

Socialist Worker

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**Rape:
the fastest
growing crime**
see page 5

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Before the next "accident"

STOP NUKES NOW!

The evidence continues to pour in. Nuclear power is deadly. And the experts don't know what they are doing.

Now Health and Welfare Secretary Joseph Califano says that people within 50 miles of the Three Mile Island nuclear plant have been exposed to twice as much radiation as originally thought.

He says that from one to ten additional cancer deaths will occur in Central Pennsylvania as a result. Califano says this is "statistically small." But not for the people of Harrisburg.

And Harrisburg is everywhere. It has now been reported that the Pilgrim plant near Boston has the worst radiation exposure record of any nuclear power plant in the U.S. And it's not a Babcock and Wilcox job.

Workers at Pilgrim have received large doses. But for the Vice President of Edison in Boston: "It's a learning experience."

Waste from the Harrisburg plant was hauled by truck across the entire country to be dumped at the nuclear installation in Hanford, Washington. The Department of Transportation in Ohio, however, reported they "knew nothing about it."

And, again in Boston, the Clamshell Alliance received a call from a worker at the Portsmouth Naval Base. He said that he and four other workers drank radioactive water from a tank which had become contaminated.

DANGER

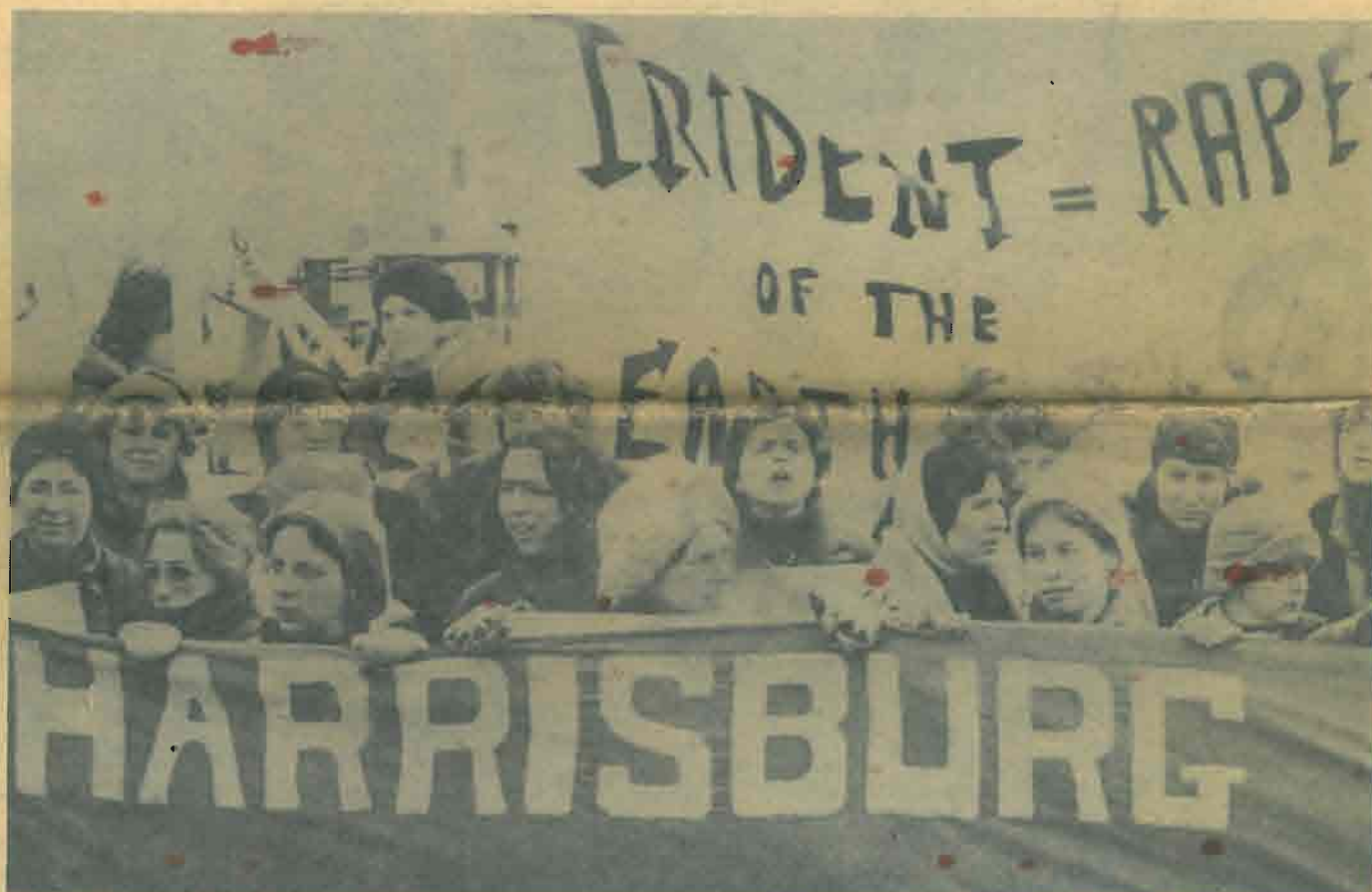
The New Jersey nuclear plant at Oyster Creek was shut down in April as a result of a danger alarm. "I want to emphasize there is no danger," said Samuel Laird, the vice president of the facility, explaining that he didn't know what the problem was.

The list of course goes on. But how long will it be before the next "serious" accident? No one knows.

This madness must be opposed. On May 6 there is a national mobilization in Washington, D.C. to oppose nuclear power. On the same weekend there are many local demonstrations. In June there will be international days of protest.

Support these demonstrations and be on them. There is no alternative.

● See the supplement on nuclear power: Pages 9 to 12.



Anti-Trident demonstrators in Connecticut

Ohio dissident MINE LEADER SHOT

CADIZ, OH—At one o'clock in the morning, April 21, Bill Lamb was on his way to Washington, D.C. He was planning to attend a key meeting of the International Executive Board of the United Mine Workers Union.

A few miles from his home in Georgetown, a tiny Ohio coal camp, Lamb was flagged down by a man with a flashlight—apparently in distress.

That is just about all Lamb remembers. "I woke up on a gravel road. My shoulder was burning like it was on fire. I thought I'd better get down to the hospital."

Who shot Bill Lamb? And why? Almost everyone in this part of Ohio points to the union.

Lamb is a well-known opponent of Arnold Miller, the president of the UMW.

He helped lead the opposition to the settlement of the 1978 national coal strike. He is leading a fight for democracy and local autonomy in the union. Miller has twice had Lamb removed from the union's top body, the International Executive Board. Lamb was reelected after being removed the first time.

Tony Bumbico, a local union officer in Ohio, also suspects the union: "We don't think they intended to kill him. We feel it was more of a warning, a more overt step toward intimidating people." □

Special Supplement

THE NUCLEAR POWER PERIL

Jericol coal miners seek support

CINCINNATI, OH—The miners at the Jericol mine in Harlan County Kentucky have been on strike since over a year ago when mine owners refused to recognize the national contract between the UMW and the Bituminous Coal Operators Association.

Since that time James Sigmon, the owner of the Jericol mine, has refused to bargain for a new contract. Instead he is using two armored trucks manned by guards with high powered rifles, to transport scabs in and out of the mine. On August 30, last year, communities near the Jericol mines were fired upon by persons inside the truck. During

the incident a school bus was caught in the line of fire and an 11 year old student was forced to take cover in a nearby ditch.

On February 7, the Jericol miner's union hall was rocked by three explosions and fire. The fire completely destroyed the building. □



On February 21, a representative of the Collier, a rank and file coal miners' paper in Britain, presented the Jericol miners with a check for \$150.00. More help is needed. Contributions can be sent to: Jericol Support Team, Nell Wynn, Closplint, KY 40927. □

STEELHAULERS SHOW HOW TO BEAT GUIDELINES

CLEVELAND, OH—Seizing their chance in the midst of the chaos created by the selective strike strategy of the Teamster bureaucracy, 17,000 rank and file steelhaulers wildcatted on the Master Freight negotiations in early April.

The strike was spread as the result of meetings held by Teamsters for a Democratic Union (TDU), an opposition group within the IBT. Steelhaulers called their own strike because many of the major steel companies were unaffected by the national Teamster

strike-lockout and other companies were using non-union trucks.

The strike was aimed at forcing concessions from the companies and the international union in the negotiations for the iron and steel supplement to the Master Freight Agreement. At issue are wages paid on the basis of the load, back sick pay, and the right to vote separately on their supplement. Since losing the right to vote on the supplement, steelhaulers have fallen behind other drivers.

The strike started in

Youngstown, Ohio, and soon spread to Canton and then reached Gary and Pittsburgh. The strength of the wildcat forced the international union to sanction the strike. As the strike grew, the steel industry began layoffs. With the threat of partial shutdowns of the steel industry the National Steel Carriers gave in on the economic demands.

VICTORY

The international, which opposed the steelhaulers demand to vote on the supplement declared victory and moved to end the strike. The determination of the rank and file to control their contract has made the union's move to get the steelhaulers back to work a difficult process. TDU, which helped the strike, threw in the towel at the end of the month declaring that the strike had accomplished all that it could.

Steelhaulers in Youngstown stayed out, however, determined to win the right to vote. As of April 30 steel was moving out of most mills, but Republic steel still has 1,000 workers laid off.

The unity of the rank and file gave the steelhaulers the power to win their economic demands. The steelhaulers' action also stands in contrast to the action of the bureaucrats in this bargaining round. But the steelhaulers still failed to win the right to vote. The International has succeeded in keeping control over the steel supplement and the same battle will have to be fought at the next contract. □

by P.M.

'Who needs jobs? We do!'



CLEVELAND, OH—Chanting "Don't Shut Us Out!" these young people marched through downtown Cleveland on April 14, demanding jobs.

The march was organized by the Cleveland Committee for Youth Jobs, which is calling for 1) restoring jobs cut from

CETA and summer employment programs, 2) job training programs, and 3) special programs where unemployment is worst: in low income communities.

In many Cleveland neighborhoods, black teenagers are up to 50% unemployed. □

Stearns election: "It's a farce"

STEARNS, KY—Striking miners at the Stearns Mining Company's Justus Mine in McCreary County have vowed to fight the United Mine Workers decision to allow a new election at the mine.

The strikers were informed on April 22 that a new election would be held on May 3, but that only 50 of the 120 strikers would be allowed to vote, while 70 scabs who have been

crossing picket lines would be entitled to vote.

"It's a farce," said Darrell Vanover, a member of the UMW at Stearns, "Because the mine owners know there is no way we can win an election like this."

The Stearns strikers have vowed to take their case to UMW miners in Kentucky, Illinois, and West Virginia. They have also threatened to

set up picket lines at the UMW headquarters in Washington, D.C.

"We've been fighting for this for three years, and we're not just going to sit back and let this happen to us," Vanover said. He accused the UMW's national leaders of "Being afraid and scared of Blue Diamond (which owns Stearns), so they're just throwing in the towel."

Donna Keith, whose husband is a UMW miner at Stearns, said she believed "the UMW just got tired of paying us strike benefits, and they want to get this thing over with." □

Messages of support can be sent to: Stearns Miners Defense, Whitely City, Kentucky.

Cabbies make strike a 'cause'

SAN FRANCISCO, CA—Yellow Cab drivers are back to work after two and a half months of lock-out by management. Though their immediate demands have been met, there is still the hard job of organizing to do before the company is unionized.

On Friday, March 30, Federal Judge Lloyd Burke granted an injunction requiring the company to restore its employee payroll system exactly as before and to rehire all locked out drivers.

The strikers appealed to, but did not rely on, the Labor Board. The strike was rank and file controlled from the start. There was support from other rank and file groups. The issue became a labor cause in the Bay Area. □

by BARRY GORDON



ABORTION: ONLY ACTION WILL WIN

The movement for reproductive rights for women has grown significantly in the last year.

On March 31, an International Day of Action was called by the International Coalition for Abortion Rights, based in London. Many thousands of people demonstrated across America and throughout the world.

The biggest American demonstrations were in New York (5000), Boston (3500) and in Minneapolis (1200). There were demonstrations in 20 cities around the country, and in 17 other countries.

GROWTH

These demonstrations indicate the growth of a broad-based, multi-issue, activist movement for reproductive freedom. This movement presents a much needed alternative to the lobbying approach of the three major liberal groups working to protect the legal status of abortion: National Abortion Rights Action League (NARAL), the National Organization for Women (NOW), and the Planned Parenthood Federation.

The newly formed Reproductive Rights National Network, R2N2, made up of about 20 local groups, was largely responsible for the success of the March 31 demonstrations. Joint work with the liberal groups was possible in

some cities around the R2N2 demands: abortion and contraception are a woman's right, regardless of ability to pay; no forced sterilization; restore Medicaid funds for abortion—stop Hyde in '79.

ATTEMPT

The result was the first nationwide attempt to broaden the abortion movement to a fight for real reproductive rights for women, combining the issues of abortion, sterilization abuse, child care, gay rights, workplace sterilization and a range of reproductive issues.

Reproductive rights activists' next big push is a demonstration at the "Right to Life" national convention in Cincinnati the weekend of June 23. Groups throughout the Midwest and Northeast are organizing to take part in the demonstration, bringing new people and groups into the reproductive rights movement.

