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PROGRESSIVE LABOR

Vol. 9, No. 2 July, 1973

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PL PROGRESSIVE LABOR

Published by the Progressive Labor Party

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Subscription rates: $2.50 per six issues, 50¢ per issue.
Airmail subcription rates:
USA, North and South America – $7
Europe (excluding Eastern Europe) — $10
Asia, Africa, Middle East, Oceania and Eastern Europe – $12

EDITORIAL

Watergate: Old Billionaires Knife New-Panic Over Sick Economy

May 21, 1973

Nixon's a crook—sure! His aides a bunch of assassins and thieves—sure! The White House Gestapo a bunch of inept bunglers—sure! But after saying all this, you still don't have much insight into the Watergate affair. And this knowledge alone doesn't enable workers and their allies to capitalize on the situation.

THE AFOREMENTIONED IDEAS ARE THOSE of the New York **Times** and other spokesmen for the bosses. So if this is what they are telling us, we better look around some more. Their line can't possibly be ours.

We should try to understand who is fighting whom; why they are fighting; and what it all means for us.

During the last dozen or so years, U.S. presidents haven't been doing too well. Kennedy was assassinated. Lyndon Johnson was driven from office by the anti-war movement and the black rebellions. Now Nixon is getting his come-uppance. There is a possibility he may be impeached. The political affairs of the U.S. are beginning to look like those of small countries over which U.S. imperialism has imposed its power. What has been happening in this period to account for the growing instability of the U.S. state apparatus (i.e. the government)?

U.S. BOSSES LOSING GROUND

BASICALLY, THE U.S. ECONOMY IS GROWING more and more unstable, and U.S. rulers are unable to achieve their post-World War II dream of absolute world supremacy.

The war in Vietnam drove home U.S. bosses' growing impotence in the face of pressure. It indicated they could be taken if confronted with a serious revolutionary movement. On the economic front, the dollar is growing more unstable. Two serious devaluations, only months apart, prove this. Raging inflation continues unabated. A third devaluation is around the corner. Obviously Nixon and his White House Gestapo don't have the handle on the economy and other important questions. In an attempt to deal with the further economic decline of U.S. capitalism, Nixon and Co. have resorted to more brazen giveaways to big business and to further budget cuts. These cuts take away concession after concession won by the workers. Nixon has reshaped the administrative functioning of the White House. This change is not simply the reflection of a secretive personal or psychological style ascribed to him by various bourgeois pundits. These changes have also been called an autocratic power-grab. But the basic factor is that his foundering administration requires instant shifting to

N.Y. Times, 5/20/73

By C. L. Sulzberger

Historians looking back on the 1963-1973 decade, starting with the assassination of President Kennedy and featuring the murders of his brother and Dr. King and the shooting of Governor Wallace, may perhaps perceive a pattern connecting the chain of disturbances finally punctuated by the Watergate mess.

Is it too much to say that the succession of American tragedies came when an American dream began to vanish? As the United States dimly became aware that the American century forecast after World War II was both a misjudgment and a misnomer, the emotional American people turned their disappointed dream into a nightmare.

The thought that a Pax Americana would be supported for any appreciable period of time proved delusory. The country's diplomatic commitments were overextended by pactomania. The country's military establishment was overextended in terms of what people were ready to accept. The country's generosity was overextended in terms of foreign aid. One consequence was that the dollar, which had become a token even more important than gold, was immensely overvalued.

U.S. plans for world domination dashed.

deal with one debacle after another.

No sooner does he say no to wage-price controls—presto: wage-price controls. The instant he says no to devaluation—poof: devaluation. He adheres to the concept of "laissez-faire," then tells Congress the budget can't exceed a certain amount. One could go on and on about his flip-flops. Suffice it to say these instant changes and reversals of policy require absolute control over the administrative process, thus obliterating the impression that other government agencies (like Congress and the Cabinet) have power.

PRESIDENCY: CAPITALIST DICTATORSHIP

SINCE THE INCEPTION OF THE CAPITALIST state in our country, the bosses have gone to great length to conceal the fact that the presidency is really a dictatorship of **their** class. One way they do this is through the illusion of "checks and balances." The Congress and courts are said to have power of restraint and control over the presidency. All Nixon has done is speed up the process of exposing the main source of political power. This process took on a clearer pattern during the FDR administration, when Presidential aides like Harry Hopkins emerged as the real power brokers. All these forces could be traced to big business interests. The Nixon administration has given the population an object lesson in who controls the state in a capitalist country. Marx, Engels, Lenin et al. always said this. The Nixon gestapo has driven the lesson home.

Now if the Nixon crew can't cope with the economy and other important matters, then it is only fair to assume that other sections of the ruling class are unhappy. They are moving to do something about this. Well, whom does the Nixon gestapo represent in the ruling class? Since World War II, a good deal of new industrial wealth has emerged in this country. These new economic bosses are the stepchildren of the old "robber barons." We think of wealth in this country in terms of names like Rockefeller, Morgan, Mellon, Dupont, etc. This is certainly true. But the bastard offspring come from the new electronic, aerospace, natural gas, large real estate, and some of the oil interests, among others. Much of their wealth is financed and even controlled by old money. But, as in every parent-child relationship, there is a d e s i r e for independence. In this case, the new money is out to achieve parity with the old and then to supersede it.

For some time now these newer forces have been seeking foothold on the state apparatus. If they control the state, they will have leverage to achieve economic supremacy. This is the way it seems to work in the Nixon cabal: Ehrlichman is a lawyer and politician for California big business. Haldeman comes from a California advertising firm. Claude Briniegar is a California oil executive. Dent is a South Carolina textile magnate. Kleindienst represents Arizona industry. Casper Weinberger is a Regan assistant from California. George Bush is a Texas oil company boss. Janet Johnson is a California rancher. Ronald Ziegler is California's PR man for big industry. William Clements is an oil man. Robert Long is a California Bank of America executive, etc. etc.

N.Y. Times, 5/14/73

By Anthony Lewis

Here again there is no occasion for hope. The personnel changes so far have been reshuffles of the old deck; the test has been loyalty to Mr. Nixon. The hasty insertion of John Connally as an unpaid White House adviser is especially interesting — a Nixon move not to the old Republicans or to eminent nonpartisan figures but to his natural constituency: the new money, oil, aerospace, the South.

This is what it's all about.

NIXON'S 'STRATEGY' EXPLAINED

NIXON'S "SOUTHERN STRATEGY" REALLY means bringing big business forces from the southwestern part of the country and the south into the government at a fast clip. These areas have dramatically expanded in industry and population since the end of World War II. This strategy was laid bare by Nixon's unsuccessful attempts to name Carswell and Haynesworth (both southerners) to the Supreme Court. Later he named Rehnquist, also from the South.

Generally, the big bourgeoisie like Rockefeller went along with this. It was a token attempt at class unity. The basic ideas of the two groups were essentially the same. However, Rockefeller kept his hand on the foreign policy controls by having Henry Kissinger as Nixon's foreign policy arm. In addition, the eastern establishment had Wall St. lawyer Mitchell and his errand boy Dean in Attorney General's office and as the President's private counsel. So it's really no coincidence that Mitchell and Dean are at odds with Haldeman and Ehrlichman.

The press takes note of the two factions, Mitchell-Dean vs. Halderman-Ehrlichman. But they don't indicate the economic basis for this factional strife. This explains Nixon's whitewash of Ehrlichman and Haldeman and his attack on Dean. It also clarifies Dean's "betrayal." It is furthermore widely known that Kissinger isn't exactly loved by Ehrlichman and Haldeman. It is claimed they have been trying to dump him from his important foreign policymaking post.

OLD MONEY SWAMPING NEW

BRIEFLY, THE FIGHT TAKING PLACE IN THE ruling class over the carcass of the Nixon gestapo is between old money and new. The more entrenched, infinitely more powerful eastern bosses are unhappy about the way Nixon is running the economy. They realize his policies have been a total fiasco. And they are distressed about the way in which he is ripping off the "democratic" mask of the state. They feel the economy can be brought under control and that the trappings of democracy can be

preserved. Finally, they are concerned that if Nixon goes too far and too fast with his attacks on the working class, he will provoke sharper class struggle in turn leading to more revolutionary consciousness among workers. The spectre of black rebellions, local strikes, and general strikes still haunts them. They want to avoid this at all costs, unless absolutely necessary.

This begins to explain why the N.Y. Times, Newsweek, the Washington Post, Time magazine, and the TV networks are going after Nixon without letup. The media are owned by the eastern establishment. It also explains why Nixon and Agnew sought unsuccessfully to gag them. It is of interest that this lineup of the press and many forces in Congress crosses "liberal" and "conservative" lines. Time magazine is a Luce publication never noted for liberal views. In the Senate, you have the spectacle of Javits and Buckley joining hands to demand an impartial investigator for Watergate. This is a slap in the face to the Nixon gestapo. It shows growing unity between liberals and conservatives allied with old or eastern money.

NIXON'S WINGS CLIPPED

IT SHOULD BE CLEAR BY NOW THAT THEY have clipped Nixon's wings. In time, new appointments and policies will emerge to reflect these differences.

The tide is turning. Old money is again taking over important political positions. Nixon has been forced to make Elliot Richardson, an old-time Boston lawyer, his Attorney General and Alexander Haig, Kissinger's aide-de-camp for the last three years, is the White House Chief of Staff.

For example, more stringent wage-price controls are on the horizon. The big bosses are dissatisfied with Nixon's Phase 3. Within the mass movement, the case of the United Farm Workers, led by Chavez, and the Teamsters' raid on their turf is a small indication of how this division appears from below. It should be noted that Hoffa's release from prison (he was put there by the Kennedy boys) was engineered by Murray Chotiner, Nixon's politico. The old money likes to keep a few more liberals around in the mass movement to strengthen illusions about the possibility of real change within the system. Most of the old money is unhappy about Nixon's continued policy of bombing and war in southeast Asia. They feel it is unnecessary and too costly. They would be just as happy to see their investments taken care of by the boys in Hanoi. This has become relatively clear through the actions of Kissinger, who was the architect of the Peking-Moscow-Washington love-match. His bosses Rockefeller et al. would be just as happy if the love-match started up with Hanoi were consummated once and for all. The lover's pique shown by Nixon is unwarranted and unnecessary. Serious business is at hand, and Nixon's pouting is getting in the way. It is necessary to quiet down the economy in the coming period. In order to give it some sort of stability there must be tighter relations with once-socialist countries and **all** their allies. The tail-end of the Nixon Vietnam

Editorial — Business Week — May 12, 1973

An urgent plea for new economic policy—now

Absorbed with Watergate and stubbornly hoping that the situation will right itself, the Administration has lost its grip on the economy. The President's advisers are clutching at scraps of favorable news and ignoring the evidence that their economic policies are not working.

N.Y. Times, 5/21/73

Avoiding Boom-Bust

The most immediate need is for a tougher wage-price policy. Secretary of the Treasury Shultz has sought to describe Phase 3 as essentially little different from Phase 2 controls except in one respect. It is voluntary, he says —"like the Federal income tax." If such is the case, let the Government administer Phase 3 controls as assiduously as the Internal Revenue Service administers the "voluntary" income tax. Instead, Administration spokesmen keep declaring that the nation is headed for decontrol next year if business and labor will only behave moderately.

There is an alternative to standing pat and letting the economy rush ahead into disaster. It consists of a combination of new, tough wage-price controls and strict fiscal and monetary discipline. It is a painful answer, and it involves some risk. But it is the course the Administration should take.

The first step should be to scrap Phase III and go back to wage-price controls at least as tough as Phase II and considerably broader in scope. Price controls should apply to all farm and food products—not just at retail but far enough back down the line of distribution and production to put effective pressure on prices at the point of first sale. The rules on passing through cost increases should be tightened. The merry game of taking a markup for profit on cost increases should stop.

With the new controls must go a strict program of enforcement.

Economy in a shambles –
Nixon foes think they can do better

N.Y. Times, 5/20/73

U.S. Companies and Soviet Discuss a Vast Gas Line

By EVERETT R. HOLLES
Special to The New York Times

LOS ANGELES, May 20—Dr. Armand Hammer, chairman of the Occidental Petroleum Corporation, is negotiating a "massive" new pipeline deal with the Soviet Union that, he says, could be twice as big as the estimated $7-billion or $8-billion transaction in chemical fertilizers that he signed in Moscow last month.

Business is business.

N.Y. Times, 5/21/73

Hammer's Kremlin Connection

By EVERETT R. HOLLES

LOS ANGELES—For Armand Hammer, 74-year-old head of the Occidental Petroleum Corporation, the Soviet Union has been a capitalist's paradise for half century, rich in profits for a shrewd trader with the right connections in the Kremlin.

The gold rush trail he blazed back in 1921 with an Army surplus mobile hospital and a new medical diploma from Columbia University is being followed these days by droves of American businessmen, all eager to cash in on the economic agreement between the United States and the Soviet Union.

THE NEW YORK TIMES, MONDAY, MAY 21, 1973

Brezhnev Affirms His Washington Date

Says Watergate Affair Doesn't Change Plan for June 18 Visit

policy is an obstacle to this.

These are some of the things they are fighting about. The fight is important to both sides. Each one sees billions in profits for its own position. Profits are the ultimate morality of all businessmen. When it comes to a fight over how to make more, they are virtually as ruthless with one another as they are with workers. Ask the late JFK!

IT'S BIGGER THAN WATERGATE

WATERGATE ISN'T A THING UNTO ITSELF. IT was simply used as a convenient battleground by the eastern money to attack the new boys. The fight had been developing for some time. Watergate was Nixon's soft underbelly. However, without Watergate, something else would surely have come up. Watergate is incidental to the battle. In addition, the old money is making hay of the new bosses' greater reliance on the open gangster element in securing profits and power. (Vesco gave $200,000 to the Nixon campaign. The manner of giving was illegal. Vesco and others have always been involved in "shady" deals with Nixon. A grand jury recently indicted him for failing to come to hearings.) While they too make use of these elements, Vesco and others like him are more vulnerable at the moment. Now that all stops have been pulled, scandal is a

good tactic to use.

A tangential but key aspect of the Watergate matter is the growing cynicism of the people. We are treated to the buffoonery of the Nixon crew courtesy of the New York Times etc. If not told, we wouldn't be particularly aware of these matters. These media organs can control the news. We all know how they suppress or distort news for their purposes. It is their purpose now to expose Nixon. We all get pleasure from receiving this information. Watching this gang of thieves at one another's throats is fun. The sight of Nixon the "law and order" man getting caught red-handed with his lies and crimes twice a day is great. But we should understand that the Times etc. aren't doing it for us. They are doing it to secure their class interests. So, the main question isn't whether he knew or didn't know. Of course, he knew. But this is secondary to the political issues and struggles at hand.

AN ANTI-NIXON BOSS: A BOSS

VARIOUS OPPORTUNISTS ON THE LEFT ARE trying to portray the anti-Nixon forces in the ruling class as heroes. As usual, they are trying to create the illusion of "good" and "bad" bosses. They portray this as a struggle between fascists and anti-fascists. Nothing is further from the truth. The objective situation is a ways removed from requiring fascism. Contradictions are sharper, but internally, and even externally, the rulers' power is not seriously threatened. Mass terror and extermination aren't in the cards—for now. Bosses—all bosses—act for their interests, never for ours. When these ruling class forces fall out among each other, we should never rely on them for progress. Reforms and revolution can come only from fighting all of them. Growing cynicism about the system is justified. The bosses are growing weaker! It's not likely that any policies enacted will work for the bosses. Inter-capitalist rivalry and intense class struggle will prevent this. So a big sign of their growing weakness is growing cynicism about them by the people. They are losing their political hold on the people. Some bosses are saying "let's impeach Nixon to show that the democratic system works. It's important to show the people that even a President can't be the law unto himself." Others are worried about this crucial precedent. Impeachment in and of itself will create more cynicism, and indicate the inherent weakness of the system. The bosses are damned if they do and damned if

N.Y. Times, 5/20/73

Overheated Economy

By H. ERICH HEINEMANN

With the gathering evidence that the American economy may be running out of control, and with the gathering doubts that a politically weakened Nixon Administration will be able effectively to deal with it, financial markets were in turmoil.

A growing number of business forecasters see a recession next year as a result of the breakneck economic expansion.

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL,
Friday, May 18, 1973

Danger Ahead?

Signs of Future Slump Show Up in Indicators, Some Analysts Warn

Key 'Leaders' Continue Rising, But Early-Warning Indexes Point to Slowdown Ahead

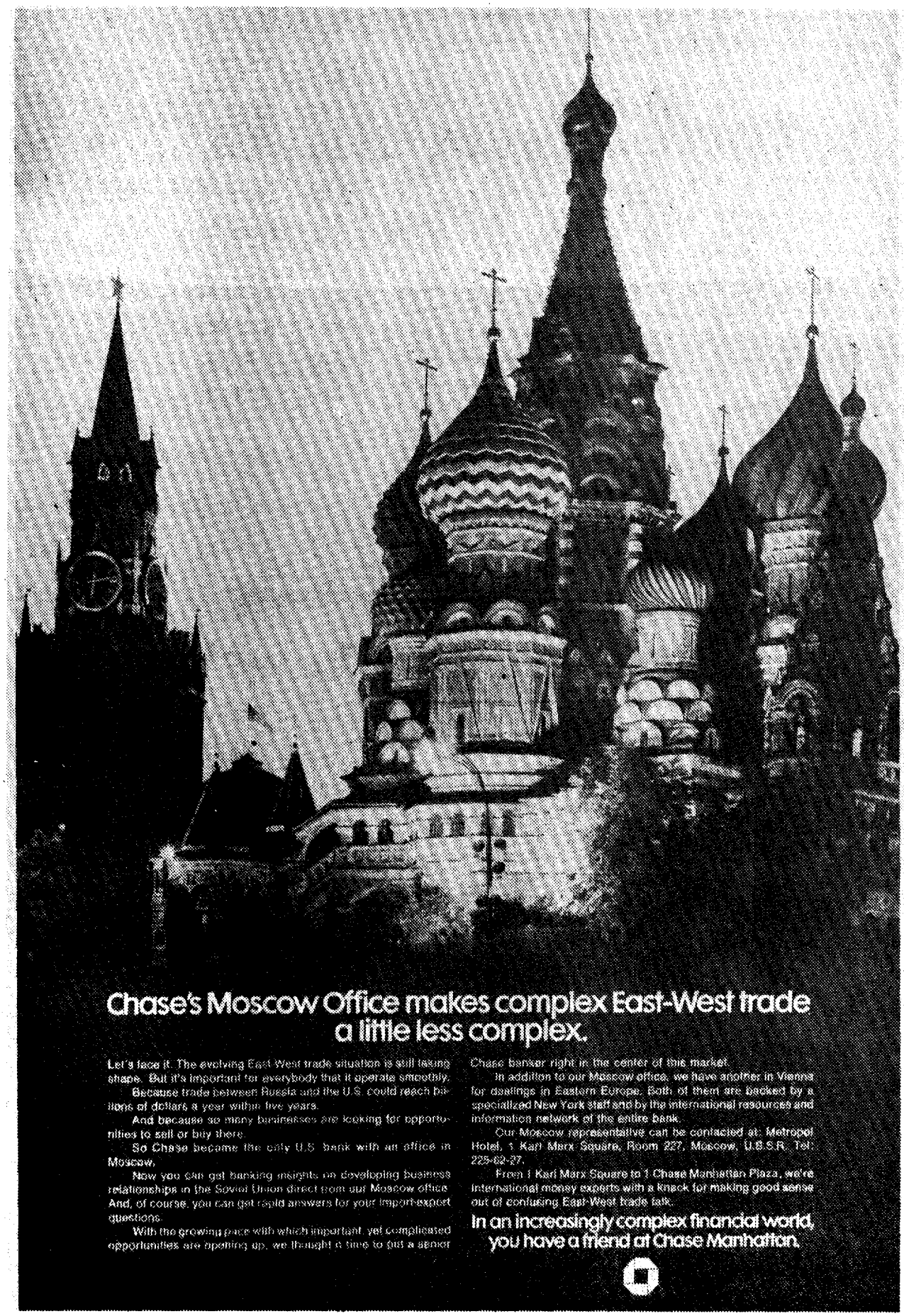
Imponderable Role of Credit

Economy collapsing.

they don't. The contradictions of this pack of robbers are insoluble.

DEFEAT WORKERS' CYNICISM

However, cynicism is a two edged sword. We too must fight it! Many workers are going to throw up their hands and say no one is any good. Nixon, Mao, Brezhnev—"They all sell out." This can only be countered by fighting the bosses. Pushing for thirty for forty; fighting racism; and winning people to socialism, a system in which workers can control and use the political process. This is the only road workers can take to get out of the dung heap of capitalism. Watergate should show that this system represents the dead, smelly, rotten past. Workers' power—the dictatorship of the proletariat represents the future. "The future is ours."



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LETTERS...

...Be More Careful When Reprinting Enemy Ideas

Dear friends,

First of all, I'd like to say that PL magazine continues to be the best magazine of historical and current analysis around. Not only is the line good, but the solid scientific research that verifies the line—and from which the line springs and is developed (with practice)—is generally of a very high order; much better than many of the other political magazines which are unfortunately more widespread. More distribution in libraries and bookstores would be an extremely important thing to do... tens of thousands of non-communists would read this journal if they knew how good it is.

I would like, however, to comment on the practice of reprinting articles and cartoons out of the bourgeois media. In general, I think it is a good practice. It is important to see how the ruling class itself often spills the beans; also, there are some intra-class battles among the rulers in which one group might expose the rotteness of another group (e.g. Watergate; ITT and Chile; etc.). Usually they don't expose too much, and in any case, PL should not side with any section of the ruling class. But to stop the practice of using the bourgeois media for certain things would be a mistake. For example, reprinting the NY POST headline "REPORT HALF OF CITY HS PUPILS ON DRUGS" has a more powerful effect than just having it quoted in the text of the "Life and Death Struggle" article.

Having said that, I would like to warn the editors that often bourgeois sources have a lot of shit in them, and when PL reprints them, it should be careful not to imply that it goes along with this crap. Let me be specific: In the most recent PL magazine, Jan. 1973, on page 46, there is an article reprinted out of the **NY Times.** The article is quoted, reprinted in fact, without comment, by the party.

The article is very ambiguous. The part of the article which is circled shows that a widely respected bourgeois psychologist rejects the whole genetic conception of intelligence; Piaget seems to be saying that it is a fraud, and in fact that much of psychology and psychological theory is "Mythical" and also a fraud. Well, that is very nice. That seems to be what PL (and also myself) believes, and it is nice to hear Piaget say it. But does the circling mean that the party wants to draw attention to a particularly favorable part of the article?

I hope not. Because later on, a blatantly racist statement by Piaget is also circled. Piaget responds to a question about "inferior" thinking ability of "primitive tribes in Africa and in some slums in America" and responds in effect, that it is not biological, but rather ENVIRONMENT IS THE REASON WHY THOSE GROUPS CANNOT THINK VERY WELL. Shades of Banfield, Moynihan and some of the most vicious racists around!

That kind of racist garbage should not be reprinted without comment in a revolutionary journal. Look at what this article says: The reason why many blacks don't understand the concept of "conservation" is because their fathers keep them from questioning! Now it is true, of course, that a person's ability to figure out a problem will be in part due to whether or not the person has been exposed to ways of figuring out the answer. In other words, what a person knows is a reflection of what they have learned. But big deal. So what if a middle class American can figure out that round balloons hold more than sausage balloons. That is nice, that may be important to know; I don't want to knock it. It probably is better for people to understand that concept than to not understand it.

But that is just a concept to be learned that comes with experience, like judging distances (which middle class city kids may not be too good at), or repairing automobiles, or organizing. It is NOT, as the article implies, such a basic part of "intelligence." Sure we want people to think complexly. **But the logic of this article says, in the last analysis, that primitive African tribes, and residents of "some slums in America" cannot think complexly.** This is disgusting. Can't you see it now: "The reason the government killed the Attica rebels was not because the rebels were biologically inferior; it was their **culture** that turned the rebels into rabid animals." Or, "The government needs to cut back on welfare not because blacks are genetically inferior, but rather because they are culturally inferior; and don't know how to plan budgets."

This racist logic is clearly not PL's line. Yet it is printed in the magazine, circled in fact, and reprinted without comment. (Maybe I missed the point; maybe the whole article was reprinted as an example of another racist theorist: I'm really not sure.) In any case, I feel that reprinting it **without comment** only confuses and hurts the anti-racist struggle. If it had to be referred to at all, PL could simply have said something like "Even Jean Piaget, a psychologist who developed much of psychology theory, feels that biological theories of intelligence is wrong." (Or if the article was intended as an attack on Piaget: "Jean Piaget, another psychology "expert" blames people's culture for their problems.") Or something better than that could have been written, I don't care. But somebody should give the magazine, and particularly graphics and articles lifted

LETTERS...

'New' Maoists: Ragged Individualists Hate PLP

To the editor:

A few words about the "new" maoists in the U.S.

The U.S. Maoists are represented by two main groups: one formed in an unholly alliance (not necessarily united all the time) between the Revolutionary Union (RU), the October League, the Puerto Rican Revolutionary Workers Organization (formerly Young Lords), the Black Workers Congress, and as their ideological guide the ragsheet The Guardian. The other faction seems to be more openly tied to the cops: the Communist League, the American Communist Workers Movement, and the many "internationalist" organizations. Both groups are taking claim for the building of a multinational Communist Party of the New Type (whatever that is). It seems the Chinese are supporting mainly the first bunch.

These creeps are all engaged now in discussion on building the "New CP." Their differences are basically: I want to be the leader of the "C"P. Their influence among the working class is minimal or nil. But, they do have some kind of influence (mainly the first bunch) among hanger-ons from the old SDS, or "movement people" as they call themselves. They attract a lot of nationalists too.

The apparent differences on building the "new CP" is the concept of Black Nation. Some say that the Black Belt must become a separate nation and that self-determination for the Black Belt should come first. Others say that the Black nation is a New Type of Nation (meaning proletariat) and therefore you need a multinational CP to make a revolution here and to unite all workers. Meanwhile, national groups are needed now (e.g. Blacks must organize Blacks, Puerto Ricans, Puerto Ricans, Whites organize Whites and so on) and somewhere along the line they will all unite into a multi-national CP.

All these groups are characterized by extreme opportunism and mainly by a deep hatred towards PLP (whom they call neotrotskyite). Their base to build the CP among Blacks and Puerto Ricans is very inept. The Young Lords are almost non-existent. Their base is (in N.Y.) mostly among a few students in a few colleges. The Black Workers' Congress (led by James Foreman and Mike Hamil) is also very hard to find anywhere. The two biggest groups are RU (led by ex-SDSer Bob Avakian) and the October League (led by also ex-SDSer Mike Klonsky). The RU is an extremely violent organization when it comes to PLP. They hate PLP with extreme passion. Their ways are almost fascistic. They are mostly chicken-hearted Weathermen.

The Guardian wants to become the ideologue of the Maoists. They are something like the CP with a left cover. Most of the news or articles they print are extremely distorted and inaccurate.

These groups did grow a little bit in the last year or so, but they are bound to die. As China goes more and more to the right, they are bound to die. As China goes more and more to the right, so will these groups. It seems like the Chinese want to build them badly (to counter PLP influence) but these idiots can't get themselves together and follow their masters' wishes. Tough luck.

—A N.Y.C. PLPer

Enemy Ideas

(continued from p. 10)

out of the bourgeois media, a **careful** going over before they finally get printed. (Sometimes it **is** better to NOT use a caption; this could make it **more** pointed.)

In general, some kind of caption interpreting would be useful in making clear what the party thinks. This is especially important also for satirical or ironic things. Recently a cartoon was run (in the sophisticated-cynical style of the **NEW YORKER**) that ridiculed a certain type of hypocritical liberal for trying to gain prestige by name-dropping civil rights protests they were involved in. I don't think the point is clear to many readers: Is it bad in general, for middle class liberals to support civil rights? Or maybe the cartoon was just about two people who were involved in civil rights years ago? It just isn't clear.

There have been a few other things like this in PL and occasionally in Challenge. I don't mean to be one-sided in criticizing. Basically, I just think that a little more careful **editing** should be done. Ask yourselves: **Would most workers, high school students, professors, housewives, teachers and other people get the point the party is trying to make by printing this?** And what is the point we are trying to make? Would a caption make it any clearer?

I guess I was particularly disturbed by the Piaget article. But let's all work to make PL nagazine and CHALLENGE better and clearer tools, more useful scientific battle manuals in the struggle to finish capitalism.

—A Friend

LETTERS...

Racist Eugenics: No Holiday After Hitler Era

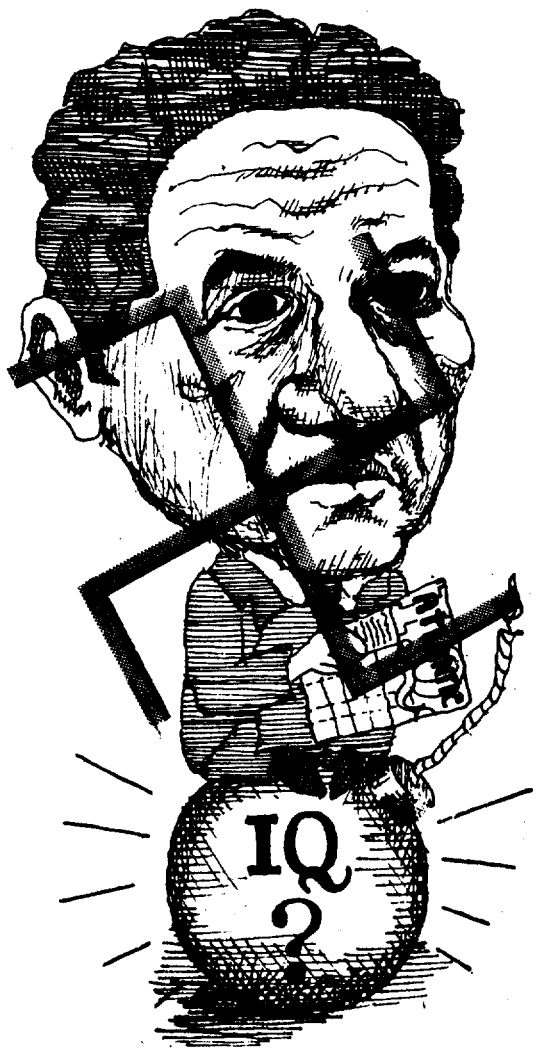
Dear **PL:**

Your recent article on the history of the eugenics movement and racist ideology was very interesting, but omitted the period between 1945 and 1969. It seems that even though eugenics programs were not emphasized during this period, they certainly weren't entirely neglected either. Paul A. Moody in **Genetics of Man** (N.Y. 1967) casually mentions the forced sterilization of 334,000 people in India up to February, 1963 as though it were some type of "scientific advance." An article in **U.S. News and World Report** December 1966 describes the legally required sterilization of 2,000 men in Denmark in 1966 who were said to be psychotic.

In the U.S. "genetic counseling" programs have been in existence for many years. They are now quite common, receiving support from the March of Dimes Foundation. The purpose of these programs is to counsel people who might have children with congenital diseases not to reproduce. Clearly these are eugenics programs, with a little more technology added. I know little about their history or numbers, but they are receiving increased attention with the growth of genetic theories of human behavior (e.g., see **Gene Organization and Behavior** by Delbert Thiessen, N.Y. 1972, page 143). Finally, the **Eugenics Quarterly** was being published during the period 1945-1969. I wish the **PL** article had said more about this period rather than making it seem that the ruling class had neglected eugenics and racist ideology during these years.

Besides genetic theories of behavior (Jensen, psychogenetics, etc.), the ruling class and its intellectuals have recently been using issues like the "energy crisis" and the "population explosion" to justify more population control, sterilization, eugenics, and similar types of programs. Their argument says that an increasing population will be too much of a burden on decreasing resources (e.g., see **Population and the American Future: The Report of the Commission of Population Growth and the American Future,** Signet 1972, pages 72 ff.). These programs and their rationalizations are no solution to any problems faced by workers or students and only mean worse genocide for minorities. They are a first step toward worse forms of racism and working class oppression and should be exposed and fought.

—P.H.



EDITOR'S NOTE: The point made by a reader (see letter, pp. 10-11) —that we should be more careful when reprinting material from publications controlled by our class enemies—is well taken. In that regard, we apologize for reprinting in our last issue—without comment —a long clipping from a revisionist newspaper, which included an implication that Soviet foreign policy is preferable to that of the Chinese.

LETTERS...

'Hardhat Attacks' on Other Workers? A Cop Frame-up

Dear Sirs:

In reading your article on the reprint "Marxism-Leninism The Key to Black Liberation" I found a mistake that many people are confused about.

On page 24 it talks about the militancy growing among Union workers. This is pretty good. But it says even the hardhat construction workers who attacked blacks two years ago in New York City fought pitched battles with police recently in several cities. I assume the author is talking about the "Wall Street Loyality Day" attack incident. When "hardhats" attacked anti-war demonstrators and many workers from that area. The information I am about to give would apply to this and other attacks on black and working people by "hardhats."

When I first read about large numbers of construction workers attacking the anti-war marchers and supporting Nixon I just could not believe it. I know many of the trades are getting layoffs, and their ranks are shrinking due to prefab units. Most of the people in the trades I know are just as anti-Nixon as the rest of us. I called an old friend of mine who is an operating engineer and asked him about the incident. He said that on his job **some** foremen and Union reps had been asking people to go on this march for Nixon. He said that in his Union (engineers and oilers) no one that he knew of was stupid enough to go (his feelings). He said that he thought a few laborers went, but he was not sure. He did say that many foremen and contractors went (bosses), but most of the guys just took the day off. He did say that **pay was offered** by the construction bosses for marching that day (if they did go).

Where I was working at the time a fellow trained attack dogs for the Boston Police Department. He, a few days after the incident, was bragging on how his brother-in-law (a Boston Tactical cop) marched in that pro-Nixon rally, and bashed a few people in the face with brass knuckles he had taped to his hand. I asked him how his brother-in-law came to be down there. He said that there was a convention of police officers from major cities the day before, and that some of them had decided to stay over for the march. He said that the "hard hats" they wore **were used by N.Y. cops** for fires etc.

I never checked his story out, but it seemed to fit in to me. I don't know of many working people crazy and hateful enough to attack working people of the office trades for some flag-waving Nixon. Flags don't feed families. But cops would do that type of thing, they hate that much. And none of us have to talk about the hate the bosses have for us. Of course there are a **few** scabs and boss-lovers in the working class who would go along with such an attack, but they are a small minority.

I feel many readers might benefit by knowing about this as it seems to fit in, as many folks, like the **PL** author, still might think that it was workers leading a bosses' attack on the anti-war folks.

—A Boston Reader

PLP Document Helped Swedish Comrades

Dear Editors of PL:

While I think the recent analysis of North Korean revisionism by the Swedish comrades (PL, April 1973) was a fine article, I believe they should have acknowledged the influence which **Road to Revolution: III** had on their thinking.

Some of the passages on New Democracy, the United Front against Fascism, Nationalism, etc. clearly show this influence. Also, one long passage on the class nature of peasants was taken verbatim from "RR3."

I don't raise this matter to be pompous or out of some egotistical wish to see PL "get the credit." There are good reasons—in addition to honesty—for acknowledging sources and influence.

For those who first raise the critical ideas, acknowledgment helps guarantee some feedback—information on where their thinking has spread and how it has been received. This could result in exchanges of views and criticism with greater numbers of people, thus strengthening international contacts.

It also builds encouragement and solidarity among readers to see that groups are springing up in various countries, learning from each other, and making new and valuable contributions.

The Swedish comrades are to be commended for their fine historical-political analysis of the Korean revolution. I was especially interested in their ideas on the role of a communist party in relation to the working class, and the exercise of power after a revolution has come to power.

—A reader

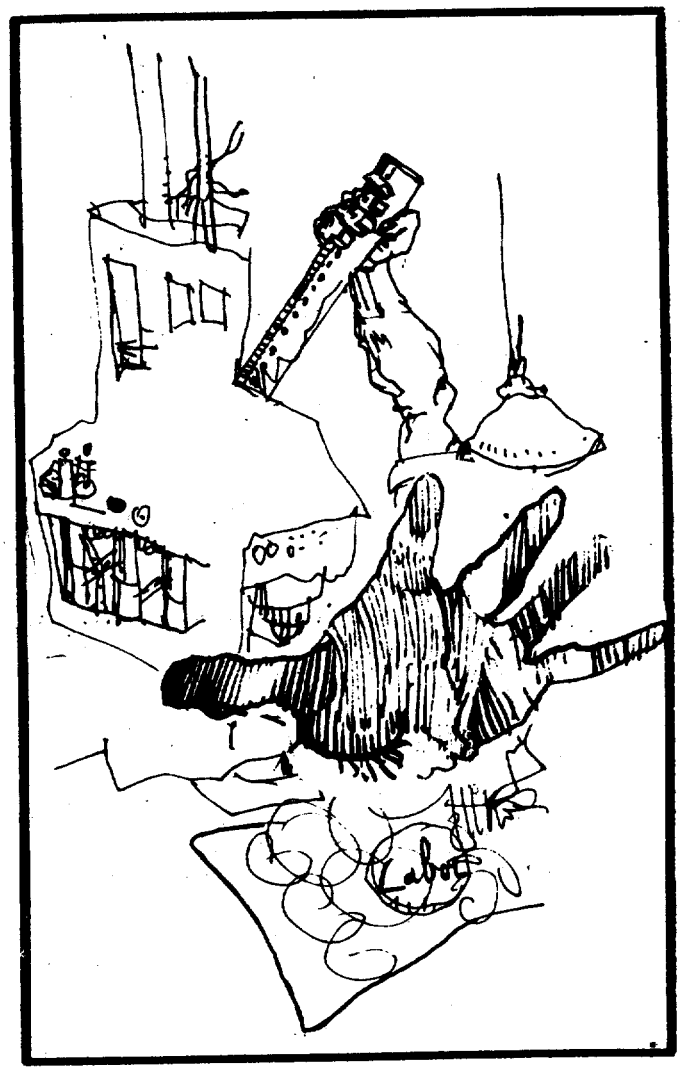
Dear Editor:
Here is one of the poems from a reading we gave at Mayday.

The Fiberglas Factory

At the physical
the company doctor tells us
fiberglas itches:
"because it is like
ten thousand tiny knives
stabbing your skin . . .
people just get used to it."
In the plant the air
glints and flickers with
the ten thousand tiny knives.
"Doesn't it hurt
to breathe that stuff?"
"No, not a bit young fella,
we scientists know
it's inert.
That means it can't possibly
poison you."

He parts company at the lobby door.
All that night shift
we fold, stack, bundle
and breathe discreetly,
imagining
the ten thousand tiny inert knives
harmlessly
rushing in our lungs.

Eric J.



Squint

by V. Olati

I

Under the lights
the brainwashing continues.
Under glaring light
the huge bulldog of lies and distortions
sinks big teeth, and tugs.
Under subtle light
the brainwashing sinks in like acid,
Eroding slowly
Etching an emptiness,
You want to vomit, or hide, or scream.

II

Wait a second. Where are we? What lights?
Are we down at the police station? No.
Are we in a late late 30's rerun movie
Where John Wayne's been captured by the "reds?" No.
Relax. Relax. It's only a classroom,
Under the fluorescent lights
We are getting an education to prepare us
For the real world. Take it easy.

III

Under the lights
We can calmly objectively discuss
The inferiority of minorities
The irrationality of the crowd in history
Man's basic aggressive greed and isolation.
Don't be oppressed. In the night of the soul
There shines a faint yet persistent gleam of hope.
Under the lights we can discuss these and other points.
Our business here is ideas and certain facts.
We welcome the free flow of exchange
And admire relevant currency.

So please, redo your paper on the labor movement.
As it stands now, it is too narrow-minded.
The unions are only one side of the coin.
Consider management's point of view too.
Broaden your reading. Beware of biases.
You have the potential to produce good work.

Elder Menuhin Condemns 'Political Zionism,' Brands Nationalists 'Jewish Nazis'

Letter from the Los Gatos Times, Saratoga Observer, Thurs., Aug. 31, 1967.

(Born a Russian Jew, Moshe Menuhin studied in Israel till the age of 20, first in Orthodox Yeshivas and then at the Hebrew Gymnasia Herzlia in Tel Aviv, of which he was the first graduate. He is the author of the book **The Decadence of Judaism in Our Time.**)

Dear Friends:

Whether you will call this a Letter-To-The-Editor, or an Interview, or an article about my categorical views on "triumphant Israel" versus "Defeated Arabs," the summary of it all, in a nutshell is, PROPHETIC JUDAISM IS MY RELIGION, NOT NAPALM JUDAISM, - "JEWISH" NATIONALISM. THE "JEWISH" NATIONALISTS - THE NEW SPECIMEN OF FIGHTING JEWS - ARE NOT JEWS AS FAR AS I AM CONCERNED, BUT "JEWISH" NAZIS WHO HAVE LOST ALL SENSE OF JEWISH MORALITY AND HUMANITY. ANTI-ZIONISM IS NOT ANTI-SEMITISM."

At 74, and losing ground daily because of deteriorating health and old age, with all of my infinite and unqualified love and adoration for my son Yehudi Menuhin, and probably my last chance to hear him play, my conscience would not allow me to attend any of his recent three concerts where he appeared with the Israel Philharmonic Orchestra as soloist in the Brahms violin concerto, in Seattle, Portland and San Francisco, on August 9, 10 and 12 "for the benefit of the Israel Emergency Fund, under the patronage of His Excellency the Foreign Minister of Israel the Honorable Abba Eban."

