

THE MILITANT

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

What really happened in Cambodia war?

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Iranian masses spurn shah's puppet gov't



—PAGE 6

SWP victory

As we go to press, the Socialist Workers Party has announced a decisive victory in its battle against the law requiring disclosure of the names of contributors to the party's election campaigns.

The Federal Election Commission and the liberal "citizens' lobby" Common Cause, which had been trying for five years to force the socialists to turn over these names, threw in the towel and signed a consent decree. The decree, which was approved by a federal court, grants the SWP an exemption until the end of 1984. At that time the party can apply for an extension of the exemption.

There will be no appeal.

The FEC conceded that "the re-

cord discloses that the Socialist Workers Party and persons connected with it have been subjected to systematic harassment" by government agents. Therefore, the SWP "cannot constitutionally be compelled to comply with the reporting requirements."

Jack Barnes, SWP national secretary, greeted the ruling as "a complete vindication of the charges of harassment and spying that we have leveled against the FBI." He noted that the SWP decision would make it easier for other political parties that have been harassed by the FBI, such as the Communist Party, to win similar exemptions.

The *Militant* will provide more details on this victory next week.

Young Socialist Alliance celebrates

20 years of Cuban revolution

—PAGE 14-15



Cutback conspiracy

The urban crisis. The financially strapped cities.

The budget cutbacks that accompany these abstract (and often misleading) terms have very real human faces. The sacrifices they extract from working people are an indictment of a system that puts profit before human needs.

When bankers demand more money, social services and public workers' jobs are the first to go.

New Yorkers are still among those most victimized by what is not really an urban crisis, but the crisis of capitalism. Other cities—Cleveland, Newark, Detroit—are also moving into the headlines and onto the path of the cutbacks.

In New York, Democratic Mayor Edward Koch has zeroed in on two social services that he apparently considers dispensable: health care and education.

Koch is proposing to cut:

- Up to \$88 million from the Health and Hospitals Corporation, with the goal of eliminating have the city's municipal hospitals by 1982;

- \$85 million from the Board of Education, to be accomplished in part by rejecting the contract agreed to by the board and United Federation of Teachers seven months ago.

The NAACP charges Koch with "balancing his budget on the backs of the poor."

The civil rights group estimates that 75 percent of municipal hospital patients are Black or hispanic, as would be 70 percent of those fired under Koch's cutback plan.

The mayor declares he will not "cave in" to such "demagogic racial epithets."

The NAACP has called on the Department of Health, Education and Welfare to investigate the threatened dismantling of the hospital system, charging it would be a violation of the 1964 Civil Rights Act.

But little compassion can be expected from Washington, where cutbacks are the name of the "war on inflation" game. Carter's only complaint is that Koch didn't implement enough cuts last year!

On January 9, the *New York Post* published

the text of a secret White House memorandum on New York's fiscal crisis. The memo blames Koch for "having bypassed the opportunity to capitalize on his political popularity to make major cuts in 1979."

It cites fiscal year 1981, which begins July 1 of 1980, as the time for the "most drastic cuts"—44,000 workers, or 22 percent of the city's workforce, must be fired in that year alone, the memo states.

Then it goes on to explain that White House officials should strive to make it appear as though the city and state are wreaking this devastation on the people of New York without pressure from Carter "which could be used to make the Administration politically accountable for the cutbacks."

"You can mention in general terms your commitment to do your part through programs such as welfare reform . . ." the memo cynically concludes. "However, we strongly recommend against specific commitments regarding other programs or aid levels."

The NAACP is right that there should be an investigation. But it should be conducted by those who are the victims of this cutback conspiracy.

Let the unions and representatives of the Black and Puerto Rican communities inspect the financial books of the city and of the banks to whom working people's lives and jobs must be sacrificed.

Those books would reveal the outrageous tax giveaways to big business, and the exorbitant interest rates paid to the banks. This giant ripoff—along with the billions in Carter's war budget that goes to prop up dictators around the world—is the real source of the "urban crisis."

Too costly for who?

The Carter administration has postponed for six months permanent regulation of strip mining, claiming the new rules were "too costly."

The delay will mean more devastation of Appalachia, another spring in which killer floods will sweep down the ravaged hillsides, still more land permanently scarred.

The proposed new rules had been drafted by the Interior Department, and were supposed to go into effect February 3. But the coal industry, which has always bitterly fought strip mining regulation and reclamation of strip-mined lands, hopped on Carter's "inflation-fighting" bandwagon and undertook a major campaign to defeat the rules.

"State Coal Industry May Close," pro-

claimed a front-page headline in the January 3 *Charleston Gazette* in an attempt to convince miners and other working people that they had to choose between continued rape of the land and their jobs.

The coal operators had their friend in the White House working for them. On January 5, representatives of the President's Council of Economic Advisers—the "inflation fighters"—put the arm on the Interior Department in a closed meeting. On January 6, the Interior Department announced the postponement. Environmentalists charged that the information on which the economists based their cost estimates was "replete with evidence of solicitation of industry views."

This is the real face of Carter's "anti-inflation" plan. It's a plan to hack away at job-safety rules, the environment, and basic social services. It's a plan that means attacks on the living standards of all working people, and billions of dollars in profits for the employers.

A necessary step

Over the years we have worked persistently to increase the size and influence of the *Militant*. As the class struggle has deepened and the socialist movement has grown, we have expanded our news coverage, socialist analysis, and feature articles.

Several years ago we reached the point where we were able to publish a thirty-two-page paper regularly.

Now we have been forced to go back to a twenty-eight-page paper. Due to soaring inflation we have reduced our staff and are unable to sustain a weekly thirty-two-page *Militant*. We will continue to print thirty-two pages once a month when we publish the *International Socialist Review*.

The success of our Fiftieth Anniversary Fund Drive, in which our readers helped us go over the top by contributing more than \$76,000, helped meet some of our financial problems. Despite the gratifying response from our readers, however, inflation continues to outpace our income.

We're confident that the developing militancy of the working class will bring an increase in our circulation—and our financial resources. Meanwhile, we are working on plans to use our present size in a way that will minimize the effect of the cutbacks.

And we're sure we can continue to rely on the financial support of all those who see the need—and growing prospects—for a revolutionary socialist newspaper.

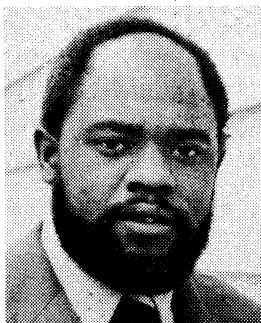
The next issue of the 'International Socialist Review' will appear in the issue of the 'Militant' dated February 2, 1979.

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WORLD OUTLOOK
20 Events in China



Socialist runs for Cleveland mayor

SWP candidate Thabo Ntweng (left) finds coworkers in his auto plant are enthusiastic about his campaign. **Page 5.**

German steelworkers strike

In an interview, a leader of the strike explains the new combativity of German workers. **Page 19.**



Martial law in Turkey

The revolt in Iran has the Turkish regime worried. **Page 22.**



The Militant

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Behind fall of Pol Pot

By Fred Feldman

In a rapid military drive, 100,000 Vietnamese troops together with 20,000 Cambodian insurgents captured virtually all of eastern Cambodia this month, taking the capital city of Pnompenh on January 7. Pressing westward from Pnompenh, the Vietnamese-Cambodian force moved rapidly toward the Thai-Cambodian border.

The invasion brought down the regime of Pol Pot. This government had ruled Cambodia since the collapse of the U.S.-backed Lon Nol dictatorship in April 1975. The new Cambodian cabinet is composed of figures from the Vietnamese-backed Kampuchean United Front for National Salvation, which was formed December 3. Most of the new officials are former supporters of the Cambodian regime who fled to Vietnam after reportedly attempting an uprising against Pol Pot in May 1978.

Heng Samrin, a former military commander under Pol Pot, was named as president of the People's Revolutionary Council of Cambodia.

According to the January 8 *New York Times*, the new regime promised to ease the brutal repression that scarred Cambodia under Pol Pot: "The front pledged to let families reunite freely and return to their cities of origin. Former city dwellers . . . were told that they could return 'when the situation in the whole country permits.' The front promised freedom of religion and the building or repair of destroyed temples. . . .

"The front promised also to provide general health care, which has been virtually nonexistent since 1975, and to build schools for all children, 7 to 10 years old. Schools also virtually vanished under the Pol Pot regime."

The front also promised to "abolish compulsory marriage and encourage free choice in marriage" and to "establish an eight-hour workday with pay according to labor."

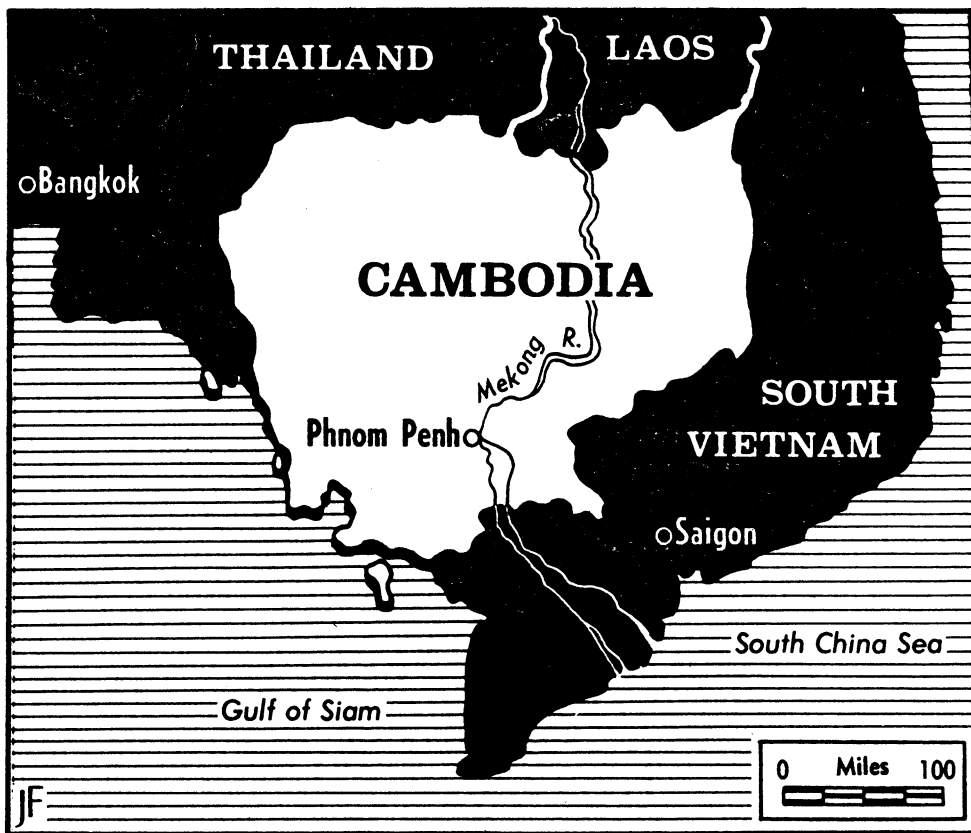
The front's eleven-point program made no mention of socialism as a goal, but an earlier declaration proposed an "independent democratic state advancing toward socialism." What forms of property ownership would be instituted by the new regime was not indicated.

Pol Pot calls on UN

As the Pol Pot government saw defeat rapidly approaching, it demanded that the United Nations Security Council intervene.

As Pnompenh was being captured, Cambodian Prince Norodom Sihanouk was released from what he said was house arrest under the Pol Pot regime and sent to New York via Peking to represent that regime at the UN.

Sihanouk was Cambodia's king during the last years of French rule. He was the country's neocolonial head of state from 1955 to 1970, when he was toppled by a CIA-backed coup because of his attempts to maintain neutrality in the Vietnam War. Sihanouk was the titular leader of the rebel Khmer Rouge



Christian Science Monitor

forces during the civil war that followed. He served briefly as head of state after the fall of Lon Nol.

"I hope the United States and the great American people will help us to expel the Vietnamese from Cambodia," Sihanouk declared in Peking at a January 8 news conference prior to departing for the UN. He called on the UN to condemn Vietnam and expel it.

In the days prior to the fall of Pnompenh, Washington rallied behind the Pol Pot regime's demand for a UN debate on Cambodia. U.S. officials denounced Vietnamese "aggression" and even gave a backhanded endorsement to Pol Pot.

"We don't like the Pol Pot regime,"

said Robert Oakley, deputy assistant secretary for East Asian affairs, "but we are not sure any new regime would be better for the Cambodian people." Following on the heels of Carter's last-ditch stand with the shah of Iran, the White House position sheds more light on the hypocrisy of Carter's human rights rhetoric.

Some State Department sources even initially floated the idea of giving Sihanouk and Pol Pot backing for guerrilla war against the new regime. But as it became clear that the Vietnamese-Cambodian advance was not meeting any large-scale resistance, such ideas were dropped.

By midweek, Washington was stress-

ing that its denunciations of Vietnam should not be regarded as support for the defunct Pol Pot regime.

Behind line-up of forces

What explains the line-up of pro-imperialist forces against Vietnam in what is often presented as a conflict between two "Communist" regimes? The crocodile tears shed by U.S. officials over the violation of Cambodian "independence and sovereignty" should be dismissed. The U.S. rulers showed no such concern when they invaded Cambodia in May 1970 in a war that cost hundreds of thousands of Cambodian lives.

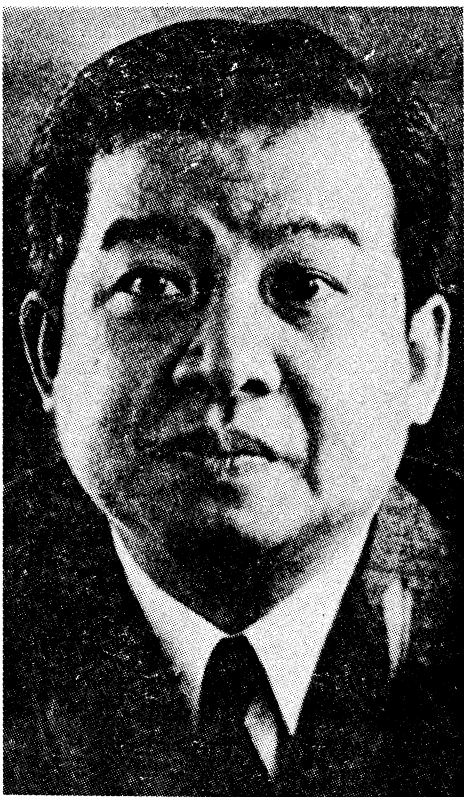
And why has the Vietnamese regime—which desperately wants "peaceful coexistence" with the U.S. and Southeast Asian capitalist regimes—taken the risks involved in sweeping away a neighboring government? Has it, as U.S. and pro-Chinese representatives charge, embarked on a program of imperialist conquest?

In reality, the Vietnamese rulers acted neither out of imperialist ambitions nor from a desire to spread socialist revolution beyond their borders. Their goal was the narrow one of protecting Vietnamese borders against a tightening ring of military foes. Their great fear was the emergence on the Indochinese peninsula of an anti-Vietnamese regime in Cambodia closely linked to Peking with increasing prospects for ties to imperialism, including possible military ties.

For the same reason, Vietnam has 25,000 troops in Laos, where the government formed by Pathet Lao rebels in December 1975 is fighting off counter-revolutionary guerrillas trained in earlier years by the CIA and currently getting the cautious support of the Thai regime.

Vietnam has also had to deploy more than 170,000 troops along its northern

Continued on next page



Heng Samrin (right), new president of Cambodia. Last act of Pol Pot (center) dictatorship was to send Prince Sihanouk (left) to demand U.S., UN intervention.

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...Cambodia

Continued from preceding page

border with China, which was Cambodia's staunchest supporter in the war.

And the military encirclement and economic and diplomatic blockade of Vietnam by U.S. imperialism continues in force.

Under all these circumstances, Vietnam's Stalinist rulers felt pressed to act against what was simultaneously the most politically vulnerable and the most militarily active of its opponents, the Cambodian regime headed by Pol Pot. They felt they had to strike quickly and massively, before the United States could take advantage of the conflict by beginning to forge links with Pol Pot.

The Vietnamese leaders' intentions in Cambodia were defensive and not revolutionary. Nonetheless, a major part of the imperialists' concerns stems from their fear that a victory for Vietnam and its Cambodian allies will result in the extension of socialist revolution to Cambodia. This, they fear, may further destabilize capitalist rule in Thailand, where popular unrest against the military dictatorship is widespread and where rebel guerrillas continue to be active.

Opposition to the deepening social revolution in southern Vietnam, and to its extension to other parts of Southeast Asia, has been at the heart of the U.S.-Chinese alliance against Vietnam that has emerged over the past year.

The differing social nature of the regimes in Cambodia and Vietnam is key to the line-up of forces in the recent war. Both the Cambodian and Vietnamese liberation forces faced overwhelming problems in the aftermath of their military victories over U.S. imperialism in the spring of 1975. Imperialist bombing and invasion had shattered the countryside, killed and maimed millions, and packed the cities with homeless refugees.

But the Vietnamese and Cambodian regimes took divergent courses in trying to grapple with these problems.

After delaying for nearly three years, in the hope of reaching an accommodation with imperialist and native capitalist forces, the Vietnamese rulers moved decisively, beginning in March 1978, to sweep away capitalism throughout South Vietnam and to integrate the southern economy with that of the bureaucratized workers state that had existed in the north for two decades.

The revolutionary measures introduced in the south included nationalization of 30,000 enterprises, the expropriation of hoarded goods, and the introduction of a single currency for the whole country. Anticapitalist measures continued, notably the nationalization of all large agricultural machinery and a new distribution of land aimed at fostering collectivized farming in December.

To carry out these measures, the regime organized mobilizations of workers and youth in Ho Chi Minh City (formerly Saigon), the center of most remaining capitalist forces. These mobilizations were tightly controlled by the bureaucratic caste that rules Vietnam and bars the masses from political debate and decision making.

As a result of these moves, a workers state based on the expropriation of the capitalists and a nationalized and planned economy has now been established throughout all of Vietnam. As in the Soviet Union and China, the full productive possibilities of such a progressive economic structure are stifled by the undemocratic rule of a privileged bureaucratic caste.

Cambodia's different road

From the very day it marched into Phnompenh, however, the Khmer Rouge set off on a different road that cut off the possibility of bringing the power of the Cambodian masses to bear in creating a more advanced social system.



Scene from forced evacuation of Phnompenh by Khmer Rouge forces in April 1975

Not only did the new regime oppose mobilizing the urban population in any way, it treated it as a deadly enemy. Cambodia's urban masses were immediately herded into the countryside, where they were dispersed into agricultural work camps. The virtual depopulation of the cities threw the entire society backward, away from the process that has occurred in Vietnam over the past year.

Large sections of the Cambodian peasantry were also forced to pull up stakes and move into so-called communes in distant parts of the country.

This policy had an extreme impact on the entire social fabric of Cambodian society. All higher and most elementary education was abolished. Literature and most cultural pursuits vanished. Freedom of religion was suppressed.

Child labor became universal, the hours of labor were extended, and the seven-day workweek became the rule.

The only way such a regime could be maintained was by the most intense suppression of all democratic rights, even by Stalinist standards. The life of every citizen was controlled down to the smallest detail by the government. An equality of poverty was imposed on the vast bulk of an already poor population.

Refugees poured out of the country in reaction to these policies.

Despite the sharp break that the new agrarian regime appeared to represent from the neocolonial past, it actually moved away from the only road to progress for Cambodian society—the establishment of a workers and peasants government and the institution of a workers state.

The regime tried to gain some semblance of a popular base by presenting itself as the most fanatical defender of the national rights of the Khmer people, who make up the great majority of Cambodians. Such sentiments had grown to a high pitch because of decades of imperialist domination.

Border conflict

Chauvinism against Vietnamese and Indian minorities in Cambodia was fostered, and violent border conflicts began with Vietnam and Thailand almost as soon as the Pol Pot regime came to power.

In its struggle with Vietnam in particular, Cambodia counted on the support of the Chinese Stalinist bureaucracy. For two years, the Cambodians appeared to hold the offensive in this border fighting. Independent observers who were shown the border regions by

the Vietnamese government were convinced that the Cambodians had initiated many of the conflicts.

The Cambodian government barred reporters from its border regions.

At the end of 1977, however, the Vietnamese regime began to hit back hard with its superior military forces. Cambodia severed diplomatic relations, and Vietnam reversed its policy of returning Cambodian refugees to the tender mercies of Pol Pot's regime. Soon, 150,000 Cambodian refugees were in Vietnam, and the Vietnamese rulers began to build bases of support among Cambodian refugees and dissident Cambodian Stalinists in eastern Cambodia, where close ties with Vietnam had been forged during the liberation struggle.

China-Vietnam dispute

The Chinese bureaucrats' heavy backing for Cambodia stems from the Peking regime's hostility to the Vietnamese revolution, which it views as an obstacle to stability in the region and to its alliance with U.S. imperialism.

The Chinese Stalinists sought to dissuade the Vietnamese leaders from bringing down the Thieu regime in 1975. And the overturn of capitalism in South Vietnam in 1978 brought shrieks of outrage from Mao's successors. They used the fact that the great majority of merchants and capitalists in the south were of Chinese national origin as a pretext for denouncing the revolutionary measures as racist.

The exodus that followed the expropriations has become the keynote of a U.S.-Chinese propaganda campaign against the Vietnamese revolution. The "boat people"—about 85 percent of whom are of Chinese descent—are pointed to as proof of the evils stemming from the overturn of capitalism, although they represent only a small percentage of Vietnam's 50 million people.

China's threats, and the difficulties along its borders, compelled Vietnam to make a sharp turn toward the Soviet rulers. Vietnam strengthened its position economically and militarily by joining Comecon, the Soviet bloc's economic unit, and by signing a twenty-five-year defense and aid treaty with the USSR in November.

Imperialist hostility to Vietnam—which never abated after the defeat of the puppet Thieu regime—became more intense.

Before the social revolution reached a qualitative turning point in South Vietnam, the U.S. rulers had viewed the Cambodian regime primarily as a foil for sanctimonious human rights

rhetoric. Carter decried the Cambodian regime as "the worst violator of human rights in the world today."

But after capitalism was overturned throughout the southern part of Vietnam, the imperialists began to consider the Cambodian dictatorship in a new light—as a possible buffer against the spread of the Vietnamese social revolution and as a military force for harassing the Vietnamese workers state.

Seeking aid against growing internal opposition and stronger retaliatory attacks from Vietnam, the Cambodian regime began to turn its eyes toward the imperialists and their neocolonial allies. The Chinese had no objection to this, since they were unwilling to substantially increase their expenditures in money and advisers, and since they were wooing the imperialists as well.

Over the past year, the Pol Pot regime began to devote increasing attention to opening these ties. In October, it invited UN Secretary General Kurt Waldheim to the country.

It also began to open its borders to more foreign capitalist press, including reporters from the *Washington Post* and *St. Louis Post Dispatch*, who visited Cambodia in December. Reporters for the two papers took an "objective" and even friendly tone toward the regime. They expressed doubts about the lies that had appeared in the American press about millions of executions and mass starvation. But they could not avoid conveying the image of one of the most totalitarian societies in the world.

Pol Pot's moves

One reporter was astonished when a Cambodian official gave her a ninety-four-page "Black Paper" on "Vietnamese aggression" that denounced the Vietnamese for having used Cambodia as a sanctuary during the U.S. war against Vietnam. The tone of these remarks indicated a shift on the Cambodian regime's part toward adopting some aspects of the U.S. view of the Vietnam War.

The regime also established diplomatic and trade relations with Thailand, Singapore, Malaysia, and Indonesia. And while border tensions with Thailand appeared to ease, new incidents began developing along Cambodia's border with southern Laos, the center of rightist resistance to the Laotian regime, which is closely allied with Vietnam.

In addition, Thailand permitted China to overfly its air space to bring arms and other support to Cambodia

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Socialists expose mayor's Muny Light fraud

By Dick Roberts

CLEVELAND—On January 6 Mayor Dennis Kucinich launched his drive to raise the city payroll tax from 1 to 1.5 percent. The tax measure will be voted on in a city-wide referendum February 27.

Upping this regressive income tax by 50 percent is supposed to bail Cleveland out of the default it sank into last month.

In addition to campaigning for a "yes" vote on the tax increase, Democratic Mayor Kucinich is asking residents to vote against the sale of the city's Municipal Light Plant. The tax increase and "Muny Light" are the two questions in the forthcoming referendum.

Muny Light is a small, city-owned electric utility company that distributes power to roughly 19 percent of electric consumers in the Cleveland area. For decades Cleveland's bankers have been proposing that the city sell Muny Light to the privately owned Cleveland Electric Illuminating Company.

Kucinich has made "saving Muny Light" a central issue in his political career. He has used populist demagoguery to portray himself as the enemy of "bankers and utility moguls" and the friend of working people.

The truth about Muny Light, however, is a far different story from what Kucinich pretends it is.

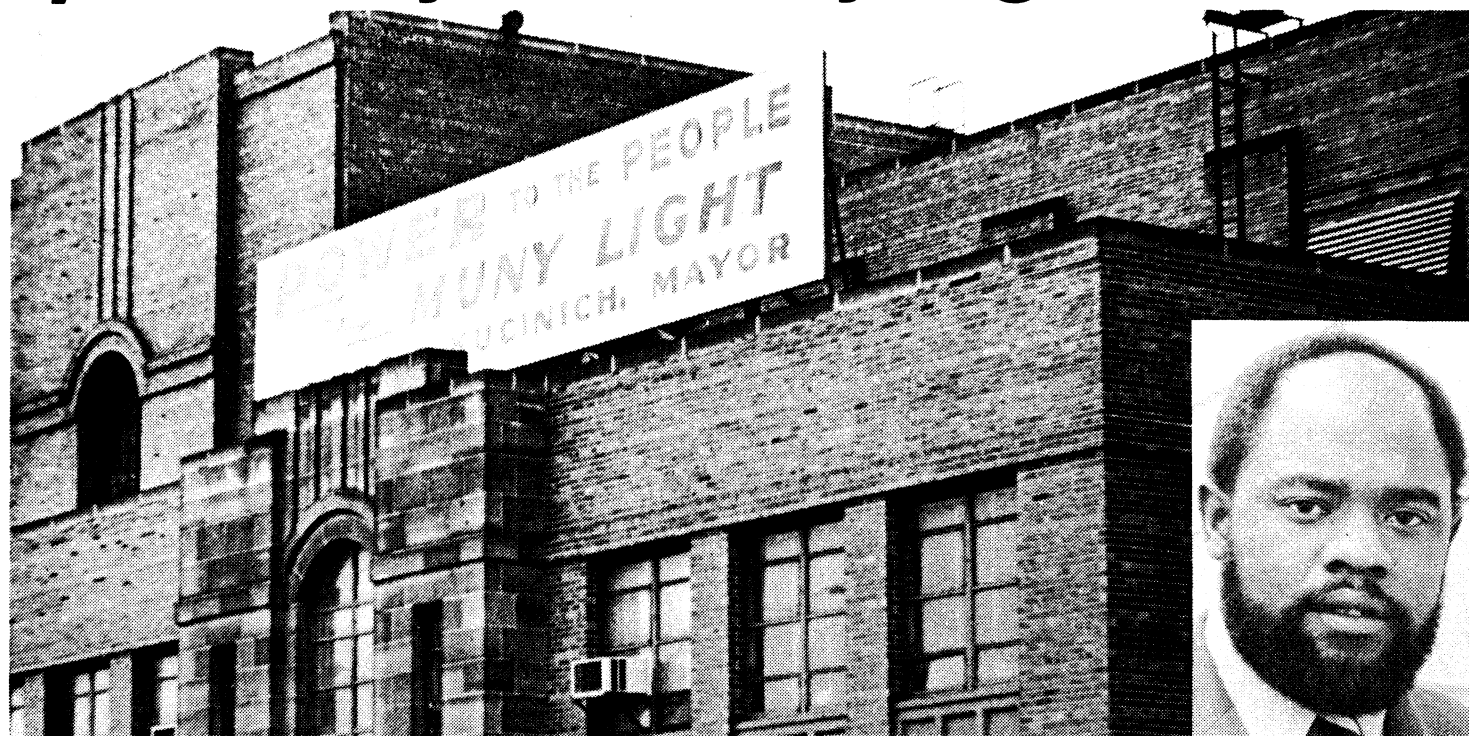
"The fact is," says Thabo Ntweng, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor, "that on neither the tax increase nor Muny Light is Kucinich defending the interests of Cleveland's working people."

