

# THE MILITANT

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

## Mideast deal spells war, not peace

### Carter pours arms, 'advisers' into Yemen

Front-page headlines across the country are hailing President Carter as a "peacemaker" in the Middle East. But under cover of the Israeli-Egyptian agreement Carter announced March 13, Washington is driving ahead with preparations for war.

With a U.S. naval task force already sta-

"advisers" would also be sent.

Speaking before a House Foreign Relations subcommittee, Crawford bluntly declared that the Carter administration is willing to go to war over its interests in the oil-rich Arabian peninsula, where border fighting broke out February 24 between North and South Yemen.

For more than two weeks Washington has been bristling with threats about "drawing the line" in the Middle East by inflicting a defeat on South Yemen and its Cuban defenders. (See background article on page 10).

Planting even a few "advisers" in the war zone, of course, establishes a wedge that can be used to widen U.S. involvement.

State Department officials, according to Rep. Les Aspin (D-Wis.), "are saying that the at-

mosphere is reminiscent of Vietnam in 1963," where the first U.S. combat troops were also called "advisers."

In pouring tanks and jets into North Yemen, Carter made a point of using, for the first time, his presidential "emergency" authority to bypass congressional review of arms shipments. He cited "national security interests."

The elaborate media hoopla about Carter's trip and the new "peace" agreement has been consciously used to divert public attention from the *escalating* U.S. military involvement that is part and parcel of the Mideast deal.

- Billions of dollars worth of additional U.S. arms—paid for by U.S. taxpayers—are to be

*Continued on next page*

#### An editorial

tioned off Yemen, and with massive shipments of U.S. arms being airlifted into North Yemen, Deputy Secretary of State William Crawford announced March 12 that 300 U.S. military

## Iranian women on the march

### Equal rights protests push revolution forward



TEHRAN, March 8—"Freedom for women—freedom for society," says demonstrator's sign. See page 4.

## ...Mideast

Continued from page 1

shipped to both the Israeli and Egyptian regimes.

- The administration is floating trial balloons about establishing U.S. military bases in the Sinai Peninsula.

- The Pentagon is openly considering the creation of a U.S. "Fifth Fleet" in the Indian Ocean.

- In keeping with these moves, Carter has raised the military budget to a record \$135 billion and has opened the biggest congressional discussion since Vietnam on the possibility of reintroducing the draft.

Standby Selective Service Administration (draft) directors have already been appointed for each state, and Carter has asked for increases in selective service funding for both 1979 and 1980.

The March 13 statement by Army Secretary Clifford Alexander that the "official position" of the army is that the draft is not needed "at this time" merely reflects the hesitancy of these moves. Carter knows the young people of this country remain overwhelmingly opposed to fighting and dying for imperialism in the Middle East or anywhere else.

*The deep antiwar sentiment among American working people is precisely why Carter must cloak his war policy in rhetoric about peace.*

Washington's real intentions were spelled out by the editors of the *Wall Street Journal* March 9 when they wrote: "If we want to insure the stability of the Middle East and the security of our friends, there will be no substitute for an actual U.S. presence in the area."

When the *Wall Street Journal* talks about "stability" and "security," it is talking about "securing" U.S. corporate interests and "stabilizing" pro-imperialist regimes against opposition from their own people. That's what the U.S. government went to war in Vietnam over. That's what it was *unable* to do in Iran to save the shah, thanks to the American people's opposition to any more foreign military adventures.

The revolution in Iran—and fear that the example of the Iranian people will be followed elsewhere—made Washington desperate both to build up its own military forces in the area and to wrap up the Egyptian-Israeli deal.

This pact has nothing whatsoever to do with peace. It is a counterrevolutionary alliance that is part of a *war* policy.

By neutralizing the Egyptian army as a threat to Israel, the pact helps free Israeli forces for intervention throughout the region.

It encourages the Zionist regime to undertake new assaults against Lebanon, Syria, and perhaps Jordan. Even as Carter was being hailed in Washington March 13, Israeli artillery was pounding southern Lebanon and gunboats were shelling the town of Damur, just five miles south of Beirut.

The proposed treaty reinforces the dispossession of the Palestinian people from their homeland and the denial of their national rights.

As if to underline this fact, Israeli troops in the occupied West Bank shot and killed two Arab youths who were participating in a demonstration March 14 against the agreement.

Enlisting Egyptian President Sadat's aid against the Palestinians will not suppress their struggle, which has just been given tremendous inspiration by the Iranian revolution. The most fitting answer to Carter's deal was a rally of more than 100,000 in Tehran March 13.

The crowd cheered a Palestine Liberation Organization representative who said, "Carter has come to the Middle East to organize new attacks against the Palestinian and Iranian revolutions. We warn Carter, he will be squashed under our feet."

Carter justifies his military build-up as an answer to "Soviet expansionism." But as the Iranian revolution so powerfully demonstrated, the instability of such neocolonial regimes as those in Jordan, Egypt, and Saudi Arabia is caused by social inequality, oppression, and exploitation that drives the workers and peasants to revolt. It is not the product of Moscow "subversion."

The "energy crisis" is yet another theme of Carter's propaganda. The arrogant implication is that whatever the needs and decisions of the people of the Middle East, U.S. corporations have a *right* to their natural resources—oil in particular—and the right to ensure the "security" of those resources.

*Above all, Carter's Mideast deal aims to give political cover to the use of U.S. military forces in the name of "peace" and "national security."*

Right now Carter is pushing toward a military confrontation in Yemen. The alarm must be sounded. The response of the American people should be:

Hands off Yemen!

U.S. out of the Middle East!

## No to censors!

As Washington escalates its military build-up it also moves to impose new curbs on civil liberties, including freedom of the press.

A significant step in this direction was taken when the Justice Department obtained an injunction March 8 barring the *Progressive* magazine from publishing an article on the hydrogen bomb.

The censorship order, which violates the First Amendment, will be appealed by the magazine.

It was the first time the federal government had sought such a prior restraint order since it failed eight years ago to prevent the *New York Times* and *Washington Post* from publishing the Pentagon papers.

The present move strikes a particularly sinister note in that the government motion is based on a section of the 1954 "atomic secrets" act. That measure was enacted in the witch-hunt hysteria following the executions of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg, who were falsely convicted of passing such alleged secrets to the Soviet government.

It was already established back then that Washington was simply lying when it asserted it had an "atomic secret." The laws of physics are not a U.S. monopoly.

The present "secrecy" claim is patently nonsense. The government makes no charge against the author of the article, which reportedly describes how a hydrogen bomb works. He gathered his information legally from sources available to the general public.

The Justice Department action is not an isolated one.

In the past several years, reporters have been jailed for refusing to disclose confidential news sources. Police have been given the green light by the courts to raid newspaper files for "evidence."

The government's concern in this case is not to keep the lid on military secrets. It is to lay the basis for hiding from the American people more and more of the facts about Washington's counterrevolutionary drive for world domination—a drive that increases the risk of atomic holocaust.

Even the compliant big-business news media are liable to print information damaging to the capitalist government—not "military secrets," but facts about its reactionary policies. That's what cannot stand the light of day. And that's why the government seizes on such flimsy pretexts as the *Progressive* article to further chip away at freedom of the press.

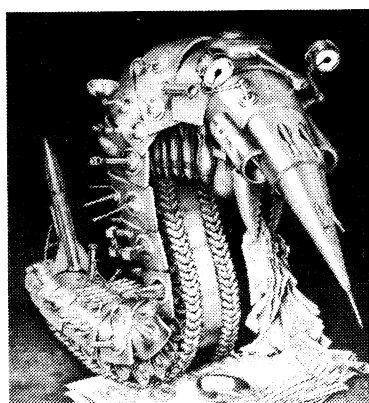
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### Emergency appeal for Marroquín

With a deportation hearing set for Héctor Marroquín on April 3, notables supporting his right to political asylum have issued an urgent appeal. **Page 8.**



### Imperialism vs. working people

War in Southeast Asia shows that the source of conflict is the insatiable profit drive of world capitalism. **Page 21.**



### The invasion of Uganda

Behind the war in East Africa stands Washington, seeking a more reliable regime than the one headed by Idi Amin (right). **Page 9.**



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# Va. Steelworkers rebuff Tenneco's strikebreaking

**'They just didn't count on our sticking together'**

By Jon Hillson

NEWPORT NEWS, Va.—United Steelworkers Local 8888's picket lines were big and spirited Monday morning, March 12.

According to the count of union gate captains, the number of scabs entering Tenneco's Newport News Shipbuilding and Drydock Company dropped by roughly 300 from the previous week.

This was the opposite of what Tenneco had sought with its week-long advertising blitz to fill production and maintenance jobs and its weekend back-to-work harassment of shipyard strikers.

The Steelworkers have been on strike since January 31 to win union recognition. Before the strike, 15,500 production and maintenance workers were employed at the yard.

Tenneco had even given its foremen and supervisors Saturday off to call strikers with thinly veiled threats of immediate firings if they failed to report for work Monday.

Union organizers countered with a phone campaign of their own, which, according to Local 8888 President Wayne Crosby, was "aimed at making sure our people were on the picket lines Monday morning."

Tenneco's big push, Crosby said, only "made the workers more determined to stay out."

Tenneco has escalated its strike-breaking efforts since the federal Fourth Circuit Court—at the company's request—ordered a National Labor Relation Board hearing into the union's January 1978 election victory. The shipyard claims the court's ruling invalidates the union charges of unfair labor practices and that Tenneco is now free to fire strikers and hire replacements.

"The new hires will remain after the strike is over," company spokesperson James Griffith announced. Strikers will be "considered" for rehiring if they immediately return to work.

"This is still an unfair labor practices strike," Steelworkers organizer Jack Hower answered. Tenneco is "just using the same old threats and intimidation to try to scare these workers into coming back to work. It's not going to work."

So far, Hower's prediction has been borne out. The scores of potential scabs who lined up early March 12 to apply for jobs were met by 8888 pickets chanting, "Scabs can't build no ships!"

The combination of chants and reasoned appeals by the strikers turned



Shipyard strikers and supporters march in Newport News March 2. Labor solidarity is essential to turn back attacks. Militant/Omari Musa

back some of the young applicants. Pickets warned job seekers that without proper job training, which Tenneco has no intention of providing, they would be risking their lives inside the shipyard.

Despite Tenneco's setbacks, its war against the USWA continues. On March 19 and 20, the union comes before the NLRB on the sham charge of "chain voting" during last year's representation election. Even a favorable decision by the board can be appealed by the company, whose purpose is to sap the union of its resources and energy.

But the Monday picket line showed the giant corporation still has much to learn. Said picket captain Kevin Fowler, "They just didn't count on our sticking together."

## One day in the bosses' courts

By Jon Hillson

NEWPORT NEWS, Va.—Remember civics class, the way it was taught in the eighth grade? Remember "fair play" and "equal protection under the law"?

Forget it.

Especially if you're a member of United Steelworkers Local 8888 on strike against the Newport News Shipbuilding and Drydock Company.

Virginia is a "right to work" state. State statutes not only outlaw the union shop. In the name of protecting a scab's "right to work," they also go a long way toward denying workers their right to strike.

Once you're on a picket line in Virgi-

nia, you can say good-bye to your constitutional rights to free speech and assembly.

Since the USWA was forced out on strike January 30, Newport News cops have been arresting an average of about two strikers a day—everyone from Local 8888 President Wayne Crosby to picket-line activists.

March 8 was a typical day in the bosses' courts for shipyard workers. Larry Childress was fined fifteen

dollars for being a "public drunk." After nearly twenty-four hours of picketing in the snow, Childress slipped and fell on the ice. The cops swore they smelled alcohol on his breath. No breath test was given. "All the classic symptoms are here," concluded Judge W. Robert Phelps as he convicted Childress.

Wayne Fisers was ordered to cough up seventy-five dollars for carrying a

*Continued on page 7*

## Unions set solidarity events

By Shelley Kramer

The bosses—with the aid of their courts, cops, and press—are doing everything they can to help Tenneco break the Steelworkers' strike.

It's up to the union movement to unite our side in support of the strikers with a powerful demonstration of labor solidarity. The following union support activities point the way forward.

- An emergency solidarity rally will be held in Pittsburgh March 19, 7:30 p.m., University of Pittsburgh, Clapp Hall, Room L-9.

Speakers will include representatives from the Newport News strike; Steelworkers International; Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union; District 6 of the United Electrical Workers; District 5 of the United Mine Workers; NAACP; and National Organization for Women.

A USWA film of the Newport News strike will be shown for the first time. (For more information on

the film, contact Bob Moffit at 412-562-2635.)

The USWA has printed 7,500 leaflets for the emergency rally, and every major steel local in Pittsburgh has pledged to help distribute them.

- Members of United Auto Workers Local 451 in Cleveland who visited Newport News have prepared a slide show on the strike. They have taken the show to students at Oberlin College, to Cleveland NOW's Labor Task Force, and to the UAW's CAP Council.

- USWA Local 2659 at McClouth Steel in Detroit will host a solidarity rally April 1 featuring a Newport News strike representative.

- The North Carolina Central Labor Union is sponsoring a rally and fund-raising dinner March 17 in Ahoskie, North Carolina, at the Masonic Hall.

Address donations, resolutions, and requests for speakers to: USWA Local 8888, Thirty-third and Washington Streets, Newport News, Virginia 23607, telephone (804) 247-5291.

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# Thousands of Iranian women march for

By Cindy Jaquith

With the same fervor they displayed in battling the shah, Iranian women have again burst into the streets. The revolution is not over, they declare; women want their full democratic rights.

The sustained mobilizations of women, which began on March 8, International Women's Day, are the most dramatic demonstration yet that the Iranian masses are determined to win the rights so long denied them under the hated Pahlavi monarchy. By their actions, Iranian women are advancing the revolution as a whole—from the workers' fight to control their factories to the peasants' struggles for land to the demands of oppressed nationalities for control over their destinies.

The sight of tens of thousands of women marching down the streets of Tehran has also inspired supporters of women's liberation around the world. These were not only the largest feminist actions to occur anywhere on International Women's Day. The protests also marked the dawn of the women's movement in Iran, a country whose domination by imperialism and monarchy has trapped women in backwardness for centuries.

## Ordered to put on veil

What sparked the outpouring in Iran was a March 7 statement by Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini that female government workers could not go "naked" to work, but "must be clothed according to Islamic standards"—they must wear the *chador*, or veil. The government had also made statements against equal rights for women in divorce, against coeducation, abortion, and laws outlawing polygamy.

Several rallies for women's rights

had already been planned for the next day, March 8. Angered by Khomeini's order, thousands of women turned out for these meetings, swelling the original estimates of the organizers. From the rallies the women poured onto the streets, beginning what would be days of protests against the government's antiwoman decrees.

At one of the March 8 rallies, called by the Ad Hoc International Women's Day Committee of Iran, 1,200 women were present. The speakers included a nurse, a teacher, a Palestinian woman, and American feminist Kate Millett. The Committee to Defend Women's Rights was initiated at this rally to continue the struggle.

High school women took the lead in the big demonstration that followed these rallies. Thousands of these students had gone on strike that day for women's equality. Some 20,000 women marched from Tehran University to the offices of Prime Minister Mehdi Bazargan, denouncing government attacks on women's rights.

Stressing the sacrifices women made to overthrow the shah, the demonstrators chanted: "We fought for freedom with the men. None of us knew freedom would come with chains;" and "In the dawn of freedom there is an absence of freedom."

Rightist goons attacked the marchers. But on March 10, 7,000 women returned to protest, holding a sit-in at the Justice Department. They were joined by a march of 10,000 women.

The demonstrators presented a list of eight demands to the government. These included: women's right to wear whatever clothes they choose; equal rights with men in all legal matters; full economic, political, and social rights for women.

Women in veils joined their sisters. One older woman who had lost four sons in the struggle against the shah arrived. She tore off her *chador* in solidarity with the other demonstrators.

## Strikes for equality

Public employees struck to protest government attacks on equal rights. Nurses, high school teachers, and women in the ministries of agriculture and foreign affairs walked out. Women workers at Iran Air issued a statement that the only veil women need is "a veil of purity in their hearts."

Antiwoman thugs have continued their violent assaults on women demonstrators, stabbing several. Calling the women "whores," "SAVAK agents," or "communists," these goons arrive at the protests by bus. They are not part of the crowd of spectators who



Twenty thousand women hit Tehran's streets March 8 after Ayatollah Khomeini ordered them to wear the veil.

have lined up to watch the marches. Government officials initially did little to stop their attacks.

On March 11, women activists held a news conference to declare they would not be intimidated by violence. Speaking for the Committee to Defend Women's Rights, Kateh Vafadari announced there would be another rally the next day. She demanded that the Bazargan government halt the attacks on women protesters.

Fifteen thousand turned out for the March 12 rally at Tehran University. A few speakers urged the crowd to refrain from more demonstrations, as right-wing hecklers shouted that women were "creating havoc and anarchy and trying to create divisions within the revolution."

But speakers from the Committee to Defend Women's Rights argued that women must stay in the streets until their demands are won. The crowd voted with its feet, marching out into Shah Reza Avenue.

Bank workers, hospital workers, students, and teachers participated. There was a contingent of radio and television workers there to protest the firing of women in the media and government censorship.

Women students and nurses waved from their buildings as the march passed by. The demonstrators chanted: "To deny women freedom is to deny

freedom to the rest of society."

In the face of these unprecedented mobilizations, the government has been badly shaken. Khomeini retreated on his statement about the *chador*, saying that wearing it is a "duty" not an "order."

United Press International also reported that Khomeini disavowed those attacking the demonstrators and "warned them of 'harsh punishment' unless they stopped their assaults." The Islamic Revolutionary Committee has sent a few representatives to guard the latest women's actions, but only in token numbers.

The American bourgeois press has tried to distort the aims of the Iranian women in an effort to undercut international support for the Iranian revolution.

The March 12 *New York Post*, for example, claimed "many of the freedoms Iranian women are now demanding were made available to them during the reign of the Shah whose sister, Princess Ashraf, was a leading feminist."

The *Christian Science Monitor* said in an editorial the same day that "the fundamental question facing Iran is whether, in its haste to do away with the Shah's legacy of tyranny and corruption, it will do away with the good inheritance as well."

The Iranian women in the streets



Militant José G. Pérez

Kateh Vafadari, a leader of Committee to Defend Women's Rights, said protesters will not be intimidated by right-wing attacks.

# Bazargan sets March 30 rigged referendum

Iran's Prime Minister Mehdi Bazargan has announced that a nationwide referendum will take place March 30. There will be only one question on the ballot—"Do you want a monarchy or an Islamic republic?" Voters will be required to sign their names and addresses to the ballots.

There is deepening opposition to such a rigged referendum, especially in light of the new government's moves against democratic rights. The government has told workers they cannot elect their own committees to run the factories. It has attacked women's demands for equality. Kurds and Baluchis—two of Iran's oppressed nationalities—have been condemned for demanding local autonomy. Ayatollah Khomeini's Islamic Revolutionary Committee has tried to ban demonstrations and prevent the free

distribution of political literature.

Thus there is growing suspicion that the alternative of Islamic republic—once a popular slogan on demonstrations against the shah—means cutting off the revolution before the demands of the masses are won.

The March 1 *New York Times* commented: "The rising protest is no longer a murmur of the middle class or the city dwellers who for years have taken a less rigid view of their religion. . . . The unrest includes workers in the oil fields who want to choose their leaders and participate in the national debate on the country's oil policy. And, it involves white-collar workers who believe that no new laws or regulations should be passed before the country's new constitution is drafted and approved."

On March 5, 1 million people attended a rally in Ahmadabad to commemorate the death of Mohammed Mossadegh, the National Front premier overthrown by a CIA-organized coup in 1953. Rally speakers counterposed to the Islamic republic slogan a "democratic republic."

The real solution to the problems of the Iranian toiling masses, however, is being put forward by the Hezb-e Kargar-e Sosialist (Socialist Workers Party). The SWP opposes the imposition of any government from above and calls for extending the democratic rights of all sectors of Iranian society. It supports freedom of religion and separation of church and state.

The Trotskyists demand the immediate convocation of a freely elected, sovereign constituent assembly to

decide what government should rule Iran.

No capitalist government can meet the needs of the masses, they explain. The SWP calls for a workers' and peasants' republic, a government based on broad, democratic councils of the workers, soldiers, and toilers.

In a statement printed in the March 13 *Ettela'at*, the SWP pointed out that the government's attacks on democratic rights are aimed at preventing free elections. The radio and television stations refuse to broadcast statements by political parties critical of the government, the socialists explained. They also protested the arrest of people selling the Trotskyist newspaper *Kargar* (Worker) by members of the Islamic Revolutionary Committee. All the salespeople have been released.



# equal rights

today have nothing but scorn for the shah's supposed women's liberation program. And far from representing "feminism," his princess sister—who ran the opium trade in Iran—is one of the most hated members of the royal family.

The few reforms the shah authorized for women were a cynical public relations maneuver to counter his real record of torture and tyranny. Divorce laws were liberalized, and women got the right to vote, but the shah never permitted free elections. Women were jailed and murdered by the thousands for opposing his regime.

The shah "liberated" women from the veil by sending his cops into the streets to tear it off every woman they found. This was aimed at undercutting the influence of Islamic religious leaders who opposed the monarchy. To portray himself as more "progressive," the shah played on their reactionary view that women should be completely covered.

It was in response to these attacks on veiled women that demonstrators over the past year put the veil back on to show their opposition to the shah and his antiwoman "women's liberation" program. Many women wore the veil for the first time in their lives.

Today some of those same women have removed the veil and are now demonstrating against any new dictates on how they should dress.

In a telephone interview, Parvin Najafi, a leader of the Iranian Socialist Workers Party and an activist in the women's protests, explained how women view the charges that their demands will hurt the revolution.

## 'We fight for freedom'

"The women marching today fought in the revolution against the shah so we could win freedom—freedom for women, freedom for the workers and peasants, freedom from imperialism. We now feel the door is opened to our liberation, and nothing is going to stand in our way!" she said.

"The high school women who are in the forefront of our demonstrations were among the bravest fighters against the shah's tanks and machine guns. No one—no one—is going to tell them they're against the revolution."

Najafi reported that the recent protests have turned the country upside down. People are discussing women's liberation everywhere. The women are trying to reach out to the population—especially workers—to explain how their struggle is in the interests of all who fought to overthrow the monarchy.

One of the appeals directed by the women to men, she said, is "Militant

## Revolution in Iran

Eyewitness report from **Cindy Jaquith**, associate editor of the *Militant*, just returned from Tehran

- How masses overturn shah
- Struggle of women for liberation
- The Road forward for Iranian revolution

### PORTLAND

March 18 8 p.m.  
711 NW Everett

### TORONTO

March 25 7:30 p.m.  
334 Queen St. West

brothers, where is your fighting spirit?" Some men have supported the protests and have fought off right-wing thugs.

On March 12, when the women's march passed by factories, the demonstrators chanted, "Workers, workers, we are all allies."

At a March 11 news conference, Kate Millett also refuted the idea that women had benefited from the shah's rule. According to the March 12 *Washington Post*, "Millett's insistence that Shah Mohammad Reza Pahlavi had done nothing for women" was "particularly upsetting" to hecklers who had come to disrupt the news conference.

While centered in Tehran, the fight for women's rights is beginning to spread throughout the country. Hundreds of Kurdish women demonstrated for equality in Sanandaj, the March 13 *Washington Post* reported.

Azerbaijani high school students in Tabriz walked out of their classrooms and joined women office and factory workers demanding their rights.

The actions of Kurdish and Azerbaijani women are doubly significant because these women also suffer national oppression. The overwhelming majority of the population in these areas is from the peasantry, the sector of Iranian society where women suffer the greatest economic and social deprivation.

Women have also demonstrated in the highly industrialized city of Isfahan, where workers played a central role in the revolution.

# Target week kicks off Militant sales campaign

By Peter Seidman

Full results on the national target sales week now under way won't be available until our next issue. But initial reports from across the country indicate "a real mobilization feeling" among our supporters.

That's how Philadelphia circulation director Laurie Perkus summarized the mood in Philadelphia, where socialists braved bad weather to sell 160 papers this weekend towards their week's special goal.

Altogether, branches of the Socialist Workers Party ordered 5,000 papers above and beyond their regular bundles for the target week. The target week kicks off a drive by the SWP and Young Socialist Alliance to sell 100,000 copies of the *Militant* and its Spanish-language sister publication *Perspectiva Mundial* during the next ten weeks.

"Sales, sales, sales," will be a big feature of the stepped-up efforts supporters of Chicago SWP mayoral candidate Andrew Pulley will be making this week, says campaign director Bobbie Bagel.

Chicago socialists plan to sell more than 500 papers. Pulley will also be pushing subscriptions during hours of radio and TV time at his disposal this week.

If Pulley's supporters get anywhere near the response New Jersey salespeople found last weekend, their sales should be high.

Newark socialists sold 298 copies of the *Militant* and 29 of *Perspectiva Mundial* on Saturday and Sunday—82 percent of their special overall goal of 400 for the target week. (The branch's regular goal is 145 per week).

Who bought the paper? Mainly New Jersey industrial workers. (Several people indicated they'd already bought the

paper from salespeople at entrances to the giant bulk mail center in Jersey City, the Ford auto plant in Metuchen, and other plants.)

Interest was particularly high in the *Militant's* coverage of striking shipyard workers in Newport News, Virginia.

Just across the Hudson River, the three New York City branches of the SWP sold 1,058 papers over the weekend. Copies of *Perspectiva Mundial* made up 30 percent of this impressive total. This shows the potential for increased sales of *Perspectiva Mundial* on a regular basis—one of the national goals for this circulation drive.

Seattle SWP organizer Margaret Trowe was enthusiastic about target week results so far. "We sold 120 of our goal of 225 as of Tuesday," she explained. "Ten of these were sold in twenty minutes at the Todd Shipyard; six others at a protest demonstration by members of Boilermakers Union Local 104."

Seattle socialists organize to sell the *Militant* in teams of four. "Each team has a goal of selling an average of five papers per member," Trowe explains.

"Experienced salespeople serve as captains and help out newer people on the teams. We find this leads to better sales for each person—as well as for higher overall sales, as teams compete to outdo each other."

Another target week sale shows the increasing interest in socialist ideas among working people: striking members of the American Federation of Teachers Local 420 in St. Louis bought thirty copies of the *Militant* and one subscription in two days.

We'll report full results of the target week and more information on where our ten-week circulation drive stands next week.



Young Socialist Alliance National Chairperson Cathy Sedwick sells to strikers in Newport News, Virginia.

## In the March 'YS'...

By August Nimtz

Forty-three in a half-hour! That's the number of *Young Socialist* newspapers that were recently sold on the streets of Amherst, Massachusetts.

What attracted so many buyers to the March issue is the cover story, "No to nuclear power and weapons!" with a feature article by Paul Mailhot. Amherst is a major center of the anti-nuclear power movement, which the Young Socialist Alliance is helping to build.

In addition to pointing out the dangers of nuclear power and its relation to nuclear weaponry, Mailhot addresses the key questions for revolutionary socialists involved in building the movement.

What attitude to take toward nuclear power for states that have overthrown capitalism?

How should socialists approach the issue of nuclear disarmament?

What should be the strategy for involving the working class and its allies in this movement?

Also in the March *Young Socialist*, Blaine Coleman tells how students at the College of William and Mary in Williamsburg, Virginia, are organizing to support striking shipyard workers in nearby Newport News. In what may be

the most significant labor battle today, Coleman explains why "students have an important stake in the outcome of the strike."

In Detroit, high school students are waging a struggle for student rights. YSA member Andrew Walden, a leader of the movement at Cass Technical High School, describes the major demonstration that occurred at his school and the wide attention that the action attracted in the community.

An article by Miguel Zarate tells of the emergency campaign to prevent the deportation to Mexico of Héctor Marroquín, a leader of the YSA.

Finally, Cathy Sedwick and Eli Green describe the issues and activities being discussed and planned on college campuses for the week of April 4-11 to demand an end to U.S. support to the racist regimes in southern Africa.

The YSA is now in the second month of a three-month sales campaign. The goal is to sell 4,500 copies of the *Young Socialist* each month.

At the same time, YSA members are helping in the current sales drive for the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial*. If the sales in Amherst are any indication, the YS campaign should be more than successful.



Tehran University defense guards after February insurrection. 'We fought for freedom with the men,' women protesters explain today.

# New York meeting celebrates working women

By Susan Yañez

NEW YORK—Three hundred women gathered here March 8 for an International Women's Day forum "celebrating working women."

The meeting was sponsored by the Coalition of Labor Union Women and the New York chapter of the National Organization for Women.

"In Iran thousands of women came out today on International Women's Day to show that Iranian women are not going to be kept under wraps any

*Women's rights supporters across the nation celebrated International Women's Day on or around March 8 with rallies, forums, and other activities. On this page are reports on two of those meetings. Next week's 'Militant' will carry further coverage on International Women's Day.*

longer or be put in a corner and covered up," said NOW-NY President Kathe Rauch in opening the forum. "Like the Iranian women, we are not going backwards."

Rauch cochaired the rally, along with Adrienne Critchlow, a member of the Communications Workers of America and of the New York chapter of CLUW.

The banner hanging in the front of the auditorium read, "Pass the ERA! Defend Affirmative Action!"

No speaker was more qualified to speak on the threat to affirmative-action programs for women and Blacks than Cynthia Hawkins, a general repair mechanic trainee in the Kaiser Aluminum plant in Chalmette, Louisiana.

Hawkins was the first woman to be hired into the skilled-crafts training program. Brian Weber, a white lab technician at Kaiser's Gramercy, Louisiana, plant, sued in court, charging the affirmative-action plan that got Hawkins her position is "reverse discrimination." The Supreme Court will hear Weber's case March 28.

Contributions from seven unions made it possible for Hawkins to come to New York from Louisiana for the March 8 event.

"International Women's Day is important to American working women and minorities," she began. "What I have to say about the Weber case hurts. We have fought so hard for our gains. We can't see them go down the drain because of one racist and sexist man who is backed up by the courts and federal government."

Enthusiastic applause greeted Hawkins's warning, "Brian Weber, I am here in New York City today to say that I will do whatever I can to unite with others to fight you and Allan Bakke."



CYNTHIA HAWKINS: 'Brian Weber wouldn't know what discrimination is until he has to ride in the back of the bus.'

Militant: Lou Howort

Addressing the myth of "reverse discrimination," Hawkins declared that Weber had "never been denied a job because of his sex or race." He wouldn't know what discrimination is, she said, "until he had to ride in the back of the bus. I can tell you one thing, I am not ready to ride in the back of the bus again."

Hawkins concluded by pointing to the civil rights movement of the 1960s as the kind of movement needed to win women's equality. "To defeat Weber, our movement must unite fast and strongly," she declared.

Rosemary Mechem, from the New York Newspaper Guild, pointed to the connection between the Equal Rights Amendment and affirmative-action quotas. "Passage of the ERA won't mandate quotas," she said, "but it will be a weapon in the fight for them."

Adrienne Critchlow emphasized that "working women involved in their

unions are going to change the whole concept of unionism and workers. CLUW is strengthening our unions by getting them to move ahead on affirmative action."

Marsha Cleveland, attorney for five West Virginia chemical workers who were forced to undergo sterilization to retain their jobs, spoke about the implications of this case. The five women are members of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers union.

"It's not the first instance of forced sterilization of women workers," she explained. "Fortunately this case has received the attention of the press because the women decided to go public."

Cleveland said that the company, American Cyanamid, had done little to reduce the unsafe lead levels in the plant despite evidence of its adverse effects on both women's and men's reproductive capacities.

Instead, the company hit upon the "perfect tactic," she said, for driving women out of the plant. "Sterilize yourselves or be fired," management told women workers.

A member of Local 980 of the United Auto Workers in Metuchen, New Jersey, told the meeting of another kind of victimization of women workers. "The single most important problem women face is access to these jobs. However, once you get the job you have to keep on fighting the sexual harassment of the foremen who believe that women belong at home in the kitchen," she said.

The auto industry hires women to meet quotas and then tries to drive them out with various tactics, she explained. This includes putting them

on "animal jobs" that are too physically demanding, verbal abuse, sexist harassment, and even physical abuse.

She told the audience about the case of one worker in her plant, Wendy Barnes, who refused to give in to one foreman's sexual demands and was later assaulted by another foreman, a friend of the first.

Barnes's decision to file a grievance—demanding the company discipline the attacker—resulted in management transferring her to a job someone of her size and experience couldn't handle. She suffered a serious back injury on this job.

Since Barnes's case has become known in the plant, the auto worker explained, "more women have come to union meetings and women's committee meetings" to urge the union to take action to end such treatment of women workers.

A big factor in getting out the facts on Barnes's case was the support of the New Jersey and New York chapters of NOW, she said.

"When NOW became aware of the case, it sent telegrams to the company and the union demanding that action be taken against the foreman." These are issues the union movement and the women's movement can work together on, she stressed.

Other speakers at the meeting included Kathy Andrade, International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union Local 2325; Jane Silver, NOW; Susan Holleran, national NOW Committee on Labor Union and On-Site Organizing; and feminist journalist Vivian Gornick. Entertainment was provided by feminist singers Lisa Garrison and Barbara McGee.

## Missouri NOW sets ERA protests

The Missouri state council of the National Organization for Women has called for marches and rallies across the state on March 24 to demand ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment.

The cities in which there will be March 24 actions include St. Louis, Kansas City, and Nevada.

In St. Louis, the ERA march will begin at the downtown Gateway Arch at noon. A 1 p.m. rally will be held at the Christ Church Cathedral at Thirteenth and Locust.