God Almighty! With all the cloaking, image building, with the torrents of sophisticated and astute publicity gimmicks, polemical rhetoric, hiding of facts and rewriting of history, it remains a tragic FACT that the "Jewish" nationalists (the political Zionists) took away by force of arms, terror and atrocities the homes, the land, and the homeland of the Arab peasants, workers and merchants in old Palestine, carved out a "Jewish Homeland" and have expanded it during months before May 14, 1948—their Day of Declaration of Independence—through massacres, plundering, terrorization between April 10 and May 14, by evicting the Arabs from such purely Arab cities as Deir Yassin, Jaffa, Acre, Ramle, Lydda, etc. which the United Nations granted to the Arab State when the Partition Resolution was passed on November 29, 1947.

The leader of the Israeli "IRGUN" terrorists, Menachem Begin, tells it in a few boastful words, "ALL THE JEWISH FORCES PROCEEDED TO ADVANCE LIKE A KNIFE THROUGH BUTTER.... THE ARABS BEGAN TO FLEE IN PANIC SHOUTING, 'DEIR YASSIN'. "In Deir Yassin, on April 10, 1948, 254 Arab men, women and children were butchered in cold blood and their mutilated bodies were thrown into a well... Deir Yassin is just one example of the atrocities committed to force the Arabs out of their homeland...

The Arabs from then on were never a match in any war with Israelis. The Israelis knew it; the Arabs knew it; the whole world knew it. Israel never feared the Arabs, separately or jointly. But, at the bottom is this fact: The Arabs were always friendly to the Jews all through history; they never harmed Jews. If the Christian nations of Europe, Russia and Germany in particular, massacred and mistreated Jews, it was not for the Arabs to atone for the sins of others, be exiled by the "Jewish" nationalists so they could create a "Jewish Homeland" in Arab Palestine... The "Jewish" nationalists are "Jewish" Nazis, and I am ashamed of being identified with them and their unholy causes...

Now, to some of the highlights of the two major wars of aggression of Israel against the Arabs, the two Sinai-Suez wars; the First took place on October 29 to November 4, 1956, and the Second, June 5-10, 1967. In both Israeli "Pearl Harbor" Blitzkriegs against the Arabs, the Israeli armies under that swashbuckling bully General Moshe Dayan, overran the Gaza Strip and all of the Sinai Peninsula, up to the Suez Canal in four days, except that in the 1967 war, they also overran all of Western Jordan and Southern Syria. In both wars the Israelis did some awesome destruction, they murdered tens of thousands of soldiers, captured billions of dollars worth of military hardware, plundered and committed atrocities, so as to give a lesson to the survivors to get out of Eretz Israel, the "Land of Israel," and above all, Remember Deir Yassin...

Let us first take up the highlights of the current war which is far from the end, for God knows whether the world may not be plunged into a Third and atomic World War because of these grasping aggressive militarists who want more and more "Lebensraum."

According to Israeli sources of information, their own casualties during the six days of warfare amounted to 679 killed and 2563 injured, whereas the carnage on the Arabs—a "Roman holiday" ("butchered to make an Israeli holiday...") came to a total of 115,665 (the figure given by the American Friends of the Middle East is 150,000); 66,000 killed, wounded or captured Jordanians; the Egyptians suffered up to 10,000 men killed, and 300 captured (plus uncounted tens of thousands of wounded and uninjured men left to die from thirst,

hunger, and heat in the blazing hot and vast Sinai desert); the Syrians suffered about 36,665 men killed, wounded and captured.

When one adds to the above the 260,000 new Arab refugees, evicted and fleeing Jordanians and Syrians; when one thinks of the malevolent demolition of whole Arab villages and the dynamiting of homes; when one thinks of the agonies, anxieties, and miseries of the hapless, helpless bewildered population whether refugees or those who remained behind to be under the terror of the conquering Israelis, and when one thinks of the Charter of the United Nations that bars the use of force against the territorial integrity or political integrity of any State, or of the International Court of Justice that could and should arbitrate international quarrels, one cannot help exclaiming, "JEWISH" NAZIS!..."

Professor Martin Buber, the great Jewish philosopher and spiritual Zionist who believed in a bi-national, Arab-Jewish State, said the following in a public address in New York, not long after the First Sinai-Suez War: "THE MAJORITY OF THE JEWISH PEOPLE PREFERRED TO LEARN FROM HITLER RATHER THAN FROM US (SPIRITUAL ZIONISTS)... HITLER SHOWED THAT HISTORY DOES NOT GO THE WAY OF THE SPIRIT BUT THE WAY OF POWER, AND, IF A PEOPLE IS POWERFUL ENOUGH, IT CAN KILL WITH IMPUNITY..."

Another Israeli, a brave independent Hebrew writer, Nathan Chofshi, said the following on February 9, 1959 in the "Jewish Newsletter" in New York: "WE CAME AND TURNED THE NATIVE ARABS INTO TRAGIC REFUGEES, AND STILL WE DARE SLANDER AND MALIGN THEM, TO BESMIRCH THEIR NAME. INSTEAD OF BEING DEEPLY ASHAMED OF WHAT WE DID, AND TRY TO UNDO SOME OF THE EVIL WE COMMITTED, WE JUSTIFY OUR TERRIBLE ACTS AND EVEN ATTEMPT TO GLORIFY THEM..."

Here I must point out the great and fundamental difference in the way the world, the United States, the United Nations, and the President of the U.S. have treated Israel after the First and the Second Siani-Suez wars...

In the First Sinai-Suez war, as soon as the Israelis overran Egypt and approached the Suez Canal, and their allies, the French and British, were fighting at Port Said etc., the United Nations ordered them all to evacuate Egypt and retreat. The French and the British quickly realized that it was too late in history to make wars of aggression, but the Israelis, under that nationalist-gangster Ben Gurion, refused to retreat. It took four months to force Israel to evacuate Egyptian territory.

The day before the assault, Abba Eban declared: "ISRAEL WILL START NO WAR!"... The soldiers were already on their way to the Suez Canal... Ben Gurion, the architect of "Jewish" nationalistic aggression and mentor of Abba Eban, Moshe Dayan, and the military junta of Israel, still hoped that the Jewish vote-getters (the Zionist machine and the rabbis) could force President Eisenhower to let them get away with murder. Said Ben Gurion "ISRAEL TERMS THE GAZA STRIP AN INTEGRAL PART OF THE NATION. NO FORCE, WHATEVER IT IS CALLED, WAS GOING TO MAKE ISRAEL EVACUATE SINAI! AND THE WORDS OF ISAIAH THE PROPHET WERE FULFILLED!" (Ben Gurion and his disciples always fall back on the Bible to justify bloodshed and aggression.)

Today, with a President of the U.S. looking the other way when the fuhrers of Israel overrun, annex, and defy the United Nations resolution (99 to 0) not to annex the Old City of Jerusalem, the Israelis are emboldened to tell the world that they will annex Hebron, Nablus, the Golan Heights, all of West Jordan, etc. etc. And, I can see them capture Cairo and Damascus if the Arabs refuse to accept dictated terms. Said Moshe Dayan: "THE NEW TERRITORIES MAKE A VERY NICE MAP TO LOOK AT... THE ARAB LEADERS COULD IGNORE ISRAEL'S INVITATION TO NEGOTIATE A PEACE DIRECTLY. BUT THEN, THERE WILL BE A NEW MAP NOT OF THE MIDDLE EAST BUT OF ISRAEL... THE ARABS KNOW OUR TELEPHONE NUMBER. THEY CAN FIND US WHEN THEY WANT..." The Labor Minister of Israel, Yigal Allon, said this a few days ago, "THE BORDER BETWEEN ISRAEL AND JORDAN SHOULD BE THE JORDAN RIVER AND THE MIDDLE OF THE DEAD SEA. SUCH A BORDER WOULD TAKE FROM THE KINGDOM OF JORDAN THE ENTIRE WEST BANK AREA THAT ISRAEL OCCUPIED DURING THE SIX DAYS OF WAR IN JUNE..."

And that precious specialist in rhetorical polemics Abba Eban had this to say a few days ago, "ISRAEL WOULD NOT 'SQUANDER' THE FRUITS OF ITS MILITARY VICTORY... THE OLD ARAB ISRAELI FRONTIERS HAD BEEN IRREVOCABLY ERASED BY THE JUNE WAR." The Rights of Conquest...

The latest shameless dictum is about the evicted and exiled refugees, the new refugees from the West Bank of the Jordan, "THERE HAD BEEN HEAVY PRESSURE FROM BOTH INSIDE AND OUTSIDE THE ISRAELI GOVERNMENT TO BLOCK THE RETURN OF THE REFUGEES TO THE WEST BANK... SEVERAL CABINET MINISTERS FELT THAT WE SHOULD CANCEL THE DEAL ALTOGETHER..." And on top of it all comes this unbelievable self-righteousness a declaration as only Chosen People and Superior Racists of the Nazi type would dare say in their heyday: "ISRAELIS ARE BECOMING DEEPLY DISTURBED BY WHAT THEY REGARD AS AN UNGRATEFUL RESPONSE (ON THE PART OF THE ARABS) TO A BENEVOLENT OCCUPATION (BY ISRAEL)..." Not a sign of compunction, repentance, making amends for the crimes committed!

Revolting? Un-Jewish? Unbelievable? If only the present president of the U.S. would not count the 1968 Jewish votes, and think and judge in terms of humanity, justice, compassion, and his responsibility to the United Nations, and to the peace of the world...

Sincerely,
Moshe Menuhin

PHILADELPHIA, 1973:

Why The Specter Of A General Strike Loomed From The Teachers' Fight

Introduction

The courageous 8-week strike battle waged by the Philadelphia Federation of Teachers (PFT) has written a stirring chapter in the history of the international working class. The general strike which was threatened and planned by almost every major union in the city overwhelmed momentarily every enemy of the working class. This was a display of solidarity unequaled in the United States since the 1937 General Strike in San Francisco.

PHILADELPHIA'S WORKERS REACTED FROM the gut against the union-busting tactics of the city's bosses led by Mayor Frank Rizzo. Rizzo acted as a crazed rhinoceros in defense of the School Board and the City Council, who were determined to break the PFT and further worsen the conditions in the schools by taking the limit off of class size. The power of a united trade union movement put an end to these plans, and paved the way for many future advances.

Rizzo, who was previously known for his "law and order" campaigns against the black community as police chief, now climbed higher on the public-enemy list of the U.S. working class. When Rizzo's actions proved that racism is on the side of union-busting and strike-breaking, the black and white workers stood together as one class in defense of their unions. The facts of life, brought out in the strike, forced many white workers to reject this politician they had recently elected as their "law and order" savior.

SUCH SOLIDARITY "COULD NEVER HAP-pen," many people said—or thought. You, too, probably go along somewhat with the idea that the workers are too racist, too stupid, too selfish, or too bought-off to ever get together around a single issue. When the very survival of their unions depended on it, the workers of Philadelphia got it together. They have made the General Strike a pressing issue for all U.S. workers, as workers around the world in Mexico, Great Britain, Argentina, Italy, etc. are calling for the same.

This Article by the Progressive Labor Party will describe the main events of the PFT strike, and analyze the main lessons of the struggle. We will show how the power of the general strike can win enormous advances for the workers of the world—especially the 6-hour day for 8-hours pay with a big pay boost in every country. We will present our party's program to fight against racism and nationalism, which the bosses use to divide us and keep us exploited. We believe that increased trade union unity along with the presence of a revolutionary communist party will lead all oppressed people to the conclusion that workers' power—SOCIALISM—is the only way of life under which our class can survive and flourish. If you've got all the workers together, who needs bosses?

Political Background

The conditions that made the teachers' strike necessary were set up by collaboration between the city's bosses and top union leaders, long before the contract expired. Rizzo had been elected Mayor in 1971 and took office in January 1972. He campaigned as "champion of the working man." He promised no new taxes for any reasons, and he promised cutbacks in public services to save money. On June 30 of 1972, the City Council, with Rizzo's encouragement, dropped the 3% net corporate income tax, which would have produced an estimated $14.5 million for the schools. Virtually every union leader in the city wholeheartedly supported Rizzo on his platform of racism and budget cuts, and tax cuts for his billionaire friends. As Rizzo said "...the expiration of this tax on business will bring the city a long range benefit that will outweigh the short-range loss."

THE PFT LEADERS, FRANK SULLIVAN, president, and John Ryan, chief negotiator, also supported Rizzo. In much the same manner as Meany supported Nixon for reelection, they urged their members not to vote for the Republican, Thatcher Longstreth, because he was anti-labor—which meant that Rizzo wasn't. Longstreth, head of Philadelphia's Chamber of Commerce, **openly** promised to break the teachers' union or any other union of city employees who demanded more

Arrested teacher waves to fellow strikers after posting bail.

wages or benefits. Rizzo had his union busting plans, but Rizzo wanted 2,000 more cops—which he since got—for the same reason.

This political framework shows that the class struggle of the teachers and all of Philadelphia's workers was essentially a political struggle. Every arm of the government and big business, including the TV and newspapers, had set up the conditions to provoke the strike and were now ready to break the PFT as an example to all workers across the country as to what Nixon's Phase III is all about. As one worker put it, "Philadelphia is Nixon's Model City."

The Issues

The union was demanding smaller class size (25 students, per class maximum), a 5.5% wage hike, wage parity for the Get Set day-care teachers—mostly black—who earn almost $3,000 per year less than elementary and secondary school teachers. The School Board, crying broke, proposed a 3% salary hike across the board, and wanted secondary teachers to work 3 hours longer per week with no extra pay. The Board insisted that teachers would be assigned to schools on the basis of attendance rather than total enrollment. This scheme would bring about larger classes and take teachers away from the ghetto schools. It amounts to pure racism against minority children, who comprise about 65% of the public schools.

Finally, teachers demanded a 2 year contract, the Board wanted 3 years.

THE 13,000-MEMBER PHILADELPHIA FEDeration of Teachers had no choice but to strike on the first day of school in September when their contract expired. Liberal Judge and "friend of labor" D. Donald Jamieson wasted little time in issuing a court injunction outlawing the strike. The union immediately defied the boss-made "law." However, in a back-room maneuver, after 3 weeks of striking, PFT leaders reached a "Memorandum of Understanding" that would send the members back to work until January 8. Meanwhile negotiations would continue for the money that the city claimed "didn't exist," needed for smaller classes and pay raises of 5.5%. At a mass union meeting, this Memorandum barely passed the vote, as many teachers militantly felt that working without a contract was a bad precedent that could lead to the destruction of the union.

Since no progress was made in the negotiations, the strike was on again January 8, with thousands

of picketing teachers carrying signs reading, NO CONTRACT, NO WORK," and "WE NEED SMALLER CLASSES." Over half of the city's 280 schools were shut completely, the other half manned by scab skeleton staffs. Jamieson issued another anti-strike injunction, but the union kept the strike going and the battle was raging. Sullivan and Ryan, PFT top men, were charged with contempt of court.

Mass Support For Strike

On January 18 support from the Philadelphia AFL-CIO Council began. A massive rally attended by several thousand teachers and other workers was held at Convention Hall on very short notice, and almost blacked out of the news media. Leaders and members from almost every major local in the city attended, including the United Auto Workers, International Longshoreman's Association, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, the Retail Clerks Union, the United Farmworkers, and the United Electrical Workers. Everyone condemned the Board of Ed.'s strike-breaking tactics and urged the teachers to fight on with support from parents and the whole trade union movement.

The big union leaders, who ran the meeting, betrayed the rank and file by refusing to discuss concrete actions to help support the PFT. Their excuse was "this wouldn't be necessary." At the end of the 3-1/2 hour meeting, after many people had left and everyone was tired, PFT officials asked the rank and file to stop mass picketing. Boos greeted this request, and the teachers manned the picket lines early the next morning, forcing the leaders to change their tune.

VIRTUALLY EVERY UNION LOCAL IN THE city was now passing resolutions of support for the PFT and their defiance of the court order. Jamieson declared the strike as "a clear and present danger to public health, safety, and welfare." Few workers believed this cover-up for the strike-breaking attempts of Rizzo and the Board. They knew school conditions were rotten. As one teacher put it, "It's not just money...in my school, we haven't had a new basic reading book in 5 years." A substitute from Vaux Junior High school told how he had to teach reading to 8th and 9th graders without books.

As rank-and-file anger grew against William Ross, head of the School Board and traitorous union leader, the PFT took Ross to censure procedings at the Philadelphia AFL-CIO Council, of which he **was** a leading member. Ross resigned, rather than face the embarassment of conviction for "leading the charge" for the bosses. (However, this scab remains as head of the ILGWU Joint Board of Phila., and as Vice-President of Pennsylvania AFL-CIO.)

Bosses Push Race Hatred

The media constantly portrayed the strike as a battle of white teachers against black students, in an attempt to whip up a race-war atmosphere. Mayor Rizzo **and** PFT's Ross and Ryan had all been condemned in September as "3R's for Racism" by many black community groups. Their combined efforts were hated by most black workers, whose children attend the worst schools in the city without a peep from any of these big shots—especially since union spokesmen Ryan and Sullivan supported Rizzo in the mayor election. Many black parents and union members did not support the strike at first because they were fed up with the racist conditions that their children suffered from —dilapidated buildings, classes over the 35-student maximum, cuts in materials, rotten lunches, and more. Also the ideas of "genetic inferiority," "the justice of social inequality," "the mental imbalance of rebels," etc. are among the killing ideas taught in such schools—ideas that keep the working class divided.

BUT BLACK WORKERS COULD NOT BE hoodwinked into believing that Rizzo and Ross were now "on the side of the community." As it became clearer that the PFT was the scapegoat for a union-busting precedent, black workers were among the most adamant supporters of the General Strike, despite the past racism of AFL-CIO Council leaders.

General Strike—Real Threat

After a month of relatively low-key struggle, in which the board tried to starve the teachers out and wear them down by recruiting scabs, Friday, Feb. 9, Sullivan and Ryan were sentenced—6-month to 4-year jail terms without bail. The union was fined $116 thousand and $10,000 a day for the remainder of the strike. That day 48 labor leaders met with Rizzo and threatened a General Strike—the only obvious solution. Rizzo immediately upped the city's offer by $10 million—fearing the coming demonstrations and work stoppages. A big thorn in his side was the weekly massive demonstrations in support of the union of up to 2,000 people —parents and teachers—at the regular Thursday City Council Meeting.

THE MOST INSPIRING ACTION OF THE strike was then held on Tuesday, February 13. Over 2,000 striking teachers and supporters from other unions closed the Board of Education by blocking all entrances for almost 10 hours. The entire block was surrounded by pickets 6 or 7 abreast, arms locked at times, marching in the bitter cold and wind. The "wind-chill" index was near 10°. Hundreds blocked each doorway.

Sound trucks from the retail clerks union played "Solidarity Forever":

"When the union's inspiration through
the workers' blood shall run,
There shall be no power greater
anywhere beneath the sun..."

Teamsters' Local 115, Amalgamated Clothing Workers, Transport Workers, Postal Workers

Union, United Electrical Workers—not just union officials, but rank and file delegations 100 or more strong from each local—united behind the PFT.

Over 500 pickets had already assembled by 5:30 A.M. when the cops arrived. By 7 A.M. the pickets totalled 2,000. Chants of "Go home scabs, Go home" and "No contract, No work" filled the air with a deafening roar. A phalanx of cops tried to escort some scabs through the picket line. Arms locked, chanting, and refusing to retreat, the teachers and their supporters held firm. Then the scabs chickened out, and the police backed off. The building stayed shut as all scabs were either intimidated or carried off bodily.

LITERALLY THOUSANDS OF RANK-AND-file workers from many industries were now organizing to follow the strike-support plans of the AFL-CIO Council. Many locals were "adopting" a school to help with the picketing. After the mass action at the Board of Ed, many people said, "We'll be back tomorrow." However, Edward Toohey, head of the Central Labor Council, said the Council had no plans to participate in another action the next day. The Board came up with another $10 million the next day. Ryan and Sullivan were conveniently let out of jail each day to negotiate.

ILGWU (Ladies Garment Workers) union hall, home of Board of Ed. President Ross (also the chief sellout of that union), was picketed daily. On Tuesday, February 13, his limousine was surrounded for half an hour by a score of angry teachers. Daily picketing continued there, until Ross resigned as Board President near the end of the strike.

On Thursday, February 15, 98 pickets were arrested at Jones Junior High School, when they locked arms and refused to obey the court injunctions. They were supported by many angry parents. Later that afternoon, about 2,000 teachers and parents rallied at City Hall and blocked traffic, protesting the arrests and insisting that City Council raise the money to meet their demands. All except the picket captains were released without charges. On Friday, 319 pickets were arrested at several schools. This time they were booked for contempt. About 40 of those arrested were from other unions.

MEANWHILE, UNION LOCALS WERE BEING polled about support for a General Strike. By this time it was clear that the Philadelphia labor movement had awakened like a sleeping giant. The workers could not be turned back and could not be divided by racism. With the TWU contract for the city's transit workers expiring March 14, the bosses had a lot to be scared about.

That same Friday night, Rizzo appeared on TV with a Special Report, much the same as Nixon reporting on the Vietnam War. In his most distorted attack yet, he charged that the teachers' union's "arrogance is an affront to the process of meaningful collective bargaining. This public-be-damned attitude by the leaders of the Philadelphia Federation of Teachers must be accepted for what it is—an act of blackmail by a power-hungry few against all the people of our city." He said also, that "the teachers have placed a gun to the taxpayers heads, and threaten to pull the trigger unless we surrender unconditionally to their greed. This I will not do." Rizzo distorted the teachers wages and came up with the incredible statement that the teachers averaged $18.90 per hour. Needless to say he left out the real facts, like the starting salary for Get Set teachers—barely $6,000, and all other teachers at $8,900 per year to start.

The response of the city's unions—and hence the "public"—was to continue building for the General Strike. The Labor Council met on Tuesday, Feb. 20th, and called the General Strike for Wednesday, the 28th. That same Tuesday, Nixon sent his chief labor troubleshooter, Assistant Labor Secretary William Ussery, to Philadelphia in an attempt to end the walkout. Labor Department sources in Washington revealed that Ussery was sent as a result of a personal request from George Meany. The National AFL-CIO Executive Board Meeting in Miami, Florida put off discussing national support for the PFT in order to have time to be addressed by President Nixon. They said that they would wait and see how Ussery did, since Meany thought he was "tough" enough for the job of mediator. So it was Meany to the rescue . . . for the bosses . . . and they needed it.

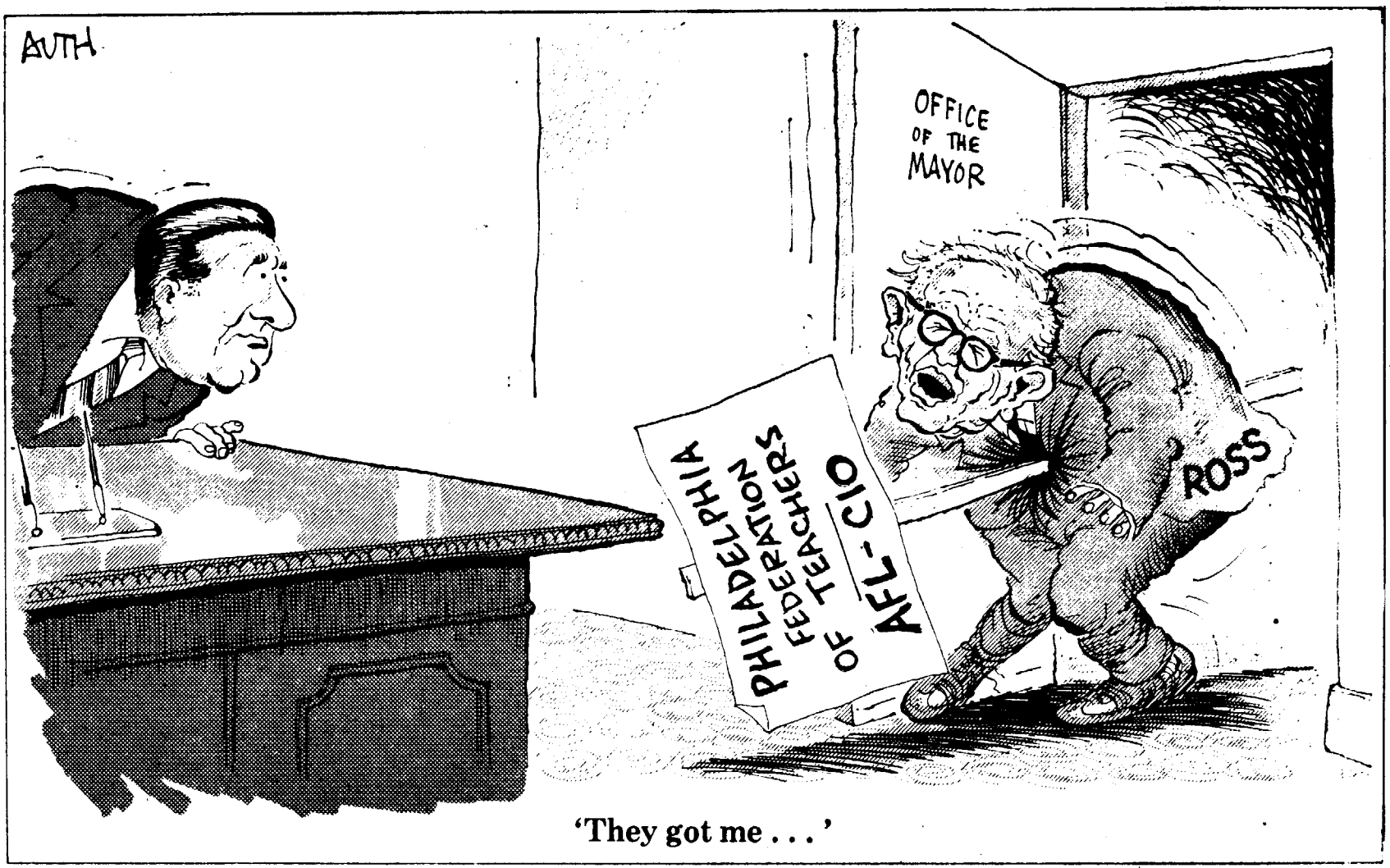
WHEN THE PLANS FOR THE GENERAL strike were finally announced, Rizzo shook on behalf of the whole ruling class. He trembled on TV when he spoke; "I just hope it doesn't come off. If you're talking about anarchy, this is how it starts." William Ross resigned as Head of the School Board the same day, saying that, "I'm really doing it to eliminate the personal element in the strike." That's right, the workers were ready to kill one of the worst traitors they had ever known. Too bad he took it personally. Rizzo's response was typical: "They got Bill Ross, but they've still got to get by me . . . Let me tell you something. They (the teachers) had better come down by some millions. They better be prepared for a long strike. I'm not going to sell the people of this city down the river." Still the "Champion of the People"—with all the workers set to strike against him! After Ussery entered the negotiations, Rizzo was strangely silent. He must have gotten the word . . . to button up.

Friday, Feb. 16, 1973 **Philadelphia Inquirer**

AS THE TEACHERS piled into the two vans and seven paddy wagons carting them off to the Police Administration Building, nearly 100 school children looked on.

"I don't want to go to school because my teachers are out here," said 13-year-old Ronald Hauser.

Thirteen-year-old Elizabeth Musha said, "We don't want those scabs to teach us. Those teachers don't teach right.


AUTH
OFFICE OF THE MAYOR
PHILADELPHIA FEDERATION OF TEACHERS AFL-CIO
ROSS

'They got me . . .'

UNIONS COMMITTED TO THE WALKOUT
(this is a partial listing)

Transport Workers Union, Local 234	**5,200 members**
Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America	**22,000 members**
Local 1199C, National Union of Hospital and Nursing Home Employees	***10,000 members**
American Federation of State Council and Municipal Employees	**20,000 members**
Local 427, City Sanitation Workers	**3,000 members**
Teamsters Local 115	**3,000 members**
International Association of Machinists, District 1	**7,000 members**
Association of Catholic Teachers	**940 members**
Retail Clerks Union, Local 1357	**12,000 members**
Teamsters Local 169 (supermarket chain warehouses)	**4,000 members**
International Union of Electrical Workers (Local 119, GE)	**6,000 members**
Pa. Social Services Union (Welfare workers)	**900 members**
International Brotherhood of University Employees (Temple U)	**300 members**
American Postal Workers Union	**7,000 members**

"Arbitrator" Ussery used Nixon's "Peace is at hand" tactic. He was "very hopeful," and the marathon talks were termed "very constructive." He never stopped predicting that a settlement would come before the General Strike.

On Sunday, Feb. 25th, over 4,000 teachers and their supporters rallied at Temple's McGonigle Hall. Supporters came from AFT teachers' locals from as far away as Puerto Rico and California. Jerry Wurf, national head of AFSCME, spoke about the Memphis, Tenn. sanitation workers' strike that Rev. Martin Luther King was backing when he was assassinated. Hundreds of teachers, hotel workers, and hospital workers came from N.Y.C., as a new high point was reached in labor solidarity.

Dolores Huerta, Vice-President of the United Farm Workers, expressed the solidarity of 3 million farmworkers, and thanked the teachers for teaching the children to boycott grapes and boycott lettuce. She urged the teachers to teach their students to support all the strikes of the workers because it was the workers who really built this country. She urged all present to reject the racism and corruption that are taught in all the public schools in the country. She was greeted by a deafening round of applause.

Throughout the rally, the teachers and their supporters sang "Solidarity Forever," "We Shall Not Be Moved," and new songs of struggle that were written during the strike by the rank and file teachers. To all of those who attended, the ideas of the working class were never stronger. Excitement ran at a fever pitch. At the end of the rally, however, PFT officials asked everyone not

Phila. strikers rightly lump Scab Ross together with Racist Rizzo.

to demonstrate when they left and not to do anything that would "damage the atmosphere of the negotiations." Toohey spoke cautiously about the "Day of Conscience." Many thought that a deal was in the wind. Many saw Ussery as the Kissinger of Labor Affairs; after all, for the price of a few B-52 bombers, at $8 million apiece, the strike could be settled.

The Settlement

Just on the eve of the General Strike, Ussery, PFT leaders, and school Board officials announced a temporary settlement at 2 P.M. Toohey announced a postponement of the General Strike. Rizzo came up with $60 million extra and was happy to escape. Everybody claimed to be happy except the rank and file of the PFT and Philadelphia's other labor unions, especially the parents and students whose needs were virtually ignored by the settlement.

At the first ratification meeting on Feb. 28, the teachers refused to vote until they had time to read the contract, which wasn't distributed until the time of the meeting. The next day, at the second ratification meeting, one angry teacher summed up the settlement: "Unfortunately in your negotiations, you have put off the most important thing, class size, until the last year of the contract." Union Leader Ryan responded by saying, "We dedicated $8 million to class size in the last year. It may not be the greatest improvement, but it's more than anyone else in the city was willing to do."

REDUCED CLASS SIZE WAS ONE OF THE rank and file's top demands and one of the main reasons that this teachers' strike won so much solidarity from worker-parents. The present "maximum" is 35, and even that is constantly violated by the board, especially in the ghetto schools. Initially the strikers were fighting for 25; the PFT leadership changed this demand to 33 and then settled for a far-off 33—to take effect in 1975. By then violations of the present 35 will have multiplied still further. Extra-large classes discriminate against all working-class children, but they are most devastating in schools attended by black and Latin students.

In another racist development, Get Set day-care teachers, the majority of whom are black, didn't get wage parity until the 4th year of the contract. Considering Nixon's budget cuts, it's questionable whether or not the program will even exist by then.

This is a 4-year contract. It was designed by Nixon-Ussery-Meany-Rizzo to lock the teachers in on inflation and budget cuts. Rizzo can get re-elected before another strike (he reasons) and enjoy the $100 million Nixon gave him to celebrate the 1976 Bicentennial of U.S. capitalism in Philadelphia. **Many teachers did not want to accept the contract, but they felt backed in the corner after the General Strike had been called off.**

Lessons of the Struggle

The PFT and the city's other workers could have won far more than this after 8 weeks of picketing, mass arrests, and overwhelming labor solidarity. Rizzo has already made it clear that there will be more budget cuts in the schools. These he claims will pay the teachers' meager raises (4%). Already the government, helped by Meany, has set the stage for racist divisions between the parents and teachers, hoping to get each to blame the other for the worsening conditions in the schools. No worker anywhere should be a sucker for this kind of tactic of divide-and-conquer. **The united power of Philadelphia's trade** union rank and file won some important gains during this struggle. Before the strike the Board wanted to settle for a $32 million package. On the eve of the General Strike they actually settled for $99.3 million.

This arithmetic alone should be a powerful lesson to all workers. The mere threat of a General Strike, coupled with the already existing mass support for the teachers, was enough to win $67.3 million the bosses would otherwise have kept. A General Strike could have won incalculably more, especially among the anti-racist demands: smaller classes and wage parity for the Get Set teachers. Philadelphia's workers flexed their greatest muscle—unity—and for days on end the bosses quivered as far away as Washington.

THE BOSSES (NIXON AND CO.) AND THEIR labor lackeys (Meany and Co.) were backed into a corner momentarily by the threat of the general strike. That threat arose because the workers saw that the attempt to break the PFT—take away the right to strike, and force the union into binding arbitration—was a vicious attack on every worker, black or white. Rizzo's blunderbuss attacks on the whole trade union movement ignited a spark in the ranks of the working class that enabled the unions to overcome the historic division of racism (which the bosses created in the first place). Once the workers had arisen in defense of their CLASS INTERESTS, no outside force in the world could have overcome this avalanche of unity—not Rizzo or his cops, not Nixon or his army of slick, hired arbitrators (Ussery, etc.), not Meany or his putrid crew of labor sellouts (Philadelphia's AFL-CIO Council).

The General Strike was called off (even though many workers wanted to carry it out) because there was no guiding force to give the overall leadership and coordination necessary to launch and maintain the strike. This guiding force can only come from militant rank-and-file leaders and revolutionary communists. A communist party arms the workers with Marxism-Leninism, the science of the class struggle, the science that can transform hatred of the bosses into higher political knowledge. This knowledge will enable the workers to build a revolutionary movement that will eventually smash racism completely and wipe out the whole capitalist class of exploiters, its

liberal and conservative politicians, and its state power.

Make no mistake about it—**the cutting edge of racism, the plank in Rizzo's campaign that brought him to office, was seriously blunted.** Rizzo was famous nationally for smashing every struggle of Philadelphia's black workers that he could find, with his gestapo police force. His performance for the bosses during the teachers' strike has set him at odds with every worker in the world. The racism of Rizzo and Nixon (and McGovern and Kennedy are no different, just smoother) against the black people in this country, against the Vietnamese peasants and workers, against the American Indians, and against the workers of any country competing with the U.S. (like Japan with clothing and radios) is the same racism that they will use to break any union they can.

RACISM IS ONE OF THE MOST DEADLY ideas that the bosses' system of TV and press and schools sows among the oppressed people. The rank and file of every union should fight like hell to make anti-racism a living plank in their union constitution. Teachers, particularly, must take a stand against the racist filth that they are forced to teach in the classrooms. They should make the ban of all racist textbooks a non-negotiable contract demand. Racist "Buy American" garbage is pushed by the ILGWU, the same union whose Philadelphia head was President of the School Board and arch strike-breaker, scab recruiter.

Right now the government is developing the WIN Program in every state to force Welfare recipients to work for as little as $1.20 per hours, and take away the rights of these people to join unions. They will be used as a scab labor force to break strikes, if we let the government get away with bringing back this slavery. The plan will be pushed by using the racist ideas that people on Welfare are "lazy, stupid, chislers." Workers in every union must stop these plans for their own good, as well as for the sake of the millions of poor people forced to live on welfare because there are no jobs for them, or because they are disabled, or are the sole guardian of their children.

Role of Women

The militant fighting spirit of women workers was one of the greatest strengths of the PFT strike and threatened General Strike. Almost all of the Get-Set and elementary-school teachers, and many of the high-school teachers, are women. Women staffed picket lines constantly and led some of the most militant actions of the strike. Additionally, the earliest support came from mothers of schoolchildren, who staged rallies at City Hall. Many of the unions supporting the general strike—including Local 1199C, AFSCME, Pa. Social Services Union, and the Retail Clerks—include many women. In short, the strength of the strike depended on unity between men and women in the struggle, with women among the rank-and-file leadership.

The strike proved once more that the sterotypes of women as "passive" and "not political" or "anti-union" are the **opposite** of the truth. This was doubly important since not only the movies, comics, and TV, but also the schools themselves push these lies. Starting with the very first pre-primers and picture books, showing Mother in the kitchen seeing Father off to work, right up to high schools which push girls into "Home Economics" and secretarial courses, we are taught to think that "a woman's place is in the home" or in a second-class job. Women are pictured as "emotional" and "unable to think clearly." But Philadelphia teachers proved that a woman worker's "place" is fighting for her class, the working class. The PFT strike and the threatened general strike were not "emotional" or "irrational"—they showed clearly that the smartest thing workers can do is to unite!

Not only do bosses push male-supremacist lies to keep women from leading labor and political struggles—they also do it to make money. Historically, low salaries for teachers have been "justified" with excuses that "most teachers are women and they only work to supplement their husbands' income," and that "a woman's work is worth less than a man's." Teaching was classified as "women's work" because "children are a woman's business." Of course this is nonsense. Women work for the same reasons men do—to support themselves and their families. And when men become teachers, they usually receive the same lousy pay as the women. Male supremacist ideas thus hurt men as well as women—and mean more profits in the bosses' pockets.

Unfortunately, the lessons of the teachers' strike about the important role of women and the necessity to fight male-supremacist ideology were not brought out during the strike. This should remind us that the working-class movement—and Progressive Labor Party in particular—have to take much more seriously the absolute necessity of destroying male supremacy and forging an invincible unity of the whole working class-men and women together.

What the Future Holds

The threatened general strike in Philadelphia has made it clear that the unions, united together for the common good of all workers, have the power to stop such programs aimed against the people. Nixon recently admitted that he could have never brought the Vietnam War to the successful conclusion that he did without the "patriotic" support of labor leaders like George Meany. In other words, general strikes by the majority of U.S. workers, who opposed the war despite their leaders, could have driven the U.S. out of Vietnam, and could have made it impossible for the Rockefellers, Kennedy's, etc. to butcher over 7 million Vietnamese people in a war of aggression and genocide. What would general strikes do to the

wage freeze? What would they do to the soaring meat prices? There's no end in sight to the power of the unions.

Of course many workers are cynical about their union leaders, and they have good reason to be. The story presented here of the Philadelphia Teachers strike should give them more reason to be. But mainly this tremendous event should inspire workers everywhere to get involved in their unions, throw out the crummy "leaders" that betray them on every issue—from wages, to racism, to the war—and push forward in the class struggle.

THE FIGHT FOR THE SHORTER WORK WEEK, which is gaining steam throughout the country, due to the efforts of the Workers Action Movement, can come a lot closer to reality if workers build the solidarity of many trade unions **with each other.** This is an issue that the rank and file will have to fight for on their own, and put pressure on the union leadership to produce—or else. The 30-hour work week will be a tremendous victory for all workers and it can bring fuller employment with it, if the workers are united as a class. Massive general strikes can win the 6-hour day, just as the 8-hour day was won in many countries due to the international unity of the working class. This type of solidarity would benefit all workers, since at one time or another all groups of workers would be on the receiving end of such universal support. Just as an injury to one is an injury to all, help for one is help for all.

Solidarity Leads To . . . ?

All of this solidarity leads one place—and that's to victory. Not only will the workers win their defensive battles, when they fight from a position of defending their organizations, but they can take the offensive and win the 6-hour day in every corner of the globe. They can stop imperialist wars that are aimed at super-exploiting the workers of one country. They can . . . you name it.

It leads still further; it leads to the road to revolution and socialism. When Rizzo said that he feared "anarchy" that's what he was getting at. He was afraid, as all bosses were afraid, that a general strike in Philadelphia would raise the political consciousness of all workers to higher levels. Why should the power of the whole working class be confined to "collective bargaining" for a piece of the bosses' pie? Why shouldn't the working class own and control what is rightfully ours?

When every branch of the bosses' state power has been used against you—the cops, the courts, the prisons, the schools, the news media, etc.—and when the U.S. government is exposed on every level for pushing racism, then the only solution is revolution and overthrowing the government. The whole capitalist system of exploitation, racism, chauvinism, and war can only be eliminated by eliminating the government and the bosses that currently rule our country and the world. That's what real democracy for the working class is all about—SOCIALISM and the dictatorship of the proletariat, the collective ownership by the workers of all the operations of production and distribution, and control over the government to back it up.

UNDER SOCIALISM THERE WILL BE NO UNemployment and there will be no racism taught in the schools. In addition to the 3 R's the schools will teach the history of the working class and our many struggles, and how to protect our revolutionary society from all who want to bring back capitalism. The media will have the same purpose, and the Workers' State and the workers' revolutionary communist party will back us up. This is what the Progressive Labor Party is all about, and this is why the bosses are scared to death of general strikes.

The fierce determination of the Philadelphia teachers and the valiant support by much of the trade union movement has proven that all these goals may be closer than we think. Solidarity is not an impossibility—**IT'S A NECESSITY FOR SURVIVAL.** It's a necessity that every oppressed person must realize and work for. It's no wonder that the national media hushed up all coverage of this tremendous struggle. The great Philadelphia Teachers' Strike of 1973 will never be forgotten. The workers of this city blazed the way forward, because we all knew that we were in it together.

Mobilizing Students, Intellectuals Against Racism: A Perspective

We have predicted that a mass movement against racism will grow from the initial efforts of PL, SDS and others to mobilize students and intellectuals around this key working-class issue. What is our evidence for this prediction?

