



USWA Local 1938 pickets check cars entering U.S. Steel's Minntac taconite production complex at Mountain Iron, Minnesota.

WV Photo

20,000 USWA Iron Miners Out

Shut Down Steel— Smash ENA!

The lines of a crucial class battle are being drawn in the iron fields of the Mesabi range in Minnesota and in Northern Michigan where, on August 1, 20,000 members of the United Steelworkers of America (USWA) put down their tools and picked up the only effective weapon of economic struggle against the bosses—the strike. This walkout, comprising almost the entire workforce of the U.S. iron mining and ore processing industry, is the first major strike in steel in 18 years. It opens the first real crack in the hated Experimental Negotiating Agreement (ENA), the no-strike pledge signed, sealed and enforced by the pro-company, anti-strike Steelworkers bureaucracy.

The iron miners' strike is geographically and structurally isolated from the strategic center of the industry, basic steel. But both the companies and the workers know that what is at stake cannot be contained on the iron ranges. Last Monday, when the miners shut down the conveyor belts that feed the iron-laden rock to the crushers, when they cooled down the brick-lined ovens that bake taconite ore into hard pellets for the basic steel plants, their walkout reverberated in Pittsburgh, in Gary, Indiana, in Sparrows Point, Maryland.

Steel workers across the country seethe with disgust at the contract shoved down their throats by the McBride bureaucrats, which required two ballots to pass a conference of local presidents in basic steel. Under the terms of the ENA, only the Catch 22 loophole of strikes over "local" issues remained. With "local" issues designated to mean such things as parking lot improvements or company provision of work clothing, most steel workers felt there was little to be gained by such walkouts, which might well go down in defeat as the companies and union bureaucrats colluded to isolate them. The proven treachery of all wings of the USWA bureaucracy—including "steel rebel" Ed Sadlowski who postures against ENA abstractly while calling for its enforcement until 1980—sowed defeatism among the union ranks and prevented local strikes, which might have been utilized

as an opportunity to expand into an industrywide walkout against the national contract.

The Mesabi strike—whose basic issue is the demand for wage parity with workers in basic steel—could be the wedge which steel workers need to challenge the ENA. This is precisely what the companies most fear, and they are moving against the militant iron ore workers, not only on the iron ranges but in the courts. Attempting to obtain anti-strike injunctions and threatening a civil suit seeking millions of dollars in "damages," the companies charge the strike is "illegal" because the wage parity demand, rejected in industry-wide contract bargaining, is not a valid "local" issue. They fear the iron miners' strike will set a precedent for engaging national issues in local strikes, thus undermining the ENA as a bludgeon for class peace in steel.

Faced with the iron miners' determination, the McBride bureaucracy is attempting to balance between unpleasant alternatives. Failure to grant authorization to the miners' strike might have triggered an open revolt by the miners against the ENA; so the bureaucrats sanctioned the walkout, gambling it can be isolated and ended without having a major impact on basic steel, and with the local leaderships saddled with responsibility in case of defeat. This ploy will not succeed if workers in basic steel recognize in the massive miners' strike the potential to unite the entire industry around resistance to ENA through broadening the local strikes to an industrywide walkout in defiance of the ENA.

The political shock waves of the iron miners' strike are not limited to the coke ovens and mills. The companies are also charged for battle. They understand what a successful strike to enforce the demands of 20,000 iron miners could mean to their ENA. For years, the bosses, abetted by the bureaucrats, have pushed one constant theme: strikes do not pay. Now they want to drive this lesson home to the taconite workers—younger than most steel workers and less prey to the demoralization that has gripped the USWA

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Sipa Liaison

Klonsky Gets China Franchise

Teng Back in Power

It's official—Teng's back. Vice chairman of the Communist Party and vice premier, he's formally the number three man in the regime, and may well be the real boss. Purged during the Cultural Revolution as "the number two person in authority taking the capitalist road," purged again right after Chou En-lai's death in 1976 when his followers rioted in Tien An Men Square because he was passed over for the premiership, Teng is indeed a resilient political figure.

As we noted immediately after the fall of the Chiang Ching group:

"Now that his enemies are dead or in prison, Teng is reportedly back in Peking. No doubt we will hear more from Teng Hsiao-ping."

—"Violent Power Struggle Erupts in China,"
WV No. 130, 22 October 1976

Of course, it took no great gift for political prophesy to figure out Teng probably had something to do with the purge of the "gang of four," and certainly would benefit from it. As the *Far Eastern Economic Review* (29 July) quipped, Teng's return should be

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Tito to Visit Peking

Albania Denounces China

On August 1, the 50th anniversary of the founding of China's People's Liberation Army, Albanian and Chinese officials met in the Chinese embassy in the Albanian capital, Tirana, and toasted to "the revolutionary friendship between the two peoples and the two armies." But showcase cordiality cannot heal the wide rift between the one-time allies or erase the bitterness which has intensified during the last few weeks, following an Albanian denunciation of Chinese foreign policy.

The Albanian attack was made in an unsigned article entitled "The Theory and Practice of Revolution," which appeared in the July issue of *Zeri i Popullit*, the official organ of the Albanian Party of Labour. While it never mentions China by name, the article is directed at those "Marxist-Leninists" who establish a strategy without taking into account the "criteria of the proletarian class." The article attacks at length the Maoist doctrine of the "three worlds" which posits that the world today is divided into three fundamental sectors: the "first world" consisting of the U.S. and Soviet Union, both considered as "capitalist superpowers"; the "second world" consisting of "secondary" imperialist countries such as West Europe and Japan; and the "third world" consisting of Asia, Africa and Latin America and including "socialist" China. According to this schema, the principal revolutionary force is the "third world" en bloc and the principal enemy is the Soviet Union, the "more dangerous" superpower.

The Albanian polemic denounces Peking's line as "opportunist" and "anti-Leninist":

"This is an antirevolutionary 'theory' because it preaches social peace, collaboration with bourgeoisie—hence giving up the revolution—to the proletariat of Europe, Japan, Canada, etc., who have to fight the monopoly bourgeoisie and the system of exploitation in the countries of the 'second world' because the interests of defense of national independence, and particularly the struggle against Soviet social-imperialism, allegedly require this.

"This is also a pseudo-anti-imperialist theory because it justifies and supports the neocolonialist and exploiting policy of the imperialist powers of the 'second world' and calls on the peoples of Asia, Africa, and Latin America not to oppose this policy, allegedly for the sake of the struggle against the superpowers....

"In essence, according to the theory of the 'three worlds,' the peoples of those countries must not fight, for instance, against the bloody fascist dictatorships of Geisel in Brazil and Pinochet in Chile, Suharto in Indonesia, the Shah of Iran or the king of Jordan, etc., because they allegedly are part of the 'revolutionary motive force' which is 'driving the wheel of history forward.' On the contrary, according to this theory, the peoples and revolutionaries ought to unite with the reactionary forces and regimes of the 'third world' and support them...."

—reproduced in the *Guardian*, 27 July

The doctrine of the "Three Worlds" is unimpeachably orthodox Maoism. Moreover, the elevation of the Soviet Union to the status of "main enemy" occurred in the last years of Mao's reign. The Albanian polemic cannot be construed simply as an attack on the new Chinese leadership, but involves a doctrinal break from orthodox Mao thought. In fact, while the article freely evokes the authority of Stalin and Lenin, the name of Mao Tse-tung is not once mentioned. Why has Enver Hoxha's Albania all of a sudden attacked Chinese policy and Maoist

doctrine as anti-Leninist and class collaborationist?

Albania Against the Superpower: Yugoslavia

Hoxha's regime disagrees with China's present line on the "superpowers" because for Albania there is only one superpower: Yugoslavia. About one million Albanians (roughly a third of the Albanian people) inhabit the Koso-



Bandeira Vermelha

Enver Hoxha addressing seventh congress of the Albanian Party of Labor.

vo region of Yugoslavia. Albania is a natural target for Yugoslav expansionism.

While Stalin initially encouraged Tito to take over Albania, after the bitter 1948 Soviet-Yugoslavia split the Kremlin became a strong champion of the independent Peoples Republic of Albania. That and that alone is why the Stalin cult lives on in Tirana after it has long been buried elsewhere.

In the late 1950's Khrushchev reversed Stalin's policy and wooed, with some success, the "non-aligned" Yugoslavia. Since the U.S. was simultaneously seeking friendship with Belgrade, Albania turned to the only potentially anti-Yugoslav power available, China. It was anti-Yugoslav "power" politics, not Stalinist ideological purism, that made the most backward country in Europe Maoist China's only ally for more than a decade. In its turn, the internationally isolated Maoist regime of the 1960's welcomed an ally, one so poor and backward even China could provide it with valuable economic assistance.

But China's present aggressive campaign for a grand alliance against Brezhnev's Russia necessarily leads to support for a strong Yugoslav state. China's favored imperialist alliances, the Common Market and NATO, are both seeking closer relations with Yugoslavia. It is, as they say, no coincidence that the *Zeri i Popullit* polemic appeared not long before Tito's first scheduled state visit to Peking. So unless Soviet-Yugoslav relations take a sharp turn for the worse (as they did between 1948 and 1956), Albania may be forced to "build socialism" in splendid, if primitive, isolation, striving to catch up with and overtake the industrial production of Sicily.

U.S. Maoists Around the "Three Worlds"

While the New Left Mao-oid *Guardian* (27 July) published lengthy excerpts from the Albanian polemic, it predictably, one might even say instinctively, took a middle position between Tirana and Peking. On the one hand, it has "some serious reservations" about the

Albanian position, but on the other hand; it disagrees with China that the Soviet Union is the "main enemy" and reserves that distinction for the U.S. Then again, it seems to the *Guardian* that the Albanian statement underestimates the "progressive" character of the "non-aligned movement." But "at the same time, as we have been saying for the past two years, we are particularly aware of the danger of class-collaboration in our own movement stemming from the thesis of 'striking the main blow at Soviet social-imperialism.'" And so on. In fact, the *Guardian* isn't particularly interested in the substance of the Albanian position. It gave prominent publicity to the Albanian polemic to undermine the ideological authority of Peking and so legitimize the *Guardian's* own Maoist polycentrism. In this sense, Irwin Silber can be viewed as a tenth-rate Santiago Carrillo of Maoism.

For the benighted workerists of the Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP), having just seen its rival, Mike Klonsky's Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist)—formerly October League—gain the Peking franchise, the Albanian polemic offers a ray of hope. Reduced to political paralysis by the fall of the "gang of four" nine months ago, *Revolution* has not said a word about the internal situation in China since then! Recently, however, *Revolution* (July 1977) carried an article which endorsed the "three worlds" doctrine but with sufficient leftist qualifications to open the door to Albanianism. While the article states that the "three worlds" doctrine "gives, in our view, a correct appraisal of the general role that countries...are playing today on the world scale," it makes bold to point out that:

"...for the U.S. proletariat to support, for instance, the Shah of Iran to the extent that, as a member of OPEC, Iran struggles against imperialist plunder, does not mean putting such support above support for the revolutionary struggles of the Iranian people to defeat imperialism and overthrow the Shah."

The CP (M-L) naturally jumped on the RCP's heterodoxy and, as always, denounced it for Trotskyism. These

Peking running dogs are incensed that the RCP has attacked the Shah of Iran, an important anti-Soviet Third World leader. In particular, says *The Call* (1 August), "they have echoed the propaganda promoted by the Soviet Union, labeling the government opposed to social-imperialism as 'U.S. puppets' and 'reactionaries.'" It is this unqualified support to bloody, anti-communist dictators throughout the world that has won Mike Klonsky an official visit to Peking and handshake from Chairman Hua. Of course, the RCP's Bob Avakian may seek compensation in a trip to Tirana and an embrace by First Secretary Hoxha.

