

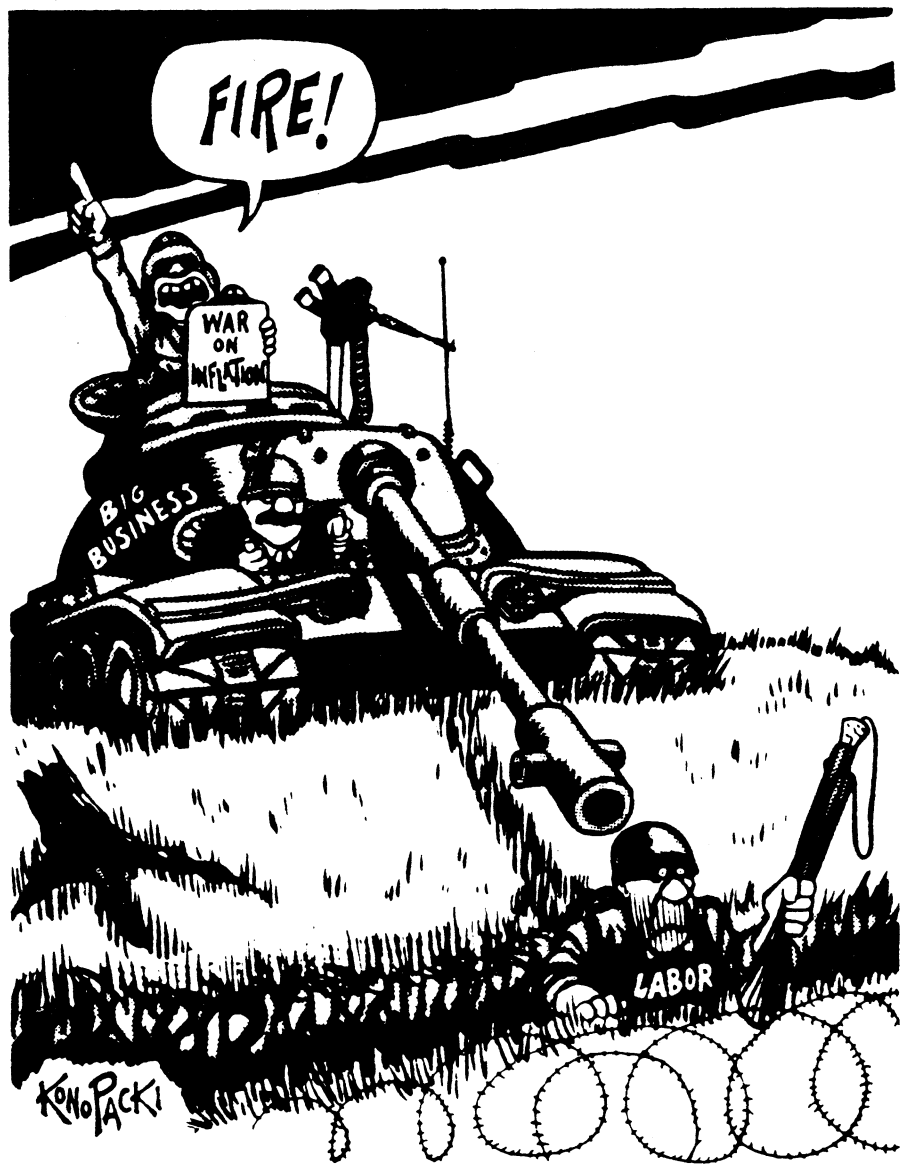


THE MILITANT

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

Runaway inflation: how we can fight back

Socialist urges: Support the Teamsters!



As the Militant goes to press, 300,000 Teamsters union members are ready to strike when the union's Master Freight Agreement expires at midnight March 31. Andrew Pulley, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Chicago and a member of United Steelworkers Local 1066, has issued a statement of solidarity with the Teamsters. Pulley's message is being widely distributed among the 143,000 Teamsters union members in Chicago. The day before the April 3 mayoral election, Pulley will be campaigning at the membership meeting of 29,000-member Teamsters Local 743, the largest Teamsters local in the country. Following is the text of Pulley's statement:

The Carter administration and the trucking bosses have taken aim at the Teamsters union. By trying to force truck drivers and warehouse workers to accept a wage settlement within Carter's 7 percent limit, they are attacking every working person in the country.

Carter says a low settlement for Teamsters will help fight inflation.

I say the opposite is true.

The best way for union members and other workers to fight the devastating effects of runaway inflation is to support the Teamsters.

If the Teamsters can bust through the guidelines and get a decent wage increase, then millions of other workers whose contracts expire this year—in auto, rubber, electrical, garment, and other industries—will find it that much easier to get wage increases that meet their needs.

The Teamsters also want an end to

forced overtime and to murderous speedup schemes. They want better safety and health conditions on the job. They want more secure pensions. All these demands are in the interest of other workers as well.

I believe that an end to forced overtime and a shorter workweek throughout industry—with no cut in pay—is the best answer to the unemployment that afflicts millions of workers, especially young people.

I also believe that the bipartisan gang-up against the Teamsters by Democrats and Republicans shows how urgently working people need to break from these two antilabor parties and get into politics in our own interest—with a labor party based on the unions.

The Carter administration says a Teamster settlement of 9 percent or more would be "an act of aggression against the American people."

Continued on page 9



Flax Hermes/Militant

Evelyn Reed

(1905-1979)

Marxist
champion
of women's
rights

—PAGE 26

WAR PLANS IN MIDEAST

U.S. - Israeli military pact
exposes 'peace' treaty fraud

—PAGE 2

Mideast battle plan

"Battle Plans for Peace" was the way the editors of the *New York Times* described the Egyptian-Israeli treaty signed March 26 under the watchful eye of President Carter.

"Battle plans" is exactly right.

Under the guise of supporting peace, Carter is pumping billions in new arms into Egypt and Israel. U.S. planes will be engaged in regular reconnaissance flights over the Sinai Peninsula—and presumably over the surrounding region as well.

The Mideast deal also opens the possibility of U.S. troops being stationed in the Sinai. The agreement calls for Washington to organize and maintain "an acceptable multinational force" if the United Nations Security Council fails to provide troops to police the deal.

Even more ominous is Carter's pledge to the Zionist regime—revealed by U.S. officials March 27—of support if and when the treaty unravels.

"Among the possible 'economic, political and military' steps that the United States would consider taking to protect Israel," the *Washington Post* reported, "are naval action to break a sea blockade and emergency military resupply efforts similar to the arms airlift during the 1973 Arab-Israeli war. . . ."

Such steps—and others not mentioned—would supposedly be invoked only if "Egypt" repudiates the treaty. But what if the Egyptian people repudiate Egyptian President Anwar el-Sadat, along with Sadat's betrayal of the Palestinian people?

Carter has tried to meet this threat by promising Sadat up to \$2 billion in U.S. arms. But as Palestine Liberation Organization head Yassir Arafat pointed out March 26, "This is a joke. I ask Carter what happened to all his tanks and planes in Iran."

Mindful of the experience in Iran, Washington has made promises to Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin that may yet involve U.S. troops in a counterrevolutionary war against 40 million Egyptians and the rest of the Arab masses.

While Carter is carrying out a military build-up under cover of the misnamed Israeli-Egyptian "peace" treaty, imperialist propagandists are also churning out scare stories on the so-called energy crisis. Once again, the

purpose is to try to whip up support for military intervention against the Arab peoples.

Already, U.S. arms and U.S. advisers have begun pouring into North Yemen. After saying March 12 that up to 300 U.S. advisers would be sent there, U.S. officials backtracked and claimed that fewer than 100 would go. But on March 24 Rep. Les Aspin (D-Wis.) charged that the Pentagon had lied and actually planned to send about 230 Americans to Yemen in the next few months.

"It's all too easy to make a comparison with the way our commitment to South Vietnam mushroomed," Aspin commented.

At the same time, there are indications that Washington is becoming more heavily involved in Afghanistan, where rightist forces are carrying out a guerrilla war against the pro-Soviet regime.

One person on the street, interviewed by the *New York Post* March 26, zeroed in on Carter's real battle plan when he said: "It's too much of a coincidence to have a treaty and talk at the same time of having the draft reinstated. I think the treaty is a set-up, a deal because of our need for oil."

Such skepticism among the American people has been accompanied by a massive upsurge of protest throughout the Middle East.

The Arab masses and the people of Iran know that the treaty will perpetuate the Zionist occupation of the West Bank and Gaza and the oppression of the Palestinian people. It will facilitate direct U.S. intervention against the interests and aspirations of all the peoples of the Middle East.

Palestinian strikes and demonstrations in Israel and on the West Bank, massive rallies in Syria, Iraq, and Lebanon, and protests in Iran, have all served notice on Carter, Begin, and Sadat that it will be easier to sign such a deal than to carry it out.

"Even if King Hussein wanted to go along with President Sadat," Marvin Howe reported in the March 27 *New York Times*, "he could not because the Jordanian people are angry and feel that Mr. Sadat has betrayed them, according to authoritative Jordanian sources."

The *Washington Post*, commenting March 28 on the ceremonies on Capitol Hill following the signing of the treaty, reported: "There was a marked absence of jubilation or celebration, and a lot of talk among senators about the fragility of the new peace treaty."

Despite Carter's battle plans, the imperialist rulers in Washington know very well that they have not heard the last word from the Arab masses.

S. African scandal

Intense pressure has been building up all around the world against the racist, white minority regime in South Africa. This pressure has now blown the lid off a scandal known as the South African Watergate.

A secret international campaign was undertaken by the South African Information Ministry to counter the anti-apartheid movement in the United States, Britain, Norway, and other countries. According to the latest revelations it included:

- Bribes to U.S. senators, British members of Parliament, and other legislators;
- Subsidies to right-wing, pro-apartheid organizations and political campaigns;
- Payments to newspaper columnists and reporters;
- Purchase of newspapers in order to control their editorial policies;
- Bribes to labor officials, who were supposed to sabotage a 1977 boycott of South African trade;
- Disruption of anti-apartheid activities. As Eschel Rhodie, the central figure in the \$73 million operation explained: "If a certain organization was out to arrange an anti-South African rally or was trying to get companies to withdraw investments" they would be disrupted.

The South African Watergaters were aiming at the same targets the CIA and FBI have been victimizing for years—civil rights groups, trade unions, and socialists. With such an elaborate operation under way, there can be little doubt that the FBI and CIA knew exactly what was going on.

If their secret files were opened, we might well find that the U.S. spy agencies helped out as well. After all, the South African government exists in its home base only because of the support of U.S. imperialism. A helping hand to the apartheid regime here in the United States would be right in line with what Washington is already doing around the world.

But the South African Watergate also shows that Pretoria is feeling the pressure from the American people. The important thing is to keep up that pressure by mobilizing the labor movement, Blacks, and students against the racist apartheid regime and U.S. complicity with it.

Students across the country are planning protests for April 4-11 against the U.S.-South Africa connection (see page 7). We urge our readers to join and build those actions.

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11-22 International Socialist Review



In the
International Socialist Review. . . .

Socialist Revolution in Vietnam

For thirty years the Vietnamese people waged a valiant struggle for self-determination against French and U.S. imperialists. Despite betrayals by Moscow and Peking and attempts by the Vietnamese Stalinists to hold back the struggle, they were finally victorious. The masses then had to fight a second battle to abolish capitalism and set up the world's third most populous workers state. Fred Feldman, editor of the *ISR*, tells the story of those struggles.

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Steelworkers march on Paris

100,000 protest rising unemployment

By F.L. Derry

PARIS—The French capital was suddenly submerged by a wave of hardhats as 100,000 steelworkers, iron and coal miners, and other workers converged on Paris for a massive demonstration March 23 to protest the rising threat of unemployment.

The chief demands of the demonstrators were for a halt to all layoffs and for a thirty-five-hour week with no cut in pay, so as to spread available work.

Spearheading the action were steelworkers from Lorraine and the north of France. These regions have been hard hit by major factory closures, which have had a devastating effect on the entire local economy.

They were joined by tens of thousands of others who used the demonstration to show support for the steelworkers while advancing their own demands.

The action was initiated by the CGT union federation in Longwy, a steel town in Lorraine. It was supported by the national CGT but opposed by the other big union federation, the CFDT, as well as by the FEN (the teachers federation) and the Force Ouvrière federation.

It was also supported by the Communist Party. At the last minute the Socialist Party decided to participate, after having criticized the action from the beginning.

The demonstration was totally unlike any action seen in France in recent years.

Most Parisian demonstrations have very large contingents of public and government workers, teachers, hospital and other service workers, and white-collar workers, who often make up half of such actions.

The rest is generally made up of industrial workers from the Paris suburbs. These are often from the smaller shops.

By contrast, this action was almost wholly composed of industrial workers.

The overwhelming bulk of the protesters were workers from France's large



Steelworkers and iron and coal miners demanded shorter workweek, no layoffs.

industrial regions in the north, the east (which includes Lorraine), and the areas in the south near the Rhone River.

In these large contingents, the hardhats of the steelworkers mingled with those of the iron and coal miners. Some of the miners contingents were nearly 1,000-strong. "If they close the steel mills," they asked, "won't the iron and coal mines be next?"

Workers from the aircraft construction industry joined with chemical workers and over-the-road truck drivers from the steel town of Longwy.

Each of these different contingents

advanced their own demands. A contingent of workers who produce telephone equipment and who are organized in the metalworkers federation of the CGT, handed out leaflets protesting plans to lay off 20,000 of the 90,000 workers in the telephone industry by the end of 1981.

A leaflet issued by teachers protested the elimination of 5,600 teaching posts.

But above all was the solidarity expressed with the steelworkers. The steelworkers are clearly seen as the first heavy units of the working class to have struck back at the government plan to increase profits through speed-up and layoffs.

The steelworkers' demand for a thirty-five-hour week with no cut in pay was picked up everywhere. They are seen as the cutting edge in the struggle against unemployment.

In the regions hit hardest by the steel crisis, the mobilization for the Paris action was very deep. All industries were represented. Some small towns had 200 and 300 demonstrators behind the banner of their local union.

This was not true in the Paris area, however. Here all unions, including the CGT, did what they could to limit the action. The Renault plant at Boulogne-Billancourt called a two-hour stoppage but no demonstration. The CGT tried to limit the turnout of public workers. The national CGT federation of public workers, the UGFF, called a strike for March 29, a week after the Paris demonstration.

A major battle took place inside the CGT unions affiliated to the UGFF to support the March 23 action. This was opposed by the UGFF leadership.

In addition to trying to limit the action to the steel regions, the CGT opposed slogans aimed at the government. Few banners pointed to the Giscard-Barre government as responsible for the crisis in steel or the high unemployment levels.

Opposition to the government did break through, however, in the spontaneous songs and chants organized by each contingent.

Only the contingent of the Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire, the French section of the Fourth International, and the Jeunesse Communiste Révolutionnaire, the youth group affiliated with the LCR, pointed at the bourgeois government as responsible.

The Trotskyist contingent, which numbered more than 1,000, marched behind an enormous banner that said, "Throw out Giscard and Barre! For unity among the unions and workers parties against this government of austerity! For the thirty-five-hour week!"

From Intercontinental Press/Inprecor

Brazil: striking metalworkers defy dictatorship

By Fred Murphy

More than 200,000 metalworkers in the industrial suburbs of São Paulo walked off their jobs on March 13, demanding that their employers grant a 78% wage increase and recognize the workers' right to elect their own trade-union delegates in the plants.

The upsurge coincided with the swearing-in on March 15 of Brazil's fifth military dictator since the 1964 coup, Gen. João Baptista de Figueiredo, the former head of the secret police.

In the forefront of the strike wave are the auto workers of São Bernardo do Campo. In this city southeast of São Paulo are located automobile-assembly

plants of Volkswagen, employing 45,000 workers; Mercedes-Benz, 18,000; Ford, 12,000; Saab, 3,000; and Chrysler, 2,200.

All have been shut down by the strike, along with scores of smaller electrical-equipment, metal-fabricating, and other plants organized by the metalworkers unions.

The unions' demand for a 78% wage hike is based on the official cost-of-living increase over the past year of 44%, plus an additional 34.1% to compensate for wages lost in 1973-74 owing to illegal manipulation by the government of the cost-of-living figures.

On March 16, the dictatorship de-

creed the strikes illegal and told the workers they had no right to demand more than a 44% wage increase.

At the same time, the regime opened a redbaiting campaign against the workers. "Infiltration by the Socialist Convergence in the ABC metalworkers' strike is a proven fact," declared São Paulo state Security Director Octávio Gonzaga March 17.

(Socialist Convergence is a legal organization that is seeking to organize a new socialist party in Brazil based on the working class; twenty-five of its leaders are currently on trial in São Paulo on charges of violating the dictatorship's National Security Law.)

São Bernardo metalworkers president Luis Inácio da Silva ("Lula") responded in advance to the regime's decree that the strikes were illegal. He told a March 14 rally of 80,000 metalworkers—one of an almost daily series of rallies of that size in São Bernardo—that "the strike . . . is just and legitimate. Its 'illegality' would have to be based on laws that were not made by us or by our representatives."

As for the redbaiting, "Lula" declared March 17 that "I am not in the habit of demanding a statement of ideological beliefs before a worker can join the union or go on strike."

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German steelworkers' strike last winter for shorter work-week.

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Defense steps up efforts as Marroquin

By Harry Ring

HOUSTON—As the April 3-6 hearing on the government's attempt to deport Héctor Marroquín approaches, his Texas supporters have accelerated their activities in his defense.

On March 23, the Chicano Caucus of the 112,000-member Texas State Teachers Association voted to endorse his case.

That night more than one hundred people participated in a cocktail party benefit at Pacifica radio station KPFT.

The next morning, Marroquín traveled to San Antonio for a busy round of activity. In the morning he joined a contingent of supporters in the Paseo de Marzo parade commemorating Chicano war dead.

In the afternoon the Marroquín Defense Committee sponsored a picket at the federal building, which houses the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS). And in the evening, the committee held a well-attended party in Marroquín's honor.

Meanwhile, in Denton, the Marroquín Defense Committee had a table at the state convention of the National Organization for Women. Sixty of the 150 participants signed petitions in Marroquín's behalf.

Marroquín fled Mexico nearly five years ago. A student activist, he was framed up by the Mexican government on fraudulent charges of terrorist activity, including robbery and murder.

Here in Houston, he joined the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance. At his workplace, a Coca Cola plant, he was active in a Teamsters union organizing drive.

Arrested by the U.S. border cops in 1977, Marroquín asked for political asylum because he was certain that in Mexico he would face torture or death at the hands of a government with little concern for human rights.

The INS turned down Marroquín's request and ordered him deported. The April 3 hearing will contest that order.

Marroquín will be represented by attorney Margaret Winter. Expert witnesses and prominent figures will testify in his behalf, presenting evidence to explode the Mexican government's frame-up charges.

With the facts of Marroquín's case receiving more media coverage, support has grown correspondingly. An encouraging number of unionists have taken a stand of solidarity with him.

At the Chicano Caucus of the TSTA, the motion to support Marroquín's right to political asylum was made by the chairperson of the gathering, Ace Sánchez.

Sánchez had also introduced the resolution approved by the National



Marroquín supporters march in San Antonio Chicano parade. Banner reads 'Torture. . . . Death. . . . or. . . . the Right to ASYLUM for Marroquín.'

Education Association convention last July in Dallas.

A faculty member at El Paso Community College, Sánchez has been working with student activists there enlisting campus support for Marroquín. A recent visitor there reported that Marroquín posters were generously distributed around the campus.

