petrograd station in May 1917 in midst of Russian revolution.

broke out in Russia and Trotsky took the first boat home.

Brief though it was, his stay in the United States had an important effect on his thinking.

While totally immersed in his activities, Trotsky also made time to utilize a New York library to study the economic history of the United States. He said he was "astounded" to see the extent of the growth of U.S. exports during the war.

He left New York with the hope that he might some day return. This was, of course, an unfilled hope. Even after his murder by Stalin, the U.S. government refused to permit his body to be brought from Mexico for a funeral here.

Trotsky's fascination with the U.S. stemmed from his realization that it had become the imperialist superpower whose further course of development would play a decisive part in world politics. In 1926, he elaborated his view of the changed relationship of imperialist forces in his pamphlet, *Europe and America*, in which he predicted how the European imperialist nations would be reduced to the role of junior partner of American imperialism.

He saw that the power of American imperialism derived from the unrivaled power of its productive machine and its huge industrial working class.

And while he saw the rising power of U.S. capital, he saw too the enormous and ultimately decisive potential of the American working class. It would, he repeatedly explained, prove to be the

final deciding factor in the inescapable world showdown between imperialism and all the oppressed.

In *My Life*, he wrote of his stay here and his departure. "I was leaving for Europe," he said, "with the feeling of a man who has had only a peep into the foundry in which the fate of man is to be forged."

Meanwhile, Trotsky threw himself into forging the victorious Russian revolution.

### A Bolshevik Leader

He found himself in full political agreement with Lenin, who was providing the leadership in taking the revolution beyond anti-czarism toward the abolition of capitalism.

The Mensheviks—in the name of democratic capitalism, which they presented as the outer limit of the revolution—sought to stifle the upsurge, even resorting to repression against the workers. Their policies would have led to a bloody counterrevolution (a recent example of a similar course was that of the Allende government in Chile). When the workers and peasants triumphed in October, the Mensheviks fought on the side of the monarchists, landlords, capitalists, and foreign armies to try to crush the revolution.

Events had confirmed that Lenin's fight in 1903 had stemmed from a profound recognition on his part that opposition to building the kind of granite-hard party needed to lead a victorious socialist revolution led to rejecting the perspective of making such a revolution.

Trotsky recognized that in 1917, joined the Bolsheviks, and remained one from then on.

In *My Life*, Trotsky summed up concisely where he had gone wrong on Bolshevism vs. Menshevism.

"At the time of the London Congress in 1903, revolution was still largely a theoretical abstraction to me. Independently I still could not see Lenin's centralism as the logical conclusion of a clear revolutionary concept."

Like 1905, the revolution that began in February 1917 was initially anti-czarist. The workers again emerged as a central force and a network of soviets developed that constituted a dual power to the capitalist government led by Kerensky.

### Fighting for Socialism

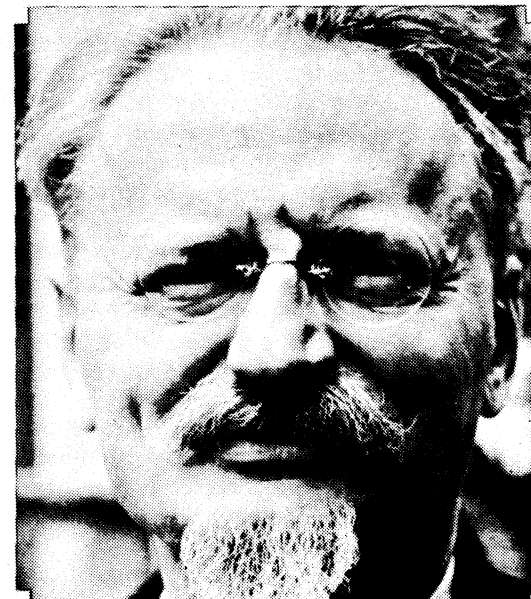
In the soviets, the Bolsheviks, under Lenin and Trotsky, fought for the workers to take power into their own hands. There were ebbs and flows in the struggle, but by October 1917, the Bolsheviks had won a majority in the Soviets.

Trotsky was again selected as chairman and in early October the Kerensky government, which no longer had the support of the workers and peasants, was dispersed. The Soviets became the first workers and peasants government.

That, of course, was only the beginning of the new stage of the revolution. The workers' power

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## Leon Trotsky *My Life*



Introduction by Joseph Hansen

Trotsky's *'My Life,'* published by Pathfinder Press, vividly presents Trotsky's experiences and ideas up to 1929, the year it was completed.



# Leon Trotsky's Contributions to Marxism

By George Novack

This is the year of Leon Trotsky's hundredth anniversary. He was born on November 7, 1879. This date coincided with that of the October insurrection which brought the Bolsheviks to power and which he led as president of the Petrograd Soviet. Trotsky stated in his autobiography that he first noticed this odd coincidence only three years after 1917.

Trotsky was one of the most many-sided personalities of the twentieth century. He was no less a man of innovative thought than of revolutionary action. While he was organizing and commanding the Red Army, which fought for three years on twenty-one fronts, he wrote a series of incisive polemics against the critics and foes of the young Soviet Republic. He drafted an account of the events of the Russian revolution while negotiating with the Germans at Brest Litovsk as the first Commissar of Foreign Affairs.

After writing the finest literary criticism any Marxist has produced, he went on to become head of all Soviet scientific institutions.

From the time he joined a circle of young opponents of czarism in South Russia in 1898 to his murder by an agent of Stalin in Mexico in 1940, Trotsky's life was marked by stirring and dramatic incidents, with sudden ascents to the heights of power followed by precipitous drops into exile, persecution, and, finally, assassination.

Trotsky was arrested at an early age for his activities against the czar. He was deported to Siberia, and later escaped to Western Europe to work with Lenin and Plekhanov. He returned to Russia in 1905, the year of the first, though abortive, Russian revolution. He became the moving spirit of the St. Petersburg Council of Workers Delegates, the first soviet in history. Again arrested, convicted, and exiled by the czar's government, he escaped to Western Europe.

He came back to Russia from the United States eleven years later, after the czar's overthrow. In July 1917 he was arrested by the Kerensky government and elected president of the Petrograd Soviet after his release. He prepared and led the October insurrection and served as Commissar of War from 1918 to 1925. He was the author of all the manifestoes of the first five congresses of the Communist International and many of the documents of the first four.

He took up the struggle in opposition to the Stalin faction within the CP leadership that was begun by Lenin before his death. This caused Trotsky's deportation first to Siberia and then to Turkey in 1929. During his third exile he moved to France, Norway, and finally Mexico. He was accused of infamous crimes in the Moscow Trial frame-ups and sentenced to death in absentia. Stalin's murderous edict was carried out while Trotsky was working on his last book, an accusatory biography of Stalin.

These are but a few of the turning points in his career. You can read fuller accounts in his autobiography, *My Life*, and in the trilogy by Isaac Deutscher.

However, I propose to speak not about Trotsky,

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*Novack met Trotsky while helping organize the Commission of Inquiry into the Charges Against Leon Trotsky, headed by the philosopher and educator John Dewey. The commission proved that the charges laid against Trotsky in the Moscow Trials were a frame-up.*

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Lenin and Trotsky at the Second World Congress of the Communist International in 1920. Trotsky wrote key resolutions of the first four congresses of the Comintern and the manifestoes issued by the first five congresses.

the man of action, leader of a revolution, master of insurrection, war leader, cofounder with Lenin of the Third International, and later founder of the Fourth International. My theme is not Trotsky the doer but Trotsky the thinker, the analyst of history and society, the Marxist politician and theoretician.

It is difficult to do justice to this subject. Trotsky was the most prolific writer of the Marxist movement. His pen was continuously active for over four decades. Thirteen volumes of his collected works were published in the Soviet Union up to his ouster from the leadership in 1926. A complete collection of his writings would total four or five times that number of volumes. He commented on almost every significant political event and question during his adult years.

So I must be very selective. I will focus on five aspects of his thought which seem to me most valuable, pertinent, and enduring. These are his celebrated theory of the permanent revolution; the law of uneven and combined development; his conception of the nature of Stalinism; his views on the Black struggle in the United States; and, last but not least, the evolution of his position on the revolutionary party. Even so, I am leaving out such irreplaceable contributions as his analysis of fascism.

The phrase "the permanent revolution" is better known than its content is understood. Although both the term and its meaning can be found in some of Marx's writings, and was anticipated before him by the Babeuvists of 1795 during the decline of the French revolution, it is rightly and inseparably linked with Trotsky. He

gave the theory its first systematic exposition in 1905-06 as a result of his analysis of Russia's peculiar social structure and his insight into the dynamics of the 1905 revolution.

## Permanent Revolution

This theory flowed from a recognition of two historical facts. The transition from precapitalist to capitalist conditions had proceeded with extreme unevenness in different countries and continents and this disparity of economic and social development entailed epoch-making *political* consequences. It would direct the twentieth century revolutions along a fundamentally different path than the revolutions of the preceding epoch.

From the sixteenth through the nineteenth centuries the first-born countries of capitalism in Western Europe and North America, such as the Netherlands, England, France, and the United States had, as a result of their advanced economic and social development, gone through colossal revolutionary upheavals that refashioned their social systems along capitalist lines and more or less organized their political structures in accord with bourgeois democratic specifications.

The nations of East Europe, Asia, Africa, Latin America, and the Middle East were hardly drawn into this renovation. They had yet to win the national independence and unity, the modernization of their institutions, the large-scale reform of agrarian relations, and the democratic parliamentary regimes won in the West.

There was an organic connection between this





Trotsky understood that semicolonies would be able to achieve development, abolish poverty, and end imperialist domination only through socialist revolutions. Above after the collapse of U.S.-dominated regime on April 30, 1975.

underdevelopment of the nations historically retarded in economic and social respects and the more favorable conditions among the major capitalist powers. That fatal link was the rise of the colonial system which formed a cornerstone of commercial and industrial capitalism and was buttressed by imperialism. Foreign capital reaped advantages from the primitiveness of czarist Russia, while the colonies were not so much underdeveloped as superexploited. The very global expansion of capitalist enterprises that spurred the bourgeois democratic movements that came to power in the West inhibited and prevented the growth and success of democratic movements in the colonial world.

### Dynamics of Underdevelopment

Consequently, at the beginning of the twentieth century, the bulk of humanity living in the backward and semicolonial countries were beset by two crucial questions: "How did we fall under the subjugation of imperialism and how can we get out of it?" Trotsky's major theoretical discoveries dealt with these questions. The law of uneven and combined development explains the reasons for the first condition and the theory of permanent revolution is the key to the mode of its elimination.

The bourgeois-democratic struggles against outdated forms of feudal, clerical, slave-holding, and monarchical sovereignty and their precapitalist property relations had already been carried to conclusion in the plutocratic countries. But it had been postponed to the point of almost intolerable urgency in the greater part of the planet. This posed the problem: how were these peoples to catch up with the more privileged and wealthy Western metropolises whose ruling classes exploited and dominated them?

Many mistakenly believed that the countries which had yet to be modernized would follow in the footsteps of their Western forerunners and go forward to liberal democracy under capitalist rule. This still prevails as the propaganda line in official, reformist, and academic circles.

However the backward and semicolonial nations could not duplicate the process of *revolution* experienced by their predecessors precisely because they had been forced into a different pattern of *evolution*. Neither in their economic nor their political development could they reproduce with some delay and minor variations the models provided by the imperialist exploiters.

The theory of permanent revolution clarified the reasons for this anomaly. The roles of the social classes were to be vastly different in the declining senior stage of capitalism than they had been in its progressive junior ones.

The main tasks of the democratic revolution in the bourgeois era were as follows: the achieve-

ment of national autonomy and unity, agrarian reform, secularization (separation of church from state), the elimination of precapitalist relations of production, the creation of a democratic state capped by industrialization. These tasks had been undertaken and solved with varying degrees of success under the leadership of radical and liberal elements of the bourgeoisie of the West during their heyday when commercial and industrial capitalism flourished.

However, the forms of bourgeois life and labor had been stifled and stunted in the backward and colonized areas while remaining yoked together with precapitalist survivals and even revivals, like chattel slavery. Because of their mangled and meager development and fear of the upsurge of the workers and poor peasants on their own behalf, the local bourgeoisies within these countries had no capacity for shouldering the gigantic tasks of revolution and leading the popular masses in all-out struggle against imperialism for a thorough renovation of the old regimes along democratic lines.

### Decisive Role of Workers

Trotsky arrived at his highly original conclusions through a concrete analysis of semifeudal, semicapitalist Russia and the dynamics of the class forces disclosed during the defeated 1905 revolution. On the basis of these events he set forth the following propositions:

The liberal bourgeoisie had become impotent and politically bankrupt; when the chips were down it would go over to counterrevolution. The peasantry and anti-czarist intelligentsia could play significant but only auxiliary roles in the revolutionary process. The sole available candidate for revolutionary leadership that could carry the struggle for democratic demands through to the end was the proletariat, a new class that was the special product of the industrial revolution.

Thus the unique alignment of social forces produced by the whole preceding evolution of world capitalism had prepared the conditions, Trotsky deduced, for an interpenetration of successive historical stages in twentieth century Russia. This correlation had two major aspects.

First, because the anticapitalist working class was the paramount political force guiding the upheaval, the democratic tasks appropriate to a belated antifeudal revolution inevitably became intertwined with the tasks of the socialist revolution.

These included the conquest of power by the proletariat at the head of the insurgent masses; the abolition of capitalist private property; guaranteeing of self-determination to oppressed nationalities; the collectivization of agricultural production; the creation of a planned economy and the state monopoly of foreign trade crowned by the institutions of socialist democracy. These

accomplishments would promote the most rapid growth of the economy and lead to lifting the standards of consumption and culture, the overcoming of inequalities, the liberation of women, enlargement of democracy on all levels, the gradual elimination of the differences between mental and manual labor and between the city and countryside, the uprooting of alienation in social life, and the removal of the gap between the rich and the poor nations, about which much is said but so little done nowadays.

These desired objectives could be attained in only one way: by extending the world revolution through the establishment of workers power in the most advanced countries where the most highly developed productive forces and the seats of imperialist power were located.

### Combined Revolution

Second, the fight for bourgeois-democratic rights and the struggle for workers power, one belonging to the dawn and the other to the sunset of capitalist society, had to be carried out by an alliance of the workers and peasants in mortal combat against the power and property of the unholy alliance of the native bourgeoisie, the precapitalist exploiters, and the foreign imperialists.

The two components could not be separated in time or space; the one grew over into the other as the revolution deepened. The historical opposites were integrated in dialectical dependence. This conception of the revolutionary process and its socialist strategy for czarist Russia—projected by Trotsky in 1906 and indicated as early as his writings of 1904—was put to the test in 1917. It was adopted in principle by Lenin upon his return from exile in April and guided the Bolsheviks' policy leading to their victory in October.

The experience in China in the mid-1920s, where Stalin's policy of supporting the leadership of the national bourgeoisie as the natural leader of the democratic revolution ended in disaster, convinced Trotsky that it was not limited to Russia but was valid for all the economically backward countries.

The validity of its essential ideas has been positively vindicated since World War II by the course and outcome of the Yugoslav, Chinese, Cuban, and Vietnamese revolutions. It is being tested anew in Iran and Nicaragua today.

This conception has found confirmation in the negative by the inability of those colonial peoples that have not combined their struggle for national sovereignty with a victorious onslaught against capitalist property and power to achieve either a stable and durable democratic regime or an escape from the yoke of imperialism. Witness the Iranian revolutionary upsurges of 1906 and 1945-53. And witness the continent of Latin





ft, Nicaraguan revolutionary army drills; center, Iran masses pour into Tehran streets for May Day march; right, Vietnamese liberation fighters move into Saigon

America from Mexico to Argentina and Chile.

In addition to illuminating the road to power and liberation from imperialism, the theory of permanent revolution involves two further theses. One asserts that while the revolutionary forces can be victorious in a single backward country without waiting for any others, as happened in Russia in 1917-18 and Cuba in 1959-60, the revolutionary process cannot be confined within the borders of a single country. It cannot realize its basic aims nor can its full program be consummated in a socialist order unless workers power has taken hold in the most highly industrialized sections of the globe. This revolutionary internationalist position and perspective is squarely counterposed to the Stalinist national-bureaucratic utopian dogma of building socialism in a single country.

The theory further stresses that the suppression of capitalism does not all at once and equally eradicate all the relations and customs of the past but only overthrows those economic, political, and legal institutions at the root of capitalist domination. After the conquest of power, the worker-peasant revolution is obliged to tackle and remove inherited obsolescences as fast as conditions permit. There's the rub. Experience has shown that this is easier indicated than accomplished, above all in the poor and backward workers states encircled by imperialism where the anticapitalist revolutions up to now have taken place.

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In discussing the principal tenets of the permanent revolution, I have already touched upon the second of Trotsky's contributions to Marxist thought: the law of uneven and combined development. This juxtaposition is not accidental, because the theory of permanent revolution is a particular expression of this more general law. The one is limited to the conditions and problems of the period of transition from the capitalist system to socialism, whereas the other has a far broader application to the entire span of humanity's evolution.

Indeed, Trotsky consciously formulated the wider law of uneven and combined development after elaborating the more restricted conception and as a generalization of it. The successive stages of Trotsky's intellectual enlightenment on this score can be studied in two of his works: *Results and Prospects*, written in 1906, and the first chapter of his masterful *History of the Russian Revolution*, written in the early 1930s.

### Uneven Development

The starting point of the law is the empirical observation that the course of history and social life through the ages has not been harmonious,

balanced, and symmetrical but characterized by extreme irregularities of all kinds at every step along the way. One of the most dramatic instances of this disparity took place when the aboriginal inhabitants of North America were brought face to face with the white invaders from Europe.

At this juncture, two completely separated routes of social evolution, the products of some thirty thousand years of independent growth in the New World and the Old, encountered and came to grips with each other. People living in the preclass tribal conditions of the Stone Age collided with newcomers equipped with all the acquisitions of class society from private property to firearms. We know the bloody genocidal result.

Gross differences in development are also to be found, not only between peoples living on different levels of progress, but also within specific social and national structures and their class components.

