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PROGRESSIVE LABOR

Volume 9, Number 5

Oct.-Nov. 1974

**Inflation Robs Workers
Religion: Bosses' Weapon
Solzhenitsyn Exposed
Operation Zebra**

**On the Line in Auto
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A PLP EDITORIAL: ROCKEFELLER IS MORE RUTHLESS THAN NIXON

The Rockefeller nomination for Vice President completes the bitter dog fight between "old and new" money that has been raging for many years. A few days before the Rockefeller nomination, the New York Times, chief spokesman for the Wall Street establishment, gleefully pointed out the final triumph of the old established section of the ruling class. In an August 19th article entitled "Ford's Old Friends Include Big Corporate Lobbyists," they were quick to point out the new balance of power in the state apparatus (government). The article said, "One friend, Rodney W. Markley, Jr., the Ford Motor Company chief Washington Lobbyist, was on his way to his vacation retreat on the French Riviera when he learned that Mr. Ford was sworn in as the nation's 38th President. Mr. Markley boarded a plane in Paris and rushed back to Washington."

THE TIMES THEN INDICATES FORD'S other two top henchmen who were selected. Besides Mr. Markley, the President's innermost sanctum contains two other corporate figures who are widely known in Washington circles Bryce Harlow, Proctor and Gamble's chief Washington representative... and William C. Whyte, Vice-President of the United States Steel Corporation, and its top man in Washington. The Times makes a big point of contrasting this trio and other Ford intimates to those of Nixon: "President Richard M. Nixon, for the most part, preferred... self made millionaires such as Charles (Bebe) Rebozo and Robert Abplanalp..."

NEW MONEY VERSUS OLD MONEY

As CHALLENGE-DESAFIO has previously pointed out, the "new money" was basically the newer industries that sprung up during and after World War II. They were mainly located in the West and South. These newer monied forces had attempted with some success to achieve political power by fastening their grip on the government. This process was probably accentuated by the nomination of Barry Goldwater in '64. Thus, new money controlled, to a great degree, both presidential candidates of that year. But the struggle for power was already in full before these new money forces

assassinated President Kennedy.

The Kennedy assassination placed another of their boys, L.B.J., in power. Johnson was one of the main representatives of the new southern oil and gas interests. The Nixon candidacy was another step in the new money forces' path to complete the consolidation of power for themselves.

"Old money" was faced with a declining economic system based on intensified competition with other capitalist states, and with the rapid rise of the Soviet Union as a super power. The Rockefellers, Mellons, Morgans and others who represent the dominant financial interests of the ruling class moved vigorously to use their might to drive their junior rivals from power. It was never much of a contest. Even at the height of Nixon's power, the Rockefeller forces were able to dominate his high command. Kissinger, Haig, and others were directly related to the Rockefeller Klan. Given the fact that the enormously more powerful eastern establishment was committed to regaining full state power from the upstarts-it was just a matter of time.

ROCKEFELLER IS MORE RUTHLESS THAN NIXON

The main section of the ruling class was very careful to try and win most of the American people to their side. They viewed their mass campaign very seriously, in order to get people on their side they made the question of democracy the main issue. And they introduced the question of fascism. Another aspect of the campaign was to simply paint the accurate case that Nixon was a stupid, inept chiseler. We are sure that Nixon's various shenanigans were nothing new for top politicians. We are sure that Nixon wasn't the only president that helped his big business cronies and pocketed a few as he went along. But the most telling campaign was the one that alluded to his "misuse of power."

However, outside of his attacks on radicals and workers in struggle (what big politicians, liberal or conservative, don't do this?) the main charge of his foes was his vain attempt to beat back other forces in the ruling class. His "enemies lists" were basically other politicians who represented the eastern establishment. They were often figures from the

media controlled by Rockefeller. So the democracy that the Times and other big business spokesmen were babbling about was that Nixon and his crew were trying to limit Rockefeller & Co.'s ability to run things as they saw fit. When any boss prattles about democracy, they are only referring to their 'right' to make profits at the expense of workers.

We would have to be pretty naive to believe that the bugging, harassing, jailing and killing of workers and revolutionaries will now end. Rockefeller and his team, if anything, are more singleminded and ruthless than the forces around Nixon (remember Rockefeller and Attica). Rockefeller is not about to ease the rule of the bosses. He and his state apparatus will use every means at their disposal to stifle the efforts of workers and others to secure a better life. As we pointed out in our last editorial, and in the current editorial on unemployment, the Ford administration, led by ROCKEFELLER, will attack workers harder. They are forced to do this in order to secure their economic situation. They are going to try to make workers in the U.S. and around the world pay for the inability of this system to work for the people.

NEW MONEY ROUTED

The final turning point in this battle between the bosses came when Agnew was kicked out of office. Nixon and his cronies didn't have enough clout left to put Texas' John Connally in Agnew's place. Nixon was compelled to designate Ford, who has been a long-time minor tool of the big auto and steel interests located mainly in the mid-west. As we can all see, the "old money" really cleaned house, especially at the political level. The dead political bodies of the Nixon machine are strewn about. Some of them will spend a few months in jail to symbolize the power of the main section of the ruling class.

On the economic front the small fry behind the Nixon machine was wiped out. On the coast Arnold Smith, Nixon's banker-supporter, is under indictment. His bank was taken from him and given to the old Crocker Bank for a song. Vesco and Howard Hughes may never be able to set foot on U.S. soil. Bebe Rebozo has one foot on a banana peel and another on a roller skate. If he can hang onto his tiny bank and keep out of the clink he'll be doing well. In New York City the small Franklin National Bank is about to go into receivership and be taken away from its owners. This was another Nixon supporter. And of course Connally, Nixon's heir apparent, was indicted.

However, in a move for class peace in order to stop the erosion of economic and political

power of the bosses, and so that the attack against the working class can be increased, the big bosses have done little to crush the basic economic forces behind the rise to political power of a force like Nixon. At this point class bonds supercede differences of political and economic tactics. The big companies in the south and west are left intact—their political machine crushed. However, the Rockefeller Chase Manhattan Bank has opened up offices in eastern Europe. This is an area that these interests were moving to in order to increase their economic base. The big gas and oil deals set for the Soviet Union will be watched and controlled by Chase. Their offices on 1 Karl Marx in Moscow are both testimony to this and to the capitalist development in the Soviet Union. In this way, through the banks, Rockefeller & Co. in time will emerge as the major owners of the newer industries.

CAPITALISM IS WEAKENING

So the "American Way of Life" was saved: or as it is also put, "recent events around Nixon proves how well the system works." These things mean nothing for the working class, except to show how weak the bosses are and that they can be beaten. The liberals and all the other "left" opportunists point to this illusion. What was saved was the right of Rockefeller to continue plundering the world, and to rape the working class at home. Nixon's demise was not an anti-fascist victory as some said. Actually, the main danger for war and fascism comes from the so-called liberal ruling class, which, in fact, is the main section of the bosses.

Their system continues to decline because of the rise of soviet imperialism. And, on the other front, they are going to be faced with mounting class struggle at home and abroad. The past few months has seen the greatest strike movement in thirty years. Union hacks around the country are again squealing about the "red menace." They usually say PLP. The bosses' toadies are frightened beyond belief that workers are moving to the left. Workers are not going to twiddle their thumbs when caught in the meat grinder of racist unemployment and staggering inflation. Recently, Greek Cypriotes pulled the U.S. ambassador from his embassy (where he and his staff were "huddling in a corner") and shot him in the head. This is an indication that U.S. imperialism is greatly weakened.

The world is no longer the oyster for the U.S. bosses. In fact, the world belongs to the workers. They built it, they run it, it is theirs and they will take it.

Watergate

Economics

Excerpted from *CHALLENGE*, Nov., 1973

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.

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 ever controlled by old money. But, as in every parent-child relationship, there is a desire 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. Halde- man comes from a California advertising firm. Claude Briniegat 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.

The Houston Group, which was favored by LBJ and is now represented by Connally, consists of the biggest banks in Houston, some other banks and insurance companies in Texas, Brown & Root Construction Company, which got the lion's share of the contracts in Vietnam and most importantly El Paso Natural Gas and Texas Eastern Transmission, the big Natural Gas monopoly which recently, through Nixon's intervention, landed 50% of the big Russian natural gas bonanza. In the last decade, the Houston group grew very rapidly, aided partly by the spectacular growth of the Houston area and more importantly by their friends in and around the White House

The other partner in the Russian Natural Gas Deal is Occidental petroleum, headed by Armand Hammer, who used to run a pencil company in Moscow. This giant holding company had a spectacular growth in the last decade gobbling up large coal (Island Creek Coal), oil and chemical companies including such big ones as Hooker Chemical and becoming the first American oil company to seriously challenge the International Oil Cartel's monopoly of Mid-East Oil. Much of Occidental's behind-the-scenes backing has come from Cyrus Eaton's Cleveland group and Bank of America, both of whom have been at odds with Wall Street at different periods. Occidental's slice of Libyan oil, though not as large as Standard of New Jersey's, provided the revenue to send Occidental on an acquisition spree in the late sixties. But with its Libyan holdings endangered, Occidental was in a precarious position until the Russian deal came through.

The rest of New Money is relatively small potatoes individually, but together represents a sizable chunk of capital. Big land speculators and resort owners in Southern California, Texas, Arizona and Florida, textile manufacturers in South Carolina and Georgia, gambling and hotel kings in Las Vegas, financial interests in Miami, and the Florida National Bank Group, and timber companies in Idaho and Washington make up the rest of the economic base of the Nixon clique.

However, the Rockefeller-Morgan groups never yielded the key positions in the government. Foreign affairs and diplomacy were handled on a day-to-day basis by the Council on Foreign Relations (CFR) which controlled the State Department; important negotiations were handled by special representatives of David Rockefeller like Kissinger and David Bruce (former Vietnam negotiator now "ambassador" to China) or members of the key financial families like Henry Cabot Lodge. (See Appendices IV and V to "Who Rules America II.")

The Nixon clique was never allowed to touch the military or police power.

LETTERS

S.F. Strike Wave

Dear PL Magazine,

"100 STRIKES IN THE WEST—MOST EVER" was the headline in the San Francisco papers a few weeks ago and reflects the extremely sharp strike situation in Northern California. Three months ago the Bay Area was brought to the brink of a general strike by the City workers'/teachers' strikes and the sympathy walkout of most transit operators driving in and into San Francisco. Since that time the strike fever continues unabated.

• The shutdown of northern California's costly construction industry was caused first by the carpenters and then the laborers. All in all 65,000 workers are out—25,000 carpenters, 10,000 laborers and 30,000 workers in other trades who are honoring the picket lines. As of this writing, operating engineers and painters have settled. (The painters won a \$1.50/hour to \$9.77/hour pay boost, plus another \$2.00 over the life of the three-year contract.) The laborers settled after a one-week strike. (They also accepted a three-year contract for \$1/hour increase each year. Laborers got only \$5.53/hour before the strike.) The carpenters are still out and if the picards continue to allow picketing (not a certain thing), the construction jobs will remain shut down.

• The big two-week nurses' strike involving 4400 registered nurses who walked out against the Kaiser group and two other hospitals in the Bay Area was barely over when 700 nurses struck Stanford University's big hospital.

• Tremendous ferment continues in the strategic transit industry. The sympathy strike of Muni drivers was the decisive element in the earlier victory of the City workers in San Fran-

cisco. When the Supervisors made a bold-faced move to punish Muni drivers by sponsoring a charter amendment that would reduce their wages, 400 drivers demonstrated at a hearing, forcing the board to backtrack. The Muni contract is up in August. Meanwhile 1700 workers for AC transit, the main transportation in the East Bay and for cross-bay transit have been on strike for a week. The attempt of the bosses to renege on a cost of living clause and a refusal to grant parity with BART drivers (BART drivers make \$7.05/hour) are the main issues here. A few weeks earlier 250 drivers for Golden Gate Transit, who carry the commuters from Marin County to San Francisco, walked out for two days in protest against late paychecks.

• The militant example of San Francisco city workers spread to Fresno, where 500 workers walked out and defied a court order against picketing. Mass arrests followed on the third day, but the workers got the last laugh. As scabs tried to take the garbage trucks out by motorcycle escort, they got into three accidents within feet of the corporation yard driveways. On the fourth day of the strike 60 more were arrested, mostly wives of strikers. A smaller strike by 45 city workers in Petaluma, Sonoma County ended when their leaders obeyed a court order on the third day.

Other labor action (strikes or strike-sanction) in the Bay Area involved:

- flight attendants at Hughes Air West
- retail clerks against Value Giant and Somer & Kaufman Shoe Co.
- culinary unions against a number of San Francisco bars and restaurants
- ILWU against INCO container in Union City
- IAM against four firms in Oakland, Vallejo and Belmont
- IBEW against four Bay Area companies

- garbage drivers in Vallejo
- 1900 bartenders and culinary workers in Richmond

The brutal rise in cost of living is the obvious cause, but it is interesting that the blatant Zebra attempt to divide workers has had no effect, as black, white, Latin and Asian workers have united in these hard-fought class struggles.

—A S.F. Worker

30 for 40

Dear PL Magazine,

As the August 17 NALC (National Association of Letter Carriers) Convention nears, the big union of post office letter carriers faces an all-out assault by the Postal Service. Last year's contract traded some money gains (all eaten away by inflation) for speed-up and loss of jobs. In the meantime management has used various means—mainly motorizing routes, eliminating parcel post and collection routes and taking the forwarding function away from the carriers—to eliminate routes and pile more work on the carriers. In the last year routes on the average were arbitrarily increased 15% to 20% by the postal bosses. This has meant more harassment, more work, fewer jobs and poorer mail service.

Against this attack by the bosses, the union can offer no better help than to advise carriers to be "professional" (i.e. to take no shortcuts) in the vain hope that the bosses will see we are overworked and take pity on us. But the bosses are on to that ploy and show no signs of falling for it. In the meantime the union is waging a "fierce fight" in Congress to get some favorable legislation. While the union bosses chase these rainbows (for a pot of gold carriers will never see) the ranks of the union are decimated by loss of routes and

Letters...

jobs; those carriers who have routes are finding them longer and heavier.

Running up these dead-end streets, the union is wasting its diminishing energy. Clearly you can't stop mechanization or automation or management's reorganization schemes with these creampuff methods. A fight for more jobs and shorter routes has to be waged directly; this means a fight for a shorter work week and union control of inspections.

The union placed the 35-hour week on the negotiating table last spring, but made no serious attempt to fight for it. But this is the crucial issue for the union. A 35-hour week would restore most of the jobs lost last year, but even more to the point would be a demand for a 30-hour work week, which would restore all the jobs lost since 1970. The routes would have to be shortened—this would lead to better service, 100,000 new carriers, a better choice of routes for senior carriers and, most important, the carriers wouldn't come home dead tired every day. Instead of waging quixotic fights against automation or motorization, give us the six-hour day! The 30-hour week is literally a life and death question for the union.

The annual inspection of the routes recently has consistently resulted in management's deciding the routes were too small and carriers underworked. No matter how "professional" a carrier may be on inspection day, or for that matter year round, management will add to his route or eliminate it altogether by dividing it up among adjacent routes. Until the union has veto power over the results of inspection, we can expect more of the same. The union leaders have never dared touch this issue, regarding it as "management prerogative," or feeling satisfied that management will honestly draw up the routes based on the agreed-upon standards. This nonsense is ruining the union.

We finally must ask, are the union leaders stupid or are they playing management's game on

purpose? History gives the answer. President Rademacher was never a union man, but a lobbyist. He bitterly opposed the strike of 1970, which gave carriers the first decent wage increase in a decade. He and his flunkies "negotiated" last year's sweetheart contract. Within the union he has schemed to prevent militant and rank and file leaders from coming forth. His main work even today is to give one banquet after another to various congressmen and other assorted parasites, all of which has led us to our present sorry state. His loyal opposition, Sombrotto and Company, talk a good game of opposing "big Jim"—but Sombrotto just wants his job. He has never mobilized the rank and file for action, and has no intention of doing so. And the working conditions in New York, San Francisco, New Jersey and other strongholds of the opposition are just as bad as anywhere else. Clearly the NALC needs rank and file leadership, militant leadership, leadership that communists in the PLP can provide because PLP plans to go all the way against the government bosses, and this will go all the way is what it will take to break them.

—A Letter Carrier

San Diego

Dear PL Magazine,

Although travel brochures advertise San Diego as a vacation playground, life in San Diego is no picnic for workers. Even though the shipyards are hiring, unemployment is continuing to grow. Unemployment in San Diego, according to the government's own statistics, hit 9.5% in May, almost double the national average. The highest average for any other metropolitan area was a little less than 8%.

The problem of unemployment in San Diego is compounded by the high concentration of military bases in the area. Thousands of sailors are discharged or retire

every month, and can find no jobs. The Navy has just recently ended all job training and placement programs that were supposed to help these GIs find jobs. Thousands of veterans attending school on the GI Bill were hit recently when the Veteran's Administration "lost" their checks for 3-4 months. These veterans were left with both no money and no jobs. The County government advertised "loans" for these veterans at Welfare Offices, and then aided only fifty-five vets in the entire County.

At the same time as San Diego workers are facing some of the highest unemployment in the nation, we are also hit by the large-scale inflation that has struck workers nationally. The official inflation rate in San Diego last year was 14%. Food prices, which gauge even more accurately this attack on workers, rose 25% since last February alone.

The City and County governments are leading this attack on workers by increasing taxes while delivering worse and worse services. The county has raised property tax assessments an average of 11% with some working class and middle class areas facing 25% to 50% increases. The city is following with an increase in tax rates.

These increases are no more going to area workers than loans were given to veterans. The county supervisors and the city council preach about rising labor costs, but county and city employees received wage increases of only 7% this year. County employees got only a 3.5% raise last year. City and County workers have thus actually taken very large wage cuts.

Budgets to services are also being cut. The county budget allows only a 5% increase in the Human Resources Agency, which handles all social and welfare programs, and only a 6% increase in the already inadequate health care budget. Model Cities' programs such as Legal Aid are being eliminated, and the school budget now means that classroom size will grow next year.

Instead of going to schools and hospitals where it is needed, the money from our increased taxes is going into the pockets of city and county officials, the police,

and to pay interest on loans 'owed' to millionaire bankers. Last year the county supervisors increased their salary by 37-1/2%, and this year by another 17%. The county increased its police budget by 13%. In the city even more money was given to the police, and its force is being increased in size by 10%, with a 10% salary increase as well. This is not the work of San Diego conservatives, but is the very same program which Nelson Rockefeller and the Chase Manhattan Bank have imposed on New York City. These same big bankers have just taken over San Diego's biggest bank—the financial empire previously controlled by Nixon backer C. Arnholt Smith.

The city IS desperate to increase the size of the police force. The excuse is a rising crime rate, but the reason is an increase in the efforts of San Diego workers to fight these worsening conditions. Garment workers were just on strike. Laborers, carpenters and almost all other construction workers are now on strike. San Diego teachers are threatening to strike in the fall if they don't get a 16% wage hike and smaller classroom size. The politicians need the cops to try and hold back these struggles.

But these struggles are the answer to the problems of all workers. We can organize in our shops, communities and schools to win 30 hours work for 40 hours pay to solve our problem of unemployment and to stop the cutbacks in the schools. We have to fight these battles now and go on to destroy the capitalist system that creates all these cops, politicians, budgets and layoffs that are destroying our lives.

—A Reader

More on Trotsky

Dear PL Magazine:

The article on Trotsky was good in most respects. Unfortunately, it did not deal with a number of key issues in relation to Trotskyism that are essential to understand if we are to learn anything from the influence that Trotskyism has had for the past 70 years.

There are two crucial and inter-related areas of ideological struggle between Trotskyism and Marxism: the theory of permanent revolution and the theory of socialism in one country. The theory of permanent revolution (TPR), originally enunciated by Trotsky in RESULTS AND PROSPECTS (published in THE PERMANENT REVOLUTION, Pathfinder Press), states that, in the modern era, no revolution, in a country dominated by imperialism, such as Russia in 1905 or China, can stop with the bourgeoisie in power. The working class will inevitably demand the abolition of private property and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Since, in these "underdeveloped" countries, the proletariat is small and the petty-bourgeois peasants large, the proletariat will not be able to maintain itself in power and will lose to the bourgeois forces. Only if some of the advanced industrial nations were also to have proletarian revolutions and could offer the infant proletarian dictatorship help would it be possible for the proletariat in a "backward" country to remain in power. In this sense Trotsky was a Menshevik, and strongly attached to the essentially economic determinist theory of the productive forces. On the other hand Trotsky disagreed with the other Mensheviks in that he conceded that the proletariat could come to power in a "backward" country like Russia (although they could never hold power without outside help).

The Bolsheviks, on the other hand, believed that a two-stage revolution was possible. They did recognize that the peasants and the workers could overthrow Tsarism and imperialism and establish what they called "the democratic dictatorship of the workers and peasants." Lenin felt that the bourgeoisie would never have the courage or the independence to overthrow the Tsar and establish bourgeois-democracy, so that the workers and peasants would have to do it. There would then be a transitional period of underdetermined length during which a proletarian dictatorship would have to be established. The Bolsheviks felt that the overthrow of Tsarism

would unleash revolutionary forces in Europe which would establish the proletarian dictatorship in more advanced countries and would in turn facilitate the proletarian transformation in Russia. No Bolsheviks seriously considered that they could establish socialism on their own.

Lenin's theory was called continuous revolution and was first enunciated by Marx in discussing the revolutions of 1848. There are superficial similarities between the Marxist-Leninist theory of continuous revolution and the Trotskyist theory of permanent revolution. In fact, Trotsky's theory of permanent revolution was pushed by the Communist International in the years following the Bolshevik Revolution. The differences were really over the questions of the relative importance of politics and economics. Lenin clearly saw the possibility of uniting the workers and the peasants politically, even though he did not think that the peasants were sufficiently proletarianized to be won to socialism. Thus the Bolsheviks never dwelt to any great extent in their writings on the abstract economic issues that the Mensheviks and Trotsky attached so much importance to that it paralyzed them in the day-to-day task of organizing a movement for revolutionary socialism.

Of course many other issues divided Trotsky and the Bolsheviks, among the most important being the question of Party organization.

When push came to shove, the bourgeoisie did lead the struggle to overthrow the Tsar and they set up the Provisional government in 1917 (February). Confronted with this unforeseen development, Lenin determined that a change in Party strategy was required. It was clear that although the bourgeoisie overthrew the Tsar, they couldn't overthrow his policies since these very policies reflected to a large extent the class interests of the bourgeoisie. Lenin concluded that since the democratic dictatorship of the peasants and bourgeois had in fact been realized within the form of a bourgeois dictatorship, the time had come to move on to the proletarian dictatorship. In his APRIL THESES, Lenin

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launched an intense inner Party struggle for this line and, as we know, won. Trotsky, concluding that Lenin had finally seen the error of his ways, joined the Bolshevik Party.

In October, the Bolsheviks were able to seize power through their control of the Soviets of Workers, Soldiers, and Peasants Deputies. Subsequently, the international revolution failed to occur. The article in PL Magazine clearly shows that many of Trotsky's policies in terms of the Red Army and the Trade Unions were bourgeois in essence. But let us not forget that it was the Bolshevik leadership that put him in a position to organize the Red Army. It is ridiculous to suggest that they did this because Lenin was a "liberal." We will not learn anything about the mistakes of Lenin or the right-wing essence of Trotsky by glossing over the important political weaknesses in the line of the Bolsheviks that enabled them to think that Trotsky was a reliable revolutionary. The main political weakness was the estimate that the peasants could not be won to socialism. If you are a socialist in power in a country in which you think that 90% of the population cannot be won to socialism, you are going to be forced into all sorts of compromises with basically bourgeois forces in order to stay in power.

By the mid-1920's it became clear that the international revolution was not imminent, and that if the Bolsheviks wanted to stay in power they were going to have to build socialism on their own for an indefinite period of time. Trotsky thought this would be impossible because of his theory of permanent revolution, which relied on the ability of outside aid to win the peasants to sticking with the proletarian dictatorship. Stalin, in a creative development of Marxism, argued that it would be possible to build socialism in one country, since the lower peasants were proletarianized and would support the workers' dictatorship. Stalin had to formulate this theory as if Lenin believed it, too, because of the ideological

weaknesses within the Party which stemmed from Lenin's prior ideological domination of the Party.

Of course the weakness of Stalin's position was the fact that the Bolsheviks did not have a really adequate base in the countryside, and it was this fact that forced the Bolsheviks to resort to a number of essentially bourgeois compromises in the 1930's that have been discussed in ROAD TO REVOLUTION II. And even Stalin and the Bolsheviks were a little equivocal about winning the peasants to socialism, and still could not break away from the notion that only if socialism could provide the peasants with material goods like tractors would the peasants support the workers' dictatorship.

Contrast this with China, where the CCP was able to win the peasants to socialism because socialist relations of production are, in themselves, vastly more beneficial to the peasants without any immediate external material inducement. In fact, the new relations of production resulted in a great increase in material values from within the peasant economy. But these possibilities were only realizable because of years of political work by the Party.

Trotsky's line for Russia, enunciated in WHITHER RUSSIA? published in 1926, would have doomed the revolution to defeat in a matter of years. It basically advocated making any concessions to the imperialists in return for economic aid.

It is to the everlasting credit of the Bolsheviks, Stalin and the Russian workers that they moved forward in what was a very difficult situation and were ultimately able to defeat the fascists. These victories advanced the world revolution and taught us many valuable lessons. Had Trotsky won the inner Party struggle in the 1920's we would still be in the same position that revolutionaries were in 50 years ago, and ROAD TO REVOLUTION III could never have been written, there would not have been a CULTURAL REVOLUTION with all

its lessons for the working class, etc. Many of us would probably be dead, in fact.

Unfortunately the Bolsheviks and Stalin viewed the main danger to socialism as being external, contrary to the dialectical principle that internal contradictions are primary in determining the development of a process. This was the basis for Stalin's distinction between "building socialism" and "completely" building socialism. Thus bourgeois forces were able to develop within the Party and eventually take over the system.

Because of these errors, Trotsky could be used by the international bourgeoisie as the "left" cover for their counter-revolutionary, anti-communist attack.

—Jerry

Destructive Poem

Dear PL Magazine:

In an otherwise excellent issue, I was surprised to read the individualistic, defeatist poem, "Destruction." Its doomsday sentiment is a perfect example of the petty bourgeois attitudes described by Lenin elsewhere in the same magazine. (p. 39)

"The petty bourgeois sees and feels that he is perishing, that life is becoming more difficult, the struggle for existence more intolerable, that his own situation and that of his family more and more hopeless... the representative of a class destined to perish, despairing of its own future, beaten and cowardly."

Today, it is not only the petty bourgeoisie that sees it is perishing, but the bourgeoisie—the U.S. imperialists, as well—Having suffered a major defeat in Vietnam, Kissinger tours the world trying to shore up support; Watergate and the oil crisis expose their internal conflicts.

On our side, every day gives birth to more and more working class fighters taking on the task of defeating imperialists worldwide. Workers are fighting back harder than ever (read Challenge!), and more and more are becoming armed with Marxist-Leninist theory. Most important,

we have an anti-revisionist communist party, the PLP, organized with a plan to win. Now, more than ever before, we have all the reason in the world to be hopeful. Why, then, print a poem that speaks of nothing but despair, and represents all the ideas we're opposed to—individualism, cynicism, pessimism, etc.

The poem begins and ends on a self-centered note of despair, ("The people are unhappy because of the falseness within themselves"), and continues with reactionary ideas pushed by modern psychology, religion and literature (i.e. our unhappiness rests in being denied "the right to love all and be loved by all").

Communists are **angry** (not "unhappy") at the oppression of our class, and **optimistic** because we know we can win. It is not abstract love we lack, but perhaps real concrete class love, and a little more hatred for the butchers that rule the world today.

It is difficult (and perhaps for most at this time, impossible), to write revolutionary poetry, when we are faced with a barrage of decadent, cynical, individualistic garbage passed off as art every day, but the bourgeoisie doesn't need our help in spreading their defeatist line. We are a part of the class that is going to win!

—Comradely,
Seattle PL Members

Capitalism: The Leading Cause of Death

Dear PL Magazine,

The ten leading causes of death in the United States are heart disease, cancer, accidents, cerebrovascular disease, influenza and pneumonia, diseases of infancy, diabetes, hardening of the arteries, bronchitis/emphysema, and cirrhosis of the liver. These diseases kill more than 85% of the people who die each year. Yet virtually every one of these killers depends on the

socio-economic environment of capitalism and its profit-hungry rulers.

Take, for example, heart disease, cerebrovascular disease, and hardening of the arteries, or arteriosclerosis. Heart disease means mainly coronary artery disease, or "heart attacks." Cerebrovascular disease means mainly "strokes." These diseases are mainly caused by high blood pressure, dietary factors, and inadequate exercise. Heredity may play a small role. In a previous article in PL magazine (Vol. 9, No. 4) we showed that high blood pressure is most probably associated with the stresses and strains of racial and economic oppression. The diet of most Americans is determined by the profit considerations of the food manufacturers. The high fat, high carbohydrate diet is the cheapest to produce and the easiest to get people to eat more of than they need. The inadequate exercise of most Americans is related to long hours of work, emphasis on spectator sports, and automated means of transportation; aspects of the culture which are exceedingly profitable to capitalists and whose existence and maintenance is a result of their profitability. (Diabetes and smoking, which also contribute to heart attacks and strokes, will be discussed below.)

The next largest killer is cancer. The leading cancers are lung, bowel, and breast. Cancer of the uterine cervix in women and cancer of the pancreas and stomach and bladder are also big killers.

The major portion of lung cancer is due to smoking, a phenomenon which has existed for centuries, but has only developed a mass character in modern capitalism with the mass production of cigarettes. More evidence is being accumulated to link bowel cancer with dietary factors, particularly high fat, low residue diets. Rural inhabitants of countries with high residue diets practically never experience this form of cancer. Although there is much dispute in the area of breast cancer, there is evidence to suggest that women who breast-feed their children have a significantly lower incidence of

breast cancer. For the capitalist, the production of artificial formulas is incredibly profitable, not to mention the fact that it enables women to enter the work force without the capitalists having to provide facilities for nursing infants and time off for the mothers to nurse them. Cancers of the stomach are probably related to the ingestion of cancer-causing chemicals (carcinogens) which may be found in smoked food, while cancer of the pancreas, the incidence of which is on the rise, may be related to the increasing consumption of alcohol.

Accidents quite graphically expose the capitalist system as a killer. Industrial accidents kill thousands of workers yearly. This does not include diseases such as asbestosis, among workers who are exposed to asbestos, or angiosarcoma among workers exposed to polyvinyl chloride, used to make propellants in spray cans. (The U.S. government still allows factories such as the B.F. Goodrich factory in Louisville, Ky. to poison their workers with this chemical.)

Of course, the automobile kills more than 50,000 people annually. What is even worse, more than 90,000 people die each year because of inadequate organization of emergency services. Even if you are not killed in an accident, you may well die before you reach adequate medical attention.

Accidents around the home are another major killer. These include children playing with dangerous toys that shouldn't be on the market. Or children wearing garments made of highly flammable material. Or children falling out of windows that should be protected by gratings. Or fires during the winter in inadequately heated tenements in which the residents are using a gas stove to warm themselves. The list is endless. One way or another, the greedy capitalists and landlords take our lives.

Let us proceed on to the other major killers. Influenza and pneumonia kill mainly chronically ill, debilitated, malnourished and/or elderly people. All of these groups receive inadequate care. Among the aged particularly medical care of a preventive type is practically non-

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existent in the United States. There are practically no geriatricians in the U.S. These are physicians who specialize in the problems of the aged. Medicare does not pay for many aspects of preventive care for the aged that would significantly reduce the incidence of respiratory infections, fractured hips, etc.

We shall not dwell on infant mortality. Suffice it to say that over 100,000 infants die each year from preventable causes.

As for diabetes mellitus, a major contributor to heart attacks, strokes, kidney disease, and peripheral vascular disease, there is evidence to suggest that the high carbohydrate diet of Americans, coupled with the continual stresses of racial and economic oppression, significantly contribute to the high incidence of adult-onset diabetes. Furthermore, the problem of treating diabetes with diet is complicated by the high cost of dietetic foods (this also complicates the treatment of heart failure) and the fact that the capitalists do not make as much profits from dietetic foods, which are not mass-consumed.

Bronchitis, emphysema and asthma are closely related to smoking and environmental air pollution, while cirrhosis of the liver is mainly due to excess alcohol ingestion or hepatitis. The incidence of hepatitis is closely related to overcrowded living conditions, inadequate sanitation, and drug abuse.

There are many other causes of death in capitalism. But even many of the minor ones are results of capitalism and the intense pressures it places on people of a psychological nature because of racism, unemployment, overwork, male chauvinism, poor housing, etc. Thus, suicide is a disease of capitalism nowadays, as is drug overdose and other complications of heroin addiction. And of course the above-mentioned alcoholism. Many other non-accidental occupational diseases are caused by the lack of safety conditions in plants and other places of work.

Nor have we mentioned the violent causes of death in capitalism, both those due to the police and other governmental agencies of violence and those due to quarrels among workers that break out into violence because of the intense psychological pressures that workers are faced with in this society.

Although we have not mentioned the racial distribution explicitly, most of the capitalist killers affect black people and other minority groups with a much higher incidence and earlier in life. Nevertheless, very few people, except members of the ruling class, die of "old age."

Capitalism kills and it will kill all of us one way or another unless we kill it. Socialism is a life and death struggle.

—A Health Professional

DeFunis Case

Dear PL Magazine,

Before the Supreme Court is the so-called "DeFunis Case," and the ruling class has been whipping up racism at a tremendous clip with it. The case involves a suit brought by Marco DeFunis, a student at the University of Washington, against the Board of Regents of the University of Washington. The suit revolves around the question of preferential admission of minority students to the UW Law School. DeFunis claims he was discriminated against because he was denied admission to the Law School while "less qualified" minority students were admitted ahead of him. His suit will be one of the precedents against preferential admission and preferential hiring. The affirmative action programs won by the ghetto rebellions of the 60's are up for "review."

There are some serious political issues involved in this case which we should be clear about since the bosses are making as much as possible out of this.

First, DeFunis was admitted to the Law School long ago under a court injunction, on the condition that the case be argued in court until it is resolved. The Law School has subsequently said that he will graduate **regardless** of the outcome of the case. So the pursuing of this suit has only one purpose: the building of a racist movement. One of the goals of the racist movement is the dismantling of the affirmative action programs of preferential admissions and hiring.

This is made clear by the role of the local press in Seattle for the past year and a half, and now the national press. **Fortune** magazine about a year ago called for cutbacks in the affirmative action programs because they allegedly discriminate against whites. **Fortune** represents the ruling class position on a lot of social issues (for example they endorsed Jensen and Herrnstein and psychosurgery) and is notorious for its racism.

Taking this cue from the bosses, the **Seattle Times** and the **Post-Intelligencer** have written a lot of articles sympathetic to poor little Marco and his alleged plight. TV stations held special programs on this emphasizing the point that whites are being discriminated against by blacks.

It should be noted right here that in addition to the minority students admitted to the Law School who had lower grades than DeFunis, there were a number of white students from the EOP programs who were also admitted to the Law School ahead of DeFunis, and they all had lower grades than he. This is never mentioned in the press. The DeFunis case ignores the white students and aims the attack against the minority students. The press has picked this up and is making it into a national issue to build racism.

Once the case reached the Supreme Court the ruling class press pounced on it, just like they did with Soldsomeshitsin and the recent fad of "streaking." "Reverse Racism," whites blaming blacks for their oppression, is being rapidly built on a national basis by **Newsweek**, **Time**, CBS, NBC and ABC. The main thing to remember is that the bosses are

using this case to build racism to divert white workers and students into seeing blacks as their enemy.

Second. The bosses want to dump their affirmative action programs. "Affirmative Action" was a half-hearted attempt to recruit minority workers and students into various positions and areas of study. Whatever gains were won from these programs were forced on the bosses by the massive ghetto rebellions of blacks in the 1960's, at a tremendous cost in dead, wounded and arrested (all told these amounted to about 500,000 people!). For all this struggle the bosses were forced to make some concessions; they never enforced the affirmative action guidelines and relied mainly on bosses' "good will" for preferential hiring.

Now that the bosses' empire is crumbling they can't even afford this mild program of affirmative action. Using the camouflage of "whites are being discriminated against," the bosses are smashing this program. *Fortune's* article is proof of this. The rise of Jensenism dovetails with this. Not only will "affirmative action" be smashed, but blacks will be kicked out of jobs, laid off and limited to the most dangerous of jobs. The recent layoffs in the auto industry bear this out.

Third. The UW administration is being made to look like the great defender of minority students. We at UW would like to set the record straight. The University of Washington is a racist institution and has no interest in serving anyone but the bosses.

For example, under the very same "affirmative action" guidelines for hiring set by HEW, UW was found blatantly racist and sexist in all areas. HEW has even threatened to cancel all federal contracts to UW unless the situation is rectified (UW is the number two college in the U.S. for federal contracts). Needless to say, the contracts will never be cancelled. Extensions have been granted repeatedly and there's no reason to believe that the extensions will be stopped. The extensions will be given until "affirmative action" is abolished. The DeFunis case will be the big precedent if the Supreme

Court backs "poor little Marco."

Other examples of UW racism are legion. For starters, two arch-racist faculty are protected by the administration (Omenn and Williams in the Med School; Omenn is a blatant Jensenist and Williams supports sterilization of welfare recipients). At the same time radical, minority and women faculty are being hounded out of departments like Political Science, History, Philosophy and English.

The point is—racism is part and parcel of the business of the University. Their "defense" of affirmative action is a red herring, a cover for their own racism.

Fourth. Jensenism is being built out of this, Defunis claims that the minority students admitted ahead of him were "less qualified" than he was. (Of course, he doesn't say a word about the white students who were admitted ahead of him.) What is "qualified"? Grades in college and scores on the Law School qualifying exams are the "qualifications." This whole educational system is racist to the core. Racism is the core as a matter of fact. The exams for law school use the standard qualifying exam format which have been shown to be racist. These are the same kind of tests that Jensen and Shockley use to push their racist crap.

So what's going on is an increase in blatant racism at UW. "Blacks aren't qualified" is the feeling among some students and faculty as this case gets more and more publicity. The argument goes like this:

1. Some "qualified" whites don't get admitted to Law School.
2. Some "less qualified" blacks do get admitted
3. Whites are then supposed to be discriminated against.
4. At the same time witch hunts are carried on against black professors and they are hounded out of jobs.
5. The cry of black intellectual inferiority is then raised. Jensen is looked to as the great solver of all problems.

The DeFunis case assumes a central role in this movement now. **Regardless** of the Supreme Court decision, racism will still be pushed. Affirmative action has

been dealt a serious blow from which it will not recover; the bosses will see to that.

As far as the law students are concerned, the issue of fighting racism has to be taken up by them. Even if minority students become lawyers, that's **not** enough. Lawyers have to see themselves as allies of the working class, not pawns of the bosses. Their talents must be directed to serving workers' needs when they come under attack by the bosses. More "professional" lawyers, white or black, serve only the ruling class.

Furthermore, the anti-racist movement that has been built so far by PLP, SDS, CAR and other groups has to be bigger, better and more powerful. We have to smash this racist ruling class to bits. Its economy is falling apart, competition from Europe and Japan is grinding it down. Racism is being used as its axe against the workers and we have to redouble our efforts to smash them!

—UW PLP

Anti-Semitism

Dear PL:

The article in PL Magazine Vol. IX, No. 4, exposing the disease of Trotskyism which permeates opportunism and "left" sectarianism, and deals with the Bolsheviks' weaknesses towards him, could form the basis of a polished historical prospectus to show people Trotsky's errors. It successfully compares them with the achievements of Russian workers and Comrade Stalin.

On page 32 of the article, however, there is a mistake in regard to the Jewish Bund (Labor League) which shows we must sharpen the struggle against issues which adversely affect the unity of workers. In the hasty treatment of the Bund, it says, "This group which had always stood on the extreme right of the workers' movement and was the forerunner to the modern Zionist Party in Israel, was also fighting tooth and nail to liquidate the Party."

The struggle against racism in all its forms is the main focus with such questions. Even so, in the period during which the 1917 revolution took place the Jews were the oppressed minority. And anti-semitism has always been used by the rulers to keep the workers

down by diverting their rebellions!

To say that the Jewish Bund, which was guilty of many sins, led to Zionism is like saying that Lenin made certain errors and because of these there is revisionism in power today in the Soviet Union. This crooked reasoning would lead to the bosses' anti-communist caprices. The bund was opposed to the very language of Zionism!

After the second world war many books were printed in favor of the Jewish masses following the fascists' use of them as scapegoats whilst Hitler bathed in the blood of progressives and the world's working class. One of these, "The Devil and the Jews" by Joshua Trachtenberg (Yale University Press, 1943) demonstrates earlier aspects (medieval) and the seamier side of the origins of anti-semitism, and makes good reading.

With certain forms, old and new, dragging themselves to their feet, we should show more details of how anti-Jewish thinking divides our class. It could become big with the rulers again! Non-religious and anti-Zionist youth, to advance the struggle and renew it daily, look towards building ties of unity among all workers. And only this will engender harmony to make the class struggle triumph and socialist power a fact. Such study could help build this unity.

—A N.Y.C. PLPer



Nicholas Von Hoffman

PROPPING UP THE BANKS

"Every time the banks raise their interest rates on certificates of deposit, I get more suspicious and put more money into Treasury bills. I'd rather get 5 per cent less on my money and know it's safe. I haven't worked all these years to lose it now." So speaks one Chicago businessman, but the nervous pessimism he expresses is general. In places like the Metropolitan Club, where such men come to lunch while looking down at their city from the Sears Tower, there is talk of buying gold coins and keeping them in the office safe, of owning a piece of land to retreat to when the trouble starts.

No longer is it radicals who hypothesize fighting in the streets. The businessmen are seized by bloody dreams and talk of stockpiling against the apocalypse. Even if businessmen do indulge in pack-thinking more than those in some other occupations, the degree of apprehension has long since mounted past the point that people can be reassured by official silence.

True, the non-businessman public is not yet seriously alarmed, although chl-chl magazines like "New York" have begun running cover stories with titles like "Rock Bottom

in America: What It Was Like in the Great Depression..." Still people say, well it can't be 1929 over again, the market hasn't crashed. Unhappily it has, only not quite in the same way it did 35 years ago.

"In terms of the damage done to most non-blue chips, the ongoing market decline is already as bad as the 1929," writes Tom Holt, the investment analyst whose record at calling these shots is good enough so that he was recently retained by General Electric as a consultant. Holt continues, "Thousands of individual issues have already lost over 50 per cent of their value. It's just that the current collapse, unlike the 1929 debacle, has been stretched out by persistent institutional support of the large-capitalization issues."

In other words the big investors, the pension funds, bank trust departments, have managed to hold up the price of the few stocks making up the Dow Jones average that gets quoted every night on TV. Meanwhile everything else is a near wipeout.

In 1929, after the market went, the banks went. Have they gone again, but this time in a manner that might be disguised from the layman's eye? The answer would have to be yes, the banking system is probably insolvent. That doesn't mean your bank necessarily is; but, if you take all the banks in the aggregate, it appears that their liabilities may be significantly bigger than their assets.

Short of everybody going to the bank and withdrawing their money to see if it's still there, something which would cause a panic in the best of times, bank solvency isn't always easy to demonstrate. It is made less so by the industry's institutionalized secretiveness, but a careful reading of the Federal Reserve Board's recent statistics suggests that the Franklin Bank is by no means the only one currently being propped up and kept out of bankruptcy by a worried government.

There are other figures which show that the banks themselves are not only in debt from borrowing, but that slow repayment of loans to the banks is also imperiling them. As an example, "Barron's Weekly" reports that the Irving Trust Co. and three other banks had to take back their mortgage on a new \$90 million New York office building, which was then sold at auction for \$69 million. Undoubtedly these banks had to take part of that bath, which would be all right if it were an isolated incident, but they're getting beaten on all kinds of loans.

In addition their assets are shrinking. It doesn't show on their books, but many of the bonds which they have stored in their vaults are worth significantly less today than when they bought them. Again, it doesn't matter unless they need money to pay off depositors wishing to withdraw to safer places.

* * *

On top of that we have to contemplate the meaning of the failure of Germany's Bankhaus Herstatt. The rumor is that an unknown number of American banks were partially caught in that ruin, but that is of less importance than that the Herstatt collapse is symptomatic of a frightful European banking mess in which a number of our own banks may be very badly compromised.

None of this need make you bolt and run to get your money out. Unlike the case during the Great Depression, the government will use the Federal Reserve to keep the banks' doors open, cost what it may.

But at this moment we must prop up the banks. Sometime soon, however, a few high federal officials are going to have to talk about this publicly and candidly; and Congress is going to have to ask the same questions they asked, and didn't answer in the 1930s, about how high and how crazy we can let our debt structure get.

During the summer months of 1974 the international class struggle has sharpened in relation to the sharpening contradictions between the U.S. and Soviet imperialism in their quest for world domination.

From Argentina to Portugal, from Cyprus to Angola, the working class is fighting in the midst of the crisis suffered by the local bosses and their imperialist masters.

PORTUGAL

In Portugal, the provisional government set up by the "liberal" fascist Antonio Spínola, ex-fighter on Franco's side during the Spanish anti-fascist war, ex-nazi observer during the siege of Leningrad during World War II and ex-colonial chief during the Portuguese fascist colonial war in Guinea-Bissau, fell in the beginning of July and a new government was re-established. The reason behind the fall of the first government was the lack of faith in these bosses shown by the working class. Hundreds of thousands of workers went out on strike during the duration of this government demanding better salaries and shorter working hours as well as the firing of all the fascist bosses and administrators from the previous fascist dictatorship. The main political prop of the provisional government of the Portuguese bourgeoisie was the revisionist "Communist Party," who was part of the government. The "C" P denounced the striking workers as "fascists" and "provocateurs" and even held a demonstration in front of the Central Post Office denouncing the 125,000 striking postal workers as "fascists." This strike was



*Portuguese workers and students
oppose colonial wars*

the first nationwide workers' struggle since the coup and represented a strong challenge to the new junta. The new government gives a bigger role to the liberal Armed Forces Movement, the group which led the overthrow of the fascist Caetano regime.

Spínola remained as president while a Colonel Vasco de Gonalves was named premier. This guy said "that among the important tasks of the new government was the formulation of new laws ... The press law is expected to contain restrictions on newspapers and broadcasting stations, which are now considered to be in leftist hands. The labor law is expected to impose limits on the right to strike, while the electoral law is expected to bar small political groups, notably on the extreme left, from participating in elections which are scheduled for next year" (N.Y. Times, July 14).

The new government still has the head of the "C" P Alvaro Cunhal as a minister but with a minor role. The ruling class of Portugal knows that although it has to turn more and more to the right that it has to rely on the revisionists to cool down the militancy of the workers. They are using the old game of "the carrot and the stick."

The working class of Portugal, which has a long history of militancy even under open fascism that ruled for 45 years, must break away completely from all these phony "friends" and establish its own Revolutionary Communist Party to establish true workers' power in Portugal. The contradictions between the U.S. bosses and the USSR bosses (who have more political leverage through its puppet revisionists) can only bring more damage to the working class.



SPAIN

Right next door in Spain, old fascist Franco is dying and has already transferred power to his puppet Prince Juan Carlos. Spain is also on the verge of a change of power. Sections of the bourgeoisie of Spain are fighting each other to see who is going to take over after Franco kicks the bucket. One group wants Juan Carlos, another group wants Juan Carlos' father, and still another thinks of a Spanish Spinoza in the face of General Ruiz Gimenez.

The "C" P of Spain (P "C" E) is not far behind their Portuguese buddies in selling out the workers. Already the head of the "C" P, Carrillo is saying that the dictatorship of Portugal fell under the action of something similar to the "Freedom Pact" (*Mundo Obrero*—official P "C" E newspaper, May 8). This Freedom Pact is a dream of the Spanish revisionists to create a "democratic government" with fascists, monarchists, and other bosses dissatisfied with Franco's brand of fascism.

Unfortunately for Carrillo, the Spanish working class, which has the biggest percentage of strikes and struggles among all the European countries, is very much against his plans. The workers know that all the fascists are their enemies and eventually any new "liberal" fascist government, probably with Santiago Carrillo as some kind of minister, will turn against the working class and step up their oppression. All these different bickering bosses always unite when they see their common interests in danger. For example the "liberal" fascist Ruiz Gimenez called on the masses not to create problems

for the government in these critical moments. The Spanish working class must have the same solution as the Portuguese workers.

CYPRUS

"WAR ERUPTS IN CYPRUS! TURKEY INVADES! GREEK JUNTA CALLS UP RESERVES! SOVIETS MOBILIZE SEVEN DIVISIONS! U.S. SIXTH FLEET ON MOVE TO CYPRUS!"

What ever happened to "détente?" Didn't Nixon and Kissinger just return from their "historic" peace mission? Hadn't these two "geniuses" assured us that prospects for world peace have never been better?

Bosses' politicians always peddle the lie that they love and work for peace. Yet they always manage to get wars going again and again. And who suffers? Everywhere, poor people—workers and our children—become the victims. More than 100 million people have died in imperialist wars during the 20th century. These vile adventures for plunder are the inevitable product of the bosses' drive for more profits, markets, resources, and labor to exploit.

In 1960, Cyprus became "independent." British colonial rule ended. U.S. imperialist influence prevailed. Makarios became president with U.S. rulers' support. In 14 years of power, this slob did nothing for the Cypriote people but give them starvation wages, unemployment and terror.

Makarios came to view faltering U.S. imperialists as unreliable masters. He preferred a more liberal cover for his class' rule than the naked fascist regimes U.S. bosses need in many of their client states around the world. He expressed disapproval when the Greek junta ousted Papadopoulos last November. He identified more with the pro-Soviet "communists" in Cyprus and took a number of trips to consult with Soviet bosses and their East European allies. He even made a state visit to Peking last May to demonstrate his political maneuverability within the imperialist camp. He abandoned "enosis" (union with Greece) as antagonistic to the interests of Turkish and Soviet bosses.

So the Greek fascists and their U.S. imperialist masters decided to get rid of Makarios. They engineered the overthrow of this two-bit hustler in the hope of installing a more docile puppet in his place. The day after the coup, the U.S. began negotiations with Nikos Sampson, who had taken over after Makarios' ouster.

U.S. BOSSES' PLAN BACKFIRES

However, this plan backfired in the face of the U.S. imperialists. They had miscalculated Soviet rulers' determination to gain more leverage for their own imperialist pursuits in this vital strategic area. The day after the coup, the Soviets told Turkish bosses they could count on Soviet backing to the hilt. They ordered a mobilization of seven airborne divisions. Thus fortified, the Turkish bosses—who are locked in a struggle with Greek bosses over oil in the Aegean Sea—ordered a fullscale invasion of Cyprus.

This invasion precipitated the downfall of Sampson, the takeover of the Cypriote presidency by longtime Makarios henchman Clarides and the downfall of the U.S.-backed Greek junta.

Basically, therefore, the war in Cyprus resulted in a defeat for U.S. imperialists at the hands of their Soviet competitors. Of course, U.S. bosses' influence in Greece and throughout the Mediterranean remains strong and will continue to for the foreseeable future, but the trend is unmistakable: they are on the decline as the world's number one imperialist power.

However, workers in all of the countries involved have absolutely no interest in supporting or fighting for any of the imperialist bosses or their local flunkies. The Greek junta may have been sent packing, but new president Saramanlis isn't going to offer Greek workers anything but more of the same unemployment, inflation and poverty they've had all along. Even a faker like Andreas Papandreu, spokesman for the liberal wing of the Greek ruling class, had to admit that the "political upheaval in Greece represented no real change." (*New York Times*, July 24.)



Workers' demonstration in Argentina

As always, Greek, Turkish and Cypriote rulers whipped up a campaign of racist-nationalist hysteria in order to cover up the class nature of the war and get workers to kill each other for their profits.

The working class' only interest lies in fighting to crush all the imperialists and their stooges. Inter-imperialist rivalry is growing sharper in this period. The Soviets are now trying to replace U.S. bosses as the top imperialist power. Behind all the talk about detente is wheeling and dealing to carve up the world. No summit meeting can change this fact. The conflict over Bangla Desh, the Arab-Israeli wars, the coup in Chile, the new regime in Portugal, the continued fighting in southeast Asia, and now the war over Cyprus reflect this struggle between imperialist titans. Despite all the fanfare about "peace," millions of workers are dying each year in imperialist wars.

We should not allow ourselves

to be used as cannon-fodder for the profits of any of these bosses. U.S.-Soviet imperialist rivalry breeds the danger of war again and again. It will inevitably lead to World War III—unless the working class unites to destroy these murderers and their puppets forever. We must turn bosses' wars into class war against the bosses and fight to win socialism!

ARGENTINA

In Argentina, fascist Peron died while the working class of Argentina was fighting each day against his Social Pact with the bosses (which meant wage freezes for the workers).

Well known Nazi Peron did not fulfill the role given to him by the Argentinian bosses to cool down the working class. His wife, ex-stripper Isabelita Peron, and her right hand man, astrologer and neo-Nazi Jose Lopez Rega, won't do the job either. It is obvious that the bosses and their im-

perialist masters are going to have to find a new solution, be it a Pinochet a la Argentina or another demagogue with the same appeal as Peron.

The working class of Argentina although militant and ready to fight for its rights, lacks political leadership, which it doesn't get from the opportunist Peronist "Left" or from the many guerrilla groups whose only thing is to kidnap millionaires. The Argentine working class needs its own communist party, otherwise it will be led right into the hands of fascism as in Chile.

These are just some of the things that are happening in the world. It is obvious that the class struggle will not be stopped by any boss, no matter what it calls itself, and that the inter-imperialist rivalry is leading the working class into more and more wars, hunger, and misery. Only socialism is going to bring real peace for the workers and the end for the bosses' system.

Berkeley Clerical Workers

Fight Racist Harassment

The administration of the University of California at Berkeley gets away with screwing workers by promoting elitism, sexism and racism. They push the myth that some workers are better than other workers because they have the great privilege to be pushing papers and filing folders in the midst of "great ideas and great people."

They tell the "elite," "you don't have a boss" ... we are all in this together ... we're silly to think we need a union, a living wage, the right to grieve working conditions when the administration gives us three weeks vacation a year and a loose dress code. What a hoax! The administrators only promote this view among workers to keep us unorganized and under their control. Likewise, in the entire campus community, it serves to mask the real function of the university which is to perpetuate the status quo, advance racist, sexist and anti-working class ideas (like Arthur Jensen's) that justify ruling class power, unemployment, inflation, murderous working conditions in auto and steel plants, etc.