Socialist Worker

WHAT WE THINK

Reproductive rights for women are fundamental to women's liberation and the struggle for socialism. Women are not free to work outside the home or make choices about the kind of life they want to live as long as they lack control of pregnancy and child rearing.

But under capitalism, some have more "rights" than others. Rich women have access to contraception, abortion, sex education and child care. For working class women, especially poor and minority women, the situation is very different.

COST

The average cost of an abortion in America is \$280. The average welfare payment for an entire family is around \$240. And while Medicaid funding for abortions has been cut off, the program still pays the cost of sterilization. Control over reproduction is much more limited for minority

women and for poor women of all races.

To talk about "women's right to choose" doesn't make much sense unless you link this issue to changing the whole range of choices people have, about ending the unequal and discriminatory way in which the good things of life—including reproductive

freedom—are reserved for only a few.

movement that resulted in the 1973 Supreme Court legalization of abortion. Today that movement must be rebuilt. Action—not back-room lobbying will keep that right for us and gain the rest of what we need, too. □



GUIDELINES: THE RESULT IS WAGE-CUTS FOR WORKERS

Last Fall the government drew a line across the road and dared labor to step across it. The line was the Carter administration's voluntary wage control. The program was supposed to limit wage increases to 7% and cure inflation.

Now, six months later, there is a debate about whether labor has stepped across the line. The last episode of the Teamster strike-lockout was an argument between the IBT's Frank Fitzsimmons and the government's Alfred Kahn. Frank said he crossed the line, and Alfred said that the line bent so Frank couldn't cross it.

COMPLY

Fitzsimmons has been joined by other labor leaders, who also are threatening not to comply with the wage guide. Peter Bommarito, head

of the United Rubber Workers, and Douglas Fraser president of the Auto Workers are two of the labor chiefs who have major contracts which expire this year. Fraser has declared that the guideline "self destructed" and that he will ignore it. Bommarito, whose contract is currently expired but under extension, says he is going to sue.

In spite of all the talk, the labor bureaucracy is not in fact fighting to defend the interests of the workers in this country. The Teamster contract, which resulted from a

10 day shutdown of the freight industry, demonstrates this. The settlement, depending on cost of living adjustments, is a 30% package. The last contract was a 35% settlement. The difference in the two contracts allows the government to claim that the wage guide is working, but 7% compounded annually is 22.5%.

INFLATION

This exercise in "guidelines math" is beside the point. The fact is inflation this year is running at 15% and is expected to continue or increase. There is no way the Teamster contract can keep up. Fitzsimmons negotiated a wage cut while giving the impression that he was "representing the best economic interests of the membership" and broke the guideline. His basic interest was seeing that the payments kept coming into

the union's pension and health and welfare funds.

The Teamster strike lasted exactly long enough to avoid paying strike benefits. At the eleventh hour, the Teamster bureaucrats gave in and saved 10 million dollars. Some fight.

Really breaking the guideline means going for broke—for the best possible contract. As Alfred Kahn noted, the Teamsters could have gotten a much better contract. They didn't. "Guidelines math" helps cover this up by making Fitzsimmons look militant.

The entire labor bureaucracy can thank Frank Fitzsimmons for the lesson in how to cope with government guidelines—play hanky panky under the bargaining table with the companies and blame Alfred Kahn.

SUCCEED

Kahn doesn't care because the government is succeeding

in its program to force workers to pay for inflation. Total compensation to workers has fallen from a 9.3% increase before the guideline to 7.5% in the first quarter of this year—half the rate of inflation.

The Carter wage cut is the real line of battle. Fitzsimmons and Kahn can argue about 22.5 equaling 30 but this doesn't change anything. Change will come when there is a real strike against the wage guide. □

by PAT MORGAN

Fighting Words

*Rise like lions after slumber, in unvanquishable number
Shake your chains to earth like dew, which in sleep
had fallen on you
Ye are many — they are few.*

Percy Bysshe Shelley

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Socialist Worker.

Solidarity round-up

Peter Moore writes from Chicago...

At campuses throughout Chicago, demonstrations, forums, pickets and other activities were held during the Week of Action, April 4-11.

On Saturday, April 6th, a Midwest regional demonstration drew students from the University of Chicago, University of Illinois, Roosevelt and Northwestern to downtown Chicago. There were also delegations from the University of Indiana and Marquette University.

The demonstration included community based anti-apartheid organizations. It was addressed by Dennis Brutus, the exiled South African poet, and representatives of the Midwest coalition for the Liberation of Southern Africa.

Kent Worcester writes from Boston...

One of the most militant demonstrations of solidarity during the national week of

action was held at Brandeis University where a two day strike of 75% of the students turned into a four-day occupation of the administration building.

Brandeis has holdings in many companies doing business in South Africa, including IBM, Exxon, and General Motors—to the tune of nearly \$6 billion.

Three hundred students took over the administration building and after four days, the trustees agreed to divest in companies whose practices result in "severe social injury."

In New York, there was a picket in front of Citibank, which has loaned South Africa \$1.6 billion in the last six years. At Oberlin College in Ohio, 300 students picketed a trustees meeting, demanding divestment. At Harvard, 300 students attended an anti-apartheid teach-out which heard Dennis Brutus and Donald Woods, the exiled journalist. □



In the past seven years, gasoline prices at filling stations rose 101.5% and natural gas prices rose 133.3% whereas the consumer price index rose only 67.2%

DROP

In the U.S. fuel industry as a whole, the rate of return on investment dropped from 18.3% in 1966 to 11.3% in 1976. This drop is even greater than the 4% drop across all industry in the U.S. The hefty price rises in the fuel industry have not, though, enabled it to catch up either to itself in 1966 or to other industries today. In 1978 Exxon and Mobil, for example, were still behind the average rate of profit for U.S. industry generally. This gives them the excuse they need to denounce the windfall profits tax Carter has proposed to sweeten deregulation with. Thus Mobil squeals in a half-page newspaper ad, "By any fair test, oil company profitability is below average."

It is then plausible to believe that doubling gasoline prices in seven years was an expedient pursued by the oil industry in the face of declining rates of profits. When this expedient appeared natural, the industry already had the monopolistic clout to use it.

Its strategy was in part to use the OPEC countries as a battering ram.

What would be more convenient than for the Middle East oil producers to raise the price of crude oil? That would allow the U.S. oil companies to raise the price of their own crude oil. Thus when OPEC prices went up in 1973 from \$5.11 per barrel to \$11.65, U.S. crude oil was allowed to go to \$5.85 for pre-1979 wells and to \$12.85 for new wells.

In addition, the increase in the price of crude oil was re-

**THE
SKY IS
THE
LIMIT**

Milt Fisk on fuel prices

flected through a magnifying lens before it appeared in a much higher price for gasoline.

RERUN

Six years later we are having a rerun of the same sequence of events. On March 27, OPEC announced an increase from \$13.34 per barrel of crude oil to \$14.54, with individual countries free to lay on an additional surcharge. On April 5, Carter put forth his plan for gradual deregulation of crude oil produced in the U.S.

The oil companies had already raised the price of gasoline in the first quarter of 1979 by an unbelievable 10%. The excuse was the shortage due to the cutoff of Iranian crude oil. The shortage was a fraud, since the monopolists built up supplies in the last quarter of 1978 while tankers were still coming in from Iran. On top of this 10% there will be the increase of 2.5 to 5 cents on

each gallon of gasoline stemming from the OPEC decision. And then another 2 to 5 cents will be added this year for the first stage of deregulation. With the help of OPEC the oil companies have found it easy to continue fueling inflation.

Deregulation will serve less to increase the domestic production of crude oil than to make the industry more monopolistic. We are dealing here with vertical monopolies: the big oil companies pump the oil out of the ground, refine it, and then transport it.

Allowing the price of crude oil to go up in the U.S. means that the big companies can charge higher prices for crude oil to independent refineries. It puts the independents at a disadvantage without costing the big companies any more for the crude oil they pump themselves. Yet they will use deregulation as an excuse to raise the price the customer pays at the filling station.

This is illustrated by the great advantage experienced by those U.S. companies that depend primarily on crude oil they pump on this continent. In 1978 Sohio had double the average rate of return of the oil industry generally, since it has a major stake in Alaskan oil. It was not paying OPEC prices for its crude oil, and it can now charge independents OPEC prices for the crude oil it has in abundance. Most importantly, it can raise the price of gasoline it sells simply because the world price of crude oil is going up, even though it is paying no more for its own crude oil.

Carter's windfall profit tax is just another tax on working people. It would allow the oil companies only part of what they get from the price increases in gasoline resulting from deregulation. The rest goes to the government, with the oil companies playing the role of a tax collector from its consumers. The government would, if the tax passes congress, use much of this revenue to subsidize the corporations, including the oil companies, with energy research and mass transit projects.

DRIVE

Moreover, the oil companies will not stop with the increases linked to deregulation. There will be more and more increases for the consumer. The drive to get the rate of profit in the oil industry even with that of industry gen-

erally and to get it back up to where it was in the 1960s will continue to push prices up. Carter's windfall profit tax will, if anything, tend to accelerate this price increase in order to realize the desired level of after-tax profits.

LIGHT

The alternative proposed by Senator James McClure of Idaho is no better. It would allow the oil companies to keep their windfall profits from price increases if they were used to increase exploration and production. This is just a green light to indefinite increases in fuel prices, with the companies always able to write their books so that it appears that windfall profits are going to increase production when in fact they are not.

With gasoline selling in France and several other European countries at \$2.50 per gallon, production for the overseas market is going to remain more attractive than that for the domestic market until the oil companies have raised the domestic price to the level it is in Europe. The McClure proposal would hasten this equalization at the expense of the U.S. consumer.

Monopoly power will have its way once again, whatever the fate of Carter's energy program. The prices of gasoline and natural gas will erode the living standards of workers for the sake of recovering higher rates of profits.

Cambridge cabbies win

CAMBRIDGE, MA—"Cabbies Against Leasing," a rank and file cab drivers group here, has won an important victory. The Cambridge City Council, faced with 200 cab drivers in attendance at its April 30th meeting—and a picket line outside—agreed to suspend the Cambridge Licensing Board's new leasing rules.

by PETER LOWBEL

Take back the night



"What the hell, she's only a dink, a gook," said George Phillips, a veteran of Vietnam, justifying the rape of a Vietnamese woman by American soldiers.

Captain John Mallory described the sexual murder of a North Vietnamese army nurse, "A grease gun of the type used in automotive work was placed in her vagina, and she was packed with grease."

RAPE

Rape is the number one crime against women. According to the FBI it is also the fastest growing violent crime. In the past 10 years reported rapes have increased 62%.

It is believed that every two minutes a woman is raped. There are over 55,000 reported rapes a year, but this figure does not accurately come close to the number of rapes because for every reported sexual assault, 5 to 10 are never reported.

And rape is just one form of sexual violence against women. Rape statistics do not account for rape within marriage. Nor do they account for the 600,000 children who are sexually abused each year.

Every woman and every child is a potential victim. Women are raped by men they love and trust, by men they date. They are raped by their bosses, clients, teachers, psychiatrists, co-workers. They are raped by policemen and jailors. They are raped by their husbands and fathers. Women have always been raped during war. They are booty, war prizes, part of the process of humiliating the enemy.

Black, Hispanic, Asian and Native American women are raped in largest numbers. They face the greatest bru-

Celia Emerson writes about rape and why women are marching to take back their rights

tality. The conviction rate from raping minority women is lowest.

A raped woman is the double victim. It is not enough that she has been brutalized through the assault. The courts, police, social workers, doctors, even husbands blame her. In all reported rape cases, only 51% of the rapists are apprehended. Of those, 76% are prosecuted and of that number 47% are acquitted.

"I was beaten and raped in a state away from my home. The cops asked a lot of questions like how did I like it, and was he any good. They seemed to think that because I wasn't a virgin it couldn't be rape and I should charge him with assault.

"At the hospital nobody treated me any better. I had to wait two hours before anybody would see me. When you're Chicano and on welfare, nothing can help you."

Men do not rape women because of sexual yearnings. They rape women as an act of hatred. Homosexual rapes in prisons have nothing to do with sexual feelings. Men know that rape is brutalizing and degrading. Richard Nixon's greatest fear about prison was a prison gang rape.

JUSTIFIES

"Deliverance" is a film which portrays rape as a horrifying experience. The rape is a homosexual rape. The two rapists are repulsive. There is no sexual turn on in that movie. The film justifies killing the rapists. It's too bad there isn't a film about Joanne

Little or Inez Garcia with the same theme.

Rape takes place in all class societies, in all societies where women are considered to be men's property and men's sexual objects—where woman's role is to bear and rear children, to gratify and nurture men. Rape probably originated with the first class societies, with the institution of private property and an oppressive state. There, as Engels wrote in *Origins of the Family*, "woman became the first slave of the slave." The woman "became the slave of his lust and a mere instrument for the production of his children."

HISTORY

This basic view of women has continued through history. Today women are still considered to be sexual objects.

Advertising uses women in bikinis to sell everything from air conditioners to tractor trailer rigs. Popular movies, from "Straw Dogs," to "King Kong" contribute to the fantasy that all women really want to be and deserve to be raped.

Psychiatrists dress this up with medical and scientific garb. Freud began it all when he said that all women and children secretly have rape

fantasies. In other words—blame the children and the women.