# 5,000 join S. F. women's rights gathering

By Ann Menashe

SAN FRANCISCO—More than 5,000 people attended the Fourth Annual Day in the Park for Women's Rights here March 10.

The event was initiated by the San Francisco chapter of the National Organization for Women and was endorsed by a broad list of women's groups and unions, including the San Francisco Labor Council, District 9 of the Communications Workers of America, and locals of the United Steelworkers, Teamsters, American Federation of Teachers, and Retail Clerks.

"On July 9 an army of feminists marched down Constitution Avenue in Washington to demand that Congress extend the deadline for the Equal Rights Amendment," said Mary Spencer, president of San Francisco NOW.

"How proud we are today to have seen our sisters in Iran, who have traditionally and throughout the reign

of the shah known persecution and oppression, march into the streets in numbers that equal or exceed July 9.

"Women throughout the world are rising up to make a profound statement," she continued. "We will no longer endure oppression and second-class citizenship. We demand equality now."

LaRene Paul delivered greetings from Communications Workers of America District 9 and from the San Francisco chapter of the Coalition of Labor Union Women. "Unless all of us around this nation join forces to see that the ERA is passed now," she warned, "all of us will be the losers."

Many speakers linked the fight for legal equality with the fight for abortion rights, affirmative action, child care, and other issues of vital concern to women.

Jeannine Whitlow, chairperson of the United Steelworkers Sub-district 3 Civil Rights Committee, told the rally

of the grave danger to affirmative action posed by the Weber case.

Brian Weber, she explained, "a white worker, charges that an agreement between the Steelworkers and Kaiser to set up a joint affirmative-action and training program for skilled craft job openings was reverse discrimination."

"If Weber wins, it would mean that unions cannot include affirmative-action programs in their contracts," she said.

Rev. Loey Powell of the Religious Coalition for Abortion Rights warned that "the rights of every woman to choose a legal and medically safe abortion is being threatened."

"The same groups that are leading the so-called pro-life movement," Powell said, are the groups opposing ratification of the ERA.

Sylvia Weinstein, vice-president of San Francisco NOW and a member of the Socialist Workers Party, declared, "We want an expansion of child-care

centers and educational programs for every single child in this country."

Other speakers at the rally included former Congresswoman Bella Abzug; Reeva Olson, Office and Professional Employees International Union Local 3; Borinda Morena, Concilio Mujeres; State Assemblyperson Willie Brown; Susan Drew, Women Organized for Employment; Joan Kelly, vice-president, American Federation of Teachers Local 61; and Patty Roberts, president of the San Francisco chapter of the National Lawyers Guild.

Also, Walter Johnson, president, Retail Clerks Local 1100; Dorothy Ehrlich, president, Northern California American Civil Liberties Union; Matilde Zimmermann, Socialist Workers Party; Eileen Lasta, League of Women Voters; and Kay Wiley, ERA Committee chairperson, San Francisco NOW.

The event was chaired by TV anchorwomen Belva Davis, Lynne Joiner, and Valerie Coleman.



# 500 rally in Gary against 'Weber' threat

By Omari Musa

More than 500 persons—most of them Black steelworkers—packed into a Gary, Indiana, meeting hall March 14 to defend affirmative action and oppose the Weber decision.

Speakers included Gary Mayor Richard Hatcher and Steelworkers District 31 Director Jim Balanoff—the sponsors of the meeting—as well as Bernard Kleiman, general counsel of the United Steelworkers.

Brian Weber, a white lab technician for Kaiser Aluminum in Gramercy, Louisiana, is suing to overturn affirmative-action provisions of the Steelworkers' contract with Kaiser. Two lower courts have upheld Weber's claim of "reverse discrimination." The U.S. Supreme Court will hear the case March 28.

The Gary rally was a sign of the growing opposition to Weber in the labor, Black, and women's movements. The meeting was cochaired by Jack Parton, president of USWA Local 1014, and State Rep. Carolyn Mosby.

Also on March 14, 200 people met in Los Angeles to plan activities of the Los Angeles Coalition to Overturn the Weber Decision. Marnesba Tackett of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference-West and Bob Johnson, civil rights director of USWA District 38, subdistrict 1, were among those present.

Also represented were the NAACP, Black Leadership Conference, Urban League, United Auto Workers, and American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees.

The coalition is mobilizing people for a March 21 meeting of the Los Angeles

city council, where council member Robert Farrel has pledged to introduce an anti-Weber resolution. It is also holding a picket line March 28 at the federal courthouse.

The coalition is organizing an educational conference on Weber and affirmative action for April 21.

United Steelworkers Local 1845 at Bethlehem Steel in Los Angeles passed a resolution at its March 13 meeting condemning Weber as "an attack on the civil rights of minorities and women and the USWA as a whole."

Local 1845 joined with the union subdistrict civil rights committee in inviting USWA Vice-president Leon Lynch to come to Los Angeles to speak on the case. Local 8593 passed a similar resolution.

In San Diego, fifty-five people met March 10 to form the Labor/Community Affirmative Action Task Force. The group voted to organize a picket line March 28 and a speakout April 29.

The California Federation of Teachers adopted a strong anti-Weber position at its statewide convention in early March. It backed affirmative-action programs "with specific goals and quotas." It called for cooperation between the CFT and the USWA in the fight against Weber.

The resolution is to be printed in the *California Teacher*, the CFT newspaper, and brought before the American Federation of Teachers national convention later this year.

In Pittsburgh, women steelworkers organized in Women of Steel are holding an anti-Weber forum March 18.

## Pamphlet sales soar

By Helen Meyers

Pathfinder Press has already sent out 3,000 copies of *The Weber Case: New Threat to Affirmative Action*—making it one of the fastest-selling socialist pamphlets in recent years.

The thirty-two-page pamphlet is the most complete source of facts on Brian Weber's challenge to job rights for Blacks and women. It also explains why quotas are not "reverse discrimination," what causes unemployment, and why affirmative action strengthens the entire labor movement.

Socialist steelworkers in the Chicago-Gary area have sold 150 copies in the mills there.

In Toledo, socialist auto workers set a goal of forty-four and have already sold eighteen.

At a Militant Forum in Baltimore, a shipyard worker bought twelve copies to distribute to his co-workers.

Twenty-three copies were sold March 4 at a New Orleans rally organized by the Committee to Over-

turn the Weber Decision and Defend Affirmative Action.

Also in New Orleans, at predominantly-Black Southern University, a professor put the pamphlet on the reading list for his students. One class bought seventy copies.

"No one I've showed the pamphlet to has turned me down," said Greg Nelson, an anti-Weber activist at Kaiser Aluminum's Chalmette plant in Louisiana. Steel union members at Chalmette stand to lose their affirmative-action training program if Weber wins his suit.

With the Supreme Court hearing arguments on the Weber case March 28, and with a growing number of anti-Weber rallies and teach-ins scheduled, both the need and the opportunities to sell the pamphlet are greater than ever.

Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, New York 10014. Seventy-five cents each; fifty cents each for five or more copies. Add fifty cents for postage.

## Virginia Militant sales

By Harvey McArthur

I wanted to share with our readers some of the experiences I had while selling the *Militant* in Newport News recently.

Of course, I spent time on the picket lines and received the friendly welcome that we've come to expect from strikers.

But what impressed me most was the response of people in the community—mostly workers like the shipyard strikers. They are clearly for the Steelworkers—"100 percent" they would tell me.

Their strike "is the most important thing that has happened in all of Newport News history," one longshore worker said.

The people I spoke to emphasized what it would mean for the biggest company in the area to be forced to recognize a union—what it would mean for wages, for job safety, and for the respect workers get on the job. Not just at the big Tenneco shipyard, but at other work places as well.

I discovered that it's not only our outstanding strike coverage that makes the *Militant* so popular in Newport News. A big selling point while I was there was a feature article on South Africa, and the fact that the

*Militant* supports freedom fighters there. News of the Steelworkers women's conference in Chicago was a good attention-getter.

This is not the kind of reaction I would have expected if I had relied on the daily press and TV commentators. Their standard refrain is that the American people are "shifting to the right."

If there's any place this ought to be true, it's Newport News. After all, Virginia is the nonunion South, where you can lose your job quickly if the boss doesn't like what you say or think.

One incident showed me how wrong all those commentators and analysts are about a rightward turn.

If you've been selling the *Militant* for some years, you're sure to remember the kinds of comments you used to get.

Like, "Sure, the *Militant* is a good paper, but why don't you give it a name that won't turn people off? I mean, *Militant* sounds so threatening."

Well, times have changed. One picketing steelworker—who had read the paper before—said to me:

"Oh! The *Militant*. You know, when you named this paper, you gave it an awfully good name!"

## ...bosses' courts

Continued from page 3

"concealed" weapon. The cops admitted they had seen Fisers's legal, sheathed hunting knife but insisted that when it passed out of view under his winter clothing for a few minutes, it became "concealed."

Bernie Lee Miller couldn't believe his ears when Phelps fined him twenty-five dollars for muttering "god-damned scabs" under his breath one cold, quiet night on the picket line. Profanity is considered "intimidation" under the "right to work" laws. It didn't matter that the only scab around was driving into the shipyard with windows rolled up and couldn't hear a thing.

Isaac Blount, a delivery-truck driver who drove through the picket lines, pulled a gun on union picket Jerry Lewis. But Blount had a "right to do what he did" to defend himself, Judge Phelps ruled.

Lewis, who asked the gun-toting Blount not to cross the union's lines, was fined twenty-five dollars for "breach of peace."

A hard judicial act to follow? Not really.

Striker Joe Will Hardy was fined

\$500 and sentenced to six months on the county farm for having a gun on his car dashboard—in view of a truckload of scabs.

Hardy's wife, sobbing in the hallway, cried out, "Isn't there any justice left in this country?"

The union, which pays bail, bonds, fines, and lawyers' fees, is appealing all convictions. Local 8888 filed suit to overturn the strikebreaking right-to-work statutes.

On the witness stand, the steelworkers hold their heads high.

"The Steelworkers are number one," Childress tells the prosecuting attorney.

"Scabs slim our chances of making a living," Lewis charges.

"I called them scabs because they were scabbing," Miller explains to the judge.

Phelps's chambers are a "kangaroo court" in a "kangaroo city" one steelworker concludes.

Strikers here are learning the hard way what "civics" mean when written, taught, and enforced by the bosses and their political servants.

## Designers: 'We'll win on the picket lines'



Militant/Jerry Hunnicutt

NEWPORT NEWS, Va.—Lee Johnson is the president of United Steelworkers Local 8417. He walks with a limp, the result of a fall he took after Tenneco's goons scattered marbles on his doorstep.

In a recent interview, Johnson told the *Militant* how Local 8417 members—some 1,200 shipyard designers—have stood their ground in their two-year-long strike for a union contract.

The designers' strike began in April 1977 over a series of Tenneco's take-away demands. Since that time, members of Local 8417 have been walking the picket line, despite an extraordinary strikebreaking court order that even forbids them from taking pictures of scabs or writing down their license plate numbers.

The striking designers pitched in to help the Steelworkers organize the yard's production and maintenance workers. Their solidarity was rewarded on January 31 this year when thousands of USWA Local 8888 members poured onto the picket lines to join forces against Tenneco.

Company lies, adverse court decisions, and cop harassment have been daily fare for the designers for almost two years. Their will is hard as nails.

"We're going to win this strike on the picket line," Johnson said. "The 8888 people have got to do what our people have done, stick in there. We've proven it can be done. It's been twenty-four months, but no one's starved or lost anything important. It's not easy, but it's for something we believe in."

The key to the designers' spirit and determination, says Johnson, is organizing every union member to participate in the strike. "As long as we keep every individual involved, they won't become scabs."

Johnson's office itself has the air of an organizing center. Members, picket captains, strike activists—"anybody with a problem"—drop in to discuss what's happening and what has to be done.

"It's like this nine of the ten hours I'm here every day," he says.

—J.H.

## Emergency appeal

# Stop the deportation of Hector Marroquin!

By Jane Roland

Ed (Lou Grant) Asner, U.S. Rep. John Conyers, National Education Association Executive Director Terry Herndon, unionist Victor Reuther, and feminist Kate Millett are among the notables who have issued an emergency appeal for Héctor Marroquín.

The appeal is being circulated in the remaining days before Marroquín's deportation hearing opens in Houston April 3.

That Immigration and Naturalization Service Review Board hearing will consider an appeal by Marroquín against an INS decision to deport him back to Mexico. There the socialist activist faces trumped-up "terrorism" charges and the danger of torture or death in Mexico's notorious prisons.

The emergency appeal is being mailed to more than 20,000 human rights supporters. It emphasizes that defeat of the deportation order would not only preserve Marroquín's life and liberty but also establish an important legal precedent for the right of political asylum.

Other signers of the appeal include: former United Farm Workers Vice-president Philip Vera Cruz; cartoonist Jules Feiffer; comedian Dick Gregory; attorney William Kunstler; Michael and Robert Meeropol, sons of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg; Anne Sheppard Turner of the Wilmington Ten; physi-



HECTOR MARROQUIN

Militant/Lysle Gordon

cist George Wald; and Dr. Benjamin Spock.

Describing the repression Marroquín would face in Mexico, the appeal cites the recent report by Amnesty International confirming serious violations of human rights there, including "arbi-

trary arrest without warrant," "detention incommunicado," and "maltreatment and torture of suspects and disappearance after arrest."

As the deportation hearing draws closer, Marroquín support activity has increased.

St. Louis supporters organized a cocktail party at the home of a prominent local physician, raising \$370.

In Pittsburgh, Marroquín met with James Hobart, minister of the First Unitarian Church, to discuss support activity.

Marroquín also spoke at the International Development Forum at the Graduate School of Public and International Affairs at the University of Pittsburgh. Attending were international students, mostly from Iran, Afghanistan, and countries of Africa and Latin America.

In Philadelphia, he discussed outreach on his case with Melya Mueller, national president of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom. And at a benefit Mexican dinner organized by students at Villanova Law School, more than \$125 was raised. Marroquín was introduced by K.C. Ellis, Philadelphia defense committee coordinator and president of Branch 2151 of the National Association of Letter Carriers.

In a number of cities, pickets are being planned at local INS offices to coincide with the opening of the April 3 Houston hearings.

## Supporters urged to come to hearing

The Héctor Marroquín Defense Committee is urging supporters from throughout Texas to come to Houston for the week of his deportation hearing, which opens April 3.

Supporters in other areas are asked to raise funds urgently needed for the hearing, organize activities to coincide with the hearing, and promote a barrage of protest messages to INS director Leonel Castillo.

Such protests should be directed to Castillo at INS, Washington, D.C. 20536 with copies—and donations—to the defense committee's national office, Box 843, Cooper Station, New York, New York 10003.

The committee has established a movement center in Houston that will function until the hearing is over.

Volunteers are needed there to help with mailings, leafleting and fund-raising as well as to participate in teams that will be going out to area campuses daily. Public rallies are also being organized.

Housing is being arranged from the center for the many volunteers who will be coming in.

To participate, write or phone: Héctor Marroquín Defense Committee, 108 Main Street, #105, Houston, Texas 77002. Telephone: (713) 224-1870.

## 'Nuestro' magazine reports Marroquin's fight for asylum

*Nuestro*, a magazine oriented toward *latinos*, with a circulation of 900,000, ran a page-long article in its March issue on Héctor Marroquín's fight for political asylum.

The article said in part: "In his native Mexico, Héctor Marroquín is an alleged criminal—a murderer, terrorist and radical desperado, according to various charges.

"In the U.S., however, he is an undocumented worker who has been caught and is facing deportation—unless he can convince the State Department to give him political asylum."

As a result of his efforts to win support, *Nuestro* said, "his case has become something of a *cause célèbre* to a coalition of Chicanos, feminists

and Anglo liberals. They are particularly upset that the key agency—the State Department—refuses to believe that Marroquín might be persecuted if he returned to Mexico."

After he fled to this country, the magazine reports, Marroquín joined the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance.

It adds: "Although Marroquín does not expect everybody to agree with his political ideas, he insists that, 'I am a socialist,—not a terrorist or a *guerrillero*.'

"Whatever he is, he is in trouble," *Nuestro* continues. "Whether he gets political asylum in the U.S. is an open question—the idea of admitting that political repression might exist in Mexico seems to be anathema to the State Department."

## Colombian regime steps up repression

"Not a day goes by without new raids and arrests by Colombia's military forces," *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor* correspondent Miguel Fuentes reported from Bogotá on February 17.

Among the most recent victims of the repressive campaign of the Turbay Ayala government is César Torres, a member of the Partido Socialista Revolucionario (PSR—Revolutionary Socialist Party), a sympathizing organization of the Fourth International. Torres, an economist, was arrested at his home at 5 a.m. on February 20 by agents of the B-2—army intelligence. They ransacked his house and confiscated his library.

Torres's arrest shows "the phoniness of the statements of President Turbay, who claims that 'in Colombia no one is arrested for their political opinions,'" a PSR news release declares.

Further proof of this was provided by the February 13 raid on the Bogotá offices of the newspaper *El Socialista*, organ of the Partido Socialista de los

Trabajadores (PST—Socialist Workers Party), also a sympathizing group of the Fourth International. This attack was carried out by the army. Troops confiscated the newspaper's archives and funds and arrested four PST activists—Rodolfo Galindo, Carlos Alberto Trujillo, Alvaro Niño, and Isabel Lorens.

The four were released two days later. An officer told them this was because the government wanted no more "scandal" and "noise."

The raids on Torres's home and the PST's offices were but two of hundreds of human rights violations carried out in recent months by the Turbay government under its Security Statute decreed in September 1978 and the "state of emergency" imposed in January. The regime claims these are necessary measures to combat the guerrilla group known as the April 19 Movement (M-19), which carried out a spectacular New Year's Eve raid on an army weapons depot.

The army has dealt heavy blows to the M-19, arresting many of its members and recovering the vast bulk of the stolen arms.

But the repression has been by no means limited to, or even aimed at, the M-19. Hundreds of persons have been arrested, and many have been brutally tortured. Besides attacking the PSR and the PST, the government has also arrested members of the leftist group Firmes and a number of artists and intellectuals.

The "antiterrorist" hysteria being whipped up by the government is simply the pretext for its own official terror. This has "one single objective," the February 19 issue of the PSR's newspaper, *Combate Socialista*, explained: "creating a climate of collective panic. . . ."

"The aim of the repressive operation is to stave off the reaction of the masses to high prices and galloping inflation."

A movement is growing in opposition to Turbay's repression. Some 400 persons attended a February 1 rally at the Free University in Bogotá, where representatives of various trade unions and political and human rights organizations denounced the more than 300 cases of torture, disappearances, and arrests.

Several trade unions have called for national actions against the Security Statute, the "state of emergency," and the torture. The Broad Committee of Struggle Against the Security Statute and for Democratic Liberties is demanding that a national plebiscite be held on the statute.

Letters and telegrams demanding an immediate halt to torture, due process of law, and the release of César Torres and all the other political prisoners should be sent to Colombian embassies or to Julio César Turbay Ayala, Presidente de la República, Bogotá, Colombia.

From *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor*



## Imperialist maneuvering

# Behind the war between Uganda and Tanzania

By Ernest Harsch

Armed conflict in East Africa has intensified sharply since late February, when Tanzanian regular troops invaded Uganda, in conjunction with stepped-up efforts by Ugandan opposition forces to overthrow President Idi Amin.

The imperialists in Washington and London have made clear which forces they are backing, and why.

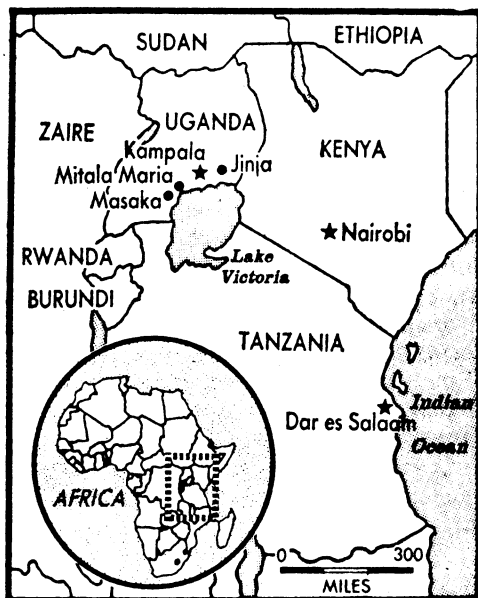
"A Uganda that is friendly toward the West would obviously be a welcome addition in efforts to achieve a politically and economically stable Africa," an unidentified "Western diplomat" was quoted as saying in the March 7 issue of the *Wall Street Journal*.

Correspondent Richard R. Leger stressed in the same report, "The departure of President Amin would be important to American interests in part because of Uganda's proximity to the Horn of Africa, Ethiopia and Somalia, where the Soviet Union, along with Cuban troops, has been trying for years to gain dominance."

While opposing Amin, the American and British imperialists at the same time clearly favor Tanzanian President Julius K. Nyerere in this conflict, both in their public declarations and in their provision of economic assistance to Nyerere.

### Racist propaganda

Most reports in the capitalist press have tried to cover up imperialism's real interests in the conflict under a barrage of denunciations of Amin's "barbaric," "mad," or "capricious" dictatorship. The open racism of this campaign is matched only by its hypocrisy, as it comes from the very forces who helped place Amin in power in the first place.



Washington Post

From the time he joined the King's African Rifles in 1946 until Uganda's independence from Britain in 1962, Amin was trained and groomed by the British colonialists to help them protect their interests. Under Milton Obote's regime, Amin, as army chief of staff, established close ties with the Israelis, who provided his forces with arms and additional training.

According to former Central Intelligence Agency officials, the Israeli secret police, in collaboration with the CIA and British intelligence, helped Amin overthrow Obote in January 1971, after the latter initiated a series of nationalizations, reduced his ties with Israel, and broke diplomatic relations with London.

Almost as soon as he came to power, Amin instituted mass repression, aiming to stifle even the mildest dissent. The American, British, and French imperialists signaled their approval by continuing to arm and fund his regime.

### 'Unreliable'

It was only after Amin broke ties with Israel in 1972 and expropriated a number of local- and foreign-owned businesses the following year that the imperialists began to sour on their protégé.

Amin had become "unreliable," and his regime proved not to provide the stability that the imperialists had hoped for. They began to look for a replacement who could better protect their interests.

Washington threatened direct military intervention against Amin in early 1977, using as a pretext Amin's temporary prohibition on Americans leaving Uganda.

In October 1978, the U.S. Congress struck a severe blow at Uganda by imposing a trade embargo.

Under such steadily mounting imperialist pressure, Amin sought and received military or financial assistance from such diverse sources as the Soviet Union, Saudi Arabia, and Libya. Amin also appears to have established some ties with the Rhodesian regime, providing training for the military forces of Bishop Abel Muzorewa and Rev. Ndaningi Sithole, two of Ian Smith's Black collaborators.

Uganda's deteriorating economic conditions—together with Amin's repressive rule—have generated sporadic opposition to his regime over the years. There were an increasing number of reports of internal unrest shortly before the outbreak of the war between Uganda and Tanzania. Peasants were said to have burned down several sugar plantations and to have refused to grow cotton. Rifts and rebellions were reported within the military.



NYERERE



AMIN

In late October, Amin ordered several thousand troops to invade northern Tanzania, an area where Ugandan exiles opposed to Amin were active.

The Nyerere government condemned the attack, accusing Amin of being an "instrument of imperialism." Several other African regimes also denounced the invasion.

The Cuban Ministry of Foreign Affairs, in a November 16 statement, charged "the forces of colonialism and neocolonialist imperialism" with fueling the conflict so as to undermine African unity, weaken Tanzania, and punish the Nyerere regime for its aid to the Zimbabwean and Namibian liberation movements.

The American, British, and other imperialist powers, for their own reasons, also condemned Amin. The U.S. State Department demanded that Amin withdraw his troops from Tanzania, a demand it did not later raise against Nyerere when Tanzanian troops invaded Uganda.

The imperialists favor Nyerere in this war despite his assumed image as a "socialist." They know that his "socialism" is a fraud, amounting to little more than attempts to expand economic production through rural cooperatives and state-controlled enterprises, while keeping Tanzania tied to the world capitalist market.

### Economic strain

In 1977 and 1978, certain enterprises that had been nationalized were turned back to private ownership, and new private investments were encouraged. Measures were introduced to tighten labor "discipline." Tanzania was already one of the biggest recipients of "foreign aid" in Africa, and the current economic plan provides new incentives for private foreign investment.

The Tanzanian regime's current war

against Amin could place severe strains on Tanzania's meager economic resources, making the country even more dependent on imperialist financial assistance. The imperialists would not be upset if the pressures of the war compelled Nyerere to reduce his aid to the southern African freedom fighters.

Besides mobilizing his own military forces, Nyerere also gave the green light for Ugandan exiles in Tanzania to step up activities against Amin.

Officially, the Tanzanian regime has presented its war against Amin as strictly a "defensive" move. But the government-controlled press and Nyerere himself have admitted that they are intent on "destroying" Amin.

The maneuvers by Carter and Callaghan to try to replace Amin with a more reliable bulwark against the African revolution are aimed directly against the Ugandan masses, who alone have the right to determine what kind of government they want.

If the imperialists are successful in imposing their choice, they will be in an even stronger position to hold back the struggles of Uganda's workers and peasants.

An advance for imperialism in Uganda, moreover, will make it that much easier for the upholders of Western "civilization" to strike out against Blacks struggling for their liberation in other African countries—including Tanzania.

The current war, however, is also not without some risks for the imperialists and their local allies. It could help bring to the surface the sharp social antagonisms that have been building up under eight years of Amin's brutal capitalist rule. And once powerful social forces are set in motion, they could prove difficult to control.

From Intercontinental Press/Inprecor

## 800 at U. of Chicago hear divestment debate

By Peter Thierjung

CHICAGO—More than 800 University of Chicago (UC) students attended a debate February 27 on university complicity with South Africa. The debate originated with a challenge by the Student Action Committee on South Africa to UC's new president, Hanna Gray. She accepted, and the administration also agreed to sponsor some of the other participants in the debate.

Over the past two years, UC students have organized to demand divestment of the university's more than \$60 million invested in U.S. corporations doing business in South Africa.

President Gray and the administration viewed the debate as an opportunity to diffuse student activism on campus. Gray, former president of Yale University, instituted a special administration committee there to "study" the issue. Yale students never heard from the committee.

Jennifer Davis of the American Committee on Africa, Zola Tsembe of the South African Congress of Trade Unions, and Kinsey Wilson of the UC Action Committee presented the case for immediate divestment.

Davis remarked that the issue of divestment poses for churches, universities, and unions the question of who controls investment policy and why—especially when they are faced with issues such as U.S. corporate exploitation in South Africa.

Kinsey Wilson proposed an open hearing on divestment at UC and a campuswide referendum binding on the trustees.

The other speakers opposed divestment from various standpoints. John Chettles, representing the South Africa Foundation, a front for the South African government, said divestment was "an emotional and partisan issue" and that cooler, more rational heads

would promote investment in South Africa.

Chettles also asserted that conditions were bad for Blacks but getting better. He closed by saying the "real" Black leaders in South Africa were opposed to divestment.

Former U.S. Sen. Dick Clark, who chaired the Senate committee on Africa, blasted South Africa as "the most racist society on earth," and put the blame on "American capital, which has entrenched apartheid." But Clark opposed total and immediate divestment.

He called for support to the "Sullivan Principles," guidelines developed by Rev. Leon Sullivan, a General Motors board director. His "principles" are supposed to better the conditions of Black workers employed by U.S. corporations in South Africa. In reality, they serve only as a cover for continued racist exploitation.

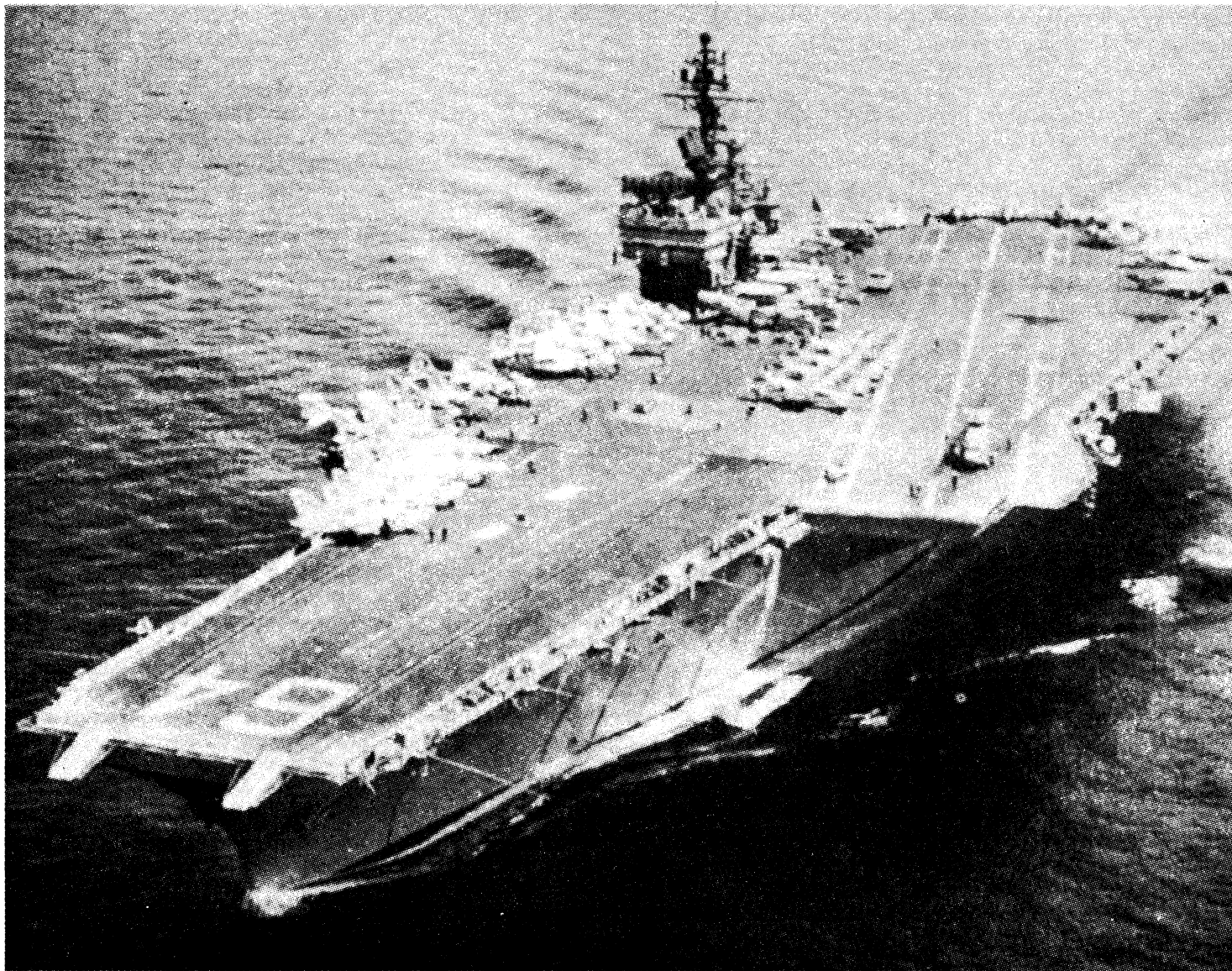
President Gray drew the most response from students. While condemning apartheid and referring to divestment as a "complex" issue, Gray pointed to her "fiduciary" responsibilities in her role as a trustee of the university as a "corporate entity."

The audience pressed Gray for an open hearing. Gray replied that open hearings and referenda were not the "appropriate manner in which trustees should make policy."

Students were outraged by Gray's hedging on the issue. One student commented, "You must think we're stupid." Students continued to confront Gray at a reception after the debate.

Rather than put a damper on divestment demands at UC, the debate heightened students' understanding of university complicity with apartheid. Since the debate, divestment has become the most widely discussed issue on the UC campus.

# Carter pushes toward war in Yemen



Aircraft carrier Constellation (above), along with six other U.S. warships, is heading for Yemen.

## By David Frankel

Step by calculated step, President Carter is pushing toward a dangerous new military confrontation in the Middle East.

Invoking "national security interests" and emergency legislation to bypass Congress March 9, Carter ordered the Pentagon to begin immediate delivery of twelve F-5 jet fighters, sixty-four M-60 tanks, and fifty armored personnel carriers to Saudi Arabia for shipment to North Yemen.

The State Department set the stage for Carter's war moves by warning February 28 that the U.S. "national interest" was involved in an outbreak of fighting between North and South Yemen.

On the same day, the Saudi Arabian regime placed its army on alert and recalled 4,500 troops it had stationed in Lebanon.

Further steps quickly followed.

- U.S. Air Force jet transports airlifted 7,000 antitank rockets and thirty antiaircraft guns to the North Yemeni capital of San'a.

- On March 6, a U.S. destroyer and two frigates sailed into the port of Djibouti, only hours away from Yemen.

- Also on March 6, administration officials announced that the aircraft carrier *Constellation*, a guided missile cruiser, and a guided missile destroyer were on the way to the area.

- On March 7, the White House

made public an offer to send a squadron of F-15 fighters to Saudi Arabia. Eager to push the Saudi regime into the war, U.S. officials announced the offer "was designed to facilitate possible Saudi involvement in the fighting between Yemen and Southern Yemen," the *New York Times* reported.

- And on March 8, Carter took another step to prod the Saudis into action by ordering two U.S. radar control planes to Saudi Arabia. Such planes serve as information and command centers to direct aerial combat and ground support operations.

## Thirst for oil

As in everything the American imperialists do in the Middle East, concern about maintaining control of the region's vast oil wealth is central to Carter's moves in Yemen.