1) **THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT, LONG** gone and full of errors because of the absence of a Left, has nevertheless left behind a widespread anti-racist sentiment among many people, which did not exist before the freedom rides, sit-ins, boycotts, and marches of the Sixties. In addition, the armed rebellions of black people in the cities, the army and navy, and the prisons; the occasional surfacing of militant black trade-union struggle as in the postal strike; and the appearance of militant organizations like the Panthers—all these gave people the idea that racism, like murder, will out: you can't just pretend it doesn't exist; you have to deal with it. For some, this feeling intensified their racism (the media worked overtime to ensure it); but for many it suggested that racism must go. You would have to go back to the Abolitionist movement to find anything remotely like this attitude in American history. However this may be fading, it is still true that never before have so many Americans been ready to take serious action to fight racism. In their subjective attitudes, millions of students and intellectuals are open to a struggle line and a Left line on racism.

2) **THE U.S. IMPERIALISTS, ON THE OTHER** side, need to intensify racism to survive. What they will turn to may be unprecedented, even by the slave trade and Nazi genocide. After all, in this century they led the world in the production of racist ideology, except for the brief interlude of "anti-fascism" (which also saw the most virulent anti-Asian racism ever). They have also led the world into a new era of genocide with the B-52 bombing of cities and villages in Vietnam, acts which can never be forgotten until the last capitalist in the world is killed or dies. The subjective attitude of this ruling class is clear in Attica, and Southern U., and Jensen, and the latest **Time** cover, which blares: THE ARABS: OIL, POWER, VIOLENCE—and inside, begins a special section on the new ideology in psychology, anthropology, sociology, education, etc., called "Second Thoughts About Man." No matter how cleverly they do it, these second thoughts will sooner or later show out clearly as the most brutal racism. The U.S. rulers are on a collision course with the anti-racist sentiments of millions of the people they oppress at home.

3) **IT IS THEREFORE POSSIBLE FOR THE** conscious Left to sharpen this contradiction between the current attitudes of the ruling class and the current attitudes of millions of students and intellectuals; to precipitate, by sharp ideological struggle, a crisis of belief for many people: "Will I go with the heirs of Hitler, or the tradition of the freedom-riders and the rebels of Attica?" The presence of a Left among students and intellectuals must guarantee that this crisis of belief occurs. The full horror of the present intentions of this ruling class must be set forth clearly in our daily lives in the classroom, library, auditorium: wherever Banfield is taught, or Jensen is on reserve, or Herrnstein is invited to speak. The evidence is that we can deepen the anti-racist sentiment that exists, by sharp exposure of the new racism that the big bankers want to replace it with.

4) **IF WE START THIS BALL ROLLING, WE** can influence the response people make to the objective consequences of the rulers' intensifying racism. As was the case with Vietnam, we can identify the key issue **before** it begins really cutting hard into people. When the consequences of permanent 50% unemployment, drug-pushing, the abandonment of housing, the destruction of public education, the habitual murder and brain-destroying of prisoners, chronic epidemics from lack of health care—when the consequences of these things are felt by white students and intellectuals, consequences like lower wages, mass crime, drug addiction, sky-high rent, functional illiteracy, and disease—we can help determine that the issue will be the racism of the ruling class, and not the nature or culture of minority people.

5) **IN THIS WAY AN IDEOLOGICAL MOVE**ment against racism in psychology and other human sciences can become an anti-imperialist mass movement for reforms, as the increasingly bitter facts of life in a declining imperialist country (which cause people to take action) are clearly tied to racism, not blamed on the victims of racism. If the Left wins the current ideological battle over racism, students and intellectuals will turn toward a Left response to hard times. If not, they may turn toward a fascist response.

THE FORCES AGAINST US

Working against us are the following:

1) Ruling-class state power and centralized control of all the most powerful organs of ideas in the U.S.A.—television, newspapers, films, radio, book publishing, theatre, records, universities, and schools—and the determined drive to intensify racism through all these channels.

2) The deep internalizing of racism by virtually everyone in the country. This exists in contradiction with anti-racist sentiment in many people, but is the main aspect in many and (given a strong pull of propaganda) can become the main aspect in many more in a short time.

3) Given one's depth of racism and ignorance of the nature of the ruling class, the glib persuasiveness to many people of the new racist ideology, especially in its liberal mask (Moynihan, Jencks). This is related to the general decline of intellectual life in the country: many intellectuals do not read the new ideologues but are persuaded by reviews, interviews, and advertisements, and by their bogus academic authority, that "there must be something in it." The widespread ignorance of elementary science, even among Ph.Ds, and general sloppiness, mean that very few take the time to read and find out for themselves. Philistinism is riding high.

4) The continuing segregation of American life, even on big-city campuses with sizeable minority student populations.

5) The prevalence, guaranteed by the ruling class, of nationalist ideology among minority activists; and a certain defeatism among white anti-racist forces resulting from this nationalism, and from the discrediting of the old missionary (i.e., racist) civil rights movement, and the futility of the New Left "Third World"-ism.

6) A failure to grasp how imperialist racism, in the form of landlords, drug pushers, employers, bureaucrats, and police, materially oppresses white workers and middle-class people. This is virtually an unheard-of idea. Whites think they benefit materially from racism.

7) The relatively small base we have among students and intellectuals, because of anti-communism and our own errors; and our lack of a base among workers in the media, who could attack ruling-class ideas inside the media, as students and teachers can inside the school and college.

IN SUMMARY: CAN THE RULING CLASS IN the next few years win the majority of people to a new, virulent racism? Or can we and other anti-racist forces in the working class and among intellectuals win a majority to reject this new racism, and in the process to a new, militant, anti-imperialist, mass movement for reforms? (And also to our party and the longer struggle for state power.)

We may say the ruling class is ahead at this moment on the ideological front. In spite of some liberal revulsion against their more blatant remarks (so far, the only spontaneous resistance is to Jensen & Co.), and in spite of some pretty successful campaigns on some campuses by SDS and others, the numerous and filthy tribe of Moynihan, Coleman, Banfield, Jensen, Schockley, Eysenck, Herrnstein, Ardrey, Lorenz, Morris, Fox, Tiger, Jencks, Ervin, Ehrlich (a partial list) have already done considerable damage. The result? A scene in Canarsie (Brooklyn) like Little Rock in 1954 passes with not a single reaction from the half-million or so college students in New York City, except a minute demonstration organized by leftists. The murders at Southern U. bring out a small handful of white students and virtually no professors in protest. So they are way ahead of us, and stronger than us.

On the other hand, the new academic liars are extremely vulnerable to attack. In this arena our strengths have been and will continue to be boldness in confrontations, and some ability to unite different forces around the petition type of struggle among intellectuals. Our main weakness has been the lack of a more profound and detailed line on racism in our literature, and our lack of influential anti-racist theory in the academic fields themselves. The recent **PL** article on the history of racist ideology is an excellent start, but we have not yet played a significant role in the arena that counts: the scholarly journals, symposia, and books that influence professors and hence students. We have to carry the battle to the enemy, not snipe at him from the trees with a few leaflets and sit-ins.

INTELLECTUALS IN AND AROUND THE party should be writing detailed theoretical papers for conferences and journals, and should be making contact with, and influencing, leading liberal intellectuals in their own fields, in order to build a united front against racist ideology among social scientists in particular and intellectuals in general. The main burden of the struggle falls on professors. Students have led the way, and will make this a **mass** struggle; but without a significantly new anti-racist analysis in the relevant fields we will not win many professors, and hence will not discredit the miserable arguments of Banfield & Co. among ordinary students.

Winning the battle of ideas in the profession is a necessary condition for moving those intellectuals who will sign an anti-Jensen resolution into more material struggles against racism on and off campus—through faculty unions or academic senates, fighting to ban racist books, censure and fire classroom racists, preferentially hire minority faculty, provide adequate services to

minority students victimized by the schools, mount strong resistance to racist budget-cutting and tuition hikes; or, through electoral and mass-action coalitions, fighting racism in city life generally—budget-cutting, drug-pushing, destruction of housing, police murder, racist outbreaks like Canarsie and Newark. A strong anti-racist ideology lays the foundation for broad anti-racist organizing, as the enemy knows very well; for every Rizzo there is a Banfield, and for every Scribner a Jencks. There will be few professors supporting the teachers in Philadelphia or the black parents and students in Canarsie until there is a real ideological **movement** against racism among professors.

IF WE BUILD OUR STRENGTHS (BOLDNESS and the united front) and correct our revisionist weakness (lack of clear communist ideology), there are exciting prospects for the years ahead. Imagine a situation where Jensen is kept off campus and out of the library not only by large student demonstrations but by faculty/librarian union pickets and by vote of the faculty senate! It sounds like a pipe-dream today, and yet fascists would have gotten this treatment on campus during World War II. There is nothing eternal about the mild boredom and petty cultism that now tepidly reigns on campus. In fact, it is not hard to imagine the demonstrations, pickets, and votes being fascist in nature, if we do not win against academic racism. Every newspaper hack is talking about liberals moving to the right. Therefore, a serious strategy requires thinking today about what it will take to reach the "pipe-dream" described above.

WHAT ACTIONS ARE NEEDED?

We need courses on racism that can be the core of a campaign, with lunch-hour lectures, films, speakers from anti-racist struggles, columns in the campus press and interviews on campus radio—courses affiliated with the Black Studies or similar programs, to make the campaign multiracial. We need forums and teach-ins, repeated regularly every semester, to stir hot debate on the relation of racism to the teaching of psychology, medicine, law, literature, sociology, education, anthropology, economics; where thousands of teachers and students can re-think their age-old racist ideas and carry away into the classroom and the professional journals new clarity and insight about man in exploitative societies. We need to get onto the standard reading lists for the millions of college students new books written and influenced by new American communist sociologists, doctors, psychologists, historians, anthropologists, literary critics, economists, journalists. This kind of book has been there in the past—not because the bourgeoisie liked it, but because it would have exposed them too much to censor them all—and has to be there again. We need to raise sharp questions of banning books and firing teachers from the beginning, when we are the only ones, the "mad-dogs and left-fascists," to understand that racism is a life and death matter.

Off campus, imagine mass participation by students and intellectuals in demonstrations and sit-ins against racist attacks on welfare, health care, day-care, schools; in electoral campaigns against budget cuts and racist candidates. The present slump in political activity proceeds from racism (accepting some cut in one's standard of living because one is better off than minority people). The fight-back will pick up among students and intellectuals (leading forces in all off-campus political activity) when racism is first pin-pointed and then roundly attacked on the campus itself.

IMAGINE THE COALESCENCE OF THIS ANTI-racist movement on and off campus with a newly resurgent trade-unionism, spear-headed by the Left in a drive for working-class unity around the shorter workweek—a coalescence, a worker/student/professional alliance, based on mutual support in strikes and demonstrations; joint action in the labor movement by professors and industrial workers; exchanges of ideas, with workers speaking on campus and intellectuals at union meetings, and both on TV through the strength of TV workers; electoral campaigns around the shorter work-week, racist immigration or forced-work or anti-addict laws, and improved social services; single-issue struggles on a war or wage-freeze or price-rise.

And with a mass movement of that sort raging, imagine the surging forward of communist ideas and our party among workers, students, and professionals, and the developing base for revolutionary consciousness among millions!

* * * * * *

If this is the long-range (five to ten years) image we have of the development of our present small-scale skirmishes against academic racism, then several conclusions can be drawn to guide our work at this stage:

1) **THE NEED TO BUILD PL, BOTH IN QUAN-**tity and in quality. Racism within (i.e., against) the working class is the ruling-class goal, and their various campus quacks are merely tools to achieve it, not the most important at all times but the most important at the beginning of a new racist period. It takes a communist party to signal the ruling-class moves, to point out both the strategic necessity of racism to the imperialists, and the changing tactics with which they use racism. This is proved again by PL's taking up the struggle—still virtually alone on the left—against racist ideology in this period. Without PL, there would be a vague sense of a changing mood (see any liberal newspaper), but no clear tactic of smashing the new racism in the egg. Most people, when they first see the pattern of racism emerging in all the social sciences (see it at our urging), will say that it is a possibly correct idea, a lunatic fringe idea, or (after all) only an idea. No one but communists can react so swiftly to a develop-

ment that is still only barely discernible to those who lack the Marxist-Leninist philosophy of class and class-struggle. This philosophy is their birthright, their heritage of thousands of generations of struggle against exploitation, but kept from them by the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie.

It is our responsibility and honor to develop that philosophy of struggle in ourselves, and to restore it to all those to whom it belongs by right of bloody conquest and bitter suffering. This campaign against racist ideology demands for its beginning, its development, and its completion, a vigorous communist party with a firm grasp of the class structure of society, the struggle of classes as the determining force shaping society through time, the particular condition of each class at a given time; a party with a historical and current familiarity with the way these classes move in struggle, and some skill and practice in guiding the struggles of the exploited class. The party is concretely an absolute necessity to develop the mass movement that can save American workers and others from the consequences of a new virulent racism. On the other hand, building this movement is concretely an absolute necessity if PL is to keep alive in the world the tradition of communism.

2) **THE NEED FOR A MULTI-RACIAL PARTY** and a multi-racial mass movement. Without multi-racial leadership there will be no really broad anti-racist movement. White or black intellectuals alone can not lead a broad movement. Defeatism, nationalism, and idealist motivation are strong among anti-racist whites—i.e., most blacks see racism as a black problem. A materialist, class-conscious, and self-confident attack on racism can only be mounted by uniting black and white intellectuals against the weaknesses that now divide them. In a more profound sense, the end-product of an anti-racist movement must be blacks and whites fighting side by side, not only against racism, but for significant reforms and for revolutionary liberation of the whole working class, including intellectuals.

The political purpose, the **offensive** character of a communist strategy against racism, is to heat up the class struggle by bringing about class unity in struggle across racial lines. This perspective scarcely exists outside the Marxist-Leninist tradition: almost all the anti-racist whites I know think purely in **defensive** terms, and therefore accept the "separate but equal" approach to struggle, in which whites function as back-up troops or sideline cheerleaders to militant blacks, or in which lily-white struggle groups around self-interest are good because "we have to work with our people and they have to work with theirs." The Left has a great responsibility to keep the perspective of class unity and multi-racial organization alive. The experience of SDS and Lynn GE shows that it can be done—not easily, of course. But among intellectuals we seem to be weak on this point. (Is this true all over the country?)

WINNING BLACK INTELLECTUALS TO multi-racial struggle against racist ideology, and to a multi-racial communist party, is essential. This requires both consistent anti-racist struggle—which always tried to include black intellectuals—by white comrades, and also a wider understanding of PL's analysis of nationalism in the last hundred years. This latter point should be made the focus of many academic studies, which can themselves involve working with black intellectuals—on historical studies of the effects of nationalism in Africa, Asia, the Middle East, Latin America, Europe; on the political economy of nationalism; on nationalist art and culture; on Frantz Fanon's ideas about the psychology of nationalism; on the bourgeois world outlook that informs nationalism. These studies should reach a wider audience than the party press can reach at this time. They could often be incorporated into black studies or other similar programs on campus, and be made collective undertakings by teachers and students. What all this—and other methods of building multi-racial organization—would mean is a dramatic and exciting change from the present swamp of segregation and passivity among intellectuals.

3) **THE NEED TO TIE RACISM CLEARLY TO** its root in the imperialist ruling classes of the world. The main right-wing danger in a developing anti-racist movement will be its co-optation by liberal imperialists in an anti-working-class direction. The main contribution of the Left, apart from stimulating the initial development of such a movement, will be to turn it in an anti-imperialist direction. The defeat of the civil rights movement and the anti-war movement, and the threat to the rank-and-file trade union movement (as in the Miners for Democracy caucus) by the misleadership of liberal imperialists, stand as warning signals to the Left. To the extent that we treat racism more as a moral evil than as a tactic of imperialism to exploit us better, we are opportunist and are ourselves misleading the movement. The fact that most anti-racist forces among whites now operate on moral outrage (probably including many of us in PL), plus the usual problems of building the united front, tend to influence the Left toward opportunism. They could lead us to build another "reformist" (i.e., phony reforms) bourgeois-democratic movement, which aimed at running the few racists off the campus and enjoying an enlightened university enclave in the midst of the "white racist society" (i.e., a society of white workers).

To ensure a political understanding of racism we need more actions like the SDS genocide bill against the U.S. government, more exposure of ruling-class direct sponsorship of racist ideology (as in the **PL** article on eugenics), and more theoretical work generally—both in our press and in professional journals—showing r a c i s m as super-exploitation economically, anti-people's movements politically, and bourgeois ideologically. The ruling-class line, when it poses as anti-racist, is to locate the roots of racism in the

ANTI-RACISM BILL

Acts of racism and genocide are being committed daily with the U. S. government either condoning these acts or actively taking part in them. This racism must be fought with the unity of black, latin, and white, workers and students; with militant struggle every single day. This is the only way it will ever stop. We charge the government with genocide in this country and absolutely abominable genocide in S. E. Asia and Africa.

After the Nuremberg trials the United Nations had a convention on genocide. There, they defined genocide as "any of the following acts committed with the intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial, or religious group: a) killing any members of the group; b) causing serious bodily or mental harm to any members of the group; c) deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part; d) imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group; e) forcibly tranferring children of the group to another group." Article III of the convention provided that "the following acts shall be punishable: a) genocide; b) conspiracy to commit genocide; c) attempt to commit genocide; d) direct and public incitement to commit genocide; e) complicity in genocide."

The bill follows. It is now being passed around and sign tures are being gathered as support. Build this campaign to end racism and genocide in the U. S.

I. **U.S. OUT** of S. E. Asia, Africa, Latin America and the Middle East.

II. A. **NO FEDERAL TROOPS** shall be sent to or be maintained in foreign countries to suppress demonstrations, rebellions, or prevent revolutions. No federal troops shall be sent to ghettos to suppress demonstrations or rebellions against racist treatment.

P. **ANY STATE, LOCAL, OR FEDERAL** official or military officer who kills anyone, especially a black, latin, asian, or native American person, shall be deemed to have committed a federal offense punishable by life imprisonment. Any state, local, or federal official or military officer who orders or incites persons in his or her command to commit genocide in the U. S. or any foreign country shall be punishable by life imprisonment.

C. **ANY STATE, LOCAL, OR FEDERAL** official or military officer who assaults anyone, especially a black, latin, asian , or native American person, shall be deemed to have committed a federal offense punishable by no less than 10 years imprisonment.

D. **ANYONE ON TRIAL** for any offense shall have his or her choice of a lawyer. The government shall pay all fees.

III. A. **RESCIND THE TALLMADGE AMENDMENT** (amendment forces welfare clients to work below minimum wage).

B. **THERE SHALL BE A GAURANTEED MINIMUM INCOME** of $6500 for a family of four available to everyone with no legal exceptions.

IV. A. **REPEAL THE RACIST IMMIGRATION CODES**

B. **PEOPLE RESIDING IN THE U.S.** and born in other countries shall not be deported or harrassed.

V. **NO COLLEGE OR UNIVERSITY, PUBLIC OR PRIVATE SCHOOL** which employs officials or faculties engaged in research on methods of genocide such as "biological or chemical warfare, anti-personel weapons or military strategy" or any other research which deliberately inflicts on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about the destruction of a national group or race in the U. S. or any other country shall receive any federal aid.

VI. A. **MEDICAL RESEARCHERS WHO EXPERIMENT ON MINORS** shall be deemed to have committed a federal offense punishable by not less than 10 years imprisonment and with a maximum of life imprisonment.

B. **MEDICAL RESEARCHERS WHO EXPERIMENT ON BLACK, LATTIN, ASIAN, OR NATIVE AMERICAN** people or people of any other nationalities or nations without their full consent shall be deemed to have committed a federal offense punishable by not less than 10 years imprisonment and with a maximum of life imprisonment.

C. **ANYONE WHO PRACTICES FORCED STERILIZATION** or lobotomies shall be deemed to have committed a federal offense punishable by life imprisonment.

D. **CAPTIVE POPULATIONS** such as prisoners or persons in countries occupied by U. S. forces shall not be experimented on or medically abused. Anyone who commits this crime shall be deemed to have committed a federal offense punishable by not less than 10 years imprisonment.

Students for a Democratic Society bill against U.S. government genocide presented to McGovern at the Democratic Party Convention in 1972.

people, especially white workers. This line is accepted by most intellectuals. It is a considerable task to win them to a working-class point of view on racism/nationalism as a bosses' tool, but we must do it or we can forget about a movement that will win anything worth the effort. It is really an opportunity to convince intellectuals, in the course of a common struggle, of the class structure of society and the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie over the whole of social life—to split and crack the liberal facade of imperialist rule at its weakest point—and at the same time to point to the power of revolutionary workers to overturn this structure and transform the whole of social life, including the ugly heritage of racism. A key part of this ideological struggle which the Left must carry on in the united front is to expose bourgeois dictatorship over intellectual life—its control of ideas and the organs of ideas—and to expose the links between racism and other forms of bourgeois ideology: anti-worker prejudice and elitism, sexism, individualism, liberalism, and other variants of the bourgeois philosophical outlook.

4) **THE NEED TO UNDERSTAND THAT NO** bourgeoisie can ever give up racism and nationalism. This is key to keeping Left-Center leadership and initiative in an anti-racist movement: the clear notion that no ruling class can ever

really say, with LBJ, that "we will overcome" racism, because it would mean their demise as a class; and that, therefore, the ruling class can only get involved in anti-racist struggles to destroy them from within. We have to get this idea out from the start, since right from the first college presidents will be signing anti-racist resolutions, deans will be forming anti-racist committees, politicians will be deploring the new theories, etc., etc. (At the same time, other presidents, deans, politicians, and media editors will be defending the academic freedom and the theories of Jensen & company.) A recent **Times** editorial on psychosurgery sets the tone for the ruling-class liberal line: it deplores the idea, but insists we can't give up experimentation in this area—no ban, but "careful restriction." (Which can be carefully removed if the movement should die down.) As against this hedging, the idea that racism exists only because it profits and maintains in power the smooth billionaire-bureaucrats who rule, can become the force pulling anti-racist sentiment in an anti-imperialist direction.

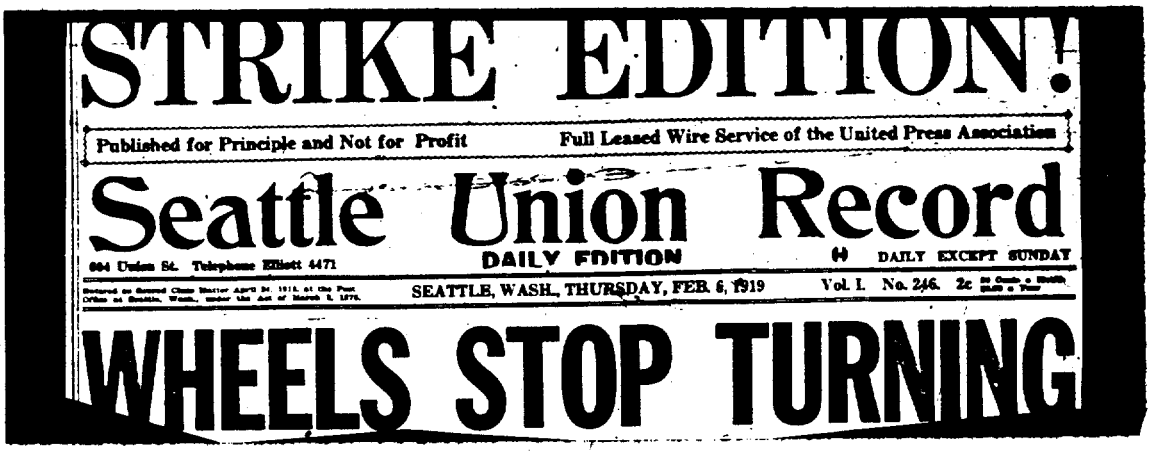
5) **THE NEED TO DEVELOP OUR LINE THAT** racism oppresses the whole non-ruling-class population. Moral outrage at racism is a powerful emotion but can carry people only so far. The main point in our "self-interest" (really, class-interest) line on racism has been that racism helps prepare for imperialist war and fascism, which is certainly the main point, at this time, from the point of view of almost everyone's self-interest. As long as we do not ally with the liberal bourgeoisie, it is also the main point which will lead people to the communist view, that defeating racism is necessary to end the super-exploitation of our class sisters and brothers, and to unite the whole working-class to destroy the system that creates racism, war, and all forms of oppression.

But, as other articles have pointed out, the point of self-interest in defeating racism has to be made in more detail, and applied more to day-to-day trade union struggles and to struggles over housing, schools, college tuition, jobs, etc. The racist upsurge around housing in Forest Hills and Newark shows that the Left has the urgent task of connecting racism to the material oppression of white workers and middle-class people. The connections are not immediately observable, but if pointed up could become powerful motives for anti-racist unity in struggle, and for winning intellectuals to attack the theoretical racism that supports this material oppression of themselves and others. Thorough studies need to be made of all living conditions in the U.S., showing unmistakably how racism drags down the quality of life for everyone. Again, they should reach a wider audience than **PL** magazine. What would it take for some sociologists in and around the party to spend a year or so and write a book on racism and the schools that would have Coleman, Jencks & Co. running for cover? It could be written in such a way as to get published by a trade publisher. Similarly, economists and historians and union activists could write a book (or several) on racism and the U.S. labor movement, which would spell out loud and clear how racism has hurt all workers. A book on racism and American culture could show the impoverishment of culture by the neglect and suppression of black artists, and the distortions in reality produced by a racist imagination. This list could be extended.

6) **THE NEED TO FIGHT UNCONSCIOUS RAC**-ism and the culture of racism. This responds to the depth of racism, the success of the bourgeoisie so far in inculcating it. It comes out in a hundred and one ways in all of us. The point is not navel-gazing but changing our lives and our friends' lives. For example, the feeling that struggle against racism is optional—or even, for whites, presumptuous. Or the invisibility of racism in culture to many people, whether it's **Othello** or Flip Wilson. Or the acceptance of a segregated social life by virtually everyone. (Segregation is a particularly vile form of racism which we don't deal with sharply enough, perhaps because it's very difficult to break through the material and psychological barriers of racism.) Or the idea, subconsciously, that minority students can't do as well in class: consistent underestimation of ability and a patronizing attitude. The more overtly political and mass struggles should not obscure the important fight against racism in its more "private" forms.

Clearly we will not win the battle against racism without winning much else besides. There will be a heating-up of anti-imperialist reform struggle and a qualitative strengthening of our party. Specifically, a long-range perspective for the anti-racist movement has two important parts: for winning intellectuals from bourgeois ideology and to the working-class and PLP; and for a movement and a party of a new type—a movement and a party led by black, Latin, and Asian-American militants alongside white; a movement and a party uniting millions of minority workers and intellectuals with their white class sisters and brothers. This would of course be a momentous strategic defeat for the U.S. ruling class, and a major contribution within our own country to the renewed growth of working-class internationalism. In PLP this is growing to be a reality, and let us make no mistake, this is a new world being born. Such a perspective needs to summon up all our energies and powers of analysis. It will be a great turning-point in American and world history when it is accomplished, and PLP has the ideas and the forces to ensure that is accomplished.

THE PLP STRATEGY FOR REBUILDING THE labor movement is closely bound up with this perspective of fighting racism. In fact, any work among intellectuals rests on the success of that strategy (while helping to ensure it). The working class is the only group in our time with the power, in the fight against its own deep weaknesses and disunity, to liberate not only itself but all the rest of us who, in varying degrees, are now slowly dying from the expense and pain and uselessness of our divided life in these United States.



The Seattle General Strike

Editorial in the Seattle Union Record
February 5, 1919

On Thursday at 10 A.M.—

There will be many cheering, and there will be some who fear.

Both these emotions are useful, but not too much of either.

We are taking the most tremendous move ever made by Labor in this country, a move which will lead—NO ONE KNOWS WHERE!

We do not need hysteria.

We need the iron march of labor.

* * *

LABOR WILL FEED THE PEOPLE.

Twelve great kitchens have been offered, and from them food will be distributed by the provision trades at low cost to all.

LABOR WILL CARE FOR THE BABIES AND THE SICK.

The milk-wagon drivers and the laundry drivers are arranging plans for supplying milk to babies, invalids and hospitals, and taking care of the cleaning of linen for hospitals.

LABOR WILL PRESERVE ORDER.

The strike committee is arranging for guards, and it is expected that the stopping of the cars will keep people at home.

* * *

A few hot-headed enthusiasts have complained that strikers only should be fed, and the general public left to endure severe discomfort. Aside from the inhumanitarian character of such suggestions, let them get this straight—

NOT THE WITHDRAWAL OF LABOR POWER, BUT THE POWER OF THE STRIKERS TO MANAGE WILL WIN THIS STRIKE.

What does Mr. Piez of the Shipping Board care about the closing down of Seattle's shipyards, or even of all the industries in the northwest. Will it not merely strengthen the yards at Hog Island, in which he is more interested?

When the shipyard owners of Seattle were on the point of agreeing with the workers, it was Mr. Piez who wired them, if they so agreed—

HE WOULD NOT LET THEM HAVE STEEL.

Whether this is camouflage we have no means of knowing. But we do know that the great eastern combinations of capitalists COULD AFFORD to offer privately to Mr. Skinner, Mr. Ames and Mr. Duthie a few millions apiece in eastern shipyard stock, RATHER THAN LET THE WORKERS WIN.

The closing down of Seattle's industries, as a mere shutdown, will not affect these eastern gentlemen much. They could let the whole northwest go to pieces, as far as money alone is concerned.

BUT, the closing down of the capitalistically controlled industries of Seattle, while the WORKERS ORGANIZE to feed the people, to care for the babies and the sick, to preserve order—THIS will move them, for this looks too much like the taking over of POWER by the workers.

* * *

Labor will not only SHUT DOWN the industries, but Labor will REOPEN, under the management of the Appropriate trades, such activities as are needed to preserve public health and public peace. If the strike continues, Labor may feel led to avoid public suffering by reopening more and more activities...

UNDER ITS OWN MANAGEMENT.

And that is why we say that we are starting on a road that leads—NO ONE KNOWS WHERE!

Seattle General Strike, 1919:

Can We Do Better Next Time?

On February 6, 1919, 100,000 Seattle workers struck in an act of class solidarity with the city's striking shipyard workers. Unlike previous strikes in Seattle and in the U.S., the combined forces of the working class—from key industries and government services—were directed not only at the bosses of a certain industry, but served as a direct challenge to the existing government.

The workers themselves took over the normal functions of the bosses, governmental and industrial. They decided collectively what vital industries and services would function. They took over the task of assuring food, health, clothing, and protection for the masses of the city. In short, they took control of society.

The ability of Seattle workers to successfully carry out the duties of government without the "help" of the ruling class or its flunkies in government and business served as an indispensable lesson that the working class can run the government and in fact will use their combined forces to seize power permanently. It was this aspect of the Seattle strike that most terrified the rulers and labor bureaucrats.

THE STRIKE LASTED FIVE DAYS, ENDING finally by decision of the General Strike Committee (GSC), the official leadership organization. Although the shipyard workers failed to gain the wage increases they desired, most of the workers felt they had won a great deal more. They had struck together as one united body, had taken over many of the city's normal functions, and perhaps most important, gained the experience of a mass general strike, placing it "permanently in the arsenal of labor's Peaceful weapons."[1]

With the recent near general strike in Philadelphia and the possibility of a nationwide strike in Great Britain, it is very important for revolutionaries to analyze the general strike, its potential and limitations. In this article we will investigate the actual events of 1919, the strengths and weaknesses of the Seattle General Strike, and the lessons that workers can learn from this historic struggle. Moreover, this study will point out the vital necessity for a communist party to win both short-term reforms within the capitalist system and to lead the longer-term struggle for workers' power.

1919—Year of International Class Struggle

In November 1918, the imperialist powers signed the armistice officially ending World War I. But intensified class struggle raged on all over the world as the communist movement, spurred on by the victorious Bolsheviks in Russia, threatened to take power in a number of countries.

Millions of workers realized that the "war to end all wars," which claimed some 10,000,000 lives, was in fact nothing more than a test of strength and redivision of the world on the part of the huge capitalist powers.

Germany, Poland, Hungary, Greece, Rumania, Austria, Czechoslavakia, Latvia and Estonia were engulfed in civil wars, and these struggles were being answered with actions of solidarity in America and England. Popular uprisings were simultaneously occurring in Ireland, Mexico, Japan, and the Mid-East.

A glance at the **New York Times** for the third week of January 1919 reflects the concern felt by U.S. bosses for this international upheaval. "March of Boshevik Army in Estonia," 1/19/19; "Alarm in England Over Labor Unrest," 1/19/19; "General Strike Called by Reds in Liepsig," 1/19/19; "British Strikes Spreading Fast," "Strike at Docks Threatens Berlin," "120,000 Idle in Vienna," 1/28/19; "See Bolshevism as Peril in Britain," "Wave of Strikes Alarms Germans," 1/25/19.

The U.S., too, witnessed a period of extreme class struggle characterized by militant, often violent strikes. In March 1919, a month after the Seattle General Strike, there were 175 major strikes; in April, 248; in June, 303; 360 in July and 373 in August.[2]

IN SEPTEMBER, 350,000 STEELWORKERS, led by immigrant workers and William Z. Foster, struck against low wages and "the entire system of arbitrary control." Due primarily to sabotage

and strike-breaking tactics on the part of the reactionary international A.F.L. leadership, they were forced to return without victory after three months. Shortly thereafter, 394,000 coal miners won wage increases after a nationwide walkout.

The U.S. bosses were frantic. Joining England, France and Belgium, they sent troops and arms into Russia but could not defeat the class-conscious Soviet workers, intent on preserving their power and spreading revolution internationally. Thousands of U.S. workers took to the streets to protest the government's participation in the invasion of Eastern Europe and Russia.

"HANDS OFF RUSSIA"

Nowhere was American opposition to government intervention in Russia more pronounced than in Seattle. After a number of demonstrations opposing aid to the "white" (counter-revolutionary) forces, in October of 1919, a mysterious shipment destined for Vladivostok arrived in Seattle on fifty railroad cars. All had the label "sewing machines." Thinking it a curious export to a country in the midst of civil war, a longshore crew "accidently" dropped a crate and out spewed rifles bound for the Kolchak "whites." The longshoremen refused to load the shipment and called for a permanent boycott of arms to Russia. When 40 scabs arrived to load the arms, they were met by 400 I.L.A. men. Few of the scabs returned unscathed.

THE TWO LARGEST LEFT ORGANIZATIONS in the U.S., prior to the formation of the American Communist Party in 1920, were the Socialist Party and the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW). The S.P., under the right-wing leadership of Morris Hilquit, engaged purely in electoral activity and shunned trade-union organizing. Similar to the present day sellout "Communist' Party, the S.P. held that socialism could be won through a series of reformist parliamentary victories. As a result of this opportunist strategy, most militant workers left the organization as it periodically split into opposing factions.

The IWW, on the other hand, was a syndicalist organization participating solely in trade-union struggles. The Wobblies felt that a mass general strike, under "one big union," would force the bosses to their knees and lead spontaneously to workers' rule. For the most part, the IWW ignored the mass-based American Federation of Labor, abdicated from the struggle against its conservative, anti-communist, craft-oriented president Samuel Gompers, and instead organized **dual** unions in opposition to the A.F. of L. This policy of splitting the labor movement left the organization isolated from the mainstream of working-class struggle.

LEFT STRONG IN SEATTLE UNIONS

In Seattle, however, both the Socialist Party and the IWW had a very strong influence in the trade unions. Hundreds of Wobblies worked within the Seattle labor movement, some organizing solely in the IWW unions, and some, known as "two-card holders" and "borers," worked within the AFL unions as well. Centralia, Everett, Spokane and other Washington cities as well as Seattle were the scene of sharp unionizing and IWW free-speech fights. In the Northwest lumber camps, IWW unions introduced the slow-down, or "strike-on-the-job," and won the eight-hour day in 1917.

In Seattle, there had been organizing drives of the Knights of Labor in the 1880's and local electoral campaigns by the Socialist Party and other organizations in addition to IWW agitation. Consequently, most Seattle workingmen were very familiar with socialist theory.

For many years, the Seattle Central Labor Council took pride in sending its delegate to AFL conventions to cast the lone vote against red-baiting president Sam Gompers. This SCLC, composed of delegates from all of the local AFL unions, was by far the most powerful voice of Seattle labor. Representing the majority of Seattle's workers, the Labor Council also developed close ties with the statewide AFL organization, the Washington Federation of Labor, the Grange and the Farmers Union.

In recording its opposition to proposed American involvement in World War I, the SCLC declared in part;

> **Whereas the appalling loss of life which will inevitably result, the inexpressible suffering from the systematic mangling and crippling of human bodies on a vaster scale than has ever been possible . . . all these hideous results and more—will fall with crushing force on the working class alone, while the kings, capitalists, and aristocrats remain in safety and . . .**
>
> **We further declare that one reason for the suspicious eagerness with which the rulers of all these nations have entered into hostility is because of the universal industrial unrest and the growing spirit of working class solidarity which, if unchecked, threatens the present ruling class.**
>
> **To those workers of Europe who have resisted the war craze we extend our sympathy and respect and we pledge our efforts against any attempt to draw our own country into a foreign war.** 3

MASS ANTI-CONSCRIPTION RALLIES FOLlowed and when two Socialist Party members SCLC officer Hulet Wells and Sam Sadler, wer indicted for opposing the draft, the SCLC organize their defense with huge demonstrations. Out o these struggles emerged the **Union Record,** th first labor-union daily newspaper in the country Owned collectively by the SCLC unions, it quickl gained a daily circulation of over 50,000.

LABOR DAILY PRINTS LENIN SPEECH

The **Union Record** printed revolutionary theor along with reporting news of a world ablaze wit war and revolution.

In 1918, the **Union Record** reprinted 20,000 copies of a speech made by V.I. Lenin to the Congress of Soviets on the tasks of organizing power. According to Anna Louise Strong, a leader in the general strike and columnist on the **Union Record,** the reprints were "enthusiastically seized by workers eager to know how the workers of Russia were running their state. It was plain to everyone that these workers were consciously and energetically studying how to organize their coming power. Boilermakers, machinists, and other metal trades unions alluded to shipyards as enterprises which they might soon take over and run better than their present owners ran them."[4]

In May 1918, when the SCLC withdrew from the reactionary Seattle Chamber of Commerce, the **Union Record** editorialized:

> **. . .the oft-repeated but sadly disregarded axiom that the working class and the capitalist class have nothing in common is the truest thing in the world. Utopia is coming all right, but it is coming through the absorption into the working class of all classes and the final mastery of the world by the workers of the world.**[5]

WEAKNESSES HURT MOVEMENT

The class-consciousness of Seattle's workers definitely scared the local bosses, but several key weaknesses plagued the northwest trade union movement and later proved to be decisive weaknesses in the general strike. Foremost among these were illusions about the state and passing over the need for violent working class struggle to defeat the bosses.

Many workers felt that worker-owned cooperative enterprises competing with the capitalists would drive the bosses out of power. To this end, Seattle workers owned laundries, a motion picture theater, a number of cooperative stores, and a mutual savings bank in addition to the **Union Record.** Still others believed that a mass general strike would lead inevitably to victory for the working class. But very few saw the need to smash the entire machinery of the rulers' state—the local government, national government and armed forces—and seize state power from the bosses.

We will come back to this point later in connection with the general strike, but for now, it is enough to say that this weakness, coupled with the influence of the right wing of the Socialist Party, whose opportunist leaders bought liberty bonds and otherwise aided U.S. involvement in World War I, accounts in part for the willingness of Seattle shipyard workers to engage in wartime ship production.

RACISM ALSO PROVED TO BE A SERIOUS weakness in the movement. Seattle had been the site of several anti-Chinese demonstrations in the 1880's. Angered by employers' attempts to drive down wages with low-cost Chinese labor, and influenced by a racist anti-Chinese campaign being whipped up by the ruling-class press, hundreds of workers under the leadership of the Knights of Labor rounded up Chinese workers,

...esday, February 4, 1919 SEATTLE UNION RECORD—DAILY EDITION

WIN THE STRIKE PAGE

Conducted By the General Strike Committee of the Metal Trades Council

ANNATT LAYS STRIKE BLAME ON "BIG BIZ"

combination of Big Interests to Control World Affairs

ERMAN CAPITAL MAY BE IN DEAL

riental Labor to Be Used to Crush Labor Unions

CLOSED

WE'RE WITH YOU!!

ORGANIZED LABOR TENDERS ITS SERVICES TO HELP POLICE CITY

HOSPITAL WORK IS AUTHORIZED

PROFITS CAN BE MADE ON

burned their homes and forced them to leave the city by train. Instead of joining with the Chinese workers and fighting for equal pay, "most believed that Asiatic labor, commandeered by corporations to break down American standards, must be excluded."[6]

This racist and nationalist outlook was supported by many of the more radical workers as well. As one historian put it, "every socialist and anarchist who could walk or steal a ride to Seattle was a self-elected but none the less welcome delegate" to the Anti-Chinese Congress in 1885.[7]

FACING REBELLION ALL OVER THE COUNtry, the U.S. ruling class in the early 1900's began building a movement to push racist ideology. Hoping that workers would blame immigrants and racial minorities for increased unemployment and oppression, the powerful ruling families set up a number of professional societies and eugenics foundations to popularize their idea that black, brown, Asian, Jewish, and other minority people are genetically inferior. (See P.L. Vol. 9, No. 1, April 1973; "Eugenics: The Survival of the Bosses—Revolution: The Survival of the Workers.") The early eugenics movement closely parallels the present day ruling-class racist offensive of Nazi-like Jensenite theories of racial inferiority, budget cuts, and anti-immigrant legislation like the Dixon-Arnett law and most recently the Rodino Bill.

By 1919, anti-Asian feelings among Seattle workers had lessened but unfortunately there was still considerable anti-Japanese racism, created in large part by the Scripps and Hearst newspaper chains.