Women are trained from infancy to accept rape—to accept that they should be passive and dependent upon men for protection—at the same time to use sexuality for favors. Mae West summed it up when she said, "Funny, every man wants to protect me. I can't figure what from."

Today women are not passively accepting rape. The growth of the women's liberation movement since the Sixties has enabled women to fight back against rape. The movement challenged the sexist myths that women are responsible for rape. It fought for and won some changes in customs and laws which made rape victims double victims.

In almost every city in the U.S., rape crisis centers offer sexually assaulted women legal and emotional support. Furthermore, they encourage women to fight back, to prosecute their attacker, and to support other rape victims.

The successful "take back the night" demonstrations which have taken place in American and European cities have also been invaluable in giving women a sense of their

potential power, when they organize in large numbers to directly confront symbols of their oppression.

But rape will continue as long as class society exists, as long as women are seen as objects—as long as profits are to be made by objectifying women.

The system which breeds rapists, after all, also breeds war and racism. It is a system which not only oppresses women, but which pits whites against blacks and which brutally exploits all working people.

SUPPORT

Revolutionary feminists must fight for and support the destruction of each and every fact of women's oppression, in particular violence against women. This must be done in a context, however. It must be done within the context of a working class struggle for socialism.

Socialism means the democratic ownership and control of all wealth. It also means much more. It is an end to private property, and the class system which uses violence to keep the few rich and the many divided.

Socialist revolution—and the fight for it—is not an alternative to women's liberation. On the contrary, it is the only hope for the final destruction of the material basis of women's oppression—the end of battery, rape and violence against women. □



Some 299 persons have been killed illegally by Philadelphia police over the last nine years, according to a survey by a lawyers group.

If you doubt this conclusion consider these pictures of the "arrest" of Delbert Africa of the radical group MOVE.

The killings, according to the lawyers, represent "a pattern and practice of illegal shootings condoned by the police and the city administration."

Providence: Women Unite! Take Back the Night

Take Back the Night Demonstration
May 19, 1979, Providence, Rhode Island

Assemble 7:00 pm, First Baptist Church on North Main. March to Roger Williams Spring

Sponsor: Providence Take Back the Night Coalition

FIGHTING RACISM AT AMHERST

AMHERST, MA—The action taken by the Amherst College Black Students' Union and their supporters in fighting racism at Amherst has had an impact on the other four campuses in the area.

When the Campus Coalition for Political Prisoners called a meeting to determine what kind of support the Hampshire College campus could offer, there was an enthusiastic response from the student body.

A multi-racial group of about 50 students met and decided to call off classes the following day and replace them with an all-college rally and a series of workshops dealing with institutionalized racism.

DEMANDS

Realizing the similarities between the Amherst and Hampshire campuses, we also

made up a list of demands for our own administration to comply with, which included:

1. Raising the number of third world faculty and students on campus (the number of third world students on campus has decreased over the past four or five years from 150 to about 40 in a total student population of about 1300).

2. Increased financial aid for third world studies program.

3. The institution of a third world studies program.

4. The institution of faculty workshops to take positive action against institutionalized racism at Hampshire.

5. That Fall Colloquy 1979 (a three-day event held at the beginning of every school year) have as its theme "Combating Institutionalized Rac-

ism at Hampshire and in American Society."

The moratorium was very effective, with a large number of students attending the rally and the workshops that followed. After the workshops, we formed a car caravan and headed for Amherst College.

UNITY

Once there, we met as a group (around 300 students and faculty) in front of Converse Hall and held a rally to show our support for the people inside. The rally was characterized by enthusiasm and militancy—a rare combination at Hampshire College.

Since the occupation at Amherst has ended, the group has focussed its attention on the situation at Hampshire and it is hoped that the unity

forged over the past couple of days will continue to develop to insure that our demands are met.

The situations at Hampshire and Amherst are not unique. Institutionalized racism pervades every aspect of American society, including colleges and universities. With the attacks on affirmative action and other reforms won during the struggles of the late 1960s and early 70s on the increase, it is high time that students took the fight against racism into their own hands.

OUT OF THE DORMS AND INTO THE STREETS! THE PEOPLE UNITED WILL NEVER BE BEAT!

by BRIAN O'CEALLAIGH
Hampshire College
Northampton Branch, ISO



By Any Means Necessary

BLACK POLITICS IN AMERICA

POST-BAKKE CUTS

"We won't accept them"

Since early this year the Black Student Union at Amherst has been in discussions with the Administration about restarting Black Freshman Orientation.

The administration's response was typical. It said it could not agree with Black Freshman Orientation.

So after months of discussion, three weeks ago the Black Student Union met to decide what action should be taken.

CROSS

On the night of the 15th of April there was a cross burning outside Charles Drew house. On the following day there were over 100 students ready to occupy, protesting about the crossburning.

The Black Student Union continued discussions with the administration. When they failed to agree to our demands the decision was taken to occupy the main building, Converse Hall.

I believe that the occupation was successful at least from one point of view. It unified Black women. Apart from meeting at the student unions Black women never came together to discuss anything. The occupation changed that. It was organized and led by Black women.

There were three women in the leading committee of six. Outside of that five women were in charge of things like security.

Marie Labad is a 20 year old black female student. She was one of the main leaders of the week long sit-in of black students at Amherst College. I spoke to her about the events in Amherst and her involvement in them.

Tony Bogues

The demands of the Black Student Union do not change any fundamental things in this society. But it is clear that the administration will not concede anything.

They gave us verbal promises, then they now say that is not what they said.

Our central demand is that they restore Black Freshmans Orientation. We do not just want an ethnic day but three days in which we can get Black students to deal with this place.

The administration is racist. The occupation was the only thing left to do. The Black students said to the administration you have given us shit all year long and we are not going to accept it.

I think that in the post-Bakke era what you now see is that affirmative action is being eroded. Federal funds are being taken away. There is a problem here. Many whites are now feeling that the Blacks have gotten too much. Since the system cannot employ everybody, then many whites

feel that money must be taken away from Blacks. But then even the whites cannot get any jobs.

How to fight back? One of the major things is that masses of people have to be educated in the ways of the system. That is Black women, white working class and all oppressed people have to come to know the contradictions of the system.

I think that socialism is inevitable. At Amherst College everyone who took part in the struggle learned something. What we have to do now is to turn some of the negative things into positive ones.

SOCIALISM

I am a revolutionary. I think that it is imperative that revolutionary ideas are developed that calls for socialism. We have to mobilize particularly in the Black community around the nature of the penal system.

One out of four Black men will have been in jail at one time or another. I think that there should be a united front of progressive Black organizations to deal with this and other major issues.

How do I feel personally about the occupation? Well, I feel tremendous to see Black women taking a leading role and not staying in the back ground. That for me is very exciting.



Amherst students demonstrate support

reviews

Colin Barker reviews

Hal Draper's new volume
on Marxism

I had the privilege of reviewing the first volume of this work (State and Bureaucracy), which is now happily available in paperback. At that time, I was more dismissive of the project than I now care to recall. In particular, I suggested that Draper's work was one of "marxology," a term which—for myself as for Draper—is a term of subtle marxist abuse.

Having recently had the occasion to re-read the first volume, and now also the pleasure of reading the second, I should like publicly to alter my previous ever-so-slightly "superior" judgement. Hal Draper is not producing marxology, but scholarly marxism of the highest order.

AMAZING

The scholarship is simply amazing. Draper has read everything there is to read, and has organized his resulting mass of material into a wonderfully clear and systematic presentation of the political ideas of Marx and his comrade Fred Engels. I noted the indispensability of the first volume as a reference work, and can only reiterate that point again.

Karl Marx's Theory of Revolution
Vol II: The Politics of Social Classes
Hal Draper
Monthly Review Press \$20.00

But something more must be said, about the politics of the work. Hal Draper is well-known—and some publisher should make him still better known by a re-issue—for a marvellous short pamphlet of the 1950's: *The Two Souls of Socialism*. The burden of that pamphlet was the sharp distinction within the socialist tradition between all the manifold varieties of "socialism from above" (including reformism, stalinism, maoism, etc.) and the revolutionary tradition of "socialism from below."

We hear a good deal these days from the reformist communist parties of Western Europe about "democratic socialism," by which they mean a lukewarm struggle to expand popular control, and a mild dose of national-state planning. They urge the retention of the semi-sham democracy of parliamentary government, of "representative democracy" where the electorate have no real control over their parliamentary misrepresentatives.

Faced with real popular

Karl Marx's theory of revolution

movements towards workers' control and workers' power, they are at best uneasy and more commonly positively hostile (consider the shameful history of the Italian and French parties in every significant crisis for more than forty years.)

REVOLUTIONARY

Hal Draper is a marxist, and will have no truck with such perversions. His Marx and his Engels—defiantly quoted over hundreds of pages—are consistent, red revolutionaries, ever concerned with the expansion of popular freedoms, and with an expansion of freedom and control won by the working classes themselves, by their own efforts and their own power.

The Marx and Engels who shine through every carefully annotated page of this monumental work are revolutionary socialists whose central principle was collective self-emancipation, workers' power. True, they were intellectuals, but intellectuals whose whole lives were organized around the principle of struggle, of political engagement, whose intellectual work aimed always at the central point: making it easier for freedom to conquer.

They were acid in their condemnation of idiots, not out of love of their own cleverness (as we find in so many latter-day academic marxoids) but because the truth mattered to

the working class, because ignorance and muddle were impediments to their struggle. For them, reason and freedom went hand in hand.

Hal Draper aims to recover Marx and Engels as revolutionary activists and thinkers. In this volume, he discusses the anatomy of classes, the role of the modern proletariat as the key agent in the overthrow of capitalism, and the relation—defined in struggle—of the working class to other classes and strata.

Initially, one further volume was planned, but the author now announces that the remaining materials will occupy two further substantial tomes. No question: if the next volumes are up to the standard of the first two, we should be pleased at his excesses.

PLEASURE

The term "work of reference" may turn prospective readers away, so do not imagine this work is as dull as an index. Despite the massive scope of the work, and its integrated conception, the various separate parts are themselves a whole series of smaller pleasures. This is a book to dip into, as well as to read right through.

If you want to know why marxists emphasize the working class before all others, the materials are all here. Students can shiver at Marx and Engels' remarks on their forebears' roles in the revolutions of 1848-9, and their reported enthusiasm for knowing the plans of the revolution while not liking sore feet. Academics should ponder what Marx and Engels thought of them.

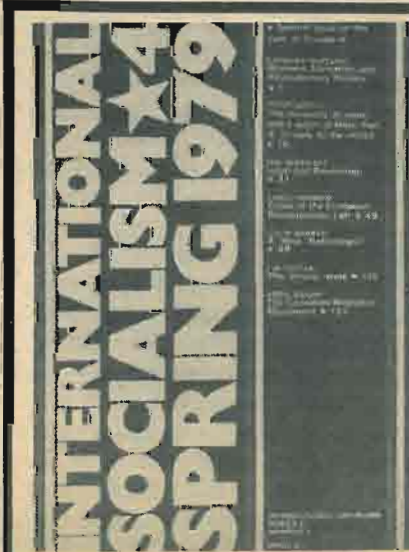
Anyone having to argue with the disordered residues of maoism should rejoice in the most definitive collection of Marx and Engels' very clear-headed views on the peasant question available anywhere: these three long chapters, in themselves, are political dynamite. The Marxist attitude to trade unionism is clearly spelled out, together with the issues of reformism, the need for an independent revolutionary party of the working class, and so on.

Perhaps most important of all for revolutionary strategy, Hal Draper presents an extremely clear and unambiguous account of Marx and Engels' development, through their experience of the 1848 revolutions, of the theory of "permanent revolution": Leon Trotsky's claim that he did not invent the theory, but developed it from its foundations in Marx, is amply supported by this fully documented analysis.

INSIST

Over and over again, Draper shows the theoretical founders of our movement insisting on the central and revolutionary role of the modern working class, as the class which alone bears within its forms of life the seeds of the future society.

I cannot do this book justice. The publishers should be urged to rush out a paperback edition of the second volume. This work should be welcomed, read, studied, used. It is indispensable. □



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Box 18037
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Rhodesian elections: no change

The Rhodesian elections were held as part of the "internal settlement," agreed in March, 1978, between Ian Smith and three black leaders—Abel Muzorewa, Ndabaningi Sithole, and Chief Chirau.

POWERLESS

For the first time since the country was conquered by the settlers in the 1890s all African adults were permitted to vote. The result of the election was a black Prime Minister, Abel Muzorewa.

In office, however, Muzorewa will be powerless. His

hands will be tied by the constitution he agreed to with Smith.

Under this constitution "Zimbabwe-Rhodesia" (as the country will be called) will be ruled by black people only in name—in reality the white minority continues to hold power.

Over a quarter of the seats in Parliament are elected by whites, even though they form only one twenty-fifth of the population. The white MP's, all of them members of Smith's Rhodesian Front, have a veto over changes in the constitution and are en-

titled to a quarter of the cabinet posts.

The constitution also places the army, police, civil service and judiciary outside the control of the elected government. The machinery of state power, therefore, continues to be controlled by members of the white minority placed there by Smith.

The rights of private property are also guaranteed by the constitution. Muzorewa and Sithole have both sworn that they are not in favor of "nationalization for the sake of nationalization." The South African companies which

dominate Rhodesian industry, commerce and banking, and which own the best farming land continue to exploit the people of Zimbabwe.