With the revolution in Iran, U.S. policymakers have come to realize that a similar upheaval in Saudi Arabia and the smaller oil states on the Arabian Peninsula is far from impossible.

This fear has been growing ever since the Ethiopian monarchy was overthrown in 1974 by a revolutionary mass upheaval, in a country right across the Red Sea from Arabia. It was deepened by the defeat last year of the imperialist-backed Somali invasion of the Ogaden—primarily due to the rapid response of Cuban troops, which

are now stationed in both Ethiopia and South Yemen.

In this situation, and with Cuba's revolutionary forces also committed to aiding the advancing struggle for Black liberation in southern Africa, Washington is seeking to reassert its armed might.

The U.S. ruling class is convinced that the Mideast is the best place to flex its military muscle not only because of its objective interests there, but also because they hope that years of racist propaganda around the Arab-Israel conflict and the "energy crisis" have made the American people more ready to accept military action in the Mideast than in southern Africa or Indochina.

## 'Drawing the line'

Trying to reinforce Carter's moves, the editors of the *Wall Street Journal* asked rhetorically March 8, "Do we dare to hope that President Carter is after all drawing the line in the Middle East, organizing the defense of North Yemen against South Yemen's Soviet-advised armies?"

Returning to its favorite theme the following day, this mouthpiece of American finance declared that "there will be no substitute for an actual U.S. presence in the area."

The *Journal* went on to note that "a South Yemen controlled by the North

or a friendly local regime could offer a huge strategic asset; we can think of nothing that would stabilize the area and protect the oil lanes better than a U.S. carrier operating out of the port of Aden."

Support for Carter's war-probe also came from the editors of the *Washington Post*, who, March 8, raised the specter of "Soviet expansionism on [Saudi Arabia's] back doorstep."

Known as a major voice of liberalism, the *Post* said that Carter had "wisely" decided that "it was not enough to warn the Russians, it was necessary to see that their South Yemeni clients are taught a lesson."

As of March 10, not a single prominent capitalist politician had uttered a word of protest against Carter's war preparations.

Of course, they know very well what is involved. As one "congressional source" quoted in the March 7 *Washington Post* put it: "There is a feeling that Carter is drawing the line to stop the Russians and Cubans in North Yemen. He seems to think the progression from Angola through Ethiopia has to be stopped here."

## Why Yemen?

Although Yemen has no large oil reserves, it is central to the politics of the Arabian Peninsula. Its mountains catch the monsoon from the Indian Ocean, making it one of the only parts of the Peninsula to receive regular rainfall. As a result, about half the people in the Peninsula are concentrated in Yemen.

Out of a Saudi Arabian population that is estimated to be as low as 4.5 million, and which is certainly no higher than 9 million, more than 1 million are immigrant workers from North and South Yemen.

These Yemeni immigrant workers, along with hundreds of thousands of Palestinians, Egyptians, and others, have always been viewed by the Saudi regime as a potential source of rebellion. During the latest events, Ned Temko reported in the March 6 *Christian Science Monitor*, "... Saudi authorities began cracking down on illegal immigrants (many of whom are Yemeni) by setting up checkpoints and expelling visitors who lacked valid visas."

Nor is potential unrest among immigrant workers a problem that is limited to Saudi Arabia. Well over half of Kuwait's population, for example, are expatriate workers.

Most important, rebellion in Yemen itself has threatened imperialist domination in the area.

Imperialism's problems with Yemen began back in the early 1960s. Until then, North Yemen had been ruled for centuries by *Imams* who were religious as well as political leaders. South Yemen, which had broken away from the Imamate in 1728, was taken over by the British in 1839.

## British rule

The British wanted two things in Yemen. First, they wanted the port of Aden, the best natural port on the Arabian Peninsula, and a valuable link in the chain of bases connecting Britain to India. Second, they wanted stability, both so that Aden could be more easily ruled and so that Yemen as a whole could serve as a buffer to protect British rule in India.

The port was secured by occupying it, and stability was ensured by reinforcing the traditional tribal system. Infusions of guns and bribes strengthened rival sheikhs, who were thus tied to the British. At the same time, economic development was frozen except in the port of Aden itself. Preservation of the Imamate in North Yemen fit in perfectly with this policy.

For the Yemeni people, however, the cost of preserving British imperial interests was high. In 1962 North Yemen—with a population then estimated at about 5 million—had only fifteen doctors (all foreigners) and 600 hospital beds in the whole country. No money at all was spent on education by the government!





South Yemeni women during August 1972 demonstration for women's rights

Things were little better in South Yemen. "Up to 1940," notes Fred Halliday in *Arabia Without Sultans*, "not a penny had been spent on the hinterland, and what followed was a mean trickle. . . ."

Halliday points out that "even in 1967, when the British departed, the country had only fourteen tarmacked miles of road outside Aden, three Yemeni doctors and 950 hospital beds. Educational facilities hardly existed outside Aden."

### The masses rebel

Not surprisingly, such conditions led to mass rebellion. In September 1962, a group of young army officers influenced by the Arab nationalist ideas of Nasserism seized control of San'a, North Yemen's capital, and proclaimed the Yemen Arab Republic.

Cheering crowds welcomed the overthrow of the Imamate in the main cities of Taiz, San'a, and Hodeida. There were peasant uprisings in some rural areas.

However, with help from Britain and Saudi Arabia, the Imam was able to rally a royalist army based on the mountain tribes—the traditional base of the Imamate. The Republic, meanwhile, received aid from Nasser's regime in Egypt. The result was a civil war that lasted eight years and is estimated to have killed up to 200,000 people.

Had the Republican side advanced a social program in the interests of the peasantry, it would have been able to win the ranks of the royalist army. Under the Imamate, 80 percent of the poor peasant's crops were taken by the landlord and by various feudal taxes. The anthem of the Imam's army included the lines, "We, the soldiers of the King, are stronger than all the peasants."

But the Republican leadership, which included rich merchant landowners and some dissident tribal leaders, refused to carry out a land reform. Left-wing forces who tried to push forward radical social measures were suppressed with the help of Egyptian troops.

### Stalemate

As a result, the war turned into a stalemate. Eventually Nasser and the Saudi monarchy, with the support of the more conservative forces in the Republican camp, struck a deal.

The Imam and his family were exiled and the Imamate abolished. But a weak central state dominated by the merchants and a rising bourgeoisie had to coexist with the continued domination of the tribal sheikhs in the mountains.

The resulting North Yemeni state has been little more than a Saudi satellite. Saudi subsidies to the mountain tribes have kept the central government weak and encouraged constant internal conflicts.

Civil war in North Yemen, however, contributed to the destabilization of British rule in South Yemen. In October 1963 Yemeni nationalists fighting for liberation from British colonial rule initiated a guerrilla war in the southern mountains, and in August 1964 the armed struggle was extended to Aden.

Military victories by the Yemeni forces, coupled with Britain's other economic and political difficulties, led to the withdrawal of British troops from South Yemen in November 1967.

A period of conflict between the left and right wings of the national liberation movement, and between the new government and openly proimperialist forces, followed.

Finally, in June 1969, the more radical nationalist forces—which declared themselves to be "Marxist-Leninist"—won out. In November 1970 the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen was declared.

Internally, the South Yemen government carried out a land reform, nationalized banks, insurance companies, trading houses, and some other enterprises, and promulgated laws improving the status of women. Among these was a 1974 divorce law prohibiting child marriages and polygamy and equalizing divorce conditions.

A campaign to eradicate the legacy of illiteracy left by British colonialism was also undertaken.

### Anti-imperialist policy

In its foreign policy, the new regime in South Yemen followed a strongly anti-imperialist course. It sought to foster opposition forces in Saudi Arabia and North Yemen, gave active support to the rebellion of the oppressed Dhofari people in the neighboring Sultanate of Oman, and appealed for aid and support from the workers states.

Cuba was among those countries

responding favorably to South Yemen's requests for aid, and Cuban advisers were reported there as early as 1973.

Although the regime in South Yemen was a thorn in the side for the imperialists, Washington, with its hands full in Vietnam, chose not to intervene there openly. For a while such action appeared unnecessary, especially when the British-officered army of Oman, aided by some 4,000 Iranian troops, succeeded in crushing the Dhofari rebellion in 1975.

But Washington was jolted in early 1978 by the arrival of substantial numbers of Cuban troops in Ethiopia and their successful defense of the Ethiopian revolution against the invasion by the Somali army. The defeat of the imperialist-inspired invasion was a sharp blow to Washington, and it was followed by the staggering impact of the revolution in Iran.

### Imperialist provocation

For propaganda purposes, the U.S. ruling class is claiming that it is responding in Yemen to a Soviet and Cuban-backed invasion launched by the South. But there is not the slightest bit of evidence for the charge that either Soviet or Cuban forces have been involved in the clashes between North and South Yemen.

In fact, what evidence there is points to an imperialist-inspired provocation by the North Yemen regime.

Immediately following the outbreak of hostilities, *New York Times* columnist William Safire—a former Nixon aide who is kept well informed by high-level contacts in government circles—said in a February 26 column that "Yemen is reported to have attacked the Marxist state of South Yemen."

Urging his readers to root for North Yemen anyway, Safire said, "They may be the aggressors, and our State Department will tut-tut at that, but the Communists in South Yemen are the danger to us."

A March 8 Associated Press dispatch from Kuwait reported that according to the conservative newspaper *Al Seyassa*, nearly 3,000 Cuban troops and Soviet military advisers have been shifted from Ethiopia to Aden to "help ward off an attack against South Yemen in which the United States would participate."

Under the propaganda cover of fighting "Soviet expansionism," Carter has been moving full speed ahead toward a military confrontation in Yemen.

However, the Saudis have not yet taken Carter up on his offer to send them F-15s, and the statements from Washington have been a good deal more belligerent than anything reported from Riyadh.

### Saudi fears

The Saudis, who have some experience in Yemen, may well fear that they will wind up facing an insurrection in the North as well as a war in the South. Nor is their own home base so secure. And—as the South Africans and Somali rulers discovered—taking on the revolutionary Cuban army can backfire.

Nevertheless, the U.S. ruling class has clearly decided to push as far as they can. Writing in the March 9 *New York Times*, James Reston summed up the issue as the imperialists see it:

"The critical foreign policy question in Washington now," Reston declared, "is whether the United States, so soon after its disappointing experience in Vietnam, is prepared to commit itself politically and militarily to some kind of economic and military defense of the Middle East."

Oil, of course, is the first concern of the imperialists in the region. They seek to stamp out any upsurge inspired by the revolution in Iran, especially on the Arabian Peninsula.

At the same time, Carter hopes to "teach a lesson" to the Cubans, and if possible to use a victory in Yemen as a wedge for moving against the Ethiopian revolution and the Cubans in the Horn of Africa.

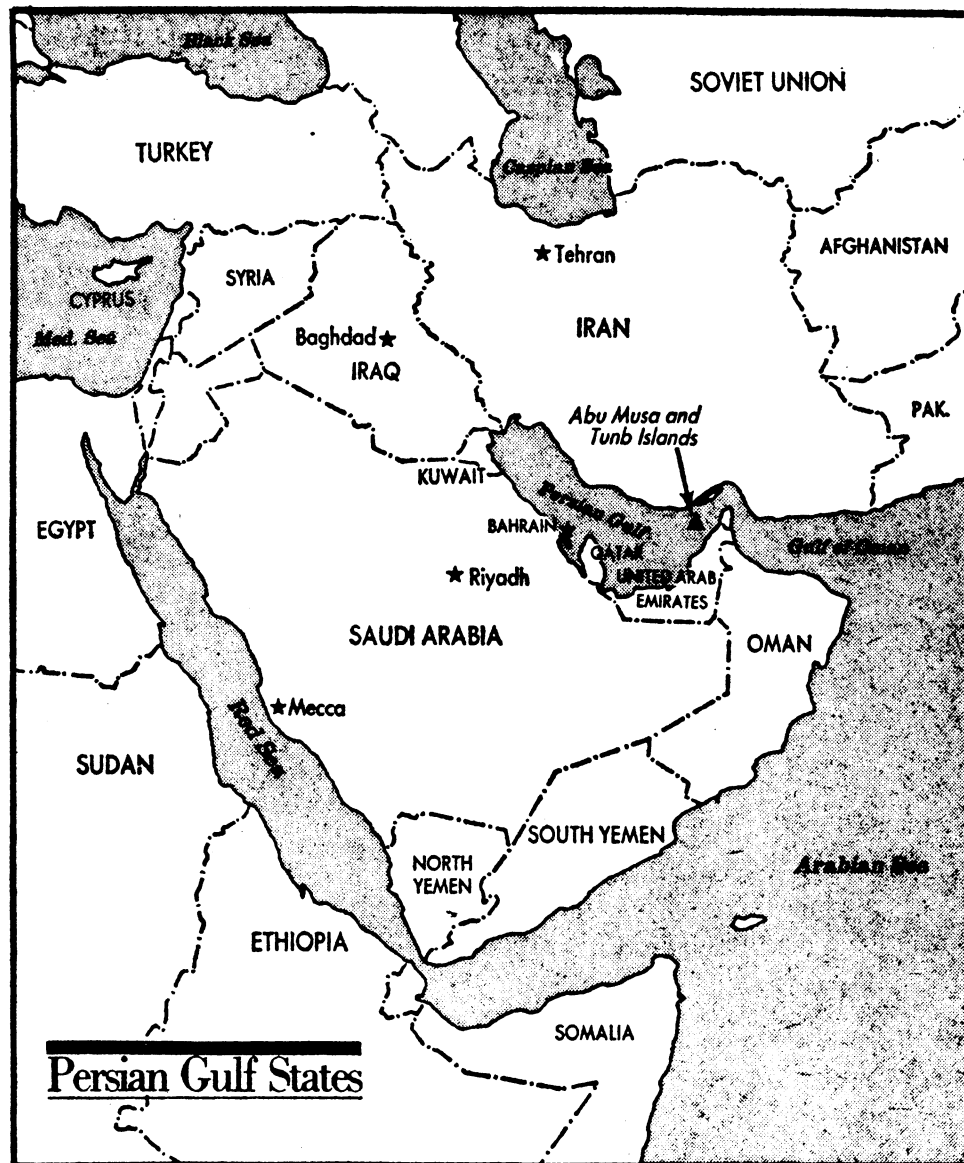
### Mood at home

Finally, Carter wants to convince the skeptical and still antiwar American working class that U.S. military force must be used to stop "Soviet expansionism."

All this is a tall order. As Reston noted, "The mood of the American people is against any more overseas commitments—indeed, it is . . . almost isolationist."

The editors of the *Washington Post* also paused in the midst of endorsing Carter's war moves to recall that "North Yemen is an unlikely and, some would say, unworthy vehicle to be loaded with so much geopolitical freight. It is small, backward and unstable and not widely known as a champion of human rights."

But that is what the imperialists have at their disposal in the area, and that's what they will use.



Washington Post

# Peking says it's withdrawing Vietnam invasion: setback for



Chinese troops attack Cao Bang City. Peking's invasion, instigated by U.S. rulers, has brought vast destruction to Vietnam's border regions.

## By Fred Feldman

The U.S.-inspired invasion of Vietnam by the Peking regime's armed forces is shaping up as a setback for imperialism and a political victory for the Vietnamese revolution.

The invasion has failed to deal military blows severe enough to pressure Vietnam into withdrawing its aid to the new government in Kampuchea (Cambodia).

While Teng Hsiao-p'ing's regime was beset with signs of antiwar opposition among Chinese working people, all initial reports indicate that the morale of the Vietnamese workers and peasants remained high.

And Carter's attempt to present Washington as a "world peacemaker" has met with a skeptical response in the American working class.

The Vietnamese revolution is today more, not less, attractive to the workers and peasants in Southeast Asia. They have seen the Vietnamese masses stand off yet another assault.

But the beginning of Peking's military withdrawal doesn't mark the end of imperialism's offensive against Vietnam. On the contrary, Washington's fear and hatred of the revolution has grown.

## A war of destruction

The criminal blows to Vietnam's war-battered and flood-devastated economy may prove to be the most substantial gains imperialism has derived from the brief border war.

Peking announced its decision to withdraw March 5. But as they left, Chinese forces destroyed "bridges, rail and road facilities and other installations as they moved toward the border," according to Henry Kamm, reporting from Bangkok in the March 9 *New York Times*.

Hanoi offered to hold discussions at the deputy foreign minister's level once the invading forces had withdrawn "to the other side of the historical border

that both sides have agreed to respect."

But Washington was unable to force a withdrawal of Vietnamese forces from Kampuchea, or impose a proimperialist regime on Vietnam's western border as part of the deal.

The March 7 *Christian Science Monitor* concluded:

China appears not to have inflicted enough "punishment" to force Vietnam to loosen its hold in Cambodia and Laos. Moreover, Vietnam has been able to deal with the invasion without committing large numbers of regular troops in a way which would require disengagement from Cambodia. . . .

Indeed, the Vietnamese-aided forces of the new Cambodian government have stepped up their efforts to control that country right up to Thailand's border. On March 5, the Cambodian district of Poiphet bordering on Thailand fell.

Later reports admitted that Kampuchean rightists had abandoned Pailin, the last provincial capital they held.

Peking's invasion demonstrated the deadly seriousness of U.S. imperialism's intentions. Under these circumstances, a proimperialist regime on Vietnam's western border would be like a dagger at the throat of the Vietnamese workers state.

Thus, far from succeeding in pressuring the Vietnamese rulers to accept such a regime in Kampuchea, the invasion may press Hanoi toward countenancing the popular mobilizations needed to defeat the rightists and move toward a workers and peasants government.

## Kampuchean front

Throughout the Chinese invasion, despite the dangers it posed and the devastation it brought, Hanoi's spotlight remained fixed on the civil war in Kampuchea and the rightists' supply lines across the Thai border. That remains the main avenue of imperialism's attacks on Vietnam.

This was further underscored when

the Carter administration announced March 5 that it would sell a squadron of F-5 jet fighters worth \$100 million to the Thai dictatorship.

The Vietnamese rulers kept their crack military units and a significant part of the air force assigned to the Kampuchean fighting. In contrast, they relied primarily on militia units to stalemate Peking.

Despite the fact that both sides had substantial air forces at their disposal, there is no evidence that a single plane went into combat.

Hanoi's measured response resulted from cold political calculation. The Vietnamese rulers knew that Peking's invasion had built-in limitations both as to extent and duration.

As Mary-Alice Waters wrote in the February 23 issue of *The Militant*:

A major war with Hanoi is the last thing that the Peking bureaucrats are interested in. With economic modernization uppermost in their minds, they stand to gain nothing from the instability and drain on resources that would result from becoming embroiled in a war.

## Defensive military capacities

This assessment was confirmed by what the invasion revealed about Peking's military capacities and strategy. Teng was right when he commented during his U.S. visit that China's armed forces have "limited and defensive military capabilities."

*New York Times* military writer Drew Middleton noted "a problem in shifting the [Chinese] army's attitude from defensive war, for which it has been indoctrinated and trained, to one suited for an invasion, limited though it was."

This defensive orientation stems from the fact that the Chinese workers state is free from the expansionist profit drive that is at the root of war in the imperialist epoch. (See related article on page 21.) Massive arms spending is a burden not only to the Chinese workers, but also to the bureaucratic caste that feeds off the planned economy.

This fundamental defensive stance will not be changed as Peking seeks to modernize its military machine in years ahead.

## An unpopular war

The brief war also deepened criticism of the Peking regime among the Chinese masses. Despite an official ban on posters about the war, two went up on Democracy Wall in Peking.

"China has forfeited its international reputation and will find itself isolated in the world community," one poster warned. Another, according to the March 12 *Newsweek*, "implied that the war did not reflect the will of the people, but had been imposed on the nation by China's bureaucracy."

The "antiwar poster campaign has spread to nearly every important city in China," *Newsweek* continued, asserting that "antiwar rallies" had taken place in a number of cities.

The Chinese masses supported the Vietnamese in their long struggle against imperialist domination. They see no convincing reason to switch sides now.

The workers and peasants of China correctly sense that this war undermined rather than aided the defense of the workers state they created through their own mass struggles. In fact, the invasion is one of the gravest blows to the Chinese workers state in many years.

The haughty declarations about "punishing" Vietnam merely put a bold face on Peking's policy of shamelessly groveling before the imperialists.

An example was the welcome accorded in Peking during the war with Vietnam to the first visit since 1949 of the British governor of Hong Kong—a

piece of Chinese territory that has been under colonial occupation for more than a century.

The result of this course has been increasing isolation of the Chinese workers state from its only reliable defenders—the working people of the world.

Contrary to the racist assertions of bourgeois journalists who claim that "traditional Chinese hatred" for Vietnam is behind the war, Teng's military adventure, and the opposition it evoked, brought closer the day when Chinese workers and peasants will topple the Stalinist bureaucracy and establish workers and peasants democracy in its stead.

## Peking's aims

What did the Peking rulers hope to gain from this unpopular war?

Their eyes were focused not on Hanoi or Moscow but on *Washington and Wall Street*. They expected to be rewarded not with increased "influence" in Southeast Asia, but with vastly increased aid, trade, and credits from U.S. imperialism.

Just as Stalin in the 1930s did not hesitate to use thousands of Soviet agents to massacre revolutionists in Spain in order to win the favor of the U.S., French, and British imperialists, so Peking is today throwing itself behind Washington's drive to block the extension of the Vietnamese revolution to Kampuchea and beyond. The invasion was an effort, fostered by Washington, to prove Teng's usefulness as a guarantor of capitalist stability in Southeast Asia.

In describing Peking's goals, the March 7 *Christian Science Monitor* reported Chinese spokesmen as claiming that "America was too 'afraid' to confront the Soviet Union in Angola and elsewhere. . . . So, they say, it was up to China to take up the task."

It's a bald admission that Chinese troops are being used by U.S. imperialism in an area where it is "afraid" to intervene directly because of massive antiwar sentiment in the United States.

## 'Cuban swashbucklers'

Teng accompanied his invasion with calls for U.S. action against Cuba: "We cannot tolerate the Cubans to go swashbuckling unchecked in Africa, the Middle East and other areas. Nor can we tolerate the Cubans of the Orient [Vietnam] to go swashbuckling unchecked in Laos, Kampuchea or even China's border areas."

The March 3 issue of the *Economist*, a prestigious voice of British capitalist interests, chimed in:

That China should want to discourage Vietnamese expansionism in south-east Asia is understandable. . . .

Most people appreciate this. They also appreciate that Vietnam—like Cuba and maybe now South Yemen—is a pugnacious ally of the Soviet Union. China commands a fair amount of sympathy in its attempt to contain the south-east Asian part of this expansionist alliance.

Teng's anti-Cuban demagoguery coincides with stepped-up activity by the South African regime against Angola, where Cuban forces are stationed; by the Somali regime against eastern Ethiopia, where Cuban forces are stationed; and by U.S.-armed Saudi Arabian, North Yemeni, and U.S. forces against South Yemen, where it is reported that Cuban troops have been dispatched to help repulse any invasion.

This coordination of Teng's words and deeds with the latest moves of U.S. imperialism is no coincidence. The Chinese Stalinists are bidding for the role of Washington's chief partner in détente.

The Soviet bureaucratic caste was not to be easily outbid, however. The



# Carter's war drive

Kremlin's attention throughout Peking's invasion was not on aiding Vietnam, but on proving its own superior reliability to Washington. That required placing no obstacles in the way of Carter's attack—through Peking—on Vietnam.

The March 6 *New York Times* noted:

There have been unconfirmed reports from diplomatic sources in Peking that the United States passed on information about Chinese intentions to the Soviet Union and vice versa. The diplomats believe the reported American role may have helped prevent Soviet armed intervention in the conflict. The Soviet Union denied on Saturday that it had engaged in secret contacts with China and the United States concerning the war.

## Moscow's wretched role

But Brezhnev & Co. reacted with a passivity indicating they were well informed about the scope and purposes of the military moves in Vietnam. There was not even a massive airlift of military supplies.

Statements by Brezhnev and Gromyko aided Carter's cover-up by placing responsibility for the invasion on Peking. In an unmistakable overture to Carter, a March 5 *Pravda* commentary said:

As for the Soviet Union, we can point out with legitimate pride that our party, government, and people saw through the Peking leaders' treacherous scheme in time and did

help the Vietnamese beat back the imperialist-inspired attack. While the Vietnamese rulers did not accept, the Cuban offer itself was a factor that Washington and Peking had to weigh in the fighting. The offer also made it more difficult for Moscow to deny assistance or to pressure Hanoi into making concessions.

What was the response to the invasion in Vietnam itself?

Reporters and members of the U.S. Congress who were there at the time reported that the morale of the Vietnamese people was high. Massive rallies were held in several cities, and military training was introduced in all schools and factories.

According to the March 3 *Washington Post*, a Hanoi radio broadcast the previous day responded to Ambassador Andrew Young's call for Vietnam to withdraw from Kampuchea as the price of a Chinese withdrawal. The broadcast reminded listeners that President Johnson had demanded that North Vietnam cut off aid to freedom fighters in the South in exchange for a deescalation of the U.S. war. It called this a comparable confusion of "the aggressors with the victims of aggression."

Reflecting its Stalinist character, however, much of Hanoi's propaganda focused on conflicts with Chinese regimes dating back hundreds of years. It issued no internationalist appeals to

Carter. The U.S. State Department finally had to admit that Teng informed Washington of his plans for the attack during his stay.

- Carter immediately linked Chinese withdrawal from Vietnam with Vietnamese withdrawal from Kampuchea, which was clearly his real concern. The complicity was confirmed when Teng endorsed Carter's formula "with the raising of both hands."

- Diplomatic relations between Washington and Peking were formally opened during the invasion, while Hanoi's overtures for diplomatic relations have been persistently rejected.

- Treasury Secretary Michael Blumenthal went to Peking in the midst of the war to prepare major trade agreements, while the U.S. government maintains its trade embargo against Vietnam.

- When the Soviet Union sent ships into the South China Sea in a symbolic gesture of support to Vietnam, Washington sent a nuclear-armed task force to the shores off Vietnam.

- Calls by capitalist politicians for renewed U.S. military interventions abroad became increasingly strident, while Carter talked of a worldwide U.S. "peacemaking" role.

The American people remember well that Johnson, Nixon, and Ford all talked about their peaceful intentions—and were all proven to be liars many times over. Everything about Carter's treatment of the invasion of Vietnam tells most American workers that he, too, is lying through his teeth.

The American people are learning through this experience and others the lesson pointed to in the February 23 *Militant*:

Of course Peking's military buildup along Vietnam's border does create a danger of sporadic outbreaks between Chinese and Vietnamese troops. But this is not the source of the war threat in Indochina today.

Neither is Vietnam responsible for "the increasing tensions in Southeast Asia," as the Carter administration demagogically claims.

The war threat comes from U.S. imperialism and its unceasing expansionist drive for new markets, new investment opportunities, and new military footholds to protect these interests.

The war threat comes from U.S. imperialism's drive to recoup some of the losses it suffered at the hands of the Vietnamese, Laotian, and Kampuchean people four years ago.

## Overtures in South Vietnam

Added to these losses was the toppling of capitalism in South Vietnam last year. This revolutionary event marked the consolidation of a workers state encompassing 50 million people, making Vietnam the third most populous workers state. This was the first extension of socialist revolution since the Cuban workers and peasants toppled capitalism.

The February 26 *Toronto Globe and Mail* condemned Hanoi for taking "a hard line on the imposition of a socialist economy in the South."

And Henry Kamm in the March 4 *New York Times* blasted "Vietnam's dogmatic design to make the south like the north, politically and economically. . . . Hanoi has aggravated all problems by a determined program of nationalization of industry and commerce. . . ."

The imperialists know that a social revolution such as that in Vietnam has powerful reverberations, despite attempts by the Stalinist leadership in Hanoi to contain them. It threatens the stability of imperialist domination throughout Southeast Asia. This region stretches from the Philippines to Indonesia, with a combined population of more than 300 million people.

*Continued on next page*

# Sailors block U.S. arms for Thailand

By George Dolph

RALEIGH, N.C.—Twenty Egyptian crew members of the freighter *Kuwait Horizon* apparently wanted nothing to do with Washington's stepped-up support to the right-wing military dictatorship in Thailand.

On March 2, they refused to load a shipment of U.S. armaments bound for Bangkok, Thailand, and for Singapore. The freighter was docked at the Sunny Point Military Ocean Terminal near Wilmington, North Carolina.

U.S. officials prevented any media communication with the crew. But William Harris, an attorney for the shipowner, met with the crew and later characterized the protest as a "moral issue." Harris said the crew objected to the cargo, 20- and 40-millimeter artillery shells, and to the ship's destination.

The Carter administration has significantly increased military shipments to the Thai regime, which supplies right-wing guerrillas in Kampuchea and Laos.

The crew reportedly detained the captain aboard ship. Citing a breach of contract by the shipowner, they demanded that the contract be terminated and that they be paid in full and flown home to Cairo.

Col. H.K. Stevenson, director of the terminal, denied reporters access to the base as soon as word of the protest leaked out. According to the March 10 *Raleigh News and Observer*, the shipowners hired a private security firm to keep reporters away after the ship was moved from Sunny Point to Wilmington.

When three crew members beckoned to reporters on a nearby dock, the head of the security force ordered the sailors below deck. He told reporters that he was under orders not to let the crew talk to them.

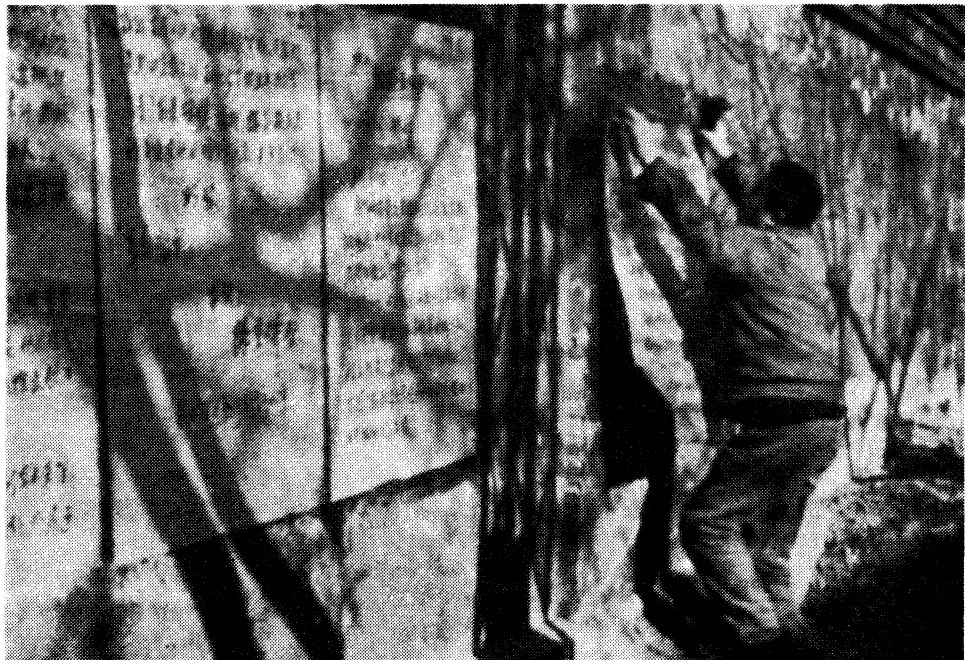
Washington, too, was clearly eager to avoid publicity for its flow of arms to Southeast Asian rightists. The Immigration and Naturalization Service immediately revoked the crew's shore permits and ordered them detained and deported.

U.S. officials attempted to deny any political motivation in the dispute. David Winn, desk officer of Kuwait Affairs at the U.S. State Department, told the *Wilmington Morning Star* that "the most important thing is that it has no political overtones. A strike is what I call it, although they are holding the captain."

The capitalist press labeled the crew's protest "a mutiny." To the extent the event was reported outside North Carolina, the nature and destination of the cargo, and the crew's aims, went unmentioned.

Negotiations between the crew and representatives of the shipowner and Kuwait and Egyptian embassies ended March 9. Thirteen members of the crew were awarded back pay and flown home at the shipowner's expense. News of the other seven has still not been reported.

As of March 10, efforts were under way to hire a new crew.



Worker putting up poster in Peking last December. Recent posters indicate mass questioning of Peking's invasion.

not fall for their provocations, the purpose of which was to get us into a collision with the United States.

For both the Soviet and Chinese Stalinist leaderships the Vietnamese revolution seems like a small sacrifice to make on the altar of détente.

## Solidarity from Cuba

In stark contrast, the Cuban leadership zeroed in from the outset on Washington's central role. Castro said in a February 21 speech in Havana:

This is a signal that both the United States and China are seeking the reestablishment of the genocidal Pol Pot/Ieng Sary regime in Kampuchea. That is their political objective: attack Vietnam precisely in order to make it halt all cooperation and solidarity with the revolutionary government in Kampuchea; in order to reestablish the genocidal regime and surround Vietnam . . . from the south and from the north. That is the policy of the United States, while it appears to be washing its hands of the matter.

Castro correctly interpreted Teng's anti-Cuba blasts as threats from imperialism, and saw the invasion of Vietnam as a direct threat to the Cuban revolution.

The Cuban government backed up its words by publicly offering troops to

the Chinese troops, which undoubtedly included many young workers and peasants who questioned Peking's policies.

This reflects Hanoi's fear of promoting mass opposition inside China to the Peking regime. A political revolution in the giant country on its northern border would be a powerful stimulus to antibureaucratic struggles in Vietnam as well. It would threaten Hanoi's own regime, which can be maintained only by the suppression of all democratic rights.

## U.S. workers not convinced

Carter's claims of innocence in regard to Peking's invasion were greeted with skepticism in the American working class. While most on the left did fall for Carter's bait, many working people noted some basic facts. The conclusions became more obvious as the days went by.