The cocktail party at KPFT was sponsored by such notables as U.S. Rep. Mickey Leland; Texas state representatives Lance Lalor and Ron Waters; Ruben Rabago, staff representative of the League of United Latin American Citizens; and Gertrude Barnstone, the widely respected civil libertarian who head the Women's Equity Action League.

Marroquín addressed the gathering briefly. Rabago confirmed the fact of political repression in Mexico and strongly urged support for Marroquín.

Barnstone, treasurer of the Houston Marroquín Defense Committee, appealed for funds. She declared of Marroquín, "He is us. He is our conscience."

The gathering netted \$450 to help defray the heavy expenses of the defense effort.

At the Chicano parade in San Antonio, Marroquín was well received by many of the bystanders. Along the line of march, groups of people seemed to be aware of the case and would applaud and wave clenched fists in solidarity.

A number of people in the Chicano community have worked actively in the defense committee and their efforts have borne fruit. One committee activist noted that *El Sol de Texas*, a widely read Spanish-language weekly,

has featured three stories on the case.

After the parade, some thirty defense committee activists picketed the federal building, resulting in a favorable story on Marroquín in the Sunday morning *San Antonio Express*.

Marroquín supporters said the case evoked a great deal of interest and sympathy at the NOW convention. Throughout the convention, delegates and observers gathered at the commit-

tee's table to pick up literature and discuss the case.

On March 24, participants in the convention went to nearby Dallas to picket President Carter, who was speaking there. Others in the protest included antinuclear activists and Marroquín supporters.

A popular chant among all the groups was, "Hey, hey, what do you say, how about human rights today!"

YWLL unit aids defense efforts

AUSTIN, Tex.—Despite resistance from other chapters and from some of its cothinkers in the Communist Party, the University of Texas chapter of the Young Workers Liberation League has supported Héctor Marroquín in his fight for political asylum.

The YWLL is the youth organization of the Communist Party. Although a number of CP members have endorsed Marroquín's case, the Communist Party itself has refused to do so.

At a state meeting of the YWLL here March 23-25, members of the campus chapter said, they introduced a motion in Marroquín's behalf. But the vote was "negative," they said.

On March 23, Marroquín was the target of a slanderous attack by Lorenzo Torres, a member of the CP Central Committee and chairman of its Chicano Commission, at a meeting sponsored by the campus YWLL.

During the discussion period, a

Marroquín supporter asked Torres what he thought of the case and if he endorsed Marroquín's fight for asylum.

Torres replied that he did not support asylum for Marroquín. In a shameful smear against Marroquín, Torres said there are people who use a "left cover" but are actually "agents of imperialism."

Torres suggested that Marroquín was guilty of the Mexican government's charges of "terrorism." Now is not the time, Torres gratuitously asserted, for violent revolution.

It was the day after this attack that members of the Austin YWLL tried unsuccessfully to win their state organization to Marroquín's defense.

The Austin group's stand is consistent with that of such endorsers of the Marroquín case as Angela Davis, Charlene Mitchell, and Herbert Aptheker, all prominent leaders of the Communist Party. —H.R.

L.A. steelworkers back request for asylum

By Jerry Freiwirth

LOS ANGELES—By an overwhelming vote of its March 20 membership meeting, United Steelworkers Local 4997 went on record in support of the case of Héctor Marroquín.

Local 4997 represents workers at the Byron Jackson Pump division of Borg-Warner Corporation and has more than 800 members.

Marroquín spoke to the meeting about his victimization by government authorities in Mexico and his appeal for political asylum in the United States.

He was introduced to the membership by Glenn DeSilva, president of Local 4997, who talked of the growing labor support for the case.

Marroquín received broad support from the labor movement during his three-day tour of Los Angeles. A March 18 labor reception for him attracted officials and rank-and-file members from at least seven USWA locals. Among those in attendance were Glenn DeSilva; John Pérez, chair-

person of the USWA subdistrict civil rights committee; and Lalo Sánchez, recording secretary of USWA Local 5540.

Also endorsing asylum for Marroquín are Al Belmóntez, president of United Auto Workers Local 216 (GM South Gate), and Mario Vásquez, an International Ladies Garment Workers union international representative.

Also attending the labor reception for Marroquín were leaders of Mexican Americans for Political Change, including Chairperson Domingo Rodríguez, a Los Angeles city fire commissioner.

On March 19, Marroquín spoke at California State University at Long Beach. He has gotten support there from the student government, the campus president of the Young Democrats, and many faculty members. One of the two campus newspapers, the *Union*, featured the case in a front-page article.

Additional support for Marroquín's case has come from David Hilliard,

former Black Panther leader and now a leading activist in Tom Hayden's Campaign for Economic Democracy; Rob Baker, staff writer for the *People's World*, the Communist Party's West Coast weekly; and Jeff Cohen, West Coast director of the Assassination Information Bureau.

DETROIT—"Hector Marroquin has been annointed a cause celebre by the media and by the hundreds of people . . . who seek to thwart his deportation to Mexico. He inherits a mantle similar to that worn by the Chicago Seven, Angela Davis, Joan Little, the Wilmington Ten and others. If you haven't heard of him by now, you will soon," wrote the *Detroit Free Press*, one of the city's daily papers.

While in Detroit, Marroquín took part in a benefit concert for his case that drew eighty people and raised \$300. The group Alborada performed traditional and political Latin American music.

Marroquín also traveled to Lansing, where he spoke at Michigan State University and at a Spanish-language meeting in the *latino* community.

Picket lines and meetings around the country are set to demand political asylum for Héctor Marroquín.

In Tacoma, Washington, a meeting is planned for April 1 at 7:30 p.m. in the Regency Room, University Center Building, Pacific Lutheran University. For more information call (206) 572-9143.

Picket lines in New York City and Albuquerque are set for April 3 at Immigration and Naturalization Service offices. In New York City, the picket will be from 4:30-6:30 p.m. at 26 Federal Plaza (two blocks north of city hall). For more information call (212) 260-6400.

In Albuquerque the picket will be from 4:30-5:30 p.m. at Gold and Fifth Southwest. For more information call (505) 256-1276.

hearing nears

Help save his life

Houston rally March 31

University of Houston, Campus Center, Fort Worth Room, 7:30 p.m.

Hear Héctor Marroquín; his attorney, Margaret Winter; Armando Gutiérrez, Raza Unida Party; David Carrington, president, Local 260, Transport Workers Union; Gertrude Barnstone, Women's Equity Action League; Ben Levy, Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee; Rubén Bonilla, Texas State Director, League of United Latin American Citizens; and Rosario Ibarra de Piedra, Mexican human rights activist.

Picket INS offices

Join Marroquín supporters in demanding that the Immigration and Naturalization Service grant him asylum. In Houston, April 3, 515 Rusk Street (corner of Smith).

The Héctor Marroquín movement center is open daily. Help with mailings, leafletting, fund raising, and a lot more. 108 Main Street #105, Houston 77002. Telephone (713) 224-1870.



Militant/Susan Ellis

HECTOR MARROQUIN

Funds are needed for the defense effort. Send contributions to the Héctor Marroquín Defense Committee at the address above.

Gary paper smears union, Marroquin

By Arnold Weissberg

One of the most powerful voices that has spoken in defense of Héctor Marroquín is that of United Steelworkers Local 1010.

Local 1010, which represents 18,000 workers at Inland Steel in East Chicago, Indiana, voted March 15 to endorse Marroquín's request for political asylum in the United States. The union also voted to donate \$275 to the defense effort.

This example of working-class solidarity drew an immediate and angry response from the Gary, Indiana, *Post-Tribune*, a voice of big business.

In a slanderous, red-baiting article March 17, *Post-Tribune* reporter Ernie Hernández sought to portray Marroquín as a criminal and "fugitive." By implication, Local 1010 is also guilty for supporting him.

Hernández's article is a swamp of distortions, half-truths, and factual errors.

Hernández reported as good coin an assertion by a Mexican government official in Chicago that "there are no political prisoners in Mexico. There is no torture, no repression."

Even the U.S. State Department has been forced to admit that this is a lie. And prestigious organizations such as the International League for Human Rights have also cited the torture, murder, and "disappearance" of political dissidents at the hands of the Mexican regime.

Hernández's article asserted that the Mexican representative said his government wasn't aware of any charges against Marroquín.

Mexican cops have publicly accused Marroquín of taking part in a 1974 robbery in Monterrey—at the time that Marroquín was lying in a hospital bed in Galveston, Texas, his leg shattered in an auto accident.

In addition, in 1974, the cops smeared Marroquín's name all over the papers in Monterrey, accusing him of murder and of being a "leading terrorist."

But none of this made the *Post-Tribune* article.

So even if the Mexican regime has never filed formal charges against Marroquín—and it's been impossible for his attorney to find out one way or the other—they have treated him like a wanted criminal.

Hernández, in fact, refers to Marroquín as a "fugitive." If there are no charges against him, how can he be a fugitive?

Hernández's article contained other factual errors that would be a disgrace to any competent journalist. He referred to a "\$50,000 fund" for Marroquín's defense.

The correct figure is \$15,000, a sum the defense committee is trying to raise to bring witnesses to Marroquín's deportation hearing and publicize the facts of his case.

Hernández claimed that a professor at Indiana University Northwest had been listed as an endorser of the case "without his knowledge or consent." The professor had in fact signed a card giving his endorsement.

Worst of all, in his entire article Hernández never once allows Marroquín or his supporters to answer the false charges against him.

"This is not just an attack on Héctor Marroquín," Dick McBride, a Marroquín supporter and member of Local 1010, told the Militant. "It's also an attack on the union. It shows how much the bosses and their newspapers fear working-class solidarity."

"But we've been red-baited before," McBride went on. "Our local has been attacked for supporting the right to vote on our contracts, for supporting union democracy, for getting involved in solidarity with the coal miners and iron range miners when they were on strike."

"Supporting Marroquín is part of the same process of building solidarity, just like supporting last July's march on Washington for the Equal Rights Amendment."

"I'm confident that our members won't be intimidated by these scare tactics," McBride concluded.

USWA strike auxiliary bolsters picket lines

By Jon Hillson

NEWPORT NEWS, Va.—The militant sounds of the Steelworkers picket lines rattled the scabs more than usual March 20 as members of Local 8888's newly formed Spouses Auxiliary came to express their solidarity at the shipyard gates.

The cops greeted the women and children with carloads of barking dogs—the first display of their canine partners in weeks. But this attempted intimidation did not dampen the spirits of the 125 pickets at Fiftieth Street one bit.

Their sentiment was summed up in one sign reading: "The family that strikes together stays together."

Initiated by the wives of strike activists, the auxiliary is open to husbands of the 2-3,000 women shipyard workers as well. Its projected activities include weekly picket duty, fund raising, support marches, and rallies. The union is providing child care for auxiliary members who need it.

For the steelworkers—who have been on strike for union recognition since January 31—the auxiliary's formation couldn't have come at a better time.

Tenneco has been preying upon strikers' families with its back-to-work scare tactics. And now National Labor Relations Board hearings threaten to rob the union of its 1978 election victory and grant Tenneco endless time to wear down the union.

By organizing family members to initiate, support, and participate in strike activities, the auxiliary is helping the union close ranks against these attacks.

This was the first time on the picket line for Nancy Crosby, whose husband, Wayne, is president of Local 8888. She and Becky Holland, who is also married to a striker, were the first to come up with the idea of a union auxiliary.

Our presence here not only shows our support, Crosby said. "It gets you more interested, it does something to you."

Seeing women steelworkers picketing and chanting puts the initially hesitant wives at ease, she added.

"We want to get the men involved in the auxiliary, too," Crosby told me. "One came by this morning."

She hopes the unity and solidarity family members are demonstrating will "persuade some of the people who have gone back to work to come back out."

How did Crosby take to her first round of picket duty? "I loved it," she said. "It's a very good feeling to feel united."

Joe Brown, a young Black worker, came to the picket line straight from being booked at the city jail on an



Militant/Jon Hillson

Spouses auxiliary: 'It's what the union needs.'

alleged violation of the draconian picketing restrictions under Virginia's "right to work" law. The auxiliary wives "strengthen the picket line," he said. "I'm real proud of them. I admire them."

Jan Hooks, a striker whose teen-age children have regularly been at the gates, predicted "many women will come out as the word gets around." Wives who are "shakey and worried" about the strike will get backbone, she said, because the auxiliary will "show them we're all in this together."

Harold Stanley, a welder, walked with his wife Lisa, a regular strike headquarters volunteer. The wives "have a right to voice their opinion," he said. "They have something to strike for and fight for."

A designer, who has been on strike with Steelworkers Local 8417 since April 1977, puffed on his pipe and smiled as he watched the picket line for a moment.

Had he ever seen anything like it, I asked?

"Never."

What did he think about mothers with babies, and young people, all carrying union placards?

"Wonderful," he said. "It's something else. It's what the union needs."

Newport News solidarity

The solidarity campaign launched by the Local 8888 Spouses Auxiliary shows the way all working people can pitch in and help the Steelworkers win—with donations, support resolutions, rallies, and caravans to Newport News. Such support activities are getting off the ground across the country.

- In Detroit USWA Local 2659 will host a solidarity rally for the Newport News strikers on April 1 at 1:00 p.m. at 14024 Fort Street in suburban Southgate.

- In Seattle USWA Local 6 passed a support resolution and donated \$100 to each striking local. "Your struggle is proof that the South can and will be organized," the resolution states. "We want to add our support to that you've received from trade unionists, farmers, Blacks, women and working people

across the country. On to victory at Newport News!"

- The Southern District Council of the Newspaper Guild voted "all possible support" to the Steelworkers' fight against Tenneco. The council, each individual delegate to it, as well as Guild locals in Newport News and Norfolk, have all donated funds to the strikers.

- The Cuyahoga-Medina United Auto Workers Community Action Program (CAP) Council, representing 60,000 auto workers in the Cleveland area, has voted its support to the strike. The UAW "has placed a high priority on the organization of Southern workers," the resolution states. "The campaign of national anti-union forces to prevent organization of the unorganized and to decertify, weaken, or bankrupt the union makes a national rebirth of labor solidarity necessary."

Militant drive lags; hitting weekly goal key

By Peter Seidman

Our supporters sold 82 percent of their goal during the second week of the national circulation drive. Only half the areas reporting made 100 percent or better.

Some areas, most notably Birmingham, scored big successes. The recently chartered branch of the Socialist Workers Party there has now decided to double its weekly sales goal.

Overall, however, the scoreboard for issue number eleven of the *Militant* and the second week of sales for issue number five of *Perspectiva Mundial* shows that the sales drive is lagging.

Only fourteen branches have made their goal both weeks of the drive. This is one of the key targets set for the drive. Making the goal every week is vital to reach the 100,000 cumulative total. It's politically essential for the consistent, regular sales needed at plant gates and to co-workers.

Building up such sales is the central objective of this ten-week circulation effort by members of the SWP and Young Socialist Alliance. Circulating the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* is the best means we have to bring the ideas of revolutionary Marxism to an increasingly receptive audience among working people.

While the campaign is off to a somewhat faltering start, we can still make our original objectives.

What's needed is to get the circulation effort going as a central campaign of all SWP branches—and to do this as quickly as possible.

The strong and weak points of the drive are tied to the successes—and problems—the Socialist Workers Party is having as it concentrates a growing section of its membership and political activity in the industrial working class.

Many areas are selling increasingly large portions of their bundles to working people on the job. Morgantown, the most dramatic example this week, reports that it sold 43 percent of its bundle at mine portals. Toledo socialists sold 44 percent of their bundle at plant gates and on the job.

There's nothing magical about To-

ledo's successes, according to Jeff Stephenson, a member of UAW Local 1058 who organizes sales there. Stephenson sells fourteen or so papers every week to co-workers at the Doelger-Jarvis Casting Division.

How? When each new issue arrives, Jeff and another *Militant* supporter discuss how what's in it relates to what workers in their plant are thinking about. Then they talk to forty or fifty co-workers each week about the paper.

Most areas are not yet selling such high percentages of their bundle regularly at plant gates and on the job.

In some cases this is because they are just starting regular plant gate sales. The *Militant* will need to become better known before these sales lead to higher overall totals.

In other cases, it is because it takes time before socialists newly hired in a particular industry or plant are in a position to sell large numbers of papers to co-workers.

These problems underscore the importance of weekend sales. These sales in working-class neighborhoods are a politically important part of our circulation drive.

They are also essential for achieving branches' numerical goals.

Branches report that so far, the overall rate of participation in the drive is 68 percent. Increasing this rate is also needed to increase the number of papers we sell.

Improving the participation rate depends above all on thorough discussions by each branch leadership and the entire membership about the political significance of the sales goals we have set.

It also requires precise daily organization by the circulation committee.

"It's not enough just to sign people up once a week," says Hal Allen, circulation director in the Lower Manhattan, New York, branch of the SWP. "We found we needed to call people every night about sales. When the branch fell behind, we made special calls to turn out more salespeople at the end of the week to make sure we made our goal."

CITY	MILITANT		PM		TOTAL		
	Goal	Sold	Goal	Sold	Goal	Sold	Percent
Birmingham	50	151			50	151	302.0
Kansas City	90	161	5		95	161	169.4
Louisville	100	159			100	159	159.0
San Diego	105	156	20	30	125	186	148.8
Morgantown	100	125			100	125	125.0
Phoenix	115	115	35	67	150	182	121.3
Seattle	145	174	5		150	174	116.0
Dallas	125	133	20	33	145	166	114.4
Albany	100	112	5	6	105	118	112.3
Iron Range	35	39			35	39	111.4
Raleigh	90	95			90	95	105.5
Vermont	18	19			18	19	105.5
Gary	75	78			75	78	104.0
Chicago	310	329	40	26	350	355	101.4
Albuquerque	115	115	20	21	135	136	100.7
Atlanta	145	151	5		150	151	100.6
Baltimore	100	100			100	100	100.0
Los Angeles	320	350	80	50	400	400	100.0
Miami	100	87	30	43	130	130	100.0
San Jose	105	98	15	22	120	120	100.0
Tacoma	125	115			125	115	92.0
St. Paul	100	89		2	100	91	91.0
Philadelphia	225	210	25	12	250	222	88.8
New York City	540	422	60	110	600	532	88.6
Berkeley	145	122	5	1	150	123	82.0
Toledo	100	79	5	3	105	82	78.0
Minneapolis	150	115			150	115	76.6
Portland	100	76			100	76	76.0
Washington, D.C.	230	146	20	42	250	188	75.2
Cleveland	115	90	5	0	120	90	75.0
Boston	200	146	25	3	225	149	66.2
Newark	130	86	15	7	145	93	64.1
Oakland	145	87	15	15	160	102	63.7
St. Louis	125	79			125	79	63.2
San Francisco	275	157		10	275	167	60.7
Denver	120	78	20	6	140	84	60.0
Pittsburgh	200	103			200	103	51.5
New Orleans	100	50			100	50	50.0
Houston	200	107	50	10	250	117	46.8
Detroit	175	80	5	0	180	80	44.4
Milwaukee	120	13	5	0	125	13	10.4
TOTALS	6,383	5,147	560	519	6,943	5,716	82.3

Not reporting: Amherst, Cincinnati, Indianapolis, Iowa City, Salt Lake City, San Antonio

Many branches are now realizing that's the approach they need. Areas that are behind are taking stock and planning special measures to ensure that they make their goals. Some, like New Orleans, Raleigh, and San Francisco are already projecting special efforts to catch up.

Other areas are projecting big regional efforts to take advantage of upcoming special sales opportunities.

Midwest socialists are planning a big sale in Chicago the weekend before election day, for example, to let as many people as possible know about the SWP mayoral campaign.