SEXISM permeates our working lives at U.C. Certain jobs are considered "women's work" and are dead-end. Women workers are stereotyped as 1) not a permanent or serious part of the work force (only working for a supplementary income) and 2) petty and only interested in the social life of the office. This is U.C.'s justification for low wages; few promotional opportunities, and inadequate health benefits. To the extent that women workers believe those stereotypes, they are susceptible to the paternalism of the U.C. administration, and less likely to join and build the union.

RACISM is the sharpest obstacle to organizing the work force at U.C. During the last six years minorities have been hired into the lowest classified jobs with the most supervision. They are the most vulnerable to attack, and supervisors use this as a way of isolating minority workers and militants, thus trying to scare everyone into not fighting back. Workers who associate with the fighters in the office also become targets for attack. Repression of minority workers is intended to scare white workers into thinking that they have a stake in perpetuating the status quo (an integral part of which is racist hiring, promotions and harassment). By fighting racism and sexism we can disarm the U.C. administration of

their most potent weapons to keep all workers oppressed and unorganized. We need a strong union to carry on this fight against the administration. The no-fight attitude of the union leadership—(American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, AFSCME 1695)—is like a chain tied around our ankles.

RACISM AT U. C.

Until 1968, almost no minorities were hired except for food services and as maids and custodians. At that time an expose of U.C.'s racist hiring practices was published by campus unions at one of the high points of student anti-racist struggles (the "Third World" Strike). Consciousness among students and workers about racism reached a peak. Under tremendous pressure, U.C. began hiring some minority workers in clerical positions and a few in skilled trades and low level academic jobs.

Six years later, minority workers are found in a slightly wider range of jobs, but are still at the bottom of pay and promotion scales, and are not preferentially hired. For example, look at the adjoining box, which describes the situation at the U.C. library (the facts were recently published by the Library Affirmative Action Program for Minorities Committee). These figures are very typical of the university as a whole and they don't include all aspects of racism. For example, the lack of promotional opportunities means essentially a "revolving door policy" whereby many minority workers quit as they see that their jobs are dead-end. In addition, immeasurable general harassment and intimidation by racist supervisors and personnel officials go on constantly.

Here's a typical case of a black worker who fought back against such harassment. She worked in Sproul Hall, and in her large office there were very few other black women. She was singled out for harassment. Her work, lateness, and attendance were surveyed more closely than other workers'. When her supervisor, Roger Weidoff, made a sexual pass at her she filed a grievance to have him demoted. She sought action from various administrators, the Fair Employment Practices Commission (FEPC), and the union grievance committee. She was offered a transfer

out of her office, while Weidoff got off completely. What she did not get was the support from workers in her own office. This support is what could have won the grievance.

Two lessons can thus be learned:

The insufficient support from her fellow workers can only be attributed to racism. Why? Because the supervisor is making life miserable for many of the other workers in the office—driving one woman to an ulcer; sabotaging the efforts of another to secure a transfer; forcing one older man to work ten hours a day, five days a week; making sexual passes at many of the women. All of these workers would obviously have benefitted greatly from getting rid of this bastard. But because of their racism, they half believed the lies on which her supervisor based his attacks.

It then becomes clear that racism materially hurt these and all white workers, dulling their consciousness, making them more willing to put up with lousy conditions, less ready to fight against them. The battle against racism is a fight in the interests of all workers, one that must be waged by all of us, if we are to win.

In conclusion, U.C. workers must take the offensive against racism. PLP and WAM's program is to fight for preferential hiring, transfers, and promotions for minorities, to fight any grievance, emphasizing those which involve racism or sexism (such as battles to fire racist supervisors) and to fight for the thirty-hour work week with forty-hours pay, so as to create more jobs for all workers.

"AFFIRMATIVE ACTION" AND SENIORITY

Our program should not be confused with what the government, its many institutions and agencies, the universities and colleges, and businesses all call "affirmative action."

The first thing to be said about affirmative action is "What action?" The facts about the U.C. library are clearcut—no affirmative action exists. Such facts should be dug up for every institution which claims to be implementing affirmative action.

But not only does their "affirmative action" not fight racism and sexism, it is used to promote them. Here at U.C. the administration is using "affirmative action" to:

- 1- Make it appear as if the personnel department is the friend of the most oppressed and convince minorities and women to rely on supervisors and personnel reps for transfers, promotions and reclassification—all self-defeating ideas which,
- 2- Thereby undermine the potential strength of the union by having minorities and women not look to the collective strength of fellow workers and the union as every worker's main weapon against his or her boss.

- 3- Build greater divisions between minorities and whites, and between men and women, by making it seem as though minorities and women are now getting all the breaks at the expense of whites and men.

This last point is extremely important: this insidious lie is widely accepted as truth. It applies at the non-academic level as well as at the academic level, where many students and faculty believe that whites are being discriminated against in admission to law, medical, and graduate schools, and in hiring of professionals. Recently the San Francisco *Chronicle* carried an article reporting that Richard A. Lester, a professor of economics at Princeton University, (supported by the Carnegie Commission), found that affirmative action "is lowering standards and undermining faculty quality," at "twenty leading universities." Such racist and sexist lies and liars should be attacked head-on.

Getting back to the U.C. situation, their latest use of affirmative action was to attack seniority. Four months ago, personnel revoked the only seniority rule we had, claiming it was in contradiction to affirmative action. This is ridiculous. In fact, seniority would open the doors for promotions to the hundreds of low-classified minorities who have been by-passed so many times. By pitting affirmative action against seniority, U.C. justifies not instituting a fair system of transfer and promotion for all of us. Again, the administration appears to be fighting racism and sexism, but in reality gets away with keeping the work force divided and unorganized. What we need is a system that combines both seniority and preferential hiring and promotions for minorities and women.

30 FOR 40

The only reason the administration can get away with these divisive attacks is because they refuse to create enough jobs to go around. At the same time we fight for a more equitable policy of transfer and promotion, we must go on the offensive and actively fight for a shorter work week with a big pay boost, as a way of providing more jobs: Thirty hours work for forty hours pay. Since 30 for 40 would open thousands of new jobs in all classifications, it will guarantee that we don't fall into the bosses' traps of:

- Pitting the needs of women against the needs of minorities, or the needs of one minority group against the needs of any other.
- Pitting affirmative action against seniority.

Fighting for 30 for 40 unifies all workers—minority and white, women and men, employed and unemployed. This is why the fight for a shorter work week historically has been the prime force behind the organizing and militancy of the trade union movement.

If we don't fight for more jobs, we fall into the trap of fighting each other for too few jobs. Two years ago, the Berkeley city council put a freeze on hiring because they couldn't decide whether

1. COMPARISON OF AVERAGE MONTHLY SALARY OF TOTAL LIBRARY POPULATION BY ETHNIC GROUP:

BLACKS	\$608.74
ORIENTALS	813.43
AMERICAN NATIVE*	509.00
OTHER NON-WHITES	697.25
MEXICAN/SPANISH-AMERICANS	618.27
WHITES	830.00

*Represents one only

2. RATES OF ADVANCEMENT.

There are four levels in the Library Assistant Series employing 234 of the 446 library employees, making it by far the largest category of employees. By the close of 1972, only one minority person had made it to LA IV. Black LA IIIs took a mean of 4.5 years to reach that level, while the mean for whites was 2.9 years. Black LA IIs took a mean 3.9 years to reach that classification, while the mean for whites was 2.3 years.

Another fact showing the slow promotion of blacks is that not one black made it to LA II before three years while 24 whites made it in two years or less.

3. HIRING PRACTICES.

During the period from July 1969 to August

1971, 239 positions were filled in the library, 66 by minorities, 173 by whites; minorities, who make up 33% of the Bay Area population, were hired in 27.1% of the jobs.

From among 147 minority applicants, 44.8% were hired. Of 329 white applicants, 52.8% were hired. Under a stated policy of "affirmative action" this is ludicrous. It hardly amounts to preferential hiring of minorities!

Looking at the twenty-four minorities currently in the LA I category, only one was hired above step one of the pay scale, while twenty-two of the sixty-one white LA Is came in at step 2 or higher (4% minorities compared to 36% of whites hired above step one—or proportionally nine times as many whites were hired into the higher pay classification).

In academic library positions, the picture is more striking: only 13% of the 131 professional librarians were minorities (1972), with only one of those classified as full librarian.

As for the myth that qualified members of minorities are not applying for these jobs: (from July 1969 to October 1971) "Seven black librarians applied for jobs here. Only one was hired. Twenty Asian Americans applied during the same period, of whom only four were hired, all in the East Asiatic Library." Also from 1970 to 1972, "Fifteen blacks, twelve Chicanos, and twenty-four Asian-Americans graduated from the U.C. Berkeley School of Librarianship. Only one black, one Chicano, and one Asian-American were hired from this group.

women or minorities should have priority. For a whole year many jobs weren't filled. And in our union (American Federation of State County and Municipal Employees—AFSCME, 1695) during the past three months, the discussion over affirmative action vs. seniority degenerated into a battle over who needs affirmative action more: minorities or women. We are suckers if we think we are arguing for the rights of women or for the rights of minorities. We end up arguing on the side of the bosses, who say that they can't provide jobs for all of us. They can! 30 for 40, by opening up thousands of jobs, fights against racism and sexism as well as unemployment.

EXPERIENCES IN FIGHTING THE U.C. ADMINISTRATION

In our fights against the administration, we learned three important lessons.

- 1- Fighting racism, and winning white workers to this fight, is crucial to organizing U.C. workers.
- 2- In fighting over grievances or for better wages etc., we must not be bound or limited by personnel's rules. These rules were written only to prevent us from winning.
- 3- The administration, personnel and supervisors are united in their powerhold over U.C. workers and cannot be played off against each other.

The worker mentioned above who was sexually harassed by her boss, attempted to fight only by personnel's rules and to convince the administrators to treat her fairly. The rules were written to protect the administration, with literally hundreds of loopholes for supervisors to interpret them against workers. This woman's grievance was thrown out by personnel on a technicality—**they couldn't determine the exact day on which the incident of harassment occurred!** If her racist boss had raped and killed her they would still have had grounds for dismissing it as a grievance. The vice chancellor and the FEPC had claimed to be on her side and encouraged her not to make the fight public. The union leadership advised her to save publicity for "later." Workers Action Movement (WAM) proposed a public campaign as her best defense, because it would have meant relying on the workers. Unfortunately, we failed to convince her.

The vice chancellor later decided that "to ease the tension in the office" (read: punish her), he would transfer her out of the office to a shit-work desk, but maintain her same salary and classification, thereby abiding by personnel's rules. Of course if he was interested in easing tensions he would have demoted Weidoff, rather than her. The union grievance committee encouraged her to accept this "compromise" since **by the rules** there was "no basis" on which to fight (technically she wasn't being demoted).

In the accounting office, another black woman,

a WAM member, was trying to transfer out of an intolerable job situation. The harassment against her was known throughout the office. Her racist supervisor gave her a less-than-standard yearly wage increase and, working with personnel, was sabotaging her efforts to transfer by giving her bad recommendations and not sending her out on interviews. She filed a grievance but the grievance committee of AFSCME 1695 dragged its feet. WAM proposed publicly exposing the racism, refusing to compromise on her demands for 1) an immediate transfer to a comparable job, and 2) her supervisor to be demoted from supervisory status. We put out two WAM leaflets exposing the racism at the university, how it attacks individuals and how it hurts everyone. When we passed out the leaflets, many workers felt bolder about fighting back themselves and they watched anxiously to see what would happen. WAM forced the union leadership to call for a union demonstration on this issue. The demonstration was almost all white, while the few supporters in the office were black and did not join the demonstration. This divided movement could not win, and she was forced to take a leave of absence from the university.

In the Letters and Science Office (L&S), Theresa Hanna, another WAM member, who has been supportive of other workers' efforts to defend themselves, was forced out of her job. She held a half-time senior clerk job and was told that she would have to come in on a full-time basis (an option that L&S knew she couldn't accept) or **quit**. She forced L&S to honor her lay-off rights. After more protest from Theresa and her co-workers, the department offered her another half-time job that existed in the department; but within a day they withdrew that offer. Their stated reason for this move that they had to combine this and another half-time job into a full-time one. We filed a grievance around their violation of the lay-off rule, in spite of the fact that Theresa's grievance representative argued against this on the grounds that technically she was not laid off.

As much as we could, we forced the administration to answer us on **our** terms. For example, Theresa's supervisor sent her a letter asking for an answer in writing as to whether she would accept the full-time job. We knew the supervisor was laying the groundwork to beat her out of unemployment benefits by making it seem as though she was quitting. Theresa's response was a **position paper** which stated that the reorganization was unjustified, she could not accept the full time job—but neither was she quitting. She xeroxed copies of her supervisor's letter with her response typed on the bottom and distributed it all over the office. In this way we stayed on the offensive by refusing to accept the situation on her supervisor's terms. Personnel was running scared and every step of the way they tried to use the loopholes in their rules to undermine the fight.

The administration and personnel have nothing better to do with their time than to think up every possible way to crush workers' victories against

the bosses. They tried to beat us psychologically by keeping their position vague and then slipping by on technicalities. They tried to discredit Theresa by making her seem like a lazy bum for not working full time and paranoid for expecting the worst. They tried to isolate and intimidate the union activists by harassing them on the job. But an office meeting to discuss the issue was held **on company time** and seventeen people in the office signed a letter of support for Theresa. There was tremendous tension within the office. There was also a real danger that the back-biting, typical of any unorganized workplace, would intensify and become the misdirected focus for our anger against the bosses. The union (with a Pler as shop steward) played a vital role in elevating the struggle from the personal to the political level. We tried to show that discrimination against union activists, minorities, and people without B.A.'s, is the rule rather than the exception. We made it clear in leaflets that the supervisors and L&S administration were to blame for all the tension—not Theresa or the union for fighting back. And we showed that out of all this fighting back we won a victory: Theresa still has a half-time job, in her own classification, within the same office.

In this war between the bosses and workers, the bosses now hold power. It is a matter of life and death for workers to win that power. The bosses at U.C. are united in their efforts. They will stop their business-as-usual to devote all their time and energy to prevent **one** half-time worker in L&S or **one** worker in the accounting office from winning. Because the workers can win only by **fighting**, not by kissing ass. We have to build our union so that we have the strength to stop their business-as-usual with a **STRIKE!** That would be the way to win more than the insulting 4.5% cost-of-living pay increase we just received.

IN ALL THESE CASES THE UNION LEADERSHIP (members of the sell-out "Communist" Party) and grievance committee played the role of buffer between workers and administration. They hold tête-a-tetes with administrators behind closed doors **INSTEAD** of organizing workers' support. They are more concerned with sticking to personnel rules than with winning grievances. They discourage workers from openly agitating for support. The most we can expect from this way of fighting grievances is demoralizing compromises. The "C" P leadership blames this on "workers' apathy," when in fact it is their extreme cliquishness and mis-leadership that discourages workers' participation.

The "C" P leadership is racist. Although there are a significant number of minority workers in the union, there are very few who are active or in the leadership. This is primarily because of the "C" P leadership's reluctance to confront the U.C. administration's racism. They are afraid to antagonize the U.C. bosses. (Instead they antagonize workers every day.)

The main task of the rank and file and WAM members is to build and strengthen the union. We can only do this by fighting grievances to win and by organizing workers around an anti-racist and

anti-sexist program. In early spring of 1974, a PL and WAM member brought a proposal to the executive board to make the fight for real affirmative action and seniority the union's key focus. For four months the issue was discussed at length in the union. Decision-making was shuttled back and forth between the shop stewards council, the executive board, and the general membership. The issue was distorted into an attempt to develop the perfect personnel rule that cross-cut seniority rights with affirmative action for minorities and women.

At the June union membership meeting we voted in a union position on affirmative action and seniority and WAM's plan of action. This included a petition about the issue and campus-wide shop meetings as a way of meeting interested workers. **At every turn the leadership tries to avoid making this a serious fight. They stall with getting the petition printed, they don't phone stewards for planning meetings, they discourage new union members from participating, they tone down leaflets so as not to put the blame on the administration, they refuse to speak to the racism of many white workers in the leaflets for fear of "sounding too pedantic."**

It is clear to us that if anything is going to change at U.C., rank-and-file workers must take the leadership. We cannot rely on our present "leaders." PLP's work among U.C. employees was positive in the main, as we sharpened the struggle on the job and in the union, and involved many workers. However, most of them did not stick it out, and after one round of struggle got demoralized and quit. The main reason for this is

that we did not build the Party enough. While many **Challenges** were sold on the job, the Party did not do enough to broadly assert its presence at U.C. While many workers helped us in opposing the "C" P dead-end leadership, we did not succeed in showing them that the alternative to the "C" P is the workers **themselves** taking initiative and leadership. While many workers united with us to fight around particular grievances, we were weak in convincing them to join PLP and the fight for socialism.

This last point is the key. The relationship between socialism and the day-to-day struggle to build the union, is that the Party has winning ideas. These ideas (Marxism-Leninism) are gathered from the struggles of the working class all over the world in the past 200 years, PLP is updating them by studying and attempting to correct past mistakes of the communist movement, and practicing what was found to be correct. One of these ideas is the crucial importance of the fight to defeat revisionism (phony communism). It is a difficult task, but our experience at U.C. shows that workers cannot advance even a little if revisionism is not challenged. In addition, the Party has the long term outlook to build unity with students and faculty against the U.C. administration, unity with other workers, towards an eventual general strike; unity with the unemployed, for 30 for 40; unity with all oppressed people, for armed revolution and socialism!

This understanding of where our class is going is a vital help in taking the difficult first steps in this direction.

BUILD THE PARTY! BUILD WAM! BUILD THE UNION!

On The Line in Auto

Recent events in the auto industry indicate that the class struggle there is rising to a fever pitch. The bosses are worried and the finks in the UAW leadership are worried, as the rank and file increasingly moves into action, creating the opportunity to once again take over and run their own union.

AS REPORTED IN RECENT ISSUES OF CHALLENGE, A SPATE OF wildcats and rank-and-file-forced strikes are spreading throughout the continent, over a variety of issues but all leading back to one central theme: **MORE WORKERS ARE NEEDED IN THE PLANTS.** Walkouts and wildcats at Lordstown, Chicago Ford, the New Haven, Michigan Foundry, locals in Chatham, Ontario, and more are basically attempts to secure jobs threatened by the Big Three's one-two punch of speed-up and mass layoffs. But a new element has entered the picture which indicates that the ante is being upped.

In the 8-week-long strike of St. Louis GMAD workers, two militant committeemen led a struggle to re-hire a number of fired workers who had participated in an April sick-out against speed-up. They forced GM to give in completely—or so it seemed, until the higher-ups in the UAW arbitrarily reversed the victory behind the workers' backs. When the two committeemen exposed the treachery, they were confronted with a UAW official waving a .38 and threatening to use it unless the militant workers dropped their fight-back efforts.

This gun-toting flunky follows the pattern set by the UAW International officers, led by Secy.-Treas. Emil Masey, in their 1000-goon attack on Chrysler Mack Ave. (Detroit) wildcatters last year and then the Ford "committeeman" who shot at a rank-and-filer last Fall when the latter was campaigning for rejection of the sellout contract negotiated in '73.

That the companies are worried is no secret. The Lordstown and St. Louis strikes alone have curtailed GM production in plants employing over 15,000 workers. Now two Milwaukee supplier strikes have affected production in GM, Chrysler and AMC plants where another 15,000 workers won't be making profits for the auto billionaires. And that's the name of the game—no workers, no profits.

But the workers are fed up; they see the handwriting on the wall: 100,000 or more laid off "indefinitely"; SUB pay (supplemental unemployment benefits) running out because of the mass layoffs (as we warned about earlier this year); increased production of small cars (at big-car prices) which the Big Three claim "need less workers"; plus tremendous speed-up of those remaining in the plants (such as 50% speed-up on Ford Pinto at the Cleveland plant). All this as the bosses raise prices 8.5% just lately—following earlier increases in April—while they sit tight with a 3%, 3-year contract signed, sealed and delivered by the Woodcock gang last Fall.

No wonder workers are taking more militant action, which is not unrelated to two recent ploys by two top UAW officials.

30 HOURS WORK FOR 40 HOURS PAY

At the meeting of the Ford National Council, V-P Bannon called for a shorter work-week (with no loss in pay) as the #1 demand in the '76 contract. Now, members of Workers Action Movement and the PLP had been organizing around that demand for three years, calling for it in the

FIGHT RACIST UNEMPLOYMENT

30 Hours Work for 40 Hours Pay

WAM CONVENTION

McCormick Place
23rd on the lake
Chicago, Illinois

October 12-13, 1974

PANELS ON:

Health and Safety on the Job
Fighting Racism on the Job
The Shorter Work Week
Contracts, Arbitration, and Labor Laws
International Unity
Strikes and How to Win Them
Union Elections

INDUSTRY PANELS ON:

Auto Steel Electrical Transportation
Telephone Schools Welfare Recipients
Government Workers Hospital Workers

Workers Action Movement
P.O. Box 1450 Chicago, Ill.
Tel: (312) 427-0544

For more information contact
Workers Action Movement,
Box 26, Station L,
Toronto, Ontario Tel. (416) 654-7784

WEST COAST WAM CONVENTION

November 2, 1974

Los Angeles Convention Center
1201 South Figueroa Street Los Angeles, Calif.

Workers Action Movement
P.O. Box 1394 Southgate, California 90280

'73 contract. Every time WAM confronted Woodcock at his public appearances and challenged him on 30 for 40—30 hours work for 40 hours pay—the “answer” came back, “impractical” and “pie in the sky.” Now all of a sudden it’s “practical.” Could it be that the UAW finks also see the handwriting on the wall, that if they don’t do something to placate the increasingly angry rank and file, they may get booted out?

But to win such a fundamental demand as 30 for 40, it’ll take more than some lip-service by union “leaders.” It would need a massive unified effort and industry-wide shut-down of the Big Three to do it. And Woodcock & Co. are not about to organize that and jeopardize their cozy positions.

The second item reflecting the shivers going up these creeps’ spines was the anti-communist attack made by Emil (“I’m-a-philosophical-socialist—making \$38,000-a-year) Mazey. According to the **Detroit News** (Aug. 11), in an address to the Ford UAW council, “he made no secret that the . . . Progressive Labor Party, the Workers Action Movement and the National Caucus of Labor Committees is barking up the wrong tree when it tries to ‘interfere’ in the affairs of the second largest industrial union in the United States.”

Obviously smarting over the exposure of his goon-led attack on the Chrysler sit-downers last August, Mazey tried to explain that away by calling the rank-and-file auto strikers “total strangers, college kids and people outside the labor movement . . . a bunch of left-wing lunatics

who haven't got any idea what the class struggle is about..." (Only Emil understands that, in his home in the exclusive bosses' suburb of Grosse Point.)

NOW MAZEY KNOWS DAMN WELL THOSE PICKETS WORKED FOR Chrysler and were members of UAW Local 212, and some of them were members of WAM and PLP. And that's precisely what's got him freaked out. The kind of militant leadership such workers can provide is exactly the kind of leadership that would lead to the ouster of Mazey and his ilk (and the loss of that \$38,000 and Grosse Point mansion).

Furthermore, that's why he tries to lump WAM and PLP together with the "Labor" Committee, a combination of real lunatics under police leadership, who are out to disrupt any honest movement of rank and filers they can sink their claws into, especially ones led by WAM and PLP. (Interestingly enough, while professing "concern" over "Communist" Party entrance onto the scene, he lets the cat out of the bag with his description of their "auto expert" as "a very nice lovable, little old guy.")

ORGANIZE AN OFFENSIVE

These recent events mean the rank and file is on the right track: militant strike action plus communist leadership plus 30 for 40—an unbeatable combination which the rank and file should administer in large doses to the Big Three bosses and their junior partners in Solidarity House.

The way to do this is for auto workers to unite across all lines—local, company, craft and production, men and women, and especially black, Latin and other minority workers with white workers—and organize to both shut production and become the union in fact. With the aerospace contracts expiring in the next two months, with layoffs spreading and a possible depression in the offing while prices soar, it's fight or go under.

THE TWO CONVENTIONS OF THE WORKERS ACTION MOVEMENT—in Chicago, Oct. 12-13 and Los Angeles, Nov. 2-3—offer a big opportunity for auto workers around the U.S. and Canada to get together in auto workshops and panels and **ORGANIZE AN OFFENSIVE AGAINST OUR ENEMIES** for all the demands we need. One of the problems with the rash of local wildcats and walkouts is that they are not organized **together and supportive of each other**. The WAM Conventions offer a chance to expand these actions internationally and with a whole lot more, reversing the layoffs and securing our jobs.

The fight for the shorter work-week—with a big pay boost—is the order of the day NOW, NOT IN '76. WAM and PLP has been fighting for this goal for several years. It's beginning to catch on more and more—another reason for the Mazey attack and the Bannon climb onto the bandwagon (to divert the struggle).

No doubt the bosses and their UAW lieutenants will claim "you can't reopen the contract for 30 for 40 until '76—it's illegal." Well, our answer is, if we accepted the "legality" of the bosses' laws, there would have never been a UAW in the first place, never been sit-down strikes that broke injunctions and trespassing statutes, never been the pitched battles with the cops and National Guard that created the UAW in 1936 and '37 and organized 5,000,000 workers into the CIO.

If we go by the bosses' laws, we'll get what the bosses want. If we obey our best class interests—in effect, the workers' "laws"—we'll follow and expand what the workers at St. Louis, at Lordstown, at Chatham, at Mack Ave. and at New Haven have started. And that's another meaning of communist leadership, which, if practiced, will really have the bosses and their Woodcocks on the run.

A PLP EDITORIAL :

WORKERS NEED 30 FOR 40

TO BEAT RACIST UNEMPLOYMENT

Out of a job? If you're not now, you may be soon. The government's phony figures admit to nearly 6% now, over 5,000,000 unemployed. Predictions are it'll be up to 7% this winter, the highest of the post-WWII "recessions." Already it's 8% in San Francisco, 15% among auto workers, and at a depression level among construction workers—25%!

Government workers are feeling the pinch, with tens of thousands getting the axe all across the country. This hurts the whole working class in reduced services normally provided by these workers. And what's Ford's "better idea"? Cut "federal spending"—which means lay off even more workers. No one in their right mind would think that his new vice-president, Rockefeller, who winds him up, is about to help the unemployed. The richest billionaire in world history got to the head of the ruling class over the dead and mangled bodies of millions of workers.

In fact, all these bosses are constantly planting stories about "raising the level of 'acceptable' unemployment," as if any unemployment is "acceptable" to workers searching for jobs.

No wonder 46% in a recent Gallup poll thought a major depression is on the way (40% said it might not get that bad, 11% "didn't know"). As the saying goes, the difference between a recession and a depression is: "when your neighbor's out of work, it's a recession; when you're out of work, it's a depression."

RACIST UNEMPLOYMENT HURTS EVERYBODY

More and more of those "neighbors" are turning out to be black, Latin, Asian and Native American workers. For tens of millions of minority workers—last hired and first fired—the unemployment rate is double and triple that of white workers. The jobless rate for black and Latin teen-agers is between 40% and 50%.

For minority workers, the depression is now. Unemployment under capitalism is truly racist in character.

But more than that, the bosses' racism affects all workers. The construction workers' 25% jobless rate—an industry overwhelmingly white in which bosses, with union sellouts' connivance, have systematically excluded minority workers—reflects the fact that racism is used by the bosses to weaken the ability of white workers to fight back by "threatening" to "bring in minority workers." Only unity to smash racism will take this bosses' weapon out of their hands and strengthen the ability of ALL workers to fight back. The years of excluding minority workers are now coming home to roost.

CAPITALISM = UNEMPLOYMENT

Unemployment and the threat of it is not "an act of God" or something that inexplicably falls from the skies (some "economists" in the Thirties "reasoned" that the Depression was "caused by sun spots"). **Unemployment grows directly out of capitalism**, out of the drive for profits—which is the basis of capitalism—and the resulting difference between the value workers produce and the value of what we get for it.

The bosses (who claim they're rich because they're "smart") actually cannot plan overall production, but function under an **anarchy** of production. Each tries to grab as large a part of the market as he can, to make as much profit off his workers' labor as he can. After all, if one's profits are not going up, they can only go down—and out.

So, for instance, GM, Ford, Chrysler and AMC will all manufacture as many cars as each thinks it can sell, each trying to gain an advantage at the expense of the others. To do this they often construct whole new factories to vastly increase their production capacity.

The result is a lot more cars are produced than sold, especially since a **good part of the value of what workers produce becomes the profits of the bosses.** Therefore, the working class as a whole can **NEVER** buy back from our wages what we produce.

The bosses try to compensate for their unused factory capacity and big inventory of unsold products via the "easiest" route possible—laying off workers. After all, if the boss employs workers to make profit for him, and the products created cannot be sold to realize that profit, the only "solution" for the boss is to lay off workers until the economy "straightens out" and he can make more profit by rehiring those workers.

The fact is unemployment **ALWAYS** exists under capitalism, even in "good times." During the height of the "boom" in the 1920s, 2,000,000 were out of work out of 40 million in the work-force, or 5%. And since the crash of '29, the only time unemployment approached zero was during World War II when 13,000,000 were drafted into the armed forces and "took up the slack" created by the Depression.

NOW, WHEN JOBLESSNESS IS ON THE rise again, what's the bosses' "solution"? The "Number One enemy is inflation" and to reduce inflation "we" must "cut demand." How do they "cut demand"? By cutting wages—still another wage freeze may be on tap—and by eliminating them altogether—**cutting out jobs.** They "fight inflation" with unemployment. That leads them to the garbage about "acceptable levels of unemployment." "Acceptable" to the bosses. One worker out of a job is **UNACCEPTABLE** to the working class.

The nature of the capitalist system is to produce and protect profits (otherwise it's not capitalism). That's why during wage-price "controls," there was a wage freeze that cost U.S. workers \$10 billion in lost wages from '71 to '74 while prices and profits soared. Now, as U.S. bosses face even more problems, especially a decline in their world-wide position due to the competition of rising bosses in Russia, Japan, China and Western Europe, they have only one way to go to try to save their profit skins—turn the screws on their own workers even tighter.

That's why AT&T made such a lousy offer to phone workers; that's why Ford is speeding up the Pinto line in Cleveland by 50%; that's why GM refuses to give an inch to striking workers at Lordstown or St. Louis, When U.S. bosses are in trouble—or any bosses, for that matter—they try to shift their crises onto the backs of the working class. That's why we're in a recession, with rising unemployment, headed how far nobody really knows.

Even if, and when, the crisis "bottoms out" and were to ease off before a big depression, there will still be unemployment and workers will never completely recover from the bite that the wage freeze and periodic joblessness have taken out of our lives. How much will you have when you're too old to work, or pass on? Not very much; if anything, we'll leave nothing but debts. Throughout a worker's life, these constant economic crises of capitalism take their toll and never allow workers to "get ahead."

Is it any wonder that communists in PLP call for a complete overthrow of the capitalist system, an elimination of profits—and bosses—altogether, which means smashing their state power used to enforce and maintain their profit system? For the working class, the cancer of capitalism cannot be "cured" by a patch here and a band-aid there. It must be cut out altogether by a workers' revolution that erects our own state power and owns and controls the means of production for USE, not for profit. This is Socialism. This is what eliminates problems like unemployment, because it eliminates the root cause, the profit system.

30/40; WAM'S ANSWER TO UNEMPLOYMENT

For the working class to reach the point of being able to take over, it must first go on the offensive against the bosses, answer these latest attacks with a workers' program, such as the one being put forward by the Workers Action Movement. WAM's main answer to unemployment is the shorter work-week—30 for 40—30 hours work for 40 hours pay, or the 6-hour day for 8 hours pay, all with a big pay boost.

As a WAM leaflet notes; "30 for 40 would put great pressure on the bosses, especially in 'round-the-clock' industries like transportation, steel, utilities, auto, etc., to hire many more workers, putting on four 6-hour shifts instead of three 8-hour ones... It would restore many needed public services with the expansion of government employment. It would set back racist discrimination, firstly because it could not be won without unity between white and minority workers, and secondly because it would open up millions of jobs for all."

Already scores of unions have been pushed by their rank-and-file to come out in favor of 30 for 40. The latest is the UAW who, in answering WAM's challenge to fight for 30 for 40, had condemned it. Now, with auto wildcat strikes and unemployment on the rise, with the SUB pay fund (supplemental unemployment benefits) at GM in danger of disappearing (as we and WAM predicted last January) due to



Robert Minor

massive layoffs, the UAW leadership has been forced to come out for 30 for 40 as the #1 demand in '76. The hell with '76—WE NEED IT NOW! And we won't get it even in '76 if we follow the sellout policies of the likes of Woodcock and his cronies among the rest of the labor fakers.

NO DOUBT THE BOSSES AND THEIR flunkies in the unions will say "now is not the time" for the shorter work-week, now when "times are hard" (for us, not for Rockefeller). But history proves that wrong. The fact is the U.S. working class was always spurred to shorten the work-week precisely during the existence of capitalist economic crisis. The mass layoffs of the 1877 depression led to the movement for the 8-hour day in the 1880s. And it was **RIGHT IN THE MIDDLE OF THE GREAT DEPRESSION OF THE 1930s that the 8-hour day was finally estab-**

lished by law, if not first in fact by the tremendous workers' struggles that organized 5,000,000 of the unorganized in auto, steel, electrical, maritime, etc., into the CIO.

In 1934, when unemployment was over 15 million (in a work-force of 50 million), rank-and-file longshoremen on the West Coast won a **SIX**-hour day, which, technically, they have until this day. The only problem is, they have been forced to agree to work three hours "overtime" a day, and turncoat Harry Bridges has never lifted a finger to win six hours work for nine hours pay.

So 30 for 40 for the whole working class must become our answer to unemployment, recessions, wage freezes, budget cuts, and the rest of the ailments meted out by the bosses. Instead of constantly having to defend ourselves against their attacks, 30 for 40 would put us on the **OFFENSIVE**. And it could sharpen up the class struggle to a point where the working

class, led by a communist party in the PLP, will learn both the **necessity** to overthrow the whole damn system to solve our problems once and for all, and also learn **HOW TO DO IT**.

WAM NATIONAL CONVENTION

To start that offensive and put it into high gear, WAM is organizing workers all across the continent, from Canada and the U.S., to meet in two conventions, one in Chicago on Oct. 12-13 and one in Los Angeles on Nov. 2-3. There hundreds of workers from scores of industries, including those forced onto unemployment insurance and welfare, will meet to hammer out a program of action, based on their experiences in fighting the bosses and for rank-and-file control in their unions.

These conventions will be followed by massive demonstrations against unemployment in Washington, D.C. and Sacramento, Calif. sev-

eral weeks later that will put forward 30 for 40 as the answer to layoffs, unemployment and the bosses' attacks.

We should raise these events in our locals and organizations, form caucuses around the demands listed here, fight for caucus and union endorsement of the WAM Convention and demonstrations, and call on the unions to launch a fight-back against unemployment, layoffs, speed-up, racism and wage cuts. (Recently, when the N.J. building trades unions were forced to call for action on the depression-level unemployment among construction workers, 18,000 workers showed up at a demonstration calling for more government money for jobs.)

We can begin with trying to win WAM's program (see box). We can add to that at the WAM convention and in our own locals. And we can adopt WAM's slogan as our own:

"As long as one worker is unemployed, the hours of labor are too long."

WAM Fighting Program for Jobs

FOR JOBS:

- (1) 30 for 40 with a big pay boost;
- (2) No layoffs--make the bosses take the losses;
- (3) Preferential hiring for all victims of racism;
- (4) No union contract signed without an iron-clad no-layoff clause;

FOR THE UNEMPLOYED:

- (1) Unemployment insurance at \$125 per week in all 50 states and 13 provinces, or at the last job's pay rates, whichever is higher;
- (2) Unemployment benefits for the full time of unemployment;
- (3) \$15 additional for each dependent;
- (4) A cost-of-living escalator clause for unemployment insurance;
- (5) ALL workers to be covered by unemployment insurance, without exception;
- (6) All benefits to be paid out of bosses' profits.

"AS LONG AS ONE WORKER IS UNEMPLOYED, THE HOURS OF LABOR ARE TOO LONG...."



Inflation Robs Workers

Inflation, the constantly rising prices of all goods, has been hitting us hard for several years, and it's getting worse. Inflation has occurred in the past but there are three things new about this inflation—1) It is happening in all the Capitalist countries—U.S., Canada, Europe, Japan, Israel, Latin America, simultaneously.

- 2) It is a permanent type inflation that doesn't go away. It has been the basic pattern in most capitalist countries for the past 10-20 years.
- 3) High and rising levels of unemployment are occurring simultaneously with the inflation. In the past inflation was associated with relatively lower unemployment.

The one-time Socialist countries like Russia and China still call themselves Socialist and Communist, but their economic relations have reverted to capitalism in essence. Because they still have many elements of a centrally planned economy, because prices are fixed, strikes outlawed, and information harder to come by, we can't document the extent to which the world-wide inflation extends to them. However, the well known Black Market in the USSR, and the widespread riots and strikes that occurred when the Polish government raised consumer prices in December 1970, are indications that inflation is part of their system. Also we notice that Yugoslavia's consumer prices had an inflation rate of 22% last year, more than twice the U.S. rate and second only to Japan. Yugoslavia was the first country to cop out on Socialism and has always been the first down the road on which the other ex-Socialist countries followed. We workers must understand inflation and how to deal with it because it is in effect determining our wages (our real wages) and our job security.

There are two ways to deal with Inflation. The short term defense against the effects of inflation consists of fights for job security, higher wages, cost-of-living clauses, lower prices, and lower taxes. The long term way of fighting inflation is to get rid of the cause of inflation which is the Capitalist business and political system. This means destroying capitalism and building Socialism where the working class rules the country and plans the economy.

We should learn from the 30's and 40's when workers fought the effects of the Depression by

organizing for industrial unions, better wages, unemployment insurance, relief programs, government jobs, etc. The Communists leading the movement did not organize for the **basic and permanent** cure, Revolution and Socialism, and that's why we're still stuck with having to fight for our livelihoods and lives—this time against Inflation and Unemployment.

What are the Real Effects of Inflation?

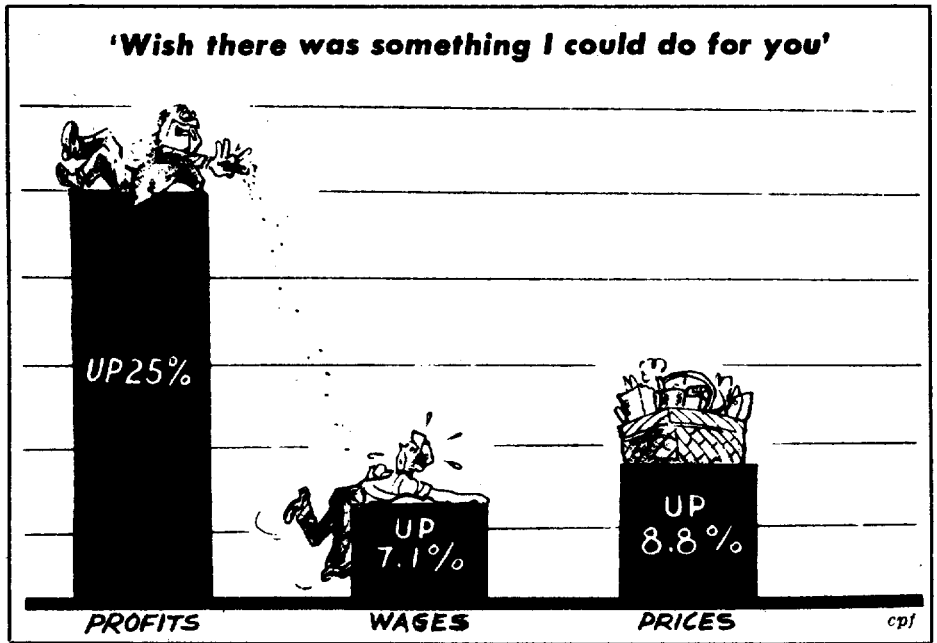
If everybody's income was increasing at exactly the same rate as the rising prices, then there wouldn't be any effect of Inflation. It would be the same as if prices stayed fixed and incomes stayed fixed. The catch to inflation is that most workers' incomes **don't** rise as much as prices and so we **lose REAL** income. As long as incomes and price increases don't match exactly, some people will get less or more than before. So inflation really amounts to a redistribution of the share that different people get of the total different groups' economic and political strength.

The very rich are not hurt by inflation at all. A lot of them even benefit by raising their own salaries and benefits by amounts far greater than the rate of inflation. Among businesses, the smaller ones lose out as the interest rates on their loans, the prices of materials, taxes, and other costs rise. Their businesses fail and they get gobbled up by the big corporations.

If workers are well organized, they can get cost-of-living clauses and other items into their contracts that somewhat offset the rising prices. The unorganized workers, retired people, people on welfare or disability, unemployed people, and people needing government services are hurt the most. They are at the mercy of their bosses or various government agencies who might or might not throw them a little something now and then to quiet them down.

The most powerless people in the society are the poorest people. (If they had more power they wouldn't be so poor.) So it's no surprise that inflation hurts the poor the most, for several reasons: 1) Their budgets are already bare-bones (they spend about 40%-50% of their income on food) so that any cutbacks come out of essentials. 2) The most basic items are the ones whose prices have skyrocketed the most. For instance dry beans have gone up 256% since 1970. 3) Poor people are most in need of the government serv-

Some facts and
figures on inflation



**WHAT IT HAS TAKEN TO STAY
EVEN AT TWO INCOME LEVELS
(FAMILY OF FOUR)**

	1967	1973	% OF INCREASE
TOTAL BUDGET	\$5,915	\$8,181	38%
FOOD	1,644	2,440	48
HOUSING	1,303	1,627	25
TRANSPORTATION	446	563	26
CLOTHING AND PERSONAL CARE	700	901	29
MEDICAL CARE	474	660	39
OTHER	610	774	27
INCOME TAXES	738	1,216	65
SOCIAL SECURITY	265	492	86
FEDERAL AND STATE	473	724	55
TOTAL BUDGET	\$13,050	\$18,201	40%
FOOD	2,586	4,020	55
HOUSING	3,340	4,386	31
TRANSPORTATION	1,127	1,315	17
CLOTHING AND PERSONAL CARE	1,446	1,846	28
MEDICAL CARE	497	692	39
OTHER	1,782	2,215	24
INCOME TAXES	2,272	3,727	64
SOCIAL SECURITY	303	647	113.5
FEDERAL AND STATE	1,969	3,080	57

Source: Conference Board, Based on Government Statistics.

America First

**U.S. Inflation Rate
Now Exceeds Increase
In Many Other Lands**

**Rise Quickens Everywhere
But No Longer Is Milder
At-Home Than Overseas**

Role of Monetary Policy

By ALFRED L. MALABRE JR.
Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

Prices have recently begun to rise faster in the U.S. than in many other countries. The development marks a major turn-about in world price trends. Until recently, Americans concerned over steep U.S. inflation rates could at least derive a bit of comfort from the fact that prices were going up even more sharply almost everywhere else. Indeed, as recently as a year ago there wasn't a major country where inflation rates didn't exceed the U.S. pace.

Today, in bleak contrast, there are seven countries in Western Europe alone—plus another 11 in other parts of the globe—where prices are rising at a more moderate rate than in America.

ices like school lunches, public hospitals and relief programs that the government is cutting out "to fight inflation."

Naturally in a racist society like the U.S., or any other capitalist country, the minority are vastly overrepresented in the poor population so that the current inflation is one more crushing burden on the victims of racism. And naturally the ruling class uses racism to try to shift the blame for inflation onto the victims—"Inflation is caused by Welfare, etc."—and uses the politics of racism to stifle opposition to cutbacks in jobs and government services. The attack, via inflation, on minorities is the cutting edge of the wedge whereby the capitalists use inflation to plunder the entire working class.

So Inflation is basically a political thing. If the effects of Inflation took place **directly** there would be a hell of an uproar. If small businesses were forced into bankruptcy by discriminating practices and if millions of employees and people on fixed incomes had their paychecks reduced directly, people would be up in arms. But inflation is a sneaky way of slipping this in. It has an aura of "No one knows exactly what's causing Inflation," and "Everyone is to blame for Inflation" and other propaganda that the bosses get their economists, professors and news commentators to broadcast. So basically Inflation is a sneaky way for the big bosses to reduce the incomes of the masses without arousing the same mass anger and resistance that would occur if the cut was done straight out.

(An example of this is in the late 60's when the government was going all out in its war of aggression against the Vietnamese. If they had reduced peoples' incomes directly by taxing to finance the war, the opposition would have grown much sooner. To avoid the political price of taking our money **directly** to pay for the war, they snuck it away from us by deficit spending that led to the inflation which took our income away indirectly. The Vietnam war was the direct cause of the beginning of this current big Inflation era in the U.S.).

Even though inflation just hurts the masses of people, not the big capitalists, this doesn't mean that the capitalist rulers like it. They don't like it because the people rebel against it and fight them for more money now, and possibly for control of the whole system later. Since the end of the wage controls there is now a huge strike wave going on in the U.S. (and in most of the other capitalist countries too).

Even more ominous for the bosses is the threat to political stability when the majority of people come to feel that this system does not allow them to survive economically in the manner they feel is just. This lack of confidence in the system is starting to spread in the U.S. now as millions of people see that we can not afford to buy a house, vacations, medical care and other items that we have come to expect. Many capitalist countries within the last year have had their governments change hands as a result of the political discontent mainly caused by the governments inability to deal with inflation. The governments of Heath in England, Trudeau in Canada, Brandt in West Germany, Meir in Israel, Salazar in Portugal, Allende in Chile, have been kicked out to name a few. Even the drive to dump Nixon is to some extent based on his not being able to handle the inflationary economy. These changes of government of course are just replacing Tweedledum with Tweedledee—one set of Capitalist lackeys for another, but it is a sign of political instability with possibilities of more radical changes in the future.

So we see that Inflation which is a vicious attack on the material income of the masses, leads to sharper economic and political class struggle which is not welcomed by the ruling class. But even though the rulers don't like the condition of permanent inflation, they can't stop it. We will look at the reasons why.

The Real Causes of Inflation

The standard "explanation" for inflation is that demand exceeds supply, therefore the suppliers raise their prices. This of course doesn't explain anything since it doesn't say why demand exceeds supply. In other words, why is this a time of scarcity and shortage relative to what the people need and expect?

First of all, this is a historical phenomenon. It hasn't always been this way. When capitalism began, its strength, and the reason it prevailed over past forms of economy, was its great power to mobilize production and its vastly superior efficiency compared to the styles of production it was replacing. As a matter of fact, the classic

FEDERAL 1974 BUDGET			
CIVILIAN ECONOMY CUTS		MILITARY ECONOMY INCREASES	
	(\$ million)	(\$ million)	
CUT in grants for basic water and sewer facilities under HUD Community Development Program	7.3	6.9	INCREASE for MK 48 Torpedo
CUT in construction loans and grants for higher education	18.0	15.3	INCREASE for E-3A Airborne Warning & Control System
CUT in education for the handicapped under HEW Office of Education	23.9	22.9	INCREASE for SAM-D Missile
CUT in library resources under HEW Office of Education	33.9	29.0	INCREASE for B-1 Bomber
CUT in federally supported hospital and health facility construction	36.0	39.5	INCREASE for manned space flight research and development under NASA
CUT in operations, research, and facilities of the Environmental Protection Agency	75.4	73.9	INCREASE for NASA
CUT in Indian programs under Minority Assistance Programs (to broaden opportunities for economic participation and self-determination)	82.2	94.3	INCREASE for A-X Tactical Attack Aircraft
CUT in federally aided health training and education	86.0	92.0	INCREASE in Air Force research, development, test, and evaluation
CUT in child nutrition for elementary and secondary education	200.0	194.2	REQUEST for SAM-D Missile
CUT in manpower revenue sharing under DoL Manpower Administration	252.0	239.9	INCREASE for F-15 Tactical Fighter Aircraft (77 planes)
CUT in emergency employment assistance under DoL Manpower Administration	519.7	546.3	REQUEST for S-3A Viking Anti-Submarine Warfare Aircraft
CUT in elementary and secondary education	1,500.0	1,200.0	REQUEST for one Trident Submarine

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Special Analyses, Budget of the United States Government, Fiscal Year 1974, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C.
Program Acquisition Costs by Weapon System, Department of Defense Budget for Fiscal Year 1974, Department of Defense, Washington, D.C.

22% of Blacks Seen Jobless

WASHINGTON (AP) — Unemployment among blacks may reach 22% to 25% as a result of the energy crisis, the president of the National Newspaper Publishers Assn. said Tuesday.

"The black press, in hopes of mitigating this disaster, has called upon President Nixon to appoint a black deputy director to energy czar William E. Simon," Carlton B. Goodlett said.

He noted that the national unemployment rate was expected to reach 8.5% before the end of the year because of the energy crisis.

"Since black America suffers an unemployment rate 3½ to 4 times the national rate, this means that black America will be enduring a staggering economic catastrophe . . ." Goodlett said in an address at the National Press Club.

For the Poor: More Hunger

For middle-class families, food-price inflation means discomfort; for the American poor, it can mean outright hunger. Spending up to 60% of their income on food, the poor consume the most basic of diets and cannot "spend down" by substituting cheaper items when the cost of their regular diet goes up. Worse, the foodstuffs that they eat much of, such as rice, flour and dried beans, have risen even faster in price than meat and butter, which the middle class eats more of. The price of dried beans, for example, has leaped an astounding 256% since December 1970, while rice has jumped 124%. As a result, the nation's needy are hungrier now than they were four years ago, despite the billions of dollars poured into federal food programs.

That was the most sobering conclusion after three days of hearings held last week by the Senate Select Committee on Nutrition and Human Needs. The committee five months ago asked Harvard's Jean Mayer to assemble a group of leading nutritionists and other experts to study thoroughly domestic and global food problems. Mayer's group of roughly 100 reported last week at unusual hearings split into two panels: one group of Senators, headed by Committee Chairman George McGovern, heard the international report; another group, led by Democrat Walter Mondale of Minnesota, listened to the domestic report.

In the U.S., one panel asserted, the

Government's food-stamp program to feed the needy has failed so badly that "no amount of revision can ever enable it to solve the problem." Inadequate assistance payments and poor administration are major troubles. Many poor people do not know that they can get the stamps; in fact, only 35.7% of the 37 million Americans eligible for the stamps now receive them. Many of the poor who do not get them have been reduced to buying pet food as a source of protein. The Mayer group recommended that the U.S. establish a minimum-income floor for all families—an idea that McGovern failed to sell in the 1972 presidential campaign.

The foreign report was even worse. Population growth, compounded by serious droughts in Africa and Asia, has literally eaten up all the increased food output achieved by poor nations over the past decade, leaving their citizens as ill fed as ever, the experts found. To bridge the gap, McGovern recommended that the U.S. set up a \$20 billion "Plowshares for Peace" program that would build stockpiles of food for needy nations to draw on. That is another idea that seems unlikely to be adopted: Agriculture Secretary Earl Butz, who will present the Nixon Administration's proposals for solving world food problems to an international conference in Rome in November, has already turned thumbs down.

TIME, JULY 1, 1974

Black workers are among the hardest hit by inflation

crises of capitalism up to the Great Depression were the results of producing "too well." They were called crises of Overproduction meaning that the capitalists produced more than they could sell. This is a basic feature of capitalism. If a capitalist firm is successful it produces more value than it pays its workers in wages. The difference (the profits) are used partly in the decadent, luxury-loving, extravagant consumption lifestyle of the capitalist class, but if they want to stay in business they must also re-invest a significant share of the profits in order to stay ahead of the competition and abreast of the technology. With this new capital expenditure, production the following year will be even greater. So there is even more stuff that must be sold. The wages of workers becomes an ever decreasing share of the total output and so it becomes ever harder to sell each succeeding year's products. The company may be very productive, but if it doesn't sell all the products each year, it will fold. Every company is producing like crazy on the assumption that they will be able to sell it all,

but sooner or later the expectation flounders on the working class' inability to buy up all the stuff and so the crash comes. Businesses fail, workers are laid off so that they can buy even less, and so more businesses fail, and even more workers get laid off, etc. etc., into a Depression. The Depressions "cured" the crises of "overproduction" by **destroying** means of production. Factories closed and rotted. Small firms went bankrupt and closed down, and most "effective" of all, WARS physically destroyed means of production so that Capitalism could again start from a low level of production and build up full steam. This was called Recovery.

Most of the history of the past two centuries can be related to the various ways capitalist societies have tried to cope with this inexorable boom-bust contradiction; new products, new technology, advertising, search for new markets worldwide, "Keynesianism" (deficit government spending on a vast scale), new gimmicks to increase purchasing power like consumer credit, but mainly Wars.

False Theories About Inflation

This current crisis is called a crisis of Scarcity. The ruling class analysts' line on the causes of the current inflation all boil down to "Blame the People," the working people are demanding too much. One angle is that there are too many people, overpopulation, and that's why there's not enough to go around. Another variation is that the people who are around consume too much, "we are too materialistic." Another version is that the government has committed itself to "full employment" to be popular with the voters. The government therefore won't let the economy follow its natural course, recession, to cure the inflation. The government steps in and stimulates the economy to avoid recession, and so inflation continues or even worsens. Yet another theory is the "welfare State" where the government messes up the economy by providing ever more services and thereby runs up greater deficits which have an inflationary effect. There have been numerous articles and pronouncements from economists, 'advisers' and even government officials warning that we need a prolonged period of stern belt-tightening (higher unemployment, less real wages, higher productivity, less government services) to cure inflation. To get us into the proper belt-tightening mood they predict there will be mass starvation overseas, implying the same is in store for us if we don't give in to their plans).

These bourgeois analyses are a disgusting distortion of the truth because:

1) Government services are not getting better and better, they are getting worse as anyone who mails letters, tries to get his car registered, goes to a county hospital, or welfare office or has kids in a public school knows.

2) Most families now have the wives and husbands both working so that employers are getting 16 hours a day work in exchange for the wages to support a family. This combined with the fact that most every industry is now getting more output with less workers show that "declining" worker productivity is not the problem.

3) The same capitalist bastards who demagogically curse the "people on Welfare" for using up public funds, are now in increasing numbers openly sniveling to the government to bail out their mismanaged businesses, to the tune of Billions!

4) The people are not at fault for over-consumption, it's the rulers who are to blame. For instance in the six years my wife and I were in Los Angeles, we have always had two cars. We ran five into the ground and are now working on numbers 6 and 7. We don't have two cars because of our "bad consumer habits" but because the bosses willfully suppressed public transportation (GM bought up the electric railway system and killed it) and forced the people into the individual car type of transportation. Furthermore a car could last 10 or 15 years or more if it weren't for various features of capitalism. They build cars worse and worse, the gas stations and dealers don't service the cars properly, and we work so hard and long that we don't have time to care for

Hitting the Bricks Strikes Are Spreading, Thanks to Inflation And End of Controls

Unions Trying to Catch Up;
More Employers Resist
As Productivity Declines

Will a Bump Stop Traffic?