- Carter's response to the invasion of Vietnam contrasted sharply with the response several weeks earlier to the toppling of the brutal Pol Pot regime in Kampuchea. That was greeted with howls of outrage in Washington.

- The invasion followed by only a week Teng's U.S. visit and talks with

# Cordero: Devoted life to P.R. independence

By José G. Pérez

Andrés Figueroa Cordero, member of the Nationalist Party of Puerto Rico who served almost a quarter of a century in prison for armed actions against U.S. colonial enslavement of his homeland, died March 7 in Aguadilla, Puerto Rico. He and three compatriots were imprisoned after a 1954 attack on the House of Representatives.

What kind of man was he? I met him and spent a couple of hours interviewing him in October 1976, while he was interned at the prison hospital in Springfield, Missouri.

Although he knew he was dying, he didn't want to talk about his own problems. "I've lived enough. Why worry so much about dying when in Latin America 375,000 babies die of hunger each year?"

Figueroa Cordero didn't call himself a communist or socialist. "I will call myself a nationalist until we have achieved freedom for my people," he said. But for him, the cause of the working class and the independence struggle weren't different things. He told me that if he were freed, he would continue fighting "with the firmness and strength of a man who has served twenty-two years in jail for the workers."

"I've only been a very oppressed worker," he told me reticently but with pride when I asked him about his background. And he had the same confidence in the destiny of his class as in that of his people: "Even in the United States, the workers will triumph."

He joined the youth organization of the National-



ANDRES FIGUEROA CORDERO

ist Party in 1939 at the age of fifteen. They buried him wearing the insignia of his party. If he ever wavered for a moment, he didn't say so. He did tell

me that at the most desperate moment, at the end of the 1950s when it seemed as if the United States had definitively swallowed Puerto Rico, the Cuban revolution happened. "I thought, 'If Cuba can free herself, so can we.'"

For him, revolutionary Cuba had become Puerto Rico's "mother country."

"We salute all the Cuban workers for the sacrifices they are making for the liberation of the people of Puerto Rico and the peoples of Africa. . . . I don't have the words to express this," he said.

The newspapers say that he died of natural causes—cancer. This is a lie.

He was murdered by prison authorities who turned a deaf ear, until it was too late, to pleas for adequate medical treatment from a man completely at their mercy. And President Carter refused to free him until he was *liquidado*—finished, to used Figueroa Cordero's own word.

The example of this patriot's unbreakable courage should inspire us to continue the fight to which he devoted his life. And that is the struggle for Puerto Rican independence, and more immediately the struggle to free Lolita Lebrón, Rafael Cancel Miranda, Oscar Collazo, and Irving Flores, comrades of Figueroa Cordero who, like him, have been imprisoned since the early 1950s because they fought for Puerto Rican independence. We should stop Washington from committing against them the same crime it committed against Andrés Figueroa Cordero.

## Kremlin jails worker-dissident in mental hospital

By Marilyn Vogt

Vladimir Klebanov, the Ukrainian coal miner who organized an unofficial trade union in Moscow a year ago, has been confined to a psychiatric hospital.

The Kremlin bureaucrats, who have subjected other dissidents to this "cure" in the past, claim that Klebanov is suffering from "head injuries" received in the mines.

Klebanov was arrested in early February 1978, days after he and other workers announced the formation of the Association of Free Trade Unions of Workers in the Soviet Union (AFTUWSU).

The AFTUWSU's founding appeal said: "We are unemployed Soviet workers who have come to Moscow from various cities and republics of the country. . . . We have all been dismissed for exposing abuses or for speaking out against the management of enterprises where we worked. . . ."

"When we appealed to higher authorities . . . for exercising our right to complain . . . they seized us one by one in groups, sending us to police stations and psychiatric hospitals."

Having exhausted all possibilities for help through official channels, the workers formed their own organization

and appealed for recognition from trade unions abroad. Forty-three workers signed this appeal which also listed other supporters.

Among those responding to the appeal was the giant Communist Party-led federation in France, the CGT, which passed a resolution at its fortieth congress in November 1978 supporting the AFTUWSU's right to exist and demanding the release of Klebanov and his comrades.

In October 1978, a second independent labor association was formed in Moscow. It already had more than 100 members, but its organizers have also been arrested.

Eight leading figures from these two workers rights organizations are known to be imprisoned, four in psychiatric hospitals.

The bureaucratic caste ruling the USSR finds it difficult to use its standard "anti-Soviet activity" charge to frame up and jail protesting workers, so it throws them into psychiatric prisons, claiming they suffer from "head injuries."

Trade unionists and others who support democratic rights should demand Klebanov and his comrades be freed, restored to their jobs, and allowed to speak and organize to protect their interests.

## Meeting sets action on 'U.S. hands off Nicaragua'

By Roberto Flores and Bruce Landau

WASHINGTON—About 250 people attended a national conference here February 23-25 to press for an end to all forms of U.S. intervention and interference in Nicaragua.

Participants came from various parts of the United States and Canada, as well as Nicaragua, Guatemala, Mexico, Puerto Rico, Costa Rica, and El Salvador.

The conference was called by an ad hoc committee that included members of the Washington Office on Latin

America, the National Lawyers Guild, the Epica Task Force, and others.

Sponsors of the gathering included union officials from the Amalgamated Meat Cutters, the United Auto Workers, the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers, and others.

Additional sponsors were Isabel Letelier, widow of the slain Chilean exile; Frank Jackalone, president of the U.S. Student Association; and Dr. William Wifler of the National Council of Churches.

Also such congressional figures as senators Edward Kennedy and Mark

Hatfield and representatives Ron Delums and Walter Fauntroy.

Most heavily represented at the conference were local groups specifically concerned with defending the democratic rights of the Nicaraguan people.

The conference drew together organizations from a very broad political spectrum. Important differences of opinion on how to defend and help advance the Nicaraguan liberation struggle were inevitable and expressed themselves on a number of points.

Nevertheless, the conference was able to reach agreement on practical

proposals. Most important was the call for a national campaign of education and action directed against U.S. intervention in Nicaragua.

This is to culminate in a National Week of Solidarity April 22-28.

April 28 was singled out as a target date on which to call simultaneous demonstrations and other actions across the country.

To translate these plans into effective action will require energetic and ambitious efforts to reach and mobilize the maximum number of people around the demand "USA: Hands Off Nicaragua!"

## ...Vietnam invasion is setback for U.S. war drive

Continued from preceding page

With its vital shipping lanes and sources of tin, tungsten, oil, rubber, rice, and other raw materials, Southeast Asia is not an area that U.S., European or Japanese imperialism will ever peacefully retire from. They fought World War II in the Pacific over these riches.

The imperialists did not "give up" after the 1975 victories by the Indochinese liberation forces, which shifted the relationship of class forces against them in the area. They are fighting to hold on to what they have, and to

regain lost ground.

That's why the imperialists are trying to deal blows to the Vietnamese masses who accomplished this latest historic overturn, break their revolutionary will, and "punish" them for daring to tamper with the sacred institution of capitalist property relations. They want to discourage others—the Kampuchean and Thai masses first of all—from taking the same course.

Times correspondent Kamm wrote in the March 8 issue from Bangkok:

In the view of most diplomats and ana-

lysts of Indochinese events here, China's long-term strategy is to stretch Vietnamese resources—both economic and military—to the utmost. These observers believe that China's analysis of Vietnam's liabilities coincides with theirs.

The liabilities are Hanoi's difficulties in integrating the former South Vietnam with the North, the enormous economic problems and shortages brought on by two years of disastrous weather, the burden of administering Laos and dominating Cambodia, and now the border conflict with China.

What Kamm means by "administering Laos" and "dominating Cambo-

dia" is Hanoi's support to the anti-imperialist struggles in these countries.

But the "long-term strategy" he is describing is that of *U.S. imperialism*. Peking is helping carry out this strategy as payment for "peaceful coexistence."

Working people around the world have a life-or-death stake in defeating Washington's campaign against Vietnam.

Hands off Vietnam!

Stop the imperialist drive against the Vietnamese revolution!





Militant/Eric Simpson

# WHY AMERICAN WORKERS NEED A LABOR PARTY

## And what we can do about it today

The urgent need for the union movement in the United States to break from the capitalist Democratic and Republican parties and form its own independent labor party was a major topic of discussion at the Socialist Workers Party National Committee meeting last December.

The National Committee, elected by delegates at party conventions, is the SWP's highest decision-making body between conventions.

Among the observers at the SWP meeting were representatives from the Groupe Socialiste des Travailleurs du Québec (Socialist Workers Group of Québec). In Québec, where the union leadership is tied to the procapitalist Parti Québécois, the need for a labor party is also widely discussed by union militants and socialists. Both the GSTQ and the Ligue Ouvrière Révolutionnaire/Revolutionary Workers League, the Canadian section of the Fourth International, advocate formation of a labor party in Québec.

The following was written by Frank Lovell, longtime leader of the SWP, in response to questions from the GSTQ representatives, for publication in their newspaper, 'Tribune Ouvrière.'

*Question. Could you summarize for the readers of "Tribune Ouvrière" what was discussed at the*

*December 1978 plenum of the Socialist Workers Party on the question of the labor party?*

*Answer.* The discussion about a labor party flowed from the discussion of what was new in our party and in the class struggle.

What is new is our growing participation in the union movement—especially in the industrial unions—and the heavy anti-union campaign of the employing class. This offers us fresh opportunities to explain why the unions need a labor party; what kind of party it should be; and why the SWP is anxious to help build it. To do this we need to extend the dialogue in our party on the labor party question, and equip our worker members to include in this dialogue their on-the-job friends and others who may be interested.

This, of course, suggests nothing new programmatically—the labor party has been a basic part of our program since 1938, and our candidates for public office have consistently tried to explain the need for a labor party as an integral part of the Transitional Program.

For our own clarification and for the benefit of our close friends and sympathizers, it is also necessary for us to explain why stepping up our labor party propaganda is important at this time to prepare the launching of our 1980 presidential election campaign for greater influence among worker militants in the unions, and to continue the growth and proletarianization of the SWP.

The employers' anti-union offensive has caught

the union bureaucrats off guard and left them paralyzed with indecision. The future of the unions under their class-collaborationist misleadership is bleak. We believe the workers are likely to suffer some severe defeats until they can forge a new class-struggle leadership, one based on a strategy that combines their economic power with independent political action. The Carter administration's direct intervention in collective bargaining through the new wage limits is simply a further example of the political character of every union struggle.

The so-called crisis of the cities offers another graphic example of how the union misleaders' subservience to capitalist politics impels them to accept and enforce the capitalist austerity drive. Most recently the Cleveland banks have demanded higher taxes on workers and cutbacks in municipal jobs and services as the price for continued loans to the city. The United Auto Workers—one of the most powerful unions in the city—helped put Democratic Mayor Dennis Kucinich in office and last summer saved him from a recall campaign.

What has this demonstration of union power at the polls brought Cleveland workers? Instead of the mayor adopting the UAW's program, the UAW has adopted his. The union declared its support to a banker-inspired referendum to raise payroll taxes (which fall only on wage workers) 50 percent. When city employee unions warned they might strike if the mayor carried out mass firings, a former UAW

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official—appointed city personnel director by Kucinich—responded that “we have no intention of tolerating the attempt by the unions to dictate political and governmental policy in violation of their collective bargaining commitments.”

In 1938 Trotsky warned a CIO organizer who visited him in Mexico that the “success of the CIO is temporary. . . . If your unions do not find new ways, they will be ground to dust.” We should not think now that the unions are permanent fixtures, as the bureaucrats hope. They are in greater danger than most union members realize.

The unions have become established social institutions with great potential social power. But under their present leadership they are also subject to the political control of the employing class, exercised through the Republican and Democratic parties and administered by all the agencies of government. These unions can eventually be reduced to shadows of their present size and power if they fail to break their ties with the capitalist parties, which are run by the worst enemies of the workers.

### Workers' attitudes

The idea of a labor party is readily accepted by most workers to whom it is proposed, though not clearly understood. They distrust both capitalist parties. The workers often stay away from the polls in greater numbers than at any time since the New Deal. And growing numbers consider themselves “independents,” as opposed to Democrats.

But they are easily mobilized to vote down propositions that directly threaten the union movement. This happened in the 1978 general election when the employers put a “right to work” proposition on the Missouri ballot that would have outlawed the union shop. Here the voter turnout was high, contrary to the general trend. The anti-union proposition, which had been expected to pass easily, was defeated by the big working-class vote, which could not be attracted by the capitalist politicians.

This vote in Missouri, in my opinion, also demonstrated that unions, when they take the lead on a class question, are supported by the vast majority of workers, both organized and unorganized. Black and women's organizations, students, and farmers threw their support to the labor mobilization. This indicates that a labor party based on a fighting union movement would be immediately popular and attract a mass following.

When we talk about this in the unions we must, of course, explain what *kind* of party the labor party will be and how it differs from the existing parties, including the existing leaderships of “labor parties” like the pro-imperialist, union-busting outfit in Britain. We are not talking about a “third” party, or a “people's” party. The labor party will be a working-class party, in opposition to the capitalist parties (just as the unions are working-class organizations in opposition to employer-sponsored “company unions”); and it must be based on the union movement.

What will be the program of such a party? We believe the Transitional Program, properly understood and applied, should become the labor party program. We will explain and support this approach in the building of a labor party. While it will not start with that program, it will be won to it through experience and the active participation of revolutionary socialists.

### Not purely electoral

We do not believe that it should be or that it necessarily will be a purely electoral party, like the capitalist parties. It should be the political arm of the unions, organizing the working class and its allies in political actions of all kinds, including mass demonstrations, and giving advice and aid to its constituents every day.

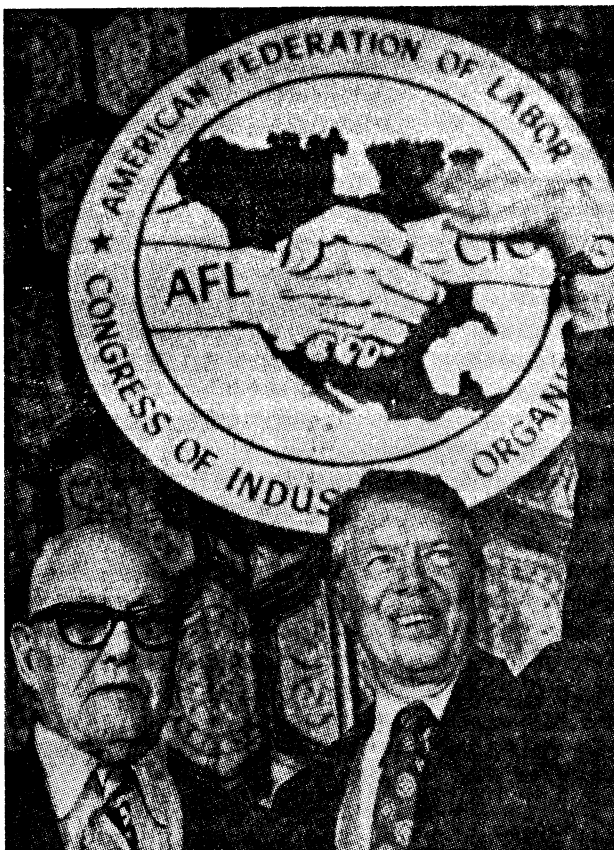
For the labor party to succeed, it cannot be simply confined to the unions, not seeing itself as the representative of the most exploited workers. It must support, appeal to, and truly represent the entire class and all oppressed people.

The labor party here in the United States can be anticapitalist from the beginning; it is not ordained to begin as a reformist party. Events in the class struggle mighty enough to break the unions from the Democratic Party will give tremendous impetus to the radicalization of the working class.

Trotsky believed it. “If the idea of the CIO inspired millions of workers for a certain period,” he said, “the idea of an independent militant labor party that aims to put an end to economic anarchy, unemployment, and misery, to save the people and its culture, the ideas of such a party is capable of inspiring tens of millions.”

How do we explain why the SWP is interested in helping to build another party?

We in the SWP cannot build a labor party. That is the urgent task of the union movement. We explain to fellow workers that building a movement in the



**‘The unions can be destroyed if they fail to break with the capitalist parties, which are run by the worst enemies of the workers.’**

unions for a mass political break with the capitalist parties—a labor party—is crucial for transforming the unions into class-struggle organizations. It will open the way to a mass revolutionary party that can lead the workers to end exploitation and oppression.

Since we Trotskyists are the only political tendency in the labor movement that advocates a labor party, it is reasonable to assume that those who agree with the labor party idea will be attracted to the SWP. And one of the best assurances for the formation of a viable labor party in the near future is a pick-up in the pace of the class struggle that would also result in a rapidly growing SWP. Our present growth depends in turn very largely upon how successfully we introduce, explain, and campaign for the class-struggle road for American labor—including the burning need for a labor party now.

We do not see this as a task for our worker comrades alone. It will be taken up in the propaganda and work of the entire party and made a central aspect of our presidential election campaign.

*Q. What is the situation today in American unions on the question of the Labor Party?*

A. There is little or no talk about a labor party in the upper echelons of the union officialdom, except to make publicly clear that they are opposed to the idea “at this time.”

The union bureaucracy, however, is alarmed by the anti-labor trend in the U.S. Congress. This is spurred on by U.S. business interests that until recently had appeared “friendly” to top union officials.

The regulation of labor-management relations (that is, government controls upon the unions) has developed since the Taft-Hartley law was passed in 1947 into a vast system of antistrike rules and practices.

The National Labor Relations Board is a federal agency of Taft-Hartley that serves the interests of the employers and stalls or prevents the effective organization of unorganized workers. The courts are used routinely by the employers to get injunctions against strikers, provide police protection for scabs, and in the end defeat the union. Many local unions have been destroyed in this way in recent years, especially in the building trades and printing trades.

Teachers and public employees have also been hard hit. The 1977-78 mine strike suffered from government restrictions and pressure upon it, and the United Mine Workers has been prevented by local courts and police action from organizing nonunion mines and enforcing the contract in many union mines since the strike settlement. The struggle of the 17,500 Newport News shipbuilding workers for union recognition—the most important battle in the labor movement today—has faced government obstruction at every step.

The labor bureaucrats hoped that they could reach an understanding with the dominant sector of the employing class and continue to collaborate with them in the maintenance of “stable” labor-management relations. For this purpose they sought amendments to the Taft-Hartley law that

would empower the NLRB to hold elections of unorganized workers and pressure open-shop (non-union) employers to sign collective bargaining agreements. This labor law reform legislation (nominally sponsored by the Carter administration but actually sabotaged by Carter and his overwhelmingly Democratic majority in the U.S. Senate) was decisively defeated in the Ninety-fifth Congress and is not likely to be brought up again in the present Congress.

### Fraser's statement

On July 19, 1978, United Auto Workers president Douglas Fraser announced his resignation from the Labor-Management Group, a top-level, nongovernmental committee of eight major corporation executives and eight ranking labor leaders.

“The group has met regularly under the leadership of Professor John T. Dunlop, former Secretary of Labor,” said the UAW announcement, “and attempted to arrive at cooperative approaches to substantive issues, such as energy problems, inflation, unemployment, rising health care costs, and others.” The “others” included joint backing of new legislation to revise the Taft-Hartley law, desper-



**Coal miners march on White House during political obstacle of antilabor laws and g**

ately sought by the AFL-CIO lobby in Congress. The corporate executives were uncooperative.

Fraser said that this hostile attitude of big business had convinced him that “leaders of the business community, with few exceptions, have chosen to wage a one-sided class war today in this country—a war against working people, the unemployed, the poor, the minorities, the very young and the very old, and even many in the middle class of our society.”

“I am convinced,” he said, “there has been a shift on the part of the business community toward confrontation, rather than cooperation.”

Fraser talked about the sentiment in the UAW ranks for a labor party. This prompted some units of the union to pass labor party resolutions or to urge Fraser to call for a labor party. The Tool and Die Unit of Ford Local 600, largest local in the UAW, praised Fraser for his stand and urged the formation of an “independent political party dedicated to the needs of the working people, the minorities, the very young and the very old.”

Fraser then called a conference of 100 leading labor, women, minorities, civil liberties, and liberal organizations, which met for one day in Detroit on October 17. The purpose was to assess the position of the union movement in the Democratic Party, and to voice some cautious criticisms of the Carter administration.

At that conference Fraser removed any illusion that he might favor the formation of a labor party. His talk about “others” in the unions favoring a labor party was intended to frighten the employers and their political agents who control the Democratic Party. Such scare tactics have been tried before by AFL-CIO President George Meany and others without the slightest effect.

The truth is that Fraser and other top UAW officials are more afraid of a labor party than they are of the employers or the Democratic Party politicians.

At present some local union officials in the UAW Skilled Trades Department are talking about repro-



ducing a 1949 UAW pamphlet titled "You Can Do It Better Democratically," a comment by the sociologist Robert Lynd on the operation of politics and government as they affect the lives of most people. It is a strong argument for a labor party, and it could be a useful educational tool right now. The UAW officialdom is trying in every way it knows to prevent republication of this little-known union pamphlet.

### Hearings

The bureaucrats are stymied on the economic front, afraid to call strikes against Carter's "voluntary" wage controls and incapable of other effective political action. They participate in farcical congressional hearings, charging the Carter administration with "unlawful" acts against workers.

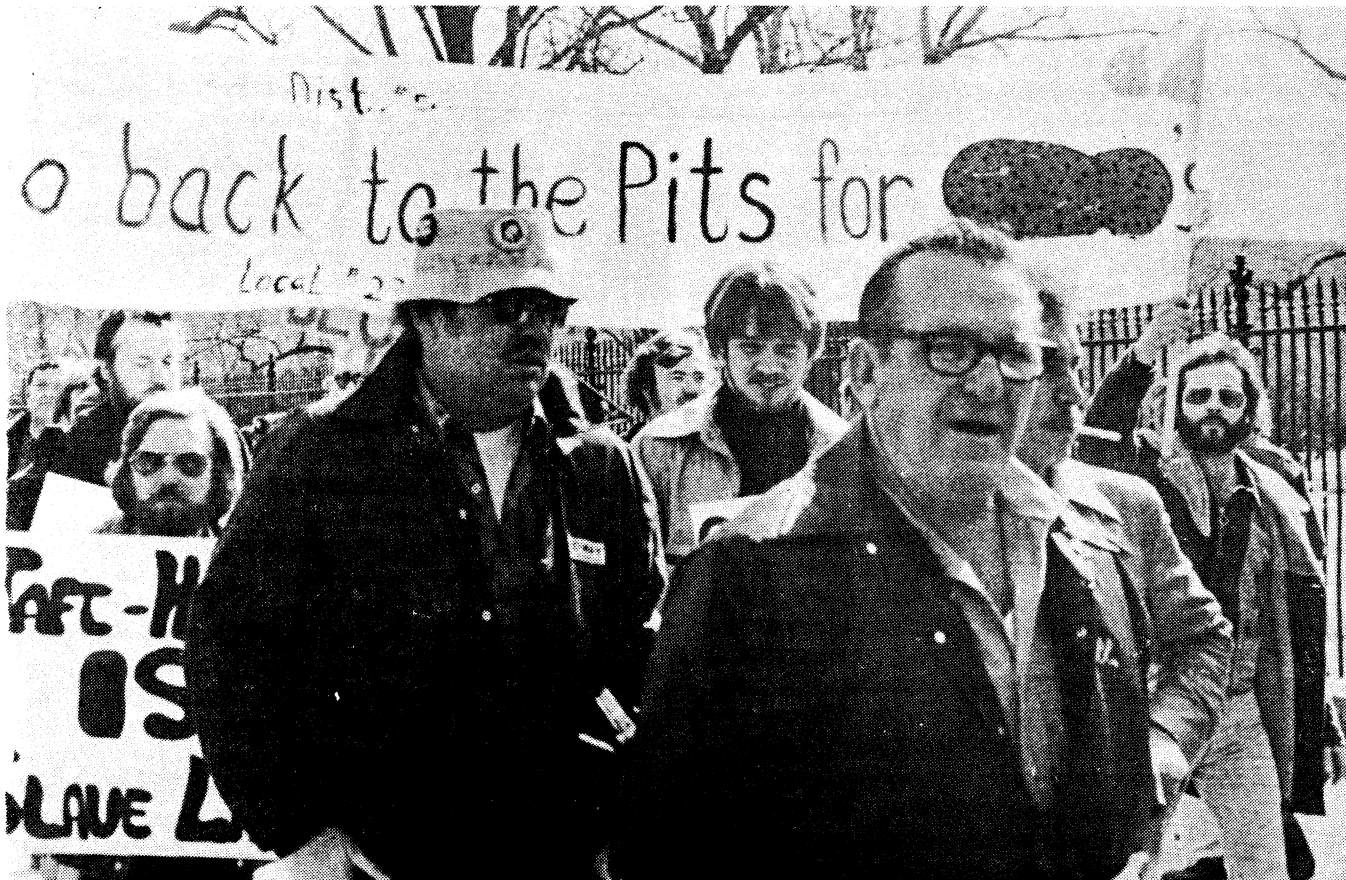
At February 6 hearings before the House Subcommittee on Commerce, Consumer and Monetary Affairs, the representative of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers, after having signed a low-wage settlement with the major oil companies, said the companies and the administration ganged up against the union. "The one thing controlled is the income of working people," he said. "Each employer

Local 535 official, said that he had been for a labor party himself in the 1930s but hadn't been able to convince the membership to change registration. So he dropped the idea.

These examples will give you a pretty clear picture of the union bureaucracy and its attitude on the labor party question. This is the position of Social Democrats USA and the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee, both based on the entrenched union bureaucracy.

The position of the Stalinists is not much different. The December 1978 issue of *Labor Today*, the monthly publication of the CP's "Trade Union Action and Democracy" caucus carried a comment on the labor party discussion in the Alameda County Labor Council. It said: "We have always advocated—and we continue to support—the establishment of a people's political party that has a mass base in the trade union movement. If we had our way about it, that party would have been established yesterday."

"However, that's not the way things work in the labor movement and we still have to figure out the steps that will actually lead to the creation of that independent movement and to that political party."



Militant/Nancy Cole

**1977-78 strike. Every major struggle to defend workers' living standards runs into government strikebreaking.**

is only too eager to make sure that his workers' income is kept even or below the wage guideline."

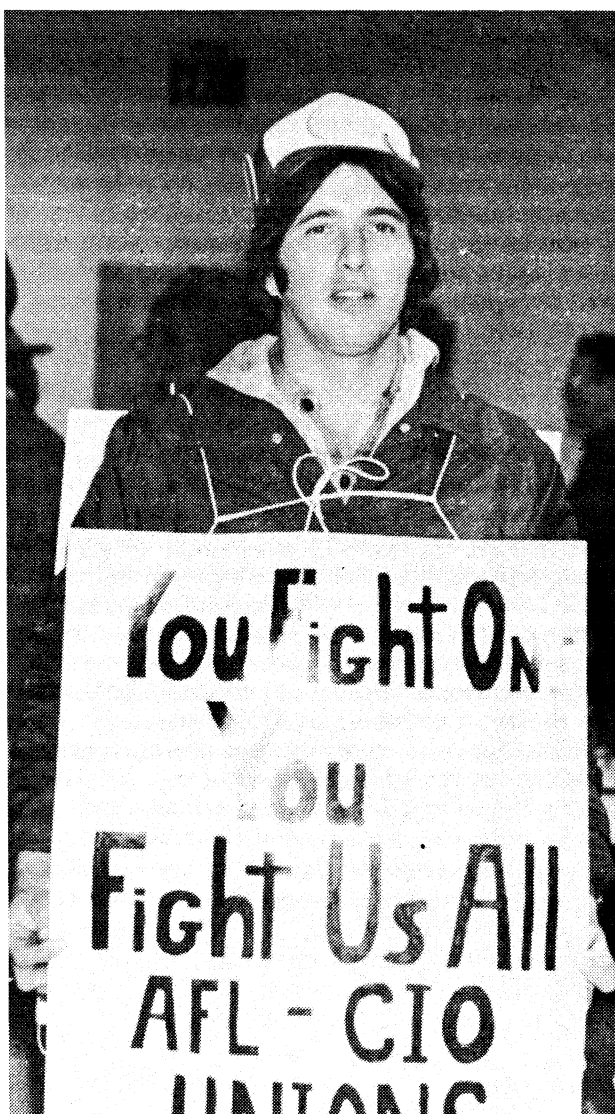
Such hearings and the charges flung by the union officials could be useful if they were part of a strategy to mobilize the union ranks against the employers and the capitalist politicians and their control of government. But the sad fact is that the union ranks are hardly informed about such hearings, let alone called into action to redress their grievances. The union bureaucrats go to Washington to vent their frustrations, and then they go back to the local unions and tell the members they have done all that can possibly be done. They recorded the workers' dissatisfaction. That is all.

Occasionally a labor party resolution is passed by a local union, often introduced by a member or sympathizer of the SWP. This has happened in recent years in locals of the Teachers union, the State, County and Municipal Employees union, and others. But nothing further happens except sometimes a patronizing word of encouragement from someone in the union bureaucracy.

The fate of a labor party resolution adopted last year in Los Angeles, California, by the 10,000-member Social Services Union Local 535, Service Employees International Union, AFL-CIO, is typical. Copies of this resolution were sent to the SEIU International Executive Board, where it was tabled; to several central labor bodies in California, where most of them filed it without action; and to Executive Secretary-Treasurer John Henning of the California Labor Federation, AFL-CIO. Henning acknowledged receipt of the resolution, saying he appreciates "the difficulty involved in the formation of a labor party, but I also realize that the 'one-party' system as it has evolved in our country can only mean ruin for the labor movement." He sent his "best wishes and kindest regards. . . ."

The Alameda County Labor Council in the northern California Bay Area was the only central body to discuss and act upon the resolution. It was not adopted.

SEIU President George Hardy, according to a



Steel Labor

**'Every fight by the workers to strengthen their unions and extend solidarity to other workers is a crucial part of the process that will lead to a labor party.'**

But they won't find "the steps" to a real fighting labor party that don't interfere with the sectarian and class-collaborationist policies of the CP or the Kremlin's peaceful coexistence ploys with the Democrats and Republicans.

The situation today in American unions in relation to the labor party is in certain ways about the same as the situation in the old AFL in 1934 in relation to the urgent need at that time to organize the unorganized into industrial unions.

I do not expect the present attitude on the labor party to change in a major way until labor party coalitions based on local unions begin to organize political actions against the capitalist parties and score some successes. There was interest but little confidence in the immediate realization of industrial unionism until after the successful 1934 strikes in Toledo, Minneapolis, and San Francisco. The Committee For Industrial Organization did not take form in the old AFL Executive Council until 1935, after it was clear that the workers were beginning to organize under radical leadership.

For the same reason, it is likely that labor party formations in this country will be led initially not by the current labor bureaucracy but by rising class-struggle currents in the unions.

That is why the SWP views every fight by the workers to strengthen their unions by democratizing them in order to exercise their real class power as a crucial part of the process that will lead to a labor party. Examples today include the Steelworkers' organizing strike in Newport News, efforts to mobilize union power in defense of Black and women's rights, sentiment for rank-and-file ratification of all contracts, and growing receptivity to solidarity actions with other workers on strike.

*Q. What will be the SWP's line of action after the plenum for continuing and intensifying the struggle for a labor party in the United States?*

A. There is greater interest in this question among SWP leaders now than in the past because the increasing economic and political pressures upon the union movement make it a more timely question.

Our education department is collecting the accumulated material on the labor party question.

The National Education Department will prepare a study guide to this material and urges SWP branches to use it to conduct classes to better equip ourselves on the history of this question. And we won't confine this to SWP members.

Many branches conduct public weekly forums on a variety of subjects. The need for a labor party is one of the timely subjects for public forums with speakers from the unions presenting several points of view. Symposiums will attract some union members, be educational for all participants, and arouse further interest in this and related issues.

We have much to learn about workers' attitudes and their responses to labor party possibilities, and the best way to learn this is through our trade-union fractions, which try to raise our class-struggle ideas on the job as the occasion permits. Worker comrades should not miss an opportunity to probe attitudes on the labor party in on-the-job discussions. One of the fringe benefits of this will be the discovery of politically interested workers, and some of them will become interested in the politics of the SWP.

For some time the *Militant* staff has talked about how to explain the need for a labor party and how to bring this into our articles on the unions without seeming to tack on the labor party idea as if it were an afterthought. You have noticed, I am sure, that there have frequently been—over the past couple of years—articles and editorials on the need for a labor party. We will have more of this as developing events make its urgency more apparent.

Improving the *Militant* in this respect is not only the responsibility of the staff. Reports on discussion in the shops is the best help our staff writers can get on effective ways to explain our class-struggle views.

In preparation for launching our 1980 presidential election campaign, our national campaign committee will be paying close attention to the most effective ways of explaining our views on the need for a labor party, how to present it forcefully at union meetings and in our radio and television broadcasts. We will get out the word that the SWP is the party that wants to help the 20 million union men and women in America build a labor party.

And we agree that we should publish a popular pamphlet on the labor party, explaining why it is urgently needed, the kind of party it ought to be, and why the SWP strongly favors it.

With the central leadership of the party organizing, directing, and pushing along these lines, we will learn concretely from our comrades' experience on the job itself, the adjustments we may need in carrying out most effectively a labor party campaign.

## A weapon in the fight for a labor party

In 1949 the United Auto Workers-CIO Education Department published a pamphlet titled "You Can Do It Better Democratically."

It is the text of a talk by the then-prominent sociologist Robert Lynd at the fourth annual UAW International Education Conference, the slogan of which Lynd took as his subject.

But what he said was different than what the sloganeers intended.