Behind 'Muny Light'

"The tax issue is direct blackmail," Ntweng explains. "Either we vote for higher taxes or they will fire city workers and cut services. The SWP says, 'Vote no!' The corporations should pay taxes, and they should increase social services, not cut them."

"Muny Light is pure fakery. We are asking people not to vote on that part of the referendum. It is a fraud."

Ntweng explained that the people of



Socialist mayoral candidate Thabo Ntweng (inset) warns Cleveland workers not to be conned by Democrat Kucinich's populist demagoguery about 'saving' Muny Light.

Cleveland are being led to believe that electric rates will automatically go up if Cleveland Electric Illuminating (CEI) takes over Muny Light. "And Kucinich makes out that 'saving' Muny Light would be a big blow against the utility moguls."

According to Ntweng, the electric power rates for Muny customers are 5 to 6 percent less than CEI. "Everyone expects that these rates will automatically increase if CEI takes over."

"What this leaves out is the fact that the power rates are set by political bodies. The rates for CEI are set by the Public Utilities Commission of Ohio (PUCO) and the rates for Muny Light are set by the city council."

"In fact—and Kucinich doesn't tell people this—Ohio's state charter also gives the city council the right to rule on CEI rates in Cleveland, a power that they refuse to exercise."

"If the referendum vote goes in favor of selling Muny Light and if CEI buys it, it will be PUCO and the city council

that will allow a rate increase to go through. It is not automatic. It would be a political decision and one we should challenge."

Populist issue

Ntweng noted that the history of Muny Light itself demonstrates the bankruptcy of the populist-style notions Kucinich is trying to spread. "The company dates back to the period when populists would argue that if the city owned the sewer system or the street lights, this would constitute a big blow against the monopolists."

"Muny's first power plant was owned by the Brooklyn Heights subsection of Cleveland in 1903. CEI goes back even earlier to 1892."

"So we have actually had a seventy-five-year-long experiment in municipal versus privately owned light."

"First off, CEI sells *thirty-six* times as much electricity as Muny. This is one thing people here do not realize

because of the misleading statistic that Muny sells to 19 percent of Cleveland's customers. The 19 percent figure groups individuals and small shops together. CEI's 81 percent of customers includes giant electricity users like Ford Motors and Republic Steel."

"Second, Muny Light generates no electricity at all. It must buy all of its power from CEI, so that CEI profits from the electricity sold by Muny whether it owns it or not."

"We're really talking about whether one capitalist corporation—CEI—has thirty-six or thirty-seven times the electricity sold by Muny. That difference does not constitute a blow against CEI, let alone constituting a blow against capitalist monopoly in Cleveland, which owns dozens of banks and industrial corporations here in addition to CEI."

"There is plenty of hatred among working people for CEI. Besides constantly raising rates, it has two nu-

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Cleve. auto workers discuss SWP campaign

By Joanna Misnik

CLEVELAND—On Thursday morning, January 4, Thabo Ntweng was at his machine at United Screw and Bolt Corporation when the vice-president of his union, United Auto Workers Local 217, broke the ice.

"Was that you on TV?" he asked. "A lot of people around here think they saw you, but they're not sure."

The day before, Ntweng had announced his candidacy for mayor of Cleveland on the Socialist Workers Party ticket at a well-attended news conference. The story about the very first entry into Cleveland's mayoral race was featured on two of the city's three television stations and most of the major radio stations.

The *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, Ohio's leading daily newspaper, ran a prominent article on the socialist candidate. The story explained that Ntweng "was starting to campaign early in order to participate in the public discussion of the two issues in the special election ballot Feb. 27—an increase in the city income tax from 1% to 1.5% and the sale of the Municipal Light system."

The article continued:

"I am going to campaign hard to defeat the tax increase," Ntweng said. "Kucinich and the banks are trying to shift the burden of the economic crisis onto the backs of working people."

"We don't think workers should pay taxes; we think the capitalists should

pay the taxes. They're the ones with the money, not us."

Ntweng has been active in the fight to desegregate the Cleveland schools, a major issue here. At the news conference he blasted the city school board for threatening to back down on desegregation.

"The city financial crisis is being used as one more weapon to delay school desegregation and to deepen the attacks on the Black community," the socialist candidate told reporters. "The board of education is now urging that busing be delayed if cops are laid off. The Socialist Workers Party says: Desegregation now! Get those buses rolling!"

Ntweng also called for stepped-up efforts to defend affirmative action in the face of the layoffs of city workers. The cutbacks, he said, will "hit Blacks and women first, undermining the gains of affirmative action on these jobs over the past decade."

"There is very real enthusiasm in my shop about one of us running for mayor," Ntweng told the *Militant*. "Our party's position against the proposed payroll-tax increase really hit home. The reaction is: 'Well, finally somebody is standing up and saying, 'No, default is not our fault, and we won't pay. Get the money from the superrich banks and corporations who are getting a free ride.'"

Ntweng's campaign supporters in

other UAW locals report a similar response. At Baker Material Handling, organized by Local 451, supporters circulated "Facts About Cleveland Taxes," a leaflet prepared by the SWP Campaign Committee. The fact sheet was the center of several discussions throughout the day and was used by some workers in the plant to argue their case against the tax increase with fellow workers.

The SWP Campaign Committee plans to organize workers supporting Ntweng's campaign to carry out in-plant activities boosting the socialist solution to the default crisis.

In a city where three previous tax-increase proposals went down in resounding defeat, the Ntweng campaign is the first public expression of the widespread sentiment against Mayor Dennis Kucinich's tax-hike blackmail. This is one reason the media has devoted more than its usual attention to the launching of an SWP campaign for public office.

"By jumping into the debate with my campaign," Ntweng said, "I hope to help encourage actions to get out the 'no' vote on the tax increase. I'll participate in public meetings, petition campaigns, union debates—everything that can aid in pushing back this further attack on the living standard of Cleveland workers."

To date, the labor officialdom has kept a very low profile on the tax referendum. "The labor movement,"

said Ntweng, "should not capitulate to Kucinich's tax hike, which will keep the bankers laughing all the way to the bank."

Ntweng's call for an emergency conference of the labor movement in Cleveland was also widely reported in the news media.

"What the labor movement needs," Ntweng said at his news conference, "is to get ourselves together, along with our allies in the Black community, in order to map out a course of action to resolve this crisis."

"A broadly representative emergency conference of unions and Black community groups would be a tremendous step toward mobilizing the power of the labor movement."

"To begin with, we have got to fight to open the books of the banks and the corporations and city hall itself so we can lay bare the truth about the real profits, the tax dodges, the kickbacks and graft that exist in this town."

"Some of the demands that would be raised in such a conference would be:

"Tax corporate profits, not working people!

"Halt the layoffs and cutbacks!

"Desegregate the schools now!

"An immediate moratorium on payments to the banks until their books, the city treasury, and local big corporations are opened to inspection by committees of unionists and community groups!"

As generals flee country

Iranian revolution drives shah to the wall

By David Frankel

As Shahpur Bakhtiar, the shah of Iran's hand-picked "oppositionist," desperately sought to win support for his new government January 8, the streets of Tehran rang with a new slogan: "Bakhtiar bi-ekhtiar!"—"Bakhtiar is a puppet!"

Washington Post correspondent Jim Hoagland noted January 3 that "the only clear support for Bakhtiar's effort to bring a 'true social democracy' to Iran seems to be coming from the U.S. government. . . ."

After twenty-five years, Washington has finally been forced to look for an alternative to the shah. Hoping to salvage some shred of the monarchy, the Carter administration announced January 8 that it was urging the shah to leave Iran, thus making way for a regency council.

But such maneuvers seem increasingly at odds with reality. As the editors of the *New York Times* put it December 29, "The Shah's opponents are not burning banks, baring their breasts to bullets and paralyzing the national economy simply for moderate reforms."

Rats jump ship

Perhaps the most telling example of how the top figures in the shah's own apparatus view the future came January 4 when Gen. Gholam Ali Oveissi, Tehran's martial law administrator and the commander of the Iranian army, resigned his commission and flew to the United States.

Oveissi was followed January 8 by Gen. Gholam Reza Azhari, Bakhtiar's predecessor as prime minister, who left the country for "surgery."

Meanwhile, Gen. Fereydoun Djam, who had been slated to fill the post of minister of war in Bakhtiar's cabinet, declined the job. Geoffrey Godsell reported in the January 9 *Christian Science Monitor* that "the former chief of staff, on returning from where he had been living abroad, had decided the new government's chances of survival were slim."

With his regime crumbling under the blows of the Iranian revolution, Bakhtiar announced once again that the shah had agreed to leave. He told reporters, "It is necessary for the government to be installed, for a vote of confidence to be taken, and so on, and all this will take at least ten days."

Blinded by his worship of empty parliamentary forms, Bakhtiar fails to realize that he has already lost the



Demonstrator and soldier in Tehran discussion. Shah's army is getting wobblier every day.

only vote of confidence that counts—the vote of the masses in the streets of Iran.

'Iron fist' option?

Faced with a deepening revolutionary situation in Iran, Carter dispatched air force Gen. Robert Huyser, deputy commander in chief of American forces in Europe, to survey the situation and confer with the Iranian military. U.S. officials claimed that Huyser's job was to prevent the Iranian officer corps from jumping the gun with a military coup against Bakhtiar.

Dr. Ali-Asghar Seyyed Javadi, a prominent opponent of the shah's regime, charged January 2 that "the army commanders, fearing that they will be brought before the people's tribunal where they must answer for the murder of thousands of Iranian citizens and for the plundering of the nation's wealth, are organizing a coup which will inaugurate the brutal elimination of the opposition."

Desperation sometimes leads to irrationality, and it is certainly possible that the Iranian officer corps will attempt a coup, with or without a green light from Washington. "The

shah has talked this week of the 'iron fist' option to 'put the Persians back in their cages,'" an article in the January 4 *Wall Street Journal* reported.

But the mass movement in Iran has already sealed the shah's fate. It is far too powerful to be stopped at this point by a military coup. On the contrary, any such move would only hasten the disintegration of the Iranian army and push forward the radicalization of the masses.

The shah has repeatedly tried to drown the opposition movement in blood, and he has repeatedly failed. The latest example was in Mashad, where the army killed an estimated 2,000 people in a weekend of bloody reprisals.

Describing the result in a January 3 dispatch, *Washington Post* correspondent Thomas Lippman said, "The outcome is that the loose alliance of clergy, workers and intellectuals who have taken over Mashad are in control of the few functioning public services like the power station while the army keeps an uneasy vigil behind its walls. . . . The troops have now been withdrawn from the streets, leaving them to the people of Mashad, who are answering only to themselves."

500,000 march in Isfahan

At the same time, the huge protest demonstrations are continuing. Half a million people marched in Isfahan January 8, for example. Protests also shook Tehran, Qum, Tabriz, Ahwaz, and other cities on January 7 and 8. In Qasvin, a city of 200,000, a protest march drew 40,000 participants.

A special target of the protests are agents of the shah's hated secret police. "Names, addresses and phone numbers of secret police agents are now posted on city walls," *Time* magazine reported January 15.

Nor do the strikes that have paralyzed Iran's economy show any sign of ending. According to the report in *Time*:

"In town after town, unity is the theme of crudely lettered wall slogans—unity to meet worsening conditions, unity against the guns of the army, unity against pressures to return to work. In one small town in Isfahan, it was announced during the evening services at the mosque that the families of strikers in Tehran were running out of bread. That night the residents stayed home and baked. Next morning three vans loaded with free bread left for the capital."

At the center of the vast strike move-

ment is the action by oil workers, who have kept production down to about 4 percent of normal since the end of December. Iranian oil fields and refineries are producing less than one-third of the petroleum products needed to meet domestic demand.

"Opposition leaders," said William Brannigan in the January 9 *Washington Post*, "including the revered Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini, have appealed for increased production to meet internal needs. But most strikers at oil fields and refineries have remained away from their jobs."

The strikers had earlier found that the government withheld fuel supplies from the cities anyway in hopes of breaking the will of the people. Brannigan noted that "a hard core of the strike leaders seems determined to keep the taps turned off until the shah is overthrown."

Moreover, the militancy of the oil workers and their insistence on making their own decisions has been evident in other areas as well.

Although Khomeini waited for a week before issuing a public denunciation of Bakhtiar, the masses didn't wait for his word. The chant of "Death to Bakhtiar, henchman of the American imperialists," was raised in the streets of Tehran as soon as it was announced that Bakhtiar was willing to form a government under the shah.

So far, the power of the mass movement has prevented the main bourgeois opposition figures from reaching any compromise with the shah. But the same pressures that prevailed with Bakhtiar are also working on them.

As the events in Iran proceed, we will doubtless see other opposition leaders whose fear of the masses will lead them to openly oppose the unfolding revolution.

Less than 1 percent of Iran's population owns 80 percent of the country's private wealth. The leaders of the bourgeois opposition, who are part of that 1 percent, have something to lose if the rebellion against the monarchy raises the expectations of the masses in other areas—as it must.

Even *Time* magazine admitted that "Most people seem to be looking forward to a genuine social revolution. . . ."

Lessons from Hitler

Jesse Leaf, for five years the CIA's chief analyst on Iran, described in a January 5 interview with *New York Times* correspondent Seymour Hersh how the CIA held "torture seminars" for the shah's secret police.

Hersh reports that "a senior CIA official was involved in instructing officials in the Savak on torture techniques. . . ." The seminars, according to Leaf, "were based on German torture techniques from World War II."

SAVAK's torture chambers were toured by employees of the CIA as part of their orientation in Iran. Asked if anybody protested, Leaf replied:

"Why should we protest? We were on their side, remember?"

On January 7, the same day that Hersh's article appeared, the editors of the *Times* declared: "It was the Shah who failed in Iran, not the United States. His policies caused an entire nation to unite against him."

Yes, the shah's policies did unite the Iranian people against the monarchy. But those policies, like the regime itself, were made in the USA.

—D.F.

U.S. oil workers union hails Iranian strikers

The Committee for Artistic and Intellectual Freedom in Iran has released the following message sent by Anthony Mazzocchi, vice-president of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers union, to the Iranian Mission to the United Nations on January 4:

Gentlemen:

As an officer of an international union which represents more than 180,000 workers in the oil, chemical and atomic industries in the United States and Canada, I wish to state to you that I strongly oppose your military government's brutal and bloody attacks on the 38,000 Iranian oil workers.

I sincerely believe that the strike of the Iranian oil workers is toward the restoration of human rights in Iran, and I protest any reprisals against them. I am in full support of the oil workers' efforts to organize and defend their lives in face of the Iranian military government's at-

tacks.

I therefore demand the release of all the arrested striking oil workers and the 20 leaders arrested on December 17 now facing military court.

As a trade unionist, I further believe that workers anywhere in the world must have the right to help form a government in their own country which will afford them the legitimate right to organize for the purpose of demanding better wages and conditions of work. I therefore fully support the Iranian workers' struggles for political freedom and for a democratic government which will serve their interests and the interests of all the people in Iran.

Finally, it is also my belief that the United States government has for too long intervened unjustly in the internal affairs of Iran and that it should immediately withdraw any and all support—political and material—for the Shah's military regime.

YSA blasts Carter's threat to deport Iranians

The following statement was released January 9 by the national executive committee of the Young Socialist Alliance.

The Carter administration, while attacking the struggle for freedom and democracy within Iran, is now trying to crush political opposition to the shah among Iranian students in the United States.

On January 2 a demonstration at the Beverly Hills mansion of the shah's sister was brutally attacked by police and guards. Dozens of students were injured, and seven were arrested.

Attorney General Griffin Bell used this protest as an excuse to launch a crackdown against dissident Iranian students. At President Carter's request, Bell demanded an immediate compilation of his "legal options"—that is, of the book he could throw at Iranians.

On January 4, Bell warned student demonstrators that "all persons will be

deported from this country to the extent that the law permits or requires. We're not going to put up with this conduct."

The Los Angeles County supervisor went even further and called for the immediate deportation without any legal process whatsoever of all Iranian students arrested at the Beverly Hills demonstration.

These threats are not just an attempt to silence Iranians in the United States who want to demonstrate their support for the revolutionary movement in Iran. They are aimed at intimidating other foreign students as well, many of whom would face the possibility of imprisonment, torture, or death if they were deported back to their native countries.

According to the January 15 *U.S. News and World Report*, the government plans to review the visa status of more than 200,000 foreign students in

the United States and initiate deportation proceedings against "those who have overstayed their visas, not attended classes regularly, or committed felonies."

The entire student movement has a stake in protesting Bell's deportation threats and in defending the political rights of Iranian students. Bell is challenging the right of all students to act in solidarity with struggles around the world.

The Young Socialist Alliance supports the full political rights of Iranian students and all foreign students. We demand that the charges against those arrested at the Beverly Hills demonstration be dropped and that the INS investigation of these students be closed. We call on the student movement and on all those who oppose the U.S. role in Iran to join in demanding: No deportations!

LOS ANGELES—A coalition of groups has called a January 20 demonstration in solidarity with the Iranian students victimized during the January 2 anti-shah protest here. The demands of the demonstration are: No U.S. intervention; No U.S. aid to the shah; and No deportations. Among the sponsoring organizations are the New American Movement, the Coalition for Economic Survival, the Committee for Non-Intervention in Chile, the Los Angeles Group for Latin American Solidarity, and the Young Socialist Alliance.

The march will begin at 12:00 noon at the intersection of Santa Monica and Wilshire boulevards and proceed through Beverly Hills for a rally at city hall.



Sheriff's car plows through protesters in Beverly Hills January 2. Carter is trying to silence opponents of shah in United States.

Iran & Black liberation

The following guest editorial by attorney Louis Clayton Jones appeared in the December 23, 1978, 'Amsterdam News,' the largest-circulation Black newspaper in New York City. The editorial reflects a growing interest in and sympathy with the struggle of the Iranian people among American Blacks.

Recent events in Iran augur well for millions of oppressed people throughout the world.

The toppling of the corrupt and repressive regime of the Shah of Iran might well signify the beginning of the end of the racist alliance that has long existed between the United States, Iran, Israel, South Africa, and Rhodesia.

The leader of the Moslem-Socialist opposition to the Shah, Ayatollah Khomeini, has stated in categorical terms that the ouster of the Shah by his forces will mean an abrupt end to Iran's supply to South Africa of 90% of its oil requirements, an end to the billions of dollars to U.S. industry for its armament sales, an end to the guaranteed oil supplies to Israel thus curbing the manufacture of Israeli weapons, including the Kaffir (Niger) fighter planes supplied to South Africa by the Israelis.

As we have so painfully learned in this country, oil is the life blood of

an industrialized economy. The cut-off of oil to South Africa also means the end of the supply of oil to Rhodesia.

If the Arab oil producers hold the line against shipments of oil to South Africa, the U.S. will be forced to come out of the closet and make explicit its pro-white policy in Southern Africa.

It will no longer be able to rely on the puppet regime of the Shah to keep South Africa and Rhodesia functioning.

Let us not be misled by those who glibly inform us that the overthrow of the Shah is detrimental to U.S. interests.

While it is obviously inimical to the racist monopoly interests of U.S. capitalism, it will be clearly in the interests of those Americans who profess a belief in human freedom and dignity.

The Blacks of America should support the Iranian opposition movement with all the resources at their command.

For those who take the time to analyze the decline of the economic and social conditions for Blacks in this country, it is clear that Black liberation in America is an impossibility in the absence of Black liberation throughout the world.

The Iranian masses are our allies in that struggle and deserve our support.

Help get out truth on Iran

By Peter Seidman

This is an appeal to all our readers to help circulate the *Militant* as it continues its campaign to get out the truth about the heroic struggle of the Iranian masses against the shah.

The experience of Los Angeles socialists at the January 2 protest outside the Beverly Hills home of the shah's sister, Princess Sham, helps explain why.

Los Angeles cops brutally attacked the 2,000 anti-shah demonstrators.

The *Militant* was there, with its headline: "Millions march for freedom in Iran, as Carter praises butcher shah." The Beverly Hills demonstrators snapped up every one of the 100 *Militants* the salespeople at the protest had on hand.

These demonstrators obviously appreciated the *Militant's* strong stand against U.S. intervention in Iran and our unsurpassed news and socialist analysis of the Iranian revolutionary upsurge.

One of the workers at a Los Angeles steel plant who later joined a discussion about the Beverly Hills demonstration was David Paparello, a socialist and supporter of the *Militant*. After hearing Paparello's arguments, two of his co-workers bought subscriptions to the *Militant*.

Those Los Angeles steelworkers are not unique. Many working people in the United States want to find out the truth about the struggle in Iran.

The *Militant* will be continuing to

tell the truth about developments in Iran in coming weeks. That's why we urge you help get it around.

* * *

Cleveland socialists braved minus-two degrees weather to sell the January 12 issue of the *Militant* denouncing the bankers' blackmail of Cleveland workers. Between January 5-8, they sold 172 papers.

This issue of the *Militant* also announced the Cleveland mayoral campaign of SWP candidate Thabo Ntweng.

In one supermarket in the Black community, a young couple stopped by a *Militant* salesperson holding up the back-page article that featured Ntweng's photo. "That's the guy we saw on TV who said we shouldn't give any money to the banks," the woman told her companion.

* * *

The first issue of *Perspectiva Mundial* in 1979 rolls off the press January 16. In the pages of this Spanish-language socialist biweekly, Héctor Marroquín will answer the December 21 announcement by the Immigration and Naturalization Service denying his request for political asylum in the United States (see story, page 9).

All supporters of the emergency campaign now under way to win asylum for Marroquín will want to get this issue of *Perspectiva Mundial* into the hands of as many Spanish-speaking people as possible. Bundle orders can be called in to the business office at (212) 929-3486 until 6:00 p.m., Wednesday, January 17.

AFL-CIO to urge court reject Weber

By Shelley Kramer

The AFL-CIO reportedly will urge the Supreme Court to reject a "reverse discrimination" suit filed by Brian Weber, a white Louisiana steelworker.

AFL-CIO special counsel Laurence Gold told the *Los Angeles Times* December 21 that the federation will file a "friend of the court" brief against Weber.

By entering the legal fight against Weber, the AFL-CIO has taken its strongest stand to date in support of affirmative action.

Gold told the *Times* that the legal brief would reflect the position that "we're in favor of affirmative action but we're against government-imposed quotas."

Despite this qualifier, the AFL-CIO's action shows that the federation's leaders have been forced to recognize that "reverse discrimination" suits such as Alan Bakke's and now Brian Weber's are direct threats to the rights of unions and all union members. Weber's case is unmistakably an attack on the United Steelworkers because it seeks to overturn the union contract.

A USWA member at Kaiser Aluminum's Gramercy, Louisiana, plant, Weber is challenging a 1974 collective bargaining agreement that reserves half the positions in the company's apprenticeship training program for Blacks, other minorities, and women. The goal, over time, is to bring the percentage of minority workers in the program up to their proportion of the work force in the plant's area. For women, the goal is set at only 5 percent.

The December issue of *Steel Labor* summarized the USWA's petition to the Supreme Court urging rejection of Weber's case. It explained how the affirmative-action program benefited all the company's workers.

"Prior to 1974, the plant had no craft-training programs, and none of the production employees—black or white—had the qualifications to obtain craft jobs," the article says. "The company filled craft vacancies by hiring fully-trained craftsmen 'from the street.'"

After the 1974 agreement established an in-plant craft training program, "all production employees at the plant—white and black—for the first time had an opportunity to train for and obtain craft jobs."

Weber contends he is the victim of discrimination because he was passed over for the apprenticeship program while Blacks with less seniority were accepted.

Two lower courts have ruled in favor of Weber, prohibiting such affirmative-action plans unless an employer is found guilty of discrimination.

The courts found Kaiser innocent of deliberate discrimination despite evidence proving that for years the company kept its plants segregated, relegated Blacks to the most menial jobs, and paid them less for the same work as whites. Until recently, women were not hired at all.

"Affirmative action agreements negotiated by the USWA alone—most of which parallel the one with Kaiser," reports *Steel Labor*, "affect nearly a million workers in major segments of the American economy."

The New Orleans Committee to Overturn the Weber Decision and Defend Affirmative Action is organizing to bring the facts and the stakes in this case to the attention of working people. The coalition meets every other week and has scheduled a rally for March 4. For more information, contact the committee c/o State Rep. Avery Alexander, 2803 Martin Luther King Jr. Boulevard, New Orleans, Louisiana. Telephone: (504) 522-9819.

Weber spills the beans

"I never agreed with making restaurants serve blacks. If you choose not to serve them, that's your business."

These are the words of self-proclaimed "reverse discrimination" victim Brian Weber as reported by the New Orleans *Times-Picayune* December 21.

Weber claims racism had nothing to do with his challenge to the affirmative-action plan at the Kaiser Aluminum plant in Gramercy, Louisiana. He was motivated only by the company's "overboard" approach to "giving preference to people because of their race," he told the newspaper.

"There are blacks at the plant with plenty of seniority and Kaiser has never discriminated against

them," Weber says. The *Times-Picayune* adds that even the federal Equal Employment Opportunity Commission challenges that assertion.

Weber's lawyer Mike Fontham blames the press for fostering his client's racist image. "He's not even particularly concerned with race," Fontham says. In the next breath he says that "a lot of whites are depending on Weber to secure their rights."