The American workers, for example, have one of the highest living standards in the world and yet, as a class, are at the lowest stage of political consciousness and organization. They are today the only working class in a major industrial country that has yet to create a mass political organization independent of the capitalist parties, whether of the Laborite, Social Democratic, Stalinist, or revolutionary types.

Moreover, it remains in subordination to the capitalist rulers while only ninety miles from Florida the much weaker Cuban working class has gotten rid of that incubus within their own borders.

Throughout its evolution capitalism by its very nature has given rise to all sorts of economic inequalities: unevenness of development between industry and agriculture; between the first industrialized countries and the colonial and semicolonial dependencies; between different branches of industry; and between different and even adjacent regions of the same country (contrast Appalachia with the Midwest and California).

I have already pointed out that the accumulation of the irregularities produced by the unequal development of capitalist civilization up to the twentieth century set the stage for the new turn in world history whereby the bourgeois forces became antirevolutionary while their antithesis, the working class, has had to take over the progressive functions they previously performed.

The underlying cause of the different rates of growth in history and among the various elements of social life is the faster or slower growth of the productive forces. The resultant differences in economic power impart varying rates and extents of growth to different peoples, different branches of society, different classes, different social institutions and fields of culture.

But unevenness is only the primordial aspect

of the total process. The disproportionate development among the diverse sections of society and the various factors of social life has a very important consequence. The contact and coexistence of features belonging to earlier stages of development with those at a later level of development provide the possibility for the merger of elements belonging to both in a combined formation. These hybrids deviate from the normal type and exhibit pronounced peculiarities because of their highly contradictory character.

The periods of transition from one socioeconomic order to a higher one have been especially marked by this intermeshing of the old and the new. This held true for the passage from precapitalist societies to the capitalist world system and even more for the present period of changeover from predominant capitalist to postcapitalist relations. Capitalism did not develop in a void but arose, expanded and came to global mastery in incessant and inseparable interaction with precapitalist modes of production ranging all the way from tribalism to feudalism. Despite the disparities in their economic and cultural levels, capitalism welded together in a single system progressive institutions and ideas with primitive and cruder ones. This amalgamation of features appropriate to very different kinds of historical development has generated very peculiar phenomena and produced some surprising turns and twists in history.

I referred to a few of these American experiences in the collection of essays *Understanding History*. In the Carolinas at the time of colonial settlement, a capitalist shareholding enterprise acting under a royal grant tried to establish unalloyed feudal relations, at a time when feudalism had been largely surpassed in England; the scheme didn't work. Later in that same area there was a bourgeoisified chattel slavery in which communistic Creek Indians who held slaves sold their products on a capitalist market, thereby combining three distinct stages of evolution. We've seen a twentieth century president who calls upon a medieval god to bless Washington's war in Indochina and the napalming of women and children, thereby combining medieval superstition with imperialist brutality.

This law provides the key to deciphering the complexities and anomalies of the contemporary revolutions which under unfavorable conditions have had to tackle the democratic tasks left over from the deficient bourgeois era with the socialist tasks necessitated by modern technique and culture. Thus, in order to win national independence from Yankee imperialism, Cuba had to break with capitalism and start on the road toward socialism. This overloading of historical tasks saddled upon the postcapitalist countries should be kept in mind in assessing the charac-



teristics of their progress—and regress.

And the concept of combined development allows us to foresee the possibility of the American workers overcoming their political and ideological backwardness in the coming years with stunning rapidity, forging a mass party to represent their interests, and bringing forward a powerful revolutionary Marxist vanguard in the course of a tempestuous mass radicalization—perhaps even surpassing some more politically advanced working classes of the industrialized West in the pace of their development.

\* \* \*

### Roots of Stalinism

The third outstanding contribution of Trotsky to living Marxism was his explanation of the political degeneration of the Soviet Union, the rise of the bureaucratic caste to supremacy, and the causes, characteristics, and cure for Stalinism. There are many theories in circulation about the horrible phenomenon that fastened itself after Lenin's death upon the Soviet Union, the first workers state in history.

The most common misconception states that Stalinism is the natural offspring and inevitable continuation of Leninism, Marxism, and socialism. Others define the Soviet Union as state capitalism or bureaucratic collectivism, dominated by a new class of exploiters. On the other hand, the uncritical followers of the Kremlin believed Stalin when he claimed that the Soviet regime was already socialist and Khrushchev and Brezhnev when they said it was going beyond that toward communism.

Trotsky presented an altogether different analysis and appraisal of the Stalinized Soviet Union. He defined it as a degenerated workers state. He explained that the proletariat had come to power first in backward Russia rather than in the more advanced countries of Western Europe, as Marx anticipated, because of the conjunction of a peasant uprising against czarism and landlordism with a proletarian revolution against capitalism. This combined mass upsurge was responsible for the extraordinary scope of its achievements, for the great leap forward that changed the direction of modern history.

However, at the next stage of the unfolding of the Russian revolution after Lenin's death in 1924, the inherited economic and cultural backwardness that had previously supplied the charge that propelled the Russian people far ahead of the rest of the world took its revenge. It became the basis and starting point of a bureaucratic reaction culminating in a political counter-revolution. The workers democracy of the first

years of the Soviet republic was crushed and replaced by a totalitarian dictatorship crowned by Stalin's one-man rule.

This relapse was the outgrowth of two major factors, one internal, the other international: First, the failure of the revolution to be extended into the more industrialized countries such as Germany and the prolonged isolation of the first anticapitalist state and its tight encirclement by an imperialist environment. Second, the meager productivity of Soviet industry and agriculture—along with the shattering blows of World War I and the Civil War—engendered terrible poverty, misery, and sharp social inequalities that facilitated the rise and consolidation of a new privileged caste. The socially ruling class of workers was degraded into an oppressed class—although still the ruling class since the surviving postcapitalist property forms were in the workers' historic interest.

### Abolition of Workers Democracy

Under capitalist conditions a flourishing democracy had largely been established only in the more wealthy nations and, even where the poorer and less fortunate countries had set up democratic institutions, as in the colonial and semicolonial world, these have not been very sturdy or stable.

A similar rule applies to the Soviet Union and other countries based on postcapitalist economic relations. The poorer and more backward they are, the stronger are the tendencies toward bureaucratism and inequalities and the more likely are the materially, politically, and culturally privileged elements and antidemocratic forces in the workers state to become masters of the situation at the expense of the rights and powers of the toiling masses. In China high party officials are called "those who eat meat" by those who never see it.

Here an analogy may be helpful. A child stricken by rickets because of defective nutrition may grow up stunted, with curvature of the spine, bowlegs, and a bulky head, if he or she lacks the vital dietary ingredients that produce normal stature, well-proportioned organs, and agreeable features. Analogous rules of growth apply to social organizations and their political regimes.

Trotsky explained that the young Soviet republic became a victim of ugly malformations because the society and state were deprived of the conditions and elements needed for normal development during the most formative years. The Stalinist regime that resulted was the most self-contradictory combined formation in modern history. At its base were the most advanced forms of property and social conquests of a

postcapitalist character; its nationalized production, planned economy, and monopoly of foreign trade. These were the precious products of the 1917 socialist overturn.

Resting on top of this economic foundation was a political superstructure that was thoroughly totalitarian and resurrected many of the most repulsive features of class rule. People are so puzzled by this enigma and do not know what it is or how to estimate it because the Soviet Union today abounds in such contradictions on all levels.

In this workers state the workers themselves have no direct political voice in the major decisions. Freedom of expression and movement are severely restricted. The best works of its greatest living novelist, Solzhenitsyn, cannot be published. In transportation, huge jets speed over the trackless wilderness where peasant carts creak along in well-worn ruts, as they have for centuries, while Soviet astronauts circle around the planet. Tremendous scientific, technical, industrial, and cultural advances go along with political retrogression and reaction.

### Defense of Workers State

The regime's official claim that it represented socialism was spurious, Trotsky said. For all its successes, the Soviet Union was still far from socialism. It was a society in transition from capitalism to socialism with an unbalanced, inharmonious structure which was torn by tense contradictions and, above all, by the irreconcilable antagonism between the bureaucratic caste that had usurped power and the working masses.

Nonetheless, this workers state—for all its deformities—must be defended as a conquest of the working class against the efforts of the imperialists to destroy it. The property forms that have been established represent the only way forward for the Soviet working people, and it is these and not the dictatorial regime that accounts for the antagonism of the capitalist powers.

What perspective flowed from this diagnosis? To clear the way for the further march toward socialism, the Soviet workers would have to combat and clear out the bureaucratic oligarchy. This could only be done by way of a higher type of political revolution, Trotsky predicted. The objective of the antibureaucratic revolution would be to transfer control of the economy and state to the direct producers so they could go forward and create the socialist democracy outlined in *State and Revolution* by Lenin and promised in the Marxist program.

Many developments since Stalin died have testified to the irrepressible growth of opposition to the monolithic grip of the Kremlin within its own domain, its satellites, and the Communist parties elsewhere. It suffices to mention the attempt to establish "socialism with a human face" in Czechoslovakia, which was crushed in 1968 by the Soviet invasion; the more successful offensive of the Polish workers that toppled Gomulka and persists up to today; the continuing resistance of oppositional intellectuals and oppressed national minorities, and the heresies timidly uttered by the Eurocommunists.

Such events tend to substantiate Trotsky's contention that the parasitic bureaucracy is not an organic part and inevitable product of a postcapitalist society but rather a gross malignant tumor bred by the international isolation and persistent poverty and inequalities of the first workers state. It was a transitory phenomenon that big new revolutionary advances would serve to undermine, oppose, and eventually overcome, especially if the workers came to power in one or more of the advanced industrial countries.

As an internationalist, Trotsky analyzed events and developments in many countries. His views on Black nationalism and self-determination for Afro-Americans was a prophetic contribution to clarifying one of the key questions of American politics.

### Black Struggle

He pointed out that Afro-Americans constituted a distinctive oppressed national minority. As such they have the right to self-determination. They will become more and more discontented with the unremedied abuses they suffer under monopoly capitalism. Black workers could become radicalized before the majority of white workers, move to the forefront of the anticapitalist forces, and fight harder for a new society than the more privileged sections of the working class.

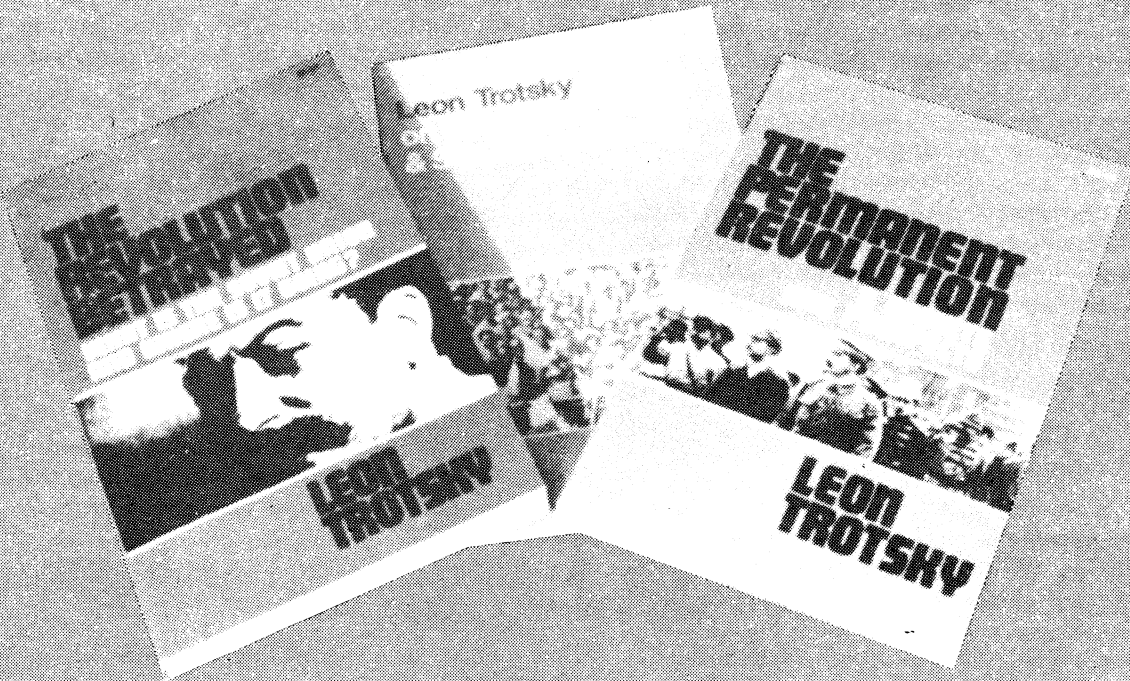


Trotsky foresaw that Black people would be among the most determined fighters against oppression and exploitation. He defended their right to self-determination. Above, Atlanta demonstration protests police brutality.



# Three Classics of Marxism

Three of Trotsky's major theoretical contributions. 'The Revolution Betrayed' probed the origins of Stalinism. 'Leon Trotsky on Black Nationalism and Self-Determination' collects his writings on the American Black struggle. In 'The Permanent Revolution,' he explained why only socialist revolutions could assure progress to backward countries such as czarist Russia or to superexploited semicolonial countries. All are available from Pathfinder Press (see advertisement on page 12).



"The Russians," he said, "were the Negroes of Europe."

The Black liberation struggle called for uncompromising support from all socialists. They were equally obliged to combat the deep-seated racist prejudices capitalism untiringly inculcates in the white population.

Building upon these propositions, Trotsky's followers in the SWP have come to the following conclusions.

1. Black people have shared less than anyone except the Native Americans, Chicanos, and Puerto Ricans in the advantages and rights of American civilization while their labors have contributed mightily to the country's wealth and progress. Increasing resentment against centuries-old injustice has fueled the mass protest movements since 1955-56.

2. The Black millions have a twofold socioeconomic status. They are the principal oppressed nationality striving for liberation. They are no longer a dispersed rural and agrarian work force but a predominantly urban and proletarian one. They are concentrated in the major industrial centers from coast to coast, packed into ghettos, laboring in heavy industry and the service trades, held down at the bottom of the economic and social pyramid.

3. Their strivings for equality and emancipation have thereby acquired a dual character. They represent at one and the same time a national-democratic struggle for self-determination, for control of their own destiny as a people, and a working-class movement heading in an anti-capitalist and anti-imperialist direction, whether or not its participants and leaders understand or recognize the fact at any given point. The coming Black upheavals in the United States will of necessity have both a nationalist and proletarian nature. This is an extremely powerful combination of factors favoring the socialist solution to oppression and exploitation.

4. Those who fail to grasp this combined character of the Black liberation movement and its dynamics can easily go astray in theory and in practice. They can adhere to opposing forms of one-sidedness. There are socialists who underestimate its racial component, viewing it simply and solely as one aspect of the class struggle between the bosses and the wage workers. On the other side stand petty-bourgeois nationalists who regard their movement as primarily cultural and social in which the proletarian basis and connections do not count for much nor will an anticapitalist momentum shape its destiny.

Both errors can be avoided by correctly applying the law of uneven and combined development and Trotsky's theory of permanent revolution to the basic problems and prospects of Black oppression. These broader generalizations are not empty abstractions; they are directly relevant to understanding the most crucial current issues.

In conclusion, I want to examine a fifth expres-

sion of Trotsky's thought that others have discounted but that he himself considered the most important during his last exile. This was the evolution of his views on the character and role of the revolutionary vanguard party of the working class. His ideas on this matter underwent a significant change. They fall into two distinctively different periods, the first prior to 1917, the second from 1917 on. The turning point came with the revolutionary events of that critical year.

## Lenin and Trotsky Join Forces

After escaping from Siberia in 1901, Trotsky went to London at Lenin's invitation and became part of the team of Marxist propagandists around the periodical *Iskra*, the Spark. When the split in the Russian Social Democracy between the Bolsheviks and Mensheviks took place somewhat later, he aligned himself with the Mensheviks but was soon alienated from them. From 1904 until 1917 he occupied an intermediate and independent position between the two contending factions, unsuccessfully undertaking at times to reconcile and unify them.

He opposed Lenin's revolutionary and original conception of a centralized proletarian combat party, as so many New Lefts and anti-Leninists do today. "At that time," he later wrote, "I did not fully realize what an intense and imperious centralism the revolutionary party would need to lead millions of people in a war against the old order."

He decisively and definitively changed his mind on this score after the February overthrow of czarism. In July he led his Petrograd organization into fusion with the Bolsheviks at a time when the latter were under heavy persecution and Lenin and Zinoviev were in hiding.

The triumph of the October insurrection can be traced to two circumstances. In the April theses that rearmed and reoriented his party Lenin adopted the strategic conclusions of Trotsky's theory of permanent revolution—that the proletariat was obliged to take power then and there in order to realize both the democratic and socialist aims of the mass movement. Around the same time Trotsky was won over to Lenin's plan of party organization. Lenin became Trotskyist, as Kamenev charged at the time, while Trotsky became Leninist.

These conjoint developments on the personal and ideological levels were essential preconditions for the successful seizure of power in October. After the October insurrection, Lenin stated about Trotsky, after he had rejected any idea of organizational compromise with the Mensheviks, "From that time on there has been no better Bolshevik."

## The Revolutionary Party

Also, from then on Trotsky never wavered in his adherence to Lenin's principles of organiza-

tion and in fact became their foremost exponent after the latter's death in 1924.

There is widespread misunderstanding about the real meaning and content of democratic centralism which sums up the Leninist theory of party life.

The principal source of confusion is the counterfeit of Leninist ideas and distortion of their practices that Stalinism has introduced into the workers movement. The Stalinist pattern of the monolithic party fused with the state, autocratically manipulated from above by an uncontrolled and irremovable officialdom, is the very antithesis of the genuine Leninist system of organization. As against bureaucratic centralism, under democratic centralism the leadership and apparatus are both responsible to and controlled by the party ranks and subject to their informed and democratic decisions, as they are in the Socialist Workers Party.

In opposition to the supercentralism of the Stalinist model on the one hand and the spontaneists and anarchists who reject any centralism in principle, Trotsky stressed the need for a workers party that was democratic in its inner functioning and centralized in action.