Socialists also plan a big sale in Houston the weekend before a hearing there on Héctor Marroquín's bid for political asylum in the United States.

We'll report more next week on these efforts to catch up.

Newport News strikers : 'Militant tells our side'

By Priscilla Schenk

NEWPORT NEWS, Va.—There are two sides in the United Steelworkers battle for union recognition here at the Newport News Shipyard. There's Tenneco's side—the shipyard owners. And there's the side of the Local 8888 strikers.

The newspapers you buy on the streets here have all taken their sides. The *Daily Press* and *Times Herald* take Tenneco's side. The *Militant* takes the side of the strikers.

The two local papers run daily scare stories about how the strike is hampering United Fund collections, hurting taxpayers, and forcing cops to work overtime. But it's common knowledge that the *Daily Press* owns stock in Tenneco and has a special interest in painting Tenneco as the victim instead of the criminal.

Tenneco recently had a luncheon for some of the richest people in the Tidewater area to plead for their help in breaking the Steelworkers strike. There Tenneco's President Campbell complained to the local press that they weren't doing their job well enough in covering "strike violence."

The so-called objective coverage of these papers isn't fooling many strikers anymore. Tyrone Epps, a young Black striker, recently decided to subscribe to the *Militant*. "The *Daily Press* is Tenneco's paper," he said. "I don't even bother to read it anymore."

During the week we were here on a national sales team, Laura Carnes and I asked people why they bought the



Newport News restaurant displays copy of 'Militant'

Militant/Jon Hillson

Militant. One striker explained that the Newport News dailies are biased and "speak for Tenneco." "But this paper," he said, pointing to the *Militant*, "is straight facts."

As Laura and I returned from sales in a Newport News neighborhood by way of the shipyard's Thirty-seventh Street gate, Julio Rodríguez, a *Militant* subscriber, called to us to join the picket line and have a cup of coffee. "The *Militant* is recognized by the Steelworkers," he said. "These people are from the *Militant*," he told his brothers and sisters on the picket line.

"This is a good paper. You should read it."

The Black woman who runs the local "Kitchen Korner" restaurant supports the strike. She doesn't bend to the claims that the strike is "bad for business."

"Sure, I'm losing business," she told us. "But I support those strikers fighting for their rights." And because she knows the *Militant* supports the strike, she took a bundle of five to sell to her customers.

By the next day she sold three and decided to hang a copy in her front

window so other people would know where to pick up the *Militant*.

This story is about the response striking steelworkers gave the *Militant* while we were here.

But it's more than that.

It's about how growing numbers of working people all over the country who are fighting for union rights and economic justice are eager to read what socialists have to say.

It's also about the broader interest these strikers have in international news like the freedom fight in Iran or the situation in Indochina.

That's why 1,200 copies of the *Militant* have been sold in Newport News since the strike began. That's why so far more than 140 striking workers here have taken out subscriptions.

These high sales make it clear that this is the right time for the Socialist Workers Party to concentrate its members and political campaigns in the industrial working class—the class whose struggles are moving to the center of national politics.

These high sales also show the importance of our current ten-week drive to sell 100,000 copies of the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial*.

I think it would be worth it for every area participating in the drive to discuss out what Newport News means for their own sales opportunities.

To other steelworkers and shipyard workers in our cities, of course. But not limited to them.

The *Militant's* coverage of this historic organizing strike will get a warm welcome everywhere the paper goes.

Divestment protests

Students demand: 'U.S. out of southern Africa!'

By Osborne Hart

"Protests against American involvement in South Africa are expected to intensify in the fall on college campuses across the country, provoking responses from the schools, which, in turn, may have effects on banks and corporations," wrote the *New York Times* last June.

This observation was not based on any particular foresight. It was rather an acknowledgment of a growing movement.

For the past three years, the issues of apartheid in South Africa and U.S. complicity with the white minority regime have become a focus for student activism. Students are organizing for withdrawal of endowments and other campus funds from American banks and corporations doing business in South Africa. Their main demand is: Divest now!

This new student movement has had some success.

The University of Massachusetts, Michigan State University, Amherst College, Antioch College, Ohio University, Union Theological Seminary, Smith College, Tufts University, and Hampshire College have totally or partially divested financial holdings. The University of Wisconsin has sold \$10 million worth.

Responding to divestment actions, Columbia University recently sold \$2.7 million in bank stock. The Associated Students at San Diego State University withdrew more than a million dollars in student fees from the Bank of America.

However, divestment activities have not gone by without opposition. Trustees at most schools refuse to yield. In a survey conducted at New York University, only twelve of the more than thirty trustees would even discuss divestment. Six of the twelve opposed it, claiming that U.S. corporations have a beneficial influence in South Africa.

Still other trustees and administrators offer compliance with the Sullivan Principles as an excuse for only partial divestment.

These "principles" are a set of guidelines for U.S. companies in South Africa. Developed by Rev. Leon Sullivan, a civil rights figure and a board member of General Motors, these



Campus divestment activists are educating the American public and helping to isolate the racist apartheid regime.

guidelines are supposed to upgrade and equalize the treatment of Black employees. In fact, they offer a cover for continued superexploitation of Blacks by U.S. businesses and a diversion from the divestment campaign.

Student protests for divestment have had an impact that goes far beyond the economic weight of university holdings, which are only a small portion of the total U.S. investment in South Africa. Above all the divestment movement has had a *political* impact.

Students are educating the American public about how and why U.S. corporations and the government in Washington support the white minority regime. U.S. companies reap one of the highest profit rates in the world through the superexploitation of cheap labor provided by the oppressed Black majority.

The students are helping to isolate the South African government. The desperation felt by the apartheid regime is shown by recent revelations about its multi-million-dollar international campaign to discredit the anti-

apartheid movement and foster illusions that Blacks are not suffering in South Africa (see editorial, page 2).

The divestment movement questions who controls university and U.S. policy. Do students have a right to a say in determining the affairs of the schools? Do the majority of Americans have any say in what the government does abroad?

Students are also exposing the hypocritical role of the Carter administration. While claiming to support the aspirations of the Black masses in southern Africa, Washington continues to support the white minority regimes diplomatically, economically, and politically.

Because direct action—demonstrations, rallies, and pickets—is the cornerstone of the campus activities, students are showing the way forward for the African solidarity movement.

Their protests can be the beginning of a movement that mobilizes the masses of American workers, who alone have the economic and social power to force the U.S. imperialists out

of southern Africa.

The potential for the student divestment movement to reach out to and involve the unions is great. Millions of Black workers feel a strong nationalist identification with the freedom fighters in Africa. And the overwhelming majority of white workers have no sympathy for the brutal, racist South African regime either.

The U.S. speaking tour last fall of Drake Koka, general secretary of the Black Allied Workers Union in South Africa, further showed this potential.

Koka's meetings won the endorsement of a number of union officials and the active involvement of many rank-and-file workers.

Educational activities of the divestment movement on campus are helping to make clear that U.S. workers gain absolutely nothing from the U.S. corporate role in South Africa—that support to the Black freedom struggle is part of international working-class solidarity.

Nearly every union in the country has adopted a strongly worded resolution against South Africa. The United Auto Workers withdrew pension funds from banks that make loans to South Africa. Other union organizations have called for boycotts of trade with South Africa.

Rising sentiment against U.S. backing for the racist regime has also affected civil rights groups. At its last convention, the NAACP for the first time joined in demanding withdrawal of U.S. corporations from South Africa.

Divestment actions planned on many campuses for the week of April 4-11 are especially timely. The white governments in South Africa and Rhodesia have stepped up their military attacks against the Black freedom struggle.

At the same time, the Carter administration and Congress are searching for ways to maintain imperialist interests in the region.

By building the biggest possible actions April 4-11, and by reaching out to the labor movement, the Black community, women's organizations, and other potential allies, campus divestment activists can offer real aid to the oppressed Black majority in southern Africa struggling for freedom.

April 4-11 African solidarity actions planned

A variety of activities are planned during the national week of coordinated anti-apartheid actions April 4-11.

This week of actions originated



April 4-11 actions will demand an end to U.S. economic, diplomatic, and military complicity with South Africa.

from several student conferences last fall and has the endorsement of numerous campus organizations and African solidarity groups.

Most events will take place on campus. Emphasizing divestment, students are organizing rallies and teach-ins on university complicity with apartheid. Picket lines at trustee meetings will be a focus for many divestment committees.

Two days will highlight the week. On April 4, areas will link African solidarity events with the anniversary of the assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., April 11 has been designated as national armband day. Students will express their solidarity with African liberation by wearing black armbands.

At Columbia University in New York City, the Committee Against Investments in South Africa (CAISA) and the Black Student Organization will sponsor an event on April 4. CAISA plans an anti-apartheid teach-in on April 10.

The New York University Coalition Against Apartheid will host a forum on South Africa April 5.

On April 3, the Student Association of the State University of New York plans a picket of the chancellor's office in Albany. The association is demanding that the

SUNY system divest \$7 million in U.S. corporations operating in South Africa.

"End U.S. Economic Support for Apartheid" is the theme of an April 11 picket of Citibank headquarters. The demonstration was called by the New York Committee to Oppose Bank Loans to South Africa. Chapters of the committee in other cities will target banks that loan funds to South Africa.

At Cornell University, students are organizing daily pickets and a panel discussion during the April week.

On April 3 a Black student conference on southern Africa hosted by Black students at Rutgers and Princeton universities in New Jersey will feature workshops on U.S. corporations and building the anti-apartheid struggle on campus.

A broad coalition of students from Temple University, University of Pennsylvania, Delaware Valley Anti-apartheid Coordinating Committee, and other groups plans a picket of the Provident Bank of Philadelphia April 6.

The Midwest Coalition for the Liberation of Southern Africa plans an April 7 march and rally in downtown Chicago. Other actions are planned throughout the Midwest.

Solidarity actions in the Boston area are planned for Harvard University, Tufts University, Boston College, University of Massachusetts, Boston University, and Boston State.

The Brandeis University Divestment Movement has called an April 5-6 strike for total divestment. More than 1,300 students signed petitions supporting the strike. Strike organizers have called on other students in the Boston area to join.

The Minnesota Coalition for the Liberation of Southern Africa has called a demonstration at the University of Minnesota regents April 6 and a protest of National Bank loans to South Africa April 7.

Students United to Stop Apartheid at California State in Los Angeles will hold a rally on April 11.

Other campuses that have actions planned for the April week include: Marquette University, Indiana University, Atlanta University Center, Yale University, West Virginia University, College of William and Mary, Howard University, Amherst College, University of Tennessee, Oberlin College, and the University of New Orleans.

Actions will also occur in the San Francisco Bay Area, Houston, St. Louis, and Seattle.

—O.H.

Pulley debates 'Weber' case on nat'l TV



Militant/David McDonald

Pulley speaks to 400 students at Roosevelt University. Students applauded his stand against deportations and in defense of undocumented workers.

By John Studer

CHICAGO—Andrew Pulley, Black steelworker and socialist candidate, versus Patrick Buchanan, right-wing Washington columnist and former Nixon speechwriter.

That's what millions of viewers saw March 28 on the ABC national network news and talk show, "Good Morning America."

The two debated the Weber case and affirmative action. To Buchanan's claim that quotas violate civil rights laws by "favoring" one race over another, Pulley replied with the facts of discrimination at Kaiser Aluminum, where Brian Weber is trying to overturn an affirmative-action job training program.

"We need these quotas to force corporations to hire Blacks, *latinos*, and women," Pulley explained. "With Black unemployment twice that for whites, with three or four times the unemployment rate for Black youth, Blacks are still suffering from discrimination, from the vestiges of slavery and segregation." Pointing out how affirmative action strengthens and unifies the labor movement, Pulley said that "a victory for Weber will set the whole union movement back and hurt all working people."

* * *

On March 24 Pulley spoke to 120 members of the American Postal Workers Union about the need for the unions to build a labor party.

The postal workers were attending a three-day conference sponsored by the O'Hare Midway APWU local on the topic, "From Fraternity to Fighter: Seeking Allies."

Joining Pulley on the platform at the Saturday evening session were Lorenzo Stephens, APWU director for human relations, and Moe Biller, a leader of the 1970 postal strike in the New York area.

Pulley pointed to the workers' growing resistance to attacks on their rights and living standards: from the shipyard workers' strike in Newport News, Virginia, to last year's heroic 110-day coal strike.

Calling the need for a labor party "the biggest question facing the union movement," Pulley argued that these struggles need political expression if they are to win lasting victories.

* * *

When more than 1,000 workers walked off the job at the sprawling Johns-Manville Corporation com-

plex in Waukegan, a Chicago suburb, Pulley immediately sent a telegram of solidarity.

Johns-Manville is the nation's largest manufacturer of asbestos products. The key strike issues are tied to the dangers of working with asbestos.

International Chemical Workers Union Local 60 is demanding full retirement benefits at age sixty-two, doubling of major medical insurance coverage, and access to statistics on work-related diseases and disabilities.

The union explains that the workers' health records—which the company refuses to disclose—are necessary to formulate effective health and safety programs in the plant.

In his message to local president Raymond Kloth, Pulley said, "Big business and its government constantly trample on the health and safety of working people. . . . Miners faced with 'black lung,' textile workers faced with 'brown lung,' and asbestos workers faced with 'white lung' must know the true facts about their jobs in order to fight to make them safe."

"If they can't be made safe," Pulley declared, "new jobs must be provided for every worker at the bosses' expense and at the same wage."

* * *

At the March 23 debate sponsored by the Urban League (see facing page), Ralph Metcalfe Jr., a prominent political figure in Chicago's Black community, asked the candidates, "Who is Wallace Davis and

what would you do for him?"

Wallace Johnson, the Republican, had to confess he didn't know who Davis was and had no idea what to do for him.

Pulley was the next speaker. He explained that Davis was the victim of a brutal police assault.

Davis, a Black small businessman, had called the police to respond to a robbery in his store. The cops came and proceeded to shoot Davis. They then tried to prevent him from getting medical care, to ensure that he would die.

The nurse who demanded they allow Davis to be operated on was mysteriously fired from her job a few weeks later.

Davis is now suing the police, demanding a full investigation of his case.

Pulley called on everyone in the audience and everyone listening to the debate, broadcast live on radio station WIND, to support Davis's case.

Davis has announced his endorsement of Pulley's campaign for mayor. He is scheduled to be a featured speaker at the socialist campaign's windup rally April 1. The rally will be held at the Blue Gargoyle Gymnasium, 5655 South University, at 7 p.m.

* * *

Democratic Party candidate Jane Byrne flew to Washington for the Mideast treaty signing. Pulley issued a statement condemning the Egyptian-Israeli treaty as a "war pact."

"At the very time pen is being put to paper," Pulley said, "the U.S. is

sending billions of dollars of new military hardware to the Mideast.

"U.S. 'advisers' are being sent to bolster the right-wing regime in North Yemen.

"Discussions are being held about reinstituting the draft.

"These war preparations are not aimed at protecting you and me from attack," the socialist candidate declared. "Just as in Vietnam, what is involved is defense of U.S. corporate interests and profits, especially the profits from oil.

"There will be no peace in the Middle East until the Palestinians win their national rights. There will be no peace until there is an end to the economic and military domination of the Mideast by U.S. imperialism," Pulley said.

* * *

Pulley has also confronted his opponents at debates at Loyola University, Roosevelt University, and before the O'Keefe Area Council of South Shore, a Black community group.

At the debate before 400 students at Roosevelt University, Jane Byrne said she would intensify the attacks on undocumented workers. Declaring that "United States citizens are being deprived of jobs," she vowed that more deportations would be a top priority of her administration.

Pulley got a big round of applause when he answered, "It is utterly unfair and untrue to say that the so-called illegal aliens, undocumented workers, have anything whatsoever to do with the unemployment problem."

Putting the blame for unemployment squarely on the capitalist system and government, Pulley outlined his jobs program of a shorter workweek and massive public works program.

* * *

In covering the Urban League debate, Channel 2 television reported that "from the response last night to Andrew Pulley it appears that Chicago's Black community has found its candidate."

* * *

VOTE SOCIALIST WORKERS—ANDREW PULLEY FOR MAYOR on Tuesday, April 3.

That night, come to the victory party at 6 p.m. in the Gold Room of the Blackstone Hotel, corner of Michigan and Balbo in downtown Chicago. Everyone is welcome.

Meet the socialist candidate

Andrew Pulley, twenty-seven years old, is a resident of Chicago's South Side. He was born in Sidon, Mississippi, a small town just outside of Greenwood. Pulley moved with his family to Cleveland at the age of twelve.

He became a social activist at the age of seventeen in the wake of the assassination of Martin Luther King, Jr., and was expelled from high school for participating in protests at that time.

Faced with a choice between jail and the army, Pulley chose the army. He was an outspoken opponent of the war in Vietnam.

Pulley and seven other GIs were

thrown in the stockade at Fort Jackson, South Carolina, in 1969 for exercising their right to speak out against the war. A national campaign organized by the antiwar movement forced the army to drop all charges against them.

In 1972 Pulley was the Socialist Workers Party candidate for vice-president of the United States.

Pulley is a production worker at U.S. Steel's Gary Works and a member of United Steelworkers of America Local 1066. He is active in the union's fight to defeat the Weber ruling against affirmative action.

...how workers can fight runaway inflation

Continued from front page

Yet the government just released figures showing that prices are going up at the incredible rate of more than 15 percent a year—the highest rate in nearly five years. So Carter is telling unionists to accept contracts that guarantee we will fall further and further behind.

Now, *that* is a real “act of aggression” against the American people, the vast majority of whom work for wages.

Only a tiny handful—and the wealthiest at that—enjoy the fruits of the whopping increases just announced in corporate profits. Profits are up 26 percent in the last quarter of 1978 over the previous year! Yet Carter says these soaring prices and profits are perfectly legal under his guidelines.

These figures give the lie to the big-business propaganda that our wages are the cause of inflation. The truth is that workers are caught in a losing race to catch up with the cost of living.

Let me repeat that: Workers don't cause the problem of inflation, and we should not be called upon to sacrifice in the name of some phoney “fight against inflation.” All our sacrifices just wind up as higher profits for the corporations.

To break out of this losing race workers need, first of all, big wage increases to make up for the ground we have lost. Wages that enable everyone to enjoy a decent standard of living.

Second, we need cost-of-living escalator clauses in all our contracts. Every time businesses' costs go up, they are allowed to “pass along” the increase. Well, whenever the prices we pay for the necessities of life go up, we should

get a wage increase automatically to make up for it.

And we need the right to strike and to vote on our contracts, or else collective bargaining means nothing.

I strongly disagree with those who say a complete system of mandatory controls on all prices and incomes would give workers a fair shake.

We've had controls before, and it has been proven time and time again that they work against wages, never against prices. Every employer will gladly hold down wages—a built-in

In the past twelve months...

Prices	UP 9.9%
Profits	UP 26.4%
Real wages*	DOWN 1.2%

*spendable average weekly earnings for worker with three dependents, adjusted for inflation. Source: Bureau of Labor Statistics

system of enforcers. But the government never has and never will control prices.

In fact, at this very moment Carter is pushing to *decontrol* oil prices—a move that will cost us \$14 billion and make the oil corporations even richer.

This situation points to our biggest problem: working people have no say in government. Instead, big business uses the government against us whenever we try to protect our living standards.

The wage controls are a prime example. Carter has already threatened to use a Taft-Hartley injunction against the Teamsters if they strike. The government is even talking about using military convoys to move goods.

In the 110-day coal strike last year the miners found they had to take on more than the mine operators. They had to do battle with the government as well. Today the Teamsters face the same enemy.