"The Civil Rights laws weren't enacted to make up for 200 years of discrimination," Weber asserts. "It just can't be done."

His legal challenge is aimed at helping to wipe those civil rights laws off the books.



BRIAN WEBER

Socialist to GE: 'Stop right-wing harassment'

By Liz Jayko

LOUISVILLE, Ky.—Jim Burfeind, the 1978 Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Congress here, is demanding that General Electric officials take action to halt a campaign of right-wing harassment against him on the job.

Burfeind is a third-year apprentice tool-and-die maker at GE's Appliance Park and is a member of the International Association of Machinists Lodge 2409.

Since he was transferred to a new building on January 3, Burfeind has been subjected to political harassment, anonymous threats, and vandalism of his work area.

On January 4, Burfeind, his shop steward, and Debby Tarnopol, chairperson of the Louisville SWP, met with GE officials to point out that responsibility for the harassment rests with the company. They demanded that GE put a stop to it.

The incidents on the job fit into a pattern of right-wing attacks here. The most serious occurred November 4, when a CS gas grenade was hurled into a Socialist Workers campaign rally. Just a few weeks earlier, two gallons of oil were dropped on Burfeind at work.

The Ku Klux Klan and other ultrarightists have carried out a series of attacks in the city. Recently a cross was burned on the lawn of a Black family living in a predominantly white area.

In response to this violence a large number of prominent individuals and organizations—including Burfeind's local of the IAM, United Steelworkers Local 1693, and the Louisville Board of Aldermen—have called on city authorities to arrest those responsible for the November 4 grenade attack on the socialists.

The SWP has also called on the U.S. Justice Department to investigate these clear violations of the civil rights of its candidates for office.

Burfeind is active in his union and an outspoken socialist on the job. Those attempting to intimidate him undoubtedly hoped he would be isolated when he moved into a new department where the workers did not know him.

They were mistaken.

When Burfeind arrived at work January 4, he found that a workbench with his toolkit on it had been moved to the center of the shop floor, painted bright red, and stenciled with a hammer and sickle. A ten-foot-high white sign bearing a hammer and sickle was on the back of the bench.

Brad Cecil, president of Burfeind's local, denounced the incident as "the most extreme" he had seen in years at GE.

In discussions with co-workers, Burfeind found that most opposed the use of violence against him. Several workers went out of their way to make Burfeind feel welcome in the new shop.

Burfeind discussed with co-workers how such political harassment, if unanswered, hurts the whole union and weakens its ability to defend workers against the company.

On January 8, Burfeind arrived at work to find that small American flags had been placed on the toolboxes of workers in his department. On his own tool box was a soviet-type flag.

A hand-written poem entitled "Let Freedom Ring" was posted on the bulletin board. It began: "The commies are here, it's plain to see, to get the best of you and me;" and wound up: "Seven little commies, all dressed in red; it looks to me like they're all dead."

A xeroxed socialist election brochure was also on the bulletin board, with the picture of Burfeind burned out.

When Burfeind and his delegation met with GE's Company Relations Director Jack Van Pelt and a company attorney January 4 to protest, the management representatives did not deny knowledge of the harassment.

They would only say that the company enforces work rules evenhandedly and would cooperate with any official investigation.

Burfeind explained later why it was important to go to the company. "Ultimately, the company is responsible for these attacks," he said. "Only GE can benefit from them."

"All workers will lose if ultrarightists succeed in creating an atmosphere of intimidation in which it is impossible to have a political discussion."

"For example, workers at GE will be negotiating a new contract in June. President Carter's guidelines limit wage increases to 7 percent—an increase unacceptable to most GE employees."

"So the question is, how can GE workers win the best possible contract when faced with Carter's guidelines? Tied in with this is the attitude workers should take toward Carter's party, the Democratic Party. When I ran for Congress, I raised the idea that workers should form their own party."

"These are political questions. If you eliminate political discussion, you are only helping GE and Carter keep our wages down."

"GE and the government want to inhibit political discussion. They want to make decisions for the workers. They don't want workers discussing issues and making decisions for themselves."

Burfeind declared, "I have no intention of giving up my right to free speech—on the job or anywhere else. The Socialist Workers Party is going to press ahead to put a stop to these attacks."



SWP member Jim Burfeind is a member of International Association of Machinists Lodge 2409.

Speech by Hector Marroquin

Why Carter wants to deport me to Mexico

Following are excerpts from the speech by Héctor Marroquín at a December 30 defense rally in his behalf held at the Young Socialist Alliance convention.

A year ago I was released from prison after completing a sentence of more than three months for the crime of being a worker without documents.

On December 21 the Immigration and Naturalization Service, keeping in mind Christmas Day, decided to send me a cynical and nasty present. This is what I received: a letter from them

The Mexican cops have learned these lessons very well.

When we had a meeting with INS Director Leonel Castillo last March, I couldn't believe what my ears were hearing from the highest official in Immigration. Castillo said that there was no political repression in Mexico. He said he could prove it because he had gone to Mexico, spent a couple of months vacationing, and had not seen anybody being kidnapped or tortured. I must confess that from a Hilton Hotel or from the Acapulco beaches it is very difficult to see anybody being repressed.

The public outcry against this repression has been so great that the Mexican government was forced to pass an amnesty law in September—admitting for the first time that it holds political prisoners.

Nevertheless, fewer than 30 percent of the 6-800 political prisoners have been released, and not a single word has been said about the hundreds of "disappeared."

Since its very beginning, my defense campaign has aimed not only to expose political repression in Mexico but also to establish the right to political asylum in the United States for victims of political oppression from all over the world.

Who gets asylum in this country?

One well-known recipient is Gen. Nguyen Loan, a high military official in the South Vietnamese puppet regime during the Vietnam War. The general made the front pages of newspapers around the world when he was photographed shooting a tied-up prisoner in the head. This war criminal was given a hero's welcome by the Carter administration.

On the other side we have the case of another person in the military who fears for his life if deported back to his country. His only crime has been to refuse to murder his own people.

He is from Iran, and his name is Ali Shokri. He was a member of the Iranian Air Force who defected and asked for asylum in the United States. Now the Immigration Department is trying to deport him.

The criterion that they use in grant-

ing political asylum is strictly political—it is not guided by a deep sentiment or concern for human rights, even though Carter tries to present it this way.

For Carter, protecting "human rights" means keeping the shah's dictatorship in power, supporting it financially, militarily, and politically. It means keeping Somoza, Pinochet, Smith, and Duvalier in power through continuous repression of the masses in Nicaragua, Chile, Rhodesia, and Haiti.

The main reason, however, that the INS is trying to deport me back to Mexico is my political activity in this country.

I have been active as a trade unionist, as a participant in the movement against deportations, and as a social-

ist, and I will be a proud socialist in any part of the world.

I'm a revolutionary socialist and an internationalist. I'm proud to say that I am a member of the Socialist Workers Party and of the Young Socialist Alliance.

Very soon, a little over a month from now, the U.S. government will put me on trial for my life. Not only my human rights, but the rights of all the others like me will be on trial.

In the weeks leading up to the deportation hearing we are going to carry out an emergency defense campaign to reach tens of thousands of people.

I want to use this opportunity tonight to thank every one of my supporters, members of the YSA and others, for the work that they have been doing.

Emergency campaign begins

The emergency campaign to stop the Immigration and Naturalization Service from deporting Héctor Marroquín is underway.

The INS ruled against granting asylum to Marroquín on December 21, 1978. In its decision, the INS wrote, "You have failed to establish that there is likelihood of your being persecuted in Mexico . . . your application for political asylum is therefore denied."

The INS made no attempt to rebut any of the extensive evidence presented by Marroquín's attorneys.

The next step to win asylum for Marroquín is a deportation hearing, tentatively scheduled for late January or early February. At the hearing, Marroquín will resubmit his request for asylum. His attorneys will call on witnesses who can establish without a doubt his complete innocence of all frame-up charges. Other witnesses will testify to the repressive nature of the Mexican government and the extreme dangers Marroquín would face if deported.

Defense committees around the country have begun meeting and making plans for the emergency

campaign. These plans include fund raising events and receptions, film showings, and talks about repression in Mexico. In Detroit supporters are organizing a picket line at the local INS office.

You can participate in this campaign:

Send letters and telegrams to Leonel Castillo, Director of Immigration, Washington, D.C. 20536. Protest the INS decision, and demand that Castillo grant asylum to Marroquín. Urge co-workers, union locals, and other organizations to send telegrams.

- Help raise funds. More than \$15,000 will be needed in the next several weeks to expand national publicity and pay travel for witnesses.

- Contact the local news media and explain the case. Urge trade-union newspapers, campus press, and organization newsletters to cover the story.

Please send contributions and copies of messages to Castillo to: Héctor Marroquín Defense Committee, P.O. Box 843, Cooper Station, New York, NY 10003.



Militant/Nelson Blackstock

HECTOR MARROQUIN

officially denying me the right to political asylum in this country.

They say that I am a person accused of "crimes" in Mexico.

But I proved beyond a shadow of a doubt that I had nothing to do with crimes or political terrorism. What are these blatantly false criminal charges called if not a political frame-up?

It is an old trick to accuse class-struggle fighters of crimes in order to victimize and sometimes kill them. Here in the United States we have many similar examples: Sacco and Vanzetti, who were charged with robbery; the Rosenbergs, accused of spying; and the Wilmington Ten, accused of arson.

N.Y. doctors hit hospital cutback threat

By Art Walters

NEW YORK—Democratic Mayor Edward Koch is working on a new city budget, and once again city workers and social services are facing the axe.

At the top of Koch's "austerity" list is the municipal hospital system, which provides the only health care available for the city's Black and *latino* communities.

The plan is to cut the system to half its size by 1982 and to begin it in the next fiscal year, which starts July 1, with cutbacks of up to \$88 million.

For a health-care system that is already grossly inadequate and understaffed, the consequences could be disastrous.

The threat of such drastic cutbacks has sparked an angry response from those who work in the municipal hospitals. One such reaction has come from the Committee of Interns and Residents, which represents some 4,000 resident and intern doctors in twenty-four hospitals in the New York City area.

On December 6, the CIR organized a

demonstration at city hall to protest threatened cutbacks and to demand better health-care resources. Some 250 people, half doctors and the rest hospital workers, joined the protest.

In a recent interview with the *Militant*, CIR President Dr. Michael Schoolman, explained what his group is trying to do.

Schoolman won the CIR presidency on an anticutbacks program. He is confident that interns and residents

can be involved in the fight to save the municipal hospitals.

"What is good for the patients is also good for us," he explains.

"Every time there is no nurse, every time there is no EKG machine or technician to run it, the doctor has to work longer and harder, and perhaps lose valuable sleeping time during his or her 'on-call night.' Then he or she has to face the next day sleepless, delivering even more inadequate care."



Dr. Michael Schoolman speaking at rally

Committee of Interns and Residents

The CIR has initiated a job action to protest the threatened cutbacks, refusing to sign the forms that allow the city to collect money for the patients' care.

"When we met with the Health and Hospitals Corporation [in contract negotiations] and they told us that they were going to cut \$150 million from the health-care budget, we told them to forget about it. We gave them the choice of losing \$100 million through a prolonged job action or spending \$50 million more to improve the hospitals.

"We also told them that we had the facts and statistics to prove that the city really can afford health care."

The CIR has also been involved in other "job actions." At Lincoln Hospital in the Bronx the CIR forced the hiring of more employees.

At Kings County Hospital, the administration was trying to fire almost all the Black surgery residents en masse. "We had a demonstration, lots of press and TV coverage, tied it into the *Bakke* case that was going on at the time, and they kept their jobs," reports Schoolman.

"We're trying to involve the other unions to the extent possible," says Schoolman. "The enemy is powerful, and only our united efforts will prevail."

Art Walters is a resident at Kings County Hospital and a member of the Committee of Interns and Residents.

Industry warns BRAC

Carriers boast of 'bending' laws in rail strike

By Manuel Barrera

CHICAGO—If more evidence were needed to show that rail carriers are on a union-busting drive, *Railway Age* provided it in the December 11 issue of the industry magazine.

Senior capitol editor Guy Welty offers an assessment of the strike against the Norfolk and Western Railway by the Brotherhood of Railway and Airline Clerks. The BRAC clerks were off the job from July through the end of September.

Welty's column, "Lines on Labor," boils down to a "how to" manual for other rail carriers—how to ignore laws and safety regulations and enlist the aid of government officials at every level when you're out to break a strike. More importantly, it is intended as a

warning for rail workers, or as Welty puts it, "maybe—maybe—rail labor has also learned something, from such things as NW's success in continuing operations and the continuing accelerating flow of union employees back to work."

What are the "facts" that Welty lays out for the benefit of all concerned?

The N&W handled more than 40 percent of its normal business with 15 percent of the normal work force, he explains. It did this by eliminating the three-person crew, replacing it with two-person crews. "They did work that normally would have required eight or 10 crew members," he boasts. Elimination of the three-person crew has long been a dream of all rail carriers.

The railroad virtually ignored safety regulations, already enormously weighted in favor of the carriers. According to Welty, N&W maintained that its "safety record was as good during the strike as it had been before."

This is a lie.

The N&W kept a tight lid on information about wrecks and injuries. Normal inspections of locomotives, which play an important part in safety, were ignored or farmed out to other railroads.

N&W strikers knew of many injuries caused by hastily trained supervisors working as crew members.

Some shippers of easily damaged goods refused to run them over the N&W because of the high risks involved.

Yet in this respect, as in every other, the N&W got full cooperation from the entire government apparatus.

To quote Welty, "Prosecutors, judges, and regulators figured it was better for NW to operate than not to operate. Laws and regulations were, in a sense, bent."

They certainly were.

The Federal Railway Administration, which Welty says "found nothing out of line," refused over and over again to investigate incidents the

Clerks settle with N&W

The Brotherhood of Railway and Airline Clerks has announced an agreement with the Norfolk and Western Railway.

The 4,500 N&W clerks walked off the job July 10 over issues of job security and union jurisdiction in the increasingly automated industry. BRAC spread the strike to seventy-three other railroads September 26 to protest a mutual-aid fund that funneled up to \$800,000 a day to the struck N&W.

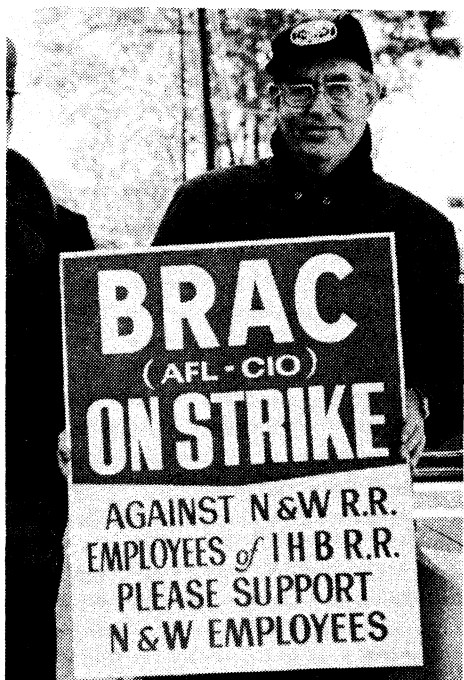
Four days later with rail traffic at a near standstill, Carter ordered the rail workers back to work and im-

posed a "cooling off" period. Twice extended, that period would have ended January 15, leaving the union free to resume the nationwide strike.

No details of the N&W settlement are available as we go to press.

BRAC has another deadline coming up January 18. On that day, a thirty-day "cooling off" period ends, which began when the union rejected federal mediation offers on a national agreement. If the union decides to strike for its national contract demands, Carter can impose yet another sixty-day no-strike period.

Manuel Barrera works on the Chicago and Northwestern Railway and is a member of International Association of Machinists Local 478. He is the Socialist Workers Party candidate for treasurer of Chicago.



Militant/David McDonald

union brought to its attention. The FRA went so far as to attribute this procompany stance to reluctance to cross picket lines!

Moreover, once BRAC spread the strike to the rest of the railroads on September 26, judges throughout the country fell over themselves in their rush to impose injunctions aimed at crippling the nationwide strike.

Finally, Welty mentions that about 1,000 union people crossed the lines to go back to work in the week before the strike spread to other lines. This figure is probably no less inflated than the pious assertion that safety was as good during the strike as before.

Moreover, the figure may include foremen, who have their own organization—the Brotherhood of Railway Supervisors—and are especially susceptible to pressure from management.

But even if we accept Welty's claim at face value, what does it prove? It shows that a strike against only one railroad is not the most effective tactic for rail labor. It's understandable that after ten weeks on the picket lines with no visible results, some workers on the N&W may have been demoralized.

Welty fails to comment on how many of the alleged scabs remained on the job when they saw the unions bring 330,000 workers out on strike in solidarity with the N&W clerks.

As a matter of fact, Welty fails to mention *anything at all* about the national four-day strike, which brought most rail traffic to a halt. No doubt the memory is painful for him, as it is for everyone who stood on management's side during the historic last week of September.

Welty's timing, of course, is not accidental. The "cooling off" period is just ending for the N&W BRAC clerks, as is another period for BRAC's negotiations on a national contract.

All the other rail unions have been forced to settle for a giveback contract, but BRAC is still holding out.

"Maybe the strike taught rail labor what is really the first law of poker," Welty says, "You've got to know what to hold—and when to fold."

But BRAC members and all rail workers have too much at stake to fold. And as the powerful nationwide strike last fall showed, when rail workers call the carriers' bluff, the cards stack up in labor's favor.

Paper giants out to break northwest union

By Dean Cohen

PORTLAND—Since July, a strike by the Association of Western Pulp and Paper Workers (AWPPW) has closed more than thirty mills in California, Oregon, Washington, and Alaska. As many as 17,000 workers have been part of the walkout.

The eleven paper manufacturers involved include some of the largest industrial corporations in the country—International Paper, Scott Paper, Kimberly-Clark, and the biggest of them all, Georgia-Pacific.

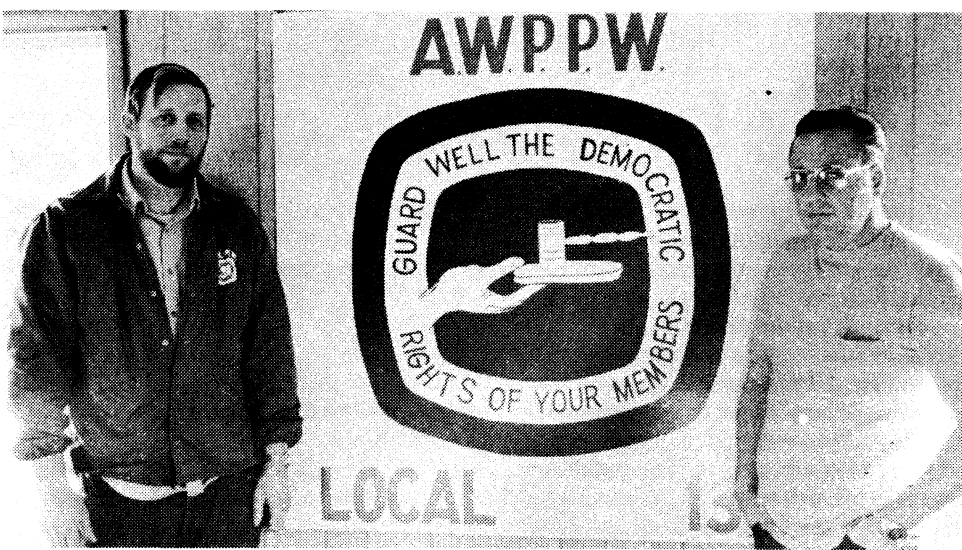
Two-year contracts acceptable to the union were agreed to at ten mills early in the strike. Another local in Longview, Washington, settled in December.

Crown Zellerbach agreed to a contract at its plant in Wana, Washington, last year. Yet now it calls the same agreement ridiculous and inflationary for its other mills.

The AWPPW wanted to use this two-year agreement as a basis for other contracts but has since dropped this demand, saying it will accept the companies' offer of a three-year contract with the companies' wage offer.

The companies, however, insist on no-strike clauses, cuts in pensions, unlimited forced overtime, and other cutbacks of benefits the workers have won over the years.

Several mills have been kept open using scabs, supervisors, and office workers brought in from around the country. While the companies are claiming they cannot afford the union's demands, they are housing the



AWPPW members Chuck Ritz and Ray Mosier in Toledo, Oregon

Militant/George Chalmers

scabs in hotels, paying them premium wages, feeding them steak and lobster, and providing them with cars. Scabs are flown home during their breaks, some as far as Maine and Florida.

The Pacific Coast Association of Pulp and Paper Manufacturers provides a secret antistrike fund. Companies that have settled or have not been struck pay into the fund, and companies still on strike are reimbursed for their losses. This has contributed to the companies' stubbornness and greatly prolonged the strike.

The Carter administration stepped in on the side of the companies from the start. In May the Council on Wage and Price Stability (COWPS) issued a press release calling the union's de-

mands "highly inflationary."

In October Carter delivered the strikers a further blow with his wage guidelines. Since then the companies have been hiding behind these phony controls, claiming the government will not allow them to even consider the union's demands.

The AWPPW took the guidelines to court on December 1, trying to get an injunction against government interference in collective bargaining.

The federal judge in Portland refused to rule on the case, saying the union must first go through the appeal procedures provided by the president's Council on Wage and Price Stability.

As the strike enters its seventh month the workers are tired but their

morale is high. Strike benefits ran out after six weeks. Many strikers have had trouble finding other jobs because the mills are often in small towns controlled by the paper companies.

They have received some support from AWPPW locals that have already settled. The Longshoremen's union has provided some jobs for the strikers and financial support to the union.

Support from other unions in the area has been negligible. The AWPPW was formed in 1964 when workers on the West Coast demanding a more responsive and democratic leadership, broke away from the International Brotherhood of Pulp, Sulphite, and Paper Mill Workers and the United Papermakers and Paper Workers. This new union was not affiliated with the AFL-CIO.

Many AFL-CIO union officials have refused to support the strike. Members of the Teamsters union, while not driving through the picket lines, have been driving their trucks up to the gates and then allowing scabs to drive them into the mills.

One union that has given support to the strikers is the International Association of Machinists. IAM Multnomah Lodge 1005 passed a resolution in support of the paper workers and contributed \$100.

It is a strike deserving of much more such support. The companies are trying to break the union or to render it powerless, and the outcome will have an important impact on future labor negotiations, most notably in the Pacific Northwest.

African solidarity notes



Indiana activists form coalition

Fifty-five divestment and anti-apartheid activists met December 9 at Indiana University in Bloomington to form the Indiana Southern Africa Committee.

After hearing reports from local committees the participants voted to hold meetings on February 21, the fourteenth anniversary of Malcolm X's assassination.

It also voted to support a March 3 picketline at the I.U. Board of Trustees meeting in Indianapolis, and African Liberation Day activities in May.

Earlier, nearly 100 protesters held a rally at I.U. Bloomington to press their demand that I.U. trustees divest holdings in U.S. firms and banks operating in South Africa.

U.S. support to South Africa debated at SUNY

More than 130 people gathered at the State University of New York Albany for a panel discussion on U.S.-South Africa ties December 7.

The meeting was sponsored by the African/Afro-American Studies Department and SUNY Anti-Apartheid Committee.

Dr. James Turner, director of Africana Studies at Cornell University spoke in favor of divestment and an end to all U.S.-South Africa ties.

He was joined in this call by Fred Dube, a representative of the African National Congress and former prisoner on South Africa's notorious Robben Island.

John Cettle, director for the Americas of the South Africa Foundation, opposed any divestment and argued for closer U.S.-South Africa relations.

The South Africa Foundation carries on propaganda for the apartheid regime. It seeks increased investments, and finances junkets to South Africa for journalists, government officials, and others.

Bernard Coleman, a Black former State Department official, claimed to favor "partial divestment." But when questioned he admitted, "if it came to an armed conflict, the U.S. would be on the side of South Africa."

After urging the meeting's participants to become involved in the divestment fight, Turner told the audience, "The question is not whether the toilets are desegregated or that the assembly lines are desegregated, but who participates in ruling the country."

Connecticut rally demands state divest

One hundred people rallied in Hartford December 15 to demand local officials withdraw state funds from banks and companies doing business in South Africa.

The Connecticut Anti-Apartheid Committee organized the rally, which received endorsements from more than twenty groups, including Hartford mayor George Athanson and the Greater Hartford Labor Council (AFL-CIO).

Speakers included Athanson, a representative of the African National Congress, Christine Hoffman of the Connecticut Anti-Apartheid Committee, and activists from campus divestment groups. —Omari Musa

Cops continue cover-up in Utah socialist's death

By Syd Stapleton

SALT LAKE CITY—Evidence continues to mount here that Salt Lake City police are hiding the truth about the November 3 murder of Tony Adams.

Adams, a twenty-five-year-old leader of the Socialist Workers Party, was stabbed to death in his apartment only a few days after defeating a police frame-up in court. The cops had concocted a crude entrapment on sexual solicitation charges against Adams, who was a prominent gay rights activist in this city.

On January 5 Police Chief Bud Willoughby made his first public statement on the case, which appeared in a front-page article in the University of Utah *Daily Chronicle*, one of the largest-circulation papers in Salt Lake City.

He accused those who are calling for a full investigation of "harassing" the police department and rejected the idea that there may have been a political motive behind Adam's murder. "We can't establish a motive without a suspect," Willoughby protested. But then he added, "We believe the motive is tied to a robbery attempt or a homosexual contact."

There is no basis for either of these supposed motives. Nothing was stolen from Adams's apartment at the time of the murder, although a TV, stereo equipment, and other valuable items were there at the time.

The charge that the murder was tied to "a homosexual contact" is part of an ongoing police campaign to suggest that because Adams was gay, he was responsible for his own death.

Meanwhile, one day before Willoughby's flat denial of any possibility of motive, evidence of harassment of socialists came to light.

Clemens Bak, the local organizer of the Socialist Workers Party, awoke on the morning of January 4 to discover that his front door had been smeared with bright-red ketchup. Bak had been interviewed on television about the Adams case just a few nights before the incident.

"In the wake of the brutal stabbing of one of our members," said Bak, "the Socialist Workers Party is regarding this incident as more than a simple act of vandalism. It is an attempt to intimidate us."

"But we will not be intimidated," Bak said. "We will continue our efforts to find out the truth about the frame-up and murder of Tony Adams."

Since Adams's death, a broadly endorsed public campaign has gotten under way to demand a full and vigorous investigation into the killing. On December 13, a delegation representing more than forty organizations and individuals delivered a statement to city officials calling Adams's death "a special threat to everyone who wishes to express their views on any question."

Although protest delegations have met twice with Willoughby, the police have failed to pursue even the most obvious leads in the case.

Willoughby told the *Chronicle* reporter, "We are investigating the case as vigorously as we possibly can." But police lab work has taken more than six weeks to complete. Fingerprints found in Adams's apartment have not been submitted to the FBI for identification. And, although police originally claimed there was no sign of forced entry into Adams's apartment, some police reports now indicate there is evidence that the door was jimmied.