In the foundation document of the Fourth International entitled "The Death Agony of Capitalism and the Tasks of the Fourth International"—popularly called the Transitional Program—Trotsky stated that the world political situation is characterized by a historical crisis of the leadership of the proletariat because of the degeneration of the Second and Third Internationals and the defaults of lesser radical formations. This crisis of humanity can be resolved only through the creation of a new revolutionary vanguard.

The task of the Fourth International, he wrote tersely, is "the abolition of capitalism's domination. Its aim—Socialism. Its method—the proletarian revolution. Without inner democracy—no revolutionary education. Without discipline—no revolutionary action. The inner structure of the Fourth International is based on the principle of democratic centralism: full freedom in discussion, complete unity in action."

## New Revolutionary International

Trotsky devoted the last years of his life to forming and educating the cadres of such a party on an international scale. He considered this "the most important work of my life—more important than 1917, more important than the period of the Civil War or any other." That was not an aberrant judgment on his part. Like other eminent Marxists, he understood that theory is sterile without its immersion in practice, its testing in the day-to-day class struggles, its connection with the building of national parties and a world organization of socialist revolutionaries. He was a man of deeds, not an armchair

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## ...Trotsky's Life

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had to be defended against enormous obstacles.

Russia was the most underdeveloped country on the European continent. Although well organized and highly conscious, the industrial workers comprised only a small sector of the population. Throttled by czarism, agriculture was stunted and the peasantry was weak, isolated, and at a far lower level of consciousness than the workers.

The forces of capitalist counterrevolution organized to smash the Soviet power.

U.S. and European imperialism imposed a blockade and sent troops into Russia to help overthrow the new government. The country was still formally at war with Germany. Survival of the revolution seemed almost impossible.

Trotsky, who had organized the military insurrection that established the October power, was chosen by Lenin to be Commissar of War.

In that post he organized a Red Army to fight the counterrevolution.

For his command post, he organized a military train that became a world legend. He lived in that train for two and a half years. Shuttling from one front to the next, he coordinated the battles, coped with the desperate shortages of materiel, gave political leadership, and boosted the morale of the beleaguered revolutionary troops.

Despite the odds, victory was achieved. By 1922, the counterrevolution was driven back. The Soviet power had been saved.

In the face of the Civil War, the Bolshevik Party and the Soviets remained forums for wide-ranging political debate among those who supported the revolution against its foes. The top leaders of the Bolshevik Party discussed each turn of events freely and frankly. While Lenin and Trotsky were most often in agreement, they had episodic differences of opinion like other Bolshevik leaders.

Later the Stalinists used these occasional tactical differences to build up the myth that Lenin and Trotsky were bitterly opposed to each other. They used this to shore up Stalin's claim that any disagreement with the Kremlin's top officials is proof of counterrevolutionary plotting.

### Rise of Stalinism

After the war, the difficulties faced by the revolution were far from over. The nation's economy was in literal chaos. Famine was widespread. Demoralization began to set in among the peasants, exhaustion among many of the workers. Great numbers of the most conscious revolutionary workers had been killed during the civil war.

The revolutionary spirit of the first years after October began to ebb, especially when the working class in other countries was unable to take

power due to the absence of strong revolutionary parties like the Bolsheviks.

In January 1924, the revolution suffered a heavy blow with the death of its central leader, Lenin. Meanwhile, in the midst of the scarcity, a privilege-seeking bureaucracy began to develop.

Trotsky, along with Lenin, fought it from the outset.

With the death of Lenin, Trotsky continued the battle against the developing bureaucracy, personified by its central figure, Stalin.

Here too, Trotsky proceeded on the basis of his central guiding concept—the workers were the key to the advance of the revolution. The steadily increasing curbs on workers democracy could only weaken the revolution, which needed the broadest participation to cope with its heavy problems.

But it was a time of revolutionary ebb with the situation strongly favoring the politically conservative bureaucrats.

The Stalinist machine prevailed and, again, Trotsky was driven into exile—this time from the leadership of a revolution he had helped bring to victory.

Again, his revolutionary will proved indomitable.

Like a class-conscious worker who succeeds in establishing a union in an open shop and then finds it taken over by bureaucrats, Trotsky fought to eliminate the bureaucracy's power and return the union to the hands of the workers who built it. Trotsky thought the workers state, like the union, had to be defended and preserved, despite its bureaucratic misleadership.

Trotsky opposed the rise of the Stalinist bureaucracy because this weakened the Soviet workers state and strengthened imperialism, endangering the conquests of the Russian revolution. The practices and policies of Stalin crippled the international workers movement and obstructed the fight to get rid of capitalism and build a better world.

### Continuing the Struggle

The challenge was twofold. In addition to destroying Soviet democracy, the Stalinists succeeded in bureaucratizing the Communist, or Third, International, founded under the leadership and inspiration of Russian Bolsheviks.

From a world party of socialist revolution, the international was reduced to the servile role of a pawn of the Kremlin in what soon became the central axis of its political program. This was the efforts—still being pressed by the Kremlin today—to achieve a status-quo deal with imperialism at the expense of the world revolutionary struggle. The bureaucrats feared that revolutions in other countries would inspire the Soviet workers and end up costing the privileged bureaucrats their jobs.

In the Soviet Union, those who stood by their revolutionary views were jailed and executed by

the tens of thousands. Within the Communist International, all of the leaders capable of independent, revolutionary thought were forced out. Only blind apologists for Stalinism survived.

Trotsky fought initially to get the Soviet Communist Party, and the International, back on course. To rid them of the Stalinist bureaucrats and return to the working-class program and democratic practices of Lenin.

With the continuing degeneration of the International and the deepening repression in the Soviet Union, this proved impossible.

The criminal policies of Stalinism brought a series of big defeats for the world workers movement. In China a workers and peasants revolution was crushed because of Stalin's insistence that the Communist Party support Chiang Kai-shek. A historic catastrophe came in Germany in 1933. There, despite the existence of a highly organized working class and mass-based Communist and Socialist parties, Hitler was able to come to power without firing a shot.

And later in the 1930s, Trotsky burned with outrage as Stalinism destroyed opportunities for the workers to take power in France and Spain.

It was in the aftermath of the German defeat that Trotsky concluded that the Third International could no longer be salvaged as a revolutionary instrument.

In exile, hounded by the imperialists and Stalinists alike, Trotsky began the work of building a new world party of socialist revolution, the Fourth International.

It was the most difficult task he had undertaken.

The infamous Moscow frame-up trials were staged. Leading figures of the October revolution were forced to confess abominable crimes that they could not possibly have committed.

Trotsky was branded the central leader of a counterrevolutionary conspiracy that worked in league variously with Hitler or other imperialist powers to restore capitalism in the Soviet Union.

Trotsky, in exile, made his voice heard, exploding these frame-up charges. The small cadres of the movement for a Fourth International succeeded in establishing a broad international Commission of Inquiry into the Moscow Trials.

Headed by the world respected philosopher and educator John Dewey, the commission probed the charges against Trotsky and pronounced to the world that they were a frameup. It was a solid blow against Stalinism.

Yet the difficulties were great in building the new movement. But slowly Trotsky won adherents to the revolutionary cause.

### American Revolutionists

Here in the United States, a small but effective group of adherents to Trotskyism emerged. The principal leader was James P. Cannon, a veteran of the workers movement and a longtime leader of the Communist Party.

Among those who were expelled along with Cannon from the Communist Party for their views were a group of outstanding working-class leaders in Minneapolis—V.R. Dunne, Carl Skoglund, and others. Soon to join their ranks were rank-and-file Teamsters including Farrell Dobbs.

The Minneapolis Trotskyists went on in the mid-thirties to lead a powerful Teamster-based struggle that made Minneapolis a stronghold of unionism and laid the basis for the Teamsters to become one of the strongest unions in the country.

During this period, Trotsky had gained political asylum in Mexico. The American Trotskyists had the benefit of collaborating with him in the work of building the Fourth International as well as the benefit of his advice and experience in building what was to become the Socialist Workers Party. Cannon, Dunne, Dobbs, and other party leaders traveled to Mexico many times for rich political discussions with Trotsky.

In addition to the international issues confronting the new movement, they discussed the fast-moving political developments in the United States from both an immediate and long-range perspective.

Convinced as he was of the crucial world role of the American working class, Trotsky paid the closest attention to political developments here. He brought to these discussions the rich experience of the Russian revolutionary struggle.

### On Unions and Black Rights

One decisive feature of the victory of the Russian revolution had been the unswerving support by the Bolsheviks to the many oppressed



The fight for union democracy and independence from the capitalist state would be key issues for militant workers, Trotsky argued. Above, miners protest Carter administration strikebreaking efforts during 1977-78 miners' strike.



nationalities ground down under the boot of czarism.

Trotsky brought that experience to bear in discussing the significance of the Black liberation struggle in this country. His powerful analysis of the revolutionary potential of that movement is contained in the pamphlet, *Leon Trotsky on Black Nationalism and Self Determination*.

During the last period before his assassination he had begun another work which is highly relevant for union members today.

Published under the title *Trade Unions in the Epoch of Imperialist Decay*, it pointed out that as the problems of the capitalists become more acute, they were increasingly utilizing the government to hamstring and curb the power of the unions. Without a perspective of working-class struggle to establish a workers government, the union bureaucrats were increasingly looking toward the capitalist governments to help them preserve their privileged positions. These processes have advanced quite far since Trotsky's death.

Trotsky saw the need to fight to keep the unions independent of the capitalist government and to make them democratic bodies capable of defending the interests of all their members against the employers. This could only be accomplished, he predicted, along the road of transforming the unions into revolutionary instruments of class struggle.

Perhaps the most important contribution Trotsky made to the development of the American Trotskyist movement was to deepen its understanding of and commitment to the need for building a world party—and how to go about doing so.

In every way he could, Trotsky taught that the building of the International, the world party, was central.

On the eve of the 1938 founding congress of the Fourth International, he collaborated with the leaders of the SWP in drafting a programmatic document, best known today as "the transitional program."

The program addresses the central question of our epoch—developing a working-class political strategy and building a mass revolutionary party. It begins from the objective needs of the working class, such as preserving its living standards against inflation and unemployment, defending its organizations and its democratic rights from capitalist encroachments and fascist violence, and forging alliances with other oppressed sectors.

At the same time the transitional program explains how to approach workers and other oppressed people as they are, in their mass organizations like the unions, on their present level of consciousness. Socialist workers propose reasonable solutions to the problems of working people—which the capitalists unfailingly resist and obstruct in the name of profit.

In the course of mass action to attain these goals, mass consciousness advances toward an understanding of the need to abolish capitalism. In the midst of struggle, socialist workers can



Trotsky regarded building the Fourth International as the most important task he had ever undertaken. It was founded September 3, 1938. Here he reads the October 22, 1938, issue of 'Socialist Appeal' (the name of the Socialist Workers Party newspaper at that time) reporting the results of the founding congress.

win new forces to the building of a party capable of leading the struggle to success.

In assembling the cadres of the Fourth International, Trotsky insisted on programmatic clarity. But he also stressed that it was essential to reach out to all revolutionary fighters, wherever they might be, and to work to win them to the Fourth International and its program.

### The Fourth International

Many revolutionaries, he predicted, would be drawn to the banner of the Fourth International in the course of action before they had fully absorbed all the fundamentals of Marxism. It would be the height of folly, he counseled, to turn away from revolutionary fighters who were not yet in total programmatic agreement.

He demonstrated his conviction on this score by his ceaseless, incredibly patient efforts to draw a broad range of diverse forces into the Fourth International.

Throughout, he saw this—building of the new workers' international—as his paramount task. In his *Diary in Exile* he reflected on the wiping out by Stalin of the whole generation of Bolsheviks and offered this carefully measured estimate:

"For the sake of clarity I would put it this way. Had I not been present in 1917 in Petersburg, the October Revolution would still have taken place—on the condition that Lenin was present and in command. . . . The same could by and large be said of the Civil War. . . ."

Trotsky continued:

"Thus I cannot speak of the 'indispensability' of my work, even about the period from 1917 to 1921. But now my work is 'indispensable' in the full sense of the word. . . . The vicissitudes of my personal fate have confronted me with this problem and armed me with important experience in dealing with it. There is now no one except me to carry out the mission of arming a new generation with the revolutionary method. . . ."

In offering this estimate of his special role and responsibility, Trotsky emphasized that "there is no arrogance in this claim at all."

What he meant, simply, is that every revolutionary has responsibilities. Be those responsibilities lesser or greater, the duty of a revolutionary is to recognize and shoulder them. But this is no onerous burden.

In his introduction to *My Life*, Trotsky put it this way: "To understand the causal sequence of events and to find somewhere in the sequence one's own place—that is the first duty of a revolutionary. And, at the same time, it is the greatest personal satisfaction possible for a man who does not limit his tasks to the present day."

In celebrating the Trotsky centennial, revolutionary socialists can say that in terms of his capacities and contributions Trotsky may have loomed larger than any of us. But he was one of us.

## ...Trotsky's Contributions

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theorist. He wrote and thought at all times with the aim of changing society, not simply commenting on the passing show, lamenting or applauding what others are doing.

The members of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance have been trained in this tradition and seek to carry it forward by constructing a sturdy Marxist party in the heartland of world imperialism—and not without a growing measure of success.

\* \* \*

Trotskyism and Stalinism, like their personal exemplars and namesakes, represent two irreconcilable forces, programs, and methods of operation. The Kremlin dictator and his successors express the interests and narrow national outlook of the bureaucratic stratum that came to monopolize power and accumulate privileges in the first experiment in postcapitalist organization. The followers of his arch-opponent represent the interests of the world working class in its efforts to overthrow capitalism and institute a socialist democracy.

During his quarter-century tenure of total

power Stalin's word was law in official world communism; his speeches were printed in tens of millions of copies and regarded as holy writ. Trotsky, the hounded exile, had difficulty in making his voice heard and in circulating his views beyond a limited circle. His writings were tabooed to members of the Stalinist movement who were fed distorted and poisoned versions of his ideas.

### Trotsky Outlives Stalin

History has its ironic turnabouts. Today in the Soviet Union, Stalin has been exposed and disgraced as a criminal tyrant by his closest associates. His works are no longer printed in huge quantities—in fact they are rather hard to come by—and his omnipresent portrait has come down off the walls of every government office. It is dubious whether his centenary will be given notice by Moscow.

Trotsky's books, on the other hand, are being reprinted in many languages, not least in the United States. Dozens of works about him appear in print year by year. His ideas are securing a wider hearing and broader following on all continents.

A while ago the Husak government in Czechoslovakia put nineteen young people on trial for

their alleged Trotskyist ideas, actually for their opposition to official oppression. The Trotskyist Petr Uhl has just been given a five-year sentence there.

The newly formed section of the Fourth International in Iran has emerged as a banner-bearer of the socialist program against the Khomeini-Bazargan bourgeois-clerical regime, which is attempting to roll back the rights conquered by the Iranian masses in the battle to topple the shah.

Although Stalin's henchman struck down Trotsky in Mexico four decades ago, he did not and could not kill his ideas—and Stalin's imitators will be even less effective.

It is not possible, I believe, to be a politically literate person or understand the essentials of world politics today without an acquaintance with the ideas of this genius of scientific socialism who left us such a rich heritage.

I hope this summary exposition of his achievements will induce you to study more of his voluminous works and, what is still more important, to follow his example by participating in the movement for a socialist American as part of the SWP and YSA.

# Trotsky's Writings: Treasure Chest of Marxist Ideas

Since 1969, Pathfinder Press and Monad Press have published more than thirty books by Leon Trotsky.

This publishing program will take a big step forward in January 1980. That is when the Closed Section of the Trotsky Archives at Harvard is opened to the public.

The papers at Harvard contain several thousand letters from Trotsky to groups and co-thinkers around the world, as well as personal papers, documents, correspondence by Trotsky's secretaries and letters sent to Trotsky.

When Trotsky sold the papers to Harvard, he stipulated that these materials be kept in a Closed Section that would not be opened until 1980. This proviso was to protect his correspondents from possible persecution by capitalist regimes or by the Stalinists.

With the permission of the Harvard authorities, Monad Press will be sending a team of researchers to look over Trotsky's work, with a view to publishing some of it in the future. Much

of the material already published in the twelve volume *Writings of Leon Trotsky (1929-40)* series was made available by Harvard from the Open Section of Trotsky's papers.

It is quite likely that the material in the Closed Section will be extremely valuable to the revolutionary movement today. Like the articles, documents, interviews, and letters in the *Writings* series and other books published by Pathfinder and Monad in the last ten years, these letters are all from Trotsky's last exile, 1929-40.

His work from this period reflects the ideas of revolutionary Marxism in their most developed form.

Also, the letters in the Closed Section will probably deal extensively with the practical political and organizational problems of building revolutionary parties and a revolutionary international—still the most important tasks facing humanity.

Of course, future publishing will not be limited to material from the Closed Section. Already in

progress are two additional volumes of the *Challenge of the Left Opposition* series, which covers the years 1923 to 1928, and two volumes of Trotsky's war correspondence on the Balkan Wars and World War I.

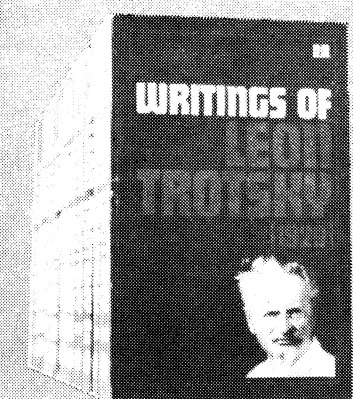
It's appropriate here to point out that, even without the books yet to come, the Trotsky publishing effort of Pathfinder Press and Monad Press in the last decade has been historic. The volumes published since 1969 were translated, edited, and annotated with greater speed than the English-language editions of the *Collected Works* of Marx and Engels and of Lenin, despite the fact that the project was carried out without the immense material resources available to Soviet publishing.

These books constitute one of the most important tools in the hands of revolutionaries building parties that can overthrow capitalism and replace it with a socialist world order.