THE SHIPYARDS STRIKE

With the onset of U.S. participation in World War I, the Shipbuilding Labor Adjustment Board was formed by agreement of the Navy and the U.S. Emergency Fleet Corporation. The Labor Adjustment Board, or Macy Board as it was called for its chairman V. Everett Macy*, was created to maximize wartime ship production and impartially stabilize wages nationally. In actual fact, this meant a pay cut for many Seattle workers, already facing a soaring cost of living which had increased 50% in the three previous years. Though complaining frequently, the shipyard union called no strikes during the duration of the war.

The Seattle yards had been the most productive in the country during the war years, turning out 26% of all tonnage built in the United States. Some 35,000 workers were employed in the yards, the largest of which was the Skinner and Eddy Corporation. Most of these workers were organized in the Metal Trades Council (MTC) consisting of 22 locals. Led by Local 104 of the Boilermakers and Iron Shipbuilders, with nearly 20,000 members, and the Shipyards Laborers and Machinists Hope Lodge 79, each with 4,000 members, the Metal Trades Council was the most powerful and progressive wing of the Seattle labor movement.

WHEN THE ARMISTICE WAS SIGNED, THE shipyards put forward the following demands: $8 per day for mechanics, $7 for specialists or semi-skilled mechanics, $6 for helpers and $5.50 for laborers. The metal-trades workers were particularly concerned about a raise for the lower-paid helpers and laborers, realizing that a large wage differential could be used to divide the workers within the Council.

These demands were ignored by the shipyard owners and the Macy Board alike. When an appellate court reviewing the Macy Board decision was deadlocked, Charles Piez, Director General of the Emergency Fleet Corporation, told Metal Trades president James Taylor that the men were free to deal directly with the employers. At the same time, he sent a telegram to the employers' Metal Trades

OFFICERS AND TRUSTEES— EMERGENCY FLEET CORPORATION

Director-general—Charles Piez
- Chairman of the Board, Link Belt Co.
- Director, Drexel State Bank
- President, Illinois Manufacturers Association

President—Edward N. Hurley
- President, 1st National Bank of Wheaton, Ill.
- Chairman, Federal Trade Commission
- Chairman, U.S. Shipping Board

Vice-president—Bainbridge Colby
- Corporate Lawyer, later nominated Secretary of State under Wilson

Director of operations—John Henry Rosseter
- V.P., W.R. Grace and Co.
- General Manager, Pacific Mail Steamship Co.

Trustee—E.F. Carry
- Manager, American Foundry Co.
- Chairman, Port and Harbor Facilities
- President, The Pullman Co.

Trustees—John Donald, Charles Page, Stephen Bourne

* Listed simply as "capitalist" in 'Who Was Who in America,' Macy served as director of Title Guarantee and Trust Company, director of Seamen's Savings Bank, trustee for Provident Loan Society and trustee for the Metropolitan Museum of Art as well as chairman of the Labor Adjustment Board. A glance at the membership of the Emergency Fleet Corporation (see box) shows that the bosses' "impartial" labor boards, like Nixon's Wage-Price Controls Board, are about as impartial as the ruling class itself.[8]

Association threatening to withhold steel if they gave in to any of the demands. Piez' duplicity and the role of the government Board became apparent when this telegram, directed to the Metal Trades Association, was misdelivered—through a newsboy's "error"—to the workers' Metal Trades Council. A third telegram stated that the government would not, even later, accept an increase over wartime wages. This substantiated workers' suspicions that the government was in alliance with the local bosses to break the shipyard unions.

A STRIKE WAS CALLED FOR JANUARY 21, 1919. 35,000 shipyard workers, augmented by 15,600 in Tacoma, 50 miles to the south, downed their tools and walked off the job. It quickly became evident that the shipyard bosses, with the armistice signed and the urgency of wartime production cut short, were content to wait out the strike in hopes of crushing the spirit of the Seattle locals. At the regular meeting of the Seattle Central Labor Council the following night, a Metal Trades Council resolution calling for a sympathetic general strike of all organized workers was adopted in a turbulent meeting marked with frequent chants and demonstrations by the IWW members in the gallery.

The meeting was also marked by the absence of 25 local leaders who were in Chicago attending the first convention of the National Labor Congress, called to obtain a new trial for Thomas J. Mooney. Mooney, a San Francisco AFL leader, was framed on a murder charge stemming from the bombing of a Preparedness Day parade in San Francisco.

While workers in Seattle were organizing a local general strike in solidarity with the city's shipyard workers, labor leaders from across the country were agreeing to call a national general strike if Mooney were denied a new trial.

The Chicago convention "also adopted a resolution embodying a declaration of national policies affecting labor which demanded that the people of Russia and Germany be permitted to work out their own destiny; that American troops be withdrawn from Russia; that all political and industrial prisoners receive the same consideration as prisoners of war; and proclaiming the dawning of a new day for true democracy in which the rights of labor shall be fully recognized."[9]

SEATTLE GENERAL STRIKE

In Seattle, the resolution for a general strike was to be placed before each local union. The local held the final authority on strikes involving its own members. Ratification of the resolution was surprisingly swift and one-sided as union after union voted to join the general strike. At local meetings the next night, January 23rd, eight unions voted to strike or indicated their support of the strike. The Building Laborers Local and Hotel Maids went unanimously in favor of mass action. Next the Structural Iron Workers, Newsboys, Engineers in the gas plants and public schools, Carpenters Local 1335 and Barbers Local 195 reported they had voted to strike.

Further encouragement came when Edwin Selvin, who had been assailing Northwest labor in his weekly **Business Chronicle,** took out full page ads in Seattle's non-labor owned dailies; the **Seattle Star, Daily Bulletin** and **Post Intelligencer.** His first ad, urging that labor leaders be "hanged on the nearest telephone pole," was turned down reluctantly by the **Post Intelligencer's** owner when printers refused to set it in type. These ads helped convince many workers that there was, in fact, a nationally directed attempt to destroy trade unionism in Seattle.

NIGHT AFTER NIGHT, VOTES FOR A GENeral strike continued rolling in. Electrical Workers 77, Millmens Local 338, Leather Workers Local 40, and the Jewelry workers all registered approval and willingness to strike. The 600-man Cooks and Assistants Local 33 voted in favor of the general strike by 5 to 1. Housepainters and Decorators Local 300 backed the strike by 16 to 1.

With the endorsement of the 1700-member Teamsters and Auto Truck Drivers Local 174, largest of six Seattle teamster locals, and approval by the 4500-man International Longshoremen's Association, the general strike became a virtual certainty. By the evening of January 29th, 24 locals had reported in favor of the strike, and the General Strike Committee was formed. Each union willing to participate in the strike sent three delegates. At this point, only the Federal Employees, Gas Workers, and Pressmen's Local 39 had voted against strike participation.

STRIKE ORGANIZED IN DAYS

On February 2, 1919 the meetings of the General Strike Committee began. Authority for the strike was transferred from the SCLC and Metal Trades Council and became centered in a broadly-based committee of over 300 delegates representing 110 unions. But an executive committee of 15 was chosen—unfortunately—with the excuse that the larger body was too unwieldly.

The time of the walkout was set for 10 A.M. on Thursday, Feb. 6. The executive committee was charged with the task of granting all exemptions from the stoppage, with all of its decisions subject to the approval of the GSC. From the morning of February 2 until the close of the strike, there were daily meetings of the GSC or the Executive Committee, at all times of the day and night.

The strike leaders were now put to the test of controlling an undertaking quite new to their experiences. Unlike any of the particular strikes with which Seattle workers were familiar, the general strike involved problems of management, selection, and exemption. The GSC members were placed in control of virtually every aspect of the city's life.

Resolutions were passed authorizing a wire to President Wilson demanding the removal of Charles Piez, and another stopping the salaries of

STRIKE INEVITABLE

To set at rest any rumors to the contrary, it can be authoritatively stated that the General Strike will take place at o'clock Thursday morning and that the strikers remain out until all demands are met.

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DAILY EDITION

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. 1. No. 245. — SEATTLE, WASH., WEDNESDAY, FEB. 5, 1919 — TWO CENTS

CITY WILL BE DARK ON THURSDAY NIGHT

all union officials and committeemen for the duration of the strike. Committees on publicity, finance and tactics were appointed and three subcommittees were chosen to assist the Committee of 15 on the question of exemptions.

VITAL SERVICES ALLOWED TO WORK

On Monday, February 3, the first exemption was granted. A group of firemen summoned before the committee was requested to stay on the job. All exempted vehicles or places of business were given special signs reading, "Exempted by order of General Strike Committee."

A WHOLE SERIES OF EXEMPTIONS FOLlowed as workers, union representatives, businessmen, and the city mayor, Ole Hanson came before the committee requesting that certain industries remain open for the safety of the community. One laundry was exempted for the purpose of doing hospital linen; teamsters were granted a request to carry oil to Swedish Hospital; retail drug clerks were allowed to open with the provision that only prescriptions would be filled. A request by school janitors to remain on the job was denied, and the port of Seattle was granted permission to load a government vessel in which supposedly there was no private property and an emergency existed.

In what later proved to be a tactical mistake, the committee voted to close the **Union Record.** An offer from the Equity Printing Company to put its plant at the disposal of the strike committee was approved by a sub-committee but rejected by the GSC.

Additional exemptions were granted for sanitary workers to pick up that garbage which would create "an epidemic of disease... but no ashes or paper;" to mail drivers, and to City Light for non-commercial power. Telephone operators were requested to remain on the job. (In our view these were unnecessary concessions.)

THE QUESTION OF CITY LIGHT WAS VERY difficult. The city's electrical workers had voted to strike **without** exemptions. The Electricians' business agent, Leon Green, had announced that "no lights would burn" in Seattle. Such a power shutoff would mean darkened streets and hospitals, spoiling of food in cold storage warehouses, and a halt to the water supply in West Seattle and on Queen Anne Hill, which depended upon electrical pumping apparatus.

Green correctly held that a complete tie-up would force an early end to the strike. This tactic was unfortunately opposed by most of the committee members, and most City Light departments were exempted. Mayor Hanson had appeared day and night before the GSC demanding complete operation of the city's light and water facilities, and threatened to use troops from nearby Camp Lewis to run the plant should it be closed down. As will be shown later, this was a hollow threat.

THE MASS STRIKE BEGINS

On Thursday at 10 a.m., 65,000 workingmen left their factories, mills, stores and workshops. The general strike had begun. 40,000 non-organized workers stayed home, either through solidarity with the organized workers or because their employers had closed down for the duration of the strike. According to a morning paper "not a wheel turned in any of the industries employing organized labor, or in many others which did not employ organized labor."*10*

The AFL strikers were joined by all organizations of the IWW and by the Japanese unions. Japanese workers, barred from the American Federation of Labor, had sent fraternal delegates to GSC meetings but were not permitted to vote. This racist policy of refusing to seat the Japanese delegates reflected the failure of the Seattle labor movement to see how racist ideas are used to divide the working class and keep **all** workers down.

LETTERS OF SUPPORT FROM LABOR ORganizations all over the state began pouring in to the strike headquarters. Many expressed their willingness to go out should the strike be expanded state-wide. In addition to 15,000 striking workers in Tacoma, various unions in Renton also struck. A delegate from Everett, 15 miles to the north of Seattle, announced that their union members would strike should any work be sent from Seattle, and a letter from Canadian Longshoremen stated that no boats diverted from Seattle would be unloaded.*

STRIKE ORGANIZATION SMOOTH

Despite the presence of some 6,000 armed police, soldiers and sailors, called in by the mayor, and the constant threat of martial law, the machinery of the strike was remarkably efficient. Although there were a few early miscalculations, no one lacked heat; milk for children was made available at 35 neighborhood stations; medical care was accessible to all; and union-run soup kitchens served some 30,000 full meals a day to those unable to eat at home.

This last task—the feeding of the strikers, their families and the general public—was probably the most difficult of all the strike activities. The commissary committee faced many problems: the amount of food to purchase, provision of plates and utensils, transportation of volunteer cooks and waitresses from their homes, and the transportation of food. The first day saw many food shortages and logistics problems, but these were basically ironed out by the second day. The food was cooked by union members in large kitchens donated by local restaurants. It was then transported to 21 halls opened in various parts of the city. Meals were available to any union card holders (AFL, IWW, or Japanese) for 25¢; 35¢ to all others. The meals were very nutritious and enough was available for everyone to eat as much as they wanted. The total operation of feeding the city incurred a financial loss of about $6,000, mostly due to first-day mis-estimate and waste food.

ORDER IN THE WORKERS' RANKS WAS PREserved by a group of veterans of WWI. The War Veterans Guard, as it was called, consisted of 300 unarmed men responsible for stopping disturbances through the use of political persuasion, rather than through force. One member described the method for dispersing crowds: "I would go in and say: 'Brother workingmen, this is for your own good. We mustn't have crowds that could be used as an excuse to start trouble.' And they would answer: 'You're right brother,' and begin to scatter."

* Today, sellout union leadership in the Longshore unions has whittled away the international class solidarity existing between Canadian and American longshoremen. When Canadian longshoremen struck years ago, American longshoremen scabbed on their strike. In the recent American strike, Canadian ILWU members continued to work. Rank-and-file ILWU and ILA members must throw out their nationalist leaders and rebuild unity across the bosses' borders.

The actions of the Guard served as an excellent example of how class-conscious workers can maintain order and guarantee that everyone's basic needs are met **without** the presence of the ruling class's police and armed forces. But relying only on this Labor Guard was overall a very bad tactic reflecting the fear of the strike leadership to sharpen the struggle. The ruling class is not affected by the "power of the strikers to manage," nor is it afraid of cooperative stores, or electoral campaigns. What scares the rulers most is militant, mass working class action forcibly shutting down **all** the city's industries and showing in huge demonstrations workers' willingness to fight the bosses and their hired guns. The War Veterans Guard was formed to prevent that type of militancy.

A Publicity Committee statement to the press on February 3 reflected the pacifism of the GSC. It read in part (emphasis ours):

> Relative to reports that Chief of Police Warren planned an increase of the Seattle police force during the strike, the committee announces that there will be absolutely no need of building up a larger police organization. The strike executive committee has already perfected plans to do its own policing on behalf of organized labor.... **The policing plan of the strike executive committee will work in entire harmony with the regular police department and its chief Joel F. Warren.** The Executive committee desired all union men and all union sympathizers, at the strike call at 10 o'clock Thursday February 6, to disperse to their homes in an orderly manner, and under no consideration to countenance any disorders of any kind.[11]
>
> Publicity Comm.—
> W.F. DeLaney, Chairman
> W.Z. Zinner, Secretary

THIS POLICY OF COLLABORATION WITH THE police was based on a fear of the people and played right into the hands of the local rulers. Seattle's bosses, meanwhile, knowing the potential strength and consciousness of the city's workers, were taking no chances. 1500 troops were called in from Camp Lewis, and 950 sailors and marines were on call. 600 extra policemen were sworn in for duty, and 2,400 special deputies were added, many of these being students from fraternities and ROTC classes at the University of Washington. Machine-guns were set up on rooftops and at strategic locations throughout the city.

Seattle's bosses were prepared for **battle**, yet violent struggle seemed to be the last thing on the minds of most strikers. As Anna Louise Strong commented later: "We lacked all intention of real battle; we expected to drift into power... the general strike put into our hands the organized life of the city—all except the guns. We could last only until they started shooting; we were one gigantic bluff."[12]

PACIFISM UNDERMINES MILITANCY

All this reflected the pacifist outlook of the General Strike Committee. If they had relied on the militancy of the rank and file—and, equally important, on the class consciousness of the Camp Lewis soldiers—their "bluff" could have turned into a bosses' nightmare. An article in the Seattle **Union Record** on Feb. 2 showed which side of the class struggle GI's are on. Under the headline "Soldiers Will Not Take Jobs of Strikers," the article told of a delegation of soldiers from Camp Lewis who appeared before the Tacoma Central Labor Council: "The soldiers reported that in a straw vote, approximately 38,000 men had registered their decision not to act as strikebreakers while less than 100 voted the other way." *13*

Despite all the organizing efforts, until the second day of the strike local business interests apparently expected an early end to their troubles. Perhaps they felt that the workers would completely fail in their attempts to run the city; or possibly they hoped that Mayor Hanson, who had been elected with strong trade-union support, could sweet-talk labor into an early settlement. Hanson had met with a committee from the GSC Friday morning, told them they had "won hands down" locally. Were the strike called off before noon, he promised to "lock up his desk and go to Washington" to bargain with Charles Piez and the pay board on behalf of the shipyard workers. *14* When told the strike would not end, Hanson threatened martial law. The committee members informed him that they were not afraid of martial law, that the strikers had many more allies to call out, and that Camp Lewis soldiers would not take kindly to being used as scabs against their class brothers and sisters.

RULING CLASS COUNTERATTACKS

By noon on Friday, 24 hours after the start of the general strike, the local ruling class had changed its line. After a meeting with J.W. Spangler, president of Seattle National Bank, Hanson issued a proclamation stating that people should return to work and would be protected by armed guards. He gave out another statement for United Press to distribute nationally, calling the strike "Bolshevik revolution." Immediately the local papers, the **Seattle Star, Argus, Daily Bulletin** and **Post-Intelligencer,** using skeleton crews, took up the call. Editorials echoed Hanson's racist, anti-communist proclamations. The strike was now the work of "muddle-headed foreigners," of the "scum of the melting pot of hell."

Friday night Spangler met with Hanson and the strike committee. Spangler reported that "his people" took the stand that the strike was a revolution and that they would not deal with revolutionists. Thereupon Hanson asked "That's final, is it Spangler?" Informed that it was, he turned to the strikers and said, "Then that's all there is to it, boys."

BY SATURDAY MORNING, THE "RED SCARE— anti-communism—was being pushed in newspapers all over the country. A front page headline in the **New York Times,** February 9, stated "Citizens Announce to the Nation that they will not Treat with Revolutionists—Ole Hanson, Far Famed as Fighter, Says Backbone of Strike is Broken." The text was typical of most national accounts:

> This city, which is the hotbed of IWW insurrection on the Pacific Coast, went to bed tonight feeling a bit calmer that by Monday, the strike of 35,000 men would have been ended, through the quick action of the City, State, and Federal Authorities. The Citizens Committee announced in a statement that 'The citizens and business interests have not entertained and will not entertain any proposals relating to the "general strike. We request that the people of America be informed of the fact that Seattle is not dealing with the revolutionists and is not in the hands of revolutionists.'" *15*

J.W. Spangler represented the two main business organizations in the city: the Citizens Committee and Associated Industries. Both were very exclusive groups composed of business executives and bankers dedicated to fighting for the open shop. For his role in the negotiations, Spangler was later to be chosen president of the Washington Bankers Association, President of the Chamber of Commerce, President of Clearing House Association of Seattle and president of the Seattle Credit Men's Association. Clearly it was the Citizens Committee and Associated Industries, and not "fearless" Mayor Hanson, who called the shots for the bosses, their media and local government during the strike.

THE STRIKE LEADERS BACK OFF

The lies in the press and Hanson's threats and proclamations only served to increase the anger of Seattle's workers. But the labor bureaucrats played their usual sellout role. When the Executive Committee, meeting on Saturday, passed a motion 13 to 1 to end the strike, hundreds of workers gathered accusing the leadership of selling out. The motion was unanimously voted down by the rank-and-file in the General Strike Committee.

Despite this the strike was beginning to dwindle largely due to pressure from international officers. Many of these international leaders were in town threatening to revoke local's charters should they continue the strike. First the Barbers, then the school engineers and janitors returned to work. At the Monday morning meeting of the GSC, a number of important unions were missing. The Stereotypers, Auto-drivers, Bill Posters, Ice Wagon Drivers, and Milk Drivers were absent, as were all members of the joint Council of Teamsters, ordered by their international to return to work. A few unions reported that prolonged participation might endanger their jobs, but most others were still voting enthusiastically to strike.

At the end of the Monday session, the executive committee again submitted a resolution calling for all unions which had gone back to work to strike

,000 WILL WALK OUT

EPARATIONS NOW COMPLETE FOR GENERAL STRIKE

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I. No. 243. — SEATTLE, WASH., MONDAY, FEB. 3, 1919 — TWO CENTS

ARITY OF TTLE TO BE NSTRATED

Thousand Will Re- to Strike Call nday Morning

ANNOUNCEMENT OF STRIKE

A general strike of all the union workmen in Seattle was decided upon definitely at a meeting held in the Labor Temple Sunday, February 2, 1919, when the date for the general strike was set for 10 a. m. Thursday, February 6, 1919.

Plans are perfected by the workers to feed the strikers and public at places which will be announced later by this committee. The plans, as outlined by a

WILSON BEGINS DRIVE FOR HIS PEACE LEAGUE

Expects Consummation of His Program by End of Week

WANT RULE OF RAILWAYS FOR THREE YEARS

Only Alternative to Turn Them Back Now, Says Hines

FACTS CONTRADICT PIEZ

Analysis of the events that have led up to the present strike situation will permit of but one conclusion. That conclusion is:

THE EMERGENCY SHIPPING BOARD HAS USED EVERY BIT OF POWER IT HAS TO PREVENT AN AMICABLE ADJUSTMENT OF THE WAGE CONTROVERSY.

The Macy Board has not attempted to SETTLE the questions involved but has PREVENTED A SETTLE-

AGAINST LAW TO CARRY GUN, SAYS MAYOR

Those Violating the Law Will Be Thrown Into Jail

again—but only until noon on Tuesday, at which time all might end the strike together. This resolution was quickly passed by the GSC. Almost all unions again were out Tuesday morning. At noon, the strike was over.

The shipyard workers, whose demands began it all, remained out, but with the war ended, and demand for ships sharply curtailed, the owners were content to wait out their strike. On March 17, the workers returned to work at the previous rate of pay.

THERE HAD BEEN NO STRIKE-RELATED arrests while the strike was strong, but with its end the local police raided the offices of the IWW, Socialist Party, and the Equity Printing Plant. 39 Wobblies were arrested on criminal syndicalism charges and the Equity Plant, printers of the **Union Record** and socialist literature, was temporarily shut down. Using anti-communism as a cover, the Associated Industries launched an open-shop offensive all over the city.

The Central Labor Council, despite the red scare, stood solidly behind the persecuted men. Immediately the Council began organizing the defense for those arrested. Their spirit was reflected in a CLC statement approved March 6 during the height of the anti-red, clean-house hysteria:

> We hasten to assure the draft-slacking publisher of the **Star,** all the employers who hate labor, and all those who love to lick their boots, that we know exactly what they mean by 'reds,' we know exactly what they mean by 'bolsheviki,' exactly what they mean by cleaning house, that organized labor in Seattle was never so proud of itself, that it appreciates the reds more for the enemies that they have made, that it has no intention of cleaning house to please its opponents, and that the general strike is permanently in the arsenal of labor's peaceful weapons.[16]

Eventually all of the Wobblies were acquitted and the bosses' open-shop movement was defeated.

Clearly the shipyards workers had failed in their fight for a wage boost. But very few workers saw the general strike as a failure. Chairman Ben Nauman of the GSC summed up the feelings of most after the strike; "We did something in this strike which has never been done by the AFL. We pulled off a general strike with craft unions, with iron-clad contracts which had to be broken, and with a (U.S.) constitution that had to be ignored."[17] The majority felt that the lessons learned and the unity achieved out of the struggle more than made up for the temporary defeat of the shipyard workers.

WEAKNESSES IN THE STRIKE

As was previously mentioned, the closing of the **Union Record** was a serious mistake. At a time when the bosses' press was whipping up a racist, anti-communist campaign, and when "the craving for news, for printed matter of any kind connected with the strike... was a need almost greater than that for food;"[18] at a time when it was critical to reach the general population with the real issues in the strike, the closing of the paper was disastrous. E.B. Ault, editor of the **Union Record,** explained the action by stating that it would be "unfair business practice to take advantage of their competitors," and that news, being a public service, "should have been stopped to show what labor solidarity really meant."[19] His "competitors," meanwhile, were issuing limited editions with skeleton crews. Police passed out their papers downtown and sent papers to the residential areas in cars full of armed guards.

By the time this error was understood, the employers had been given three days to push "red-scare" to the population—uncontested by the workers' press. As a result, many students, professionals and other allies of the working class actually believed that the city was on the verge of anarchy.

Another tactical weakness, equally important, was the failure to clarify the strike demands.

The main task of the GSC, to formulate a clear set of demands and a basic decision on the length of the strike, was never completed. Instead the strike took on more of a symbolic character rather than an action based on sharp, working class demands. It was never clear just who the strike was directed against; the Piez and Macy Payboard, the local shipyards, or the Seattle Chamber of Commerce. As a result, the Strike Committee had no short-term tactical perspective nor a longer term outlook for increased class struggle.

Written a month after the strike, a pamphlet issued by the History Committee of the Seattle General Strike advised workers of other cities: "If you are striking for a definite aim, and refusing to come back until you have gained it, make your aim so clear and simple that everyone in the city will know the one man on whom to bring pressure, and what one act to demand of him."[20]

MORE IMPORTANT THAN THESE TACTICAL errors were the political weaknesses of racism and pacifism on the part of the strikers, and the failure to understand the true class nature of city government. Though Ole Hanson was very clearly a puppet of Seattle business, the strikers never attacked Hanson or his bosses. Instead they directed all of their charges against Piez, who of course also deserved their hatred. They bargained and socialized with Hanson.

City government, along with state and national government, is part of a boss-controlled bureaucracy stacked against the interests of working people, and backed by the police and armed forces. It is about as neutral as the various bosses' Labor-Management Boards are "impartial."

Racism also weakened the struggle. Anti-Japanese and Chinese racism alone was a very devisive factor in the Seattle trade unions, but equally important, this weakness seriously impaired the general strikers' ability to fight the anti-European red-baiting propaganda in the bosses press. While the daily papers prattled on about "muddleheaded foreigners," the strikers themselves were maintaining racist discrimination within their own ranks.

REVOLUTION IN SEATTLE
THE NEED FOR A PARTY

> The sympathetic revolution was called in the exact manner as the revolution in Petrograd. Labor tried to run everything. Janitors and engineers in schools were called out, everything was stopped except for a few things which were exempted... this was an attempted revolution which they attempted to spread all over the U.S. It never got to first base and it never will if the men in control of affairs will tell all traitors and anarchists that death will be their portion if they start anything.
>
> Mayor Ole Hanson, Feb. 9, 1919.[21]

Was the general strike in fact an attempted revolution as Hanson maintained? It obviously was not. Though workers' power was certainly a key idea underlying the strike, most of its participants had neither the intention nor the experience to pursue revolutionary struggle. And most significantly, there was not as yet a mass-based communist party in America capable of giving leadership to a revolutionary struggle.

The leftist consciousness of Seattle workers must be attributed in large part to the work of the IWW, but without a Marxist-Leninist strategy of seizing state power, the Wobblies were limited to economist, or purely trade-unionist, activity. W.Z. Foster, once a member of the IWW, described the weaknesses of this syndicalist tendency:

> Briefly, the main theoretical errors of the left-wing which tended to the development of syndicalism were: (1) a great underestimation of the role of the party ...(2) exaggeration of the role of labor unions; (3) misconceptions of the role of the state, especially the dictatorship of the proletariat, and also the elaboration of syndicalist notions of conducting the future socialist society through a trade union state.[22]

THE BANKRUPTCY OF SYNDICALISM WAS clearly evidenced in the Seattle General Strike. The strikers had organized a virtually complete work-stoppage throughout the city. But from that point on they were entirely on the defensive. Neither the IWW nor any other left group saw the need for an organized vanguard revolutionary organization. They saw no need to agitate beyond the call for a general strike (and in fact all IWW meetings and rallies were cancelled for the duration of the strike).

As a result, the strikers were in no position to sharpen the struggle; they were "one gigantic bluff." As pressure mounted both from the unions' international leaderships and the troop buildup of the bosses, and as the regular trade-union leadership subsequently weakened, there was no left-political force ready to take charge and "up the ante" against the bosses.

This weakness in leadership was later described by Anna Louise Strong: "Workers in the ranks felt the thrill of massed power which they trusted their leaders to carry to victory. But as soon as one of these workers was put on a responsible committee, he also wished to stop 'before there is blood.' The strike could produce no leaders willing to keep it going. All of us were red in the ranks and yellow as leaders."[23]

Without a left leadership putting forward the idea of protracted struggle, the strikers were forced to retreat. At the end of the strike, labor found itself primarily involved in legal defense and working to build "competitive cooperative enterprises".

A REAL COMMUNIST PARTY IN 1919, solidly entrenched in the Seattle trade unions, could have done much to strengthen the general strike and lead its class-conscious participants to see the

need for armed revolution. Unlike the IWW, a communist organization would have worked among all sections of the population organizing support from students and professionals; it would have struggled to eliminate racism and nationalism, pointing out how these ideologies weaken the entire working class; and a real left would have called for mass working-class action in opposition to the pacifist tactics of the General Strike Committee. It would have aimed at ever sharpening the fight against the bosses.

As their key contribution, communists would have exposed the local government, showing how the entire ruling bureaucracy is controlled by the large banks and companies. They would have pointed out, as we must constantly do today, that socialism can only be won by violently smashing the entire bosses' state apparatus and replacing it with the dictatorship of the proletariat, a workers' state bent on wiping out all vestiges of the old ruling class.

WORKERS SHOWED THEIR POTENTIAL

Despite the absence of an organized left, despite the lack of a clear revolutionary perspective, the Seattle workers were intent on building a classless society and showed in many ways, through the coordination of their strike activities, how such a system, a socialist system, will function.

The leadership body of the general strike was chosen by rank-and-file workers from every participating union and all decisions of that group were arrived at democratically. None of the leaders received salaries. Through this organization, basically the entire city apparatus came under the control of the working class. The organization faced big handicaps. It was without access to factories and most stores, and under tremendous pressure from armed troops throughout the city, the local government, and union International leaderships. Nonetheless the General Strike Committee was able to provide food, medical care and all other basic needs to the entire population. Order was maintained, not by police terror as in capitalism, but through political discussions between the people. Under socialism, all workers will be armed to prevent counter-revolution, but disagreements **among the people** will be settled, not with violence, but by this same type of political struggle.

THE IDEA OF CO-OPS WAS SEEN BY MANY Seattle unionists as the road to workers' power.

Reprints taken from periodicals at the time of the Seattle general strike, 1919.

The cooperative movement, though a retreat from direct battle against Seattle's bosses, pointed the way to how a socialist economy will be run. The unions planned to form co-ops in every field. They opened one grocery store with all workers, from manager to clerk, receiving an equal wage of $8 per day. Under socialism, all stores and factories, being the shared property of the entire working class, will base production on people's needs and have this kind of relative equality of wages.

The Seattle General Strike stands today as evidence that workers can control and run the means of production, that the masses can democratically arrive at decisions concerning their collective interests, and that American workers have NOT historically rejected communist ideas.

THE SOLIDARITY AND CLASS-CONSCIOUSness of the general strikers in Seattle is a stirring example to all who share their aspirations for a decent life free from capitalist exploitation.

To workers who may engage in a future general strike to win reforms under capitalism, it is useful to study the Seattle strike of 1919. Some of its lessons, strengths and weaknesses have been noted in this paper. One additional point that we must make is that the general strike should not be taken lightly. To win, workers must be free of all illusions about the bosses' state, including local and national government, and be armed with communist ideas and communist leadership. Knowing full well the revolutionary potential of the general strike, the ruling class will use its full forces in an attempt to crush the strike and the organized left movement.

An aroused working class can turn back these attacks and win reforms through the general strike. To win lasting victory, workers must advance beyond this struggle, seize state power and establish the dictatorship of the working class.

* * *

In Seattle today, the Skinner and Eddy shipyard operations have long since disappeared and huge Boeing, Todd's and Lockheed plants stand in their place as the largest employers in the city. But little else has changed. Seattle workers, like workers across the country still, are confronted with a booming cost of living, and government payboards which sit on all wage increases. The government is again pushing, on campuses all over America, a virulent brand of racism designed to justify genocide, and wealth and power is still concentrated in the hands of a few rulers. The task remains for workers internationally to learn from the history of working-class struggle, to build sharper the fight for a shorter work week and against the divisive racist ideology of the rulers, and to build the revolutionary communist Progressive Labor Party in the U.S. until workers' power all over the world is finally supreme.

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Dollar Devaluation: Nixon's New Team Can't Stop Economy's Slide

AS NIXON'S SECOND ADMINISTRATION BEgins, it is clear that the top bankers and financiers who really run the country are becoming increasingly concerned over the rapid financial deterioration of U.S. imperialism. The unilateral devaluation of the dollar was a bitter pill that was forced down their throats by their counterparts in Europe and Japan. It exposed the increasingly weak financial position of U.S. imperialism. The hack politician from Texas, Connally, was kicked aside and a new team of economic czars headed by Shultz, the powerful Chicago industrialist, and Ash, a kingpin in the Bank of America empire, and including several high ranking emissaries from the Rockefeller domain, has taken over in Washington.

In this article, we will briefly examine the make-up of this new economic team and then discuss some of the implications of the devaluation of the dollar.

* * * * * *

With great fanfare a "new team" of economic "advisors" has taken over for Nixon's second term. These are the men who set the direction of governmental economic policies. Nixon, himself, has very little to say about these policies; they are decided for him by these "advisors."

Naturally, the big bankers, brokers, international speculators and industrialists, through their individual and collective decisions, set the course of the economy, in the main. But the federal economic czars have a lot to say about the economy. Their powers include:

(1) They largely determine the price of foods through manipulation of crop allotments and price supports to the corporate farms and through food import quotas;

(2) They determine the availability of and cost of housing through control of the FHA (Federal Housing Administration) apparatus and funds for local public housing;

(3) They affect the price of a large number of consumer goods, including gasoline, autos, radios and TVs, cameras, etc., through manipulation of tariffs and quotas on imports;

(4) They determine the "quality" of goods through their regulatory agencies;

(5) They determine the cost of interstate transportation (by bus, train or air) and of telephone communication;

(6) They largely determine the interest rates on consumer loans, mortgages, etc., through the NLRB, Cost of Living Council "arbitration," "fact-finding," "mediation," and other forms of "subtle" pressure, and use of court injunctions, special anti-labor laws, the army, FBI and National Guard to violently suppress the workers, if necessary;

(8) They have the ability, through government fiscal policies, to create jobs or create unemployment artificially;

(9) They directly set the wages of millions of government workers;

(10) They determine the rate of Federal income taxes.

THESE POWERFUL ECONOMIC CZARS' DEcisions affect workers' lives in very real ways. These decisions, often a life and death matter for thousands of workers, are made in secret meetings of the Council of Economic Policy (members listed in appendix).

The rulers of this country—the billionaire bankers, the powerful Wall Street brokers, the captains of industry, the international money dealers, the multi-millionaire coupon-clippers and their close friends and associates—meet secretly in two organizations, the Council on Foreign Relations (CFR) which collectively plans imperialist war diplomacy, trade and investment policy, and the Committee for Economic Development (CED) which collectively determines the course of the U.S. economy.

The Council of Economic Policy, which plans the government strategy in the economy and makes the important decisions we listed above, is thoroughly controlled by the CFR and the CED. (For more information on the CFR and CED and also on the ruling-class "think-tanks" such as Brookings Institute and the Twentieth Century Fund, see **Who Rules America II, PL,** V. 8 #6). (The members of the Council of Economic Policy are listed in the appendix.)

The new "team" members hardly had time to vacate their Wall Street offices and move into a mansion in some exclusive Washington suburb when the international money speculators presented them with the most serious dollar crisis yet.

U.S. BOSSES 'DEVALUED'

It was only months ago that Nixon and his then Treasury boss, Connally, announced with great fanfare the "Smithsonian Compromise." The U.S. had devalued the dollar by 8.6%, but other imperialist powers had agreed to revalue their currencies upwards; it was a compromise among the leading trading nations—U.S. Britain, Germany Japan, Italy, France and Holland. At that time, Nixon announced this would produce a trading **surplus** in 1972 of about $6 billion instead of the 1971 **deficit** of $2 billion. At that time, we in Progressive Labor ridiculed this wild claim of Nixon's (see **PL**, Vol. 8 #4, pg. 3). It turns out we were right and Nixon's figures were off by over $12 billion. (This is a very big error when you consider that there is only $10 billion in gold to back up a U.S. trade deficit.)

Instead of Nixon's predicted $6 billion **surplus** there was in 1972 a $6.4 billion trade **deficit.**

To put this into focus, we should note that, until 1971, the U.S. had not had a trade deficit in nearly 100 years! Because U.S. imperialism is so heavily committed abroad, the actual balance of payments, which includes investment funds, foreign "aid," costs of maintaining troops abroad, costs of financing dozens of military dictatorships, etc., is always greater than the trade deficit. The balance of payments has been in the red throughout the sixties but at least the trade balances were positive and they ameliorated, if they couldn't eliminate, the balance of payments deficits. When the trade balances went into the red for the first time in 1971 the U.S. imperialists had to devalue the dollar and stop its convertibility to gold in a desperate attempt to shore up their situation. It proved to be entirely in vain.

When the 1972 trade deficit of $6.4 billion was announced this past January, the international money speculators began gambling that the U.S. dollar would be devalued again; thus they precipitated the crisis that brought the dollar down.

IRONICALLY, IT WAS NONE OTHER THAN the big U.S. imperialist corporations, each looking out for himself in true capitalist style, that brought their own house down. There is better than $275 billion of short-term liquid assets held in private hands around the world; the lion's share belongs to the big U.S. banks and industrials. Each of these concerns has an international treasurer whose job it is to move this money quickly into whatever currency will show a profit.

> As long as you have billions of dollars without a fixed investment home, that money is going to move and attach itself wherever it can find a profit.—spokesman for the Chemical Bank.
>
> We don't believe in gambling against the U.S. dollar. But with assets in Germany, England and Japan, we made a handsome profit.—The European financial director of Johnson's Wax.

Thus, the biggest international speculators are none other than the international treasurers of Chase Manhattan, Bank of America, General Electric, General Motors, Standard Oil, etc.

In the past, the British pound and Canadian dollar were the buffer currencies that took the pounding from the international speculators and shielded the U.S. dollar. But these currencies are too weak to take it any more and were set afloat nearly a year ago. When that other weak currency, the Italian lira, was set afloat (in essence) in January, the international speculators turned on the U.S. dollar with a vengeance. On Jan. 22, $250 million poured into Switzerland; the Swiss countered by setting their currency afloat. Then, a day later, came the announcement of the $6.4 billion 1972 U.S. trade deficit. The speculators dumped their dollars for German and Japanese money as fast as they could; the Germans and Japanese countered with strict exchange controls. Even so, by Feb. 9, $6 billion that nobody wanted had entered Germany so the next Monday the banks closed in Europe.

Meanwhile, on Feb. 7 "team" member Paul Volker of Chase Manhattan left Washington to beg U.S. imperialism's "allies" for help. Volker first flew to Tokyo Feb. 8. Finding no satisfaction there, he met on Feb. 10 with the Germans, who told him to shove it. Then he went to London, then to Paris, then to Rome, then back to Paris, then back to Bonn on Feb. 12, where a Japanese bigwig as well as the Germans conferred with him. Unlike 14 months ago, this time nobody made anything but the vaguest of promises to Volker. U.S. imperialism was told to pull its own chestnuts out of the fire. Completely defeated, on Feb. 13 Schultz and Volker announced a unilateral 10% devaluation of the U.S. dollar.

WHAT DOES THIS ALL MEAN?

Much has been made of the great advantages U.S. trade will get from the devaluation. U.S. goods will be now 10% cheaper and imports 10% more expensive. Actually, things are not so simple. Exports of U.S. raw materials will be cheaper, and undoubtedly will expand. Thus, more and more U.S. farm goods, minerals, unprocessed timber, etc. will flow to the other imperialist nations. Although a greater **quantity** of the natural resources and agricultural produce of this country will be plundered by the other imperialists, the U.S. will receive less **money** for what is taken. As for U.S. manufactured goods competing abroad, the situation is by no means improved and may have deteriorated. The devaluation of the dollar will increase inflation in the U.S. while dampening it abroad. This plus the fact that foreign imperialists can get cheaper raw materials from the U.S. and thus lower their costs will more than offset the 10% price advantage that U.S. manufactured goods get.

For example, Japanese steel depends on U.S. coal and iron, but the price of the latter will decrease 10%, thus lowering the **cost** to produce Japanese steel. Moreover, inflation will cause U.S. steel to increase in price. When all the var-

iables come into play, it is doubtful that U.S. steel will be any cheaper than Japanese steel, or even that GM will be able to compete any better with Toyota or Volkswagen. Moreover, even if Japanese imports are cut in quantity, the money received per good may go up as much as 10%, and the trade balance may be even worse.

The effect of the devaluation will be to shift U.S. exports more from manufactured goods to raw materials. Even before the devaluation this trend had been occurring. Japan, which controls 90% of U.S. unprocessed timber exports, has been increasing its rape of U.S. forests at the rate of 500% in the last seven years! Now the Japanese traders are bidding up the price of timber; lumber prices in the U.S. are skyrocketing, causing the price of new homes in the U.S. to jump. A similar process took place with the Russian wheat deal. U.S. wheat became scarce causing a jump in flour and bread prices and, indirectly, a huge jump in meat prices.

The U.S. rulers dare not restrict these raw material exports; they need every dollar they can get. Yet, the effect is that foreign imperialists more and more govern the U.S. domestic market, driving up prices across the board and wiping out, in a short period, any trade advantage the U.S. imperialists got from devaluation. This is, of course, exactly what U.S. imperialism has been doing to the "underdeveloped countries" for 75 years.

In short, U.S. trade will get a few short-term advantages and some short-term disadvantages, but in the long run U.S. trade will suffer all around. However, when the investment situation is considered, it becomes clear what a disaster devaluation is for the U.S. ruling class. The basis of U.S. imperialism is the export of capital, and now **this costs 10% more** (since U.S. dollars are worth 10% less as compared to foreign currencies). New investment opportunities in Asia, Africa and Latin America will increasingly fall to other imperialists. As U.S. economic control fades, won't political control follow? The capitalist dream of an American Century is turning into a nightmare of retreat, rout and ruin.