By JAMES C. HYATT

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL
WASHINGTON — Surging inflation and the demise of wage controls are reviving labor's ultimate weapon: the strike.

From bakers in Massachusetts to nurses in San Francisco, from teachers in Wisconsin to household movers in Pittsburgh, strikes big and small are spreading through a wide variety of industries.

Work stoppages in the nation's offices and factories dipped dramatically in 1972 and 1973, when labor unions found generous pay pacts difficult to squeeze past federal pay controllers. Indeed, the 27 million work days lost to strikes in each of those years was the lowest total since 1966.

Since May 1, however, the bargaining handcuffs have been unlocked. And with the consumer price index in April up more than 10% from a year ago, unions are reaching for all they can get. They want not merely to catch up, but to get ahead of inflation if possible. Cost-conscious employers are balking, of course. The end of controls has created an unsettled new bargaining atmosphere in which none of the old formulas seem to apply.

JAPAN

Biggest Raise Ever

Like the famed "bullet train" that rockets from Tokyo to Kyoto at 125 m.p.h., Japanese wage rates are rushing ahead at a speed unmatched anywhere else. In last month's *shunto*, or "spring offensive," Japanese unions won pay raises for 35 million workers averaging 31.4%—the biggest across-the-board increase on record for any industrialized society. The boosts will place many once lowly paid Japanese workers on a par with their European counterparts. The

Bosses' inflation fuels strike fever...the ultimate weapon-revolution-will end bosses' economic crises forever

U.S. MAY RUN SHORT OF FACTORIES, CAPITAL

Lower Living Standard Ahead, Experts Fear

BY PAUL E. STEIGER

Times Staff Writer

WASHINGTON — The United States may be running into a shortage of the factories, machinery, refineries and other facilities needed to satisfy the needs of a growing population and work force, some economists fear.

They maintain that the nation is consuming too much of its output and must divert more resources toward replacing worn-out capital.

Otherwise, they contend, future generations will face a declining standard of living.

Already, some in the Administration and Congress have begun to ponder tax incentives, federal budget surpluses and other ways to attack the problem.

But it is a problem that is not likely to be easily solved, said Henry

Kaufman, an economist and expert on capital markets at Salomon Bros., a Wall Street banking house.

"You can't just mandate a high rate of investment by edict," Kaufman said. "You're going to have to slow down consumption"—a move that is never popular. "And you have to be able to motivate people to save."

Part of the flood of recent

articles designed to bully

workers into belt-tightening

For years, the United States has been plowing back less of its annual output into investment than other industrial nations.

One big reason has been the growth of government "transfer" programs like Social Security, Medicare and welfare. These programs transfer money from the public, which saves 5% to 8% of its earnings, to people who, because they are relatively poor, tend to spend nearly every penny they can get. Result: less money is saved, and hence less is available for investment.

Meanwhile, in recent years part of the capital spending the United States has done has not gone into new factories and equipment that increase the nation's total capacity to produce.

the cars as we should. Air conditioning in many places is no longer a luxury but a necessity because of the way the bosses poison the air. Similarly most examples of our "overconsumption" are the fault of the capitalists' drive for profits. If our natural greediness was a reality, the bosses wouldn't need the vast psychological campaigns they wage against us with advertising, movies and TV to pressure us into buying their lousy products.

Although the bourgeois analyses are all viciously distorted in this way, that is not even the heart of the matter. The fact is that Capitalism indeed does not and cannot provide for the needs and aspirations of the masses of people! They admit this and we agree. But they take the permanent existence of capitalism as unchallengeable so their approach is, "Capitalism can't meet the peoples' requirements, so the people must lower their requirements." That's what all their analyses and proposals boil down to.

We say that Capitalism can't meet the peoples' requirements, so Capitalism must go! With Capitalism out of the way people could realize all their present objectives and then some. The capitalist economic and political system is the number one roadblock in the way of progress. All the scarcities that underly the present inflation could be eliminated if we weren't saddled with the capitalist system of waste and exploitation.

Capitalism began by liberating productive capacity from earlier forms that couldn't accommodate the new industrial technology that came out of the Scientific Revolution in the 16 and 1700s. But things have reached the stage now where

capitalism is dragging down the productive capacity that could be achieved with newer forms. Capitalism was always brutal and inhuman, but at least in the past it was productive. Now it has turned into its opposite and is the main obstacle to productivity.

How Capitalism Holds Down Production

How specifically does Capitalism diminish production to such an extent that now in the time of the greatest advance of technology, the masses of people in the world are still starving and desperate, and the forecast for the future is even worse to come. We will divide the answer into two parts, the international and the domestic aspects of capitalism.

Imperialism: (Oil and Agriculture)

The political form that developed on the capitalist economic structure was the Nation-State. Nationalism and capitalism are inseparable. Now modern industry as well as modern consumer tastes are dependent on commodities that nature has capriciously assigned to limited geographic locations. Western Europe can't grow coffee, Japan has no oil, the U.S. has no aluminum ore, etc. This by itself guarantees that some basic items are naturally scarce in some countries. Therefore the controllers of these scarce resources can raise prices and feed inflation. The historic way the capitalist industrial countries coped with this situation was Imperialism. i.e. conquer and plunder the colonial raw material

Economics of Scarcity May Be Replacing Era of Plenty in U.S.

Conditions No Longer Exist for Traditional Remedies of Tax Cuts, Budget Deficits to Fuel Prosperity, Experts Say

BY PAUL E. STEIGER

Times Staff Writer

WASHINGTON — Businessmen and farmers scramble for short supplies of steel, chemicals and fertilizer. Unemployment rises. The nation's output of goods and services takes its sharpest tumble in 16 years. Inflation continues its seemingly unstoppable march.

To more and more Americans, that once invincible behemoth—the U.S. economy—is beginning to look increasingly like a pitiful, helpless giant, no longer able to keep its subjects fortified with their accustomed unending supplies of toilet paper, tomato paste and tennis balls.

What is going wrong?

Part of the answer is that the national economy is going through one of its periodic downward cycles, exacerbated this time by the complication of the recent five-month Arab oil embargo.

But beyond that, some economists suggest, the nation's economic life of plenty may have to be superseded—at least for a while—by the economics of scarcity.

Inflation, Jobless Rates to Grow, UCLA Forecasts

1974's Pay Raises Won't Offset Decline in Value of Dollar, Economists Say

BY ROBERT A. ROSENBLATT

Times Staff Writer

UCLA economists delivered a double dose of bad news Thursday, predicting continued high inflation and increasing unemployment for the second half of 1974 and all of 1975.

This year's wage and salary increases won't be enough to enable American consumers to keep their standard of living equal to last year, according to the quarterly forecast issued by the university's Graduate School of Management.

Looking for Work

As Economy Tightens, Far More Applicants Seek Unskilled Jobs

40 Meter-Reader Openings Draw 2,800; to Laid-Off, Day Labor Is 'Salvation'

College Grads Join Lines

By THOMAS EHRLICH

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

With seven children and no job for the past nine months, Glenn Schena couldn't afford to be too choosy.

So he joined nine others seeking a job as monitor at a municipal waste-recycling plant in Haverhill, Mass. A 13-year veteran of the armed forces and an electrician by training, Mr. Schena won the post and now works six days a week collecting trash and directing traffic at the recycling plant.

He makes only \$140 a week, hardly enough, he says, to support his large family. But he's in no hurry to hunt further for a job. "I'm kind of scared to make a move," he says. "There's nothing else available."

So it goes around the country as workers scramble for jobs like Glenn Schena's. Pressed on by inflation, industrial layoffs and a shortage of skilled job openings, workers are flocking to the unskilled labor market. Employers who used to gratefully hire any able body that walked in the door now find as many as 100 people bidding for each opening as warehouse loader or hotel janitor.

Typical "gloom and doom" articles. Just a couple of years ago bourgeois analysts, including fake leftists like Herbert Marcuse, were describing the U.S. as a "post-industrial" society whose only problem was its surpluses

producing region, giving out some token payoffs to local chiefs who keep the "natives" in line. As the imperialist nations like Britain, with few domestic resources, got beaten around in World War II, they couldn't hold their colonies any more. The post World War II comedown from big imperialist status was a big factor in Britain having the greatest inflation problems among the industrialized countries. U.S. control of its empire started slipping with Vietnam, and now the Arab oil countries feel confident enough to challenge the U.S. over the disposition of the Mid-East oil.

The oil shortage has been building up for a long time as oil consumption was and still is increasing enormously. U.S. consumption of oil tripled since 1950, and Europe and Japan increased their oil use even more. Up until 1948 the U.S. pro-

duced 2/3 of the world's oil. Since 1950 domestic production could no longer meet U.S. consumption and the U.S. started importing. By 1973, before the embargo, the U.S. imported 36% of its crude oil and refined products and this will rise to 50% by 1980. Most of it will come from the Mid-East which now has about 70% of the world's reserves, almost 50% of the total world production and does 70% of the world's oil exporting. The oil producing states organized themselves into a cartel in 1960. Since last fall they quadrupled the prices. In the past these countries were under colonial domination and the colonial powers took the oil for whatever they chose. Those days are over because none of the present colonial powers are strong enough to dominate the scene, especially after the beating the U.S. took in Viet-

nam and since Israel has lost its punch as police-dog for the U.S. oil interests. So it seems pretty impossible that the industrial countries will be able to take the Mid-East oil by force (though they might just get desperate enough to try). More likely is that they will have to keep buying it at high prices. The oil producing countries are now pulling in fantastic revenues and will get more. The hundreds of billions of \$ they are getting leads to their buying into U.S., European and Japanese businesses. The overall effect will be for the Mid-East to continue supplying the oil to the industrial countries but in return they will get an ever increasing amount of products—Cadillacs and other luxury goods for the Sheiks, arms to keep down their people, new factories for expanding industry in the area. The prices here will stay high with working people taking the beating on having to cut back their heating and transportation and other consumer uses of energy, and suffering as the government cuts back the energy it uses for public services. The Capitalists will suffer a cut into their profits as more goes to the Arabian big shots who control the oil. Energy will continue to be an inflationary item.

Other important minerals and resources could go the same way as oil. The increasing consumption of many key resources is pushing colonized countries who will start jacking up the prices and cutting off the supplies. The most recent example is Jamaica, the main U.S. source of aluminum ore. Jamaica has just quadrupled the taxes on this basic material. So there are more "crises," shortages, and higher prices coming in these areas. The chickens of Imperialism are coming home to roost!

The situation with respect to food is that the traditional U.S. surplus stocks and excess capacity has evaporated totally in the last two years. U.S. agriculture is now producing full steam to provide food as a major U.S. export commodity,—to pay for oil and other overseas spending. This means that food prices here will stay higher and that famines will occur more and more as the world's grain reserves keep dropping. (Four years ago there was a 69-day stock of reserves. Now they are down to a 29 day supply.) Scientists say a famine could even occur in the U.S. now if there were a major failure of wheat or corn crops two years in a row.

The Nation was required as the political unit of capitalism because of the need to control vast resources and a large working population for production, and for imperialist power over distant markets and resources. Production methods and technology are now such that even the national unit is no longer sufficient. The capitalists are trying to cope with this by various supra-national structures like the multi-national corporation and various multi-national economic 'blocs,' while still retaining capitalism. These new forms haven't done anything to avert the inflation crisis which has sprung up alongside and in spite of them.

Socialism, the alternative to capitalism, from the start rejects Nationalism and strives for the overthrow of all capitalists in every country so that the international working class can dispose

of the world's resources and our labor to the advantage of all.

Domestic Capitalism:

The other way Capitalism chokes productivity and feeds inflation applies **within** any given capitalist country. Under Capitalism there exist a tremendous number of people who are economically non-productive yet consume a lot. There are basically three categories of these economically useless parasites—those engaged in maintaining the coercive political domination of the capitalists; those engaged in the paper shuffling and market activities peculiar to capitalism, and finally of course, the capitalist class themselves.

The State Bureaucracy (The Government):

Because of the exploitation that capitalism is based on the private ownership of industries for profits, the wage system, a legalized system of robbery—a vast state and cultural apparatus exists to hold down by force and by ideological means the natural rebellion that arises perpetually among those on the receiving end of these daily injustices. In 1971 the Federal, State and Local governments spent \$10.5 billion on police and courts and "corrections," (compared to 3.3 billion in 1960). There are over 1/2 million cops alone. This doesn't even mention the more secret type police like the FBI, CIA and private security police and detectives.

There are thousands of Congressmen, State Legislators, Governors, Mayors, City Councilmen, etc. drawing fat salaries, staffs, expense accounts and fabulous benefits and retirement plans voted by themselves for themselves. These politicians are costing us billions.

There are over 300,000 lawyers, another economically useless occupation that arises out of the private profit system of capitalism (there are NO lawyers in China).

Then of course to keep down the downtrodden overseas the U.S. capitalists need the Armed Forces with their \$80 billion budget and 2-1/2 million military personnel and 3-1/2 million civilian employees, (plus the puppet troops we maintain in dictatorships around the world).

The Financial and Managerial Bureaucracy:

There is another vast army of economically useless people engaged in the paper-shuffling, brainwashing and market activities that capitalism requires. There are 100,000 people engaged in Advertising and \$23 billion was spent on advertising in 1972. In a related field, there are over 1/2 million clergymen. Under Socialism a certain number of people will still be employed in handling some of the functions now carried on by banks, insurance companies, etc. but nowhere near the vast numbers presently involved in the selling and record keeping required by private ownership.

Then there is the class of "top executives," several thousand big shots (big shits) who draw enormous salaries and benefits of several hundred thousand dollars a year. And there's the much bigger number of little shots—managers, supervisors, and administrators who don't produce but

Coming Soon: Widespread Death

BY TRB

WASHINGTON—What with the wonders of electronic communication and the enterprise of our news media, we should have a very good closeup next year of the world's greatest famine. Computers will be able to reckon up the score of those who perish from month to month, and with even a mediocre television set it will be possible to bring into the living room the full dream of the big spectacular, and count the ribs of the dying children in the arms of their mothers in living color.

If the United States is going to do anything to avert the expected famine, the time, of course, is now, but there seems very little interest.

The situation is fairly clear. The world's reserves of grain are the lowest in history (the normal supply is two or three months but it is now down to about 27 days—hardly enough to fill the pipeline). The other big factor is oil. The price of oil has tripled, and the world fertilizer price has soared (oil is used to extract nitrate fertilizer from the air).

Oil is needed to run all those chugging little pumps that keep the life-giving irrigation ditches flowing in places like India. (As a human-interest item, Director-General A. H. Boerma of the Food and Agriculture Organization came back from India recently and told how peasants are now waiting two or three days at fuel stations with their battered containers for five gallons of fuel to keep their pumps working. Americans can sympathize with them, for many of us have waited an hour, or even longer, to fill up our Fords and Chevies. Of course, with the peasant it's

a matter of life and death.)

India is the easiest country to talk about because it has 600 million people and is the biggest of the 40 nations whose populations total one billion which are the poorest of the poor, and comprise what the Overseas Development Council calls the "Fourth World" in its new paperback, "Agenda for Action 1974" (Praeger, \$3.95). In the best of times, India needs a food-grain harvest of 108-110 million metric tons to prevent famine, but the latest U.S. Department of Agriculture report (April) estimates the crop at 102 million tons.

Food riots and political turbulence have begun in parts of India, and some people aren't sure democracy will survive. It's worse elsewhere. You have probably been reading of starvation in parts of Africa and Asia, and the same conditions are apt to hit sections of Central America.

The richer nations have been helping these non-oil-producing developing countries for some time, but unfortunately the increased cost of fuel and fertilizer will now more than wipe out what they have been receiving in grants. Oil alone will cost about \$10 billion more. As for fertilizer, a virtual embargo on exports is now in effect from the United States and Japan.

World authorities are getting almost hysterical. Here is Robert S. McNamara, head of the World Bank, interviewed on Meet the Press recently, saying that if aid isn't increased "there are going to be millions of people dying in the world." He says, "800 million of them live on, in our terms, 30 cents a day, and are barely on the margin of life."

The tone of these bourgeois famine articles is to depress and intimidate people. Not a word of condemnation of capitalism for starving millions, not a word about the solution—overthrow the exploiters and have the workers and peasants rule and liberate the resources

whose job consists mainly of harassing the workers, and they draw \$20,000/a year for this. Under Socialism people will take on greater responsibility and leadership for the satisfaction it gives us to be working collectively for the good of the working class and society. Being able to contribute our utmost for the benefit of the people will be its own reward—not necessarily higher salaries.

Credit (Debt, Interest)

As we mentioned earlier, expanded credit has been one of Capitalism's new measures to ward off its perpetual hazard, Depression. This credit, or debt, has grown so enormous that this "cure" is now a big part of the current disease, Inflation. Credit is now so overextended that the possibility

FAMINE THREAT

Those who speak from religious motivation are not the only ones concerned about the specter of world famine stalking even to the United States.

In February, Dr. J. George Harrar predicted a worldwide food crisis that would include the United States unless all nations use technology to produce their share of food.

Harrar, a biologist and former president of the Rockefeller Foundation, was involved in the development of the "miracle" Mexican wheats that revolutionized grain production—the so-called green revolution.

Harrar predicts possible famine in this country if a major failure of wheat or corn crops should occur in North America for two years in a row.

Pointing out that only the United States, Canada and Australia are net exporters of food, Harrar concluded that this situation is "dangerous" since this year the world reserves of grain will drop to 29 days' supply.

Four years ago the world reserve was 69 days.

of a crash at some future time is practically a certainty. It's more a question of when than whether. However, right here we only want to describe the economically parasitic and inflationary nature of the situation.

The total government and private debt is now 2-1/2 TRILLION (\$2,500 BILLION)! This is about double what it was just 8 years ago, and five times what it was in 1950. The current total debt is twice the entire Gross National Product. Now the interest payments on this debt are about \$150 billion a year (figuring an average 6% interest rate for all this debt). This is about equal to the entire yearly payroll for all the employees of all the manufacturing establishments in the country! Talk about unproductive expenses. For every dollar paid to employees for producing, the bankers get a dollar interest, for nothing. The Federal,

CAPITALIST WASTE

1. Economic Parasites

- a) **Suppressive Personnel:**
Military
Police, Courts, Lawyers
Government bureaucracy
- b) **Paper Shufflers & Bosses:**
Finance, Banking, Insurance
Advertising
Supervisors, Managers

2. The Credit System

Billions in Interest to the parasitic bankers.

3. Capitalist Economics

- a) Resources and production decisions based on profit.
- b) Workers - Robots
- c) Epidemic of worker death and disability due to on-the-job hazards

4. Capitalist Culture

Crime and self-destruction rampant.

5. Imperialism

National Selfishness and Imperialist Relations dominate the disposition of the world's resources.

SOCIALISM & COMMUNISM

1. These millions of people freed for productive activities.

No Standing Army. People's Army, Police & Courts.

Collectives of workers managing factories, offices, hospitals, etc.

Government officials to get paid no more than the average worker's pay.

2.

Abolish Interest.

3. Socialist Economics

Resources and production based on Social needs.

Workers improve technique and product.

Safe and healthy workplaces and work practices take precedent over profit-making.

4. Socialist Culture

Improved mental health for the masses. (A few die-hard pro-capitalists will be very unhappy.)

5. Internationalism

The use of resources to benefit all workers.

State and Local governments are paying out close to \$50 billion a year to pay the interest on their debts. This money comes out of us through taxes and other fees. The corporations pay billions in interest on their loans and pass the cost on to us in higher prices. And finally we pay billions in interest directly to the banks, mortgage companies, finance companies, credit cards, charge accounts and other creditors that we are all in hock to, and which adds to the already high prices we pay.

Who is on the receiving end of these billions of unearned dollars? The vast majority of interest goes to the big capitalists who own the banks and financial institutions. These parasites are skimming \$150 billion off the top of the economy and inflation is the means by which they collect this ever-growing tribute.

The Wastefulness of Capitalist Economic Decisions:

An important cause of the inflation and shortages we are experiencing stems from private ownership and profit being the basis of the economic decisions on what gets built. For instance the amount of steel, rubber, gas and other resources wasted on cars is enormous. The fact that one out of every six or seven jobs is directly related to automobiles shows how grossly our economy is distorted. Cars could easily be built to use less resources and last much longer. The big U.S. companies are finally now being forced to produce smaller cars. Public transportation could be infinitely more advanced and developed if it hadn't been suppressed by the auto industries' profit drive. Clothing could be produced to last

What Price to Keep Pan Am Flying?

*The champions of free enterprise
groveling for public handouts
when they screw up their
businesses*

BY ROBERT J. SAMUELSON

Pan American World Airways' appeal for a federal subsidy of nearly \$200 million this year is more than just the latest episode in the retreat of the airline and aerospace industry from the dizzying dreams of the 1960s. It also is a sort of test case for government aid to business.

If Washington keeps Pan Am flying, why shouldn't it also come to the rescue of any other business that has misjudged its market, gone overboard on expensive equipment and then had its unwise decisions magnified by the rocketing cost of fuel and other materials?

more than just a few weeks or months. The U.S. government used to dump food into the ocean to keep up prices. The total concern for immediate profits has led the U.S. capitalists to let U.S. basic production facilities become old and dilapidated. Vast amounts of this country's resources like oil, forests, farmable land, etc. have been squandered by exploitation for profit. Capitalism has proven that it is not concerned about conserving resources. Immediate profits always take precedence.

The Wastefulness of Capitalist Use of Workers:

Capitalism wastes the greatest potential resource—the minds of the workers. There are unlimited improvements in production technique and in the final product that could be achieved if workers were motivated to contribute their understanding to the production process. The wage and profit system have the exact opposite effect. There is a dis-incentive to improve production since workers get no benefit from improving technique, but the opposite—harder work and less job security. For instance if a worker sees a way to do his 8 hour job in 6 hours, he certainly wouldn't tell management. They wouldn't even 'split the difference' by adopting the new method and letting the worker go home after 7 hours (with his full pay). Instead they would make him do it the improved way all 8 hours for the same pay as before, and lay off 1/3 of his fellow workers.

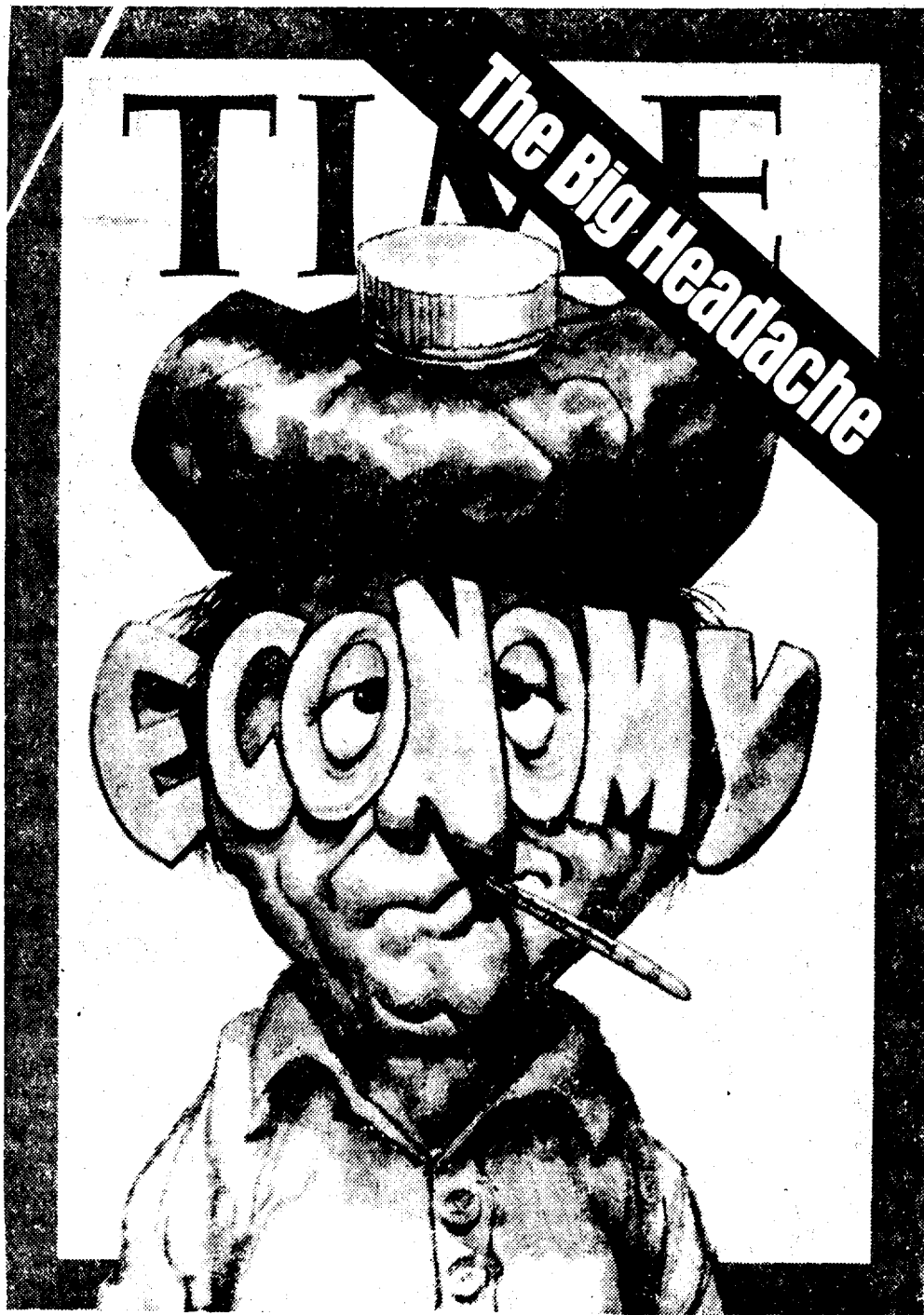
The Russian, Chinese, Cuban and every Revolutionary history has thousands of fascinating ac-

counts of how workers made undreamt of gains in productivity and technical breakthroughs when they were no longer stultified by the capitalist boss-robot relationship.

The wastefulness of Capitalism's Maiming of Workers.

There are countless lives lost, or destroyed, or otherwise removed from productivity because of capitalist greed. The most obvious example is the great number of workers killed, maimed or otherwise disabled by accidents, illnesses or mental disorders incurred on the job. The majority of these could be prevented if the companies weren't too greedy to install proper safety equipment, safe procedures, and health and hygiene protection. One-half million people yearly enter the rolls of the totally disabled. People transformed from economically productive workers to dole recipients for life. More indirect are the countless people who become socially useless by succumbing to the mental and emotional pressures bred by the competitive, dog-eat-dog racist and sexist values practiced and pushed by capitalist culture. The drug addicts, alcoholics, suicides, and people engaged in subtler forms of self-destruction are victims of capitalism's inhumanity, and contribute to the growing inefficiency of the capitalist economic system.

It is along these lines, not by endless statistics and economic theories that we will find the explanation for the present capitalist crisis of scarcity, that takes the form of permanent, universal, escalating inflation. Not material or technical limitations, but these gross features of capitalist waste and destructiveness are the foundations for modern day scarcity. These are what must be destroyed if we want to cure inflation and meet peoples' needs. Each of these capitalist features implies its opposite under Socialism and Communism, whereby production can meet and exceed the peoples' needs.



How do we get from here to there? from Capitalism with its uncontrollable Inflation and other evils, to Socialism where these problems can be eliminated. This gets back to our earlier remarks about the two approaches to fighting inflation. The short term defense against the effects of inflation by fighting for higher wages, job security, shorter hours, lower prices, etc.; and the long term way of building a revolutionary party, making a revolution, destroying capitalism and instituting workers' rule, Socialism. Rather than being contradictory, these two approaches are in fact in-

separable. 1) Significant reforms and gains for the working class **under capitalism** will come if the working class follows the leadership of communists and others with a socialist outlook. It is a historical fact shown in the struggle for industrial unions, employment compensation, welfare system, etc., that the workers' movement needs the leadership of those who see past capitalism in order to make significant gains under capitalism. 2) The other side of the relationship is also true. The road to revolution and socialism consists of fighting the immediate, short term,

class struggle to win material improvements for the working class. The organization of the working class, its revolutionary party, its mass organizations, and its class conscious ideology—all these things that contribute to the basis of the new society, will only come into being in the course of fighting against the evils and oppressiveness of the old way.

The general content of the peoples' fight against inflation, the rough outline of the programs for that fight, are implied in our analysis of how capitalism causes the problem. It is basically a class struggle over the shares of the total production. The capitalists increase their relative share and decrease ours by means of inflation. Our fight against inflation must make our gains at their expense! We must take for our needs those resources now going exclusively to satisfy their needs. This will mean things like:

1) TAX THE RICH. Cut into their big cars, jets and luxury living. Double, triple, quadruple THEIR taxes and reduce ours.

2) Cut government spending that exclusively benefits the capitalists. The "defense" budget, the bureaucracy, the legislators' fat salaries and expense accounts; and spend the money for our needs—schools, health care, recreation:

3) Reduce executive salaries, lay off managers and supervisors—not workers.

4) Renege on the enormous debts owed to the big capitalist bankers.

It is only from the wealth that the bosses' class now has that we will be able to get the wherewithal to implement the programs we need like better health care, etc. If we don't fight for this we will gain in one place just to lose in another.

One of the most significant things for us to fight for is the Shorter Work Week—30 Hours Work for 40 Hours Pay. The reason is that it would force the companies to hire more people so that they couldn't raise unemployment as much as they want. Furthermore, unlike many other demands like cost-of-living clauses, lower prices, etc., 30 for 40 is not a defensive demand. 30 for 40 represents a long overdue advance in our lives, just like the reduction of the work week from 60 to 40 hours improved peoples' lives in the past. The many advantages of 30 for 40 are obvious to any worker, but one of the best things about it is that while the bosses keep trying to split us, this is a demand that can unify workers of all races, age, sex, nationality.

To win these struggles we must be able to reject the bosses' ideologies that they propagate specifically to throw us off the track. Although their ideology takes many forms, the essence of all their propaganda is an appeal to selfishness and "divide and conquer." Their most extreme form was the line of the fascist movements during the previous major capitalist crisis. Currently their different lines all boil down to the following: "Inflation is a symptom that there is not enough to go around in the world. Some people will end up short. Stick with us against the others and you will be among those who will be provided for." This is the pitch to whites: "There'd be

enough for you if it weren't for the blacks (or other minority). With their 'demands,' their big families, their welfare and their crime. Keep them down and you'll be all right."

This is the pitch to Patriotism, America First: "We wouldn't have any problems if it weren't for the Arabs (or Vietnamese, or Chinese, or Japanese). Help us get those uppity bastards and we'll continue to get the oil (or other materials) we need."

This is the pitch for Productivity: "Inflation is because some American workers have gotten too fat, soft, lazy or rich. We got to tighten up. We have to let some people go, and the rest will have to work harder. It's tough but that's the way it is. You be good and we'll treat you right. You'll be one of those who stay." This is the Anti-Communist pitch: "Don't join that movement for more jobs or higher pay—It's led by (shake, shudder) COMMUNISTS!! They are not interested in wages, they are just using the situation. They want to get you in trouble, stir you up, get your heads busted by the police. They want to control you. It's Un-American to join communist workers in fighting the bosses." There is the Liberal (and Revisionist) pitch: Inflation is caused by the BAD capitalists—the Nixons and Reagans. Work to elect Kennedy and we'll get a tax break and socialized medicine. Elections and the courts will solve all our problems but it takes time."

Workers who fall for any of these or similar lines are suckers because it disarms us in our class struggle for survival against the capitalists' onslaughts. That's exactly why these ideas are so widespread. For the last hundred years, the capitalist class has spent billions to push exactly these various ideas in the mass media, the TV, the magazines, books, schools, colleges, universities, churches, American Legion, the AFL-CIO, Teamsters and UAW bureaucracy, the racist and chauvinist politicians, etc. It is cheaper and more effective and looks better for them, to control the workers through bourgeois ideology like this than through bullets and concentration camps. Does this mean that black and white workers, anti-communist, non-communist and communist workers, U.S. citizens and non-U.S. citizen workers, men and women, old and young cannot ally to fight inflation in a class way? No. It shouldn't mean this. Racism, anti-communism, national chauvinism, sexism, faith in elections, are ideas prevalent among workers for the reasons stated, but large numbers can and will unite to fight the bosses as the class needs become sharper and the capitalists' economic and political system becomes more and more discredited. There will be some die-hards who cling incorrigibly to their reactionary ideas and they will be fought against just like the capitalists they love so dearly. But they are the minority. History is made by the masses, and the masses of working people here and in other countries will advance towards socialism in the fight against the bosses' inflation and the other miserable shortcomings of the bosses' capitalist system.

Capitalism: moving target

The list of things wrong with business in this country is almost endless. Nearly as long, in fact, as the list of what's right with it.

Perhaps the most frustrating thing about business, for those who keep trying to shoot it down, is this: Corporations are so tenacious that they will even do good in order to survive. This tenacity goes beyond the old maxim that man, in his greed for profit, often unavoidably serves the public interest. In times of crisis, business will even do good *consciously and deliberately*.

Nothing could be better calculated to confound business's critics than this underhanded tactic. The Marxist dialectic has it that capitalism must inevitably founder in its own inherent contradictions; that it contains the seeds of its own destruction. But business also contains the seeds of its own adaptation and survival.

Businessmen are pragmatists, and with their daily feedback from the marketplace, they readily abandon dogma whenever their survival instinct tells them to. It has become less and less a question of what they *want* to do or might *like* to do, but of what their common sense and survival instinct tell them they *have* to do.

Remember the Edsel? That was one of the fastest plebiscites in history. But it wasn't the American public that took the loss; it was the shareholders of Ford Motor Company. (Then, you'll recall,

Ford changed course and bounced back with the Mustang, which quickly showed its tailpipe to the competition by breaking all sales records for a new make of car.)

Because it is keyed so closely to the marketplace and so responsive to it, private business is necessarily the most effective instrument of change. Some would call it revolutionary. Many of those who attack business fail to comprehend its constructive contributions to responsive change. And this sort of change is one of the basic reasons business manages to survive.

Not *all* businesses survive, of course. The record is replete with companies that expired because they didn't adapt rapidly enough to a new milieu.

While businessmen as a whole are not exactly social reformers, they do respond to criticism and to sustained social pressures. The alert businessman regards such pressures as a useful early warning system. The danger is that criticism can become a mindless reflex action that persists long after the basis for it has been dissipated.

Partly because of its ability to adapt—which is simply another word for responsive change—private business remains the most productive element in our society and on balance the best allocator of resources. If you decide to draw a bead on it, remember you're aiming at a moving target. Because, as we've said here before, business is bound to change.

Mobil

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When the bosses start taking out ads like these, you know they're in trouble

The May Day Motorcade for Socialism-1974

“Communists disdain to conceal their views and aims. They openly declare that their ends can be attained only by the forcible overthrow of all existing social conditions. Let the ruling classes tremble at a communistic revolution. The proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to win.”

—The Communist Manifesto

Trembling diplomats peered out their embassy windows at the sea of red flags that swirled in front of the White House, as a Progressive Labor Party (PLP) member declared to thousands of workers and students that “Impeachment is the biggest cover-up of all!” Those diplomats had good reason to tremble. At a time when tens of thousands of auto workers have been laid off to bolster bosses’ profits, when soaring prices make essentials like food, gasoline, and medical care into luxuries for the working class, when the new theoreticians of racism and eugenics have been set loose to spread their nazi filth all across the U.S.—in short, when the clay feet of the imperialist colossus are crumbling under the weight of world-wide class struggle, the bosses and their revisionist flunkies have been trying to save their skins and their system by drowning the workers in the crocodile tears of “corruption,” “cover-up,” and “impeachment.”

But here at the White House, in the very bosom of the imperialist beast, was a different kind of movement, an international movement, dedicated to uncompromising class struggle and the complete destruction of the bosses and their capitalist system through the dictatorship of the proletariat. In that mass of workers and students from all over the U.S. and Canada, with some from as far away as Latin America and Japan, those diplomats saw just a small taste of the doom they face before the rising tide of international workers’ revolution. Socialism will sweep them and the

capitalist bosses they serve off the face of the earth and workers will run the world for ourselves.

“Communists never cease, for a single instant, to instil into the working class the clearest possible recognition of the hostile antagonism between bourgeoisie and proletariat.”

—The Communist Manifesto

PREPARATIONS

Preparations for the motorcade to Washington began months ahead of time. Not only the organization of the event, but especially its historical significance, were thoroughly discussed by members and friends of PLP. Chicago, May 1, 1886: A nationwide strike involves tens of thousands of workers demanding the eight-hour day. Cops attack strikers at the McCormick Reaper Works in Chicago, killing six. Thousands of workers march into Haymarket Square to protest this massacre; cops attack again, four workers killed, 200 wounded, but the eight-hour day is won for thousands of workers over the next few years.

Today, both directly and through our members in the Workers Action Movement (WAM), PLP has again taken up the banner of the shorter work week, this time for the six-hour day. Still widely celebrated in every country but the one that gave it its birth, May Day is the symbol of that struggle,

of international workers' solidarity, and of the struggle for workers' power. This May Day was celebrated by millions of workers throughout the world: more than 30,000 in France, 100,000 in Buenos Aires, hundreds of thousands in Portugal for the first time in forty-five years, and seven million in Japan. In spite of attempts by union sell-outs and revisionists to cool the workers down and turn May Day into a "celebration" of "peaceful co-existence" or the Peronist "social pact" in Argentina, militant workers made it clear that international workers' unity against the bosses is the order of the day.

OUR MARXIST-LENINIST ANALYSIS OF THE current crisis in world capitalism has led PLP to the conclusion that U.S. workers will be open to the communist ideas signified by May Day, to uniting the working class by smashing racism, to destroying the bosses and their system through the dictatorship of the proletariat. The motorcade was to put that line into practice, to bring these ideas to workers throughout the U.S., to make ties with them and bring them into the growing communist movement. It was a bold move, but the continued tightening of the bosses' screw made such a move a necessity for the working class.

The sharpening of the class struggle became more and more evident as the day of the motorcade drew nearer: auto wildcats in New Haven, the ninth month of a miners' strike in Harlan County, Kentucky, a teachers' strike in Kansas City. In Los Angeles, we were preparing for a strike of all county workers scheduled to begin on April 29. A few hours after we left on the motorcade on April 26, we found out by telephone that WAM and PLP members had just led rank-and-file workers to take over a union meeting after an impending sell-out of the expected strike was exposed.

SAN FRANCISCO

San Francisco had just experienced a near-general strike a few weeks earlier, as teachers and municipal workers hit the bricks with support from workers throughout the city. To undermine the growing unity between black and white workers that had made these strikes so successful, the San Francisco bosses, through their flunky Mayor Alioto, concocted a story about how a black man was running loose through the city "randomly" killing whites. To terrorize the black community even more than usual, Alioto gave the racist cops a free hand to pick up anyone who "might" fit the description of this so-called "Zebra" killer, and over 600 black men were stopped in the streets and harassed. The cops even went into movie theaters, had the lights turned on, and ordered all the black men present to come out and be "interrogated."

PLP RESPONDED IMMEDIATELY TO THIS racist attack on the entire San Francisco working class. While all the phony "leftists" were lying low and the "respectable" black "leaders" were falling over themselves trying not to offend guber-

national candidate Alioto, we organized a picket line at his house, which set the stage for a demonstration there the next day of over 1000 workers and students. Alioto apparently figured he would have an easy time talking his way through the picket line. But as he walked to his car, hundreds of workers surrounded him, beating him on the head with picket signs and rocking his car—PLP members leading the way.

ON THE BUS

Two motorcade buses left San Francisco soon after, on April 25, one bus having come up from Los Angeles and picked up a group of rank-and-file farmworkers along the way. Our bus, which included people from San Diego, left Los Angeles the next evening and went directly to Kansas City, where we met the two San Francisco buses. Another west-coast bus left from Seattle and picked people up in Minneapolis, after holding the first street rally in Billings, Montana since the IWW days. This group got a very friendly response from workers at the big Exxon refinery in Billings. In Minneapolis the motorcade participated in a spirited anti-racist debate at the University, followed by rallies at the Minneapolis Honeywell Plant and the St. Paul Ford plant. Over sixty **Challenges** were sold in Billings and hundreds at the two plants in Minneapolis. Before the Seattle-Minneapolis contingent left for Chicago there was a banquet at the Afro-American Center in Minneapolis for the motorcade.

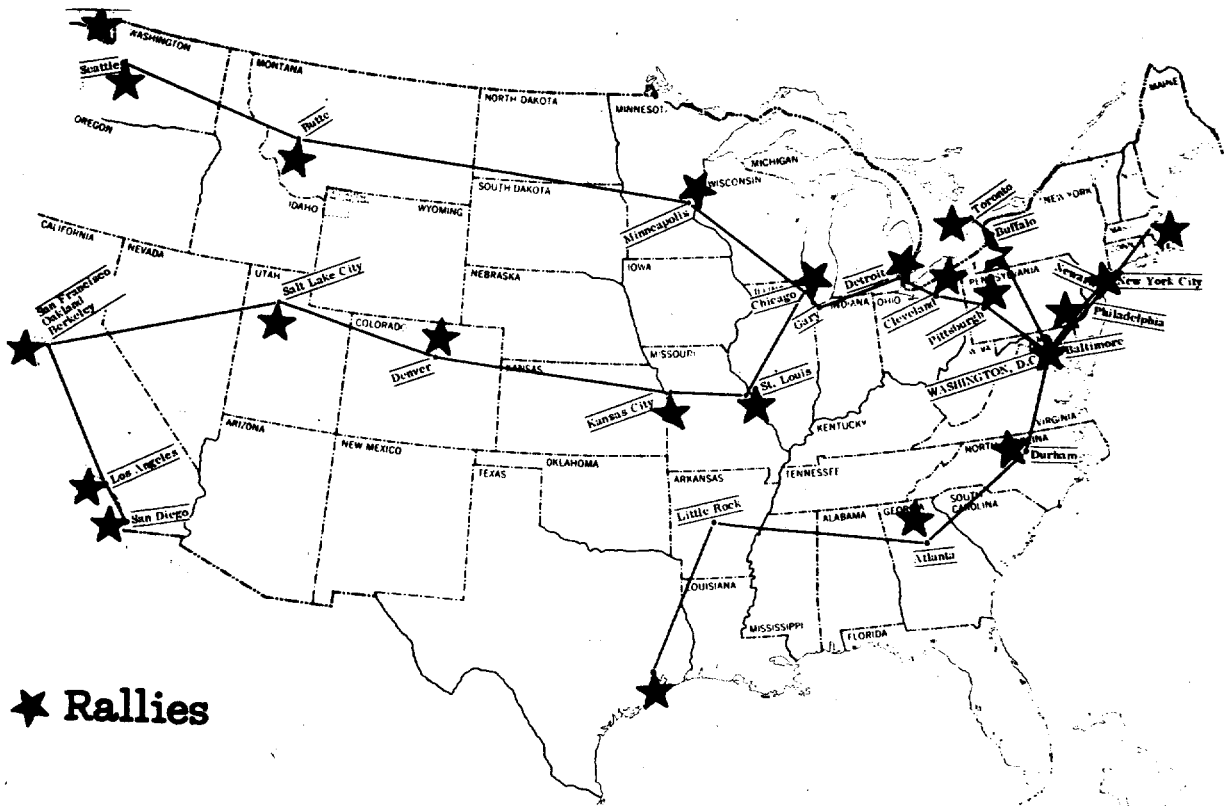
Still another motorcade left from Houston, had rallies in Little Rock and Durham, and then went straight on to Washington, D.C. There we all came together, with buses from Boston, Buffalo, Toronto and New York, and people in cars from all over the country, for the big May Day march.

"May Day is the workers' day, a communist holiday, May Day is the workers' day, May Day!"

—the PLP—LP

The forty-hour ride to Kansas City, first stop for the Los Angeles bus, was shortened considerably by the singing of revolutionary songs. From the solemn strains of the "Internationale" to the lighter rhythms of "Bella Ciao" and music from the PLP record, workers and students alike got caught up in the spirit of communism through their voices and guitars.

Time was also spent in political discussion. Everyone wanted to learn more about the history of PLP, about the development of the workers' movement, about the significance of Marxism-Leninism as the science of working-class revolution. We discussed how the founders of PLP had tried to organize within the old "Communist" Party for the ideas of reliance on the workers and the open advocacy of socialism, how they had been expelled by the corrupt leaders of that party and set out to build a new, genuine revolutionary communist movement. We discussed the role of the young Progressive Labor Movement (PLM) in building nation-wide support for an armed strike



★ **Rallies**

Route of the Motorcade

of miners in Hazard, Kentucky; how PLM had broken the State Department travel ban to Cuba by organizing trips to that then-revolutionary island; how PLM had provided serious revolutionary leadership to the spontaneous workers' rebellion in Harlem, at a time when every other "left" group was running for cover. From the role of PLM in starting the movement against the Vietnam War, the success of PLP in bringing the ideas of worker-student alliance into the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), to the more recent efforts to rebuild the rank-and-file labor movement by fighting for "30 for 40" and helping to initiate the Workers Action Movement, many of us learned concretely for the first time the role and significance of a real Marxist-Leninist party.

SALT LAKE CITY

Although we went straight through to Kansas City, the San Francisco buses stopped off in Salt Lake City for a rally. There was a national student nurses' convention going on in Salt Lake at the time, and two PLP members from California were attending it as delegates. Two creeps in the California delegation tried to have these PL'ers censured for bringing people from the convention to the rally, but after a discussion of the importance of the motorcade and of communist ideas and practice, the delegation defeated the censure motion by a vote of 14-2. One of the people who

attended the rally is now in a Party study group. A Salt Lake City resident spoke at the rally about a recent sit-in of 300 at the Police Department in protest of a racist murder of a 16-year old black kid committed by an SLC cop.

KANSAS CITY

We pulled into Kansas City at about noon on April 29, twelve hours after the buses from San Francisco. After quickly taking showers and changing clothes at a camp where we were to spend the night, the comrades from Kansas City took us to a park for a picnic: a few short speeches, some singing, enough food for everyone's travel-grown appetites, and bats and balls for softball practice, with most of us going to a nearby field to play or watch soccer. When our first hour of physical exercise in two days was over, we dragged our bodies onto the buses and headed back to the camp: rest, dinner, a movie, and long-awaited sleep in beds instead of bus seats.

The next morning we went to the Leeds GM plant for a rally at the 7 A.M. shift change. PLP members had learned a few days before our arrival that a seven-month-long struggle by rank-and-file workers for a strike against dirty floors and other unsafe conditions had finally forced the local union leadership to call a "mini-strike" on that very day. A gang of union hacks tried to provoke us by burning some of our literature as

we leafletted, sold **Challenge-Desafio**, and spoke over bullhorns, but many workers defied the goons by taking our literature into the plant, so the goons had to back down. After a while we marched back to the buses to go and eat breakfast and returned just in time for the scheduled 9:30 walk-out.

"Solidarity nation-wide, the working class is on your side!" we chanted, as we marched, arms-linked, in front of the plant, undeterred by the rain that had started pouring down during breakfast. This time the goons left us alone, as the workers filed out of the building, and several workers sought out comrades from Kansas City who they recognized to further discuss our ideas.

The teachers in Kansas City were still striking when we arrived there, and some of the West Coast teachers went to one of the strike meetings. The strike involved a very high percentage of minority teachers and had been ninety-five per cent effective for several weeks. The recent San Francisco teachers' strike dominated the discussion, with the union leadership using the sell-out of that strike as an "argument" for "settling" this one. Enough workers were demoralized by the defeat in San Francisco to vote to end the strike and go back to work, but a more profoundly significant result was the emergence, as in San Francisco, of a militant, rank-and-file caucus to lay the groundwork for preventing future sell-outs. The caucus had been formed earlier with the participation of WAM members, but it really came forward as a serious force for the first time at this meeting.

PLP IS RELATIVELY NEW IN KANSAS CITY and the membership is small. When Party members and friends first began selling **Challenge-Desafio** at the Leeds plant, the bosses tried to whip up anti-communism by printing red-baiting stories in their newspapers about Grant Cooper, a PLP member teaching at the University of Arkansas. Cooper was being fired by the state legislature for being a communist and fighting to ban a book, **The Unheavenly City** by racist Nixon-advisor Edward Banfield. A modern-day **Mein Kampf**, the book claims that the problems of black people are not caused by racism, but by their own "lower-class culture," and it says that black people "like to live in slums" and "riot for fun and profit." As a solution for these alleged conditions, Banfield advocates things like eliminating the minimum wage and selling the children of ghetto dwellers to wealthy suburbanites. The Arkansas bosses were all upset that Cooper was "violating Banfield's academic freedom" by demanding that the book not be used, so they went ahead and violated Cooper's "academic freedom" by firing him and trying to use his case to spread anti-communism.

We were all very impressed by the large number of people the Kansas City comrades had won to take part in the motorcade activities and by the tight organization of our two days in the city.

From Kansas City we went to St. Louis, where we rallied at another General Motors plant. The other buses had gotten there before us and the rally was already under way when we arrived. We heard,

"Leonard Woodcock doing fine, carrying out the bosses' line!" as we marched over to the rally from where the bus had parked. White-faced bosses looked down from the windows in dismay and a plain-clothes cop frantically quoted our chants into a walkie-talkie, while others took photographs as several black workers joined our picket line before going into the plant for their shift.

CHICAGO

We left St. Louis right after the rally and headed for Chicago, where we checked into the YMCA at about 11 P.M. Some of the braver souls among us stayed up all night singing, and discussing politics with other people there, but most of us went straight to bed in anticipation of the next day's full schedule.

The first event in the morning was an SDS-sponsored rally against the Rodino anti-immigrant bill at the University of Chicago, Circle campus. Rodino himself is a darling of the revisionist "Communist" Party because of his leadership of the impeach-Nixon investigation in Congress. The "C" P faithfully fawns over liberal Rodino's impeachment shenanigans, but carefully turns the other way, as he twists the knife deeper into immigrant workers' backs. Rodino's bill is a masterpiece of racism, calculated to make life impossible for the thousands of so-called "illegal" aliens in this country through provisions like the following: workers who take jobs while "illegal" can never adjust their status to become "legal;" any worker who voluntarily leaves the U.S. to get the required visa from his home country to adjust his status cannot return to the U.S. for a year; any "illegal" worker who has counterfeit papers (often purchased unknowingly at the border) is subject to a felony conviction and a five-year prison term; employers who "knowingly" hire workers without papers can be fined \$500.

The last provision enables employers to cut wages on the pretext of "making up for" a possible future fine, while the word "knowingly" automatically nullifies their chances of ever having to pay a fine. In contrast, the word "knowingly" does not appear in the provision about workers being tricked into buying counterfeit papers. Through this law the bosses hope, first, to make the position of "illegals" much more insecure, so they won't take leadership in the fight against intolerable wages and working conditions, and, second, to build racism among "native" and "legal" workers, so they will blame the "illegals" for "taking jobs away," instead of uniting with them to fight back. Workers in California defeated a similar bill in the state legislature through marches inspired by PLP members in CASA, and the Party is now helping nationally in the fight to defeat Rodino's racist scheme. At our rally we heard student speakers attack the bill and report on the struggles they are involved in both at the Circle campus and on the West Coast.

IN THE AFTERNOON WE BROKE INTO TWO groups for rallies at the Inland Steel coke plant in Gary, Indiana and the Stewart-Warner Division 1



Hundreds of Challenges were sold along march route to interested workers and students.

plant in Chicago. For two months Inland Steel had been the site of rank-and-file struggle around "30 for 40," twenty-year retirement, job upgrading, and improvement of murderous health and safety conditions. On February 21 five coke plant workers came to a union meeting to present a petition, signed by over 100 coke plant workers, to make these the number one international demands. Local president Lopez managed to prevent a vote from being taken on the petition, but the meeting did vote to support wildcatting coke plant workers at Bethlehem's Sparrow's Point mill.

The March 9 meeting "mysteriously" started early and was hastily adjourned by Lopez shortly after twenty coke plant workers walked in, and the March 14 meeting skimmed over "30 for 40" and early retirement to discuss issues that Lopez considered "more important." At the March 21 meeting a resolution to set up a "30 for 40" committee passed, but Lopez overruled it by parliamentary maneuvers and then cancelled the April 4 meeting. Increasing support for the WAM demands was clearly reflected in the workers' enthusiastic response to our rally at the plant.

Division 1 manufactures mainly auto-related electrical and lubrication equipment and employs about 4,000 workers, including many women and minorities. WAM ran a slate for union office shortly before the motorcade, including a PLP member running for local president, so both

WAM and the Party were well-known to the workers there. Sell-out president Perlin showed his contempt for and fear of the workers by locating the polls out by O'Hare airport, far from where most workers, especially black workers, live and unreachable for most workers who don't own cars. WAM lost the election as a result, but it won a lot of support from workers through the campaign effort.

The plant itself is set right on the street in the middle of a working-class neighborhood. Lots of workers came out of their homes to watch the rally and listen to the speeches, making the single plainclothes cop who sat in his car across the street very fidgety. Workers inside the plant cheered when a PLP speaker told the Stewart-Warner bosses that "your days are numbered" and some of us climbed up the wall of the building to sell **Challenge-Desafio** to workers through the chain mail that covered the first-floor windows. Over 300 copies of the paper were sold, there; in all 1000 **Challenges** were sold that day.

That night was May Day and all the West Coast buses came together for the first time to celebrate. Hundreds of people from San Diego, Los Angeles, Delano, San Francisco, Seattle, Minneapolis, and Kansas City joined together for an evening of food, singing, skits, and speeches. The walls were covered with red flags and posters: "workers and students unite," "smash racism," "smash sexism," "30 hours work for

40 hours pay," "fight for socialism." A skit portrayed the bosses' use of speed-up and racism to further exploit workers, exposed the role of union sell-outs in helping put this over, and demonstrated the effectiveness of workers' militant unity in fighting back. Over 500 people of all races, some students but mostly workers, rose to their feet, fists raised, chanting "Fight for Socialism, Power to the Workers!" and "Black, Brown, Yellow, White—Workers of the World Unite!" Workers from Stewart-Warner, Inland Steel and other places finished speaking about the struggles they are involved in and the need for the dictatorship of the proletariat as the only logical conclusion to those struggles. The banquet ended with the spirited singing of the "Communist Internationale" and other revolutionary songs.

"Communists everywhere support every revolutionary movement against the existing social and political order of things."

—The Communist Manifesto

DETROIT

Next stop: Detroit, "Motor City," central core of the auto industry. One out of every six workers' jobs is related to auto, making the industry a key pivot of the revolutionary movement in this country. When auto shuts it down tight, the whole country is at a standstill.