—Duncan Williams

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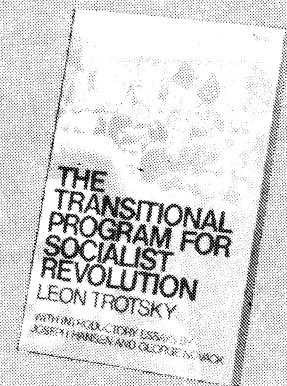
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# Boston Black groups hit racist violence

By Jeanette Tracy

BOSTON—Prompted by the continued racist attacks against Black people here, a coalition of ten Black organizations held a protest news conference November 1.

The participants urged Black residents to "protect our homes, families, and basic human rights."

Among the groups and individuals attending the conference were the Boston NAACP, the Massachusetts Black Caucus, the National Black Students Association, State Sen. William Owens, and the World Community of Islam.

This response by Black leaders came on the heels of the latest incident of racist violence. Just the day before, a mob of 125 whites armed with rocks attacked an off-duty Black police officer in Hyde Park, a predominantly white neighborhood with a long history of racist incidents.

Hurling rocks and shouting, "We're going to kill us a nigger," the racists pursued their victim until he fired two warning shots from his service revolver.

Earlier in the week, a group of whites on motorcycles—some dressed

in Klan hoods—sped through the Black community shouting racial epithets. And a city bus carrying Black passengers through South Boston was stoned, sending seven Blacks to the hospital.

Although no new attacks were reported in the schools, a Black South Boston High student informed the *Militant* that the atmosphere remains tense.

The city's major media, four TV stations and two daily newspapers, continue to suppress information concerning racist assaults on Blacks.

Scant coverage of the major news conference called by Black leaders is one example of the media's bias.

This bias is also reflected in the manufactured stories of "Black violence" against whites. Their purpose is to shift blame off the racist bigots by implying that Blacks are equally responsible for violence.

The church leadership has joined this effort. Protestant and Catholic leaders are urging people to sign a covenant denouncing "every form of violence in every neighborhood"—promoting the idea of Blacks being equally to blame.

The statement issued at the news

conference countered the charge of Black violence.

It read in part: "We in the Black community understand the fact that we have been the victims, with attacks on us in the streets, on school buses, and now shot down on a high school football field." The latter was in reference to Darryl Williams, the Black high school athlete gunned down by a sniper on September 28.

The statement continued: "As always, we have shown a level of restraint in the past to try to work out a peaceful solution, but to no avail as the attacks increase in an atmosphere of open hostility."

The events of the past weeks have demonstrated that the racist violence is part of an organized assault on Black rights. The central issue is school desegregation, which was implemented in 1974-76.

Despite stalling tactics in the courts and racist mob violence in the streets, antibusing forces suffered a defeat with desegregation. But attacks against Blacks and Puerto Ricans have continued.

The racists are hoping to roll back desegregation, or at least reraise the

issue. These latest attacks conveniently coincided with the opening of school and the municipal elections.

Antibusing leaders made bids for both school committee and city council.

"Pixie" Palladino and Louise Day Hicks, leaders of ROAR (Restore Our Alienated Rights), have tried political comebacks. Palladino pledged to fight busing in the courts and out, while Hicks blames busing for the racist violence.

The news conference of Black leaders represents one of the first organized responses by the Black community against the recent wave of racist violence.

The racists in Boston have pledged to drive Black students out of the schools—one way or the other. It has been the courage and determination of Black students and their parents that has prevented the racists from succeeding.

A public response by the Black community, the labor movement, and their allies is needed to reaffirm the right of Blacks to attend any school and walk the streets without fear or intimidation.

## ...panel

Continued from back page

facts when asked, twelve hours after the accident began, if any of the fuel in the reactor had melted.

The official's reply, which the task force called "a classic example of fudging," declared there was no "significant core damage," passing over the real damage that had occurred.

### Carter's response

President Carter's response to the report was cautious. "We'll have to be very careful and very methodical in our recommendations to the public," he said. Carter had been hoping for a document that could provide a cover for pushing ahead with nuclear power. Despite his efforts at stacking the commission, the deep sentiment against nuclear power in the country made itself felt in the report.

Last May 6, for instance, more than 100,000 people demonstrated against nuclear power in Washington, D.C. And on September 23 some 200,000 people rallied against nukes in New York City. Dozens of other protests have involved tens of thousands.

The report's sharp criticism of nuclear power reflects this growing opposition.

The panel refused to call either for plunging ahead with nuclear power or

for halting it. It declared, however, that "if the country wished, for larger reasons, to confront the risks that are inherently associated with nuclear power, fundamental changes are necessary if those risks are to be kept within tolerable limits."

This is admission that the nuclear industry and the federal government have not kept the risks within "tolerable limits."

This admission was coupled with a warning to the industry: "unless portions of the industry and its regulatory agencies undergo fundamental changes, they will over time totally destroy public confidence."

The panel drew back from the conclusion its evidence warranted: that nuclear power isn't safe, can't be made safe, and should be shut down at once. A majority would not even agree to a halt in granting new construction permits, a move that would not have affected the 92 nuclear power plants now in various stages of construction.

Because it fails to draw the logical conclusions, the report is being trumpeted by the nuclear industry as supporting further nuclear construction. For example, in a full-page ad in the November 2 *New York Times*, the Edison Electric Institute, an industry group, declared, "The electric companies agree with the Kemeny Commission's message on nuclear power: proceed, but proceed with caution."

But this is not the message of the report at all. Most open-minded readers will conclude that nuclear power is a deadly danger and must shut down

now. The Kemeny panel's blistering criticisms will provide ammunition for the growing number of people determined to stop nuclear power.

## 100,000 say 'no nukes'



Roth/Levy-Intercontinental Press/Inprecor

More than 100,000 people demonstrated against nuclear power in the West German capital of Bonn October 14. The action was the first national antinuclear protest in Germany. Earlier actions have targeted individual plants. The demonstration called for an end to Germany's nuclear program and an immediate closing of all nuclear power plants. Protesters came from all over Western Europe, and speakers came from Australia and the United States. Among the speakers was Jakob Moneta, founder of a trade-union group against nuclear power, which collected endorsements of some 180 trade-union officials for the march in the Hamburg area alone.

## Pulley: report proves need for nuclear shutdown

The following statement was issued November 5 by Andrew Pulley, Socialist Workers Party candidate for president.

There is only one reasonable conclusion to draw from the report of the President's Commission on the Accident at Three Mile Island: every nuclear power plant should be shut down at once.

Despite its six-month study, and dozens of recommendations to make nuclear power safer, the commission was forced to admit that there is no way to guarantee that a terrible accident won't happen again.

Nuclear power means cancer, genetic damage, and the ever-present danger of catastrophe. There are no benefits for working people in it. We assume the risks and the nuclear industry reaps the profits.

Coming right on the heels of the Kemeny Commission report was a frightening revelation from the Nu-

clear Regulatory Commission—that the emergency cooling systems of virtually every nuclear plant in the country may not work. This finding was promptly reversed by the NRC, after it held a closed meeting of industry and government nuclear "experts."

This flip-flop is alarming to the public, and rightly so. I see no reason to take the NRC's word that the cooling systems work.

The NRC assured us that an accident like Three Mile Island couldn't happen. That was a lie.

It assured us that the radiation that was released during the Three Mile Island accident—and which continues to be released—wouldn't hurt anyone. That is a lie.

The NRC, echoing the nuclear industry, continues to insist that low-level radiation is harmless. That is a lie.

And now they tell us that the emergency cooling systems will work.

The government and the nuclear industry have tried to confuse us by throwing technical language at us. But nuclear power is primarily a political problem, not a technical one.

The cover-ups are political, aimed at keeping the truth from us. The government and industry carry out secret studies, telling us only what they want us to know about nuclear power's deadly dangers.

Even when forced to admit there are problems with nuclear power, they insist we have no alternative. This too is a lie. The country has vast coal reserves that can be used to supply all the electricity now generated by nuclear power. Coal is far safer and cleaner than nuclear power.

The government and the industry aren't going to shut down nuclear power plants voluntarily. We must make the antinuclear movement into a truly massive movement to force

them to close all the plants. We must win tens of millions of people to the idea of stopping nuclear power. The movement must make a special effort to reach and involve the ranks of the labor movement.

As part of this campaign to educate and win labor to our side in this fight, I urge everyone to join in building the April 26, 1980, antinuclear march on Washington, D.C. This protest has been called by a broad coalition of antinuclear groups, and has already been endorsed by the 100,000 member Region 2 of the United Food and Commercial Workers union.

This march comes at a time of increasing opposition to nuclear power among trade unionists and all working people. This concern can make it possible to win broad union support for the march.

I urge unionists around the country to begin involving their unions and their co-workers.

# Auto workers strike against forced overtime

By John Studer

CHICAGO—Chanting, "Mandatory overtime, hell no!" striking auto workers demonstrated outside International Harvester's corporate headquarters in Chicago's Loop November 6.

The action was called by Local 6 of the United Auto Workers at the International Harvester plant in Melrose Park, Illinois. Nearly 250 unionists participated.

The 3,200 members of Local 6 walked off the job November 1 along with 32,000 other Harvester workers in eight states.

The central issue is the company's attempt to impose compulsory overtime on Harvester workers.

In preparation for the demonstration here, Bob Tinker, president of Local 6, sent a letter to all local members. "We are calling this demonstration to serve notice on the company that we do not intend to buckle in to IH's demands," Tinker wrote. "Especially, their demand for forced overtime. A large turnout with members from various locals could be an important visible show of our determination to fight for a good contract."

UAW Region 4 organized transportation to the rally. And representatives from UAW locals 72, 1643, 1307, 1361, 719, 558, and the Local 6 retirees participated to show support.

Strikers carried signs demanding "No mandatory overtime, hire the unemployed" and "No takeaways."

Following the November 1 noon strike deadline for Harvester workers in Melrose Park, hundreds of strikers filled the union headquarters directly across from the plant. The picket captain used a bullhorn to gather strikers to shut down the gates.

The mood was sober because everyone anticipates a long strike. As J. Lilly, chair of the Local 6 women's committee, put it, Every Union Voice [Local 6's newspaper] for the last few months has warned of a strike and told us to save our money."

But, the Black woman with her added, "how can you save your money with inflation, the high cost of food, and increasing cost of energy?"



Chicago, Nov. 4—Unionists from seven UAW locals demonstrated at International Harvester headquarters.

Militant

No further negotiations are planned before Thanksgiving.

More than 40,000 workers at eight Caterpillar plants in six states have also been on strike since October 29.

Caterpillar strikers in Peoria, Illinois, walked out October 1. UAW Local 974 there decided to go on strike without authorization from the union international, and so its 23,000 members did not receive strike benefits. When the strike became nationwide October 29, it was sanctioned by the UAW.

The walkouts by Harvester and Caterpillar workers come on the heels of a three-week strike by the 31,000 UAW members at John Deere Company. Deere, Caterpillar, and Harvester are known as the "Big Three" of the agri-

cultural implements industry. They employ 110,000 of the 150,000 workers in the industry. Contracts at the smaller companies have now also expired.

These strikes are happening while the industry is making record profits. The demand for forced overtime is intended to add even more to those profits because it is cheaper to pay overtime than to hire more workers.

Rudi Guido, a representative on the negotiating subcommittee for skilled trades at Harvester, reported that the company refuses to discuss any economic questions until their takeaway demands are met. Harvester is the only agricultural implements company where in past contracts the UAW has

won provisions against forced overtime.

In addition to demanding compulsory overtime, Harvester is trying to eliminate holiday pay, unless employees work the day before and the day after. This provision has not been part of the Harvester contract since World War II.

"Local takeaways demanded by the company would return conditions to the 1950s," Guido says.

As local president Tinker put it, "Our fight is for more jobs, not more overtime."

With the possibility of a long battle in store, solidarity activities and support to the striking farm implement workers is needed. Their fight is an important one for all working people.

## Carter proposes \$1.5 billion Chrysler bail-out

The Carter administration proposed November 1 that Congress grant the ailing Chrysler Corporation \$1.5 billion in loan guarantees.

That means that the auto corporation can borrow from the banks, with the federal treasury covering up to \$1.5 billion in case of default. The guarantee, of course, is for the banks—Chrysler workers are promised nothing but the unemployment line if the company goes under.

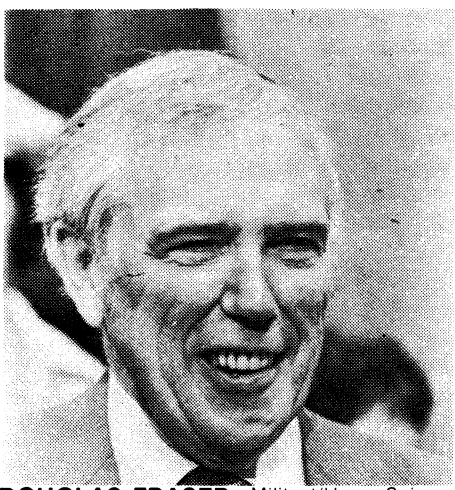
Nonetheless, the United Auto Workers *Washington Report* hailed the \$1.5 billion bailout as a "major breakthrough" in the effort to "save the jobs of thousands of Chrysler workers."

The Carter plan requires Chrysler to come up with another \$1.5 billion in matching funds from other sources. Part of this will come from the \$403 million that the newly negotiated UAW contract conceded. UAW President Douglas Fraser reportedly said the union is "willing to listen" to proposals about handing over its pension and strike funds as well.

And there's certainly plenty of anti-union clatter for Fraser to listen to. The *New York Times* editorialized November 4 that the UAW "has been unwilling to accept more than a token sacrifice." The *Times* concluded, "Before coming to Chrysler's rescue, Congress has an obligation to ask more from those with the most to lose."

Those with the most to lose—Chrysler's 130,000 workers—are granted little opportunity to comment on the high-finance schemes that hold their future livelihoods in jeopardy.

Below, Bruce Lesnick, a member of



DOUGLAS FRASER Militant/Henry Snipper

UAW Local 31 in Kansas City, Missouri, reports on the UAW Chrysler Council that approved the proposed contract October 31.

\* \* \*

By Bruce Lesnick

KANSAS CITY, Mo.—For the first time in forty-two years, United Auto Workers negotiators presented a contract that would put Chrysler workers behind their Ford and General Motors counterparts in wages and benefits.

By delaying wage and pension gains, forfeiting days off, and putting off improvements in health care and insurance coverage, the union estimates that Chrysler will save \$403 million over the life of the three-year agreement.

Two hundred and fifty-six delegates to the UAW's Chrysler Council met

here October 31 to discuss and vote on this grim proposal.

An introductory note to the official contract summary explained, "There is no way your bargaining committee would allow any deviation from the pattern if we were not convinced that Chrysler was 'on the brink' and that concessions are necessary to save the jobs of Chrysler workers."

Tens of thousands of Chrysler workers, however, are already on indefinite layoff. Four thousand have been laid off since 1973 at the Dodge Main plant in Hamtramck, Michigan, alone. There was precious little mention of the plight of any of these workers at the meeting here.

No visible opposition to the proposed contract was evident. Only one delegate, wearing a "Save Dodge Main" T-shirt, stood up during the discussion period and asked, "What am I going to tell my people? I can't go back and say, 'Now we have a contract—everything is rosy.'"

Another delegate protested the agreement's elimination of all paid personal holidays (PPHs) in the first year. The PPHs were originally touted as a way to give auto workers more time off and to create more jobs.

"How," the delegate asked, "is this going to create jobs for the people?"

But aside from a few grumblings, the overwhelming majority of delegates voted to ratify the agreement. There was less opposition here than among delegates to the GM and Ford councils earlier this fall. It is evidence that the Chrysler/government blackmail is having a significant impact.

In his address to the gathering here, UAW President Douglas Fraser seemed to gloat over the beating his ranks have taken recently. "Many will be surprised that it is not a lot worse," he said of the contract. "The members would have taken a lot less. . . . They know the company is in trouble . . . and yes, they're scared, scared of losing their jobs."

The day after the council meeting, 1,600 committee-people and stewards from UAW locals in the United States and Canada arrived to hear the same summaries of the contract.

In his speech to that gathering, Fraser added a new twist, spending five minutes lambasting the Japanese for canceling a \$400 million credit line to Chrysler. He went further and demanded that the Japanese either stop selling so many cars in the United States or start building plants here.

He added, "If they don't we'll set up informational picket lines at every god damn Japanese car dealer in the country."

But such diversions are not going to help Chrysler workers any more than is Fraser's new seat on the board of directors—a treacherous move that will only draw the union officialdom into taking responsibility for further company attacks on the rights and wages of Chrysler workers.

All the UAW praise in the world for the schemes of Carter and Chrysler is not going to strengthen the hand of the union. It will only weaken it. The time for an independent stand in defense of Chrysler workers—instead of Chrysler profits—is now.



# Steel local calls ERA speakout

By Maggie McCraw

CHICAGO—On Sunday, December 2, United Steelworkers of America Local 65 will host a program in support of the Equal Rights Amendment.

Local 65 represents 7,500 workers at U.S. Steel's South Works. Last spring it elected Alice Peurala as president, the first woman elected to that position in a major basic steel local.

The speakout is part of the national week of educational activities that grew out of the August 12 Labor for Equal Rights Now (LERN) conference in Richmond, Virginia.

Five women from Local 65 attended the LERN conference. After hearing their report, and discussing the crucial importance of ratification in Illinois as well, the local enthusiastically agreed to sponsor the December 2 event. It will be one of many local actions throughout the country that week building up to the January 13 march on Richmond for the ERA, called by the LERN conference.

A very broad program representing Illinois labor, civil rights, and women's organizations has been assembled for the December 2 event. The speakers included Robert Gibson, president, Illinois State AFL-CIO; James Balanoff, USWA District 31 director; Mary-Jean Collins, president, Chicago NOW; Muriel (Mannie) Tuteur, president, Chicago Coalition of Labor Union Women and director, Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Daycare Program; Charles Hayes, international vice-president, United Food and Commercial Workers, and president of Chicago Coalition of Black Trade Unionists; and Alice Peurala.