We have previously pointed out (see "Albania: Last Hope for Maoists Without a Country," *WV* No. 139, 7 January) that the Stalinist commitment to "socialism in one country" does require, at least, its one country. Those Maoists critical of China's alliance with American imperialism or of the purge of Mao's widow, Chiang Ching, may be reduced to a last "socialist fatherland" in Albania. The crazed Stalin cultists of the COUSM-L, for example, have already opted for the Albanian connection.

Many would-be communists throughout the world were loyal to Stalin's Russia because they believed that here was a great world power which represented the communist cause. Maoist China in the 1960's likewise appeared to many young leftists as a revolutionary force in world politics. But loyalty to Enver Hoxha's Albania is the Stalinist infatuation with national state power in its most degenerate, even ludicrous, form. Those self-styled Marxist-Leninists who feel they must have their "own" secret police somewhere (anywhere) are simply vicarious bureaucrats, who are useless or worse to the revolutionary cause. But those Maoists repelled by China's now openly counterrevolutionary policies, who do not need a nationalist homeland, will find in Trotskyism, not Albania, the path to world revolution. ■



Der Spiegel

Stalin statue in Tirana.

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Carter to Black Critics: Shut Up!

The deepening misery and despair of America's black ghettos stands in such stark contrast to the campaign promises of Jimmy Carter that even the leaders of such "respectable" black organizations as the National Urban League and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), whose job it is to keep the black masses under the thumb of the Democratic Party, have been forced to openly criticize the president they broke their backs to elect.

At the NAACP's 68th National Convention in late June, Chairman Margaret Bush Wilson in her keynote address expressed "disappointment" at Carter's failure to support the Humphrey-Hawkins "full employment" bill and to spend money for public housing. She reminded Carter that "millions of people poured out of rat-infested, dilapidated tenement houses from one end of this country to the other to give him his margin of victory."

A month later, at the National Urban League's 67th Annual Conference in Washington, Vernon E. Jordan noted that: "We resent unfilled promises of jobs, compromises to win conservative support and the continued acceptance of high unemployment... We, who have been patient for so long, are running out of patience." He suggested Carter prove his much-vaunted concern for the poor by visiting the ghetto neighborhoods of New York.

Friend of Yazoo City, Enemy of the Ghetto

Jimmy Carter's response to his black critics was swift and sharp. Shut up, he basically told them. Carter, who exudes a particularly repugnant air of moral superiority, made it known via a press spokesman that he was "very sensitive to and certainly understands the problems of the inner city," and therefore didn't need to visit the ghettos, preferring to spend his time glad-handing his southern white constituency in such places as Yazoo City, Mississippi, which after its recent flood was provided with federal relief far greater than the measly \$5 million or so that New York will be getting following Con Edison's criminal negligence in the blackout.

Carter told the Urban League on the day after Jordan's speech that he had "no apologies to make" for his record. He told Jordan "privately" (his statement was later made available to the press) that any criticisms of him "are damaging to the hopes and aspirations of those poor people" and later in a press conference said that Jordan's attack was "erroneous" and "demagogic."

U.N. Ambassador Andrew Young attempted to wish away the discord, chiding "those who would attempt to find a crack in our unity" (between

blacks and the administration, that is), but got a lukewarm response at the Urban League conference.

Following Carter's smug attack on Jordan, rebuffed black politicians, including the Black Congressional Caucus, broke out in a chorus of indignant huffing and puffing, threatening a national conference of "black leaders" in late August to plan "strategy." The Rev. Jesse Jackson of Operation PUSH hinted darkly at a new march on Washington (which, however, he said, probably would not take place for two years!) to force Carter to make unemployment his first priority, instead of his current scheme for a balanced budget by 1981, which Carter hopes to achieve through slashing federal aid to the poor, to women seeking abortions and to decaying cities.

The NAACP and Urban League "attack" on Carter is merely whining liberalism—the attempt of black politicians to maintain a shred of credibility in the eyes of their constituency, whom Carter never had any intention of assisting. Since it has now become obvious even to the most loyal black



WV Photo

For Carter no apologies are necessary—blacks of Bedford-Stuyvesant will get more of the same.



UPI

Carter with Vernon Jordan at the Urban League convention.

Democratic Party hacks that "benign neglect" of the black population is bipartisan policy, a show of bravado, hot air and empty threats was necessary. But Jordan *et al.* were careful to cover their bets. "Mr. Carter, after all, is only the chief executive," Jordan explained, as administration officials hastened to point out that Congress was the *real* culprit.

NAACP National Convention: A Falling Out Among Liberals

The largest, oldest and most respectable organization of Carter's new-found black critics, the NAACP, has always counseled black people to seek justice through the bourgeois courts and the legislative system, but a recent string of reactionary rulings—many reversing the limited gains of the 1960's civil rights movement—has made the NAACP leadership nervous that the exposed bankruptcy of the narrow, legalistic strategy of its organization will erode its support at the very moment when it is increasingly becoming the target of racist attacks.

Last year, the NAACP was nearly bankrupted by a punitive \$1.2 million damage suit brought by white merchants in Mississippi who had been boycotted by the NAACP and local civil rights activists ten years ago. The NAACP lost the case at the state level and was forced, as a condition for appeal, to post 125 percent of the judgment—nearly \$1.5 million! NAACP leaders have publicly expressed fear that other racist forces

could successfully use the same tactic and the organization could be "sued to death."

The tactics and worldview of the NAACP have changed little since its founding in 1909. It holds, against all evidence, that a program of full social and political equality for blacks is consistent with capitalism and, moreover, can be accomplished through the "constitutional process." In 1954 its director, Walter White, jubilantly hailed the Supreme Court's *Brown v. Board of Education* decision overturning the "separate but equal" Jim Crow doctrine as proof that "American democracy works for Negroes."

The NAACP today remains what it has been for decades—the most consistent advocate of liberal integrationism and the most prestigious community organization of the upper stratum of the black petty bourgeoisie. This layer, called the "talented tenth" by the NAACP's first leading black spokesman, W.E.B. DuBois, is concerned mainly with the legal barriers to formal racial equality which prevent it from rising to the same level of wealth and prominence as its white similars. While even the most token anti-racist gains benefit the black working people to some extent, these gains—whose tenuous and reversible nature is amply demonstrated in this period of mainstream rightist consolidation—do little to alleviate the hideous oppression of the impoverished ghetto masses.

The stability of its constituency and the accrued capital from its legal

victories enabled the NAACP to grow enormously during periods of black upsurge, but the national leadership and local "pillars of the community" have never allowed the organization to diverge for long from a narrow legalistic path. While it was temporarily overshadowed by more activist organizations like Martin Luther King's Southern Christian Leadership Conference, to say nothing of SNCC and CORE, the NAACP largely retained the loyalties of established black professionals and the churches, surviving while the other groups became moribund. Today there is no significant black organization to the left of the NAACP.

Particularly since Carter's election, black politicians, eager to ingratiate themselves with the administration, have backed away from the NAACP's school desegregation programs. Los Angeles' black mayor Thomas Bradley, for example, ran a hard anti-busing campaign in April of this year. When the NAACP opposed the appointment of southern racist Griffin Bell as attorney general, it found itself pitted against several black Georgia legislators and A.J. Cooper, chairman of the National Conference of Black Mayors. As its track record in the courts becomes less impressive, the Association is hard pressed to compete with the new black political machines which can at least offer a few political appointments and a share in the Democratic Party pork-barrel.

Recognizing the NAACP's present impasse, opportunists on the left like the SWP and the Communist Party have rushed to offer themselves as advisers and loyal "critics." They are attempting to rebuild this servile, pro-capitalist organization through liberal-pacifist pressure marches such as the April 1975 NAACP/NSCAR demonstration in Boston. But the bourgeoisie is marching to a different drummer, and all the tactical advice in the world will not solve the NAACP's problems.

In particular, the NAACP like the liberal milieu in general looked to the capitalist courts as the vanguard of gradual social progress. This strategy is now manifestly bankrupt. On June 27, the first day of the NAACP's 68th National Convention, the Supreme Court extended its doctrine that court-ordered busing is only appropriate when and to the exact extent that segregated schools are the result of conscious "intent" by local officials. It struck down, for the first time, a desegregation program that was actually in progress

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1,000 Miners March in D.C.—70,000 on Strike

Mass UMWA Wildcats Against Medical Cutbacks

AUGUST 9—The coal miners' wildcat against medical cutbacks, which has swelled to 70,000 strikers, is now at a watershed. Following a militant rally of nearly one thousand striking United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) in Washington on August 5, local and district officials in Districts 17 and 29 of West Virginia, the heart of the wildcats, are hoping to start a back-to-work movement. Content that the miners have made their point to the coal operators, the UMWA tops and government bigwigs, these sellouts want to end the strike.

Yesterday a meeting was held in District 29 to consider returning to work. Militants had to dispatch pickets to some pits in order to prevent a return to work, but reportedly a few mines were re-opened. A similar meeting of local presidents with District 17 president Jack Perry and vice president Cecil Roberts was held today. Though no one has returned to work in District 17 the local presidents are waffling. Local officials were instructed to poll their memberships and return tomorrow to decide whether to end the strike. Perry and Roberts reportedly asserted that they were only "facing reality," since support for the strike was not increasing.

Yet, there are still thousands of miners who resist returning to work without having gained a thing. One miner told *Workers Vanguard* he wanted to organize roving pickets to spread the strike: "We can't win by ourselves. [We]... have to have support



Mine workers' August 6 demonstration in Washington, D.C.

from every district in the union... if we don't get it, we just lost."

The current wildcat, which was condemned by the entire UMWA International Executive Board, began seven weeks ago. It was provoked by the Bituminous Coal Operators Association (BCOA), which refused to bolster the miners' shaky medical benefit fund with a transfer of money from a bulging pension trust. The BCOA blames recurring wildcats for the depletion of the trust, which is funded by the

operators on the basis of coal tonnage produced. The cutbacks require miners to pay \$250 of hospital costs and 40 percent of doctors' fees up to \$250. Also threatened are 50 non-profit medical clinics in the coalfields that serve 300,000.

For many miners, the UMWA medical card—for years the guarantee of free medical care for union members and their dependents—is their most important security. There is widespread recognition among militants that a return to work now under the BCOA's terms would greatly weaken the union in the face of the anticipated national strike in December. The BCOA ploy was a cold-blooded move to demoralize the miners, clamp down on wildcats, and insure substantial stockpiling by December.

Before the miners' annual vacation began June 25, some 35,000 were on strike. Contrary to the operators' hopes that the vacation would dissipate the workers' anger, 70,000 were out as the miners boarded buses for Washington. All of West Virginia's UMW mines were closed and some non-union mines walked out in solidarity even without union pickets. A District 29 meeting in Beckley, West Virginia, on July 29, voted nearly unanimously to continue the strike and in favor of establishing a district strike fund. Additionally, the meeting of 700 miners called for the resignation of Harry Huge, appointed by UMW president Arnold Miller as the union's representative on the Board of Trustees of the Health and Retirement Fund. Huge voted for the cuts when the BCOA blocked the transfer of funds to the medical trust.

The Beckley meeting also decided to cooperate with District 17 in organizing the Washington rally. Reportedly, working miners who sit on the executive boards of Districts 17 and 29 were the chief initiators of the rally, but rank and file enthusiasm was widespread.

Among those who marched in Washington were many rank-and-file miners who wanted to continue and broaden the strike. But there were also those, including many of the rally organizers, who only sought to allow the

miners to blow off steam as a prelude to a back-to-work movement.