The ruling class panicked last August when 300 PLP-WAM-led workers at the Mack Avenue Chrysler plant occupied the plant in the first sit-down strike in auto in over thirty years. Terrified that the tactic would be repeated and spread to other plants and cities, the Chrysler bosses scurried around like the rats they are, trying to fix up the unsafe conditions the workers had been complaining about. Workers also saw sell-out United Auto Workers (UAW) "leaders" Woodcock and Frazier exposed as never before, when they organized 1000 union officials from all over the mid-west, including members of the Klu Klux Klan, to physically attack the mostly black workers who supported the sit-down outside the plant. Chrysler had locked the plant gates right after the take-over to prevent other workers from joining it, but hundreds surrounded the plant in support. Two sit-down leaders, both now in PLP, were arrested on charges of "felonious assault," but the charges had to be dropped as support from the workers in the plant mounted during the trial.

Every revisionist and trotskyite whore in the country, from the "Communist" Party to the "Socialist" "Workers" Party to the "Revolutionary" "Union," attacked the sit-down as "adventurist" and uttered **not a word of criticism** against Woodcock, Frazier, **or the Chrysler bosses**. Judge Ravitz, a self-proclaimed "Marxist Leninist" and secret member of the "C" P, consistently attacked PLP, WAM, and the Mack Avenue workers throughout the trial of the two sit-downers. He even disqualified a black woman whose husband and brother-in-law both work at Chrysler from being on the jury, while per-

mitting a white General Motors executive to remain. Mack Avenue drew the class line very sharply, and responses to the sit-down made it very clear who was on which side.

We arrived in Detroit on May Day afternoon and were welcomed by a rally in a small downtown square, organized by the students in Detroit PLP and SDS. With red flags flying and chants echoing down the streets of Detroit, we marched from the square to the bus depot, where the buses had gone to be cleaned and serviced. From there we went to whatever accommodations we had been assigned to, where we showered, exercised, or napped, before driving downtown again for another May Day banquet.

Because of the way our schedule worked out no plans had been made to visit the Mack Avenue plant. We were supposed to leave Detroit for Cleveland in the morning, before the afternoon shift change, and the leadership estimated that people would not want to get up early enough for the 5 A.M. shift change. This turned out to be a mistake and was quickly corrected, as a rank-and-file groundswell arose for demonstrating at the working-class landmark. Over 200 of us got up before 4 A.M. to make sure we'd get to the plant on time.

AT THE PLANT ITSELF WORKERS CHEERED

us on and many joined in our chants. At one point a security guard began to drive his car into the picket line, but he backed off when one worker jumped onto his hood and others surrounded the car and began to rock it. After picketing at the front gate for about thirty minutes, we marched around the block to the back gate, chanting "Fight back, remember Mack!" every step of the way and began picketing there. The Chrysler bosses carefully locked the gate to prevent anyone from coming out and joining us, after someone climbed the fifteen-foot fence that surrounds the factory yard and planted a "Fight for Socialism" red flag on top of it. Workers on the picket line and in the plant cheered as the red flag waved boldly in the brisk wind, while twelve Detroit cops looked nervously on, obviously afraid to make a move. When PLP member, Bill Gilbreth, a leader of the Mack sit-down, made a speech about the need to fight against the high incidence of on-the-job "accidents" in the plant, one Mack worker graphically made the same point by silently waving his hand out the window to show where he had lost a finger in just such an "accident."

From Detroit we went to Cleveland, where, several hundred strong, we picketed outside the Ford plant in which a WAM slate had just contested the union election. On the bus on the way to the plant a Cleveland PLP member relayed a report from workers in the plant that the union hacks were organizing a goon squad to attack our picket line and break it up, but it turned out that they couldn't get any workers to go along with them. With arms linked we marched in front of the parking lot outside the plant, as the workers came in for the afternoon shift.

WASHINGTON

We arrived in Washington at about 5 A.M. on May 3, after yet another banquet in Cleveland the day before the big March for Socialism was scheduled. We sacked out for a few hours until breakfast on the floor of a church. While most were sleeping seven motorcade members took a couple of boxes of **Challenges** and sold 500 to workers on their way to work.

On the way from Cleveland we learned that Alioto was going to be at the "Justice" Department that day to try to get federal aid for his "Zebra" manhunt, so we decided to picket him there. In the week since some of us had left San Francisco, Alioto had elaborated considerably on the imaginary "Zebra" scenario. Not only had twelve "random" whites been murdered by a black man in San Francisco, according to Alioto, but over eighty murders throughout California in the past several years had also been tied in with the "Zebra" killings. And even that wasn't enough for Alioto's racist imagination. He also claimed to have "discovered" the existence of a group of "hate-whitey" blacks called the "Death Angels," based somewhere in the mid-west and dedicated to killing white people in "ritual murders."

Needless to say, no evidence of such a gang has ever been produced. Four of the seven "suspects" arrested in the case had to be released right away for lack of evidence, and the only "evidence" offered for keeping the other three in jail was the testimony of a neurotic man, who got \$30,000 to tell his story. Even Nixon's Attorney General Saxbe turned down Alioto's request for help in the face of the nation-wide fight-back organized by PLP and others against Alioto's transparent racist hoax.

Unfortunately, Alioto had already left the "Justice" Department by the time we arrived, but the spirited rally we held anyway still made our point to the many people who passed by. From there we went to the Immigration Department for another demonstration, at which "legal," "illegal," and "native" workers spoke out against the Rodino Bill and vowed to continue our common fight to stop it.

All the various motorcade routes came together the next day, as workers and students from all over the country, along with members and friends of the Canadian Party of Labor and some workers and students from other countries, gathered for the big march. About 2500 people assembled in a park in the working-class community near Howard University, as speakers addressed the crowd about the meaning of May Day, the fight for the six-hour day, the history of the struggle against racist immigration laws, and the fight for workers' power. The police had originally refused to give us a permit for the park, but they had to back down when the workers in the community overwhelmingly signed a petition demanding that the rally be permitted.

THE MARCH THAT FOLLOWED WAS A FAR



cry from the defeatists stifling "Peace Now" moratorium funeral processions that used to be held. Arm-in-arm we marched, six-abreast, with workers, men and women, black and white, leading every step of the way. "Nixon, you liar, we'll set your ass on fire!" "Kick the bosses in the ass, power to the working class!" Clenched-fist salutes and cheers kept coming from the hundreds of mainly black workers who lined the three-mile march route. Hundreds of these workers demonstrated in practice their openness to communist ideas by joining the march and the chants. Well over a thousand bought **Challenges**. When we got to the White House we picketed for about a half-hour, chanting at the top of our voices. Then we marched to a park across the street for a final rally, where we "voted" to destroy **all** the bosses once and for all.

Diplomats, government officials, capitalists, and union hacks had excellent reason to tremble as they watched this motorcade travel across the U.S. and converge in this May 4 march for socialism in Washington, D.C. These events involved auto workers, steel workers, railroad workers, farmworkers, garment workers, postal workers, hospital workers, office workers, welfare workers, teachers, parents, students, doctors, medical students, intellectuals, unemployed workers, welfare recipients, blacks, whites, Latins, Asians,

and native Americans from all over the U.S., as well as workers and students from Canada, Puerto Rico, Mexico, the Dominican Republic, Jamaica, Haiti, Nigeria, Ruanda, Ghana, Colombia, Venezuela, Chile, Argentina, Peru, Ecuador, Guatemala, Honduras, Costa Rica, El Salvador, Cuba, Barbados, Nicaragua, England, Italy, Lebanon, China, Japan, and the Philippines.

Among the U.S. cities represented by contingents in the March were: Seattle, San Francisco, Oakland, Los Angeles, San Diego, Houston, Little Rock, Fayetteville, Kansas City, Minneapolis, St. Louis, Madison, Chicago, Detroit, Columbus, Cleveland, Pittsburgh, Atlanta, Tampa, Durham, Buffalo, Boston, Worcester, New Haven, New York, Newark, Long Island, Philadelphia, Baltimore and Washington. Hundreds traveled for days from the West Coast, the mid-west, and the south to bring the message of socialism and revolution to millions of workers from Billings, Montana to Detroit, through every major city in the U.S. It was a truly international, multi-racial, working-class May Day. As Engels wrote of the international May Day celebration in 1890, "today's spectacle will open the eyes of the capitalists and landlords of all countries to the fact that today the working men of all countries are united indeed." (Preface to **The Communist Manifesto**.)

"Communists fight for the attainment of the immediate aims, for the enforcement of the momentary interests of the working class; but in the movement of the present, they also represent and take care of the future of that movement."

—**The Communist Manifesto**

LESSONS

The key lesson to be learned from the May Day motorcade for Socialism of 1974 is that **WORKERS ARE OPEN TO COMMUNIST IDEAS**. Wherever we went, people listened to our speeches, read our leaflets, bought **Challenge-Desafio**, and joined in our chants, marches, and picket lines. This support for our ideas and actions extended not only to smashing racism, fighting for thirty hours work for forty hours pay, and throwing out the union sell-outs, but also included socialist revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat. Workers understand that they have to struggle daily for unity, shorter hours and better conditions, and rank-and-file power. More and more workers are coming to understand that nothing will change fundamentally, despite these struggles, until the bosses and their racist, capitalist system are done away with.

Many of us did not really believe this when we began preparing for the motorcade. We knew that objective conditions were such that workers **should** be willing to respond to communist ideas, but we still didn't feel "in our bones" that they would. In some places this anti-working class attitude was reflected in serious weaknesses in our openly publicizing and building for the motorcade. In Los Angeles, for example, we held a May Day banquet a week before departure and leafleted

some leaflets, but most of our posters never got put up and few of us bothered to bring anyone on the motorcade but ourselves. In contrast, the very small PLP contingent in Kansas City took the Party's line very seriously and managed to bring scores of workers to the Washington march. In New York City, two comrades were responsible, either directly or through friends, for bringing almost 200 people. Hundreds of workers and students ended up taking off up to two weeks from work or school to come on the motorcade and the unanimous response at the end of the trip was "I wish I had brought more people." The motorcade was proof of the Party's line that workers today are open to communist ideas, and it helped to win many more of us who took part to seeing the correctness of that line.

The other side of this lesson is that **WORKERS WILL RESPOND TO OUR COMMUNIST IDEAS IN PROPORTION TO THE EXTENT TO WHICH PLP HAS RAISED THOSE IDEAS WITH PEOPLE AND TRIED TO BUILD STRONG TIES WITH THEM**. At Leeds GM in Kansas City, where the Party has done some work, the workers were friendly and wanted to discuss our ideas. At Stewart-Warner, where WAM has been organizing for some time and a PLP member ran for local union president, the workers cheered our speakers and bought **Challenge-Desafio** through the windows. At Mack Avenue Chrysler, where the Party helped lead the first sit-down strike in auto in over thirty years, workers stopped work to come to the doors and windows and join our chants. Workers will respond to communist ideas when we raise them, but those ideas will not fall from the sky. It's up to us in and around PLP to bring our ideas to the working class and build a base for socialist revolution.

As Stalin said, "The socialist dictatorship of the proletariat, capture of power by the proletariat—this is what the socialist revolution must start with... Strikes, boycotts, demonstrations, and parliamentarism are important only in so far as they help to organize the proletariat and to strengthen and enlarge its organizations for accomplishing the socialist revolution" (from **Anarchism or Socialism?**). The success of the motorcade will be determined by the extent to which it raised the idea of workers' power with workers throughout the country and inspired them to organize and fight for reforms and revolution.

Many workers joined the Progressive Labor Party as a result of the motorcade and many more are now working with WAM. Our task now is to build more struggles at our schools, in our communities, and, especially, on our jobs, to sell more **Challenge-Desafios**, to make more ties with workers and win them to seeing the need for socialist revolution. Let's make next year's May Day even bigger and more significant than this one, a qualitative step forward in the struggle for workers' power. It's up to us to consolidate the ties we built this May Day into a united movement of workers and students of all races that will smash the bosses' system once and for all and put workers in control. We have a world to win!

Solzhenitsyn Slanders the Dictatorship of the Proletariat

We have here the unenviable task of reviewing Alexander Solzhenitsyn's latest work, **The Gulag Archipelago**. We say unenviable because in the face of universal acclaim, our solitary sour note will seem discordant to say the least. But we will proceed because we agree with Solzhenitsyn and most of his endorsers that what is at the bottom of the whole argument is the concept of the dictatorship of the proletariat. This is the concept on which our Party is based and perhaps Solzhenitsyn will help us to understand this concept better.

This book and the author are recommended to us by every variety of bourgeois trend (including some who pretend to be proletarian) in the world today. The **New York Times** tells us:

Mr. Solzhenitsyn's courageous challenge to the overwhelming power of the police state is a political act without real precedent in the fifty-six years since the Bolshevik Revolution.

Thus any "political acts" by Lenin, Stalin, and the millions of Bolshevik workers who established the first socialist state are shadowed by Solzhenitsyn's unprecedented political act. The **Toronto Star** echoed these sentiments: "It is difficult to think of any 20th Century work to match Alexander Solzhenitsyn's **The Gulag Archipelago** in power and importance." Not satisfied with elevating Solzhenitsyn to a pioneer "without real precedent... since the Bolshevik Revolution," the **Times** goes farther: "In literary history there seemed to be no precedent for so sweeping and grave an indictment." He had already won the Nobel Prize for literature for one year; clearly, the **Times** is ready to declare him the all-time Nobel Prize winner for the greatest all-time literary services to capitalism. What happened to Shakespeare!

The kudos are universal: To the **L.A. Times** the book is "explosive, unprecedented in Soviet history." Apparently the cautious Los Angeles editorial writers are not sure if it is unprecedented in all "literary history." The **San Francisco Chronicle** calls the book a "massive expose, blockbuster of a hard factual documentary." And so on, from papers in Boston, Seattle, Chicago,

Montreal, London, Paris, etc.

But clearly a book of such magnitude—the only point of dispute being whether it is the greatest since 1917 or of all time—could not have been written by an ordinary man. Thus the reviewers and editorial writers rush to pay homage to Solzhenitsyn, the symbol.

To the **Toronto Sun**, he is "a writer cast in the heroic mould." The **Christian Science Monitor** appropriately calls him the "prophet of Russia's moral regeneration"; **Newsweek** says, "The bedrock of his reputation is a passion for justice and an uncompromising moral integrity," and to the **New York Times** he is the most "formidable domestic antagonist of the Kremlin." Fulsome praise enough it would seem. Yet the **Washington Post** is ready to elevate Solzhenitsyn to the status of a great moral symbol: "The career of Alexander Solzhenitsyn has come to symbolize the resistance of uncompromising moral integrity to the forces of reaction." The unpretentious Solzhenitsyn apparently agrees with the latter assessment of his role; at one point, he modestly said of himself: "For a country to have a great writer is like having another government."

William F. Buckley, however, is ready to sweep aside those panegyrics to Solzhenitsyn that imply he is merely mortal:

Solzhenitsyn is only an individual, but there was never in human history a clearer identification of an individual and a class. Others pale alongside the authority of Solzhenitsyn as representative of the 200 million people of Russia who have suffered, and continue to suffer, at the hands of the creed-ridden tormentors of that wretched country.

As the eulogy continues, Buckley is beside himself as he explicitly compares Solzhenitsyn to Jesus Christ. For a devout Catholic like Buckley, this is indeed the supreme compliment.

The revisionist cheerleaders of the bourgeoisie are likewise enamored of Solzhenitsyn, although they haven't yet compared him to Jesus. The Trotskyites compare him (fittingly) to Trotsky which is the same thing for them. They at long last seem vindicated; the **Militant** (sic!) declares

the book "a major political event" and "a moving and forceful personal statement by one of the greatest Soviet writers." The discerning reader may note that the **Militant** is somewhat less absolute about Solzhenitsyn's greatness than its above-mentioned bourgeois sister publications. The reason is that the **Militant** claims that Trotsky said it all before and therefore he deserves the all-time Nobel Prize. They have a point here. Revisionist critic Georg Lukacs calls Solzhenitsyn "exceptionally gifted" and the book a "landmark on the road to the future." He eloquently refers to Solzhenitsyn's "tremendous historical achievement of having proved himself a worthy successor to the important plebian tradition," and continues, saying his works are "undoubtedly the first and most important precursors of a new creative effort."

The Chinese revisionist bosses were at first circumspect, not praising Solzhenitsyn directly. But that they give their stamp of approval to him was clearly indicated when they issued a long statement on the horrors of Soviet prison camps within one week of the publication of Solzhenitsyn's magnum opus. However, when Solzhenitsyn was kicked out of Russia the revisionist renegade cliqué in Peking went bananas, joining the "Communist" parties of Italy, France, Spain, Switzerland, etc., in a torrent of tears for "the great man's fate."

Nikita Khrushchev would be most pleased by all the plaudits and acclamation, for after all it was he who commissioned this masterpiece, he who supplied all the materials for Solzhenitsyn's "research" and he who is the source of "what really went on in the Central Committee meetings" that Solzhenitsyn talks about.

While we are not going to sink down on our knees before Solzhenitsyn and his "massive exposé," we will not quarrel with the right of the bourgeois publicists to idolize him; he has indeed rendered them sufficient services. We will quarrel with the capitalist reviewers on one point, however. The **New York Times**, **Seattle Post-Intelligencer**, the **Militant** and other capitalist papers have referred to Solzhenitsyn as a "communist." This he is not, never was, nor did he ever claim to be. As the phrase goes, he "is not now, nor ever has been a member of the Communist Party." At one time he thought he was a Marxist, but then at one time so did Benito Mussolini, Golda Meir, Ronald Reagan, Chiang Kai-Shek and Harold Wilson, and we should never confuse self-delusion with being a communist.

A rare comment, indeed, was made by the **Columbia Journalism Review**, when it warned liberals about praising Solzhenitsyn's ideology—which is somewhat to the right of Adolph Hitler's, who at least never suggested a reestablishment of the czarist state! (See box.)

WHAT SOLZHENITSYN PROMISES

Like Jesus, who he apparently so closely resembles, Solzhenitsyn relies on the sweeping generalization rather than the closely documented

Solzhenitsyn, unlike Sakharov, doesn't admire capitalism but Czarist feudalism instead, as this dispatch from the **Christian Science Monitor** indicates:

Solzhenitsyn endorses Slavophile philosophy



The Tsarist eagle

Moscow

The Tsarist eagle was double-headed because Russia, stretching across Europe and Asia, looked both ways.

Monitor correspondent Leo Grulow writes that ever since Peter I introduced Western ways early in the 18th century, Russian thinkers have divided between Westernizers, who looked to Europe, and Slavophiles, who sought an independent Russian way and idealized the country's rural life and autocratic rule.

This week exiled Soviet novelist Alexander Solzhenitsyn ranged himself with the Slavophiles in a 15,000-word letter released by his Paris publisher after being sent to Kremlin leaders in September, 1973.

Abandon industrialism, including the "poisonous" automobile, and large cities, and go back to the simple life, he urged; divest Russia of the fringe territories, such as the Baltic and the Transcaucasus, inhabited by non-Russian nationalities, and build up Siberia as a Russian bulwark against China. He warned of a possible future military conflict with China springing from ideological differences, but said the Soviet Union had nothing to fear from the West and could reduce its arms expenditures.

But he proposed no democratic political structure. Except for freedom of speech, he would keep Russia's traditional autocratic rule if it were benevolent.

fact. Of course, no one could expect a great moral symbol to clutter his writings with mundane facts or even logic. Thus our great moral symbol states:

"The total of Stalin's victims dwarf that of Hitler's."

"The Soviet government exceeded Czarist rule by 10 to 1 or 100 to 1 (in arrests, executions, etc.)."

"Never in the history of any land has any people suffered at the hands of their government as under the Soviet system."

He tells us that in one year one quarter of Leningrad's population was arrested, that 12,000,000 were imprisoned, etc. "We dare to repeat those figures from rumors quite fresh at the time in 1939." (A lesser writer would have given us stale rumors.)

Even great moral symbols have a source for their sweeping generalizations. So while Jesus had God, Solzhenitsyn apparently had "rumors quite fresh at the time..." Does this man of "uncompromising moral integrity" have no other basis for his "so sweeping and grave an indictment" unprecedented "in literary history"? Is this behind the "blockbuster of a hard factual documentary"? Ah, but he has his own experiences and interviews with 225 other "victims of Stalin," to give him an unbiased view—and most importantly, the impartial Nikita Khrushchev.

For some reason the man with "a passion for justice and an uncompromising moral integrity" does not want to acknowledge his chief source. Perhaps he is not a "great writer" after all, just another propagandist for the Khrushchev clique in their dog fight with the Brezhnev clique. Perhaps he was commissioned by Khrushchev to prepare this tract for use by the Khrushchev clique against the "Stalinists," which is how Khrushchev always mislabeled his rivals. Could it be that when the tract was no longer usable due to Khrushchev's having been axed by the Brezhnev clique, our great moral symbol turned to the Western capitalists for aid to save his hide from the fate that befell the rest of the Khrushchev clique? Perhaps the **quid pro quo** was leaking this document to the U.S. imperialists? And perhaps that is why the bourgeois press is converting this run-of-the-mill scribbler for Khrushchev into an all-time great, and threatened dire consequences if the Brezhnev clique should have harmed a hair of his hallowed head?

When Solzhenitsyn says that Soviet rule under Stalin was worse than czarist rule that depends on your point of view. For bourgeois intellectuals like himself he is **quite right**. While czarist rule was not a bourgeois author's paradise, there was certainly sufficient freedom for authors who preached individualism, racism, free enterprise, pessimism, anti-communism, disdain for the working class and similar themes. Of course the dictatorship of the proletariat tried to suppress these themes and writers who persisted in the bourgeois line were indeed more comfortable under the czars.

WHEN SOLZHENITSYN SAYS THAT THE total of Stalin's victims dwarfs that of Hitler, it



Workers! Take Aim!

all depends who you consider victims. Since 200,000,000 died at the hand of the Nazis or as a result of their world war, and there wasn't that much total population in the USSR for Stalin to draw "victims" from, we know Solzhenitsyn is not speaking in terms of absolute figures. Since that is as close as our great moral symbol gets to being critical of Hitler, we don't know exactly who he considers to be the victims of Hitler. When the Nazis entered a Soviet town or captured Soviet troops, their stoolies, the Vlasov-men ("the finest Russians I ever met," according to Solzhenitsyn), fingered all the communists, commissars, officers and Jews, who then were promptly executed by the Nazis. According to Solzhenitsyn's mathematics, these are not "victims" of Hitler, but the Vlasov men who were caught and punished after the war are "victims of Stalin." So once again it all depends on your point of view. In order to make even his own figures jibe, only a small fraction of the 20,000,000 Russians, 6,000,000 Jews, 2,000,000 French, 2,000,000 Poles, 10,000,000 Germans, etc., who were killed at the hands of the Nazis managed to qualify as real "victims" for Solzhenitsyn. On the other hand, all of the monarchists, Okhrana agents, Mensheviks, "Socialist Revolutionaries," anarchists, businessmen, religious leaders, imperialist agents, Trotskyites, Bukharinites, Vlasov-men, Nazi collaborators, modern revisionists, etc., who for some reason Solzhenitsyn met in prison, qualify as "victims of Stalin." Hitler's victims have been counted, identified and documented countless times. Let us spend the rest of this essay in dealing with the famous "victims of Stalin."

THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT

The dictatorship of the proletariat was indeed a nightmare for Solzhenitsyn and other capitalist agents. And Solzhenitsyn correctly blames Lenin for inspiring it:

The transition from capitalism to communism takes an entire historical epoch. Until this epoch is over the exploiters inevitably cherish hope of restoration, and this hope turns into attempts at restoration. After their first serious defeat the overthrown exploiters—who had not expected their overthrow, never believed it possible, never conceded the thought of it—throw themselves with energy grown tenfold, with furious passion and hatred grown a hundredfold, into the battle for the recovery of the “paradise” of which they were deprived. (**Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky**)

This well known passage by Lenin is often quoted, but few really believe it. Everyone knows it is hard to make a revolution. But can Lenin be taken literally when he says that the bourgeoisie is a hundred times more energetic after the revolution than before and during? Most think Lenin is exaggerating here, or exercising poetic license. **But the truth is, he means exactly what he says.**

Stalin was one who took this thesis literally and he elaborated it further, pointing out that with each success of the socialist society the ruling working class faces even more furious attacks by the bourgeoisie. As socialism advances, the bourgeoisie loses the illusion that “the workers will never be able to run the country.” They realize that only the most energetic and cunning measures can defeat the dictatorship of the proletariat. All factions of the bourgeoisie forget their quarrels and unite behind the one goal of turning the clock back to capitalism. Moreover, there are ever new adherents for the bourgeoisie as portions of the intelligentsia or disgruntled petty-bourgeois elements, pining for their lost privileges and individualism, join with the bourgeoisie. As socialism proves itself, the international imperialists, fearing the growth of an international base for world revolution, grow more frenzied in their attacks. Finally, as the revolutionary transformation deepens and touches new sections of society willy-nilly, new enemies of socialism are created even with socialism’s success. In a nutshell, it gets harder, ever harder, not easier, to maintain the dictatorship of the proletariat, at least for a long historical period.

Thus it was that the Soviet dictatorship of the proletariat in its thirty-five years of existence faced five main waves of attacks by the bourgeoisie, each one harder to deal with than the previous one. Socialism made tremendous advances in that period, so the fury and the determination of the enemies of Soviet socialism progressively grew.

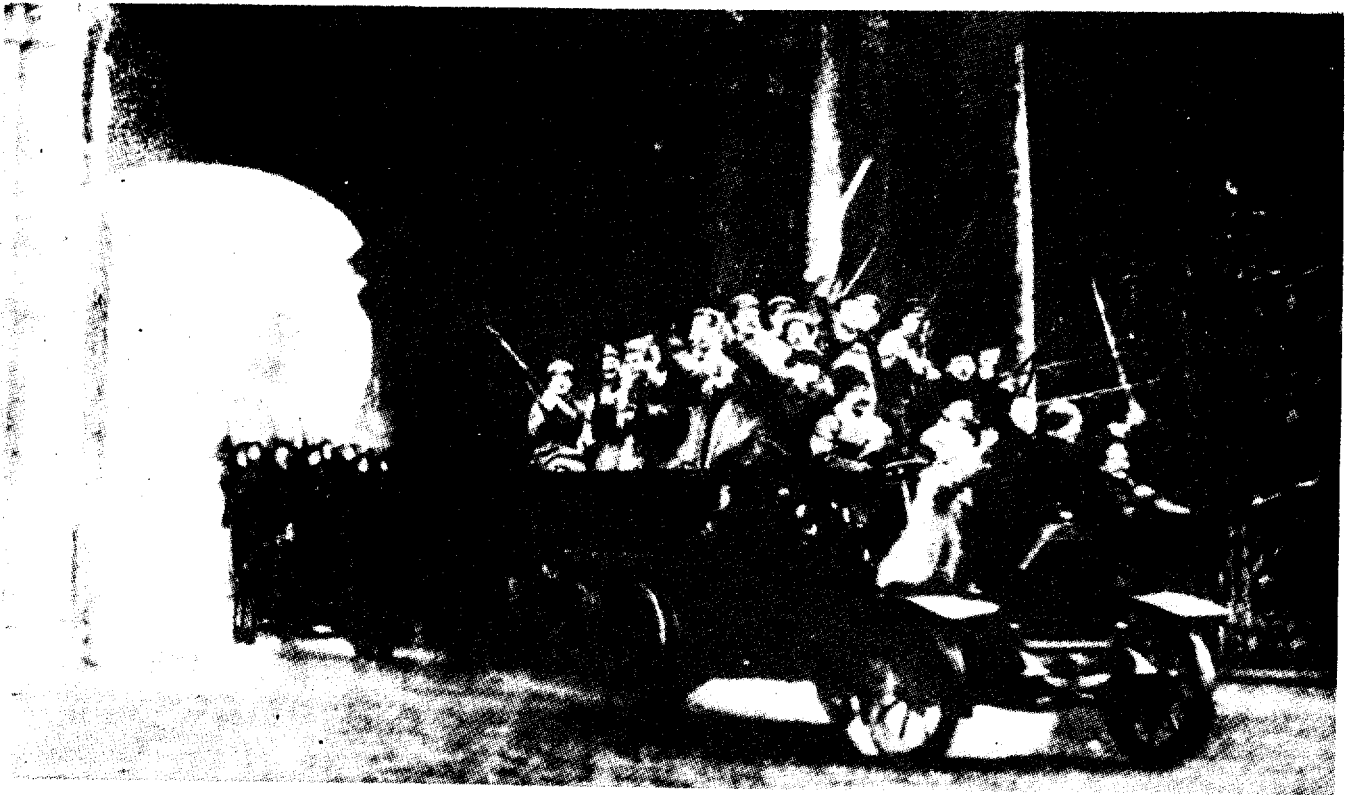
First came the attacks of the White Guards and the Monarchists.

DEFEAT OF THE WHITE TERROR

In February, 1917, the industrial workers on strike in the Russian capital, Petrograd, were joined by hundreds of thousands of workers of all trades in a general strike. The Czar and his ministry called out the troops to suppress the growing demonstrations, but the soldiers joined the struggle and, with the support of similar manifestations in Moscow and other cities, swept aside the corrupt Russian monarchy. But the old oppressive bureaucracy remained intact, the capitalists retained their factories, the nobles their big estates, the czarist officers commanded the army. From February to October, the Bolshevik Party organized the workers and peasants in wave after wave of struggles against the old system. Workers fought the capitalists and many factories were taken over; peasants burned down the nobles’ mansions and divided up the big estates; soldiers formed rank-and-file committees that took the army command from the officers. The Bolshevik Party organized this and directed the spearhead of the struggle against the government and its bureaucratic apparatus, whether it was headed by Prince Lvov or the fake socialist Kerensky.

Finally in October these struggles culminated in an armed insurrection organized by the Bolsheviks. The Petrograd capital fell in a few hours; Moscow after 20 days of street fighting. Other provincial cities followed suit. The armies at the front (Russia was at war at the time) declared for the new socialist government. The whole rotten capitalist system in Russia was swept aside, and for the first time in history the working class consciously made itself the ruling class of a vast nation. Tremendous energies were unleashed, great reforms were promulgated and in weeks Russia made advances it would have taken other systems years to accomplish. This was the dictatorship of the proletariat; the working class as the ruling class.

But the old ruling class was not reconciled to defeat. The nobility missed their mansions and their servants; the bureaucrats their unrestricted power over the people. The monarchists were not long in organizing a comeback. Some famous generals and admirals gathered around themselves a crew of former ministers and high-level bureaucrats, functionaries of the old czarist secret police, policemen, officers, inspectors, Cossacks (an elite military corps similar to the U.S. Marines), capitalists, nobles, princes. These White Armies were financed and “advised” by foreign imperialists. Eventually other imperialists sent in whole armies to fight side by side with the Whites against the Reds. Some 70,000 French, 100,000 Japanese, 250,000 Polish troops joined large regiments from Britain, Italy, Germany, U.S., Rumania, China, Finland, Greece, Czechoslovakia, Serbia and Turkey in an attempt to overthrow the workers’ government. The revolution itself took only ten days in October of 1917. The civil war and imperialist invasion lasted three



In 1917 the Bolsheviks mobilized hundreds of thousands of workers and soldiers (such as these pictured above) to overrun the bosses' system of Czarist Russia and establish the first workers' state. Solzhenitsyn, however favors "traditional autocratic rule"

and one-half years, from 1918 to 1921. The hatred of the old ruling classes and the fear by the imperialist invader of the workers' state was so great that some of the most heinous crimes known in warfare were committed by the White terror. Wherever the White armies roamed, they brought a train of waste, ruin, massacres of men, women and children, desolation, etc.

ONLY THE TREMENDOUS SUPPORT OF THE workers and peasants of Russia who died by the hundreds of thousands to support their socialist regime, and only the resolute determination of the Bolsheviks led by Lenin and veteran professional revolutionaries like Stalin, Voroshilov, Kirov, Gusev, Frunze, Kalinin, Kubyshev, Dzerzhinsky, Orjonikidze, Sverdlov, Petrovsky, Molotov, Budyenny and others saved the dictatorship of the proletariat from defeat.

At one point in late 1919 the White Army of Judenitch was attacking Moscow from the northwest; the British were advancing from Normansk in the north; Admiral Kolchak's White Army, which with Japanese and American help had conquered Siberia, was attacking from the east; General Denikin from the southeast; the French from the southwest; the Germans from the west; etc. No bourgeois observer thought the workers' government could last the year. However, these forces were defeated and the dictatorship of the proletariat survived not by being nice to these enemies, but by acting like any revolutionary dic-

tatorship must—with ruthless energetic action. The counter-revolutionary leaders were shot; many of those who participated in the White terror were arrested.

To combat the White terror, which included sabotage, espionage, assassination of Bolshevik cadre and other subversive activities, the workers' government set up within a few months of the Revolution an Extraordinary Commission to suppress counter-revolutionaries known as the Cheka. Headed by the veteran Polish revolutionary Felix Dzerzhinsky, the Cheka was the opposite of a bourgeois secret police. A bourgeois secret police, like the FBI, Scotland Yard, the Sûreté or the Czarist Okhrana, has as its objective the destruction of communist organizations, the suppression of revolution, and the fastening of the chains of capitalist oppression on the working class. The Cheka had an opposite objective: the destruction of anti-communist organizations, the suppression of counter-revolution and the enforcement of workers' dictatorship over the capitalists. Naturally, to succeed, the workers demanded the Cheka be every bit as ruthless as the White terrorists; to be nice or democratic to these gentry would have been a sure loser.

Only a fool or a traitor believes in "turning the other cheek," observing democratic or judicial formalities in a time of civil war. The capitalists have given us many examples in their own struggles—Abraham Lincoln swept aside all

legalities in his struggle with the Southern slaveholders; the French Jacobins guillotined their opponents; workers on strike are beaten, jailed and shot; 1,000,000 workers were slaughtered in Indonesia in 1965. There is no end to examples. **Any party that frets about getting its hands bloody will bring only defeat and catastrophe on its head and the heads of those who support it.**

Of course the Cheka executed Admiral Kolchak and his staff. Naturally the Czar and his family were wiped out. Of course, thousands of capitalists, cossacks, politicians, police agents, White officers, nobles, etc. were rounded up. Were some of them put in concentration camps and kept there? Definitely! Could the dictatorship of the proletariat have done less and survived? We doubt it.

THE FAKE SOCIALISTS AS COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARIES

We all have many experiences with the herd of fakes "on the left." All one needs is enough cash to start a newspaper and the gall to declare oneself the first communist, or the only authentic domestic follower of some dead phony like Trotsky, some living phony like Brezhnev, or sell-out like Mao. They had the same problem in Russia before, during and after the Revolution. There were a multitude of "socialist" and anarchist sects. The two most significant were the Mensheviks, a party which represented revisionist Marxism—class collaboration with a history of selling out to the bosses; the other was the Socialist Revolutionaries (SR) which represented a pre-Marxist populism which bordered on anarchism.

During the storms of the Revolution, the SR split into a right and a left. The right joined the Mensheviks in the last few bourgeois governments before the October insurrection. They employed every means to suppress the coming workers' revolution, but failed and were overthrown. The left SR vacillated for two weeks after the Revolution, then joined the Bolshevik government for a few months. When the going got hard, they quit and went over to the side of the Mensheviks and right SR.

At first, the overthrown capitalists placed all their marbles on the White generals and Cossacks. However, seeing that the workers and peasants favored socialism, they began to see that a "broader" counter-revolutionary front was needed. The Mensheviks and SR were brought step-by-step from "loyal opposition" to outright counter-revolutionary alliance with the Whites. Thus the inherent and implicit counter-revolutionary features of fake socialists became open and explicit.

In Samara in 1919, the right SR set up a counter-revolutionary government under the protection of Denikin.

In 1918-1919 the SR in conjunction with the British agent Sydney Reilly organized a plot to assassinate the leading Bolsheviks. Central Committee members Uritsky and Volodarsky were assassinated and Lenin was gravely wounded by the "left" SR. At the same time a revolt in Yaro-

slav was organized by the SR with the help of the British agent Lockhart.

Naturally, the dictatorship of the workers moved fast. A Red terror was organized against the SR, their newspapers suppressed and the fake socialists were rounded up and dealt with in the same fashion as the White generals.

BUT ALL THIS WAS JUST THE BEGINNING OF the capitalists' attack. With the final defeat of the White armies and armies of the fourteen attacking nations in 1921, the world bourgeoisie put all its hopes on the fake socialists to restore capitalism to Russia. The civil war had devastated the country and famine stalked the land. The SR and Mensheviks roamed the country calling for "Soviets without Communists." Communists were assassinated, local uprisings organized. The most serious took place on the eve of the 10th Party Congress in March 1921. Mensheviks, SRs and foreign agents organized a mutiny at the Kronstadt Naval Fortress and among the Baltic Sea fleet, a threat against Petrograd. Delegates to the 10th Congress headed by Voroshilov stormed the fortress with grave losses and suppressed the mutiny.

But the surreptitious class war organized by the fake socialists continued for the next ten years:

- In Poland an SR Army of 30,000 was organized which infiltrated to Russia to sabotage, assassinate and subvert. The arrest of the SR leader Savinkov in 1924 and the execution of his financier, the agent of Royal Dutch Shell, Sydney Reilly, in 1925 finally put an end to this front.

- The Mensheviks seized control of Georgia in 1920 and had to be driven out by the Red Army. Later—in 1923-1924 pro-Menshevik nationalists took over again and had to be suppressed by the Cheka. (See Appendix 2)

- In 1928-1930 a secret Menshevik Central Committee organized to infiltrate the government and cause sabotage. They were tried and imprisoned in 1931.

So we can see that when the military civil war ended, the bourgeoisie threw its energy into a subversive civil war that was even more deadly. Whereas the Red Army was the spearhead in defeating the White generals, the Cheka was necessarily the spearhead in defeating the fake socialist underground bands. To better carry out its task in maintaining the dictatorship of the proletariat, the Cheka was reorganized as the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs (NKVD). After Dzerzhinsky's death, it was headed by the veteran Bolshevik Menzhinsky. In the end, it was the total support given to the Party by workers and poor peasants that created the conditions for victory. But the workers demanded tight organization and ruthless determination in suppressing the counter-revolution; the NKVD supplied this. To think that the counter-revolution could have been suppressed without the NKVD is like thinking the economy could have been reconstructed without the Supreme Economic Council. The counter-revolutionaries were well organized and had all the advantages of experience and technique; the

revolutionaries had to be every bit as organized.

In the end the Mensheviks and SRs were suppressed. Many of them found themselves in prison camps. It is not surprising that Solzhenitsyn found them there. These were some of his "Marxist" friends he writes about.

THE TROTSKYITES AND THEIR ILK

The Mensheviks and SR by 1930 were political anachronisms. Life and events had passed them by ten or twelve years ago. Their base had disappeared and their credibility among the masses was zero. Thus their main conspiratorial organizations were isolated and the NKVD could finish them off. Increasingly in the late twenties imperialists turned to agents with a more "left" cover. They needed people who could appeal to left feelings of the people.

Thus when Trotsky began his splitting activities against the Party in 1924 (see PL Vol. 9, #1), the imperialists took notice and prepared to use him to restore capitalism in Russia. And so began a third wave of assaults on the workers' state.

The first Trotskyite to make contact with the imperialists was Krestinsky, who in 1923 was Soviet Ambassador to Germany. He made contact with General von Seeckt and for 250,000 gold marks, he passed on military information to the Reichswehr. Trotsky encouraged Krestinsky and told him that the "Opposition" needed foreign allies.**

From then on contacts between the Trotskyites and foreign intelligence services increased:

- In 1924 Rakovsky, Soviet ambassador to England, was contacted by British intelligence. He reported to Trotsky, who said "relations with British intelligence should be established."

- In the winter of 1925-26 Trotsky went to Germany for his "health." There he and Krestinsky met personally with German military intelligence. (See Appendix)

- In 1931 Trotsky's son, Sedov, and Pyatakov, the head of the Soviet Trade Mission in Germany, a long-time Trotskyite, made arrangements through German Intelligence to cheat the Soviet government and funnel the money to Trotsky. Sedov also set up a certain engineer Shestov to spy for Germany.

Among the Trotskyites who had direct contact with imperialist intelligence were:

Rosenglotz, Commissar of Foreign Trade, worked for Germany 1923-1937, Britain 1926-1937.

Rataichak, official in the administration of the Chemical Industry, agent of German intelligence.

Hrache, official in the chemical industry, Czech and German agent.

Pushin, official in the chemical industry, German agent.

Livshitz, official in the Siberian railroad, Japanese agent.

Sharangovich, Secretary of the Byelorussian

Party organization, Polish agent.

Chernov, Commissar of Agriculture, German agent 1928-1937.

Imperialist money was used to hire small groups of professional gunmen, former czarist officers and other gangster elements. The Trotskyites Smirnov, Zinoviev and Kamenev directed this center. A second center headed by Pyatakov organized and directed economic and industrial sabotage by engineers, bureaucrats and other elements who hated the workers' state and couldn't stand the idea of common workers or peasants giving them orders. These two centers were coordinated in a general way by the two political leaders, Trotsky abroad and the right-wing Bukharin, who still maintained his seat on the Central Committee. The money, the return of capitalist privileges, the power and prestige of their imperialist backers abroad, hatred of the working class, racism, anti-Semitism, personal hatred and jealousy of Bolsheviks like Stalin, Molotov, Voroshilov, etc., were in varying degrees the motives of this motley crew of foreign agents, careerist officials, has-been politicians, bourgeois engineers, old czarist officers, ex-businessmen, etc., that the chief Trotskyites welded together in the Russia of 1930-1934.

IT WAS AN EFFICIENT APPARATUS UNDER the circumstances. It had friends and protectors in the Party, in the government, even in the NKVD, and it had money from abroad. The sabotage and terror had three main purposes:

- (1) to destroy key communists and to promote certain weak elements who were or could be bought off by the Trotskyites. Particular effort was made to promote a certain Yagoda to head the NKVD and Tukhachevsky as head of the Red Army.

- (2) to create a climate of fear and disorganization in the Party to enable a successful coup to take place. Particularly Stalin and Molotov were to be assassinated.

- (3) to enable Trotsky to go to his backers abroad and show that he represented a real force in the country and could then get more direct assistance, particularly from Nazi Germany. (See Appendix)

In 1934-35 the Trotskyite terror claimed some success:

- December 1934, the assassination of Kirov, veteran revolutionary, head of the Leningrad party organization.

- In 1934-1935, the murder by poison of Menzhinsky, head of the NKVD; Kubyshev, chairman of the Supreme Economic Council; and Maxim Gorky, noted writer and friend of Stalin.

- September 1934, the attempted assassination of Molotov.

- October 1935 the sabotage of a Red Army troop train—twenty nine soldiers were killed.

- In 1934, deliberate explosions in the vital Keremov works injuring several workers.

- Deliberate poisoning of horses killing 25,000 in Siberia and 30,000 in Byelorussia plus many other acts of economic sabotage.

- The murder of Menzhinsky paved the way

**All quotes and information in this section are from the confessions of the participants themselves at the Moscow trials in 1937-38.

for the secret Trotskyite Yagoda to head the NKVD. He appointed a number of his agents, among them some Nazi agents, to important positions.

But without any popular base of support the Trotskyite conspiracy could not succeed. Even the cover and support of right-wing ex-party leaders like Bukharin, Rykov and Tomsky was fast becoming useless as these three were exposed in the course of political debates as incorrigible revisionists. When, in the course of events, Nazi spies were uncovered with links to various Trotskyite agents, the conspiracy began to unravel. First Zinoviev and Kamenev were arrested; then Yagoda was removed from his post in the NKVD. When at the first Moscow trial Bukharin, Rykov and Tomsky were implicated, they entrusted leadership of the gang to Krestinsky who tried to play the last card—a coup d'état led by Tukachevsky, a marshal in the army.

Tukachevsky was one of the old czarist officers recruited by Trotsky during the Civil War to help lead the Red Army. (Trotsky did not feel workers and peasants had enough "expertise.") Tukachevsky built up a small clique of Trotskyite and czarist officers who made a secret agreement with the German high command for mutual aid. The plot for the coup was discussed directly by Tukachevsky with German generals and Polish colonels, and through Krestinsky (himself a German agent) with Trotsky. The coup, to take place on May 15, 1937, involved seizing the Kremlin telephone exchange and killing Stalin, Molotov, Voroshilov and other party leaders. But on May 11, the Soviet government uncovered the plot and arrested the leaders.

The conspiracy was smashed.

Tukachevsky and seven other generals were shot in June 1937.

Zinoviev, Kamenev, Smirnov and thirteen other leaders of the terrorist group were shot in August 1936.

Pyatakov and twelve other leaders of the sabotage center were shot in January 1937.

Bukharin, Rykov, Yagoda, Krestinsky, Rosenglotz, Chernov and fifteen other political leaders who provided cover for the conspiracy were shot in March 1938.

Tomsky, General Gamarnik and a handful of others committed suicide.

Radek, Rakovsky and some others were imprisoned.

A general round-up of all Nazis, Trotskyites and other imperialist agents was conducted and these people were dealt with in each case according to their crimes.

Undoubtedly some of these gentlemen turned up in the "Gulag Archipelago" and some are the "heroes" of Solzhenitsyn's novels. The Trotskyites were finished inside the Soviet Union, although they continued full-force their wrecking pro-Nazi activities in other countries until Trotsky's extermination in 1940, and at a diminished capacity afterwards.

THE SMASHING OF THE TROTSKYITE CONSPIRACY vastly strengthened the dictatorship of

the proletariat in the Soviet Union. A weakness that was revealed, however, was that the party had not devoted enough effort to insure the political devotion of the leading cadre of the principal organs of the dictatorship. Thus it was too easy for careerists and agents like Tukachevsky and Yagoda to usurp leading positions in the army and the NKVD. This allowed the Trotskyites to pose far more of a danger than their political base among the workers should have allowed.

THE NAZI INVASION

When it became clear other methods were not going to work, the international bourgeoisie armed the Nazi state of Germany to the hilt and encouraged it to attack the Soviet Union. Through the connivance of the ruling classes in Britain and France, the Nazis were provided with the manpower and industry of all of Eastern Europe for their venture. The Japanese and Italian ruling classes provided materiel and the Italians provided manpower for the invasion. In addition, the biggest sections of the ruling classes of Spain, France and Scandinavia provided direct materiel and manpower support to the Nazi invasion. It was in every way an invasion of the international bourgeoisie to destroy the only socialist state.

A library of books has been written on the Nazi-Soviet war. Of these books, the voluminous memoirs of the Nazi generals are the most distorted, and almost all bourgeois histories depend exclusively on these Nazi memoirs. The Soviet histories are more truthful, but these various histories are written from a point of view of the various cliques which jockeyed for power after Stalin's death. At any rate even the worst of these gives the reader some idea of the magnitude of the war and the tremendous self-sacrifice of the Soviet working class. (See Appendix IV for a few basic facts about the war.)

While Solzhenitsyn's figures about the numbers involved in the "purges" of the thirties are completely fanciful, it is probably true that during the war some millions passed through "Gulag Archipelago." We base this not on "rumors quite fresh at the time" but on facts and logical reasoning. This is obviously a large number of people, and the question arises about why they were imprisoned.

In the first place well over 1,000,000, maybe 2,000,000 Axis prisoners of war were taken and put in prison camps. Considering the horrible crimes of the Nazi invasion and the extreme hardship and deprivation of the Soviet working class, the Nazi prisoners were treated very well, far better than the Russian POWs were by the Nazis. Tens of thousands of Axis prisoners were won over politically and later formed an important part of the communist movement in Eastern Europe and Italy—some fought side by side with the Red Army in the later stages of the war.

A second big group were from the bourgeois superstructure in Bessarabia, Western Ukraine and the Baltic States. These former fascist states, or parts of fascist states, were incor-



In the night of Nov. 7, 1917, the insurgent workers and peasants, led personally by Lenin, captured the Winter Palace and overthrew the reactionary bourgeois provisional government, bringing about the victory of the October Socialist revolution. No amount of lies and slanders by Solzhenitsyn can erase these gains.

porated into the USSR in 1939-1940. The capitalists, the fascist bureaucrats, army and police officers were largely arrested and exiled to parts of the USSR remote from the front. This necessary precaution was entirely justified by subsequent events. For after the Nazi invasion it was manifest that the Soviet regime had erred on the side of liberalism on this score, since it transpired that most of those who had not been exiled collaborated with the Nazis and fingered hundreds of thousands of communists and trade unionists to be executed by the Nazis.

Within the Red Army and in other sections of Soviet society there were a number of weak elements who vacillated, deserted or collaborated with the Nazis. The shock of the 6,000,000 man armada that blitzkrieged into the Soviet Union from June to November 1941 was a severe test for all who were affected. The vast majority of communists and workers were strengthened by it, but a small minority weakened.

These collaborated in different ways. A few became stool pigeons, spies or propagandists for the Nazis, a greater number simply deserted their posts, leaving their former comrades in the lurch, and an even greater number just vacillated at crucial moments, causing great harm to the socialist cause. (Solzhenitsyn himself was in the latter category. As an army officer he sent around secret letters to other officers, criticising the leadership, with the result, if not the desire,

of in a small way disorganizing the Red Army offensive at a crucial moment.) These elements became in varying degrees enemies of the socialist cause and were dealt with variously. Some were shot, more were imprisoned and most simply were exiled to an area remote from the front where they could do little harm. (Solzhenitsyn was exiled to Central Asia where he worked in a research institute—not a very severe punishment.)

FINALLY, WE GET TO THE VLASOV-MEN. (You'll remember that Solzhenitsyn called them, "The finest Russians I ever met.") Millions of prisoners were taken by the Nazis; most died in captivity, many under the severest pressure to collaborate. Stalin's own son was one of these. After the severest physical and mental torture (and after Stalin, quite rightly, refused a Nazi offer to exchange him for some Nazi generals), he faced the firing squad still denouncing the Nazi enemy. However, a few Soviet prisoners under the leadership of General Vlasov capitulated to the pressure and joined the Nazis. These men, numbering some tens of thousands, fought side-by-side with the Nazis, under the command of Himmler's hated SS. They also performed secret police functions and were responsible for the death of hundreds of thousands of workers, communists and partisans. The Vlasov-men were dealt with severely—and justly—by the Soviet working class after the war.

Such were the inhabitants of Solzhenitsyn's

“Gulag Archipelago” in the period of the Soviet dictatorship of the proletariat.

THE MODERN REVISIONISTS

After the defeat of the open enemy, the Whites and the Nazis, and after the defeat of the enemy that pretended socialism but practiced collaboration with the bourgeoisie—the Mensheviks and Trotskyites—there came a most subtle threat: an enemy with no open ties to the international bourgeoisie who proclaimed “undying” devotion to the leadership of the dictatorship of the proletariat. These were the modern revisionists who gradually wormed their way into a position of leadership, often through useful work, but who weakened the dictatorship, eventually transforming it into its opposite with the help of a military coup after the death of Stalin in 1953.

How and why this could happen is a complex subject and we have only a few of the answers. (See “Road to Revolution III,” PL Vol. 8, #3; “Trotsky—Another Rightwinger,” PL Vol. 9, #1) On this line there are four main points to be made.

In the course of dealing with the Trotskyites and the Nazis, certain events occurred and policies were carried out that strengthened the revisionists and greatly facilitated their rise to power. Some of these were subjective mistakes made by the leadership of the world’s first proletarian state which was charting a new course in history. Others were objectively inevitable—potential weaknesses that are always present in a victory.

We will elaborate, but first we should point out that until the elimination on a global scale of capitalism as a system and as a source of ideology, the class struggle continues. Even as the capitalist enemy is defeated, it generates new forces, partly from the remnants of the old, partly from the new forces who ape the ways of the old, even if only to better defeat the old. With each newest, some become stronger, some are weakened. Each battle has its casualties. Some are revolutionaries who are destroyed physically; others, who though formally still revolutionaries, become weak, despondent, fearful and are destroyed mentally. Often the weaknesses are covered up and not readily apparent even to close comrades.

IN THE SHORT HISTORY OF OUR OWN PARTY (PLP) we have seen this process. We have seen a few members who at one period fearlessly fought the police and the class enemy, at a later period became overwhelmed by doubts and despondency and quit, though many are still friends of the Party. This is an inevitable process in the revolutionization of a class and will continue to occur throughout the long epoch of building communism. As long as this objective process is fought and as long as the revolutionary leadership makes no serious subjective errors, the process can be kept in narrow bounds and the old tired ex-revolutionary cadre are more than replaced by new and better revolutionary cadre. This has been the case so far in our party, and it was the case in the Soviet party until serious subjective errors were made in the period 1935-45. What were these errors? There were four main cate-

gories: 1) Narrowing the scope of inner-party democracy; 2) Some revisionist and nationalist errors in combating the Nazi menace; 3) a “better-expert-than-Red” approach to cadre; 4) a bourgeois line on culture and science. For example:

1. In the big round-up of 1936-1938 of Trotskyites and other capitalist agents, some innocent people were inevitably caught in the net. This was unavoidable given the scope and nature of the Trotskyite conspiracy. However, in 1938 after the Trotskyites had already been smashed, the serious error was made of broadening the range of the roundup. The careerist Yezhov who replaced Yagoda in the NKVD arrested and hounded thousands of revolutionaries loyal to the party and its Marxist-Leninist leadership. The unscrupulous Yezhov was out to make a name for himself; when he was found out he was shot and the party leadership tried to rectify the damage, but did not do enough on this score and was not self-critical and open about these errors. This had the serious effect of muting honest debate within the party, of preventing the clash of ideas which is essential to party life, and of discouraging constructive criticism and self-criticism without which the party cannot move forward. Worse yet, it created an atmosphere where grovelling sycophants like Khrushchev or Malenkov or “non-political” professionals like Zhukov or Voznesensky were promoted, while critical thinking revolutionaries were passed up or demoted.

2. The leadership of the CPSU understood the extreme gravity of the Nazi menace as early as 1933 and the unprecedented danger this posed to the very existence of the Soviet system. The revolutionary leadership made the estimate (either rightly or wrongly) that the resources of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the USSR and its close allies among the workers of the world were not sufficient, in and of themselves, to defeat Nazism, or at least to prevent catastrophic death and destruction in the Soviet Union. Thus the party as early as 1935 set out casting about for temporary bourgeois allies. Thus came about a remarkable and on the surface sometimes seemingly contradictory set of policies and pacts with the bourgeoisie around the world and even inside the Soviet Union. Among them were:

- The pact with bourgeois France and Czechoslovakia in 1935;
- The application to join the League of Nations;
- The “collective security” negotiations with Britain and France in the late thirties;
- The Soviet-German non-aggression treaty of 1939;
- The pact with Britain and the U.S. in 1941;
- The Tehran, Yalta and Potsdam agreements with the U.S. and British imperialists;
- The “united front” policies of alliance with various social-democratic labor fakers;
- The lifting of all restrictions on the bourgeois Russian Orthodox Church in 1942;
- The opening of the floodgates of Russian nationalism during the war;
- The dissolution of the Communist Interna-

tional in 1943;

• The various agreements with the bourgeois governments of Sweden, Finland, Turkey, Iran, China and other countries. . . .