Police have also refused to show a photograph of the suspect in another murder they believe might be connected to the Adams murder to members of the SWP and others who knew Adams. When a meeting was set up with Detective Millard of the Salt Lake Police to show the photo to several members of the SWP, he arrived at the meeting without the photo. Instead, he demanded a membership list of the SWP and insisted that the socialists submit to lie-detector tests and fingerprint examinations.

"We see this incident as the latest in a string of events that show the police to be more interested in building up files on the Socialist Workers Party than in finding Adams's killer," said Bak. "This just makes us all the more determined to force out the truth in this case."

Protests from around the country are needed to demand that city officials take action on Adams's murder. Such messages should be sent to: Mayor Ted Wilson, City County Building, Salt Lake City, Utah 84111, with copies to the Socialist Workers Party, 677 South Seventh East, second floor, Salt Lake City, Utah 84102.

New Jersey NOW condemns red-baiting

By Matilde Zimmermann

According to the January issue of *NOW-NJ Newsbreaks*, the state board of the New Jersey National Organization for Women passed a resolution December 10 condemning a red-baiting editorial that appeared in the *National Now Times* following NOW's 1978 national conference.

By a vote of thirteen to five, says an article by Barbara Goldblatt and Connie Gilbert-Neiss, the Board "passed a resolution reaffirming its long standing policy welcoming all individuals who subscribe to NOW's goals. The resolution also deplored 'the use of the official voice of NOW, the *National Now Times*, to discriminate against some NOW members and protest[ed] the biased, undemocratic tone' of the articles: 'The SWP at the National Conference' and 'A NOW Member Comments.'"

Barbara Goldblatt is the editor of the New Jersey NOW newspaper, and Connie Gilbert-Neiss is the secretary of the state organization.

The New Jersey Board resolution took issue with an allegation by the *NOW Times* that "when large numbers of SWP members belong to a NOW chapter, that chapter tends to decline in numbers and activity as it suffers from internal strife."

Goldblatt and Gilbert-Neiss report that "in passing the resolution NOW-NJ cited the fact that local chapters in New Jersey and the state organization which include members of the SWP 'are flourishing in part due to the extraordinary efforts of SWP-NOW members working on NOW actions and projects.'"

Newsbreaks continues: "Although allegations are made in the *NOW Times* editorial that all regions and areas of NOW report problems with SWP members, NOW-NJ states unequivocally that no such pattern has, or is occurring in New Jersey. NOW-NJ urges all levels of NOW to desist from promulgating unsubstantiated allegations."

In the *NOW Times* anti-SWP editor-



Militant

1978 NOW conference. New Jersey resolution urges NOW to 'stop dissipating our energies with internal discrimination based on political affiliations or any other reason.'

ial, the New Jersey NOW leaders point out, "statements, entered into the Congressional Record by right-wing, anti-ERA, anti-reproductive freedom, anti-lesbian rights Representative Larry McDonald, are cited to substantiate allegations against NOW members."

Gilbert-Neiss and Goldblatt urge NOW to reject a method of operation that, at the national conference, "too often . . . diverted delegates from discussing resolutions based on merit and wasted precious time discussing whether or not an issue was supported by the SWP."

"It is time," they conclude, "for NOW to stop being governed by this we-they mentality. Too often this results in internal divisiveness. In our formative years the issue was abortion; then lesbianism; followed by the majority caucus split, now it is the SWP. Unless we stop dissipating our energies with internal discrimination based on political affiliations or any other reason, we are doomed to failure in reaching our goals."

New York rally says 'stop FBI crimes'

By Osborne Hart

NEW YORK CITY—"An injury to one is an injury to all"—a tradition of the labor movement—was the theme of a united rally to "Stop FBI Crimes" held here December 9, 1978. Three hundred fifty people attended.

The broad meeting was sponsored by the Political Rights Defense Fund. PRDF organizes support for the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance lawsuit against the FBI and other government agencies.

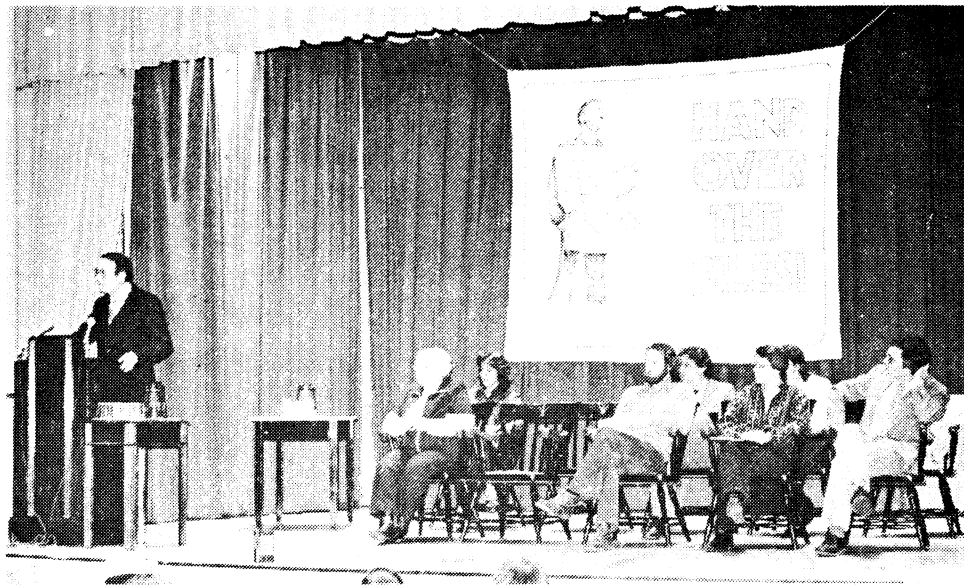
Rally chairperson Annette Rubenstein, a longtime political activist, opened the meeting by reading messages of support.

Many of the messages focused on the refusal of Attorney General Griffin Bell to obey a court order to turn over FBI informer files on the SWP and YSA.

Following the messages, David Dellinger, editor of *Seven Days* magazine, spoke. Dellinger, a pacifist, was a prominent figure in the anti-Vietnam War movement. He opened his speech by stressing the importance of the SWP's suit for all movements fighting for social justice.

Dellinger was followed by Henry Foner, president of the Fur, Leather and Machine Workers Joint Board in New York City; Héctor Marroquín, a member of the SWP and YSA seeking political asylum in the United States; Kateh Vafadari, national secretary of the Committee for Artistic and Intellectual Freedom in Iran; and Margaret Winter, one of the lawyers for the SWP suit.

Barbara Miner, *Guardian* news editor; Larry Siegle, national committee member of the SWP; Jim Haughton of Harlem Fightback; and Michael Meeropol, son of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg also spoke.



Trade unionist Henry Foner speaking at December 9 rally

Foner began his remarks by explaining, "I personally want to pay my respects to and tributes to the Socialist Workers Party and the Political Rights Defense Fund for this pioneering campaign and pioneering effort, which has really been in the interest of the entire American people."

The FBI has not only victimized socialists, he went on, but labor, antiwar, and civil rights activists.

Unity and solidarity in action were the overriding themes of the rally. *Guardian* news editor Barbara Miner opened her speech by emphasizing the need for unity against government repression and its cover-up.

"It is a cover-up against which we must unite, despite our many legitimate differences and varying political points of view. . . . We are all considered the enemy."

Larry Siegle of the SWP gave the keynote speech. He thanked the many

groups and individuals who have supported the socialists' suit. "They have done this not because they agree with the SWP," Siegle explained. "They are doing it because they are supporters of a powerful principle, which the SWP also advocates and fights for. That is the principle of solidarity—despite differences among us—the principle of 'an injury to one is an injury to all.'"

"Those here tonight represent many different ideas, and groups, and tendencies, and we often disagree. . . . But we can all agree on a very fundamental proposition: that we will unite and work together where we do agree, including and especially in the defense of ourselves and our brothers and sisters against government frame-ups and persecution."

"The famous slogan of 'An injury to one is an injury to all' grew out of the struggles, the labor solidarity that characterized the early days of the

radical and revolutionary movements in this country.

"And this is the tradition we are striving to reestablish now, in support of the SWP fight against the FBI, in defending the Wilmington Ten, in trying to reopen the Rosenberg case, in defense of Héctor Marroquín; in demanding justice for Arthur Miller."

Dellinger also took up this theme, noting that "a publication that . . . refused to print an ad for this meeting [was] the *Daily World*."

"I say that sadly," Dellinger explained. "I hope you understand that I would have said that whoever the organization was. But I think it reveals a kind of petty sectarianism that we cannot tolerate. . . ."

"I think we should all understand that the society that we want and the freedom that we want will only come from a nonsectarian, heterogeneous movement, in which we are able to combine difference and solidarity—unity in diversity."

Speakers also focused on what the socialists' lawsuit has revealed about capitalist "justice."

The capitalist justice system, said Siegle, "is designed to protect the property, profits, and privileges of the rich, the owners of wealth; and to penalize and persecute those without wealth—the exploited, the oppressed—Black people, Puerto Ricans, women—all working people."

"And it is designed to act with special vengeance and vindictiveness against those—like the Rosenbergs, like the Wilmington Ten, like Héctor Marroquín, like the Socialist Workers Party—who have a vision of a better world for humanity and dare to act to turn that vision into a reality. 'Law enforcement' in this country is based on class justice—ruling class justice."

'Your efforts deserve wholehearted support'

Following are excerpts from the greetings to the December 9 'Stop FBI Crimes' rally.

James Weinstein
Editor, 'In These Times'

We at *In These Times* strongly support your efforts to force the Justice Department to hand over the files of its informers. The FBI campaigns of harassment and intimidation against the Socialist Workers Party are a threat to the free expression of all points of view. Your efforts through your lawsuit against government spying deserve the wholehearted support of all those concerned about defense of political liberties.

Victor Reuther
Director, International Affairs, UAW, retired

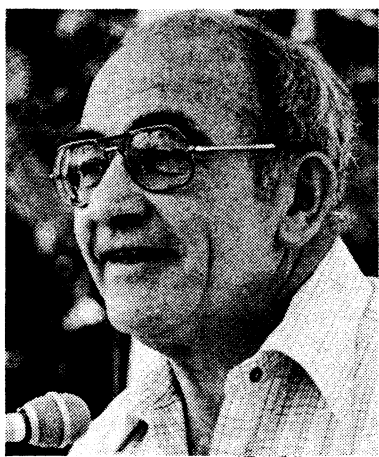
The Socialist Workers Party suit has been instrumental in revealing that the FBI hired finks and provocateurs to spy on, disrupt, and attack trade unionists and other activists. We must work together to bring these crimes to light and end them. We can do this if we all adopt and follow the old labor slogan: An injury to one is an injury to all. I join you in demanding that Griffin Bell hand over the files now and that FBI spying and disruption stop.

Richard Healy
National secretary, New American Movement

Congratulations on your enormous successes in exposing the crimes of the FBI and its attacks on all those who

have been fighting for a more decent and humane society. With you, we demand that Attorney General Bell turn over the files of the FBI informers.

Edward Asner
Star of 'Lou Grant' TV show



Militant/Harry Ring

Just as I have been with you in the past, am I with you now and will be in the future.

My only regret is in the failure of the Fourth Estate (which I represent fictionally on the tube) to support you as fully as it should. I can honestly say that Lou Grant would be there even if the rest of them aren't.

It's very simple: if you don't want to have to reveal informers—don't launch them into committing illegal acts.

Armando Gutiérrez
Texas Raza Unida Party

The Socialist Workers Party lawsuit and the historic contempt citation on Attorney General Griffin Bell stand as

the most significant breakthroughs in the public's attempt to curtail the assaults on our constitutional rights by the intelligence community.

All of us are better off because of your effort.

Adelante con la lucha. Unidos venceremos.

David Thorstad
Spokesperson, Coalition for Lesbian and Gay Rights

I am honored to join with you to demand that the U.S. government turn over its files on informers used against the Socialist Workers Party.

The SWP is providing a useful service by leading the efforts to expose the FBI and the CIA. It has already succeeded in putting them on the defensive. Ten years ago this would have been unimaginable. Now, let's kick them while they're down.

David Livingston
President, District 65, Distributive Workers of America

Having reviewed the decision rendered by Judge Thomas P. Griesa, it is apparent to me that the Federal Bureau of Investigation has harassed and intimidated peaceful citizens engaged in the lawful exercises of their basic political rights.

The arrogance of these federal agents is incredible. The American tradition relies on laws created through open and democratic discussion of all views. Groups of federal agents seem to believe they are wiser

than the citizenry and able to write their own laws. Attorney General Griffin Bell's responsibility should be clear. He is compelled by his oath of office to cooperate fully with the courts. Failure to do so constitutes a cover-up of illegal activities.

Nancy Borman
Editor, 'Majority Report'

I support the Political Rights Defense Fund case against the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

I hope that the appeals court will follow through and insist that the attorney general turn over the informer files and not make special justice for the attorney general.

Kitty Tucker
President, Supporters of Silkwood



Militant/Arnold Weissberg

The thousands of people across the United States who have supported our efforts to reveal the truth about the violations of Karen Silkwood's civil liberties are with you in

spirit at this rally. The Karen Silkwood case has revealed FBI complicity in a cover-up of illegal surveillance of union activist Karen Silkwood, and the case has revealed surveillance networks used against antinuclear activists.

All such spying must cease! We join with you in your resolve to stop FBI crimes.

Robin Read
New Hampshire Clamshell Alliance

I wish I could be with you today. The Clamshell Alliance and the other antinuclear alliances around the country have increasingly become targets of government and corporate surveillance and harassment. The reasons for this are not hard to see. The growing movement against nuclear power and nuclear weapons poses a serious threat to the powerful nuclear industry and its allies in Washington.

We know, though, from the history of the labor movement, the women's movement, the antiwar movement and Black, Third World, and Native American struggles that the government and the transnational corporations will use any excuse to rationalize their repression of progressive movements.

It is therefore crucial that we work together to protect our organizations and our civil liberties from police-state tactics of the FBI and other private and government intelligence agencies who are desperately searching for new methods to crush peoples movements for radical social change.

Militant fund goes over the top

By Harry Ring

Congratulations!

Because of your unstinting support, we were successful in our \$75,000 fund drive to mark the fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the *Militant*.

With a few areas still tallying their final totals, we wound up at year's end with \$76,152. This is the largest amount ever raised in a *Militant* fund campaign. In 1977, it was \$61,408.

And, needless to say, it comes at a time when it's most needed. The impact of spiraling inflation continues to deepen. Even with increased support our financial situation remains a difficult one.

In good measure, we're sure, the record response to the fund expressed recognition of that problem.

But it was more. Our fiftieth anniversary was regarded by our supporters as a really special event. A lot of people dug down even deeper than usual to concretize their wishes for a happy birthday.

The response to the fund was gratifying in all its aspects.

The drive was kicked off at a rally for the *Militant* during our socialist educational conference in Oberlin, Ohio, last August. At that rally, \$36,785 was pledged, plus a special \$5,000 matching fund contribution.

To celebrate the anniversary, banquets and rallies were held in thirty-two cities. (Two more are slated, in Detroit and Cincinnati, on January 27.) So far, these rallies have netted the *Militant* \$26,682.

A letter to subscribers brought \$7,684; a gain of \$1,184 over last year. And a few late contributions are still coming in.

While our fiftieth anniversary proved a big stimulus to the fund-raising effort, there was an added reason for the excellent response. Our supporters recognize that there is today a growing opportunity to gain new influence for the *Militant* among working people in this country.

From all areas, socialists report that in their workplaces they're finding an increasing number of people deeply affected by the mounting social crisis

and very open to consideration of socialist ideas. The *Militant*, supporters recognize, has a vital role to play in deepening that process.

Also, world events confirm a rising resistance to the consequences of a bankrupt capitalist system.

The most dramatic expression of this, of course, is the inspiring revolutionary struggle in Iran and the

key role the Iranian working class is playing there.

We can be confident that the historic events in Iran will have a profound impact on workers throughout the world—including those right here in the United States.

Here too, the *Militant* is indispensable. The unremitting barrage of lies about Iran in the capitalist media must be countered. The facts must be made available and a Marxist analysis and perspective presented. There is in this country, literally, no other paper to do the job.

Meanwhile, we would love to say that the success of the \$75,000 fund resolves our financial problems. But that's simply not the case. The inflationary toll mounts relentlessly. Further economies are necessary to ensure continued crisis-free publication.

For the past several years we have been publishing a thirty-two-page paper. To help with the problem of mounting costs, we have been forced to return to a twenty-eight-page schedule.

But we are confident that in a period of time this will be reversed. As we win new working-class readers, the ranks of financial supporters will also grow. And that's our best weapon against inflation.

The first battles in a rising working-class struggle are already being fought in this country. Your continuing, generous support will help assure that the *Militant* will be on the scene, reporting, analyzing—and influencing—these class battles.



YOUR VERY LAST CHANCE!

Here's my contribution of ☐ \$5, ☐ \$10, ☐ \$25, ☐ \$50, ☐ \$100, ☐ \$500, ☐ other.

Name

Street

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Send check or money order to: Militant 50th Anniversary Fund, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014.

...Cambodia

Continued from page 4

for the conflict with Vietnam.

The imperialist powers took note of these overtures. Australia began to move toward establishing diplomatic relations with Cambodia. According to the November 10 *Far Eastern Economic Review*, the Australian government held that "it is essential to preserve [Cambodia] as an independent buffer between non-communist Thailand and communist Vietnam."

The same issue reported deepening Japanese interest in aiding Cambodia:

"Behind Japan's desire to aid Cambodia is also the desire to see that it is economically viable. Some observers in Bangkok believe that the Asean [alliance] states, too, think that any regime in Phnom Penh is preferable to one submissive to Hanoi."

Cold shoulder to Vietnam

While Cambodia was getting an interested response to its offers of collaboration, the Vietnamese rulers were getting the cold shoulder. Vietnam agreed to help identify the bodies of U.S. soldiers missing in action in Vietnam and dropped its demand for reparations from the U.S. government as the price of diplomatic relations. But no response was forthcoming.

In September and October, Vietnamese Premier Pham Van Dong visited the Philippines, Malaysia, Thailand, Singapore, and other countries of the region. He offered fulsome proof of the Vietnamese rulers' readiness to oppose revolutionary struggles in the region if the neocolonial regimes would guarantee Vietnam's security and establish full economic relations.

None of these concessions were enough to satisfy Washington's satellites in the region.

The December 29 *Far Eastern Economic Review* asserted that Vietnamese Foreign Minister Nguyen Duy Trinh "revealed in Tokyo that the US

is now raising three new issues before allowing normalisation—Vietnam's ties with the Soviet Union, its dispute with Cambodia and the Vietnamese refugees. . . .

"The most important factor seems to be an increasing Washington tilt in favor of the beleaguered Pol Pot regime in Cambodia. . . . In the face of the increasing threat to Phnom Penh from the Vietnamese and Hanoi-backed Khmer insurgents, Washington appears ready to give precedence to geopolitics over human rights."

Under these circumstances, the establishment of full diplomatic relations between the United States and China—and the growing hostility by both to Vietnam—may well have contributed to convincing Hanoi that decisive action was needed to break the diplomatic and military noose it felt tightening around its neck. Delay posed the danger that the U.S. "tilt" could evolve into direct assistance to Pol Pot, adding to the sizable aid the Cambodian ruler was getting from Peking.

The Vietnamese rulers carried out the overturn of Pol Pot in pursuit of their interests as a privileged bureaucratic layer. In this instance, doing that required the military defense of the workers state this parasitic caste feeds on.

Crimes of Stalinism

The events in Indochina demonstrate the criminal effects of Stalinism. The Cambodian regime carried the Stalinist concepts of totalitarian rule, hatred of the working class, and national chauvinism to the point of blocking the socialist revolution entirely and replacing it with a bizarre authoritarianism based on the labor of a militarized peasantry.

The Peking regime's criminal alliance with U.S. imperialism, its attacks on Vietnam, and its support of the Cambodian tyranny have dealt a savage blow to the world revolution.

This deepens the isolation of the Chinese workers state from its real defenders and allies, the oppressed of the world.

And the nationalist course being followed by the Vietnamese rulers is not qualitatively better. In exchange for diplomatic and economic deals, they have declared their readiness to stand against revolutionary struggles elsewhere in the world in the name of "peaceful coexistence."

While the new government in Phnompenh has promised to end some of the most bizarre and repressive aspects of the regime instituted under Pol Pot, it will not bring workers and peasants democracy to Cambodia.

There is no indication, for example, that the Cambodian masses will have a greater say in the selection of their government than the Vietnamese people have been given.

Nor can the Vietnamese Stalinists who now militarily predominate in Cambodia be counted on to respect the national rights of the Khmer people, including their right to national self-determination.

The Cambodian people face a long and difficult struggle for democratic rights and socialism, in which the

overthrow of Pol Pot was only one necessary step. Their struggles in the future will be closely intertwined with the battle of the Vietnamese workers and peasants to replace the ruling bureaucratic caste with a regime of genuine proletarian democracy.

Imperialist hands off!

Workers, farmers, and other oppressed people in the United States should oppose demands that the United Nations intervene in Cambodia. Such intervention—while unlikely given the present relationship of forces in Indochina and on a world scale—would only be a paper-thin cover for U.S. imperialist intervention. The U.S. rulers used the UN to mask counterrevolutionary moves during the Korean War in the 1950s and later in combating nationalist forces in the Congo.

And we must also oppose the attempts to use Cambodia as a pretext for tightening the U.S. military encirclement, diplomatic boycott, and economic blockade of Vietnam. The U.S. rulers, who brought so much death and destruction to Indochina, must provide massive reconstruction aid to Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia—with no strings attached.



U.S. bombs and arms leveled Cambodian countryside. U.S. should massively aid reconstruction of all countries of Indochina.

The following are excerpts from the remarks of James Harris, a member of the national committee of the Socialist Workers Party.

I was in Cuba in 1970. I participated in a campaign to harvest 10 million tons of sugar. I was twenty-two years old, and I'd been in the Young Socialist Alliance for about a year and a half. I went as part of the Venceremos Brigade, a work brigade set up by American radicals and the Cuban government.

I cut cane. Cutting cane is one of the hardest jobs in the world. And I saw thousands and thousands of Cubans participating in that grueling campaign—working ten, twelve hours a day and six or seven days a week—not because they were told to but because they were convinced that this was needed to carry forward the revolution.

And I got a glimpse of what the future can be like when capitalism is removed. That is something no one in this room should deny themselves.

When I came back, the bourgeois press was on a campaign to prove that communism was bad because we fell short of the 10 million ton goal. But

Side by side with intense poverty, there were big luxury hotels. The Americans and their hangers-on took the beaches and barred the Cuban people from them. Cuba became a playground for the American bourgeoisie, the Mafia, all kinds of filth.

I asked one Cuban peasant, "What's the difference between now and before the revolution?"

He replied, "The difference is like night and day. I no longer go hungry. My son can go to school. And where before I did not eat meat because the rich bought it all, now I get meat when it is available."

That came straight from his heart. He was explaining why the Cuban people are not going to let that revolution be defeated. They support it, and they are right.

Why does the ruling class hate Cuba so much? We're in the richest country in the world. Ninety miles away is one of the poorest countries in the world. And *that* country moved to solve the problems of racism, sexism, and poverty—problems that have not been solved inside the United States.

Black people in this country have an identification with the Cuban revolution. I first heard of the Cuban revolu-

'Cuba showed how you outlaw racism'

shooting for that goal was part of Cuba's efforts to break out of the chains in which American imperialism has bound it—including an economic blockade.

The enemies of Cuba forget to explain where Cuba had come from. At the time of the revolution Cuba had about 6 million people. About 600,000 were permanently unemployed. Many others were employed only four months a year cutting cane.

About 80 percent of the rural population was illiterate. In these areas 60 percent of families lived in thatched huts. Three-fourths used kerosene lighting, and the rest had no lighting at all. A small percentage of the population got to eat meat as much as twice a year. Medical care was hard to obtain for the poor in the cities and impossible in the countryside. Cuba had the fourth-highest infant mortality rate in Latin America. And it was saddled with a vicious dictator—an imperialist puppet named Batista.

tion when Fidel Castro came to New York City for the 1960 session of the United Nations General Assembly. He stayed at the Hotel Theresa in Harlem.

My father was watching the TV news, and he called to me, "Come in here. I want to show you something." I came in, and he pointed to the screen and said, "These white people are scared because this white man from Cuba came here and stayed in Harlem."

Fidel stayed in Harlem because the Blacks in Cuba's multinational delegation were insulted at one of the high-class hotels. He didn't go to another rich man's hotel. He said, "OK, I'm going to Harlem." And the white rulers were scared, because that was a very important demonstration.

Cuba outlawed racism. That means that if I walk into a barber shop and the barber won't cut my hair, I don't have to hire a lawyer, file suit, and wait for ten years. I can go out on the street and get the militia. They will come in and explain to the barber, "You better cut his hair." Otherwise that barber shop is out of business. That's how you get rid of racism.

And that's ninety miles away. Black people look at this.

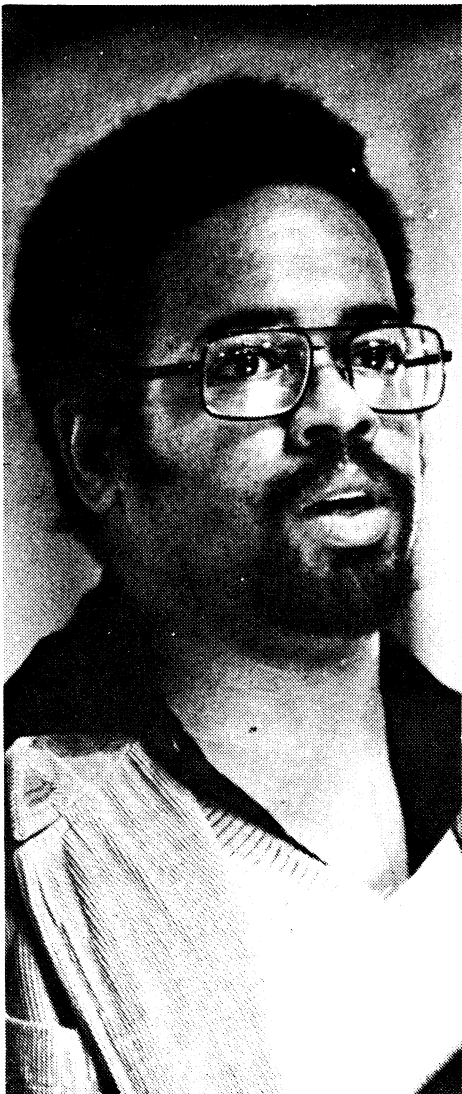
Another thing that inspired me about Cuba was the level of internationalism. "Create two, three, many Vietnams" wasn't just a slogan. The average Cuban knew that the fight of the Vietnamese people was one of the reasons Cuba could survive. The extension of the revolution wasn't an abstract principle for them. They knew that without extension there would be no Cuban revolution. This wasn't just discussed among intellectuals or political leaders. It was something the masses understood at a gut level.