Also, John McGinness, Illinois legislative director, United Transportation Union, and vice-president, Illinois state AFL-CIO; Lydia Sanchez-Bracamonte, United Farm Workers; James Wright, assistant director, Region 4, United Auto Workers; Clara Day, trustee, Teamsters Local 743; and others.

Activists from the District 31 Women's Caucus who live in northern Indiana are organizing a bus to the December 2 program in Chicago.

The Local 65 Women's Committee has been very active in publicizing the speakout. In addition to distributing ERA pamphlets and flyers for the meeting, the committee has printed an "ERA yes" button and is reaching out to as many ERA supporters as possible.

Patricia Grogan, who is coordinating the ERA event for the Women's Committee, said, "This speakout is just the beginning. We hope to build a strong coalition here modeled on the LERN coalition in Virginia. We are planning to continue to organize until we get the ERA passed in Illinois."

# Women in rail union organize

By Terry Kay

OAKLAND, Calif.—"We have to combat the attitude that supervisory personnel have that women are 'cute.' When a foreman tells me, 'Baby, I want you to move an engine' . . . I don't move! We want to be treated like anyone else."

These words by fireperson Cheron Dudley capture the sentiment that led to two United Transportation Union locals in the Bay Area establishing committees to defend the rights of women workers. Both locals represent workers on the Southern Pacific.



Militant reporters talk with pickets of the International Woodworkers of America outside Simpson Plywood Company. Union is on strike against discriminatory firing of woman worker.

Dudley is a co-coordinator of UTU Local 31's Anti-Discrimination Committee. She explained that when she and another woman became the first female firepersons here, it was a struggle simply to establish their right to perform the same jobs as their male co-workers.

But women rail workers quickly won a reputation in the union as tough fighters for all workers on the job.

"For instance," Dudley said, "there was a bridge where brakemen had to get off a lot, but it had no guard rails. It was the women who raised this at the union meeting."

She also told a story about a commuter line in the Bay Area where the crew "ties over" for eight hours' rest.

The company had provided only an old dirty shack for them to sleep in, right in the roundhouse area where the engines are serviced.

"The air compressors are going on and off and diesel fumes fill the air. The hum of the engines is bad enough," Dudley explained.

The crew on the run had tried for years to get the company to give them a better place to stay or to clean up the shack. Two women workers finally got it shut down.

Local 31 has made a real effort to involve women in the union, Dudley said. Male co-workers have encouraged women to get on union committees. They joined in urging the International to stop addressing letters with "Dear Sirs" or "Brothers." The local sent a protest letter to the International when sexist cartoons appeared in union newsletters.

It was the acting Local 31 president who proposed establishing "a women's committee to deal with issues that are specific to women."

To bring home the fact that such a committee could benefit all members—male and female—Dudley suggested calling it the Anti-Discrimination Committee. The name was unanimously accepted.

Similarly, a Human Rights Committee has been set up in UTU Local 100, which used to be merged with Local 31. Previously, Local 100 had protested the International's decision to hold its convention in Florida, an unratified ERA state.

The local also got the Occupational Safety and Health Administration to force the company to install bathrooms for women in the Oakland yard.

So it was not surprising that when Rainy Creighton, a hostler, proposed Local 100 set up a committee to defend women on the job, she received overwhelming support in the union.

The local legislative representative suggested forming a regional committee, or at least contacting all women rail workers in the area.

With union support a meeting of women on the railroad was called, and out of that, Local 100 established a Human Rights Committee at its September 10 meeting.

During the discussion at the meeting, some questions were raised about women working on the railroad. Brother unionists responded by explaining that "women are a positive

and active force in the unions" and "their issues are all our issues, and should be put to the forefront of the union where they belong."

# Union hits company sexism

By Phil Norris

and Irene Abbott

SHELTON, Wash.—Fourteen-hundred members of the International Woodworkers of America Local 3-38 here have been on strike against Simpson Plywood since October 8. The issue is a contract violation involving the firing of Toni Gilbertson, a woman, last June 21.

Gilbertson had filed discrimination charges against Simpson to protest sexual harassment during the interview she had when applying for her job. The Human Rights Commission was still investigating the case when she was hired.

Gilbertson first worked as a laborer on graveyard shift and bid on a swing shift job. By the company's own admission, she was watched more closely than other new hires because of her discrimination suit.

Her graveyard supervisor testified that he was satisfied with her work. The swing shift supervisor said that her work was inadequate. She was fired before completing her twenty days to qualify on swing shift. The union filed a grievance arguing that the "company failed to transfer her to available work she had proven she could perform," as required in the contract.

According to union president Jim Lowery, throughout the grievance procedure the company kept bringing up Gilbertson's discrimination suit. The union decided to do some investigating on its own, and put out a fact sheet on the case for all its members. Some fifty other women are in Local 3-38, and many have charged sexual harassment by Simpson.

The union fact sheet begins: "What would you be willing to do to get a job at Simpson?" This is one of the many questions which women have reported were asked by Simpson Plywood management when they applied for jobs. Several women have reported to the IWA local that in their interviews they were variously asked to take off their blouses, asked if they wore a bra, asked if they would have sex with the supervisor, and had to endure comments by the supervisor about their breasts."

The members of the union see this case not just as a contract violation, but as harassment that must be stopped.

"Well, I think the union is absolutely right on it because there has been a lot of harassment," said John Lund, who has worked for Simpson for eighteen years. Bob Younger, a ten-year em-

ployee, told the *Militant*, "She's entitled to the same treatment of any man—not to have to be cross-examined."

So far the strike is holding solid. No other unions have crossed the picket lines, although some independent log-haulers are crossing.

The IWA has set up two-day informational pickets at other Simpson plants in Washington, Oregon, and California. Workers at all of these plants refused to cross these picket lines.

# USWA women meet

By Sheila Ostrow

DETROIT—Speaking to 100 union women here October 13, Marsha Zakowski of the United Steelworkers of America civil rights department urged the building of a coalition of labor, women's, and civil rights organizations to win the Equal Rights Amendment. She pointed to the Labor for Equal Rights Now (LERN) conference, which called for a January 13 march for the ERA in Richmond, Virginia, as an example of how to move the ERA struggle forward.

Zakowski was addressing a conference sponsored by the USWA District 29 Women's Council and the Union Minorities/Women Leadership Training Project at Wayne State University.

The conference met to discuss resolving the problems women steelworkers face on the job, including discrimination, sexual harassment, and probationary layoffs.

Nearly half the conference participants were members of the USWA. There were also members of the United Auto Workers, teachers, and public employees. Most participants were Black.

Zakowski, one of the panelists at the conference, stressed the relationship between women's rights and the unions.

She explained that the same groups opposed to the ERA are opposed to unions. Twelve of the fifteen states that haven't ratified the ERA also have right-to-work laws.

Only 6.5 million of the 42 million women that work are in unions, she said. Unorganized women lack the benefits and relative job security unions have won.

Describing the recent Coalition of Labor Union Women convention, Zakowski urged women to join CLUW. "CLUW's goals are steelworkers goals," she said.

In addition Zakowski stressed the problem of sexual harassment on the job—which she called a union issue and a contract issue. "It is outright sex discrimination," when women are the butt of jokes or victims of sexual coercion and undesirable work, she said.

Zakowski outlined other women's rights activities of the USWA, including the economic boycott of unratified ERA states and the recent affirmative-action victory over Brian Weber.

Other speakers at the conference included Charles Younglove, USWA District 29 director; Maxine Simpson, president of the District 29 women's council; Jonathan Comer, a technician in the USWA civil rights department; and Harry Lester, education coordinator, District 29.

In addition to hearing panelists, the conference also held workshops on civil rights, affirmative action, and the Equal Employment Opportunities Commission, collective bargaining for women, sexual harassment, and political strategy. The largest workshop was on sexual harassment.

Women steelworkers were encouraged to join the District 29 women's council.

The next meeting, on "Labor's Case for the ERA," will be held Tuesday, November 13, at the USWA District 29 office.

# Subscriptions: key to sales catch-up

By Peter Seidman

Socialists from throughout the South are helping the Piedmont Socialist Workers Party branch and Young Socialist Alliance chapter with extensive sales of this issue of the *Militant* in the Greensboro area of North Carolina.

The *Militant* is sparing no effort to get out the truth about the massacre of anti-Klan protesters.

The whole labor movement has a big stake in defeating such Klan violence. But the capitalist news media are covering up and distorting the facts about this murderous assault.

This underscores the importance of a big push during the final weeks of our fall circulation campaign.

Another city where sales of the *Militant* are playing a big role in getting out the truth about racist violence is Boston. Although reporting too late to get on this week's scoreboard, socialists there sold 302 copies of our issue headlined "Boston Blacks under racist siege."

This brought the week's total to 5,313. Reported industrial sales of 20.9 percent set a new record for the fall circulation drive.

Despite this progress, with only three weeks remaining, the drive as a whole is about 16 percent behind where it should be. Only fourteen cities report being on or near schedule.

Lagging subscription sales are the big problem. We're about 48 percent behind in this category. Single-copy sales trail by 9 percent.

So the national subscription target week now underway will be crucial—especially for the seventeen or so cities that, with strenuous efforts, might be able to catch up or come very close to making their goals.

The New York City and Newark branches of the SWP are setting a good example in this category.

Two teams of socialists will be spending three days each selling subscriptions on campuses in the Ithaca and Stonybrook areas. Scores of other supporters of the *Militant* and *Perspectiva*

*Mundial* will be making one-day trips to nearby campuses and housing projects over the weekend.

In addition to such special campus teams, and door-to-door sales, many areas report that they're calling up readers whose subscriptions recently expired. Socialists remind them that it's time to renew—and offer to come out and talk about the paper while collecting the new subscriptions.

Cities lucky enough to have Andrew Pulley or Matilde Zimmermann on tour report that building meetings for the SWP presidential and vice-presidential candidates provides a good focus for stepped-up sub sales.

Finally, some cities, like Toledo, where socialists report that petitioning drives set them far behind schedule in the circulation drive, say they plan to extend their sub efforts past the November 20 deadline.

While Toledo socialists won't be able to come through in full and on time, we hope their spirit will inspire all our supporters to come as close as they can to our subscription goals for this fall.



**Striking woodworker in Shelton, Washington, checks out 'Militant.' Union has been on strike since October 8 over discriminatory firing of woman worker.**

## Sales scoreboard

City	Militant		PM		Totals			
	Goal	Sold	Goal	Sold	Goal	Sold	Percent	% Ind.
Ann Arbor	15	20	0	2	15	22	146.6	0.0
Los Angeles	240	286	60	96	300	382	127.3	29.1
Dallas	70	78	15	27	85	105	123.5	9.5
San Diego	90	112	20	23	110	135	122.7	27.4
Salt Lake City	110	116	5	20	115	136	118.2	10.3
St. Louis	100	114	0	0	100	114	114.0	51.8
Seattle	140	145	5	16	145	161	111.0	21.1
Newark	125	107	25	59	150	166	110.6	13.3
Kansas City	110	120	7	7	117	127	108.5	17.3
Milwaukee	115	126	10	9	125	135	108.0	21.5
Tacoma	125	134	0	1	125	135	108.0	9.6
Atlanta	125	125	0	5	125	130	104.0	4.6
Philadelphia	170	157	30	50	200	207	103.5	13.5
Gary	90	94	10	9	100	103	103.0	26.2
Detroit	200	211	10	2	210	213	101.4	34.7
Albuquerque	105	102	20	24	125	126	100.8	7.1
Birmingham	150	150	0	0	150	150	100.0	28.0
Morgantown	80	80	0	0	80	80	100.0	10.0
San Antonio	50	51	15	14	65	65	100.0	21.5
Washington, D.C.	115	75	35	72	150	147	98.0	7.5
New Orleans	100	96	5	6	105	102	97.1	40.2
Portland	90	86	0	1	90	87	96.6	4.6
Chicago	275	256	50	53	325	309	95.0	30.7
Iron Range	75	68	0	0	75	68	90.6	22.1
Denver	105	97	20	13	125	110	88.0	11.8
Louisville	100	84	0	0	100	84	84.0	31.0
Phoenix	100	83	40	22	140	105	75.0	14.3
Twin Cities	225	161	0	7	225	168	74.6	5.4
New York City	445	246	105	134	550	380	69.0	15.0
Pittsburgh	200	136	0	1	200	137	68.5	27.0
Toledo	60	41	3	0	63	41	65.0	41.5
Miami	50	55	50	9	100	64	64.0	7.8
Oakland/Berkeley	165	118	50	17	215	135	62.7	19.3
Albany	100	61	5	4	105	65	61.9	18.5
Tidewater	130	80	0	0	130	80	61.5	73.8
Indianapolis	125	75	0	0	125	75	60.0	17.3
Baltimore	125	74	0	0	125	74	59.2	33.8
Cleveland	100	55	0	0	100	55	55.0	*
Cincinnati	75	33	0	0	75	33	44.0	18.2
<b>TOTALS</b>	<b>5630</b>	<b>4308</b>	<b>725</b>	<b>703</b>	<b>6355</b>	<b>5011</b>	<b>78.8</b>	<b>20.9</b>

\*Figures not available.

Not reporting: Boston, Houston, Piedmont, San Francisco, San Jose.

% Ind.: equals percent of total sold at plant gates and to co-workers on the job.

Covers sales of issue forty-two of the *Militant* and the second week of sales of issue twenty of *Perspectiva Mundial*.

# S.F. school board's ongoing war on education

By Nat Weinstein

SAN FRANCISCO—The recent strike by the San Francisco Federation of Teachers highlights the escalation of the attack on public education and the need for a unified working-class response.

The teachers were forced out on strike in an effort to catch up with inflation and to resist the mass firing of 1,200 out of the 4,000 teachers in the San Francisco Unified School District.

The settlement accepted after six weeks included wage increases of 7.5 percent this November and 8 percent next November—at a time when prices are rising at faster than 13 percent a year. Some 715 of the laid-off teachers are to be rehired, including 50 as permanent substitutes and 120 as part-timers.

From the outset the teachers' cause was weakened by a strategy that subordinated the mobilization of teachers and their allies to a fatal reliance on imagined friends in the opposing camp.

Prior to the strike, teachers union officials had joined the "Save Our Schools" (SOS) coalition, a body created by their direct antagonists—the administrators, the board of education, and the leading business and corporation heads in San Francisco.

Support to the SOS program required swallowing hook, line, and sinker the Proposition 13 myth that the only alternatives are increased taxes on working people or cuts in social programs serving working people.

An effective fight for education requires cutting through the myth with the simple demand: Tax the rich, not working people!

Intentions notwithstanding, supporting the SOS program commits teachers to a losing strategy that inexorably leads to acceptance of cuts in educa-

tional standards. It leads to students, parents, and teachers in each department, each school, and each school district pleading for their own programs and needs at the expense of the others—undermining the capacity for all victims of the cutbacks to organize an effective and united response.

A winning strategy for teachers must recognize that it is the students and their parents—the working class of San Francisco—who are the main protagonists in this struggle to defend public education.

Teachers could best win support by explaining to other working people that the objective of the capitalist rulers in forcing the strike was to deal such a blow to the teachers union as to demoralize it and remove it as an effective force standing in the way of their plan to destroy public education as we have known it.

The firing of 1,200 teachers was a blow dealt to the educational needs of our children—a matter of immediate concern to all working people. It accelerates the trend toward larger classes. Already this trend has resulted in a physical dismantling of the public schools. Five schools were shut down recently under the guise of a "school redesign plan," making a total of thirty that have been abandoned in the wake of Proposition 13 cutbacks.

The whittling down of the human and physical components of the public school system does mayhem to the meager progressive reforms won by working people.

Remedial classes, designed to rescue children systematically left behind and otherwise doomed to functional illiteracy by the degenerating school system, will be choked off just as the need to expand them grows.

Similarly, bilingual education programs are

doomed to further cutbacks and eventual elimination as an educational aid for children whose first language is not English.

The logic of the erosion of public education leads to its dismemberment. The growing capitalist-inspired, sponsored, and financed campaign for massive public financial support to private schools—the so-called "voucher" plans—would so reduce standards in public schools as to drive out all but the poorest children. This would afford no solution even to those workers who could scrape up the money for private schooling. The private schools would be stratified in quality in accord with the parents' ability to pay above the fixed voucher subsidy provided by the state.

The future of education for working-class children, already bleak, looms ever more dismal. What can be done to begin to turn the tide?

Teachers are in a strategic position to rally working people to fight back. They could take steps toward this end by calling a conference of all interested parties to consider a program of action in this crisis.

First and foremost would be to appeal to the central bodies and locals of the San Francisco labor movement to help organize such a conference.

The invitation to participate should be extended to all organizations representing the natural allies of working people: the women's, Black, and Latino organizations.

The end of the San Francisco teachers' strike has in no way resolved the underlying issues of the fate of public education. Embarking on a strategy such as outlined above can minimize the effects of the setbacks already suffered and lay the basis for eventual victory.



## Jail anti-Cuban terrorists!

**PROTEST ANTI-CUBA BOMBING:** The October 27 bombing of the Cuban Mission to the United Nations was denounced as a "cowardly act of terrorism" by Andrew Pulley and Matilde Zimmermann, Socialist Workers Party candidates for president and vice-president.

In a letter to New York Mayor Edward Koch, released to the press October 31, Pulley and Zimmermann noted that "Omega 7, the group that took credit for the bombing, and other counter-revolutionary groups have committed numerous crimes with virtually complete impunity."

The socialists called for "an immediate crackdown on these terrorists, whose crimes are a direct attack not only on a diplomatic mission, but also on the rights, liberties, and lives of the residents of this city."

"We demand that you arrest these terrorists."

"The identity of the criminals is known to the government. Congressional investigations have established that the CIA organized, armed, trained, and financed these groups to begin with."

"Omega 7 and the other violent anti-Cuba groups do not speak for the majority of the American people. The majority favors an end to the economic blockade of Cuba, the reestablishment of

diplomatic relations, and an end to the cowardly crimes of the terrorists."

**ON TOUR WITH HALSTEAD . . .** SWP leader Fred Halstead, who recently returned from Nicaragua, is on tour for the 1980 Socialist Workers election campaign.