This is the "new independent state"—a shell concealing the reality of continued white power and privilege.

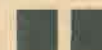
As for the elections themselves, they took place in the midst of a war between the forces of the settler regime and the guerillas of the Patriotic Front, who boycotted the election.

The regime took desperate measures to make sure the elections weren't interrupted,

like raiding the home of Patriotic Front leader Joshua Nkomo in Lusaka and arresting one thousand of his supporters inside the country.

CONTINUE

This war will continue whatever the outcome of the election. The only difference is that it will be fought in the name of Abel Muzorewa not Ian Smith. Its aim will be the same—to defend the entrenched privileges of the white minority. □



Police attack London demonstrators

LONDON: A COMRADE KILLED

When the British Nazis, the National Front, announced that they were planning an election rally in Southall, a London community which is the home of tens of thousands of Asians, the Anti-Nazi League called a counter-

demonstration.

Blair Peach, a 32 year old school teacher, a member of the Anti-Nazi League and the Socialist Workers Party (the fraternal organization of the I.S.O.) went on that demonstration.

After the demonstration was over, when Blair Peach and others were heading home, they were attacked by police. One of Peach's friends, Chanie Rosenberg, said this: "When the Special Patrol Group arrived they seemed to

go wild.

"They were pulling people out of the crowd and several times I saw five of them hitting one person. I was appalled."

Blair Peach was left by the police with a smashed skull.

He died in a hospital a few hours later. What follows is a report on the Southall events and a memorial to Blair Peach written by a friend and comrade. □



SOUTHALL, LONDON, Monday, April 21—The National Front came to town three years after the National Front-inspired gang murdered the Indian boy Gurdip Singh Chaggar.

The police imposed their rein of terror all day to make sure the Nazi meeting went ahead.

FORCE

In the early afternoon they began forcefully removing Asians from a wide area around the Town Hall. Groups of youths on the sidewalks were bullied and pushed so that the police could take complete control.

"Move on you black bastards," they said. Another policeman scrawled an "NF" sign on the side of the police coach and grinned at the young Asians. Slowly but surely they provoked the tension.

From one o'clock on police harassment met with growing resistance from the Asian youths.

As the police raised the temperature a more subtle provocation was being launched.

The police made it clear to

the Asian youth that whatever the feeling in Southall the National Front were to be given the greatest possible assistance to hold their meeting.

This went on all afternoon to forestall the sit-in that every anti-racist organization had planned for the evening.

The community center "Southall Rights" was closed down and occupied by the police.

Paramilitary style police road blocks were set up on every road leading into Southall.

During the afternoon dozens of policemen on horseback were drafted into the town center.

They were used later in one of the most vicious attacks that the police made that day. They charged down a side street wielding frightening long clubs as demonstrators scattered in all directions.

RAID

At the same time they raided the house being used as a medical aide center.

It was a case of them just going in for blood. There was no attempt to arrest anybody. □

"A quiet man who hated racism."

Blair Peach was a gentle man with a great fighting spirit. To the deprived children of Phoenix Delicate School, in Bow, East London, he was an exceptionally gifted and patient teacher of reading.

To his colleagues in the NUT (National Union of Teachers) he was the man whose willingness to take action, rather than to talk about it, both shamed and inspired those of us who would otherwise have been more cautious.

BELIEFS

Blair was a shy man, but he forced himself to speak out because of the strength with which he held his beliefs. He became President of the East London Association of the N.U.T. and was soon a marked man for his unequivocal anti-racist stance.

Twice he was beaten up by the National Front, and a tendon in his hand was com-

pletely severed by a vicious bite.

He was one of the leading activists in Teachers Against the Nazis, the first organization to take the fight against racism into the classroom.

He was a founding member of the South Hackney and Shoreditch Anti-Nazi League, and prominent in the defense of the Asian community in Brick Lane.

It was not just for his anti-racist activity that Blair will be remembered.

He was an active militant within the "Rank and File Teachers" group in N.U.T. and a member of the Editorial Board of "Rank and File Teacher."

It was indicative of his commitment that he chose to join the Socialist Workers Party at a time when it was most difficult for socialists to argue for action and when many with years of experience in the movement opted for an easier course.

He had a phenomenal capacity for hard work—he wasn't the sort of socialist who makes fine speeches and leaves the duplicating and writing of envelopes to others.

CONFIDENCE

Above all, Blair was the kind of man who gave you confidence in the future of socialism.

He was a witty and amusing companion who gave us all an appetite for the struggle.

His loss will be deeply felt by all his comrades and those who despite their disagreements with him held him in the highest esteem as a fighter for socialism.

It is the task of all of us to provide the memorial that Blair would have most wished for by carrying on his fight against racism and exploitation. □

by DICK NORTH
N.U.T. Executive Committee



Arms economy: the key to recover

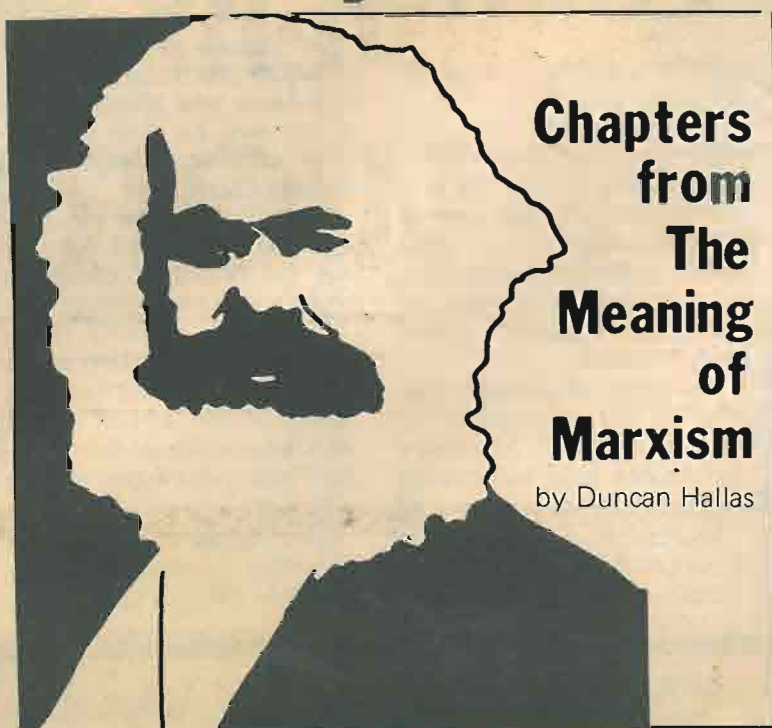
On Thursday 24 October 1929, 'Black Thursday', the American stock market collapsed. It was the signal for the greatest economic crises in the history of capitalism so far.

After the great (Wall Street) crash came the great depression. In 1933, the US gross national product (total production of the economy) was nearly a third less than in 1929. Not until 1937 did the physical volume of production recover to the levels of 1929, and then it promptly slipped back again.

VALUE

Until 1941 the dollar value of production remained below 1929. Between 1930 and 1940 only once, in 1937, did the average number unemployed during the year drop below eight million. In 1933 nearly 13 million were out of work, or about one in every four of the labor force. In 1938 one person in five was still out of work.

In Britain, in Germany, in every developed monopoly capitalist country the situation was similar. Marx's prediction that capitalist crises would become more and more severe seemed to have been proved in practice. The 'revisionist'



Chapters from The Meaning of Marxism

by Duncan Hallas

and liberal arguments that 'organized' i.e. monopoly capitalism would eliminate crises were shattered. The result could have been socialist revolutions in the developed capitalist countries.

In fact, due mainly to the

tragic degeneration of the Communist Parties, at that time the only possible source of revolutionary leadership, it was defeat and demoralization for the working classes, fascism and finally another world war.

Most marxists believed that, after that war, a post war boom would be followed by an even bigger and more terrible slump. It has not yet happened. Instead there has been a tremendous expansion of capitalist production, checked only by one or two mild recessions. True, this has gone hand in hand with the continuing and perhaps growing impoverishment of the 'Third World.'

The fact remains that in the areas of working class concentration, the advanced capitalist countries, the system was stabilized. That this stabilization was temporary and is now beginning to crumble away is the crux of marxist analysis of contemporary capitalism. To understand why we have to grasp the real causes of the 'long boom.'

Several supposed causes can be disposed of quickly. First, the argument that the tremendous destruction of the Second World War and the need to rebuild the productive forces are mainly responsible. It seems incredible that anyone should believe this in 1979 but some, apparently, still do. Now the war has been over for 35 years. Actually there was a post-war boom,

due mainly to this cause between 1945 and 1949. The recession began, most clearly marked in the USA. It was short-lived.

In 1950 the Korean war began and with it a new boom. And it is the years since that have seen the really phenomenal economic growth. The extent of the growth is underestimated. It was, in fact, unprecedented. The system has never grown so fast for so long as since the war—twice as fast between 1950 and 1964 as between 1913 and 1950 and nearly half as fast again as during the generation before that.

INVENTIONS

A popular idea is that new inventions, technological progress that cause this economic expansion. The rate of technological change is greater than at any time in the whole course of human history. So naturally growth is faster and slumps virtually disappear.

This argument misses a fundamental point that capitalism production is for use but for profit. Capital is invested if there is an expectation of profit and otherwise, no matter how useful a new product might be to people. There was, after the war, no lack of useful inventions awaiting development in the USA. In fact the connection between the boom and technological progress is the opposite of that usually supposed. The existence of the boom makes it profitable to invest in new products rather than in other ways round.

Another popular misconception is that the planning and management that are a feature of modern capitalism explain the boom. This is, of course, the reformist explanation. Now state intervention in the economy is important, expenditure is enormous, but planning and management only work as long as they go with the grain of the system.

There have been many examples. Perhaps the most important was the American 'New Deal' of the 1930s. It was state intervention on a really massive scale. It had a number of effects but the effect it did not have was to end the slump. It did not end the slump.

ARMS

What did end the slump in Europe as well as in the USA was armament production. There can be absolutely no doubt about this. 'The boom' of the 1930s (1931-32) was a extreme depression and followed by a recovery. But that recovery ended in the first half of 1940.

In the autumn of that year a new slump occurred. Employment rose by two quarters of a million in Britain. In America it rose four million in nine months. All the indices show that the new slump was not merely severe as, but much more severe than, the great slump of 1929...The slump stopped in mid-career. There was there the slightest doubt...as to the cause of this unprecedented event...It was the direct consequence of the fact that the U.S. government was spending billions on armaments.

It is state expenditure and not planning as such that overcame crisis. And, as can be shown, not just any expenditure but, crucially, armament expenditure. The importance of this Department of Defense output is the key. It is this that has sustained the long boom. The reasons why it cannot be done so indefinitely now are being examined.



By PATRICIA GILMAN

Secretary of State Cyrus Vance had his own response to Carter's request that the country use less fuel. Vance decided

to trade in his medium size official sedan for a long black Cadillac limo. He liked the leg room.

INCREDIBLE

MAINE NUCLEAR PLANT SHUTDOWN INCREASES YOUR ELECTRIC BILL

Every delay in the construction and operation of nuclear power plants directly affects your electric bill. Unfortunately,

nately, it causes it to go up.

Over 50% of this city's electric power is generated by nuclear power plants including Maine Yankee and when our normal supply of nuclear energy is curtailed we must turn to oil. We don't have to tell you what's happening to oil prices.

We honestly feel that the only way we're going to bring this situation under control is to significantly reduce our dependence on foreign energy sources. We can no longer afford to leave our economic future to the whims and fancies of foreign powers. The American people, all of us, are literally going broke paying for oil in one way or another.

We believe that more, not less, nuclear energy is the answer. Too many obstacles and trade-offs have yet to be resolved with coal, oil and wind or solar which are still quite a way down the road. Nuclear energy is here and now. What's more, it's totally American. With more practical and positive cooperation it can help us reduce our dependence on foreign energy supplies.

Yes, your electric bill is going up and we regret it. But saying, 'we're sorry' won't help you pay for it or make it any less expensive.

Nuclear energy will.

CAMBRIDGE ELECTRIC LIGHT COMPANY

This was received by all Cambridge Power customers

IT'S AMERICAN!

Adj. Gen. James Clem who oversees the Ohio Disaster Services Agency, said after the Harrisburg nuclear accident, "We have to have some trust with the operators of nuclear plants. I think they'll be honest with us. They have a big investment."

People's democracy

In the spirit of greater democracy, East Germany has expanded efforts to keep people from fleeing into West Germany. They have installed 1 million land mines, about 34,800 self-firing machine guns and nearly 1,000 watch dogs to boost security procedures along the East/West German border.

Not even a paddle

The Efficiency in Government Award goes to the Illinois state legislature, which has proposed to abolish the state's naval militia. The militia was 85 years old and, according to an aide to the state adjutant general, had "no ships, no boats, and no canoes. It doesn't even have a paddle." It did, according to the Committee for Conscientious Objectors, have a budget of \$41,000 a year and an armory with a swimming pool.

YOU PAY

Who is going to pay for Three Mile Island??? The people using the plant's electricity, of course. Repair costs will increase electric bills in eastern Pennsylvania and southern New Jersey by 15-20%. That's on top of a 19% rate increase granted in recent weeks to cover construction costs for the reactor.

Ugh!!

While the news media was full of stories about Three Mile Island, you probably didn't hear about the melt down in Los Angeles. There was a fire at the wax museum.