Just as workers need unions that are independent of the employers to fight for our needs, we also need to organize ourselves independently on the political level. That's how we can take on the parties controlled by the employers and their antilabor laws, courts, cops, and “guidelines.”

More and more workers are coming to agree that a labor party is needed. But many may not be sure that now's the time.

The government's attacks on the miners, the Newport News Steelworkers, and the Teamsters show that now is exactly the right time. And right here in Chicago—the base of some of the country's biggest industrial unions—can be the place to start building that party.

A labor party based on the unions could mobilize workers, the unemployed, working farmers, Blacks, *latinos*, women, and students in solidarity with workers in struggle—like the Teamsters today.

A labor party based on the unions could fight to wipe Taft-Hartley and other antilabor laws off the books.

Here in Chicago, Teamsters Joint

Council 15—like many other unions—endorsed and donated thousands of dollars to Jane Byrne, my Democratic Party opponent. I think this was a mistake.

Those funds could have been used instead to make a break from the Democratic and Republican parties

In case you didn't know . . .

“The main purpose of the wage-price guidelines was to force wage restraint on the big unions. . . . The big union settlements are not the prime cause of inflation. . . .” —*Business Week*, April 2

“The critics of the wage-price guidelines persist in overlooking their specific, quite narrow purpose: to hold down trend-setting wage settlements in 1979.” —*New York Times* editorial, March 8

and finance independent labor candidates in the next election. Such a break would set the example for working people across the country.

This perspective is the only realistic one if we are to break out of the predicament we are in today.

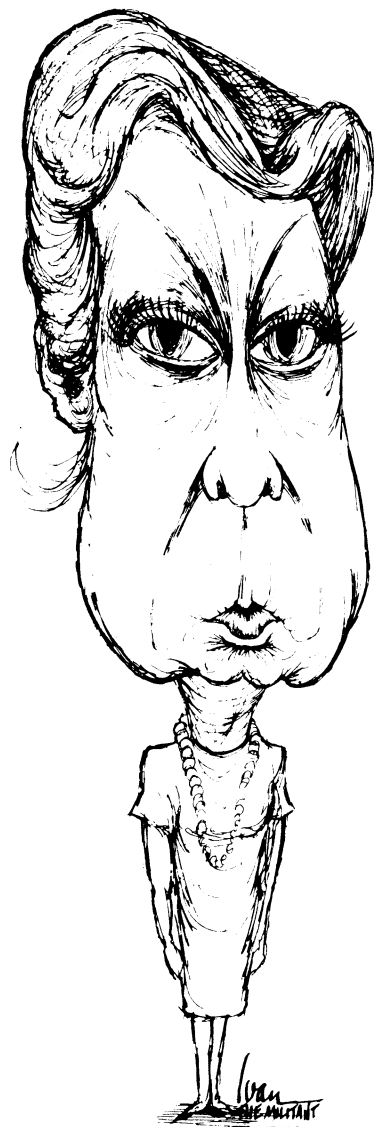
The Teamsters, Steelworkers, and all other unions face both the employers and their government. We can turn the odds around by building a labor party and campaigning to take over the government in our own interest.

This is the central message of my campaign for mayor.

Socialist at Urban League debate

'You can't represent both slaves and masters'

The following are major excerpts from a talk given by Andrew Pulley, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Chicago, at a March 23 candidates' debate sponsored by the Chicago Urban League. Also speaking were Democrat Jane Byrne and Republican Wallace Johnson. More than 400 people attended. Byrne spoke first and left, refusing to stay for the other presentations and the discussion period.



JANE BYRNE: 'If she won't listen now, what do you think she's going to do if she becomes mayor?'

Let me thank the Urban League, Brother James Compton, and all of you for giving me the opportunity to address you today and discuss some of the key issues in the campaign.

Let me just say before I begin that many of you gave Jane Byrne a big vote on February 27. She can't even give you the time of day, or the time of night. And she's not mayor yet. If she won't listen now, what do you think she's going to do if she becomes mayor?

In any case, let me get down to some of the substantive questions that confront working people in Chicago, particularly the Black community.

Today you heard, and I heard—it was not any news to us—that the cost of living in Chicago last month had increased by 1.5 percent. The cost of basic necessities of life—rent, food, gasoline—have gone up even faster.

Everyplace we turn, working people and those who are looking for work are being squeezed tighter and tighter.

In the Black community, as you well know, unemployment is one of the gravest problems. Half of our youth are out of work. Many have no prospect whatsoever of finding a job, even a job on the level of working for a McDonalds restaurant chain, much less a decent job.

I submit to you that these problems do not have to exist. The solution can be found to them.

I call for a generalized reduction in the workweek. As mayor of Chicago, the number of hours of work per week under my administration would be reduced from forty to thirty, with no reduction in pay.

Right away a certain number of jobs would be opened. Some of the unemployed could be brought into industry.

Moreover, if there is a general rehabilitation effort mounted to reconstruct the inner city, many more jobs can be provided.

Many more jobs can be provided if the conditions in the schools are qualitatively upgraded, if the public transportation system is qualitatively expanded and upgraded.

The problem [of unemployment] is not one of not having anything to do. The problem is that those who decide the priorities, the perspectives, the policy, have no interest whatsoever in bringing about needed solutions.

Now, where will we get the money to do these things?

I reject the argument that there is no money out there. Just look at the figures on business profits.

Look at the amount of money they spend on the war budget.

Look at the \$37 million that is owed to the Chicago city government by private industry in property taxes that they refuse to pay.

What do you think would happen to you if you suddenly decided that you were not going to pay property taxes this year?

I believe that the tax structure should be shifted away from burdening down working people and the unemployed.

Working people are being taxed too much already. We can barely afford

Continued on next page



Campaigning on Chicago's West Side

Militant/David McDonald

Socialists blast racist measure

Calif. assembly passes antibusing bill

By Holly Harkness and
Adwoa Osabu Codjoe

LOS ANGELES—By an overwhelming sixty-two-to-seventeen vote, the California State Assembly passed a constitutional amendment March 23 designed to eliminate busing to desegregate schools.

The measure, sponsored by Democrat Alan Robbins, would restrict court-ordered desegregation plans to cases where a school board was found to have deliberately segregated the schools. Such proof is virtually impossible to obtain.

The Robbins bill must go before the California voters. Its twenty-seven cosponsors are predicting victory. If it passes, the already minimal school busing plan here will come to an immediate halt.

"This bill is a slap in the face to Blacks, Chicanos, and others who suffer from racist, inferior education," said Willie Petty, Socialist Workers Party candidate for school board District 1. "The Democrats and Republicans in the assembly tell us, 'You just don't count.'" Petty's district is 65 percent Black and 20 percent *latino*.

"This attack on basic democratic rights must be answered," the socialist candidate went on. "It is an issue that affects all working people. The unions, the Black organizations, women's groups, all have a stake in joining together to defeat the Robbins bill."

Petty and Pedro Vásquez, Socialist Workers Party candidate for school board District 5, are the only candidates in the race who support total desegregation of the Los Angeles schools through metropolitan-area-wide busing.

Vásquez and Petty also support bilingual/bicultural education for every



Militant



Militant/Della Rossa

SWP school board candidates Willie Petty (left) and Pedro Vásquez call for metropolitan-area-wide busing to desegregate Los Angeles schools.

school and every grade.

"A majority of the students in District 5 speak Spanish, with English as a second language," Vásquez told the *Militant*. "This makes bilingual/bicultural education crucial. Chicano and *mexicano* students have the right to learn in their own language, and they have the right to learn about their own heritage."

Although the race is officially "non-partisan," all the other candidates represent the Democratic and Republican parties.

"Those two parties—the parties of the rich—can't solve the problems faced by Chicanos, Blacks, and other working people," Vásquez said. "These two parties of big business oppose busing and oppose bilingual/bicultural educa-

tion. They call for higher taxes on working people or cutbacks—usually both.

"So when people hear that I'm running as a socialist, they want to talk about it."

When Vásquez told his co-workers at Calstrip Steel about his candidacy, "Everyone stopped working and gathered around to talk to me," he said. "They wanted to know why a steelworker was running for school board."

Vásquez is a member of United Steelworkers Local 1981. A majority of the workers in his plant are Chicanos.

Vásquez was granted several minutes at a union meeting to speak about his campaign. When he finished, he received an enthusiastic round of applause.

Vásquez has taken his campaign to other steelworkers, too. He and his campaign supporters set up literature tables outside the Bethlehem Steel plant each week. They pass out campaign literature and sell an average of fifteen copies of the *Militant*.

Vásquez has also participated in community meetings where the issues in the school board race are debated. At these meetings he stands out among the candidates because he takes the "controversial" questions head-on.

At an evening meeting of 200 parents, teachers, and students at Roosevelt High School, Vásquez surprised his opponents by taking a straw poll to see how many members of the audience were in favor of busing. The majority of those who raised their hands supported it.

"Even the *Los Angeles Times* had to take note of that," Vásquez said.

On weekday mornings, Vásquez teams up with his supporters in the Young Socialist Alliance to visit Chicano high schools in District 5.

"We set up a table on the sidewalk outside the school just when the students are arriving. Many are surprised and pleased to find that there's someone running for school board who's interested in their opinions."

When students brought the socialist campaign literature into their government classes, it prompted several teachers at both schools to invite Vásquez and members of the YSA to speak about their ideas to the classes.

Vásquez spoke to 100 students at Garfield High School and 40 at Roosevelt High. "They totally agreed with us when we told them that the big corporations should be taxed and not working people," said Vásquez.

I'm talking about as those who first said we must make Chicago, Minneapolis, Detroit, a union town.

'We have unions'

Now we have large unions in this city, and many of the union members are Black. We can use these unions. We can change the unions. Make the unions serve the interests of their membership, of their Black members and of all the other members.

I submit that the unions and the Black movement are victims of the policies of the Democratic and Republican parties. We need to build our own political organization—a labor party—based on our own economic and social interests.

And regardless of what some may believe, that social interest can never be represented by someone who's concerned about representing the interests of big business.

You can't represent the interests of the slaves and the master. Abraham Lincoln found that to be impossible.

You choose to represent the interests of either the victimizer, or those who have been victimized.

Brothers and sisters, in this campaign, the main message that I am trying to convey is that it is time for the oppressed, the victims of the policies of big business, of the Democratic and Republican parties, to begin to embark on a political course of independence and begin to build our own party based on our own political and economic needs—namely, a labor party.

The union movement in Chicago should build a labor party, a party which would organize and fight for Blacks, *latinos*, women, and all working people.

A labor party would attract to it all those who are looking for the leadership and power necessary to confront the rich and their parties, the Democrats and the Republicans.

You can begin that by voting for me on April 3. Thank you."

...debate

Continued from preceding page

the basic necessities of life. Those who don't work are in an even worse situation.

And we're even being asked to keep our wage demands down below 7 percent, when the annual rate of inflation is 15 percent based on today's figures.

Now, if you do what Wallace Johnson and Jane Byrne have promised to do, and that is to decrease the taxes on big business, where does that leave us?

We have two choices. You can either increase the taxes on working people—that is, you, and those who are unemployed—or you can decrease the social services.

Now, I remind you of the plight of our community last winter and ask you, do you want to decrease social services?

I ask you to just visualize the conditions of our surroundings, the area that surrounds this church, areas that we drive through or live in.

I just remind you of all the other needs—human needs—that are being neglected, and ask, do you want to

decrease social services?

I think the tax burden should be put on big business. And I'm for lifting the taxes altogether from the victims of this system.

Brothers and sisters, it's time for a change. I'm as confident of the historic correctness of what I'm talking about as were those who first advocated the abolition of slavery.

I'm just as confident as those who first said, down in Montgomery, "I'm not going to the back of the bus anymore."

I'm as confident of the historic correctness and ultimate triumph of what

in other words, it was the workers' fault.

Two days before the explosion several workers had walked off the job in protest of unsafe conditions. But nothing was corrected.

During the past year and a half, the USWA local had filed fifty safety grievances.

"It was like a time bomb waiting to explode," said a local USWA representative.

A time bomb that the company claimed they didn't have the money to defuse. So four workers paid with their lives.

Right after the explosion, inspectors for the Occupational Safety and Health Administration tried to enter the plant. Management barred them admission, and the inspectors had to come back with a court warrant.

A couple of weeks later OSHA fined the company \$42,000 for safety violations that led to the blast.

"They murdered four workers and they got what amounts to a slap on the wrist," says Pulley. "They probably won't even pay those fines, or at least not the whole amount. They'll appeal, and they'll stall, and OSHA

will come up with some kind of 'reasonable settlement.'"

There have been nine steelworkers in District 31 killed on the job during the past year, explains Pulley. But the slaughter goes on.

"Working people, Black unemployed youth—they go to jail all the time for no crimes at all. But these industrial criminals get away with murder.

"The fight for safe working conditions has to be organized by the unions," the socialist candidate says. "On the job, our most powerful weapon is the right to strike, which we in the basic steel industry presently don't have.

"But the fight has to go beyond the workplace. We need stiffer laws with adequate health and safety standards and *real* penalties for corporate violators. We need government enforcement agencies accountable to working people instead of the agencies we have now that just serve as arms of the employers.

"But we're never going to get that with the Democrats and Republicans in power. Only a labor party based on the unions can call a halt to this slaughter on the jobs."

'Bring industrial murderers to justice'

By Nancy Cole

Socialist Workers mayoral candidate Andrew Pulley believes there are murderers on the loose in Chicago who ought to be brought to justice.

On February 16 at the Burnside Steel Foundry in South Chicago, a malfunctioning ladle full of 3,200-degree molten steel tipped into a pit. The pit shouldn't have contained water, but it did. The resulting explosion severely burned eighteen workers.

Before the evening was over, the first died—Steve Mihalik, who was president of United Steelworkers Local 1719.

By March 6, three more had died from extensive burns—Peter Stiff, Albert Chisholm, and Lewis O'Daniel.

"It was murder," declares Pulley, who is a steelworker himself, "premeditated, cold-blooded murder by the foundry owners."

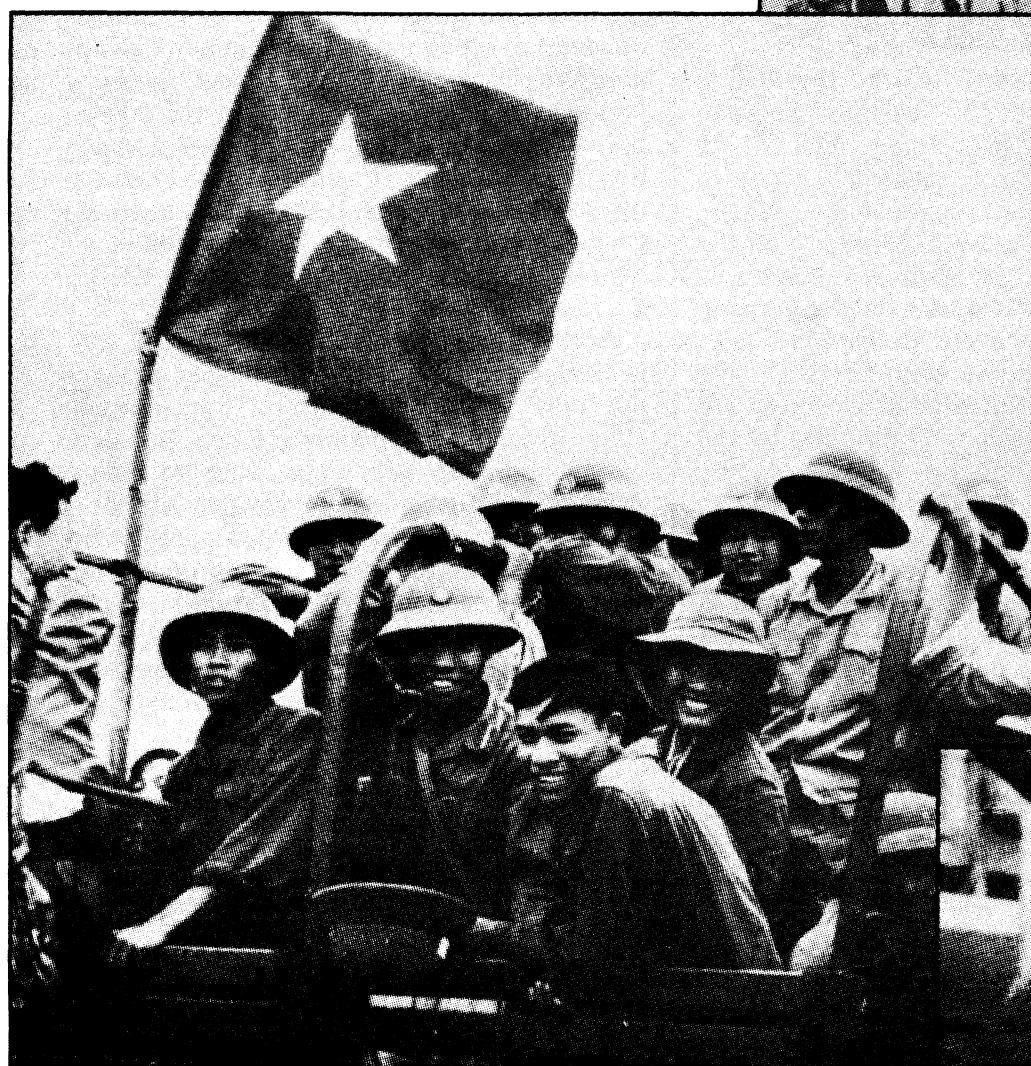
District 31 USWA officials, local union officials, and foundry workers all agree.

But the company released a statement blaming it on "human error"—

international **socialist** review

Socialist Revolution in Vietnam

By Fred Feldman



Top right, Saigon march demands fall of Thieu regime. Top left and bottom, liberation army troops and militia after victory.

THE MONTH IN REVIEW

Vietnam Invasion: Blow to Chinese Revolution

After nearly thirty years of diplomatic and economic blockade imposed by U.S. imperialism in its efforts to weaken and reverse the Chinese revolution, the People's Republic of China won U.S. diplomatic recognition and the opening of trade relations.

But the price the Stalinist rulers in Peking are paying for this concession—support for U.S. imperialism to the point of launching an invasion of Vietnam on its behalf—has weakened the overall position of the Chinese workers state.

The capitalist media center attention on the warm welcome given Vice-premier Teng Hsiao-p'ing by the imperialist rulers in Washington and Tokyo. As they present it, China's international position has improved.

Since the Stalinist regime in Peking views deals with imperialism as the pivot of its policy, it doubtless agrees with this assessment.

The U.S. imperialists are not so naïve. They know that agreements made today can be broken tomorrow. What is decisive in their eyes is the relationship of forces between the imperialist rulers and the working people of the world.

Looked at from this angle, it is clear that imperialism—with the help of the Peking regime—has dealt the Chinese revolution a blow by instigating the invasion of Vietnam.

Never has the reputation of the Chinese workers state been so tarnished in the eyes of working people around the world. Never has the Chinese revolution been so isolated from its real allies and defenders.

Conflict between an aggressive and expansionist imperialism and the workers states—above all, the Soviet Union and China—is inevitable. The imperialists will not be satisfied until the workers states are again arenas for capitalist exploitation. This can only be accomplished through bloody counterrevolutionary wars.

During the Korean War, the U.S. imperialists pressed to China's borders and would have gone farther had not hundreds of thousands of Chinese troops stymied them. Had the U.S. rulers been successful in their war against the Vietnamese revolution, China might have been the next target.