Overwhelmingly the party relied on the Soviet working class and the workers of the world to produce the historic victory over the Nazis. Yet these pacts with the bourgeoisie were considered useful in a tactical or immediate sense.

The leadership was able to correct some of the more revisionist and nationalist distortions in due time. But the net effect of these policies was to vastly strengthen the hand of revisionists and nationalists in the second and lower levels of leadership in the party. By the end of the war, the revolutionary leadership found itself surrounded by nationalist, revisionist sycophants of the Khrushchev type. Worse yet the leadership, including Stalin, only dimly perceived the mortal danger this development posed to the dictatorship of the proletariat.

3. The dire threat that the Nazis posed caused at least a partial reversal of the general line of the party toward cadre. The communist position that politics must come first-or "better red than expert"-was relaxed, especially in the Red Army. Professional military "geniuses" like Zhukov, Rokossovsky, Malinovsky and Konev, who were nationalists, not communists, gained great authority and prestige. These men and their ilk were not easily dislodged and, step-by-step, they converted the Red Army from an organ of the dictatorship of the proletariat into an organ for the restoration of capitalist rule. They had their counterparts on the economic front—so-called economic "wizards" like Kosygin and Vozneshen-sky gained power and authority and began to introduce a bourgeois style of economic work.

4. Some of the most serious and long term errors were made by the leadership on the cultural and scientific level. It was here that traditional Marxism-Leninism failed them. The concept of carrying out the class struggle against bourgeois science and culture was never fully grasped by Marx, Engels or Lenin.

Thus it was that in the Soviet Union no attempt was made to smash bourgeois culture. The works of Shakespeare, Goethe, Tolstoy, Chekhov, Picasso, Tchaikowsky, etc., were applauded and promoted. Putrid bourgeois institutions like the Bolshoi Ballet were not closed down but were glorified. Paintings, sculpture and architecture of the rotten czarist period were proudly displayed. Worse yet a bunch of artists who aped the methods of the bourgeois artists—people like Sholokhov, Shostakovich, Eisenstein, Prokofiev, Ehrenburg—gained enormous prestige and authority. And the few attempts to devise an entirely new form of proletarian art and literature died on the vine. This process was greatly accelerated during the war.

THUS BY 1945 THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE proletariat was in even more critical danger than when the Nazis were at the gates of Moscow in 1941. But unfortunately this extreme danger of a capitalist restoration was not perceived in all its gravity by the revolutionary leadership of the



Here is Solzhenitsyn's military hero, the renegade General Vlasov, who joined the Nazis during WWII.

Party represented by Stalin, Molotov, Voroshilov, Kaganovich and Beria. They did see some danger, however, and took some steps to fight the revisionists:

- they fought to reconstitute the international communist movement on a class-struggle line by fighting Browderism and Titoism and various bourgeois nationalists of the Nehru type;

- they fought the U.S. imperialists' plan to dominate the world;

- they smashed a series of Zionist plots in the Soviet Union;

- they removed Zhukov and other "little Napoleons" from positions of power and influence in the army;

- they struggled for the party to re-open the fight against nationalism, religion, Zionism and other forms of bourgeois ideology that had gained currency in the Soviet Union;

- Stalin wrote an extremely important anti-revisionist polemic in 1952, "On the Economic Problems of Building Socialism in the USSR."

These steps were too little and too late, but while Stalin lived, his enormous prestige and popularity kept the revisionists on the defensive. However, after his death they moved fast. First Beria and the leadership of the NKVD were murdered; then Zhukov was brought back to head the army. Zhukov and the army were used by Khrushchev in a series of military coups that removed the principal revolutionary leaders, notably Molotov, Voroshilov and Kaganovich. After that a wholesale series of purges were begun that removed two-thirds to three-quarters of the membership of the Central Committee and other principal leading bodies in a period of a few months. Finally, in 1956 a vicious campaign of

lies and slanders against Stalin was begun, with the direct assistance of the international bourgeoisie. This was done because at that point the memory of Stalin and all he stood for was all that separated the Khrushchev clique from completing the process of capitalist restoration. Toward this end, Khrushchev stooped to use a bunch of former Trotskyites and Nazi sympathizers, like Solzhenitsyn to orchestrate a loud anti-Stalin chorus to the standing ovation of the U.S. imperialists, the British ruling clique, Nehru, Nasser, Sukarno, and all the bloody bourgeois beasts around the world.

SOLZHENITSYN AND SAKHAROV

Now we can see more clearly where Solzhenitsyn and his partner, the physicist Sakharov, fit in historically. As the cultural advance guard of the modern revisionists who usurped the leadership of the Soviet Union after Stalin's death, they became increasingly expendable after the modern revisionists consolidated their counter-revolutionary rule. When their patron, Khrushchev, fell in a palace coup in 1964, they were isolated and turned to the Western bourgeoisie to provide them the protection that Khrushchev had previously afforded.

It's irrelevant to our central thesis, and we wouldn't mention this story, if such a thing had not been made of Solzhenitsyn's "great moral courage." Solzhenitsyn mentions in *Gulag Archipelago* that his secret letters to another army officer, an old schoolmate, during World War II is what led to his arrest. This man, Nikolai Vitkevich, was arrested three months after Solzhenitsyn. What got him arrested? At his hearing Vitkevich was told he had been denounced by none other than his old pal Solzhenitsyn. He didn't believe it then. But later when he was paroled in 1957, Vitkevich was shown the record of Solzhenitsyn's interrogation. There in Solzhenitsyn's "own unmistakable handwriting," he found that the great moral symbol had squealed on Vitkevich and others—including his own wife.

The reporter from the *Christian Science Monitor*, who got this story, then asked Vitkevich, who served time with Solzhenitsyn, if there was indeed any truth to Solzhenitsyn's stories that there were "many millions in the labor camps"? Vitkevich answered, "That's just his weak point—those stories. He loved to gather stories. He wanted to stress his tragic biography. Such sources are somewhat imaginative." But this is just an aside.

It is not surprising to find Sakharov expressing his open admiration for western capitalism. As great "exposers" of Stalin they make the natural transition to apologists for U.S. imperialism. Thus about the vicious racism of the U.S. capitalists, Sakharov says:

I have no intentions of minimizing the aspect of poverty and lack of rights, but we must clearly understand that this problem is not primarily a class problem but a racial problem, involving the racism and egotism of white workers and that the ruling group in the United States is interested in solving this problem.

Then this George Wallace type goes on to urge us to let "the ruling group in the United States settle the Negro problem without aggravating the situation in the country."

As for the crimes of U.S. imperialism, he warns us not to combat the "so-called imperialist peril," but attributes U.S. corporate aggression to mere "egotism." He explicitly absolves U.S. imperialism of any direct responsibility for the Mid-East wars. As for the war in Vietnam, Solzhenitsyn chimes in to cover up the U.S. criminal role by calling for a mass movement to denounce the NLF's alleged "bestial mass killings in Hue." This is how the great moral freedom fighter views one of the great anti-imperialist struggles of the century.

It is no wonder that this pair have become the favorites of William F. Buckley, Jr. But actually, they are only following in the footsteps of their former boss, Khrushchev, who in his own time tried to sabotage the revolutionaries in Vietnam and in his own inimitable style liked to pay all manner of compliments to the U.S. imperialists. But the inter-imperialist rivalry between the U.S. and the USSR is now so sharp that these early prophets of modern revisionism are no longer useful to the Soviet revisionist ruling clique, and have become an embarrassment. This explains partly their popularity in U.S. ruling circles, but that is not their main point. The main point is to build anti-communism.

ANTI-COMMUNISM

On first glance, it might seem incredible that twenty years after his death there would be such an outpouring of boos attacking Stalin. Besides a number of "popular" or "scholarly" works on Stalin by various prostitute U.S. and British professors, we have Solzhenitsyn's "blockbuster" and now Khrushchev's memoirs. All these anti-Stalin diatribes are being ballyhooed by the media to the maximum.

What the bourgeoisie is about is building anti-communism. They want us to hate Stalin, to hate the dictatorship of the proletariat in the Soviet Union under Stalin, and even to hate the very concept of workers' rule or communism. Thus they would attempt to divide workers from the vanguard communist party, the PLP.

We in PLP will fight this trend by not apologizing one bit for Stalin. We are proud to be his heirs and the heirs of the great revolutionary experience of the workers' dictatorship in the Soviet Union.

PLP will fight this anti-communism with unwavering vigilance. Not only do we not apologize for, but in fact we take inspiration from, the tremendous revolutionary advances made during 35 years of Soviet proletarian dictatorship led by Lenin, Stalin and other communist revolutionaries.

More significantly, PLP, in the tradition of Lenin and Stalin, will immerse itself in the class struggle of U.S. workers and attempt to become a Marxist-Leninist vanguard that will enable the working class to smash the U.S. rulers and establish workers' power—the dictatorship of the proletariat.

APPENDIX I

What happened to the White Armies in 1919 is of interest:

(1) Yudenitch: We have here four headlines from the N.Y. **Times** that tell it all:

- Oct. 18, 1919: Anti-Red Forces Now in Petrograd
- Oct. 20, 1919: Petrograd's Fall Again Reported
- Oct. 21, 1919: Anti-Red Forces Near Petrograd News of Fall of City Hourly Expected in London
- Feb. 29, 1920: Yudenitch Quits Army Starts for Paris With his Fortune of 100,000,000 Marks

(2) British in Murmansk: In 1919 White forces in Murmansk numbered 18,400 British, 5100 Americans, 1800 French, 1200 Italians, 1000 Serbs, 20,000 White Russians. A proclamation from British General Headquarters declared:

"There seems to be among the troops a very indistinct idea of what we are fighting in Russia. This can be explained in a few words. We are up against Bolshevism, which means anarchy, pure and simple. Look at Russia at the present moment. The power is in the hands of a few men, mostly Jews..."

But this didn't clarify the matter, because in the summer of 1919 the British General Headquarters issued the following report:

"On 7th July a determined mutiny took place in the 3rd Company of the 1st Battalion, Slavo-British Legion and the Machine Gun Co. of the 4th Northern Rifle Regiment ... On July 22 news was received that the Russian **regiment** (White) had mutinied in the Omega district and had handed over the whole Omega front to the Bolsheviks."

(3) Kolchak: Some headlines from the New York **Times**:

- March 26, 1919: Kolchak Pursues Broken Red Army
- April 20, 1919: Reds Collapse in the East
- April 22, 1919: Red Rule Totters As Kolchak Wins
- May 15, 1919: Kolchak Plans Move on Moscow
- August 11, 1919: Disaster to The Kolchak Regime

The Siberian people had a song:

Uniforms are British
Epaullettes from France
Japan supplies the Tobacco
Kolchak leads the Dance

Uniforms are tattered
Epaullettes are gone
So is the tobacco
Kolchak's day is done

(4) Denikin: In June 1919, Denikin occupied Tsaritsyn and was only 120 miles from Moscow. According to the New York **Times**, he was "sweeping all before him" and the Red Army was in a "wild panic." But by January 1920, the remnants of his army were streaming into a Black Sea port. On March 27, 1920, while a British warship poured shells inland, Denikin fled on a French warship, leaving the remains of his army to be arrested by the Soviets.

(5) French in Odessa: The French landed 70,000 troops in Odessa. The underground Bolshevik organization launched a French-language newspaper that won over most of the troops. When a small partisan band of 2,000 approached the city ten months later, the French command, fearing their own troops more than the Bolsheviks, hastily withdrew.

(6) Japanese in Siberia: In early 1921, the Japanese puppet Baron Ungern declared:

"Mongolia has become the natural starting point for a campaign against the Red Army in Soviet Siberia... Commisars, Communists and Jews, together with their families, must be exterminated... Truth and mercy are no longer admissible. Henceforth there can only be truth and merciless cruelty."

By August, after a series of defeats, his Mongolian bodyguard mutinied and handed him over to the Red Army. On October 19, 1922, the Red Army closed in on Vladivostok, the last Japanese stronghold, forcing the Japanese to evacuate.

APPENDIX II

An incident in the suppression of the Georgian nationalists shows that there are no "infallible" leaders, not even Lenin. The nationalists not only opposed incorporation into the USSR, they suppressed non-Georgians. Armenians were expelled from Georgia, Georgian women who married non-Georgians were stripped of their citizenship, etc. The Politburo (leadership of the Central Committee) put Stalin in charge of reinstating the dictatorship of the proletariat in Georgia. He sent Ordjonikidze to Georgia to oversee Cheka efforts.

Now it happened that the leader of the Georgian nationalists, one Mdivani, was an old friend of Lenin's. He appealed to Lenin for help. Lenin was on his deathbed, but was moved by Mdivani, and on this impetus, he wrote his famous "testament" which called Stalin "too rude" and suggested his removal as general secretary, Ordjonikidze's expulsion from the party, and a reprimand for Dzerzhinsky. The Politburo, which knew that Lenin did not understand the situation, took no action and refused to accept Stalin's resignation.

Lenin was nothing if not dogged. He wrote three notes to the Politburo on the matter and then asked Trotsky and Kamenev, who he knew disliked Stalin, to bring the matter up at the forthcoming Congress. But Trotsky and Kamenev were too embarrassed to do so because they knew the facts of the Georgian situation. In fact, Trotsky loudly urged Stalin to remain at his post after the "testament" was circulated at the Congress. But years later in exile Trotsky had the gall to use this so-called "testament" to try to discredit Stalin.

APPENDIX III

Confessions from the Moscow trials:

Krestinsky: "At that time we had already become accustomed to receiving sums regularly, in sound currency.... This money went for the Trotskyite work which was developing abroad in various countries, for publishing literature and so forth.... In 1928, when the struggle of the Trotskyites abroad against the Party leadership was at its height, both in Moscow and among the fraternal groups... Seeckt... advanced the proposal that the espionage information which was being transmitted to him not regularly but from time to time should now assume a more regular character, and, in addition, that the Trotskyite organization should pledge that in case it assumed power during a possible new world war, this Trotskyite government would take into consideration the just demands of the German bourgeoisie, that is to say mainly for concessions and for the conclusion of treaties of a different kind."

"After I consulted Trotsky... I answered General Seeckt in the affirmative and our information began to assume a more systematic character, no longer sporadic, as it had been before. Verbal promises were made with regard to a future post-war agreement."

"... We kept on receiving money. Beginning with 1923 until 1930 we received annually 250,000 German marks in gold... approximately 2,000,000 gold marks."

Radek: "Trotsky put the question in this way: the accession of Fascism to power in Germany had fundamentally changed the whole situation. It implied war in the near future, inevitable war, the more so that the situation was simultaneously becoming acute in the Far East. Trotsky had no doubt that this war would result in the defeat of the Soviet Union. This defeat, he wrote, will create favorable conditions for the accession to power of the bloc.... Trotsky stated that he had established contacts with a certain Far Eastern state and a certain Central European state, and that he had openly told semi-official circles of these states that the bloc stood for a bargain with them and was prepared to make considerable concessions both of an economic and a territorial character."

Berman-Yurin: "I had two meetings with him

(Trotsky). First of all he began to sound me on my work in the past. Then Trotsky passed to Soviet affairs. Trotsky said: 'The principal question is the question of Stalin. Stalin must be physically destroyed.' He said that other methods of struggle were now ineffective. He said that for this purpose people were needed who would dare anything, who would agree to sacrifice themselves for this, as he expressed it, historic task...."

Bessonov: "We shall consent to the cession of the Ukraine, Trotsky said. Bear that in mind in your work and in your negotiations with the Germans, and I shall also write about it to Pyatakov and Krestinsky. He then dealt with questions connected with the work of the Trotskyite organizations in the Soviet Union and particularly stressed the fact that under conditions when an inevitable war was brewing, the only possible way in which the Trotskyites could come to power was by the defeat of the Soviet Union in that war."

"He then dwelt on the methods of work of the Trotskyite organizations in the Soviet Union, particularly emphasizing the necessity of resorting to the most extreme terrorist methods of struggle. At this point he mentioned the words which are contained in the indictment and which were read out here today, namely, that it would be unpardonable squeamishness were we, his followers in the Soviet Union, not to proceed now to the direct extermination and removal of Stalin and all his immediate followers."

"Quite unexpectedly, he dwelt in this connection on Maxim Gorky, saying that the part played by Maxim Gorky was extremely exceptional in view of his influence, not only in the Soviet Union, but above all abroad. He referred to Gorky's extremely close friendship with Stalin and said that Maxim Gorky's utterances were most definitely driving away from Trotsky many of his followers among the European intelligentsia and bringing them closer to the position of the leadership of the Party. And in this connection he had arrived at the conclusion, which he openly expressed to me, that Gorky must be removed, mentioning those words which were quoted here about the necessity of physically exterminating Gorky at all costs. Such were his instructions."

There is more, much more, in the official transcripts of the three Moscow trials available at some libraries.

The net effect of the Moscow trials was summed up by the U.S. Ambassador to the USSR. Writing in 1941, Davies said:

"There was no so-called 'internal aggression' in Russia co-operating with the German High Command. Hitler's march into Prague in 1939 was accompanied by the active military support of Henlein's organizations in Czechoslovakia. The same thing was true of his invasion of Norway. There were no Sudeten Henleins, no Slo-

vakian Tisos, no Belgian De Grelles, no Norwegian Quislings in the Russian picture....”

“The story had been told in the so-called treason or purge trials of 1937 and 1938 which I attended and listened to. In re-examining the record of these cases and also what I had written at the time.... I found that practically every device of German Fifth Columnist activity, as we now know it, was disclosed and laid bare by the confessions and testimony elicited at these trials of self-confessed ‘Quislings’ in Russia....”

“All of these trials, purges, and liquidations, which seemed so violent at the time and shocked the world, are now quite clearly a part of a vigorous and determined effort of the Stalin government to protect itself.... They went to work thoroughly to clean up and clean out all treasonable elements within the country. All doubts were resolved in favor of the government.”

“There were no Fifth Columnists in Russia in 1941—they had shot them. The purge had cleansed the country and rid it of treason.”

APPENDIX IV

A few bare facts about the Nazi-Soviet War:

Battle of Moscow (October 1941—April 1942):

Nazi Army Group Center pitted 1.1 million men, 1700 tanks and 19,000 guns against the three Soviet Fronts which had between them 800,000 men, 770 tanks and 9,150 guns. But the workers of the Moscow region made the difference. More than 100,000 workers, mainly women, built in the November cold (15°) 1428 artillery emplacements, 100 miles of anti-tank ditches, 75 miles of barbed-wire defenses (3 rows deep). In less than a week, in October, 12,000 Moscow workers were formed into units which went to the front, another 100,000 became paramilitary reservists and 17,000 were medics. The key industrial town of Tula on October 30 stood between Guderian's crack tank army and Moscow. Only 3000 exhausted troops with little or no equipment defended the area. The Party at Tula organized a defense committee which repaired the guns, sewed uniforms, and armed a workers' regiment of 600. Against incredible odds Tula held out and was never captured.

The Nazi offensive was ground to a halt by December 9; in the last 20 days alone they lost 155,000 dead, 800 tanks, 300 guns and 1500 planes destroyed. A Soviet counter-offensive lasted until April; the Nazis lost 500,000 men, 1300 tanks, 2500 guns, 15,000 trucks and more in the period between December and April. All told in the period November 1 to April 1 the Nazis lost 900,000 men, 2300 tanks, 74,000 motor vehicles.

Battle of Stalingrad (August 1942—February 1943):

The Battle of Stalingrad was the turning point of the war. The Nazis and their fascist allies from Italy, Rumania and Hungary lost one and one-half million men, 3500 tanks, 12,000 guns, 3000 planes. This compares with the loss of 40,000 at the concurrent Battle at El Aleman which bourgeois historians like to depict as the turning point. Only twelve divisions were involved in El Aleman; some 217 divisions were arrayed at the Russian front.

At the beginning of the battle the opposing forces compared as follows:

Men	—6,198,000 Nazi	5,534,000 Soviet
Tanks	— 3,230 Nazi	4,959 Soviet
Guns	— 56,940 Nazi	40,798 Soviet
Planes—	3,395 Nazi	2,840 Soviet

In the Stalingrad battle itself the Nazis maintained a bigger advantage: 1.3:1 in manpower; 1:1 in guns, 2:1 in tanks, 3.6:1 in planes. What defeated the Nazis was the tremendous spirit and self-sacrifice of the Red Army; the thousands of workers—men and women who fought side-by-side in the street fighting; the guerrilla bands in the rear that made a mess of Nazi supply operations; and the bold strategic plan for a counter-offensive devised by Stalin. When Field Marshall Paulus and his 300,000-man army were encircled and destroyed (eventually 91,000 were taken prisoner including Paulus), the whole world knew the tide had been turned.

Battle of Kursk (July—August 1943):

The Battle of Kursk vies with Stalingrad as the bloodiest in the war. Two million men and 6000 tanks were involved. Some 200 German divisions and 32 other Fascist divisions were in Russia at the time. (At the same time the British/U.S. invasion of Italy faced only seven German divisions.)

But by now Soviet strength equaled the Nazis and, moreover more than 200,000 guerrillas operated behind the lines. These were directed by the Central Headquarters of the Guerrilla Movement and by underground committees in cities, districts and provinces. In the Kursk battle, they proved decisive with their famous rail road war that prevented supplies from reaching the Nazi front. Also by 1943 2.7 million soldiers had joined the Party, which helped strengthen the political conviction in the Army. The working class of the USSR had by that time driven production up so that more war material was reaching the Soviet side than the Nazi. The general political and day-to-day military leadership of Stalin in this period was also an important ingredient in the victory. These growing strengths of the Soviets, coupled with the deteriorating political situations in the Nazi camp, made the Nazi offensive in the Battle of Kursk nothing but a desperate gamble. Over one-half million Nazi troops were wiped out in the battle. From July to October a million Nazi troops were wiped out.

Battle of Belorussia (June-August 1944):

From the Battles of Kursk to Belorussia were a year of military victories unmatched in the annals of war: Taman Peninsula, Leningrad, Crimea, Cherkasy, Kiev, Lvov and a number of other Soviet victories. Each alone involved a more significant defeat for the Nazis than did any battle on the Western Front. The complete destruction of the Army Group Center in Belorussia in June, 1944, is the most important victory of that year. Another one-half million Nazi forces were wiped out in this battle. Once again the partisans played their significant role, blowing up 147 Nazi trains in a three-day period. The Soviet offensive after the victory in Belorussia didn't stop until it reached Warsaw in Poland some hundreds of miles away.

While this was happening, another Soviet Front entered fascist Rumania. In a lightening nine-day

campaign, they wiped out 300,000 German troops, forced the capitulation of the Nazi governments in Rumania and adjoining Bulgaria. Even after the Soviets wiped out the Army Group Center and the Rumanian Front, there were some 150 German divisions left in Russia compared with only 70 in Italy, France, Germany and the Low Countries. (This was after the Normandy invasion.) In addition to German troops, the Red Army had faced during the greater part of the war the entire armed might of Rumania, Hungary and Finland plus big fascist armies from Italy and Slovakia and well-armed Fascist volunteer divisions from France, Sweden, Spain and Belgium, as well as puppet Fascist forces recruited from Soviet prisoners of war.

Total German casualties on the Russian Front amounted to 6,000,000.

Soviet casualties were about 20,000,000.

Operation Zebra: Bosses Show Their Racist Stripes

FOUR KILLED IN STREET SLAYINGS—ALL VICTIMS WHITE, BLACK SECT GROUP INVOLVED blared the **San Francisco Chronicle's** hysterical headlines on the morning of January 29. So began what was to be a vicious four-month campaign of race-war hysteria by the S.F. ruling class, led by arch-racist Mayor Joe Alioto. They even picked a name with obvious black-white racial connotations: "Operation Zebra."

S.F.'s ruling circles had laid the groundwork for "Zebra" last fall with the revival of the Nazis. The Nazis were allowed, and thus encouraged, to put up racist posters and hand out flyers espousing their racist filth. A six-week campaign of militant actions by PLP, WAM, and other forces from the working class communities, had forced the Alioto- and police department-supported Nazis to retreat. But the Nazis turned out to be just a warm-up for Alioto and his moneyed backers. With Operation Zebra they pulled out the stops.

First came the full-blown racist propaganda campaign. Racist headlines about "black killers" were spewed out daily. One TV broadcaster advised "white citizens of San Francisco to stay indoors after dusk." The S.F. **Chronicle** ran a brazenly racist editorial about how "these people came from Africa" and that the "Zebra" murders "resemble barbaric rituals more normally practiced at a jungle waterhole." All of a sudden any street crime (of which there is a lot in deteriorating U.S. capitalist society) involving a minority person was headline news in the papers and TV. These were all linked to "Zebra," and by this time "Zebra" translated "Rampaging Blacks Out to Kill Whites." A black city official reported he had begun receiving calls from racist whites threatening "to kill one for one." Then, on April 18, racist Joe Alioto, slobbering about how "extreme situations call for extreme measures," went on TV to announce cops would begin a mass stop-and-search of all black males between eighteen and fifty! Though Alioto crowed about "finding a killer" it was clear that in fact he was declaring **semi-martial law on black workers!** The Nazis had held a rally earlier in the week calling for armed storm troopers to comb the streets, and Alioto had put into effect the Nazi

plan by giving orders to several hundred of "S.F.'s finest" storm troopers to harass black people *en masse*. The next night the cops marched into the Crest Theater downtown, and ordered all black men and their companions out into the lobby to be searched and interrogated! The following night a comrade in PLP was stopped and held for over four hours into the middle of the night! And these are only a few examples of the gross racist actions. Hundreds were stopped and harassed by the cops. To add racist insult to all this, the police issued "Zebra 'ID tags'," à la Hitler's concentration camps, to blacks who who were searched and harassed.

PLP LEADS ANTI-RACIST FIGHT-BACK

From the very outset PLP had begun distributing flyers to counter the Alioto-media-police racist propaganda campaign. When the fascist stop-and-search escalation came down, all the liberal, revisionist and nationalist leaders, black and white, issued outraged statements to the press, but only the PLP immediately called for and made plans to carry out **militant action to stop it**. (PLP also held a formal press conference to which most reporters came, but not one word got into the papers!) After-work plant rallies were held calling on workers to march on Alioto's mansion that Sunday, April 21. Other organizations were contacted and urged to participate. Sunday morning, in the face of police intimidation, an integrated group of 100 demonstrators marched into the gates of Presidio Terrace and on up to Alioto's mansion chanting "Stop racist police terror! Smash Operation Zebra!" An angry picket line was set up right at Alioto's doorstep. The racist pig himself peered out an upstairs window and then ducked for cover as demonstrators spotted him.

This bold action led by PLP later proved to be the turning point in cracking the atmosphere of racism that had been building in the city, and began to turn mass sentiment against the racist Zebra plot. Because of the bold nature of the action and the sharp political line attacking Alioto and his racist schemes, the demonstration was top of the news that evening and front page head-

lines the next morning. Thus we had begun to take the initiative away from the ruling class (who were launching a racist attack on us) and put it back in the hands of the workers, by mounting a counter-attack on their racist plan.

The Sunday action laid the basis for a broader demonstration at City Hall on Monday. Twelve hundred angry people turned out to picket City Hall. Many said they had seen or heard about the Sunday action, and that had moved them to come to City Hall. The picketers demanded that "Zebra" be stopped immediately.

Grossly miscalculating the hatred by the masses for his racist hide, at 5:30 that afternoon Alioto, headed for his limousine, walked out of City Hall into the picket line. Hundreds of demonstrators surrounded Alioto-yelling at him, hitting him with placards and spitting in his face. He ran for the safety of his limousine which was then surrounded and rocked by the anti-racist crowd. Finally Alioto's aides started the engine and made a panicky getaway. This action by 1200 people was representative of thousands of workers in the city, particularly minority workers, who were enraged by Alioto's racist attacks. Because of this outrage by the workers and others, Alioto had to scale down his fascist tactics; three days later the ruling class, through the person of U.S. District Judge Zirpoli, had to call off the "stop and search" operations altogether. This was a significant defeat for the ruling class and a major victory for the people. It proved in life that racism can be beaten back by a united working class strengthened by the vanguard role of its communist party—PLP.

In the face of this defeat at the hands of the people, led largely by the PLP, Alioto, trying desperately to keep his racist law-and-order campaign for governor alive, renewed the attack in a different form. On Wednesday, May 1, Alioto-directed S.F. cops staged a gestapo-style early-dawn terror raid at an apartment house in the heart of the Fillmore district. Wearing jumpsuits and waving M-16 automatic rifles, a heavily-armed group of over thirty cops descended on sleeping black residents of 844 Grove Street. "Open the doors or we'll shoot!" the storm troopers yelled at the people in their apartments. "They really gave us the impression they wouldn't hesitate to shoot," Mrs. Monica Eskridge said later. She went on to describe the S.S. tactics of the police:

Her husband, James, leaped from bed and started to put on his pants at a pounding on the door and shouts of "open the door. Open it or we'll shoot!" Her husband opened the door, was grabbed by two rifle-carrying men, pulled out on the balcony and handcuffed.

She opened her bedroom door, "And this guy standing in our front doorway pumped his gun—it clicked—and pointed it at me."

Another gun-carrying man ran in and rapidly, cautiously, searched the apartment, every place a person could be hiding. Ushered outside, she asked why her hus-

band was in handcuffs and was told, "We're taking him in for violation of parole." She protested that her husband had never been in jail and she was told abruptly, "That doesn't matter. We're taking him in."

She was ordered back into their second-floor apartment and told to stay with her still-sleeping son, Freddie, two.

Her husband was handcuffed for fifteen minutes before police were satisfied he was not a man they wanted, she said.

Other residents of 844 Grove Street recounted similar stories of racist police terror during the raid. Out of the raid and three others like it that same morning, seven black men were arrested and labeled the "Zebra Killers" by Alioto. The next morning Alioto went on TV and brought his Big Racist Lie campaign to new heights: "These seven men are members of a vicious ring of murderers called "Death Angels," Alioto foamed, "a nationwide cult of blacks dedicated to the murder and mutilation of whites." He then went on to blame the seven and others of "the sect" for the death of practically every white person murdered in California in the last two years—"seventy-three in all" fumed Alioto.

PLP and other workers struck back hard at Alioto's new racist attack. Alioto flew off to meet with U.S. Attorney General William Saxbe, breathing a sigh of relief to be leaving PLP and angry S.F. workers behind. But when he got to the "Justice" Department in Washington, D.C., 300 chanting workers—early arrivals from the May Day National Motorcade—were there to "greet" him!

"Alioto's a racist liar—we'll set his ass on fire!" yelled the militant marchers. That night, when Alioto landed back at the S.F. airport, PLP members chased him to his limousine! The pig Alioto was beginning to reel. Every time he turned around to open his racist mouth, PLP and other workers were there to shut him up. Several more demonstrations were organized against "Zebra," including another action at Alioto's mansion. Trying to build up support for this exposed enemy of the working class, the racist union hacks invited Alioto to speak to the upcoming C.O.P.E. (Committee on Political Education of the AFL-CIO) dinner at the Fairmont Hotel. WAM held a mass demonstration outside and a group of trade unionists from the Teachers' Action Caucus, Leap Ahead Local 250 and other rank-and-file caucuses held a press conference inside denouncing Alioto's Zebra Operation, linking it to the racist cutbacks going on at S.F. General Hospital and the racist layoffs of 500 paraprofessionals in the S.F. Public Schools.

Workers by and large were not buying this "Phase II" of "Operation Zebra," due largely to the fight-back during "Phase I" and the continued efforts of PLP and WAM during "Phase II" (the revisionists had all gone into hiding since the May 1st terror raids). Alioto lost his bid for governor on the racist law-and-order ticket and "Operation Zebra" began to wind down, starting with the release of four of the seven men arrested.



PLP and many others protest police searches of hundreds of young blacks in "Zebra" manhunt. Alioto was booed, spat at, and struck with placard

ZEBRA-TYPE RACISM NOTHING NEW

To help get a better working-class perspective on the "Zebra" case, and before going into the particulars of the arrests and Alioto's "Death Angels" theories, it would be useful to look at recent history to see how the ruling class has used Zebra-type campaigns in the past to build racism and justify fascist tactics against minority workers:

Scottsboro Case—On March 25, 1931, nine black youths were jailed in Scottsboro, Alabama, and "charged with the rape of two white girls on a freight train. Actually the rape never occurred, as Ruby Bates, one of the girls concerned, later publicly testified. Nevertheless, as part of the general terrorism directed against the black people, the nine youths were quickly convicted in a lynch atmosphere and sentenced to die in the electric chair." Besides the obvious parallels to "Zebra," it is worth noting that **only** the Communist Party came forward to fight this racist frame-up. The reactionary union leaders (A.F.L.), the revisionists (Socialist Party), both black and white liberals (N.A.A.C.P. and A.C.L.U.), all took a hands-off policy. The "Socialists" even issued a statement asserting

"we certainly don't condone rape." For over three years the Communists played a decisive vanguard role in this anti-racist struggle which eventually led to the formation of the united front Scottsboro Defense Committee in 1935.¹

Pearl Harbor Spy Case—In late 1941 and early 1942 the ruling class used the existence of two Japanese spies in California as a pretext for the mass round-up and internment of Japanese-American workers and farmers. All Japanese-Americans were issued "I.D." cards like those used during "Zebra." Joe "Rice King" Alioto, acting as lawyer for the Rice Growers Association, made his millions during this period by buying Japanese-American farmers' land for peanuts. So we see that relying on racism started early in "Smiling" Joe's career.

Reichstag Fire—On February 28, 1933, in Germany, the Reichstag building was burned. The incident created an atmosphere of hysteria. The government claimed it was done by Jews and Communists and used this as a pretext to begin the mass arrest and internment of Jews and Communists. (Of course, it later became public knowledge that the Nazis burned the Reichstag

themselves.)

Blood Brothers Case—In 1964 in New York City, just before the Harlem rebellion, the police and the *New York Times* “uncovered” an organization in Harlem called the Blood Brothers. They said that this organization was “made up of black teenagers bent on attacking whites” and had supposedly committed many murders. The *New York Times* carried a full-page article about this organization, with pictures of members practicing karate, interviews with unnamed members and all kinds of “factual” details. Six teenagers were accused of belonging to this gang, were convicted of one of the murders, and were sent to jail. For years PLP and many other groups led a fight to stop this racist frame-up. It was proved that **this organization never existed and every fact in the New York Times article was a vicious lie. Those youths convicted of the murder were innocent.** Yet, they all served almost ten years in jail. It was racism that put them there. The ruling class used the “Blood Brothers” story to deploy massive police forces in Harlem before and during the Harlem Rebellion.

De Mau Mau Case—Referring to “Operation Zebra” a Chicago resident said the following; “My God, it’s the De Mau Mau thing all over again. A lot of racist hysteria generated for political purposes.” The De Mau Mau case in Chicago in October, 1972, was hatched by State Attorney General Edward Hanrahan, who was battling for re-election at the time. He had eight black youths arrested and announced they were members of the “De Mau Maus, a white-hating group dedicated to killing or maiming the white enemy.” The De Mau Maus were “estimated at 5,000 members nationwide and linked to murders of whites as far away as Nebraska and Oklahoma, as well as nine killings in the Chicago area.” The “links” collapsed within weeks and no conspiracy or nationwide murder organization has been found to exist. Three of the youths arrested are now dead and the surviving five are just now coming to trial.

In light of how the ruling class has manufactured these “cases” in the past, let us look more closely at the “Zebra” arrests and Alioto’s story about the “Death Angels.” First of all, there is **not one bit of solid evidence** in support of Alioto’s theory about a cult of “Death Angels,” and even less that the seven men arrested had anything to do with it even if it does exist. The one shaky piece of evidence, above and beyond Alioto’s and the *Chronicle*’s racist speculations, is the word of an ex-convict turned informer who stands to gain police favor and thereby avoid prison, as well as \$30,000 in reward money.

On the other side, however, there are several

unanswered questions which run counter both to the “Death Angels” theory in general and the involvement of these seven men in particular:

1. Harris (the informer) in his own testimony says he gave the seven men advance warning that he was planning to go to the police and even asked one of them to go with him! With such prior warning of nearly forty-eight hours, why were these men sitting in their apartments ten blocks from City Hall waiting to be arrested, if in fact they are part of a “nationwide Death Angels”?

2. The afternoon following the arrests of the seven men, Alioto was asked by the press if he was sure the seven were “Zebra” killers. “The ringleaders who perpetrated the wave of terror in San Francisco are now behind bars,” he retorted, and added, “The principals in the Zebra case have been apprehended.” **The very next day four of these men were released for total lack of evidence!** Alioto and the cops were forced to admit they had nothing on these men except that police had dragged them out of bed at gunpoint. Yet twenty-four hours earlier Alioto was foaming racist lies about how the four were “Zebra” killers! How can we believe this racist liar in regard to the other three men, or about a “Death Angel” group in general?

3. Even the ruling class itself (outside of S.F.) didn’t buy Alioto’s “Death Angels” theory. Saxbe was cool to Alioto. California Attorney General Younger said outright, “We have no evidence of a statewide conspiracy.” Los Angeles Police Chief Ed Davis said “Alioto must be getting his information on the Zebra killings from the Fleishacker Zoo.” And even ultra-racist Lowell Jensen, the Alameda County D.A. who wanted to “fry Huey Newton” in 1967 (and who made it clear he was anxious to help Alioto substantiate his “Angels” theory), had to announce that he could find no links between the wave of East Bay slayings over the last two years and the recent S.F. shootings.

4. Taking Alioto’s “theory” at face value, if the “Death Angels” are an extremist, anti-leadership faction within the Muslims, how come the top Muslim officials in the Bay Area (who are tied to the national headquarters in Chicago) are giving complete support (within their political framework) to the arrested men?

In short, given the lack of evidence to support it, the history of these types of racist schemes by the ruling class, and the unanswered questions above, it appears most likely that the “Zebra-Death Angels” story is another racist concoction of the ruling class.

WHY NOW?

In the last ten months, S.F. has been the scene of a strike wave (carpenters, teachers, city workers, Kaiser, AC Transit, nurses, etc., have walked out) unparalleled since the late ’40’s. Obviously, this strike wave was brought on by the current crisis of the capitalist system, particularly the runaway (with-your-paycheck) inflation. While strike waves in general are bad for the bosses, this one had three qualities which made it even

worse for the bosses and better for the workers:
 1) the initiative and independence of the rank and file from the union hacks—which has brought to life several rank-and-file caucuses in S.F. locals.
 2) The growing involvement and influence of the communist PLP in this rank-and-file movement.
 3) The **unity** of white and minority workers in these strikes, and the developing leadership of minority workers within this unity.

“Operation Zebra” was unleashed directly on the heels of the two strikes which galvanized these three qualities into a mighty power that brought S.F. to a halt: the City Workers’ strike and the simultaneous teachers’ strike. The outstanding **unity** in the city strike in particular put S.F. bosses in a cold sweat. They had nightmares of 1934 (when there was a militant General Strike). “Operation Zebra” was designed to drive a racist wedge right through the heart of the newly emerging **united movement** of rank-and-file workers.

If we thus understand that the purpose of “Zebra” was to **split** the labor movement, to incite racism among white workers and turn them against their co-workers who are black, then we must grasp that in fact **Racist “Operation Zebra”** was an attack on all workers, white and black! Certainly black workers bore the cutting edge of the “Zebra” attack. But white workers would have suffered a major setback if their unions had been destroyed by racism and thus become unable to strike against inflation, speed-up, etc.

The consciousness by the workers that “Zebra” was an attack on the working class was evidenced by the fight in Kaiser Hospital Local 250. A PLP member in the local came to a meeting with a resolution against “Zebra,” to find that other co-workers already had resolutions prepared. A further sign of workers’ rejection of “Zebra” was Alioto’s votes in the primaries for governor. Among black workers Alioto dropped from an average 70% support from black voters to 25% in this election. And among the white votes, where Alioto assumed he would gain based on racism, his vote was **down 9%** from 1971.

A point must be made here about the other capitalist politicians. Just as racism **hurts** all workers, it **benefits** all bosses. Not one major politician condemned or opposed “Operation Zebra.” While the others let Alioto be the one to go out on a limb for the ruling class, while being more cautious themselves, none of them raised any objections to “Operation Zebra” in principle.

LESSONS TO BE LEARNED

In summary, we’d like to focus on some main political points:

1. **Fascism is not an overnight occurrence.** The ruling class carries out elements of fascist policy every day. Moreover, racism is the mid-wife of fascism in the U.S. As the economic situation continues to worsen and class struggles sharpen, **the fight against racism becomes more**



PLP demonstrates against Alioto's Operation Zebra

crucial than ever. The bosses will inevitably intensify their racist attacks in an effort to stave off serious defeat.

2. **We must rely on the people in the anti-racist struggles.** Pay full attention to mobilizing the masses. We fell down on this score in terms of maintaining mass sales of **Challenge** during the height of the “Zebra” struggle. This placed a one-sided reliance on publicity from the lying bourgeois press. In addition, **we must strengthen our understanding of how racism hurts all workers and students.** We are still at a low ideological level on this vital question, and it holds us back from more fully relying on and involving white workers (and students) in the anti-racist struggle.

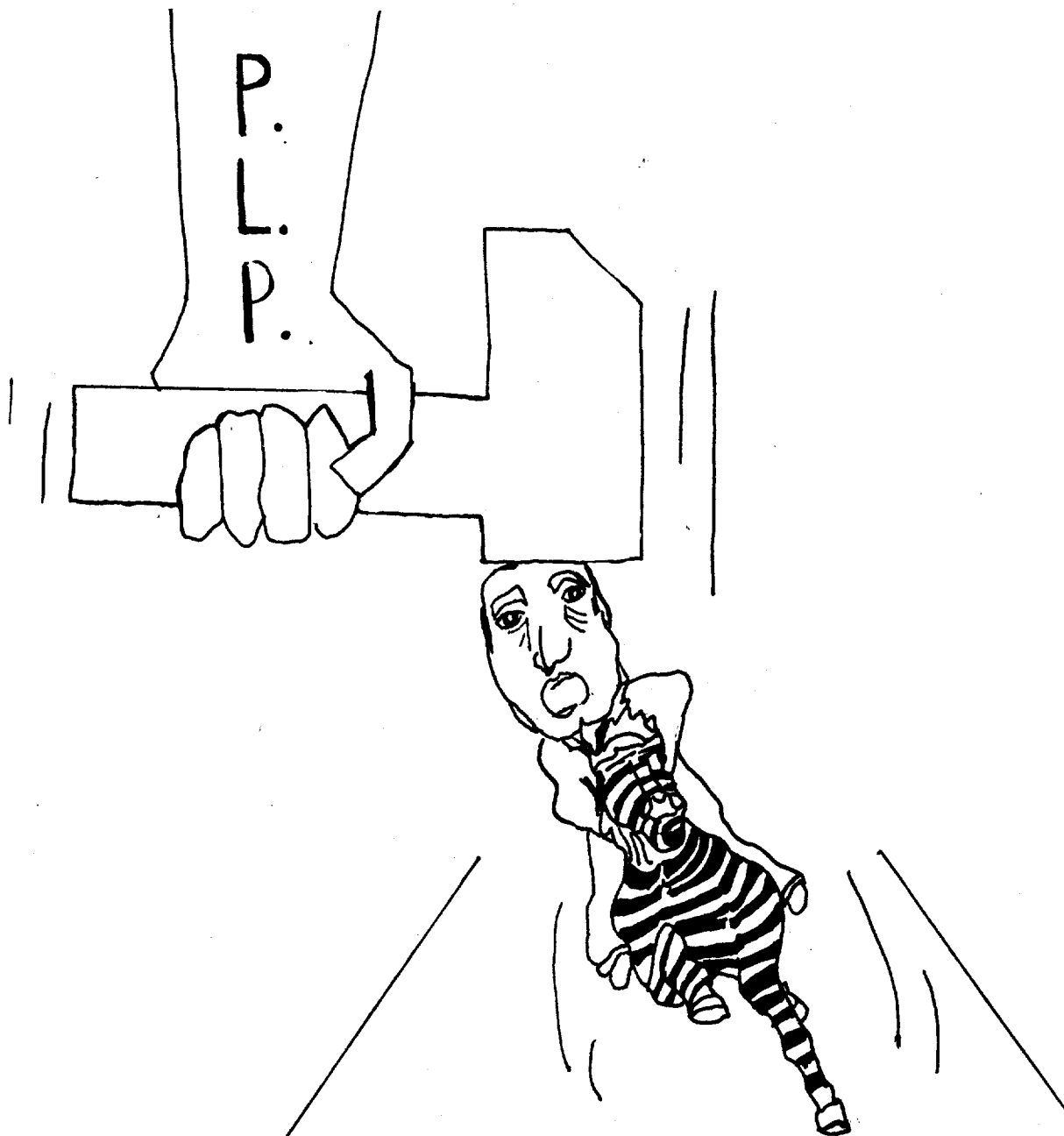
3. **Make the unions bastions of anti-racism.** While the present “Zebra” attack was beaten back by the workers, the capitalists still hold state power and can be expected to launch a new attack at any moment. Our power, workers’ power, is centered at the point of production (at least at this stage of the revolutionary process). The working class must develop the outlook of shutting off production—**STRIKE!**—over major racist attacks such as “Zebra.” This was a strategic soft spot in the fight-back against “Zebra.” We must develop a programmatic tactical approach **now** which can move us closer toward being able to call an anti-racist strike. Why can’t we establish official anti-racist labor defense committees in the locals, for example? These committees could then try to move the local into at least on paper taking a progressive position when the working

class faces a **general** attack that doesn't come from "our own" employer.

4. **Communists are the vanguard of anti-racist struggle.** During the "Zebra" fight minority and white workers saw the positive leading role of PLP in their lives and moved closer to the Party. Both historically (witness Scottsboro) and currently communists have given crucial vanguard leadership in the fight against racism. Therefore, the anti-racist struggle is strengthened to the degree the Party is built. Moreover, racism can finally be smashed only through the destruction of capitalism. The Progressive Labor Party fights for workers' power—the dictatorship of the proletariat. Racist parasites like Alioto and the rest of the ruling class will be wiped off the face of the earth!

FOOTNOTES

1. Quotes on The Scottsboro Case from *Scottsboro Boy* by Haywood Patterson and Earl Conrad and from *History of the Communist Party, United States of America*, by William Z. Foster
2. Quotes on the Blood Brothers case from the *New York Times* (May 29, 1964) and *Torture of Mothers* by Truman Nelson
3. Quotes on De Mau Mau case from the *Chicago Defender* (May 4, 1974)
4. All other quotes and references are from the *San Francisco Chronicle*, January 29, 1974 through June 6, 1974.



Religion: Bosses' Weapon

INTRODUCTION

"Religion is better than methadone" - Dr. Jaffee, Director, White House Special Action Office for Drug Abuse Prevention, NY Times, April 30, 1972.

"We believe Jesus must be sold like Coca-Cola" - Elmer Towns, Lynchburg Christian Academy, Newsweek, July 24, 1972.

"They're great kids; I haven't been called a 'pig' once" - Dallas cop at Expo '72, religious revival led by Campus Crusade for Christ, Newsweek, June 26, 1972.

THE RELIGIOUS REVIVAL IN THE U.S. IS but one symptom of a cancer eating away at society. The world-wide empire of the U.S. imperialists is falling apart everyday and despite all of Kissinger's efforts, it continues to decay. The economic effects of this crunch have been documented in the pages of **Challenge** and **PL Magazine** many times. The bloodthirsty battle among the imperialist powers is creating a situation where war and fascism are increasingly likely.

For workers this rivalry is bringing misery. Inflation is wiping out wage gains of 10-15%! The oil shortage and the resulting layoffs, a direct result of imperialist competition, were just the first shots in a massive assault on the working class by the bosses as they shift the economic crisis onto the backs of the working class.

THIS HAS PRODUCED A TREMENDOUS fight-back from the workers. As this is written (June, '74) there are more than 100 strikes in progress on the West Coast alone. Thousands upon thousands of workers have marched off the job, demanding higher wages, a shorter work week and safer working conditions. The dictum enunciated by Marx—that the history of society is the history of class struggle—is being proven over and over again. This constant struggle between the workers and the bosses is raging in auto, steel, in the schools, communities and factories all across the U.S., and no signs of letting up are in sight. Injunctions, scabs and cops are the order of the day, as the bosses desperately attempt to shore up their crumbling house of cards. In these class battles the working class is beginning to

grasp the principles of Marxism-Leninism, and the growth of our Party, the Progressive Labor Party, among workers sounds the death-knell of the bosses. Workers see the necessity, the absolute necessity, of struggle, of fighting back. This is the essence of class struggle and it can never be stopped no matter how hard the bosses and their mouthpieces try.

And try they do! The ruling class is working overtime concocting schemes to divert people from class struggle. We are all too familiar with the maneuvers of the bosses when it comes to racism. Alioto and his "Zebra," the Boston "massacres" and scores of smaller attempts at race war have shown us that fascism and racism are always on order. Nazi-like racism is being cultivated, especially on the campuses, in order to create the conditions for crushing working class militancy. For three years the PLP and the SDS have been fighting these genocidal ideologies on the campuses and in the communities. As we have said a million times before, racism is becoming a major weapon in the bosses' arsenal and if the bosses can divide us through racism, they'll have breathing room in which to maneuver against their imperialist enemies. The bosses can't fight forever on two fronts—they have to handle them one at a time.

RACISM, THE PRIMARY WEAPON, IS NOT enough for these scum. It hasn't stopped workers in many of the current strikes, although the struggles have been weakened by it. Among students, however, the bosses have made some headway since Jensen and Shockley have become the

darlings of the ruling class.

Since students and intellectuals play a key role in running society in an "orderly fashion," the bosses have dredged up every bourgeois idea in the book to keep intellectuals occupied, making it more difficult to build a fighting alliance between workers and intellectuals.

Reflecting the decline of "Pax Americana," a wave of cynicism and pessimism is roaring through the cultural media of this country. The bosses have nothing to be optimistic about and this has found its way into the press. No more cocksure statements of the "American Century" or "American hegemony" are to be found. Instead, we get whining cries from mouthpieces like Max Lerner. Old Max wrote an article in **Foreign Affairs**, published by the Council on Foreign Relations, called "Is America a Dying Civilization?" Max sounded like Mary's little lamb, desperately bleating a defense of a crumbling empire. The article was on the defensive, and did more to prove that we do indeed live in a dying civilization than anything he could have possibly written in favor of the U.S. **Newsweek**, in its June 24th issue, presented us with a marvelous description of decay:

"And as we lurch along in the throes of this national bender, as the threshold of what it takes to shake us gets prodded ever higher—things still seem to be falling apart out there. Nothing seems to be getting better. We reel and stagger and try to outrun the traumatic realities of life; perhaps, in the end, that is the reason for our frantic, veering drunk. Maybe that is what massive drunks have always been about: a way to give oneself the illusion of moving so fast and being so strong that everything real becomes a blur, a hazy half memory that will always be there, and that does not have to be dealt with right now, flashing by so quickly that it has to be put off until later, when the rush is over and the new day begins." (p. 13)

This doesn't seem to be a statement of bold optimism or even one of calm assurance about the future. The bosses are spreading their worries far and wide for everyone to consume. And what does this do to the students who consume enormous quantities of this garbage every day?

Escapism, religious revival and occultism are reaching crisis proportions. Many intellectuals do not look to the working class for leadership; instead they try to run away from class struggle and hide in some comforting neverland of love, peace and bliss. This has been pushed by the bosses with a vengeance in the past few years. Scarcely a day goes by without some magazine or TV show or movie making a pitch for religion or some other form of escapism.

HOW IS THIS CRAP PUSHED? HOW EXTENSIVE IS IT? This article examines some of the "in-groups" and the finances behind them. Ruling class involvement covers the whole range of bizarre sects from the Maharishi Yogi to the 16-year-old Perfect Asshole. Besides diverting people from class struggle, these groups have been

the vehicle for personal fortunes for their extortionist masters, gluttons who have learned capitalism's worst tricks and schemes, leeches who can't do anything productive, and slobs who serve the same function as dope pushers. The quote that started this article, from Dr. Jaffee, echoes Marx's claim that religion IS the opiate of the people. We hope that this article exposes the class nature of this "revival" movement, how it occurred and what we communists have to do to defeat it.

RELIGION AS BIG BUSINESS

Before we analyze the "message" of the various sects, some terms have to be clarified. This article deals mainly with groups indigenous to the campuses and other middle-class enclaves: e.g., the Children of God, Hare Krishna, Divine Light Mission, etc. Only by extending the analysis are the "main-line" religions (Catholic Church, etc.) included, but we will not go into any great detail on the operations of these religions except to point out the relationship between the new sects and the older churches. Second, there are different "categories" of this idiocy which will be covered in the article: fundamentalist Christian groups like the Campus Crusade for Christ, eastern type religions like the zen and buddhist sects, and the occult groups like the devil worshippers, astrology freaks and so on. Behind all of these lie speculators, extortionists, fraud artists and, ultimately, the ruling class' "blessing."

PUBLISHING AND PROMOTION

Part of the success of these sects lies in the tremendous publicity given to them, much of it free, from the ruling class media. In "Who Rules America - II," ruling class control of the cultural media was clearly documented. The publishing industry is one of the pillars of the cultural structure of the bosses.

In Table I, the primary publishing houses and their subsidiaries and various publishing names are listed, along with the giant corporations that control them. The dominant ruling class group that controls these corporations is also listed where the information is available. This structure parallels the concentration of capital and control that has occurred in other industries. The result of this concentration of capital and control is that major decisions in publishing are made by fewer and more powerful people, i.e. higher-ups in the ruling class. The decision to back all of these idiotic groups was made not by some low level peon in an obscure publishing house, but by very important people in the ruling class. Many of the publishing houses are "independent" in the sense that no one large ruling class group controls them, but the trend today in publishing is towards consolidation and merger since the costs of publishing have risen and the smaller houses cannot keep up for very long with the big boys.

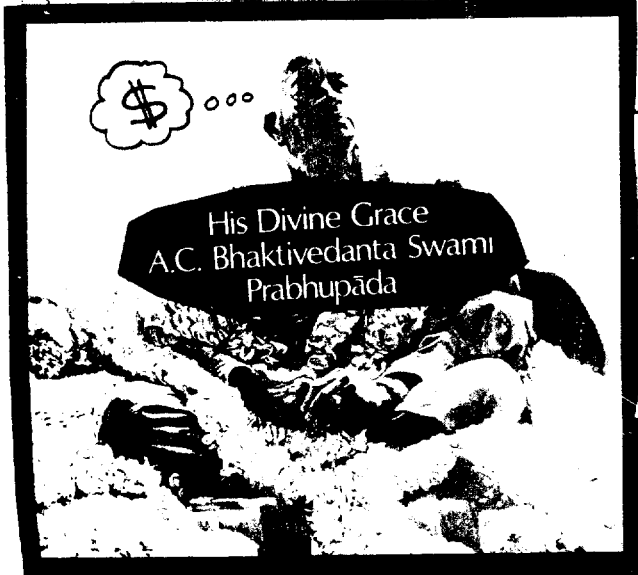
Practically every major group in Table I is in the new religious/escapist movement racket. For example, Ballantine (owned by RCA) publishes the Tolkien Trilogy junk; Bantam (owned by National General Corporation) is developing a "mysticism

Satguru Maharaj Ji Perfect Master

Would you
buy a used
ideology
from
these
men?