Poor and blockaded Cuba gave aid to Vietnam. They put to shame the stingy aid provided by the Soviet and Chinese governments.

Everyone who possibly can should visit Cuba. I saw the overwhelming majority of the population burning with the ideas of socialism. The Cubans believe in the ideas we put forward and the things we fight for, and they have made them a material force in that society.

When you see millions of people enthused about making a revolution and achieving socialism, you can understand and believe more deeply than ever that the same thing is going to happen here.

And that's one of the things I like about the Cuban revolution.



JAMES HARRIS Militant/Ginny Hildebrand

SOCIALISM CUBAN RE

Hands



Lift th

By Fred Feldman

PITTSBURGH—Defense of the Cuban revolution and its internationalist course in Africa was the central theme of a December 31 rally here to celebrate the revolution's twentieth anniversary. The victory of the rebel army led by Fidel Castro was sealed on December 31, 1958, when dictator Fulgencio Batista fled the island.

The rally, attended by well over 600 people, was part of the eighteenth national convention of the Young Socialist Alliance.

The inspiration that a living revolution provides to fighters for social change was apparent in the enthusiastic mood of the meeting. Speeches were interrupted frequently by rhythmic clapping and stomping. Chants of "Cuba sí, Yanqui no!" and "Viva Fidel, down with the shah!" quickly spread through the audience.

The rally was chaired by Margo Storsteen, a member of the Young Socialist Alliance who attended the International Youth Festival held in Havana last summer. The speakers, all of whom had had firsthand experiences with the Cuban revolution, were José G. Pérez, the Cuban-born editor of

the Spanish-language socialist magazine *Perspectiva Mundial*; James Harris, a member of the Socialist Workers Party National Committee; Jack Barnes, national secretary of the Socialist Workers Party; and Betsy Far-



BETSY FARLEY Militant/Ginny Hildebrand

Further coverage of the YSA national convention will appear in next week's *Militant*.

STTS HAIL VOLUTION

off Cuba!

Blockade

ey, editor of the *Young Socialist*.

Storsteen read a message from the United Secretariat of the Fourth International hailing the anniversary and pointing to the importance of Cuba's internationalist stand in Africa.

Jack Barnes described the role the YSA has played from the very beginning in defending the Cuban revolution. "Our fate and the fate of the Cuban revolution have been totally intertwined," he said. "We threw ourselves into building the Fair Play for Cuba committees. And we turned the Young Socialist Alliance into the tribune and propagandist for the Cuban revolution in this country."

Barnes stressed that the YSA's work in building the anti-Vietnam War movement not only aided the Vietnamese revolution but strengthened the Cuban revolution as well.

"And now we're going to act in defense of the Cuban revolution and the Black African revolution. It's the same fight," he concluded.

Betsy Farley summarized the spirit of this meeting: "The Cuban revolution is our revolution. It was made in our time, against our own class enemies, and it was led by young people much like those in this room tonight. Like us, they had a vision of a world free of exploitation and oppression. Like us, they were committed to fight for that

vision.

"Because the leaders of the Cuban revolution steadfastly refused to bow to U.S. imperialism or the sellout policies of the Stalinist bureaucrats in Moscow and Peking, we can celebrate tonight the twentieth anniversary of a revolution that is still alive and going strong.

"But at the same time we're putting the U.S. government on notice that we will meet every threat against Cuba—every spy flight, every naval maneuver—with a stepped-up campaign to defend that revolution. We will defend not only the social and economic gains of that revolution, but also the revolutionary initiatives of Cuba in Africa."

The meeting raised \$6,500 to build the Young Socialist Alliance in the coming months.

The rally sent messages to the Cuban government, hailing the anniversary of the revolutionary triumph, and to President Carter, denouncing recent bombings in New York City by counterrevolutionary terrorists.

The meeting concluded with the singing of the *International*.

Jack Barnes's keynote speech to the Cuban revolution rally will appear in the February *International Socialist Review*.

Following are excerpts from the speech by José G. Pérez, editor of 'Perspectiva Mundial.'

Twenty years ago I was at a New Year's Eve celebration at my parents' house in Reparto Kohly, at the time one of the wealthiest sections of La Habana. I was seven years old.

At the party were American corporate stockholders; officials from the U.S. embassy; Cuban capitalists like my father, who had made millions by handing over our country to U.S. corporations; and high officials of the Cuban military, including my godfather, who headed Batista's air force.

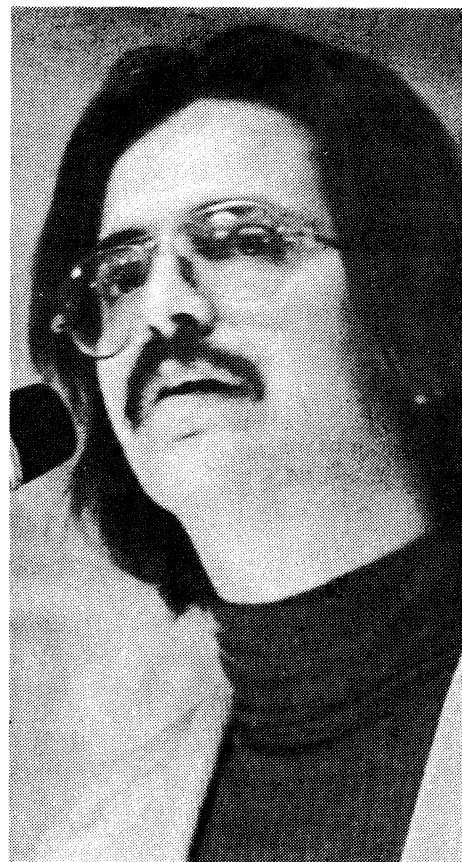
A phone call came for my godfather. When he got off the phone he announced that Batista was fleeing and wanted to know if anyone wanted to go with him. But nobody did.

The people at that party thought they were Cuba. And they thought they'd buy Fidel Castro and the July 26 Movement and that would be that.

They forgot that there was another Cuba—the Cuba of the landless, of the hungry *campesinos*, of the sugar cane cutters, and of the urban workers. They forgot that there was another Cuba that didn't have gallons of champagne to pour over each other's heads at midnight. And that there were real revolutionists, too—like Fidel, his brother Raúl Castro, Haydee Santamaria, Che Guevara, and Camilo Cienfuegos.

So my parents' guests kept partying. But the July 26 leaders were planning a general strike that began January 2—in which the Cuban working people began to let the American monopolies and their Cuban hangers-on know that the party was over.

We are here to celebrate that victory of the Cuban people—to celebrate the fact that for twenty years Cuba has



JOSE G. PEREZ Militant/Ginny Hildebrand

organized counterrevolutionary Cubans.

I was living in Miami then, having been brought there when my family's properties were expropriated in October 1960—when Cuba became a workers state. Only my godfather was left behind. He was serving fifteen years in prison for war crimes.

At first, my father and his friends were ecstatic about the invasion. Then they started getting despondent, as the reports came in on the shortwave radio. They started drinking, and soon they were crying like babies.

'The Cuban revolution shaped my thinking'

been a beacon to the rest of the Americas. It has shown the working masses of Nicaragua, Peru, Puerto Rico, and—yes—the United States, that socialist revolution is the only solution to their problems.

The U.S. imperialists will never be reconciled to that victory. Yankee imperialism has waged a relentless war against Cuba, trying to murder Castro more than ninety times. They've inflicted economic blockades and diplomatic isolation on Cuba. They've tried terrorism, invasions, and naval blockades. And we're here to celebrate the fact that Cuba has survived, despite tremendous losses and sufferings.

One of the incidents in the U.S. war against Cuba that I remember best was the April 1961 invasion at Cuba's aptly-named Bay of Pigs by CIA-

They thought it would be easy to overthrow Fidel Castro. They didn't take into account the tremendous power of the workers and peasants organized in defense of their own interests by a revolutionary leadership. That power crushed the counterrevolutionary invasion—that's another victory we're here to celebrate.

But the U.S. imperialists haven't given up the war. A few days ago, right-wing counterrevolutionary terrorists bombed the Cuban mission to the United Nations and a concert hall at New York's Lincoln Center.

One goal of these bombings is to disrupt a revolutionary initiative recently taken by the Cuban government. By preparing to release 3,000 imprisoned counterrevolutionaries—

Continued on page 17

Young socialists' message

The following telegram was sent to the Cuban government by the rally at the Young Socialist Alliance convention.

Dear comrades,

The 600 North American revolutionary socialists meeting in Pittsburgh at the eighteenth national convention of the Young Socialist Alliance join you in celebrating the twentieth anniversary of the victory of the Cuban revolution. Since the YSA was founded in April 1960, the Cuban revolution has been a tremendous inspiration and example to us.

We have learned from you, in the words of the Second Declaration of Havana, that the revolution is possible, that the people can make it, and that "the duty of every revolutionary is to make the revolution."

To make the revolution in the United States, that is the YSA's goal.

For the past twenty years Cuba has been the target of countless aggressions and attacks inspired by or carried out by U.S. imperialism. Today Cuba is again under stepped-up attack, Washington's answer to the internationalist aid you have given to the African revolution.

Defense of revolutionary Cuba has been a priority for the YSA since its founding, and it continues to be one today. We pledge to do everything in our power to force the imperialists to stop their military attacks and threats against Cuba, and to lift their economic blockade.

Viva Cuba, territorio libre de America! Venceremos!

Eighteenth national convention of the Young Socialist Alliance

Polemics in Marxist Philosophy

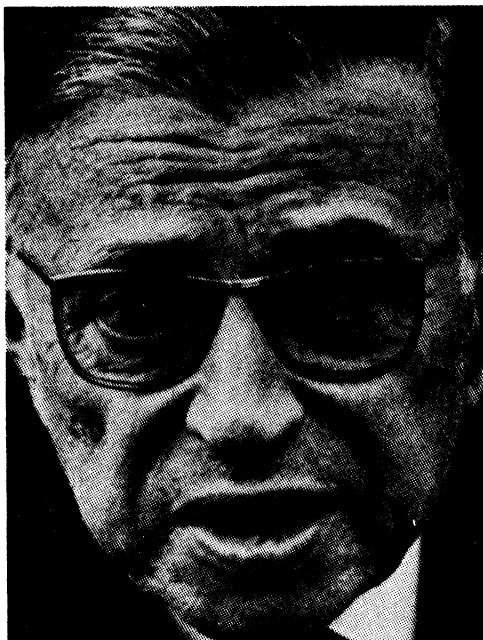
Polemics in Marxist Philosophy by George Novack. New York, Pathfinder Press. 1977. 336 pp. \$16 cloth, \$4.95 paper.

The ten essays collected in this volume mark a certain new direction in George Novack's work. The majority of the previous books by this outstanding American Marxist philosopher have focused on critiques of empiricism and pragmatism, the dominant philosophical trend in the English-speaking countries.

After establishing the historical pedigree of materialism as far back as the ancient Greeks (in his *Origins of Materialism*), Novack proceeded to dissect the premises of American liberal thought, in a series of books highlighted by his *Empiricism and Its Evolution* (1968), *Democracy and Revolution* (1971), and *Pragmatism versus Marxism* (1975).

In *Polemics in Marxist Philosophy*, Novack turns his attention from the clash between Marxism and procapitalist schools of thought, to examine the controversies that have arisen within the Marxist camp over the past fifty years.

The central problem for twentieth-century Marxism has been to retain



In his new book, George Novack (right) discusses the ideas of Sartre (left) Lukács, Colletti, and others, and defends Marxist materialism as explained by Frederick Engels (center).

life that determine their consciousness, then any mass movement is subject to the conservatizing pressures of the society in which it exists, in its theorizing as well as its everyday activity. And yet, even understanding the causes does not fully prepare one to confront the extent of the split between science and mass organization that has taken place.

Today there are more people who think of themselves as Marxists than there are adherents of any other philosophical view—not in the United States, it is true, but in the rest of the world. And yet the dominant form of "Marxism" is the dogmatic and apologetic creed of the bureaucratic regimes in the Soviet Union, Eastern Europe, and China. As Novack says of this

kind of Marxism:

"A philosophic standpoint or system that is imposed by official compulsion takes on the traits of a religion: blind faith, hypocrisy, discrepancy between theory and practice, dogmatism, and the withering of critical thought."

The split between theory and practice in the Marxist movement did not begin with Stalinism, although the Stalinists have carried it to its most grotesque extremes. The first great shock of this kind came with the collapse of the mass Social Democratic parties of Europe in World War I. The Russian Bolsheviks overcame that conservatism and led the first socialist revolution at the war's end. But the fate of the German Social Democrats provoked a heated discussion in Bolshevik ranks: what were its causes, how could it have been avoided?

One tendency that arose within the Marxist movement sought to explain the nonrevolutionary performance of the German Marxists not primarily by the effects of social conditions on the party officialdom and ranks but by alleged flaws in Marxist theory. This critical current was pioneered by Hungarian Communist theorist Georg Lukács in the 1920s. Lukács held that Marxism after the death of Marx had become too mechanical and fatalistic, relying too heavily on expected economic crises for its chance at power and underestimating the need for an act of will by the revolutionary vanguard to help create the conditions needed for a socialist victory. Novack writes:

"Lukács, thanks to his grounding in German classical philosophy, highlighted the dialectical element of the Marxist method, which had been thrust into the background while Karl Kautsky held sway over the international Social Democracy. Lukács was the first since Marx to dwell upon the importance of the concepts of alienation and reification in the revolutionary criticism of the capitalist system. And, unlike the mechanical determinists, he saw that active, working, thinking, struggling human beings were not only the products but the producers of the historical process of social development."

Subjectivists

These ideological beginnings were later to feed a subjectivist tendency in twentieth-century Marxist thought. By the 1930s, the specter of Stalinist purge trials and labor camps, as well as the failure of the German working class to stop Hitler's Nazi juggernaut, had

come to replace the debate over the fate of the Second International as the prime examples of where a fatalistic, mechanical Marxism could lead.

A small but vocal and talented group of theorists sought to rescue the humanist, activist, and democratic side of Marxist doctrine from the Stalinist cataclysm. Led by figures such as Herbert Marcuse, Theodor Adorno, and Max Horkheimer of the Frankfurt school, or, the still less orthodox Jean-Paul Sartre, who tried to marry existentialism to Marxism, these thinkers sought to give greater scope to individualism in Marxist theory.

In their trenchant criticism of capitalist and Stalinist authoritarianism, these writers restored an essential element to Marxist thought that the Stalinists had sought to destroy.

But at the same time, the humanist Marxists tended consistently to underestimate the importance of economic conditions, of objective social processes, and of the need for class organization of the workers in a revolutionary party. All of this one-sidedness is summed up in their general retreat from the materialist foundation of scientific socialism.

This is expressed in their insistence that Marxism should abandon any claim to possess a theory of knowledge in addition to its theory of social organization. In particular, the subjectivist current opposes Marx and Engels's conclusion that there is a close affinity between the processes of change that are analyzed in the natural and social sciences. This is the famous debate over the "dialectics of nature."

For Marx and Engels, a central task in establishing a scientific theory of history and social change required eliminating all remnants of the belief that human beings are a unique divine creation, or, in more secular terms, that thought or spirit is the prime motor force of history. This required that for all their unique characteristics and abilities, humans be seen as a product of nature, that their individual and collective responses be assumed to be conditioned by natural and social and not supernatural causes, and that objective material conditions be taken as primary over their reflection in thought.

Dialectic of nature

Moreover, Marx and Engels postulated that humans, as a part of nature, engaged in thought processes that were analogous in certain ways to the way changes took place in the nonhu-

Books

the dynamic tension between Marxism as a rigorous social science and Marxism as a mass revolutionary movement for social change. The reason these two poles can be split apart presents no mysteries for Marxist theory. If, as Marx held, it is people's conditions of

'Woman's Evolution' in Swedish

Evelyn Reed's popular book *Woman's Evolution* has just appeared in a Swedish translation of 527 pages. It is also scheduled to be published in six other languages: Danish, French, Italian, Spanish, Turkish, and Persian.

In the four years since its original publication, Reed's remarkable work on primitive society, explaining the transition from the maternal clan to the patriarchal family, has earned international acclaim and become a classic text in women's history. One of the top best sellers on the Pathfinder Press list, it is now in its fifth printing.

A reviewer in the journal of the American Association for the Advancement of Science hailed it as "a fascinating and scholarly book; useful in sociology and anthropology courses, and to any woman needing encouragement about the contribution of her sex to history."

Woman's Evolution bids fair to overtake the translation record of Reed's earlier and shorter work, *Problems of Women's Liberation*, which since 1969 has been issued in eight languages from Italian to Japanese. Her latest book, *Sexism and Science*, contains polemical pieces on the work and ideas of such prominent writers as Jane Goodall, Claude Lévi-Strauss, Lionel Tiger, the socio-biologist E.O. Wilson, as



well as a debate with Walter Goldschmidt, former president of the American Anthropological Association.

To obtain an English-language copy of *Woman's Evolution* send \$5.95 to Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, New York 10014. Please include \$.50 for postage.

...Cuba

Continued from page 15

man world. This they called the dialectic of nature, referring to the idea that the world is composed of matter in motion, that change takes place through the accumulation of almost imperceptible stresses in an inwardly divided object, leading at some point to a dialectical leap in the form of the creation of a new element, the birth or death of an organism, etc.

George Novack cites the findings of modern science to sustain and defend the concept of the dialectics of nature. In particular he comes to the defense of Frederick Engels, Marx's lifetime co-thinker, who is singled out for special attack by the subjectivists because he wrote more on the question of natural science than Marx did and because it is tactically more palatable for someone claiming to represent the continuity of Marxism to criticize Engels rather than state that they oppose important elements of Marx's thought as well.

Novack argues convincingly that however much we may agree that the main point of the Marxist movement is its concern with the problems of human life and society, these cannot be judged correctly if we have no broader idea of causality.

"The independent existence of material reality, the primacy of objective conditions, and the objectivity of knowledge all fit together in the structure of Marxist philosophy. The Marxist theory of knowledge is predicated on the capacity of the human mind to reflect the surrounding world more or less correctly."

In addition to several essays devoted to the humanist, "neo-Hegelian" current in today's Marxism, Novack explores two other directions taken by recent theorists. In his essay "Marxism and Existentialism" he examines Sartre's attempts to ground a Marxian social theory in a concept of a completely unpredictable and absurd universe—a project that goes beyond the merely subjective approach of the Lukácsians and into the realm of the theories known as irrationalism. ("The attempt of Sartre and his disciples to mate a creed of ultra-individualism and subjectivism with the materialist and collectivist postulates of scientific socialism was a hopeless, retrograde, and sterile enterprise.")

Finally, there are two excellent essays on the Italian Marxists Sebastiano Timpanaro and Lucio Colletti. These two writers are part of a counter-current to the subjectivist tendency, seeking to defend materialism and scientific method while repudiating the dogmatism of Stalinism. (Novack considers Timpanaro's efforts far more successful than Colletti's.)

Polemics in Marxist Philosophy is at the same time an introduction to many of the diverse currents identified with Marxism and a strong and well-reasoned defense of both the materialism and the critical dialectical method that comprise the philosophical mainsprings of classical Marxism.

—Leslie Evans

DICK ROBERTS

Capitalism in Crisis

Capitalism in Crisis cuts through the mystique that surrounds the government's economic policies. Roberts explains why the government has been unable to control inflation, and shows the forces behind the international economic crisis. 128 pp., cloth \$7.00, paper \$2.45

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the great bulk of those held for politically motivated crimes—Fidel took the U.S. government's sanctimonious human rights rhetoric and crammed it right down Jimmy Carter's throat.

An aspect of this is the Cuban regime's new dialogue with the Cuban community abroad. A growing section of the Cuban community—probably a majority—is for ending the U.S. military threats and the economic blockade against Cuba. And a smaller layer supports the revolution itself—especially younger Cubans like me, who were brought out of our homeland by our parents, and Cubans born in the United States.

Fidel has helped create an atmosphere in which these Cubans can organize and speak out.

This is a tremendous responsibility and opportunity for us. We should participate in this process in the Cuban community, winning support for ending the blockade and U.S. military aggression against Cuba.

* * *

When I became a socialist nine or ten years ago, the Cuban revolution and its leadership—especially the writings and speeches of Fidel and Che—



'The Cuban people believe in the same things as the YSA'

shaped my thinking. It is no accident therefore that I joined the Young Socialist Alliance. The revolutionary ideas I began learning from the actions and words of the Cuban leaders were systematically thought through and applied in this country by the YSA.

And there are many other young Cubans like me who have been inspired by the Cuban revolution and who want to follow its example on U.S. soil. We need to let them also know that the organization they have been looking for is the Young Socialist Alliance.

Victimization by marijuana laws

By Peter Archer

What sentence can you get for selling marijuana?

If you live in Nevada, it could be life.

That's what happened to twenty-eight-year-old Stan Pickard from Hawthorne, Nevada. Convicted of selling an ounce of marijuana to a minor in 1976—a charge he denies—Pickard has been serving out a life term in the Nevada State Prison maximum-security section. "As the trial went on," Pickard says, "I became very worried. . . . But I thought, 'It's only in my mind, they wouldn't find me guilty, they just couldn't.'"

They did.

Because most of the estimated 16.2 million marijuana smokers in the United States have never been arrested on drug charges, there is a popular feeling that marijuana laws aren't enforced.

This is not true.

In fact, marijuana arrests accounted for more than 70 percent of all drug-

related arrests in 1977.

"The law in Florida is pretty severe," says Frank Firomonti of the National Organization for Repeal of Marijuana Laws. "As are Missouri, Nevada, Texas, mostly the southern states. But possession of five or ten pounds of grass in New York State can still get you a three- to four-year sentence."

An article in the November 30 *Rolling Stone* described case histories of several young people victimized by unjust drug laws.

Jerry Mitchell from West Plains, Missouri, thought he would get off easy when he pleaded guilty to selling one-third of an ounce of marijuana for five dollars.

Seven years.

Eve Wilson was arrested by an undercover cop for selling half a lid in 1977.

Five years.

And Roger Davis, a twenty-eight-year-old Black man from Wytheville,

Virginia, is doing forty years for possession of six ounces and selling another four ounces to an informer.

Davis pleaded not guilty and tried to get his trial moved to a different location, because he is married to a white woman and knew he wouldn't get a fair trial. The motion was denied.

Files forced out of the FBI show that agency officials have often sought to bust members of the Black and antiwar movements on charges of possessing illegal drugs. In some cases, they were successful. Some years ago, Lee Otis Johnson, a Black activist in Texas, was given a thirty-year sentence for allegedly passing a marijuana joint from one undercover cop to another.

"There was a big jump in the number of arrested from 1972 to 1973," says Firomonti. "In general, it's been an ever-increasing spiral," from 184,000 arrests in 1970 to 457,000 in 1977.

...Cleve.

Continued from page 5

clear power plants, and it is building a third. This is a terrific hazard to all people in this area, and we are for shutting down those plants immediately.

"Kucinich cynically plays on this hatred for CEI. But by focusing attention on 'saving' some empty buildings on the shore of Lake Erie, he is diverting attention from a real program to combat the utility trusts. That's why we are urging people not to vote on this referendum."

What is needed, according to Ntweng, is an independent course by the labor movement to cut through the fakery and fight for a realistic program against the utility profit-gougers.

"Instead of bowing down before the capitalist politicians and the ruling rich, labor needs to mobilize its power in a struggle against them.

"We have to start by opening the books of CEI to expose the true story about the superprofits they are raking in.

"Second, we should demand that the city council immediately exercise its power to hold down electric rates charged in Cleveland.

"Third, the labor movement in Cleve-

land should reach out to our union brothers and sisters throughout the state to mobilize a campaign to force the Public Utilities Commission of Ohio to hold down rates statewide.

"Fourth, we should launch a nationwide drive—led by the labor movement—for the nationalization of the entire energy industry—the giant

energy grids and the utility, oil, coal, and uranium trusts that control these grids.

"This is one of the most vital necessities for working people in this country, who face ever-higher heat and electricity costs, gas prices, and more and more nuclear power plants that endanger the lives of us all."

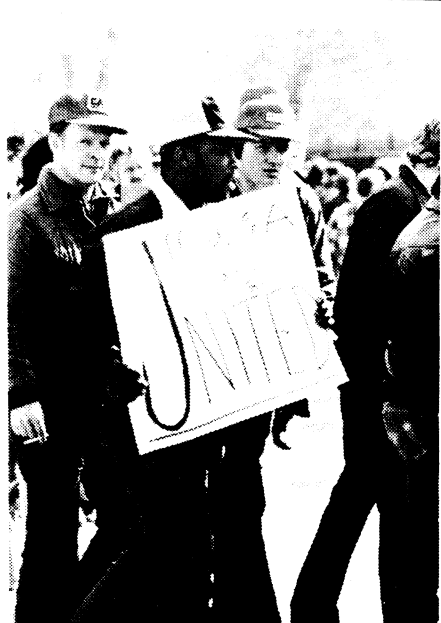
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Bethlehem gets away with murder

Slaughter at the Point



Six workers died last year at Bethlehem Steel's giant Sparrows Point steelmaking complex

Militant/Bob Kissinger

By Jim Gotesky

BALTIMORE—Last October, Robert Carter, Robert Hall, and Dunlop Johnson were front-page news in Baltimore—a rare occurrence for steelworkers. They worked at Bethlehem Steel's Sparrows Point plant.

None lived to see their names in print.

Carter, Hall, and Johnson were three of six steelworkers killed during 1978 at Sparrows Point. Six in one year is a record number of deaths at the Point since the Maryland Occupational Safety and Health unit (MOSH) began counting five years ago.

Their stories tell the grisly truth about working conditions in the steel industry, where profits come first and steelworkers' lives last.

Cutthroat domestic and international competition is driving steel companies hard to squeeze more profits from fewer workers. "Productivity" is the code word for this profit drive. It means automation; closing older, less efficient facilities; and speedup in the remaining facilities. It means new installations built with only minimum safety and health standards.

Temporary hires and younger, less-experienced workers run deteriorating equipment past the breaking point. Older workers are pushed hard to keep up with the fast pace.

That is what sent more than 4,700 workers—nearly one-third of the plant work force—to the Sparrows Point dispensary in 1978. That is what killed Carter, Hall, and Johnson.

Robert Carter, thirty-six, worked on "C" blast furnace, one of three similar furnaces built in the 1880's. "C" furnace was last remodeled nineteen years ago. All three furnaces were temporarily put into production again until the new "L" blast furnace began operating.

Bethlehem paid weekly fines to operate the three furnaces, which did not meet pollution standards. They leaked poisonous gases constantly.

Carter worked as a "hot blastman," a position normally open only to workers with twenty or more years' seniority. He got the job because the older workers scrambled to take jobs on the new "L" blast furnace in order

to avoid layoffs when the old furnaces shut down.