Rally in Washington

After rallying in front of the UMW's International offices, the miners marched past the White House, where militants jeered that Carter should try burning peanuts instead of coal. On the Capitol steps one miner reminded the demonstration that attacks on the union medical card would eventually result in the return of the hated company doctors. The crowd roared back "No card, no coal!" And while the House of Representatives considered "important energy legislation," nearly 1,000 miners chanted, "No coal, no heat!" and "No coal, no light!"

The announcement of the cutbacks, which came just after Miller's narrow reelection, has incensed many union members who voted for him, particularly pensioners who will be among the hardest hit by the cutbacks. Hostility runs deep among working miners as well. The strike is centered in the regions that were the base of Miller's support. One District 17 miner (Miller's home district) told *WV* that he had campaigned hard for Miller, but is completely disgusted with him now, and with his opponents Lee Roy Patterson and Harry Patrick as well. "You're out of material," he said.

Miners in Washington scoffed at rumors that the strike was about to end. A worker from a small local in Wayne County, West Virginia called for reinforcements from Boone and Logan counties to shut down a working pit in Wolf Creek. Militants were particularly determined to close the UMW mines that remain open. One miner swore: "Now boys, I ain't going to go up and ask a man nine times to come out. I'll go up and smash him on the side of the jaw and jerk him through the car windows—that's the last time I'll ask him. If he comes back again, it's his life in his own hands."

But while the miners were demonstrating their militancy, the rally organizers were leading them on a wild goose chase after capitalist politicians and govern-

Phone Contract Stinks! Vote It Down!

The CWA top bureaucrats signed a sellout contract on Sunday which allows the phone company to cut thousands of additional jobs. In the weeks before the contract expired the union officials insisted that jobs were the main issue and vowed to settle for nothing less than an offer containing adequate job security provisions. Yet on August 6 these traitors agreed to a settlement which gives Communications Workers of America (CWA) members the grand total of—three more paid vacation days; severance pay to encourage early retirement; and a "reduction" in forced overtime to guarantee outside craft a 50-hour (!) week!

These ludicrous "job security" provisions are an insult to the ranks of telephone workers and will not have the slightest effect in an industry where 100,000 jobs have been lost in the past five years and where future automation plans threaten the loss of thousands more. Moreover, the thoroughly inadequate wage increase of less than eight percent the first year and three percent the next two years applies only to top craft, with no increase at all for new hires.

While the Des Moines, Iowa CWA Local 7102 walked out in protest for two days, for the most part locals across the country faced the sellout with only passive disgust. Phone workers knew full well that even if a strike was called CWA president Glenn Watts & Company intended to sit back and let a scab army of 200,000 management personnel cross the picket lines! Thus, many workers were pessimistic about winning a strike that would have taken several months at best to have the slightest effect.

A national strike built through mass picket lines at every location or plant occupations to shut down phone would bring the company to its knees. To deal with the rising cost of living and massive elimination of jobs nothing less is needed than a 20-hour workweek at no loss in pay, a raise which narrows the gap between skilled and unskilled labor, and a cost-of-living allowance which matches inflation penny for penny. Phone workers must vote down the present contemptuous offer and demand an immediate national strike to win no layoffs and a shorter workweek at no loss in pay!

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ment officials. The rally was addressed by West Virginia Congressman Nick Joe Rahall, who admitted that he didn't know the facts and could offer no solution but promised he would call for a Congressional investigation "if the evidence warrants it." As miner after miner rose to denounce the bosses and the union misleaders, a delegation went into the Capitol to appeal to U.S. Secretary of Labor Ray Marshall and West Virginia Senator Jennings Randolph. The results were predictable. Both promised to investigate the matter further and sent the miners away empty-handed.

The illusion that the miners can rely on the capitalist state and its politicians is fatal. The history of the strikebreaking Arnold Miller leadership is precisely the history of government intervention in the union, ostensibly to clean up



Miner addressing rally on steps of the Capitol. WV Photo

corruption. It is the federal courts that have handed down one injunction after another to break miners' strikes. Moreover, it was government interference, through federal regulations that place restrictions on transfers of benefit funds, that was at least partly responsible for the current strike. The miners' health and welfare benefits must be completely controlled by the union. Power over these funds must not be shared with "independents," agents of the BCOA, or the government.

In fact, however, miners and other workers must fight to replace the existing system of separately negotiated medical plans with socialized medicine. Union-company negotiated plans are inherently inadequate and unstable. The trade union movement must demand free, quality medical care for all.

The rally in Washington broke up with no clear strategy of how to bring the coal bosses to their knees. After having vented their just anger at the BCOA, the UMWA leadership, Congress, and the White House, the miners returned to the coalfields, armed with little more than their enormous gut militancy, and lured by the poisonous promises of "aid" from the government.

There are thousands of miners who do not want to return to work in defeat. This looms as a real possibility, however, unless the present deadlock is broken by extending the strike on a nationwide basis. Unless this is done, the miners are likely to succumb to the enormous pressure of the strikebreaking International and those district and local officials preaching confidence in the capitalist state and politicians. The existing informal strike leadership, dominated by wavering bureaucrats, must be replaced by authoritative, elected strike committees led by militants with a clear consciousness of the need for the political independence of the miners and the working class. Only in such a fashion can victory in this important defensive battle be assured. ■

Closet Rule Frame-Up

reprinted from
Red Flag,
July 1977

In a display of insidious political slander the RFU [Red Flag Union] "Revolutionary" Faction, the Revolutionary Socialist League (RSL), the Freedom Socialist Party and others have coalesced to falsify the so-called "public closet" rule of the Spartacist League.

The "public closet" rule refers to the organizational policy of the Spartacist League restricting *all* SL supporters, both homosexual and heterosexuals from doing anything in their personal lifestyle which would detract from the presentation of the politics of the Spartacist League. It is also intended to protect supporters from victimization.

In an article on the RFU Stonewall '77 Conference the SL explains, "Members of a tiny communist nucleus confronted by the power of the bourgeois state must seek to avoid facilitating their own isolation and possible repression by unnecessarily affronting bourgeois social norms in non-political or secondary matters."

In an article pompously called the "Debate at Stonewall '77 Conference—The Leninist Approach to Gay Liberation" by Chris Hudson and RSL National Chairman Ron Tabor [*Torch*, 15 July-14 August 1977] the RSL exhibits its base opportunism by ignoring all the other tendencies present at the conference, with whom, presumably, they are in sharp disagreement; the primary question that precipitated the split in the RFU—the Russian question; and the actual substance of the debate over the gay question itself.

According to the RSL, "To overthrow capitalism, revolutionaries must wage determined war against anti-gay prejudice." "Coming out can be an important tactic in waging this crucial struggle. By revealing one's homosexuality to straight friends, relatives, and co-workers, one can force straight people to recognize and examine the irrational basis for their anti-gay attitudes. This can be the first step in helping straight people to overcome their anti-gay prejudice. Behind the SL's charge of lifestyle politics and their blanket opposition to coming out is a cowardly refusal to fight anti-gay prejudice in the working class."

The 60's and 70's, Anita Bryant notwithstanding, have been a period of relative toleration of homosexuality. There is the temptation in such a period, particularly in a "democracy" to see such periods as everlasting. It is irresponsible, both in respect to one's own membership and to homosexuals, in general, to advocate they "come out." This is not to say that the party is against individual homosexuals "coming out." "Coming out" is by and large the result of a positive impulse to throw off oppression. Of course, we would defend gays who are victimized as a result, but it is essentially a personal matter.

The primary task for Leninists is to forge the communist vanguard and to guide the struggle of the working class for state power. It is the bourgeoisie that we wage war against. While backward anti-gay bourgeois ideology can only be eliminated on the basis of the overthrow of capitalism and the progressive elimination of homosexual oppression culminating in the replacement of the family under socialism, the groundwork must be laid throughout the revolutionary process, by propaganda and agitation against anti-homosexual bigotry.

The RSL was one of the big losers in the RFU's convergence with the SL. The RSL and other outside observers considered themselves logical inheritors of the Lavender and Red Union/RFU. It is unthinkable to them that a sectoralist organization could overcome its subjective anti-Soviet reflex and come to a strong position of defense of the degenerated and deformed workers

states from capitalist attack. Thwarted in its attempt to peddle latter-day Shachtmanism on the majority of the RFU they now seek to drive a wedge between the RFU periphery and the Bolshevik Tendency of the RFU [RFU(BT)] and the Spartacist League. Exploiting the anti-communist prejudices of many gay leftists, but dressing it in Leninism, the RSL pontificates about the correct communist approach to the gay question.

The Russian Revolution liberated the Russian masses from the yoke of Czarist oppression. Soviet jurisprudence represented the maximum expression of bourgeois-democratic rights for the oppressed that has thus far been achieved. The RSL hopes that by juxtaposing their attack on the SL with their description of Bolshevik policy they can leave the impression that the Bolsheviks were champions of sexual libertarianism per se. While the Bolsheviks rescinded all laws against homosexuality and made all forms of consensual sex a private matter it would seem the Bolsheviks, de facto, maintained a very stringent closet rule since to our know-

above and beyond that suffered by the oppressed masses. Therefore, it is the obligation of the party to do everything in its power to shield its supporters from such victimization.

Various fake-socialist groups have ludicrously tried to make it appear that in order to join the Spartacist League one must undergo shock therapy to eradicate one's homosexuality. The closet rule in no way, shape or form applies to people's conduct inside the party. In actuality something approximating the "public closet" rule is maintained by virtually every organization on the left. At the Stonewall '77 Conference an RFU (BT) speaker exposed the hypocrisy of the RSL when he asked Chris Hudson, "Would the RSL allow a male wearing a dress to present a public forum on behalf of the RSL?" Despite our repeated insistence he refused to answer the question. Certainly, no one can deny the oppression suffered by transvestites nor support the denial of their democratic rights, but to have a male public spokesman in a dress would effectively make the subject of people's attention



Red Flag Union Stonewall '77 Conference in Los Angeles. WV Photo

ledge not a single Bolshevik leader is known to be a homosexual, although we can presume that some of them were homosexual.

The American revolution needn't be limited to the simple legislative remedies employed by the Bolsheviks which were about the most that could be achieved given the backwardness and the hostile capitalist encirclement of the Soviet Union.

In principle Lenin explains the essence of the SL's "closet rule" in "*Left-Wing Communism: An Infantile Disorder*, 1920:

"These men the 'leaders' of opportunism, will no doubt resort to every device of bourgeois diplomacy and to the aid of bourgeois governments, the clergy, the police and the courts, to keep Communists out of the trade unions, oust them by every means, make their work in the trade union as unpleasant as possible, and insult, bait and persecute them. We must be able to stand up to all this, agree to make any sacrifice, and even—if need be—to resort to various stratagems, artifices, and illegal methods, to evasions and subterfuges, as long as we get into the trade unions, remain in them, and carry on communist work within them at all costs."

A communist who is a homosexual, or any communist, does not for the most part have the luxury of "coming out." A communist seeks to be identified exclusively in people's minds in terms of the party and program they represent. The sexual identity or personal characteristics of the individual are not the concern of others. By being a representative of the communist vanguard one makes oneself a walking target for the bourgeoisie, one invites harassment even

transvestitism and not politics.

All left groups, including the RSL must be hypocritical, to a certain degree, in order to take advantage of political opportunities. But, in an effort to get political mileage out of the "public closet" rule of the SL, the RSL trips over its own closet rule.

The closet is an aspect of homosexual oppression. The closet is deforming to the individual, insofar as it perpetuates the myth, in their own minds, that homosexuality is something so unspeakably evil and perverted that it cannot be revealed publicly. However, it is not necessary for individuals to offer themselves up as examples to be victimized in order to throw off these aspects of gay oppression.