What melts underground and not in your mouth???? Hershey, PA.

PHOTO CORNER



Photo: John Baxter

This turkey, an "Ohio Booster," came all the way from Ohio, complete with plumes, to celebrate the christening of the Trident nuclear sub, U.S.S. Ohio.

Special Supplement

SOCIALIST WORKER

MAY 1979

10¢

SAY NO

SHUT 'EM DOWN!

The disaster at Three Mile Island brought home to millions of Americans the stark truth that the continued use of nuclear power is a very dangerous exercise indeed. No amount of bland cover-up statements from government and industry can disguise this. However, day by day it is possible to see a deceitful strategy emerging. It goes something like this: Three Mile Island was (it's over now) a disaster. It arose from "structural flaws" unique to the Bab-

cock and Wilcox designed reactors. There are six of those in the U.S. Attention should therefore be focussed on those alone.

FOOLHARDY

Every bit of independent research indicates that to accept this argument would be totally foolhardy. All nuclear reactors are dangerously unsafe and indeed over the past decade there have been at least ten crisis situations, some of which markedly increased radiation in the

atmosphere, some of which were mere hairsbreadths from even greater disaster than Harrisburg. What is more, many independent scientists are convinced that the greatest hazard to date comes not from the reactors themselves, but from the fact that no adequate and acceptable form exists for the disposal of radioactive waste.

We should not, however, be too surprised that the authorities are ready to commit criminal negligence. The

whole nuclear power program is at the center of the armaments industry, nuclear energy for civilian purposes having grown out of this. To challenge the use of nuclear power is to challenge the armaments system so essential to capitalists in the U.S. and abroad.

URGENT

It is the urgent responsibility of activists in the anti-nuke movement to communicate this argument to the many Americans deeply con-

cerned by the implications of what happened at Three Mile Island. We believe that this argument has a very important implication for the anti-nuke movement: no matter how large and militant the street and site demonstrations become they will not be enough to defeat the nuclear lunacy. Only the power of the working people of the United States can do that and this means that the movement itself must turn towards the working class.

TO NUCLEAR LUNACY

THE NUCLEAR THREAT

IT'S THE SAME THE WORLD OVER

GERMAN NUKES

Over the last couple of years there has been a huge campaign against nuclear power in West Germany. Demonstrations regularly attack nuclear sites in an attempt to stop construction. All nuclear plants have huge defensive obstacles around them including moats with submerged barbed wire and huge steel fences.

Demonstrators have attacked plants equipped with gas masks, waterproof overalls, crash helmets, night sticks and shields. At one demonstration near Hamburg 200 people using a massive length of rope were able to pull down a huge steel fence. At another part of their fence a group of demonstrators, all equipped with gas masks, started to cut the fence with an acetylene torch.

The police and the state have shown their true colors in their response to the movement. There has been a massive militarization of the police which in turn has come down massively against the movement.

REACTOR

One example is a demonstration against the construction of a fast breeder reactor in the center of the Ruhr industrial region. Demonstrators were stopped on the freeway 500 miles away from the site by huge police barricades across the highway and across the adjacent fields. Behind the barricades were police armed with everything from machine guns and water cannons to dogs and tear gas.

One group of demonstrators coming from France, where there is also a big anti-nuclear movement, were attacked at the German border by the police.

Because of the harassment by the police, the actual demonstration was much smaller than it could have been. Nonetheless, an estimated thirty thousand people rallied at the plant where they were confronted by police armed to the teeth.

More than anything the anti-nuclear movement in Germany has shown how desperately the state will protect itself when threatened by a mass movement. Big brother is fast becoming a reality and 1984 is only a few years away.



RUSSIAN NUKES

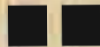
Early in 1958 the worst non-war-time nuclear explosion in history took place in the Chelia Binsk region of Russia. It was caused by an unexplained combustion of a nuclear waste burial shelter near the site of the first military Russian reactors.

No evacuation was ordered until radiation sickness became apparent. At that point all the villagers were evacuated and the villages burned. No one knows how many died from the accident.

The explosion contaminated 1,000 square miles in the Lake District. This area is still cordoned off.

No nuclear scientist had expected such a large accident from nuclear waste combustion. Most safety precautions are concerned with the plant itself melting down. Even today there are few precautions to prevent similar accidents around the world.

The Russian government suppressed news of this accident from the world for nearly 20 years. It was only recently that dissident scientists reported that it had happened. In spite of this accident they are still committed to nuclear power.



Riot police fire tear gas to disperse protesters of Super Phenix, the world's first large-scale fast breeder reactor, now under construction near Lyon, France.

AUSTRALIAN ORE

May 24, 1976 Australia. All trains in Australia brought to a halt by a 24-hour strike in support of the Australian Railway Union's policy against the mining of uranium. Both the ARU and the Australian Federated Union of Locomotive Enginemen stop, and in Queensland where the movement started, 12,000 railway workers from four unions strike.

Union opposition to uranium mining had been growing for some years. In September 1975 the Australian Council of Trade Unions' Congress passed a motion banning all uranium mining pending the outcome of an official Uranium Inquiry.

On April 30, 1976, the Federal Conference of the ARU extended the ban which they had placed on the shipment of uranium products to cover all products used in the treatment of uranium.

On May 19, 1976, Jim Asenbruck, a shunting supervisor at the Townsville railway yards and ARU member, was dismissed for following union policy and refusing to handle sulphur destined for the cargo vessel Mary K. All workers at the yards came out in sympathy, and by the next day the

strike had spread throughout North Queensland.

Following the one-day strike on May 24, Jim was reinstated, but the sulphur was shipped to the Mary K.

July 2, 1977, 8:30 p.m. Swanston Dock, Melbourne. Mounted police charge peaceful demonstrators sitting on the concrete beside a ship loaded with Australian uranium. The scene was wild. Said Miller, the Victorian Chief Commissioner: "I'd use elephants (to clear the demonstrators) if I had them."

The demonstrators were protesting at the arrival in Melbourne of the West German container ship, Columbus Australia, carrying Australian yellowcake (concentrated uranium ore) bound for the U.S.

A 24-hour strike in protest against the police action was held up by Melbourne dockers. Early the following Wednesday the Columbus sailed, without picking up any more of its intended cargo of frozen meat and automotive parts, but with the yellowcake.

The Columbus line announced that it would not carry any more uranium out of Australia while the WWF bans remained.



For years the No Nuke Movement has been handicapped by two major problems:

The media presented it as a "counter culture" activity rooted in the communes of Vermont. Secondly, there was an impression that to understand the argument you needed a degree in physics.

Three Mile Island has changed all this. The sight of mainstream Americans, pale and panic stricken, clutching babies and loading cars to evacuate the Harrisburg area, strips away the difficult language of nuclear physics. The formula is now quite simple: Nuclear power is very dangerous.

PROTEST

Across the country people came out in protest. 30,000 demonstrated in San Francisco, 1000 in Harrisburg and hundreds more in other cities. The movement people were there sounding now more like prophets than cranks. But more significant were the thousands of ordinary folks who had never demonstrated about anything in their lives. You could recognize them on Boston Common, young and old, looking slightly embarrassed, slightly awkward.

A weekday protest drew a couple of thousand people, including city workers, in suits, skirts and high heels. Construction workers took leaflets, bought pamphlets and were ready to talk.

Across the country, the social composition of the movement is changing. And along with the change comes the realization that the "experts" are a frightening mixture of ignorance and deceit. Listen to Joseph M. Hendrie, Chairman of the Nuclear Regulatory Commission: "We are operating almost totally in the blind. [The governor's] information is ambiguous, mine is non-existent. It's like a couple of blind men staggering around making decisions."

BASIC

The Three Mile Island fiasco tells us some very basic truths about the political economic system in which we all live. It tells us something about power and democracy in America. For example, a list of the corporations and insti-

WE WE AR

tutions with interests in nuclear power reads like the Register of America talism. The banks, power companies, construction firms, universities, and government agencies work hand in hand to establish nuclear power as an essential part of our lives.

Millions of lives have been put on the line by the industrial complex. Who consulted? The people of Harrisburg were certainly consulted. It is obvious to people who run the industrial complex have a power overwhelmingly greater than the ballot box power of millions of Americans every four years. The only consulting then is done around nuclear power between those who stand to profit from its growth.

IRRATIONALITY

Three Mile Island tells us something about the irrationality and anarchy at the heart of the system. The nuclear interests are prepared to destroy the whole system to maximize returns in the name of progress. A energy shortage is the cover for the movement. Without nuclear production would fall, we are encouraged to that living standards fall: No new autos, clothes. Food shortages lost.

They conceded that is wasted: Turn down the heat. Don't drive so much. In your home. Feel guilty, out, of course, is the fact that 75% of all energy is used in industry, business and government. Maybe we

*You've thrown the worst fear
that can ever be hurled
fear to bring children
into the world
You go threatening my babies
unborn and unnamed
You ain't worth the blood
that runs in your veins*

*Bob Dylan
Masters of War*



MARCHING

economize in these sectors.

What is real waste? What's rational about a system that spends billions of dollars on producing a car that will rust out in a given time. Or why do we need 15 different boxes to carry the same low-nutrition

value cereal. Clearly the system which expends the energy to produce a pile of rust in a given time is not about making life better for the majority, but about making profits for a few.

The choice given us by Three Mile Island is stark: Go

on sanctioning the use of nuclear energy and produce more and worse disasters. Or start debating an alternative political economy based on human need, not profits. And above all, do something about it now.

WHAT YOU CAN DO

- Produce literature explaining the issues of nuclear power for your area—leaflets, even short brochures or pamphlets.
- Get support from your workplace. In some places it may be possible to build a workplace chapter of the anti-nuke alliance.
- Demonstrations should be deliberately routed through projects and working class neighborhoods accompanied by door to door visits.
- The local alliances should seek trade union endorsement at the local, regional and national levels.
- Student anti-nukes should attempt to involve campus workers in their chapters.
- The national movement should raise the demand for federal aid to compensate all workers deprived of their jobs by closing of sites, and full compensation for the victims of nuclear power and their families.



WHO MAKES THE MONEY

Several hundred firms are involved in nuclear power worldwide, from Exxon, the largest corporation in the world, on down the line. Westinghouse Electric is the largest supplier of nuclear reactors with plants in France, Germany, Japan, the Philippines and other countries. Rothschild, one of the three companies supplying virtually all the uranium in the West, has a financial interest in nearly every uranium mine in the world.

ON AND ON

The following is a list of leading U.S. corporations and institutions involved in nuclear power:

Westinghouse, General Electric, Metropolitan Edison, Duke Power, Babcock and Wilcox, Exxon, Gulf Oil, Utah International Resources (uranium), Tennessee Valley Authority, Stone and Webster (architects), Bechtel (construction), Chase Manhattan Bank, Mellon National Bank, Pittsburgh National Bank, Manufacturers Hanover Trust, Equitable Life Insurance Society, Boeing, Lockheed, American Telephone and Telegraph, Proctor & Gamble, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Princeton University, Cal. Tech., Rand Corporation, and the list goes on and on.

Who makes the decisions

The backgrounds of the men who sit on the Nuclear Regulatory Commission suggest the connection between the institutions that promote nuclear power and the government:

- **Joseph M. Hendrie:** Comes from the Brookhaven National Laboratory which depends almost entirely on government money and is heavily involved in nuclear research. Worked for the old Atomic Energy Commission, notorious for ignoring the dangers of nuclear energy.
- **John F. Ahearne:** A physicist from Princeton, heavily funded by the Atomic Energy Commission. Worked both for the Air Force and the Defense Department. Comes to the NRC via the Energy Department.
- **Peter A. Bradford:** Former member of the Maine Public Utilities Commission.
- **Victor Gilinsky:** Comes to the NRC via the Rand Corporation—a think-tank operation heavily dependent on government funds and closely tied to the arms sector. Also a deputy director of policy and program review in the old AEC.
- **Richard T. Kennedy:** A graduate from Harvard School of Business and the National War College. A deputy assistant to the director of National Security Council, responsible for strategic planning.

WHAT TO READ

Nuclear Power—the Unviable Option, John J. Berger. Ramparts Press, Palo Alto, CA, 1976. \$4.50.

The Poverty of Power, Barry Commoner. Bantam Books, N.Y., 1975. \$2.75.

We Almost Lost Detroit, John G. Fuller. Ballantine Books, N.Y., 1975. \$1.95.

Who Wants Nukes?, Steve Leigh. Hera Press, Cleveland, OH, 1978. 25¢.

Brighter than a Thousand Suns: A Personal History of the Atomic Scientists, Robert Jungk, Penguin Press, 1970.

Nuclear Power, Walt Patterson. Penguin Press, 1976. \$2.00.

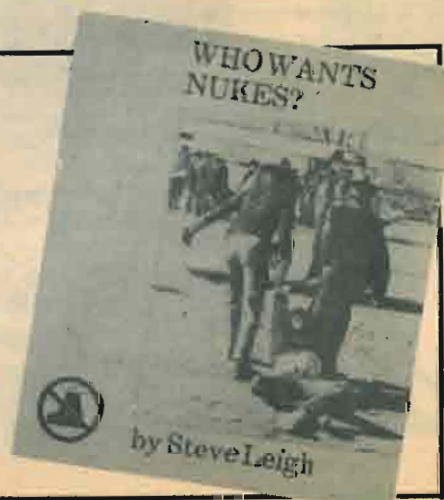
The Politics of Nuclear Power, Dave Elliott and others. Pluto Press, 1978. \$3.95.