Three weeks after starting work, Carter was killed—overcome by carbon monoxide gas. A section of pipe carrying the deadly gas to the furnace slipped out of alignment, releasing the gas into the air. Bethlehem officials knew about the faulty "distance piece," which was held in place with a chipping bar. Blast-furnace workers had filed a complaint weeks before Carter's death.

In fact, Carter was taken to the dispensary suffering from gas inhalation just seven days before his fatal exposure.

Carter trained only two weeks on a job experienced workers claim needs at least a month of closely supervised training. He did not have the safety partner required in gas-exposed areas.

Bethlehem wanted production—no expensive repairs, no precautions, and no training.

In June 1978, twenty-eight-year-old Robert Hall died while working in the wire-rope mill. Hall ran a high-speed wire-drawing machine—without safety guards. The speeding wire caught Hall's hand and dragged him head first into a giant wire spool.

Hall had only ten years of seniority. He transferred to the wire-rope mill from the blast-furnace department where his job would soon be eliminated by the "L" blast furnace.

Hall also trained only two weeks on his new job. He learned on small machines. He was killed when his foreman asked him to work an extra eight-hour shift on a larger machine he had never operated.

Bethlehem would not slow production just because there were too few experienced operators, or install safety guards—that costs money! Hall paid the price with his life.

Heat stroke

One month later, on the hottest day of the summer, Dunlop Johnson died from heat stroke. Pleasant Sharpe also got heat stroke that day. He's still in a coma, with severe brain damage. Six other workers were treated for heat exhaustion that day and the day before.

Johnson and Sharpe worked in the open-hearth furnaces, where steel is made from molten iron and scrap. Iron melts at 2,600 degrees. The outside temperature was 101. No one measured

the temperatures in the work areas near the furnaces.

Two weeks before Johnson's death, Bethlehem laid off more than seventy workers even though steel production was up. They could have eased the strain of meeting production goals.

The rash of deaths at Sparrows Point provoked wide discussion among steelworkers. They wanted to know why training is inadequate; why jobs are understaffed; why equipment is left unrepaired; why steelworkers have to pay with their lives and limbs for a job.

Most local steel union officials and many union health and safety activists look first to government agencies to enforce health and safety rules. Top international officers claim credit for establishing the federal Occupational Safety and Health Administration. They say OSHA is key to winning safe working conditions.

Federal legislation is important to establish health and safety standards. But nowhere are safety agencies rigorously enforcing those regulations.

Maryland Occupational Safety and Health in its entire five-year history never inspected the blast furnace that killed Robert Carter. MOSH has only twenty-two hygienists to inspect 70,000 workplaces. They got to only 467 from October 1977 to October 1978.

'Industry consultants'

MOSH Director Harvey Epstein confessed to the *Baltimore Sun* that some of his hygienists consider themselves "consultants" to industry rather than health and safety regulation enforcement officers.

OSHA's Maryland director, Byron Chadwick, bragged that 27 percent of his agency's citations are for "serious violations" carrying \$1,000 fines, while only 5 percent of MOSH citations carry such fines. But OSHA has only six inspectors to cover all of Maryland!

Both agencies inspected the wire-rope mill where Robert Hall was killed.

In 1970 OSHA cited Bethlehem Steel for failing to provide guards on high-speed wire-drawing machines. Bethlehem did not correct the violations. Three years later, a worker operating one lost three fingers.

Again in the spring of 1977, MOSH cited Bethlehem for the same violations. But the charges on these and fourteen other violations were dropped at a prehearing conference in July 1977.

The conference was attended by

Bethlehem officials, MOSH officials, and the assistant state attorney general. The meeting was informal. Steelworkers union representatives were not invited. Neither was the inspector who cited the violations. There are no minutes of the meeting, just a memo in the files that says, "NO HAZARD, NO VIOLATION."

Too late for Robert Hall, MOSH cited Bethlehem for thirty-four "serious" violations and received Bethlehem's pledge to pay \$27,200 in fines. MOSH fined Bethlehem another \$7,000 after Dunlop Johnson died.

Exposure to dangerous chemicals and dusts is a major and growing threat to steelworkers' lives. Five of the ten former Sparrows Point bricklayers who died in the last five years died from cancer, and one died from a noncancerous lung disease. As of October 1978, ten of twenty-one disabled bricklayers were disabled by lung disease. Similar problems exist in other phases of steel making.

The National Institute of Health currently estimates that at least 20 percent of all cancer deaths are occupationally related. Studies done on Sparrows Point steelworkers show they suffer cancer at twice the national rate.

Carter behind industry

It's readily apparent that we can't leave our health and safety up to the government-controlled agencies.

President Carter is squarely behind the steel industry's drive for increased productivity. Eliminating safety regulations helps cut corporate costs and fits neatly into the administration's "inflation fighting" plans.

OSHA recently indicated its enthusiasm for the so-called war on inflation by axing 1,000 safety regulations.

But steelworkers do have a potentially powerful defense against this assault on our lives and health—the union. Unfortunately, the well-paid top officials of the United Steelworkers have done nothing to take on the criminal steel bosses. Instead, they spend much of their time and steelworkers' dues money lobbying *alongside* the industry executives. And then they tell us we have no right to the one thing that could help enforce safety and health rules—the strike weapon.

The fight for safety and health on the job is part of the struggle for a democratic and fighting labor movement. One will not be won without the other.

Jim Gotesky works in the blast furnace at Sparrows Point and is a member of Local 2610, United Steelworkers of America.

Interview with strike leader

Why German steelworkers waged first strike in 50 years

On November 28, 1978, for the first time in fifty years, West German steelworkers in the Ruhr Valley went out on strike, demanding a thirty-five-hour week to counter mounting unemployment and a 5% raise in wages. The steel barons responded by locking out nearly 30,000 workers in the key plants affected by the strike.

A tentative settlement was announced January 7. Although the pact agreed to by union negotiators provides for a 4 percent wage increase retroactive to November 1, and more vacation days, it says nothing about the introduction of a thirty-five-hour workweek, the union's major goal. Two previous tentative settlements have been voted down by the ranks.

In the following interview Jacob Moneta, former editor-in-chief of the West German steelworkers' union newspaper 'Metall,' discusses the background to the strike. The interview appeared in the December 22-25 issue of the French Trotskyist daily 'Rouge.' The translation is by 'Intercontinental Press/Inprecor.'

Q. How did the IG-Metall [Industriegewerkschaft Metall—Metal Industry Union] come to demand the thirty-five-hour week? How do you explain the massive mobilization of German steelworkers around this demand?

A. To the astonishment of everyone, the delegates at the last IG-Metall congress decided to include the thirty-five-hour week in the action program. The leadership had submitted a resolution to the congress calling for reduction of work time in different forms (increase in paid vacation, lowering the retirement age) without explicitly mentioning the thirty-five-hour week. Clearly the idea that the way to fight unemployment is through reducing work time is now spreading in the German working class.

Even the officials who regulate the labor market say explicitly that a decrease of one hour of work can prevent the unemployment of 650,000 workers. They add that this would involve a stepped-up pace of rationalization, but would be accompanied by the creation of 300,000 jobs.

It should be noted that there are now 1 million unemployed in the Federal Republic of Germany and that 1.7 million jobs have been eliminated in recent years.

The struggle for the thirty-five-hour week began in the steel industry. Unfortunately the union leadership did not demand that contracts lay out a schedule of stages for achieving the thirty-five-hour week. They declared only that they wanted to begin moving toward thirty-five hours.

But the bosses had no illusions. They understood that if they yielded to this logic, the steel industry would be just the beginning of a movement that would spread, extending to other sec-



Striking metal workers picket outside Thyssen works in Oberhausen

tors, particularly within the metal industry.

Therefore the steel barons, the toughest sector of German employers, put up obstinate resistance on this point.

This resistance is so strong that the thirty-five-hour week is not being demanded in the new collective contracts that will govern the industry. Instead the demand is for an increase in paid vacations (at least six weeks for everyone) and wage increases.

Revival of combativity

Q. It appears that a massive revival of combativity is taking place in the German working class.

A. There is no doubt that things are bubbling in Germany. Up to now the German model has always been held up before the European working class: "German workers are wise; they never strike." But in 1978 there was a struggle that involved a total lockout in the printing industry. This lockout nearly killed the union financially. There has also been a strike and lockout in the metalworking industry in Baden-Württemberg. Now this is the third strike involving a lockout. In addition, the dockworkers were also out on strike, as were the construction

workers in Berlin. This last strike was surprising since the construction union has a right-wing reputation. It had favored collaboration with the employers, but completely changed its attitude. This shows that the situation has changed fundamentally.

There had previously been spontaneous strikes—the strike wave in the Ruhr Valley in 1969 and 1973. But this is the first official strike in fifty years. It shows that the center of the German proletariat, which is in the Ruhr, is now beginning to move.

In Germany the workers in Baden-Württemberg had been the most advanced as far as the class struggle is concerned. But I met several workers from there who had gone to the Ruhr, and they are unanimous in saying that the level of militancy in the Ruhr is much greater. This can be explained by the fact that the working class in the Ruhr has very deep roots, including historical roots.

In the Ruhr they are fourth- or fifth-generation trade unionists, as well as fourth-generation Social Democrats. In Baden-Württemberg on the other hand, the working class is young and still very marked by its peasant origins. The workers there sometimes still culti-

vate small plots of land, which doesn't happen in the Ruhr.

The general sympathy of the population is much more active than it was during previous strikes.

Lock out employers!

Even the slogans of the strikers reflect their militancy; they say that the employers should be locked out. That is how there will be social peace. In speeches, even by some delegates of the office workers, people now are talking about nationalization, which was taboo for some years.

The entire climate has changed, and it is not at all certain that the workers will accept any compromise. They know very well that they will not win the thirty-five-hour week. But their determination is important. One must not forget that management accepted the six weeks of paid vacation, which meant nine more days for young workers and three more days for those with more than thirty years. The workers rejected it. They understood that the main thing is the struggle against unemployment, meaning the struggle to lower the work week.

Q. How do you explain the differences within the apparatus of the IG-Metall itself, for example between a section of the leadership that does not want to extend the strike and Steinkühler, the Baden-Württemberg leader, who made an appeal to spread the action?

A. After the experiences of the lockouts in Baden-Württemberg the regional leaders of the IG-Metall, and especially Steinkühler, understood very well that to win this battle, which is very important for the German working class, you must broaden the active demonstrations throughout Germany, the protest demonstrations against the lockout, if not the strike itself.

At first the leadership of the central union did not accept this because here you are bound by the labor contract, that is you are obliged to maintain social peace. For example, even the demonstrations that took place two hours before the end of work could lead to a demand by the bosses that the union pay damages and interest. So far this has not happened since it is very difficult when there are hundreds of thousands of strikers and the union never officially called such an action. They have taken place without an "official" call.

On December 12, on the other hand, the union asked all the workers, not just the metalworkers, to participate in demonstrations against the lockout. In the entire Ruhr some 140,000 to 150,000 workers left their work place to participate in these demonstrations. That's not as many as might be hoped, but it should be noted that getting a bigger turnout would have required a much bigger campaign of information and explanation than took place. Under those circumstances there could have been greater participation. In Duisberg, for example, there were 35,000 to 40,000 demonstrators, and that's important.

Prospects for strike

Q. There is currently a lot of talk about compromise. What, in your opinion, are the prospects for the strike? And if there is a vote on a compromise, how will the strikers respond, and how about those steelworkers who are not on strike but who will also have to make a decision?

A. There is enormous pressure to go out by the steelworkers who are not yet on strike. They say their entry into the strike would help to win more quickly

Continued on page 21

China: Teng forced to give concessions

By Leslie Evans

After a tentative crackdown on Peking's "democracy movement" at the end of November, the Chinese Communist Party has plainly decided to try to coopt the popular sentiment for democratic reform. To do so, however, the party leadership has had to speak more candidly than in the past about continuing bureaucratic abuses in Chinese society, and to legalize, for the time being at least, the right of individual critics of the regime to voice a wider range of opposing views than were permitted in the Mao era.

In the last ten years of Mao's rule, with the brief exception of a few months at the end of 1966 and beginning of 1967 when there was talk of imitating the democratic institutions of the Paris Commune, all of the government's campaigns focused on strengthening the "dictatorship of the proletariat" through witch-hunts against innumerable "class enemies." The Mao regime sought to extract compulsory agreement with every aspect of government policy from each citizen. It tried to regulate individual behavior not only on political questions but also on what books people could read, what plays they could see, what clothes they could wear, and how they wore their hair.

The faction around Teng Hsiao-p'ing, who is the de facto head of China's post-Mao government, clashed with Mao on numerous occasions in the past over the usefulness to the bureaucracy of such extreme conformity—they held that far from being a means of stamping out dissent, Mao's monolithic repression would breed opposition under explosive conditions. They looked to Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union for examples of other Stalinist regimes that had sought to safeguard the power of the privileged bureaucracy by building in some safety valves.

Teng admits past crimes

Today, Teng and Company find themselves attempting to carry out the reforms they had long proposed, but under circumstances in which the Communist Party and government has suffered an enormous loss of credibility and become the focus of hostility from a large section of the Chinese people. To escape the onus of responsibility for the Mao era, Teng and his supporters, like Khrushchev in the mid-1950s, are compelled to admit many of the government's past crimes and to take a defensive stance toward popular sentiment for radical change.

An important policy statement on the question of democracy in China appeared in the December 21 Peking *People's Daily* under the title, "Long Live the People." This piece attempted a criticism of the Mao era—still politely attributed to the "gang of four" and not Mao—that focused on the real abuses of power by the previous government.

"The social productive forces were seriously undermined, and therefore the people's living standards for a long period did not improve and even fell. Overnight, veteran cadres, workers, labour heroes and intellectuals were labelled 'renegades,' 'spies,' 'capitalist-roaders,' 'worker aristocrats' and 'reactionary authorities' and were the objects of struggle and persecution. . . . Thousands upon thousands of people were falsely charged, arrested, imprisoned and tortured and a like fate awaited every Communist and revolutionary who expressed the slightest discontent or criticism. . . ."

The article quotes various classic



TENG HSIAO-P'ING: Named 'Man of the year' by 'Time' magazine, Teng is still having problems with the Chinese people.

Marxist works to show that these Maoist policies violated the norms of socialism. It seeks to explain these antisocialist practices by citing Lenin's description of the early Soviet Union: "A workers' state with a bureaucratic twist to it."

The article's conclusions embody two contradictory ideas, reflecting the gulf that the Chinese bureaucracy is now trying to straddle. On the one hand, it states:

"The democratic rights of the people can be won only through their own struggle. They are not bestowed by saviours or rulers."

On the other hand, however, the Chinese people are urged precisely to entrust their aspiration for democratic rights to their present rulers and warned to disregard those who act independently of the CCP:

"It is the party alone that can lead the continuing struggle to win and defend people's democracy from victory to victory."

'The heavens will not fall'

All of this constituted the political framework for the announcement by the *People's Daily* on January 3 that the government would not interfere with the circulation of oppositional wall posters. An editorial declared: "Let the people say what they wish. The heavens will not fall."

Such abstract reassurances have been made before by the Chinese government without any accompanying loosening of the bureaucratic restriction on the right of free speech. This time, however, the regime seemed intent on demonstratively tolerating public expressions of criticism, as long as they were confined to isolated individu-

als or small groups.

The current wall-poster campaign began in Peking November 19 with a broadside criticizing Mao Tsetung, insisting that Mao bore responsibility for the evils attributed to the "gang of four." This soon led to the creation of "democracy wall" near Tien An Men Square, where thousands of people gathered daily to read wall posters criticizing various leaders, including

party Chairman Hua Kuo-feng.

When these poster readings resulted in large demonstrations requesting democratic reforms, the government on November 30 issued a nineteen-point directive that specifically prohibited demonstrations and any overt criticism of Mao. The directive did not, however, outlaw the posters. While the crowds became much smaller—on most days numbering a few hundred—people continued to gather at "democracy wall," and it has become a kind of free speech center. This precedent has since spread to other cities, in some cases sparking the kind of demonstrations that were seen in Peking in mid-November.

On December 7, a group of dissidents calling themselves the Human Rights Group took advantage of their government's present infatuation with the American government and addressed an appeal to President Carter to make a statement in defense of human rights in China. Their poster, which was quickly torn down, declared:

We would like to ask you to pay attention to the state of human rights in China.

China is one quarter of mankind. The Chinese people do not want to repeat the tragic life of the Soviet people in the Gulag archipelago. This will be a real test for your promise of human rights, about which you as the representative of the United States have said so much in praise." [Toronto *Globe and Mail*, December 8, 1978.]

This immediately touched off a controversy at the "democracy wall." A counterposter went up on December 9 addressed to the Human Rights Group. The reply admitted that "it is true that the people want more democracy," but attacked the Human Rights Group for appealing to "the democratic emperor Jimmy Carter."

What kind of modernization?

The December 10-11 *Le Monde* confirmed the existence of the Human Rights Group, saying that members of it had made contact with foreigners in Peking. On December 10, a copy of the original poster reappeared. This time someone signing himself "a witness" said he had copied the original and was putting it up again. He added that "the appeal to the U.S. President could be taken as being reactionary, but it is very important to let people express



Wall posters in Peking are openly criticizing Mao Tsetung and many of Mao's most cherished policies are being reversed by his successors. *China After Mao* probes one of the most dramatic turnabouts of modern times—

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as sentiment grows for democratic rights

fully their opinions. Tearing down dazibao [wall posters] is unconstitutional."

One of the most striking posters, which was reportedly widely copied by crowds in Peking, was quoted at length by both the *Globe and Mail* and *Le Monde*. Signed by a "railroad worker," the poster declared:

Vice-Premier Teng thinks that stability and unity . . . are in the public interest, but I have a different perspective from him. For example, what kind of modernization does China plan to have? The Soviet type? The American? The Japanese? The Yugoslav? On these issues the masses know nothing.

Chairman Hua visited Romania and Yugoslavia, but I have never been able to read any book where the systems of Government in these two countries are provided in detail. . . .

Salaries were frozen for 20 years and the peasants' livelihood has remained almost at the level of the 1950s. In lots of places, food has not been sufficient. It is fair to ask how much our wages will be increased to reflect the remarkable growth of production in the years following the fall of the Gang of Four. . . .

We know that great historical figures made mistakes. Then can we not also ask who can guarantee that comrade Hua has not made mistakes as well as comrade Teng. . . . ?

China's system of government is modelled on the Soviet system. . . . This is a system that produces bureaucracy and a privileged stratum. Without changes in this system, modernization will be stillborn or else we will move in the direction of Russian modernization where the state is strong and the people poor. . . .

All representatives must be properly elected and responsible to the people. Officials should be paid the same as workers.

Unemployed youth

The December 12 *Washington Post* reported that wall posters in the Peking style had gone up in Shanghai, Tientsin, Nanking, Wuhan, Chungking, Canton and Shihchiachuang. It also reported a prodemocracy rally of 10,000 in Shanghai, although it did not indicate whether this had stuck to official themes or not. A few days later, there were reports that there had been



A 1976 wall poster praising Communist Party leadership. More recent posters have pointed out that Teng and Hua may be just as fallible as 'gang of four.'

a demonstration of 5,000 in Shanghai protesting the condition of unemployed youth who had returned illegally from rural exile to the city, where they could not take jobs because they had no work permits or residence or ration cards. A similar demonstration of about 100 was reported in Peking at which one person was arrested.

The issue of the youth sent to the countryside is one of the most sensitive in China today, as it involved upwards of 14 million people, according to the official figures. On December 27 a group of twenty-eight Chinese from Yunnan province arrived in Peking and began a demonstration, declaring they would not leave snow-covered Tien An Men Square until they had met personally with Hua Kuo-feng or Teng Hsiao-p'ing to demand human rights and democracy for the youth sent to Yunnan. This group handed out a leaflet that claimed that they represented 50,000 striking urban youth sent years ago to rural areas in Yunnan to do farm work. They said the strike was for human rights and had begun on December 9. Western reporters met the young people and

obtained copies of their leaflet, but were unable to obtain any further information about the report of a strike in Yunnan.

Illegal journals appear

In addition to the continuing wall posters and the actions of the unemployed youth, Western reporters claim they have been told by Chinese of the existence of several activist groups formed recently in Peking to campaign for democracy on their own. These groups appear to be very small, but they have begun publication of at least two different "illegal" mimeographed journals, *Today* and *The People's Forum*, copies of which have been pasted up on walls in various parts of Peking. Fox Butterfield, writing from Peking in the January 4 *New York Times*, reported a meeting with someone from the group that puts out *The People's Forum*:

Last night, according to one member of the group, the editors debated whether they had so far been too mild in their criticism of the Government. "Some were afraid the official line will shift again, and they don't

want to go too far," the young man said.

These are brave people. It is not for lack of courage that they try to weigh the shifts in official line. The government today in China has decided to tolerate an unusual degree of dissent—it has not granted democracy. The regime recently organized secret ballot elections for some low-ranking officials. But no opposition party is tolerated. The police, the army, the courts, the press, the state apparatus as a whole including economic management, is monopolized from top to bottom by the privileged bureaucratic caste. And people cannot have forgotten the last time the CCP permitted a comparable range of dissent.

That was back in 1957 in the brief "Let a Hundred Flowers Bloom" campaign. Those who then took the government at its word and voiced their grievances were arrested afterward and shipped off to labor camps in the countryside. The last of them were released just last year—and after twenty-one years there were still 110,000 of them who walked out of jail.

From Intercontinental Press/Inprecor

...German strike

Continued from page 19

what the employers are now turning down. The employers are absolutely opposed to any mention of a workweek of less than forty hours. Even if they make concessions in line with supplementary days off for those who have, for example, three days off and eight days on, they want to prevent anyone from saying that it is a step on the road to the thirty-five-hour week. They are fighting on that.

But if the steelworkers don't win what is on all their minds, if the workers are disappointed, it is possible that 75% of the votes would be for continuing the strike (75% have to vote in favor for the strike to continue). Even if the vote ends up, for example, with 40% in favor of going back and 60% for staying out, the strike would not continue since it would not have the required 75%. But this could create a very serious situation, with enormous discontent, large-scale demoralization, and also currents that will criticize the union leaders much more strongly if they abandon this fight, a fight for the entire working class, in which they are the vanguard.

Int'l solidarity needed

On the other hand, everyone understands that in the long run the fight for the thirty-five-hour week cannot be

waged solely on a national basis. The main argument the employers use is international competition. If the struggle for the thirty-five-hour week is not carried out on at least a Europe-wide basis, it will be very difficult to win in one or another country.

I believe that it would be totally possible to carry out joint European demonstrations next May Day for the thirty-five-hour week and against the lockout, demonstrations in which workers all over Europe would participate. If such a demonstration took place in the Ruhr, where the fight started, it would encourage the workers there enormously, even if the struggle they are now engaged in doesn't succeed.

Q. How is this strike affecting workers in other branches? Are they considering taking up the demand for a thirty-five-hour week?

A. The demand for the thirty-five-hour week has begun to catch on in the working class nearly everywhere in Germany. A great deal of sympathy has been expressed. For example, in Baden-Württemberg, trucks have been mobilized to carry thousands of Christmas presents for the children of those on strike or locked out. In all the factories people are beginning to col-

lect money to aid the Ruhr strikers. No union meeting takes place without someone speaking of the Ruhr strike. I don't think that the idea of the thirty-five-hour week can now be suppressed.

At present, in certain regions, the workers are calling for an increase in the number of days of paid leave. It's a legal problem: if there is a national strike around a single demand, the factories that are no longer receiving raw materials close and the workers don't have the right to collect unemployment compensation. The union provides benefits and this empties its treasury. At present I don't think the workers could massively go out on strike without first being assured of union benefits. And we don't have the tradition of demanding that the employers compensate a portion of the strike. That, undoubtedly, will come when people see they cannot continue like this.

Social Democrats

Q. What is the Social Democratic government's position in this matter?

A. At its congress the SPD [the Social Democratic Party] officially came out in favor of the thirty-five-hour week and against the lockout, and this is part of their European program. The reason is very simple. Nordrhein-Westfalen is the SPD's great stronghold and the Social Democrats want to preserve their electoral

base. They have to express solidarity with the workers.

But, at the same time, Chancellor Helmut Schmidt has urgently asked the minister of labor of Nordrhein-Westfalen to arbitrate this conflict because he is afraid it will spread. The employers' pressure is also a pressure on the government, which reacted indirectly by submitting the conflict to the arbitration of the minister of labor of Nordrhein-Westfalen, who is a Social Democrat.

Q. Is there anything you would like to add?

A. Germany will no longer be an exception among all the countries of Europe, and the year 1978 marks a profound change in the social situation in Germany.

The "German miracle" was the result of different objective conditions, and circumstances allowed capitalism to avoid a crisis for a long time. Now we have entered the same cycle of crises as the other countries. Until now this had always been denied; social peace was a fact. But today everyone openly says that that period has ended.

The will, the tenacity of the union is also explained by the fact that the leadership has clearly understood that it is impossible to continue as in the past.

From Intercontinental Press/Inprecor

Turkish rightists rampage; win demand for martial law

By Gerry Foley

Beginning December 22 a massive pogrom was carried out by rightists in the southeastern Turkish city of Kahraman Maras. It lasted four days, ending only after 3,000 troops occupied the town. Over 100 persons were reported killed and many hundreds wounded.

Turkish newspapers carried photos of piles of bodies. In one such picture, published in the December 27 issue of the liberal Istanbul daily *Cumhuriyet*, was the body of a young man, apparently mutilated. The body of a child, about three years old, lay at his feet.

Other pictures in the Turkish press showed refugees streaming into the city government buildings to find safety from the rampaging rightist gangs. Still others showed large-scale wreckage of small homes and shops. A common caption reminded readers "This is not Beirut."

On December 26, Premier Bulent Ecevit declared martial law in thirteen provinces, including most of the major Turkish cities, among them Ankara and Istanbul. Constitutional guarantees were "suspended" and special military tribunals were set up to "maintain order." The last time martial law was declared in Turkey, on March 12, 1971, it was followed by two years of military dictatorship.

The pogrom in Kahraman Maras began when gangs of "Idealists," the rightist terrorist gangs, attacked a funeral procession of 10,000 persons (the city has a population of 60,000 to 70,000). The march was in memory of two teachers, members of the leftist Töb-Der union, who had been murdered by a group of right-wing students at their high school.

According to the December 23 issue of *Cumhuriyet*, the "Idealists" attacked, shouting: "Communists and Alevis [Shi'ites] cannot be allowed to say the prayers for the dead."

The National Action Party, with which the "Idealists" are associated, claims to be secularist in the tradition of the Turkish national revolution. Its role in this pogrom shows that it is simply a ferociously reactionary group.

Sunnis and Shi'ites

The orthodox Sunni sect, opposed to the Shi'ites, has always been the pillar of the established authorities in Turkey. It was closely associated with the Ottoman state.