His analysis of democracy under capitalism shows that the democratic rights of workers are restricted and subverted by the capitalist rulers, that social planning is negated by corporate profit taking, that the Democratic

You Can Do It Better Democratically by Robert Lynd. 46 pp. Order from Independent Skilled Trades Council, Suite 228, Southfield Office Plaza Building, 17000 W. Eight Mile Road, Southfield, Michigan 48075. Under 10 copies, 50 cents each; 10-99 copies, 40 cents each; 100 or over, 30 cents each.

and Republican parties are political instruments of the employing class, and that American workers need a labor party that will abolish the anarchy and injustice of the capitalist system.

With the first printing of this pamphlet a prefatory note by Victor Reuther, who was then UAW Education Director, said that "Mr. Lynd's remarks . . . excited a great amount of discussion," that there was "an insistent demand for its publication."

The pamphlet, despite its initial popularity, was never reissued by the UAW Education Department.

Top officials of the UAW today pretend they never heard of it and are unfamiliar with its analysis of class society in this country. For most of them, there is no need to pretend ignorance. They don't know and don't care.

Official indifference seemed for a long time to have buried this UAW publication. But the ideas expressed by Robert Lynd are so powerful and so applicable to the current political and economic problems of the working class and the union movement that a new edition of the pamphlet has just been published by UAW members in the union's skilled-trades department.

They think it will provoke more discussion today than thirty years ago.

### Mass unemployment

The threat of mass unemployment was very real in 1949, and there was talk then about economic planning to guarantee jobs for all. The full employment act of 1946 had been passed by the U.S. Congress. But it did not provide any jobs because no money was appropriated for public works.

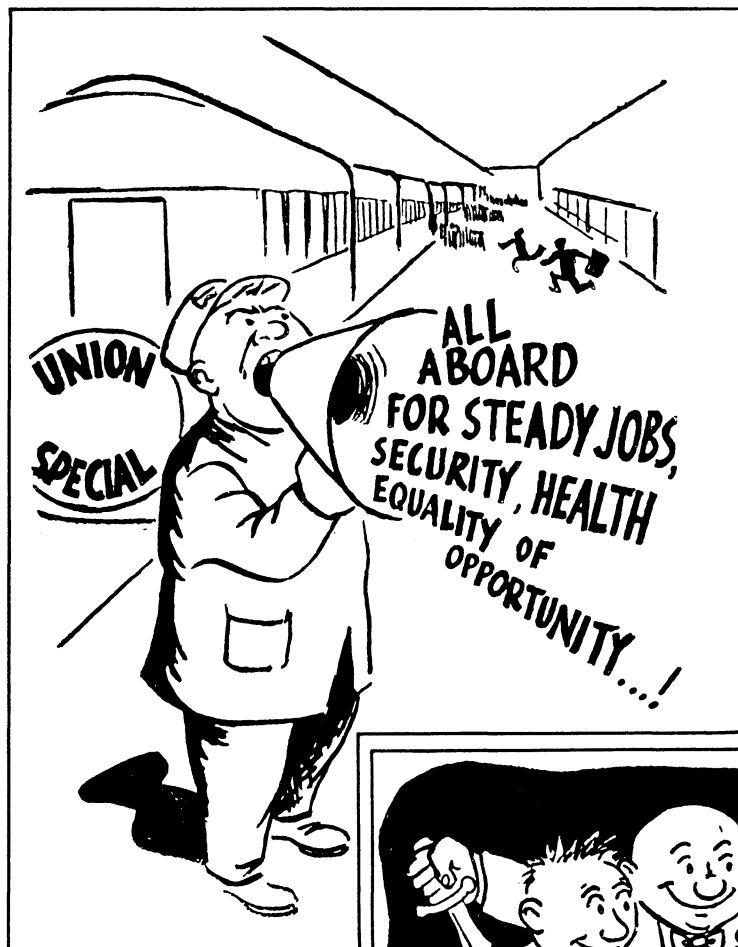
Mass unemployment is a bigger problem today, compounded by long overtime hours for those with jobs, and by inflated prices that undermine the living conditions of both employed and unemployed.

The recurrence of a deep economic depression is a greater threat now than in 1949. The need for economic planning is greater today than it was then.

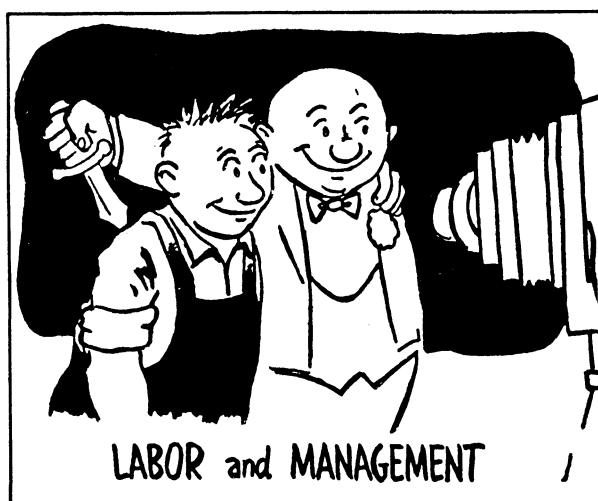
"As I work with problems such as planning for full employment," said Lynd, "I am constantly stopped by the fact that in our democracy there is a serious gap between what it makes sense for us to do, what millions of us people want, and getting clearance to get those things done."

For thirty years there has been no planning for full employment, and the UAW is no closer to getting government clearance for what needs to be done.

The recent campaign for enactment of the Humphrey-Hawkins "jobs bill" produced not one cent for public works



With popular text and graphics, Lynd pamphlet explains need for independent working-class political action.



and not a single job for any unemployed worker. Why has there been no progress for thirty years?

One reason is deception. Most of those who were delegates to the fourth annual UAW education conference and who heard Lynd back then believed at the time that the 1948 election of Truman was a good thing and that the new Democratic Party majority in Congress would solve most of their problems.

Lynd told them, quite frankly, that "all of us can be and to a considerable extent are being fooled."

We should all know now that Truman did nothing to help working people. He launched the Korean war, initiated the McCarthy witch-hunt, and broke strikes using the Taft-Hartley law (which the Democrats, if given a majority, promised to repeal), while he lifted all price controls and boosted corporate profits.

### Two-party system

Since Truman's time, the Republicans have held the White House for sixteen years and the Democrats for fourteen. During all but two of those years, the Democrats have had a majority in the Congress.

But whether Democrats or Republicans hold the upper hand, they always share the power of government. They always protect the selfish interests of the employers, and never help the workers. During all these years the position of the union movement has constantly worsened.

This process was partially explained and accurately predicted by Lynd. He said that the class structure of capitalist society gives the employers the upper hand because they own and control the economy.

His way of explaining it was that economic power in the hands of a few can always override the political power of the majority so long as the "rights" of private industry are not challenged.

"Economic power is political power," he said. "As state and economic powers merge, the aces are in the hands of private business."

Lynd warned that big business was planning to restrict all democratic freedoms, "so that we shall all march to the tune of big business and all keep our mouths shut about other things."

That warning was timely. The capitalist class stifled most criticism and much thought until the uprising of Black people against social and economic oppression, and the beginning of the antiwar movement in the 1960s. The 1950s were a dismal decade.

### 'Junior partners'

Lynd cautioned the union officials that they wouldn't get very far as "junior partners" of the capitalists. "Industry generally seems to be encouraging some such cautious policy of junior-partner collaboration by labor in its emphasis on labor-management cooperation," said Lynd, "but it is reserving to itself the right to deal with whatever things it calls 'management problems.'"

A cozy relationship between top union officials and the heads of giant corporations like General Motors has, over the years, created the false impression of relative "peace" between workers and their bosses.

But the workers suffered, while the bosses got fatter. Union political influence declined, while corporate lobbyists exercised control of government.

The deepening crisis of world capitalism now prompts the employers in this country to change their tactics. They are telling their junior partners that the partnership is dissolved.

This is what UAW President Douglas Fraser recently called "one-sided class war." It is only another expression of the class war that never ended—but now it takes the form of an open attack on the union movement.

One of the myths about capitalism that Lynd sought to expose in his talk is the false notion that political freedom and so-called free enterprise are synonymous.

Monopoly control of production long ago eliminated "free enterprise", Lynd said. "A kind of democracy that is necessary to capitalism and that capi-

talism is willing to shout about may not be the kind of democracy labor wants," he warned.

The employers are more successful today in convincing the labor officialdom of this fact that Robert Lynd was in his time.

### Labor's goals

The goals of the UAW in 1949 were adequate pensions, national health insurance, comprehensive social security, and a raise in real wages to restore lost buying power.

Not much progress has been made toward achieving these goals. They are still the very things the labor movement is trying to win, and success appears less likely than in 1949. Why is this? Because the labor movement has not mobilized its potential political power.

Lynd asked a series of questions, the central one being this: "Do we, as organized labor, trust big business' promises and leadership in the light of its record?"

This surely is a question the union movement ought to ask itself today. The record of capitalism has not improved.

Lynd told his union listeners that "labor looks to me like the only force in contemporary society big enough and strong enough to save democracy for us Americans."

He urged the formation of a labor party for this purpose. "And I don't believe a labor party will be worth a damn if it simply tries to take over the Democratic Party and go on within our present set-up," he said. "A labor party would have to make up its mind about capitalism."

One reason the labor party has not been organized is lack of self-confidence on the part of union officials. They are afraid to undertake any plan, however modest, without prior approval of the banks and industry. They think the only purpose of the unions is to convince the employers to do what needs to be done for the welfare of working people. The result is dismal.

The original UAW pamphlet included an appendix that has been left out of the reprint. That appendix was the UAW's 1949 political action resolution. It outlines a policy exactly the opposite of what Lynd suggested. And it reveals why the union has failed to influence the course of political events.

### 'Realignment'?

It sought "a new realignment of political forces in America out of which there can come a clear demarcation between the political parties standing for people, human rights and progress as opposed to a party representing property, privilege and reaction." This is all within the framework of capitalist politics.

No such realignment of the capitalist parties has yet occurred after a thirty-year effort by the UAW and other unions to bring it about. Nor is it likely to happen any time in the future.

The more practical course is what Robert Lynd laid out. The fact that his talk has been reprinted today indicates there is developing within the union movement sufficient self-confidence to try it.

The labor party can begin at the local level. And once it does, it can rapidly win mass support and put workers in office. It can help organize mass actions for social planning, independent of capitalist control and without the anchor of private profit to drag it down. Such an example would turn politics in this country upside down.

This prospect is easily within the reach of unions today. It will be achieved by union men and women who have made up their minds that the welfare of their class is more important than the system of private profit.

—Frank Lovell



# Young Socialists to join April 4 jobs protests

Demonstrations demanding jobs for youth are planned in about fifteen cities on April 4.

The protests are being organized by the Youth March for Jobs Committee, which also sponsored the national demonstration for jobs of 4,000 in Washington, D.C., last April 8.

Young Socialist Alliance National Chairperson Cathy Sedwick told the *Militant* that the YSA will be participating in these demonstrations.

"The official unemployment rate for Black youth last month was 35.5 percent," Sedwick said. "Just think about it—in the richest nation in the world, the government *admits* that more than one-third of its Black youth cannot find jobs. And that doesn't even account for thousands of others who have given up hope and aren't looking for jobs any more."

"Carter and other Democratic and Republican politicians cry crocodile tears over all the young people without jobs. And then their 'experts' pin the rap on undocumented workers who supposedly 'steal' jobs, on women en-

tering the job market in record numbers, and, most cynically, on the Black youth themselves, who officials claim would rather commit crimes than work."

"The real reason for youth unemployment—and all unemployment—is that big business needs a pool of reserve labor as a way of keeping workers divided and holding wages down," Sedwick said.

"If Carter and Congress had any intentions whatsoever of ending youth unemployment, they wouldn't be increasing military spending to a record \$135 billion. They would be dismantling the military budget and using our tax money to provide jobs for all at union-scale wages."

Sedwick said that in marching on April 4, the YSA will be demanding massive federal jobs programs and also a shorter workweek with no cut in pay to provide jobs for all.

"One government official recently told the *New York Times* that to provide jobs for all Black youths needing

them would cost the government \$9 billion a year, as much as it now spends on the whole federal jobs program.

"That was supposed to point out, I guess, the impossibility of ending youth unemployment."

"But the MX missile program alone will cost \$35 billion—nearly four times that much."

"We need massive demonstrations to expose this criminal hypocrisy of the Democrats and Republicans and to demand jobs for all—now!"

April 4 actions are planned in Boston, Chicago, Cleveland, Baltimore, New York, Newark, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, Detroit, Jersey City, Seattle, Washington, Los Angeles, Tucson (Arizona), and Portland (Maine).

## Shorter workweek meeting

The All Unions' Committee to Shorten the Work Week will hold its second national conference in Washington, D.C., on April 6.

The committee is headed by Frank Runnels, president of United Auto Workers Local 22 in Detroit. Last year's conference in Dearborn, Michigan, was attended by 700 delegates from twenty-five unions.

Rep. John Conyers and William

Winpisinger, president of the International Association of Machinists, will deliver speeches to the April 6 gathering.

The conference is open to representatives from local unions and from other labor organizations.

For more information, contact the committee at 4300 Michigan Avenue, Detroit, Michigan 48210. Telephone: (313) 897-8850.

## S.D. electronics workers strike against pay limits

By Jay Ressler

SAN DIEGO—Workers at the General Dynamics/Electronics Division plant here are on strike against President Carter's wage guidelines in what union officials predict may be a long, hard fight.

The company's determination to break the strike was shown the first day, March 5, when five loads of scabs in school buses, protected by state cops, were driven through hundreds of pickets.

The strikers, mostly women, Blacks, and Chicanos, are members of International Association of Machinists Local 2193. There are about 1,000 workers in the company's electronics division.

After one week of the strike, the company offered a contract that would raise the bottom pay level to four dollars within the next nine months and provide a quarterly cost-of-living adjustment. This was all contingent on approval by President Carter's Council on Wage and Price Stability.

The strikers rejected the offer by a three-to-two vote.

General Dynamics, one of the nation's largest aerospace corporations, holds major military contracts for such weapons as the cruise missile and the F-14 and F-16 fighter planes.

Wages at the plant here are as low as \$2.90 an hour. Many workers got a raise only when the federal minimum wage recently went up. Wages in all classifications lag nearly three dollars an hour behind those of other aerospace workers in the city, including those workers for other divisions of General Dynamics.

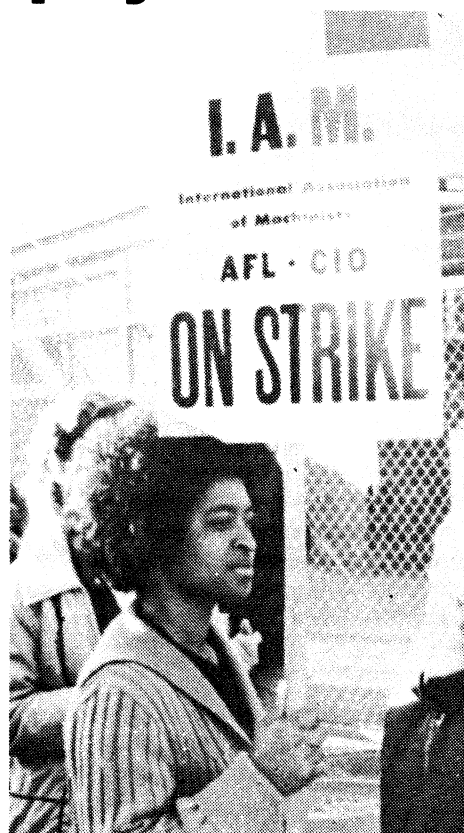
On top of that, the workers have been subjected to sweatshop conditions where forced overtime is the norm.

One woman in her early fifties told me that she has had to work ten hours a day, seven days a week, since July. Even when she was sick with a fever, she couldn't get excused.

"What are we? Machines?" she asked. "Until this weekend, I hadn't seen the sunlight for eight months—and I work days!"

The strikers are also fighting for plant-wide seniority.

Virginia Cobb, Local 2193 business agent and chief negotiator, told the March 4 strike meeting, "There was an invisible man sitting at the negotiating table on the bosses' side of the room. His name is Jimmy Carter. It's clear we're not just up against GDE, but also against the president of the United States."



Militant/Michael Boys  
**Ten-hour days, seven days a week. 'What are we? Machines?' asked a striker.**

Since November, the union's rank-and-file Committee for a Decent Contract has issued eleven contract bulletins, reporting on the progress of the negotiations.

In anticipation of the strike, the contract committee set up committees to organize a commissary, child care, temporary employment, and welfare counseling.

Solidarity with the electronics strikers is beginning. IAM locals 755 and 385 have each contributed \$5,000 to the strikers. The San Diego City College student government has initiated a strike support committee.

Socialist Workers Party mayoral candidate Raúl González, a member of IAM Local 685, joined the picket line and issued a statement in support of the strike.

General Dynamics, González said, "is one of the largest employers in San Diego and the pacesetter in the aerospace industry." What happens with the electronics workers' fight, he said, will affect all workers in San Diego, which has one of the highest inflation rates in the country.

González called on the entire labor movement to "immediately launch a united campaign to defend the General Dynamics electronics workers."

## Seattle Boilermakers protest plan to split local

By Karl Bermann

SEATTLE—More than 300 Boilermakers marched on their union hall March 10 to let international union officials know how they feel about a plan to split up their local.

Officials of the International Brotherhood of Boilermakers are trying to force through a plan to take field construction workers out of the 5,200-member Local 104 and put them in a separate district lodge.

The Local 104 membership is not allowed to vote on the plan.

The vast majority of the 600 construction workers in Local 104 oppose the plan for several reasons. First, in the district structure, they would be denied the right to elect their business agent, as well as the right to vote on other important matters.

Second, they believe they are in a stronger position in Local 104 than they would be in a much smaller district lodge. About 1,200 field workers—who are now in locals in Seattle, Tacoma (Washington), and Portland (Oregon)—would make up the lodge.

The protest here coincided with closed hearings before an international union official. In order to testify on the proposed local split, workers had to take a number and wait in line to meet one by one with the official.

The demonstration of Boilermakers was organized in five days by a committee elected at a special membership meeting of Local 104. The meeting of 250, representing the shipyards and

steel fabrication shops along with the field construction workers, voted unanimously to oppose the plan to split the local. The committee elected was empowered to take whatever action necessary to defend the rights of Local 104 members.

Signs carried in the March 10 protest said, "Unions are for the membership, not the international," "We want a voice in our union affairs," and "Keep solidarity in the Brotherhood."

As members waited in the union meeting hall to testify, they organized their own "open hearing." A proposal to organize a "solidarity caravan" to Portland the next weekend to coincide with a similar hearing was greeted enthusiastically.

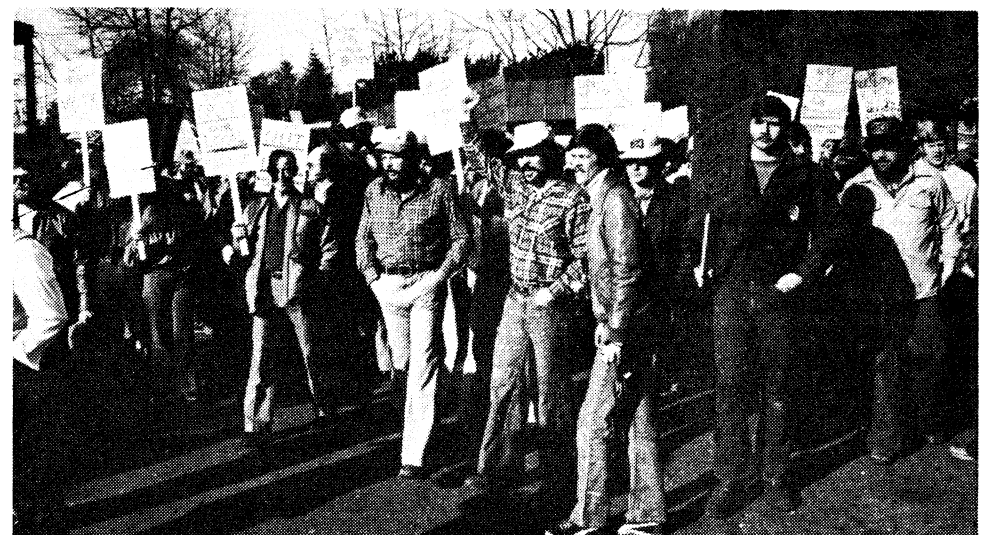
About fifteen members of Boilermakers Local 72 in Portland joined the protest here. They are protesting the district plan, as well as new rules agreed to by the union and the employers for the "nine western states."

Under these rules, members of the union can be suspended from the "out of work" referral list for up to ninety days for being fired "without just cause," for quitting without union permission, or for striking without authorization.

During the time workers are suspended from the list, or "benched," they are prohibited from working as boilermakers anywhere in the nine-state area.

On February 27, members of Local 72 shut down a large construction project in Boardman, Oregon, after several members were "benched" under the new rules. They returned to work after the suspensions were reduced by union officials from ninety days to fifteen.

Karl Bermann is a member of Boilermakers Local 104.



Militant/Karl Bermann  
**Membership elected special committee, which organized March 10 protest at union hall.**

## Teachers end 56-day strike

# St. Louis socialists enter school board race

By Carl Peterson

ST. LOUIS—This city's 4,100 teachers returned to work March 13, ending the longest teachers' strike in the state's history.

For fifty-six days, members of American Federation of Teachers Local 420 stood up to antiunion laws, strike-breaking court orders, and a school board blitz that tried to pit parents and students against the strikers.

The teachers voted March 12 to approve a new two-year contract that includes a pay raise \$275 above the board's "final offer" made two weeks before.

The strike also won elementary teachers two class-preparation periods

a week for the rest of this semester and four in the fall.

On the other central demand of lowering class size, the board only agreed to bring the school system up to official standards.

No support for the striking teachers came from any official of the Democratic and Republican parties.

On March 7, the Socialist Workers Party announced it would run the party's St. Louis chairperson, Mary Pritchard, as a write-in candidate in the April 30 school board election.

Pritchard immediately declared her support for the teachers' strike and called on the St. Louis labor movement to mount a solidarity campaign with the teachers.

Pritchard's supporters distributed 5,000 copies of a campaign leaflet—headlined "Support the Teachers Strike! Their Fight is Our Fight!"—at auto plants, steel plants, and teachers' meetings.

"The public school system has become a prime target of the nationwide employers' drive to cut government spending on social services," Pritchard told the *Militant*.

"Everywhere the bipartisan program of the big-business Democratic and Republican parties is to reduce teaching staffs and increase class size, to hold down pay and roll back contract gains, and to eliminate 'frills,' such as art, music, athletics, and remedial programs.

"Hardest hit," she went on, "are the schools in the Black, Chicano, and Puerto Rican communities."

The school board and city businessmen "found" more money for the teachers, Pritchard explained, after the teachers made it clear they would continue to fight for their demands.

"But the teachers were up against the courts and the demagogic Democratic and Republican politicians every step of the way.

"Working people need our own political party to *stand behind* us in our battles, not to stab us in the back," she said. "We need a labor party based on the unions."

Among the tasks of such a labor party, Pritchard believes, would be the mobilization of teachers, students, and parents in a political fight to:

- cut class size and put every jobless

teacher back to work;

- take the tax burden for the schools totally off working people and put it on the big banks and corporations;

- repeal all laws that restrict the right of public employees to organize, bargain collectively, and strike;

- defend the rights of Black, Chicano, and Puerto Rican students to equal education and desegregated schools; and,

- guarantee the right of students to free speech, assembly, and participation in political activity.



MARY PRITCHARD: Teachers were up against courts and Democratic and Republican politicians every step of the way.

## Striking D.C. teachers fined

By Erich Martel

WASHINGTON—Judge Gladys Kessler slapped heavy fines on the striking teachers union here March 13.

The walkout by the 5,000-member Washington Teachers Union was sparked March 6 by the board of education's refusal to extend the previous contract during negotiations. The board then terminated union dues check-off.

The board got a back-to-work court order the first day. The teachers refused to bow to it.

Judge Kessler then found the union in contempt, fining the union \$5,000 a day, WTU President William Simons \$500 a day, and WTU executive board members \$250 a day.

Simons called the strikebreaking actions "union busting at its best" and declared the strike was still on.

The board of education is demand-

ing a series of givebacks, including:

- that the teachers work an extra one and a half hours per day and two weeks longer per year;

- that nonunion teachers be eligible to serve as building representatives (or job stewards);

- that the union no longer be able to appoint members to curriculum and other planning committees; and

- that the union grievance procedure be limited to areas specifically mentioned in the contract and not to general working conditions.

The demands are "a passport to slavery," says Simons.

The American Federation of Teachers and the Greater Washington Central Labor Council have endorsed the strike and are providing assistance.

Teamster drivers are refusing to cross the picket lines. Daily rallies after picketing have been enthusiastic, attracting several thousand teachers.

# Karen Silkwood lawsuit goes to trial in Okla.

By Arnold Weissberg

The Karen Silkwood case has finally gone to trial.

Silkwood, a union activist who sought to expose unsafe conditions at the Kerr-McGee plutonium plant where she worked, died in a mysterious auto crash in November 1974.

Jury selection in an \$11.5 million civil suit against the company was completed March 6 in Oklahoma City.

Kerr-McGee's Cimarron plant, where Silkwood worked, manufactured plutonium fuel rods for the federal government. Radiation expert Dr. Karl Morgan said in 1976 he had "never known of an operation in this industry so poorly operated from the standpoint of radiation protection."

As an activist in the Oil, Chemical

and Atomic Workers union, Silkwood was trying to lessen worker exposure to plutonium.

Then, only days before her death, her apartment was contaminated by the fiendishly toxic element. Kerr-McGee claims Silkwood did it herself.

On the night of November 13, Silkwood bundled documents substantiating her charges against Kerr-McGee and climbed into her car. She was going to meet with an OCAW representative and a reporter for the *New York Times*.

She never made it. Her car swerved off the road and she was killed.

A private investigator hired by OCAW found evidence her car may have been pushed off the road.

The documents she was carrying

disappeared. The Oklahoma Highway Patrol claimed no documents were found at the crash.

Karen Silkwood's father filed suit against Kerr-McGee, charging the giant energy firm with negligence in its handling of plutonium.

In the course of pretrial legal activities, it has been revealed that:

- The FBI had Silkwood under surveillance *before* she died—and Kerr-McGee knew it;

- Documents *were* found at the crash site and were loaded back into the wreck of Karen Silkwood's car. But they were gone by the next morning.

Kerr-McGee, in its defense, claims it can't be found negligent because its plutonium safeguards met government standards.

Even if that's true, it only reveals how miserably weak the government's "safeguards" are.

The Karen Silkwood case has become a focus for feminists, antinuclear activists, and trade unionists. The Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers union has played a leading role in circulating the truth about Karen Silkwood's death. The National Organization for Women has also aided in publicizing the case.

Last November, antinuclear groups around the country organized more than 100 Karen Silkwood memorial actions, informing tens of thousands of people about the case.

The Oklahoma City trial will help keep the spotlight on the still unanswered question: who killed Karen Silkwood?

# Cops illegally spied on campus antinuke group

By Martha Graham

LOS ANGELES—The Los Angeles Police Department illegally spied on an antinuclear group at California State University at Los Angeles (CSLA).

Police agent Cheryl Bell infiltrated the campus Committee on Nuclear Information from October 1977 until the following summer, eventually becoming president of the organization. She enrolled as a student for four quarters while acting as a police spy.

Bell was active in Los Angeles antinuclear activities and was a member of both the Los Angeles and Pasadena chapters of the Alliance for Survival.

In refusing to answer a reporter's questions about her surveillance activities because "her superiors" had told her not to talk, Bell de facto admitted her role as police agent.

The LAPD has refused to officially



Cal State L.A. 'University Times' used circle and arrow to show police officer Cheryl Bell in anti-nuclear power protest.

confirm or deny that Bell spied for the department.

A 1975 California Supreme Court ruling bars the cops from spying on groups not engaged in illegal activities. And the LAPD's own "guidelines" permit spying "only when there is a substantial threat that their activities will result in public disorder."

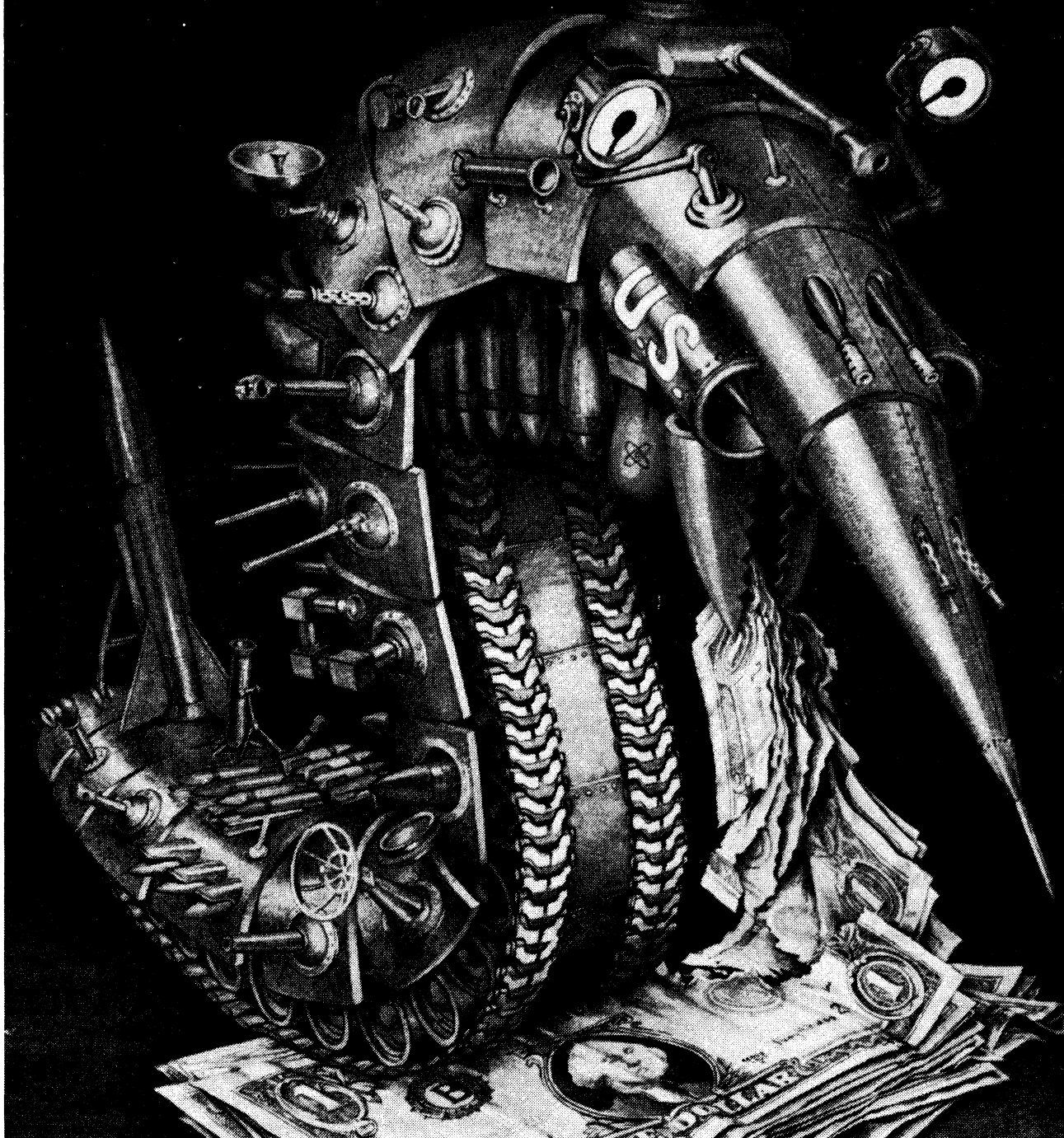
No one has claimed that the Committee on Nuclear Information did anything illegal or even threatened to do anything illegal.

Campus groups, including the Young Socialist Alliance, Gay Student Union, Committee on Nuclear Information, and the Academic Senate Board of Directors, have demanded that the CSLA administration and the cops end the use of police informers. The groups have also demanded to see the files on all past and present campus spies.



# Imperialism vs. workers of the world

Indochina conflicts pose question:  
What is source of war drive?



**By Steve Clark**

Hiding behind the mask of world peacemaker, the Carter administration is driving to reassert Washington's political capacity to use its vast military power.

Due to the deep-seated opposition among American workers to U.S. foreign policy in the aftermath of the Vietnam War, the U.S. ruling class has been unable to simply "send in the marines" in an attempt to slow down, halt, and reverse the rising wave of anti-imperialist and anticapitalist struggles around the world.

The resulting weakening of U.S. imperialism in relation to the world working class has been dramatized most recently by Washington's dilemma in the face of revolutionary developments in Iran, southern Africa, and Indochina.

- In southern Africa, Washington has been checkmated by the deep revulsion at home against support to the white minority regimes. This feeling is especially strong among Blacks, who make up a large and growing portion of the volunteer army today. The revolutionary Cuban government has added to imperialism's headaches by stationing some 40,000 troops on the continent to resist counterrevolutionary moves.

- In Iran, the U.S. rulers were unable to intervene at all militarily. Their eagerness to reassert U.S. power in that part of the world highlights the dangers in Washington's decision to dispatch an aircraft carrier and other warships to the waters off

Yemen this month. Carter is pushing the Saudi Arabian regime to move against the government of South Yemen and confront the Cuban troops that are stationed there.