THE DEVALUATION MAKES ALL THE MORE costly the maintenance of troops and military bases overseas; makes it all the harder to buy off petty tyrants and set up subservient military client states. Another war on the scale of Vietnam would be a financial debacle for the U.S. imperialists. The U.S. troops will soon leave Taiwan, South Korea and West Germany; the far-flung network of military bases, missile sites and military alliances is rotting and becoming too costly to maintain. The process of decline once begun is now accelerated. The devaluation is such a catastrophe for the U.S. imperialists that all the lies of their mass media can't cover it up.

JAPANESE BOSSES RIDING HIGH . . .

"One man's meat is another man's poison." The Japanese imperialists are the big winners. While the U.S. suffered a $6.4 billion deficit, **$4.2 billion of that went to Japan.** All in all, the Japanese financiers gained a $8 billion **surplus** in 1972. Japanese foreign exchange reserves stand at some $18 billion, up from $4 billion in 1970. Because of cheaper U.S. raw materials and other factors we noted, the devaluation won't put a dent in Japan's huge trade surplus, but it will certainly spur Japanese foreign investment. The U.S. itself will be one target for the Japanese imperialists.

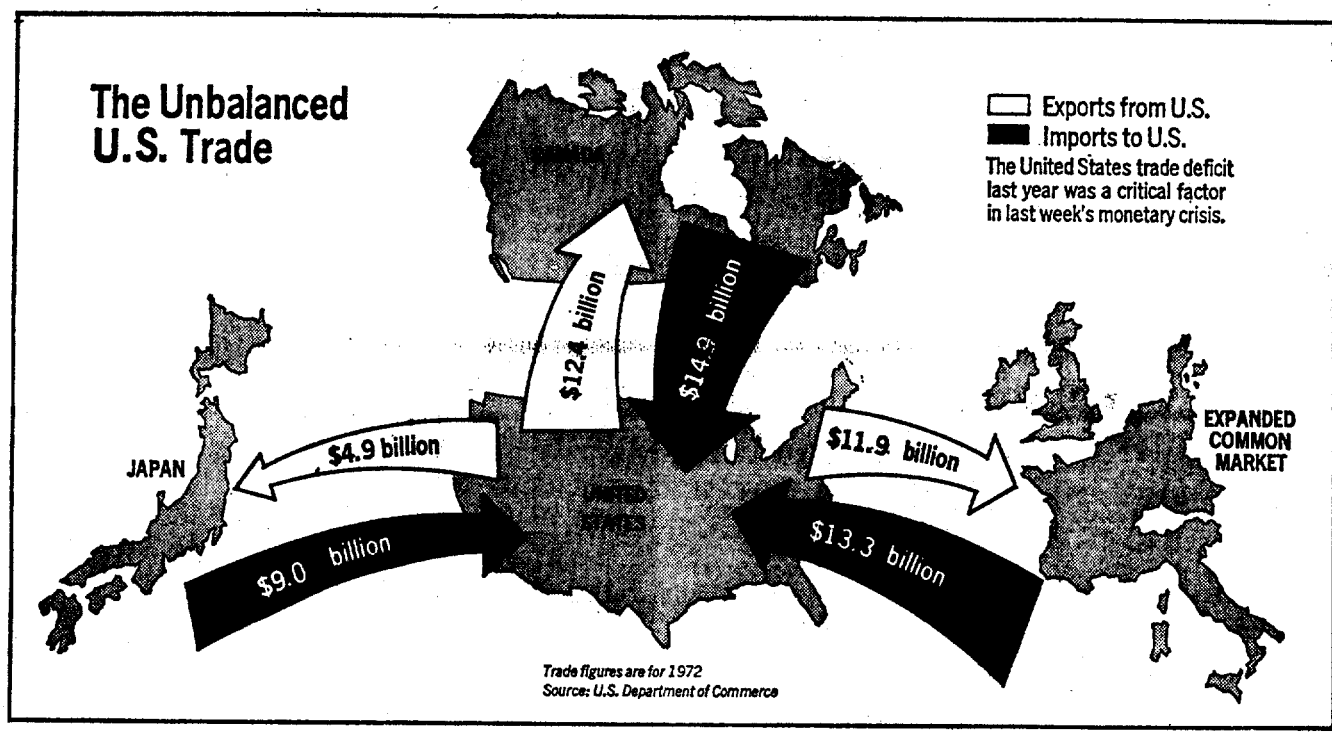
SONY already has started producing TVs in San Diego; Kikkoman Shozu has opened a soy sauce factory in Wisconsin, while Toyota and Nissan Motors (Datsun) are planning to build big auto plants on the West Coast. Texaco, Chrysler and other U.S. companies are borrowing money in Tokyo as are a number of state and local governments. The Japanese imperialists can be expected to complete the take-over of the economies of South Korea, Taiwan, Indonesia, Malaya and possibly Australia in the next few years. Japanese penetration of Latin America, Southeast Asia and even Alaska is well under way and the control of former preserves of U.S. imperialism may come under attack in the not too distant future.

You can bet that a large chunk of all that money in Tokyo will be earmarked for the rebuilding of the imperial Japanese military on a scale that some day could challenge the U.S. and the Soviet Union. When the Japanese imperialists control the economy of the Pacific, they will want military control as well.

. . . AND EUROPEAN BOSSES, TOO

Another $1.5 billion of the U.S. trade defecit is attributed to West Germany. The German imperialists also now have a huge dollar hoard to spend and will invest in areas they are interested in—Europe and Africa. The Common Market countries as a whole are now virtually free from the danger of any further U.S. economic penetration. The next few years will see the post-war trend of U.S. investment in Europe reversed as more and more U.S. imperialist firms are forced out or nationalized. It is now evident that the French ruling class, for one, intends to install a nationalistic "popular front" (consisting of the "Socialist" Party and the "Communist" Party) in office within the next few years under a pledge to nationalize virtually all U.S. industry in France. These demogogic fake radicals will pretend to "socialize" U.S. imperialism's firms in France, but in reality will turn them over to the big French banks. The German imperialists have the financial clout to simply force out U.S. businesses by economic means.

The Soviet imperialists are not heavily involved in money dealings, but where they are involved, they only benefitted from the devaluation. As a preliminary step, they slapped a 10% surcharge on all dollar-ruble transactions. More im-



Figures don't lie.

portant is the prospect of paying in cheaper dollars for the $1 billion worth of wheat they ordered from the U.S., but **haven't paid for yet.** From that source alone **they will get a $100 million bonus out of the devaluation!** (Similarly, the Chinese capitalists will save $15 million on their Boeing 707 deal.) The devaluation will encourage the Russian imperialists to buy **more** U.S. wheat, which will put the U.S. wheat and feed grain market increasingly at the mercy of Soviet traders. This gives the Soviets a certain leverage to use against the U.S. and other imperialists.

We don't want to imply the beast is dead or dying, but U.S. imperialism is sick and getting sicker. **The bosses will try to take their overseas losses out of the hides of U.S. workers.** Like a gambler who has lost his paycheck on the horses, there is no money left for food for the family.

THE ALTERNATIVES—MORE DILEMMAS

The devaluation is no solution to the U.S. imperialists' dilemma. It is basically caused, on the one hand, by a financial structure that was wrecked by over-ambitious expansion in the Fifties and the ruinous defeat in Vietnam, and, on the other hand, by out-moded production facilities. In the end, the U.S. imperialists can reverse their decline by only three methods:

(1) They can, rapidly and sharply, drive down the standard of living of U.S. workers **below** the level of those in Japan, Europe and the Soviet Union. This would mean an all-out fascist military dictatorship that outlawed strikes or any union organizing, and probably threw out their vaunted Constitution.

(2) They can raise tarriffs, nationalize foreign enterprises, both in the U.S. and in U.S.-controlled oppressed nations, and engage in an all-out trade war. This would inevitably lead to retaliation.

(3) They can start a World War against selected imperialist enemies, most likely targets being Japan and the Soviet Union, and use the war to re-assert control over imperialist "allies" in Europe and China.

Each of these policies would be a risky gamble with unfavorable odds, which, if the U.S. imperialists lose, would bring cataclysmic defeat and very likely proletarian revolution. So, right now they shy away from any one of these drastic alternatives, instead **picking up elements from each.** That is, they will try to lower the standard of living of U.S. workers, although gradually and subtly; they will engage in a limited trade war against some powers, mainly Japan, and they will order some of their more aggressive client states, like Israel, to attack the other imperialists' interests.

They are hoping that some combination of these half-way measures, along with time and luck, will make it all right for them. But, in the long run, it is not likely they will get out of the morass that easily, and revolution will stalk them, eventually finding its mark.

The most immediate effect of the bosses' gambling losses abroad will be sharply increased prices. We already noted how Japanese control of U.S. timber resources is causing the cost of new homes to skyrocket. Last **year** the cost of lumber

in a new home rose $500; **this January** the lumber costs jumped another $700—**this is only one month.** The wheat deal with the Russians caused the price of bread and flour to increase 5% in the last two months and meat to jump 10%. And this is just the beginning. Retail prices are continuing to climb at the same or a faster rate in meat- and grain-based products, since the full effects of the wheat deal won't be felt until the summer.

The costs of imported raw materials and components for U.S. industry will rise, causing a general jump in the prices of U.S.-manufactured goods and, of course, the costs of imported manufactured goods will rise. Gasoline prices, which already are at a record high, will climb sharply to reflect the increased cost of Mid-East and Venezuelan oil, and, as U.S. oil wells dry up, U.S. industry will be more and more dependent on oil imports. Almost all electronic equipment sold in the U.S.—stereos, TVs, radios, tape recorders, marine communication and navigation gear—is either manufactured abroad or depends on components manufactured abroad. Since the price of these will now rise, we can expect a sharp rise in the price of electronic gear.

Finally, interest rates for consumer loans will skyrocket as a result of the devaluation. Now that the crisis is temporarily ameliorated, European central banks will stop buying U.S. Treasury securities. This means that the federal deficit will have to be financed domestically. This will put tremendous pressure on interest rates, both for consumer loans and on corporate loans, which will cause even higher retail prices on all items.

WORKERS THE REAL VICTIMS

Workers are finding all their wage gains wiped out by higher prices; the prospect now is even worse, with prices more than offsetting the meager wage "gains" of Phase II. Workers in many industries are finding they're worse off in terms of real spendable income than in 1965. The devaluation will cause even greater hardships unless we fight back.

This year contracts are up in many key industries, including auto, electrical, trucking, longshore, rubber and in the post office. In addition to other gains, such as a shorter work week, workers must demand a big pay boost to make up for the loss in spendable real income during Phase I and II of the wage freeze, **and, on top of that** substantial pay hikes to protect ourselves from the huge price increases caused by devaluation. Remember, the bosses intend to take this devaluation out of our hides. As a result, prices will be skyrocketing well into 1974. **A pay boost of 25% in most industries will be barely adequate.** That means for Teamsters anything less than an immediate raise of $1.50/hour will be a **net loss** for us; auto and post-office workers should accept nothing less than an immediate $1.25/hour **just to stay even.**

If the bosses say that's "too much," ask them how much their profits have risen in Phase II. (All of the auto companies increased their profits **better than 25%.**) If the bosses tell us that their weak trading position makes it hard for them to give us the wage increases we need, we will tell them: "That's tough! It was your policies of imperialist agression and war that got you into this trouble in the first place. You greedily overreached yourself; you gambled and lost. Now, don't expect the working class to make up your losses. If things are so bad you can't hack it, step aside.

The working class is perfectly capable of running the economy 1,000 times better than you, since we will be running it for ourselves, the overwhelming majority. One day, like it or not, we will kick you aside and run things anyway."

APPENDIX

MEMBERS OF NIXON'S NEW ECONOMIC TEAM

(1) **Chairman, George P. Shultz**—Member of CED, director of Borg-Warner Corp, General American Transport, Stein, Roe & Farnham Stock Fund, and the Chicago Association of Commerce and Industry; former dean of the University of Chicago business schools. Shultz formerly "served" in Eisenhower's Council of Economic Advisors and since 1959 has "served" as councilor to, or member of, numerous government commissions, "arbitration panels," etc. In addition to chairing the CEP, Shultz runs the Treasury Department, the second most powerful government department; he has an office right in the White House so he can keep close watch on Nixon for the ruling class, and is the behind-the-scenes man who gives George Meany his marching orders.

(2) **Roy L. Ash**—Member of the CED; director of Bank of America, Pacific Mutual, Litton; trustee of Cal Tech and president of the L.A. World Affairs Council, where the ruling class of Los Angeles gathers. Ash has been with the Bank of America since 1936 and was assigned by Bank of America to set up Litton Industries in the Fifties, which grew to be a multi-billion dollar company. Ash is head of the Office of Management and Budget and is the man responsible for the 268 billion-dollar federal budget.

(3) **Herbert Stein**—Staff member of the CED since 1945; also in the ruling class Brookings Institute. Stein joined the Council of Economic Advisors in Johnson's administration. He is now chairman of this board, which makes long-range economic policy. Stein heads up a staff of dozens of highly paid "economists" who do nothing but dream up new ways to screw the working class.

(4) **Peter Flanigan**—Vice-president of Dillon, Read & Co., the Rockefeller-controlled investment company, the most powerful brokerage outfit on Wall Street. Flanigan has been with Dillon, Read since 1947. This wealthy snob is a member of the most exclusive clubs in New York and Connecticut. As Presidential Assistant, Flanigan is

the direct link between Nixon and his patrons, the Rockefeller family.

(5) **Earl Butz**—Member of the CFR-CED-controlled Brookings Institute; director of Standard Life, International Minerals and Chemicals, Stokley Van Camp, Ralston Purina. Butz is head of the Department of Agriculture and is pretty much responsible for the high price of our grocery bills (but then, as director of two of the biggest food companies in the country, what did you expect!).

(6) **Fred B. Dent**—Director of General Electric, So. Carolina National Bank, Josh L. Baly & Co., Mayfair Mills, the American Textile Mfg. Association. Dent has been president of Mayfair Mills of So. Carolina, a non-union sweatshop, since 1947 and his anti-worker policies earned him the presidency of the American Textile Manufacturers Institute. Dent is Secretary of Commerce.

(7) **William P. Rogers**—Of the Wall Street Law Firm, Royal, Kuegel, Rogers and Wells, he is a member of only the most exclusive clubs in New York and Washington. Rogers is Secretary of State.

(8) **Claude S. Brinegar**—An executive of Union Oil since 1953, and director of the American Petroleum Institute. As head of the Transportation Department, this oil company millionaire will be "responsible" for mass public transit and pollution control.

(9) **Peter J. Brennan**—Rockefeller's labor lieutenant in New York City. As Secretary of Labor, Brennan will be another Rockefeller conduit into the government.

(10) **John T. Dunlop**—Former dean of Harvard's Faculty of Arts and Sciences. This "scholar" learned early who runs the country and since 1944, in the Boston War Labor Board, set out to convince the ruling class he could be trusted. In 30 years and on dozens of government labor arbitration panels, including the NLRB, Railroad Commission, Construction Industry Joint Conference, Dunlop has yet to register a pro-labor decision. Dunlop heads the Cost of Living Council, which will freeze wages.

Four powerful de facto members of the CEP:
(11) **Arthur Burns**—Member of the CFR, director of the Twentieth Century Fund and Swarthmore College. Burns has been a member of various government commissions since 1950. Burns is boss of the very powerful Federal Reserve Board, the chief maker of monetary policy.

(12) **William D. Eberle**—Member of the CFR and the CED, director of Boise-Cascade, Hewlett-Packard, Pittsburgh Plate Glass, Atlantic Group Insurance Co., American Standard Inc., Equity Corp., Stanford U., Harvard Business School, Federal Reserve Bank of New York. Eberle is a very powerful financial mogul who founded the billion-dollar conglomerate, Boise-Cascade for Eastern interests, then became the most powerful figure in Idaho politics. Lately he headed up the liberal "Common Cause" and the National Urban Coalition. Eberle is Special Representative for Trade Negotiations and sets U.S. trade policy.

(13) **Paul A. Volcker**—Member of the CFR, member of the advisory committee of the American Bankers Association. Wolcker has been with Chase Manhattan since 1957. He "worked" in the Treasury Department (for Chase) when Kennedy was president, returned to Chase and then shuttled back to the Treasury in 1969. Volcker is Under-Secretary of the Treasury and is the top planner for international monetary talks.

(14) **Willis J. Casey**—Of the rich New York law firm, Hall, Casey, Dukle & Hurly. Casey was lately head of the Securities and Exchange Commission which "regulates" the Wall Street brokers. The brokers liked him so much that now Casey is Assistant Secretary of State for Economic Affairs. His job is to make the State Department "more (sic) business-oriented," if that is possible.

"I'm as aware of the evils of Communism as anyone, but good God, when you think of eight hundred million Chinese in terms of franchises . . ."

Lockheed Bailout: U.S., British Governments Front for Bosses

IN 1971 LOCKHEED AIRCRAFT CORPORAtion faced a financial crisis that threatened to send it into bankruptcy. At stake in this crisis were actually two corporations, Lockheed and Rolls-Royce Ltd. of Great Britain, $2.5 billion in subcontracts to over 1,500 other corporations, $400 million in loans from 24 banks and well over 50,000 jobs in the U.S. and Great Britain.

At that time, there was a great deal of hand-waving in the press about whether Lockheed was going to survive. **The New York Times** ran editorials calling for the demise of Lockheed because of the mis-management that brought about the crisis. Forty-eight U.S. senators voted to allow Lockheed to go bankrupt. This was echoed by presidential candidate George McGovern. Lockheed's fate hinged on whether or not the U.S. government would guarantee a $250 million loan from the banks to Lockheed. Great Britain's government required this as a pre-condition for their insuring the fate of Rolls-Royce. What seemed to be an assault on big business by the liberal senators failed by one vote (48-49) so, the U.S. government shored up Lockheed.

We will show here that the future of Lockheed was never in doubt, that the **entire** ruling class knew what the outcome would be and that they used the governments of the U.S. and Great Britain as tools in this "crisis." This last point was indicated in a more general way in **PL Magazine,** vol. 8, #6 in the article, **Who Rules America—II** (Some of the data in this article is drawn from that source).

THE C-5A

In 1970 Lockheed ran into cost over-run problems with the C-5A transport ordered by the Pentagon. Cost over-run is the process by which defense contractors soak as much money as possible out of the government. First the government says it wants some kind of gadget; then the contractors bid "low" on it. Once a contract is granted, "unexpected problems" crop up, sometimes increasing the cost as much as 50% to 100% or more. Lockheed was no exception to this game; the government, for a long time, encouraged this. After all, since working people pay a disproportionate amount of taxes compared to the banks and corporations, the bosses figures they could get some of this extra loot fairly easily.

In 1961 Defense Secretary MacNamara introduced the "total package contract." This form of contracting called for a firm commitment years in advance to produce weaponry (for wars like Korea and Vietnam) that **had not yet been invented!** The Pentagon tried to "foresee the unforeseeable" and the companies bid on it. Lockheed was one of the more successful ones in this scheme. This is not meant to be funny; literally hundreds of billions of dollars were granted under this system. The government was merely a source of money for a lot of these companies.

In March of 1970 Lockheed announced huge cost over-runs on the C-5A. Without going into all the details of this mess, the final settlement accepted by Lockheed—when the Pentagon refused to pay such huge cost over-runs—was a **loss of $480 million.** This included wages, research and development costs and interest on loans. The deal was signed on Feb. 1, 1971. Since the U.S. was in a tough financial situation, the government was trying to present an image of being on the side of the people by denying Lockheed this extra loot.

SINCE 90% OF LOCKHEED'S SALES CAME from U.S. government contracts, the directors of Lockheed began to branch out. The other main market for aircraft companies is the airlines. Boeing was building the 747 jumbo jet. McDonnell-Douglas was building the DC-10 airbus. Lockheed decided to go ahead on the L-1011, a plane designed to compete directly with the DC-10.

By Feb. 1, 1971, the day of the signing of the C-5A loss, Lockheed had invested $990 million in the L-1011; subcontractors had invested $350 million; Rolls-Royce had invested $400 million. This was quite a large sum—$1.7 billion. On Feb. 2, 1971, Rolls-Royce announced to Lockheed that it was bankrupt. Rolls-Royce made the engines for the L-1011. Switching to other engines (GE made the engines for the DC-10; Pratt and Whitney made them for the 747) would be prohibitive in design-change costs and the C-5A debacle left

Lockheed with very little capital. Lockheed faced bankruptcy.

At the same time, in 1971 the U.S. was facing a severe economic crisis. Unemployment was "officially" over 6% and climbing. The U.S. balance of payments situation was steadily worsening and other imperialist powers—West Germany, Japan and France—were leading attacks on the dollar. The strike wave in the U.S. was continuing and the effects of the 1970 GM strike were still being felt. The working class movement in the U.S. was still gaining strength; wildcat strikes continued unabated. In one year's time the circulation of PLP's newspaper, **Challenge-Desafio,** went from a few thousand to 100,000 per issue. U.S. bosses were trying to get out of this situation without losing any imperialist holdings and without causing the workers' movement here to accelerate.

The loss of the India-Pakistan region to the Soviet Union was an example of the struggle going on overseas. The U.S. lost out in that fight; if it wasn't for the movement in the U.S. there would have been a half-million troops in Bangladesh. In the U.S. the mich-publicized Penn-Central R.R. faced financial difficulties that led to the AMTRAK system. However, as always under capitalism, in order to save Lockheed from bankruptcy an attack on the workers was necessary. The aircraft companies carried out this attack ruthlessly, laying off over 250,000 workers.

THE INTERLOCKING DIRECTORATES

In **Who Rules America—I (PL Magazine,** vol. 7, #4), it was shown that the large banks control the large corporations through a system of interlocking boards of directors. It was pointed out that only the banks have the big capital which corporations need for investment, research and development. Our claim is that the Lockheed corporation is controlled by the Bank of America group. Table I shows the financial group clustered around the Bank of America. One of the banks is the Western Bancorporation, which is actually a bank holding company owning 24 banks, including the United California Bank, the fifth largest bank in that state. Security First National Bank, the second largest in California, is interlocked with the Bank of America. This bank, through a series of mergers, is also known as Security Pacific National Bank.

The extent of control of Lockheed by the Bank of America group is shown in Table II. There the interlocks between the board of directors of Lockheed and the Bank of America group are listed. In 1970 Lockheed had 16 directors and no less than eight came from the Bank of America group. There are four interlocks with United California Bank, two interlocks each with Investment Company of America, Southern California Edison and Security First National Bank and one each with the American Mutual Fund and Pacific Mutual. Furthermore, the chairman of the board and the president of Lockheed come from the Bank of America group.

The extent of the Lockheed empire is shown in Table III. These are the wholly-owned subsidiaries of Lockheed. This empire spreads out to ten states and twelve countries in Europe, Asia, North and South America and the Middle East. In 1970 Lockheed and its subsidiaries employed over 84,000 people. This was quite an empire, one which the Bank of America didn't want to go bankrupt.

Table IV shows that the ruling class was united in its efforts to save Lockheed. Twenty-four banks came forward during the crisis and loaned Lockheed $400 million. They promised an additional $250 million provided the U.S. government guaranteed it. These 24 banks represent **all of the big New York banks of Rockefeller and Morgan.** Furthermore, of the top 11 ruling-class groups in the U.S., **nine are listed among these 24 banks.** The remaining Seattle and Atlanta banks appear to have been thrown in because of their connections with Lockheed Shipbuilding and Construction Co. (Seattle) and the Lockheed-Georgia Co. (Marietta, Ga.).

The alliance of the Rockefeller, Morgan, Mellon, Prudential, Boston, Chicago, Philadelphia, San Francisco and Bank of America groups represented a unity in the ruling class that even Fortune Magazine **had to call unprecedented in modern financial dealings. With this clout, was the future of Lockheed ever really in doubt?**

THE "RIPPLE" EFFECT

The extent of the financial crisis would be felt far beyond Lockheed. Table V lists the subcontracts Lockheed granted on the L-1011. Over 1,500 companies received subcontracts from Lockheed, estimated by **Fortune** to be worth $2.5 billion. The largest one was to Rolls-Royce for $900 million. Many of these companies in turn subcontracted to other companies. It is probably correct to say that for every job in the aircraft industry there is at least one outside of it dependent upon it. The hundreds of thousands of small companies, which may or may not be owned by the big companies and banks, are hemmed in by the top rulers anyway. This situation is made clear in the L-1011 case. The small companies depend upon the subcontracts let them by the large companies. When you take the 500 corporations in the U.S. and consider the subcontractor relationship, it is probably true that very few companies, if any, consider themselves independent of the top rulers. Furthermore, these large companies are controlled by the big banks. This pyramid structure envelops the entire economy.

A similar situation exists in Great Britain and probably in all capitalist countries. Although it is difficult to gain information on the details of the interlocking directorates in Great Britain, what data exists shows that Rolls-Royce is interlocked with the Lloyds Bank Ltd. and the Midland Bank

TABLE I **Bank of America Group**

Banks: Bank of America
Western Bancorporation
Security Pacific National Bank
U.S. National Bank of Oregon
Union Bank

Insurance and other financial:
Transamerica Co.
Occidental Life
Investment Company of America
Pacific Mutual
American Mutual Fund
Standard Insurance (Portland)

Utilities:
Southern California Edison
Pacific Light and Supply
Pacific Power and Light (Oregon)

—and 21 corporations including Lockheed, Union Oil, Litton Industries, Northrup Aviation and the **L.A. Times.** In turn, Western Bancorporation is a bank holding company which owns 24 banks including United California Bank, the fifth largest California bank.

TABLE II **Interlocks Between Bank of America Group and Lockheed**

Director of Lockheed...	**...is also a director of:**
D.J. Haughton, chairman of the board	United California Bank Southern California Edison
A.C. Kotchian, president	Security Pacific National Bank
D.E. Browne, group V.P.	United California Bank
W.W. Keith	Investment Co. of America
C.E. Ducommun	Security Pacific National Bank Investment Co. of America
C. Chappellet	American Mutual Fund
J.K. Horton	United California Bank Pacific Mutual Southern California Edison
D.M. Cochran	United California Bank

TABLE III **Lockheed Subsidiaries**

Name	**Type-Place**
Aviquipo Inc.	Export of Aerospace Parts
Lockheed Air Terminal, Inc.	Operation of Hollywood-Burbank Airport
Lockheed Aircraft International, Inc.	International Joint Ventures
Lockheed Electronics Co.	Weapon Systems
Lockheed Missiles and Space Co.	Polaris, Poseidon missiles
Lockheed Properties, Inc.	Real Estate
Lockheed Shipbuilding & Construction Co.	Shipbuilding, Seattle
Lockheed Western Export Co.	Nassau, Bahamas
Lockheed Aircraft (Asia) Ltd.	Hong Kong, Tokyo
Lockheed Aircraft Ltd.	Canberra, Australia
Lockheed Aircraft SA	Paris, Madrid
Lockheed Aircraft SA	Beirut, Lebanon
Lockheed Aircraft Corp. of Canada, Ltd.	Ottawa, Canada
Lockheed Aircraft International, A.G.	Switzerland
Lockheed Aircraft International, Ltd.	Hong Kong
Lockheed Aircraft International, SA	Panama
Lockheed Aircraft Service Singapore, Ltd.	Singapore
Lockheed Petroleum Services, Ltc.	Canada

Lockheed has operations in 10 states and 12 countries. (Data from Moody's Industrials.)

TABLE IV **Banks Loaning Money to Lockheed**

Banks	Ruling Class Financial Group
Chase Manhattan Bank	Rockefeller
First National City Bank	Rockefeller
Chemical Bank of New York	Rockefeller
First National Bank of Chicago	Morgan
Morgan Guaranty Trust Co.	Morgan
Bankers Trust	Prudential
Manufacturers Hanover Trust	Boston
Irving Trust Co.	Boston
First National Bank of Boston	Chicago
Continental Illinois	Philadelphia
Philadelphia National Bank	Philadelphia
Girard Trust Bank	Philadelphia
Mellon National Bank and Trust Co.	Mellon
Wells Fargo Bank	San Francisco
Crocker-Citizens National Bank	San Francisco
Bank of California	San Francisco
Bank of America	Bank of America
Security Pacific National Bank	Bank of America
United California Bank	Bank of America
Pacific National Bank of Washington	Seattle*
Citizens and Southern National Bank	Atlanta**
First National Bank of Atlanta	Atlanta**
Fulton National Bank	Atlanta**
Trust Co. of Georgia	Atlanta**

* Finances local operations of Lockheed Shipbuilding and Construction Co., Seattle
** Finances local operations of Lockheed Georgia Co., Marietta, Georgia
Data from **Fortune Magazine** and **Who Rules America—I (PL Mag.)**

TABLE V **Lockheed Sub-contractors on the L-1011**

Company	Value of contract (350 planes)	
Rolls-Royce	$900.0 million	
Avco	575.0	
Menesco	95.2	
Collins Radio	71.8	
Hamilton Standard	69.0	
Sunstrand	46.6	
Murdock Machine & Engineering	33.8	
Northwest Industries	27.0	
Sperry Flight Systems	26.3	
Curtiss-Wright	25.2	
Heath Tecna	22.8	
Instrument Systems	19.1	
LTV Electrosystems	16.2	
National Water Lift	13.9	
Bertea	13.6	
Kawasaki Aircraft	13.3	
Grimes Manufacturing	13.0	
Bristol Aerospace	12.6	
Air Cruisers	11.0	
Western Gear	10.4	
Fleet Manufacturing	9.0	
Lear Siegler	8.8	
Sierracin	7.8	
Weston Hydraulics	7.4	
Goodyear Tire & Rubber	6.9	
BF Goodrich	5.2	Total
1500 other sub-contractors	500.0	$2.5 billion

Ltd., two of the largest banks in Great Britain. There is also an interlock with the Bank of England, the government-run bank. In addition to these banks, when Rolls-Royce reached its crisis situation it was able to pull top management from Dutch Royal Shell and Unilever, the two largest corporations outside the U.S. Although the data is incomplete, there appears to be the same financial structure in Great Britain: banks at the top, the large corporations next and finally the smaller companies dependent upon the large ones.

The extent of the Rolls-Royce empire is listed in Table VI. Rolls-Royce was almost in an identical situation as Lockheed. A great deal of money was sunk into the RB-211 engines for the L-1011. Thousands of workers at Rolls-Royce and its subcontractors faced mass layoffs. This was the situation as the ruling class prepared to use the government to back up their loan.

It should be considered that when a corporation goes bankrupt it does not disappear. The companies are reorganized by the ruling class and set in business again. For some companies, like the Penn Central R.R., very little disruption occurred because of the nature of its business. Trains were needed on a daily basis, so they were kept rolling by the ruling class. For Lockheed, however, it would be a different story. The contracts to build certain planes like the L-1011 would be nullified and many workers would be temporarily laid off as the company was reorganized and new contracts were found.

It should also be noted that the bosses' main interest was **not** the workers' jobs; they had already laid off over 250,000. Bosses have never cared about the misery workers face when they are laid off. The bosses were mainly concerned with profit. As long as a company is being forced into bankruptcy, it's not making profits. Either the bosses reorganize it or sell it. The only fear the rulers had about laying off workers was, what would workers do in response? The strike wave, especially wildcats, and the growth of communist ideas had the rulers worried. This contradiction always exists under capitalism and there is no way out for the rulers if we continue to organize against them.

THE BOSSES RUN THE STATE

In the negotiations between the U.S. government and the Banks, Bank of America and Bankers Trust were chosen as representatives of Lockheed's 24 banks. Treasury Secretary Connally represented the government. An ultimatum was issued to the government: guarantee a $250 million loan (over and above the $400 million already loaned); otherwise the ruling class would make things tough on

TABLE VI Rolls-Royce Subsidiaries

Armstrong Siddeley Motors Ltd.
Bentley Motors Ltd.
Blackburn Engines Ltd.
Bristol Aero Engines Ltd.
The Bristol Aeroplane Co. Ltd.
Bristol Engine Rentals Ltd.
Bristol Siddeley Enrlich Engineering Ltd.
Bristol Engine Services Ltd.
Bristol Siddeley Engines Ltd.
Bristol Siddeley Whittle Tools Ltd.
British Space Development Co. Ltd.
Concorde Engine Support Organization Ltd.
The De Havilland Engine Co. Ltd.
E.H.E. Ltd.
Thomas Hill Ltd.
International Ceramics Ltd.
Larkhall Machine Tool Co. Ltd.
H.J. Mulliner & Co. Ltd.
H.J. Mulliner, Park, Ward Ltd.
Nuclear Developments Ltd.
Paramatic Engineering Ltd.
Park Ward & Co. Ltd.
The Powertrue Co. Ltd.
Product Support Ltd.
Renfrew Foundries Ltd.
Rolls-Royce and Associates Ltd.
Rolls-Royce (Composite Materials) Ltd.
Rolls-Royce Developments Ltd.
Rolls-Royce (Far East) Ltd.
Rolls-Royce (France) Ltd.
Rolls-Royce Leasing Ltd.
Rolls-Royce Turbomeca Ltd.
Sawley Packaging Co. Ltd.
Sentinel Garden Suburb Ltd.
Sentinel Industrial Locos (England) Ltd.
Sentinel Ltd.
Turbo Union Ltd.
Yorkshire Engine Co. Ltd.
Commonwealth Aircraft Corp. Ltd.
Rolls-Royce of Australia Ltd.
Rolls-Royce (Canada) Ltd.
Rolls-Royce Holdings Canada Ltd.
Rolls-Royce Turbomeca International SA (France)
Ste. Europeenne pour l'Etude et l'Integration des Systemes Spatiaux SA (France)
Oresa SA (Spain)
Rolls-Royce de Espana SA (Spain)
Talleres Aeronautics de Barajas SA (Spain)
Systems International Ltd. (Switzerland)
Motores Rolls-Royce SA (Brazil)
Moto Equipo SA (Mexico)
Rolls-Royce Aero Engines Inc. (USA)

SOURCES

PL Magazine, vol. 7, #4 and vol. 8, #6
Fortune Magazine, June, 1971
The New York Times, January-September, 1971
Moody's Industrials
Standard and Poor's
Who's Who in Europe

some of their bureaucrats. This was the bosses' way of covering their loan, just in case Rolls-Royce or Lockheed couldn't make it.

The British government was put in a similar position by both the U.S. and British banks. After a series of negotiations the ultimatum was put to the British government: subsidize Rolls-Royce to the tune of $240 million and, if necessary, subsidize any additional production costs that crop up. In return, the U.S. bankers and Lockheed agreed to a price increase on the engine amounting to $180,000 apiece, bringing the cost of each engine to $1,020,000. Lockheed decided to pass this onto its customers, the airlines.

The U.S. government now faced the touchy question of interfering in the "laws of a free economy." Each year in the U.S. thousands of small businesses fail. No banks clamor for loans for them. They, and—even more so—the workers they employ, are victims of the ruling class. The people in the government who opposed the loan did so on the basis that Lockheed was mismanaged and deserved to go under. It turns out that they were only letting off hot air. While they were mouthing "attacks" against Lockheed, the real powers were mobilizing their cronies to pave the way for the loan.

President Nixon himself announced that he would do everything to prevent Lockheed from going under. Treasury Secretary Connally fought for the loan and Defense Secretary Laird rallied the Pentagon behind the loan. **Fortune Magazine** issued an editorial demanding a "second chance" for Lockheed. (This was in June 1971. Two months later the loan was passed.) Civil Aeronautics Board chairman Browne and Federal Aviation Administration chief Shaffer called for the loan. The chairman of the Federal Reserve Board Arthur Burns said it would be a "catastrophe" if Lockheed went bankrupt. AFL-CIO sellout artist George Meany called for the Lockheed loan.

THE BOSSES HAD THE BALL ROLLING NOW; bankers and executives all over the country were rallying behind Lockheed. Arrayed against this clout were a few senators, Ralph Nader and a few professors. None of these guys had any real power when compared to the forces behind Lockheed.

How did this financial clout translate itself into political clout? We have shown earlier (**PL Magazine,** vol. 8, #6) how the rulers control the government. All the top advisors on such matters as the loan are picked by the Committee for Economic Development (CED) and the Business Council (BC). It was shown that the Rockefeller and Morgan financial groups have, between them, 45 out of the 274 CED trustees. In addition the Bank of America, Mellon and Chicago groups are heavily represented in the CED. All of these groups had millions of dollars in loans outstanding to Lockheed. Through the CED, through public statements and in various other ways, the rulers gradually applied the pressure needed to have the government guarantee the loan. As a matter of fact, the chairman of the board or the president of Wells Fargo Bank, Manufacturers Hanover Trust, First National Bank of Chicago and Bank of America are included in the trustees of the CED. Each of these banks was involved in the loan.

The Business Council's role is to make sure that the government conforms to the wishes of the rulers in day-to-day matters of commerce and the economy. The BC trustees are made up of directors from Chase Manhattan, First National City Bank, the Morgan group, the Mellon Bank and the Bank of America as well as other ruling-class financial groups. Again these banks were outstanding behind the Lockheed bosses.

Representing the 24 banks in negotiations with the U.S. and British governments, Rolls-Royce, Lockheed and the British banks were the Bank of America and Bankers Trust from the Morgan group. Bank of America is interlocked into the CED and the BC and has eight directors on Lockheed's board. Bankers Trust, as part of the Morgan group, is interlocked into the CED and the BC. It appears that Bankers Trust represented the Eastern banks in this venture even though, as far as we can tell, the Morgan group itself is not interlocked with Lockheed.

This web of interlocks of corporations, banks, CED, BC, the government, subsidiaries and subcontractors sometimes gets quite complicated. However, the important thing to remember is that the whole structure is set up **to protect the interests of the very top rulers.** At no time were they really threatened. And if Lockheed should still go under, well, they got the government to guarantee the loan (with workers' tax money).

THE "OPPOSITION"

The vote to save Lockheed was 49-48 in favor of the loan. We claim it may as well have been 100-0. Why? For three reasons.

First: we have pointed out the tremendous influence the Council for Economic Development and the Business Council had in the government. Most of the Lockheed banks had directors in the CED and the BC. Their servants in the government, who are not elected, were publicly calling for the loan. This made it obvious exactly what the ruling class wanted.

Second: the ruling class of the U.S. needs to maintain certain industries in order to protect their class interests. Some of these are in the military field. Industries such as electronics, steel, oil and aviation are vital to maintaining a strong imperialist army. If the U.S. bosses did not have such industries at their disposal then they would be dependent upon some other bosses elsewhere, something U.S. rulers do not want to do. This problem causes capitalists to maintain these industries even though, through the "normal" laws of capitalist competition, they would be abandoned. In the case of Lockheed the rulers knew they faced tremendous pressure from other imperialist powers. The attacks on the dollar showed that the other imperialists were beginning to challenge the U.S. The war in Vietnam and the

possibility of imperialist wars elsewhere caused the bosses to keep Lockheed afloat.

Third: let's examine the list of senators who voted "against" the loan. Among them were Kennedy of Massachusetts, Hart and Griffin of Michigan, Percy of Illinois, Taft of Ohio, Hartke of Indiana and Muskie of Maine.

KENNEDY IS A MEMBER OF THE RULING class. If it looked as if the loan were actually going to lose, does anyone really believe that he would desert his class interests and vote against the loan? His vote was more for circus effect. The same can be said of the others. Hart and Griffin are from Michigan, home of GM, Chrysler and Ford. These senators are beholden to the ruling class lock, stock and barrel. Percy, another ruling-class figure, is part of the Rockefeller group. Would he dare attack the "family" by letting Lockheed go broke? The Rockefellers had a lot of money tied up in this loan. Taft of Ohio comes from a family well-versed in how to serve the ruling class. The industrialists of Ohio do not allow "rebels" to become U.S. senator. If it looked like defeat for Lockheed, he most certainly would have changed his vote. The same goes for Hartke of Indiana. No one gets elected to office without the permission of the bosses of northwest Indiana (where the heads of U.S. Steel and other big industries are located). As for Muskie, he's been an unswerving supporter of U.S. imperialism and would never dare to cross the path of the rulers. When a very minor figure in the ruling class (publisher of a newspaper in New Hampshire) criticized him and his wife, Muskie cried in public. His devotion to the ruling class is complete and to question it brought him to tears.

The senate has only 100 members. They work together all the time and are constantly taking sample votes among themselves. The senate leaders and "whips" go around weeks in advance and count the votes on certain bills. If it looks bad for some bill, the ruling class's interests are conveyed to the senators and the vote is worked out. All the "worry" over the vote was a sham, a circus. All the senators knew it was going to pass. The 49-48 vote was just for effect, to make people think that the senators are really "against" big business. (If, by some unforeseen quirk, the vote had actually gone the other way, its advocates simply would have brought it out of committee for another vote and the screws would have been squeezed even tighter to pass it.) So much for the "assault" on big business.

The rest of the opposition came from companies like GE, Pratt and Whitney, and McDonnell-Douglas. Both GE and Pratt and Whitney wanted to make the engines for the L-1011. A defeat for the loan would put Rolls-Royce out of the picture and give them an advantage. Their motivation was for their own companies and not for the interests of the ruling class as a whole. McDonnell-Douglas hoped a defeat for the loan would force Lockheed and the L-1011 out of the way. This would leave them an open field for the DC-10 airbus. Aside from these companies who stood to make some money, there was no real opposition to the loan.

MIS-MANAGED VS. WELL-MANAGED

The "loyal opposition" claimed that Lockheed was mis-managed. Senator Cranston of California called for the resignation of the board of directors as a pre-condition for the government loan. The chairman of Bankers Trust, one of the banks representing Lockheed in negotiations, called a press conference and quickly scotched this. He announced that the 24 banks behind Lockheed did not want any directors or executives fired. After this conference, most of the critics dropped their mis-management line. The rulers have a remarkable ability to control!