L. Ron Hubbard
Founder of Scientology



His Divine Grace
A.C. Bhaktivedanta Swami
Prabhupada



Maharishi Mahesh Yogi

What are these
spiritual leaders thinking about?

and occult" line (see 1973 **Publishers' Weekly** annual report), and has put out the paperback versions of **Chariots of the Gods**, **The Late Great Planet Earth**, **The Exorcist** and **Gods From Outer Space**. Avon (owned by "Tania" Hearst's family) publishes the paperback version of **Jonathan Livingston Seagull**. The list is endless and you can go to any bookstore's occult section, religion section, para-psychology section, and make your own list of publishers and books that they put out.

To get an idea on the amount of money involved in the promotion and sales of just the books, the trade journal **Publishers' Weekly** has the following statistics for 1972 and 1973.

For 1972 and 1973 the top selling fiction book was **Jonathan Livingston Seagull** (hardcover editions are the ones considered for "best sellers"; the hardcover of **JLS** was published by MacMillan). This book got a boost from **Time** magazine when they ran a cover story on their November 13, 1972 issue. To quote **Publishers' Weekly**:

"That **JLS** is the best-selling trade book of 1972 is no news flash. Selling in leaps and bounds, it dominated **PW's** best seller list for seven months of the year. It is nevertheless a phenomenon that this little inspirational story about a seagull by a hitherto unknown author, Richard Bach, with lovely photographs by Russell Munson, published more than two years ago, should take such a hold on the public. Eleanor Friede and Connie Clausen of MacMillan won't admit it's a phenomenon, for they have, from the first, been the prime believers in the book's potential. Connie Clausen put on what she calls the most concentrated publicity campaign MacMillan has ever done. After Richard Bach appeared on the top TV talk shows over the country, things began to move. The company didn't start big advertising until last June (1972). One of the biggest breaks was the **Time** cover story on November 13 after which sales almost doubled." (**PW**, Feb. 5, 1973, p. 41)

So much for the spontaneous acceptance by the "public" for **JLS**. The book's success was a carefully contrived scheme by the bosses at MacMillan in cooperation with the magazine industry and the TV industry. The TV talk shows and **Time** magazine are aimed primarily at the middle class intellectuals and these are the people who are grabbing up copies of **Jonathan Livingston Seagull** and, somehow, finding "inspiration" in the twaddle that is printed on the pages. **JLS** sold 1,815,000 hardcover copies in 1972 and 540,000 more in 1973. In addition, the Avon paperback sold more than 6,500,000 copies in 1973 alone!

In the so-called "non-fiction" category we find, of all things, **The Living Bible** as the number one seller for both 1972 and 1973. **The Living Bible** is published jointly by Doubleday and by Tyndale House Publishers. Doubleday published 757,216 copies in 1972. Tyndale published several versions of it, ranging up to \$24.95 in price. Their total output for 1972 for these editions was over 5 mil-

lion copies. In 1973 Doubleday put out 583,107 more copies; Tyndale published 2,040,846 more copies. This brings the total to almost nine million copies in two years!

Other books on the best seller list for 1972 and/or 1973 were **Two From Galilee** by Marjorie Holmes (Revell Publishers); **I'm O.K., You're O.K.**—a dippy little book on personal relationships wholly divorced from reality—published by Harper and Row; and **Journey to Ixtlan** published by Simon and Schuster, written by Carlos Castaneda. This last book is one of a series of junky books extolling the role of drugs in the creation of the so-called "religious experience." This whole series has received prominent attention in college bookstores, as bookstore managers set up special displays to attract customers. This book has little to do with social reality in the U.S. today, and has no "message" for U.S. workers except "give up."

These are just a few examples of the publisher's greed and their ability to market vast quantities of crap. Through talk shows, magazine articles, bookstores and public appearances, they are able to manipulate what people read. Since many of these publishers are controlled by bigger corporations, the "chain of command" which sets over-all policy is quite clear.

Other categories of nonsense have found backing from the publishing houses. Putnam's in 1973 came out with a 20-page advertisement in **Publishers' Weekly** which included two books: **On the Shores of Endless Worlds** (\$6.95) and **Psychic Exploration** (\$17.50). Ever since Erich von Daniken wrote **Chariots of the Gods**, and ever since Rod Serling produced the TV version of this monstrosity, the market for quasi-scientific books has grown enormously. Like religion these kinds of stories offer "a solution" to today's problems—i.e. don't fight back to change things today since it's beyond our control; either the gods, or beings from outer space, control our destiny. Astrology freaks and Tarot card enthusiasts and crystal ball lunatics have also fallen for this most bourgeois of bourgeois lines.

According to the Putnam advertisement, **On the Shores of Endless Worlds** is "A combination of imaginative conjecture and astonishing fact, tailor-made for the vast von Daniken market." They already have the people pegged into categories like "von Daniken market," "inspirational market," "mystical and occult market." Sounds like a supermarket with people categorized like fruits and vegetables. If anyone ever read the trade journals they'd never believe a single word in the rubbish they publish.

The religion bandwagon is getting quite crowded. In 1973 Harper and Row came out with an advertisement in **PW** which announced its publishing schedule, using every gimmick in the book. They linked religion to psychoanalysis, medicine, sexism, death, devil worship, secrecy in the church and politics. Titles include such entertaining drivel as "I'm O.K., You're O.K. Study Guide" (isn't that ridiculous?), **The Ten Commandments for Today**, **Women and Worship**, **A Guide to Non-Sexist Hymns, Prayers and Liturgies**, **Secrecy in**

the Church, Zen Comments on the Mumonkan (sounds like a must for anyone who really wants to be cultured), and Religion and Political Society.

The lists of trash go on and on. And so do the profits. In 1972 there were 1,705 new books or new editions of religious books. Remember that this does not include occult, quasi-science, parapsychology books. In 1973 the new book and edition category for religion jumped to 1,826 titles—a rate higher than the national publishing rate increase for all types of books. In religion alone sales in 1972 amounted to \$126 million.

Lately there has been a sharp increase in the sale of occult books on such useless topics as astrology, tarot cards, exorcism, soul-travel and assorted fantasies. Many of the publishers of these books are very small houses that have sprung up in the past few years (the "new money" of the publishing business). Some of the books are put out by university presses and some by the old, established publishing houses. The houses may be small (see Table II for a list of just some of the publishers' names) but the publicity for the occult has been anything less than small. Cover stories in Time, movies, TV shows, magazine articles and university courses have legitimized this whole line.

THIS ASPECT OF THE "MOVEMENT" IS probably most indicative of a society in decay. Witchcraft is now "chic"; some intellectuals (and we use that term advisedly) are falling all over themselves trying to find deep meaning in *The Exorcist*; the Pope tells us that the Devil is alive and well in the world today; General Haig thought it was some kind of evil force that erased Nixon's tapes. While some isolated individuals believe in this garbage, the publishing houses are pressing ahead in their attempts to expand their markets and win more "alienated youth" to the occultism "bag."

For example, Crown publishers put out Baba Ram Dass's series of unconnected words (old Baba is the former Dr. Alpert, Timothy Leary's partner in LSD trips; now his intelligence approximates that of an eggplant); Vintage books is big into Zen (but we're sure that the bosses at Vintage aren't Zen masters); MacMillan and Collier's have published the Hare Krishna texts; Penguin subsidizes the Maharishi Yogi and is expanding its metaphysical library to include even more creeps; Bantam has published some of the 16-Year-Old Perfect Asshole's farts. Harper and Row and MacMillan are the leaders among the established houses and the money is beginning to pour into the coffers. The smaller houses are beginning to make their mark and are predominately very specialized houses who hope to ride the crest of this wave as long as possible.

This is by no means a complete listing of the publishers who have struck it rich with the rise of religious revival. Every week a new name appears, older ones disappear. The point is that a lot of bosses have raked in millions in the past few years and thousands of people have been swindled out of millions of dollars.

The promotion of religious revival and occultism does not stop with the book industry. The

TV and movie industries have all made a few bucks in this latest rage and have been one of the most powerful forces behind the rise of idiocy.

For example, the movie *The Exorcist* was, in the industry's view, a success. In the view of Challenge, PLP's newspaper, the movie was a disaster for the working class. Nevertheless, literally millions of people will eventually see this fraud and a certain number of them will be affected by it. In turn, the movie has pushed book sales up and *The Exorcist* will probably end up being the number one or two selling book of 1974. The paperback version had sold 3.9 million copies by the end of 1972!

We have already documented the role of TV in one example, the *Chariots of the Gods*. Today almost all of the TV series mention some kind of religion. *Kojak*, *Toma* and other series have all had shows where one of the characters was one of these latter day crackpots. Other TV series, like the incredibly awful *The Waltons*, revolve around "god-fearing" types who don't rock the boat.

Other movies, to name a few that fall into this general category, are *The Gospel Road* made by 20th Century-Fox and produced by Johnny Cash (cost him over \$500,000); *Jesus Christ Superstar*, the rock extravaganza which has grossed a few million bucks; and, of course, Marjoe Gartner and his satirical attack on religion. Marjoe was an old Jesus freak who finally saw the light and came around to attacking religion. His financier, Max Palevsky, was a bit miffed when the results showed religion in a bad light.

A full listing of all the promotional attempts by the ruling class would be impossible since they are doing it continuously. The lesson for us is that a lot of bosses have cooperated with each other in building up the business for their own profit. They have partially succeeded in turning the heads of a lot of middle class "alienated" types. To say that this movement is spontaneous would be a lie. The bosses have created it, nurtured it and profited from it.

RELIGION AND THE BIG FOUNDATIONS

One of the big sources of money for the religious movement in the U.S. is the big foundations which the ruling class has set up to direct their cultural activities. The top foundations and their assets as of 1968 are listed in Table III. These foundations are very important pillars of the capitalist class's cultural structures and they finance all sorts of studies whose sole purpose is to extract as much profit as possible out of the working class. Ever since the U.S. economy began its descent, the ruling class foundations have been going berserk trying to "study" how they can save the system from collapse. For example the Brookings Institute, a ruling class "think tank," recently did a study for the Ford Foundation on the changing position of the U.S. with respect to the other industrial nations. The report was one of the "doomsday" reports that have come out recently. The Brookings Institute urged a total commitment of the nation's resources to meet the "coming challenge" from Japan, the Common Market and the Soviet Union. They went on to say that any mistakes in the handling of the situation

10 P.M.
Tuesday & Wednesday
July 23 & 24
WOR-TV Channel 9



REV. IKE The Prosperity Preacher

"Don't wait for pie in the sky
by-and-by when you die.
Get your pie now —
with ice cream
on top!!!"

SEE AND HEAR REV. IKE IN PERSON
AT UNITED CHURCH!

would produce either another depression like the U.S. had in 1929 or another World War! Their estimate was that these two alternatives were quite likely.

Besides spreading woe and sad tales, the foundations are quite busy spreading other bourgeois ideas among the people, like religion. Even though religion consumes only 3% of the total foundation grants in a given year, one should keep in mind that religious organizations, especially the smaller ones, do not have a lot of overhead. A lot of tax breaks are given to religion and discounts on TV time and so on. This means that a small amount given to religion goes a lot further than that given to some other field. Ever since the mid-1960's the annual amount given to religion has averaged around \$24 or \$25 million. Prior to the mid-1960's the annual amount was considerably less, approximately \$5 million a year. Just when the anti-war movement and the black rebellions were getting off the ground the ruling class stepped in by pumping more money into religion—"Don't fight - pray."

RECENTLY SECTIONS OF THE RULING CLASS have been engaged in a dogfight with each other. The eastern establishment "old money" financiers led by Rockefeller and his ilk have been thrashing the "new money" upstarts led by Nixon and his cronies. This has been outlined in PLP's pamphlet on Watergate. However, this division in the ruling class, which has been caused by the decline of U.S. imperialism, has found its way into the foundations and religion, although the contradictions and the hatred is not as intense in this area as it is in the political arena.

In **The Big Foundations** by Waldemar A. Nielsen, one of the old money's intellectual hacks, there is a discussion of the difference between the old money and the new money:

"The economic boom in Texas in recent decades has already produced several major foundations, and within the next decade the number may double. In fact, as many as half of the large American foundations expected to appear by the end of the

century may derive from Texas wealth. Thus far, the story of big Texas foundations is the story of first-generation money, of eminently practical fortune-builders who wanted to see something tangible for their charity. Some of the donors were men of primitive intellectual and social outlook, but even the more enlightened ones have been more than sentimental givers and civic boosters with a predilection for personal monuments." (p. 168)

Since Watergate the new money has been put in its place by Rockefeller and Co., but Nielsen's characterization of the new money goes right along with the **Washington Post's** characterization of Nixon.

On the whole, the old money forces in the foundation racket gives the lion's share of its religion money to the established churches like the Presbyterians and Episcopalians, whereas the new money gives most of its money to the fundamentalist Bible thumpers who roam around the country making asses out of themselves. This "split" between old and new money in religion doesn't appear to be "violent" as it is in the political field. Since it is impossible for the new money to gain control of established churches that the old money has controlled for a century or more, the new money has looked to greener pastures, areas that they control without the power and influence of the top rulers pushing them around. It should also be remembered that the big bosses gain from both the fundamentalist fruitcakes and the "main-line" churches—both have a bourgeois "message" for the workers.

Some examples of the foundations' influence in the fundamentalist revival point out the fad for fundamentalism that the new money has:

The Pew Memorial Fund, which is controlled by the Pew family of Philadelphia who in turn own Sun Oil, gave the following amounts in 1969 to religion:

- \$85,000 to Billy Graham
- \$30,000 to the Christian Anti-Communist Crusade (Long Beach, Cal.)
- \$75,000 to the National Association of Evangelicals
- \$15,000 to the Evangelical Foundation, Inc. of Philadelphia (a Bible Study Home)
- \$295,000 to unlisted fundamentalist religious groups
- \$800,000 to fundamentalist religious colleges around the U.S.

This is a total of \$1.3 million. The Pew family has never been noted for its "liberal" attitudes and the pattern of the foundation grants reflects this. For this reason the grossest anti-communism is sometimes associated with the fundamentalist religious groups. The Christian Anti-Communist Crusade is one such group, led by the fanatic Rev. Richard Wurmbbrand (nicknamed the "worm"). The "worm" calls his group a "tax exempt non-profit missionary organization" which is only partially true. It is also a group of fanatics who rake in a lot of dough from bosses like Pew. Pew never liked the latest romance of the U.S. imperialists and the revisionists in Moscow, so he uses the Christian Anti-Com-

munist Crusade as one of his vehicles for spreading propaganda against any "détente," but it is based on the crudest kind of anti-communism that can be dredged up. The "worm" lists four main functions of the Crusade:

- to give the persecuted Christians in Communist countries Bibles, Christian literature and Evangelical broadcasts in their own language
- to give relief to families of Christian martyrs in these countries
- to bring to Christ leftists and Communists in the free world
- to warn Christians in the West of the dangers of Communism by informing them about the atrocities committed against our brethren in faith in the Communist countries. (from one of the "worm's" pamphlets)

Another new-money enthusiast is the Moody family of Galveston, Texas. They own the Moody National Bank of Galveston and the American National Insurance Company, as well as newspapers, hotels, oil wells, minerals and land throughout Texas. In 1969 alone the Moody Foundation gave \$2.94 million to various fundamentalist sects. The breakdown for the contributions was not available, but it probably contained a mixture of anti-communist groups and straight religious groups.

A third new-money foundation is the Richardson Foundation, which is based on the personal wealth of Sid Richardson, who first made his money in the Texas oil boom of the 1930's. When old Sid Richardson died, his private plane was dispatched to pick up Billy Graham and fly him back to the funeral so Graham could officiate at it. That year old Sid gave Billy Graham \$25,000 to play with, and gobs of mofey to local churches and church-run schools (not Catholic schools or Hebrew schools).

The Houston Endowment, another new money foundation based on the wealth of several Houston families, has contributed over \$500,000 to fundamentalist groups in the past twenty years, much of it recently.

A MAJOR NEW-MONEY FOUNDATION IS THE Lilly Foundation based in Indianapolis. It's source of money is the Eli Lilly & Co. pharmaceutical firm. The Lilly Foundation, like the Pew Foundation, is a staunch supporter of the traditional "right-wing" forces in society like the John Birch Society.

For example, in 1961 the head of the foundation, John S. Lynn, was an extremely close friend of the John Birch Society, which was founded in Marion County, the county that Indianapolis is in. Lynn was also the chairman of the Indianapolis chapter of the Christian Anti-Communist Crusade. According to Nielsen the Lilly Foundation by the late 1950's was the largest single "source of philanthropic assistance in the field of religion." In the 1950's it favored middle-of-the-road Protestantism but since Lynn took over the Foundation it has moved towards support of fundamentalist groups.

Nielsen has a marvelous description of the

founder of the Lilly Foundation, J.K. Lilly:

"J.K. Lilly, 2nd, who was the dominant influence in the endowment until he died in 1966, was a reserved, enigmatic man. In his later years he developed a serious heart condition and his life became almost totally cloistered. He spent his lonely days in his private museum working on his various collections of rare books, strange jewels, gold coins, maritime objects, and toy soldiers . . . He also devoted hours to reading the Encyclopedia Britannica, and according to newspaper reports had reached the letter 'G' at the time of his death." (Nielsen, p. 174)

Sounds touching! The old boss playing with toy soldiers while the rest of his family and associates move the Foundation towards their class interests. All of us get old (at least those who aren't killed in a war or killed on the job) but we're sure the newspapers won't publish our habits when we die. No matter how trivial or stupid the activities of the ruling class, it's "news."

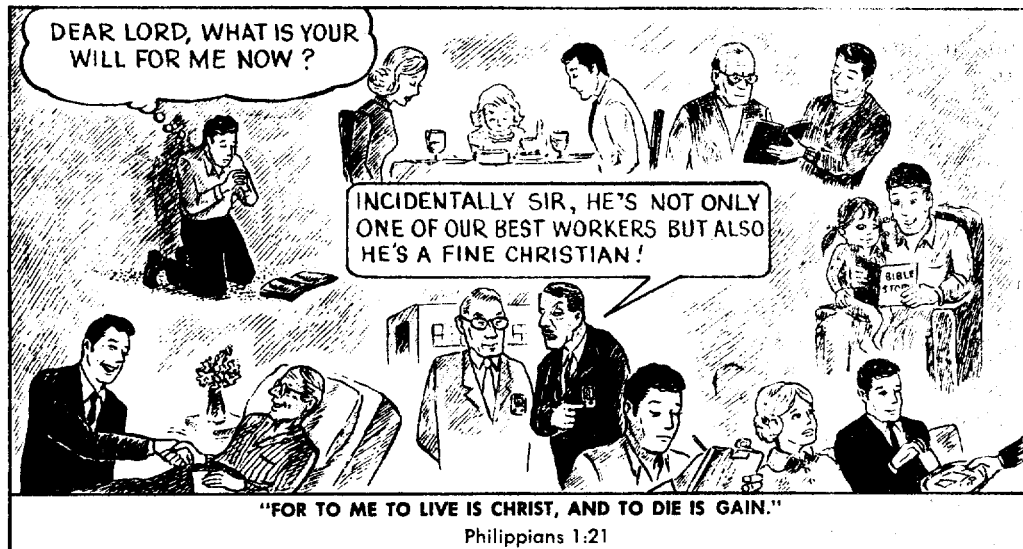
Besides the Lilly Foundation's love affair with the John Birch Society, they made the following groups happy with endowments:

- Hoover Institute of War, Revolution and Peace at Stanford, for a study on the nature of communism
- Radio Free Europe
- Inter-Collegiate Society of Individualists, "to put in the hands of college students publications explaining the free market and limited-government concepts."
- American Economic Foundation, for a Hall of Free Enterprise at the New York World Fair
- American Bar Association, for a program of public education in anti-communism
- Vanderbilt University, for a summer course on communism for high school teachers
- Mustard Seed, Inc., for a program to translate and distribute books to "strategically placed reading rooms by which the Christian message and the Free World heritage can be shared with those people" on the island of Formosa.

Some of these sound ridiculous. Who in the hell is going to believe in a Hall of Free Enterprise except a few bosses? Maybe some people, the same ones, that fall for the fundamentalist line.

The Duke Endowment based on the fortunes of the Duke family and their allies in crime, has contributed over the years over \$12 million to religious groups in North and South Carolina. The money went primarily for construction of churches in the rural areas of the Carolinas. While the standard of living of rural workers in the rural South is just about the lowest of anywhere in the U.S., the Duke Endowment could only find the building of churches as an outlet for their money, money stolen from workers to begin with.

The other foundations that have gotten into the fundamentalist racket are the Kresge Foundation and the Fleischmann Foundation. While no amounts are available, their dollar amount has been small



BILLY GRAHAM

and nowhere as effective as the Lilly and Pew Foundations.

The lesson to be learned from this is not that the ruling class has divided itself along religious lines, but that religion serves the interests of all the bosses, whether they support fundamentalist or liberal religions. It appears to be more a matter of taste and availability. The old money already has the "mainline churches" sewed up, so the new money can only make it with the fundamentalists, who sell cheap anyway. Besides, the ruling class as a whole has no quarrel with Billy Graham. They put his stupid crusades on TV all the time and let him use their sports stadiums to hold them in. Regardless of the brand of lunacy that you find, it's all the same. The same old bourgeois line runs through it all: don't fight back, God will solve it all. Why else build churches among the rural poor in the Carolinas? They have a lot to complain about, to fight about. The Duke Endowment was primarily motivated by the fear of working class rebellion in the rural areas. Along with the Duke Endowment's anti-labor, anti-union line, the push on church-building makes sense for them.

RELIGION AS FRAUD

When it comes to fraud and extortion and rip-off the religious racket has few rivals. Whether it be the snake charmers of Hare Krishna or the devoted band around Aunt Roberts or the Children of God, money is the name of the game. The religious bandwagon — the world's oldest — is fast becoming the world's most crowded. Every two-bit creep who can't do anything productive has suddenly found "Jesus" or some other god and a gimmick. Some of these con-artists communicate with St. Joseph; others writhe on the floor at a moment's notice; still others can speak in "tongues" (jibberish). Regardless of the form of

clap-trap that every one of these gangsters spout, they are all in the racket strictly for money.

To go into detail on every one of the lunatic groups would be excruciating; so in order to spare the reader (and the writer) much agony, we'll only highlight the more notable cases of fraud. Both the modern day Jesus freaks and the transplanted mystics will be covered, especially those that seem to have cornered that market on publicity (which certainly helps to legitimize these extortionists).



"JESUS MUST BE SOLD LIKE COCA-COLA"

Just as Jesus must be sold like Coca-Cola in order to attract any followers (and potential victims), profit must be made by the equivalent

of the "board of directors" and the chief executive officer (analogous to the twelve apostles and Jesus—the "boss of bosses" of the religious racket). The following are just a few of the fundamentalist groups that have made it big on selling "Jesus."

Practically every student on the major U.S. campuses has heard of the fanatic band of followers of the Rev. Sun Myung Moon. Rev. Mr. Moon's group, known as the Holy Spirit Association for Unification of World Christianity, or simply as the Christian Crusade, is a well bankrolled group whose money comes from three sources: South Korean bosses, U.S. bosses, and his middle class followers who contribute their life savings to this glutton. With extremely slick promotion the Rev. Mr. Moon has launched several tours of U.S. cities, the first being of 21 U.S. cities. Accompanying this tour is a tidal wave of reactionary propaganda, much of it tinged with anti-communism. Mass rallies in arenas and auditoriums are his style, with the audience almost entirely white and middle class. His expenses run into the hundreds of thousands of dollars for each of these tours—some of it from the bosses and some of it right out of the pockets of people hoodwinked by his line.

Presumably the Rev. Mr. Moon would have us believe he is just a poor servant of the "Lord" (i.e., Chung Hee Park, South Korean dictator). On the contrary, the Rev. Mr. Moon travels in style—chartered jets for 400 "devoted followers," plush hotel rooms, lavish dinners for "special guests" and Moon's inner circle. Once the Rev. Mr. Moon hits a city his "inner circle" finds a certain number of "alienated youth" who have a lot of money, and they really work on them. These young kids are talked to for hours at a time until they crack, find "Jesus" and fork over their savings to Rev. Mr. Moon, who pockets it in return for a few colorful pamphlets, sort of a souvenir for the kid. Once fleeced out of his or her money, there is little the person can do. Some see the light and become devout anti-religious people; unfortunately, some don't see the light and become part of the Rev. Mr. Moon's group. In the meantime, the Rev. Mr. Moon has moved onto another city and the same fleecing takes place there.

Why Rev. Mr. Moon? How did he get to where he is today? First of all, he's had some practice. His organization was founded in South Korea in 1954, right at the end of the Korean War. Prior to that the Rev. Mr. Moon was known only as Mr. Moon, a leader of the South Korean Anti-Communist Student Movement. South Korean bosses and the U.S. bosses saw a great future for this creep, so they built an organization for him. Now, after almost 20 years of preaching overseas, the Rev. Mr. Moon has launched his schemes here in the U.S.—both because the bosses here needed him and because there is a lucrative market for the Rev. Mr. Moon.

Besides the Christian Crusade there are a myriad of anti-communist fundamentalist Christian groups floating around. The Christian Anti-Communist Crusade and Jesus to the Communist World, Inc. are two such groups. We have already run across the former as one of those supported

by the big foundations. Both of these groups work in tandem and both are based in Southern California (Long Beach and Glendale) and both are indebted to the leadership of the "worm" Rev. Richard Wurmbrand. Jesus to the Communist World is his pet project, and he spends most of his time with this group. Their public relations are not as slick as they could be, but what do you expect from these kind of people?

THIS SLOBBERING ANTI-COMMUNIST RANTS and raves about the persecution of ilk like him in the Soviet Union. The "worm" can breathe easier. Some of his propaganda has rubbed off on members of the so-called "communist" party of the Soviet Union. It seems that members of the C.P.S.U. go to church and Pravda has had to rectify this. (N.Y. Times, May 19, 1972). This has caused a minor scandal in the heartland of revisionism. After all, how can a country call itself "communist" when the membership of the party goes to church and prays? Meanwhile the "worm" prays for more successes and collects the payola from the elements of the U.S. ruling class who are opposed to any kind of "détente." On the home front he serves the interests of all the bosses, whereas overseas some of his efforts are now being curtailed by the bosses, at least those who want better trade deals with the Soviet Union.

The largest of the campus Christian groups is the Campus Crusade for Christ. This group serves as the bridge between the main-line churches and the far-out mystics. The Campus Crusade is a Bible-thumping group that is a bit more sedate than the Children of God. It commands a large following on the campuses and commands an even larger amount of money.

Some of the backers of the group, besides the big foundations, are wealthy businessmen who make anonymous contributions on the local level, businessmen who aren't so anonymous like Arthur DeMoss of the National Liberty Corporation. Other contributors are well-to-do middle class students who contribute all they own to the greater honor and glory of the Crusade. DeMoss is president and chief executive officer of the National Liberty Corporation of good old Valley Forge, Pennsylvania. Included on the Board of Directors at one time or another are former U.S. Senator from Kansas Frank Carlson, former Pennsylvania governor William Scranton and Art Linkletter. This is the insurance company that advertises in the Sunday funnies and has been accused of fraudulent practices, and old Art Linkletter has had to do some scrambling to try and clear his name. Recently they cleaned up their operation and were awarded an article in *Fortune* Magazine just to show them that there were no hard feelings between Rockefeller's insurance companies and this twirp little group.

Old man DeMoss personally gives about \$20,000 a year to the Crusade and through his foundation, the National Liberty Foundation, supports the Crusade and other fundamentalist groups. DeMoss fancies himself a "true-believer" and believes that God likes his insurance company best of all of them. On the lobby wall of his office building is embossed: "With men this is impossible, but with

God all things are possible." If he really believes that, stuff he won't get too far in the capitalist world, but if he keeps his nose clean the bosses will let him support the Crusade and fleece people out of money for useless insurance policies.

NO ARTICLE COULD BE COMPLETE WITH-out a discussion of Oral Roberts. Oral Roberts is one of the all time great extortionists and con-artists. Outside of the Catholic Church there probably isn't anyone who has conned so much money out of so many people for so long a time as good old Oral. The operations of Oral Roberts require a considerable expenditure of money. For example, the Oral Roberts Evangelistic Association publishes a monthly journal called **Abundant Life**, circulation 1,200,000. Their quarterly journal is called **Daily Blessing** and has a circulation of 400,000. He sends these to his followers at extremely cheap rates, sometimes for free. The costs of printing and mailing are enormous. Bankers already have estimated the cash flow in his organizations at about \$15 million a year, which puts him near the top of the fundamentalist racket. Of course Oral gets support from various rulers in the U.S. in order to keep his operation afloat. His appeal is mainly to rural and small town audiences and to older city residents, not all of whom have the money to sustain the life-style that Oral is used to.

For example, NBC's Burbank studio spent \$150,000 to produce the 1972 Easter special with Oral Roberts. Or how about this one: Oral Roberts University in Tulsa cost a cool \$30 million and sits on 500 acres of land. Oral sits on the Board of Directors of one of Tulsa's largest banks, is president of the Tulsa Chamber of Commerce and a member of the Rotary Club. With all these ruling class connections it's no wonder that the city of Tulsa contributed \$2.2 million towards a new building that cost a total of \$9 million. As **Time Magazine** put it: "Some of the contributions doubtless came from new, affluent friends who have found Oral Roberts University a source of civic pride and a haven of good academic manners" (Feb. 7, 1972, p. 62).

One can turn on the TV almost any day of the week or tune in the radio and there is old Oral babbling away. His approach is to sucker the nickels and dimes out of the people for some ridiculous pamphlet. This is enough to get him expensive suits and shoes and a car or two, but when it comes to living high off the hog, he has to fall back on his ruling class friends in Tulsa. On top of it he serves a vital function for the ruling class by brain-washing students at his Oral Roberts U., the Harvard of the Bible Belt. This has been a source of civic pride for the Chamber of Commerce of Tulsa!

Oral's chief competitors are the Armstrong family—Herbert and Garner Ted. The two of them combined overshadow Oral in the money racket, although Oral gets more money directly from the ruling class. Herbert is the old patriarch of the organization, the Worldwide Church of God, which was founded way back in 1934 during the Depression and a year for big strikes (San Francisco and Minneapolis general strikes, to

name two). Herbert has continued the tradition of diverting people from class struggle for almost 40 years, so he doesn't exactly classify as "chic," but his group is still considered part of the fundamentalist fringe in the U.S. (the respectable fringe, however). The annual cash flow in the Armstrong organization is estimated to be about \$55 million.

The Worldwide Church of God puts on a radio and TV show called **The World Tomorrow** which appears on 400 radio stations and 99 TV stations across the U.S. They publish a free monthly, **The Plain Truth** (sic), with circulation of 2,100,000. They run three campuses of the Ambassador College (Pasadena, Big Sandy, Texas and St. Albans, England). And to top it all off, that gigantic idiot, Bobby Fisher, chess champion, is a "co-worker" and sympathizer.

Members of the Worldwide Church of God have to pay 30% of their income in order to stay members. This accounts for a large part of the cash flow for the Armstrongs, besides the grants from the big foundations. What do they do with all this money? Well, besides spending it on the college and their publications, the Armstrongs spend it on themselves. For example, Herbert Armstrong has his own private Grumman Gulfstream jet that requires \$1.5 million a year upkeep (before the energy crisis). He zips around the world in his toy, visiting Prime Minister Sato of Japan (1972) or Indira Ghandi of India. A former member of the Worldwide Church of God maintains that both Herbert and Garner Ted maintain homes in England, California and Texas—needless to say these aren't hovels or modest cottages! Old Herbert considers himself to be part of the jet set, so he sports a \$1,000 watch and \$2,000 set of cuff-links and tie tack.

Recently the taint of sex scandal has brushed the Armstrongs. Garner Ted, Herbert's son, could not keep the vow of chastity and committed adultery! Can you imagine that! So after a short time out to pasture, Garner Ted returned, sufficiently sorrowful for having been caught.

As far as the lunatic fundamentalist groups go, the Children of God must rank as the nuttiest. The type of person attracted to this group by and large has had his mind virtually destroyed by drugs and is incapable of rational thought. These zombies walk around trying to coerce people into becoming just as nutty as they are. Luckily, the number of people in this state is exceedingly small, but the publicity they receive is exceedingly large. For one period in Seattle they were the subject of a TV show or newspaper article every day for about a month. Where they get the money to survive is a well-kept secret. None of their members work—they are all incapable of it. One of their recent friends has been Khaddafi of Libya, but how much money they get from him is an open question.

This group had its beginnings in Texas and California when David Berg of the Teens for Christ set out on his own back in 1967, during the anti-war movement. A TV evangelist, J. Fred Jordan, gave Berg and his followers land to use in Texas and California and gave them free air time to make

itches for money. This went on for about 1-1/2 years. Then a big argument over who would run the whole show and get the proceeds caused a split. This was the "birth" of the Children of God. Their next big boost came when the Children of God won over two other fringe groups, Atlanta's Street Ministries led by David Hoyt and Seattle's Jesus People Army led by Linda Meissner. While this did not bring in all that much money, it was enough to keep going. The membership of these two groups is entirely white middle class, and their parents keep forking over the money. Then their next big break was landing the son of Ed Rees, vice-president of Flying Tiger Line. This kid went from med school to drugs to Jesus to the Children of God. This assured the Children a supply of money.

Once Meissner, Hoyt and Rees were "in the fold," the Children of God began their climb to notoriety. Their style includes sack cloth, ashes, crucifixes and biblical names for the membership. The Children of God have received immense amounts of free publicity from local media in Seattle and other cities and even national network media. Better we should worry about the latest dire prediction from Moses (nickname for the Children's leader, Berg) rather than class struggle. While the Children will never get to be a gigantic organization, they do spend a lot of money and time interfering with class struggle.

FOR EXAMPLE, THE CHILDREN SHOWED UP day-in and day-out at GI hangouts at Fort Lewis, Washington, spreading both religious and anti-communist propaganda. This occurred when members of the PLP were organizing an anti-racist struggle at the base. While the GI's rejected the Children in the midst of class struggle, the Children haven't given up. Always waiting in the wings, issuing predictions of catastrophe, the Children have spread their operation across the U.S. and to Europe.

The traditional method of extortion used by the Children's leaders is that new members must give all of their "worldly positions"—car, savings, clothes, etc. In return, they get a worn Bible and a new name. Contact with the outside world is strictly controlled by the "leaders." All of the ritual is used to keep the membership in line, believing that they are something special. The middle-class ex-drug addict is the entire membership of the Children of God (as is the case with most of the fringe groups). "Religion is the opiate of the people," said Marx, and he wasn't joking around.

The number of small fundamentalist sects crawling around in the U.S. is huge. Each leader has a gimmick; each lives a pampered existence. Cashing in on the decline of an empire and the resulting uncertainty about the future, con-artists have found "Jesus" and the pot of gold at the end of the rainbow.

A few more celebrities in the long list includes Rev. Ike (known as Rev. Frederick J. Eikerenkoetter II), an honest con-artist. His pitch, as quoted in *Time Magazine*, is: "Don't wait for your pie in the sky, by and by. Get youah paaaaaies no-ow! With ice cream on top!" While this isn't

exactly a spiritual message, it is what Rev. Ike wants—money. At least he's open about it. His income last year was a paltry \$600,000, with which he bought a movie theater in Washington Heights which is now the HQ for his United Church and Science of Living Institute. He also has two Rolls-Royces, a Mercedes and a Bentley.

One of the more pathetic victims of the Water-gate crunch is Charles Colson, the new religious hero of the U.S. This "new money" operative has suddenly found the Lord when the tables got turned on him. He sees this as a great way to gain sympathy for himself. The ruling class media, of course, sees him as a great example of the properly repentant crook. Colson pals around with Harold Hughes and Hughes' Prayer Breakfast Movement. Hughes is an ex-alcoholic who probably had one too many and ruined his brain. These guys pray every morning and hope that God looks on them with favor.

THE TOTAL AMOUNT OF MONEY FLOWING through Christian churches in this country alone must run into the billions of dollars. For instance, the Archdiocese of New York has over \$680 million in assets; the Mormon Church owns about one-half of the state of Utah and hundreds of small businesses (e.g. KIRO-TV in Seattle); the Southern Baptist Church had receipts of over one billion dollars last year alone.

The finances of the "main-line" churches are staggering and their sources "are legion": investments, stocks, bonds, real estate, foundations, donations from their members, tax dodges, etc. This operation makes religion a big business in the U.S.

Before we move onto the mystics and the snake charmers, the relationship between the religious revival and the main-line churches must be examined.

In general the fundamentalist revival in the U.S. has been referred to as the "Pentecostal" movement—a movement characterized by "religious zeal and devotion." Members of this movement claim that "they are filled with the Lord" (as opposed to shit). By and large this movement has tried to stay outside of the main-line churches and has found expression in the myriad of small sects that grovel around in the U.S. The Gallup Poll stated that the "levels of religious belief among young adults today are extremely high, despite their disenchantment with the forms of religion."

THE MAIN-LINE RELIGIONS HAVE SUFFERED a decline in membership over the past twenty years. These churches are conservative and were unable to respond to the changing social situation in the U.S. The Civil Rights movement was ignored by all the churches except the black churches in the South (e.g. SCLC and Martin Luther King). The anti-war movement and the strike wave of the early 1970's were events that the older churches could not or would not respond to, and this resulted in deep rifts within these churches which are still being worked out today.

Some of the opposition within these religions quit and continued their political fight outside of

religious boundaries. Others quit altogether. The net result, though, was a decline in church membership and attendance. For example, in 1955, about 49% of the population reported that they went to church within the previous week; this had dropped to 42% in 1970 and the decline has continued since then. Over 25,000 priests have left the Catholic Church in the past three years.

To counteract this trend the churches have banded together to "co-opt," in a sense, the Pentecostal movement. Over 100 Protestant denominations and the Catholic Church formed an organization called "Key '73" whose purpose was to promote the religious revival in the U.S. They pulled Billy Graham into it, the Campus Crusade for Christ, and a few others. Their open attempt was to prevent the Pentecostal movement from withering into obscurity, and to increase their own membership.

The churches downplay social activism and emphasize "salvation" and "zeal" as the key to life. In their first few months of operation in 1973 "Key '73" spent over \$250,000 in advertising. While its achievements were not all that great, they don't intend to give up. The point for us to remember is that the established churches will be the big gainers out of the revival movement. After all, how long can most of these lunatic groups keep a following? Times will change and the churches hope to pick up the pieces. And who gains from this? Not the workers. Only the bosses can gain from any increase in church membership.

RELIGION AS FRAUD - PART II

All of the mystical groups have a "great figure" who directs the activities for the devotees. Every single one of the new wave of gurus is a fraud or con-artist or extortionist or lunatic. Whether it be the 16-year-old Perfect Asshole or the Yogi, all of them are crooks and are busily lining their pockets with millions of bucks.

All of us have seen the blank stares of the former acid-freaks who have found something in Zen or the guru or in Hare Krishna. Nothing is so ludicrous or pitiful as the dancing fairies of Hare Krishna, jumping around working themselves into a frenzy with their shaved heads, saffron robes and PF canvas shoes. In all of these groups there is a hard core of zealots who are the remnants of the "hippie syndrome" of the 1960's. However, at the "command level" of each group sits a bunch of aristocrats who are as ruthless and parasitical as any full-fledged capitalist. It is this group of scum that we address ourselves to now.

The Maharishi Yogi runs the group most likely to appeal to serious people, not just lunatics. Garbed in mounds of pseudo-scientific mumbo-jumbo, his movement has received the official blessing of the ruling class through an endorsement in *Fortune Magazine*. The May, 1973 issue carried a glowing article on the bearded con-artist and his Transcendental Meditation. Since TM relies on simple meditation rather than any religious indoctrination, *Fortune* says that it's O.K. So the Illinois State Legislature endorsed



"WHEREAS, on the evening of Friday, March 29, 1974, a citizens' committee will hold a testimonial dinner at the Conrad Hilton Hotel to honor the Honorable Elijah Muhammad; and

"WHEREAS, mutual respect and brotherhood are essential for people to live in harmony everywhere; and

"WHEREAS, the Honorable Elijah Muhammad has exhibited strong leadership to provide quality education, to establish prosperous businesses, to organize recreational activities and to develop good citizenship in the community; and

"WHEREAS, the proceeds from this testimonial dinner will be used to support the construction of a 300 bed hospital on the South Side:

"NOW, THEREFORE, I, Richard J. Daley, Mayor of the City of Chicago, do hereby proclaim March 29, 1974 to be HONORABLE ELIJAH MUHAMMAD DAY IN CHICAGO and call upon all citizens to take cognizance of the special events arranged for this time."

Dated this 27th day of March, 1974

Richard J. Daley
Mayor

TM for use in the public schools as a way of reducing conflict! Generals and businessmen meditate; students meditate. TM is taught for credit at schools like Yale and Stanford; HEW has given grants to "professors" to "study it." The Beatles rock group helped make the Maharishi famous a few years ago when they went to study his navel.

The initial fee for a TM course is \$75, and TM's 1973 budget was a paltry \$10 million. While this won't rival GM or ITT, *Fortune* sees it as a good investment. Sure, if you got any problems, don't

do anything about it—meditate. So, all of you workers who were worrying about inflation and job safety, all of you workers who were suffering from hypertension, those of you who were worrying about racism and sexism—stop worrying. Look at your navel! Meditate! Lie down and relax. So what if you can't make enough to put food on the table? Relax. This is the exact opposite of class struggle.

Fortune did not stop with TM (and its organization, the Students' International Meditation Society). One of its favorites is **Arica**, a group run by one Oscar Ichazo. His pitch is that he claims to have assembled all the best parts of religious and meditational practices of many countries. The members of this freaky group do such interesting pastimes as yoga, meditation, ballet and Royal Canadian Air Force exercises (a rather strange combination).

"The six-weeks course costs the student \$600. In Manhattan, Arica is in an office recently vacated by Manufacturers' Hanover Trust Co., occupying a spacious, luxuriously finished floor, complete with a private escalator up from Fifty-Seventh Street. The staff of trainers in New York alone now numbers 130, each of whom is paid \$12,000 per year. Many of them share apartments in a building on Central Park West, where they also operate a Montessori-type nursery school, with a grade school and a high school at other locations. The total U.S. operating budget for Arica was more than \$1,500,000 in 1972. Receipts were \$584,000, with the deficit made up by contributions from wealthy practitioners." (**Fortune**, May, 1973)

The pattern is much the same for the other bands of idiots. Initiates are charged for courses; some times the courses are piled on—beginners, intermediate, advanced, etc. The top level of each group lives like King Tut—and the best example of this is the 16-year-old Perfect Asshole, guru Maharaj Ji.

More than any other fraud, this fat slob has gotten publicity from everywhere—TV, radio, movies, magazines, speaking tours. Any rotten technique is used by the roly-poly crook. The ruling class has given the big baloney sausage a lot of free backing, probably for two reasons: his message (sic) is pacifist idiocy, and he is an out and out crook. Both of these appeal to the ruling class's predatory instincts. How anyone can actually believe any of the dribble that falls from the 16-year-old Perfect Asshole is beyond comprehension, but some do, including old-time sellout Rennie Davis (an old retreat from the anti-war movement). Davis also digs money and attention just like his master. The not-so-fortunate followers pay through the nose to support his highness and parasites like Davis.

Recently, on one return trip to India, the Indian government seized \$80,000 worth of jewels given by bedazzled followers at carefully staged rallies, like those he held in Denver and in Houston's Astrodome. With chartered 747's flying back and forth between India and the U.S., the money is fast and easy. The 16-year-old Perfect Cancerous

Growth is already a millionaire and lives like a ruling monarch. His lust for money is painfully obvious to all but the ex-dope freak. Reason escapes many of the "alienated youth" who eagerly follow his highness down the primrose path.

The guru's headquarters are in Denver where the Divine Light Mission, Inc., is registered. This slick operation is a high-powered, well-financed promotional outfit that produces movies about the guru's tours, pamphlets, flashy posters, the tours themselves and even his recent wedding. You can be sure that the staff at his headquarters is not made up of re-cycled acid freaks.

The guru's life style is quite exorbitant. He owns several Maseratis, cabin cruisers (he just got one as a wedding present), a jet and a gigantic mansion worth \$400,000 (not exactly living the life of an ascetic). In **People Magazine** (July, 1974) one of the guru's followers justified the regal life-style with the following:

"The Perfect Master's life-style is in keeping with this era of science and technology. The world is rich so he must live rich. The rich are the real sufferers and the poor's sufferings are often exaggerated. The guru receiving presents from his devotees is no more different than Christ, the poor son of a carpenter, receiving the three wise men's offerings of frankincense, gold and myrrh."

Need we say more?

Of course no article can be considered "complete" without a discussion of the strangest group of them all, the dancing fairies of Hare Krishna. Under the direction of a former Indian businessman, the pathetic shaved followers prance around in the streets making themselves obnoxious.

Their funding comes from three sources: American businessmen who make "anonymous donations"; their membership—as in the other groups—who give up all of their "worldly goods"; and their privately owned incense and junk company which grosses about \$1 million a year now.

The International Society of Krishna Consciousness is the "official" organization of the Hare Krishna freaks, and they are busy expanding their "worldly possessions." Recently they were looking around in Manhattan for a luxurious HQ to house the big mucky-mucks. In almost every city the Krishna band owns vans, busses, houses and, in some cases, schools (e.g. in Texas). The ruler of this network is his so-called Divine Grace A.C. Bhaktivedanta Swami Prabhupada, who lives off of the sale of his books (which are an incredible collection of prattle). Old A.C. is quite a capitalist, having learned the trade back in India before moving onto the U.S. scene.

Besides the above sects we cannot forget the Kung-Fu addiction that is spreading across the U.S., inspired by the TV show. Everywhere one looks today one can find Kung-Fu fanatics "dealing with evil and righting the wrongs in society." In the meantime the TV industry is mopping up with revenues generated by this craze. When it comes to making money out of fads the ruling class cannot be topped, not even by the 16-year-old Perfect Asshole himself.

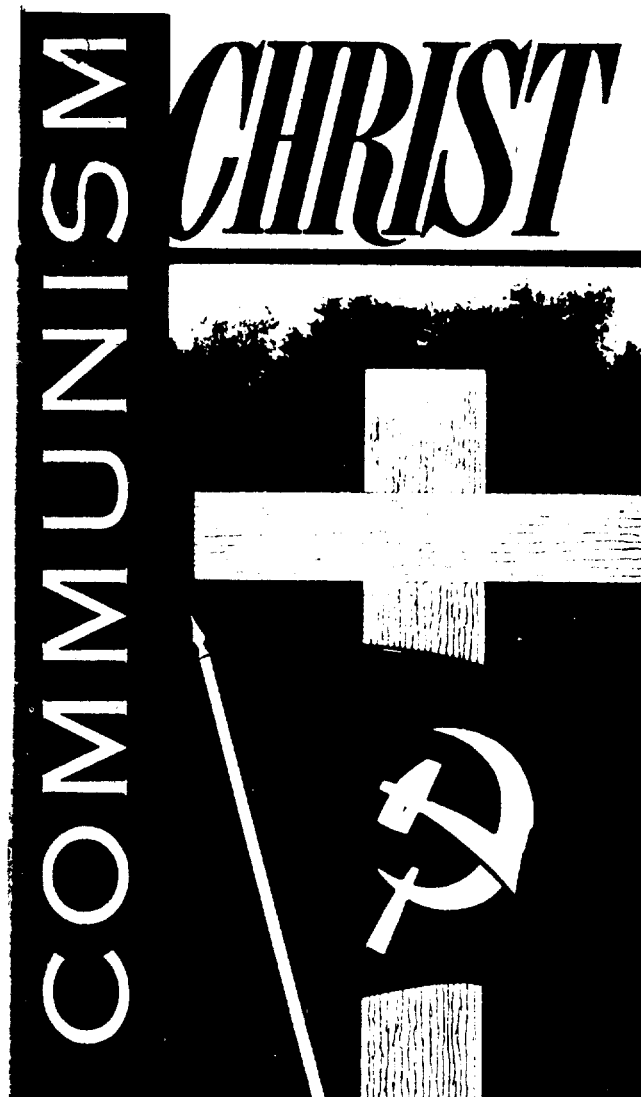
WHY IS IT THAT MYSTICISM IS THE MAIN-line drug of the new-religion-pushers? Aside from its immediate moneymaking appeal, and since working people all across the U.S. are fighting back, U.S. bosses must try any slimy trick they can to postpone their demise. Some symptoms of the sickening addiction of the mysticism culture are elitism, individualism, pacifism, idealism, pessimism, and general confusion. William James, an authority on such perversions, describes a mystical experience as being 1) unintelligible, 2) non-communicable, 3) completely authoritative, 4) lasting for only a short period of time.

Any experience (?) which is unintelligible is worthless to the working class. Yet the bosses would like to have us not understand the way that they control all of our lives. Any advance in the history of human society has been preceded with some form of scientific understanding. Our science is dialectical materialism and it is very intelligible. The bosses understand **their** system. Even if masses of people get caught in this mystical trap, we can rest assured David Rockefeller will not try to maintain his empire upon unintelligibility.

The inability to communicate an experience, aside from revealing the idiocy and phoniness of whatever truth mystics claim to have magic-carpeted on to, tends towards elitism and individualism. Self-proclaimed mystics feel special, chosen—yet the fact of the matter is that these new bosses of religion would like to choose anyone to join a magical mystery tour. Those bagged by mysticism look down upon real work—the material production of the necessities of life. The working-class is then viewed as ignorant, not elevated to that “pure state” of cosmic crap. As the ruling class media pushes mysticism—they’re saying “you can make it on your own.” Of course this is crap, but the bosses fear the prospect of organized workers and students. They would rather see masses of students meditating than organizing to kick out racists like Jensen, Herrstein, and Shockley.

Complete submission to mystical authority creates a material basis for continued submission to the bosses. As U.S. Imperialism declines and living conditions worsen, submission and pacifism strengthens only the ruling class. The problem is not in our psyches or cosmic consciousness, but rather in the whole world capitalist system.

WHAT IS REALLY BEING PUSHED IN ALL the different forms of mysticism is the search for that peak experience supposedly far superior to the every day problems of living in a declining empire. This era can no longer be claimed a golden age. U.S. bosses aren’t stupid. Almost no one will buy that line today. Admitting that things aren’t so great, the mysticism movement sees the relief in those blissful moments of spiritual ecstasy. This leads to a generally pessimistic attitude towards changing the real material basis



for their dissatisfaction. The emphasis on such unexplained, incomprehensible and confusing states of mind would prevent many from supporting the tactics necessary to overthrow the government. The violence of a strike or a building takeover becomes for the mystics a false affront to theirs’ and the bosses’ principle, “all you need is love.”

**Smash the Bosses,
Fight for Socialism**

Mysticism, then, with all its results, becomes another device to serve the bosses. We can assume that this shit will continue to appear, especially on the campuses. And yet its appearance is not unintelligible or non-communicable. Rather it is part and parcel of the recent upsurge, pushed by the ruling class, of all those theories which divide and disarm the working class.

ROUNDING OUT THE WHOLE BAG OF FRUITS and vegetables are such winners as the devil worshippers, the scientologists, tarot card fanatics, navel contemplators, astrology buffs, witches and crystal ball gazers. Their common denominator is escapism. Each fad guarantees mastery over the world or power to predict the future or some such nonsense. Class struggle, of course, is completely overlooked, as the extortionists who run these rackets lead their "alienated" members on a never-ending trail of the most sickening kinds of sadism and idiocy found outside of the ruling class.

One group in this category that is illustrative of how they operate is L. Ron Hubbard's Church of Scientology. This was founded in the early 1950's when **Science Fiction Magazine** published Hubbard's article on 'Dianetics'. During this period of intense anti-communism (Korea and McCarthy) the ruling class needed some jerk to keep people occupied. So, they gave Hubbard \$\$ and advertising. As soon as he published his article, A.E. Van Vogt joined up; a professor at MIT, F.L. Schuman, wrote an endorsement of Hubbard which appeared in the **New Republic**; Gloria Swanson, Dave Brubeck and Cecil B. DeMille either joined up or advertised it (old Cecil talked about it in some of his grade 'B' movies).

Hubbard's biggest break came when Don Purcell, an oil millionaire in Wichita, Kansas, built him a world headquarters there. Hubbard started out on his long career of fraud by offering courses charging \$500 for 36 hours of course time. Unfortunately for old L. Ron, he was exposed as a fraud at a meeting in the Shrine Auditorium in Los Angeles in front of 6,000 people. After this, Purcell and Hubbard split up and the Church of Scientology was born, and off to England went Hubbard.

The story of Scientology continues to the present day, unfortunately. Through ingenious manipulation of scheme after scheme, Hubbard is now a millionaire several times over; he has homes in England, Australia and the U.S.; he owns boats, planes and scads of cars—all to carry him in regal style.

The Scientology organization offers the following course schedule which every person who wants to become just like L. Ron has to take (remember each one requires a course fee, somewhere in the range of \$100-\$750):

1. Hubbard Apprentice Scientology Course
2. Hubbard Special Dianetic Course
3. Hubbard Qualified Scientologist
4. Hubbard Recognized Scientologist
5. Hubbard Trained Scientologist
6. Hubbard Certified Scientologist

7. Hubbard Professional Auditor
8. Hubbard Advanced Auditor
9. Hubbard Validated Auditor
10. Hubbard Senior Scientologist
11. Saint Hill Special Briefing Course
12. Class VII Auditor
13. Power Processing Course
14. The "Clear" Course

Besides learning that the head of the Church of Scientology is named Hubbard, one learns absolutely nothing of value. Once you're a "clear," you're just like L. Ron Hubbard and it only cost you thousands of dollars.

Who joins it? The membership of the Church of Scientology has been studied and they generally fall into two camps: young, naive idealistic middle class youth and the lonely, neurotic, alienated or "inadequate" types. Both groups are typical membership for the fringe groups in a decaying society. Since the U.S. economy is in sharp decline, groups like Hubbard's can attract those elements that have rejected the working class and the leadership it can provide.

THE 5TH CITY

The Ecumenical Institute in Chicago is a religious organization of a different sort. This group, well bankrolled by the ruling class, is engaged in "Urban renewal," job training and community development. This group is the ruling class alternative for those people who still need religion and community action—it is safe, clean and immaculate, or so they tell us. Engaging in tearing down slums in Chicago may seem like a good thing provided that cheap decent housing is built and jobs provided so that working people can have a chance at a decent life.