- In combating the extension of the Indochinese revolution, Washington has had to pour in arms to the rightist military regime in Thailand and funnel support through that conduit to reactionary guerrilla forces in Kampuchea (Cambodia) and Laos. It had to enlist the help of the Peking Stalinists in an unsuccessful effort to pressure Vietnam to withdraw troops from Kampuchea.

The imperialists know, however, that none of these can substitute for the direct use of U.S. military muscle. No matter how loyally Teng Hsiao-p'ing performs, U.S. imperialism will never trust the rulers of a social system that is its deadly enemy. In addition, the Chinese army's poor showing in Vietnam proved that it is certainly not a strategic, offensive military power in the area.

And the Iranian events once again demonstrated the frailty of semicolonial capitalist regimes such as in Thailand.

Despite U.S. imperialism's growing need to use direct military force, however, opposition to such a course among American workers remains high.

A CBS/*New York Times* poll released March 2, for example, showed that 63 percent of those questioned opposed sending troops abroad for any reason other than responding to an attack on the United States. Sixty-eight percent said they were

glad the U.S. government had not intervened militarily in Iran.

Washington's aim is to turn this situation around, so that it can use its massive military might to stop the spread of socialist revolution.

This effort to put U.S. imperialism back on a war footing is a key battlefield in the rulers' offensive against the resistance by American workers to the political and economic needs of big business. The capitalists are determined to resolve the deep crisis of their system the only way they can—by taking it out of the hides of working people at home and abroad.

The ruling class does not intend to let American workers block its drive to boost profits. It will push ahead to reverse gains won by the unions, and by the Black and women's movement, over decades of struggle. Nor does it intend to let workers' antiwar attitudes prevent it from using them as cannon fodder for Wall Street's interests around the globe.

Carter's war drive is aimed just as much at the American working class as at workers elsewhere around the world.

That's shown by Washington's record \$135 billion war budget for this year.

That's shown by the talk in Congress and the White House of resurrecting the draft.

That's shown by the Pentagon's drive toward the most rapid possible development of a U.S. nuclear "first strike" capacity, and of tactical nuclear weapons such as the neutron bomb.

That's shown by probes such as in Yemen, toward a direct U.S. military intervention.

This is the dangerous road along which Washington is pushing American workers and all humanity as the crisis of capitalism deepens.

## What capitalist press says

*Business Week* laid out U.S. imperialism's problem in a straightforward manner for its ruling-class readership in a special March 12 issue on: "The Decline of U.S. Power: The New Debate Over Guns and Butter."

By "most criteria," said *Business Week*, "the U.S.—the colossus that emerged after World War II—is now clearly facing a crisis of the decay of power. Geopolitically, the years since the Vietnam war have produced far more evidence of retreat than of advance. The fall of a strong U.S. ally, the Shah in Iran, is only the most recent example. . . .

"With its nuclear umbrella and armed forces, the U.S. stood ready to guarantee this open [world capitalist] system against threats from the Soviet Union on the outside and enemies that might close off certain markets"—a euphemism for socialist revolution.

"As both banker and cop the U.S. was the guarantor of the postwar global economy," the leading U.S. financial weekly says. "Now there are signs of U.S. weakness everywhere, and cracks are appearing in the system. The policies set in motion during the Vietnam war are now threatening the way of life built since World War II."

The solution? "There is growing sentiment both within the White House and in Congress," says *Business Week*, "that the U.S. retreat from the exercise of global power has gone too far and the time is now ripe for a reversal of that isolationist posture."

The article suggests that a larger share of the federal budget must be spent on the Pentagon, and that Washington must look for opportunities to reassert its military power.

The same themes were developed in a February 21 editorial in the *Wall Street Journal*.

"A generation of world stability was built on the bedrock of American purpose and American power," the *Journal* wrote. "As this foundation becomes increasingly shaky, the world is threatened with the unpalatable alternatives of Soviet domination or sheer anarchy"—again, code words for socialist revolution.

The Indochina developments, the *Journal* believes, show that it's time to call a halt. "The spiral into disorder can be averted only if the U.S. starts to assert itself once again."

Painfully aware of the obstacles American workers have erected to this task, the *Journal* explains: "This does not mean sending the Marines to settle every quarrel in the world. It does mean building the kind of military force we are likely to need in the evolving world, refusing to make unnecessary diplomatic concessions, asserting our rights unapologetically and keeping our promises to our allies."

Pointing to the ideological cover behind which the war drive could be prepared, the *Journal* says: "But first, we need to digest the lesson of the current fighting in Indochina: That American power is not the root of evil in the world; that it is more likely to be a force for good."

It is behind such a fog of lies that the U.S. rulers

*Continued on next page*

have led the American people into every war this century.

Woodrow Wilson promised that World War I would be the "war to end all wars." Franklin Roosevelt sent American workers to the slaughterhouse under the banner, "Quarantine the aggressors." Similar demagoguery was used to justify the wars against Korea and Vietnam.

Today, Carter knows that to achieve his goals he must reverse the widespread popular suspicion of Washington's foreign-policy aims. He must con-

## 'Carter's effort to put U.S. imperialism back on a war footing is a key battlefront in the capitalist offensive against workers at home and abroad.'

vince American workers that the threat of war comes from beyond the borders, and that the Pentagon must be strong in the interests of world peace. He must try to whip up an "us" versus "them" atmosphere.

So, Carter has tried to revive, with a new twist, the "Communist menace" propaganda that took a serious beating from the American people as a consequence of the anti-Vietnam War movement. Pointing to events in Indochina, Carter now aims to startle the American people with the specter of spiraling wars among "Communist countries."

"We will not get involved in conflict between Asian Communist nations," Carter piously lied to an audience at Georgia Tech last month.

By striking this fraudulent posture, Carter hopes not only to portray Washington as a force for peace and sanity in a strife-torn world, but to discredit socialism as an alternative to the wars and suffering bred by capitalism.

The big-business-controlled press in this country is unanimously beating the drums for Carter's propaganda effort.

A February 19 editorial in the *New York Times* gloated:

"They are singing 'The Internationale' on all sides of the Asian battles this week as they bury the hopes of the Communist fathers with the bodies of their sons."

Assuring readers that the idea of a peaceful socialist future is utopian, the *Times* editors pointed out the "the Red brotherhood believed that the only international wars that could still occur—which were in fact 'inevitable'—were those growing out of the contradictions inherent in capitalism."

Now it can be seen, according to the *Times*, that war is really an inherent aspect of human nature. "Ugly nationalism has triumphed once again in the human family."

"Communists at war" blared the front page of *Time* magazine, echoing a phrase pumped for all its worth on radio, television, and in the newspapers.

The same theme has been taken up by the capitalist class and its electronic and newsprint mouthpieces throughout Europe and around the world.

with the U.S. and Chinese workers, on the other.

Despite surface appearances, the Peking and Hanoi Stalinist regimes are not the central protagonists in this struggle. They represent privileged bureaucratic castes balanced between the contending class forces.

In an essay written forty years ago, Russian Bolshevik leader Leon Trotsky explained this crucial starting point for understanding anything about twentieth century politics: "The struggle for domination considered on a historical scale is not between the proletariat and the [Stalinist] bureaucracy, but between the proletariat and world bourgeoisie."

"In its capacity of a transmitting mechanism in this struggle," Trotsky said, "the bureaucracy leans now on the proletariat against imperialism, now on imperialism against the proletariat, in order to increase its own power." ("Not a Workers' and Not a Bourgeois State?" in *Writings of Leon Trotsky* (1937-1938).)

Today in Indochina, the Peking Stalinists are leaning on U.S. imperialism against the interests of both the Indochinese and Chinese masses. Their goal is to get an economic deal with U.S. capitalism and prove their reliability to Washington as an opponent of revolutionary change in Asia.

The Stalinist regime in Hanoi, on the other hand, has had to lean on the Vietnamese toilers against U.S. imperialism and its Peking ally. Its own attempts to reach accommodation with Washington following the 1973 accords have been met by an intensification of the imperialist blockade and other hostile measures. As a result, the Hanoi bureaucracy has been forced to defend with its own Stalinist methods the revolutionary gains won by the Vietnamese workers and peasants during decades of struggle.

In rejecting such a class approach toward the Indochina events, the vast majority of the American radical press has ended up helping Washington in obscuring U.S. imperialism's counterrevolutionary maneuvers there.

In countering these incorrect conceptions, the *Militant* has stressed that:

- The threat of war in today's world originates in the profit drive of imperialism. At the heart of this drive is the capitalists' ultimate aim of rolling back all conquests of the working class—from unions, to the fourteen workers states, where capitalism has been abolished;

- The Stalinist bureaucratic castes that dominate all the workers states except Cuba are not driven toward wars of aggression and do not seek an offensive military capacity. Their foreign policies are neither those of an imperialist government promoting the interests of the capitalists, nor those of a revolutionary workers state pursuing the struggle to overturn world capitalism;

- The Stalinist castes play a counterrevolutionary role on a world scale, acting as a transmission belt for imperialist pressure against the working class. Nonetheless, they are forced in the interests of self-preservation to defend the property relations in the workers states against imperialism, although, their class-collaborationist methods actually weaken the defense of these gains; and

- All the key questions in world politics will be decided in the battles between imperialism and the world working class, a key part of which is the fight to overthrow the bureaucratic castes and replace them by democratic rule of the working class.

# How U.S. left responded

No one on the American left except the *Militant* and Socialist Workers Party has stood up under the pressure of this capitalist ideological barrage. No one except the *Militant* and SWP has consistently kept the spotlight on U.S. imperialism and its drive to contain and roll back the Indochinese revolution.

In a front-page editorial in its February 28 issue, for example, the *Guardian* lent credence to Carter's lie that Washington was not involved in plotting the invasion of Vietnam. "We denounce imperialism, even though it is not yet directly involved," said the *Guardian* perfunctorily.

The following issue went even further, polemicizing against those who viewed the trade mission to China by Treasury Secretary Michael Blumenthal as "an implicit imprimatur for Beijing's [Peking's] attack." Actually, the *Guardian* explained, the invasion conflicted "with Washington's perceptions of its overall interests."

According to the *Guardian*, U.S. imperialism "watches patiently."

"Unable to defeat the forces of revolution in hot and cold wars," the February 28 editorial said, "it is content to maneuver skillfully between the contradictions which have set socialist against socialist, exacerbating problems wherever possible."

The *Guardian* echoes the *New York Times*'s "Red Brotherhood at War" editorial, warning of a "socialist world war."

"These are sorry days for socialism," the *Guardian* complains, "despite continuing advances by the world's peoples against oppression and exploitation."

"China has invaded Vietnam. Vietnam has invaded Kampuchea. The words evoke nausea. Where will it end?"

Similar themes have appeared in the social-democratic weekly, *In These Times*. An editorial in its January 17-23 issue, before the invasion of Vietnam, argued that unlike the 1950s and 1960s, when "international conflicts revolved around the confrontation between world capitalism and world communism," today the main "conflicts in world politics involve those among communists and socialists. . . ."

An editorial in *ITT*'s February 28-March 6 issue even explained that "so far, to his credit, President Carter has assumed a restrained position" in the Indochina conflicts.

"The Chinese invasion of Vietnam, like the Vietnamese invasion of Cambodia," said the editorial, "is one more episode in the rise of national antagonism dividing communist states. But it is not a minor episode: it underscores the grave danger such conflict poses to world peace. . . ."

"It has deepened the worldwide confusion, discord, and demoralization in the ranks of socialists who have always argued that socialism would put an end to wars of aggression."

The American radical press all portray the main actors in the recent Indochina conflicts as the governments of the Soviet Union and China, with

Vietnam and Kampuchea in supporting roles.

"Vietnam" invaded "Kampuchea," everyone explains. Then "China" invaded "Vietnam."

"Countries" are at war over "national antagonisms" and "spheres of influence." All social divisions between and within these countries, all classes, disappear.

Who invaded Vietnam? The Chinese masses, or the Stalinist regime in Peking? Does it matter that capitalism had been toppled in Vietnam, but not in Kampuchea?

Most important, where is the struggle between the Indochinese masses and U.S. imperialism? Has Washington simply written off Southeast Asia? Why has it suddenly and dramatically stepped up military shipments to the Thai dictatorship? What really happened when Teng visited Washington, and when Blumenthal visited Peking?

Most of the radical press has ended up echoing the "explanations" offered by the bourgeois press, which does its best to disguise the underlying struggle between exploiters and exploited—the class struggle—that is at the center of all world politics.

In contrast to this classless mishmash, Marxists explain that at the root of the Indochina wars is the drive by the capitalist rulers of the United States to defend their class interests against the extension of social revolution in Southeast Asia. The main actors are the American ruling class, supported by the Moscow and Peking bureaucracies, on the one hand; and the toiling masses of Indochina, together

# Capitalist expansionism

All of twentieth-century history is proof scrawled in blood that the source of war is the inexhaustible, expansionist drive for profits by the giant monopoly interests that dominate the world capitalist market.

These competing monopoly corporations and banks defend their interests through various national states. The capitalists *must* have state power to promote and defend their needs against those of the workers they exploit at home and abroad, as well as against their capitalist competitors in other countries.

World Wars I and II, the wars in Korea and Vietnam, and innumerable wars to smash other colonial uprisings have been fought by U.S., German, French, British, Japanese, and other imperialist powers. The fundamental aims are always the same: the struggle for markets, control over raw materials, new investment openings, and establishment of military outposts to police these economic stakes.

Interimperialist competition continues today, and is, in fact, intensifying as the gap erodes between the economic predominance of U.S. imperialism and the West European and Japanese capitalists. This competition came into sharp relief again recently

with Blumenthal's trade mission to Peking.

While the U.S. treasury secretary was in China, the Peking regime suddenly announced that it was freezing a number of big trade deals with Japanese firms. Blumenthal then stopped in Japan on his way back to the United States.

According to the March 6 *New York Times*, "The Japanese officials told reporters that Japan and the United States should avoid 'cutthroat competition' in vying for sales with China."

As if the leopard could change its spots!

Despite this never-ending rivalry, however, the political and military aspects of this interimperialist competition have been profoundly altered by the existence of fourteen countries where capitalism has been abolished and by Washington's nuclear arsenal.

Japan is the most economically powerful capitalist country after the United States. Yet, opposition from the Japanese people—the victims of Hiroshima and Nagasaki—has made it impossible for the Japanese ruling class to rebuild a strategic military establishment, especially with nuclear arms.

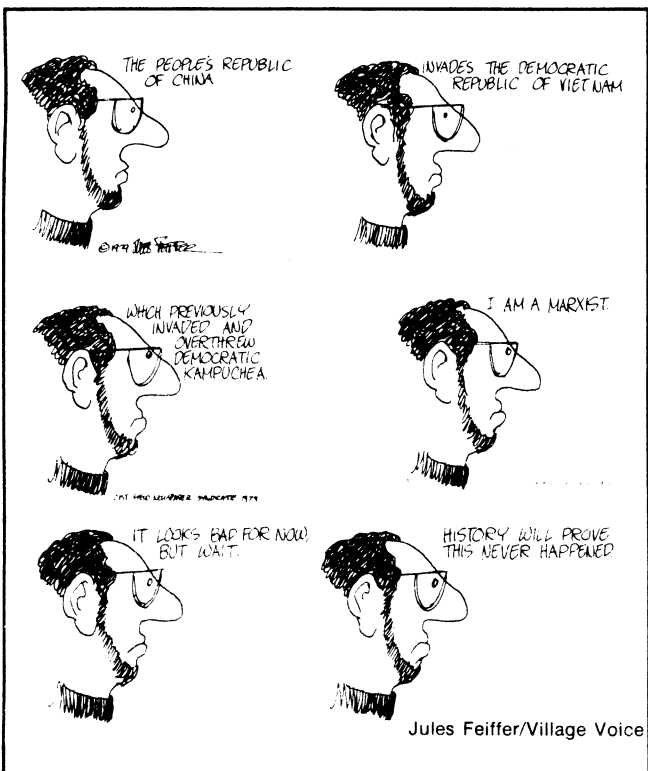
Germany, which follows Japan as an economic



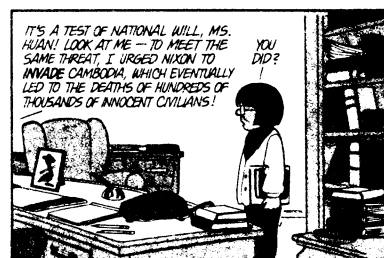
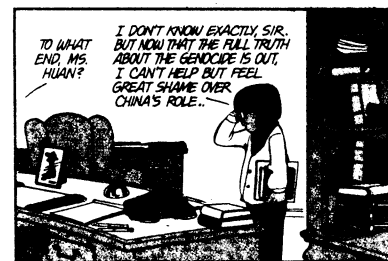
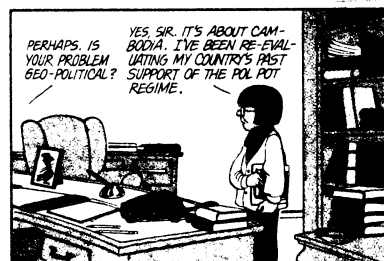
Some political cartoonists fell right into step with Carter's propaganda that the threat of war today comes from conflicts between "communist countries."



Auth  
'As class antagonism vanishes, hostility of nations will end.'



Other cartoonists, however, reflected the suspicion among American working people that Washington was not the innocent bystander it claimed to be in recent events in Indochina.



Doonesbury by G.B. Trudeau

power, also has no nuclear forces of its own. Here, too, opposition from the German workers has been decisive.

So, the interests of the entire imperialist system depend ultimately on U.S. military power—power that has been hamstrung by American working people.

Capitalism was overturned in Russia at the end of World War I, and following World War II throughout Eastern Europe, in China, in North Korea, in North Vietnam, in Cuba, and most recently in southern Vietnam. These are historic blows against imperialism.

The capitalist powers are no longer simply pitted against each other to carve up markets and the colonial world; their sources for investment and cheap raw materials have drastically contracted. They have banded together under Washington's lead against the world socialist revolution and colonial uprisings.

### Pole of attraction

Moreover, the gains made possible under the new economic and social system are a pole of attraction for the oppressed around the world.

These advances flow from the gradual replacement of production for private profit by production for human use in those countries. This has been made possible by the expropriation of private property in the basic means of production, the institution of economic planning, and a state monopoly of international trade.

The full potential of this historically advanced economic and social system can only be realized with the triumph of socialist revolution worldwide. Moreover, in none of the countries where capitalism has been abolished is there yet the democratic working-class participation and control needed for effective planning.

Yet the accomplishments of the new system are a living condemnation of capitalism: enormous strides in the elimination of hunger and illiteracy; free medical care and secure retirement; the eradication of boom-and-bust cycles and large-scale, permanent joblessness; and—as we will see—an end to the drive toward colonial subjugation and war.

The imperialists share a common aim: to hold

back any extension of this deadly threat to their class rule and ultimately to crush it altogether. They are driven to regain for direct exploitation the one-third of humanity that now lives in countries where capitalism has been abolished.

Washington's campaign to contain the Indochinese revolution today is one battlefield in this class war between two social systems reflecting the interests of two antagonistic classes—workers and capitalists.

Imperialism's irreconcilable hatred for this new social system explains Washington's nuclear weapons buildup since World War II. The U.S. rulers did not incinerate more than 200,000 human beings at Hiroshima and Nagasaki in order, as they claim,

**'The source of war is the inexhaustible, expansionist drive for profits by the giant monopolies that dominate the world capitalist market. The nationalized and planned economies of workers states are free from this predatory drive.'**

to force a Japanese surrender and save the lives of American GIs. The Japanese government had already informed Washington of its desire to negotiate an immediate surrender.

That act of capitalist barbarism was a warning to the Soviet Union and to the oppressed and exploited around the world.

From that day to this, every escalation of the nuclear arms race has originated in Washington.

The USSR did not develop an atomic weapon to counter the U.S. rulers' threat until late 1949.

Washington exploded the first hydrogen bomb in 1952. Moscow in 1953.

The first intercontinental ballistic missiles were deployed in 1960. By whom? The American rulers, with Moscow only following four years later.

Washington put its first missile-laden submarine

to sea in 1960. Moscow did so some seven years later.

U.S. imperialism introduced multiple atomic warheads (MIRVs) in 1970, with the Soviet Union following in 1976.

Today, under the transparent guise of "defense," Washington is moving ahead with plans for the new M-X and cruise missiles, and the neutron bomb.

The Carter administration and bipartisan Congress are driving toward a nuclear "first strike" capacity. This sought-after ability to wipe out the entire Soviet nuclear force in a single surprise blow exposes the true aggressive aims of U.S. imperialism.

Washington's nuclear arsenal makes it the enforcer of imperialist interests throughout the world against the struggles of the workers and peasants. In this capacity, it has gone to war time and again since World War II, primarily against the spread of the colonial revolution and the threat that capitalist property would be toppled by these struggles.

Washington went to war in Korea in 1950. It sent marines into Lebanon in 1958. It helped crush the Congolese nationalist movement in 1964. It staged an invasion of Cuba in 1961. It intervened to halt a popular uprising in the Dominican Republic in 1965.

And it waged a long and bloody war against the workers and peasants of Vietnam, Laos, and Kampuchea.

In addition, the CIA engineered successful coups in Brazil, Guatemala, Iran, Chile, Indonesia, and other places. And the list goes on.

The mass opposition today among U.S. workers to such military aggression is a tremendous weapon in the hands of the oppressed, from Zimbabwe to Thailand. But the U.S. ruling class is no more resigned to living with this situation abroad than it is to bowing to the resistance by American workers to a drastic attack on their living standards.

As the situation in Yemen today shows, the U.S. government is constantly gauging the situation, assessing the relationship of forces, and waiting for its opportunity to reassert direct military power. Only constant vigilance and readiness to oppose such moves anywhere in the world can keep the rulers on the defensive.

# Ruling classes & castes

The uncontrolled quest for profits that powers the imperialist war drive does not exist in countries where capitalism has been abolished and replaced by a planned and nationalized economy. The merciless lash of competition among privately owned monopolies no longer rules the economy.

This is a historic conquest of the world working class and a tribute to the Russian toilers who opened the door to a new epoch in October 1917.

U.S., Japanese, German, and other imperialist-based companies invest billions of dollars outside their own national borders each year, raking in billions more in profits to reinvest. Companies such as General Motors, Toyota, Royal Dutch Shell, British Leyland, and Michelin exploit millions of Thai, South African, Jamaican, Peruvian, and other workers in semicolonial countries, as well as in other imperialist countries. Banks such as Chase Manhattan, Credit Lyonnais, the Bank of England, and others run profit-making operations on a world scale.

Businessmen, their retainers, and all the trademarks of imperialist corporations dominate the world.

Can the same be said for the Soviet Union, China, or any other country where capitalism has been abolished? No.

Without the export of capital and its profitable investment abroad, the economies of every imperialist country in the world would grind to a halt and collapse. Yet the Soviet Union and China export no capital, and production—as well as the standard of living of the masses—continue to progress, although at a rate slowed by bureaucratic mismanagement.

The imperialist powers go to war and dispatch invading armies to protect these vital investments and direct economic interests around the globe. The states where capitalism has been abolished, however, have no such interests.

## Character of bureaucratic castes

All this is true despite the fact that all of these postcapitalist countries except Cuba are saddled with counterrevolutionary bureaucratic castes. In fact, the differences between the two economic and social systems also determine fundamental differences between the social laws governing the actions of a capitalist ruling *class* and a Stalinist ruling *caste*.

This is not a moral or ethical question. Both the capitalist and Stalinist rulers are alien from and despise the workers and oppressed. On that level, they are entirely kindred spirits.

But the different social systems they preside over, and their relationship to the means of production, cause them to act and react in different ways to protect and promote their interests.

What Leon Trotsky wrote about the Soviet Union some four decades ago in *The Revolution Betrayed* remains true today for all the workers states under Stalinist rule. "The Soviet bureaucracy has expropriated the proletariat politically in order by methods of *its own* to defend the social conquests," Trotsky explained.

The caste plays no necessary role whatever in the functioning of the economy. In fact, its pillage and bureaucratic mismanagement are obstacles to the full development of the productive possibilities of the new social and economic relations.

These countries remain workers states, however deformed or degenerated, because the property relations established through the toppling of capitalism represent an historic step forward by the working class. The workers are the ruling *class* in these countries, although oppressed by a parasitic *caste* that has seized political power from them and stunted the workers' forward march toward socialism.

A ruling capitalist class that *owns* factories and banks, in contrast, amasses capital in its own hands, which it then seeks to reinvest to again turn a profit, amass more capital, and so on. Since that search for profitable investment pushes the capitalists beyond their own borders, they are expansionist by nature. And the state they control uses military power to ensure that capital can be invested abroad and protected there.

The capitalists live more lavishly than any working person can imagine. But all their enormous personal wealth is only a pittance of the vast fortunes that they own and have control over. They must either invest these revenues profitably, or else go under in the competitive struggle.

Things are different with the bureaucratic castes that rule the Soviet Union and other workers states. They own neither the factories, the products of the

factories, nor the revenues from the sale of those products.

Through their political and administrative control, they rake off from what the workers produce a tremendous amount for their own consumption and personal comfort. But the bureaucracy cannot get its hands on the productive wealth of society, buy or sell it, invest it for profit abroad, or pass it on to its children.

Trotsky explains it this way in *The Revolution Betrayed*: "The bureaucracy has neither stocks nor bonds. It is recruited, supplemented and renewed in the manner of an administrative hierarchy, independently of any special property relations of its own."

Nikita Khrushchev, for example, could be rudely bumped from power and sent off to a disgraced, obscure, and only moderately comfortable retirement. Stalin routinely purged, jailed, and executed top figures in the bureaucratic caste.

Nelson Rockefeller, on the other hand, may have never become president. But his vast wealth en-

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**'Lenin said that this is the epoch of wars and revolutions, and it is precisely wars and revolutions that the Stalinist perverters of Leninism most fear.'**

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sured that he was, till his death, a wielder of enormous political power. He was part of the ruling class, not an individual member of a parasitic, administrative caste.

Trotsky continued: "The individual bureaucrat cannot transmit to his heirs his rights in the exploitation of the state apparatus. The bureaucracy enjoys its privileges under the form of an abuse of power."

"It conceals its income; it pretends that as a special social group it does not even exist. Its appropriation of a vast share of the national income has the character of social parasitism."

## Castes not expansionist

Unlike the capitalists, the bureaucratic caste does not depend for its wealth and privileges on the accumulation and expansion of capital. The nationalized and planned economies off which it leeches are free from the predatory drive for profits and foreign investments.

Unlike the capitalists, the bureaucracy has no need to build up a massive military establishment. In fact, arms spending cuts into its privileges. The caste needs a strong enough repressive apparatus to police the workers and defend its borders from imperialism. Washington's mad arms race, however, pushes the bureaucracy to respond out of elementary self-preservation.

The defensive character of the army of the workers states was pointed up by the difficulties of the Chinese army during its invasion of Vietnam. *New York Times* military writer Drew Middleton

reported March 6 that Peking faced "a problem in shifting the army's attitude from defensive war, for which it has been indoctrinated and trained, to one suitable for an invasion, limited though it was."

Peking's favor to U.S. imperialism was a costly one militarily and politically. Its full impact on the ranks of the Chinese army, and on the discontented workers and peasants of China, has just begun to be felt.

## Stalinist foreign policy

The caste does not have a foreign policy in the same sense as the capitalists, who pursue policies to protect their massive economic interests abroad. History books to the contrary, no major capitalist power has ever been "isolationist." Their financial and military tentacles extend around the globe.

The caste also does not pursue a revolutionary foreign policy in the interests of the working class, as did the Soviet government under the leadership of Lenin, Trotsky, and the Bolshevik Party. The Stalinists do not pursue the revolutionary anti-imperialist foreign policy of the Castro government in Cuba, which has sent troops to aid the African freedom struggle and rallied the Cuban masses this year in defense of Vietnam during the Peking invasion.

The policy of the bureaucratic castes, to the contrary, is to minimize their need for involvement abroad. They seek trade openings to obtain foreign exchange to finance imports. They seek influence over certain governments in the semicolonial world and certain national liberation movements, so that they have some leverage in their counterrevolutionary dealings with imperialism.

But the castes are not expansionist. Their aim is to milk what they can from economic development within their own borders—not to multiply their problems by swallowing up new territories to develop and new restless populations to control.

Again, this is not a moral or ethical tribute to the castes. The Stalinist bureaucracies are not expansionist or militarist because it is against their material interests to be. That is a tribute to the legacy of the Russian revolution, not its Stalinist betrayers from Moscow to Prague to Peking.

Writing in 1939 about the Soviet Union under Stalin's rule, Trotsky explained: "The mission of the Soviet regime is not that of securing new areas for the productive forces but that of erecting productive forces for the old areas. The economic tasks of the USSR do not necessitate the extension of her borders" ("The Twin Stars: Hitler-Stalin," *Writings of Leon Trotsky (1939-1940)*).

Isn't this contradicted by the Soviet army's occupation of Eastern Europe after World War II?

Not at all.

When the Soviet army occupied Eastern Europe after driving out the Nazis, Stalin had every intention of coming to terms with imperialism in those areas. He brutally crushed independent workers' struggles and sought to establish friendly capitalist coalition regimes.

Imperialism, however, smashed Stalin's plans. Winston Churchill signaled the launching of the cold war with his "Iron Curtain" speech, and the imperialists began more openly to back rightist forces throughout Eastern Europe.

To prevent the establishment of a string of hostile governments along the Soviet border, Stalin was forced by 1947 and 1948 to allow working-class mobilizations, even if tightly controlled ones, in order to abolish capitalism and set up more reliable regimes. The Kremlin had tried to avoid this course; it was a defensive response to imperialist threats, not an expression of "Communist expansionism."

# 'Peaceful coexistence'?

All the bureaucratic castes practice class collaboration with the imperialist enemies of the oppressed and exploited. The form this takes is adherence to and promotion of the Stalinist concept of "peaceful coexistence" with capitalism on a world scale—*détente*. They all seek above everything else a permanent truce with imperialism, so they can build "socialism in one country"—their own.

Actually, it is more accurate to say:

1) that in return for being left alone and helped out economically, the castes promise imperialism that they *won't* try to build socialism anywhere beyond their borders; and

2) that within their borders, the castes strive to build what they *falsely call* socialism. Their goal has nothing whatsoever to do with the Marxist goal of a worldwide society of freedom, democracy, and abundance in which human beings labor cooperatively and produce for the common advancement of all. A society in which there are no exploited or

exploiters, no oppressed or oppressors.

In the Stalinist dictionary, "socialism" means bountiful privileges for the bureaucrats. It means economic development at a pace the caste hopes will keep the masses' minds off their lack of freedom and political control. Democratic rights and decision making would undermine the totalitarian grip of the bureaucracy, which is the sole source of its privileges.

To preserve its berth in society, the bureaucracies above all crave stability—inside and outside their borders. Lenin correctly said that this is the epoch of wars and revolutions, and it is precisely wars and revolutions that the Stalinist perverters of Leninism most fear.

The Stalinists' methods are counter-revolutionary. As a social layer, they are conservative. They hate everything that shakes up the status quo, especially if it puts the working class into motion and threatens them directly. Any gain for



any revolution anywhere threatens to heighten class consciousness and discontent among the masses in the Stalinist-dominated workers states.

During the days of Lenin and Trotsky's political leadership of the Communist International, the Communist parties around the world set themselves the revolutionary goal of toppling their own bourgeoisies and extending the socialist revolution worldwide.

With the rise of Stalin, however, the Moscow-

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## 'It is the bureaucratic castes' rejection of proletarian internationalism that is their real betrayal of the cause of world peace.'

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oriented Communist parties—and since their founding in the early 1960s, the many fewer and much smaller Peking-oriented parties—abandoned any revolutionary perspective.

### Rise of Stalinism

Their goal is to convince the capitalists in their own country that they are a reliable and indispensable force to keep the workers under control and head off revolution. By doing so, and by applying pressure on the capitalist governments when necessary, the Stalinist CPs try to help the castes achieve their goal of an accommodation with the imperialists.

In pursuit of this goal, the Stalinists have betrayed and beheaded revolutions from Spain in the 1930s to Chile in the 1970s, from France in the 1940s to France again in the 1960s—and the list goes on and on.

This search for "peaceful coexistence," of course, does not mean that the bureaucratic castes will not and do not go to war.

Faced with a military threat or attack from imperialism, a caste will react in self-defense. Its aim is to protect its own privileges. But in doing so, and with its own counterrevolutionary methods, it must also defend the progressive social relations off which it feeds.

Only a year after the Stalin-Hitler "peaceful coexistence" pact, for example, the Kremlin was forced to go to war to defend the Soviet Union against a Nazi invasion. To cite another example, Peking intervened massively in the Korean War when it became clear that Washington had in mind pressing across the Chinese border.

The Stalinists have also used military force to crush antibureaucratic revolutions by the workers, as the Kremlin did in Hungary in 1956 and Czechoslovakia in 1968. The Moscow bureaucracy feared the impact on the Soviet masses of a successful revolutionary struggle for workers democracy and socialism.

In cases such as these, however, the bureaucracy is seeking to *defend* its position—against imperialism in the first case, against the workers in the second. The ultimate aim of the caste is to keep trouble from knocking on its door.

"The Kremlin does not want war or revolution," Trotsky wrote. "It does want order, tranquility, the status quo, and at any cost."

It is on their mutual hatred of revolution that the caste stakes its hopes for peaceful coexistence with world capitalism.

But this hope is as utopian as it is reactionary. "Stalin seeking to escape war does not mean that war will permit Stalin to escape," wrote Trotsky in 1939.

In their counterrevolutionary search for peace through appeasement of imperialism, the Stalinists actually make war more likely. Only extension of the revolution, and the growing consciousness and self-confidence of the working class can make the workers states more secure from imperialist attack.