He recently showed slides from Nicaragua and spoke to a meeting organized by the Iowa City Socialist Group, a new group of socialist campaign supporters in Iowa.

"While I was in Nicaragua," Halstead said, "I spoke with many people. Workers, students, young Sandinista soldiers, farmers, and people on the streets of Managua."

"There is no question in the minds of the Nicaraguan people that a tremendous revolutionary transformation has taken place. A victory has been won. And this process is continuing today."

The meeting, held at the International House on the University of Iowa campus, attracted both students and members of the Teamsters, public employee, and rail unions. Some had traveled from Cedar Falls, Iowa, to hear Halstead.

In response to a question, Halstead described the "enormous participation of women" in the Nicaraguan revolution. Today, he said, "there are women in positions of responsibility in all

branches of government and the army."

In Camden, New Jersey, seventy people turned out to hear Halstead and others discuss Nicaragua. The Central American Association of Southern New Jersey organized and sponsored the event.

Halstead's slides of the Sandinista army in Managua brought cheers from the audience, made up overwhelmingly of Nicaraguans and Puerto Ricans.

At the end of the evening one of the Nicaraguan organizers of the meeting urged everyone to pick up a copy of *Perspectiva Mundial*, the Spanish-language socialist magazine. Nineteen copies were sold.

**. . . AND WITH SEDWICK:** Five people signed up to work with the Young Socialist Alliance after hearing Cathy Sedwick at a meeting in Washington, D.C. Sedwick is YSA national chairperson and co-chair of the Socialist Workers Presidential Campaign Committee.

The students from Cardozo High School and Howard University, most of them Black, showed particular interest in the idea of a labor party.

When one student asked how a labor party would be different from the Democratic Party, another student explained that labor

party candidates would be workers, while the Democrats and Republicans run lawyers and businessmen.

"But what would this mean for Black people?" one student asked.

"The majority of Black people in this country are workers," Sedwick said in response. "We can play a big role in politics. Just look at how Blacks today are winning public opinion to support the Palestinians. For years the U.S. government has lied to us about the struggle of the Palestinian people."

Sedwick pointed to the big role of Black shipyard workers in the recent victory of Steelworkers Local 8888 in Newport News, Virginia. "We have helped build these unions. We will help to build a new labor party whose base will be these same unions."

"Just as we have fought racism through the civil rights movement and the union movement, we will help shape a labor party that will fight against racism in all its forms."

While in Washington, Sedwick also spoke about Nicaragua on the Pacifica radio station, at a forum sponsored by the socialist campaign, and at a panel discussion sponsored by the student government at the University of the District of Columbia.

—L. Paltrineri



Cathy Sedwick speaking in Seattle last month

Militant/Rita Lee

## Help SWP say: 'Nationalize energy industry'

By Suzanne Haig

If you want to see the energy industry nationalized and the oil price ripoff ended, then the Socialist Workers Party 1980 campaign is the campaign for you.

Socialist nominees Andrew Pulley and Matilde Zimmermann are the only presidential ticket calling for taking Big Oil out of the hands of the private profiteers and placing this vital industry under public ownership.

Sentiment in favor of this socialist proposal has increased dramatically in recent months. Workers' anger has been fueled by last spring's gas lines, by the oil companies' record-breaking profit increases, and by the obvious subservience of the Democratic and Republican politicians to these capitalist giants.

The growing desire for a radical solution to the energy crisis was evidenced by the union-sponsored protests held October 17 in more than 100 cities to "Stop Big Oil." It was the first national political demonstration organized by the labor movement

since the 1975 jobs march in Washington, D.C. And the participation in the October 17 actions was far broader.

What should send chills down the spines of the owners of Big Oil and their government is the message these workers were sending them loud and clear.

When West Virginia Gov. John D. Rockefeller IV, whose family owns much of the energy industry, was addressing demonstrators in Charleston, West Virginia, they chanted, "Nationalize Standard Oil—and Exxon too!"

That was the message—nationalize the energy industry.

Placards announced it: "We must publicly own oil, gas and electric power," "Do Unto Big Oil What They Do Unto Us—Rip Them Off—Nationalize Big Oil." Boston electrical workers carried a banner: "Public Ownership of the Energy Industry."

Speakers received the loudest cheers and applause when they called for it—as many union leaders did.

Working people see only economic hardship and disaster ahead so long as energy remains in private hands. The Democratic and Republican politicians have no answers.

At an October 11 energy protest in Lynn, Massachusetts, one General Electric worker asked state legislator Thomas McGee, "How come the government can control my wages, but they can't control the price of oil?"

Said McGee, "I'd like to know the answer to that myself."

Lies, evasions, excuses, and pleas of ignorance. That's all working people can expect from the bought-and-paid-for politicians of big business. And that's why the socialist answer to the energy ripoff is getting a better and better response.

The Socialist Workers Party Campaign Committee has printed 40,000 copies of a brochure that includes Andrew Pulley's message to the October 17 rallies. It gives facts and figures about the contrived energy crisis and explains the socialist solution:

- Open the books of the energy corporations—

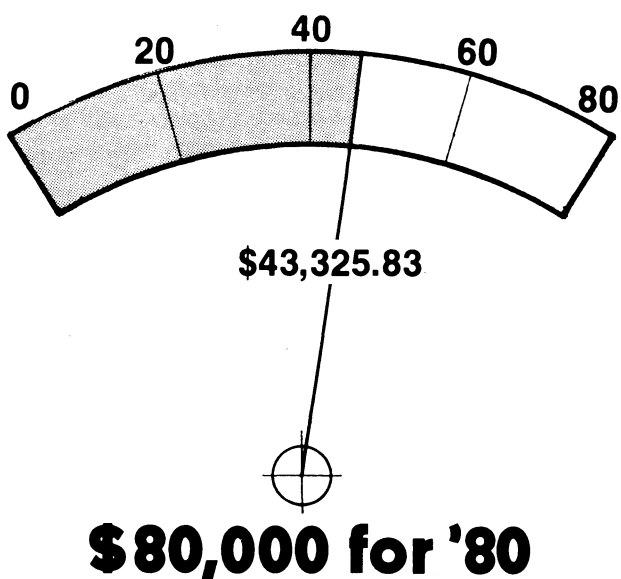
end the secrecy and lies!

- Nationalize the energy industry! Put it under the management of an elected board that operates in full public view. Put energy production—especially health and safety standards—under control of the workers in the industry.

- Build a labor party based on the unions so that working people have a political organization of their own to fight for these and other measures in the interests of the exploited and oppressed.

To get these ideas into the hands of workers in the plants, mills, mines, railroad yards, and offices, it takes money. The new energy brochure cost us \$1,250—a pittance for Exxon or Mobil, but a lot for a campaign that depends on the contributions of working people.

Our \$80,000 election fund is crucial for assuring the widest possible circulation of the socialist ideas that are winning a better hearing than ever before in the working class. If you want to help the SWP campaign continue to get out the truth about the energy ripoff, please clip the coupon below.



Enclosed is my contribution of \$ \_\_\_\_\_  
I pledge \$15 \_\_\_\_\_ \$25 \_\_\_\_\_ \$50 \_\_\_\_\_  
\$100 \_\_\_\_\_ to the Socialist Workers  
Campaign by December 15.

Name \_\_\_\_\_  
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City \_\_\_\_\_ State \_\_\_\_\_  
Zip \_\_\_\_\_ Phone \_\_\_\_\_  
Union/School/Org. \_\_\_\_\_

Make checks payable to:  
Socialist Workers 1980 Presidential Campaign  
Committee, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y.  
10014.

A copy of our report is filed with the Federal Election Commission and is available for purchase from the Federal Election Commission, Washington, D.C.

A federal court ruling allows us not to disclose the names of contributors in order to protect their First Amendment rights.

# In Brief

## BLACK VICTIM FLEES NEW JERSEY PRISON

Joanne Chesimard (Assata Shakur) escaped a New Jersey prison November 2, with the aid of three visitors.

She was serving a life sentence for the 1973 death of a state trooper.

'She had been convicted by an all-white jury on the unsubstantiated word of another state trooper.

The incident had occurred when the cops stopped a car in which Shakur was a passenger. Shakur, who was wounded in the incident, testi-

fied the cop shot her after her hands were up. Three medical experts testified that her wounds supported her description of what had happened.

At the time of her conviction, Richard Ariza, then Socialist Workers candidate for governor of New Jersey, assailed the outcome as an example of "racist injustice" in the state.

234 copies of the *Militant*, plus thirty of the *Young Socialist*.

Meanwhile, from Phoenix, Rob Roper writes that some 2,500 people turned out for a "No Nukes Jazz Festival" October 28. Sponsored by the Mobilization for Survival, it was a fundraiser for coming activity, including a November 10 rally at the state capitol demanding a halt to construction of the Palo Verdes Nuclear Generating Station, west of Phoenix.

The weekend before the jazz event, 175 people met at Arizona State University in an educational and planning conference sponsored by the Campus Mobilization for Survival and the Associated Students of ASU.

## RCP MEMBERS FACE D.C. FELONY TRIAL

A November 19 date has been set in the Washington, D.C. trial of Robert Avakian, chairperson of the Revolutionary Communist Party, and sixteen others associated with him.

They face multiple felony assault charges stemming from a January 19 demonstration and, if convicted, could receive long prison sentences.

They were among a group attacked by D.C. cops and then arrested during demonstrations called by the RCP at the time of the Washington visit of Chinese vice-premier Deng Xiaoping. The RCP is an ultra-Maoist grouping bitterly hostile to the present Chinese regime.

If the federal prosecution of the RCP demonstrators is successful, it will constitute a new curb on freedom of dissent for everyone in this country.

## GOV'T ENDS SEARCH FOR WEATHER UNDERGROUND

The FBI has disclosed it is no longer actively seeking six leaders of the Weather Underground charged with aggravated assault and inciting mob action. The charges stemmed from a 1969 demonstration in Chicago. The Weather Underground, a small group of radicals, originated in Students for a Democratic Society.

The FBI tapped phones, stole mail, and broke into homes during their search for the fugitives. Former Acting FBI Director L. Patrick Gray and two of his top aides have been charged with civil rights violations, but have yet to come to trial.

## Woman unionist on abortion

CHICAGO—A coalition of organizations held an abortion rights rally in downtown Chicago October 27. A principal speaker was Alice Peurla, president of United Steelworkers Local 65. She is the first woman president of a basic steel union local.

The following are excerpts from her speech.

\* \* \*

It is no accident that the same forces that deny women their freedom of choice would deny workers their right to choose a union, with their "right to work" laws.

And would deny workers a safe, healthy workplace, free of hazards that cause occupational diseases and death. . . .

They attack the Civil Rights Act of 1964 . . . by

promoting the Bakkes and the Webers.

They are the same forces that are lying and misleading many women into believing that passage of the Equal Rights Amendment would mean the sharing of public toilets. They should know that in some areas of the South Works plant of U.S. Steel, where I work, they have toilets that have on the door, "Men or Women."

Where were the "right to lifers" when working women were pressured into sterilizations to keep their jobs because workplace hazards were known to damage the fetus, cause birth defects, and cause miscarriages. . . .

When the Supreme Court ruled that denying sick benefits to pregnant women was not discrimination, the women's movement and the labor movement mobilized and went into action. And succeeded just this past April in amending the Civil Rights Act to provide insurance benefits to pregnant women. . . .

We have learned, through many struggles, that we must unite.

The labor, women's, and civil rights movements must unite for us to win. We are not going back to the days when the boss reigned king in the mines and mills. We are not going back to the days of back alley abortions and certain death for thousands of women.



Militant/Andy Rose

**ALICE PEURLA**

## BIG MICH. RALLY SAYS: NO NUKES!

"No nukes" was the demand as a throng estimated as high as 6,000 marched on Michigan's capitol in Lansing, reports *Militant* correspondent John Keillor.

There were antinuclear groups from around the state and from neighboring Canada. A rally on the capitol steps heard representatives of the United Auto Workers, the American Indian Movement, community groups and the clergy.

A representative of the Big Rock 14 described the destruction of South Dakota Indian land by uranium mining.

The gathering also heard the popular feminist singer, Holly Near.

Socialist ideas got a good reception. There were sales of

## Baltimore socialist urges safety action

BALTIMORE—As Norton Sandler sees it, the recently disclosed leak of the toxic chemical PCB at Bethlehem Steel's Sparrows Point complex is one reason why workers should have control over matters affecting health and safety.

The thirteen fatal industrial accidents at Sparrows Point so far this year are another compelling reason.

Sandler, a Sparrows Point production worker, is the Socialist Workers candidate for mayor of Baltimore.

"The company," Sandler

said, "is letting on that the spill was a minor one, nothing to worry about. But any leak of PCB can be deadly."

The cancer-linked chemical leaked from a transformer at the plant's tin mill. According to an electrician there, "From forty-five to fifty-five other transformers are leaking."

Because of this, the United Steelworkers union has called on the company to examine some 750 transformers for possible leaks.

Dave Wilson, president of

Steelworkers Local 2609 charged that the company "knew what was in these transformers and they have never warned the people working near them about the danger. . . ."

Sandler said the union should "exercise its right to shut down an unsafe operation."

He also cited a number of other recent serious PCB leaks in the area and noted that neither incumbent Mayor William Schaefer nor Republican nominee Sam Culotta addressed the issue.

# What's Going On

## CALIFORNIA LOS ANGELES

**RALLY AGAINST SAN ONOFRE NUCLEAR POWER PLANT.** Speakers: Dr. Barry Commoner, Tom Hayden, others. Sat., Nov. 10, noon to 3 p.m. Doheny Beach State Park. Ausp: Alliance for Survival. For more information call (213) 738-1041.

**RALLY AGAINST U.C. WEAPONS LAB.** Picket of U.C. Regents meeting. Thurs., Nov. 15, noon. L.A. Convention Center. Ausp: Alliance for Survival. For more information call (213) 738-1041.

**ANTINUCLEAR CONCERT.** Featuring DeCarro, Bannister and Friends. Sat., Nov. 17, noon. Long Beach Unitarian Church, Atherton St. at Bellflower Blvd. Adm: \$2.50. Ausp: Alliance for Survival. For more information call (213) 439-7279.

## FLORIDA MIAMI

**CUBA TODAY: AN EYEWITNESS REPORT.** Speaker: Rich Ariza, recently returned from Cuba, editorial board, *Perspectiva Mundial*. Fri., Nov. 9, 8 p.m. 8171 NE. 2nd Ave. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (305) 756-8358.

## GEORGIA ATLANTA

**RISE OF KLAN VIOLENCE IN THE SOUTH.** Speakers: Rev. Fred Taylor, Southern Christian Leadership Conference; Mary Martin, Young Socialist Alliance; others. Sun., Nov. 18, 7 p.m. 509 Peachtree St. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (404) 872-7229.

## LOUISIANA NEW ORLEANS

**FUND-RAISING FAIR IN SOLIDARITY WITH NICARAGUA.** Live music, games, refreshments, and a demonstration of Nicaraguan folk dancing. Sun., Nov. 18, 1 p.m. Latin American Apostolate, 821 General Pershing. Donation: \$1 or donation of a tool. Ausp: New Orleans Nicaragua Solidarity Organization and Committee for Emergency Relief Aid to Nicaragua.

## MASSACHUSETTS BOSTON

**SOCIALISM AND INDIVIDUAL FREEDOM.** Speaker: Mark Schneider, Socialist Workers Party. Sun., Nov. 18, 7:30 p.m. 510 Commonwealth, 4th fl., Kenmore Sq. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (617) 262-4621.

## MICHIGAN DETROIT

**SOCIALIST WORKERS CAMPAIGN RALLY AND BANQUET.** Speakers: Andrew Pulley, SWP candidate for president; SWP candidates for U.S. Congress Mac Warren, Bill Arth, and Martha Dowling. Sun., Nov. 18. Reception and buffet 6 p.m., rally 7:30 p.m. 6404 Woodward Ave. Donation: \$4, \$2 rally only. Ausp: SWP Campaign Committee. For more information call (313) 875-5322.

## MISSOURI KANSAS CITY

**SOCIALIST WORKERS CAMPAIGN RALLY.** Speakers: Héctor Marroquín, member of SWP seeking political asylum in U.S.; Martha Pettit, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate. Sat., Nov. 10, reception and

dinner 6-8:30 p.m.; rally 8:30 p.m. El Tapatio, corner 23rd and Summit. Ausp: SWP Campaign. For more information call (816) 753-0404.

**THE MONETARY CRISIS OF 1979—WHAT'S BEHIND THE NEW ATTACK ON OUR STANDARD OF LIVING.** Speaker: Gary Sage, Socialist Workers Party. Sun., Nov. 18, 7:30 p.m. 4715 Troost. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (816) 753-0404.

## OREGON PORTLAND

**RADICAL PSYCHOLOGY.** Speaker: Vern Cope, instructor of psychology, Portland Community College. Sun., Nov. 11, 7:30 p.m. 711 N.W. Everett St. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (503) 222-7225.

## VIRGINIA NEWPORT NEWS

**HOW TO STOP KU KLUX KLAN ATTACKS.** Speakers: Omari Musa, member, Local 822 Teamsters, Socialist Workers Party; others. Sun., Nov. 18, 3 p.m. 111 28th St. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (804) 380-0133.

## WASHINGTON SEATTLE

**LABOR AND THE ERA.** Rita Lee, Socialist Workers Party and International Association of Machinists District 751. Sun., Nov. 11, 7 p.m. 4868 Rainier Ave. So. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum and Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (206) 723-5330.

**'SALT OF THE EARTH,'** a film. Sat., Nov. 17, 7 p.m. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum and Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (206) 723-5330.

## WEST VIRGINIA MORGANTOWN

**LABOR'S ALTERNATIVE TO NUCLEAR POWER.** Antinuclear week in

West Virginia. Speakers: Janet Carlson, West Virginians for Safe Energy; United Mine Workers member will discuss coal alternative to nuclear power; Rich Haven, Pittsburgh Friends of the Earth; Carl Chamberlain, W. Va. rep. on Longest Walk Committee; and Tom Moriarty, UMWA Local 1949. Sun., Nov. 18, 7 p.m. 957 University Ave. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (304) 296-0055.