Those Turkish tribes in the east of Anatolia that remained nomadic or seminomadic and did not benefit from the Ottoman empire, adopted the



Scene in Kahraman Maras, where rightist pogrom resulted in about 100 deaths. Right-wing groups fear extension of upsurge in Iran to Turkey.

Shi'ite or Alevi version of Islam. Under the banner of this religion they rose up several times in the Middle Ages against the rule of the sultans. These rebellions tended to be marked by social radicalism. The Shi'ites remain generally a disadvantaged group and are more inclined to the left than the dominant Sunnis. Moreover, a large part of the oppressed Kurdish population are Alevis.

Historically, the Alevis in Turkey have tended to look for support to Iran, where Shi'ites are a majority. It might be expected that the mass upsurge in Iran, in which Shi'ite mullahs have played a major role, would have its first impact in Turkey on the Alevis.

Kahraman Maras lies near the Kurdish area. And it is precisely among the Turkish petty bourgeoisie in such zones that the fascist-like National Action Party has one of its strongest bases of support.

According to the December 23 *Cumhuriyet*, the rightists followed their attack on the funeral by wrecking shops and homes belonging to Alevis and known supporters of the Republican People's Party, the party of Premier Ecevit. The slogan was: "Wherever you find Alevis, kill them one by one."

The Republican People's Party, which was founded by Ataturk, is a populist national formation similar in a general sense to the Peronist movement in Argentina.

Socialist ideas spread

In recent years, in particular under the leadership of Ecevit, who calls himself a "Social Democrat," the party has tried to adopt a more left-wing image. Since there is no mass workers party in Turkey, the hopes of the workers, poor peasants, and the oppressed Kurdish population have become focused on it and on Ecevit. The fears of the Turkish rightists and neofascists also focus on it.

In the past decade the structure of Turkish society and politics has been changing very rapidly to the disadvantage of the conservative forces. The working class has become a much larger part of the population. Trade unions have been growing and radicalizing. Socialist ideas have begun, for the first time, to spread rapidly, al-

though still mainly among students, intellectuals, and some layers of trade-union activists.

There have also been signs of a new upsurge of nationalism among the Kurds, a substantial minority of the population.

Moreover, an alliance has been developing between Kurds fighting national oppression and the new socialist and left forces. This is a new turn in Turkish politics. Previously, the Turkish left, influenced by the nationalist tradition of Ataturk, rejected the Kurdish fighters as "tools of imperialism."

The changes taking place in Turkish society were reflected in the 1977 elections. The Republican People's Party did not win an overall majority, but its vote rose dramatically against the conservative parties as a whole.

Rightist terror

Key sections of the Turkish bourgeoisie considered it advisable to turn the government over to Ecevit, who subsequently got the support of enough deputies from rightist or religious parties to form a cabinet. Crossovers from the conservative groups were included in the new government as a guarantee that Ecevit would not be led into taking too liberal a course.

Nonetheless, the right yielded governmental power with an extraordinary and strident bitterness.

A rightist murder campaign was already under way before the installation of the new government. Fascist-like figures such as Col. Alp Arslan Türkes, leader of the National Action Party, urged action against the "Communists" and "terrorists" released from prison after the ending of military rule.

The terror escalated as Ecevit failed to stop the rightist gangs and their political patrons. In fact, he tended to try to tie the hands of those trying to defend themselves. For example, he repressed left organizations formed in the security forces, arguing that politics had to be kept out of them. In fact, he left them to the rightists, who dominate them as before.

When students in many parts of the country held demonstrations to protest the pogrom in Kahraman Maras, they were repressed. In Istanbul alone about 350 participants were arrested.

By January 1, only 94 had been released.

The main call of the fascist murder gangs has been for restoration of martial law. They argued that the atmosphere of insecurity created by their own outrages showed that Ecevit was letting the country slide into "anarchy."

Thus in declaring martial law, Ecevit was in fact granting the demand of those responsible for the massacre in Kahraman Maras. This move touched off an outcry in his own parliamentary fraction.

According to the December 30 issue of the British *Economist*, Ecevit answered by arguing that if he had not declared martial law, the commanders would have brushed him aside. This illustrates the real role of his government.

Martial law hits left

In fact, the cutting edge of martial law seems to have been directed mainly against the left. Local military commanders have been issuing decrees banning public political activity of any kind.

The Turkish press carries a number of reports of youths being arrested for putting up posters protesting rightist terror and of quantities of posters being confiscated. Moreover, universities and high schools in Istanbul and Ankara have been closed.

On December 27, the military commander of Erzurum and Karas issued a bulletin stating:

"All indoor or outdoor assemblies, forums, seminars, panels, or demonstrations and marches are forbidden.

"Any strike or lockout . . . requires prior permission."

But Ecevit's action did not make him more popular with the right, which has taken the opportunity to launch a new offensive to bring him down. For example, in the January 1 *Cumhuriyet* Demirel was quoted as saying: "While supporting martial law, we are not supporting this government. We are supporting the armed forces in their task."

Clearly Ecevit's move is a betrayal of the masses who have supported him, a betrayal for which they may pay dearly. The dictatorship in Argentina, for example, was established as the culmination of a rightist terror campaign and its path to power was paved by a state of siege declared by the government it overthrew.

Rightists desperate

However, the rightist offensive in Turkey comes in a different context. The Argentine coup followed the establishment of brutal dictatorships in the neighboring countries. The rightist onslaught in Turkey comes in conjunction with the most powerful and sustained mass struggles yet seen in neighboring Iran. In fact this must have added to the desperation of the Turkish rightists.

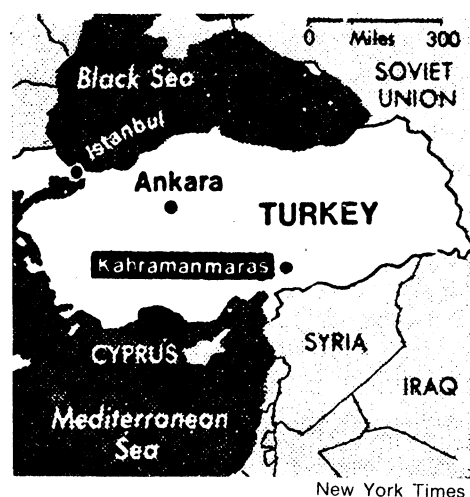
For example, shortly before the Kahraman Maras pogrom, Celal Bayar, a founder of the main conservative party, was quoted in the press as saying:

"Allah defend Iran. If it falls, the Communist and separatist movements here will go on a rampage."

To be sure, as the example of the Iranian masses spreads through the area, along with the processes they have set in motion, the Turkish rightists may find that their offensive will blow up in their face.

At the same time, the crisis in Turkey puts the lives and liberties of all progressives, socialists, trade unionists, and members of oppressed nationalities in grave danger. It is essential that the international workers movement and democratic public opinion rally to their defense.

From Intercontinental Press/Inprecor



New York Times

Runaway shop: company club in contract talks

This week's column is by Newton Brown and Steve Knox, members of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers Local 2005.

PHILADELPHIA—At Progress Lighting Company, a division of Kidde Company, 1,135 workers from IBEW Local 2005 are wondering whether they will have jobs for much longer.

Will Progress move its entire operation to the “right to work for less” South, as so many Philadelphia industrial and textile companies have already done? Or will it move south piecemeal, always retaining major operations in Philadelphia? These are the questions workers will take into union meetings, contract negotiations, and home to their families.

Talk has circulated among workers at the plant for many months that Progress may leave Philadelphia and set up shop in South Carolina, on land and facilities already purchased by the company. The December 3 issue of the *Philadelphia Inquirer* confirmed these rumors, quoting Progress's marketing director that “we will make a decision [on whether or not to move] within one year.”

The reasons cited in the article were high energy

and water costs and the lack of any cooperation from local government. The article went on to say that the move would be “outside the city.”

Obviously, the company's motive was to pressure the city government to provide additional tax breaks and cheaper energy rates. To have cited excessive labor costs would have been laughable. Progress gets away with paying an average wage of between \$4.50 and \$5.50 per hour.

Many workers distributed the article along assembly belts and to all plant departments so that everyone could read it. It quickly became the major topic of discussion throughout the plant.

Soon afterward, a letter from Rocco Colello, Local 2005's business manager, was posted on all bulletin boards. High company officials had assured him that the *Inquirer* article was inaccurate, Colello wrote.

He cited three reasons that “prove” the company's intention of staying put: the continuing efforts of the company to keep up maintenance of the plant, the installation of a new press, and the claim that operations already moved to South Carolina are for shipping purposes only.

But having seen the large numbers of runaway shops flee Philadelphia—and distrustful of the

company and union bureaucracy—IBEW members are not convinced that our jobs are safe.

It is no coincidence that these rumors are flying as the union approaches springtime contract negotiations. The runaway threat is the company's club to force acceptance of a lower wage and benefits package.

However, Progress is a long way from shoving a bum contract down our throats. Workers are getting angrier with every passing shift, as we encounter speedup, rate cutting, and spiraling inflation that eats up our already-meager wages.

Many workers know that holding down our wage demands is no way to guarantee the company will stay in Philadelphia. Progress can just invest the additional profits in operations “outside the city.”

The only option for the union is to demand what is long overdue—cost-of-living increases to stay ahead of inflation, no mandatory overtime, sick pay, increased medical coverage and higher pension benefits, and the right to strike whenever necessary to enforce the contract.

If Progress answers with the threat of a shut-down, our union should demand to see the company's books so we can decide for ourselves what it can “afford.”

By Any Means Necessary

Omari Musa



Civil rights leaders beg Carter to ease up

It's been more than a month since leaders of various civil rights groups held two highly publicized meetings with Jimmy Carter.

The reported purpose was to discuss the administration's announced intention to do nothing about unemployment in the Black community and put the axe to social-service programs.

Taking their cue from Carter, local officials in New York City, Cleveland, and Newark have already begun their campaign to lay off thousands of workers and cut back social services.

Carter says the cutbacks are necessary “to fight inflation.”

The civil rights leaders who visited Carter no doubt pleaded with him to go easy, noting that the anger of the Black community was growing and they might not be able to “contain it.”

Apparently, Carter was not impressed.

Urban League Executive Director Vernon Jordan emerged from the first meeting saying the group was “deeply distressed by what we heard today.”

The second meeting occurred a week later. This one featured Clarence Mitchell and Benjamin Hooks of the NAACP.

Trying to strike a more optimistic pose, Mitchell declared, “The president appears to be on our side.”

Hooks even tried to do a little horse trading, giving Carter his seal of approval for an increase in the military budget. He told Carter, “this nation could afford both guns and butter, and equity demands we not sacrifice butter for guns.”

And to top it all off, Hooks quoted Carter as saying, “My heart is in the right place.”

Carter's heart is indeed in the right place. But that place is not with the aspirations of the Black community for a better life.

His heart, mind, and soul are with the ruling class, who must have bigger and bigger profits, and guns to protect those profits against all comers around the world.

The ruling class is not interested in whether we have butter, margarine, or anything else.

In their drive for bigger profits, the capitalists have launched an offensive aimed at taking back gains won in previous struggles and forcing down our standard of living.

The political representatives of the ruling class—including all branches of the government from top to bottom—are responsible for implementing this offensive.

No amount of shuffling to and from the White

House is going to change this.

What is needed to turn back this offensive against Black rights is a new strategy. Such a strategy must center on placing no faith in the so-called friends of Black rights in the Democratic and Republican parties. On the contrary, it must rely on the power of mobilizing the Black community in the streets for jobs, decent education, and housing.

This new strategy will reach out to the potential allies of the Black community in the trade unions and women's movement to enlist their active support against the attacks on Black rights.

It will require that Blacks and other working people challenge the candidates of the big-business parties in the elections. We need our own independent candidates who campaign on a fighting program that defends and extends Black rights and the rights of all the oppressed and exploited.

Such a strategy will also demand a new leadership who will not compromise in the fight against the ruling-class offensive. This new leadership will not know the meaning of shuffling.

What scares the hell out of the current misleadership of the Black movement is that this new leadership is being formed today in the factories, unemployment lines, high schools, and colleges.

The American Way of Life

Tomb for the living

PHILADELPHIA—It was cold outside the Philadelphia Community Home for Displaced Persons. Cold enough to make your teeth chatter. But no colder than inside the Philadelphia Community Home, where sixteen residents had been keeping warm in the frayed overcoats that doubled as blankets.

The ones that managed to stay alive.

There are places like the Philadelphia Home in most big cities. Such enterprises are vastly profitable. The people who live in them are preyed upon by the owners, who snatch their Social Security checks and thrive on the low overhead that's standard in such hovels.

Like the Philadelphia Community Home. Where five people died late last year.

A couple of months ago, Carl Bailey, who runs the Philadelphia Home and is the president of the Philadelphia Boarding Home Association, noted in a news article that he didn't put toilet paper in the bathrooms of his houses because the residents would steal or hoard the toilet paper.

Twice last year, Bailey paid piddling fines for health code violations.

But five people died, anyway. It wasn't until eighty-four-year-old Viola Davis escaped the home and told her tale of horror that the truth finally had

an effect. Davis had been beaten in the house, and Bailey had been seizing the \$221 check Social Security gives her every month to survive.

The district attorney shut the house down. The residents were hospitalized.

When you're old and poor, alone and neglected, you're “displaced.” You need a home. And you get a dungeon.

You can judge a social system by how it treats its old and its helpless. Viola Davis wasn't about to accept the adjective “displaced,” however. It was better to fight than to die in Carl Bailey's tomb for the living.

—Jack Garfield

In Brief

Quote unquote

"The root problem may be that our society's conception of social justice is unworkable in tandem with its economic structure."

—A New York State Public Service Commission ruling granting Consolidated Edison a \$228 million rate increase.

AMERICAN CYANAMID STRIKE CONTINUES

The 1,300 members of International Chemical Workers Local 111 are into their second month on strike against American Cyanamid in Bound Brook, New Jersey.

The strikers are demanding higher pay and improved safety conditions.

Strike picket captain Bob Coolbaugh told the *Militant*, "The company broke off all negotiations on December 15 and has been refusing to even meet with the union ever since. They're hiding behind Carter's 7 percent guidelines and won't even consider anything over it."

Supervisory personnel have been encouraged to live inside the plant for fifteen-day stretches in an effort to keep it open. American Cyanamid has also contracted with a scab trucking outfit to deliver chemicals and other supplies.

The courts have willingly aided the company by limiting the number of pickets to eleven

at a time, making mass picketing impossible.

"Getting through Christmas was the hard part," one striker said. "Now we're ready to stay out as long as it takes."

GAY RIGHTS LAW

By a seven-to-zero vote, the city of Troy, New York, has banned discrimination against homosexuals in city hiring. A bill passed January 5 also bars virtually all other forms of discrimination, including on the basis of race, sex, disability and political orientation or affiliation.

NUCLEAR WASTE FILM NOW AVAILABLE

A sixteen-millimeter color film "Danger! Radioactive Waste" is available from Mothers for Peace, c/o Liz Apfelberg, 1415 Cazadero, San Luis Obispo, California 93401. Telephone: (805) 544-4955.

"Danger! Radioactive Waste" is an excellent look at a serious problem. It was originally produced as a documentary by NBC News.

The fifty-minute film is available for shipping charges only.

MIDWEST ANTINUKE CONFERENCE SET

The Indiana Bailly Alliance will host a Midwest No-Nukes Conference in Gary, Indiana, February 9-11. The conference was called at a December meeting by representatives of some fifty midwest antinuke organizations.

Conference organizers are planning discussions on regionally coordinated actions

Ohio settles Kent State suit

The state of Ohio agreed January 4 to pay \$675,000 to settle a suit charging state officials with responsibility for the shooting deaths of four students at Kent State University on May 4, 1970. Gov. James Rhodes and twenty-seven National Guardsmen, the defendants in the suit, agreed to express their "regrets" for the killings.

The National Guard

opened fire on a crowd of student anti-Vietnam War protesters, killing four. A state grand jury refused to take action against the guardsmen or the governor, and the federal government also refused to act.

Despite the settlement, "It's not over as long as people can be shot down like this," said Arthur Krause, father of one of the slain students.



National Guardsmen take aim at students at Kent State, May 4, 1970.

and on national actions. Also scheduled are a series of workshops on various subjects, both educational and organizational.

A public rally is set for the night of February 10.

For more information, contact the Midwest No-Nukes Conference at P.O. Box 2427, Gary, Indiana 46403. Or call Brenda Yoels, (212) 938-3427.

700 SAY NO TO CHEMICAL DUMP

Seven hundred angry residents of Warren County, North Carolina, crowded into a National Guard armory January 5 to voice their opposition to a proposed chemical waste dump. Gov. James Hunt's administration is seeking federal permission to bury 40,000 cubic yards of soil contaminated with the highly toxic chemical PCB.

Deborah Ferruccio, a local environmentalist, told the federal and state representatives at the meeting that Warren County had been selected for the dump because its residents were "few, poor, and Black."

Warren County has a population of 16,000 people, 70 percent of whom are Black, and 40 percent of whom do not have indoor plumbing.

Referring to the civil rights marches of the 1960s, Black

attorney Frank Ballance declared that should plans for the dump go ahead, "you may have Black folk and white folk and Indians marching together in the streets this time."

SWP VOTE TOTALS

The New York Socialist Workers Party candidates for governor and lieutenant governor in the last election, Dianne Feeley and Kevin Kellogg, received 12,987 votes, 0.3 percent of the total. The SWP candidate for attorney general, Ray Markey, got 15,072 votes, also about 0.3 percent.

The Communist Party's gubernatorial slate got 11,400 votes, and the CP's candidate for attorney general received 15,655.

The right-wing "U.S. Labor Party" got 9,073 for its gubernatorial slate and 10,531 for state comptroller.

PRISONERS HAVE RIGHTS, TOO

Prisoners have the right to read virtually any book or periodical, U.S. District Judge John Curtin ruled in New York in a lawsuit filed by the New York Civil Liberties Union on behalf of six prisoners. Curtin ordered New York State prison officials to admit banned books and periodicals, and also ruled unconstitutional the prison reg-

ulations under which the reading materials had been banned.

Among the books Curtin ordered admitted were *Black Feeling*, *Black Talk* by poet Nikki Giovanni, and *Die Nigger Die!* by H. Rap Brown.

Newspapers Curtin ordered admitted include *Unidad Latina*, *Daily World*, and *Black Panther*.

When the suit was filed in 1969, prison officials banned such publications as *National Geographic* and *Psychology Today*.

GUIDELINES—ILLINOIS STYLE

The Illinois legislature voted its members an \$8,000 annual pay boost, equal to a 40 percent hike, shattering the Carter administration's 7 percent wage-hike guideline.

Embarrassed, and called back into special session by the governor to reconsider, legislators "compromised." They'll take only \$5,000 this year—and leave the rest for 1980.

Now, if only working people could vote on *their* contracts. . . .

NEW EVIDENCE ON ESTROGEN-CANCER LINK

A recent study at Johns Hopkins University has yielded further evidence that the hormone estrogen is linked to cancer of the uterus. Estrogen was a major component of birth-control pills and is now widely used to relieve discomfort during menopause.

The study found that women who took estrogen during menopause were six times as likely as nonusers to contract cancer of the uterus.

HOSPITAL WANTED CASH FIRST, SO BABY DIED

An eleven-month-old baby died shortly after his parents were turned away from a Texas hospital because they didn't have the \$400 required for his treatment.

Isidro Aguinaga, Jr., had been diagnosed as suffering from severe respiratory infection and dehydration. His father, Isidro, is a farm worker.

Jack Newsom, administrator of Plains Memorial Hospital in Dimmitt, has been charged by a grand jury with refusing to admit a seriously ill patient.

If convicted, Newsom could be fined \$200.

DEMAND FREEDOM FOR ATTICA PRISONER

Dacajewiah (John Hill), the only person still imprisoned from the 1971 police massacre at New York's Attica prison, is eligible for parole again this month after being turned down two years ago. At that time, the parole board turned him down despite the request of Gov. Hugh Carey, who had granted Dacajewiah executive clemency in order to make him eligible for parole.

On January 4, the Charter Group for a Pledge of Conscience held a news conference at the United Nations to demand parole for Dacajewiah or his unconditional pardon by the governor.

Appearing at the news conference were former U.S. Attorney General Ramsey Clark, Dacajewiah's attorney; city council member Ruth Messinger; Haywood Burns of the National Conference of Black Lawyers; and Jimmy Durham, representative of the American Indian nations at the United Nations.

Protest Nazi attacks

A pattern of vandalism by Nazis in St. Paul, Minnesota, has sparked protests from Black, Jewish, and political groups.

On the evening of December 26, the St. Paul offices of the Socialist Workers Party were defaced with Nazi posters and slogans such as "Fight for White People's Power" and "Communism is Jewish." Six weeks earlier, a Jewish temple was spray painted with a Nazi slogan.

"We join with the Socialist Workers Party in its call to have a full police and mayor's office investigation of this pattern of Nazi vandalism in St. Paul," reads a statement signed by a broad range of individuals, includ-

ing David Hozza, president of the city council; Ora Lee Patterson, chairperson of the St. Paul Human Rights Commission; Willie Mae Wilson, executive director of the St. Paul Urban League; Karl Heck, recording secretary, Local 36, Operating Engineers, and a member of the Socialist Labor Party; Carol Klitzke, president, St. Paul National Organization for Women; and others.

On January 3, a meeting to plan further actions against the Nazis was attended by representatives of the Urban League, NAACP, Socialist Workers Party, Anti-Defamation League, State Commission on Human Rights, the mayor's office, and the U.S. Civil Rights Commission.

What's Going On

CALIFORNIA

LOS ANGELES: SOUTHEAST U.S. HANDS OFF IRAN! Speakers: representatives of 'Payam Daneshjoo,' weekly Persian-language socialist magazine; Socialist Workers Party. Fri., Jan. 19, 8 p.m. 2554 Saturn Ave., Huntington Pk. Donation: \$1.50. Aup: Militant Forum. For more information call (213) 582-1975.

SAN FRANCISCO

REVOLUTION IN IRAN. Speakers: Kianoush Mahdadi, writer for 'Payam Daneshjoo,' weekly Persian-language socialist magazine; Mike Harris, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., Jan. 19, 8 p.m. 3284 23rd St. Donation: \$1. Aup: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (415) 282-6255.

ABORTION RIGHTS SPEAKOUT.

Speakers: Flora Templeton Stuart, attorney for Marla Pitchford who was acquitted in trial for self-induced abortion; Patsy Fulcher, co-founder of Black Women Organized for Action; Dr. Joan Ulyot, author of 'Women's Running'; Patti Roberts, attorney, Women's Litigation Unit; Laura Rodriguez, Coalition for the Medical Rights of Women; Norma Clevinger, Planned Parenthood; others. Mon. Jan. 22, 7:30 p.m. St. Lukes Hospital Education Building, Army and Valencia sts. Aup: National Organization for Women.

OUR BODIES, OUR LIVES, OUR RIGHT TO DECIDE. Speakers: Sandra Salazar, chairwoman, California State National Organization for Women Task Force on Reproduction Rights; others. Fri., Jan. 26, 8 p.m. 3284 23rd St. Donation: \$1. Aup: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (415) 282-6255.

ILLINOIS CHICAGO

CHICAGO: THE CITY THAT WORKS? Hear the socialist alternative to the Democratic Party. Speakers: Andrew Pulley, member of United Steelworkers Local 1066, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Chicago; Fred Halstead, leader of the anti-Vietnam War movement, 1968 SWP presidential candidate; Thabo Ntweng, SWP candidate for mayor of Cleveland, member of United Auto Workers Local 217. Sat., Feb. 3, 7 p.m. Shoeworkers Hall, 1632 N. Milwaukee. Donation: \$2. Aup: Socialist Workers Mayoral Campaign. For more information call (312) 939-0737.

MINNESOTA ST. PAUL

ABORTION RIGHTS TODAY. Speakers: Betty Benjamin, president, Abortion Rights Council of Minnesota; Christine Frank, member of National Organization for Women, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senate in 1978. Fri., Jan. 19, 8 p.m. 373 University Ave. Donation: \$1.25. Aup: Militant Forum. For more information call (612) 222-8929.

OHIO CINCINNATI

TWENTY YEARS OF THE CUBAN REVOLUTION: A VICTORY FOR HUMANITY. A panel discussion of socialist activists. Wed., Jan. 17, 8 p.m. University of Cincinnati, Tangeman Univ. Center, Rm. 402. Aup: Socialist Workers Party & Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (513) 751-2636.

UNION DISCRIMINATED AGAINST BLACKS

International Operating Engineers Local 542, located in Delaware and eastern Pennsylvania, deliberately discriminated against Blacks in membership and job referrals, a federal judge ruled January 3.

The union willingly took in relatives and friends of members but subjected Blacks and other minorities to tough entry requirements, said Judge A. Leon Higginbotham. The judge also said whites had gotten more referrals to better-paying jobs than Blacks.

The union made all job referrals in the area. Area contractors and trade associations may be liable for \$10 million in damages because they went along with the discriminatory referral system, Higginbotham said. However, the judge ruled they had not discriminated intentionally.

The suit was filed in 1971 by twelve Blacks and was supported by the state of Pennsylvania.

WILL HE LEARN MUSKHOGEAN?

The city council of Hialeah, Florida, has refused to designate the city as bilingual, despite the fact that 60 percent of its population is *latino*. The council rejected proposals to print city forms in Spanish and English and to require each city department to hire at least

one Spanish-speaking employee.

Councilman William Hodges said he voted against the proposals because he thought *latinos* should "truly become Americans. . . . And to become Americans they have to learn American."

Perhaps Hodges will take up the study of Muskogean, the language of Florida's Seminole Indians.

NEW 'USLA REPORTER'

A special double issue of the *USLA Reporter*, published by the U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners, recently came off the press.

The *Reporter* features an article by USLA Staff Coordinator Barry Fatland on the terrifying number of "disappeared" political dissidents throughout Latin America. As Fatland explains, someone who is "disappeared" has been kidnapped by the cops, the army or a right-wing death squad with ties to the government. The government then denies any knowledge of the disappearance.

The *Reporter* also carries articles on Mexico, Argentina, Brazil, Chile, and Peru.

Copies are available for one dollar from USLA, 853 Broadway, Suite 414, New York, New York 10003. Subscriptions are available for four dollars a year (four issues).

The Great Society

Harry Ring



Fit for a shah—If the shah splits to his Beverly Hills home, he'll have good shopping. Rodeo Drive, the town's plush business street, includes such stores as Bijan's, a men's clothing store operated by an Iranian expatriate. It offers \$300 shirts, \$1,000 suits and, this season, a cashmere topcoat lined with chinchilla. \$25,000.

Well-heeled—One popular store on Rodeo Drive is the Right Bank Shoe Company. Recently Mrs. Winthrop Rockefeller arrived from Arkansas in her Lear Jet for some quick shopping. She tripped out with 121 pairs of shoes and thirty-one pocketbooks. Enthused the manager, as he toted up the \$22,000 bill: "It's got to be a landmark in capitalism."