The establishment of workers rule will guarantee people the freedom to "come out" if they so desire and socialism will destroy gay oppression and make it a moot point

The Spartacist League's so-called "public closet" rule will be adhered to by the comrades of the RFU(BT) upon fusion with the SL without reservation. The fusion itself belies the charge that the SL capitulates to anti-gay prejudice. We know that if we or other homosexual comrades in the SL are victimized by the state or by backward elements in society we will be defended. Yet, if we must go down fighting, we prefer to do so as communists, rather than as victimized homosexuals, for the cause to which we have dedicated our lives—the realization of the communist program and the building of socialism. ■

Behind "Human Rights" Campaign

Imperialist Carter Ups Weapons Budget 50%

Hand in hand with its anti-Soviet propaganda barrage masquerading as a crusade for "human rights," the new Carter administration is busy beefing up the strategic weapons arsenal of U.S. imperialism, hoping to gain a qualitative advantage over the USSR. While slashing expenditures for social services and thumbing his nose at the oppressed racial minorities and the trade unions, Carter is increasing government spending on weapons systems by 50 percent.

Having promised during his campaign to reduce arms spending by \$8 billion, the new chief of U.S. imperialism proposes for 1978 a \$10 billion increase over the \$20 billion spent on weapons procurement in 1977. Significantly, increasing allocations are planned for new weapons systems with one bourgeois estimate projecting \$197 billion to be spent on new systems between now and 1985. The attempt now underway to upgrade U.S. strategic forces thus represents the most significant escalation of the "arms race" since Kennedy's mythical "missile gap" provided the rationale for full-scale U.S. deployment of intercontinental ballistic missiles (ICBM's).

Carter's new military budget reflects the renewed determination of U.S. imperialism, free of the quagmire of Vietnam, to gird itself for new conflicts both with its resurgent imperialist rivals and above all with the USSR. This drive to achieve a qualitative strategic nuclear superiority must be understood as part and parcel of the administration's "human rights" crusade.

However, if so far Carter has proved himself to be a particularly vicious leader of his class, he has also demonstrated that he is a consummate hypocrite and liar. Thus in a recent interview he declared his "determination to reduce substantially the world's dependence on nuclear weapons" (*U.S. News & World Report*, 6 June). But as press reports have heralded one new U.S. weapons system after another, the details of this "determination" have become all too obvious.

On June 30, for example, Carter announced that he was scrapping the Air Force's B-1 bomber. Immediately the liberal press hailed this as a unilateral American declaration of good faith to smooth the path for a SALT II accord on strategic arms limitation. It was, said the *New York Times*, a "signal" to the Russians which should not be ignored.

Yet buried at the end of the news dispatches was the announcement that the administration had opted instead for heavy deployment of the Cruise missile, a small, inexpensive, jet-powered drone which can be loaded by the dozens onto B-52's or 747's. Guided by a miniature computer, the Cruise will have a range of at least 1,500 miles, can fly 200 feet off the ground (below radar thresholds), and deliver a 20-kiloton warhead with an accuracy measured in a few dozen feet.

And this was not all. On July 1 the Senate met in an unusual secret session for what the *Wall Street Journal* called "mid-summer entertainment." The fun centered on Carter's request for funding of an "enhanced radiation device" tucked away in the Energy Research and Development Administration (ERDA)

budget. The "device" turned out to be a neutron bomb which had been successfully tested by ERDA and was now about to go into production.

Intended for the tactical Lance missile, the neutron bomb emits lethal radiation while minimizing blast damage. The *Journal* calls it a "discriminating weapon," although weapons experts admit it was designed to be as "dirty" as possible. Senator John Stennis said, "It is the best news I've heard in years." In fact the neutron bomb is meant as an answer to the Warsaw Pact's formidable armored forces which outnumber and outgun those of NATO.

In addition there have been persistent reports of other weapons systems—the large and accurate MX-12A warhead, the mobile MX missile, the Trident submarine, and the "maneuverable reentry vehicle" (MARV), which has a "circular error probable" of 98 feet at 8,078 miles.

Hard-Target Counterforce

Common to virtually all of the new strategic weapons is a significant increase in missile accuracy. In a number of systems, this accuracy is combined with additional "throw weight," a rough measure of destructive power. With the U.S. strategic arsenal stagnant since the beginning of heavy U.S. intervention in Vietnam (the mid-1960's), Pentagon planners are pushing for the deployment of a whole new generation of nuclear weapons which have long been on the drawing boards.

As the Soviet Union catches up with the U.S. in equipping its missiles first with multiple warheads (MRV's), then with independently targeted warheads (MIRV's), Washington is seeking to capitalize on American technological superiority. And the deployment of pinpoint-accuracy missiles by the United States places the Soviet Union at a real disadvantage. While only 25 percent of U.S. warheads are atop land-based ICBM's, fully three-quarters of Soviet warheads are so deployed.

Thus a significant fraction of the Russian strategic arsenal is vulnerable to a U.S. "hard-target capability." Increasing the threat is the fact that the USSR does not yet have the sort of radar which can reliably detect the low-flying Cruise.

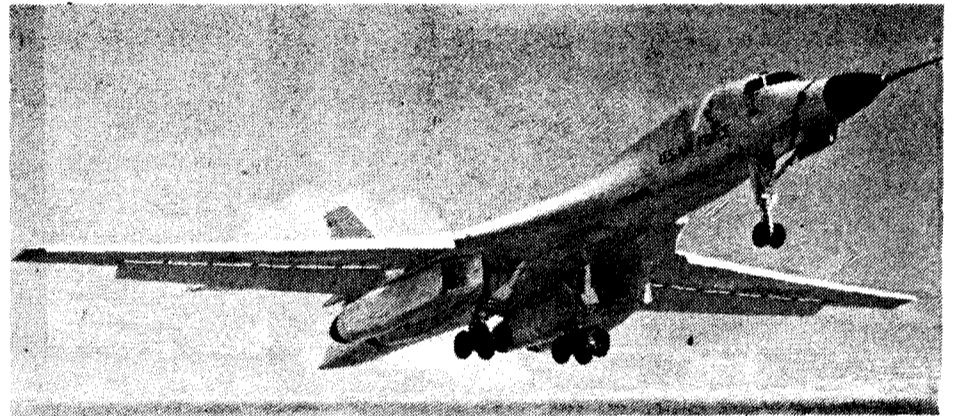
During his tenure as Ford's secretary of defense, James Schlesinger called for the acquisition of a "hard-target counterforce." While Carter's predecessors have steadfastly maintained that the United States would never unleash its strategic arsenal except in response to a nuclear attack, a "hard-target" capability is useless once the "enemy's" ICBM's are in flight. Thus, if such a "counterforce" strategy means anything, it is a euphemism for the old "preemptive first strike."

Carter, moreover, took pains to distance himself from the national fiction that the U.S. arsenal merely has "deterrent" value. In his July 12 press conference he declared that whoever first resorted to atomic weapons "would be under heavy condemnation from the other people of the world unless the circumstances were extremely gross." What a "gross circumstance" might be he listed as the "unwarranted invasion

Right, Carter aboard nuclear-powered attack submarine. Other weapons include B-1 bomber (middle) and Cruise missile (bottom).



UPI



John Zimmerman



Dirck Halstead

of another country" (*New York Times*, 13 July).

A Grain of SALT

In the spirit of his two-faced advocacy of "human rights," Carter has attempted to hide U.S. weapons development behind a rhetorical "disarmament" offensive. The showpiece of this hypocrisy was the SALT II proposal delivered last March in Moscow by Secretary of State Vance to Soviet leader Leonid Brezhnev.

According to Jan Lodal, director of program analysis for the National Security Council (the top U.S. executive decision-making body on military affairs) during 1973-75, Carter's SALT proposals would "bring the Soviet strategic program to a halt, yet leave the United States program almost untouched" (*New York Times*, 12 April).

Particularly outrageous was Vance's fallback position—that the 1974 Vladivostok agreement be implemented without controls on the Cruise missile or

the Soviet "Backfire" bomber. This would have set an overall limit of 2,400 on strategic weapons (an increase for the U.S., a decrease for the USSR) while removing the Cruise from that category. In return for unlimited deployment by the U.S. of the deadly Cruise missile, the Soviet Union would be allowed to build "Backfire," a medium-range bomber which is generally acknowledged to be neither intended nor adequate for reaching U.S. targets.

Unsurprisingly, the guiding genius behind this "initiative" was Boeing's own Henry Jackson, who has apparently found in Carter a hawk of his own feather. According to a recent column (*New York Post*, 16 July) by Joseph Kraft, Jackson has long favored the Cruise program over the costly B-1 bomber. The "Senator from Boeing," of course, is also representing his "constituent," who is the prime contractor for the Cruise.

The use of "disarmament" agree-
continued on page 10

SWP Calls on Soviet Union to Disarm

For the past several years we have pointed out that the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) seeks to become the kept opposition party of American social reformism, filling the political vacuum created by the degeneration of official American Social Democracy into ossified, anti-communist sects to the right of Democratic Party liberalism. In its degeneration into reformism, it was only a matter of time until the once-Trotskyist SWP adopted pacifistic support to disarmament as well as abandoned the military defense of the Soviet degenerated workers state. The SWP's abandonment of the Trotskyist position on these questions is made crystal clear in an exchange in the 24 June *Militant* between veteran SWPer Morris Starsky and the party's leading publicist, Joseph Hansen.

Questioning a previous *Militant* article from the Trotskyist standpoint, Starsky writes:

"Is writer Hansen's position with respect to nuclear disarmament 'a plague on both your houses'?"

"A workers state, even a degenerated or a deformed workers state, has the abstract right to defend itself militarily from imperialist attack.

"The Soviet Union has indeed the concrete need to arm itself fully within



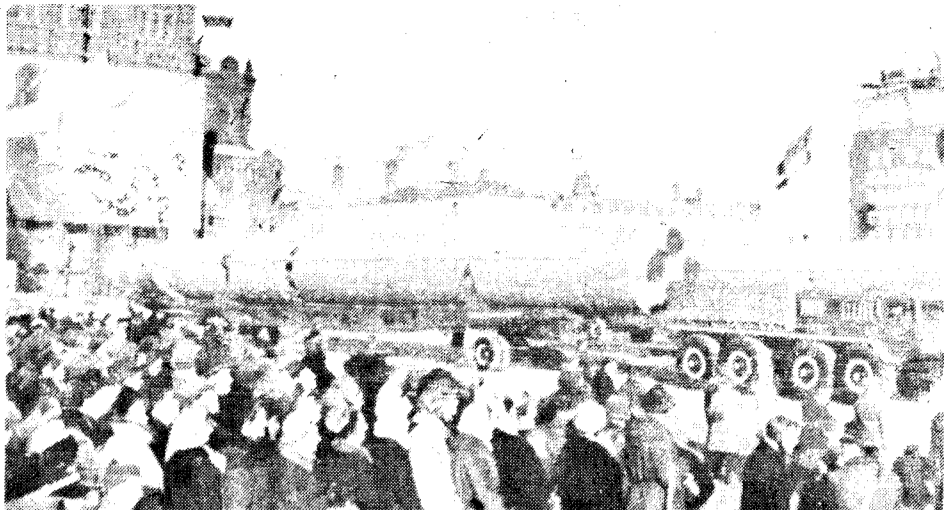
Hansen/Militant

Joseph Hansen: Apostle of Social-Pacifism

the limits of its resources in defense of its existence." [emphasis in original]

Hansen responds as the best builder of a disarmament program...for the Soviet Union: "Brezhnev must be blamed for failing to seize the initiative on disarmament..." writes Hansen. He goes on:

"Naturally, it would have been preferable if Brezhnev had proposed in



Nogues/Sygma

Russian ballistic missiles on parade in Red Square.

addition a schedule leading at short intervals to one half capability, one fourth capability, one eighth and so on."