## LOS ANGELES LABOR AND POLITICAL ACTION IN THE 1980s

A panel of trade unionists will discuss the feasibility of forming an independent labor political party. Speakers: Pete Beltran, president of United Auto Workers Local 645 at the General Motors plant, Van Nuys; David D. Crippen, executive director, Social Services Union Local 535 and member of international executive board of Service Employees International Union; Woody Fleming, political action coordinator, SEIU Joint Council 8; Elinor Glenn, president, SEIU Joint Council 8; Raoul Teilet, president, California Federation of Teachers; John T. Williams, former official, Teamsters Local 208; and Bernie Sapiro, president, Southern California Printing Specialties and Paper Products Union, District Council 2.

Friday, November 16 7:30 p.m.  
United Teacher/Los Angeles Auditorium  
2511 West Third Street  
Sponsor: Social Services Union Local 535  
For more information call (213) 385-9321.



## Mexico crash: DC-10 not faulty?

The October 31 crash of a DC-10 in Mexico City, taking a reported seventy-two lives, underlines again the high toll of air transport for profit.

Before the flames of the doomed plane were even extinguished, the "experts" were in print assuring that the cause of the crash was "human error," not any defect in the plane.

They have reason to be sensitive. Since May 25, when 273 persons died in the Chicago DC-10 crash, there has been a series of problems.

After Chicago, all DC-10s were grounded for thirty-eight days for changes that assertedly made the jumbo jets "safe" again.

In the first sixteen days after they were back in the air, seven DC-10s were forced to make unscheduled landings for a variety of safety problems.

Since 1973, there have been more than sixty reported incidents in which flight control equipment on DC-10s failed.

The root of the problem is the ruthless drive for ever more profits.

As far as the airlines are concerned, the goal is to build the planes bigger and cheaper, overcrowd the air lanes and airports, make an extra buck and to hell with the danger.

The "friendly skies," they call it.



Conn. students fight for decent education.

Lisa Rourke

### CONN. STUDENTS FIGHT BUDGET CUTS

More than 2,000 students marched on the Connecticut state capitol in Hartford October 25 to protest cuts in educational funding, reports *Militant* correspondent Peter Krala. The cuts would close many departments and jeopardize the accreditation of others.

Such cuts have been going on since the early 1970s. This particular one is the result of the state legislature granting Gov. Ella Grasso power to cut any state agency budget up to 5 percent. Initially she decreed a 4.3 percent cut for the state colleges but retreated to 2.5 percent in the face of widespread student protests.

With mounting inflation, the present budget can only mean further slashes. Connecticut is

already 43 percent behind the national average in expenditures for state colleges. Students are determined this shall not continue, and are on the offensive to win a 43 percent hike in the budget.

### UNIROYAL TO SETTLE IN JOB BIAS FIGHT

Uniroyal, Inc. agreed to settle a job discrimination claim by paying \$5.2 million to 750 women workers. The company acted after being faced with a cutoff of federal contracts under a statute barring discrimination.

The Labor Department finally acted in the case after 521 women workers filed a lawsuit charging discrimination in hiring, promotions, layoffs, and recalls at the company's Mishawaka, Indiana plant.

## STOP THE DEPORTATION OF ELIAS AYOUB!

Demonstrate on the eve of his hearing  
Board of Immigration Appeals

**Ann Arbor:** Tues., Nov. 13, 12 noon Federal Building, Liberty and 5th Ave. For more information call (313) 668-8675.

**Cincinnati:** Tues., Nov. 13, 4:30 p.m. INS Building, post office at Government Square. For more information call (513) 561-1638.

**Columbus:** Tues., Nov. 13, 4:30 p.m. Capitol Building, High St. side. For more information call (614) 297-0460.

**Huntington, West Virginia:** Tues., Nov. 13, 4 p.m., Old Post Office Building, 8th Street and 5th Ave. For more information call (304) 525-3441.

**Detroit:** Wed., Nov. 14, 12:00 noon. INS building, 333 Mt. Elliot. For more information call (313) 843-8059.

**New York City:** Tues., Nov. 13, 4:30 p.m., INS Building, 26 Federal Plaza. For more information call (212) 624-5935.

**Washington, D.C.:** Wed., Nov. 14, 12:00 noon. INS Building, 425 I Street. For more information call (202) 466-3348.

# The Great Society

Harry Ring



**Learned well**—Those two FBI agents accused of pocketing money allegedly paid to informers had their story down pat. According to FBI wiretaps, they assertedly agreed to insist that the informers "would not want their identities revealed" and, besides, "promises were made to them that their identities would never be . . . revealed." Which is exactly what Attorney General Bell said in defying a court order to turn informer files over to the Socialist Workers Party.

**The high cost of living**—What with inflation and a life expectancy higher than initially anticipated, social security is becoming a problem. Says a member of the President's Commission on Pension Policy, "With inflation going the way it is, maybe we can't afford to live that long."

**For small farmers?**—The *New York Times* offered an alleged example of how the Catholic Church copes with restrictions on building new churches in Poland. "Bishop Ignacy Tokarczuk . . . is known for ingenious methods of clandestine con-

struction. His workers plant corn around the foundation; with each foot of growth they add one more layer of cinderblock; and by harvesttime the building is nearly completed."

**No dogmatism**—The son of New York's former mayor, Abe Beame, took a job as consultant to Republican members of the state legislature (\$280 a day). Asked how he reconciled this with his previous Democratic affiliation, he responded, "I can't see any philosophical differences between the Republicans and Democrats on the state level."

**Congressmembers dispensable**—The FBI passed on intimate details of the life of Rep. Daniel Rostenkowski to the Polish government. It was done through a Chicago Polish-American who the Poles reportedly believed was helping them keep tabs on Chicago's Polish community. The man was actually an FBI informer and the agency fed him material to enhance his credibility with the Poles.

## Women in Revolt

Suzanne Haig



## Communist Party & ERA

*Could you please tell me why at one time the Communist Party was against the Equal Rights Amendment?*

This question appeared in the "Ask An Expert" column in the October 18 *Daily World*, newspaper of the Communist Party. It was answered by Alva Buxenbaum, chair of the CP Women's Section.

Buxenbaum wrote that "The Communist Party originally held back its support for ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment because the assessment of our party at that time was that the objective conditions and the relationship of forces was such that the dangers of misuse were much greater than the chance that ERA would be used, as was intended by its supporters, to benefit women."

Today, Buxenbaum explained, "The active forces for ratification of ERA now include every trade union, the Black community, the Chicano, the Puerto Rican, and the Native American communities. The struggle to ratify the ERA presently incorporates demands and unites forces that are moving toward a more conscious anti-monopoly, pro-labor stand and it incorporates forces that are consistently anti-racist. Clearly the ratification of ERA demands new priorities and active support."

This is a welcome statement from the Communist Party. Long after the AFL-CIO had come out for the ERA, and long after unions and civil rights forces had begun active support for the amendment, the CP remained dead opposed to it, going so far as to call for defeat of the proposed state ERA in the 1975 New York State referendum.

The Stalinists offered various excuses for their anti-women's rights stand: the ERA would abolish needed protective legislation; it contradicted the fight for affirmative action; it wasn't in the interests of working-class women.

In the "Ask An Expert" column, Buxenbaum offers the following explanation:

" . . . our tactics at that time were to withhold support for the ERA while actively working to achieve the conditions of struggle that would bring working-class women and men into the forefront. This required clarity within the movement

about what dangers needed to be overcome. It required unifying working-class women of other strata and greater unity between women and their male allies. It required concrete struggle against racism within the women's movement itself."

In fact, the fight for the ERA over the years has been a motor force in creating the conditions of struggle and class solidarity so needed to combat both race and sex discrimination. The ERA has been a class issue from the start. Working women—especially Blacks and Latinas—suffer the most from inequality. That inequality, and the racist and sexist attitude fostered by the employers and their government, divide and weaken working people as a whole.

This fact was underscored when anti-ERA forces began rearing their heads. They turned out to be the enemies of labor and Blacks as well: union-busting right-to-work forces, antibusing bigots, and outfits like the Ku Klux Klan and the John Birch Society. Behind these reactionary groups stood big business and their politicians.

Members of the Communist Party became increasingly uncomfortable being in the same camp with these forces and urged a change in their party's position.

Today, there is an immediate opportunity for the CP to apply Buxenbaum's call for "active support" to the ERA.

A march and rally have been called for the ERA in Richmond, Virginia, on January 13. It has already received broad union backing.

The October 13 *People's World*, West Coast newspaper of the CP, reported favorably on the march in a front-page article on the recent national conference of the National Organization for Women. The article stressed NOW's endorsement of January 13 and the backing of Addie Wyatt, vice-president of the Coalition of Labor Union Women.

Clearly with less than 1,000 days left to ratify the ERA before the 1982 deadline, we must all unite to bring the union, women's, and civil rights movement together in a massive show of force on January 12. The Communist Party can strengthen this effort and the ongoing alliance needed to win the ERA.

## Coughlin: fascist demagogue

Father Charles E. Coughlin, known as 'the radio priest,' died in Michigan on October 27. In the late 1930s his National Union for Social Justice was the most influential of the fascist movements in the United States. Coughlin's group declined when World War II began, and his superiors in the Catholic Church hierarchy were finally forced to bar him from politics in 1942.

Below we reprint excerpts from the pamphlet 'Father Coughlin: Fascist Demagogue,' written in 1939 by Socialist Workers Party leader Joseph Hansen. The following selections discuss Coughlin's rise to prominence and his antilabor record.

In the summer of 1926 an obscure Catholic priest began broadcasting over the radio in Detroit.

For three years he spoke steadily without gaining any following beyond a local one.

Then the 1929 crash ushered in the worst depression United States capitalism had yet experienced.

Something different did occur then. The obscure priest launched a series of violent attacks against "communism." His name zoomed into the national spotlight.

Big business tycoons count him an intimate. Many Congressmen consider him the greatest political force outside the White House. Fascists the world over hail him as among the chief of their dark number.

The labor movement has denounced him repeatedly.

This is the Reverend Charles E. Coughlin.

The magazine and radio speeches, copies of which Father Coughlin mails out free by the hundreds of thousands, are designed to appeal to those who have been crushed by the depression—the millions of unemployed, youth who see only a blank future, farmers facing ruin, those who see no more hope in Roosevelt's New Deal.

"I am for a just annual living wage," he declares. "I am for labor's right to organize. I am for the cost of living being maintained on an even keel; and I am for preferring the sanctity of human rights to the sanctity of property with government's chief concern for the poor."

Why should a program so commonplace as that create such excitement and clamor, and out of an obscure priest create a national political figure with apparently unlimited funds at his disposal?

*Because that is not his real program.*

A few years ago it was very difficult to prove that Father Coughlin was consciously plotting to build a fascist movement in the United States. But now he has come out more in the open. He has had time to make slips in his public and private utterances. It is only necessary to read his speeches and his magazine *Social Justice* with a little care to discover Father Coughlin's REAL program.

Only one month before he launched the National Union of Social Justice he said to Paul Weber of Hearst's International News Service: "I am devoted to capitalism."

Among his sixteen points for Social Justice he calls for the preservation of private property.

Devotion to capitalism and preservation of private property—this is the holy Bible of fascism.

But he has been even more frank than this. In a signed article in the February 13, 1939, issue of *Social Justice* he declared:

"I am beginning to understand why I have been dubbed a 'Nazi' or a 'fascist' by the Jewish publications in America; for practically all the sixteen principles of social justice are being put into practice in Italy and Germany."

Like all true fascists he is bitterly opposed to the great majority taking power and favors the rule of a small minority—the capitalists.

Father Coughlin is opposed to strikes (exactly the way Hitler and Mussolini are opposed to strikes!):

"The National Union for Social Justice contends that strikes and lockouts are absolutely unnecessary."

Since the formation of the C.I.O. Coughlin has assailed it venomously and incessantly.

When Governor A.B. Chandler of Kentucky ordered President Roosevelt's National Guard down to Harlan County with orders to shoot to kill if necessary to break the [miners] strike, Coughlin whitewashed the coal operators who have been notorious throughout the nation for half a century as one of the most tyrannical, bloody, and violent sections of the boss class.

The Memorial Day massacre, in which Republic Steel Corporation shot down unarmed workers in the back is blamed by Father Coughlin on the workers. He characterizes the massacre as a "bloody riot" and asserts that it will be easy for Republic Steel Corporation to "prove to any jury that it cost them" the \$7,500,000 for which they are suing the workers they attacked. (Editorial in *Social Justice*, June 5, 1939.)

The editorial continues with a vicious attack on the C.I.O. To Father Coughlin any militant worker is a "red," a "socialist," a conspirator in the ring of "international Jewry."

His civil liberties record is no better than his labor record.

In the March 13, 1939 issue of *Social Justice*, for example, he opposes anti-lynching legislation.

In the December 19, 1938, issue, he attacks the La Follette Civil Liberties Committee, which exposed the million dollar labor spy racket and the widespread use by powerful corporations of thugs, machine guns, poison gas, intimidation, terror, and violence against their workers.

## Letters

### Crackdown on medicals

I'm an auto worker in San Jose. Recently I pulled a muscle in my back at work to the extent that I was walking at an unnatural angle and having trouble taking a deep breath without feeling pain.

When I went to the hospital, a doctor told me to take time off. He gave me a two-day excuse but failed to put a diagnosis on it.

I didn't notice this at the time but my foreman did when I returned to work. He told me I'd have to return to the hospital and get a diagnosis or be "subject to disciplinary action." I'm still on probation so I know what that means in my case.

I couldn't see the first doctor when I returned to the hospital but a second doctor told me he couldn't give me a diagnosis because I didn't have any "evidence" that I was hurt.

He went on to tell me that the company was "cracking down" on doctors at the hospital for giving excuses without evidence. He said the company had threatened to take doctors to court over payment of hospital bills and that it "costs a lot of money" whenever a worker missed work.

By this time I figured out that he meant it cost the company a lot of money if I missed work, not that it cost me money in lost wages.

I had heard that the union was giving in on absenteeism in the new contract but I don't think my fellow workers have any idea as to what we've lost to the company. From now on a worker won't be able to miss work unless he has something that will show up in an X-ray or loses massive quantities of blood.

It's clear that the company is going after the older workers in order to replace them with younger ones so they can speed up the line. This is also going to force workers to work when they are hurt because they won't be able to "prove" they are hurt.

R.M.  
San Jose, California

### '30s vs. '70s

I want to comment on the "A Readers Notes" column by George Breitman in the *Militant* of October 5.

In five of the last six paragraphs of the column, Breitman brings up three examples of how the assault of the '70s "has been more brutal and debilitating than what happened in the 1930s!"

He lists public hospitals with a decrease in opportunity and quality of service, mass transit with large waiting times for buses, and public libraries with hours cut drastically.

He fails to mention that there were many fewer hospitals in the '30s; today almost everybody is covered by some form of inadequate protection; and in the '30s many people were hindered by great distances to travel and even meeting the minimum costs of checkups.

Breitman gives no account of the vast overpowering use of automobiles today! Today you don't read about someone



scraping up fifty cents for the bus, but getting hold of \$10 for their car.

Similarly, no mention is made of TV. If the networks were to cut down programming from twenty hours a day to five hours, then he would have a point. The fact is there is less reading today than before. For most people their knowledge of books is from limited use of worthless schoolbooks and the mass pulp paperbacks.

Perhaps Breitman could give other examples. But I think that comparing the two periods would not lead to what he suspects.

Dave Saperstan  
San Francisco, California

### Prison business

Our recidivist rate of men returning to prisons, as recently reported, is about 65 percent. Has anyone really reflected on why this great percentage, other than to say the repeaters commit all the crimes? However, recidivism is a design promoted and motivated by the status quo to maintain the biggest business in the world: The Prison Business.

What creates repeaters, chronologically speaking, is the bitterness ingrained in the prisoners by the absurd, unequal, overlong, and harsh sentences meted out by the courts.

In particular the Kentucky courts, which usually sentence the white-collar offender to probation for stealing millions of dollars and the indigents to ten years for cashing a stolen check worth a few dollars. Our prisons are monuments of failure.

The Kentucky prison system does not believe in rehabilitating the prisoner, and the result is that each inmate's caseworker is punitive-oriented, as is the entire prison staff. They devote their time to keeping the prisoner from making parole, trying to sever his family and friendship ties, discouraging the prisoner from corresponding with anyone by rejecting or destroying his mail, discouraging his visitors from visiting and any other adverse actions that can be thought of on the spur of the moment.

The turnover of the few paroled is so great under such oppressive conditions that over 50 percent return to prison as parole violators. Repeaters are made, not born, by the excessive sentences meted out by the Kentucky courts, by prison mistreatment, and most of all by the arbitrary, unequal,

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# Learning About Socialism

## Fighting fascism in the U.S.

and unjust Kentucky parole board.

Apparently the Kentucky prison system can't be rehabilitated, but a move is on across the country to reduce the unequal sentences now meted out and to abolish the parole boards. Hopefully, the Kentucky parole board will be the next one to expire.

*A prisoner  
Kentucky*

### Joe Hill

The Cleveland *Plain Dealer* of October 7 reported a move by both the Cleveland Federation of Labor (AFL-CIO) and Region 2 of the United Auto Workers to petition the state of Utah to grant a pardon to martyred IWW organizer and labor songwriter Joe Hill. This year marks the hundredth anniversary of Hill's birth.

Top officials of the Cleveland Federation of Labor were quoted as saying that they expected delegates to that body to approve a resolution urging the state of Utah to clear Joe's name. Mel Witt, president of the Cleveland AFL-CIO, said the federation will ask members to write letters in support of a pardon for Hill to Scott Mathson, governor of Utah.

Bill Casstevens, director of UAW Region 2, said he will ask the UAW International Executive Board to pass a resolution urging immediate action on the pardon.

But perhaps the most exciting announcement came from Ben Shouse, chairman of the United Labor Agency, a labor education group founded by the AFL-CIO, UAW, and Teamsters in Cleveland. Shouse said he plans to call a meeting of his group to plan a Joe Hill festival in Cleveland for later this year.