This supplement was prepared for *Socialist Worker* by Bill Roberts, Christina Bergmark, Sid Scales, and John Charlton. Additional copies are available either singly or in bulk from *Socialist Worker*, PO Box 18037, Cleveland, Ohio 44118

Who Wants Nukes?
by Steve Leigh

Available from Hera Press
Box 18037
Cleveland, Ohio 44118

25¢



N ORBIT

the moment there are 28 reactors orbiting the earth. They provide power to homes. To date at least 100,000 tons of plutonium have re-entered the atmosphere. In 1964 a U.S. navigation satellite disintegrated over Malagasy as much plutonium in the atmosphere as several nuclear explosions. Two years later another U.S. satellite disintegrated in the atmosphere, leaving 17 kilocuries of radioactive waste.

Claus Deleuran



Socialist Worker

THE TRAIL OF TEARS

LAKOTAS' LAND **THREATENED BY** **URANIUM MINING**

Uranium mining is set to begin in the Black Hills of South Dakota soon. This area is the sacred land of the Lakota people.

An alliance of Native Americans and others has formed to oppose the destruction of the Black Hills country that is certain to come if Gulf Oil and Union Carbide have their way.

Over a million acres is staked out for pit mines, strip mines and rail systems. The environmental damage potential is staggering. Add to this the danger of radioactive dust and tailings and the whole undertaking becomes a life-threatening project.

As Katsi Cook said, "It may be that the Black Hills will become the symbol of resistance to uranium mining. Certainly it deserves to be, because this is not just for us, this is to safeguard all life everywhere. Uranium mining is the ultimate threat to our survival."

The Navajos of Grants, New Mexico are also involved in a fight to stop uranium mining in their area. A three-day rally sponsored by the American Indian Environmental Council, called attention to the health-threatening and environmental damage caused by Gulf Oil's operation. Anti-nuke activists joined the rally.



THE NO-NUKES DIRECTORY

Abalone Alliance
c/o People Generating Energy
P.O. Box 1598
San Luis Obispo, CA

Bailly Alliance
Box 847
Chesterton, IN 46304

Cactus Alliance
201 Pine S.E.
Albuquerque, NM 87106

Citizens Against a Radioactive Environment
3960 Winding Way
Cincinnati, Ohio 45229
561-8745 or 861-4353

Clamshell Coalition—Boston
Old Cambridge Baptist Church
Cambridge, MA 02138
661-6204

Crabshell Alliance
1505 10th Avenue
Seattle, WA

North Shore Alert
Box 5631
Cleveland, Ohio 44101

Northern Sun
Box 8794
Minneapolis, MN 55408

Paddlewheel Alliance
P.O. Box 194
New Albany, IN 47150

Potomac Alliance
1746 Swan St. N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20009

Sea Alliance
c/o New Jersey Sane
324 Boomfield Avenue
Mt. Clair, NJ 07042

Trojan Decommissioning Alliance
215 S.E. 9th St.
Portland, OR 97214

The Socialist Alternative

- *There has to be an alternative to the barbarism of nuclear power and nuclear weapons—to the threats both of eternal contamination and instant annihilation.*
- *Socialism—real socialism—is the alternative, and we must begin today to build for it. Socialism means freedom—self-reliance, organization, and uncompromising solidarity. Solidarity with all who are oppressed, and all who fight oppression.*
- *Socialism means workers' control—control of society by the majority, the people who produce everything of value, the people without whom society would not survive. Socialism means democratic rule through workers' councils of workers' delegates. It means internationalism and cooperation. It means a better life for the majority in a society based on human needs not profit margins.*
- *Today there are no socialist countries—no nations to inspire our vision of the future society. Russia, China and the countries of Eastern Europe are not socialist countries, but state capitalist. Nuclear power is as much a part of their economies as it is in this country. Concern for human beings, and future generations, is as absent from their system as it is from ours.*
- *The ISO stands for workers' control, revolution—not reform, a workers' democratic government, solidarity with the oppressed, unions controlled by the rank and file, internationalism and a revolutionary party. We oppose nukes.*
- *Join us. Help us today to build for the future.*



Help us build it

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- ☐ I'd like to join the I.S.O.
- ☐ I'd like a subscription to Socialist Worker, the monthly newspaper of the I.S.O. ☐ Enclosed is \$5.00 for a one year subscription.

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A PAGE FROM WORKING CLASS HISTORY

"no power greater"

by BARBARA WINSLOW



Haymarket: the flames still blaze

"If you think by hanging us you can stamp out the labor movement... the movement from which the downtrodden millions, the millions who toil in want and misery expect salvation—if this is your opinion, then hang us!"

"Here you will tread on a spark, but there and there, behind you and in front of you, and everywhere, flames blaze up. It is a subterranean fire, you cannot put it out."

August Spies, upon hearing his death sentence

May 1, 1886 was a sunny clear day in Chicago. But this May 1 was not an ordinary Saturday work day. It was May Day, and over 350,000 American workers were out on strike demonstrating for the 8 hour day. In Chicago, 80,000 paraded along Michigan Avenue.

On the demonstration was Albert Parsons, a popular labor organizer. He was with his Chicana wife, Lucy, and their two children. Along with him was best friend August Spies, another leader of the Chicago 8 Hour League.

May Day came and went peacefully. 40,000 went on strike, and as a result 45,000 workers were granted a shorter work week.

MACHINISTS

But May 3rd violence broke out at the McCormick Harvester factory, where 1400 machinists, members of the Knights of Labor, were locked out. The machinists were fighting for the 8 hour day, a \$2 daily wage and an end to piece work.

300 scabs protected by 500



Albert Parsons

police were herded into the plant. The police fired into the crowds of workers, killing four and wounding scores of others.



At once leaflets calling for a rally to protest police brutality were circulated. And at 7:30 p.m., May 4, 3,000 people assembled at Haymarket Square. Albert Parsons, August Spies, and Samuel Fielden, another leader of the Chicago labor movement, addressed the crowd. They all condemned police brutality, warned against violence and urged the Haymarket strikers to victory.

Around 10 p.m. it began to drizzle and about 2/3 of the crowd including Spies and Parsons had left. Fielden was finishing his speech when 180 police marched into the Square demanding the meeting disperse. Then, almost as if by signal, someone threw a bomb at the police. One policeman died, 5 others were

mortally wounded. The mad-dened police charged into the crowd, clubbing and shooting. Ten workers were killed, over 200 wounded.

PRETEXT

This incident immediately became the pretext for smashing the labor movement which had grown up in the 1880's in the agitation for the 8 hour day. Almost every known labor leader, anarchist and socialist was rounded up in Chicago. Hundreds were arrested, beaten and tortured. Finally 8 men were taken to trial: Albert Parsons, August Spies, Eugene Schwab, Samuel Fielden, Adolph Fischer, George Engel, Louis Lingg and Oscar Neebe.

None of the 8 men were at Haymarket when the bomb

was thrown except Fielden who was speaking at the time.

The men were accused of murder only on the grounds that the unknown bomb thrower was influenced by the speeches.

Their trial was a travesty. The jury was stacked. It was comprised solely of plant foremen and superintendents. One juror was the cousin of a policeman who had been killed. Judge Gary allowed the prosecutor to try the men for their ideas and not for their actions. The labor movement and radical ideas such as anarchism and socialism were on trial. State Attorney Grinnell summed up to the jury, "Law is on trial, anarchy is on trial. These men have been selected, picked out by a grand jury and indicted because they

were leaders. They are no more guilty than the thousands who follow them. Gentlemen of the jury, convict these men, make an example of them, hang them and you save our institutions, our society."

The 8 men were found guilty and sentenced to hang. A movement to free the Haymarket martyrs grew up, and there were mass protests and demonstrations in the U.S. and throughout the world.

TRANSFORMED

The judicial murder of the 8 men profoundly affected the next generations of socialists and radicals. Both Bill Haywood and Emma Goldman remembered that the execution of the men transformed them into political fighters.

In the end, the movement achieved the commutation of the sentences of Fielden and Schwab. But Louis Lingg committed suicide (or was murdered by guards) in prison.



August Spies

On November 11, 1887, Spies, Parsons, Fischer and Engle were taken from their cells to the scaffold. Even with the nooses around their necks and hoods over their faces the men spoke out. Spies shouted:

"There will come a time when our silence will be more powerful than the voices you strangle today."

Parsons' voice rang out from underneath his hood, "Will I be allowed to speak. O Men of America, let me speak, Sheriff Matson! Let the voice of the people be heard!"

With that, the trap was sprung.

MONUMENT

A monument to these early labor martyrs was built in Chicago in June 1893. But the greatest monument to their memory is that even today to workers and socialists in every country, the very words "Haymarket martyrs" are synonymous with May Day. They will never be forgotten. □

MAY DAY



Workers'
Day

Womens VOICE

Women's Voice, sister organization of the S.W.P. (G.B.), sends greetings to all readers of **Socialist Worker**. For revolutionary feminism and international socialism. **Women Unite!**

Socialist Worker

For Workers Power and International Socialism 1/21

The **Socialist Workers Party (Britain)** sends our warmest greetings to our friends and comrades of the I.S.O.

"Where the chains of imperialism are forged, there they must be broken."

Rosa Luxemburg

Sozialistische Arbeiterzeitung

ZEITUNG DER SOZIALISTISCHEN ARBEITERGRUPPE - SAG

Dear Comrades,

For the 1st May, international working class day, the **SAG (Socialist Workers' Group)** send their comradely greetings to the **International Socialist Organization of America**. We congratulate you for your paper and wish you all the best. As for us, we are still a small organization, but growing and toughened through successful fighting against the Nazis, against the imperialist atomic program and for youth hostels under the control of the youths living in them.

**Socialist Workers' Group
Frankfort, West Germany**

FLAME

Flame, the black workers paper of the **Socialist Workers Party (Britain)** sends fraternal greetings to U.S. workers, in particular black workers. For international solidarity against imperialism. **Workers of the World Unite!**

May Day Greetings to all readers of **Socialist Worker** from the **Socialist Workers Tendency** in Ireland.

the battler

Fraternal Greetings to **Socialist Worker** from the **International Socialists of Australia**.

Workers' Action

MONTHLY PAPER OF THE INDEPENDENT SOCIALISTS

Workers' Action and the **International Socialists of Canada** send May Day greetings to the readers of **Socialist Worker**. For workers' power and international socialism!

MAY DAY

"Prepare

Tony Cliff on the struggle for revolutionary organization

Interview by Cal Winslow

The end of the 1960s saw the end of the longest economic boom in the history of capitalism. At that time, the revolutionary groups in Europe were tiny. And because capitalism had expanded for such a long period, even "Marxists" lost their belief in the ability of the working class to fight.

For example, one French Marxist, Andre Gorz, just one month before the French events of 1968, wrote that in no advanced industrial society was there any hope in the foreseeable future of mass action by the working class. Before his article was even printed the biggest strike in world history took place—10 million French workers went on strike. And of course since then the industrial working class has come to the center of the arena in one country after another. The number of general strikes in Thailand is phenomenal. It was a general strike of the tiny working class of Ethiopia that put an end to Haile Selassie. Workers struggles and strikes have taken place in one country after another.

STALEMATE

Alas, notwithstanding all this, in not one country has the working class won. It is true that in only one country the working class was broken to pieces, you know beaten completely, and that was Chile. But in the rest the working class has reached a stalemate, a cul-de-sac. And the question is why.

First of all we have to look at the subjective, the fact that the revolutionary groups everywhere were tiny at the beginning of 1969. In Britain, for example, we had only 400 members in the **International Socialists** (now **Socialist Workers Party, SWP**). The composition of the groups was very, very poor indeed, mainly students and white collar workers, very few manual workers. And thirdly, there was a generation of Stalinism and social democracy.

Being crushed between these rocks meant that the revolutionaries were left with the scar on their face of isolation. They adapted themselves to the conditions of isolation. They thought like sects and they behaved like sects. One of the characteristics of sects is that when there is no struggle they look at themselves all the time, and

when there is a struggle they look for someone else to do the work for them.

In other words, there was the readiness to find a substitute for the mass party in the form of student vanguards, red bases in the universities, in the form of third world movements that were not led by the working class, and so on. All this was very prevalent. And of course there is always this attraction. Consider the fly that sits on the head of the ox. At the end of the day he has quite a feeling of satisfaction. He can say to himself, "My, we did plow quite a lot today."

SIZE

Anyway, when the struggle was going upwards in Europe, the revolutionary groups managed to do very well. They expanded rapidly in size. In Britain, for example, we managed to grow from 400 to 3,500 in 1974, and with a social composition that was incomparably better. We had more than a third of our members manual workers in 1974 with a good sprinkling of key leaders in individual factories. I'm not exaggerating at all.

In places like France and Italy, the revolutionary groups grew much bigger. In Britain at the end of 1974 there were probably 5,000 members of all the revolutionary groups together. In France, it was probably three times that. In Italy, eight times bigger. There were probably 40,000 members of the three revolutionary organizations.