Support to bourgeois disarmament programs as a solution to imperialist militarism has long been a central point of demarcation between social-democratic reformism and Leninism. Thus, in the Declaration of the Left Opposition to the 1932 Amsterdam Antiwar Congress, Trotsky wrote:

"The pretense of 'disarmament' has and can have nothing in common with the prevention of war. The program of 'disarmament' only signifies an attempt...to reduce in peacetime the expense of this or that kind of armaments. It is above all a question of military technique and the imperialist coffers."

—Writings, 1932.

He proposed to the Congress ten points, the second of which was: "Denunciation of capitalist 'disarmament' schemes which serve to dupe the people."

The aspirations of the SWP to become the present-day version of Norman Thomas' old Socialist Party

underlies Hansen's pacifistic statement. One wonders if Hansen didn't crib from one of Norman Thomas' speeches of the early 1960's. But since the SWP is ostensibly Trotskyist, there is more to Hansen's article than pacifist illusions. There is the classic "Third Campist" position that the U.S. and Soviet Union are co-equal warlike enemies of mankind:

"Clearly it would be a fatal policy to rely on either Washington or Moscow to halt the arms race and dismantle nuclear stockpiles. The hope for peace will remain illusory so long as the imperialist powers and their 'partners' in the Kremlin remain in control."

It is this undisguised "Third Campism" which allows the SWP to fuse with the formally "state capitalist" Soviet-defeatist Revolutionary Marxist Caucus.

Moreover Hansen goes on to explicitly abandon the military defense of the Soviet Union *in practice*:

"But the fact is that each side possesses a stockpile much larger than needed to

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One Dead, 100 Injured

French Cops Attack Anti-Nuke Protest

One person was killed and a hundred others wounded, some with hands and feet torn off by exploding grenades, on July 31 when French riot police charged a demonstration of 30,000 anti-nuclear protesters marching toward the construction site of the Super-Phénix, the nuclear breeder reactor in Creys-Malville. For nearly four hours the battle went on with the cops stampeding, swinging clubs, hurling tear-gas and hand grenades, driving the demonstrators out of the nuclear-site area into the surrounding farms and villages.

The anti-nuclear march, coordinated by the Malville Committees, brought thousands of pacifists, eco-freaks, far-leftists and anarchists from across Europe to this rural area on the Rhône River, 300 miles southeast of Paris, for two days of protest July 30 and 31. The confrontation occurred about noon on Sunday, July 31 when the three huge columns of marchers were converging on the town of Faverges, inside the 10-mile zone around the reactor which had been sealed off for the day. Here the march was ordered to stop and for a short dramatic period the riot cops faced down the demonstrators across the no-man's land of a wheat field.

When a small group of helmeted militants started forward in defiance of the order, the cops unleashed their attack, grappling with demonstrators who had left the main line of march and were rushing further into the district. Demonstrators began throwing stones and nails. Soon police reinforcements arrived with orders to clear the area and



Paris Match

Injured protester is carried from scene of July 31 anti-nuclear demonstration.

the cops charged the demonstrators, beating them back with clubs, hurling tear gas and hand grenades into the crowd.

One person, Vital Michalon, 31, lay dead after the charge and a hundred others wounded, including five cops. While the cops originally said Michalon died of a heart attack, the autopsy revealed his lungs blew up from an explosion. Although hand grenades were exploding all over the place (even the bourgeois daily *Le Monde* [August 5] implies that these most likely caused the many injuries), the cops are now,

incredibly, saying Michalon died from the effect of a Molotov cocktail!

Chauvinist Furor

Although the demonstrators were mainly French, the presence of marchers from all over Europe, including some 5,000 German protesters, has sparked a vicious wave of anti-German chauvinism on the part of the French authorities.

From the very moment of the police attack, the French authorities have been trying to pin the blame for the violence on the demonstrators and particularly

on the presence of foreign "anarchists." Thus in a TV interview on July 31, Interior Minister Christian Bonnet said, "These people are undeniably anarchists both in their acts and beliefs who know no frontiers and have turned up elsewhere, notably in West Germany." On the same day, after a militant demonstration at the town hall of nearby Morestel, in which some self-proclaimed members of the West German Red Army Faction (RAF, referred to as the "Baader-Meinhof gang" by the bourgeois press) participated, René Jannin, prefect of Isère, declared: "For the second time in Morestel's history, the Germans have invaded its town hall" (*International Herald Tribune*, August 1).

For weeks prior to the demonstration the authorities had been whipping up anti-German hysteria, making elaborate security precautions, and gearing up for the day's attack. Jannin had ordered a 10-mile area around the breeder reactor sealed off, and stationed 5,000 riot police in five security rings around it to guard it. Helicopters flew overhead looking for anyone foreign to the area; roads and bridges were closed to "outsiders"; five special ordinances were passed calling for the expulsion of any strangers found in the area. The army was put on alert.

Jannin himself developed his talent for repression in Algeria, where he was head of French Security. Returning to France in the mid-sixties and made prefect of various districts, he has violently smashed at least two workers'

continued on page 10

Teng...

(continued from page 1)

rated as "one of the biggest anticlimaxes of the year."

What is more surprising than Teng's return to power was the nine-month delay. There are two plausible reasons for this delay. With his forty years as a party and government leader, Teng Hsiao-ping is the single most authoritative figure in the Chinese Stalinist bureaucracy. Hua Kuo-feng's meteoric rise to power occurred because, as a relative newcomer and political lightweight, he was acceptable to both the Cultural Revolution "radicals" and the Old Guard. With the Chiang Ching clique out of the way, Hua's principal advantage (that he was a young Maoist who came up through the Cultural Revolution) doesn't count for much. So it is possible that Hua resisted Teng's inevitable return to hang on to his own shaky position as Mao's successor.

It is in the interest of Chinese Stalinism to maintain the cult of Mao. There is evidence that Chou En-lai, identified with less inhumane and irrational economic and social policies, is more genuinely popular than the Great Helmsman. However, for the Chinese masses, particularly the peasants, Mao is the symbol of the revolution, the overthrow of capitalist-landlord rule, and the liberation of

"With the guidance of Mao's line, the Chinese people were able to recognize the line and policies of the capitalist roaders, headed this time by Teng Hsiao-ping, and beat back their attempts at reversing the achievements of the Cultural Revolution and restoring capitalism."

—*Revolution*, 15 October 1976

"The target of this struggle was Teng Hsiao-ping because he represented the bourgeois class in China...."

"Teng launched an open attack on the party and instigated the counterrevolutionary incident in Tien An Men Square. This incident changed the nature of the struggle with Teng into an antagonistic contradiction."

—*The Call*, 1 May 1976

very bad things about him not that long ago. (See box.)

Mike Klonsky's Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist)—formerly October League—is beyond embarrassment regarding the periodic upheavals within China's ruling clique and its policies. Klonsky's CP(M-L) is committed above all to supporting the line of whoever rules in the Forbidden City *no matter what*. To be completely safe, since the purge of Chiang Ching the CP(M-L)/OL wrote nothing on its own about China, but limited itself to reprinting and paraphrasing *Peking Review* and *Hsinhua Weekly*. Of course, parroting the succession of bureaucrats who put

cratic infighter could only have utter contempt for the cynical American courtier, who now kowtows to the man he viciously attacked a few months ago.

Chairman Klonsky???

Nonetheless, Klonsky has his uses. Leading his group through one cynical turn after another—support for the U.S./China alliance, cheering on the South African invasion of Angola, extolling the bloodthirsty Shah of Iran—this self-described "communist" has built an organization whose *raison d'être* is slavish loyalty to Peking's rulers and their counterrevolutionary policies. The CP(M-L) is apparently even more homogeneous and pliable than the U.S./China Peoples' Friendship Association whose Boston local split over the purge of the "Gang of Four."

Klonsky and his cohorts were invited to China last month, just as Teng was being restored to power. Klonsky's total subservience to Peking was rewarded by bestowal of the official franchise as the Maoist bureaucracy's mouthpiece and "fraternal" party in the U.S. Looking just like Dudley Doright of the Mounties and exchanging grins with Hua Kuo-feng, he even got his picture



Syigma

1976 poster portrays Teng as evil genie.

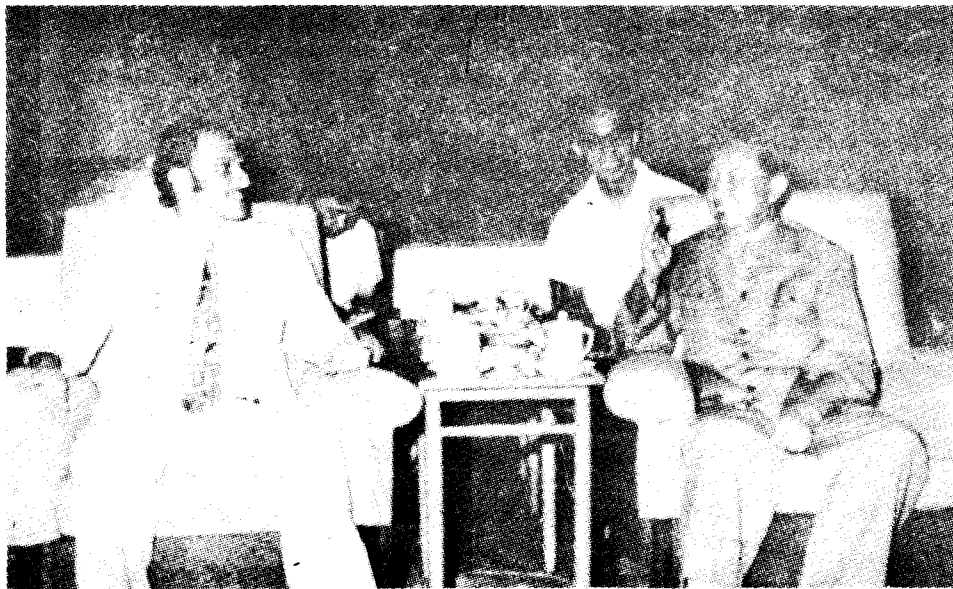
on the front page of *People's Daily*.

At the reception in the Great Hall of the People, political bureau member Li Hsien-nien acknowledged Klonsky's services:

"The founding of the Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist) of the U.S. has reflected the aspirations of the proletariat and the working people of the U.S. and also marked a new victory for the Marxist-Leninist movement in the U.S. "With great joy, we extend our warm congratulations on the founding of the Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist) of the U.S. and on the election of comrade Klonsky and comrade Eileen Klehr as chairman and vice-chairman...."

For years the American Maoist sects have been yapping at each other's heels in the race for recognition from Peking. With total cynicism, lack of principle, and the delicate timing of the career bureaucrat, Klonsky has outdistanced the pack. His competitors face dismal prospects. They can either kowtow to Chairman Klonsky and seek a deal on his terms or prepare to break with his Chinese masters.

Bob Avakian's Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP) is now on the sidelines. Sensing danger with the purge of the "gang," the RCP responded like the proverbial ostrich. For the past nine



The Call

Mike Klonsky at July 20 meeting with Hua Kuo-feng in Peking.

China from a century of imperialist domination. To restore to power Mao's leading internal enemy ere the Chairman's body was scarcely cold would have been unseemly.

What Now, Maoists?

The immediate impact of Teng's restoration will be greater in international Maoist circles than in China. The economic policies associated with Teng—more Soviet-type centralized planning, more technologically sophisticated imports—have been implemented willy nilly since the fall of Lin Piao in late 1971. For the Chinese bureaucrats the fundamental political identity between Teng and Mao is more important than their periodic differences over economic and other questions.