The important thing to analyze here is exactly what is an example of a "well-managed company" if Lockheed is "mismanaged"? Within two years time, Lockheed had lost millions on the C-5A, faced bankruptcy on the L-1011 and, in the process, laid off over 23,000 workers. That sounds like a badly-run company.

Our opinion is that as far as working people are concerned, "well-run" companies end up doing the same thing to workers as "badly-run" companies—exploiting them, killing them and laying them off.

The proof of this is the "well-run" Boeing Co., controlled by the Morgan group. In the same period as Lockheed's troubles, **Boeing laid off over 70,000 workers in the Seattle metropolitan area.** In addition to these 70,000, about another 60,000-70,000 jobs were directly affected by these layoffs. These jobs were from the sub-contractors to Boeing in the Seattle area. In addition to this, other areas—education, restaurants, taxi companies, department stores, car dealers, housing, utilities and a host of other industries—were seriously affected. For example, by the beginning of the 1972 school year, the enrollment in Seattle public schools had dropped by over 10% from 1969 levels. Unemployment went over 12% "officially" and was estimated by the Seattle papers to be at least twice that. In Seattle's predominantly black central district, the unemployment rate went over 40%!

LAYING OFF 70% OF BOEING'S WORKERS resulted in such economic dislocation of the Seattle area that no one predicts Seattle pulling even with the rest of the country for some time to come. **At the same time, profits at Boeing reached an all-time high.** This was lauded as "good" management.

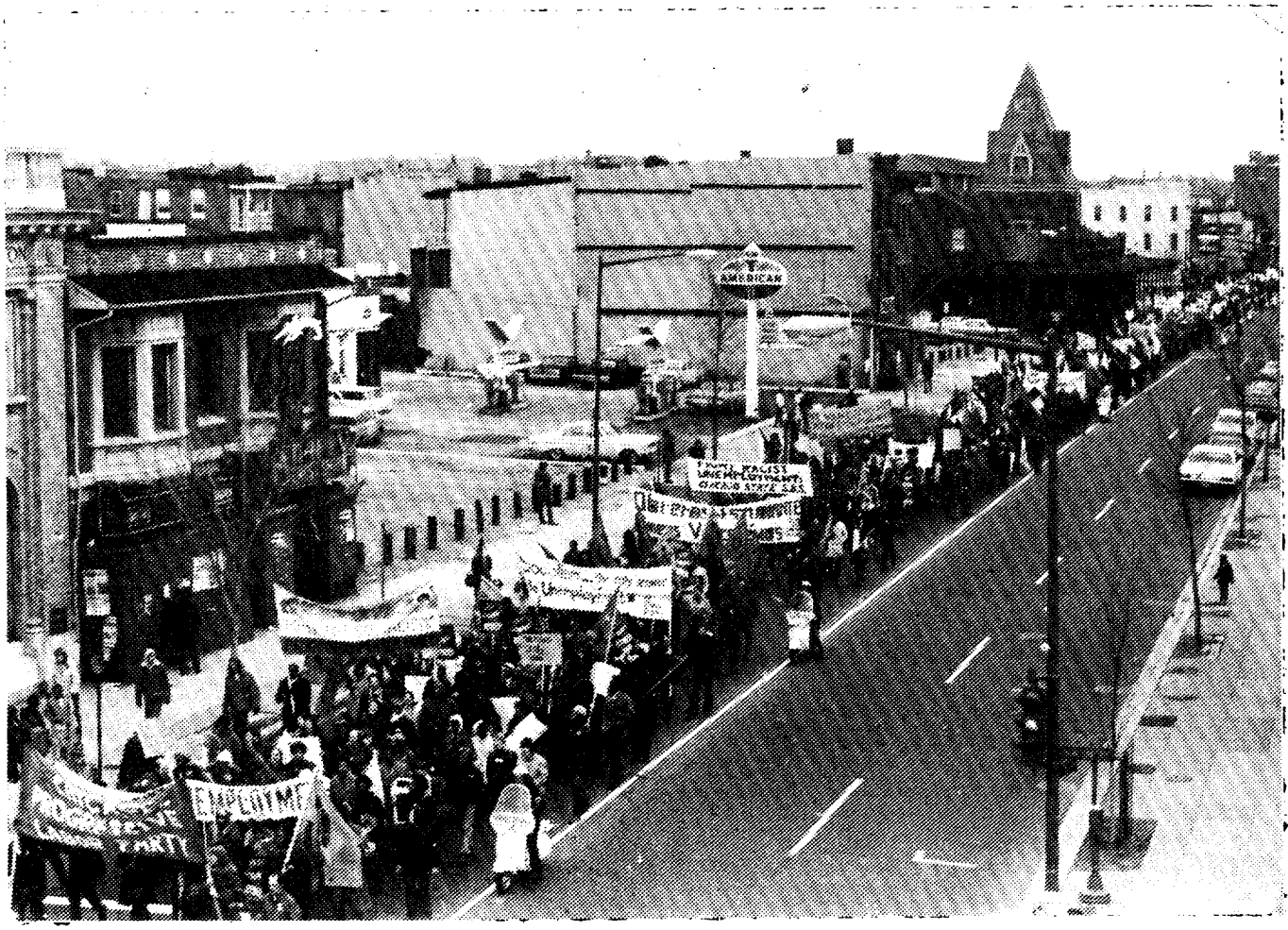
For workers at both companies, there was incredible speed-up during the Vietnam war. Whatever wealth the bosses made, it was because working people made the planes, planes that they would never use for their own benefit. Lockheed made planes to use against the Vietnamese workers, something **not** in the workers' interest. When the boom period ended in 1969, a serious crisis of overproduction hit the aircraft industry.

The market for commercial airliners had been temporarily saturated and military contracts could not sustain the industry. In this situation the bosses turned the brunt of the attack onto the workers. Boeing axed 70,000; Lockheed did in another 23,000. North American-Rockwell, McDonnell-Douglas and other aircraft companies laid off over 100,000 more. These figures include many technicians and engineers. Then the "ripple" effect laid off more in the sub-contracting and service industries.

While all of this was going on, the workers did not sit idly by. On March 20, 1971, the largest marches against unemployment since the Depression were held in Washington D.C. and Sacramento, Calif. More than 6,000 workers and students marched onto the capitol demanding an end to racist unemployment. Two thousand marched onto Reagan's office under the same banners. These marches were led by the Progressive Labor Party.

In February of that same year over 2,000 Lockheed workers marched onto the unemployment center in the San Fernando Valley near Los Angeles demanding more benefits. That same month a massive earthquake struck the Los Angeles area and hundreds of homes were destroyed or heavily damaged. Two hospitals caved in. No bank buildings collapsed however, The hardest-hit areas were in the San Fernando Valley where over 30 people were killed. Many of the Lockheed workers had their homes damaged in this quake. Two days later Lockheed laid off 6,500 workers at their Palmdale and Burbank plants in the Valley. This "damn-the-worker" attitude of the bosses will eventually bring about their downfall.

We could examine each corporation and we would find the same things. The bosses have total control over the economy. The government is run by the big bankers. The banks run the corporations and the companies. Finally, the large companies control the smaller ones. Lockheed achieved a lot of publicity only because its case was more intricate and came at a bad time. The aid the government gave Lockheed was not unusual, despite the clamor raised. We should not entertain illusions about the government "going against" the big bosses. Lockheed, Boeing, Bank of America and all the others will only be defeated when the workers take them over and destroy the rulers who run them. That's when these companies will really be "reorganized."



March against racist unemployment in Wash.,D.C. on March 20, 1972.

U.S. Culture is Bosses' Weapon— How Do We Fight It?

by Gary Crown

There has been a recent decline in the number of CHALLENGE articles on TV, films, books, plays and music. There have been very few cultural articles ever in **PL**, and those almost all reviews—of **Marat-Sade, The Shop on Main Street,** Dylan and Ochs, **The Confessions of Nat Turner, Bury My Heart at Wounded Knee.** There have been no longer articles on culture, such as a history of Marxist-Leninist lines of culture or a critique of notable texts like Mao's **Talks at Yenan Forum;** analysis of a major influential bourgeois film-maker or musician or writer; analysis of the state of bourgeois culture at the present time or of major tendencies in that culture; historical analysis of American culture stressing its anti-working-class, racist, idealist mainstream and the feeble counter-currents of materialist and pro-working-class ideas; history of working-class art in the U.S.A. and elsewhere. Finally, through ten years of stirring struggle, we have produced or influenced virtually no original art—some agit-prop drama (not collected or available), an LP, a handful of poems and stories, a documentary film.

This trend of neglecting both attacks on bourgeois culture and the nurture of a new working-class culture shows every sign of continuing in our party. What follows is an attempt to (1) argue for a serious effort to reverse this trend; (2) sketch out the possible development of our line on culture; (3) offer some modest examples of what we could do. First, self-critically, I have to say that though I have been asked several times to write on these subjects I haven't done so. It was easier to take an opportunist, anti-party or anti-intellectual line—that the party didn't give a damn about culture, or that it wasn't relevant, just an intellectual's game. Yet it is a task to be taken up, I believe, by all of us.

I. PREMISE: IMPORTANCE OF THE CLASS STRUGGLE IN CULTURE FOR THE MASS MOVEMENT AND THE PARTY

We all give lip-service to the idea of destroying bourgeois culture and replacing it with proletarian culture, new in form and content. But we are not convinced of this in practice. We see this task as far off in the future, instead of as vitally important to us now, in the present stage of the movement. Instead of looking at cultural struggle in the abstract, we should consider our policy on culture from the vantage-point of the people we are now trying to influence, the workers and intellectuals. Through our line on culture, we want to influence them in the direction of a working-class world outlook, serious reform and socialist revolution. Our line on culture must help solve practical political tasks, winning workers and intellectuals from various weaknesses and illusions that at present confine them to a bourgeois world-outlook and lead to a no-struggle attitude or to ineffective methods of struggle sanctioned by the bourgeoisie.

This effort is in contradiction to the effort of the ruling-class in culture, designed to influence the very same people towards passivity, individualism, racism, sexism, etc., and away from serious reform and (above all) socialist revolution. The present stage of this struggle between us and them is that they hold the field virtually unopposed. Bourgeois culture is a powerful force working against all our political efforts and our operating strategy of fighting racism and rebuilding the labor movement.

We recognize this in one form: the use of academic theorists to push racism through other cultural channels (press, schools). These social "science" theorists have an immediate impact on people's acceptance of public policy (Nixon's cutbacks), so we see them as a major target, and rightly so. But the impact of bourgeois culture in general is more insidious and affects the private life of individuals. Hence, in practice, we do not recognize it as a target, do not see its relation to our political work.

In practice, we act as though the effect of countless hours of TV, newspapers, radio, advertising, films, music, magazines and books can be destroyed by trade union struggle and the campus anti-racism campaign. **It can't.** These struggles, which **do** change the bourgeois world, certainly are the foundation of changes in outlook. But an **extension** of these struggles is needed, towards direct challenge of the ruling-class domination of all the organs of culture. The anti-racist movement is, in fact, a form of class struggle in culture, and will not develop fully unless we carry it explicitly into the various media, both from the inside by building a base among media workers and artists, and from the outside by bold political action against racist TV, films, records and books.

THE TRADE UNION STRATEGY HAS ALREADY been linked in current party discussion to cultural struggle, with the example of the CIO spur to working-class theater and art (this is a good subject for a **PL** article). In the days of the CIO, this new theater and art came mostly from intellectuals —linked to the workers' struggle by the CP. This

link was good and a thing we should work for too. But the CP worried then over the relative absence of worker-artists from this new workers' art, and since we aim at becoming a working-class party this should worry us too.

From the very beginning of WAM and the 30 for 40 movement, we should be looking for new ways of developing new art from the workers themselves. In general, we try to fight where the enemy is weak and we are strong. In culture, where bourgeois dictatorship rules supreme, there is little prospect of doing battle with our own TV stations and film studios. But in the trade unions, in forms like short or longer or improvisational plays, videotapes of struggle and discussion, film documentaries, poster and mural art, songs and music, poster-poems, fiction on leaflets, autobiographies on tape, we will have a fertile field for circulating class-conscious art among a huge working-class audience. And if we develop this, we will certainly be able to bring it with fantastic effect into the lives of students and intellectuals.

If this seems too grandiose, think of what steps are needed to get us to that point. For example, what are the assumptions in workers' minds about art? If we can answer this question we can begin struggling against the assumptions that hinder the growth of working-class art (e.g., art is useless, effeminate, pretentious—who needs it? Art is for the rich; art is made by geniuses; workers' experiences or language or thought are not adequate for art). With some progress in that struggle what could be made of the tremendous experiences of our friends and members in the factories of Cleveland, Gary, Detroit, Lynn—by those workers themselves? A longer play for the WAM convention? Videotapes to sell to our whole base, to bring these struggles into one hour, at least, of the enemy's prime time? Stories, dialogues and biographies that dramatize the contradictions of struggle and the development of individuals—fiction that teaches (its makers as well as its readers), that gives the lie to racism and sexism, that inspires struggle, that can be used in discussion groups and on picket lines? ("Caucuses and Communists" in the latest **PL** points the way.) Songs and new music, new forms, out of the rhythms of workers' lives and not the worn-down traditions of the recording studio?

Every member and friend of the party should be asking these questions and trying to produce something in response. Political life is rich and full of interest. Great art, like scientific discovery, comes out of the collective labor.

Related directly to our operating strategy, then, the struggle **for** working-class culture and **against** bourgeois culture can be seen to have an important place in our current work. Both aspects need to be developed, but the first is the primary one for the long haul. We can criticize and dissect bourgeois culture till we are blue in the face, and if we have no new and better art to praise and enjoy, people will regard us as sterile and boring. Perhaps this is why our **Challenge** pieces have dried up: by itself, negative criticism is too limited a form of activity in culture, too one-sided. The analysis of racism in culture has to be carried on in a context of new stories, plays, tapes from our friends and ourselves that show racism exposed, overcome in the course of getting out from under some oppressive part of life under capitalism. Bourgeois caricature of workers or pushing of decadent ideas and styles should be attacked in a context of stories by and about workers that show in new ideas and styles, the force that can remake the world. Trade union cultural committees and campus study groups should **create** as well as criticize.

II. DEVELOP OUR LINE ON CULTURE

The argument above rests on the specific relevance of cultural struggle to our current work. The next step is to plunge in and learn something; practice will be the main source of our line on culture. But we should recognize, in addition, that the question of art and culture is an important question of general communist theory over which much ink and some blood has been spilled. In the future we should study this question, taking up, for example, the following points:

(1) What is art? What is the origin of art? Is it found in all societies? Is it necessary? What is the social function of art? What is the relationship of art and the means of production in various societies? What is the relationship between art and the various social classes (the relations of production)?

(2) Are there any elements in art that transcend class? Is there any permanent value in works of art? Is there anything liberating in bourgeois art? Can proletarian artists learn anything from the art of old exploiting classes? Should a socialist revolution destroy all the art of the old exploiting classes? Is form in art ideological?

(3) What does it mean to say art is a weapon in the class struggle? What significant examples of this can we show today? From history? Why do bourgeois artists not see art in this way?

(4) What is the relation of art and culture to the State apparatus and other forms of bourgeois dictatorship? Who are the bureaucrats of culture? Is art important to the bourgeoisie? How does the bourgeoisie control the production of art, its distribution, its preservation? Is art primarily a commodity in bourgeois society? What is the relation of art to other elements of the bourgeois superstructure: religion, politics, science, the family, children, sex, health, food, rest?

(5) What is the relation of the artist in bourgeois society to the working class and the ruling class? What historically have artists tended to do when class struggle sharpens? What is the material base of the artist's "freedom," and what conditions in the ruling class limit this freedom? Who controls the artist? Who is an artist?

(6) How do bourgeois individualism and elitism shape our concept of art and the artist? Who decides what is good art? Is art still mostly produced by an individual, working alone? Should workers' art and socialist art all be collectively produced? Are past examples of collective art (ritual art, medieval cathedrals) relevant to the collectivist ideal of socialism and communism?

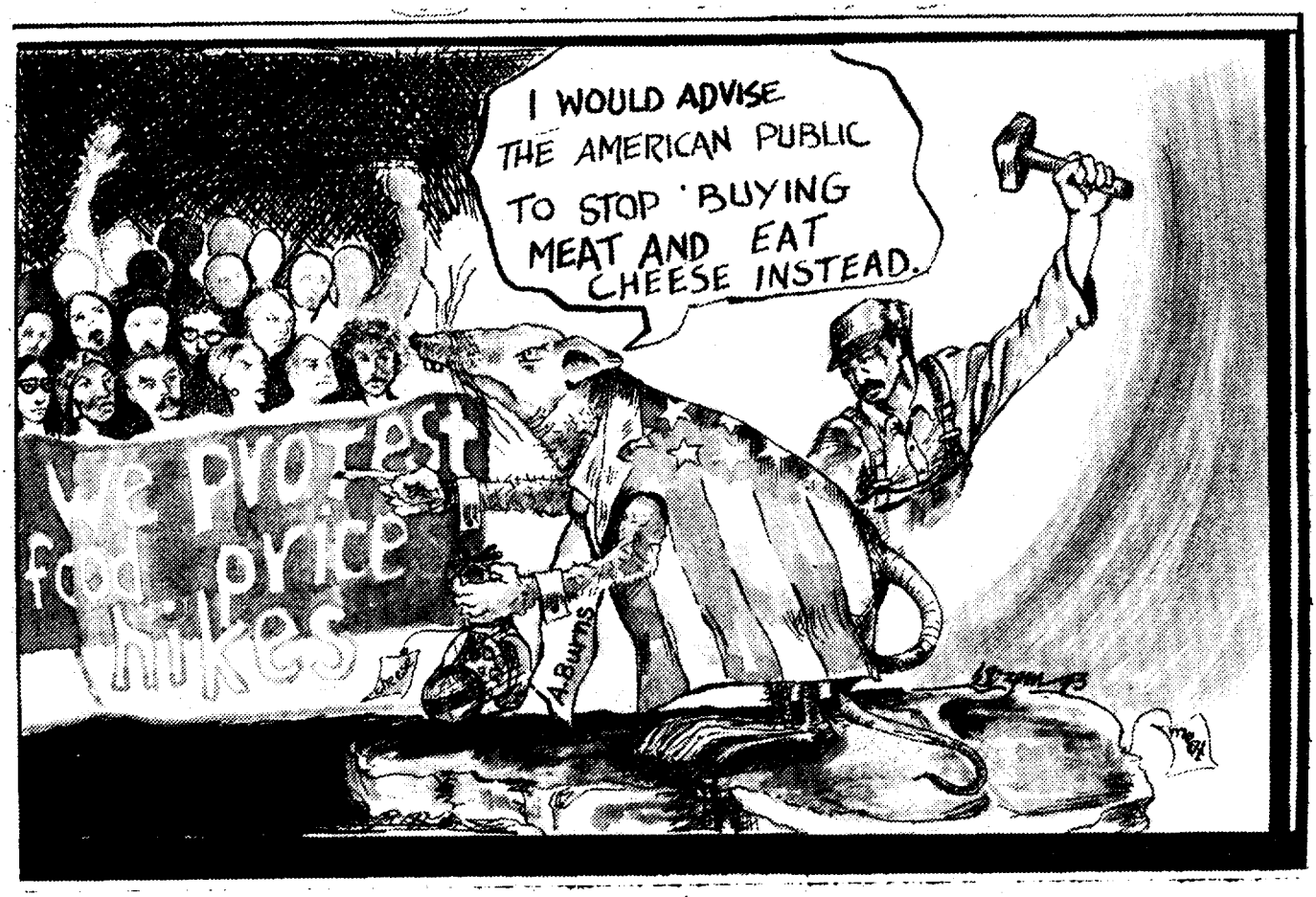
(7) Has there ever been a genuine proletarian art? Is proletarian art more political than bourgeois art? More realistic? Is socialist realism the necessary form for proletarian art? Should proletarian art confine itself to the language and images and ideas of the workers? Who should control proletarian art? What are the conditions of its production, distribution and preservation? What is the relation of proletarian art to the collectivist economic base and to other elements of the socialist superstructure: politics, science, the family, children, sex, health, food, rest?

(8) What is the relation of art to the dictatorship of the proletariat? To the communist party? What is the history of cultural bureaucracies in socialist countries? Who decides what is good art?

(9) What are the problems in developing workers' art in this country? What traditions can we build on? What should we preserve from the past working-class literature and art? Are there existing art forms we should encourage? Why do periods of great struggle not necessarily produce great art? What are the tasks of a communist party in developing workers' art and fighting for socialist form and content? What are our tasks with respect to progressive artists (not working-class)? What should we consider progressive and revolutionary art?

(10) How does revisionism express itself in art? What is the anatomy of revisionist art theory? What does the history of the USSR, Cuba and China show? What is the relation of the artist to the workers and the "red" rulers in revisionist countries? What would revolutionary art be in a revisionist country?

(11) What is the relation between art and racism/nationalism? Does racism/nationalism pervade all art? Is art one of the chief expressions



A worker's answer to inflation.

of racism/nationalism? Is advanced bourgeois art internationalist? Is it possible to have an internationalist art (bourgeois or proletarian)? How has racism/nationalism affected proletarian art and the communist theory of art? Are national languages obsolete and reactionary? Is there a racial/national cultural identity above or beyond class? How is proletarian internationalism built through art and culture?

(12) What is the relation between art and sexism? Does the form and content of art vary with different family structures? Is women's art different from men's? Is there a sexual cultural identity above or beyond class? What roles in art and culture do the various exploiting classes assign women? What is the relation between workers' art and the liberation of women from sexism?

(13) What is the relation between art and the education of children in various societies? What is the impact of art on children of various classes in this country today? What should revolutionary art do in the tasks of a communist party in the education of children under capitalism?

We can consider these and other questions on many levels: we can do serious, detailed, scholarly work on them and attempt to win respect for the Marxist-Leninist theory of art among artists and intellectuals; we can take up some of them in study groups and inner-party education (from which we should develop a strategy and tactics, a political focus, for our activities in culture); we can see how the questions apply in our own reading or film-going, etc., and write more theoretical short pieces for the party press. The purpose of the questions here is to stimulate thought and criticism—more questions, some answers.

III. WHAT CAN WE DO NOW?

In the two related fields of action (develop workers' culture, destroy bourgeois culture), there are some immediate possibilities:

(1) **Critiques of significant and influential works of bourgeois culture.** These critiques (in the party press and elsewhere) should concentrate on what most workers or students and intellectuals consume. This has been our main cultural activity to date: we just need more of it.

(2) **Analysis of Trends.** (a) Articles for **PL** on current decadence and quasi-fascist culture: pornography and its direct connection to the State (courts and police); the vogue of horror-films; the romanticizing of gangsterism, prostitution and the police; the cult of homosexuality; the "nostalgic" music and art trends; the gross racism/nationalism of the new "Black" films—all this, plus drugs and religion, adds up to a cultural decadence unprecedented in the U.S.A., which we should deal with. (b) Articles on Movement art of the sixties (e.g., the poetry in **Campfires of the Resistance**, ed. by Todd Gitlin, and Viet vets' poetry); collections of agit-prop theater; posters and film (e.g. from **Newsreel**); political songs; black nationalist and neo-feminist writing, which would relate the strengths and weaknesses of this work to the politics of the Sixties and the tasks ahead.

(3) **Political Action against Bourgeois Culture.** Campaigns to ban racist and anti-working-class and sexist books in schools (we have done some of this); picket-lines at especially rotten racist and anti-working class movies drawing large crowds, and boycott campaigns (including petitions) against such films or TV shows (we have picketed newspapers already in the anti-racist campaign); these tactics could escalate to sit-ins, with agit-prop drama (has any of us ever expressed anger and disgust at some of these things in an adequate political way?). Another possibility is demonstrations and agit-prop inside movie houses, classrooms, concert-halls, live TV shows. Abbie Hoffman has given this sort of thing a bad name, but it "ain't necessarily so."

(4) **Consolidate the Art of Struggle We Already Have.** Was Gitlin's **Campfires of the Resistance** really all that SNCC and SDS produced? We could publish a PL Songbook with new and old songs. We could collect the agit-prop drama we and others have found successful. We could produce one or two good posters worth keeping (e.g. on 30 for 40, anti-racism, internationalism) from graphic work already done for our press. A new PLP-LP with something from the new factory organizing might be an immediate possibility. Tapes and videotapes, to preserve the rich experiences of workers we know, could be made very quickly.

(5) **Start Discussions of Culture Among the Workers.** A regular social gathering or dinner is a good setting for discussion of a book we have recommended. Reading-guides should be worked up of books people would enjoy. This kind of reading circle can begin to detach workers from the media, where the bosses have a field day. It is a form of organizing and education with a long history in the working class. We should encourage people to write up their reactions.

(6) **Reprint Classics of Working-class Literature.** Who knows some? The suppression of workers' art is one of the regular activities of the bourgeois cultural machine.

(7) **Start Union Cultural Committees.** To produce thousands of small contributions to a new culture: music, plays, videotapes, posters, songs, poems, stories—aimed at spreading the 30-for-40 movement, at dramatizing key issues in the union, at exposing racism and sexism, at organizing the unorganized, at understanding events. The efforts of a few determined workers at the start could have a very broad effect, and the point of workers' art, solidarity, liberation, would outlast the immediate benefits. We can raise the idea of workers leading the whole of social life, and we can start now!

Behind the Racist Eugenics Movement: A Century of Ruling-Class Effort

The first American edition of Darwin's **Origin of Species** was published in 1860. The idea of natural selection, "the survival of the fittest," was not long in being applied to man by such people as Herbert Spencer. He argued against any aid to the poor, since they were unfit.

> The whole effort of nature is to get rid of such, to clear the world of them, and make room for better.[1]

Spencer argues against poor laws, state-supported education, sanitation laws, housing codes. He is also against state regulation of production and distribution, as advocated by socialists, since it would penalize "superior" citizens in favor of "inferior" ones.

Spencer, though an Englishman, found a better reception in the U.S. than in his own country. He was not alone in his philosophy, nor did his ideas long remain "just an idea."

The Appleton Publishing Company not only published the works of Darwin, Spencer and others, but, through its magazines like **Popular Science Monthly**, it gave articles wide coverage.

BY 1900 DARWINIST IDEAS WERE WELL EStablished in high quarters. The idea was used to begin a eugenics movement, with illegal experimentation beginning in 1899 in Indiana,[2] a sterilization law in California and Washington State in 1909, and eventually in 30 states. (see Table I) The motives for the laws varied from state to state, but "perfection of the race" was invariably a major one.

Marriage laws forbidding marriage between white and other races were next. (see Table II) The idea was that mixture of the "superior" white race with an "inferior" one lowered the quality of the offspring.

Jim Crow laws were passed this time, with eugenic arguments to justify them.

The Darwinist ideas were instrumental in ending the immigration to the U.S. from Southern and Eastern European countries, and also from the Far Eastern countries.

"Anglo-Saxon superiority" was cited as one reason for the Spanish-American War, and "Anglo-Saxon unity" and rulership of the world was an argument for U.S. entry into World War I on the side of England.

Andrew Carnegie was a personal friend and benefactor of Herbert Spencer, and an ardent promoter of the ideas of Social Darwinism.[3] One of his projects was to finance the Carnegie Station for Experimental Evolution in 1900 at Cold Springs Harbor, New York.[4] The Eugenics Record Office was founded at Cold Springs Harbor in 1910, with donations from Mrs. E.H. Harriman and John D. Rockefeller himself.[5] E.H. Harriman was president of the Union Pacific Railroad, and high in the chain of command in the Rockefeller empire. The Eugenics Record Office was closely affiliated with the Eugenics Section of the American Breeders' Association, and had a close working relationship with the Carnegie Station.[6]

Harry H. Laughlin, Superintendent of the Eugenics Record Office in Report No. 1 (1913) invited the public to register their ancestry there:

> The records are to be used for scientific study and for the use of the family described... It is hoped ultimately to augment this small nucleus by the purchase of town histories, biographies and geneologies, so that this library will contain those books necessary for an extended eugenical study of American families.[7]

He notes that he already has 114 volumes of geneologies, 41 town and county histories, and that 2,400 persons have exchanged letters with the Office in only two years of operation.

Laughlin is clear about the long term consequences of this research:

> Eugenics is a long-time investment. It must ultimately, if it performs its manifest function, devise some plan for cutting off the supply of defective and degenerate social misfits, and for promoting the increased fecundity of the more sterling families.[8]

Two years later Laughlin came up with a plan:

> Education, legal restriction, segregation, sterilization—these four eugenical agencies are of primary remedial value. If the first fail, apply the second; if it also fails, apply the third; if segregation ceases and the first two factors do not deter from parenthood the potential parent of inadequates, apply the fourth. Purify the breeding stock of the race at all costs.[9]

Committees were established to study the heredity of certain problems. There were committees on inheritance of mental traits, geneology, immigration, heredity of deaf-mutism (headed by Alexander Graham Bell), heredity of criminality, heredity of eye defects, sterilization, heredity of insanity, heredity of the feeble-minded, and heredity of epilepsy. These committees were headed by eminent specialists.

There were also cooperative studies done by the Office and various state institutions.[10] Laughlin comments that this work:

> ...is laying a foundation for the intelligent consideration of some far reaching plan that every state must ultimately adopt for eliminating its supply of defectives.[11]

Laughlin also talks about the creation of eugenics societies of teachers, students, and social workers. He talks about a tour of 75 leading universities for lecturers on eugenics. And already in 1913, universities like Harvard, Columbia, Cornell, Brown, Wisconsin, Northwestern and others are teaching courses on eugenics.[12]

Laughlin used the results of the Army tests—which showed that the Northern European immigrants of earlier decades did better than the present immigrants from Eastern and Southern European immigrants—to argue that these later immigrants were "inferior" to the earlier ones. No allowance was made for language difficulties, or length of time in the country. But Congress passed laws limiting greatly the number of these later immigrants in 1924.

In 1914 the First National Conference on Race Betterment took place at Battle Creek, Michigan. The subjects discussed ranged from alcohol to immigration laws. The stated purpose of the conference was:

> ...to assemble evidence as to the extent to which degenerative tendencies are actively at work in America, and to promote agencies for Race Betterment.[13]

Members of the Central Committee governing the activities of the Race Betterment Foundation which called this conference included: C.B. Davenport, the Director of the Carnegie Station for Experimental Evolution at Cold Springs Harbor, N.Y.; Gifford Pinchot, the famous conservationist; J.H. Kellogg, Supt. of the Battle Creek Sanitarium; Victor Vaughan, President of the American Medical Association; Charles W. Eliot, President Emeritus of Harvard U.; and Jacob Riis, famous for his work at the Henry Street Settlement, New York. There were also representatives from business and insurance companies, senators, judges, government agency officials, educators, ministers, physicians, and social workers.

Suggestions emanating from the Conference were: a Commission on Intermarriage "that we may accurately know the biological consequences of intermarriage";[14] Physical and Mental Perfection contests; Better Baby contests; A Eugenics Registry Office; Fecundity Statistics; Immigration Legislation; Abolition of Production and Sale of Alcoholic Liquors, by Constitutional Amendment; a Clearing House for Mental Defectives; And International Conferences.

The Second National Conference on Race Betterment was held in San Francisco in conjunction with the Panama-Pacific International Exposition in 1915, along the same lines. There were 65 other conventions at the Exposition. But the **Official Proceedings** of the conference state:

> The press of San Francisco gave greater attention to the Conference than to all other 65 conventions combined...Every session (was) reported by the **Associated Press** and **United Press** for distribution to newspapers throughout the country.[15]

There was even an organized section of publicists within the Conference!

Among the official delegates to the Conference we find representatives from the Rockefeller Foundation, U.S. Steel Corporation, Ford Motor Co., Aetna Life Insurance Co., Metropolitan Life Insurance Co., National Cash Register Co., and the Carnegie Foundation. A broader measure of support from the ruling class would be hard to find! Again, there is the assorted presence of politicians, government agencies, leading churchmen, and university presidents. It should also be noted that the Temperance movement against alcohol, tobacco, and drugs was part of this conference. The YMCA and other health establishments were also represented (similiar to the gymnasiums of the Hitler Youth, perhaps?).

J.H. Kellogg, president of the Race Betterment Foundation, presented a report about eugenics registry. He talked about establishing requirements of good health before the state issues a marriage license. He goes on to say:

> That the creation of a new and superior human race is possible is not doubted by those who have made a careful study of the operation of Mendelian principles when applied to the human being as well as to other races of animals.
>
> Animal breeders have demonstrated that it requires only four generations to make a thoroughbred. Mr. Burbank assures us that it is possible to make as much improvement in the human race as he and other plant breeders have shown to be possible in plants, and that a new species of man may be created in not more than six generations.
>
> A Eugenics Registry would be the beginning of a new and glorified human race which sometimes, far down in the future, will have so mastered the forces of nature that disease and degeneracy will have been eliminated. Hospitals and prisons will be no longer needed, and the golden age will have been re-

stored as the crowning result of human achievement and obedience to biologic law.[16]

Luther Burbank, the famous scientist, made a speech to the conference, arguing that these genetic principles applied to man.[17]

An immediate objective of the Conference was to make "fitness" a consideration in marriage for the whole society. Perhaps later marriage licenses would depend on the histories at the Eugenics Record Office. C.B. Davenport says:

> The lowest stratum of society has neither intelligence nor self-control enough to justify the State to leave its mating in its own hands.[18]

(A collection of posters from this Conference is included.)

Paul Popenoe, editor of the **Journal of Heredity,** presented a paper at the conference, stating the applicability of natural selection to man, and calling for enlightened social measures "to keep the race ever moving upwards."[19]

California received special attention by the eugenicists. The Second National Conference had been held in San Francisco. A California Committee was set up at this Conference. Luther Burbank and David Starr Jordan, Chancellor of Stanford University, were on it. A state-wide group known as The Human Betterment Foundation was also very active. (Both groups donated the books cited in this paper to the U. of Cal.-Berkeley Library.)

CALIFORNIA LED THE NATION IN PUTTING these ideas into effect. A sterilization law was passed in 1909, covering the categories of idiots, feeble-minded, epileptic, hereditary insanity that is recurrent, and certain classes of criminals.[20] The law applied to persons in institutions, and authorized compulsory sterilization upon recommendation of the superintendent, a clinical psychologist with a Ph.D., and a physician. Legal appeals were allowed for. Between 1909 and 1937, 11,484 persons were sterilized in California.[21] Two-thirds of this number were classified as "insane," and one third as "feeble-minded."[22] Feeble-mindedness was defined as having an IQ of 70 or under. In 1929, California passed a law forbidding marriages between whites and Negroes, Mongolians, Mulattoes, and members of the Malay race.

British students treat Eysenck royally as he tries to spew his racist poison there.

The Human Betterment Foundation was headed and financed by E.S. Gosney, a former attorney for the Kansas City, St. Joseph & Council Bluffs Railway; also an Arizona banker, and president of the Arizona Wool Growers' Association. Mr. Gosney moved to Pasadena, and, as a philanthropist, contributed to the eugenics movement in California. He developed his ideas from contact with the Eugenics Record office in Cold Springs Harbor, New York. [23]

Paul Popenoe was in charge of research and the publication of the data. He had edited the **Journal of Heredity**, and published many articles and books on heredity and eugenics.

On the Board of Trustees were big business representatives, like Harry Chandler, President of the **Los Angeles Times**, (notorious for his union-busting, and anti-union stand), and Henry Robinson, a Los Angeles banker. David Starr Jordan, Chancellor of Stanford, was there, along with Lewis Terman, professor of psychology at Stanford. It was Terman who was instrumental in developing the Stanford-Binet version of the IQ test. (It seems a reasonable deduction that the test was developed primarily to locate "defectives.")

Churchmen, newspeper editors, M.D.s, politicians, and educators are all represented. [24]

In the article "The Number of Persons Needing Sterilization" (1928), Popenoe presents a preliminary estimate of those who should be sterilized. He begins by saying "anyone with an IQ below 70 is an asset of doubtful value to racial progress." [25] But he says that this should not be enough to sterilize persons, "at present." Further:

> . . . application of eugenic sterilization in the future will undoubtedly be on a much deeper foundation than is now in existence, but this is no argument against making an intelligent and conservative beginning at once. [26]

He quotes Justice Oliver Wendall Holmes in his decision upholding eugenic sterilization laws in 1927 as saying "three generations of imbeciles are enough." [27] This statement reveals the importance of eugenics registry. Holmes justifies this further in the decision:

> It is better for all the world, if instead of waiting to execute degenerate offspring for crime, or let them starve for their imbecility, society can prevent those who are manifestly unfit from continuing their kind. [28]

A later decision further states:

> The record before us and the recognized authorities on scientific questions involved, leave no doubt in our minds that heredity plays a controlling part in the blight of feeble-mindedness. If there be any natural right for natively mental defectives to beget children, that right must give way to the police power of the state in protecting the common welfare, so far as it can be protected, against the hereditary type of feeble-mindedness. [29]

The idea of natural selection has led directly to the sterilization of the "unfit," affirmed by the highest court in the land! And IQ tests are the basis!

Popenoe summarizes those to be considered for sterilization: Those with IQs under 70, whether in school (4% of the population), or kept at home (another 4% of the population); those subject to hereditary forms of insanity (4% of the population); those subject to hereditary forms of insanity (4% of the population); those subject to physical diseases like blindness, deafness, cancer, heart disease, or kidney disease (the number is estimated as greater than the above total). He recommends compulsory sterilization of mental defectives, but voluntary sterilization of physical defectives. As he claims there is little overlap between the groups, he is talking about sterilizing at least 25% of the population!

LEWIS TERMAN WAS ON THE ARMY COMmittee that developed the Alpha and Beta tests for mass use during World War I. (So was H.H. Goddard, another leading eugenicist.) Terman adapted the Alpha test for civilian use at Stanford University, where David Starr Jordan was president. Jordan was a vice-president of the First International Conference on Eugenics in London (1912), on the California Committee of the Second National Conference on Race Betterment in San Francisco (1915), and on the Board of Trustees of the California State Human Betterment Foundation. Terman was also on this Board of Trustees. The test Terman adapted is called the Stanford-Binet IQ test. The money to carry out the adaptation ($25,000) came from the General Education Committee of the Rockefeller foundation. [40]

Terman has much to say about the uses of the tests in the schools:

> Intelligence tests have (1) demonstrated more convincingly the extent of individual differences and (2) made it possible to classify children more accurately on the basis of native ability. Also, as a result of their findings we have come to realize the necessity of a differentiated course of study for the pupils progressing along each of the so-called tracks. [41]
>
> At each step in the child's progress the school should take account of his vocational possibilities. Preliminary investigations indicate that an IQ below 70 rarely permits anything better than unskilled labor; that the range from 70 to 80 is pre-eminently that of semi-skilled labor, from 80 to 100 that of the skilled or ordinary clerical labor, from 100 to 110 or 115 that of the semi-professional pursuits; and that above all these are the grades of intelligence which can tell us whether a child's native brightness corresponds more nearly to the median of (1) the

professional classes, (2) those in the semi-professional pursuits, (3) ordinary skilled workers, (4) semi-skilled workers, (5) unskilled laborers. This information will be of great value in planning the differentiated curriculum here recommended. [12]

The average school devotes more time and effort to its dullards than to its children of superior ability .... Yet it may be of greater value to society to discover a single gifted child and aid in its proper development than to train a thousand dullards to the limit of their educability or to prevent the birth of a thousand feeble-minded. [13]

TERMAN DEMONSTRATES MANY CONCERNS in these statements. The IQ test is an instrument which really detects differences in children. He has developed a version which can be used on a mass scale, potentially involving all the school children of the country. Terman has also developed the instrument to easily locate the candidates for sterilization as "mentally deficient." (About 4,000 persons were sterilized in California because they were classed as "feeble-minded"; that is, they had IQ scores under 70.) The leaders of the movement were calling for sterilizing anyone with an IQ under 70, about 12% of the population according to their estimation!

Terman carries his ideas even further. He is talking about preparing children during the whole course of their education for a particular place in it. "Tracking" is an important concept to him. Ending remedial education is clearly indicated in his approach. The children are that way "genetically," right? Terman's ideas ignore the real conditions and concerns of people, and are an attempt to justify the status quo. Bosses are not rich because they are intelligent, but because they keep their workers poor.

WHAT HAS BEEN WRITTEN SO FAR SHOWS that Social Darwinism was carefully developed in this country from 1860 onwards, with the complete support from the major industrialists of the time. At first, it was "only an idea." But, as the idea spread, science "proved" its presuppositions, and a far-reaching plan for the whole society was developed and was being carried out. Sterilizations of the "unfit," laws against marriage between the races, and the Jim Crow laws were only the beginning of what was planned.

The make-up of the National Conference on Race Betterment, and the various foundations mentioned, shows the depth of this movement. The presence of Federal and State government officials, with Senators and Judges, foreshadows the carrying out of all these ideas in the realm of laws and programs. The presence of news people, college presidents and professors, and scientists like Luther Burbank show a depth of seriousness and far-reaching societal plans. This movement was not limited to crackpots or cranks. It was a truly massive social movement.

This movement was not limited to the U.S., although it led the movement until Hitler came to power in 1933. Even then Hitler merely put into effect programs and laws of the United States!