### Proletarian internationalism

This, not peaceful coexistence, was the policy of Lenin and the Bolsheviks.

"As long as capitalism and socialism remain side by side we cannot live peacefully," Lenin wrote in November 1920. "The one or the other will be the victor in the end. An obituary will be sung either over the death of world capitalism, or the death of the Soviet Republic."

Far from promoting the idea of "socialism in one country," the Communist International under the leadership of Lenin and Trotsky saw the extension of the socialist revolution as a life and death matter for the Soviet Union. It championed the slogan, "Workers of the world unite!"

It is the Stalinists' rejection of Lenin's revolutionary course that is their real betrayal of the cause of

world peace, not some alleged expansionism or xenophobic aggressiveness.

Of course, since the outlook of Moscow, Peking, and other castes is limited to the privileges they derive within the boundaries they rule, they define their needs as "national interests" and place them above all else.

But contrary to everyone from the *New York Times* to the *Guardian* and *In These Times*, wars are not caused by "nationalism" or "national hostilities." Wars are not caused by ideas or "human nature." Wars are caused by conflicting material interests.

Governments will often cloak their interests behind a chauvinist guise in hopes of convincing the masses that a war is in the interests of "the entire nation." This is the standard propaganda ploy of an imperialist ruling class driven to maximize its profits through world domination.

The material interests of the castes, however, are not expansionist or militarist. Stalinism's *nationalism* is most characterized by its total rejection of working-class *internationalism*.

### Vietnam, Kampuchea, China

This view contrasts sharply with that peddled by virtually the entire U.S. radical movement except the *Militant*. Seeing competing "nationalisms" as the root of the Indochina conflicts, virtually every radical newspaper has echoed the U.S. government's diplomatic stance.

First, like Washington, they called for immediate withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from Kampuchea. Following Peking's invasion, both they and Washington linked two slogans together: Vietnam out of Kampuchea; China out of Vietnam.

The petty-bourgeois left put an equal sign between the two invasions, entirely missing the opposite class forces that came into play in the two wars. Both were allegedly "wars between Communist nations," which is dreadful, demoralizing, tragic, ad nauseum. And that settles that.

Of course, both events *do* have something in common: Both are linked to the U.S. imperialist drive to contain and eventually roll back the Indochinese revolution.

The government of Vietnam supported insurgent Kampucheans as an act of self-defense against a tightening, imperialist squeeze in which the reactionary Pol Pot regime was becoming a keystone.

Peking's invasion of Vietnam, on the contrary, was hatched in Washington *as part of* the imperialist drive to stop any spread of anticapitalist overturns to Kampuchea and Thailand by putting pressure on Hanoi.

*Neither* invasion, however, can be explained by "ugly nationalism" as the *New York Times* put it, or "national animosities" as *In These Times* and other radicals explain. Nor can they be explained as proxy wars for Sino-Soviet "national antagonisms," reflected in clashing "spheres of influence."

The Peking regime had no territorial designs on Vietnam. It did not aim to topple the Hanoi regime, nor to conquer Vietnam.

The Peking Stalinists carried out the invasion at Washington's behest because they saw a common interest in halting the Indochinese revolution. The Chinese bureaucracy sought to prove its counterrevolutionary reliability in the area. Its goal was to punish the Vietnamese, who had dealt new blows to imperialism and put the Peking bureaucracy on the defensive.

In return, the Chinese caste expects massive U.S. trade and aid. This, Peking has promised the Chinese masses, will make it possible to achieve the "Four Modernizations" and improve their living conditions.

Despite these promises, the Peking Stalinists may yet have to pay a heavy price at home for the treacherous invasion. Knowing that it would be unpopular among the Chinese masses, Teng banned all public gatherings, demonstrations, or wall posters discussing the war. Nonetheless, protests did occur in many Chinese cities, according to press reports.

Unlike the Chinese war in Korea or Stalin's defense against Hitler, this war by the ruling *caste* of a workers state was not in the interests of the ruling *class*, that is, not in the interests of the Chinese proletariat. It was unpopular from the outset.

### Imperialism's aims

U.S. business is eager to boost its sales through the opening of the China market. It sees an opportunity to strike another blow at its Japanese competitors in particular.

In addition, as the invasion of Vietnam itself showed, Washington has not recovered from the problems that forced it to turn toward détente with Peking and Moscow a decade ago.

The U.S. ruling class, however, is under no illusion that it can ultimately rely on Peking to hold

back the revolution in Southeast Asia. The capitalists are preparing the day when they can reassert their own military power there. That is the only hope to achieve *their* strategic goal in the area: not just to contain the revolution in Southeast Asia, but eventually to reestablish a capitalist Vietnam and a capitalist China.

This is not the aim of the Peking Stalinists. They seek to preserve stability in Southeast Asia, and thereby win the good graces of imperialism.

Peking does not want capitalism restored in Vietnam, which would require a very destabilizing civil war. It also does not want the reintroduction of a large U.S. military presence in Indochina. This, the caste knows, would be aimed at the conquests of the Chinese revolution, on which its own survival depends.

Peking's entire counterrevolutionary courtship of U.S. imperialism, however, makes that scenario more possible. It threatens not only the Indochinese revolution, but the Chinese workers state as well.

Furthermore, while American bankers and businessmen are out for every dollar they stand to make from their new relationship with the Chinese regime, the capitalists understand that this cannot fundamentally reverse their deepgoing economic crisis. So long as they cannot massively export capital to China and exploit Chinese labor, they cannot boost their overall worldwide profit rate—which they must do.

The U.S. rulers know that such a goal could only be accomplished with the restoration of capitalism in China. They are still resigned to their inability for the foreseeable future to roll back the revolutionary gains of the workers in either the Soviet Union or China.

That would meet deepgoing resistance from the Soviet and Chinese workers, provoking a civil war. The last thing the workers want is the restoration of capitalism, with its mass unemployment, destitution, permanent inflation, wars, and other social ills. They will fight to preserve *their* conquests, just as U.S. workers fight to preserve their unions from attacks by the employers.

Despite the financial plums that Teng is offering U.S. capitalism, the caste, too, opposes restoration, which would kick over the trough from which it has fed for thirty years.

U.S. imperialism would find individuals for any new dependent capitalist class from among the privileged layers of Chinese society. Yet it is not going to entrust this function to those who control the regime it is seeking to overthrow—a point not lost on the self-seeking caste.

Caught between the working class on one side and imperialism on the other, the Stalinists desper-

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## 'The interests of the workers lie along the road of uncompromising class struggle. Class collaboration is a set of handcuffs that hampers the use of their power in that fight.'

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ately fight to preserve the status quo.

Trotsky pointed to the imperialists' lack of gratitude and loyalty to its Stalinist collaborators in the 1930s:

"In spite of all the efforts on the part of the Moscow clique to demonstrate its conservative reliability (the counterrevolutionary politics of Stalin in Spain!)"—today we could add, and of Teng in Vietnam—"world imperialism does not trust Stalin, does not spare him the most humiliating flicks and is ready at the first favorable opportunity to overthrow him." ("Not a Workers' and Not a Bourgeois State?")

Washington's détente with Moscow and Peking marks its recognition that "the first favorable opportunity" is a ways down the road and that, in the meantime, it must make use of the Stalinists themselves in hopes of making that trip a little shorter. Teng's treachery weakens the defense of the economic conquests of the Chinese workers and heightens the chance of an ultimate imperialist victory through restoration.

In the same essay, Trotsky continued: "For the bourgeoisie—fascist as well as democratic—isolated counterrevolutionary exploits of Stalin do not suffice; it needs a complete counterrevolution in the relations of property and the opening of the Russian market. So long as this is not the case, the bourgeoisie considers the Soviet state hostile to it. And it is right."

U.S. imperialism has no more given up its strategic aim of rolling back the Chinese and Russian revolutions than it has of someday crushing the

*Continued on next page*

United Auto Workers, United Steelworkers, United Mine Workers, and other industrial unions. Whether the rulers will succeed, or be swept aside

by a socialist revolution, will be decided in the class battles that are sharpening in this country and around the world today.

Newport News and last year's miners' strike are the heat lightening of the storms to come. American workers are beginning to fight back against the rulers' offensive, and they are discussing and thinking about all the life-and-death political issues of our times.

"These are sorry days for socialism," moans the *Guardian*.

The *Militant* says, no! These are not sorry days for socialism. These are sorry days for world capitalism, which is crisis-ridden and is suffering important blows.

These are sorry days for the bureaucratic castes, whose betrayals and lack of any historical role have thrown Stalinism into crisis.

And these are sorry days for petty-bourgeois radicals such as the *Guardian*, who have staked their hopes on the Stalinist castes and have no confidence in the revolutionary power of the working class. They have folded before Carter's war-mongering propaganda blitz because they are isolated from and do not orient toward the only social force in the world that can stay the hand of U.S. imperialism and ultimately disarm it—the American workers.

The future of humanity today rests with the workers of the world, and with the workers of this country above all.

Members of the Socialist Workers Party are preparing for those big battles today in the factories, mines, and mills across the United States. There, they are finding no reason for pessimism and despair. Just the opposite. Socialists are finding a greater audience for anticapitalist ideas than ever before.

The fight for a world free from war is a fight over

**'The fight for a world free from war is a fight over which class will rule the world—the workers or the capitalists.'**

which class will rule the world—the workers or the capitalists.

In that international class war—from Iran to Zimbabwe, from the Soviet Union to China, from France to the United States—the decisive element will be the construction of revolutionary parties, armed with a Marxist program and composed overwhelmingly of industrial workers.

"Where will it end?" sob the *Guardian* editors. The *Militant* answers with complete confidence:

With the world socialist revolution, which will put an end to the capitalist scourges of poverty, exploitation, and war.

## Find out more about imperialism and Stalinism

The revolutionary Marxist positions on the source of war in the modern world and on the character of Stalinist bureaucratic castes can be explored further in the following books.

### Imperialism: The Highest Stage of Capitalism

By V.I. Lenin  
\$1.25

### In Defense of Marxism

By Leon Trotsky  
\$3.95

### The Revolution Betrayed

What is the Soviet Union and Where Is It Going?  
\$4.95

### Writings of Leon Trotsky 1929-1940

(In twelve volumes)  
\$5.45 for each volume

Available at the socialist bookstores listed on page 31. Or order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, New York 10014. Enclose \$.50 for postage.

# Unions & workers states

Trotsky was the originator of a useful analogy between trade unions and workers states.

"The trade unions of France, Great Britain, the United States and other countries support completely the counterrevolutionary politics of their bourgeoisie," Trotsky wrote in 1939. "This does not prevent us from labeling them trade unions, from supporting their progressive steps and from defend-

**'The future of humanity today rests with the workers of the world, and with the American working class above all.'**

ing them against the bourgeoisie.

"Why is it impossible to employ the same method with the counterrevolutionary workers' state. In the last analysis a workers state is a trade union which has conquered power." (*In Defense of Marxism*.)

The outlook of the Stalinist castes is summed up in their counterrevolutionary strategy of "peaceful coexistence" with world capitalism. Similarly, the union bureaucrats proclaim and practice "labor peace" and "stable labor-management relations." In return for favors from the bosses that let them continue raking in dues, they agree not to organize the South, to corral working people inside the capitalist Democratic and Republican parties, and to keep democratic control over union power out of the hands of the workers.

The bosses—in a single industry or organized as the government—seek to destroy the conquests of the working class, all the way from unions on a national level to the workers states on a world scale. For them, class collaboration is at best a tactic along the path toward that goal.

The workers, on the other hand, are pitted in battle against capitalist exploitation. Their interests lie along the road of conscious, uncompromising class struggle. For them, class collaboration is a set of handcuffs that hampers the use of their power in that fight.

For the bureaucracies, however, class collaboration is the staff of life. They are a petty-bourgeois social layer that derive their privileges from trying to becalm the stormy class struggle.

The aim of the union bureaucrats is to fatten their own pocketbooks, which depend on the existence of the union. Their class-collaborationist course, however, ends up weakening the unions, just as "peaceful coexistence" weakens the workers states.

The labor officialdom, like the Stalinist castes, is sometimes forced to act in self-defense or under pressure from the workers. It may have to lead a strike, if the employers launch a union-busting drive, just as Stalin finally went to war against German imperialism following Hitler's invasion.

### Raiding operations

Trotsky's analogy can even shed some light on what was really at stake in Peking's invasion of Vietnam.

One of the biggest services the union tops perform for the bosses is to keep the working class divided: male against female, white against Black, employed

against unemployed, union against nonunion, U.S. workers against Japanese workers, and so on.

The bosses and their government glory in such divisions, which pit the workers among themselves, instead of against their common exploiter. The union bureaucracy serves as the transmission belt through which the employers bring this pressure and these prejudices and divisions to bear against the labor movement.

One way this is sometimes done is through "raiding operations" by the misleaders of one union against another union. The bosses encourage this situation if they feel too weak to keep out a union altogether, but believe they can come to a "sweetheart" agreement with the bureaucrats of a particular union that will minimize their own profit losses.

For example, several years ago California agribusiness called in the Teamsters union bureaucracy to aid it in smashing the organizing drive of the United Farm Workers. Through its struggles and broad national support, the UFW had begun to win some contracts. Agribusiness was determined to smash the union.

The growers, of course, publicly proclaimed their "neutrality" in the "unfortunate jurisdictional dispute." They claimed to have nothing to do with the hired goons who beat up and killed UFW militants. "It all shows the destructive logic of unions," the agribusiness spokespersons explained. "Farm workers would be better off without them."

A familiar refrain? Echoes of Washington's proclamations of innocence over Peking's invasion of Vietnam?

All the while, the growers were meeting and making deals with the Teamster bureaucrats, just as Blumenthal did recently with Teng in Peking.

The UFW's supporters pointed the finger of blame for this union-busting drive where it belonged: at the growers. And they condemned the Teamsters officialdom for its treacherous, scabbing role in the antilabor scheme.

Fortunately, the UFW was successful in exposing the growers' game and winning significant national solidarity for their fight. The Teamster bureaucrats were finally forced to pull out of the fields.

This points to another important lesson, as well. The decisive battle didn't come down to the bosses vs. the Teamster bureaucrats, or the bureaucrats vs. the farm workers. The battle was between the growers on one side, and the farm workers and UFW supporters on the other. That was what counted in the end.

This was seen again last year during the coal miners' strike. The United Mine Workers officials for a period of weeks were basically swept to the sidelines, as the miners rejected the coal operators' take-back contracts and Carter's Taft-Hartley back-to-work order. It was in that confrontation—the workers vs. the bosses and their government—that the UMWA beat back the coal operator's union-busting drive.

This is not to say that the bureaucracies will be gotten rid of automatically. Not at all. In the union movement, it will take the formation of a class-struggle left wing around the fight for union democracy, class solidarity, and political independence. In the workers states, it will take political revolutions.

The bureaucracies in both cases, however, are parasitic social layers straddling the two decisive classes in society: the capitalists and the workers.

# Class struggle on rise

The big questions of revolution and counterrevolution in the world will not be decided by the bureaucratic castes and their Stalinist policies. Those questions will be settled in the battles between the world working class and imperialism.

Every victory for the world revolution weakens the imperialist warmakers. Each such victory is a hundred times more potent in defending the social gains of the Russian, Chinese, Vietnamese, and other workers states than the ultimately suicidal policies of "peaceful coexistence" followed by the Stalinist castes. And each such victory weakens the grip of these betrayers over the workers in their own countries, and their influence over the course of struggles in other countries.

Today those struggles are on the rise. That is shown by the revolutionary events in Iran. It is shown by the mounting liberation struggle in Zimbabwe and throughout southern Africa. It is shown by the living revolution in Indochina that Washington is trying to contain, with Peking's help.

The working class in the imperialist countries, too, is on the move. In Britain they have shattered the government's 5 percent wage guidelines. In France they are battling to save jobs in that country's steel-making region. German steelworkers this year waged their first industry-wide battle against the employers in fifty years.

And in the United States, today's struggle at



# Pulley spotlighted in mass media, debates

By Emma Jackson

CHICAGO—The *Chicago Defender*, the major Black newspaper here, ran a full-page poster on the municipal election in its March 10 issue.

The poster portrays Andrew Pulley, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor, as the only alternative for the Black community in the April 3 elections.

This support for Pulley caps a week of snowballing publicity and activity for the socialist campaign.

Since the February 27 primary election, Pulley has been seen on television, heard on radio, and written about in the major daily papers virtually every day.

This coverage has included film by Channel 5 television of Pulley campaigning at the gates of U.S. Steel's South Works, on a street corner in the Black community, and at home getting ready to go to work.

The Socialist Workers Party scored a major victory when the League of Women Voters here failed in its attempt to bar Pulley from a televised candidates' debate.

Throughout the country, the League of Women Voters has maneuvered to exclude the socialist candidates from the debates they sponsor.

But they couldn't get away with it in Chicago.

What happened was summed up by Irv Kupcnet, whose syndicated "Kup's Column" appears daily in the *Chicago Sun-Times*.

March 9: "The Chicago League of Women Voters and [television station] WTTW have offered Mrs. Byrne and her Republican opponent, Wallace Johnson, one hour of prime time on March 27 for a debate. . . . The third mayoral candidate, Andrew Pulley of the Socialist Workers Party, will be offered a half hour at another time."

Two days later, Kupcnet wrote: "NOW HEAR THIS: The Chicago League of Women Voters and WTTW, faced with a lawsuit, decided to include the third candidate, the Socialist Workers Party's Andrew Pulley, in the televised mayoral debate. . . . Tentative date for the debate is March 29."

Pulley's campaign takes place within the context of confusion and shock inside the Democratic Party

following Jane Byrne's victory in the primary election over incumbent Mayor Michael Bilandic.

Byrne is the first person here in decades to beat a "machine" candidate for a major public office. The upset of Bilandic reflected the frustration and anger of Chicagoans over "politics as usual." They wanted a change for the better and hoped Byrne represented that.

But many Chicago voters are beginning to realize that Byrne's nomination means no change for them.

A March 10 *Chicago Tribune* editorial observed, "Mrs. Byrne's actions and statements since her nomination strongly indicate that voters who saw her as a herald of political reform will be disappointed."

The *Chicago Metro News*, a Black community paper, editorialized on March 10: "The major reality is that Jane Byrne is not an independent. She is a Democrat and she is a machine Democrat."

The Republican candidate, Wallace Johnson, has become notorious for his racist "jokes." The Republican Party traditionally gets only a tiny fraction of the vote here.

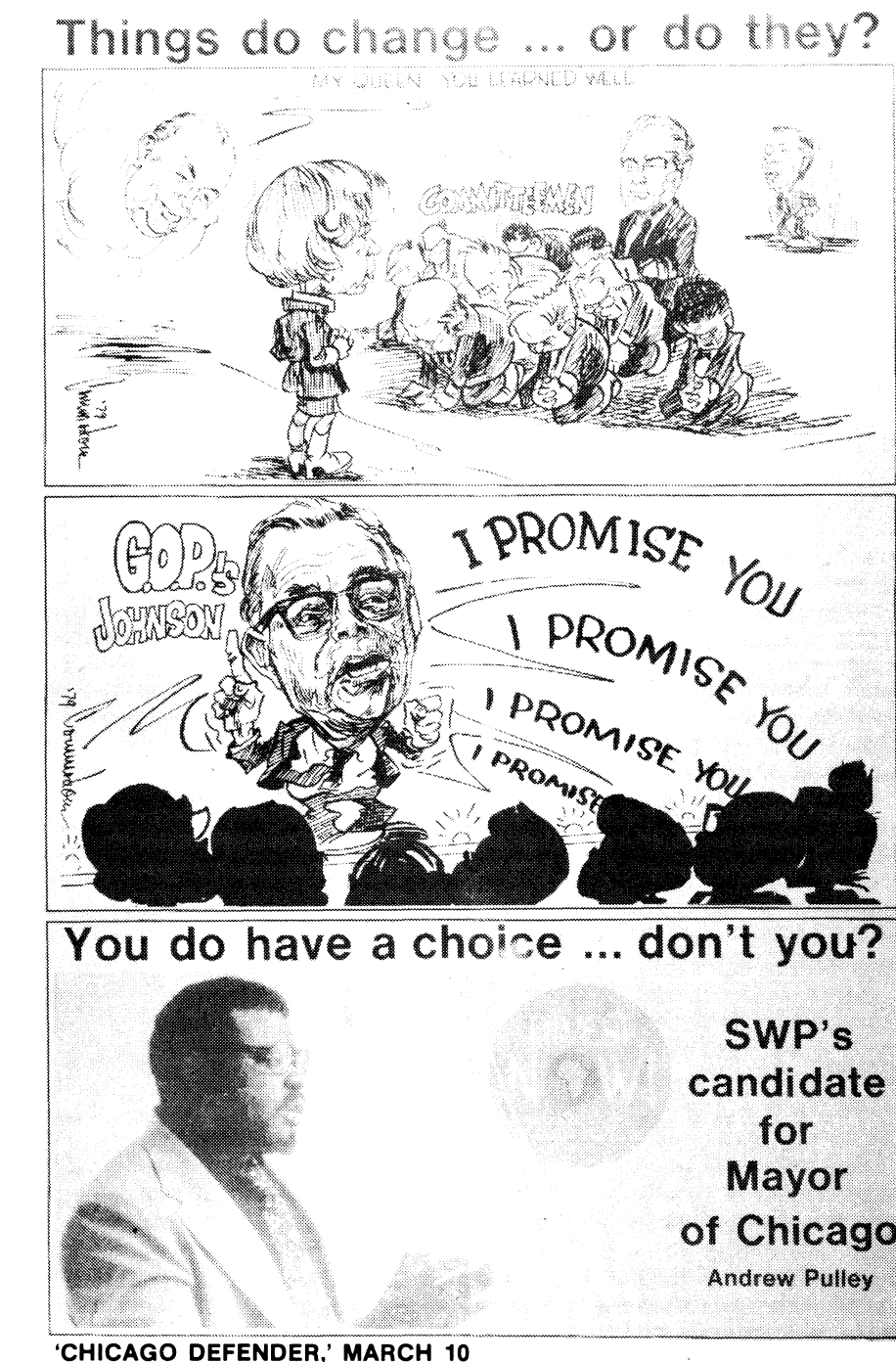
More and more people are beginning to see that the choice on April 3 is between the Democratic machine and the Socialist Workers Party.

The choice is either Andrew Pulley—a steelworker, a union activist, an ex-GI, a Black activist who has earned his stripes in mass struggles. Or Jane Byrne—a flunky of the late Mayor Richard Daley, and a machine Democrat whose father is a vice-president of Inland Steel.

At a time when workers in the plants, mills, and factories are increasingly open to class-struggle proposals, and when anger and frustration are growing in the Black and *latino* communities, this choice is making people sit up and take notice.

In response to these new openings for the campaign, Pulley's supporters from around the city met March 11 to gear up for the final three weeks.

John Studer, SWP Chicago organizer, said: "This is the biggest opening the Socialist Workers Party has ever had to show the working class of Chicago that it *does* have an alterna-



tive, that we *can* vote in our own interests.

"It's our biggest opportunity to explain the socialist solutions to war, unemployment, soaring prices, high taxes, racism, and sexism.

"It's also clear," Studer continued, "that we have the possibility of getting far and away more votes than we've ever gotten before. It's possible that we could get 5 percent of the vote—giving us regular ballot status for the first time. *We should shoot for that 5 percent!*"

"Getting permanent ballot status for a working-class party would be a victory for all the oppressed and exploited," Studer said.

The socialists mapped out plans to print and distribute 100,000 copies of a special "Vote Socialist Workers" leaflet. They will plaster the city with posters and stickers, including thousands of reproductions of the *Chicago Defender* poster.

The activists organized themselves into early morning, midday, night, and weekend teams to distribute literature and sell the *Militant* at plant gates, on the campuses, and in the Black and *latino* communities.

The meeting also agreed to get as many poll watchers as possible April 3. "We know we can't keep the city officials honest," said Studer. "But we can

let them know we're watching, and we're going to scream bloody murder over every vote we can prove they've stolen."

The Chicago Socialist Workers Party is also urging Pulley's supporters from throughout the Midwest to come into Chicago and join in the last weekend of campaigning.

Andrew Pulley told his supporters at the meeting that one of the most important things they could do is talk to their co-workers on the job.

"Let them know a worker like themselves is running, and ask them to help out," Pulley said. "I know from talking to the people I work with in the mill that they *like* our proposals for changing things. They *like* the idea of a labor party. They are *for* affirmative action, and they *don't* like these nuclear power plants."

Pulley described a lunchtime discussion he had with Black auto workers at Fisher Body. "They wanted to talk about school desegregation and they wanted to talk about the union," he said. "They wanted to talk about building a movement to change society. We need more discussions like that."

Pulley will be campaigning full time until the election. He requested a three-week leave from his job at U.S. Steel's Gary Works. It was immediately granted. No questions asked.

## Join the socialist campaign!

- Help distribute leaflets and posters.
- Get your union or group to endorse Pulley's candidacy.
- Invite Pulley to speak to your union, school, church, or community group.

- **FUNDS URGENTLY NEEDED**—Collect and send contributions.

- Be a poll-watcher on election day.
- Come to a campaign headquarters and help out:

**Chicago city-wide:** 407 S. Dearborn #1145. Zip: 60605. Tel: (312) 663-0753 or 939-0737.

**South Side:** 2251 E. 71st. St. Zip: 60649. Tel: (312) 643-5520.

**West Side:** 3942 W. Chicago. Zip: 60651. Tel: (312) 384-0606.

**March 18:** Pulley appears on "Issues Unlimited." Black news panel on WGN-TV.

**March 20:** Pulley speaks to UAW Local 453 Council meeting.

**March 23:** Pulley debates Democratic and Republican candidates at meeting sponsored by Chicago Urban League. 7 p.m. at Liberty Baptist Church, 4849 S. King Drive.

**April 1: SOCIALIST CAMPAIGN RALLY.** 7 p.m. Blue Gargoyle Gymnasium, 5655 S. University, 2nd floor.

**April 3:** Election night victory rally. 6 p.m. Gold Room, Blackstone Hotel.

For more information call (312) 663-0753.

## ...Malcolm

Continued from back page

certainly would have facilitated the government explanation in the death of Malcolm. Hayer, the admitted assassin, denied any connection with the Muslims.

Kunstler stated, "It's our theory . . . that under the Cointelpro the bureau was setting up Malcolm against Elijah and that everything possible was done to stimulate each to attack the other, and that they are the cause of the

murder of Malcolm, or they set the climate in which it could easily occur."

The involvement of the police is also a real possibility in Kunstler's view. He cites "the failure to have any police in the area when they usually have several hundred. . . . This was a week after the bombing of his [Malcolm's] house in Queens."

Also, as Kunstler pointed out, one of the weapons at the scene of the murder disappeared after being given to an undercover cop.

Clearly there is more than enough

evidence to warrant reopening the case. So far, however, neither the courts nor congressional committees have shown the slightest interest in investigating the many unanswered questions about Malcolm's murder. Congress has failed to mount even a token investigation, as it did in the King and Kennedy assassinations.

It is up to the Black community to take the lead in bringing out the truth about Malcolm's murder.

One way to do this is to demand that the government open its files and

produce everything it has on Malcolm. What the FBI has released so far is only a tiny fraction of what must be thousands of documents on Malcolm.

Others who have been victims of government harassment—the labor movement, first and foremost—have a stake in demanding full public disclosure.

An independent commission of inquiry into the assassination, organized by and responsible to the Black community, would be the best assurance of an honest and complete investigation.

## 'Migra' to blame for El Paso killing

EL PASO, Tex.—Immigration Service harassment of Mexican workers crossing the border here was responsible for the death of a ten-year-old Mexican child March 10. She was killed when a car drove into a crowd of protesters on the bridge between El Paso and Juarez.

With heavy unemployment in Juarez, many Mexican women are forced to work as domestics in El Paso. They are paid about twenty dollars a week.

Because U.S. commuter work permits are often difficult to obtain, many of these workers use the visitor permits issued for people who want to go shopping in El Paso. Periodically, the

workers are hassled by U.S. border cops.

At about 6:30 a.m. on March 9, the *migra* cops began pulling aside people coming across with visitor permits. The cops claimed there was no place to go shopping at that hour.

Many were searched and some forced to strip. About 150 were sent back across the border.

Word about what happened spread in Juarez. Nearly 400 angry people gathered and blocked the car and pedestrian bridges, preventing U.S. traffic from entering Mexico. The protests continued all day Friday, Saturday, and Sunday.

On Saturday, people in the middle of the bridge let

through a car driven by a Chicana. But as she approached the end of the bridge, the rest of the crowd stood fast.

The driver speeded up, apparently believing the people would move aside. They didn't.

Laura Fabela Chávez, ten, of Juarez, was killed. Martin Acosta Chávez, nine, was critically injured. Another child was hit but apparently not seriously hurt.

The big-business media here are saying the whole thing was the work of "militant" groups on both sides of the border.

But the instigators of this protest were the *migra* cops and the racist U.S. immigration policies they enforce.

## Steel protests shake France

Ongoing militant actions by French steelworkers have given pause to the government's drive to boost steel profits by speedup and huge layoffs.

On March 9 the government, which has largely taken control of the steel industry, said it was temporarily suspending layoffs and opening new talks with the steelworkers unions. President Giscard d'Estaing called the National Assembly into a special session—the first in more than twenty years—on the unemployment crisis.

One million workers had joined in a general strike, mass demonstrations, and factory occupations February 16. Protests continued over the following weeks.

On March 8, steel strikers threw up street barricades and smashed part of a police station with bulldozers in Denain, a small northern steel town threatened with virtual extinction by the government's plan.

Paul Lewis wrote from Paris in the March 10 *New York Times* that "no one has forgotten that a wave of apparently minor disturbances 10 years ago suddenly turned into the great national strike of May 1968."

In another retreat, French government officials denied they were also planning drastic cutbacks in the shipbuilding industry. Just weeks before, the government had said such cuts were next.



French steelworkers block train to protest layoffs

## DID LETELIER KILLER PLOT OTHER DEATHS?

Michael Vernon Townley, an agent for the Chilean military regime who admits murdering Chilean exile Orlando Letelier in 1976, may have participated in similar attacks around the world in 1974 and 1975.

According to FBI reports cited in the March 8 *New York Times*, Townley was in Argentina when Gen. Carlos Prats, a critic of the Chilean junta, was assassinated and in Italy when former Chilean Vice-president Bernardo Leighton was shot in an unsuccessful assassination attempt. Townley has admitted trying to kill exiled Chilean Socialist Party and Communist Party leaders in Mexico in 1975.

As part of a deal to secure Townley's extradition from Chile, however, Washington agreed to keep information about his other plots secret.

Three counterrevolutionary Cubans were convicted last month of participating in the Letelier killing, largely on Townley's testimony. The Cubans maintained that Townley carried out the murder under orders from the CIA.

Could it be that concealing the CIA's role is yet another reason Washington is more than willing to keep the truth about Townley under wraps?

## MEDICAID ABORTIONS SLASHED 99 PERCENT

The Democrats and Republicans have succeeded in nearly eliminating federally funded abortions, figures from the Department of Health, Education and Welfare reveal.

In the last eleven months of 1978, Medicaid abortions dropped to 2,421—down from 250,000 to 300,000 per year before anti-abortion restrictions were legislated in 1976.

This 99 percent cutback strikes hardest at poor women who cannot afford to pay for an abortion themselves. It disproportionately affects Black, Chicano, and Puerto Rican women. And by further stigmatizing abortion as somehow immoral, it has weakened every woman's right to choose.

Unable to obtain legal Medicaid abortions, untold thousands of women have been forced to dangerous back-alley or self-induced abortions. But their screams do not disturb the smug complacency of a "right to life" Congress.

## PUERTO RICO UNIONIST WINS ACQUITTAL

Puerto Rican Teamster organizer Miguel Cabrera was acquitted February 24 of frame-up murder charges. The jury deliberated a brief three hours.

Cabrera was accused of the

September 1977 death of corporate lawyer Allan Randall.

There was no evidence at all connecting Cabrera to the crime. The government's star witness was a convicted murderer given a light sentence in return for his testimony against Cabrera. The witness's testimony was completely discredited at the trial.

Cabrera's acquittal was the result of an international defense campaign, which brought observers to the courtroom and denounced the violations of his human rights.

The U.S. Committee to Defend Miguel Cabrera charged the unionist had been arrested as part of an attack on the Puerto Rican Labor Movement.

## ANTI-APARTHEID ACTIONS

More than ninety activists attended the Minnesota Anti-Apartheid Conference in Minneapolis March 3.

As part of the national week of anti-apartheid actions April 4-11, conference participants called for an April 6 picket of the University of Minnesota trustees.

Meanwhile, at a March 10 Conference on Apartheid and Divestment in Albany, the State University of New York Student Association called for

an April 3 demonstration in the state capital. For more information, call Student Association of SUNY at (518) 465-2406.

## SUPREME COURT WON'T HEAR PELTIER APPEAL

The U.S. Supreme Court refused March 5 to hear an appeal from Native American activist Leonard Peltier of his frame-up murder conviction.

Peltier was convicted in 1977 of killing two FBI agents on the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation in South Dakota.

## SO MUCH FOR 'REVERSE RACISM'

A favorite argument of opponents of affirmative action is that the problem it addresses has already been solved.

True, the Alan Bakkes and Brian Webers will concede, Blacks and other minorities were discriminated against in the past. But that's all over now.