But for foreign Maoists Teng has been the very embodiment of Chinese revisionism, the arch-"capitalist roader." Most of today's Maoist cadre were first recruited through Mao's "revolution" against Liu/Teng. It will indeed be hard for many Maoists to accept Teng as the leader of "People's China," harder even than to accept Chiang Ching as a counterrevolutionary criminal. For those Maoists who balk at the latest change in the Peking regime, the future is not bright. It's either Enver Hoxha or that most unfortunate of all political fates, to be a Stalinist without a "socialist fatherland." And those Maoist groups which do accept Teng as their leader will be more than a little embarrassed. After all, they said some

their stamp for a time on *Peking Review* will not overly impress advanced workers in the U.S. or elsewhere.

Klonsky just penned an article hailing Teng's restoration. Without so much as a word of self-criticism, this shameless sycophant blamed Teng's past disgrace on the now silenced and helpless "Gang of Four":

"Through the use of the mass media, which they firmly controlled, they directed their attack against Premier Chou En-lai by using Teng Hsiao-ping as a scapegoat. Teng made some minor errors, but the 'gang of four' fabricated a list of charges against him...."

"The links made by the 'gang' at that time between the incident at Tien An Men and Teng Hsiao-ping have been proven to be false. Also shown to be false are the charges that Teng promoted the 'taking of the three directives as the key link' in opposition to taking class struggle as the key link. While some people did promote this line, Teng Hsiao-ping was not one of them."

—*The Call*, 1 August

What Klonsky hides is that the decision in April 1976 to remove Teng from all his posts was not taken in the editorial offices of the *People's Daily*, but at a Central Committee plenum which included Mao. In any case, it is absurd to think that the Chiang Ching clique controlled the mass media against the will of Mao, Hua Kuo-feng, Li Hsien-nien and the rest of the Chinese leadership.

It is very unlikely that Michael Klonsky enters into Teng's political consideration. However, if Teng did consider Klonsky, the tough old bureau-

"The plenary session [of the Central Committee] unanimously decided to restore comrade Teng to his posts...."

—*Hsinhua Daily News Release*, 23 July 1977

"Documents that were worked out on instruction by Teng Hsiao-ping, the arch unrepentant capitalist-roader in the Party, are a concentrated demonstration of the ultra-rightist essence of his counter-revolutionary revisionist line and a systematic expression of his revisionist view-points. These three big poisonous weeds opposing the Party and Marxism are rarely available materials for learning by negative example and iron-clad proofs of the fact that *'The capitalist-roaders are still on the capitalist road.'*"

—*Hsinhua Weekly*, 30 August 1976



Hsinhua

April 1976 demonstration in Tien An Men Square denounced Teng as "class enemy" who attempted to "reverse correct verdicts."

months, the RCP's *Revolution* has written *nothing* about the internal situation in China! While we understand that Stalinists are usually prone to utopian illusions, we must inform the RCP membership that China will not disappear if only they close their eyes long enough. One of the victims of the fall of the Chiang Ching clique, the RCP shows every sign of becoming a nationally-limited, philistine, workerist, Stalinoid sect, a second rate version of Progressive Labor Party.

In the American Maoist milieu, the *Guardian* newspaper represents the soft, non-party New Left elements. The *Guardian* is committed above all to not antagonizing "movement" public opinion. In keeping with its lack of political definition, the *Guardian* reacted to the fall of the "gang of four" by trying to support *both* sides. It supported Hua's purge as a legitimate attack on left deviationists, but defended the Chiang Ching group against charges of being "capitalist roaders," criminals, and counterrevolutionaries.

While the *Guardian* has not yet had time to comment on Teng's restoration, we have no doubt it will occupy a middle position between those who believe Maoism has now been overthrown in China and the Peking-loyal sycophants à la Klonsky. The *Guardian* will probably say that, compared to Mao, Teng is a rightist, but that is not so bad, and certainly no bar to high office. The *Guardian* China tours are popular, and Irwin Silber and Co. would not want to antagonize the country's rulers.

However they responded, Maoists throughout the world have been dismayed and shocked by the developments in China these past nine months. Yet the political destruction of Mao's widow right after his death and the restoration to power of his main enemy is readily comprehensible from the standpoint of Trotskyism, the revolutionary Marxism of this epoch. Mao was not a revolutionary leader resting directly on the advanced elements of the proletariat and governing through the institutions of workers democracy. He was a bureaucratic bonapartist, given to leftist rhetoric within the framework of Stalinist ideology, who played off various cliques and power blocs to remain on top. That is why his regime turned topsy-turvy as soon as he died. For those Maoists shaken enough by the events in China to reconsider their Stalinist premises, the Trotskyism of the Spartacist League—which combines defense of the Chinese deformed workers state against imperialism or counterrevolution with the call for political revolution to oust the Stalinist bureaucracy—is a serious revolutionary alternative to the cynical toadyism of Mike Klonsky and the know-nothing economism of Bob Avakian. ■

NOTICE

Workers Vanguard is published bi-weekly in August. The next issue will be dated 26 August 1977.

Spartacist League Forum
Eurocommunism:
Joining Jimmy Carter's
"Human Rights"
Campaign?

Speaker: Ed Clarkson
Spartacist League Central Committee

Date: Friday, August 19
Time: 7:30 p.m.
Place: Phillips Brooks House, Harvard University
For more information, call: (617) 492-3928

BOSTON

Steel...

(continued from page 1)

since the defeat of the 1959 strike—and to all American workers.

Thus the iron miners' strike is not only a struggle for more than a thousand local grievances unresolved for years and for wage parity between a region and section of a crucial industry. It is also a conflict between the elemental militancy of the ranks and the disabling bureaucratic tradition of class collaboration. In this union, whose bureaucrats have sought to make prostration before the bosses explicit and legally binding through the ENA, it may be nothing less than the struggle for the strike weapon itself.

The companies are gearing up for a long strike. They have admitted to stockpiling up to four months' supply of



USWA pickets at the Hibbing Taconite Co. near Hibbing, Minn. WV Photo

taconite ore. Some have built separate roads into the plants to carry construction workers across the picket lines. The Pinkertons are on the job. The capitalist propaganda mill threatens layoffs and depression conditions. And behind it all stands the capitalist state—the cops and courts whose business is strike-breaking.

In the face of this company intransigence, the workers are getting ready for a long test of strength. *WV* learned from pickets at Hibbing, Minnesota that they are considering building warming huts at plant entrances to protect strikers from the sharp Minnesota winter. The slogan of workers at U.S. Steel's key Minntac complex at Mountain Iron, Minnesota is "Shut it down and let it rust!" The initial strike authorization vote for Local 1938 representing this plant was 80 percent for striking; last Sunday more than 1,000 Local 1938 members voted 94 percent to reaffirm the strike vote.

"No-Strike" Bureaucrats

The iron miners voted overwhelmingly for "steel rebel" Sadlowski against USWA head Lloyd McBride, and many express surprise that McBride sanctioned their strike. But it isn't so hard to understand. All wings of the Steelworkers bureaucracy are united in refusing to confront ENA head-on in the only way that counts, strike action. Faced with a massive regional walkout, McBride acquiesced to the inevitable and moved to contain it within the straitjacket bounds of the ENA. Thus the demand for wage parity is being treated as a demand for an "incentives" plan similar to the one in basic steel; "incentives," unlike wages, are considered a "local" issue.

The demand for wage parity is simple and fully justified. The pay differential runs between an estimated 70 and 80 cents per hour. The "incentives" programs in steel are nothing but speed-up schemes, generally known in the labor movement under a different name—

piecework. Militant USWA members must demand that the "incentives" systems in basic steel be dumped in favor of hourly rates, with the highest level of incentives rates rolled into them, for all steel workers.

The iron miners have taken the lead in challenging ENA. But the local bureaucrats in the iron fields have failed to call for the crucial demand that could definitively smash ENA and force the re-opening of the sellout contract: the extension of the miners' strike into an industrywide strike, encompassing basic steel.

Linus Wampler, director of the Mesabi-centered District 33 and a Sadlowski man, stresses the strike's local character and insists that individual locals can settle whenever they see fit. Already Hanna Mining Company's Channing plant in Michigan has voted to settle without pay parity; this plant

Canadian workers involved in a possible influx of imports to "hot cargo" strike breaking stockpile shipments. Canadian iron miners—and all USWA workers—should force their union "leaders" to shut down the steel industry.

But the present USWA leadership, and its loyal oppositionists in the Sadlowski camp, will fight tooth and nail against a militant mobilization of the steel industry. Instead of a call for an industrywide strike to smash the sellout contract and break the ENA straitjacket, they think only of courtroom bickering over the "legality" of the strikes under the provisions of the ENA. The resolution of these issues will not be determined in the courtrooms; they will be fought out on the terrain of the class struggle.

In the last analysis, the ENA will not be broken on the iron ranges, but in the steel mills—the backbone of the industry. The iron miners' determination can be an inspiration to the USWA ranks. But the USWA "leaders" are flirting with disaster by allowing isolated militant sectors of the workforce to face the full ferocity of company intransigence. The iron miners' strike underlines the crucial need to sweep aside the McBrides and Sadlowskis in favor of a class-struggle union leadership. Steel workers must take the massive iron miners' walkouts as the jumping off point for a concerted offensive against the ENA, guarantor of class collaboration, through an industrywide strike to shut down steel. ■

CORRECTIONS

In the last issue of *WV* (No. 168), the article, "Akron Beacon Journal Witch-hunts SYL," contains a press display which mistakenly labels the article from the *Akron Beacon Journal* as the *Record Courier*, and vice versa.

Also in the same issue of *WV*, the article, "Alibis of a Social Democrat," says of Bob Pearlman: "When he was recruited to the SL, he was a member of the New University Conference, a Progressive Labor (PL) front group for academics." In fact, the PL front group for academics to which Pearlman belonged when he was recruited to the SL was the University Action Group. The New University Conference was not a PL front group at all, but the unfortunate creature of New Left academics and liberals from which PL and its supporters were expelled on an anti-communist basis.

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Weapons...

(continued from page 6)

ments as a cover for arms escalation is not new. SALT I put limits on missile launchers and long-range bombers but not warheads. So between 1970 and 1975, despite "historic" SALT I, the United States added 4,500 nuclear warheads to its arsenal by MIRVing its Minutemen III and Poseidon ICBM's. This "arms limitation" resulted in a nearly threefold advantage for the United States in warheads.

The reality was nicely captured by Henry Kissinger who boasted last year in Dallas, "The SALT agreements are the opposite of the one-sided concessions to the U.S.S.R., as they are so often portrayed. Soviet offensive programs were slowed; none of ours were affected" (*New York Times*, 23 March 1977). Carter's March "initiative" makes it quite clear that he is aiming for an equally advantageous bargain this time around.

"Team B" et al.

An important aspect of the "human rights" campaign and the effort to enhance American strategic forces is a widespread propaganda campaign to convince the U.S. public of a mounting Soviet threat. Last year there were "revelations" that the CIA had been seriously underestimating Soviet military expenditures. Then came "Team B"—the "hardliners" who said as a "team" what they'd been saying as individuals for years: that the Soviet Union is striving for strategic superiority.

As if to bolster Team B's credibility, there has been a spate of recent articles detailing this new Red Menace. Team B leader Richard Pipes went on at length in a recent *Commentary* on why the Soviet military thinks it can win a nuclear war. *Aviation Week* reported the development of a Soviet "death-ray" particle beam which can supposedly knock out U.S. ICBM's from their parabolic orbits. Other reports tell of mock attacks by Russian "killer" lasers on U.S. satellites.