Britain rivaled the U.S. in its development of Social Darwinism. By 1913 there were sections active in France, Germany, Norway, Sweden, Hungary, Canada, Australia and New Zealand. International conferences were held, like the first Eugenics Congress in London in 1912. [30]

The eugenics movement was racist to the core, and anti-working class besides:

> It is essential that we recognize the law of supply and demand, and not be too arbitrary in any matters controlling political economy. Otherwise, we shall put a false value on labor. [31]
>
> Neither capital nor labor should ask or receive special privileges. [32]

In commenting on the "degeneracy of the Southern Italians," Victor Vaughan, President of the AMA and on the Central Committee of the Race Betterment Foundation says:

> Those in each group intermarry and have done so for so long that the undesirable unit characters have been exaggerated to such an extent as to render the people decidedly inferior ....
>
> While in-breeding is to be condemned it is equally certain that interracial marriages produce an undesirable progeny. The Eurasians of India, the mulattoes of our own country, and the mixed races of South America and neighboring islands are unanswerable arguments against race mixtures. The bad of each side becomes dominant, and the mongrel whether man or beast, is no credit to the pure blood on either side of the house. [33]

The above was part of that lecture series carried out through the Eugenics Record Office. Herbert Webber, a professor of plant breeding at Cornell, also lectured in this series:

> Already the race problems of the south and west have assumed alarming proportions. We cannot but recognize the negro as an inferior race and the blending of a lower with a higher race, judging from our present knowledge must necessarily result in debasing or lowering the general standard ... the average negro in the United States today, is contented, happy and unambitious, desiring only sufficient food to supply his needs .... The negroes are lax in morals and think little of the marriage bond.
>
> When all factors are considered I think we cannot deny that a considerable portion of this greater (Negro) percentage of criminality is due to a distinct racial difference.
>
> The great majority of the negroes that achieve distinction, as for instance, Douglass, Bruce, Lynch, DuBois, Washington, and others are mulattoes ... The admixture of white blood clearly improves the offspring in mental

efficiency but there is no evidence to indicate that such offspring is better in any way than the white parent, and it is reasonable to assume that they would be inferior.

The Mongolian-Caucasian cross, so far as I am informed, cannot be considered inferior but is certainly to be pitied.[34]

In another of these lectures, Winston Churchill s quoted concerning the sterilization of idiots, nsane, feeble-minded, and the most depraved :riminals:

They deserve all that can be done for them by a Christian and scientific civilization now that they are in the world, but their curse must die with them and not be transmitted to future generations.[35]

Popenoe argues that "genius" will not be lost by sterilization of the feebleminded:

The professional class, which provides only 3% of the sterilized patients and 1% of the retarded children, produces 54% of the very bright children. On the other hand the unskilled and semi-skilled laborers, who produce 46% of the sterilized feeble-minded and 55% of the retarded, furnish only 1% of the very bright children.... The sources of inherited mental deficiency are easier to discover than is often supposed.[36]

About those sterilized, Popenoe states:

The proportion of foreign-born is relatively high.[37]
Negroes exceed their quota.[38]

Further, native Italians and native Mexicans each made up 2.5% of California's population, yet they made up 4.7% and 5.2% of those sterilized.[39]

THE IMPORTANCE OF THE EUGENICS MOVEment to the maintenance of the status quo cannot be underestimated. It was a time of class struggle around the world. The Paris proletariat led uprisings in 1848 and 1871, and Marxism was an active force in all the major countries. This country saw a bloody railroad strike in 1877, massive strikes like the Pullman strike, the Homestead strike. There was intense, anti-monopoly agitation by the Populist Party in the 1890's, and the Socialist Party after that. The IWW led militant strikes from the Rockies to Lawrence, Massachusetts and the deep South. The IWW organized black, white and the foreign-born on the same basis. With this background, the establishment clearly needed a new ideology to maintain itself. Religion just was not working any more.

Social Darwinism had much to recommend itself. It found the answer to pressing social problems in breeding practices, not in challenging the ownership of the corporations. Best of all, it blamed the problems of the "lower" classes on themselves. Darwinist ideas further forbade labor unions and state charity, as running counter to the survival of the fittest. Racism was very important. These ideas would separate white workers from the foreign-born, black, and Mexican workers, and divide all workers from the middle sectors of society. After all, the "fittest" were already ruling society, weren't they?

Only with the rise of Hitler were these ideas checked. Hitler exposed the ultimate consequences of these ideas too quickly. And how could the rulers here eventually ask people to fight Hitler if he was doing nothing different than the rulers here? The organizations folded up by 1939.

The appearance of the ideas of Shockley, Herrnstein, Jensen, et al about the genetic "inferiority" of blacks and other minorities is not essentially different from the "science" we see operating at the beginning of the century. They even use the same data. Shockley quotes the Army tests that Laughlin used, and all refer to the IQ tests used to such telling effect by Popenoe and others. There is every reason to believe that the whole eugenics program will eventually be reinstituted if these ideas are not opposed.

TABLE I

States Having Sterilization Laws by Jan. 1, 1930 and the Number of People Sterilized

State	#Males	#Females	Total
Alabama	32	12	44
Arizona	0	0	0
California	3,636	3,151	6,787
Connecticut	7	193	200
Delaware	171	107	278
Idaho	0	0	0
Iowa	43	14	57
Indiana	120	3	123
Kansas	414	243	657
Maine	4	8	12
Michigan	62	326	388
Mississippi	0	0	0
Montana	27	33	60
Nebraska	109	199	308
New Hampshire	4	57	61
North Carolina	2	1	3
North Dakota	22	17	39
Oregon	257	393	650
South Dakota	19	42	61
Utah	43	36	79
Virginia	94	274	368
Washington	1	8	9
West Virginia	0	0	0
Wisconsin	35	270	305
24 states	5,134	5,743	10,877

Note that southern states do not lead this list. California is the champion sterilizer and its use of sterilization against immigrants has already been shown in this article. Also we should not think that this is all of the people sterilized. For example, North Carolina is listed in 1930 as having sterilized 3 people. By 1968, 6,851 people had been sterilized under the supervision of the Eugenics Board of North Carolina. The available statistics indicate that approximately two-thirds of the sterilized were black, although blacks make up only 25% of the population in North Carolina.(33)

TABLE II

MISCEGENATION LAWS

The following states had laws providing restrictions involving marriage between whites and various minorities. This table lists the states and the restrictions and what year the law was enacted.

State	Year Passed	Groups Prohibited from Marrying Whites
Alabama	1923	"Negro or descendent of a Negro to the 3rd generation inclusive"
Arizona	1928	"Negroes, Mongolians, Indians, Hindus or members of the Malay races"
Arkansas		"Negroes and Mulattoes"
California	1929	"Negroes, Mongolians, Mulattoes or members of the Malay race"
Colorado	1921	"Negroes or Mulattoes"
Delaware	1915	"Negro or Mulatto"
Florida	1920	"Any negro (person having one-eighth or more of negro blood)"
Georgia	1926	"Persons of African descent," "all negroes, mulattoes, mestizos and their descendants having any ascertainable trace of either negro or African, West Indian or Asiatic Indian blood in their veins," "Mongolians"
Idaho	1919	"Mongolians, negroes or Mulattoes"
Indiana	1926	"Persons having one-eighth or more of negro blood"
Kentucky	1922	"Negro or Mulatto"
Louisiana	1926	"Persons of color"
Maryland	1924	"Negro or person of Negro descent to the third generation or a member of the Malay race"
Mississippi	1930	"Negro or Mulatto or Mongolian"
Missouri	1929	"Persons having one-eighth or more Negro blood." "Mongolians"
Montana	1921	"Negro or a person of negro blood or in part negro." "Chinese person," "Japanese person"
Nebraska	1922	"Person having one-eighth or more negro, Japanese or Chinese blood"
Nevada	1929	"Any person of the Ethiopian or black race, Malay or brown race, Mongolian or yellow race"
North Carolina	1919	"Negro or Indian," "or person of negro or Indian descent to the third generation inclusive"
North Dakota	1913	"Negro"
Oklahoma	1921	"Any person of African descent"
Oregon	1930	"Any negro, Chinese or any person having one-fourth or more negro, Chinese or Kanaka blood, or more than one-half Indian"
South Carolina	1929	"Any Indian or negro"
South Dakota	1929	"Any person belonging to the African, Corean, Malayan or Mongolian race"
Tennessee	1917	"Africans or the descendants of Africans to the third generation inclusive"
Texas	1925	"Negro or Mongolian"
Utah	1927	"Negro or Mongolian"
Virginia	1930	"Colored persons"
West Virginia	1923	"Negro"
Wyoming	1920	"Negroes, Mulattoes, Mongolians or Malays"

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Ireland: Concrete Class Analysis Essential to Understand Struggle

Part I: Irish Capitalism and Nationalism before Partition

I—Introduction

Every day brings a fresh bulletin from Belfast—more and more cryptically, all we get now is the latest bodycount, the bare announcement of the latest bomb-blast. Then there are the ludicrous statements of optimism from the British Army. The whole thing has the air of a re-run of the 1960s; LBJ and Westmoreland, the Vietcong and the "light at the end of the tunnel"—with an impeccable Oxbridge accent. The comparison is no longer facetious—Ulster really is British imperialism's Vietnam.

It would be easy (or facile), especially from 4,000 miles away, simply to join in the clamor of denunciations of the IRA as just another gang of terrorists—or to take the equally banal, "left-wing" line that although we don't agree with everything that they do "tactically," still we have to support them because they are fighting British imperialism. The real task, however, is to analyze the events in Ulster in a systematic and thorough manner; in short, the only way in which any assessment of the situation can be made is through an analysis of the historical and material sources of the struggle which began in 1968, and through close and critical scrutiny of the class positions, roles and ideologies of all the major parties to the conflict.

There are, in essence, two central factors which form the real basis of the struggle in Northern Ireland. The first is the uneven development of capitalism in Ireland since the 18th century; the second is the distribution and organization of the religious/national groupings in the population of Ireland. These two factors are critical—without an understanding of them it is, quite simply, impossible to make sense of the history of Ireland in the 20th century; without them, we will be unable to understand the revolution and civil war (1916-22), the Partition (1921), the Irish Republican Army, the Orange Order, and, least of all, the fighting since 1968.

It seems self-evident that anyone claiming to be a socialist or a Marxist who proclaims a position on the struggle in Ulster would only do so on the basis of a clearly articulated analysis of the development of capitalism and capitalist class relations in Ireland. The abysmal fact is, on the contrary, that this sort of analysis is precisely what has been most notable by its absence.

"Militant" sloganeering about British imperialism is no substitute for concrete analysis. Why has there been such an absence of class perspective on the subject of Ireland? In the first place, for the bourgeois press, obviously, the communist analysis is out of the question. But what about the so-called socialist forces? We think that, in large measure, they have simply avoided the hard work involved in asking and answering the real questions; and they have settled for the simplistic view of the Catholics as the good guys, Protestants as bad buys. But life isn't a John Wayne western; and religion, especially in Ireland, is the last definition of goodness.

II—The Origins of Nationalism in Ireland

Ireland is an exemplary case of the uneven development of capitalism—in fact, of the development of capitalism **twice.** Ireland has had two capitalist classes, and two nationalist movements. The source of this confusion is not some mystical or abstract "Irishness," but rather the way in which imperialism worked in the world's first full-blown colony. The basic material source of the contradictions in Irish history is the fact that two different forms of colonization were practiced in Ireland.

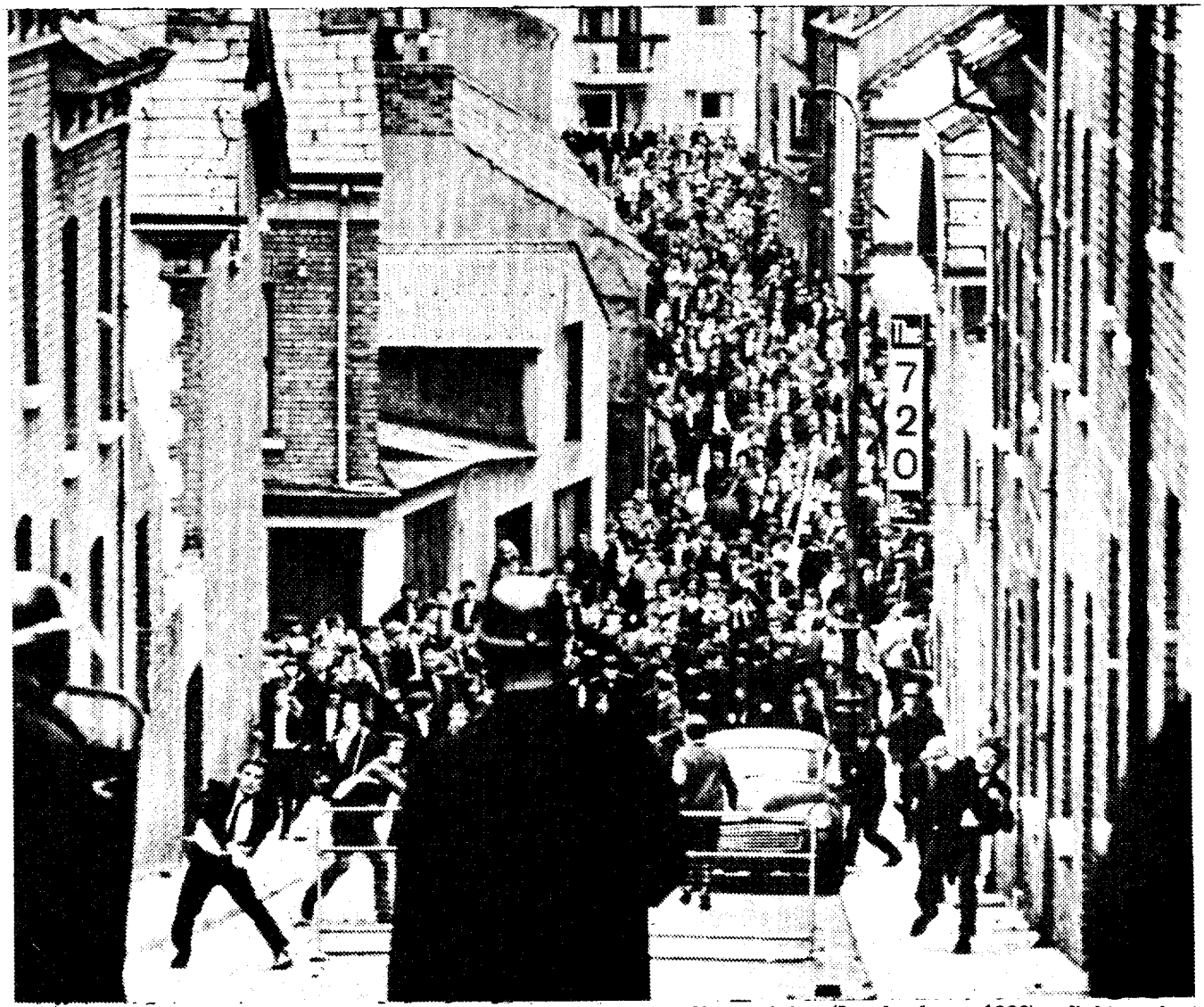
In the wake of the English Civil War—the world's first bourgeois revolution—Cromwell's New Model Army invaded Ireland. The immediate cause of the invasion was the urge to punish the Catholic Irish for their uprising in support of Charles I in 1641. Needless to say, the task was accomplished with all the bestial ferocity which has always characterized racist colonial wars. (To this day, and for very good reasons, the Catholic Church, which controls the education of Catholics throughout Ireland, North as well as South, ensures that the Cromwellian invasion is taught entirely in terms of religion.) The ultimately decisive element of Cromwell's invasion was the settlement of Ulster. In the 1650s, the last remnants of the old Gaelic clan system were demolished and the Irish survivors dispossessed. The "native Irish" were replaced—for the first

time on a systematic and permanent basis—by soldiers of the New Model Army, who were rewarded for their service with land-grants in the northeastern part of the island. The settlers—sons of the solid gentry of England and lowland Scotland—came from the class which had formed the core of the revolutionary movement in England; they were part of the rising bourgeoisie. In effect, then, what Cromwell did was to export to Ireland the ideas of the first steps on the road to capitalism.

The effects of this settlement were delayed until the end of the 18th century; but the seeds took firm root in Ulster. The fact which made the Ulster "plantation" different from earlier ones was that the people who settled there were younger sons—they had no land or property to return to in England. Therefore, they forged a strong communal/national unity against the native Irish whom they had dispossessed and from whom they had very justifiable fears of revenge.

The first real struggle between the settlers and the natives—the principal icon in the Orange liturgy—was the Jacobite war of 1688 to 1690; the Battle of the Boyne and the seige of Derry. This was an attempt by an English king to overthrow the English parliament and re-establish the feudal trappings of the Divine Right of kings over the basic structures of capitalism which were being developed in England; and it set the pattern for the next 300 years. Repeatedly in the period since the Battle of the Boyne, elements in the English ruling classes have found Ireland a convenient place in which to settle their internal battles—always, of course, at the expense of the Irish.

DURING THE 150 YEARS FROM THE ULSTER settlement to the period of the bourgeois revolutions at the end of the 18th century, two different social structures were created in Ireland. Capitalism was developed in one part, and prevented from developing in the other. The source of the present contradictions lies in the 18th century, specifically in the fact that two different systems



Presence of a real communist party could have made this nationalist uprising (Londonderry, 1969) a fight against the international bosses.

of land tenure, based on the needs of two different ruling classes, were developed. In the first place, in most of Ireland (the area outside of Ulster, the area in which the people had more or less openly rallied to the Jacobites), the native Irish, regardless of class, were eliminated from property ownership by the penal legislation against Catholicism. The land was then appropriated (by force or fraud) by the English landed aristocracy: for the next two hundred years Ireland was to remain the bastion of the English landed interests.

The penal legislation against "dissent" from the "Established" Church (i.e., Anglicanism), was a two-edged sword. On one hand, it precluded, for over a century, the possibility of the development of a native Irish (therefore Catholic) bourgeoisie; and it greatly enriched the English landowners. While thus immediately beneficial to one wing of the English ruling class, the policy was detrimental in the long run because it delayed the advent of the native lackeys upon whom imperialism relies. Indeed, the colonial policy of sucking all the capital out of Ireland, in the form of cash rents and cash crops whose export was entirely controlled by the colonial regime, drove the embryonic Irish bourgeoisie into revolutionary politics.

The Irish masses, meanwhile, were the prototype of the modern peasantry under imperialism; owning neither land nor livestock, they had only their labor-power to sell. That the price they received was abysmal is very clear from both the number of localized agrarian uprisings in the latter half of the 18th century, and from the contemporary literature's frequent portraits of the rack-renting landlord and his agents. In effect, the situation in most of Ireland throughout the 18th century was one of degeneration—the absence of capital accumulation, a rising population creating increased pressure on the land, rising rents; and, sitting on top of the powder-keg, a thoroughly corrupt colonial administration, the Protestant Ascendancy.

During the same period, however, the peasantry in Ulster developed along different lines, being neither the petty-bourgeois smallholder of rural England nor the totally dispossessed tenant of the rest of Ireland. Called the "Ulster Custom" because, although not legally recognized but nonetheless firmly rooted in Ulster by the end of the 18th century, the tenure system in the north-east differed from that which prevailed in the rest of the country primarily through the fact that it accorded some measure of security to the tenant farmers. The key reason for the development of the Ulster Custom was the extension of the settlement after the Jacobite war, through the issuance of land on generous leases and relatively low (and relatively fixed) rents to those who had proved their loyalty to the new order.

During the 18th century, the Ulster tenant farmer enjoyed relative security; he was unquestionably, if only slightly, better off than his counterpart in the rest of Ireland. Most important of all, the Ulster Custom was a system which enabled and encouraged the process of capital accumulation. The central aspect of the Custom was the peasant's "tenant right"—an interest in the land he occupied which he could sell, either to another tenant or back to the land-owner, in lieu of improvements to the property, should he be evicted or wish to move. The "right," of course, was not exactly equal: it benefitted the richer peasants at the expense of the poorer. The situation was, in effect, an embryonic market economy —the basis of Ulster capitalism. In Ulster, on the land, the key process at work was the development of larger capitalist farming units involved in commodity production. Side by side with this process went the growth of the linen industry, which followed the classical English pattern: Journeymen and artisans being progressively "socialized" under division of labor and the enrichment of the mercantile interests.

YET ANOTHER DEVELOPMENT WHICH DIFferentiated Ulster from the rest of Ireland—a corollary of the elements outlined above—was that whereas in Ulster the primary crops (i.e., the cash crops for a burgeoning commodity market) were hemp and flax (the raw materials for the rope and linen industries), in the rest of the country the principal agricultural produce was livestock for the English market. Therefore, enclosure was the order of the day as the land was converted into pasturage.

The Ulster ruling class was already distinctive by the end of the 18th century, especially for three factors: 1) they were more likely to be resident in Ireland (settlers who had made money); 2) the restrictions which they faced were primarily those of the market economy, capitalism, not penal legislation based on religion; and 3) they comprised an alliance of landowners and a developing industrial bourgeoisie. The Ulster landlords, moreover, tended to be notable in comparison with their counterparts in the rest of Ireland for their progressive views and practices on the question of the relationship between land and technical development, and for their clearer grasp on the value of land as an investment. This fact was reflected in the social developments in Ireland in the 18th century: in the north-east feudalism disappeared, in the rest of country some elements of feudal social relations (including even bondage) were retained and encouraged. In a word, the Ulster ruling class was bourgeois.

The last three decades of the 18th century brought the social contradictions in Irish society to the point of combustion. To explain this explosion and the course that it took requires the introduction and explanation of the meaning of one further element. The major political force in the hands of the ruling class in Ireland was the penal legislation which buttressed the Establishment of the Church of Ireland. This legislation was not simply directed against Catholics: all "Dissenters" were discriminated against. In Ireland, and especially in Ulster (where many of the

original settlers had been from lowland Scotland), the other major group which suffered under the penal codes was the Presbyterians. A reflection of this can be seen in the early period of colonial North America—a high proportion of Presbyterians from Ulster were found in the New World.

In Ulster, the Presbyterians formed the buffer bloc, in many ways the most critical element. They were mostly tenant farmers and artisans (and later, the core of the Belfast petty-bourgeoisie). While officially penalized on religious grounds, the dissenters did enjoy some advantages over the Catholic native Irish. This question was most acutely understood by the ruling class, especially at the end of the 18th century, when their policy was directed towards splitting the potential unity of the Presbyterian and Catholic groups in Ulster.

Sitting on top of the whole situation in Ireland were the ruling classes, an alliance of different forces. The major power was held by the biggest landowners, with holdings outside of Ulster—the Church of Ireland (resident at York and Canterbury) and the English aristocracy to whom Ireland was a source of more land with which to prop up their finances in competition with the rising English bourgeoisie. Then there were the two more indigenous forces—the Catholic Church and the Ulster ruling class. The former's policy throughout both the 18th and 19th centuries was to obtain concessions from the English colonial administration, in return for pacifying the peasants' endemic tendency towards savage class warfare. (The Church, in short, was the closest thing in Ireland to the local lackeys necessary for imperial rule: brain police.) On the other hand, the Ulster ruling class comprised the settlers who, either from original advantages or through early recognition of the need to be capitalist, had gained control of the essential trading and landowning sectors.

THE DIFFERENCE WHICH MARKS THE Ulster rulers off from their partners in the Protestant Ascendancy was that they were resident, and they had developed a more or less coherent sense of "national" interest in Ulster. Although, naturally, they saw their interests entirely in terms of the English market and the English economy, this did not necessarily incline them to automatic agreement with the political goals pursued by the main force of the Ascendancy. The latter's policy tended to center around an essentially reactionary view of land as no more than a source of cash rents. To assert that the Ulster ruling class was the most progressive of these forces at the end of the 18th century can be borne out by consideration of the fact that most of the leading forces involved in Ireland's first **(and last)** non-sectarian nationalist movement came from among the developing bourgeoisie in Ulster.

From the 1760's to the end of the century, the colonial regime in Dublin was faced with increasingly numerous and widespread outbreaks of violent class warfare in the countryside as the peasants sought to combat the Catch-22 they faced. Year after year, as the population grew, the pressure on the land increased; the landlords, needless to add, took advantage of the fact to screw the rents up. Outside of Ulster, the peasants had no recourse other than armed and more or less insurrectionary violence. The peasants' actions usually took the form of armed groups who tore down the fences and slaughtered the cattle which had dispossessed them. The government, of course, resorted to more and more repression to deal with the problem; a solution which, understandably, failed. So long, however, as the unrest was scattered into numerous uncoordinated and localized uprisings it amounted to a holding action on the part of the peasants. Furthermore, so long as it was restricted to the areas outside of Ulster it lacked the essential social and political stability necessary to transform unrest into a revolutionary situation.

The ruling classes were well aware that the ultimately decisive threat to their power would come from the unity of the native Irish peasant masses and the increasingly proletarianized tenants and artisans in Ulster; and they were also wary of the possibility that the catalyst for such unity would come from the center of Irish radicalism at that time; the developing petty-bourgeoisie of Belfast.

Throughout the 1790's the situation in Ireland was one of continuing and chaotic unrest. There were numerous large and small armed organizations of peasants in operation. The most important were the Whiteboys of Tipperary (from the sheets they wore as disguises), and two incipiently sectarian groups in Ulster: among Protestants the Oakboys and the Peep O'Day Boys, and among the Catholics the Defenders. But again, already there were significant differences between the sources of the unrest in Ulster and the rest of the country. Outside of Ulster, the unrest drew on 150 years of oppression and accumulated grievances; but within the northern province the key factors underlying the growth of unrest were relatively recent. The immediate cause of the unrest among Ulster's peasantry was the action of some of the major landlords in abrogating the "rights" which had been recognized under the Custom: leases were cut short, rents increased, tenants evicted, and native Irish peasants who were willing to pay higher rents were brought in as scabs. On top of the competition for land (which was partly based on the fact that, since the settlement of the 1650's, the Catholics had been forced onto the worst land), there was also a rise in the competition among the artisans (Catholic and Protestant) all of whom faced dislocation, unemployment and starvation as the linen manufacture in Ulster became industrialized.

THE ENGLISH RULING CLASS WAS MOST concerned about the possibility of the development in Ireland of sympathy for and solidarity with the dangerous revolutionary ideas and practice of France and the American colony. There was good reason for their concern—because of the connections between Irish rebels and French politics throughout the 18th century, and because of the

many contacts between Ulster Presbyterians and the colonial rebellion in America. The Presbyterians in Ulster were the critical element: most infected with the radical ideas of the Jacobin republicans in the French revolutionary movement; most urbanized and most antagonistic to the policies of the Protestant Ascendancy; and least inclined towards sectarian anti-Catholicism.

In this situation, a group of radical republicans, led by Wolfe Tone and some other Presbyterian merchants in Belfast, founded the Society of United Irishmen. Basing their politics on the French Declaration of the Rights of Man, Tone and the United Irishmen sought to build unity between the republican, urban middle-class and the agrarian radicalism of the peasant masses. In response to such a threat of building potent alliance of classes which faced a crisis-situation, the policy of the Dublin regime was clear—to set the pre-existing armed organizations in Ulster against one another. Thus, in 1795, the Peep O'Day Boys and Oakboys were merged as the Orange Order, and were encouraged by landlords loyal to the colonial regime to direct their energies against the Catholic Defenders (in which organization the United Irishmen had made strong gains). That, at least, was the case in central and western Ulster; and in the eastern section, the area around Belfast, the government's policy was to disarm the United Irishmen.

This two-pronged strategy faced a number of difficulties. In the first place, the United Irishmen had won considerable support among the Defenders, because they expressed and appealed to the underlying spread of mass opposition to the government and the development of revolutionary ideas among the independent artisans and middle-sized tenants who were threatened by the growing capitalization in Ulster. Secondly, the loyalist Ulster gentry and Anglican bourgeoisie were reluctant to become involved in the Orange Order, which they saw as a primarily "lower-class" body. There was the further difficulty for the government of the fact that they were doubtful of the loyalty of the forces of law and order, local militias, which had been infiltrated by the United Irishmen. However, when the government moved in 1797 to outlaw the United Irishmen and arrest its leadership, it became clearer that they had over-estimated the power of that organization: sectarian fighting had been successfully fomented in mid-Ulster.

The arrests and the increased repression led to a half-hearted, ill-prepared, disorganized and uncoordinated uprising in 1798, which was met with full-scale repression. In mid-Ulster, the Orange Order was taken directly under the wing of the state (in the shape of the local magistrates) and empowered to disarm and terrorise the Defenders and others suspected of United Irish sympathies. In east Ulster, especially in Belfast, Catholic militia forces from the south were set loose upon the radical Presbyterians, burning, looting and torturing for weeks.

It is essential, however, to point out that the use of the Orange Order as the scourge of the Defenders and United Irishmen served other purposes than the purely political one of repression. The long-term result was the reduction of competition for land in mid-Ulster, through the expulsion of Catholics and radicals to the poorer lands in the west.

The ruling classes in Ireland responded to the first major threat to their power with the most potent weapon in their armory—the classical imperialist device. Then, as now, the key area in Ireland was Ulster, and by successfully dividing the province on religious/national lines the Dublin regime continued to rule.

III—The Orange and the Green

The fact that the Ulster Presbyterian middle class and the native Irish peasantry had nearly allied in a nationalist revolution scared the ruling class in Ireland, and obliged them to learn the lesson. From the beginning of the 19th century, the English ruling class and the Protestant Ascendancy pursued a coherent policy of fostering a dual system of class collaboration and privilege/oppression and discrimination to ensure one very specific goal—that Orange and Green should remain separate, that the spectre of united Irish nationalism should not be revived. The history of Ireland in the 19th century is the story of the success of that strategy. **But** it should not be thought that this is in any sense simply a case of the evil machinations of the ruling class dominating history; like all classes, the ruling class cannot make history simply in accord with its will. There were very specific material conditions which constrained the strategy and within which it was possible for the rulers to succeed.

A large measure of the success of the strategy of divide and conquer depended upon the willingness of generation after generation of "nationalist leaders" to settle for minor concessions from and accommodations with the ruling colonial regime, rather than risk unleashing a revolution (which would have swept them all aside). Thus, it is also the story of the corruption and decadence of Green bourgeoisie which had no other basis in the country than the support it received from the English rulers. While that was the sorry tale of the Green nationalists, we shall see that there was a dynamic and progressive bourgeoisie in Ireland which did develop its own political power and which forged a modern nation state: a bourgeois class which carried out its world-historical task. The contrast between the two is the story of the Green and the Orange.

As part of the complex internal struggles between the two wings of the English ruling class at the beginning of the 19th century, the commercial interests began to whittle away the residual powers of the landed and aristocratic interests. One aspect of this struggle was the Act of Union of 1801, by which the "independent" Irish Parliament in Dublin was abolished and the Irish representatives obliged to take their seats at Westminster. The import of this event was twofold. In the first place, it obliged the Irish landed interests to move from Dublin to London in order to secure the representation of their

interests (thus encouraging and furthering the tendency towards absentee landownership); and by the same stroke, the Union weakened the possibility that they might use Ireland as a secure base from which to attack the dominant commercial interests.

The Ascendancy was thus weakened in two senses—in its relations with the English ruling class (with whom they were in potential contradiction); and in relation to Ireland as a whole. The second is more significant since the move of landed interests to London, and their subsequent reliance on land-agents to collect rents and oversee their property, eliminated any possibility that the Ascendancy might become a stable ruling class based on the Irish economy. The ultimate result of the Act of Union, then, was to enhance the strength of the only bourgeois force in Ireland which had any real ties to the rest of the population—the growing Ulster bourgeoisie.

THE ULSTER RULERS ACCEPTED UNION for a variety of reasons. In the immediate first place, they had no desire to stir up unrest by opposing the Union, when they had just avoided a revolution. They also saw direct political and economic reasons for tacit and explicit support for the Union: economically, because it reinforced their ties with and profits from the English economy; and politically, because they stood to gain through removal of the major pre-Union obstacle to the expansion of their power. The rulers in Ulster had always been a minority within the Ascendancy, scornfully tolerated as junior partners by the Dublin lords and hated and feared by the native Irish (and often by the Presbyterian) masses.

The economic consequences of the Union were both long-term and immediate. In the long run, the Irish economy was demolished (or, in modern terms, under-developed); and in the immediate instance, Ireland was drained of taxes and revenues to bolster the English exchequer—hardly advantageous terms on which to engage in capital accumulation. The first policy of Union was to abolish the mild protectionist measures which the Irish parliament had established at the end of the 18th century. The goal of those tariffs had been to attempt to protect the early growth of an Irish cotton industry in the southwest. That industry was simply annihilated in the depression of 1825, by massive dumping of Lancashire textile products in Ireland.

Troops massacre Fenian rebels **(see page 79).**

The only area of Ireland in which manufacturing industry was to develop from then on was in Belfast and its environs. The combination of overwhelming competition from the more advanced industries of England and the perpetual drain of absentee rents, taxes and excise duties to the landed interests and the English state, simply precluded the possibility of industrial development in the Ireland outside of Ulster. Ireland from 1801 was the first modern colony, whose raw materials (essentially agricultural) and labor-power were devoted to the enrichment of English capitalism.

AT THE SAME TIME, IRISH SOCIETY NECESsarily set the pattern of disintegration and decay which marks the colonial country. The best reflection of this is to be found in the groveling, whining, completely self-serving timidity of most of Wolfe Tone's successors. The first, and to this day, according to the Catholic educational system in Ireland, the greatest of the Irish political leaders of the 19th century, was Daniel O'Connell—"The Great Emancipator." A good indicator of the backwardness of Irish politics in the second quarter of the 19th century is to be found in a comparison with the developments in England at the same time. With leadership which included the prominent parts played by two expatriate Irishmen, the English working class was engaged in the struggle for Chartism—the world's first mass proletarian political movement, demanding the rights to organize and vote and the shorter work-week. In Ireland, on the other hand, the political arena was monopolized by the petty-bourgeoisie, led by O'Connell, the Catholic professionals and clergy in southern Ireland.

Both because he could do nothing, least of all impress the English ruling class, without them, and because the only alternative was another revolutionary movement of the masses, O'Connell harnessed the deep-rooted class hatred of the rural population to a mass movement for "Emancipation." The demands raised by O'Connell's Catholic Association were disastrously blinkered: a reformist appeal for the abolition of the penal codes against Catholicism, for the basic and fundamentally bourgeois political rights. The key factor in the Emancipation movement, however, was that it set the tone for the nationalist movements which were to follow, by appealing for the mass support of the native Irish on the exclusive and exclusionary basis of religious affiliation, and therefore eliminating any possibility of unity with the far more advanced working-class forces which were developing in Ulster.

Of course, the only thing that the Emancipation movement really stood for was the achievement of bourgeois civic rights for the Catholic middle class—the right to exploit, to sit in parliament, to displace the remnants of the Ascendancy in this administration of Ireland for the English ruling class. While O'Connell and the Catholic middle class presented its proposed bill of rights, its claim to be acknowledged as fully-fledged lackeys, the Ulster bourgeoisie had come to terms with the initial constraints of the Union and had forged ahead in the process of modernizing, industrializing and exploiting. There was, in fact, by the 1840's, a modern capitalist economy in Ulster—centered on linen, rope-making and shipbuilding in Belfast, and shirt-making in Derry. Moreover, the Ulster bourgeoisie had no illusions about who they were or where their interests lay. They had rapidly accommodated themselves to the Union's imposition of the United Kingdom free trade area; and their industry was based on the triangle formed by the three industrial ports—Belfast, Glasgow and Liverpool.

Politics in Ulster remained separate and largely indifferent during the Emancipation movement. The Orange Order had been domesticated and was under the control of the Ulster ruling class. Large numbers of Catholic peasants had been driven out of the province, thereby reducing the pressure on the land and the potential for class struggle which that pressure had engendered.

THE TURNING POINT IN IRISH HISTORY IN the 19th century was the Famine of 1846-1850. Already, before that point had been reached, there were clearly developed distinctions in Irish society which must be noted. The essential class forces were 1) a dwindling Ascendancy which derived its power from landholdings in Ireland, but which exercised its power in England; 2) a rising Ulster bourgeoisie which was integrated economically, but not politically, into the English system; 3) a weak and timid Catholic petty-bourgeoisie based in professional activities (lawyers and doctors); 4) the Catholic Irish peasant masses facing rising rents and scarce land; 5) a growing proletariat in Ulster which was mostly Angelican and Presbyterian, settler stock. In brief, there were two Irelands—industrial, capitalist Ulster and the agrarian colony composed of the rest of the island. The division was not as clear then as it has become or as it can be seen in historical perspective because although, in practice, there were two ruling classes on the make (Catholic petty-bourgeois in the south, and Ulster bourgeois in the north) they were both ostensibly overridden and dominated by the remains of the Ascendancy.

IV—The Great Famine and its Aftermath

During the first half of the 19th century the peasant masses in rural Ireland had faced increasing oppression. On one hand the population rose constantly, with concomitant rent increases; and, simultaneously, the absentee landlords turned more and more to enclosure in order to increase their profits from the land by converting to pasturage. Cattle replaced peasants in the rush to feed the rapidly rising urban population of England during the peak of the Industrial Revolution. Then, in 1846, the crop which supplied the bulk of the staple diet of most of the Irish population failed—the potatoes were blighted. Meanwhile, however, large areas of central Ireland were producing

tons of wheat and other grains. But none of that foodstuff remained in Ireland—it was considered part of the English domestic production and was exported to England to maintain English grain prices according to the levels set by the Corn Laws.

For four years, while the potatoes rotted in the ground, **laissez-faire** doctrine and the interests of the English landed interests and their commercial allies in the grain trade combined to prevent the distribution of food in Ireland. The population of Ireland was more than halved in six years—from over eight millions to less than four millions; approximately half of the loss was due to deaths from starvation, and remainder to emigration (to England, North America, South Africa and Australia).

During the Famine the distinction between Ulster and the rest of the country was brought into sharper focus. Whereas there was some diversification in Ulster agriculture—stemming from the Ulster Custom, which had been recognized as having legal standing in the terms of the Act of Union, thus allowing closer property relations between the tenant and the land he held—in the rest of the country the pattern was reversed. The landlords owned more or less huge tracts, upon which the peasants worked in return for payment in kind (which they were obliged to sell in order to pay the cash rents). When the potatoes failed, the Irish economy stopped, for the simple lack of labor-power. Millions were evicted from their shacks because they could no longer pay rent, disease spread at a phenomenal rate throughout the rural villages and then the larger towns, and the English ruling class debated the situation in Parliament.

There were two highly significant results of the Famine. The first was an abrupt and wholesale shift in the structure of Irish society, which was reflected in the subsequent development of a series of mass-based insurrectionary movements in which the demands raised became increasingly radical. Underlying the social alteration was the shift in the structure of the Irish economy. Prior to the Famine, the major agricultural product in Ireland was wheat, which, through the combination of the factors of proximity to England and the balance of power within the English ruling class between the landed and commercial interests, enjoyed a monopoly on the English market. In the years after the Famine, several factors combined to force the Irish economy onto a different path. The repeal of the Corn Laws, increased competition from the grain-producing areas in Eastern Europe and North America and the cyclical slumps in the world economy all forced the land-owners to re-evaluate their relationship to the land. The switch to pasturage became a headlong dash to cash in on a rising market for meat products in the period prior to refrigeration.

THE REPEAL OF THE CORN LAWS REPREsented the rapid growth of the power of the English industrial bourgeoisie over their landed allies, since the intent of the legislation was primarily indifferent to Ireland. The goal of the repeal was to provide cheaper bread (and, concomitantly, lower wages) to the growing working class in England. The alteration of the Irish social structure was intimately connected with the switch to pasturage—particularly as it was aided by enabling legislation from Westminster which encouraged the consolidation of holdings. In brief, the generation after the Famine saw the development in the Irish countryside of strong class distinctions, as the more prosperous peasants consolidated and the urban-based petty bourgeois speculators adopted the example of the English landed interests in purchasing land for the value of cash-rents. Whereas, however, the usual pattern involved in this process of consolidation in the rural economy has been the basis for capital accumulation and the development of industry, in Ireland the landlords, whether English absentee tentry or Dublin-based petty bourgeoisie, were too short-sighted to recognize this possibility. Thus, the rental value of the land rose from $15 millions in 1845 to $18 millions in 1855, on considerably fewer holdings.

By the 1860's, the Irish economy was utterly dependent upon the stability of the English market, and therefore upon the absence of competition from the rest of the world—clearly a situation which was not destined to last forever. And thus, necessarily, the Irish Catholic bourgeoisie, which had grown out of the small middle class of the 18th century and the Emancipation of 1829, was also dependent upon the English ruling class.

In the three decades after the Famine, the class differentiations began to make themselves fully visible among the native Irish. What happened, in fact, was that the Famine spurred on the development of capitalist relations of production and social intercourse, though always in a retarded manner. In the first place the Irish petty bourgeoisie which bought land after the Famine did so on precisely the same terms as the English gentry—in order to realize as much cash value as possible. This class of native Irish petty-bourgeois comprised the Catholics who, since Emancipation, had found posts in the loyal service of the government, the Catholic hierarchy, and the growing ranks of the professions (especially doctors and lawyers). They reconciled themselves to a position of secondary importance, junior partners to the great English landowners, to whose coat-tails they attached themselves, aping the aristocracy's manners, culture, and politics. In a word, they were decadent. (One indicator of the decadence of the rising Irish bourgeoisie was their cultural impotence—all the important work on Irish antiquities and on the ancient Gaelic culture was done by English employees of the colonial administration.)

The masses on the other hand were faced with a rapidly accelerating development of capitalism. The Famine threw them off the land, but not into the towns, it starved them and dispossessed them entirely. Owning nothing but their labor-power, their numbers and their tradition of armed organi-

zation against the immediate oppressor, these masses reconciled themselves to nothing, and turned increasingly to more or less revolutionary activity and increasingly found themselves facing "their own" leaders, the "decent folk of property." In many ways this was the most important result of the Famine—that it broke the veneer of a whole class of native Irish oppressors. From the 1850's on, the Irish masses rose up time and again, in numerous forms of class struggle in the countryside. But all of these uprisings were aborted because of two basic failures.