Since then you'll find out that the revolutionary organizations have gone through a very deep crisis. In Italy the

crisis was deepest and the largest revolutionary organization, **Lotta Continua**, dissolved itself. **Avanguardia Operaia** lost two-thirds of its membership, including its complete leadership, which joined with **PdUP** and then joined the **Communist Party**. They all moved massively to the right.

Now the question is why has this happened. It happened basically because since 1974 there has been a shift to the right. In Britain, this involved the whole official labor movement. There's been a Labor government with the "social contract," the agreement of the unions on incomes policies, and so on. In Italy, in June, 1976 after the election there was the historic compromise between the **Communist Party** and the **Christian Democrats**. It was in reality a massive move to the right in terms of wages, etc. by the trade union leaders of Italy.

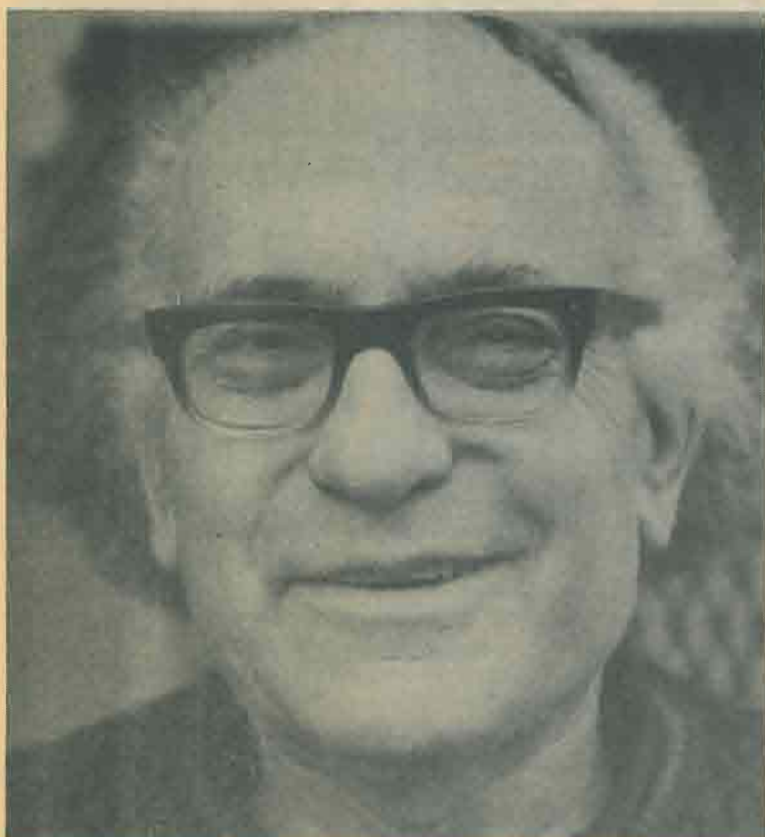
LEFT

The question for the revolutionary left was how to act in those conditions. We in Britain decided to steer left. We had a crisis of sort in our organization—we had a split of a right-wing tendency at the time. But we did steer left and we paid the price, a very hard price in terms of isolation. On the other hand, the revolutionary left in Europe by and large veered right, and therefore some people like **Avanguardia Operaia** support import controls and speak about the need for an alternative economic strategy in terms of a **Socialist Party**, **Communist Party** alli-

WORKERS O

SPECIAL

for the future"



Tony Cliff of Socialist Workers Party (GB)

ance. And the result is that the crisis with them is incomparably greater with them than with us.

TRADITION

The reason we didn't steer to the right is because our tradition was very different from theirs. We broke from orthodox Trotskyism just on this question of the agency of the working class. Thirty years ago, we said that Russia was not a workers' state. You can say what's the relevance of that to our activity in Britain. For us it was very central, because if you can have a workers' state without workers managing the economy and without workers managing the society, then the working class is not at the center of the arena. It is not the subject of history, but the object of history.

And therefore our position on Russia, and Eastern Europe, and China was fundamental. Always in the history of our group, even when we were tiny, we always put the emphasis on the working class. And not in the abstract, but in the concrete. In 1956 when 12,000 workers were fired at Standard Triumph in Coventry our tiny group began a very serious debate about the tactics of fighting unemployment. Notwithstanding the fact that we had not one single member at Standard Triumph and we didn't sell one copy of the paper in Coventry. But we cared very much about it.

Now there is no question about it, we are still paying, the revolutionary left in Europe is still paying the price of Stalinism. You can't have

40 years of domination by Stalinism in the labor movement without paying a price for it in the next generation. Therefore, for us, the task of establishing our credibility is a much more difficult process. Establishing our implantation in the class is a much more difficult process than it was for revolutionaries three or four generations ago. This is because we are Johnny-come-latelies, and we have to come in from the periphery of the labor movement, not from the center. Unlike the Communist International, for example, whose members came from the very heart of the socialist movement. It was the heart of the shop stewards movement that joined the Communist International. It was not people from the periphery who nobody had heard of. So it is a much longer process of building a revolutionary party. And we think about it in terms like this: in Russia it was relatively easy to make a revolution, but more difficult to build socialism. Even in Europe after the First World War it was easier to make a revolution—more difficult than in Russia, but easier than at present. We are the generation with the toughest tasks.

OPTIMISM

Our optimism is based on a number of things. One is that the crisis of capitalism is never stopped, that the ups and downs of capitalism, that the crisis of society is permanent. Two is that the ruling class is always forced to try to change radically the balance of class forces. It is not simply a question of a little bit of shifting the balance against the



Portugal, May Day, 1975

workers, but of trying to radically change the balance. So we have a war of attrition, a very long war of attrition. Three is that the struggle of the workers for independence and the struggle against the totality of the system are so interconnected that, because of the second factor, revolutionary politics is the only answer. And fourthly nobody else will do the job for us—the reformists cannot do it and the Stalinists cannot do it.

So we are very optimistic about the possibility, but we are very realistic about the hard road ahead, the very difficult and long road.

Now when it comes to the United States, of course there the road is even longer, but possibly you can learn something from us. I think you can learn something from us. Two things. First of all try not to imitate us by simply not thinking for one minute that you are at the same stage as the revolutionary left in

Europe. You are not. You don't have the same massive tradition of reformism which is alive in the movement, a tradition you can relate to even if it's a bloody nasty tradition. It is important because it is still made up in Europe by people who speak the same language, of socialism and so on. You don't have it.

ROOTS

Second of all you have had a much longer expansion of capitalism than we had in Europe. Your capitalism is much fatter and has been fatter for a longer period than ours. Thirdly of course you have fewer roots and your membership is smaller. I think that perhaps you can learn from what we did in the fifties—when we were a small propaganda group, when we were basically collecting individuals, building in the form of an individual here, an individual there. Our main argument then was what Marx

said about the working class having to change itself in order to change society. We argued that the revolutionaries had to change themselves in order to change the working class in order to change society. And vice versa.

It is extremely important, even when your group is very small, with few roots in industry, to always pay the closest attention to the industrial struggle, whatever else you do. You must, so to say, become experts in the industrial struggle, you must watch every struggle you can and attempt to relate to it. You cannot do everything, so don't try, but follow some of them. What you will be doing is preparing yourselves for the future. Make the preparations. If you do that, and if you can build, an individual here, another there, you can be successful.

THE WORLD UNITE!

reviews

Colin Barker reviews

Hal Draper's new volume
on Marxism

I had the privilege of reviewing the first volume of this work (State and Bureaucracy), which is now happily available in paperback. At that time, I was more dismissive of the project than I now care to recall. In particular, I suggested that Draper's work was one of "marxology," a term which—for myself as for Draper—is a term of subtle marxist abuse.

Having recently had the occasion to re-read the first volume, and now also the pleasure of reading the second, I should like publicly to alter my previous ever-so-slightly "superior" judgment. Hal Draper is not producing marxology, but scholarly marxism of the highest order.

AMAZING

The scholarship is simply amazing. Draper has read everything there is to read, and has organized his resulting mass of material into a wonderfully clear and systematic presentation of the political ideas of Marx and his comrade Fred Engels. I noted the indispensability of the first volume as a reference work, and can only reiterate that point again.

Karl Marx's Theory of Revolution

Vol II: The Politics of Social Classes

Hal Draper

Monthly Review Press \$20.00

But something more must be said, about the politics of the work. Hal Draper is well-known—and some publisher should make him still better known by a re-issue—for a marvellous short pamphlet of the 1950's: *The Two Souls of Socialism*. The burden of that pamphlet was the sharp distinction within the socialist tradition between all the manifold varieties of "socialism from above" (including reformism, stalinism, maoism, etc.) and the revolutionary tradition of "socialism from below."

We hear a good deal these days from the reformist communist parties of Western Europe about "democratic socialism," by which they mean a lukewarm struggle to expand popular control, and a mild dose of national-state planning. They urge the retention of the semi-sham democracy of parliamentary government, of "representative democracy" where the electorate have no real control over their parliamentary misrepresentatives.

Faced with real popular

Karl Marx's theory of revolution

movements towards workers' control and workers' power, they are at best uneasy and more commonly positively hostile (consider the shameful history of the Italian and French parties in every significant crisis for more than forty years.)

REVOLUTIONARY

Hal Draper is a marxist, and will have no truck with such perversions. His Marx and his Engels—defiantly quoted over hundreds of pages—are consistent, red revolutionaries, ever concerned with the expansion of popular freedoms, and with an expansion of freedom and control won by the working classes themselves, by their own efforts and their own power.

The Marx and Engels who shine through every carefully annotated page of this monumental work are revolutionary socialists whose central principle was collective self-emancipation, workers' power. True, they were intellectuals, but intellectuals whose whole lives were organized around the principle of struggle, of political engagement, whose intellectual work aimed always at the central point: making it easier for freedom to conquer.

They were acid in their condemnation of idiots, not out of love of their own cleverness (as we find in so many latter-day academic marxoids) but because the truth mattered to

the working class, because ignorance and muddle were impediments to their struggle. For them, reason and freedom went hand in hand.

Hal Draper aims to recover Marx and Engels as revolutionary activists and thinkers. In this volume, he discusses the anatomy of classes, the role of the modern proletariat as the key agent in the overthrow of capitalism, and the relation—defined in struggle—of the working class to other classes and strata.

Initially, one further volume was planned, but the author now announces that the remaining materials will occupy two further substantial tomes. No question: if the next volumes are up to the standard of the first two, we should be pleased at his excesses.

PLEASURE

The term "work of reference" may turn prospective readers away, so do not imagine this work is as dull as an index. Despite the massive scope of the work, and its integrated conception, the various separate parts are themselves a whole series of smaller pleasures. This is a book to dip into, as well as to read right through.

If you want to know why marxists emphasize the working class before all others, the materials are all here. Students can shiver at Marx and Engels' remarks on their forebears' roles in the revolutions of 1848-9, and their reported enthusiasm for knowing the plans of the revolution while not liking sore feet.

Academics should ponder what Marx and Engels thought of them.

Anyone having to argue with the disordered residues of maoism should rejoice in the most definitive collection of Marx and Engels' very clear-headed views on the peasant question available anywhere: these three long chapters, in themselves, are political dynamite. The Marxist attitude to trade unionism is clearly spelled out, together with the issues of reformism, the need for an independent revolutionary party of the working class, and so on.

Perhaps most important of all for revolutionary strategy, Hal Draper presents an extremely clear and unambiguous account of Marx and

Engels' development, through their experience of the 1848 revolutions, of the theory of "permanent revolution": Leon Trotsky's claim that he did not invent the theory, but developed it from its foundations in Marx, is amply supported by this fully documented analysis.

INSIST

Over and over again, Draper shows the theoretical founders of our movement insisting on the central and revolutionary role of the modern working class, as the class which alone bears within its forms of life the seeds of the future society.

I cannot do this book justice. The publishers should be urged to rush out a paperback edition of the second volume. This work should be welcomed, read, studied, used. It is indispensable. □



*International
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Clerical workers strike at 'Daily Californian'

BERKELEY, CA—Clerical workers at the "Daily Californian," an independent student run newspaper at the University of California, went on strike in late April, protesting the firing of three co-workers.

The three workers are all non-students, full-time employees who had attempted to end numerous corrupt practices by members of the paper's Board of Directors.

The practices include phony commissions received from unsolicited ads and large salary advances.

Bay Area locals of the Newspaper Guild and the OPEIU refused to assist the thirteen unorganized strikers, saying they were too few in number. But shop stewards from AFSCME #1695, which represents university employees, moved quickly to sign up the strikers. The union is seeking sanction for the strike from the Alameda County Central Labor Council. If granted, the paper's production workers will honor the picket lines, thereby stopping production.

The editors of the "Daily Californian" have hired scabs

and are calling the issue a "management strike." One of the strikers is, officially, a manager. But she has no power to hire or fire, and only minimal supervisory duties, say the strikers.

On paper, the "Daily Californian" is supposed to be run by all the workers, but the true nature of this "collective process" became clear at a meeting of the paper's corporate membership three days into the strike. Although the strike was on the agenda, agreed upon in advance, it soon became clear that the

Board had another agenda.

The ten hour marathon meeting was "not a debate over fair employment practices, but a disgusting and brutal trial" of Patricia Kolodney, the fired manager, according to strikers.