A number of influential anti-communist coalitions have sprung into action around the theme that the military balance is shifting in favor of the Kremlin and there is imminent danger of war. The "left" wing of this cesspool is the Committee on the Present Danger, founded by former Kennedy aide and Vietnam hawk Eugene V. Rostow. Included in the ranks of the Committee are General Lyman Lemnitzer, former chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff Maxwell Taylor, former undersecretary of defense David Packard and Lane Kirkland of the AFL-CIO.

On the right is the American Security Council, headed by a former FBI agent and co-chaired by five retired high-ranking military officers. The Council membership includes James Angleton, longtime head of CIA covert opera-

tions, and Edward Teller, co-inventor of the hydrogen bomb and the original Dr. Strangelove.

Recently this loathsome crew produced, with AFL-CIO cooperation, a television program entitled "The Price of Peace and Freedom," a piece of celluloid hysteria on the mounting Soviet threat. According to the *New York Times* of 4 April:

"This color film shows strong-jawed young Soviet officers pushing buttons that send missiles soaring in an arc of destruction, and displays the efficiency of Soviet tanks, bombers, radar and other military hardware. It is laced with somber warnings of high-ranking American officers and extensive use of a pessimistic speech by Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn."

While the U.S. Pentagon and its right-wing technocrats are certainly chomping at the bit, this campaign is no simple right-wing offensive. The desire to upgrade U.S. military hegemony represents the consensus of bourgeois opinion. And leading the effort is Jimmy Carter.

Interestingly enough, the Carter administration's own assessment of global power relationships is at variance with the thrust of the anti-Soviet propaganda. In fact Presidential Review Memorandum 10 finds the U.S. strategic advantage to be increasing and cites Cruise, the MX, Trident and the MK-12A as proof. It also notes that "détente" has somehow become passé, and advocates that the term "Era 2" be adopted, which incorporates the "competition of the cold-war era" (*New York Times*, 8 July). The change, unheralded at the time, undoubtedly occurred around 20 January 1977.

The CP's Reformist Pipedreams

The response of the Stalinists to this anti-Soviet offensive is as predictable as it is appalling. The U.S. Communist Party (CP) can only babble on about the pressure that "war hawks" are placing upon Carter. The notion that a massive arms budget springs from a sinister right-wing conspiracy may mesh nicely with a class-collaborationist "anti-monopoly coalition" strategy, but it has little to do with imperialist realities. The warhawk windmill at which Gus Hall tilts is inhabited by the entire bourgeoisie.

The Stalinists typically concentrate on a particular weapons system as the current embodiment of all evil. The Carter decision not to build the B-1 bomber, for example, was hailed as a "stunning although partial victory for the people." Indeed, this "great people's achievement" was deemed comparable to that other great "success," the rejection of an anti-ballistic missile system (ABM).

Despite the CP's giddy elation, one suspects that a certain amount of embarrassment is being felt these days around the *Daily World* editorial offices. The *Daily World's* "victory" communiqué itself announced the necessity of defeating the Cruise and the neutron bomb, and there is reason to believe the Soviet military may possibly have preferred the B-1 to Cruise. Contrary to the CP's liberal "guns vs. butter" platitudes, the B-1 and ABM were not rejected for more jobs in "productive sectors" but for what the bourgeoisie judges to be more effective weapons, Cruise and MIRV.

The Stalinists have been preaching their tired old refrain of "peaceful coexistence" and "disarmament" for decades. Its source is clear—the Soviet bureaucracy's anti-revolutionary policy of "socialism in one country." While the imperialists have from time to time sought or made limited, temporary deals with the Soviet degenerated workers state, these deals were always conditional on the ruling Stalinist bureaucracy being willing to barter away this or that vital interest of the international workers movement. The niggardly flow of Soviet arms to North Vietnam (at a time when Egypt was being armed to the teeth with the

USSR's most advanced weaponry) and Moscow's pressure on the DRV for a total sellout of the struggle in the south epitomize Brezhnev's pursuit of "détente" with the blood-stained Nixon regime.

The various imperialists, hungry for new markets, fresh sources of materials and new labor to exploit have never reconciled themselves to the fact that first the USSR and then China were wrenched from the world capitalist system by revolution. This fact of life, bloodily illustrated by the World War II Nazi invasion of the Soviet Union and the imperialist interventions in China, Korea and Vietnam, was ABC to the leaders of the October Revolution. Thus Lenin wrote:

"As long as capitalism and socialism remain side by side we cannot live peacefully—the one or the other will be the victor in the end. An obituary will be sung over the death of world capitalism or the death of the Soviet Republic. At present we have only a respite in the war."

Today as in Lenin's time the policy of revolutionaries struggling against imperialist war is the policy of class struggle. The main obstacles to the pursuit of this struggle are the Stalinists and social democrats (à la the SWP) with their pursuit of class collaborationist coalitions for "peace" and "disarmament." As Trotsky wrote in the *Transitional Program*:

"Disarmament?"—But the entire question revolves around who will disarm whom. The only disarmament which can avert or end war is the disarmament of the bourgeoisie by the workers. But to disarm the bourgeoisie the workers must arm themselves. ■

French Anti-Nuke Protest...

(continued from page 7)

strikes and one student demonstration.

On July 29 police raided the campsite at Morestel where many German protesters were staying and announced discovery of an "arms cache." Although according to *Le Monde* (2 August) this "arsenal" consisted of some 30 helmets and gas masks, a few tools, knives, and tent spikes, Jannin rushed to announce: "The formal instructions have been given; if necessary, I myself will give the order to open fire" (*Le Matin*, 1 August).

In the night following the assault, French cops scoured the rural area, rounding up foreigners, particularly Germans. Cars with foreign license plates were stopped, their occupants thrown in jail without charges, and held overnight in barbarous conditions. Some dozen German citizens were still being held last week, charged under the vague "anti-casseurs" law, an omnibus bill passed in the post-1968 events which allows the arrest of anyone the police deem suspicious. And at press time it was learned that after the first trial one demonstrator received a three-month prison sentence for possession of a knife!

Anti-nuclear protests have been growing in Europe. In Sweden last year the issue was decisive in defeating the Social Democrats, who had held power since 1932. In Britain, which already has two experimental breeders, rising costs and domestic protests have caused officials to agree to a public debate on the advisability of commercial breeders. West Germany has been the scene of recent violent clashes between police and demonstrators, and in Spain on July 14, 200,000 persons turned out to try to halt construction of a nuclear plant in the outlying suburbs of Bilbao. In France, which has insufficient fuel reserves, the government is determined to squelch any attempt to try to stop construction of the Super-Phénix, a key

element in the government's energy program. Thus, on the eve of the Creys-Malville rally, President Valéry Giscard-d'Estaing chose to visit a nearby uranium-enrichment plant to assert his commitment to nuclear programs.

PCP: "A Provocation"

The police assault at Creys-Malville was widely condemned among the opposition parties in France—with the notable exception of the Communist Party (PCF), long a rabid supporter of France's nuclear energy program. *L'Humanité* called the demonstration a "provocation" and Paul Rochas, PCF central committee member, condemned "the acts of violence of organized groups in France and other countries which act under and hide behind the cover of anti-nuclear slogans." Indeed, the PCF is even refusing to participate in the demonstration against Michalon's murder by the cops!

While the PCF lashes out at the eco-freaks, who they say wish "to return to the days of sailboat navies and oil lamps" (*New York Times*, 2 August), this position stems solely from the PCF's appetite to become the future administrators of the bourgeois state, and has nothing to do with the Marxist commitment to the fullest development of society's technological resources. The PCF's shameless call for developing an "independent military force" for France—whose purpose is to strengthen France's imperialist designs—is an enormous betrayal.

The Socialist Party (PS), long an advocate of nuclear power, is now calling for a referendum on the issue. Among the fake-Trotskyist left, while the Organisation Communiste Internationaliste and Lutte Ouvrière have opposed the anti-nuclear movement, the Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire (LCR) has been enthusiastically building the recent demonstrations, to the extent of devoting a page per day in *Rouge* to news of the upcoming demonstration. In the wake of the attack, while the LCR has denounced the government's resurrection of "xenophobic fear of the German anarchists," the LCR calls the event "the most powerful international demonstration against the run-away advance of nuclear power by the government, the EDF [government electrical utility] and private industry" (*Le Monde*, 2 August).

We condemn the despicable anti-German French chauvinism, but it is not only the bourgeoisie which has in the past fanned these flames. In particular the PCF has long campaigned against NATO and the Common Market on the basis of traditional anti-German hostility. We demand the immediate release of all those arrested in connection with the July 31 demonstration!

Marxists are not opposed to the development of nuclear power. Although the operation of fast breeder reactors such as Super-Phénix may pose potentially greater safety hazards than the operation of conventional nuclear reactors such as the one which was the object of the Clamshell Alliance protests in the U.S., like the Clamshell Alliance, the European ecology movement sees the main danger to society as technology itself. All the anti-nuclear movements ignore the capitalist system with its vast arsenal of nuclear bombs and sophisticated weapons systems. Marxists call for control of safety conditions in the nuclear plants by the trade union movement and for the expropriation of the energy industry linked to the struggle for a workers government. Not only nuclear power, but all forms of modern technology can be lethal in the hands of the capitalist class and its drive for profits. Only international proletarian revolution can halt the escalating spiral of the imperialist arms race and unleash the productive forces from the chains of capitalist economic anarchy, putting them at the service of all humanity. ■

Workers Vanguard

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Shut up...

(continued from page 3)

(in Dayton, Ohio). Two days later the Court also overturned desegregation plans in Omaha and Milwaukee.

The Court has already virtually outlawed "metropolitan" busing plans between predominantly black cities and surrounding white suburbs. Last winter it held that it was not inherently unconstitutional for a Chicago suburb to refuse to change its zoning laws to permit low-income housing even if one of the motivations for the zoning ordinance was racial discrimination.

Under the circumstances, NAACP spokesmen felt compelled to launch an uncharacteristic attack on several Democratic Party politicians. Clarence Mitchell, director of the NAACP's Washington office, charged that opponents of busing, including prominent liberal congressmen, "are trying to



McElroy/Newsweek

Benjamin Hooks, new NAACP head.

restore the badge of slavery." He singled out Senator Thomas Eagleton (McGovern's initial choice for running mate in 1972) and Representative Charles Vanik (once a member of the Board of Directors of the Cleveland NAACP) for being "ready to turn and run when they feel pressure from the worst segregationist elements in their states." Eagleton and Vanik recently introduced similar resolutions, which passed the House and Senate, preventing the federal government from withholding aid to school districts that refuse to integrate.

Reformism Equals Blacks vs. Labor

The NAACP is also running into trouble with its support for "affirmative action" schemes which were introduced by the government in the late 1960's and early 1970's. Under the guise of concern for the plight of unskilled, marginally employed blacks and women, the state sought to rip up union contracts and destroy union hiring halls and seniority systems—hard-won gains which provide virtually the only protection that all workers have against selective victimization or arbitrary company actions.

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While Marxists may support certain insufficient measures like special admissions programs at universities which extend the opportunities of oppressed minorities (while calling for *open* admissions for all), petitioning the capitalist state to attack the gains of the labor movement must be resolutely opposed. We demand a shorter work-week with no loss in pay to create jobs for all; an end to all discriminatory practices in unemployment and within the unions; and union-controlled hiring on a first come, first served basis.

NAACP support of union-busting by the government is rationalized with the liberal bourgeois argument that white workers are the cause of racial discrimination and must pay the price for its redress. Herbert Hill, the NAACP Labor Director, attacked the labor movement as a whole at the convention's labor workshop:

"Black workers have not been denied jobs as individuals, but as a class, no matter what their personal merits and qualifications.... Correspondingly, white males as a class have benefited from this systematic discrimination. The notion that these workers are innocent and blameless is a myth, and we categorically reject this notion."