THE FAILURES OF THE IRISH REVOLUTIONary movements can be seen most clearly in the case of the most highly developed movement—the Fenians—which was built around a central contradiction. While the Fenians class-base was almost entirely the newly-forged rural proletariat, their ideology was almost exclusively nationalist. The Fenians never really saw beyond the need to throw the English out of Ireland. They persisted in this failure even despite the fact that they came up against the rising Irish bourgeoisie and their staunchest allies, the Church, at every turn. A secondary failure lay in the frequent confusion on the part of the Fenian leadership of physical violence and revolutionary action; and yet they created the broadest-based mass movement in 19th century Ireland.

The key to the failure of the Fenians and their successors in the Green nationalist movement was based in the failure to transcend the national perspective. Thus, they linked the **class** struggle of the masses for liberation with the **national-bourgeois** struggle of the Catholic middle classes for Home Rule. Between the two demands there was an essential contradiction. Home Rule would (and did) replace one set of oppressors with another. An independent Irish legislature, the central focus of the Home Rule demand, was more than simply an illusory goal for the Irish masses. As time went on, it became, increasingly, clearly a demand which posed a real material threat to the living standards of the Ulster working class. By tailing behind the reformist parliamentarism of the Green middle classes, the Fenians and their successors cut themselves off from the growing class struggles of the predominantly Protestant Ulster working class. In practice, then, no matter how revolutionary the Green rural masses were in action, they lacked the essential component of the core of Ireland's industrial working class.

"A developed national consciousness animating a sustained attack on 'property'—that is, essentially, the landlord system—characterized the second half of the 19th century throughout much of rural Ireland." (Liam de Paor, **Divided Ulster,** Penguin, p. 63) In the 1840's and 1850's, the Young Ireland movement (like the United Irishmen, led by urban, middle class Protestants); in the 1860's, the Fenians; and in the 1880's, the Land League. Each decade, practically each year, gave birth to a new, more or less class-based, more or less revolutionary association. All of them fatally compromised with the native Irish bourgeoisie and all of them, therefore, alienated the most important class force in Ireland: the Ulster proletariat. All during the period these organizations had a huge base of support, and frequently, very strong potential bases of unity with the masses in Ulster; a potential which was realized sporadically, especially in the case of the Land League's struggle around tenants' rights and the demand for the nationalization of the land.

It is probable that it was the fact that these movements were all manned and powered at the rank-and-file level by rural and urban workers which has misled socialists—from Marx to Connolly and Lenin to the present—into assuming that the struggles were therefore revolutionary and progressive and directed towards the goal of socialism. This appears to us however to be a dangerously false misreading of the situation. Just as O'Connell was able to exploit the mass unrest in the countryside as a threat with which to persuade the English ruling class to meet his reformist demands, so later nationalists, down to the present, from the Irish bourgeoisie have constantly used the residual class hatred of the Irish masses as a prop for their own striving for power.

AT THE END OF THE 19th CENTURY THE central element common to all the various factions within the Irish bourgeoisie was the demand for Home Rule. How this was envisaged in practical terms differed, ranging from full political independence for the creation of a bourgeois nation-state in Ireland to a federal legislature in Dublin, responsible for internal affairs only and subordinate to the Imperial parliament in London. The fears which the Protestant bourgeoisie in Ulster expressed over the possibility of such an outcome were more than justified, and the Orange Order was continually supplied with ammunition for its opposition to Home Rule by the main proponents of that demand. During the revolutionary period from the end of the 1870's to the end of the Civil War in 1923, the bourgeois demand for Home Rule became the dominant political force in Irish society—and it is the relationship between that demand and the response of the Ulster bourgeoisie which is critical to our understanding of the present conflict.

Before we can examine that question, however, it is necessary to survey the development of the major political force of the Ulster bourgeoisie, the Orange Order. During the 19th century, it had changed considerably since its origins in 1795; that is, its form had changed but the essential class content of the Order remained constant, and has done so down to the present. After the initial hesitation and confusion on the part of the Ulster landlords, the Orange Order had been adopted by them as an agency for their domination of Ulster politics--a pre-emptive move directed at avoiding the possibility that the Order might become a revolutionary body in the same tradition as the other, agrarian s e c r e t societies throughout Ireland. The Order grew rapidly during the first quarter of the 19th century, becoming the exclusive sectarian organization of the Protestant Loyalists

Belfast, 1872: Orangemen attack a workers and peasants' procession.

throughout Ireland. But as early as the 1830's, the real base of the Orangemen lay in Ulster, because it was only in the northern province that it could lay claim to be a mass organization which bridged the class gap.

An interesting development in the early life of the Orange Order was its importation into England, mostly by army officers who had served in Ireland at the time of the 1798 uprising, and its adoption, in England, by the ultra-Tory faction in the English ruling class. Needless to add, the latter adopted Orangeism for their own class interests, specifically as a weapon in their struggles with the commercial elements. It is also of interest to note that the Orange Order was used on several occasions as a private militia by local capitalists in England who were faced with working-class unrest. During the Luddite riots, Orange workers were used as special constables to break the strikes. The outcome of this period was the so-called "Orange Conspiracy," in which a group of high Anglican, Tory aristocrats in England were accused of attempting to organize a **coup d'etat** (to replace Victoria with the Duke of Cumberland) through the agency of the Orange lodges in the British Army. The Order was dissolved, by the Duke of Cumberland, under pressure from the Whigs in parliament, in 1835; that is, it was dissolved in England.

In Ulster, however, although there is no doubt that Orangeism suffered a decline for the next forty years, the reason for that is to be found, not in the decision of the English parliament, but in the relative success of the first thirty years of the organization's life. Many Catholic peasants and artisans who had been feared as economic competitors by their Protestant counterparts had either been driven out of the province or out of competition. In other words, the original scapegoating of the Catholics in Ulster had worked to effect some degree of inter-class unity on the basis of Ulster Orange loyalty (and more significantly, on the material basis of the more or less uninterrupted growth and expansion of the Ulster economy). The resurgence of the Orange Order in Ulster, starting in the 1870's, stemmed from the Famine and its legacies in the social and economic structure of Ireland.

V—The Revolutionary Period, 1880-1920

One of the most significant social transformations which came out of the Famine was emigration: the denudation of the land of most of its people. Post-Famine emigration is often thought of primarily in terms of the millions who made their way to the ghettoes of New York, Boston, Philadelphia and other cities in North America. It is thus easily forgotten that the first step for the dispossessed Irish peasant was often into the teeming slums of Belfast, Dublin, Liverpool, Manchester, Glasgow and Birmingham. In this sense, the Famine was the progenitor of the Irish working class.

From the 1850's, the Irish masses became proletarianized at a much faster rate than any other national group in Europe. By the end of the 19th century, the vast majority of the Irish were urban workers, but the backwardness of capitalist development in Ireland (apart from the province

of Ulster) necessitated the huge emigrations to England and America. One indicator of this process was the connection between militant Irish working-class activity in America and support for both the Fenians and Connolly's Socialist Republican party.

The material source of the revolutionary developments at the end of the 19th century lay in the combination of four factors: a major depression in world capitalism which started in 1876, and which necessarily had a significant impact in England as the principal imperialist power; increasing overseas competition with Irish produce on the English market; the continuing power of the landed interests within the English ruling class and their refusal to lower rents in the face of falling prices; and a series of failures of the potato harvest in the years up to 1879. The Irish peasants who were being forced off the land by the combined effects of the last three factors, were faced with an equally disastrous situation in the cities, where the depression-induced huge unemployment rates hit the Irish workers first and hardest.

One of the cities into which this mass emigration occurred was Belfast, where the situation was somewhat unique. Most of the immigrant native Irish came from the west, that is from the poorest, most barren areas of the island. Their native language was Irish; many of them spoke no English at all. And in exactly the same way as the French and German ruling classes of the 1960's have treated the Arab immigrants in Europe, the native Irish were packed into the slums of the Falls Road, super-exploited at work and in unemployment, used as scabs and cheap labor to subvert the militancy of the more deeply-rooted Protestant working class in Belfast. For the Ulster bourgeoisie, the name of this game was supplied by Randolph Churchill, the leader of the English Tories, and it was called playing the "Orange card." In short, in the Belfast of the 1880's, the native Irish were immigrant workers, marked off from the rest of that city's working class by religion, language, ghetto housing and super-exploitation.

In Dublin and the smaller cities in the rest of Ireland, meanwhile, the Catholic middle class whom O'Connell had "Emancipated" in 1829 had formed a solid class of themselves, in control of trade, transportation and foodstuffs. In contrast to the Ulster bourgeoisie, they were without question a backward class for the very simple reason that they had no industrial basis—a fact which becomes eminently clear when their political-economic program for Home Rule is examined. The working and living conditions of the working people in Dublin in the last quarter of the 19th century had the dubious distinction of being the worst in Europe.

BY THE 1880's THE CLASS DIVISIONS IN Ireland had reduced themselves to three basic forces. There were two ruling classes competing for control of the country: the Ulster bourgeoisie, based primarily on industrial capital but closely linked with the indigenous big landowners in that province; and the Catholic bourgeoisie, based primarily on distribution and exchange in the cities of Dublin and Cork and controlling much of the local administration of the colonial regime. (By that point in time, the Protestant Ascendancy was but a shadow of its former self, in the process of disintegrating into different elements—those who allied themselves with one or other Irish bourgeois faction and adopting either pro- or anti-Home Rule political positions; and the remainder who retired from political life, indeed, from any active involvement in the life of the country, to live on their country estates as gentry enjoying the calm before the storm.) The remaining class was the Irish proletariat, composed of the workers in the four major cities—Belfast, Dublin, Cork and Derry—and the mass of agricultural laborers. This proletariat, whether native Irish or Ulster settler-stock, and regardless of religious affiliation, began during this period to evince an increasing tendency to unity in the face of common experience of exploitation and intolerable living conditions. Our task now, therefore, is to discover why the potential and actual unity of the Irish workers was broken, **and how and by whom.**

"ACCEPTED" HISTORIES ARE FALSE

Up to the present, the dominant 'left-wing' historiography on the "breaking of the Irish working class" (Edwards, **The Sins of the Fathers**), has painted a picture in black and white (with the simplistic substitution of Orange and Green) in which devious and/or stupid Tory politicians in England were able to manipulate Irish history at will. This analysis is simply nonsense. It is subject to two fundamental criticisms: in the first place on the grounds of utter idealism, in that it claims the primacy of the will-power of reactionary elements in the English ruling class over the development of material conditions within Irish society; and secondly, and more basically, **it is not true.** Particular responsibility for the distribution of these falsehoods and absurdities lies with the alliance between revisionism and nationalism represented by the Official IRA and its political arm, Sinn Fein. The subject matter before us at this point, then, is the three-way class struggle which occurred in Ireland from the 1880's and which culminated in the establishment of the two states in Ireland—the Irish Free State and the state of Northern Ireland.

The political instrument of the rising power of the Green bourgeoisie was the Irish Party at Westminster, a united national faction in the Imperial parliament, which had been forged by Isaac Butt and Charles Stewart Parnell around the negotiations with Gladstone (the English Prime Minister) over the questions of the disestablishment of the (Anglican) Church of Ireland, and of Home Rule. This body bound together the Catholic hierarchy, the richer, petty-bourgeois small landowners who had risen after the Famine, and the bourgeoisie of the southern cities. Most of the activities of the Irish Party (particularly after

the disestablishment of the Church of Ireland in 1868) centered on agitation and parliamentary maneuverings between the Liberals and Tories at Westminster for the goal of Home Rule. Like O'Connell in the 1820's and 1830's, however, these staunch bourgeois politicians were forced to listen to, and appear to meet, the demands of the Irish masses, whose increasing radicalization in the last three decades of the 19th century centered on land reform and urban class struggles.

Of course, the bourgeois nationalists in the Irish Party always handled the explosive material of mass unrest with great timidity and justifiable caution. Therefore, the reforms that they were able to produce by cajolery and wheedling were always too little and too late, with the result that the explosive material just kept on getting hotter. The main tactic (which in practice was elevated to the level of strategy) of the Irish Party was to trade its bloc of votes at Westminster for imperially granted legislative reforms. Essentially, the goal consisted of attempting to obtain, in a legal framework, what already was theirs in practice—the exclusive control over the administrations of Ireland within the Empire. Right up to the end of the century, both Parnell and Redmond, the principal figures in the Irish Party, shied away from demanding complete independence. In short, the Green nationalists of the bourgeoisie were less than revolutionary, and had to be forced into the nationalist revolution of 1916-1921.

A measure of the immaturity of the Green bourgeoisie, especially as compared with their Orange counterparts in Ulster, was the way in which they were internally divided into numerous organizational forms. Although the Irish Party effectively represented the whole class at the parliamentary level, it did not satisfy their need for a means of control over the Irish masses. During the 35 years leading up to 1916, the Green bourgeoisie continually divided among themselves over the question of the correct and necessary organizational framework for "integrating" the working class, for subordinating the workers to their (bourgeois) aims for the "nation." This fact had its converse in the independent rise of mass political activity of the working class: from Michael Davitt's rural-based Land League to the organization by Connolly and Larkin of the Irish Transport & General Workers Union. The latter more closely resembled the militant, syndicalist tendencies in the European workers' movement or the Industrial Workers of the World or the Western Federation of Miners in the U.S. and Canada, than the already reformist and bureaucratic unions in England.

THE CONNECTION BETWEEN IRISH NAtionalism and the imperialist interests of different factions within the English ruling class becomes clearest as we examine the development of the "playing of the Orange card." From 1885, when Randolph Churchill first coined the phrase, to the formation of the Northern Ireland state in 1921, two developments unfolded which demonstrate, above all, the political maturity and consciousness of the Ulster bourgeoisie. The first was the transformation of the Orange Order into the mass basis, recruited from the Protestant working class, of the Orange bourgeoisie's opposition to Home Rule. This was effected by the combination of racist attacks on the native Irish (in the form of religious hagiography) with very clear, explicit **and essentially correct** assessments of the punitive effects which Home Rule would have upon the living standards of the Protestant working class. Secondly, there was the manner in which the Home Rule question became part of the internal struggles among the elements in the English ruling class and the impact which that had on the development of the nationalist revolution and counter-revolution which took place in Ireland after World War I.

By the first decade of the 20th century, the Irish working class was developed to a high degree of concentration and to a relatively high level of class consciousness, at least in the sphere of combativity in the economic sector. It was precisely the development of the working class which formed the single point of unity between Orange and Green bourgeoisies. Their mutual fear of the workers produced from both policies which split the working class—**but, the essential point is that the policies developed were designed as weapons for an intra-bourgeois class struggle over control of Ireland; and the splitting of the working class was the incidental but absolutely necessary by-product.**

A very clear example of this can be seen in the events surrounding the strikes which took place in Belfast in 1907. The preceding decade had seen the rise of both non-sectarian, working-class political activity and anti-Unionist politics, around such figures as T.H. Sloan and William Walker. There is no doubt that both of these figures and the organizations they led (the Independent Orange Order and the Belfast Protestant Association) were less than perfect, and under pressure tended to revert to sectarianism; but they did breach the monopoly held by the Ulster bourgeoisie over the politics of that province. On the other hand, however, there developed, within the Catholic ghetto of the Falls Road, a purely nationalist and thoroughly reactionary political organization called the Ancient Order of Hibernians. Led by a first-rate opportunist named Joe Devlin, the A.O.H. was tied to neither the nationalism of the Irish Party nor to a firm class basis. This representative of the minority nationalism of the Catholic ghetto petty-bourgeoisie mimicked the highly successful pattern of the Orange Order.

In the midst of these developments came the biggest, most militant and united action ever taken by the Belfast working class. Starting as a dock strike, the struggle quickly spread to encompass carters, municipal workers, coalmen and iron-ore workers. Two events during the strike demon-

strated both the precariousness of the sectarian division and the manner in which it was maintained. The first was an attack on Larkin on the basis of his Catholicism. Larkin offered to resign from the strike committee, but was forced to remain at the head of the strike by rank-and-file pressure from the Protestant workers. The other was Devlin's bland disavowal of any connection with or knowledge of the strike (after it was over), despite his opportunistic appearance at one of the biggest strike meetings.

The strike, itself, was fought throughout on the basis of unity across the religious line, in the face of troops (who had to be called in after the police had been run off the streets) and a continual barrage of anti-strike propaganda combined with appeals to "loyalism" in the Orange press. In the end, the strike was defeated (in fact, sold out) by the intervention of the union leadership from England.

THE BIGGEST FAILURE OF THE STRIKE, however, was the fact that Larkin and the other unionists had neglected to build an exclusively proletarian organization which would combat sectarianism on a continuing basis—which failure enabled the Orange rulers and the smaller Green bosses like Devlin to hold sway by default. The direct legacy of that failure was to come six years later, in the intervention of Devlin's A.O.H. in the next huge outburst of class struggle, the Dublin general strike and lockout of 1913. Larkin and Connolly were both in Dublin by then, at the head of the Irish Transport and General Workers Union. The Dublin capitalists, led by William Martin Murphy, who had a monopoly over the docks and trams in that city, decided to smash the union. They issued an ultimatum that anyone who joined the union or was already enrolled and refused to quit would be blacklisted throughout the city. They commenced by locking out the dockers, and the union responded by calling a general strike which paralyzed the city for eight months.

The workers lost, in large measure because of the internal weakness of the southern Irish working class (the Transport Workers was the only mass union in the country at that time). The weaknesses of the workers were exacerbated by the combination of the chauvinism of the English trade union bureaucracy whose solidarity with the Dublin strikers never went beyond the purely token. More significant, in the long run, however, was the combination of anti-communism and Catholic chauvinism and religious nationalism: the clergy repeatedly and rapidly denounced the strike, the strikers and the union (especially when the union attempted to send the children of the strikers to England to be cared for by workers' families there for the duration of the strike—sacrilegious desecration of the holy family(!) screamed the celibate priests). Moreover, Devlin lent his organizational goons to the Dublin bosses as scabs and private militia.

(The chauvinism of the English trade union bureaucrats had thus, by the time of World War I, helped defeat two massive working-class fights in Ireland. The mechanics of the sellout were the same in both cases. The trade union "leaders" in England intervened on behalf of "law and order"; called for arbitration; cut off funds (especially to the radical syndicalist Transport Workers); and they did nothing to organize solidarity with the Irish strikers among the English workers. The next big contribution to internationalism from these same leaders was to send the English workers to the Somme!)

Protestant workers in Ulster had every reason to be wary of the prospect of a Home Rule Ireland ruled by the likes of Joe Devlin, or, for that matter, the majority of the Green nationalists of the time, all of whom increasingly parroted the anti-Protestant racism of Devlin and his allies. Furthermore, it was no mere question of ideas: the Protestant workers had clear evidence of what Home Rule might be like, from simple observation of the sweating of Catholic workers in Belfast and Derry, which was sanctioned by the AOH so long as the bosses were Catholic. In short, Devlin and the AOH were the direct ancestors of such contemporary figures as Ivan Cooper, John Hume, Paddy Devlin, Gerry Fitt and the rest of the small capitalists represented by the Social Democratic and Labor Party and the Alliance Party—a politics of more or less radical rhetoric of "anti-imperialism" masking the drive of a minority bourgeoisie for the right to exploit its "own people."

IF THE PROTESTANT WORKERS IN ULSTER were leery of the Devlins in the Home Rule movement, their Orange bosses had even more reason to worry, in the shape of the economic policies proposed by the Home Rulers by the turn of the century. The division of the Irish working class was started by the petty-bourgeois sectarians in the Catholic ghettoes of the north, but its real material basis was the much more fundamental contradiction between the class needs of the two bourgeoisies in Ireland. In other words, so long as the political framework was restricted to the bourgeois nationalist parameters and so long as the underlying economic structure was to remain capitalist, the uneven development of capitalism in Ireland necessitated the division of the island into two states.

The Ulster bourgeoisie had, in the late 1880's, organized itself politically around two bodies—the resurrected and suitably dominated Orange Order and the Unionist Party. The latter was the expression, within the English Conservative (Tory) Party at Westminster, of the separate interests of the Ulster capitalists and large landowners, in direct opposition to the Home Rule party. It is crucial to point out, moreover, that the Ulster-Unionist alliance with the English Tories was not with the mystical "Tory backwoodsman" of revisionist mythology, but was, in fact, a partnership of the most important industrial capitalists in Ulster and England. That the agency of this unity was the Tory party is an historical accident, a result of the degeneracy of the Liberals and the dynamism of the key sector of the English ruling

class at the height of the power of the world's first imperialist nation. To call the Ulster Unionists and their allies "stupid" is equivalent to saying that profits are bad for capitalism.

The Unionist alliance was forged in the two decades after Gladstone's first Home Rule Bill (1886), and at every critical point in the next forty years it became more consolidated and more conscious and powerful. In contrast, the Green bourgeoisie spent most of the same period squabbling internally and bowing the knee before the Catholic Church. The material basis of the alliance was fact that the capitalists of the northern British triangle—Belfast, Glasgow, Liverpool, Manchester and Birmingham—were an integrated class with close political, personal and financial relations. Belfast was a key shipbuilding center for the class whose imperialism was based primarily on maritime power: Britannia ruled the waves, Belfast built the ships. Cheap labor power travelling back and forth across the channel from Ulster to Glasgow and Lancashire had powered and continued to power capitalist development of British industry. The fiscal policy which tied this network together was the free trade area of the United Kingdom, in which Ulster's industrial production was not an import, but rather an integral part of British production. This very fiscal policy had had two separate and contradictory effects on Ireland: while it had been the basis of the strength of the Ulster bourgeoisie, it had also eliminated the original basis of a southern bourgeoisie.

Capitalism in the south, embryonic at the time of the Act of Union, had been annihilated by the competition from the Lancashire textile mills at the time of the depression of 1825. The bourgeoisie, which had risen since the Famine, had little in common with its predecessor, based not on industrial textile production but on land-speculation and capitalist agriculture. By the end of the 19th century this southern bourgeoisie (apart from the small numbers who controlled transport and distribution in the larger cities of Cork and Dublin) was facing ruin from two sources. Principally, their agricultural produce no longer enjoyed the monopoly of the English market because it was being undersold by the American and Australian producers. Secondly, their earlier short-sightedness (which had, of course, been compounded by imperial fiscal and tax policies) left them devoid of the industrial base on which to construct an independent capitalist state. Therefore, almost without exception, the Home Rule party and all its various spin-offs adopted the same fiscal and economic programme—**protective tariffs behind which to develop the industrial base.**

This program ran directly counter to the interests of the Ulster bourgeoisie, since it was based on the premise that Ireland was primarily an agrarian society in the preliminary stages of capital accumulation—a premise which was blatantly false so far as the Ulster capitalists were concerned. Furthermore, the manner in which the program was propagated by the Green nationalists did nothing to allay the fears of the Ulster bourgeoisie, particularly those strong sectarian voices on the Green side who proposed, quite openly, that the policy should be to drain off the profits from Ulster to build up the rest of the country **at Ulster's expense and with no further development in Ulster.**

VI—Arming for War: The Home Rule Crisis, 1912-1922

The crisis which exists in Ulster today was born in 1912, when the third Home Rule Bill was presented to the English parliament and the Ulster Unionists began organizing armed resistance to the Bill and all that it represented. In the preceding decades, Randolph Churchill had "played the Orange card" as part of the **English** ruling class game, but by 1912, the Ulster bourgeoisie had consolidated, organized themselves, and found a superb leader in the figure of an English lawyer, Sir Edward Carson. They were, by that point, prepared to act independently. Once again, as we shall see, the contrast between the clear-headed, ruthless, and thoroughly competent activity of the Ulster bourgeoisie and the romantic, sentimental games played by their southern counterpart is very instructive.

Formed in 1905 as the supreme co-ordinating body for a mass-based organization of opposition to the proposed Home Rule Bill, the Ulster Unionist Council rapidly became increasingly independent from the English Tories, for whom opposition to Home Rule was as much a question of party politics as of economic and essential class reasons. The Unionist Council tied together into a highly-structured network a number of Unionist clubs which had been formed since the introduction of the first Home Rule Bill in 1886. Parallel to the organization of the Unionist Council was an equally formidable agency of the Ulster bourgeoisie, the Orange Order. The latter, too, had been rebuilt since 1886, and, then as now, it most closely resembled the structure of a fascist party. Both the Orange Order and the increasingly sectarian Ancient order of Hibernians shared the same central feature characteristic of the Nazi party: they forged—around a negative bond of racial/national/religious hatred—class collaboration, dominated by the bourgeoisie, but relying on the working class for mass support and effective manpower.

Many of the events which occurred from 1912 onwards have a strange irony. The very introduction of the Home Rule Bill was one of these ironies, because it was introduced and passed in parliament when it was already irrelevant. By the time of that Bill, the lines of Orange and Green were drawing further apart, and closer to a common determination to resort to armed struggle to win their goals.

In the Green nationalist movement, the Irish Party of Parnell was in a shambles. Its deposition of Parnell in 1890 (under pressure from the Catholic hierarchy, for his involvement in a divorce case in the English courts), had given the Orange forces, sectarian and moderate alike, the sort of evidence which was most damning to

Green nationalism in Ulster, because it proved again the domination of the clergy over Irish politics. Parnell was succeeded by John Redmond, who can probably be awarded the prize for the most stupid, short-sighted politician ever produced by the Irish bourgeoisie. Under Redmond's leadership the Irish Party continued to play the same old game of parliamentary maneuvers—a game which had been made redundant by the developments which were going on throughout Ireland.

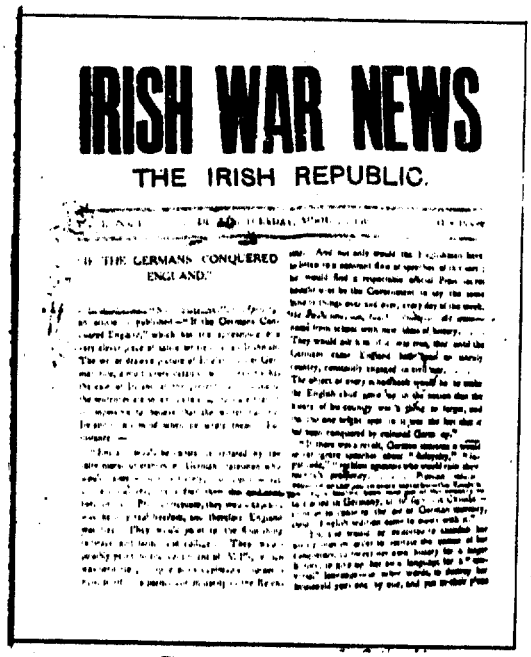
Right up to his death in 1918, in the midst of a revolutionary war, Redmond continued to appeal for a truncated "Home Rule," in which the Catholic bourgeoisie of the south would assume the role of caretakers for the imperial power. By the turn of the century, however, the Home Rulers were already being outflanked on their left by the "revolutionary nationalists." These forces were grouped in three overlapping organizations: Sinn Fein, the Gaelic League, and the remains of the Fenians, all of whom demanded full independence for the whole island. It was from among these organizations that the leadership for the uprising of 1916 and for the revolutionary war up to 1921 was to develop.

IN 1910, SIR EDWARD CARSON ASSUMED command of the Unionist forces in Ulster, and, along with Sir James Craig (later to become the first Prime Minister of Northern Ireland), began to make the preparations for armed resistance to Home Rule. In a speech given to 50,000 Unionists in 1911, Carson stated that, if Home Rule were passed, the Unionist policy would be to ignore it and to set up their own government. In fact, already in 1911, the Ulster Unionist Council was the **de facto** provisional government of Ulster.

The response of the Nationalists to these Unionist activities was to repeat over and over (in the manner of an incantation rather than statement of fact) that the Unionists were simply "bluffing." Some of the Nationalist politicians even continued to call the developments in Ulster a bluff when Carson and Craig, through the agency of one of Belfast's biggest industrialists, F.H. Crawford, bought and imported from Germany 35,000 rifles and 3 million rounds of ammunition. The more intelligent, radical, elements in the Green nationalist movement began to understand that Carson and the Unionists were serious; and they followed the example provided, by engaging in their own gun-running, on a smaller scale, later in the same year.

Meanwhile, to further complicate matters, one of the outcomes of the Dublin Transport and General Workers' general strike (which ended in January 1914) was the creation of another private army, the Irish Citizens Army, the armed wing of the union, led by Connolly, Larkin and Sean O'Casey, the playwright. By 1914, there were three armed forces in Ireland, all of them more or less well-armed and prepared to force the issue with the English forces. In the North, the Ulster Volunteers could rely on 100,000 men; in the south, the Irish Volunteers (the armed wing of the reformed Fenians, the Irish Republican Broth-

Irish Republican Army marches through the streets of Dublin, April 1932, in commemoration of the Easter Rebellion, 1916.



IRISH WAR NEWS

THE IRISH REPUBLIC.

IF THE GERMANS CONQUERED ENGLAND."

The official organ of the Irish rebels, 1916.

erhood, and the precursor of the IRA) could call on perhaps 180,000 men, while the Citizens Army boasted possibly 1,000. Of these forces, without question, the Ulster Volunteers were the most determined and the best-equipped and armed, largely financed by leading English Tories (including Kipling, Waldorf Astor, and Rothschild).

That was the situation at the start of World War I. The immediate result of the war was deferment of consideration in England of the Irish question. In Ireland, however, the war had other effects. Among the revolutionary nationalists and the socialists, in particular, the slogan of the day was "England's difficulty is Ireland's opportunity." Sinn Fein and the Irish Volunteers pressed ahead with their preparations for a revolution and openly set about building the political machinery for take-over, through the election of a provisional government. Early in 1916, the main leadership in the radical wing of the nationalist movement had laid its plans for an uprising at Easter. Connolly and the Citizens Army, partly out of disgust for the betrayal perpetrated by the European socialist movement in sending the European workers out to fight for bourgeois profits in the first imperialist war, and partly out of frustration, committed themselves to join the Volunteers at Easter.

The rising was a disaster. The rebels held fixed points in Dublin (the right-wing leadership of the nationalists had countermanded the orders for the rising, the day before it began, and thus the rising was isolated in the capital) and were bombarded into submission by the British artillery. The military commander of the English forces, left to his own devices by the English rulers, then proceeded to win for the rebels, politically, the war that they had lost militarily. For over two weeks, one by one, the leaders of the rising were executed by firing squad in Dublin. By the end of 1916, the executions had fostered the development of a revolutionary situation in Ireland (except, of course, Ulster). When the English government, in an attempt to compensate for the original mistake, granted an amnesty to the remaining militants from the rising, early in 1917, they provided that revolutionary situation with leadership. And, the following year, by attempting to introduce conscription to the English Army in Ireland, the English provided the spark to the tinder. By mid-1919, the Irish Relublican Army was in control of Ireland and was engaged in a savage guerrilla war against the English forces.

MEANWHILE, IN ULSTER, THE UNIONISTS had found themselves losing some of the support they had enjoyed among the English Tories. But by the end of the war, the Ulster bourgeoisie was in no mood to back down from its previous position. For two years, from 1919 to 1921, the "Ulster question" became the main factor in English politics, because the English army simply could not win the guerrilla war with the IRA, and because the Ulster bourgeoisie was totally opposed to Home Rule. The very fact of the Unionists' opposition to Home Rule provided the greatest irony of the period; it was precisely the most determined opponents to Home Rule who set up the first "Home Rule" government in Ireland. In practice, of course, this was not so ironical, since the basis of their opposition to Home Rule had always centered around their refusal to come under a Dublin-based Catholic bourgeois government. The Ulster bourgeoisie was forced to adopt Home Rule for themselves (cloaked as the retention of the Union) as the only viable political instrument for their own Orange nationalism, and as the only way of saving themselves from their southern counterparts.

The Northern Ireland Government was set up, in 1920, on the basis of one Act of the British parliament; the government of the Irish Free State, in 1921, by another. Both were, and remain, bourgeois governments serving the class interests of the two capitalist classes which history had created in Ireland. Both state machines are designed to the same end: the maintenance of the class rule of capitalism.

VII—Nationalism and Counter-Revolution

Earlier, we indicated the way in which the uneven development of capitalism in Ireland (a product of the imperialist control of the island by English capital) had certain economic effects—imbalances between the industrial development of Ulster **versus** the rest of Ireland; the delayed creation of an urban working class in the south; the integration of eastern Ulster into the northern British triangle, etc. Now it is necessary to examine this factor of uneven development in terms of the impact it had on class relations and class struggle in Ireland. Specifically, this factor is the only possible material basis on which to found any explanation of the failures (the repeated failures) of the Irish working class to unite **against** the sectarian politics of both Orange and Green capitalists.

(Of course, it is true, and important, that the disunity of the Irish working class has not been permanent or monolithic. The Belfast dockers in 1907, the shipyard and engineering workers in Belfast in 1919, the unemployed in the Catholic and Protestant ghettoes in Balfast in 1932—all these are instances of militant class struggle which engaged both Catholic and Protestant against the bosses in Ulster. But the overwhelming fact of the past hundred years in Ireland has been the success of the rulers—English, Orange and Green—in their pursuit of the strategy of divide-and-rule.)

For the past hundred years Irish affairs have been treated almost exclusively in terms of religion and religious divisions. And yet, from an analysis of the development of capitalism in Ireland, and the ways in which that development expressed itself politically, it is abundantly clear that what is at issue is a complex inter-action between base and superstructure. Why then, have so many socialists, real and otherwise, made so many careless and fatal errors in their approach

to Irish affairs? Perhaps part of the solution to this problem can be found in one of Marx's most developed statements on the Irish question:

> The destruction of the English landed aristocracy in Ireland is an infinitely easier task than in England itself, because in Ireland the land question has hitherto been the exclusive form of the social question, because it is a question of existence, of life and death for the immense majority of the Irish people and because it is at the same time inseparable from the national question.....(Letter to Meyer & Vogt, April 4, 1870, Selected Correspondence; Moscow; FLPH, 1960; p. 286)

THIS LETTER FALLS INTO AN ERROR WHICH Marx should have, in fact, avoided, since he had, three years earlier, demonstrated a clearer understanding of the change which had occurred in Ireland since the Famine. The process in question was the rapid creation of a rural-based petty bourgeoisie—a development which, given Marx's overall approach to the national question, should have led him to grant only the most qualified support to the Irish struggles for political independence. And, in practice, most of Marx's analysis was devoted to assessing the relationship between the Irish **national** struggle and the development of the **class** struggle in England.

The essence of Marx's error was to continue to overestimate the power of the landed aristocracy, in other words, the failure to perceive the development of the Ulster capitalist class, the class which replaced the aristocracy. The error was further complicated by two other factors: the fact that the rural-based insurrectionary movements in Ireland all tended to have a social rather than national bias (in the case of the Land League of the 1880's, for instance, the central demand was for nationalization of the land); and the more fundamental problem of the early failure to realize clearly the distinction between the mass-based rural revolutionary movement and the parliamentary, bourgeois leadership monopolized by the Catholic bourgeoisie and the hierarchy of the Church.

At the second Congress of the Comintern, M.N. Roy posed the question of the revolutionary movements in the colonies in unequivocal terms:

> There are to be found in the dependent countries two distinct movements which every day grow further apart from each other. One is the bourgeois democratic movement with a program of political independence under the bourgeois order, and the other is the mass struggle of the poor and landless peasants and workers for their liberation from all sorts of exploitation.

This is, word for word, a description of the developments in late 19th century Ireland. Yet the socialist movement has made the grievous error of mistaking form for content—deeming the Catholic nationalist movement "progressive" and the Orange nationalists as "reactionary." Indeed, Connolly (and Lenin, no doubt drawing on Connolly) saw the Orange bourgeoisie as a reactionary force of aristocratic landlords. In the crucial period, from 1880 to 1920, the key failure was the one which still haunts the socialist movement throughout the world—the failure to make a total and uncompromising break with nationalism. Thus, although there is no doubt that Connolly had no love for the Green nationalists (in fact, he hated and detested them, with special scorn reserved for Joe Devlin and the AOH), he then went ahead and committed the workers' militia, the Citizens Army, to the 1916 uprising, which was led by Devlin's southern counterparts. This fundamental error of confusing nationalism and socialism cannot be understood as simply a set of confused ideas, nor as an accident. It did and does have roots in the material developments in Irish history, of which the central fact is the uneven development of capitalism; which in turn was reflected, albeit obliquely and opaquely, in unevenness in social development.

TWO CENTRAL ELEMENTS COMBINED TO obscure realities in Ireland. In the first instance, the fact that for most of the 19th century the imperialist power over Ireland was exercised by the Protestant Ascendancy, whose core was the remains of the English landed aristocracy, gave the question of Ireland—to most observers—the aspect of a struggle between the last stand of feudalism in the British Isles and the rising power of the industrial bourgeoisie. The other element of the cloak of obscurity drawn over Ireland was the fact that for the vast majority of the population, the social question (the question of which class should wield power) took the exclusive **form** of the struggle over land reform and land tenure. When the two were combined the **essence** of the issue was lost to sight. Moreover, the fact that the Protestant Ascendancy (the English-based landed aristocracy and gentry) formed an alliance with the Ulster bourgeoisie through the political instrument of the Conservative & Unionist Party (the full official title), further stacked the odds in favor of form dominating content in the eyes of observers. The fact remains, however, that this is a false reading of the situation.

That false reading depended upon three critical confusions. First, the Protestant Ascendancy, under the impact of the Act of Union and the results of the Famine, had ceased, by the end of the 19th century, to be a feudal class. The most elementary reading of **English** history of the 18th and 19th centuries will soon demonstrate the fact that the feudal aristocracy was removed from power during the course of the 17th and 18th centuries, and that their descendants were bourgeois—they invested in land for profit, not the **droit du seigneur**; they formed a political alliance cemented with marriage with the rising industrialists. Fur-

thermore, in **Ireland,** the Ascendancy was no longer the effective power by the end of the 19th century.

Secondly, the confusion of form and essence in the socialist movement's analysis of the land struggles in Ireland depended upon a pre-Leninist and therefore anachronistic understanding of the relationship between the imperialist metropolis and the colony. In the case of Ireland, all the elements of imperialist political economy are present: a retarded economy, maintained on a monocultural basis to meet the needs of the imperialist economy; class struggle diverted into national forms. The socialists readily understood that the Irish in England and America were proletarians, but they failed to recognize that social relations in Ireland were equally bourgeois.

The third, and final, error lay in the approach to the Ulster bourgeoisie, which was scorned, denounced, detested, but never really understood for what it was. The fact is that the Ulster ruling class was in essence (that is, behind the reactionary forms of the land/capital alliance and of the Orange ideology) the most progressive leading class in most of 19th century Irish history. Having already defined the Ulster bourgeoisie as feudal throwbacks, whose power rested solely on the English aristocracy, the mechanistic socialists simply blinded themselves to the reality that, by 1910, the Ulster capitalists were prepared to break their ties with the English landed interests; and that, furthermore, those ties with the aristocrats had been pragmatic ones of party politics rather than the fundamental ties of common class interest. The Ulster ruling class was just as industrial and therefore, just as capitalist as its counterpart in the major cities in England. The fact that it was faced with a crisis at the turn of the century drove it to unusual lengths, but the measures adopted were a great deal milder than those resorted to by other bourgeoisies in other times and places.

OVER ALL THIS CONFUSION HAS LAIN THE religious fog. And in Ireland that fog has infected the socialists as much as the capitalists—the evil Protestant/Orange colonists (of three centuries ago) were the problem. That line was patent nonsense, but socialists and the working class fell for it. One reason for the fact that the religious poison went down so relatively easily can be traced to the nature of the nationalism of the United Irishmen of 1798. When Wolfe Tone and the petty bourgeois radicals from Belfast set about trying to create a bourgeois democratic revolution in Ireland, they were fundamentally correct historically in asserting that all Ireland was one country —it had one homogeneous ruling class (the Ascendancy), the masses suffered the same **form and essence** of rural exploitation and had demonstrated a tendency to unite in struggle. Therefore, the demand for a politically independent bourgeois republic covering the whole island was appropriate to 1798. But the very operation of the mechanics of imperialism in Ireland, and the specific unevenness of political economic development it had produced, rendered that demand obsolete in 1916.

By the end of the 19th century there were two nations in Ireland—based not on an abstract and mystical conception of race or blood or religion or language—but on the fact that Ireland outside of Ulster was a Church-dominated, colonial agrarian society with almost no industrial development, while Ulster was a fully developed industrial, capitalist society. It is no wonder, then, that the Ulster bourgeoisie reacted with what amounted to terror to the idea of being subordinated to the altogether backward southern petty-bourgeoisie and bourgeoisie.

The net results of the compounded errors committed by the Irish and Ulster socialists in the period from 1880 to 1920 can be summed up in one word—counter-revolution. Two nationalist revolutions occurred. In the south a prolonged guerrilla war gave way to a civil war between the different factions of the ruling class which assumed power from the English. The basically urban petty bourgeois forces were immediately faced with a challenge from the more reactionary rural elements; the IRA split into two factions, and the result was more deaths and torture in one year in civil war than in five of the uprising against the British.

In Ulster, meanwhile, the Orange bourgeoisie took power with little opposition; created a wholly sectarian police force (the B Specials, who were "disbanded" in 1969) and embarked on a wave of terror in the Catholic ghettoes. To ensure their power they redrew the electoral boundaries in order to eliminate the possibility of electoral defeat for the Unionist party; and they tightened into a permanent form the Orange-Unionist symbiosis. Since 1923, both states in Ireland have been essentially one-party dictatorships in which a political party and a religious organization have been effectively coalesced in order to tie the working class to the capitalist state.

(This is the first part of a comprehensive study of revolution and counter-revolution in Ireland. Part 2, which analyzes the recent struggles in the light of the earlier capitalist development detailed in this article, will appear in the next issue.)

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