Washington was forced by advances in the world revolution, particularly its defeat in Vietnam, to put aside *for the time being* any plans for a direct attack on China, and alter

its tactics in seeking to undermine the Chinese revolution. But changes in the relationship of class forces—particularly, the isolation of the Chinese workers state—could lead to a renewal of the imperialist offensive against China.

Thus, the Peking regime's assault on the Vietnamese revolution was also an attack on the interests of the Chinese masses. It weakened the Chinese workers state in face of its real enemy—U.S. imperialism. The expressions of opposition to the invasion among Chinese working people reflected this fact.

The lineup in the Indochina conflict was U.S. imperialism and its satellites, aided by the Peking Stalinists, against the workers and peasants of Indochina and China. This was one front in the worldwide offensive of imperialism against working people.

Recent gains won by the Indochinese revolution—the overturn of capitalism in South Vietnam last year, the fall of Pol Pot's tyranny in Kampuchea, the deepening of the Laotian revolution, and the Vietnamese success in stalemating Peking's invasion—strengthened the Chinese workers state by weakening its imperialist enemy. These advances help offset the damage done by the Peking rulers.

All working people have a stake in defending the great social conquests of the Chinese revolution. These conquests opened new avenues of progress for the Chinese working people and strengthened the struggle of the oppressed and exploited everywhere for a better life.

These gains must be defended despite and against the criminal counterrevolutionary actions of the parasitic caste that holds political power in China.

Moscow's Policy: 'More Progressive' than Peking's?

Some who yesterday idolized the Peking rulers now talk of an alliance between "China" and U.S. imperialism against the Soviet Union. In some cases this leads to prettifying the Stalinist regime in the Kremlin.

A case in point is Irwin Silber's "Fan the Flames" column in the March 14 *Guardian*.

"At this moment," he says, "a war is being fought between China and Vietnam." He talks about "China's actions and policies," and "China's attitude." But what are involved are the actions, policies, and attitudes of the Stalinist bureaucratic caste—a small minority, of the population with interests opposed to those of the Chinese workers and peasants.

According to Silber, "pro-Chinese" parties "are now worse" than pro-Moscow parties because "their general line has now become out-and-out class-collaborationist."

Although he poses it in the form of a question, Silber obviously thinks that "China's class-collaborationist line . . . has now become the principal deviation from

Marxism-Leninism in the international movement."

As for the Stalinist regime in Moscow, its offers to collaborate with imperialism "have been, by and large, rebuffed by Washington," according to Silber.

"Almost despite itself—and primarily for reasons of national self-interest rather than solidarity with revolutionary struggles—the Soviet Union has been forced to challenge the political role of the U.S. and assist certain liberation struggles."

In short, "China" has become reactionary, while "the Soviet Union" has been forced into a progressive posture.

The Moscow Stalinists gained prestige as a result of Peking's crude toadying before imperialism—in contrast to the 1960s when Peking far outdid the Kremlin in radical rhetoric.

But the aim of both regimes throughout has been to reach an overall diplomatic accord with imperialism at the expense of the international working class—including the workers in their own countries.

Washington now needs help from the bureaucratic castes in both the Soviet Union and China to hold back the world revolution—that is the main reason for the current "détente" with both regimes.

The Peking Stalinists are trying to play a direct role in preventing the spread of socialist revolution in Southeast Asia. But they have little or no influence in Iran, the Arab East, southern Africa, Latin America, or Europe. In these crucial areas Peking will say anything the imperialists want to hear. But it can do little to strengthen imperialism's grip on the workers and oppressed.

The U.S. imperialists therefore look primarily to Moscow for help in preventing revolutions—whether in Chile, Portugal, Iran, or Southeast Asia. And the Kremlin is more than willing to provide imperialism with its counterrevolutionary services.

Silber was surprised when collaboration flowered between the Stalinist gang in Peking and American imperialism because he never understood the conflict between the ruling bureaucratic caste and the Chinese revolution. Disappointed in Peking, he hasn't shifted his allegiance to the workers and peasants of China, the Soviet Union, or anywhere else. Instead, he pins fading hopes on the Soviet bureaucracy.

World socialism will not be won by the Brezhnevs or Tengs. Their privileges depend not only on the existence of the workers states in the Soviet Union and China, but also on collaboration with imperialism to block revolutions. The workers, farmers, and oppressed people of the world will accomplish this necessary transformation through the struggle of tens of millions against world imperialism. And in the course of these battles, the Russian and Chinese masses will topple the bureaucratic castes that misrule the Soviet and Chinese workers states, placing them on the road of proletarian internationalism and democracy.

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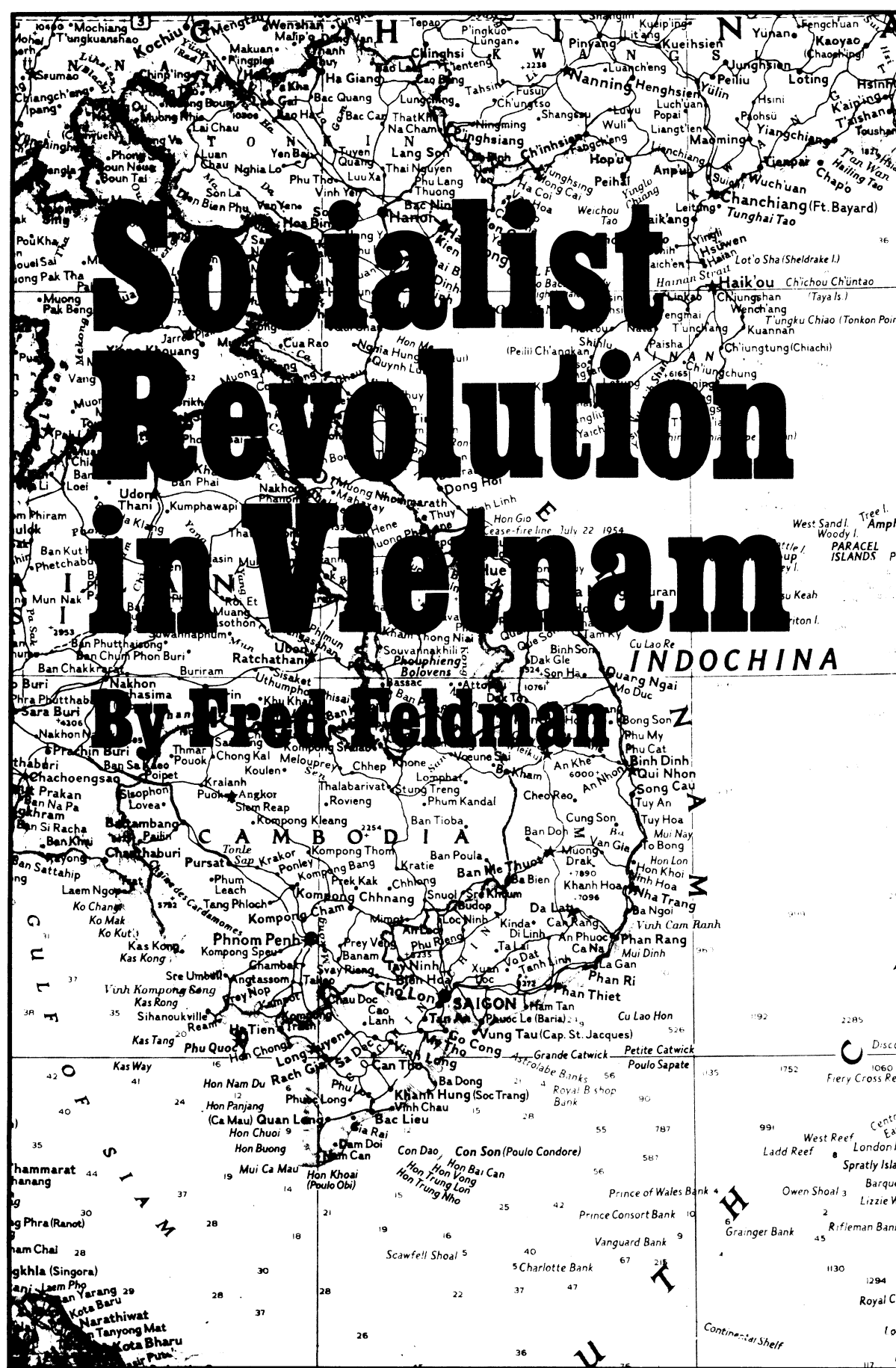
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**International
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I. Vietnam's Struggle for Liberation (1945-1975)

The Vietnamese revolution reached a new watershed last spring with the mass mobilizations that completed the abolition of capitalist property relations in the southern part of the country. This marked the consolidation of a workers state encompassing all Vietnam with a population of 48 million. It was the first extension of socialist revolution since the Cuban masses toppled capitalism almost twenty years ago.

The new stage of the Vietnamese revolution sent shockwaves throughout Southeast Asia, a resource-rich region vital both economically and militarily to U.S., European, and Japanese imperialism. In Laos, the position of the Pathet Lao government brought to power in 1975 by worker, peasant, and student mobilizations, was strengthened against rightist armed bands.

In Kampuchea (Cambodia), the capitalist Pol Pot regime, which increasingly looked toward U.S. imperialism as an ally against the Vietnamese revolution, was toppled by an alliance of

the Vietnamese army and Kampuchean rebels.

Most other countries in Southeast Asia—Indonesia, Thailand, Singapore, Malaysia, Burma, and the Philippines—remain under the thumb of imperialism. These countries have a combined population of 285 million. Their corrupt officials and generals at the service of the capitalists and landlords are fearful that the overthrow of capitalist exploitation in Vietnam will inspire the workers and peasants of their countries to follow suit.

Imperialists Tighten Noose

Washington and its allies responded to the spring mobilizations and expropriations by stepping up economic and military pressure on Vietnam. The imperialists launched a propaganda barrage around the issue of the "boat people"—most of whom were the expropriated merchants and usurers, their families, and their friends.

In hopes of proving its capacity as a stabilizing force for imperialism in Southeast Asia, the Peking regime placed itself at the service of the U.S. rulers. It joined in the refugee campaign, canceled all aid to Vietnam in June, and last month staged the brutal invasion of Vietnam's border regions. The Chinese regime's conflict with Vietnam provides a smokescreen behind

which the U.S. rulers are stepping up assistance through Thailand to counterrevolutionary forces in Laos and Kampuchea.

Last year's advances in the Vietnamese revolution stand in stark contrast to the reactionary course adopted by the capitalist Pol Pot regime in Kampuchea before its fall in January (see "Revolution and Reaction in Kampuchea," by Fred Feldman and Steve Clark in the February 23, 1979, issue of the *Militant*).

The impact of the Vietnamese revolution on working people in Asia and around the world, and the determination of the imperialists to contain and drive back this revolution, can only be understood by tracing its origins and course.

The overturn of capitalism in South Vietnam is the most recent conquest of one of the deepest popular revolutions of the twentieth century. It was powered by repeated mobilizations over more than thirty years by the worker and peasant masses. This explains why Vietnam is viewed by the imperialists and their satellites as "the greatest threat to stability in Southeast Asia."

Four Factors

The course of this revolution—from its beginnings in World War II to the present conflicts in Indochina—has been determined by the intertwining of four factors.

Most decisive has been the deep-going mobilization of the masses, including the urban working class and poor, in the struggle against imperialist domination, capitalism, and landlordism. Their heroic struggle has inspired solidarity among working people around the world.

Second is imperialism, the Vietnamese revolution's irreconcilable foe. French, Japanese, and then U.S. imperialism have poured tremendous political, military, and economic resources into unsuccessful efforts to smash the revolution. While it has taken defeats of historic scope at the hands of the Vietnamese, imperialism has never given up the struggle to retain a foothold of capitalist power in Indochina. It still aims to reverse the revolutions that have taken place there.

The third factor is the Vietnamese Communist Party, which has been at the head of the Vietnamese struggle for national liberation since the end of World War II. This is a Stalinist party.

At the time of its founding, the party's class-collaborationist program and practice were modeled on that of the Stalinist regime in the Soviet Union. As the anti-imperialist struggle unfolded, the VCP also came to express the special interests of the bureaucratic hierarchy that took shape in the liberated zones.

Since the overturn of capitalism in North Vietnam in the late 1950s, the VCP has consolidated its power as a privileged bureaucratic caste.

Oriented for most of the years since World War II toward the peasantry rather than the workers, the VCP was and remains petty bourgeois in composition as well as in program and leadership. It followed the Stalinists' class-collaborationist strategy of using the mass movement of the workers and peasants as a bargaining chip for persuading the imperialists to accept, and the native ruling classes to participate in, a coalition government on a capitalist basis.

As with other Stalinist parties, its basic policy has always been to achieve stability for its own privileges and power.

The Vietnamese CP's class-collaborationist policy required it to try to constrict the struggle within capitalist bounds, to block its extension to other countries, and to suppress all democratic decision-making by the masses, who continually tended to overstep the limitations set by the Stalinists.

But the irreconcilable drive of the imperialists to crush the Vietnamese struggle, and later the workers state from which the CP leaders derive their privileges, often forced the VCP to go further than its Stalinist leaders wished in relying on the mobilization of the workers and peasants as a means of self-defense.

Moscow and Peking

The fourth key factor is the role of Moscow and Peking. The examples of the Russian and Chinese revolutions provided powerful impetus to the Vietnamese workers and peasants, impelling them toward socialist solutions to the problems they faced.

But both the Moscow and Peking rulers represented bureaucratic castes interested in the preservation of their own privileged positions. They

Fred Feldman is editor of the ISR. With George Johnson, he co-authored "On the Nature of the Vietnamese Communist Party" (July-August 1973 ISR) and "Vietnam, Stalinism, and the Post-war Socialist Revolutions" (April 1974 ISR).

feared the Vietnamese revolution as a threat to the international status quo, and thus to their own hopes of attaining stable diplomatic and economic deals with Vietnam's imperialist enemies.

The Stalinist castes in the Soviet Union and China used the miserly aid they provided the Vietnamese as a lever for prying from the Vietnamese leaders further concessions to imperialism—even when this endangered the position and the survival of the Vietnamese CP.

This pattern of treachery has continued right down to the present, as shown by the U.S.-inspired invasion of Vietnam by the Peking regime and the Kremlin's refusal to massively aid Vietnam to repel that invasion.

To end French rule, to liberate the South from U.S. domination, and to abolish capitalism and landlordism, the Vietnamese masses have had to overcome not only the ferocious opposition of U.S., French, and Japanese imperialism, but the obstacles placed in their way by the VCP and by Moscow and Peking.

On several occasions, the imperialists counted on deals with the Stalinists, hoping to freeze, roll back, and ultimately crush the revolution. Each time, however, the pacts have foundered on the fierce determination of millions of Vietnamese women and men to win national independence and liberation from capitalist exploitation. The success of the Vietnamese masses in overcoming the obstacles in their way has made the Vietnamese revolution a special target of imperialism's hatred—and fear.

Decades of Imperialist Rule

From 1888 to the opening of World War II, Vietnam was directly ruled by French imperialism. The earlier precapitalist monarchy was transformed by the domination of French capitalism in agriculture and industry. Maintaining the facade of an imperial court at Hue, the French forged ties with the Vietnamese landlords and officials. Although many of them chafed at the plunder of the country and their humiliating status as second-class citizens in their own land, they also saw imperialist backing as the last line of defense against the workers and peasants.

The August 1945 Revolution

In 1940, Japanese troops occupied Vietnam. In 1941, the Vietnamese Communist Party, headed by Ho Chi Minh, initiated the Viet Minh, an alliance of bourgeois and petty-bourgeois nationalists directed at fighting Japan. The Viet Minh did not call for independence, but favored reforms within the framework of French rule.

In March 1945, the Japanese rulers saw defeat approaching. In hopes of making matters more difficult for their imperialist competitors, they granted formal independence to Vietnam, designating Bao Dai as emperor.

At the beginning of August 1945, Truman, Churchill, and Stalin—the heads of state of the victorious allies—met in Potsdam. Stalin sought to preserve the wartime alliance with U.S. and British imperialism into the postwar period. He offered to use the prestige of the Soviet Union and the Kremlin's influence over Communist parties to maintain the capitalists' grip on Western Europe and the colonial world. The Potsdam agreements proposed military occupation of Vietnam by British and Chinese Kuomintang troops, preliminary to the restoration of French rule.

But something else happened in August 1945 that upset the appletart for the imperialists and their Stalinist allies: revolution broke out in Vietnam. This was among the first of the colonial revolutions that exploded at the end of World War II, and one of the biggest.

Hundreds of thousands of workers and poor people marched in Hanoi and Saigon. Peasants seized the land and meted out justice to landlords and other rural oppressors. Workers seized factories. Arms were distributed. A network of people's committees spread over the country, as the colonial governing apparatus collapsed.

The workers and peasants looked to the Vietnamese Communist Party to lead them to independence. Its authority stemmed from participation in the struggle against Japanese imperialism and its ties with the Stalinist regime in the Soviet Union, which the masses identified with the revolutionary conquests of the Russian workers and peasants.

The VCP, however, went all-out to implement the promises Stalin made at Potsdam. It established a coalition government in Hanoi under Ho Chi Minh that included capitalist parties. Although Ho Chi Minh later indicated he had been willing to keep Bao Dai as emperor, popular opposition forced his abdication. Ho then included Bao Dai in the cabinet.

The government issued a declaration of independence on August 19. It could not have done anything else, given the scope of popular mobilizations around this slogan.

But the new government tried to protect the interests of the imperialists, the landlords, and the capitalists. By doing so, the VCP hoped to convince the French colonialists to tolerate the coalition government.

"All those who have instigated the peasants to seize the landowners' property will be severely and pitilessly punished," said Nguyen Van Tao, a leading Stalinist. "Our government . . . is a bourgeois-democratic government, even though the Communists are now in power."

The Viet Minh called on the people of Saigon to hail the British troops when they disembarked on September 1. Dozens of Trotskyists who opposed this were massacred by the VCP, including the popular Trotskyist leader Ta Thu Thau. People's committees and nationalist formations that tried to organize against the British landing were suppressed.

British and French Step In

Shortly after arriving, the British troops carried out a coup, arrested Ho's representatives in Saigon, and returned the South to French rule. American ships carried thousands of French soldiers to join the occupying forces. And on September 12, according to CBS correspondent Bill Downs reporting from Vietnam in 1945, U.S. troops were used to crush a demonstration.

Now restricted to the North, the Stalinist-led coalition government continued its retreat.

The Chinese Kuomintang troops in the North did not prove as cooperative as the British forces in the South in restoring French rule, although their commanders directed a thorough job of plunder. They disarmed French fortifications, made no effort to disarm the Vietnamese, and put up no obstacles to the consolidation of the new government. The Chiang Kai-shek government's hopes of influencing developments in an independent Vietnam played a role in this, but just as important was sympathy for the Vietnamese revolution among rank-and-file Chinese soldiers and officers.

The French government pressed Ho Chi Minh to allow French forces back into North Vietnam. On March 6, 1946, Ho signed an agreement allowing 25,000 troops under French command to occupy the North and accepting the status of a province in the French Union—the new name for the French empire. Thus, the Stalinists repudiated the declaration of independence. Ho Chi Minh promised this "compromise" would bring independence "perhaps within five years."

The coalition government carried out joint police operations with French troops against opponents of the pact.

But the French imperialists now saw no need to share power with the VCP. The postwar upsurge of the French working people was under control, thanks to the participation of the French CP in the capitalist De Gaulle government. With the mass movement in Vietnam in retreat, the French armed forces launched an all-out attack. In November 1946 Haiphong was shelled by French warships, killing more than 6,000 persons. A month later, the French government occupied Hanoi, indiscriminately murdering thousands of civilians.