But the Ecumenical Institute has a different idea. Class struggle is bad. Violence against the state is bad. Workers uniting to overthrow the government is horrible. So they push pacifism and "Christian concern."

Who backs them? It reads like a partial list from the **Fortune** 500. Among others: Mobil Oil, Allstate Insurance, the AMA, Commonwealth Edison, Illinois Bell, People's Gas, the Rockefeller Foundation, Shell Oil, Standard Oil of Indiana, W. Clement Stone Foundation, Sunbeam and Western Electric, to name a few. Other backers include Bell and Howell, Continental Bank, First National Bank of Chicago, Gulf Oil, Motorola, Sears and U.S. Steel. Their backers include almost the entire Chamber of Commerce of the Chicago area and most of the political hacks like Mayor Daley (a friend of the people?). HUD, HEW and OEO have also contributed funds to this group probably making it the most broadly based religious group outside of the Catholic Church and the Presbyterians. The operating budget in Chicago alone was \$1,501,392 in 1973. Since they have these centers in at least 83 cities in the U.S. and around the world, their total budget comes closer to \$50-75 million a year.

Why? Simply because it is the alternative to class struggle. Its activities are closely super-

vised by the bosses, and none of the group's programs are carried out without the ruling class's approval.

RELIGION AS BOURGEOIS IDEOLOGY

We have documented the antics of numerous sects that are groveling around in this country today. We have shown that (a) these sects have been promoted by the ruling class through their foundations, TV and radio stations, their publishing industry and direct contributions; (b) that the leadership of all of these sects is made up of crooks who are out for a fast buck; (c) that the rise of fundamentalist religion or the "Pentecostal" movement will ultimately benefit the established churches; (d) there is a connection between some of the fundamentalist ideology and anti-communist ideology of the worst kind; (e) many of the members of these sects are middle class "alienated youth" and/or former drug addicts.

What else is there to say? Plenty!

The revival movement in many ways is linked to the counter-culture or "hippie" movements of the 1960's. When thousands of students fought back militantly against the war and racism, an escapist movement developed on the college campuses. It was characterized by drugs, anti-working class ideas, individualism and elitism, a deification of nature ("commune" movements and assorted fetishes in the ecology movement and natural food fad). Such "intellectuals" as Marcuse, Reich and Roszak (the big three of counter-culture) spawned a whole generation of "alienated youth." Middle class students were encouraged to read these droppings and turn on to drugs ("consciousness-raising," it was called then).

Marijuana became almost as popular as alcohol, and pot-heads and acid-freaks were elevated by the press to the position of "flower children."

The counterculture fad is slowly dying, being replaced by a religious revival that has all of the same characteristics, except for the drugs. The connections between the two are idealism, anti-working class ideology, and an anti-scientific approach to life. It all ties together into a nice, neat, deadly package for the bosses to sell to the students, intellectuals, and other middle class people.

RELIGION IS THE DIRECT OPPOSITE OF dialectical materialism, the science by which communists analyze how society changes. Religion and idealism do not base themselves in the real world; their solutions for problems lies outside of reality and lie in the realm of mysticism. Idealism tells us to be content with society, don't fight back, pray, give up and look to god (or the devil, or Krishna, or the crystal ball, or the tarot cards, or L. Ron Hubbard, or the guru, etc.) for the answer. As long as workers and students in substantial numbers buy this garbage there will not be a revolution in this country. Religion dulls the consciousness of the workers and reduces them to a subservient group unable to fight back.

This is by no means the only time in U.S. his-

tory that a religious revival has been foisted on the population. In the 1890's a spiritual revival rocked across the U.S., just when this country was becoming a world power. Society was in rapid change—industrialization and urbanization were disrupting the lives and customs of millions of workers and farmers. This period was one of intense class struggle: the Haymarket Square Riot and the fight for the 8-hour-day in 1886; the Pullman Strike of 1894 and the fight for industrial unionism with the Western Federation of Miners and the American Railway Union; textile strikes; the Populist revolt and the beginnings of the Progressive Movement—these and a hundred more class battles marked the end of the 19th century. Industrialization spawned an industrial working class, impoverished the rural sector, and made the "robber barons" billionaires. During this period of upheaval and change a "revival" swept across the country.

The bosses started that one just as they are doing everything in their power to help the present one along. Middle class types stumped the circuit getting wealthy and confusing people along the way. Did this help the working class? NO! The collapse of industrial unionism and the development of the eugenics movement and the religious revival were delicately intertwined in the 1890's and early 1900's by the ruling class, and all served to weaken the working class's ability to fight back.

Again in the late 1920's and on into the 1930's another big revival movement was tried, but this one failed to gain the foothold in U.S. society. Why? Because the Communist Party USA, despite all of its weaknesses, organized workers to fight back. This aspect, the furthering of class struggle under the leadership of communists, was the key to smashing idealistic clap trap.

THE NEXT WAVE OF RELIGIOUS REVIVAL was in the late 1940's and early 1950's. While this movement did not have all the weirdos that plague us today, it did build up the established churches. The key to the success of this movement was that the CPUSA had given up the fight during a period of sharp anti-communism. When this disaster befell the workers, the beacon light for change, the chance for revolution, was temporarily extinguished. This crushing of the left in the 40's and 50's was accompanied by the rise of religion and escapism. The crushing of the CPUSA also spurred on the growth of religion.

Now the bosses have a problem on their hands. Their worldwide empire is under sharp attack by the other imperialists and the economy is fast becoming a shambles. At any moment the worldwide capitalist system can fall into a depression. War is certainly a possibility in the not too distant future. The bosses are losing control of the situation and things are getting out of hand. They have now begun a desperate bid to gain firm control over their crumbling system.

Besides the religious/escapist movement, the bosses have given their backing to the genocidal racism of Jensen, Herrnstein and Shockley. Bizarre ideologies drenched in fascism are now

being circulated—psychosurgery, behavior modification, drug therapy, euthanasia and sterilization are but a few. The upcoming bi-centennial "celebration" is being made into a sickening patriotic extravaganza. This blend of racism, religion and patriotism is deadly for the working class: it divides workers, it tells them not to fight the bosses and tells them to support their bosses.

We cannot let this happen. Only the combined efforts of the working class and its vanguard, communists in the Progressive Labor Party, can rid this country of these cancers. Under socialism,

the dictatorship of the proletariat, there will be no "revival" movements, no fraud artists, no 16-year-old Perfect Assholes, no Scientology craze, no dancing fairies, no tarot cards, no witches or devil worshipping—none of this decadent garbage. Religion, like any other bourgeois ideology, must be crushed under socialism. When the working class and its allies have grasped the principles of Marxism-Leninism—dialectical materialism—then we will not have any need for "the opiate of the people."

FIGHT FOR SOCIALISM

TABLE I
THE PUBLISHING INDUSTRY

PUBLISHER'S NAME	PARENT COMPANY	RULING CLASS GROUP
W.A. Benjamin Press Cummings Publishing Co. W.R. Scott, Inc.	Addison-Wesley	
Cornwall Press Duenewald Kenecky Lithographers Stratford Book Creators Graphic Arts Warehouses H. Wolff Book Manufacturing Co.	American Book-Stratford Press	
Standard and Poor's Corp. American Heritage Publ. Shepard's Citations, Inc. Opinion Research Corp. Educational Development Laboratories, Inc. Data News, Inc. Opec, Inc. Photronix, Inc.	McGraw-Hill, Inc.	Rockefeller
Grosset & Dunlap, Inc. Bantam Books Small Books, Inc. Transworld Publ., Inc.	National General	
Bobbs-Merrill Intertec Publ. Co.	ITT	Rockefeller
Ginn & Co. Cheshire, Inc. R.R. Bowker Co.	Xerox	Rochester Group
Charles E. Merrill Publ. Co. Dell Publ. Co.	Bell & Howell	Rockefeller
Delmar Publications American Book Division P. Van Nostrand Co. Van Nostrand Reinhold Co. McCormick-Mathers Publ. Co.	Litton Industries	Bank of America
Dodd-Mead & Co. Doubleday & Co.		

PUBLISHER'S NAME	PARENT COMPANY	RULING CLASS GROUP
McCall Publ. Co.	Norton Simon	
Colonial Press	VLN Corp.	
Collier's Encyclopedia The MacMillan Co. Brentano's Bookstores The Brice Publ. Co. P.J. Kennedy & Sons Geoffrey Chapman, Ltd. Benzigar, Inc.	Crowell, Collier & MacMillan, Inc.	
Saturday Review Press Sunrise Books Windmill Arthur Fields Books	E.P. Dutton & Co., Inc.	
Wall Street Journal Barron's National Business & Finance Weekly National Observer Dow Jones Books	Dow Jones	Morgan-Rockefeller
Thomas Y. Crowell Co., Inc. Dun-Donneily Publ. Co. Funk & Wagnall's, Inc.	Dun & Bradstreet Companies, Inc.	
Tandem Books Allan Wingate Publ. Ltc. Galaxy and If	Universal Publ. & Dist. Corp.	
World Book Co. Academic Press Professional Publ. Atheneum Verlag History Book Club Harvest Publ. Co. Dansville Press, Inc.	Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovitch	
Houghton-Mifflin Co.		
Harper & Row Publ. Inc. Harper's Magazine Harper Colophon Barnes and Noble Basic Books Perennial Library Harper Torchbooks Cathedral Library	Minneapolis Star	Morgan (through NY Times)
Holden-Day, Inc.		
Ideal Publ. Co. Publishers Dist. Corp.	Filmways	
Educational Materials	IBM	Morgan-Rockefeller
Random House Alfred A. Knopf Ballantine Pantheon Vintage Modern Library	RCA	Rockefeller, Morgan, Manufacturer's Hanover Trust

PUBLISHER'S NAME	PARENT COMPANY	RULING CLASS GROUP
Little, Brown & Co. Time-Life Libraries Time, Inc. Book Clubs	Time, Inc.	Rockefeller
New American Library World Publ. Co. Fuller & Dees Publ. Co. New English Library Signet & Signette Mentor Classic Plume	Times-Mirror	Bank of America
Pergamon Press		
Popular Library Holt, Rinehart & Winston, Inc. Curtis	CBS	Morgan-Rockefeller
Berkeley Publ. Corp. Coward, McCann & Geoghagen, Inc.	G.P. Putman's & Sons, Inc.	
Noble & Noble, Inc.		
Pyramid Publ.		
Prentice-Hall		
Charles Scribner's		
Scripture Press Publ.		
Pocket Books, Inc. Regents American Publ. Co. Western Publ. Co. Monarch Press Publ. Co. Washington Square Press Young Readers Press, Inc. Archway Clarion Trident Press Julian Messner Monarch Review	Simon & Schuster	
W.W. Norton & Co.		
The Zondervan Co.		
Weiser		
Avon Books Bard Camelot Discuss Equinox Books	Hearst Corp.	
Hillard Wang	Farrar, Strauss & Giroux	
Beacon Press	Unitarian Universalist Assoc.	
Apollo Editions	William Morrow & Co., Inc.	
Capricorn Books		
Gateway Editions	Henry Regnary Co.	

PUBLISHER'S NAME

Cambridge Book Co.
 Quadrangle Books

PARENT COMPANY

NY Times

RULING CLASS GROUP

Morgan

Sources: Who Rules America I & II; Standard and Poor's; Moody's Industrials; Dun & Bradstreet's Million Dollar Directory; Dun & Bradstreet's Middle Market Directory; Directory of Corporate Affiliations, Who Owns Whom (1974); Publisher's Weekly.

TABLE II

**PUBLISHERS OF OCCULT AND EASTERN
 RELIGION BOOKS**

1. THE MAJOR HOUSES:

Harper & Row and their subsidiaries
 Doubleday
 Anchor
 Beacon
 Mentor
 Vintage
 Pantheon
 Modern Library
 Simon & Schuster
 Collier
 Free Press
 MacMillan
 Bantam
 Penguin
 Putnam's
 Scribner's
 Viking
 Norton
 Dover
 E.P. Dutton

Yale
 Princeton
 Oxford
 Cornell
 U. Washington
 U. California
 Stanford
 JFK
 Hawaii

2. THE UNIVERSITIES:

Columbia

3. THE SMALLER HOUSES:

Omen
 Faber
 Comstock House
 Keysign
 Weiser
 Open Court
 Weatherhill
 Shambala
 Crown
 Grove
 Stein & Day
 George Allen & Unwin

(Note: This is only a partial list, especially for the universities and smaller houses; the information is not that readily available.)

TABLE III
THE BIG FOUNDATIONS

NAME	ASSETS (in millions)
Ford Foundation	\$3,661
Rockefeller Foundation	890
Duke Endowment	629
Lilly Endowment	579
Pew Memorial Trust	437
W.K. Kellogg Foundation	435
Charles Stewart Mott Foundation	413
Nemours Foundation	400
Kresge Foundation	353
John A. Hartford Foundation	352
Carnegie Corporation of NY	334
Alfred P. Sloan Foundation	329
Andrew W. Mellon Foundation	273
Longwood Foundation	226
Rockefeller Brothers Fund	222
Houston Endowment	214
Moody Foundation	191
Danforth Foundation	173
Emily & Ernest Woodruff Foundation	167
Richard King Mellon Foundation	162
Sara Mellon Scaife Foundation	145
Commonwealth Fund	142
Irvine Foundation	119
Haas Community Fund	115
Brown Foundation, Inc.	108
Edwin H. & Helen M. Land Foundation	107
Henry J. Kaiser Family Foundation	106
Sid W. Richardson	106

*Source: The Big Foundations by Waldemar A. Nielsen.
Note: The numbers and ranking are for 1968.*

TABLE IV
DISTRIBUTION OF FOUNDATION GRANTS

FIELD	AMOUNT (in millions)	PERCENT
Education	\$308	41
Sciences	106	14
International Activities	93	12
Health	77	10
Welfare	74	10
Humanities	72	10
Religion	23	3
Total	\$753	100

Source: The Big Foundations. Note: the figures are for 1968.

A Debate:

"Free Speech for Racists?"

The following text is the transcription of a debate on "Free Speech for Racists?" that took place Feb. 25, 1974 at New York City's Columbia University between Nat Hentoff of the Village Voice, Prof. Finley Campbell of the University of Wisconsin and Co-Chairman of the National Committee Against Racism (C.A.R.) and Bob Leonhardt of the Progressive Labor Party.

In the months prior to the debate, a number of significant advances had been made by the campus movement against racism. One of these was C.A.R.'s November Conference against racism at N.Y.U., attended by over 1400 faculty, students, and others. Another was the mass action at Staten Island Community College, at which hundreds of black, Latin, Asian, and white students militantly prevented William Shockley from using the school as a public forum to propound his genocidal "theory" that the most oppressed minority workers are "inferior" and should be sterilized.

The Village Voice, in two-part pieces by Hentoff and Clark Whelton, attacked both of these positive developments. Whelton denounced C.A.R.'s attacks against Jensen, Herrnstein, and other spokesmen for neo-Nazi theories of "genetic inferiority," asserting that for all he knew, the racists might be right. He also defended Shockley's right to

speak at S.I.C.C., calling him a "reasonable" man.

Hentoff used red-baiting disguised as anti-racism in his attack. He wondered if the 1400 professors "knew what they were doing" when they signed a statement in the New York Times calling for an end to racist theorizing. He said he was against racism—but offered no program for combatting it other than to castigate the actions of C.A.R. and PLP.

When challenged to debate, Hentoff accepted and Whelton refused—apparently afraid that he would be exposed as a racist. The debate was attended by over 700 people.

Since the debate, Hentoff has done nothing to fight racism. C.A.R., on the other hand, has continued its battle against racist practices and ideology on campus and has broadened its scope to include anti-racist campaigns in the fields of health care delivery, immigration laws, and community issues. PLP has organized and participated in scores of anti-racist actions across the country, in shops, communities, and on campus, around such diverse issues as the San Francisco "Zebra" roundup, busing in Boston, the acquittal of killer cop William Shea in New York and many others.

NAT HENTOFF:

I asked to be first because I thought that somebody ought to mention the Constitution tonight and I'm going to try to point, so far as I can—my part of this debate is in that kind of framework, but I don't want to come in as a representative of the majority opinion, either in the history of this country or the history of the Supreme Court.

The First Amendment, which is that the First Amendment is absolute, has never been the majority opinion in this country—not from the time of the debates at the end of the eighteenth century preceding the adoption of the Bill of Rights nor through the whole history of the Supreme Court. The only man on the Court now who believes that the first amendment is absolute is William O. Douglas. If you read the many decisions in the *Pentagon Papers vs. New York Times* case, that was not a big victory for the first amendment. Quite the contrary.

What has been the prevalent doctrine at least on the Supreme Court, in a kind of a tortuous way and

in the lower courts for at least the last half century is what is called the clear and present danger doctrine, to which I don't subscribe at all. The cliché quote that explains that doctrine (which I'm sure is familiar to all of you probably in an imperfect form) is that of Justice Holmes in the mid-twenties who said that freedom of speech does not mean the right of someone to cry fire falsely in a public theater and thereby cause panic. The problem with the clear and present danger doctrine is that it leaves to the judgment of law enforcement officers and then judges as to whether there is indeed an imminent danger that the expression of speech, which is not only verbal speech but picketing, lying down non-violently, wearing emblems, will bring about some kind of disruption that is thereby illegal.

The contrary doctrine which has been, I think, best exemplified in our generation is that of Tom Emerson, who is a professor of Law at Yale, and, according to William Douglas, is our leading first amendment scholar. That's because they agree with each other. Emerson's doctrine is called the



Princeton students oppose Shockley's right to promote genocide

expression-action doctrine, to which I thoroughly subscribe. It didn't help him at all, because I fought through the A.C.L.U. to get that adopted and we lost every step of the way and eventually we may win. The expression-action doctrine and the reason I bring it up is that it has some very direct bearing on what happened at Staten Island.

Let me give you an example of how that works. The basic illustration was given me by Bill Kunstler. I've elaborated on it to a great degree. Let us suppose that there is a small city or a town in the United States where one family, one group of owners runs the whole thing. There is no free speech in terms of newspapers because that family owns the only local paper. The family owns the radio station, the television station. Justice is corrupt because the family buys the D.A., buys the local courts, may even buy the appellate courts, it's not unknown. The town is really a company town even unto the stores. This is not a fanciful illustration, there have been many examples throughout American history and there are some still today. So in this town there are a few hardy souls who decide—one of them particularly who happens to be a very persuasive orator who says, look, we have to make some kind of symbolic action so that out there they'll know that somebody here knows this is not a democracy, it's an authoritarian small principality. So he gets a group of people together and says let's make a symbolic action, we're going to burn down the jail.

I mean, the jail, what do you mean, justice? As I said the D.A., the cops, everybody is owned by this ownership group. So long as he says burn down the jail, ain't nothing can happen to him under the expression-action doctrine because all he is doing is talking. He gets very fiery, he gets very persuasive, a group of people go downtown and indeed some people set fire to the jail. So far this cat is still O.K. You can't infringe on his first amendment rights. Sometime in the course of the evening, he gets carried away by his own oratory and he goes ahead and throws something on that fire. Then he has lost his first amendment rights because he has committed arson. That's no longer the first amendment. That's a misdemeanor or a felony, depending on what the jurisdiction is.

Now the way this—first of all that's my own approach to the first amendment—it's also Douglas' and Emerson's. That is so long as all you do is talk or picket or lie down non-violently or wear emblems or do anything but punch somebody in the mouth or set a fire, that's your first amendment right.

On the other hand—and this is where Staten Island comes in—the people who prevented Shockley from speaking that night did indeed violate his first amendment rights, but they also were exercising their own—so long as all they did was shout, whistle, stomp, whatever they did—it was very effective because he couldn't be heard. There

is no way, I think, that you can apply legal sanctions against them. They lose their first amendment rights **only** at the point where somebody goes up to the platform and kicks him in the head or something—because that's no longer first amendment and I would apply that too to let's say non-violent lying down. Suppose, and this happened often in the sixties, suppose a group of people put themselves on the roots of the rostrum and he had to step over them. That's still first amendment until such point as maybe somebody kicks him in the groin from below and then it's no longer first amendment. What you have there is a classic impasse—a classic first amendment impasse if you're an absolutist on the first amendment. They had their rights; Shockley had his. Constitutionally, they were just as protected as he was.

Now we leave the Constitution (and this is again my own view) they were tactically stupid. Because first of all, obviously what Shockley is doing, what Jensen is doing, what Herrnstein is doing and I would add Christopher Jencks, Daniel Moynihan and the whole bunch of them, is dangerous. It's—well we're going to hear all that later anyway. Obviously I have no disagreement with that. But, when you focus on a Shockley in this way—I mean, if Shockley (and I'm not even talking about whether he should have been invited or not, that's a whole other ball game. He was invited—right?). He comes to Staten Island. Do you think there would have been any attention paid to him in the **Times** or on local television if there hadn't been this whole furor about whether he had the right to speak? Then you get the focus of the media on it. And that sets up, I think, and I can't document this, but it's a feeling I have. Most people looking in are not that hip to Herrnstein or Shockley or any of that stuff. They may well be racist one way or another but they look at this and they figure what's the big hassle, why are they preventing him from speaking? What are they afraid of?

I might say here, and I hope the professor from Princeton comes, that I think it really is a lot of chutzpah to tell Roy Innis that he has no right to debate Shockley. I mean who decides what Roy's qualifications are to debate? Roy thinks they're pretty good. I think they're pretty good. I've heard him debate. But the whole idea is if you shut off debate again (I'm not talking Constitutionally. I'm talking strategically), you make this guy a lot more important in terms of media attention than he deserves to be.

Now one last point, I'm not going to take the whole twelve minutes, but about all these misconceptions that apparently I, I always speak for myself, Clark's a whole other thing. I think this is the first time in about eight years we ever agreed on anything. I saw a thing that was passed out tonight—the Committee Against Racism at Columbia—and in the last paragraph it says, "We in Columbia-Barnard C.A.R. wish to combat these ideas—Herrnstein, etc., etc., etc., through more discussions, forums, and perhaps demonstrations"—fine. I mean I can't possibly argue against that. "We want to help get people down to C.A.R.'s Spring Lobbying Action against Cutbacks. Federal cutbacks against education"—the whole scene.

Now that is one thing but if you read the ad of the **New York Times**, the resolution. It said this and this is where my misconception came from: "It is true" (this is the Committee Against Racism), "It is true that academic freedom protects the right to free academic inquiry and to the expression of controversial ideas. But it is not license to justify oppression. It was no more intended to protect racism than verbal assault or libel." Well that one phrase indicates a rather stunning ignorance of the whole progress of the Supreme Court since the Sullivan decision. It is very hard to bring a successful libel action especially against anybody who is—used to be only public officials who were immune—to get a free, robust exchange of ideas. Now practically anybody who has any reason to be in the public eye, you have to prove reckless malice and it's a very difficult thing to prove. Libel is by and large with few exceptions a dead issue in this country and it's a long—it's about time it was. Hugo Black, who before Douglas and with Douglas was the only other absolutist on the Court, made one mistake in the Tinker decision which is something else because he thought kids were not citizens. But Black used to have a phrase that recurred all the way through his opinions. The first amendment says no law to abridge freedom of speech or expression and Black would thunder innumerable times, "No law means no law; it's that simple." And that is the absolutist position. It has nothing to do with whether it's racist or destructive or silly or stupid or libelous or defamatory. No law means **no law**. Let me go on.

"It is a false doctrine." This is the doctrine of academic freedom, which I assume they mean encompasses the first amendment doctrine, whether you're a tenured professor or not. "It is a false doctrine which serves only to facilitate brutalization and exploitation. Thus because it is both socially pernicious and scientifically incorrect" (and I have no questioning with that in terms of Herrnstein, Shockley, et. al.), "its proponents forfeit any right to academic protection." Now here we're in a kind of a gray ground. I don't know what you mean by "academic protection." If you're talking about tenure, I'm against tenure anyway. If you're talking about first amendment protection, I don't agree. Then there follows a statement by a graduate student in economics at N.Y.U. and a member of the 26-member steering committee of the Conference Against Racism that took place some weekends in the fall—one weekend in the fall at N.Y.U. She said, "she hopes the fight against racist practices will grow as a result of this conference." So do I. She said, now here's where we get into some difficulty or misconceptions if you like. She said that "the ideas of Jensen and Shockley are not just academic." Absolutely true. "They are used to rationalize racist policies on campuses and those of the federal government which have resulted in cutbacks in affirmative action programs in the last few years." No question about it. However I have seen on the desks of conservative and so-called liberal Congressmen (the liberals are from Michigan), copies of Chris Jencks' book **Inequality**,

which I think is a more dangerous book and a more pernicious book in some ways than Herrnstein's stuff. Where do you draw the line? Do you say that they don't have first amendment rights? That Jencks, Sandy Jencks, who I think is monumentally stupid. But the first amendment doesn't say except for stupid people. Does it mean Daniel Patrick Moynihan? Does it mean all of **Commentary** magazine; which I also think is monumentally stupid?

The point I'm making, which is an obvious point, is once somebody (and if you can get this to have the sanction of law—I'm not even talking about action groups) starts to cut the slices of the first amendment you ain't got no first amendment.

Last point—Willie Brown—there was a meeting in San Francisco of the School Committee, oh, three weeks ago. They had honest-to-god Nazis there, not rhetorical Nazis, members of the Nazi Party, right? As it happened, that night the Nazis weren't really doing the yelling, they were being yelled at. But in any case, Willie Brown—O.K.—Willie Brown gets up and Willie Brown I am willing to bet on the morning book he is a good bet for mayor of San Francisco and eventually governor of California. He's a good cat. But he gets up and he says, "No free speech for Nazis." O.K. It's very easy. It's very easy. Who determines who is a Nazi? Who determines? They used to remember the Smith Act. No free speech for communists. No free speech for Trotskyites. Once you start fooling with all of that, then what you've got—it's a power game. Whoever has the arms and the power decides who speaks and who doesn't. If you want that then you're in great trouble.

BOB LEONHARDT:

Well, I would like to come down from the mist-enshrouded exegesis of a Constitution that was written by slaveowners—and discuss the more prosaic question of fighting racism.

There is without any question a monumental resurgence of racist ideology being perpetrated against everybody on campuses and elsewhere. Nat Hentoff alluded to it; I'd like to get into it for a second. There's a man named Arthur Jensen (who I'm sure most of you have heard of) who made the "brilliant" discovery in the Harvard Educational Review in 1969 that most black people were dumb and they were born that way. There's a man named Edward Banfield, who also used to be from Harvard until they chased him out, who has a theory that it's scientifically established that poor people like to beat their kids and the reason slums are so filthy is that poor people like slums. Then there's the gentleman Herrnstein, who has the position that unemployment is in the genes. You get it the way you get bad teeth. There's Mr. Shockley, who has the same position as Mr. Jensen, only he comes right out and advocates genocidal sterilization for black people. And now there's another one. Of course there are others—but the latest discovery was made by a gentleman named Paul Samuelson who makes thousands and thousands of dollars every year re-editing his edition of "How to Make Capitalism Palatable to Freshman." He made the discovery in his new book about economics that, oh yes, it is in the

genes due to recent discoveries by Messrs. Herrnstein et al. And Moynihan I think is still the present ambassador to India, they kicked him out of Harvard. Moynihan has said: "The winds of Jensenism are gusting with gale force in the Capital." I think Nixon actually made Jensen's book mandatory reading for the Cabinet.

In addition, there's of course a tremendous amount of publicity and support that the government, the press and the TV give to all these racists. Not that they haven't been disproved in scholarly debate about ten trillion times, but they're the ones who get on TV.

Now I would like to raise one question here. We're not talking about something that takes place in a vacuum tube. We're not talking about something that's just a debate of ideas in a milk bottle. The question that we have to decide is: is this racist ideology connected in some way to life? Does it have anything to do with the atrocities that are carried out against tens and hundreds of millions of people every day in this society around the world? I think it does. Let's look at history. Did the "master race" line in Nazi Germany fall from the sky? Hadn't they waged a very long and vigorous campaign to prepare the opening of the doors of Buchenwald? Would a woman like Ilse Koch have been able to make lampshades out of human skin if the "master race" hadn't pushed its line in the universities? Isn't it a shame that more German workers and students didn't precisely organize to deny freedom of speech for Nazism in the 1930's? Not just 6 million Jews were killed. How many people died in World War II? Was it a hundred million? A hundred and twenty million?

You see, once racism starts, it doesn't stop

CHALLENGE	OIL CRISIS: Another Sign Of U.S. Decline
<i>The Revolutionary Communist Newspaper</i>	
<small>November 12, 1973 and December 12, 1973</small>	<small>PROGRESSIVE LABOR PARTY 100</small>

RACISTS ROUTED

... AT C.A.R. CONFERENCE;
SHOCKLEY STOMPED AT S.I.C.C.



with the group of people that it first kills. The logic of it is to kill everybody.

What happened when the French went into Algeria? Well, sure, they had a racist line about how the profits of the French ruling class required the exploitation of these "inferior, sub-human" Algerians, but there were a lot of French workers who got killed in that war. What about Vietnam? Wasn't the initial justification for Vietnam pretty much a form of Jensenism? "We have to go over there and show those dumb Asians how democracy really works." We showed them all right. I shouldn't say "we," but the demonstration is pretty clear. How many tens of millions of them got killed and the initial justification was racism and how many tens of thousands of American workers got killed, to say nothing of the inflation that cost people a tremendous drop in their standard of living in this country. What about the U.S. today? In a state of decline, this ruling class is going crazy to take it out on working people and students and others here at home in order to get competitive again with their Soviet buddies.

Of course, who gets the first wage cuts? Who gets laid off first? We know it's black and other minority people. Who gets psychosurgery first? Who gets jail first? We know it's black and other minority people. But the cost of living is going up 50% for **everybody** in this country. It isn't just the minorities. Racism, as it killed in World War II, as it killed in Algeria, as it killed in Vietnam, is killing people here and it kills more than just the people it initially attacks, although it attacks them the worst. There is a direct connection between these ideas and life and we should make no mistake about it. Racism is in and of itself genocide and the people who advocate the ideas of racism, these gentlemen I mentioned before, are themselves taking a very important step on the road to genocide. Now I'm trying to say that Jensen and Co.'s line is already being carried out in life in this country, and unless we do something about it other than just simply debate, number one, it's going to continue to justify the atrocious attacks against all people in this country, and number two, it's going to pave the way for fascism and a third world war, because these bastards who run this country are going to need that. When the time comes that they can no longer make 50 billion dollar deals with their Soviet buddies, they're going to have to do what every ruling class in history has tried to do, call themselves a master race and declare World War III unless we stop them.

Unless we stop them. Now the question arises, how should we deal with racism? Well, we were talking here. Nat said some things about the Constitution. I'm talking. Finley is going to talk. Laura is going to talk. It's nice to talk. But as I said before, these ideas have been disproved in scholarship many times. I'm not a sociologist and I'm not a psychologist. But I know that for instance Leon Kamin, with whom I have many political disagreements, has done a definitive work on why these racists are full of it and why they are completely unscientific. He has never been put on television nationally. He didn't get his work pub-

lished in the **Harvard Educational Review**. He didn't get a front page article in the **Atlantic Monthly**.

So the debate, in and of itself, doesn't guarantee the first amendment rights in essence. If the real right is free speech, as opposed to going on a street corner and yelling about any idea that you may have I don't have \$50 million to own a television station. Neither does the working class in this country. What about the free speech for **that**. How has racism been crushed in the past? When Hitler's "master race" Wehrmacht invaded the Soviet Union, did the workers and farmers of the Soviet Union greet him and say, "Well, Adolf, let's have a seminar. Let's discuss the pros and cons of it?" No, of course not. Of course not. They—it was a killing matter. Because it was very much related to the class antagonism that exists in the real world. Not in the nether-nether world where bosses, exploiters and working people are all united in some kind of mystical holy unity. The only unity between a boss and a worker is unity based on a wage cut as Marx himself said many, many years ago.

What stopped the U.S. from, as they said, "nuking them" in Vietnam? They were writing about that publicly. "Yeah, let's nuke 'em! Let's drop a nuclear bomb in Vietnam." Didn't it have something to do with the fact that there were hundreds of thousands of people in this country, many of them at this university, who conducted sit-ins and who, that's right, forcibly prevented racist bosses and their apologists from preaching their ideas and from carrying out their policies? What allows working people to win a strike? We can learn some lessons from them. I think we have more to learn from them than they have to learn from us. They don't sit there and have a debate with the scabs, do they? I mean, it does come down to question of which side you're on and how you are going to fight to win in this sort of thing. Now I know that there are arguments for free speech for racists. One of them is, "Well, who's going to decide?" But, you see, I happen to think that particular argument is a fairly sophisticated form of redbait and nothing else. What's the implication of that? There were 1400 people who signed the Committee Against Racism ad. Is the implication of that that those 1400 people didn't know what they were signing? I prefer to think the implication was that they knew **perfectly well** what they were signing and they knew perfectly well that you can't stop these racists by worrying about their rights. **The right to be a racist?** In other words, are communists and other militants simply manipulators or do people have a mind of their own?

Was it just three people or four people or a handful of people in the Progressive Labor Party who shouted down Shockley or was it hundreds of rank and file students at Staten Island Community College? I leave them and you to decide. Well, "They'll deny **you** free speech." Well, we're always denied free speech. Sure, we can pay the cops \$5 to go down and say let's fight for socialism or 30 hours work for 40 hours pay in the garment center. But what happens when we and others start to organize caucuses to **MAKE** the

bosses give us 30 hours work for 40 hours pay? They'll deny you free speech. Well, Arthur Jensen has a tenured chair to teach racism at Berkeley. Suppose Finley Campbell says, "I want \$50,000 a year to be an anti-racist." They're going to give it to him? I doubt it. I doubt it. And then the argument is made, "Let's have a libertarian anti-racist movement." Well it's a nice point. Unless you happen to live in the real world. What is a libertarian anti-racist movement, except, "It's all right for me to be an anti-racist; it's all right for you to be a racist"? So here we are standing at the gates of the concentration camp, pinning a medal on the Feldwebel saying, 'well you may kill me, you may gas me, but I defended your right to say that it was good that you did it.'

Now I realize that I'm nearing the end of my time but I want to make one or two final points. The first is this: what we're really talking about here, the essence of racism, is inherent in and endemic to the system. Capitalism needs it. They cannot live without it. If racism didn't exist—if those billions and billions and billions of dollars of superprofits that the Rockefellers and the others make from the superexploitation—I'm sorry to use the word if it sounds like a jargon, you can invent your own cliché, but it means they milk more money from minority workers than they do from white workers. They cannot live without that extra money and they cannot live without the ideas that lead to justifying their attempts to get it and the wars that they get to do it.

The only way we're going to destroy racism is to destroy the system. That's the only way we're going to do it. Now with the gas lines stretching on for miles and peoples' tempers boiling and this imbecile in the White House who can't even get a word out straight he's so drunk or so nervous or something like that—amphetamine—you're probably right, I always wondered what it was. They probably have him drugged up. Most, not most but at least many people in the country today are beginning to understand that this system is full of it and it's no good for us. So the ruling class does do something it always does in periods when it looks as though God's not exactly in his heaven and all is not right with the world. In addition to stepping up racism they step up anti-communism. So now we're hearing all about how terrible Joseph Stalin was. Joseph Stalin, I grew up reading this in the newspapers—the worst man who ever lived. Forget the boogie man, Uncle Joe is going to get you. Well, I would like to make one point about Joseph Stalin. I believe and our party believes that Joseph Stalin, in attempting to build the first socialist state in the history of the world, made errors and that we are paying for many of those errors today and we will not have done with the fight for socialism until we understand it more profoundly. But I refuse, speaking for myself and our party, to apologize to Mr. Rockefeller or to the New York Times for the mistakes that were made by revolutionaries attempting to overthrow this goddamn system. The fact is that the most exploited country in the world in ten to fifteen years of building socialism drew itself up to the point where it was one of the leading producers

in the world and a modern country. The fact is that there was no imperialist army in the world that could have stood up to those Nazis until the Russian working class, the Russian socialist working class, led by this man, who made all these mistakes, ground them into the earth at Stalingrad.

So when we say that we want to fight for socialism and that that will eradicate racism, what we're really talking about is in philosophical or, if you'll excuse the expression, dialectical terms, what's called the negation of the negation. We want to learn from the mistakes of the past. And we want to learn from the good things of the past. We want to learn from the good experience of all those millions of people who conducted one of the greatest anti-racist struggles in the history of the world. We want to learn from those positive experiences and from the mistakes and go on and really fight for socialism. Now part of the negation of the negation here, part of making a good thing into a better thing, and discarding what's bad is fighting racism **better**. In my opinion, fighting racism means that a self-criticism we have made is that we didn't get ten thousand people to throw Shockley off the stage and that it's still safe for these racists to teach their filth in the universities. We have to fight racism harder. Now that means to a great extent having debates like this. But we can't leave it at the level of thought. We have to translate it into action. Our lives and the lives of our children depend on it. Racism: there's no negation of the negation. Racism is discarded, smashed, crushed, destroyed, and those who advocate it, well they're going to have to take the consequences of advocating it. And I hope, just to finish, that when our party leads its march for socialism on May Day on May 4th in Washington, D.C., all of you will come down and march with us for socialism and to crush racism. Thank you.

FINLEY CAMPBELL

What I like to emphasize also is that I am Assistant Professor at the University of Wisconsin in the Department of Afro-American Studies, and therefore I have a vested interest in the university as a forum, as an arena for dealing with the question. I would too, in the course of my remarks, distinguish very carefully between academic freedom, pure tolerance, and freedom of speech. And this whole question of the new racism.

First of all we must deal with the question that we're not talking about just the old time racism which said that all niggers were dumb, stupid, not together. We're talking really about a new racism originating primarily in the university. And by neo-racism I mean that form of racism which exempts the so-called above-average black or brown, red or yellow person from any concept of genetic or cultural disability. Since the rise of a powerful black upper class, since that's the main class I can talk about of black people, is being integrated into the educational establishment, it has become necessary to modify the cry of genetic disability. So that Jensen will not say that all



Staten Island Community College: Hundreds of students prevent Shockley from speaking. Banner reads: Nazi of the year award.

black folks are down. He will say, "on the average." Herrnstein will say the same thing, you see and therefore they can say, "We're not racist, we're not bigots, we're not like George Wallace or Archie Bunker. We're different. We think **some** of them are okay. Just **most** of them ain't no good."

Now the nature of this discussion is very important and you should understand it, it seems to me. You see, we're not here to deal with whether these people are racist. I think this is a step forward for everybody up here. We're really dealing with the question of what we do with them. What do we do with them? We all agree that they're racist. What do we do with them? In my particular case it is a question, not that they have academic freedom, but the question is, shall we extend to them the cherished and precious rights of academic freedom? Now we got to be careful with the word because it's a university word that was developed through certain historical processes. Academic freedom is not an end in itself in the university. What is it? It is the form of free speech developed within the framework of the university to act as a mechanism, as a means for uncovering the truth, i.e. forms of knowledge which could be validated by reason, however broadly you want to define that by something we call in the university scholarship or what I call creative footnoting; and that curious device that was developed by men beginning with Galileo and before that, the scientific method.

We're not talking about pure tolerance, where

everything is tolerated in the university. Nor are we talking about a Constitutional concern of free speech, that is Congress can pass no law abridging. We're talking about the university and how the university seeks in a world of relative phenomena to arrive at as best it can what we call the truth. Now that brings me to my second main point. The question of academic racism versus academic freedom. They're not, you see—there's not something that we call academic freedom that we throw over everything. There is opposition between academic freedom and academic racism and the question that we are asking ourselves is, do we extend these cherished rights to the neo-racists?

First, look at the scholarly aspect of the question. What are the mechanisms which academic freedom has dealt with in trying to arrive at whether blacks are inferior to whites? Through the debate and discussion that led to the development of the I.Q. test. When the I.Q. test first came out it looked like a new instrument to measure this stuff. And so we threw it into the arena and out of the dynamic of academic freedom the I.Q. test had a chance to test out itself, whether it was valid or useful, what have you. Men like Terman, Bringham, others of this nature, Thorndike brought the test out, they refined it, they checked it, they did all kinds of things with it. But after a while psychometrists looking at the I.Q. test came up with a very simple analysis which said that the I.Q. test is useless in analyzing something

that is psychosocial like intelligence, that the only thing the I.Q. test could really do is tell you about the class origins of the people taking the test. And there was a constant need to standardize it every other time.

Women were out of it before 1920. When women became a part of power in this country, miraculously they standardized it for women, fixed it up there. If they standardized it for blacks, we would pass all of them without any problems.

I.Q. tests as a pure non-culture-bound phenomenon had a chance to test themselves out under the guise of academic freedom—it failed. And now people use it in a very limited way to find your class origins.

The second aspect of the question from a scholarly perspective is, what is this black race? What is this black race? It is simply a socio-economic and sociopolitical designation created by slavemasters in the nineteenth century to define more and more people as being what we call prepared for slavery; thus a white person who had one teensie-weensie drop of black blood could be classified as a Negro in order to be sold into slavery. As shown in the movie that was called **Band of Angels**, where Yvonne DeCarlo finds herself coming home from her poppa's plantation just to bid him goodbye and the next thing she knows she's being sold down the river cause somebody had some proof she had a drop of blood. So what is this black race that everybody is talking about? The anthropologists and bio-geneticists who have dealt with questions of the black race say that we could be classified as Caucasians, heaven forbid. Heaven forbid. That we share the same kinds of disease patterns that the typical Euro-American has. Others say that we are a hybridized situation. That is, that we all intermingle with every other body so that the only thing you can really say is that dark skinned black people are the ones you are talking about and that brings back that old baloney—the mulatto syndrome.

which of course Shockley has no qualms about bringing back. But then, color does not determine the genetic nature of this so-called black person because he could have the skin of his mamma who was black, but the internal genes of his daddy who might have been white so you can't tell this thing, you see. So they had a chance, though. No, no, but it was put into the arena. It was put under discussion. It was debated. In 1952 UNESCO said that the races of mankind and womenkind are so intermingled that it is really very hard to designate these things and that maybe race is simply an outmoded concept. That it is simply a socio-economic and sociopolitical designation.

Finally, and most telling in this whole argument in the academic freedom arena, is there a correlation between psychosocial phenomena, intelligence, culture, ability to dance, like music, sing spirituals and physiognomy?

That means how you look. And, at best, those who know about this thing simply say that it is so vague a question that for all practical purposes it is an unscientific way of looking at the situation and without using the word that it is a closed question, it is so unscientific that it will never be known throughout the history of the world. All you can

look back on and say is that at every time in historical and social processes various people have had various gifts. And even Jews can dance, you see. And even Jews could dance before they came and got whitenized. They got a lot of rhythm, you see. All right. Therefore the racist doctrines have been thrown into the arena. The Miltonic arena. That is, brother John Milton said in so many words about academic freedom in his own way, let truth and error get out there and fight. Truth will defeat Error. Like let's say a gladiator plunges the trident into the throat of Error, out comes the people who put a hook into Error and drags it off. Drags it off. And the arena door closes and Truth says, "Next." So died the phlogiston theory of fire, so died the geocentric theory of the universe. So died the flat earth theories. Now in the case of neo-racism, however, while we think they should not be extended the privilege of academic freedom, the arena door has opened and there, standing at the gate again, kept alive by special electronic devices, is that Error being trotted out as if it were alive patched up like some kind of Frankenstein monster and somebody's telling me, well we ought to extend to this dead thing academic freedom, which is for living struggles for truth.

There is a university aspect to this question. How does the university rid itself of error? That's what the question is. The university is not some warehouse, where you have every quaky, quirky, cranky, fraudulent, charlatan idea floating around with equal time for everything else. You clear out the attic and clean out the basement, for example. There was a group of people called the American School of Anthropology, and they were quite famous. Louis Agassiz of Harvard was a famous dude and they had it worked out very clearly that blacks as a whole were inferior to whites and they had all kinds of—somebody studied black people's brains. Somebody studied the fact that we got heels on our feet and whites are not supposed to have these heels. They examined Egypt and they had all kinds of theories and concepts and so forth and so on and Darwin and others gradually showed that the brain size shifts around, it had nothing to do with the size of your brain—craniology, it was called, phrenology and all of that stuff and the American school of anthropology is no more. It's gone. Somebody with the Louis Agassiz position comes up now to go into the school of anthropology at Harvard and they laugh him out of court.

There used to be a person right at this university. His name was William V. Dunning. The Dunning school of reconstruction history. The man just lied, lied, lied, lied on black people and reconstruction. Created a whole school of scholars. Was one of the indirect creators of the so-called **Birth of a Nation** syndrome, because the person who put out **Birth of a Nation** said it was based on historical data put out by William V. Dunning. People reexamined the William V. Dunning material and discovered that the dude had left out information, distorted information, messed over information and he ain't there no more. Did it happen by accident? No. Scholars looked at his stuff. Checked it out. Went through it and showed

that it was a bunch of baloney and they got rid of him.

Now we come to the academic freedom aspect. Is it a question of taking away academic freedom? The answer is no. It is a question of men who have Ph.D's and credentials who were brought into the university prior to putting forward these ideas. Now they are putting forward these ideas that are in—many kinds of errors and we need not go through them any more and the question is, they're asking at the bar of the academic freedom committee—for there are those committees—there are methodologies in the university—of course—who will decide, there are referees, there are departmental committees to examine the scholarship of people within the department. It's not like we got to go around and find Commies to tell us what we're doing. We're built in the university for these kinds of things. We say quacks. We say charlatans. We say jiveass type people don't get this right. They are outside of the framework, and the university has always had ways to purge itself of socially pernicious error. Unless the university is an accomplice to certain socioeconomic forces that need these ideas and then the university has got to kind of grin, shuffle, and do the Uncle Tom route and say "yassuh boss, we'll let Shockley still teach, yassuh boss, we'll let Herrnstein still teach, yassuh boss, we'll let Jensen still teach."

Now, what is National Committee Against Racism response to the situation? Let me just say this as hard as I can. We have never called for no academic freedom for or freedom of speech for racists as a C.A.R. organization. There are members of C.A.R. who in fact signed that ad but pointed out that the signers of that ad in no way represented the National Committee Against Racism position. Within our ranks we have the idea of fighting racist ideas, ideas on the broadest front possible and uniting with a broad range of genuine anti-racists, like I think brother Nat Hentoff is. I have read his book. I have used his book. It's a good solid book. We submit that there are some supporters of academic freedom who do it for racist reasons. We say, however, there are sincere supporters of academic freedom who are nevertheless staunch and deadly anti-racists. Therefore we do not believe that brother Hentoff is in that category. We argue simply that there's a tactical question between us. That in fact he has identified us a little bit too strongly with the Staten Island situation, of which some C.A.R. members approved whole heartedly. Others said, no, no that was not the way to do it. Our point is this: We will use our academic freedom within a concrete university situation to fight against racism. That is, for us, the legitimate use of academic freedom. We are going to urge and we say so on our C.A.R. ad. We're going to urge, that is, use our voices, use our freedom of speech. We're going to urge University Senates to condemn these racist ideas. We're going to urge, using our voices, using our freedom of speech, scholarly journals and educational media not to disseminate these ideas. But most important, because we don't want to get involved in fighting windmills. Most of all we are committing ourselves to fighting racist ideas and practices, particularly in exposing them

and in organizing in mass numbers against racist ideas and practices within the university. We do not say that in C.A.R. then that we are going to get into fights with people over this academic freedom issue. We say to them, stand by us, work with us, fight with us, and to show you that we are for real we extend to Nat Hentoff a C.A.R. membership because we found out tonight that he ain't for racists, he just has a tactical disagreement and we say come on in here and tactically disagree with us and keep us into a dialectical interaction. Thank you very much.

NAT HENTOFF

Finley Campbell and I have, as he says, only a tactical disagreement, and I'm going to dwell on a couple of areas that seem to me to be an area of disagreement. He makes the distinction between academic freedom and free speech to everybody and it seems to me though unwittingly that that comes out elitist because how do you get academic freedom? You get academic freedom in most cases, I'm not saying he does it this way, because I can't imagine himself keeping quiet when he doesn't agree with somebody, but the way to tenure, which is the only way you get protected academic freedom is to be very cool and not to say what you think until you got it. Then you say what you think if you're still thinking which is not always the case. The practice in the last few years because of economic cutbacks and the like is that many radical professors have been cut off before tenure. So their academic freedom is an academic point because they ain't got any job.

He's absolutely right about Agassiz and Dunning and those guys being laughed out. How were they laughed out? Not by being prevented from speaking or from being prevented from publishing. I'm not saying by the way that any journal, academic or not, should publish any kind of nonsense. You've got to have standards. I wouldn't publish Shockley, because he doesn't know what he's talking about. I'd publish Herrnstein, not because I agree with him or even think very much of his style or his credibility but because he's so easy to demolish and that has its own bearing. My point is that it's because of people like Finley Campbell and because of a guy who I think ought to be remembered more than he is, the late Horace Cayton, that people like Agassiz were absolutely destroyed. They were destroyed because their ideas and their concepts simply fell apart.

Now I'll go back to Bob Leonhardt. The whole idea about you know, black people are dumb. That's what I must say confuses me. It's not only Roy Innis being prevented from debating Shockley. I tell you, I would put up any member of Harlem Prep before the U.F.T. takes it over which is about now, against Shockley. That's one of the ways to demolish Shockley. He is not hard to debate. I mean if you've seen the guy, if you've read his work, what is there to fear in this guy? The best way to destroy him is to show his ideas and to decapitate him, I mean metaphorically. Now, the concept about the vacuum tube, it really isn't like that. I mean I'm not a historian, I'm not a scholar,

but Jefferson of all people, who was a slaveowner (by the way, you're absolutely right, the Constitution was written by slaveowners and that's why the Constitution is suspect thereby). But Jefferson got a press that was a hundred times worse than Nixon and he didn't bear it in silence either. But in the real world, to use Bob's terms, that's what freedom of expression is all about. So that Jefferson at one point toward his death said that if I had to choose between a government without newspapers and newspapers without a government I'd choose the latter. That brings me back to—it's not a disagreement with Bob. I just don't understand what he means. We—unless we stop them—unless we destroy the system. I don't understand that because years ago Che Guevara when he was at the Cuban mission to the U.N. had a so-called secret meeting. We were photographed about fifty times in one block, and in the course of the meeting he professed not to understand any English. At one point a guy said, "Look, this is all a very interesting exploration you've given us of what's happened in the revolution. What we want to know is how do we do it here? How do we take to the streets here and destroy them?" He broke up. He said, "aqui? You're out of your mind." I mean this is all interesting romantic rhetoric but if you're talking about the real world. Are you talking about armed revolt? Or what are you talking about?

If you're talking about power, that's a whole other ball game. That's the black caucus in Congress, that's Imamu Baraka, there's a whole lot of other things that are developing. Now another thing about access. There's no question about it. Access to television and to newspapers is to say the least skewed. However it's not as absolutist as Bob would have you believe. The *Atlantic Monthly* for example published a piece by a British journalist, I forget his name, which destroyed Moynihan and Herrnstein. It was a whole thing on the politics of racism or education masked as racism. No, "Racism Masked as Education" at Harvard. The *Harvard Educational Review* has had a whole issue absolutely destroying Shockley, Jensen and Herrnstein, mostly written by black educators. I grant you about television. Television is a form of very superficial crisis journalism. Somebody makes a fuss. They zero in. They don't explain any background or anything. And I say again, Shockley gets on because Shockley is prevented from speaking. If he were not prevented from speaking he would not get on.

One last thing. The whole idea about—this is almost ungermane but I can't resist it. I certainly don't think anybody should apologize for Stalin or, if there is transubstantiation, that Stalin himself should apologize to Rockefeller or anybody else like that. He owes an apology to several million people who were killed in slave labor camps. He owes an apology to anarchists like Bukharin. I mean that's not a mistake, man. He almost killed a revolution. It's a tribute to the Russian people that he did not succeed. But, as I say, this is not germane to the subject at hand. But my basic point is I no more would want Shockley or Bob Leonhardt or Finley Campbell or Albert Shanker or Rhody McCoy or, if I may say the revered word, Lyn Marcus, to decide whether I or Finley or

Bob should have freedom of speech. Ain't nobody got the right to decide that.

BOB LEONHARDT

We're not afraid of anything in Shockley or Jensen. We just want to put them in the garbage pail of history and everything that they stand for. It doesn't take fear to do that. It just takes a certain understanding of whom they serve, who benefits from their ideas and what the practical consequences of their ideas are.

Now I understand Nat's point but he didn't respond to my point. What about the wage cuts? What about all the wars? What about these theories translated into life? Do they kill people or don't they?

Now on the question of newspapers. That's another interesting point. In order to run a newspaper along the size of the *New York Times* you more or less need to be in the ruling class of this country. The Morgan family owns the *New York Times*, I believe. I think the Rockefeller family—the banks that they control—own *Business Week* magazine. I think the Rockefellers own CBS. Our party published a pamphlet called *Who Rules America*. I hope we have some copies of it out there. You can buy them. The pamphlet demonstrates quite convincingly in my opinion that the essential publications and means of production are controlled by a very small ruling class in this country. For instance, I noticed some people here in the audience who were out on the picket lines a couple of months ago when the 1199 strike took place. It's interesting, isn't it, that every newspaper in the city attacked those workers. There



Free speech for racists?

wasn't a single newspaper (if you really want to talk about the freedom to serve working people against the bosses) owned by the bosses, including the **Village Voice**, that supported those workers. There was one newspaper that supported them. It's called **CHALLENGE-DESAFIO**, and it's paid for by workers. It's not owned by a bank. It's our party's newspaper. And we fight to get it sold. We don't depend on the grace of Mayor Beame or Mr. Rockefeller. We're a workers' newspaper. Now Jefferson was perfectly right, in terms of the needs of his own class. Sure, if you were the emerging capitalist class in this country, it's very useful to create the impression that there's democracy for all. But not only were the people who wrote the Constitution slaveowners, I'm not the expert on it but I seem to remember that there were fairly stringent property laws for voting and for freedom of speech. It's worthwhile to mention that because the right to say something, the right to write a letter, the right to print something can't be distinguished from how much money you've got in the bank and just to make a point, I gather that when somebody wrote in to the **Village Voice** a rebuttal of Nat Hentoff's and Clark Whelton's pieces, the **Voice** so felt compromised on the question of freedom of speech that they didn't even put in the plug at the end that said this is what you can do if you want to join the Committee Against Racism.

NAT HENTOFF

That's sloth, that's not strategy.