The strikers are now boycotting further meetings and have called for real negotiations. They demand reinstatement of the three workers and back-pay. A student strike support committee is being formed.

by **STEVE DIAMOND**
Steward, AFSCME #1695

PROFS WIN IN BOSTON



BOSTON, MA—On April 4, faculty at Boston University, a multiversity with over 22,000 students, voted to go out on strike. Boston University is the first private university to have its faculty unionized into the AAUP. The teachers were supported by the librarians who are members of SEIU Local 925 and the clerical workers, members of District #65.

The administration headed by University President John Silber, also known as the "Shah of Boston," had for a number of years opposed any type of organization of university employees, drastically curtailed funding for students' magazines and newspapers, cut back on freedom of the press.

A general atmosphere of repression had been created since he took over in 1972.

SUPPORT

The striking teachers not only won support from other university employees, but from the students, teaching assistants and other members of the community.

The University, however, was able to play the teachers off against the other employees. After two weeks of the strike the teachers had a contract, but not the librarians or clericals. And, the teachers, began to cross the picket lines which they originally set up. A quarter of the teachers still held their classes off campus while the strike continued. But by the end of the week, many of the demoralized clerical and librarian workers returned to work.

The two week strike ended April 23, when members of all three unions voted to go back to work. Shortly after this the administration opened negotiations with the other two unions.

SOLIDARITY IN BOSTON

UMPS CALL A STRIKE

BOSTON, MA—Striking major league umpires picketed Fenway Park during a ballgame between the Red Sox and Kansas City Royals.

It was a pleasant Saturday afternoon, and most fans ignored the advice of local unions to honor the picket lines. But members of the Typographical Union and the Local Letter Carriers and Police did join the pickets.

Some ballplayers and announcers expressed sympathy with the umpires, but they did not have the support from their fellow workers to consider a walkout.

Another note of labor solidarity was expressed by the striking workers from B.U.

(District 65 and SEIU), who marched past the picket line enroute to a rally they were having on Boston Commons.

Marty Springstead, a veteran American League umpire, told Socialist Worker that the baseball Commissioners, led by Bowie Kuhn, have refused to even negotiate since March 4th.

DICTATORSHIP

"They are like a dictatorship," said Springstead. "It's been 55 days now and they haven't even sat down and said hello to us." On some of the problems with the strike, Springstead said, "We're fighting the system with 52 guys—we can't cover the

whole country every day."

But Springstead pointed out that labor support is gaining momentum, and similar picket lines in Pittsburgh and Detroit have drawn support from the unions. Since the Fenway Park picket, the umpires went to Philadelphia, where, with the help of the Teamsters, they held up ballgame traffic.

Now the Commissioners have said that they will begin negotiations. When and if they get back to work, we can expect some bitter rhubarbs between the low paid umps and the prima donna super stars.

by **PETER LOWBER**



Cartoon from an umpires' leaflet



An Opinion

John Anderson is a lifelong militant and socialist. He was formerly president of UAW local 15 in Detroit.

BLACKS & WOMEN NEED THEIR OWN CAUCUS

On Sunday April 21 at a membership meeting of Local 15 there was a demonstration of the kind of democracy practiced in UAW Locals. The important business of the meeting was to amend the bylaws.

BYLAWS

Joe Wilson, a black district committeeman, wanted to amend the bylaws so the shop committee would be elected in a shop-wide election. Such an election would give the blacks and the women a better chance to have one of them elected to the shop committee. By the present district and zone elections neither the blacks or the women have a representative on the shop committee although they are upwards of 50 percent of the work force.

The skilled trades having no more than 15 percent of the work force have two representatives on the shop committee. Their representatives, Danny Pollock and Edsel Walker, have a reputation of being company stooges. They serve the company better than the workers.

Determined not to permit either a woman or a black to be elected to the shop committee, the skilled workers turned out in force. With the support of Joe Gaston, president, and the all white male shop committee, Joe Wilson's proposed amendment to the bylaws was overwhelmingly defeated.

As soon as the skilled workers had defeated the proposed change in the bylaws, they walked out of the

meeting. Many of them had never attended a local meeting before. They have no interest in the union except for problems in the skilled trades.

CAUCUS

To get representation on the shop committee, the women and the blacks will have to form a caucus with other minority and progressive workers in the plant. They must support a program that will not only give them representation on the shop committee but that will turn the union around, from being an instrument of the company into an instrument of the workers.

UNION SENDS STRIKERS BACK

NEWPORT NEWS, VA—The Newport News shipbuilders' strike reached a tragic finish when the United Steel Workers suspended the bitter 12-week walkout April 23.

The suspension of the strike occurred a week after a police riot sent 30 members of USW Local 8888 to the hospital and resulted in the arrest of 75 strikers. The police violence began when 300 state troopers formed a phalanx on Newport News' main street, Washington Avenue. The cops used dogs and clubs to clear pickets from the plant gates as they swept down the avenue.

AIM

The police action was aimed at more than breaking picket-lines. The cops stormed into restaurants pulling people out on the street, cornering individuals and systematically beating them.

The main target of police terror was the union's strike headquarters. At the height of the violence, 75 cops charged into the office clubbing strikers and sending two steelworkers through a plate glass door.

"The cops tried to smash their way up to the second floor, but we put up such a fight on the stairwell that they backed off," said striker *Kelly Coleman*.

"They were interested only in one thing—beatin' as many steelworker heads as they could find. It was incredible. I thought I was in some police state country."

There is no doubt that the police riot was not spontaneous. The attack followed by three days a mass union meeting of 6,000, which voted down a proposal by the union leaders to suspend the strike.

PLEDGE

The union's back to work terms included a demand by the company that strikers sign a pledge which stated, "I make an unconditional agreement to return to work."

The pledge ignited the rank and file. "I know this company," argued one striker. "They're going to separate out the 'troublemakers.' They'll say the jobs we were doing have been done away with, and 'we'll call you if we need you.'"

"Write on the paper 'signed under protest,'" said union staffer Jack Hower.

The international failed to convince the strikers that they ought to go back as speaker after speaker warned that the company, Tenneco, was being given a free hand to weed out and victimize union militants.

The meeting voted instead to extend the strike for a week and only to go back to work on their own terms.

Tenneco convinced the union leaders to call off the strike, but they hadn't convinced the rank and file. It was the Monday following the Friday rejection of the company offer that Tenneco unleashed the cops and dogs. It was the day Tenneco and the

union leadership had planned for the return to work.

A week later the USW announced that the strike was "suspended." "In no measure is this a defeat," said USW District Director, Bruce Thrasher. The union is calling the back to work move "a strategy."

Tenneco's terror did not completely succeed. Workers are going back without signing "the pledge," but they are returning with 1100 scabs still

in the yard, facing scores of court cases from the arrest of pickets and no union representation on the job.

The USW's "strategy" after abandoning the strike is to wait for the courts to make a decision. Tenneco says that it will appeal all the way to the Supreme Court. That could take years. In the meantime workers will go through the shipyard gates each day without a union and face the tender mercy of Tenneco. □

by PAT MORGAN

"Who can live on \$90 a month"



Strikers demonstrate at Alta Bates

BERKELEY, CA—More than 500 strikers and supporters rallied April 21st at Alta Bates Hospital in Berkeley around workers' demands for higher pay and better benefits. More than 1600 hospital workers of SEIU Local #250 went on strike April 16th at seven East Bay hospitals when they failed to reach agreement on a new contract.

ACTION

The strike action followed more than two and a half months of negotiations. The workers are demanding pay raises of 20¢ an hour a year and improvements in their pension plan, COLA formula and benefits. The hospitals, all privately owned, have offered only 20¢ over a three year period with only token improvements in benefits. Hospital management has declared that this is the most they can offer and still abide by Carter's 7% guideline.

The strikers understand Carter's guideline plan: more for management and less for them. "We need that money to feed and clothe our kids," one picket told Socialist Worker. "We're just trying to keep up with inflation." Another picket told of an LVN who recently retired after 25 years and is receiving only

\$90 a month on her pension. "Who can live on that?"

Spirit on the picketlines has been strong. Cooks and kitchen workers from Local #28 of the Culinary Workers have respected the picket lines. But the hospitals have remained open and are operating at 70% capacity. And the strikers, mostly housekeepers, orderlies and clerks, suffered a serious setback when the RN's, members of the California Nurses Association, whose contract has expired voted by a narrow margin not to join the strike. The result of which is the loss of hope for any quick settlement of the dispute. □

by TOM FREEMAN

HARVARD BOYCOTT "ONLY THE BEGINNING"



Harvard students rally in front of Mass Hall

CAMBRIDGE, MA—A majority of the Harvard students (55 to 65% according to the official estimates) boycotted classes on April 23, upon the urging of the "Coalition for Awareness and Action."

COALITION

The Coalition is demanding that the University 1) divests itself of stocks and bonds in corporations and banks operating in South Africa, accompanied by a public call in favor of U.S. corporate withdrawal from South Africa.

2) Strengthen the Afro-American studies department by fulfilling a 1972 promise to acquire four additional tenured faculty for the department and placing the department among the priorities of the University's current fund raising drive.

About 150 students picketed the Science Center, while 50 students were in front of each of the major classroom buildings from 9 am to 12 noon.

At a rally at Pusey Library, Elizabeth Sibeko, UN representative of the PanAfricanist Congress of Azania, Professor Guinier of the Afro-American Studies department, Lynn Rodriguez, a member of H-R RAZA, and a representative of the Coalition, Aaron Estis, a member of the Black Students Association, addressed the crowd of more than 1,000 people on the basic issues of the rally.

The Harvard workers' union and the Brandeis Students sent representatives to support Harvard students.

Brother Blue and the Sisters Harmony band provided music and entertainment all along the rally.

At 3:30 p.m., the rally marched towards Mass Hall, where the University was supposed to give an official answer to the students' demands. As expected, the administration clung to its previous policy: "We are sensitive to the issues, we don't agree on the tactics," is in essence the answer of the Bok administration.

The Harvard students know by now, what to think of this "neutrality"!

In the past two years, the majority of the Harvard student body and a considerable number of the faculty members have requested that the Harvard corporation take forceful action in support of American corporate withdrawal in South Africa.

DISREGARD

Yet, in disregard not only of the students and faculty, but also of every significant independent black leader and political organization in South Africa, the Harvard Corporation has defended the corporate presence in South Africa.

The boycott was certainly a success! But it is only a beginning of the struggle at Harvard.

As the students chanted at the end of the rally: "The struggle continues! Victory is certain! We'll be back, Harvard!" □

by CHARLING TAO



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PAPER OF THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST ORGANIZATION

BLACK STUDENTS OCCUPY AMHERST



AMHERST, MA—At 5:30 a.m. Monday April 23, a group of over thirty students occupied Converse Administration Building at Amherst College. Led and organized by the Black Student Union, they repeated their commitment to five demands that the administration had refused to seriously consider: 1) Reinstatement of the Black Freshman Orientation Program, 2) Black student input into the selection of Deans and faculty, 3) more third world faculty, 4) selective divestment of stocks of corporations in South Africa that violate the current policy of the college, and 5) Re-establishment of the Springfield Amherst Summer Academy Program for inner-city high school students.

On Tuesday, the President of the college re-

versed himself and agreed to meet directly with the occupiers whose ranks had swelled to over 150 by this time. At 1:30 p.m. he entered Converse Hall and point by point verbally agreed to eight conditions on which the occupiers would leave the building. At 3:00 p.m. the occupation was officially ended by the Black Student Union, and the occupiers marched out of the hall fists raised chanting "The People United, Will Never Be Defeated."

See inside:

- Interview with occupation organizer
- Article on support at Hampshire College

See page 6.

UPS CONTRACT

STOP THE STALL



UPSurge members vote at their national meeting

A contract extension is on at United Parcel. On May 1 UPS'ers should have been out on the streets, striking for a good national contract.

What they got instead was an extension, handed down by Frank E. Fitzsimmons who heads the union negotiating committee. UPS'ers were informed by management personnel that the extension was on. In many cities there have been no union meetings, no official word, just instructions from management to keep on working.

INSULT

And no one knows for how long. UPS'ers have complained about the Teamsters and the lack of representation for years. This final blow is like adding insult to injury.

The membership did not vote for an extension, and they have been told nothing about the negotiations, except what they hear from their own rank and file organization UPSurge.

UPSurge has reprinted copies of the union's proposals to UPS. UPSurge has been organizing since last Fall to get certain crucial contract proposals into the offer. Now it is UPSurge that is telling its members to demand action from the union.

UPSurge meetings have been held in Louisville, Denver, Cleveland, Rhode Island, Atlanta, Washington, and Buffalo.

At every one of these meetings the same issues come up: on-the-job safety, part-timers, production standards, forced overtime, the appealance regulations, and the rotten grievance procedure. These are the issues that UPSurge is fighting on for this contract.

These are the issues that the Teamsters Union quit fighting on a long time ago at United Parcel Service. But a get-tough stand is what it will take to win a decent contract. Everyone knows UPS won't give in without a fight.

UPS got to be the number one trucking company in the country by using speed-up part timers, and intimidation. They walk all over their employees' rights and the union turns the other way.

UNIFIED

With the first national contract ever at UPS, the rank and file has an opportunity to come out on top for a change. But will they take that opportunity?

UPSurge is organizing to defeat a sell-out in this contract. And UPSurge is organizing a unified movement to win some crucial contract demands. If you work at UPS, get involved in that movement. If you don't work at UPS, support these workers in their fight not only for a decent contract but for their rights.

by ANNE MACK

-Socialist Worker-

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