Forces loyal to the coalition government who survived the bloodbath fled to the countryside.

The Vietnamese revolution had been dealt a savage defeat.

As in the Chinese revolution of 1925-27, this setback was not inevitable. The mobilized workers and peasants had the power to drive out the imperialists, and end landlordism and capitalism.

But their misleaders turned the country over to the French colonialists. It took the Vietnamese workers and peasants nearly thirty years of war to regain the ground lost due to the betrayal of the August 1945 revolution by the VCP.

The defeat dealt the Vietnamese revolution, despite its severity, was not definitive. The weakened French imperialists could not consolidate their conquest. The Viet Minh, having

retreated to the countryside, found tens of thousands of peasants ready to fight. The French were soon faced with a massive rural revolt and never regained control of most of the countryside. The peasant war lasted for eight years, culminating in the defeat of the French at Dien Bien Phu in May 1954.

The capitalist allies whom Ho Chi Minh had cultivated during World War II and the 1945 revolution recognized the implications of such a deepgoing peasant struggle. One by one they went over to the French or simply withdrew their backing. Bao Dai withdrew from the Viet Minh and accepted the title of emperor from the French occupiers in 1949.

Nonetheless, the Viet Minh repeated its promise to preserve capitalism once in power. Only in 1953 did it even yield to peasant demands for an extensive land reform.

Vietnam Divided

In the last days of the battle of Dien Bien Phu, the U.S. rulers—who had been providing 78 percent of the cash for the French war effort since 1950—moved to intervene directly. President Eisenhower considered asking Congress for a mass bombing expedition of 500 planes, including the possible use of nuclear weapons, against the Viet Minh.

But coming only months after the end of the unpopular Korean war, the opposition of American working people to such a move (expressed in Gallup Polls reporting opposition to intervention at ten to one in March 1954) forced Washington to relent. Even the British government, fearful of its own workers, opposed direct intervention.

The victory gave the Viet Minh military predominance throughout Indochina. But once again the Vietnamese people were robbed of the full fruits of their hard-won victory.

1954 Geneva Conference

The Soviet and Chinese Stalinists gave some aid to the Viet Minh and recognized its government during the long guerrilla war. The shift from Stalin's initial support to French rule came in response to imperialism's cold-war drive, which peaked in the Korean War.

During this period, Moscow and Peking fostered armed struggles led by Communist parties in Malaysia, Burma, India, and Indonesia. They did so as a means of relieving imperialist military encirclement, and pressuring the U.S. rulers into accepting "peaceful coexistence" (the Stalinists' term for the international policy of class collaboration).

Having failed to crush the revolution militarily, the imperialists by 1954 turned to Moscow and Peking for help.

At the Geneva conference on Indochina held in July 1954, Moscow and Peking provided an example of what the imperialists might hope to gain through "peaceful coexistence." They put heavy pressure on Viet Minh negotiators to offer a de facto division of the country at the seventeenth parallel.

"A number of members of the Vietnam delegation have declared openly that pressure from Chinese Communist Premier Chou En Lai and Soviet Minister Vyacheslav Molotov forced their regime to accept less than it rightfully should have obtained here," Tilman Durbin reported in the July 24, 1954, *New York Times*.

In line with the agreement, Viet Minh military forces regrouped in the North, where the Viet Minh established a government at Hanoi. In the South, a caretaker regime under Bao Dai was installed. According to the agreement, elections would be held in March 1954 to unify the country.

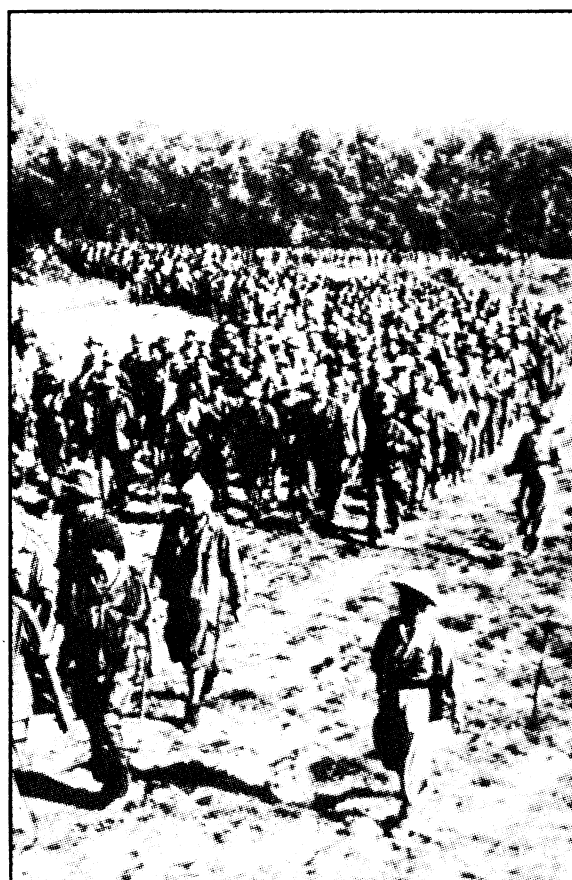
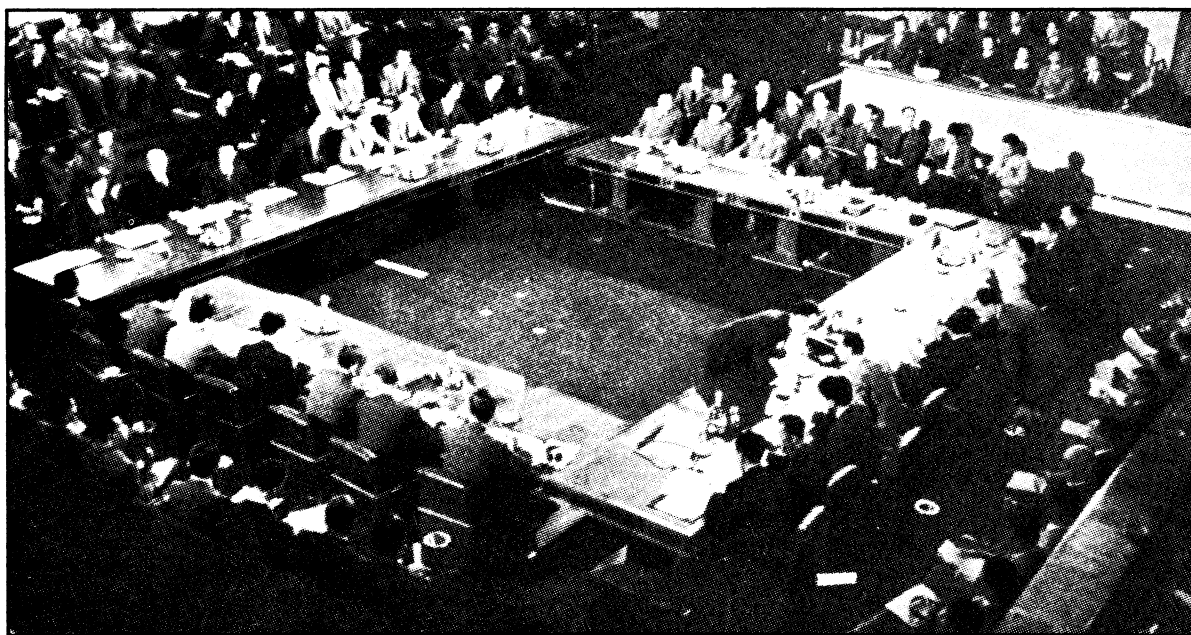
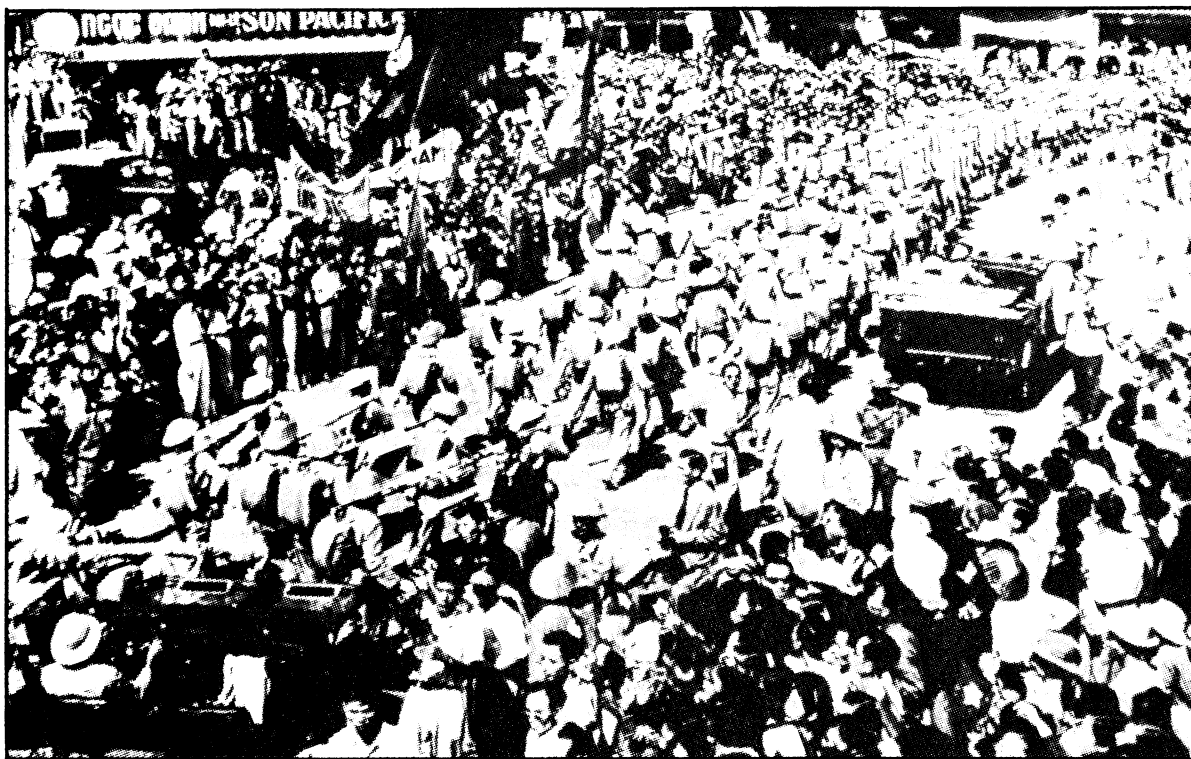
All objective observers—and even highly prejudiced ones such as President Eisenhower—agreed that the Viet Minh would have won a fairly conducted election by a handy margin.

Viet Minh Policy

Although the Viet Minh government in the North—which became the Democratic Republic of Vietnam (DRV)—had little capitalist support, it rejected the idea of overturning capitalism and landlordism to establish a planned economy.

Instead, Ho Chi Minh staked his hopes on peaceful reunification with the South through the 1956 elections. The Viet Minh government tried to demonstrate that it could protect bourgeois property in a united Vietnam.

The French government considered taking up



In 1954, pressure from Moscow and Peking Stalinists led Viet Minh to give up at Geneva conference much of what Vietnamese people had won on the battlefield. Top left, Viet Minh forces march into Hanoi; top right, French troops captured by Viet Minh forces; and bottom, a session of the Geneva conference in July 1954.

Ho's offers of collaboration. "Under the guidance of Premier Pierre Mendès-France, France planned 'a precedent-setting experiment in coexistence'; she would grant the Viet Minh full control over Vietnam by adhering strictly to the Geneva Accords, and then work closely with Ho Chi Minh 'to preserve French cultural influence and French capital,'" reports Alfred McCoy in *The Politics of Heroin in Southeast Asia*.

The French rulers would have used the time bought by such maneuvers to seek means of re-establishing a more "reliable" government in Vietnam, while simultaneously protecting French capital from U.S. competition.

But the Eisenhower administration had different plans. It refused to sign the accords but promised to abide by them. Actually, it had no intention of allowing the scheduled elections.

It replaced the French puppet Bao Dai with a U.S. protégé, Ngo Dinh Diem. U.S. imperialist domination was consolidated further when Diem's U.S.-built and U.S.-financed army crushed the pro-French Binh Xuyen gangsters, who had previously controlled much of Saigon, in May 1955.

The U.S. rulers also began construction of a network of U.S. military bases in Vietnam.

Armed to the teeth by the U.S. imperialists, Diem pronounced the goal of reunification through eventual conquest of the North. Taking advantage of the withdrawal of Viet Minh forces to the North, he sought to exterminate anyone suspected of Viet Minh sympathies.

Under the guise of "land reform," Diem tried to roll back the division of the land carried out under Viet Minh auspices in much of the South. Peasants were ordered to pay back rent from 1946 to landlords, who suddenly returned from the French Riviera or similar watering holes.

In line with this course, Diem canceled the scheduled elections.

Capitalism Toppled in DRV

The failure of its strategy for reunification threatened to discredit the Stalinist-dominated regime in the North.

Popular discontent with the lack of progress in living standards, shortages, corruption, and economic disorganization—coupled with continual military threats from the South—pressed the regime to consolidate its position through a sharp left turn.

By the end of 1955, all French-owned businesses had been nationalized.

The Hanoi rulers began to act as a workers and peasants government, initiating a sweeping new land reform at the end of 1955 benefiting the poorest and landless peasants. The result was a massive upheaval that broke the back of landlord power in the economy.

In mid-1956, the regime appears to have tried to impose collectivized farming and large increases in food deliveries to the state. It ran into massive peasant resistance, culminating in a peasant uprising at Nghe An Province, which was bloodily repressed. The Stalinists retreated from forced collectivization, and only in 1959 did cooperatives—in which the peasants still held title to their land—become predominant in agriculture.

At the time of the Nghe An uprising, protests by workers in the coal mining regions and in the suburbs of Haiphong were reported. Workers at Hong Quang protested low living standards. Radio Hanoi listed a promise to raise wages for workers as among the concessions granted by the regime to quiet the disturbances.

By September 1957, the regime was describing the country as in "the transitional period to socialism." After the decisive mass struggles of 1956 and 1957, the remaining centers of capitalist ownership were soon done away with. Virtually all industry had been nationalized by 1960.

As this process went forward, the regime felt compelled to make concessions to demands for more freedom from the intelligentsia and Communist Party members. This was partly inspired by the partial relaxation of police-state controls in the USSR after Khrushchev's denunciation of Stalin in 1956.

The critics challenged the prevalence of privilege and corruption in the regime, expressed sympathy with the Hungarian and Polish uprisings against bureaucratic misrule, and demanded the "right to have tendencies."

Such criticisms posed the threat that the pro-

cess of overturning capitalism would escape the bureaucratic caste's control, draw in the workers and peasants, and lead to an antibureaucratic revolution and the establishment of workers and peasants democracy.

This would have led quickly to the loss of the substantial privileges the ruling bureaucratic caste was accumulating. These ranged from sizable income differentials, to special stores and expense accounts catering to the needs of well-placed "cadres"—as the party and state officialdom called itself.

Frightened by the specter of workers democracy, Ho Chi Minh cracked down. A campaign of "reeducation" was begun, in which prominent Communists such as Tran Duc Thao were accused of spreading "Trotskyist" ideas and compelled to recant. Other dissidents were jailed.

Struggle in the South

The overturn of capitalism in the DRV deepened the class polarization that was being spurred in the South by Diem's reactionary drive. The sweeping land reform in the North made a deep impression on peasants who saw Diem's troops restoring the southern landlords to their former dominance.

Large-scale resistance broke out in the South in 1957. Led by former Viet Minh cadres who had not gone north, it won wide support from the peasants, particularly minority nationalities and religious sects. At first these efforts were opposed by the Hanoi regime as "premature." This position could not be maintained long, however, given the depth of antilandlord and anti-imperialist sentiment both in the South and in the DRV.

By 1960, the VCP had taken leadership of the movement through the southern-based People's Revolutionary Party, and the National Liberation Front had come into being. It included the PRP and other petty-bourgeois nationalist forces. Many citizens of the DRV who had been born in the South volunteered to join the struggle.

The Vietnamese Stalinists, however, made no

adjustment in their fundamental class-collaborationist strategy, which they dubbed "people's war." They concentrated on organizing a peasant army and rejected mobilizing the workers and poor people of South Vietnam's sizable cities, who had a record of militancy going back to the 1930s.

The peasant army was seen as a powerful tool for pressuring the "progressive" bourgeoisie into accepting a coalition government friendly to the DRV and for compelling the U.S. imperialists to acquiesce in such an alliance. To encourage bourgeois support, the National Liberation Front offered to guarantee capitalist property relations, protect the land of "patriotic" landlords, and hold off reunification with the North.

Urban Upsurges

The VCP's strategy, however, did not prevent massive urban struggles from further undermining the pro-imperialist regime. Determined to fight, the workers and their allies mobilized behind whatever leadership provided an opening for struggle—Buddhist *bonzes* or trade-union officials, students or Catholic priests.

In 1963, the working people of Saigon, Hue, Danang, and other cities brought on the fall of Diem with strikes and demonstrations led by Buddhists and students. A year later, a general strike in Saigon helped bring down one of Diem's successors, Nguyen Khanh.

By this time, well over 10,000 U.S. "advisers" were fighting in Vietnam. But the urban upheavals and the defeats dealt to the Saigon army by NLF guerrillas led U.S. imperialism to greatly escalate the war. Massive bombing raids were carried out against the North and in NLF-held areas of the South. When the bombing ended eight years later, more tons of bombs had been dropped on Vietnam than in all theaters of World War II.

The first units of what became an American expeditionary force of 540,000 were sent in. Eventually, they were joined by troops from Australia, New Zealand, Thailand, the Philippines, and South Korea.

The impact of the Vietnamese struggle on the region was already being deeply felt.

In Laos, a national liberation struggle had developed in close association with the Vietnamese revolution under the banner of the Pathet Lao, led by the Laotian Communist Party. In an effort to freeze this struggle, the imperialists yielded in 1962 to Pathet Lao demands for a coalition government. The Pathet Lao agreed to accept a minority position in the government.

However, the escalation in Vietnam was accompanied by a U.S. shift in Laos. Massive bombing raids against the Pathet Lao and its Vietnamese allies were carried out with the complicity of "neutralist" Premier Souvanna Phouma. Pathet Lao leaders were forced to withdraw from the capital city, Vientiane, and resume the civil war. This was the beginning of the nine-year "secret war" in Laos carried out under the direction of the CIA and U.S. Ambassador William Sullivan (now ambassador to Iran).

But even with massive air, naval, and ground forces behind the Saigon regime, the urban and rural masses continued to fight back. Protest demonstrations of war veterans, trade unionists, students, women, and Catholics remained a regular feature of city life. This ferment barred any of Diem's successors from establishing the full totalitarian control that they sought. This was true, even though more than 200,000 political prisoners packed the country's jails.

Tet Offensive

In February 1968 the people of Saigon, Hue, Danang and other cities rose up to support the Tet offensive, an all-out assault on the Saigon regime by National Liberation Front forces. After weeks of fighting, U.S. forces were able to dislodge the NLF forces from the cities. But the U.S. imperialists and their landlord-capitalist puppets had been dealt a grave blow from which they never recovered.

The breadth and persistence of the struggles waged by the working class and urban poor of Vietnam represented a continual pressure on the petty-bourgeois Stalinist leadership of the VCP. While weakening the political grip of imperialism and tying down its occupation forces, and thus relieving pressure on the liberation forces, these struggles undermined the VCP's prospects of

establishing a stable coalition government with bourgeois politicians on the basis of capitalist property relations.