BOB LEONHARDT

Well, it's okay. That's okay. Now on the question of the rebuttals that have appeared against Shockley in the **Atlantic Monthly** or whatever. Sure I'll admit that. There are plenty of sops that are thrown out. The "proof" that we have democracy is that so and so wrote an article in the **Atlantic Monthly**. I don't think so. Suppose you went across here to Teachers' College and I won't enumerate the list because it's too long, and I'm using up too much time, but if you went down the list of the people at Teachers' College who teach the concept that socioeconomic status is directly related to intelligence—if you're rich, you're smart, if you're poor you're dumb, and so on and so forth—There's a good half dozen of them with tenured chairs on the faculty. Where is there one person at Teachers College, which is one of the leading institutions for training administrators for high schools in the country, who's tenured as a known anti-racist? There isn't one.

Now, finally, on the question of Stalin. I mentioned Stalin fully expecting and anticipating that I'd be baited on Stalin before I even mentioned it because of one point. And that is that the ruling class has taken a lot of trouble to mention Stalin. All of a sudden they've gone back and they've rediscovered him. All of a sudden—now Brezhnev's a nice guy—look we've got a fifty billion dollar deal with Brezhnev. That's a lot of money in the

bank. And Mao Tse-tung is "all right." My point is, and we should be—I think—we, our entire class, all the workers and students who have a stake in fighting racism should be aware of the fact that in the press they're going to tell us if you want to fight racism—Don't do it the Commies are manipulating you. They don't do it with the old **I Led Three Lives** stuff. That's old hat. They do it with the Stalin-baiting. That's the new form of anti-communism as well as the form of anti-communism that consists in saying well, these Symbionese Liberation Army kidnap-terrorists, who are probably half police agents, are "real" communists. That has nothing to do with real communists.

I made that point in connection with the idea that those 1400 people who signed the anti-racist ad didn't know what they were doing. People know what they're doing and people will fight in their interests and their interests are to fight for socialism. You don't find political power in this country in Congress. People are smart enough to hold political power and holding political power means you have to overthrow the capitalists. You have to make it illegal to make a profit off of somebody else's labor. You have to make it illegal to be a racist. You have to make it illegal to declare an imperialist war and you can't do that unless you get Mr. Rockefeller and his class out of there.

FINLEY CAMPBELL

The struggle against racism in the university is a strange struggle because like brother Hentoff mentioned it's—we're kind of jivy in there because we live in a specialized world—but it's the world where we live. It's our place where we work. So we've got to fight the racist theoreticians right there and the question is, concretely, how do you deal with them?

We know what we are as university professors, an assistant professor, I'm not tenured. So therefore, you know, you've got to deal with this question. But academic freedom simply means freedom for us in the anti-racist movement, freedom to use every means at our command to force, for example, Shockley types to be held accountable for their ideas, what we call academic responsibility. Shockley would not be on the road show were it not for the fact that he was protected by Stanford. Therefore it is not—even if we had kept our mouths shut as we did before all of this got rolling it was the other side—it was the racists who put forward the attack with an ad in the journal **Psychology Today** in 1972 calling for free speech for themselves, that is to demand the protection of free speech to put forward ideas to kill blacks and other third world people and through the process kill white people too. So we see this as an issue of special concern to people in the university.

Concretely then, what do we propose? We propose going—we have a man at the University of Wisconsin, his name is James Crow. I call him Jim Crow. Shockley keeps referring to him on television as somebody who has supported some

basic data. So we're going to have to deal with Jim Crow mainly first demanding equal time in his required courses. You see, these people have required courses. It's not like it's a seminar some place and you just go there if you want to. Usually, in order to support themselves and give an image to themselves, they have required courses. Shockley has a physics course—introductory physics course—that's required. He put a black person out of it by putting a lot of pressure on this black person by saying well he didn't think that he could really do the physics because he had this idea in his mind that black people were inferior. So these things don't stop. Inside the classroom there are going to be black students there. There are going to be Puerto Rican students and other minority students. We're going to let these people just talk, run their thing, insulting somebody right there? Well, the students can't fight back, because they're afraid of their grades, unless they're going to go up side his head and go to jail. C.A.R. says we have an alternative to the problem of un-pure tolerance, pure tolerance which is different from academic freedom. I don't care how elitist you call it. It's a university concept, unless you're against universities. Pure tolerance and academic freedom.

We say the process by which Franz Boas, Margaret Mead and Ruth Benedict dealt on the eugenic type racists was not just to write articles but to argue with these people. We are saying give us equal time. Let us put pressure through real debate. Let us break into those closed chambers where these people have full, almost dictatorial control. They've got the academic freedom. They certainly don't extend it to their students. They don't extend it to their students and somebody's got to fight that battle on those campuses as well as in Washington in April 20-22 when we go to Washington to deal with it in the streets too. But the main fight that you've got to understand is that these people are hedged up by privileges. That if they didn't have these privileges, if the university did not give them these privileges they would be

considered as crazy as a dude named Garrett who used to be here at Columbia Teachers College. He was getting so funky on the question of black inferiority that today he is one of the spokespersons for the White Citizens' Council. That's who he does his writing for. Something happened to him. Somebody got rid of him. Somebody deprived him of the privilege of academic freedom when they discovered that he had stepped over a line and even the most fanatical believer in academic freedom as distinguished from pure tolerance has a line over which they themselves don't even go, you see. And we're just simply speaking about the university. Shockley has the right to get on a streetcar, get on a bus, he has the right to rent an American Legion hall. He has the right to take out an ad in the **Village Voice**. He has the right to be interviewed, but he has no right at Stanford to teach a course proving the "genetic inferiority" of black people and because of the pressure raised by a mass movement at Stanford, the dude didn't get that right and it wasn't a matter of academic freedom it was a matter of, he requested it and it was turned down. So the university has within its own ranks methodologies for dealing with the question of error. That's what we were talking about. An error.

We feel that in C.A.R. we have room in our ranks for both ways to deal with this question of error. For us our main strategy at this time—our ultimate aim is to get these people gradually isolated—you know, you send them on sabbatical for five or six years. Gradually, when their articles come to the magazines, a referee looks at it and says, "Oh yes, I know about that," puts it aside, won't let it in anymore, and gradually with that kind of pressure combined with the changing social forces in the United States, the university must then decide which is more important. Accomplices with these kind of people or accomplices with a mass anti-racist movement that's sick and tired of having black people used as a tar baby to take the power structure off the hook,



New York University C.A.R. chapter protests Shockley's appearance there

Lessons of People's War in Spain 1936-1939

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The Spanish Civil War was the opening act of the Second World War in Europe. It was the military and political proving ground both for European Fascism, and for class-collaborationist policies that the old communist movement never outlived.

In one important respect, however, the Spanish War differed from the major conflict which was to follow. In Spain, the major capitalist powers united—despite their contradictions with one another—against the threat of proletarian revolution, a threat made real by the Asturias revolt of 1934. When the World War came, the lines were not drawn as the imperialists had wished, with Hitler's Germany attacking the Soviet Union with active or "neutral" support from the "democracies." Instead, the imperialists fought among themselves, though still leaving the Soviet workers to destroy Hitler virtually by themselves.

THE HISTORY OF THE CIVIL WAR HAS LONG preoccupied red-baiters of all sorts, seeking to vilify Spanish communists, the Communist International, and Stalin. Anti-communist writers have produced almost as many pages of lies about the struggle in Spain as about the October Revolution. This article will be a brief attempt to exhume some of the lessons for the working class that have been buried under this mass of filth.

We will see that a study of the war has practical value for communists of today on a number of points. We will see that the Spanish Communist Party (PCE) and the Comintern provided the only effective leadership—political and military—in the struggle against Fascism in Spain; the PCE, unlike all the groups of "left" creeps beloved of anti-communist writers from Orwell to Chomsky, was able to organize hundreds of thousands of working people into a powerful military force, despite the enormous material difficulties and their own weaknesses.

As for the errors of the PCE, they confirm major points of PL's line: (1) **communists lose when they abandon the struggle for workers' dictatorship**; (2) **fighting fascism is critical for worker's victory**; (3) **nationalism and alliances with bosses are disastrous**; (4) **"unity" with various phony left groups—Anarchists and Trotskyites—is as fatal as "unity" with bosses.**

THE SPANISH REPUBLIC

Spain was and is a minor capitalist power, largely agricultural, with major portions of its industry controlled from abroad. In the '30's, industry was concentrated along the northern coast in Asturias and the Basque provinces (mainly mining) and in Catalonia on the east coast (light industry). The principal foreign owners were English, French, Belgian, Canadian and U.S. capitalists. The Catholic Church was a large land owner, and the Jesuits owned or controlled major banks, railways, mines, and factories.¹

The Spanish Republic was established in 1931 when King Alfonso XIII decided to "suspend the use of (his) Royal Prerogatives" and leave the country.² Weakened and discredited by many years of colonial war against the Riffs in Morocco (costing over \$800 million), and in the throes of the world economic depression, the Monarchy was no longer a viable form of bourgeois rule, and was superceded first by a bourgeois republic and then by Fascism.

The Republic established universal suffrage (both sexes), promulgated a skimpy land reform, expanded public education, and reduced the prerogatives of the Army and the Church. The Catalan and Basque provinces were granted limited independence, and the Barcelona municipal government was reorganized as the Catalán Government, called the "Generalitat."³

In 1932, General Sanjurjo led a small group of monarchists, land owners, clericalists and army officers in a **coup** against the Republic, but, lacking support from the major forces of the ruling class, it failed. In the elections of November, 1933, however, the forces of the Right made substantial gains. The largest party in the Cortes (parliament) was the Rightist catholic party, CEDA, but the first government was formed as a coalition of Center parties, which halted or reversed many of the earlier reforms and amnestied Sanjurjo.⁴

In October, 1934, when a new government was formed with ministers from the CEDA, the Socialists and Communists of the UGT labor federation saw this as the onset of Fascism, and called

a general strike in Madrid. The Socialist leadership of the UGT went underground and the large Anarchist-led labor federation (CNT) abstained, and the strike was short-lived. In Catalonia, the Generalitat declared independence from the central government, but the Anarchists again abstained and the rebellion was brief.

In Asturias, however, well-organized Socialist, Communist and Anarchist miners cooperated in a full-scale insurrection—in one place, declaring a Soviet Republic. The government called in the Foreign Legion and Moorish Regulares, commanded by Generals Goded and Franco. Franco, who had made his reputation in command of the Legion in the Moroccan wars, was selected for this similar job by multimillionaire Juan March, of whom we will hear more later.⁵

After bitter fighting, the rising was ruthlessly suppressed. As many as 3,000 workers were killed, mostly slaughtered after they surrendered, and 30,000 prisoners were taken.⁶

THE REBELLION IN ASTURIAS WAS A TURNING point in Spanish politics. Unlike the periodic rebellions of the Anarchists, it was sufficiently extensive and well-organized to show that working class revolution in Spain was a possibility to be reckoned with. The bosses learned this lesson well, but, for the most part, the Left did not, a failure which would lead to many future errors.

For the next elections of February, 1936, the parties of the Left formed a so-called "Popular Front" slate. The strategy of the Popular Front was developed at the 7th Congress of the Communist International, the idea being that in view of the dangers of Fascism and imperialist war, communists should form an alliance with Social-Democrats and some bourgeois elements to preserve bourgeois democracy and peace. This program was taken to include attempts to form united Socialist-Communist parties and, in some cases, communist participation in bourgeois governments. Thus the Popular Front was an alliance which included not only the rank-and-file, but also the class-collaborationist leadership of the Social-Democratic parties, and which supported the "good" liberal bosses against the "bad" Fascist ones. This line was made explicit by G. Dimitroff in his otherwise guarded exposition of the Popular Front strategy at the 7th Congress. Dimitroff claimed that those comrades who linked Roosevelt's "New Deal" to Fascism were guilty of a "stereotyped approach" to the united front:

One must indeed be a confirmed addict of the use of hackneyed schemes not to see that the most reactionary circles of American finance capital, which are attacking Roosevelt, represent first and foremost the very force which is stimulating and organizing the Fascist movement in the United States.⁷

HOWEVER, AS SUBSEQUENT EVENTS IN Spain and elsewhere were to demonstrate, ruling class differences over Fascism versus bourgeois democracy were merely temporary and tactical. The very same bosses try to ensure their rule with "democracy" at one place or time and

Fascism at another. We will see below how English, French and U.S. bosses, to which the Spanish Republic appealed for aid, helped their friendly local Fascists instead. We will also see how the utterly futile attempts of the Spanish communists to get ruling class support eventually cost them the war. The **minimum** condition for support was, of course, abandoning the struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat. In fact, the PCE agitated against workers' rule and repudiated it as an immediate goal. This was a line not only for public consumption, but one around which they recruited and organized the party's base. Thus when the treachery, incompetence and defeatism of the Republican government became absolutely unbearable, the PCE was willing and able to force some of the worst offenders from the government, but **not to take power** and lead the struggle through a workers' government.

THE FASCIST RISING

In the February elections, the Popular Front won a major electoral victory, obtaining 278 seats in the Cortes, while the Right took only 134. The parties of the Center practically ceased to exist. Even Francisco Cambo, biggest capitalist in Catalonia, lost his seat.

These elections were not even completed before planning for another right-wing **coup** began, this time on a large scale. Franco urged the caretaker Prime Minister to declare a state of war and keep the Popular Front from taking office. His request was refused on the grounds that granting it would provoke a revolution.⁸

With this refusal, Franco began to plot in earnest, together with a number of generals, including Sanjurjo and Mola (both to die within the year under mysterious circumstances, thus incidentally assuring Franco's ascendancy in the Fascist camp).

Among others, the plotters included representatives of the feuding monarchist factions, the CEDA, and, through them, various financiers.⁹ Juan March, who reportedly contributed \$15,000,000 to the **coup**,¹⁰ had left the country for France, but kept in contact with the plotters through his envoy, the Bishop of the Catholic Mission in France.¹¹ Francisco Cambo also left the country, having deposited the principal assets of his Catalan financial empire in Buenos Aires.¹² Cambo was apparently not directly involved in the **coup**, but supported it after the fact.¹³ The plotters were assured in advance of German and Italian financial support in exchange for metal ores.¹⁴

The tiny **Falange Española**, the "official" Fascist party of Spain, took part in the plot and together with the Carlists (Monarchists) of Navarre, provided the whole of the minuscule popular support on which the plotters could count. The Falange was supported in its early days by Juan March, the Bank of Vizcaya (partly controlled by the Jesuits), various Basque industrialists and Bourbon monarchists.¹⁵ After the rising, it was transformed into Franco's party.¹⁶

Rumors of the plot were widespread. On July 13, PCE deputy José Díaz accused the Right in the



Franco, Hitler and Mussolini

Cortes: "You cannot deny that you are plotting, that you are preparing a coup."¹⁷ The same day, PCE spokeswoman Dolores Ibarurri (La Pasionaria) spoke in Asturias:

Asturianos! Be vigilant. Reaction is even now in arms. If they dare attempt to rise, you will know what to do. Retrieve your arms **now**, from where you have hidden them—and keep your powder dry.¹⁸

A GOOD ASPECT OF THE PCE ACTIONS shown here was their reliance on workers to combat Fascism, but here, and for the entire war, their outlook was largely defensive. Not: "let's go kill the plotters and establish socialism," but "let's get them **IF** they try anything."

On the 16th of July, Franco flew in a British plane from his quasi-exile in the Canary Islands to Mallorca in the Mediterranean. On the plane with him was a certain Captain Pollard, agent of the British Secret Service. Pollard got the British Consul to intercede with the Republican authorities when the plane was seized for lack of papers. It was released.¹⁹

ON THE NEXT AFTERNOON, THE RISING began in Morocco. Hearing of the events in Morocco, the trade unions and parties of the Left demanded that the workers be armed by the government. In most areas, they were not, but many rebellious garrisons on the mainland were subdued by workers with arms taken from police

and army units. At the end of this first phase of the rebellion, two-thirds of the territory of Spain and three-fourths of its population were held by the Republic. The main forces of the Fascists were the Foreign Legion and the Moroccan Regulares of the Army of Africa in Morocco, but they could not cross the straits to Spain since the sailors of the fleet had arrested their officers and prevented them from joining the revolt. To get Franco out of this difficulty, Hitler sent the first substantial military aid, 20 transport planes to bring the Army of Africa to Spain. At its peak, German aid to Franco stood at about 6,000 specialized troops of the Condor Legion—mainly tankmen, pilots, artillery men and advisors, plus a large amount of material. The maximum size of the Italian forces was about 100,000 troops, with enormous quantities of material.²⁰ The European "democracies" chipped in with a "non-intervention" policy which began by refusal to sell arms to the Republic and worked up to a naval blockade in conjunction with Germany and Italy.

In May, 1937, the U.S. Neutrality Act became law, supplementing the informal efforts of the State department to prevent arms sales to Spain.²¹ In the first days of the fighting, Vacuum Oil refused to honor a contract to fuel Republican ships in Tangiers, and Texaco diverted five tankers of gasoline bound for the Republic to the Fascists.²² The State Department tried to prevent the sale of aircraft to the Republic by Mexico.²³ During

the war, Texaco delivered at least 1,866,000 metric tons of petroleum products to Franco. Ford, General Motors and Studebaker sold a total of 12,000 trucks to Franco, as compared to 1,700 from Italy and 1,800 from Germany. Neither fuel nor trucks were sold to the Republic.²⁴

U.S. COMPANIES ALSO SOLD ARMS TO THE Fascists by first shipping them to Nazi Germany, from which they were transshipped to Spain. In 1938, Dupont-owned Atlas Powder Company sent 60,000 aerial bombs to Germany in this fashion, all marked "For transshipment to an undisclosed destination."²⁵ In April, 1938, Roosevelt publicly admitted that the bombs falling on Republican cities were American-made. "It is all perfectly legal," he said.²⁶

Apart from the naval "non-intervention" patrol, Britain confined her aid to Franco to ammunition deliveries through Gibraltar and intelligence reports on Russian aid to the Republic, plus various commercial deals.²⁷

For their part, the Popular Front government of France made its contribution to Fascism in a number of ways other than "non-intervention." After selling the Republic a small quantity of obsolete aircraft, they closed the border to arms and volunteers. Volunteers for the Republic caught in France were imprisoned, but largely communist-led underground organizations got many over the border. Large quantities of Soviet arms and arms purchased by the Comintern were held on French soil. After the fall of Catalonia, Republican refugees were treated to the best in ruling class hospitality—concentration camps.

Aid to the Republic from the Soviet Union began arriving in Spain in October, 1936, barely in time for a detachment of Soviet tanks to help in the defense of Madrid. The total number of Soviet personnel in Spain at any one time probably never

totaled 700.²⁸ Soviet arms shipments were limited after the closing of the French border by the necessity to run the gauntlet of Italian submarines and aircraft and the "non-intervention" patrol—and also by the desire to avoid a world war, a desire unrealized in the event. According to Franco sources, 53 merchant ships were sunk, 324 captured and 1,000 detained at sea for carrying arms to the Republic. Not all of these were carrying Soviet war material, of course, but among the Soviet ships known sunk were the *Komsomol*, the *Timiriachev*, and the *Blagoev*.²⁹

The general effect of foreign intervention of all sorts was that the Republic almost never fought with parity of arms, and typically faced odds in material and men of 3 or 4 to one.³⁰

COMMUNISTS ORGANIZE FOR VICTORY

After being transported from Morocco by Hitler's planes, the Army of Africa advanced rapidly north through the open country of central Spain, pushing back the poorly armed and inexperienced militias of the Popular Front. As the militias retreated toward Madrid, however, resistance stiffened. The PCE urged the Republican government, headed by "left" Socialist fatmouth Francisco Largo Caballero, to organize fortification of the city. His reply: "Spaniards might fight from behind trees, but never from trenches."³¹ Minister of War as well as Prime Minister, Largo displayed his dazzling incompetence only during specified hours; he would sign papers only between 8:30 and 9:00 A.M., and left orders not to be disturbed after 10:00 P.M.!³² On November 6, the government formalized its abdication of responsibility for defense of the capital and moved to Valencia. All the ministers except the communists left with Largo Caballero, taking even the records of the Ministry of War.³³ On the 9th, as fierce fighting raged in the city, Largo sent a messenger to Madrid for the silverware he had left behind, but received only the reply that "we who have remained in Madrid are still eating."³⁴

Largo had left the defense of the capital to Miaja, an incompetent Republican general of doubtful loyalty, and to a Defense Junta of trade union and Popular Front representatives. Fortunately, Soviet General Goriev, nominally Miaja's advisor, was on hand to handle the military planning of the defense.³⁵

THE EVEN MORE IMPORTANT POLITICAL side of the mobilization of the city's population was led by the PCE. At the start of the rebellion, Pasionaria's broadcasts and speeches called for the resolute defense of Madrid: "They shall not pass!" "Madrid will be the tomb of Fascism!" Since then, the PCE had organized to make this a reality. Their famous Fifth Regiment had recruited over 60,000 militiamen (half PCE members), which soon became the backbone of the People's Army. Modeled on the Soviet Red Army of civil war days, the 5th Regiment had a system of political commissars responsible for the political understanding of the troops and commanders, and who acted as commanders themselves when the need arose. Tens of thousands of



German communist soldiers--part of the International Brigade fighting against fascism in Spain, 1936

workers were trained in the Regiment, including the soon to be famous commanders Lister (a quarryman), Modesto (a woodcutter) and El Campesino ("The Peasant"). Barracks, commissary, and training schools were organized, as well as committees to look after families of recruits. Discipline came hard and a special company was organized as an example. The commissar of the 5th Regiment described this company to a journalist:

We call it the "Steel Company" and made stringent requirements. To join this company a man must know something of arms, must have good health and must be guaranteed by some group as a determined anti-fascist. For this company we established special slogans designed to create an iron unity. 'Never leave a comrade, wounded or dead, in the hands of the enemy' was one of these. 'If my comrade advances or retreats without orders, I have the right to shoot him' was another.

How Madrid laughed at that. The Spaniard is such an individualist that nobody will accept such discipline, they said. Then our first Steel Company—mostly Communists and metal-workers—paraded through the city: it made a sensation. After that we created twenty-eight such companies of picked men, besides the ordinary muster of our regular Fifth Regiment militia.³⁶

Partly because of the seriousness and effectiveness with which the communists organized the militias, membership in the PCE, JSU (United Socialist Youth) and the PSUC (United Socialist Party of Catalonia, also affiliated with the Comintern) soared: from 30,000 at the beginning of the war to 200,000 at the end of 1936 to 1,000,000 by June, 1937.³⁷

FOREIGN VOLUNTEERS RECRUITED LARGE-ly by communist parties were organized into communist-led International Brigades. About 40,000 served in the Brigades, as many as 17,000 at any one time.³⁸ Like the Fifth Regiment, the Internationals were famous for their discipline and courage. Hemingway described the hill in Teruel defended by the German exiles of the Thaelmann Brigade as "a position that they sold as dearly as any position was sold in any war."³⁹ The Internationals played a significant role in the early days of the fighting when troops with any sort of training were scarce, and fought well throughout. Their recruitment was an act of internationalism enormously appreciated by the Spanish workers. In the later part of the war, many Spaniards were recruited to the Brigades. Foreigners were withdrawn in 1938 in a vain effort to secure League of Nations action against German and Italian intervention. By that time, however, there were many crack units in the People's Army.

As Fascist troops approached Madrid, Communists assumed the functions of the departed civil servants; radio, leaflets and banners urged the workers of Madrid to dig trenches and build barricades. Workers' districts were organized

block by block; 5th Regiment leaflets gave advice on battling tanks and house-to-house fighting.⁴⁰ On November 7, Franco's troops, expecting an easy victory, assaulted the city from the west, southwest, and northwest, but were repulsed by the hard-pressed militias, particularly the 5th Regiment, in hand-to-hand fighting. For the 8th, the defenders prepared for renewed attacks which they knew would come through the University City. The Fascist forces intentionally avoided attacking through the working-class districts "heavily seeded with Communist workers."⁴¹ Resistance was furious in the University, with workers and Fascist troops occupying different floors of the same building. In some places rifles were so scarce that workers waited under cover until those with arms had been shot, then rushed out to pick up the guns and fight on.⁴² In the afternoon, the vanguard of the recently constituted 11th International Brigade marched up the Gran Vía, singing the *Internationale*. Crowds cheered the volunteers of the *Edgar André*, *Dombrowski*, and *Commune de Paris* battalions, shouting "Unite Proletarian Brothers," the motto of the Asturias revolt of 1934. Many believed the Brigades to be Russian and gave vivas for "los russos."

By nightfall, the much-needed machine guns of the *Edgar Andrés* were in positions in the Hall of Philosophy in the University, and other brigades were distributed to vital points. Twice on the next day the Moroccan Tabors broke through militia lines at Toledo and Princes Bridges, but were driven back with heavy losses.⁴³ In the evening, the Internationals outflanked the Moroccans in the Casa de Campo, driving them back with enormous losses.⁴⁴

From November 8 to the 15th, nine militia units came from other areas to aid Madrid. One, the 3,000-man Anarchist column from the Aragon Front, deserves mention for its example of Anarchist military organization. The column was led by Buenaventura Durruti, whose demands for an independent section of the front "so that their achievements could not then be claimed by other units" were supported by the Anarchist Minister of Justice.⁴⁵ The Anarchists were given a sector in the University City, with artillery and air support, but refused to attack. The next day, the Fascists attacked and the Anarchists broke and ran, abandoning a key bridge and positions in the University. Counterattacks by exhausted militia-men and Internationals regained some of the lost territory; lines thus established were to remain the same until the end of the war. Ashamed of the performance of his men, Durruti tried to persuade them not to leave Madrid, but was shot and killed by one of them.⁴⁶

ARAGON AND CATALONIA: ANARCHISTS AND TROTSKYITES PLAY AT REVOLUTION

The Trotskyite POUM (Workers Party of Marxist Unification) was formed in October, 1935 by the fusion of two sects led by renegades from the PCE. Their activities were largely confined to Catalonia. Until their suppression in May, 1937, the POUM acted as an adjunct to the Anarchist Federation of Iberia (FAI) and the labor

federation (CNT) which the FAI led. Vitriolic in their attacks on "Stalinists,"⁴⁷ the POUM merely offered friendly advice to the Anarchists, who held "similar ideas concerning hopes and perspectives of the revolution."⁴⁸

After the Fascist rising, the FAI-CNT was the strongest political force in Catalonia, dominating the Anti-Fascist Militias Committee. This Committee held the real power in Barcelona for the first year of the war, although the Generalitat continued to have some influence in the countryside.⁴⁹

Under Anarchist leadership, workers' committees took over the factories in Barcelona and established agricultural collectives in rural areas, in some cases by force.⁵⁰ A number of foreign-owned plants were **not** confiscated; 87 British enterprises were protected by agreement with the British Consulate.⁵¹

Sources sympathetic to the Anarchists claim that their industrial experiments were successful, particularly in the arms industries,⁵² and were sabotaged by the lack of credit from the central government. Conflicts with the central government did exist, but a more accurate explanation of the causes of industrial failures in Catalonia is given by Abad de Santillán, Anarchist member of the Militias Committee:

We have not organized the economic apparatus which we had planned. We have been satisfied with throwing out the proprietors from the factories and putting ourselves in them, as committees of control. There has been no attempt at connection, there has been no coordination of economy in due form. We have worked without plans and without real knowledge of what we were doing.⁵³

Santillán thought that this situation was improving at the end of 1936, but noted that 15,000-20,000 workers were still collecting wages without working.⁵⁴ The fact is that the individualistic and muddle-headed FAlists were incapable of giving the leadership that would have enabled the working class to organize industry effectively.

After the defeat of the Fascist rising in Barcelona, Anarchists and POUMists organized militias which "fought" on the Aragon front. Their military accomplishments were truly amazing: they made a demonstration in the direction of Zaragoza, the capital of Aragon, and settled in to trade occasional shots with the Fascists. **New York Times** correspondent Herbert Matthews was told by a POUM militiaman from the "Lenin" Division at Huesca that

We used to play football with the Fascists down there on the plain. They were good fellows. They invited us to spend the weekend in Saragossa and Jaca, and promised they'd let us come back.⁵⁵

Huesca had been virtually surrounded by the inactive Catalán militias for 11 months when a major attempt was made to capture the city by newly-organized People's Army forces.⁵⁶ The lull had been put to better use than football games by the Fascists, who had built substantial fortifications. The attack failed.⁵⁷

Internationals relieving Anarchist troops on the

Ebro River a year after the beginning of the war found **no** fortifications, and positions a full **two kilometers** from Fascist lines.⁵⁸ Exactly **two** casualties had been admitted to the nearby military hospital in the previous three months.⁵⁹ Anarchist militias had elevated chaos into a political principle. A leaflet distributed in Aragon stated that:

We do not recognize military formations because this is the negation of Anarchism. Winning the war does not mean winning the revolution. Technology and strategy are important in the present war, not discipline which presupposes a negation of the personality.⁶⁰

If in nothing else, Durruti was certainly right when he lamented that "War is made by soldiers, not by Anarchists."⁶¹

The Internationals also found a peasant population embittered against Republican forces by the Anarchist seizures. The commissar of the Lincoln Brigade found one farmer incredulous that he was offered money for food instead of worthless script.⁶² The sullen attitudes of the Aragon farmers contrasted markedly with the enthusiastic support that had met the People's Army forces outside Anarchist-controlled areas.⁶³

On the Fascist side, the Aragon front was very weakly held; a Franco historian says that the Fascists were able to remove forces from that front to attack Madrid.⁶⁴ FOUMists and their defenders have excused their criminal footdragging by the lack of arms for POUM and FAI-CNT forces, claiming that communists withheld Soviet material from Aragon.⁶⁵ Orwell, for example, explains their failure to attack, despite the desires of the rank-and-file militiamen, by the lack of artillery and maps, the difficult terrain, and the fact that there was only one machine gun for every fifty men.⁶⁶ With the same material difficulties—including one machine gun per fifty men—the communist-led 35th Division forced the Ebro River in July, 1938, advanced 25 kilometers, captured 4 towns and 2500 prisoners.⁶⁷ The POUM leaders' attitude is amply summed up by a remark Orwell quotes from his POUM commander Georges Kopp: "This is not war, it is comic opera with an occasional death."⁶⁸ As we have seen, things weren't so comic on the Madrid front.

Still, it must be said that the material shortages on the Aragon front **do** have a sinister explanation—but not the one the red-baiters offer. After the War, FAIist Abad de Santillán obliged us with a frank confession:

If all the leaders of the Libertarian organizations had ever **seriously** resolved to send all their armament, their war material and their best men to the front—the war would easily have been over in a few months . . . We can no longer conceal the fact that while, at the front itself, we had but 30,000 rifles (and perhaps as many as 24 batteries, 100 heavy guns), in the rear, in the power of the organizations, we had an additional 60,000 rifles with more ammunition than was ever in the proximity of the enemy.⁶⁹

The intended purpose of these arms kept from the front was combat with the other parties after the victory over Franco,⁷⁰ although the occasion never arose.

In fact, the opportunity for the supreme act of treachery did not come to the POUM or the Catalan Anarchists, but to Corp Commander Cipriano Mera, the highest ranking Anarchist officer in Spain. Mera's contribution to Fascism came in 1939, when General Casado ran a **coup** against the Republican government to prevent further resistance. Communist commanders led their troops against Casado to put down the **coup**, but Mera brought his troops to Casado's support and the PCE troops were defeated.⁷¹

THE TROTS LOSE THEIR PLAYGROUND

In Catalonia in late '36 and early '37, the disorganization of production, inflation, lack of serious prosecution of the war, and growth of the communist parties (PCE & PUSC) combined to weaken and discredit the POUM and the FAI. Faced with the clear failure of their utopian theories, the Anarchist movement began to disintegrate. In September, '36, the FAI-CNT compromised their grotesquely anti-political principles and entered the Catalan Generalitat, along with the PUSC and Catalan Nationalist parties, with one delegate from the POUM.⁷² Attacking the "Stalinists" for their advocacy of the Popular Front, the POUM was only too happy to be included in this one. Their incredibly sophistical defense of this action was that the "petty bourgeoisie" was collaborating with **them**, rather than vice-versa!⁷³

In March, 1937, the central government ordered the confiscation of arms from the political parties;⁷⁴ in Barcelona, measures were taken to curb the numerous street murders by the "uncontrollables"—thugs who had attached themselves to the FAI⁷⁵—and to disband the militia "police." The CNT and POUM declined to surrender arms or submit to the draft.⁷⁶

Numerically insignificant, unable to build a base among workers and discredited by their "sheer inefficiency and incompetence all along the line,"⁷⁷ the political bankruptcy of the POUM was complete. Dropping any pretense of fighting the Fascists, the POUM decided for an all-out battle against the communists instead.

On May 3, 1937, Catalan police chief Rodriguez Sala and the Generalitat representative for the Telephone Exchange went to the exchange censorship department to complain of anarchist interference with government phone calls. Anarchist militiamen, who had held the exchange since the start of the war, fired from an upper floor. Brief fighting ensued, which was stopped by an FAI leader. Rumors of a "provocation" spread among CNT members and barricades were erected throughout the city. As sporadic fighting began between CNT and PUSC members, POUM leaders proposed to FAI-CNT leaders that communists be expelled from the government and "Stalinist" influence be eliminated in Catalonia once and for all.⁷⁸ The POUM was turned down flat.⁷⁹ Sup-



ported only by a small Anarchist group called the "Friends of Durruti" and a section of the Libertarian Youth, the POUM called for the overthrow of the Generalitat and the establishment of a "Revolutionary Junta." Anarchist leaders attempted to secure a truce in the barricade fighting and eventually did so, after several false starts. The arrival of 4,000 Assault Guards from Valencia assured that it would continue. Total casualties were reported as 400 killed, 1,000 wounded.⁸⁰

In the central government, the PCE demanded the suppression of the POUM for these crimes. Largo Caballero refused, but this was the last straw even for members of his own party. Largo was ousted and Socialist Juan Negrín became Prime Minister. The POUM was suppressed, and about 40 POUMists arrested. Treacherous POUM leader Andrés Nin was apparently executed by Soviet agents, small retribution for the deaths in Barcelona.⁸¹ Other POUMists were held for trial on charges of espionage, treason, fomenting the fighting in Barcelona, and removing troops under their command from the front to Barcelona. At the trial, the POUMists denied they had helped to provoke the fighting, conveniently "forgetting" the articles in their own newspaper, *La Batalla*.⁸² They even denied commanding the troops that had left the front at Heusca, some of them forced to return to the lines by the threat of bombing their buses.⁸³ POUM "political secretary" Julian Gorkin was able to "remember" that *La Batalla* had reprinted a Fascist leaflet attacking the government which had been dropped over the lines.

When Don José Gomis Soler, the public prosecutor, asked Gorkin why the source of the fascist leaflet was referred to in the tiniest type below the proclamation, Gorkin laughingly said: "This is a mere typographical matter."⁸⁴

The accused were found innocent of espionage and

treason; all except one were found guilty of the other charges and sentenced to various terms.

WERE THE POUM LEADERS FRANCO'S AGENTS?

The POUM leaders were accused by the PCE of being in the pay of Franco, and some of the incidents reported above indicate why this was plausible and widely believed in Republican Spain.⁸⁵ Plainly, the POUM earned their money, even if they didn't collect it.

On May 11, 5 days after the fighting began, Faupel, Hitler's ambassador to Franco, wrote:

Concerning the disorders in Barcelona, Franco has told me that the street fighting was provoked by his agents. Nicholas Franco has confirmed this report, informing me that they have a total of 13 agents in Barcelona. Some time ago one of them had reported that the tension between Anarchists and Communists in Barcelona was so great that it could well end in street fighting. The Generalissimo told me that at first he doubted this agent's reports, but later they were confirmed by other agents. Ordinarily he didn't intend to take advantage of the possibility until military operations had been established in Catalonia. But since the Reds had recently attacked Teruel to aid the Government of Euzcadi (the Basque provinces), he thought the time was right for the outbreak of disorders in Barcelona. In fact, a few days after he had received the order, the agent in question, with three or four of his men, succeeded in provoking shooting in the streets which later led to the desired results.⁸⁶

Soon after the May fighting, a number of Franco agents were caught in Barcelona, and implicated Nin—perhaps for their own reasons.⁸⁷

Some Catalan Anarchists openly expressed their Fascist sympathies. After the war, Abad de Santillán had praise for José Antonio de Primo Rivera, founder of the Fascist **Falange Española**:

Despite the difference which separated us, we can understand this "spiritual kinship" with José Antonio, who after all was a fighter and a patriot in search of solutions for his country. . . . Spaniards of his stature, patriots such as he are not dangerous. **They are not the enemy.** As for changing the destiny of Spain, there had been, before July, 1936, diverse attempts to align with us. If an accord had been tactically feasible, it would have been according to the desires of his father, Primo de Rivera (dictator of Spain under the monarchy).⁸⁸

Such are the political degenerates lionized by phony leftists as they attack and slander communists.

WHAT THE COMMUNISTS DID WRONG—RACISM

Throughout the war, Franco relied on troops recruited and conscripted in Spanish (and French)

Morocco. Perhaps 100,000 Moors fought for the Fascists.⁸⁹ The Fascists encouraged every sort of atrocity on the part of the Moors, playing on the racism of the Republicans with great success. Fascist General Quiépo de Llano broadcast revolting descriptions of the rapes to be committed by Moorish troops should they capture Madrid.⁹⁰ Republican propaganda repeated and embroidered this racist trash. Posters in Madrid depicted Moorish soldiers as "thick-lipped, hideously grinning, powerful, turbaned figures attacking defenseless white women and bayonetting white children."⁹¹

Republican Minister of Foreign Affairs Álvarez del Vayo characterized Moors as "immune from all political propaganda of a democratic nature."⁹² The facts are the exact opposite. Representatives of the Riffs of Morocco, who had fought a long war for independence in the teens and twenties, offered to organize against Franco in return for independence from Spain. The Republican government turned them down flat, fearing French reaction to an independence movement adjoining their own colonies in Africa, and hoping to use Morocco for bargaining with other capitalist powers. A Catalán delegation of Communists and Anarchists supported the Moroccan request, but got nowhere.⁹³

THE PCE NEVER MADE A PUBLIC FIGHT over this crucial issue, which should not only have been a matter of principle, but which could have produced a powerful and proven ally in the struggle against Franco. Nor did the PCE combat racism in any other way. Instead, they **promoted** it! Pasionaria repeated the filth of Radio Seville, accusing the Fascists of lack of patriotism for urging the Moors to rape Spanish women:

Peasant girls violated by legionnaires, mercenaries, and Moors, who have been tempted from their African villages by the promise of "a good time," bear witness to this "patriotism" of the fascist murderers.⁹⁴

PCE promotion of racism was far more than a lost opportunity for militant allies in Morocco (and the Spanish mainland); it was an error that contributed to all sorts of weaknesses of line and strategic failures. French bosses were right to fear that an independent Spanish Morocco would ignite independence struggles in the neighboring French colonies. This would have been an excellent development for the Republic, drawing off French and British aid to Franco. A determined struggle against racism would have dealt a major blow to the many nationalist divisions in the Republic. These divisions constituted an enormously important weakness, contributing to Anarchist predominance in Catalonia, where the war was finally lost.

The development of a class understanding of racism and capitalism's need for it might have forced the communist movement world-wide to abandon their wrong line on the nature of Fascism and capitalist rule. In other words, understanding the role of racism under capitalism leads to understanding the necessity for workers' power, as well as making it possible to fight for it. A key strategy for organizing the struggle for

socialism is to unite with and rely on the most oppressed—and the most militant—working people. In the long colonial wars, the Moors had shown themselves to be just that.

Finally, fighting racism in Spain could have helped develop a better line in other countries when their volunteers returned. As it was, the Internationals absorbed the prevailing racist atmosphere and took that home. British volunteers actually called the Moors “niggers.”⁹⁵

GUERRILLA WAR

The racist failure to aid the Moors to rise in Franco's rear is paralleled by the Republic's failure to develop partisan warfare in Fascist-held Spain. Stalin (among others) had urged Largo Caballero to organize partisans in December, 1936,⁹⁶ but the policy was rejected on the grounds of lack of trained cadre and arms.⁹⁷

IF THE PCE HAD UNDERSTOOD THAT THE war must be won by relying on the workers and peasants of Spain and Morocco, rather than waiting for help from foreign capitalists, it would have been obvious that organizing guerrillas in Fascist areas was necessary and possible. Guerrillas had operated successfully in Spain since the Napoleonic Wars, and large numbers of leftist sympathizers were in Franco-held areas. Disaffection with the Fascist regime was enormous behind the lines. In May, 1938, Franco described 40% of the population in the areas he controlled as “unreliable.”⁹⁸ Nevertheless, guerrilla operations in the war were largely limited to Soviet-organized commando and intelligence operations,

and a great opportunity to expand and win People's War in Spain was lost.

SOCIALISM: THE ONLY WAY TO WIN

Despite the importance of the previous points, the key to victory in the civil war was the fight for the dictatorship of the proletariat, not as a vague objective for the far-off future, but the immediate program to put into effect. There can be no doubt that the opportunity for taking power existed; the PCE and PUSC were the real organizers of the war against Fascism, and could have united the working class even more completely around worker's dictatorship than around “a new type of parliamentary-democratic republic”⁹⁹—a fig-leaf for bourgeois rule.

The effect of not taking power was to leave it in the hands of bosses' agents who sabotaged the struggle against Franco. “Socialist” Largo Caballero was more than an incompetent egomaniac—he went so far as to bargain with the British and French to exclude the communists and Soviet air.¹⁰⁰ His successor in the Ministry of War, “Socialist” Indalecio Prieto, went around telling everyone who would listen that the Republic was bound to lose, and did virtually nothing to oppose a successful Fascist drive to cut the Republic in two in March, 1938.¹⁰¹ Instead of taking power, the PCE organized an enormous demonstration in Barcelona, demanding that Prieto be ousted (which he was). But purging the government of such criminals after they have done irreparable damage cannot win. It is merely a defensive strategy to stave off defeat a little longer.

In contrast, the Bolsheviks of 1917 used the



Civil War fighting in Spain, 1936

self-exposure of the Social-Democrats in the government to show that only workers' rule can accomplish what the working class needs—and they took power.

INSTEAD OF THIS REVOLUTIONARY POLICY, the Republic, supported by the PCE, mounted military offensives not to win, but to hold out and impress the capitalist "democracies." Like the NLF's Tet offensive, the Ebro offensive in July, 1938, had no real chance of defeating the enemy militarily. Like the Tet offensive, it was aimed at achieving a favorable position in negotiations with the enemy; the Republic hoped to exploit the developing contradictions of England, France, and the U.S. with the Fascist powers by showing that the Republic was still an anti-Fascist force to be reckoned with.¹⁰² Thus, a main element of Popular Front strategy was to rely on the very bosses who were supporting Franco, and the strategy worked no better in Spain than it did in Vietnam. The bosses can be relied on for racism, murder and exploitation, but not for help! The only alternative is to rely on the workers, and that means fighting for workers' power. Spain shows clearly what relying on the bosses means,

since 400,000 people—apart from those dead in the fighting—were slaughtered after the Republic fell.¹⁰³

The policy of attempting to exploit contradictions among the imperialists was also followed by the Soviet Union during the Spanish War, despite the fact that the "democracies" were busy inciting Hitler to wipe out workers' power in Russia. During the thirties, the Soviet government tried to concoct alliances for the forthcoming war with almost every combination of European powers, finally signing a pact with Hitler himself. Even though the imperialists were finally unable to overcome their rivalries and unite against the Soviet Union, Soviet workers were left to defeat the Nazis virtually alone.¹⁰⁴

Thus, the clear lesson of Spain and the larger conflict which was to follow is that **workers have absolutely nothing to gain from alliances with bosses**. We must rely on our own strength, fight racism and settle for nothing short of workers' power and socialism. If we learn this lesson and put it into practice, the struggles and sacrifices of Spanish workers, though representing a temporary defeat, will contribute to final victory over capitalism and put into practice the motto of Asturias: "**UNITE PROLETARIAN BROTHERS!**"

FOOTNOTES

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- 4) *ibid.*, VII, VIII.
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- 16) Jackson, pp. 356-8.
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- 18) Quoted in Landis, p. 136.
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- 20) Jackson, p. 333.
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- 22) *ibid.*
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- 29) Landis, p. 243.
- 30) Arthur Landis, *The Abraham Lincoln Brigade*, New York, 1967, passim. Cited as "Landis, ALB."
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- 37) P. Broue & E. Temime, *The Revolution and the Civil War in Spain*, Cambridge, Mass., 1970, p. 229.
- 38) Landis, p. 252.
- 39) quoted in Landis ALB, p. 376.
- 40) Landis, p. 262.
- 41) quoted in *ibid.*, p. 259.
- 42) *ibid.*, p. 267.
- 43) *ibid.*, pp. 268-9.
- 44) *ibid.*, p. 370.
- 45) *ibid.*, p. 273.
- 46) *ibid.*, pp. 275-6.
- 47) *The Spanish Revolution*, (POUM English-language newspaper), 2/3/37.
- 48) *ibid.*, 3/31/37.
- 49) Broue and Temime, pp. 130-3; Thomas, 187-92.
- 50) quoted in Landis, p. 324. The source is J. Peiro, Anarchist Minister in the Republican Government.
- 51) Payne, p. 246.

- 52) G. Brennan, *The Spanish Labyrinth*, Cambridge, U.K., 1943, p. 321.
- 53) Abad de Santillan, *After the Revolution*, New York, 1937, p. 122.
- 54) *ibid.*, p. 124.
- 55) quoted in H.L. Matthews, *Two Wars and More to Come*, New York, 1938, p. 294.
- 56) *ibid.*, Thomas, p. 443.
- 57) Matthews, p. 295.
- 58) Landis ALB, pp. 252-6.
- 59) *ibid.*
- 60) quoted in Ibarurri, p. 285.
- 61) quoted in Landis, p. 323.
- 62) Steve Nelson, *The Volunteers*, New York, 1953, p. 175.
- 63) *ibid.*, pp. 120-7.
- 64) M. Anzar, *Historia Militar de la Guerra de España (1930-1939)*, Madrid, 1958; quoted in Landis, p. 320.
- 65) *The Spanish Revolution*, 2/17/37.
- 66) G. Orwell, *Homage to Catalonia*, New York, 1952, pp. 32-5.
- 67) Landis, p. 331; the battle is described in Landis ALB, p. 517ff.
- 68) Orwell, p. 32.
- 69) Abad de Santillan, *Porqué Perdimos la Guerra*, Buenos Aires, 1940, pp. 67-8; quoted in Landis, p. 321.
- 70) *ibid.*
- 71) Thomas, pp. 586-603.
- 72) Landis, p. 337.
- 73) *The Spanish Revolution*, 11/4/36
- 74) Payne, p. 294.
- 75) *ibid.*
- 76) *ibid.*
- 77) F. Borkenau, quoted in Landis, p. 320.
- 78) Julian Gorkin (POUM leader), *Nota sobre las Jornadas de Mayo de 1937*, unpublished MS in Hoover Institute; cited in Payne, p. 297.
- 79) *ibid.*
- 80) Thomas, pp. 424-9.
- 81) *ibid.*, pp. 452-5.
- 82) "The Treason Trial of the POUM," *World News and Views*, vol. 18 (1938), #50, pp. 1143-4.
- 83) Ibarurri, p. 286.
- 84) E. Rolfe, in *The Daily Worker*, 12 Oct. '38.
- 85) Claude Bowers (U.S. Ambassador to the Spanish Republic), *My Mission to Spain*, New York, 1954, p. 356.
- 86) quoted in Ibarurri, p. 282.
- 87) Thomas pp. 454ff, 568; relevant documents are reprinted in *The Communist International*, vol. 16 (1939), p. 165ff.
- 88) Abad de Santillan, *Porqué Perdimos la Guerra*, as quoted in Landis, p. 312.
- 89) Barton Whaley, *Guerrillas in the Spanish Civil War*, Detroit, 1969, p. 40.
- 90) Thomas, p. 181.
- 91) Whaley, p. 42.
- 92) quoted *ibid.*, p. 39.
- 93) Whaley, *passim*; Payne 270-2.
- 94) D. Ibarurri, *Speeches and Articles, 1936-1938*, New York, 1938, p. 130.
- 95) Whaley, p. 42.
- 96) *ibid.*, p. 15.
- 97) *ibid.*, p. 13.
- 98) Jackson, p. 429.
- 99) D. Ibarurri, "The Time Has Come to Create a Single Party of the Proletariat in Spain," *Communist International*, vol. 14 (1937), #9, p. 651.
- 100) Payne, pp. 270-2.
- 101) Landis, p. 372; Landis ALB, p. 401ff.
- 102) Jackson, p. 454.
- 103) Landis, p. 405. Executions were still taking place in 1944 (*ibid.*).
- 104) In the Battle of Stalingrad, military and political turning point of the World War, the Red Army destroyed 113 Fascist divisions, two and one half times the German forces facing the Normandy invasion. (See, for example, G. Deborin, *Secrets of the Second World War*, Moscow, 1971, pp. 100, 163). While the Soviet workers were making enormous sacrifices to destroy the German armies, the capitalist "allies" were delaying a second front, fooling around with minor operations in North Africa and Sicily for public relations. When the second front was finally launched in Normandy, a year and a half after the Stalingrad victory, one main motive was simply fear of communist revolution in Europe (with Soviet army support), which would have denied the imperialists any slice of the European pie. Omar Bradley, commander of the U.S. troops in Europe, put this point with some frankness after the war:
- To avoid chaos on the continent it would have been necessary for us to move such forces as we had, cross the Channel at once, move on into Germany, disarm its troops and seize control of the nation. (quoted in Deborin, p. 161)
- In the final reckoning, the Red Army destroyed 507 German divisions, plus 100 of her allies, as against 176 on all other fronts (Deborin, p. 269). U.S. and British aid to the Soviet Union provided only 1.9% of the guns, 8.3% of the planes and 10.5% of the tanks used by the Red Army, many of them of very inferior quality, plus some food and a quantity of trucks (Deborin, pp. 130-3, A. Werth, *Russia At War, 1941-1945*, New York, 1964, pp. 575-7). No significant aid reached the Soviet Union in time for Stalingrad.

Poems for Workers

The following poems were written by a student at San Francisco State College who is also a hospital worker.

FREE SPEECH

I

Can a worker tell a boss "Fuck you"
can a prisoner tell a guard "Go screw"
without getting canned or clubbed?

Can we yell at a cop "Can't stand your goddam looks"
Can we shout at Jensen & Shockley "Rip up your racist books"
Without getting jailed or harassed?

Can the unemployed tell "counselors" "Shove it up your ass"
Can a high school kid tell a hallguard, "Who says I need a pass?"
Without getting shown the door?

Well, the people who have "influence"
tell you to use "common sense"
if you know "what's good for you"
You'll do "just what you're told to do"

II

When wildcats surge like Mack Ave. Detroit
we can tell our boss "Fuck you"
When a million Atticas jolt the joints
we can tell prison guards "Go screw"

When workers' militia patrols the streets
we'll eliminate the cops
When there are no more suckers for racism
Jensen Shockley will hang from treetops

When employed unite with unemployed
we'll tell counselors "Shove it up your ass"
When parents teachers & kids run the schools
the hallguards will need a pass

Well, the people who have influence
cry "Free Speech! Let's be fair!"
Yet when workers fight for our rights
we find it's all hot air

Boss draws: "Let's chat. Negotiate."
We reply: "Our demands can't really wait"
Bosses hush, nervous or calm,
then it's pinkslip, scab cop army bomb

We fight back-wildcat general strike rebellion socialism
free speech becomes INFRINGEMENT! TRESPASS! ANARCHISM!
Is life polite teacup debates
or struggles of blood-class war
since speech is a part of action
which class is your action for?

3 FOR THE CITY WORKERS' STRIKE

I DAWN

the first scab
of the city workers' strike
son of a
boss made it
over the wall
with flying colors
helped by pickets
to enter General Hospital
on a stretcher

II SOBSONG FOR A CROOKED TIGHTROPE WALKER

Sorry Joe
you cant be governor
sorry Joe
you dont play ball so good
you cant be "labor's friend"
& strikebreak too
sorry Joe
your wife ran out on you
& the rank and file shoved
your 24 hour delay down your throat
sorry Joe
you're just a fly
against a storm

III ANGLES

Is the union
the hack at the office with the strike phone
off the hook
begging you to gather lists
count ballots for boxes
he stuffs with votes
for the deal secretly hatched
wheeling with Alioto
while smiling business
agents backbite & redbait?

Or is the union
the dawn-to-dusk-to-dawn pickets
led by the woman who left the table
barter to block scabs with part of the group
that smelling a stall
pulled the plug on the piecards'
slicing the skids
wildcatting
forcing business as usual
to stop on a dime?

leave the flattery & bickering
the competent armchair confusion
stuffy with the stench
of collaboration's alibis

out on the lines
in the homes of your brothers
& sisters in the fresh air
the new union movement from the bottom
up rises
gleaming flashing
like a million green lights GO GO GO

INLAND STEEL

eyes burn & gape
at Inland Steel
charcoal air grabs throats
at Inland Steel
raw miles of smoky steel sprawl
down blocks up stacks
of hell agonized
coffin called Inland Steel
lung-destroyer
man-killer
gulping sun & chewing blood
we stare loathing
determined
to help bring May Day to Inland Steel
where comrades organize to fight
war in the coke plants
in the heart of Inland Steel
hands shake fists rise hands grab & buy
Communism May Day redder
than the hottest Inland Steel
where workers forge the world's bones
& forge revolt
to clean out sky and lung
bring the bosses' belching belly
to a standstill
& bring the blast of Workers power
to a roar at Inland Steel

The following poem was written by a Berkeley, California, carpenter and cabinet maker.

how they mindwash our
children's reality, presenting
false images of
freedom & harmony
in a
 police-enforced
racist society where the
 game of business is just
 a front for the dictatorship
 of money, &
 beneath
 advertising's happy day
 smiles lurks an incorporated
 fascist elite,
 oh
where is class struggle on
 Sesame Street?

Capitalism,

Racism



and the Schools

**PROGRESSIVE LABOR PARTY
PAMPHLET**

25¢

RACISM INTELLIGENCE AND THE WORKING CLASS



Working class intelligence: Baltimore sanitationmen wildcat, hang union misleaders in effigy.

A PROGRESSIVE LABOR PARTY PAMPHLET 50¢

Bosses Terrorize Immigrants in L.A. and N.Y. page 12

CHALLENGE

The Revolutionary Communist Newspaper

PROGRESSIVE LABOR PARTY Volume Eleven September 12, 1974 Number 8 10¢

Rockefeller:
1 Enemy of
Workers of the World
pages 14-15

Racist Unemployment Growing. Organize to:

FIGHT LAY-OFFS

pages 2-3

British Auto Workers Seize Plant to Save Jobs



1200 Fisher-Bendix workers vote to take over plant from boss who has announced 750 will be laid off.



Barclays Bank receivers, at plant to enforce lay-offs, are told to get the hell out.



Workers cheer as government receivers are shown the door.



Workers weld plant gates shut and vow to stay until jobs are guaranteed in second occupation in two years.