Minorities, they will tell you, have not only caught up with but are often doing better than whites. Affirmative-action quotas, they assert, only add to the

# What's Going On

## ARIZONA PHOENIX

**RALLY TO DEFEND HECTOR MARROQUIN.** Speakers: Olga Rodríguez, Socialist Workers Party; representative of NAACP; MEChA; others. Fri., Mar. 23, 7:30 p.m. ASU Memorial Union, Pinal Room. Ausp: Héctor Marroquín Defense Committee. For more information call (602) 267-7410.

## CALIFORNIA BAY AREA

**CHINA AFTER MAO.** Speaker: Theodore Edwards, Marxist scholar and lecturer. Fri., Mar. 23, 8 p.m. 3264 Adeline, Berkeley. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (415) 824-1992, 653-7156, 261-1210, or (408) 295-8342.

**TWO CLASSES ON CHINA.** Speaker: Theodore Edwards. Sat., Mar. 24, 2 p.m., Origins of Maoism; 4 p.m., Maoism in power. 3264 Adeline, Berkeley. Donation: \$1 per class. For more information call (415) 824-1992, 653-7156, 261-1210, or (408) 295-8342.

**CALIFORNIA LOS ANGELES**  
SOCIALIST WORKERS CAMPAIGN

**RALLY.** Speakers: Willie Petty, SWP candidate for school board, District 1; Pedro Vasquez, SWP candidate for school board District 5. Sat., Mar. 24, 7 p.m.; party at 9 p.m. CSO Hall, 2130 E. 1st St., Boyle Heights. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Socialist Workers Campaign. For more information call (213) 582-1975.

## COLORADO DENVER

**WINE & CHEESE BENEFIT FOR HECTOR MARROQUIN.** 'Amnesia,' twenty-minute film made in Mexico, will be shown. Sat., Mar. 24, 7:30 p.m. Colorado Migrant Council, 7905 W. 44th Ave. Donation: \$2.50. Ausp: Héctor Marroquín Defense Committee. For more information call (303) 534-8330.

## GEORGIA ATLANTA

**INDOCHINA WAR: MADE IN USA.** Speaker: Bill O'Kain, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., Mar. 23, 8 p.m. 509 Peachtree St. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (404) 872-7229.

**ILLINOIS CHICAGO**  
MAYORAL CANDIDATES DEBATE.

Speakers: Jane Byrne, Democrat; Wallace Johnson, Republican; Andrew Pulley, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., Mar. 23, 7 p.m. Liberty Baptist Church, 4849 S. King Dr. Ausp: Chicago Urban League. For more information call (312) 663-0753.

## SOCIALIST CAMPAIGN RALLY.

Speakers: Andrew Pulley, SWP candidate for mayor of Chicago; Maria Rivera, United Auto Workers Local 858. Sun., April 1, 7 p.m. Blue Gargoyle Youth Service Center, 5655 S. University Ave. 2nd fl. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Socialist Workers Campaign Committee. For more information call (312) 663-0753.

## KENTUCKY LOUISVILLE

**THE OIL CRISIS: MYTH OR REALITY?** Speaker: Jon Teitelbaum, Socialist Workers Party; others. Sat., Mar. 24, 4 p.m. 1505 W. Broadway. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum Series. For more information call (502) 587-8418.

## MINNESOTA MINNEAPOLIS

**NO NUKES!** Northern Sun Alliance slide show & discussion. Speakers: Terry Hok-

enson, Northern Sun Alliance; Jim Carson, Socialist Workers Party. Sun., Mar. 25, 7 p.m. 23 E. Lake St. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (612) 825-6663.

## ST. PAUL

**DANGER! RADIOACTIVE WASTE.** A film by NBC News. Also, speakers will report on the recent convention of the Bailly Alliance. Fri., Mar. 23, 8 p.m. 373 University Ave. Donation: \$1.25. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (612) 222-8929.

## MISSOURI KANSAS CITY

**WAR IN INDOCHINA: WHAT'S BEHIND THE CONFLICT?** Speakers: representative of Socialist Workers Party; others. Sun., Mar. 25, 7:30 p.m. 4715A Troost Ave. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (816) 753-0404.

## NEW JERSEY NEWARK

**SEXUAL HARASSMENT ON THE JOB.** A panel discussion. Fri., Mar. 23, 8 p.m. 11A Central Ave. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (201) 643-3341.

## NEW MEXICO ALBUQUERQUE

**TWENTY YEARS AFTER THE CUBAN REVOLUTION: NEW UPSURGE IN LATIN AMERICA.** Speaker: Pedro Camejo, 1976 Socialist Workers Party presidential candidate recently returned from a tour of Latin America. Wed., Mar. 21, 7:30 p.m. 108 Morningside NE. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (505) 255-6869.

## NEW YORK LOWER MANHATTAN

**NEWPORT NEWS SHIPYARD STRIKE: EYEWITNESS REPORT.** Speaker: Shelley Kramer, staff writer for the 'Militant.' Fri., Mar. 23, 8 p.m. 108 E. 16th St., 2nd fl. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (212) 260-6400.

## OHIO CINCINNATI

**IRAN: A MARXIST ANALYSIS OF THE REVOLUTION.** A panel discussion. Thurs., Mar. 29, 7:30 p.m. Univ. of Cincinnati, Rm. 402 Tangeman Center. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (513) 751-2636.



new "reverse discrimination." Recent figures from New York City confirm what a crock this racist argument really is. A study based on 1976 U.S. census figures show that nearly one fourth of New York youth were living below the official poverty level in 1975.

This included, 37.7% of all Hispanic youth and 36% of Blacks.

The figure for white youth? 8.5%.

Additional figures were just as revealing. Black families with children had median incomes of \$9,572. For Hispanic families, it was \$7,993.

For white families, the figure was \$16,609.

Even if they were now starting out with "equal opportunity"—which they're not—Blacks and *latinos* couldn't "catch up." And without affirmative-action programs in jobs and education the dollar gap will continue to widen.

#### DACAJEWIAH TO BE PAROLED

Dacajewiah (John Hill), the last person imprisoned as part of the state cover-up of the Attica prison massacre, will be paroled March 21, his lawyer has announced.

On September 13, 1971, then-Gov. Nelson Rockefeller ordered a police assault on Attica, which had been taken over by protesting inmates.

### Quote unquote

"It was easy in the pre-Vietnam days to look at an area on the map and say, 'that's ours' and feel pretty good about investing there. That's no longer the case, as Iran has made so terribly clear."

—A U.S. banker quoted in the March 12 'Business Week.'

Firing indiscriminately, the cops slaughtered 29 prisoners and 9 hostages and wounded 300 more.

Dacajewiah was among the inmates convicted of various crimes allegedly committed during the takeover. No guard was ever indicated.

#### SEABROOK ARRESTS

Nearly 150 people were arrested in Seabrook, New Hampshire, March 9 as activists tried to prevent delivery of the reactor pressure vessel for the Seabrook nuclear power station.

The 450-ton vessel was being brought in by truck. Three hundred demonstrators, many of them members of the Clamshell Alliance, sought to block the gate to the construction site.

## Right-wing harassment in Ky.

By Debby Tarnopol

LOUISVILLE, Ky.—Right-wing vandals at General Electric's Appliance Park carried out another attack March 2 against Jim Burfeind, former Socialist Workers Party congressional candidate, by stealing his tools and tool cart, valued at more than \$1,100. Most were Burfeind's own tools, critical to his ability to work his trade as a machinist.

Burfeind and the SWP have been targets of right-wing violence and harassment since a gas-grenade attack last November was carried out against an SWP election campaign rally.

Burfeind called the Louisville cops, who came to the GE plant but refused to take a report. The cops claimed

they couldn't investigate at all unless the company pressed charges on the missing tools that were theirs.

GE finally filed a police report a few days later, but still has not said whether it will press charges.

Burfeind's shop steward and other union officials, angered at the continued harassment, filed a grievance March 6 demanding that GE put a stop to it.

The right-wingers had also begun a campaign against workers who had befriended Burfeind. But since the grievance was filed, the harassment has stopped.

In addition, General Electric has begun to replace Burfeind's tools in record time.

#### OHIO

##### TOLEDO

**FIRSTHAND ACCOUNT OF NEW-PORT NEWS STRIKE.** Slides and talk. Speakers: Glen Arnode and Jeff Powers, education committee, United Auto Workers Local 451. Sun., Mar. 25, 7 p.m. 2507 Collingwood. Donation: \$1. Aup: Militant Forum. For more information call (419) 242-9743.

#### PENNSYLVANIA PITTSBURGH

**SOUTH AFRICA FREEDOM FIGHT: HOW WE CAN HELP.** Speaker: Maceo Dixon, Socialist Workers Party National Committee, recently returned from a tour of southern Africa. Sat., Mar. 24, 8 p.m. 1210 E. Carson St. Donation: \$1.50. Aup: Militant Forum. For more information call (412) 488-7000.

**LOS OLVIDADOS (THE YOUNG & THE DAMNED).** A film by Luis Buñel. Tues., Mar., 27, 8 p.m. IP 56 Forbes Quadrangle, Univ. of Pittsburgh. Donation: \$1.25. Aup: Héctor Marroquín Defense Committee. For more information call (412) 683-1982.

#### WASHINGTON, D.C.

**THE WEBER CASE.** Speakers: Bernadette Venson, Communications Workers of America Local 2336; Marcie Kuzeja, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., Mar. 23, 8 p.m. 3106 Mt. Pleasant NW. Donation: \$1.50. Aup: Militant Forum. For more information call (202) 797-7699.

#### WASHINGTON TACOMA

**REVOLUTION IN IRAN: EYEWITNESS ACCOUNT.** Speaker: Cindy Jaquith, associate editor of the 'Militant.' Sun., Mar. 18, 1 p.m. Pacific Lutheran Univ., Xavier Hall, Rm. 201. Aup: Militant Forum & Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (206) 627-0432.

#### WISCONSIN MILWAUKEE

**THE DIVESTMENT MOVEMENT TODAY.** Speakers: Russ Wolff, student, Carroll College; Cathy Green, Marquette Coalition for Divestiture; Randy Christensen, Socialist Workers Party; Ann Heidcamp, Milwaukee Committee on South Africa. Fri., Mar. 23, 8 p.m. 3901 N. 27th St. Donation: \$1.50. Aup: Militant Forum. For more information call (414) 445-2076.

# The Great Society

## Harry Ring



**Useless as a broken puppet—**Remember during the first big demonstrations against the shah of Iran how Carter would phone regularly, urging him to hang in there? But since he left the country, says the now-jobless shah, he hasn't heard from his president once.

**Touchy, touchy—**General Electric withdrew its sponsorship of a Barbara Walters interview with Jane Fonda on Fonda's new movie, *The China Syndrome*. It's about a near-accident at a California nuclear plant.

**Nurse, the nightstick, please—**Concerned about treatment of patients at New York municipal hospitals, the director has inaugurated a program to improve the atmosphere. Some security cops will

doff their uniforms and wear jackets with a lapel inscription, "We care for you." Does that mean they'll prescribe drugs and do surgery?

**Advice to the upward bound (I)—**The New York University Graduate School of Business Administration held a workshop on "Dressing for the Corporate Structure." The guest speaker, a custom shirtmaker, advised: "The most important item in your wardrobe is your shirt collar."

**Upward bound (II)—**Stanley Hyman, a specialist on how to apply for corporate jobs, also advises on how to dress. For instance, always wear a white shirt. "Nothing symbolizes more integrity." Good enough. But will a corporation hire someone who looks like they might have integrity?

## Union Talk

## On the labor party

This week's column is by Larry Stewart, a member of the Teamsters union.

NEWARK—The *Militant's* reprint of excerpts from "Implications of the Labor Party" by James P. Cannon (February 9) was very timely.

The Socialist Workers Party almost from its beginning has called for worker formation of a labor party. It is a key agitational-educational demand in opposition to the Democratic and Republican parties of the U.S. ruling class.

The labor party demand over those many years was, for the most part, not an agitational slogan. This was because of the corollary between the political level of the working class and the ability of the capitalist system to afford (under pressure from the labor movement) limited reforms and concessions. This led to mass working-class support of the Democratic Party.

Now it's a new ball game. The Democratic Party has revealed itself for what it has always been: the sham, Janus-faced twin of the Republican Party—just as conservative, just as intent on protecting the increasing criminal profits of big business. The Democratic Party's chief spokesperson, James Carter, has more than proven himself apt at guaranteeing those profits at the expense of millions of workers.

Because the Democratic Party has revealed itself for what it truly is, workers are experiencing heightened political consciousness. The labor party is no longer just a slogan. It's a *realizable demand* in the existing economic situation of cutbacks and deprivation.

But for the labor party to have any real substance, the *call* requires simultaneously exposing the labor fakers and parasitic crooks who control the unions and are in cahoots with the bosses and the Democratic Party.

The response of the overwhelming majority of organized workers to the labor party proposal at first is: "You're right. That's what we need."

But on hearing the further explanation that the labor party should be based on the organized trade-union movement, the invariable response is: "What! You think those crooks and sell-out artists are going to build a labor party? I don't believe it. . . . And even if they did, it wouldn't do us any good!"

There's good reason for that kind of reaction. In all of the current and recent strike actions, few if any have had full and adequate support from the bureaucrats, let alone real leadership.

I refer to the admonitions of Jim Can-

non in 1954. They are well worth repeating:

"It is true that the simple fact of the formation of a labor party, by itself, would have profound influence in speeding up radical and even revolutionary developments. But those who are satisfied with that might as well retire from the field and let the automatic process take care of everything. The automatic process will not take care of anything except to guarantee defeats. The conscious revolutionists, however few their numbers may be in the beginning, are a part of the process."

"Their part is to help the process along by telling the whole truth. The fight for a labor party is bound up with the fight to cleanse the labor movement of a crooked and treacherous leadership, and cannot be separated from it."

"Those radicals and ex-radicals who are willing to settle for a labor party, leaving the question of program and leadership unmentioned, are simply inventing a formula for their own betrayal."

"It is not permissible for revolutionists to pass themselves off as mere advocates of a labor party, pure and simple, like any labor faker who devotes Sunday sermons to this idea. A labor party headed by the present official labor skates, without a program of class struggle, would be a sitting duck for American fascism. That's the truth of the matter, and advocacy of a labor party isn't worth much if it leaves this truth unsaid."

"Large numbers of trade-union militants know this as well as we do. They know that the present official leaders are no good for a real fight on any front, and they have to be thrown out before there can be any serious thought of a showdown with American fascism."

Them's my sentiments, my conviction! The all-important question of the labor misleadership in the demand for a labor party must be thoroughly taken into account and explained. The labor party is not a simplistic economic or trade-union problem. On the contrary, it constitutes the core of political redress for the American working class.

It's in line with the proposition that politics has to be taken out of the hands of the boss politicians fronting for the ruling class. And since the labor bureaucrats act as the auxiliaries of ruling-class politicians, they have to be ousted. A worker-controlled, politically independent labor party representing all labor (unemployed as well), women, and minorities must be built.

It is on the immediate agenda. The labor party is crucial to the economic and social destiny of the working class in the United States and in the world.

## Sharpeville, 1960



South African police massacred Blacks during the March 21, 1960, demonstrations against apartheid pass laws.

Nineteen years ago, on March 21, 1960, nearly 70 Black men, women, and children were murdered and 180 injured by South African police.

The Sharpeville massacre was the racist regime's response to a peaceful demonstration against the pass laws.

In an effort to tighten its social control over the Black majority, in 1952 the white regime instituted laws requiring Blacks to carry identification books. Where Blacks are permitted to live, work, and travel is defined in the pass books. On the demand of any cop or government official, the book must be shown. Violation of the pass laws means immediate arrest.

The protests in Sharpeville, Langa, Nyanga, and other townships, organized by the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC), defied these laws.

In townships outside South Africa's major urban centers, thousands of Blacks marched to police stations. Demonstrators offered themselves for arrest for not carrying passes.

Police attacked the processions with tear gas, clubs, and guns. Demonstrators refused to move. Many were arrested, and at least two were killed at Vanderbijlpark.

Meanwhile, 10,000 massed at the Sharpeville municipal offices. Unprovoked, police fired into the crowd.

The Sharpeville massacre sparked pass-book burnings, demonstrations, and strikes throughout South Africa for three weeks.

During those weeks, at least fourteen more Blacks met their deaths.

The most significant action in response to Sharpeville occurred March 29. The

African National Congress and the PAC called a strike of mourning. Hundreds of thousands of workers refused to go to their jobs.

The pressure of these mass actions forced the apartheid government to lift the pass laws for a short time.

But within a matter of days, the regime banned the ANC and PAC; arrested nearly 20,000 Blacks; and detained more than 1,600 political activists.

Even though the battle ebbed, Sharpeville marked a turning point in the South African struggle and the African revolution. It brought international attention to the plight of the Black majority and their determination to win freedom.

In 1973, Black workers participated in a massive strike wave for higher wages. Three years later, Black schoolchildren in the township of Soweto protested the imposition of Afrikaans, the official language of the apartheid regime. This led to more demonstrations and strikes by Blacks.

As Robert Sobukwe, the late founder of the PAC and central leader of the 1960 anti-pass law campaign, said, "We are fighting for the noblest cause on earth, the liberation of mankind. They are fighting to retrench an outworn, anachronistic, vile system of oppression. We represent progress. They represent decadence. We represent the fresh fragrance of flowers in bloom; they represent the rancid smell of decaying vegetation. We have the whole continent on our side. We have history on our side. *We will win!*"—Osborne Hart

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## JOIN THE SWP

## Letters

### Hypocritical justice

I want to thank you for turning me on to the *Militant*. I find it to be a very informative newspaper.

Your February 19 issue carried an article on Patty Hearst in the "In Our Opinion" section. This article was very interesting, and it exposes America's criminal justice system as it really is. Hypocritical!

I have reached the conclusion that America is a beautiful dream for the rich ruling class, and an ugly nightmare for the poor and working class. America victimizes and oppresses those who reveal or attempt to reveal her ugliness.

A prisoner  
Virginia

Vietnam's coast by Thieu.

The pervasive sighs will engulf the media: "If only we could exploit these potentially rich resources!"

Frank Nowve  
Bayside, New York

### Shares good fortune

I was walking last week and found six dollars on the sidewalk. It seemed right to sent it on to the *Militant* as a contribution.

Keep up the good work.  
Phil Koch  
Baltimore, Maryland

### Organize the contents

The one thing I find to criticize in the *Militant* is the page-two index to contents. Anyone seeking a quick guide to the main articles would have a bad time.

Why don't you recognize the contents as to broad subject matter, with headings such as: international news, labor news, national, women's rights, Black struggle, etc.

Instead, you have in very small type a hodgepodge listing with no attempt to organize the contents.

Henry Florman  
New York, New York

### Carter's propaganda

In your editorial of March 9 you mention Carter's propaganda line on the "oil crisis" consisting of three themes. A fourth will be enunciated when the price of gasoline goes sky high. This will be attributed to foreign machinations, and it will undoubtedly result in pointing out that the major oil companies were granted permits to prospect for oil off

## A visit with Nationalist prisoners

I am a member of the Young Socialist Alliance in Lawrence, Kansas. I am writing to ask you to let the public know through the *Militant* about my visit with two of the Puerto Rican Nationalist prisoners, Irving Flores and Oscar Collazo, at Leavenworth State Penitentiary.

I saw them February 11, before the death of their comrade, Andrés Figueroa Cordero.

I was invited to speak on a panel on nationalism by the Chicano group at the penitentiary, which Oscar and Irving participate in.

When I was extended the invitation I was told I would also have the opportunity to meet them.

Because of unexpected difficulties that arose that day, we were not allowed to enter the prison until late, so I could only spend a limited time with them. I also shared the afternoon's event with them.

They were as glad to see me as I was to see them. They were very surprised to meet a *boricua* [Puerto Rican] in Kansas.

Because March 1 marked the twenty-fifth anniversary of their attack on the Congress, I asked how they felt about it today. Oscar said they felt it had the most impact at the time.

They felt that because groups like the Socialist

Workers Party (I told them I was a member of the YSA) had explained to the fullest the reasons for what they had done in support of Puerto Rican liberation, their action still had an impact.

I was very glad to hear them say that parties like the SWP had kept their cause—the cause of Puerto Rican independence—alive.

They also said that what happened to them proved there were political prisoners in the United States. Oscar also remarked, "And besides, the only thing that matters is Puerto Rico."

I told them the SWP and YSA wanted to know if there was anything they could do for them. They said there was nothing they needed, but that the SWP and YSA should continue what they are doing for independence for Puerto Rico.

They told me a reporter from the *Kansas City Star* had asked to interview them, but they refused because they feared he would do the same as other reporters had done in taking the words of their other comrades and turning them around. They had no such fear about the *Militant*.

When it was time to depart, we hugged each other tightly.  
Verónica Cruz  
Lawrence, Kansas



# Learning About Socialism

## Lenin on religion & revolution

### Irish revolution

With St. Patrick's Day not far off I remember what Trotsky said during the July 1917 uprising as he participated among the crowds. He said to the marchers who got into small skirmishes that petty acts of violence do not make revolution.

I reflect now on the situation in Ireland, about which not much is heard. It's a sad fact that the Irish revolutionaries do not learn from history. A bombing here and there does not make revolution. It looks impressive and heroic (and sometimes silly, too) but it changes nothing and only turns off the masses.

Britain would tremble more at a revolutionary "liberation front" on the march than a small band of sectarian bombers.

The IRA is a sorrowful excuse for a "revolutionary movement." They should learn from the veterans of 1916 and the IRA of then, and from 1917, and from the present revolution in Iran.

Revolutionary change rests with the masses and their organized capabilities.

I praise the *Militant* for its extensive coverage of the Irish struggle in the past, and in times when the annual "Paddy's Day Parade" has simmered down to smiles and brew.

It's time they should remember that Irish eyes are not smiling under the British heel or sectarian, senseless bombings.

It would be good this year to see at least one *Militant* salesperson along the line of the parade route, because it has in the past strongly spoken out in solidarity with the Irish working class. Let the *Militant* "fan the flames of discontent" among Americans of Irish descent this year.

John Aschov  
Toronto, Ontario

### Prepared for release

I am writing to tell you to please end my subscription. I thank you very much for the free sub you sent me since I'm a prisoner and have no money.

I've learned a lot that the big newspapers won't print about ours and other countries.

I'm being released from prison this month, and I'll be able to walk from the walls with a mind full of what's going on in this world, thanks to your paper.  
*A prisoner*

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.

There never was a more implacable opponent of religion than Lenin. "Religion," he wrote in "Socialism and Religion," "is a sort of spiritual booze, in which the slaves of capital drown their human image, their demand for a life more or less worthy of man." (*Collected Works*, vol. 10, pp. 83-84)

Lenin also understood how revolutionaries combat religion. What he had to say on the subject is of great significance for what is going on today in Iran. Here, we are told by the bourgeois press (which is echoed by some groups on the left, such as the Spartacist League), a reactionary Islamic movement led the backward masses to overthrow the shah. This movement can only take Iran back to the eighth century.

But Lenin was aware that movements of the masses are sometimes reflected through religious figures. Particularly where the workers' leadership is weak, such figures can at times play a progressive role.

"However abject, however ignorant Russian Orthodox clergymen may have been," he wrote in the same 1905 article, "even they have now been awakened by the thunder of the downfall of the old, medieval order in Russia. Even they are joining in the demand for freedom, are protesting against bureaucratic practices and officialism. . . . We socialists must lend this movement our support, carrying the demands of honest and sincere members of the clergy to their conclusion, making them stick to their words about freedom, demanding that they should resolutely break all ties between religion and the police." (p. 85)

In Iran the Shi'ite Muslim religion, unlike the Russian Orthodox church under the tsar and the Sunni Muslim religion in Saudi Arabia today, was not a state-established religion. The shah viewed the Muslim clergy as opponents, but he was unable to crush them.

The mosques were the only place where large numbers of people could assemble legally or safely. The result was that the mosques became organizing centers for rebellion. The Ayatollah Khomeini, the one religious leader who was uncompromising in his opposition to the shah, became an authoritative figure among the masses.

In the tsarist Russia of 1905 one opposition figure was Father Gapon. Unlike Khomeini, who said from the beginning that the shah must go, Father Gapon began by calling upon the people to petition the tsar peacefully while proclaiming their loyalty to him. When the tsarist troops, however, fired upon a peaceful demonstration on "Bloody Sunday," Father Gapon issued, said Lenin, "a call for revolution."

In this call for revolution, Lenin continued, it "is not Father Georgi Gapon speaking. This is the voice of those thousands upon thousands, of those millions upon millions of Russian workers and peasants who until now could believe naively and blindly in the Tsar Father. . . . The past decade of the working-class movement has produced thousands of advanced proletarian Social-Democrats who

have consciously broken with this faith. . . . Behind these scores of thousands, however, stood hundreds of thousands, millions, of toiling and exploited people, proletarians and semi-proletarians, . . . in whom this faith could still survive. . . . Their feelings and their mood, their level of knowledge and political experience were expressed by Father Georgi Gapon."

These millions, however, learned in struggle the need to overthrow the tsar.

In Iran the insurrection against the monarchy has triumphed. The army has been broken up, SAVAK has been smashed, and some anti-imperialist steps have been taken.

The big question now is whether the revolution will be moved forward to its logical conclusion, the taking of power by the working masses.

In order for the proletariat to win power, revolutionists must know how to approach the masses still influenced by religion. Religion is "spiritual booze," but this does not mean that revolutionists should be ranting prohibitionists.

As Lenin explained, "Our Party . . . cannot and must not be indifferent to lack of class-consciousness, ignorance or obscurantism in the shape of religious beliefs. . . . But under no circumstances ought we to fall into the error of posing the religious question in an abstract, idealistic fashion, as an 'intellectual' question unconnected with the class struggle, as is not infrequently done by the radical-democrats from among the bourgeoisie. . . .

"No number of pamphlets and no amount of preaching can enlighten the proletariat, if it is not enlightened by its own struggle against the dark forces of capitalism. Unity in this really revolutionary struggle of the oppressed class for the creation of a paradise on earth is more important to us than unity of proletarian opinion on paradise in heaven.

"That is the reason why we do not and should not set forth our atheism in our Programme; that is why we do not and should not prohibit proletarians who still retain vestiges of their old prejudices from associating themselves with our Party.

"We shall always preach the scientific world-outlook, and it is essential for us to combat the inconsistency of various 'Christians'. But that does not mean in the least that the religious question ought to be advanced to first place, where it does not belong at all; nor does it mean that we should allow the forces of the really revolutionary economic and political struggle to be split up on account of third-rate opinions or senseless ideas, rapidly losing all political importance, rapidly being swept out as rubbish by the very course of economic development" (*Collected Works*, vol. 10, pp. 85-87).

In Iran, the issue is not the various leaders' religious views, but their political program. Religious leaders will be tested in struggle, and those afraid to deepen the revolution will be recognized as such. Through their own experience in struggle the masses will come to see religion as an instrument of capitalist rule.

—Paul Siegel

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# THE MILITANT

## Andrew Pulley: 'Workers should run Chicago'

### Socialist mayoral campaign: the real choice

By John Studer

CHICAGO—Andrew Pulley, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor, walked out of a behind-closed-doors meeting with his Democratic and Republican opponents and lame-duck Mayor Michael Bilandic March 12.

Pulley had been invited to the meeting by Bilandic to discuss an "orderly transition" in city government.

Pulley emerged to the glare of TV lights and electronic flashes from the more than twenty-five reporters in

#### MORE COVERAGE

'Chicago Defender' backs Pulley; socialist forces open mayoral debates. See page 27.

Chicago's city hall. "Mr. Pulley, Mr. Pulley," reporters yelled, "why are you the first out of the meeting? Did you walk out?"

"Yes, I walked out," Pulley replied. "The kind of 'transition' that I have in mind if I win is not like what they are talking about in there."

"Bilandic just kept telling us how much he loved Chicago. He said he wants no radical changes in the way things are, and the other candidates agreed with him. They only discussed little changes. What I'm interested in is big changes."

"There's only one kind of transition that will make any difference in the lives of the great majority of Chicagoans. And that's a transition from the rule of the rich to a government of working people."

"We need a transition that will take control out of the hands of the businessmen and bankers and put control in the hands of the working people of this city, including the Black and latino communities."

"I believe that since it's working people that keep the city running, it's working people that should run the city."

"A transition from rule by the rich to



Pulley walks out of meeting with mayor and other candidates. 'They only discussed little changes. I'm interested in big changes.'

the workers cannot come about through back-room discussions among politicians," Pulley explained. "Working people must be directly involved in these decisions."

"The only way this can occur is by doing what I'm advocating in this campaign—building a labor party, controlled by and made up of workers, in opposition to the Democratic and Republican parties."

"As a unionist, I believe the unions should take the lead in this. The unions, Black community groups, latino groups, and women's groups should meet together and form a party to fight for our interests."

Basil Talbott, Jr., political editor of the *Chicago Sun-Times*, asked Pulley

about the proposals of his Democratic and Republican opponents.

Pulley responded, "They only discussed picayune matters, like who should get the juiciest patronage appointments. This is not the issue the working people of Chicago are concerned about."

"We need jobs for all, affirmative-action programs to make up for decades of discrimination against Blacks, latinos, and women, a new program that really will desegregate the schools, and a mass transit system that works, that serves the Black community at least as well as anyone else."

Talbott's article in the March 13 *Sun-Times* quoted Pulley as he left the

meeting: nothing but an "orderly transition to the same old thing."

NBC-TV's evening news reported that "Andrew Pulley said he had better things to do than talk to Mrs. [Jane] Byrne," the Democratic nominee.

The program then shifted to coverage of Pulley at his next campaign appearance—joining a picket line of United Steelworkers Local 13881.

The reporter commented: "This was obviously one of those better things to do."

One hundred members of Local 13881 had voted two to one to strike the Economist Publishing Company in southwest Chicago March 11. Economist prints twenty-six South Side and suburban weeklies, the *Daily Defender*, Chicago's Black community newspaper, the Midwest edition of the *Christian Science Monitor*, and some neighborhood papers.

Printer members of the Steelworkers union told Pulley the company had offered only a 7 percent a year raise over the next three years—less than today's inflation rate. In addition, they are protesting the disparities between the wages of journeymen and apprentices, a gap of five dollars per hour.

Pulley told the two TV crews present: "These strikers, my brother and sister members of the Steelworkers union, are the ones I want to discuss my transition policy with. My program is to fight for the interests of working people against the bosses who rob them, and politicians who lie to them in the interests of the rich. We must transform this system into one which puts human needs before profits."

"That's the kind of transition I stand for, and that's why people should vote for me on April 3."

Within hours, Pulley's statements were reported in both afternoon papers, the evening news on four TV stations, and dozens of radio programs. The March 13 *New York Times* also reported Pulley's early departure from the meeting with Bilandic.

## New trial sought in Malcolm X murder

By August Nitz

New court action that will take place shortly may provide answers to some of the questions surrounding the February 21, 1965, assassination of Malcolm X.

Attorney William Kunstler plans to ask the federal courts soon to grant a new trial for two of the three men who are currently serving life sentences for the murder.

In an interview with the *Militant*, Kunstler said that Talmadge Hayer (also known as Thomas Hagan), the admitted assassin of Malcolm, has stated in two affidavits that the other two men who were convicted had nothing to do with the murder.

Hayer, who was caught at the scene and confessed during the 1965 trial, has maintained from the start that the other two men were innocent. Police always refused to investigate his assertions.

In the new affidavit, Kunstler said, "Hayer names four other people from Paterson, New Jersey," who were the actual assassins, and "gives all the

details of the plot. We've located two of the men he mentioned. One is in prison in New Jersey, and the other is still living in Paterson."

Kunstler will ask the federal courts to grant a new trial for Norman (3X) Butler and Thomas (15X) Johnson, at which Hayer would testify. Such a trial could be tantamount to reopening the entire case.

In December 1977, Kunstler submitted an earlier affidavit of Hayer in a motion for a new trial in the New York State Supreme Court. This motion was denied, and the appeal from that decision was also denied.

Along with Hayer's affidavits, Kunstler said he also had a sworn statement from Benjamin Goodman, the man who introduced Malcolm to the meeting at which he was killed. Goodman, according to Kunstler, states that "he knew everybody in the room . . . and he was certain these two men [Butler and Johnson] had not been in the room that night."

Besides the affidavits, Kunstler said he has an FBI report that indicates

Hayer had a meeting the night before the assassination with a man named John Ali. Ali "was apparently an informer for the FBI in the Nation of Islam."

Kunstler's mention of the FBI is significant. Revelations about the FBI's Cointelpro (counterintelligence program), through which the government tried to systematically destroy the Black movement, have added to long standing suspicions about possible FBI and police involvement in Malcolm's death.

In one of the many memos that have been made public, former FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover stated one of the purposes of Cointelpro: "to expose, disrupt, misdirect, discredit, or otherwise neutralize the activities" of Black nationalist groups.

In instructing FBI agents how to implement these goals, one memo says that "no opportunity should be missed to exploit through counterintelligence techniques the organizational and personal conflicts of the leaderships of the groups and where possible an effort

should be made to capitalize upon existing conflicts between competing black nationalist organizations."

In the case of Malcolm X, this instruction undoubtedly meant trying to inflame conflicts between Malcolm and Elijah Muhammad, the then-head of the Nation of Islam (Black Muslims), with whom Malcolm broke in March 1964.

The government's version of the assassination has always been that the Muslims killed Malcolm. But the highly publicized disputes between Malcolm and Elijah Muhammad could just as well have provided the cover under which provocateurs, FBI or CIA hit squads, or other racists could have carried out the killing.

Just last year Gary Rowe—an FBI informer in the Ku Klux Klan—was indicted for killing civil rights worker Viola Liuzzo in 1965. Previously the FBI had pretended that only the KKK was involved.

A possible frame-up of Butler and Johnson—both well-known Muslims—

Continued on page 27