Because of these struggles, the Vietnamese revolution did not take shape as a conquest of the cities by peasant-based armies from the countryside, despite the VCP leaders' projection of this strategy. It was a broad upheaval of the oppressed of the city and countryside.

This stands in marked contrast to the course of the revolutionary struggle in Kampuchea. There the proletarian forces remained small in numbers, weak and unorganized. The Khmer Rouge leadership was able to effectively exclude them from any decisive role in toppling the imperialist-backed Lon Nol regime.

International Antiwar Movement

Far from containing and rolling back the Vietnamese revolution as they had hoped, Washington ran into stubborn opposition not only from Vietnamese workers and peasants, but from American working people as well. A massive antiwar movement took hold in the United States, including among the rank-and-file soldiers in Vietnam. President Lyndon Johnson was forced out of office by this upheaval. It prepared the way for Richard Nixon's downfall, as well.

The impact of the war on Indochina also deepened. When a CIA-backed coup against Prince Sihanouk in Kampuchea brought the



Buddhist monks and women try to break through barbed-wire barricade during an antigovernment demonstration in Saigon. Landlord-capitalist regime never succeeded in completely ending struggles of workers and their allies in the southern cities.

firmly pro-U.S. Lon Nol regime to power, the U.S. and Saigon armies launched a massive invasion of that country in May 1970. In response, the VCP—which had supported Sihanouk's landlord-capitalist government—was forced to take the lead in organizing a peasant army to fight the United States, Saigon, and Kampuchean rightist forces. The Vietnamese revolution thus drew Kampuchea as well as Laos into a general struggle of the Indochinese peoples for national liberation.

Moscow, Peking & Paris Accords

Moscow and Peking kept their aid to a minimum, although even this minimum was vital to the ability of the DRV and the liberation forces in the South to survive the brutal U.S. assault. A factor in compelling the Stalinist regimes to keep some aid flowing was the internationalist stance of the revolutionary Castro government in Cuba. Havana offered to send troops to Vietnam, provided aid despite Cuba's limited resources, and tried to open a second front in Latin America against U.S.-dominated regimes.

But Moscow and Peking continued to place top priority on reaching a live-and-let-live agreement

with the imperialists at the expense of the world revolution. Soviet Premier Kosygin went to Glassboro, New Jersey, for a cordial get-together with President Johnson in 1967, as ever more U.S. troops occupied Vietnamese soil. On November 26, 1968, Mao's regime issued a call for improved relations with U.S. imperialism on the basis of "the five principles of peaceful coexistence." Ending the assault on Vietnam did not rank among the "five principles."

In 1972 pressure from the Moscow and Peking rulers was decisive in impelling the Vietnamese leaders to accept another compromise—the Paris Accords of January 1973.

Mao lavishly welcomed Nixon in Peking in February 1972 while the bombing in Vietnam was at its height. In June Nixon was scheduled to go to Moscow.

In the intervening weeks, Vietnamese liberation forces launched a massive offensive that threatened to defeat the Saigon army. Nixon responded by ordering a naval blockade and mining the harbors of North Vietnam. More than 5,000 air raids were carried out against North Vietnam in three months.

Brezhnev acceded to the blockade—effectively reducing aid to Vietnam. He also made it clear that Nixon was still welcome in Moscow. Pressure grew on the Vietnamese to yield ground or face—without powerful allies—the pulverizing weaponry of U.S. imperialism.

Without openly criticizing Mao or Brezhnev, Vietnamese officials used the Hanoi newspaper *Nhan Dan* to indicate anger at the Soviet betrayal. As a peg, they used an oily television address by Nixon in Moscow in which he proclaimed his desire to save the world's children from the scourge of war.

"It is obvious that in order for the children of the world to be able to avoid being massacred and to live in peace," *Nhan Dan* commented, "the adults will have to oppose the American imperialists and not recoil in the face of their threats."

In the end, however, Hanoi and the NLF were forced to yield to the pressure, proposing a compromise that eventually became the Paris Accords of January 1973. As a warning to the Vietnamese people of what lay in store if they dared resume the struggle, Nixon interrupted the talks to launch massive saturation bombing of Hanoi and Haiphong during the Christmas holiday season.

Paris Accords of 1973

The accords did not contain the NLF demand for the abolition of the Saigon regime and the establishment of a coalition government. They called for a cease-fire that left the Saigon government and army intact and in possession of all the cities. A Council of National Reconciliation and Concord was to be formed by the Saigon regime, headed by Gen. Nguyen Van Thieu; the liberation forces; and some bourgeois opponents of Thieu, dubbed the "third force."

It would settle all differences.

In exchange for DRV-NLF acceptance of the survival of Thieu's regime, the U.S. bombing of Vietnam and mining of its harbors was halted. Most remaining U.S. troops were withdrawn (their number had been steadily reduced since 1970 in an effort to defuse the antiwar movement in the United States). The Saigon government agreed to release its 200,000 political prisoners. The U.S. rulers promised to provide \$3.25 billion in aid to the DRV to help it carry out the massive task of reconstruction of the bombed-out countryside and cities.

As they had done when the country was divided in half by the Geneva Agreement in 1954, the DRV-NLF leaders did not frankly tell the masses that they had been compelled to make grave concessions. On the contrary, they hailed the accords as an "epochal victory" and predicted that all of Vietnam's problems would be solved in its framework.

The VCP also did not act to undermine the corrupt and hated Saigon regime by leading the struggles of urban working people, refugees from the countryside, and students against repression, poverty, and unemployment. Instead, it pressed for a coalition government that would include forces from the Saigon regime. It hoped the council projected by the accords would be a step in this direction.

As part of carrying out its class-collaborationist commitments under the Paris Accords, the DRV and NLF leaders put heavy pressure on the Khmer Rouge in Kampuchea to come to a similar

agreement with Lon Nol. The dominant wing of the Khmer Rouge—including Pol Pot and Khieu Samphan, later premier and president of "Democratic Kampuchea"—refused, advocating a fight to the finish with the Lon Nol regime.

The DRV and NLF responded to this refusal by severely cutting their aid to the Khmer Rouge and withdrawing many of their troops from Eastern Kampuchea. The Khmer Rouge fought on, facing until August 1973 the most concentrated U.S. bombing of the entire war.

The Pol Pot-Ieng Sary wing of the Khmer Rouge used the dispute with the Vietnamese as a pretext for beginning a purge of elements suspected of being "pro-Vietnamese." And they introduced new repressive measures into the districts where their control was strongest, such as the expropriation of peasants' land and forced population transfers.

But the U.S. rulers and the Thieu regime were adamantly opposed to a coalition government with a leadership linked to a profound revolutionary upheaval in the South and a workers state in the North.

The projected council never met. No prisoners were released. And the U.S. government reneged on the promised aid.

Hoping that the threat of renewed U.S. intervention would pressure the DRV leaders into withdrawing their support to the southern struggle, the Thieu regime launched offensives aimed at retaking rebel-held territory. At first the liberation forces retreated, hoping to forestall a decisive clash.

Nixon wanted to resume bombing North Vietnam in mid-1973 in order to step up the pressure. The depth of antiwar sentiment and the Watergate scandal stayed his hand, however.

In July 1974, after Thieu's attacks had continued for more than a year, officials in Hanoi informed reporters that the third Indochina war had begun.

In March 1975, combined NLF-DRV forces launched their first major counteroffensive in the

central highlands. The offensive coincided with an uprising of the Montagnard people in the region. Montagnards led an assault that liberated the provincial capital of Ban Me Thuot on March 14.

Victory

At this point, the ranks of the Saigon army began simply refusing to fight. Many went over to the liberation forces, more headed home, and a few—the scum who were the lumpen core of Thieu's forces—carried out an orgy of murder and looting against civilians.

Seeing an opportunity to bring the long and costly war to an end on its own terms, the DRV poured its forces into South Vietnam to occupy Kontum, Hue, Danang, Dalat, and other cities. Everywhere they were welcomed as liberators. Provisional regimes based in part on popular committees were established.

Christian Science Monitor correspondent Daniel Southerland reported April 3: "It was almost as if a pattern were set by the recent fall of the city of Da Nang. . . . Suddenly no one is in control. Government soldiers begin looting. National Liberation Front cadres go to work spreading rumors and calling for an uprising. Prisoners are let out of jail. An internal collapse occurs, and Communist-led troops move in almost without having to fire a shot."

"Internal collapse," of course, is the capitalist press's term for popular revolution.

The U.S. imperialists were not ready to admit defeat. Gerald Ford proposed the use of troops "to protect American lives." Naval forces were deployed off the coast of Vietnam. And trial balloons were sent up by the Pentagon suggesting that 90,000 troops would be needed to "rescue" Americans and Vietnamese from the "Viet Cong bloodbath" predicted in the U.S. capitalist media.

But the trial balloons sank like lead because of

the immovable hostility of the American people to further military intervention in Vietnam. The U.S. government began evacuating the 20,000 military "advisers" who had been kept with Thieu's forces after the signing of the Paris Accords.

The NLF-DRV leaders did not completely give up hope of forming a coalition government reflecting the new relationship of forces. On the contrary, they continued to call for this and until the last days of April, offered to negotiate a settlement with Thieu's successor, Duong Van Minh. But "Big Minh," despite his reputation as a "third force" neutralist, called on the Saigon forces to gather for a last stand. Only when the NLF-DRV forces called for a general uprising and prepared to storm the city did Minh's forces surrender.

'Our Embassy Now!'

As the last U.S. embassy personnel departed by helicopter from the roof of the building on April 30, 1975, the Saigon masses burst through the embassy door, sacking and burning it. "It's our embassy now," said a laughing Saigon army soldier.

Most other buildings deserted by the Americans were sacked.

Other parts of Saigon went untouched as workers, students, youth, and NLF cadres took on the task of maintaining order.

A few hours later, a DRV tank smashed through the gates of the presidential palace in Saigon, while columns of NLF-DRV troops moved into the city. Soldiers riding tanks shouted, "Hello, comrades," to onlookers and even to foreign reporters.

"Within hours," the May 1 *Washington Post* reported, "the streets of the city took on a festive air." Little wonder. A century of imperialist domination and military occupation, and nearly twenty years of civil war, had come to an end. A courageous people had won an historic victory.



Danang, South Vietnam: liberation forces and supporters stand on a U.S. tank abandoned by Saigon army as rebels won control of city in March 1975.

II. How Capitalism Was Toppled in South Vietnam

The victory of the National Liberation Front and Democratic Republic of Vietnam over the U.S.-backed Saigon regime on April 30, 1975, was hailed in the cities by workers, students, and refugees from the villages. Support broadened as it became evident that tales of an impending "communist bloodbath" were imperialist fabrications.

Measures such as the release of more than 200,000 political dissenters imprisoned by the Washington-created dictatorship, and the introduction of a free rice ration for the needy, were understandably popular.

Popular Upsurge

Control of the Saigon region was placed in the hands of an eleven-member Military Management Committee. In order to get a new administration established, the new regime called on May 3 for the creation of "revolutionary committees" throughout the country.

"There are committees everywhere," commented a correspondent in the June 1, 1975, *Washington Post*. "Sanitation committees, food committees, security committees. . . .

"Everywhere there are signs of massive political mobilization as students and youths hold meetings before the National Liberation Front flag. . . .

"In the suburban residential areas, where the social classes often are mixed together in a haphazard fashion, former men of influence see positions of power passing into the hands of the working class, who suddenly have become well connected."

Workers Take Action

The Saigon workers (there were 300,000 industrial workers in the city) went into action in the last hours of the old regime and the first days of the new. Often led by NLF cadres, workers organized committees to protect factories from sabotage and theft by the fleeing capitalists and their agents, and to operate abandoned factories.

On May 2 a reported 3,000 workers seized the offices of the pro-imperialist labor federation. The Military Management Committee announced that a new federation would be launched.

Factory Takeovers

Italian journalist Tiziano Terzani reported: "In the first days the situation in the factories of Saigon was still confused. A declaration by the new authorities had assured owners that 'manufacturers and dealers will have their goods safeguarded and will be able to continue activities profitable to the national economy and to the life of the population.' But in some establishments the workers had announced a takeover, and in some cases had even held the first people's trials against the bosses.

"Other factories, like the one that produced 'eagle' batteries and in which Thieu's wife had been a shareholder, had been seized by revolutionary management committees of workers and employees, after the owners had fled with the Americans.

"Technically speaking, and in accordance with a formula approved by the military authorities, this meant 'taking charge until the return of the legitimate owners.' But since the owners would never return, it was an early form of nationalization.

"Something similar had also occurred in some small factories operating with mixed Chinese-Vietnamese capital."

The new government took possession of 70 percent of the country's industry—abandoned by its owners, expropriated by the workers, belonging to Saigon regime officials or to U.S. firms. In the remaining 30 percent the owners' only hope was to win government backing in the tug of war with the workers' committees.

Some spokespeople for the liberation forces seem to have been infected initially by the revolutionary enthusiasm of the city population

and the army ranks. Radio broadcasts proclaimed reunification an accomplished fact and declared the nationalization of all factories, farms, and businesses. Such declarations were quickly countermanded by the higher-ups in the new government.

Another radio broadcast decreed that Saigon would henceforth be named "Ho Chi Minh City." This was later modified to give the new name "popular" status, while retaining the name Saigon for most purposes. After reunification in July 1976, Ho Chi Minh City came into official usage.

To maintain control over the popular movement and establish a new administration with a popular base, the NLF-DRV leaders had to adapt their course to popular sentiments. They were careful, however, to grant no political decision-making power to the popular committees that took shape. They imposed control over these bodies through VCP and army cadres, and set sharp limits on the scope of permitted debate.

Nonetheless, the neighborhood and factory committees did much more than provide the regime with a means of containing the popular mobilization. They also enabled the workers and urban poor to take immediate measures to better their lot.

The popular mobilizations in Saigon—matched, from all indications, in other cities of Vietnam—stand in dramatic contrast to the counterrevolutionary drive that followed the Khmer Rouge victory in Kampuchea a few weeks earlier. There, the dominant wing of the Khmer Rouge drove the workers and poor out of Pnompenh and other cities at gunpoint, crushing the workers and their other allies for the time being as an effective anticapitalist force. Even the possibility of establishing a workers and peasants government did not open up again until the reactionary Pol Pot regime was toppled last January.

The existence of the workers state in North Vietnam, the universal recognition of reunification in some form as a goal, the breadth of the mobilization of the city masses, and their class-struggle traditions—all these weighed against any such brutal reversal of the revolution in South Vietnam.

But grave difficulties nonetheless confronted the Vietnamese people. Vietnam—North and South—was a war-ravaged country.

Imperialist Devastation

Millions of tons of U.S. bombs had pounded the rural areas of South Vietnam and virtually the entire DRV, leaving 26 million bomb craters. Thousands of unexploded bombs were embedded in once-fertile soil. Tens of thousands of acres of rice paddies and forests had been sprayed with poisonous and cancer-causing defoliants.

Hundreds of thousands of civilians and war veterans had been crippled and maimed. Comparable numbers of orphans had to be cared for.

Putting an end to drug addiction and prostitution—social evils that took on massive scale in the South under U.S. auspices—was an enormous task of human rehabilitation.

The U.S. occupation had distorted the southern economy. Millions of peasants had been forced from their homes by U.S. bombings and search-and-destroy missions. Huge numbers of people made their livings in the swollen Saigon bureaucracy, in the army, or by providing services to the U.S. occupiers. With the collapse of the regime, unemployment soared from 1.5 to 3.5 million.

The cancellation of all U.S. aid programs and the economic blockade that Washington quickly imposed on trade with the new regime exacerbated all these difficulties. Many Saigon factories, previously dependent on raw materials from the United States, now had to shut down or cut back operations.

Procapitalist Course

Instead of launching a massive internationalist effort to reconstruct Vietnam, the bureaucratic castes in Moscow and Peking used the war's end as

a pretext for cutting their aid programs. This was also a way of signaling Washington that the castes bore no responsibility for the Vietnamese leaders' decision to press on to a victory, which Nixon's détente diplomacy had been designed to prevent.

Peking demanded payment for vitally needed rice shipments, while Moscow refused grants to Vietnam in favor of interest-bearing loans.

A Class-Collaborationist Answer

The economic blockade imposed by imperialism and the tight-fistedness of Hanoi's erstwhile allies in Peking and Moscow have been the major factors in slowing Vietnam's recovery from the devastation of war.

Vietnam's working people were and are well aware of the impact of these problems. Their initial moves to take over the factories signaled their tendency to solve these problems through establishment of a workers and peasants government that would pursue rapid reunification on a socialist basis with the DRV.

They sensed that only a nationalized and planned economy—freed from the grip of capitalists, landlords, usurers, and big merchants—could distribute the scarce necessities of life equitably and mobilize resources to begin the reconstruction of the nation. At the same time, they also recognized that this mammoth task could not be fully accomplished without massive economic and technical help from abroad.

But the Vietnamese Stalinist leaders—in line with the class-collaborationist course they had tried to pursue through thirty years of revolution—had a different strategy. They decided to apply the NLF program, which promised to preserve capitalism and delay reunification.

Their primary goal was to convince U.S. imperialism to come through with the \$3.25 billion in reconstruction aid promised the DRV in the Paris Accords. They also aimed to win new Japanese, French, Swedish, and U.S. aid, trade, credits, loans, and investment—especially in developing Vietnam's offshore oil resources.

Kissinger's Bait

In a news conference held April 29 as the landlord-capitalist regime in Saigon was being consigned to history's garbage heap, U.S. Secretary of State Henry Kissinger dropped hints that aid might be proffered to a regime in the South that forestalled reunification and preserved capitalism:

"Question. Do you now favor American aid in rebuilding North Vietnam?"

"Answer. I could say that no, I do not favor American aid for rebuilding North Vietnam.

"Q. How about South Vietnam?"

"A. Well, with respect to South Vietnam, we will have to see what kind of government emerges; and indeed, whether there's going to be a South Vietnam."

Kissinger did not regard the fate of South Vietnam as sealed with the victory of the liberation forces, nor did he accept the U.S. defeat as definitive.

But Washington's goal was not "peaceful coexistence" with the new regime, regardless of the illusions Kissinger hoped to keep alive in Saigon and Hanoi. His aim was to influence the future course of the VCP leaders in a procapitalist direction, while probing for openings to weaken the Indochinese revolution and get U.S. imperialism into position to ultimately crush it.

Forced to retreat from the level of direct military intervention, the U.S. imperialists (through instruments such as the CIA) continued to give backing to the landlord capitalist regime in Thailand and to armed rightists in Laos and Kampuchea. And they began to probe Peking's willingness to exert military and diplomatic pressure against Hanoi in exchange for economic and diplomatic deals with Washington.

The VCP leaders took Kissinger's bait. In seeking U.S. aid, which the Vietnamese people desperately needed, the VCP leaders did not try to mobilize the sympathy and solidarity they had won from millions of working people and youth the world over to force the imperialist powers to loosen their purse strings.

Instead, they set out to convince Ford, Kissinger, and their successors that the new rulers of South Vietnam were aiming neither at social revolution in the South nor at spreading revolution to other countries in Southeast Asia.

This procapitalist policy was also intended to give the leaders time to cool and contain the revolutionary upheaval that had accompanied the anti-imperialist victory.



U.S. Imperialism's war against Vietnam devastated country: millions were killed or wounded; trees and crops were destroyed by herbicides, which also poison humans and cause cancer; more bomb tonnage was dropped on Vietnam than U.S. dropped in all of World War II; they left the land pockmarked with 26 million bomb craters. U.S. rulers must provide massive aid to help repair the ruin they brought!