Not surprisingly, these attacks on the trade unions have led to sharp clashes with union bureaucrats, including black bureaucrats. A contingent of black labor bureaucrats, led by William Pollard, director of the AFL-CIO Department of Civil Rights, sharply criticized Hill and defended the May 31 Supreme Court decision upholding seniority systems as long as they were not intentionally discriminatory. The Meanyite bureaucrats, of course, care nothing about historic union gains and their extension to blacks and women, seeking only to preserve their own narrow constituencies built on job-trusting, betrayal of low-seniority and unemployed workers and catering to the labor aristocracy.

Predictably, the reformist SWP hailed Hill's attack on the unions, approvingly quoting his denunciation of white workers in the 8 July *Militant*. Robb Wright, a member of the Boston Teachers Union and a supporter of the SWP, supported Hill at the labor workshop.

The trade-union bureaucracy and the NAACP play symmetrical political roles—both attempting to bind their respective constituencies to the Democratic Party and to loyalty to the bourgeois state. In a period when the



McElroy/Newsweek

Black misleaders delivered ghetto vote to "ethnic purity" Carter.

bourgeoisie is no longer able or willing to grant significant concessions to either the working class or blacks, and is in fact on the offensive *against* the oppressed, the NAACP and the bureaucrats are set one against the other more than ever, squabbling over whatever rapidly disappearing crumbs there are left.

The black reformists and labor statesmen are obstacles to the forging of the revolutionary proletarian leadership which is the only road forward. Such a leadership will be forged in the fight to break the labor movement from the parties of the bourgeoisie in the struggle for a workers party to fight for a workers government.

A key element in the creation of such a party is the black proletariat. In fact, it was the increasing black component of the labor movement more than the legal campaigns of the NAACP which forced many of the gains of the civil rights period. The Jim Crow system, which was effective for keeping rural sharecroppers in their place, simply could not

be adapted to the conditions of the industrial proletariat.

The courts and Congress are not the guardians of the democratic principles which the ruling class hypocritically claims to uphold, but are simply state organs to protect bourgeois property while creating illusions and false hopes among the masses. Like all branches of the state, the courts reflect the prevailing moods and tactics of the bourgeoisie. In the present period of rightward motion, when the labor movement is still crippled by conservative leadership and the black population is atomized and demoralized, it is no accident that the NAACP finds itself snubbed by a Democratic Party president, abandoned by liberal legislators and suffering repeated defeats in the courts.

The realization of full social and political equality for black people and all the oppressed can only be won through unrelenting struggle against the bourgeois state. Break from the Democratic Party! For a workers party to fight for a workers government! ■

SWP Calls on Soviet Union to Disarm...

(continued from page 7)

wipe out all human beings once. Both sides have stockpiles sufficient to obliterate humanity many times over....

"Yet in a madness that has no equal in human history the nuclear arms race continues. 'Military defense' has obviously become *meaningless* in terms of saving a country from the most terrible catastrophe imaginable—its extinction. "To me it appears quite clear that the Kremlin, by participating in this mindless race, is dealing terrible blows against the defense of the Soviet Union." [our emphasis]

Hansen abandons the Trotskyist position of Soviet defensism with the argument that nuclear weaponry makes all military defense meaningless. Nuclear weapons render the class nature of conflicting states irrelevant; any state with weapons capable of destroying mankind is a bad state. Contrary to Norman Thomas and Joseph Hansen, it is a pacifist illusion that, if both sides have nuclear weapons, a war must result in mutual annihilation. It is possible to win a nuclear war.

The logic of Hansen's position is that since the early 1960's when both the U.S. and USSR acquired stockpiles theoretically capable of destroying humanity, all military expenditure and planning has been completely senseless. This is a stupid, pacifistic technological argument. Stockpiled nuclear weapons *in themselves* have no military effectiveness. Such weapons must be *delivered* to enemy targets. And delivery systems are *constantly* being countered through new military technology. The type of plane which A-bombed Hiroshima in 1945 could not today get within a thousand miles of an enemy city. Polaris submarines of late 1960's vintage are so noisy they are easily located by present-day underwater listening devices. It is in the

area of delivery systems (ICBM's, MIRV's, Polaris submarines, Trident submarines, Cruise missiles) that American imperialism seeks the technological breakthroughs which would give it strategic nuclear superiority over the USSR.

It is common in liberal, pacifistic circles to regard the American military/technological establishment as a bunch of mad gamblers à la Dr. Strangelove. This view, the product of technological ignorance, intellectual snootiness and fatuous moralism, has no relation to military science. Strategic nuclear superiority is *not* a fantastic concept. Weapons can potentially be developed which would give the U.S. an effective first strike capacity against the Soviet Union. James Schlesinger's project for a "hard-target counterforce," for example, is potentially a deadly threat to the Soviet state.

What gives the *illusion* of pointlessness and stasis to the arms race is that the USSR has countered each U.S. advance so that a rough strategic *parity* has been maintained since the early 1960's. We do not condemn the Soviet Union for its nuclear weapons policy. On the contrary, we are concerned that it might be inadequate. Any Kremlin regime which out of liberal illusions or bureaucratic mismanagement neglects the nuclear defense of the USSR and Eastern Europe is signing the death warrant of the Soviet state, which is historically progressive in relation to its capitalist imperialist enemies. Such a failure of Soviet military preparedness could open the way to a nuclear holocaust which would set mankind back many generations.

The inevitable conflicts between rival imperialist powers competing to plunder the world for profit, and the revanchist imperialist appetite to restore private property in the deformed workers states, constitute the impetus toward nuclear world war. "Disarmament" and "coexistence" schemes are a dangerous hoax; the worldwide victory of the revolutionary proletariat is the only road to peace. ■

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August 20 Demos Feed Anti-Soviet "Human Rights" Crusade

Full Democratic Rights for Homosexuals!

When Anita Bryant's vicious anti-homosexual crusade chalked up a victory for bigotry in Dade County, Florida earlier this summer, hundreds of thousands of people took to the streets in protest. Now, demonstrations scheduled for August 20—organized on the West Coast by the Coalition for Human Rights and on the East Coast by the Coalition for Lesbian and Gay Rights—are being built around the slogan, "human rights for gays." These actions, intended to tap the outrage of the gay community in the face of the Bryant assault, cannot advance the struggle for homosexuals' democratic rights, for they are attempts to bring the protests into the camp of an even more menacing campaign, Jimmy Carter's imperialist "human rights" crusade against the Soviet bloc.

In New York City the plan is to demonstrate at the United Nations. According to the Socialist Workers Party (SWP), a prime mover of the August 20 demonstrations, the marchers' aim is to "focus attention on President Carter's two-faced pronouncements on human rights abroad while these very rights are denied to lesbians and gay men in this country" (*Militant*, 5 August). To chide Carter for hypocrisy because he denies human rights at home is a conscious legitimization of the imperialist chief's policies abroad. In other words, Carter's domestic stance should be as "humanitarian" as his foreign policy!

What is the meaning of Carter's "human rights" campaign internationally? His call for "human rights" is nothing but a code phrase for anti-Communism. It is an attack on the Soviet Union and the other bureaucratically deformed workers states, an ideological preparation for imperialist military assault on the gains of the October Revolution.

The Bolshevik Revolution of October 1917 was a monumental historic

advance: all opponents of capitalist exploitation and oppression must learn its lessons. The socialist revolution in Russia overturned more than bourgeois private property; it also committed itself to the fight to root out centuries of barbaric abuse of women, Jews, non-Russian nationalities and other specially oppressed sections of the population. An important revolutionary act, guided by the principle that the state has no business interfering in private consensual sexual relations, was the abolition of reactionary anti-homosexual legislation. The revolution laid the material basis for replacing the stultifying enslavement of women in the nuclear family with personal relations freed from economic coercion and philistine moralism. Thus, the Bolshevik program held the key to ending the oppression of homosexuals.

The Stalinist political counterrevolution in the USSR destroyed workers democracy and the revolutionary Bolshevik Party and reinstated (in the name of the so-called "proletarian family") much of the old bourgeois moralism and social conservatism. But it did not destroy the collective property forms established by the October Revolution. The economic foundations upon which the USSR still rests are the decisive criterion of the class nature of the Soviet degenerated workers state.

It was this understanding of the class character of the USSR and the contradictory nature of Stalinism that propelled a politically advanced collective of gay activists, the Red Flag Union (RFU, formerly Lavender and Red Union) in the direction of Trotskyism and fusion with the Spartacist League. These comrades came to understand that the duty of revolutionists is to defend the gains of October against imperialism and counterrevolution, as part of the Trotskyist program of political revolution against Stalinism:

"The working class must overthrow

Stalinism itself—it cannot delegate that task to the bourgeoisie. We defend the USSR not because we believe that it is a model to be emulated, not because we feel a moral solidarity with its leaders, and not because we believe that socialism will come there sooner than it will come here. We defend the USSR because we oppose the return of capitalism and because of what that return would mean for the consciousness of the working class and the prospect for world revolution."

—Red Flag, July 1977

On August 20 the SL and RFU will not be found among the pious liberal cold-warriors, pro-tsarist "dissidents," "free Soviet Jewry" Zionists and other "human rights" protesters who appeal to U.S. imperialism not to be "hypocritical." We cannot march with the August 20 "single issue" demonstrators when their single issue is imperialist "human rights." Instead, the SL and RFU call upon leftist homosexual activists and others who wish to demonstrate in defense of democratic rights to boycott the August 20 protests which have been organized under the banner of liberal anti-Sovietism.

In the protests which were organized this summer against the ominous anti-homosexual campaign spearheaded by Bryant the SL and RFU actively demonstrated our commitment to the defense of democratic rights. But we intervened to draw the *class line*—pointing out that while Carter in his Father's Day interview was willing to hypocritically give support to democratic rights for homosexuals, his "human rights" campaign is demagoguery designed to mobilize public opinion behind his attempts to refurbish the discredited spy agencies and to strengthen the nuclear arsenal of U.S. imperialism. Unlike the SWP, which tails the imperialist "human rights" campaign by uncritically supporting all Soviet dissidents including reactionary ideologues such as Andrei Amalrik and by explicitly

opposing "dictatorships everywhere" so as to equate the USSR with bourgeois police states, the SL and RFU have raised the slogan—"the main enemy is at home!"

The current thinly veiled appeal to the Democrats' refurbished cold-war politics is a sinister but logical outgrowth of the sectoralism of the petty-bourgeois gay milieu, abetted by the cynical reformists of the SWP. It is flatly counterposed to the revolutionary perspective of the SL and RFU, based on the socialist understanding of the revolutionary future of the united proletariat under the leadership of the vanguard party. As a recent leaflet issued jointly by the SL and RFU explained:

"Our program has a double edge. In one direction it seeks to cut the workers, which includes the preponderance of gay people, and oppressed away from backward ideology and in the other to sever the oppressed from utopian petty-bourgeois illusions they place in the revolutionary potential of their particular oppressed sector."

The SL and RFU are committed to the struggle for full democratic rights for homosexuals as part of the class struggle which alone can win and defend those rights. Participating in demonstrations across the country under the banner, "Stop Anita Bryant," we stressed the need for united class struggle, guided by a revolutionary proletarian program, to beat back the reactionary offensive. Above all we insisted that this offensive was mounted by the capitalist state; behind the savagery of the Bryants, the "right-to-lifers," the anti-busing fanatics stands Carter's "human rights" anti-Soviet campaign.

Stop Anita Bryant! Fight Social Reaction Through a Workers Party! Toward a Workers Government! Down with Carter's Anti-Soviet "Human Rights" Campaign! Full Democratic Rights for Homosexuals!