Dr. Strange—We're late in reporting it, but the November 14 *New York Times* interviewed a number of scientists on the possibility of human extinction. Most were optimistic about survival. Particularly one who explained: "In the future, bloody wars could actually give mankind a new lease on life. Even thermonuclear holocausts would never kill everyone, and by reducing population pressures on

shrinking global resources, wars could prolong the existence of the human race by thousands of years."

No buttin' in—"The purpose of the other managers in this company is to advise me. That's it. There can be only one person in an organization who makes policy decisions. In our case, that's me."—John deButts, chairman of AT&T.

Sparkburgers—Australian meat processors are now tenderizing beef by "stimulating" the carcasses with jolts of electricity.

Breaking the bureaucrats—A Pennsylvania official fired off a memo to an aide requesting "a list of male and female employees . . . broken down by sex." Responded the aide: "We have no list of male or female employees broken down by sex, but we do have two alcoholics."

Business dropping off?—After protracted debate, the National Conference of Catholic Bishops agreed that parishioners could have both bread and wine at Sunday communions. Until now, only the priests got both.

Women in Revolt

Matilde Zimmermann



Oregon rape trial

Matilde Zimmermann, who recently joined the 'Militant' staff, will now be writing the 'Women in Revolt' column. A longtime activist in the feminist movement, Zimmermann was a coordinator of the Women's National Abortion Action Coalition. She is a member of the National Organization for Women.

When Greta Rideout called the Salem, Oregon, police to report that she had been raped and beaten, they dutifully sent two cops over to her apartment to fill out a report.

The police took down her story. She said the rapist had hit her in the face, and they noted in their report that her face was indeed bruised.

Then Rideout told them that the rapist was her husband John.

In almost every state in the country, that would have been the end of the matter. The cops would have gone back to the station house and had a good chuckle about the woman who thought her husband should be arrested just because he beat and raped her.

But in 1977 Oregon had amended its rape law to delete the words "unless married to." It was one of only three states—the number has since jumped to four—that do not grant men automatic immunity from prosecution when they rape their wives.

Laws that make rape a legal impossibility within marriage flow from the idea that a woman's body belongs to her husband. They are like the laws that used to give a man the legal right to beat his wife. They legitimize violent assaults on women.

Neither the fact that John Rideout was acquitted nor reports that Greta Rideout has gone back to living with her husband should be allowed to obscure the seriousness of violent rape within marriage. It is wrong for women to have to live with the fear of being raped and beaten by their husbands and left with no legal recourse or protection.

Spousal immunity clauses in rape laws are part of the whole battery of laws designed to keep women in a subordinate

position within the family. When she marries, a woman is expected to sacrifice her economic and social independence—and in this case even her right to control her own body and sexual life.

One by one, such laws are being challenged by a growing feminist movement—as the Oregon reform illustrates.

The Rideout case and the national attention it received reflected a new level of consciousness about violent attacks on women. There is growing resentment of the way in which rape victims are subjected to harassment and humiliation by police and the courts.

Such a trial could never have been held at all before the feminist movement began to raise people's consciousness about rape and other forms of antiwoman violence. It has been the women's movement, for example, that has produced a wider recognition of the pervasiveness of wife-beating in the United States. Feminist groups have exposed the way in which advertisers and the media actually encourage physical attacks on women by portraying violence as normal or erotic behavior.

What is the solution to the problem of antiwoman violence? The Oregon law that allowed Greta Rideout to prosecute her husband should be supported. Along with the growth of the women's liberation movement, such laws may make some men think twice about brutalizing a woman. But changing the laws won't fundamentally solve the problem.

Ultimately, violence against women can only be stopped by doing away with the social system that profits from portraying women as sex objects and subjugating us as unpaid domestic laborers and underpaid workers.

Rape and wife beating, like child abuse, are part of the illness fostered by capitalism—a system that keeps people in poverty and misery, leading them to prey upon one another in desperation.

The best way to carry out the struggle against this and other violence in this society is to build the socialist movement and the struggle for a new society where no human being will be brutalized by another.

The Communist Manifesto

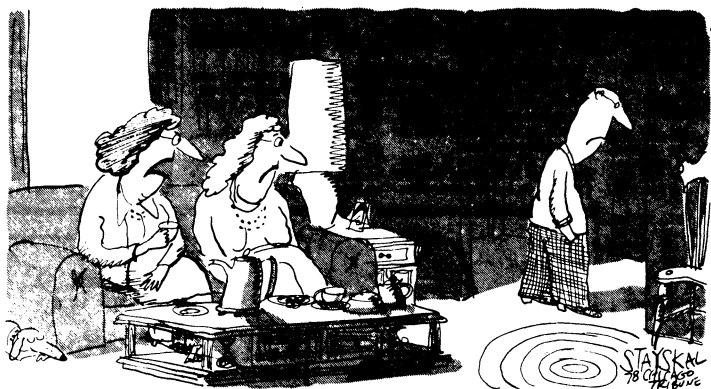
By Karl Marx and Frederick Engels. Introduction by Leon Trotsky. 48 pp. \$.75.

State & Revolution

By V.I. Lenin. \$1.25.

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Gov't violates guidelines



'Well, I won't tell you how much of a raise he got, but I will tell you that he made President Carter very, very happy!'

Rents on federally owned Portland, Oregon, federal dis-housing for workers at the Bonneville Dam were raised 257 percent, a violation of Carter's wage-price guidelines, the Bonneville Tenants Association charged in a suit filed in

Portland, Oregon, federal dis-housing for workers at the Bonneville Dam were raised 257 percent, a violation of Carter's wage-price guidelines, the Bonneville Tenants Association charged in a suit filed in

Permanent Revolution

Today, as revolution sweeps across Iran, Marxists must answer two key questions. Is a socialist revolution possible in an underdeveloped country? Or can the problems facing the Iranian people be solved by a capitalist regime?

Fifty years ago, Leon Trotsky who with Lenin led the Russian revolution, discussed these questions in his book, *'The Permanent Revolution.'* Written as an answer to an attack on his theory by Soviet journalist Karl Radek, Trotsky's book has special relevance today in light of events in Iran. The following are excerpts from Trotsky's summary of his theory in the final chapter of the book.

With regard to countries with a belated bourgeois development, especially the colonial and semicolonial countries, the theory of the permanent revolution signifies that the complete and genuine solution of their tasks of achieving *democracy and national emancipation* is conceivable only through the dictatorship of the proletariat as the leader of the subjugated nation, above all of its peasant masses.

Not only the agrarian, but also the national question assigns to the peasantry—the overwhelming majority of the population in backward countries—an exceptional place in the democratic revolution. Without an alliance of the proletariat with the peasantry the tasks of the democratic revolution cannot be solved, nor even seriously posed. But the alliance of these two classes can be realized in no other way than through an irreconcilable struggle against the influence of the national-liberal bourgeoisie.

No matter what the first episodic stages of the revolution may be in the individual countries, the realization of the revolutionary alliance between the proletariat and the peasantry is conceivable only under the political leadership of the proletarian vanguard, organized in the Communist Party. This in turn means that the victory of the democratic revolution is conceivable only through the dictatorship of the proletariat which bases itself upon the alliance with the peasantry and solves first of all the tasks of the democratic revolution. . . .

The dictatorship of the proletariat which has risen to power as the leader of the democratic revolution is inevitably and very quickly confronted with tasks, the fulfillment of which is bound up with deep inroads into the right of bourgeois property. The democratic revolution grows over directly into the socialist revolution and thereby becomes a *permanent* revolution.

The conquest of power by the proletariat does not complete the revolution, but only opens it. Socialist construction is conceivable only on the foundation of the class

struggle, on a national and international scale. This struggle, under the conditions of an overwhelming predominance of capitalist relationships on the world arena, must inevitably lead to explosions, that is, internally to civil wars and externally to revolutionary wars. Therein lies the permanent character of the socialist revolution as such, regardless of whether it is a backward country that is involved, which only yesterday accomplished its democratic revolution, or an old capitalist country which already has behind it a long epoch of democracy and parliamentarism.

The completion of the socialist revolution within national limits is unthinkable. One of the basic reasons for the crisis in bourgeois society is the fact that the productive forces created by it can no longer be reconciled with the framework of the national state. . . .

The socialist revolution begins on the national arena, it unfolds on the international arena, and is completed on the world arena. Thus, the socialist revolution becomes a permanent revolution in a newer and broader sense of the word; it attains completion only in the final victory of the new society on our entire planet.

The above-outlined sketch of the development of the world revolution eliminates the question of countries that are "mature" or "immature" for socialism. . . . Insofar as capitalism has created a world market, a world division of labor and world productive forces, it has also prepared world economy as a whole for socialist transformation. Different countries will go through this process at different tempos. Backward countries may, under certain conditions, arrive at the dictatorship of the proletariat sooner than advanced countries, but they will come later than the latter to socialism.



Trotsky's theory of Permanent Revolution explained role that peasants in Russia and other underdeveloped countries would play in revolutionary process.

Congratulations!

Thanks for putting out your great paper. It's the most informative socialist newsweekly in the United States.

Congratulations on fifty years of the *Militant*! Here's a small contribution.

Onward to a democratic socialist society.

B.D.

Ukiah, California

More nuke articles

The *Militant* is to be commended for printing Arnold Weissberg's December 8, 1978, article, "Atomic Wastes Piling Up." I encourage more such articles examining the multitude of issues presently being raised by the antinuclear movement such as atomic wastes, uranium mining on Native American and Chicano land, infringements on civil liberties, union busting as in the Karen Silkwood case, jobs and nukes, and others.

Many readers, including myself, need to learn more about nuclear issues. Thus, more of Weissberg's articles will be appreciated.

One shortcoming of Weissberg's article, I feel, lay in that it did not name to readers the most widespread high-level radioactive waste substances, or fission products, namely radioactive strontium, cesium, and iodine. Perhaps, for reasons of space, it was decided not to discuss chemistry, so as not to complicate the article and instead to focus on the political issues of the wastes.

The chemistry of these substances, however, is what makes them so deadly. Iodine, for instance, an essential part of thyroid glands in living creatures (responsible for growth and tissue regeneration), becomes turned into its complete opposite when ingested in its radioactive form. Radioactive strontium can replace calcium in bone and teeth structures, thereby undermining their regeneration and producing cancer.

The simple chemical facts of atomic wastes can speak pages on the blind cold-bloodedness of the American ruling class. This reader would be greatly pleased if the *Militant* could discuss more of the biological and environmental effects of nukes, as well as the political relations between the antinuclear and the labor and antiracist movements.

Happy fiftieth anniversary, and keep printing the truth!
Mark Dressler
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

'Militant' a good source

Enclosed is my check for fifty dollars to help build the *Militant's* Fiftieth Anniversary Fund.

The *Militant* is a very important information source for me—it gives a view of domestic and world events lacking in America's mass-media, mass-circulation dailies.

A case in point: I also

subscribe to a large daily, a main prop for the Minnesota Democratic Farmer-Labor Party (self-styled). Lately this paper has been running editorials giving the commonly heard line that the nefarious shah of Iran is a "modernizer"—as if Iran could only be modernized through rule by an aristocratic, militaristic elite! One suspects that "liberals" today would back Louis XVI if he were in control somewhere.

I hope that the *Militant* (and *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor*, to which I also subscribe) will continue to grow and print truth!
F.K.

Menomonie, Wisconsin

Iran coverage

The Iranian working class is defying brutal repression and brutal conditions. I'm going to help it happen by *using* the coverage of Iran when I sell the *Militant*. Although interest is still vague among some people, if they're going to buy the *Militant*, they shouldn't miss your coverage of Iran. The issue will come home soon enough.

Thanks again!

Sarah Matthews

Southgate, California

Muslims & Iran

I do not believe in your analysis of what is happening in Iran or in other Muslim countries. We are against Western imperialism and Marxist materialism and standards. Wait till you see the Muslim system of social justice and progress.
M.M.

An inquiry

I am writing to you to inquire about the Socialist Workers Party and its aims and aspirations.

Being a member of the U.S. Army for somewhat less than a year, I have come to see that those institutions that supposedly exist to protect and uphold the Constitution in fact do nothing of the sort.

Until I joined the army, I did not realize just how diametrically opposed it is to real political freedom and expression of conscience. Needless to say, many of us learn the hard way.

A GI

Louisiana

Bryant rejected

In December, Anita Bryant visited Louisville to entertain the Kentucky Farm Bureau's annual convention.

She was picketed by more than fifty demonstrators, many from the Louisville chapter of the National Organization for Women and the local Metropolitan Community Church.

Despite cold, pouring rain, short notice, and denial of a parade permit, people eagerly organized to show Louisville's

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rejection of right-wing hatred and demagoguery.

Among the issues emphasized were job and housing discrimination against lesbians and gays. Media coverage was extensive.

Amy Belvin
Louisville, Kentucky

Agrees on Jonestown

Your paper is a beacon of sanity in a country where papers usually are harbingers of insanity. A good example was your analysis of Guyana and the People's Temple compared to the coverage given it in the capitalist press.

Your analysis cut through the strangeness, the fear, and the craziness, while the capitalist press highlighted and clouded the issues: racism, sexism, poverty, exploitation, and desperation.

I agree with you.

Julia Carlson
Hyattsville, Maryland

From a Sioux prisoner

The massive campaign against the Indian peoples still persists. I am concerned about the welfare of my people and those that are for an end to oppression, racism, and conflicts stemming from this government's policies. It still seems apparent that we are looking for a clear voice in our society, and leadership and unity.

This letter come to you in appreciation of the *Militant* and the organizations that are looking for the day of freedom from all racial discrimination against all minorities in this country.

In the spirit of Crazy Horse.
A prisoner
Colorado

New reader

Please send me a copy of the *Militant*.

I'm a former anti-Vietnam War activist and a socialist. Reading the *Militant* for the first time was really an experience. I want to know what's going on. The capitalist papers are mere mouthpieces for the elite.

Richard Wolff
Jersey City, New Jersey

The letters column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Please indicate if you prefer that your initials be used rather than your full name.

Correction

In the January 12 *Militant* the "In Brief" item headed "800 hit border fence" began, "Three hundred people marched December 9 . . . to protect Carter administration plans to build a twelve-foot-high fence. . . ." The sentence should have read, "Three hundred people marched December 9 . . . to protest Carter administration plans to build a twelve-foot-high fence. . . ."

What is political support?

"Could someone please explain what it means to support a group or movement politically as opposed to any other way?" writes M.B. of Tucson, Arizona.

He notes that the Socialist Workers Party supported Black liberation groups in Angola in "the fight against Portuguese imperialism, but did not support [them] politically because [they] did not have a revolutionary program."

M.B. concludes, "I'm not clear on how this political support manifests itself and what, exactly, the difference between the types of support is."

M.B.'s question arises from the fact that revolutionists make a distinction between any particular struggle and the leadership of that struggle. Socialists give political support to any struggle against oppression, but we do not necessarily support the program of one or another group participating in such a struggle.

In the United States, for example, revolutionary socialists support the struggle of Blacks against racism unconditionally. Whether it is in answering racist attacks on school desegregation in Boston, protesting Klan violence in Louisville, or combating the crimes of racist cops in Brooklyn, the Socialist Workers Party sides with the Black community.

This support is unconditional in that it does not depend on the policies of the leadership that the Black community may be following at any particular time.

But while the SWP supported and took part in civil rights marches led by Martin Luther King, we opposed King's support to the Democratic Party and his call for a moratorium on civil rights demonstrations during the 1964 presidential election.

We criticized King's Southern Christian Leadership Conference because the SCLC's reformist program led it to subordinate the Black liberation struggle to the needs of the Democratic Party.

What about the case of Angola, which is raised by M.B.? Revolutionists—especially those in an imperialist country—are obligated to support the struggle of any forces engaged in an active fight against imperialist domination. This is true even if the fight against imperialism is being led by a capitalist government, as when Chiang Kai-shek's dictatorial regime fought against the Japanese invasion of China in the 1930s, or when the governments of oil-producing countries such as Iran and Saudi Arabia demanded that imperialism give up a greater share of the oil profits to the countries it exploits.

But once again, political support to the struggle against imperialism does not mean giving political support to the forces leading the struggle at any particular time. As Marxists, we have our own program for most effectively advancing the fight against imperialism.

In Angola, we saw that the overall political perspective of


the various liberation groups led them to subordinate the best interests of the anti-imperialist struggle to other considerations. A Trotskyist leadership in Angola would nationalize Gulf Oil's huge operation in Cabinda. It would advance a program recognizing the national rights of the various peoples within Angola instead of trying to suppress their aspirations. And it would actively aid the struggles of the workers and peasants in surrounding countries such as Zaïre and Namibia.

To give political support to the leadership of any one of the existing Angolan groups would stand in the way of a consistent struggle to abolish imperialist domination. From this point of view, it is important to note that none of the Angolan groups support the perspective of a workers and farmers government.

Revolutionary socialists are in favor of the working class and its allies taking over the government and using this power to abolish capitalism and initiate the construction of a new society, one based on a cooperative, planned economy.

This is the basic historical aim of all Marxists. But the experience of the working class over the past century has shown that to achieve this aim it is necessary to organize the most politically conscious workers in a revolutionary party.

On this most basic level, revolutionists give their political support and confidence only to those who agree with the socialist transformation of society and who have organized themselves to carry it out—that is, to revolutionary socialist parties. The Fourth International aims to establish and unite such parties on a world scale. —David Frankel



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THE MILITANT

Women forced to choose: jobs or sterilization

By Shelley Kramer

Wanted: Chemical workers. Must be sterile or willing to be sterilized.

That's not how the American Cyanamid Corporation advertised to fill positions in the pigmentation department of its Willow Island, West Virginia, plant. But if there really was truth in advertising, it would have been.

Cyanamid's workers are constantly exposed to high levels of poisonous lead dust, which can harm an unborn fetus and sterilize both women and men. About a year ago the company began to threaten the seventeen female production workers at the plant with discharge.

Personnel Director Glen Mercer warned them that stricter lead-control standards—finally adopted by the Occupational Safety and Health Administration in November 1978—would require that all women be phased out of jobs in the chemical industry. The lead industry is trying to block implementation of OSHA's improved but still inadequate safeguards through court action.

In September Cyanamid lowered the boom on the eight women in its pigmentation division, where lead-dust

levels are especially high. The women were given a de facto ultimatum: either submit to sterilization—which would free the company from legal liability for lead-induced sterility and birth deformities—or transfer out of the department into lower-paying jobs. Five of the women were forced to “choose” sterilization; two have been transferred to janitorial jobs that pay less and provide less overtime work for those who want it.

Barbara Cantwell, one of the sterilized workers, recalls sitting in the plant's locker room crying after learning that two co-workers had been sterilized. “And then, a month later, I found myself doing the same thing,” she told the *New York Times*. “That just shows you how scared I was.”

Cyanamid hypocritically feigns shock at the women's decision. It's a “mystery to us why they would choose such drastic measures to avoid a transfer,” said Jack White, plant manager.

The clues to this “mystery” are painfully obvious. “They told us we could go to the janitorial department, but if there weren't enough jobs there some of us might have to leave,” explained



OCAW Union News

OCAW'S MAZZOCCHI: 'Union's job is to see the workplace altered so it's safe for all workers.'

Betty Moler, another of Cyanamid's victims.

“These women were forced to make a Draconian choice that nobody should have to make,” said Anthony Mazzocchi, a vice-president of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers, which repre-

sents the Willow Island workers. “Women who have been able to enter these jobs as a result of their own struggle are now being confronted with the dismal choice of relinquishing their right to have children or their jobs,” he added.

OCAW plans to pursue legal challenges against Cyanamid, Mazzocchi told the *Militant* in a telephone interview. But the union sees its main job as “changing the climate of opinion and arousing public indignation.” The first step, Mazzocchi explained, will be mobilizing a broad-based coalition of concerned organizations including women's groups and other unions.

What happened to the women of Willow Island is a threat to all workers, Mazzocchi said. Lead dust endangers the reproductive capacities of men and women. If a company is allowed to “protect” women by removing them from their jobs—or forcing them to be sterilized—the same treatment will be extended to men.

“We want to make sure that workers are not adapted to polluted workplaces,” Mazzocchi explained. “Our job is to see that the workplace is altered so that it is safe for all workers.”

UAW council backs NJ abortion rally

NEWARK—Support is mounting throughout New Jersey for a January 20 rally, march, and picket in Trenton for abortion rights. The action, timed to coincide with the sixth anniversary of the Supreme Court decision legalizing abortion, was called by the National Organization for Women in New Jersey. Its purpose is to protest the Maressa-Deverin anti-abortion bill and the cutoff of Medicaid funding for abortions.

More than thirty organizations have endorsed and are building the action. In addition to abortion rights organizations and women's groups, significant support has come from union, religious, and professional groups that have not traditionally supported abortion rights activities.

The New Jersey United Auto

Workers Women's Council has endorsed, and one of its members will speak at the rally. In addition, the UAW Women's Council will be posting and distributing leaflets about the rally at plants and local union headquarters.

The New Jersey chapter of the Coalition of Labor Union Women is getting leaflets to its members. The National Council of Jewish Women, the YWCA, and the New Jersey Association of University Women have lent their support.

The growing support for abortion rights in the state is in response to the concerted effort by the so-called right-to-life forces to undermine the Supreme Court decision legalizing abortion. The New Jersey State legislature was one

of the first in the country to approve the call for a constitutional convention to write fetuses into the U.S. Constitution. Medicaid funding for abortions in New Jersey has been so restricted that state-funded abortions have dropped from 1,150 to 19 a month.

Passage of the Maressa-Deverin bill, which has widespread support from both Democratic and Republican state legislators, would make New Jersey one of the most difficult states in the country in which to get an abortion.

NOW chapters around New Jersey are sponsoring buses to bring abortion rights supporters to Trenton on January 20. NOW chapters in New York and Pennsylvania are also sending contingents to the rally. They know a defeat for abortion rights in New Jersey will quickly spread to other states.

The rally will begin at 1:00 p.m. at the Trenton Motor Lodge on West State Street. The featured speaker is Arlie Scott, a NOW national vice-president. Dr. Helen Rodríguez-Trias, a leader of the struggle to end sterilization abuse, will also speak.

After the rally, participants will march to the state house for a picket against the Maressa-Deverin bill. On January 22, women will lobby in Trenton against the bill.

New York teach-in

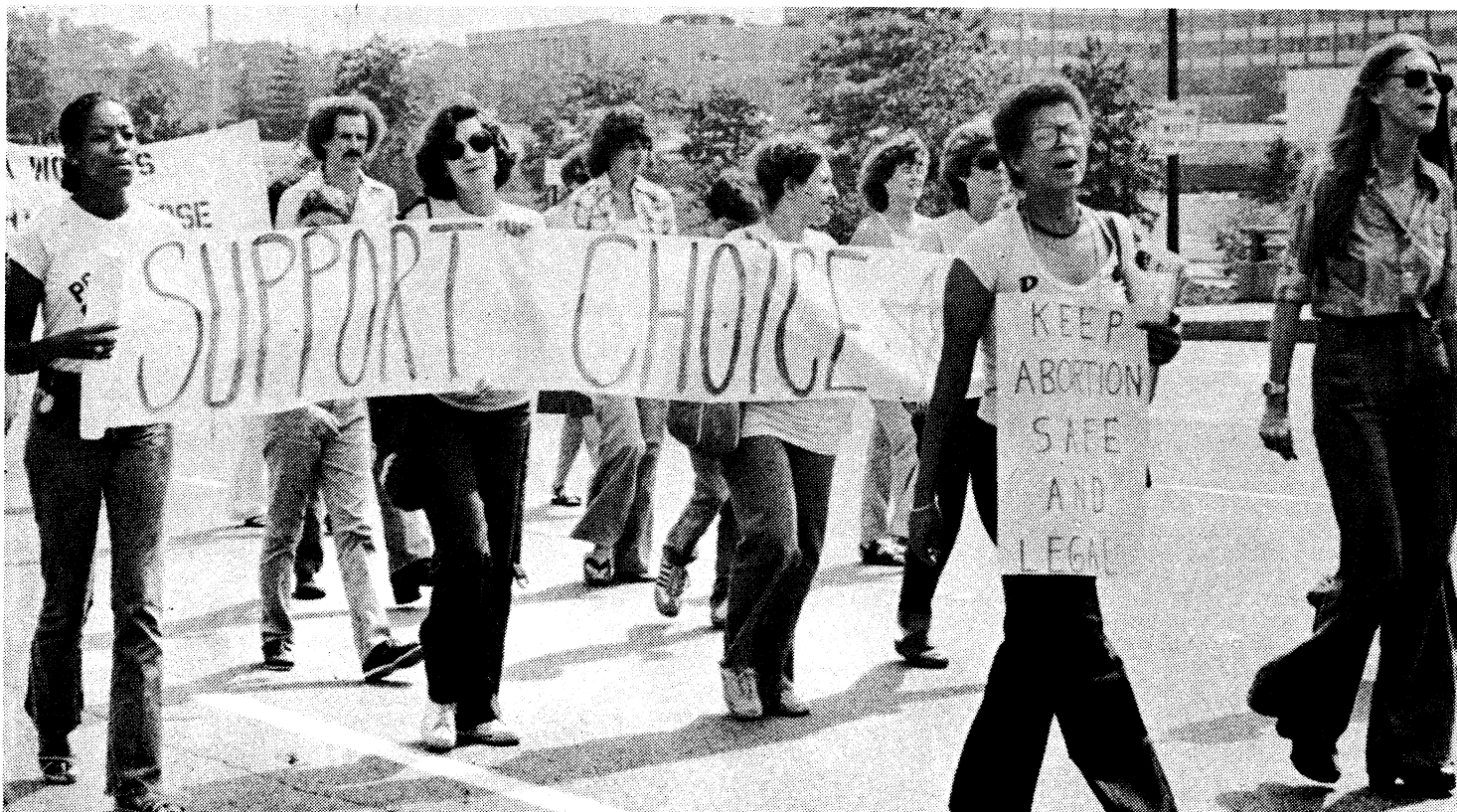
“Time is running out . . . on abortion rights.”

That is the alarm sounded by a teach-in scheduled for January 19 at Judson Memorial Church in New York City.

Speakers at the teach-in will include feminist authors Kate Millett and Alix Kates-Shulman, Dr. Helen Rodríguez-Trias, and Rubye Jones of the Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW).

The Abortion Rights Committee of the New York National Organization for Women initiated the teach-in. The action is being built by a coalition of organizations, including Catholics for Free Choice, Committee for Abortion Rights and Against Sterilization Abuse, Socialist Workers Party, and Asian Women United.

More than a dozen other groups have endorsed the event, including Women for Racial and Economic Equality, District 1199 of the National Union of Hospital and Health Care Employees, CLUW, and the Village-Chelsea NAACP.



Militant/Ginny Hildebrand