Whether the pardon campaign is successful or not, the plans for it go just one step further toward proving the words of the 1938 ballad by Alfred Hays and Earl Robinson that immortalized one of labor's most famous martyrs:

*I dreamed I saw  
Joe Hill last night,  
Alive as you and me  
Says I "but Joe,  
you're ten years dead."  
"I never died," says he.*

*Dean Cohen  
Cleveland, Ohio*

### Correction

My story on the October 17 meetings of Steelworkers Local 8888 inadvertently transposed statements made at the two shift meetings.

The statement quoted from District 35 Director Bruce Thrasher was made at the second-shift meeting. The statement from Local 8888 President Ed Coppedge was made at the first-shift meeting.

*Jon Hillson*

*Newport News, 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.

The cold-blooded and brutal murder of five antiracist protesters by Ku Klux Klan and Nazi gunmen on November 3 in Greensboro, North Carolina, was an attack on the rights of every working person. The slayings had all the earmarks of collaboration between the cops and the racist killers.

This collusion is no new phenomenon. In a discussion held in 1975 on how to respond to fascist and racist attacks, Farrell Dobbs commented:

"Our situation is one where there are on the lawbooks a somewhat extensive body of formal democratic rights won by the masses in the history of the class struggle in the U.S. The approach of the ruling class is to begin to move toward a deterioration of those rights.

"Their tactic is to protect the rights of the fascists while at the same time using fascist forces to try to keep others from exercising those rights. One of the forces used to implement this is that most malevolent of all the repressive instruments of capitalist rule, the police forces. . . .

"The line of the police is to defend the exercise of the formal democratic rights of the fascists, on the one hand, and not to 'see' the violations of the democratic rights of the fascists' victims."

The discussion with Dobbs quoted above is reprinted in an Education for Socialists booklet entitled *Counter-mobilization: A Strategy to Fight Racist and Fascist Attacks*.

In this booklet, Dobbs brings to bear four decades of experience as a class-conscious trade unionist (who played a leading role in the 1934 Teamsters' strikes that made Minneapolis a union town) and as a revolutionary socialist (four times the presidential candidate of the Socialist Workers Party).

*Counter-mobilization* is one of three booklets on this subject compiled and edited by the National Education Department of the Socialist Workers Party in 1976. The others are *The Fight Against Fascism in the USA* and *What is American Fascism?*

While fascist groups such as the Klan and the Nazis remain small and very far from being contenders for power, as the Nazis became in Germany, crimes like the Greensboro killings show the importance of studying the experiences of the workers movement in fighting such outfits.

This is given added importance by the intensification of class conflict in this country—a result of the economic crisis and the employers' drive to make workers pay for it. As the SWP resolution, "Prospects for Socialism in America," stated in 1975:

"This will inevitably lead to a sharpening of the American class struggle in all its forms and to deepening class polarization. While the tempo of this polarization cannot be predicted, its general features are clear. Millions of workers will search for the road to independent political action and will more and more turn to class-struggle methods. On the other hand, rightist demagogues and fascist movements pretending to offer 'radical' solutions to the capitalist crises will come forward as candidates for power."

The three booklets bring together forty years of experience in the revolutionary socialist movement in dealing with fascist attacks and threats. On example was the way Teamsters Local 544 in Minneapolis defeated the Silver Shirts, a fascist outfit that threatened to break the union, by mobilizing the whole labor movement in its defense. This is described in rich detail both in *Countermobilization* and in

*The Fight Against Fascism in the USA*.

The latter also includes examples of successful mobilizations against the German-American Bund in 1939 in New York and against Gerald L.K. Smith's Christian Crusade in Los Angeles and Minneapolis after World War II.

*What is American Fascism?* takes up three examples of fascist formations in the United States: Father Coughlin's "Social Justice" movement during the depression years; Mayor Frank Hague's organizing during the same period in Jersey City, New Jersey; and Sen. Joseph McCarthy's witch-hunt in the early 1950s.

These examples challenge the common stereotype of fascists in this country as mere frothing maniacs. Whatever their personal peculiarities, Hague, Coughlin, and McCarthy were deadly serious political operators who exercised a strong attraction on discontented sections of the middle class and others in a deepening social crisis.

While these booklets make no pretense of providing a tactical handbook for the struggle against racist and fascist attacks, some basic strategic concepts for building a powerful response to fascist attacks come through.

As Dobbs states:

"The line-up in the preliminary stage is one of the ruling class attempting to mobilize initial fascist forces. The conscious revolutionary vanguard has the task of mobilizing the forces that are going to prevent the fascists from imposing their dictatorship in the crunch. That crunch comes later when we're at a higher, more intensive stage of struggle, when the capitalist crisis has become far deeper than today."

With that in mind, Dobbs states: "You try to muster the broadest forces possible. No matter what you do in any area, you draw on everybody you can. . . .

"The building of the broadest possible united front becomes an effective mechanism for educating the masses about the fascist danger. It creates the potential for drawing in ever-greater masses to confront the fascists. The more actively and consistently you apply this, the more difficult it is for the police forces to attack the antifascists and violate their democratic right to demonstrate against the fascists."

*Counter-mobilization* (\$.75), *The Fight Against Fascism in the USA* (\$1.35), and *What is American Fascism?* (\$1.25) can be obtained from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, New York 10014, or from any of the bookstores listed below.

—Fred Feldman

## Education for Socialists Tapes

Four talks on *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific* by George Novack. The question of whether the ideas of socialism can be achieved has been debated since the concept was first presented. These talks, based on the pamphlet by Engels of the same title, take up the origins of the socialist movement, the motive forces and course of its development, and what its outcome must be. Three tapes (four talks), \$15.00.

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**CALIFORNIA:** Berkeley: SWP, YSA, 3264 Adeline St. Zip: 94703. Tel: (415) 653-7156. Los Angeles, SWP, YSA, 2211 N. Broadway. Zip: 90031. Tel: (213) 225-3126. Oakland: SWP, YSA, 1467 Fruitvale Ave. Zip: 94601. Tel: (415) 261-1210. San Diego: SWP, YSA, 1053 15th St. Zip: 92101. Tel: (714) 234-4630. San Francisco: SWP, YSA, 3284 23rd St. Zip: 94110. Tel: (415) 824-1992. San Jose: SWP, YSA, 733 E. Hedding. Zip: 95112. Tel: (408) 295-8342.

**COLORADO:** Denver: SWP, YSA, 126 W. 12th Ave. Zip: 80204. Tel: (303) 534-8954.

**FLORIDA:** Miami: SWP, YSA, 8171 NE 2nd Ave. Zip: 33138. Tel: (305) 756-8358.

**GEORGIA:** Atlanta: SWP, YSA, 509 Peachtree St. NE. Zip: 30308. Tel: (404) 872-7229.

**ILLINOIS:** Champaign-Urbana: YSA, 284 Illini Union, Urbana. Zip: 61801. Chicago: SWP, YSA, 434 S. Wabash, Room 700. Zip: 60605. Tel: (312) 939-0737.

**INDIANA:** Bloomington: YSA, c/o Student Activities Desk, Indiana University. Zip: 47401. Indianapolis: SWP, YSA, 4850 N. College. Zip: 46205. Tel: (317) 283-6147. Gary: SWP, YSA, 3883 Broadway. Zip: 46409. Tel: (219) 884-9509.

**KENTUCKY:** Louisville: SWP, YSA, 131 W. Main, P.O. Box 3593. Zip: 40201. Tel: (502) 587-8418.

**LOUISIANA:** New Orleans: SWP, YSA, 3319 S. Carrollton Ave. Zip: 70118. Tel: (504) 486-8048.

**MARYLAND:** Baltimore: SWP, YSA, 2913 Greenmount Ave. Zip: 21218. Tel: (301) 235-0013.

**MASSACHUSETTS:** Amherst: YSA, c/o M. Casey, 42 McClellan. Zip: 01002. Tel: (413) 537-6537. Boston: SWP, YSA, 510 Commonwealth Ave., 4th Floor. Zip: 02215. Tel: (617) 262-4621.

**MICHIGAN:** Ann Arbor: YSA, Room 4120, Michigan Union, U. of M. Zip: 48109. Detroit: SWP, YSA, 6404 Woodward Ave. Zip: 48202. Tel: (313) 875-5322.

**MINNESOTA:** Mesabi Iron Range: SWP, YSA, P.O. Box 1287, Virginia, Minn. Zip: 55792. Tel: (218) 749-6327. Twin Cities: SWP, YSA, 373 University Ave., St. Paul. Zip: 55103. Tel: (612) 222-8929.

**MISSOURI:** Kansas City: SWP, YSA, 4715A Troost. Zip: 64110. Tel: (816) 753-0404. St. Louis: SWP, YSA, 6223 Delmar Blvd. Zip: 63130. Tel: (314) 725-1570.

**NEW JERSEY:** Newark: SWP, YSA, 11-A Central Ave. Zip: 07102. Tel: (201) 643-3341.

**NEW MEXICO:** Albuquerque: SWP, 1417 Central Ave. NE. Zip: 87106. Tel: (505) 842-0954.

**NEW YORK:** Capital District (Albany): SWP, YSA, 103 Central Ave. Zip: 12206. Tel: (518) 463-0072.

New York, Brooklyn: SWP, 841 Classon Ave. Zip: 11238. Tel: (212) 783-2135. New York, Lower Manhattan: SWP, YSA, 108 E. 16th St. 2nd Floor. Zip: 10003. Tel: (212) 260-6400. New York, Upper Manhattan: SWP, YSA, 564 W. 181 St., 2nd Floor. Send mail to P.O. Box 438, Washington Bridge Sta. Zip: 10033. Tel: (212) 928-1676. New York:

City-wide SWP, YSA, 108 E. 16th St. 2nd Floor. Zip: 10003. Tel: (212) 533-2902.

**NORTH CAROLINA:** Piedmont: SWP, YSA, P.O. Box 2486, Winston-Salem. Zip: 27102.

**OHIO:** Cincinnati: SWP, YSA, 970 E. McMillan. Zip: 45206. Tel: (513) 751-2636. Cleveland: SWP, YSA, 13002 Kinsman Rd. Zip: 44120. Tel: (216) 991-

5030. Oberlin: YSA, c/o Gale Connor, OCMR Box 679. Zip: 44074. Tel: (216) 775-5382. Toledo: SWP, YSA, 2120 Dorr St. Zip: 43607. Tel: (419) 536-0383.

**OREGON:** Portland: SWP, YSA, 711 NW Everett. Zip: 97209. Tel: (503) 222-7225.

**PENNSYLVANIA:** Edinboro: YSA, Edinboro State College. Zip: 16444. Philadelphia: SWP, YSA, 5811 N. Broad St. Zip: 19141. Tel: (215) 927-4747 or 927-4748. Pittsburgh: SWP, YSA, 1210 E. Carson St. Zip: 15203. Tel: (412) 488-7000. State College: YSA, c/o Jack Craypo, 606 S. Allen St. Zip: 16801. Tel: (814) 234-6655.

**TEXAS:** Austin: YSA, c/o Mike Rose, 7409 Berkman Dr. Zip: 78752. Dallas: SWP, YSA, 5442 E. Grand. Zip: 75223. Tel: (214) 826-4711. Houston: SWP, YSA, 806 Elgin St. #1. Zip: 77006. Tel: (713) 524-8761. San Antonio: SWP, YSA, 112 Fredericksburg Rd. Zip: 78207. Tel: (512) 735-3141.

**UTAH:** Salt Lake City: SWP, YSA, 677 S. 7th East, 2nd Floor. Zip: 84102. Tel: (801) 355-1124.

**VIRGINIA:** Tidewater Area (Newport News): SWP, YSA, 111 28th St. Zip: 23607. Tel: (804) 380-0133.

**WASHINGTON, D.C.:** SWP, YSA, 3106 Mt. Pleasant St. NW. Zip: 20010. Tel: (202) 797-7699.

**WASHINGTON:** Olympia: YSA, c/o Lynne Welton, 1304 Madrona Beach Rd. Zip: 98502. Tel: (206) 866-7332. Seattle: SWP, YSA, 4868 Rainier Ave., S. Zip: 98118. Tel: (206) 723-5330. Tacoma: SWP,

YSA, 1306 S. K St. Zip: 98405. Tel: (206) 627-0432.

**WEST VIRGINIA:** Morgantown: SWP, YSA, 957 S. University Ave. Zip: 26505. Tel: (304) 296-0055.

**WISCONSIN:** Madison: YSA, P.O. Box 929. Zip: 53701. Milwaukee: SWP, YSA, 3901 N. 27th St. Zip: 53216. Tel: (414) 445-2076.

# THE MILITANT

## Three Mile Island panel admits:

# 'No guarantee' against more nuclear disasters

By Arnold Weissberg

The report of the President's Commission on the Accident at Three Mile Island is a stinging indictment of nuclear power. Every phase of the U.S. nuclear power program came in for sharp criticism.

The commission proposed dozens of ways to make nuclear power safer, but had to admit, "We do not claim that our proposed recommendations are sufficient to assure the safety of nuclear power." Furthermore, the panel said, there is no "guarantee that there will be no serious future nuclear accidents."

This is a flat-out admission that nuclear power is not safe and cannot be made safe.

"Our investigation has revealed problems with the 'system' that manufactures, operates, and regulates nuclear power plants," the report declared.

This "system" is known as capitalism—a system that created nuclear power because it would be profitable and drives ahead with it today, despite all the deadly dangers; because corporations such as General Electric and Westinghouse have \$150 billion invested in it.

The panel hit what it called the "conviction" that "nuclear power plants are sufficiently safe." This conviction, of course, was held and promoted by the nuclear industry, not by the tens of thousands of people who demonstrated against nuclear plants.

"The commission is convinced that this attitude must be changed to one that says nuclear power is by its very nature potentially dangerous," the report declared.

The commission, headed by Dartmouth College President John Kemeny, detailed various areas of nuclear safety it found particularly weak.

The report condemned the inade-



Militant/Arnold Weissberg

Above, cooling towers loom over Goldsboro. Presidential commission said accident like Three Mile Island was 'practically inevitable.'

quate training given to Three Mile Island control room technicians, calling it "greatly deficient," with "insufficient emphasis [on] safety."

This is an implicit condemnation of the entire nuclear industry. The utilities that run the plants and the corporations that build them are responsible for operator training. The training received by the Three Mile Island operators is the norm in the industry.

The Kemeny commission said the industry explanation of the accident—"operator error"—missed the point. "These shortcomings are attributable

to the utility, to suppliers of equipment, and to the Federal commission that regulates nuclear power," the report said.

The report said that new nuclear power plants should be built only in "locations remote from concentrations of population."

But what about now? Dozens of operating reactors are presently located right next to heavily populated areas, for example Con Edison's Indian Point plants, near New York City. And some nuclear power plants presently under construction or proposed to

be constructed will be located near large population centers.

The panel also hit the management of Three Mile Island, citing "significant deficiencies."

None of these problems were supposed to have been possible. The Nuclear Regulatory Commission is supposed to oversee nuclear safety. But in the panel's words, "evidence suggests that the N.R.C. has sometimes erred on the side of the industry's convenience rather than carrying out its primary mission of assuring safety."

This cautious statement is a gross understatement in light of the evidence presented by the report itself. Catering to the industry is exactly what every government agency in the nuclear field has always done.

In one respect, the commission's report continued the long cover-up of the dangers of low levels of radiation. Radiation released during the Three Mile Island accident, the report said, "will have a negligible effect on the physical health of individuals."

This is what Metropolitan Edison and the government have said all along, but it ignores the evidence presented by objective scientists. According to Dr. Ernest Sternglass of the University of Pittsburgh, as many as 2,500 people could die of cancer.

In a separate report, the Task Force on the Public's Right to Information, which worked under the presidential panel, said both industry and government representatives had deliberately misled the public about the severity of the Three Mile Island accident.

Both Metropolitan Edison and the NRC were accused of a "conscious decision . . . to impart only available evidence and to avoid discussing its implications."

For example, the task force noted, an NRC official deliberately obscured the

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## 1,000 at rally: 'End the blockade of Cuba!'

NEW YORK—A thousand people meeting here November 3 demanded an end to the U.S. blockade of Cuba and the normalization of relations with Cuba.

The meeting heard demands for an end to the embargo by Ramon Sánchez Parodi, Cuban envoy to the United States; U.S. Rep. Ronald Dellums (D-Calif.); and Prof. Lourdes Casal, a

member of the Committee of 75. The committee is a group of prominent Cubans in this country working to promote a policy of friendship with Cuba.

The meeting also heard John Graham, a State Department representative. He said in effect that Cuba would have to end its support to liberation movements in Africa and elsewhere before the United States would normalize relations.

The meeting was an open plenary session of a three-day conference on Cuba. It was initiated by the Center for

Cuban Studies and sponsored by a wide grouping of academic figures and other notables.

A number of representatives of Cuban political and cultural life participated in the conference. In several dozen workshops, they joined with

U.S. participants in a dialogue on a range of political and social issues.

Seven hundred people from all parts of the country attended the event, which marked a significant advance in the opposition to Washington's continuing efforts to isolate Cuba.

### Cuba frees last prisoners

The Cuban government has freed its last 400 prisoners convicted of crimes against state security.

A total of 3,600 such prisoners have been released during the past ten months. They were freed under an amnesty proposal jointly agreed to by the Cuban government and the Committee of 75, representing Cubans living in the United States and Puerto Rico.

Release of the prisoners is a bold political initiative undertaken by the Cuban revolutionary leadership as part of its rapprochement with the Cuban exile community. It has helped cut through the "human rights" dem-

agogy by the Carter administration and right-wing exiles. Freeing the prisoners has thus added to the growing sentiment for normalization of relations with Cuba.

It is worth noting that these prisoners were not jailed for holding dissenting views—all were convicted of actions against the revolution.

At his October 16 "town meeting" in Dolton, Illinois, Carter said his administration would not recognize Cuba "until they release the hundreds and hundreds, even thousands of political prisoners they have in jail."

Now the prisoners are free. Now what, Carter?



Militant photos by Harry Ring

From left: Prof. Lourdes Casal, Ramon Sánchez Parodi, U.S. Rep. Ronald Dellums.