Most Vietnamese had assumed that reunification was an accomplished fact with the victory of the liberation forces. This feeling was reinforced by the instant fusion of the VCP of the North with its southern counterpart, the merger of the DRV army with the NLF troops, and the shift of thousands of DRV officials to the South. Yet the VCP rejected swift reunification.

UPI correspondent Alan Dawson reported May 30, 1975, that North and South Vietnamese officials had concluded that reunification was at least five years away.

On June 6, 1975, the Provisional Revolutionary Government replaced the Military Management Committee as the governing body in the South. The PRG had been established on June 10, 1969, as a magnet for bourgeois forces who might be willing to join a coalition government. None had accepted the offer.

Although the Hanoi leaders remained the ultimate authority, the decision to formally hand power to the PRG amounted to preserving the fiction of a coalition government. This government consciously sought to protect for the time being the property of the remaining capitalists, merchants, and "patriotic" landlords. A policy decision had been made not only to preserve two governments in the North and South, but two contradictory social systems, as well.

VCP Secretary Le Duan confirmed this decision in a May 15 speech. Declaring that the North faced the task of continuing "socialist construction," he projected the creation of "a fine national democratic regime, a prosperous national democratic economy" in the South.

In reality, the talk about "national democratic" economy was slick demagoguery aimed at persuading working people to accept capitalist economic predominance in the here and now, while promising socialism in the indeterminate future.

Most remaining Vietnamese capitalists, concentrated in light consumer goods industries, were encouraged to reopen and continue as owner-managers. On September 2, Pham Van Dong called on "national capitalists who were formerly held down by foreign competitors" to join in building the economy.

And Hynh Tan Phat, chairman of the PRG Council of Ministers, added, "We want to open up our country on terms favorable to us and this means encouraging certain foreign investments."

The French firm of Michelin was urged to begin replanting its vast rubber plantations, the bulk of

which had been put out of action by U.S. bombers.

The results of PRG policy in one Saigon suburb were described in the April 25, 1976, *New York Times Magazine*:

"[Son My Tay] has a score of industrial plants, including four cotton mills, a sugar refinery, a producer of native drugs and an ice-making factory. . . . Except for one plant, all the industries in the district were privately owned under the former regime, and still are."

The Saigon merchants retained their powerful position in the economy. These merchants had traditionally "controlled almost the entire import-export network, almost all road transportation, and had monopolized commerce in rice, meat, fabrics and other basic necessities" (according to Fr. Tran Tum Tinh, quoted in the June 21, 1978, *Guardian*).

The procapitalist policy of the PRG met some resistance. Tiziano Terzani wrote: "The problem of maintaining foreign ownership and keeping foreign technicians in the factories at least for a certain period, was felt strongly by the cadres in the center of Le Van Duet street (headquarters of the government-sponsored trade-union federation). In their discussions with workers' committees, which often put forward radical and maximalist positions, they advised prudence and caution. . . ."

"When a worker in the course of a discussion asked why the bosses shouldn't be expropriated immediately, Loc (a trade-union official) replied:

"Now's not the moment. Just now it's a question of re-educating the owners."

An Antidemocratic Regime

The VCP leaders proclaimed an era of "national reconciliation" between landlords and peasants, workers and capitalists. But this reactionary class-collaborationist pipe dream never came into being. As had happened after the Paris Accords of 1973, "national reconciliation" broke down along class lines. The fundamental conflict was between the workers and their allies on the one hand, and the procapitalist forces (the most powerful being U.S. imperialism) on the other.

Carrying out this class-collaborationist policy and maintaining the privileged position of the VCP "cadres" necessitated a totalitarian political structure that left no room for workers and peasants democracy. This was a structure modeled on the antidemocratic regime in the North.

The right to form parties that supported the

revolution while criticizing the VCP leaders was barred. Freedom of the press was nonexistent. A Stalinist-style straitjacket began to be imposed on literature and art. Political decision making was concentrated at the apex of the bureaucratic apparatus; the masses had no vote.

No Vietnamese 'Gulag'

On occasion, however—especially in the areas of culture and personal freedom—the regime has been forced into partial retreats before mass desires for wider freedom.

Even the most hostile bourgeois commentators who have visited the South admit with surprise that people express criticism or even hostility to the regime quite openly.

The fact that a totalitarian lid has not been totally clamped down on the South is no tribute to the democratic tolerance of the VCP leaders. Rather, it signifies that the fighting spirit of the southern masses—which grew up over thirty years of struggle—has not yet been beaten down.

A Vietnamese 'Gulag'?

Perhaps as many as 200,000 Saigon-regime politicians, high government officials, and army officers were confined in "reeducation centers." Many of them were guilty of real war crimes, although no trials were ever held. From all available reports, executions have been rare.

Later, some bourgeois politicians who had opposed the Thieu regime were also incarcerated because of their opposition to an anticapitalist course.

Many of these prisoners have since been released, although "reeducation centers" still hold an undetermined number of persons.

The Vietnamese prison system has become a centerpiece of the imperialist propaganda campaign against Vietnam. The "reeducation centers" are declared to be a "Vietnamese gulag." Unfortunately, some petty-bourgeois radicals have swallowed this imperialist propaganda, which builds a mountain of lies around a molehill of truth.

Since the Vietnamese people have no say over who is to be imprisoned or why—this power being reserved to the commanding heights of the VCP—the "reeducation centers" have an intimidating

effect on the population, making it easier for the Stalinist rulers to impose their policies.

And the underlying concept of "reeducation" is the Stalinist totalitarian concept that the VCP's positions are, by definition, the only correct ones. Those who disagree must "reeducate" themselves—or else.

But for the most part, those imprisoned have not been workers and peasants critical of the regime, if all reports in the Western press are to be believed. Most are the former beneficiaries of the U.S.-imposed regime and the opponents of revolutionary measures that the VCP leaders have been obliged to undertake. In this sense, the "reeducation centers" presently represent a Stalinist—rather than revolutionary socialist—attempt to deal with actual or potential counterrevolutionary threats.

Without further evidence, however, they can hardly be compared to Stalin's gulag. There millions of the most class-conscious toilers were imprisoned and executed in an effort to stamp out the burning embers of the Russian revolution.

The capitalist propaganda about Vietnam seeks to convey the impression that the new regime is more repressive than its U.S.-supported predecessor. This is part of a new effort to justify the U.S. war against Indochina. The rulers count on people forgetting what Vietnam under U.S. imperialist domination was really like—200,000 political prisoners held in tiny "tiger cages," torture centers, and prison islands; vast numbers of peasants, suspected of pro-NLF sympathies, held in "strategic hamlets" surrounded by barbed wire and machine-gun turrets; the CIA's Phoenix Program, which executed 20,000 suspected opponents of the regime; and the fact that the regime required an occupation force of 550,000 U.S. troops and genocidal saturation bombing of the countryside to hold onto power.

That the new regime faces less widespread opposition than its predecessor is not the result of pervasive repression. The old regime had more numerous repressive forces, with far more destructive instruments at its disposal. The new regime survives because the worker, peasant, and plebeian masses support the basic social measures that have been carried out since 1975.

The publicists of the Vietnamese "gulag" also find propaganda on this theme a useful means of covering up the very real capitalist "gulags" in Indonesia, Thailand, the Philippines, and elsewhere.

The Vietnamese rulers used their prestige as leaders of the successful struggle against U.S. imperialism and the absence of any alternative anticapitalist leadership to impose tight control over the workers and peasants movements. But workers committees were not dissolved, factory owners never regained their former authority, and VCP leaders continued to come under heavy pressure to take anticapitalist measures to get the economy moving.

The regime carried out a delicate balancing act—sometimes leaning on the capitalists and merchants to oppose demands of the workers, while at other times looking for support from workers against uncooperative capitalists.

Attempts to revive the economy by seeking the collaboration of the imperialists and local capitalists failed. The U.S. rulers maintained their economic blockade and brutally rejected all appeals for aid. Other imperialist powers such as Sweden and Japan provided only a trickle of assistance.

And the South Vietnamese capitalists and merchants went on a profiteering binge.

By the end of August 1975, the government felt obliged to change its course. Popular anger at rocketing prices and artificial shortages of necessities had reached a high point. Huynh Tan Phat, head of the PRG's Council of Ministers, stated:

"We have plenty of difficulties, and our enemies have exploited these to sow dissension and direct discontent against us over prices and food shortages. We have to admit that we have no real organization to run economic affairs—nor did the puppet regime have such an organization. . . .

"Everything was in their [the compradors'] hands. They disrupted the markets, artificially created shortages, and sent prices spiraling upwards, and there was little we could do about it. They controlled everything from the purchase, transport, and distribution of virtually all commodities. . . . Obviously, it was in the interests of the compradors to see our regime fail and probably they even dreamed of the possibility of it being replaced by a reactionary regime."

On August 30 banks were nationalized. Early

in September, security forces raided the homes of a score of the wealthiest families in Saigon's Cholon district. Substantial hidden stores of goods were seized, and the property of these "comprador capitalists" was confiscated. A major currency reform was also enacted in an attempt to strike at the capitalist pocketbooks.

These moves were supported by a mass demonstration. Thousands of workers and plebeians gave voice to their anger at capitalist price-gouging and plunder.

Workers & Peasants Gov't

In the aftermath of this crisis, the Political Consultative Conference on National Reunification was held in Saigon in November 1975. This conference called for elections in April 1976 to a single National Assembly, thus establishing a single government for the whole country. The reunification timetable had been greatly speeded up under the pressure of the class struggle in Vietnam.

The conference also set the goal of "consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat" in the South, although no decisive measures were proposed to advance this.

These events marked a fundamental shift in the direction of the government the VCP had installed in the South. Initially proclaimed as a "national democratic," i.e., capitalist, regime guarding capitalist property relations in the South, it now leaned on the social forces with a material stake in pursuing rapid reunification—the workers, peasants, and urban poor masses. Southern Vietnam now had a workers and peasants government.

The elections to the National Assembly held April 25, 1976, were a typical Stalinist fraud. Candidates were elected from a single slate, and no individual campaigning was permitted. The army daily *Quan Doi Nhan Dan* declared, "Our National Assembly is a unified bloc that will have absolutely no factions representing private or regional interests, no conflicting viewpoints or opposition organizations."

Political Reunification

Meeting at the beginning of July, the assembly elected a single government for the whole country—basically maintaining the key figures from the DRV regime. Thus President Ton Duc Thang, Premier Pham Van Dong, Defense Minister Vo Nguyen Giap, and Truong Chinh, president of the Standing Committee of the National Assembly of the DRV, retained these posts in the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, as the unified country was named.

Shortly thereafter, a five-year economic plan was decreed for the whole country.

The deformed workers state that had been established in North Vietnam thus formally extended its political apparatus and control to the South. In doing so, it came face to face with the contradiction between the planned economy that existed in the North and the capitalist economy that continued to exist in the South.

"Partly as a result of the gradualist approach, partly because of a serious lack of trained managers, it is still the market forces that dominate the [southern] economy," wrote journalist Nayan Chanda in the April 30, 1976, *Washington Post*.

The contradiction was a glaring one. Experience was to demonstrate to the VCP leaders that while they could *proclaim* a single economic plan for two different and opposed economic systems, they could not actually implement such a plan.

Such a contradiction could be resolved in only one of two ways—either the economic forms of the North would be extended southward, or real reunification and the possibility of any real economic progress would remain a fiction.

The latter course, preserving a large capitalist layer in the midst of a deepening economic and social crisis, would have provided a base for imperialist-inspired maneuvers and assaults, threatening the gains of the 1975 revolution and the workers state in the North as well.

At the meeting of the National Assembly, Le Duan promised that the regime would follow a determinedly anticapitalist course.

"In the South we must immediately abolish the

comprador bourgeoisie and the remnants of the feudal landlord classes, undertake the socialist transformation of private capitalist industry and commerce, agriculture, handicraft, and small trade through appropriate measures and steps, combine transformation with building in order actively to steer the economy of the South into the orbit of socialism, and integrate the economies of both zones in a single system of large-scale socialist production."

New Mobilizations Needed

An article in the November 12, 1976, issue of the *Militant* commented on these developments:

"Such a policy would represent a turning point for the Vietnamese revolution, the abolition of the primacy of capitalism in the social and economic life of the Southern masses. It would mark a new qualitative advance, following upon the expulsion of the capitalists from political power on April 30, 1975.

"To accomplish changes of this scope, the regime will have to mobilize the Vietnamese workers and poor peasants on an even larger scale than was done during the campaign against the 'compradores' in September 1975. Only the working class is capable of taking command away from the capitalists in the factories, counteracting their resistance, demoralizing their remaining followers, and providing a popular base for a new social order.

"For this reason even the most bureaucratic and antipopular Stalinist regimes such as those established by the Red Army in Eastern Europe after World War II, have had to rely to some degree on workers' mobilizations in overturning capitalist property relations.

"This presents problems for the Lao Dong [VCP] leadership, however, for their regime in the North rests on the exclusion of the workers from political power. Consciously modeling their political structure on the bureaucratic regimes in the Soviet Union and China, the Vietnamese leaders have sought to protect the privileged position of the ruling bureaucratic caste. The Stalinist leaders, compelled by circumstances to move toward carrying out a social overturn in the South, fear that the workers will not accept bureaucratic control in doing away with capitalism, but may challenge the supremacy of the bureaucracy itself. This fear contributes to their delays and hesitations."

Capitalist Pressure Grows

The hesitations were prolonged. The division of the land among the poor peasants accelerated. And French-owned firms, most notably the Michelin rubber plantations, were expropriated without compensation in 1977. As it became clear to the French bosses that the anti-imperialist course of the revolution was deepening, Vietnam's diplomatic relations with France deteriorated. And the French capitalist press launched a campaign to discredit the revolution, using real and purported human rights violations as a pretext.

Some Vietnamese-owned factories were nationalized, and more were placed under joint state-private ownership. All new industrial enterprises were government-owned.

But the effort to attract imperialist aid, trade, and investment continued, although to little avail. "In the spring of 1977," reported the February 2, 1979, *Far Eastern Economic Review*, Hanoi "promulgated a foreign-investment code which was both liberal and flexible, providing for joint enterprises and wholly-owned foreign projects in export-oriented industries, plus generous tax concessions and the right to repatriate profits."

But neither the planned economy of the North, nor the feeble capitalist economy of the South that was linked to it, were attractive to the imperialist banks and corporations. And the U.S. economic blockade remained tight.

Anticapitalist Struggle

In the decisive area of trade for South Vietnam, the merchant capitalists of Saigon's Cholon district remained in command. They marketed most consumer goods, much of the products of the nationalized factories, and were powerful competitors with the state for the rice produced by the peasants. They retained their wealth, their political connections, and their social cohesion.

Writing in the April 30, 1976, *Washington Post*, Nayan Chanda commented on the merchants' speedy recovery from the measures adopted in the summer of 1975:

"Despite some tough measures against big-business operators of Cholon . . . many of the business community have apparently survived the currency reform last September by quickly dispersing their holdings. Nor has it been possible to unearth their hidden stocks of goods."

"After an initial lull of a few months, Cholon is again doing a brisk business. Hoarding and blackmarketing, combined with a general shortage of goods this country has imported in the past, have caused prices to rise. Saigon's industry, which depended heavily on imported raw materials, is now in the doldrums. . . ."

Chanda described Cholon as "a capitalist heart beating within the socialist body of Vietnam."

The scope of capitalist economic power blocked the real integration of the southern economy into the planned economy of the North. Separate currencies continued to be used in the two zones, reflecting their opposed economic structures.

Capitalist Political Pull

Furthermore, the economic power and wealth of the merchants and remaining capitalists enabled them to forge close ties with the state administration in the South. Officials sent from the North to organize the bureaucratic apparatus often developed cozy and profitable ties with the business community.

Corruption alienated popular support and became a threat to the government's control of the administration in the South. Over time, these redoubts of capitalist economic and political power—which Washington was obviously watching carefully—could have come to pose the threat of a U.S.-backed counterrevolutionary assault. The Stalinist policy of preserving capitalism in the South was fostering a deep class polarization that undermined the very stability the bureaucratic caste was desperately seeking.

In a 1976 article in *Hoc Tap*, an organ of the VCP, Foreign Minister Nguyen Duy Trinh had written that the corruption and tyrannical behavior of some officials had "more than slightly tarnished the prestige of the Party, State and Army in the eyes of the people."

According to Nayan Chanda, writing in the March 3, 1978, *Far Eastern Economic Review*, an anticorruption campaign was "launched with added urgency in the south, particularly in Ho Chi Minh City, where the danger of moral degeneration of the cadres is greater—as is the need to keep the party's image untarnished."

"Since last July when the Ho Chi Minh City party committee adopted resolutions to combat corruption (according to an official, during the congress the party received 10,000 letters from the local population making complaints and suggestions), a sizable number of veteran party cadres and officials have been jailed, including directors of a nationalized company and of Saigon's port and the chairman of a people's committee in the city."

A stream of popular demands in the North and South for more food and clothing led the regime to reorient its economic planning toward consumer goods and agriculture, rather than heavy industry. This unrest also placed the regime under added pressure to rationalize distribution.

Matters were brought to a head when droughts and flooding devastated farmlands in 1976 and 1977. The resulting reduction of the rice ration deepened popular anger at the thriving black-market and hoarding rackets in Cholon.

An Anticapitalist Struggle

The top VCP leaders became increasingly convinced that the U.S. rulers were not going to invest in or aid the capitalist economy of the South as long as it was linked to the workers state in the North. On the contrary, the imperialists were using the political, economic, and social weaknesses that resulted from postponing anticapitalist measures to step up economic and military pressure against Vietnam.

In the face of repeated Vietnamese offers, Washington continued to reject any diplomatic or economic relations with Vietnam. And its satellites in the region, while establishing diplomatic ties, maintained a hostile stance.

The capitalist regime of Pol Pot in Kampuchea stepped up its border war with Vietnam and broke off diplomatic relations with it. Rightist guerrillas in Laos intensified their activities. And the Peking regime, eager to curry favor with Washington,

began to beef up its military forces on the border with Vietnam. The prospect of growing military tensions helped impel the Vietnamese regime to bring order into the economy and consolidate its popular base by unleashing the masses under its direction against the remaining capitalist power centers.

A politburo member, Nguyen Van Linh, was removed from his post as chairman of the committee for the transformation of private industry and trade. "He, in fact, has been held responsible for not being able to reform the capitalists faster," declared Chanda. And a "large-scale weeding out of corrupt cadres was effected by idealistic youth groups under the eyes of soldiers," he reported.

An April 13, 1978, editorial in *Nhan Dan*, summarized the consequences of the previous policy. "The experience of the past three years showed that despite restrictions 'the capitalist



Top, Khmer Rouge soldier orders shopkeeper to leave Phnompenh during expulsion of millions from Kampuchea's cities; bottom, North Vietnamese soldier talks with Saigon youths after liberation.

economy continued to rule the roost," it said.

The new stage opened with a March 23 decree abolishing 30,000 commercial and business enterprises in South Vietnam. Businessmen in the Cholon district of Ho Chi Minh City were the main target of these measures.

Writing in the May 26, 1978, issue of *Far Eastern Economic Review*, Chanda described how this decree was implemented:

"Tens of thousands of youth volunteers, communist cadres and security force members were mobilized to close all businesses and make a thorough search to prepare inventories of goods held in shops or businessmen's residences. After the inventory was made, guards were posted in front of every shop to prevent dispersal of goods pending takeover by the government."

On April 16 the regime once again mobilized its supporters to close down illegal operations in Ho Chi Minh City's open-air markets, centers of blackmarket operations. These measures effectively placed the government in control of large-scale wholesale and retail trading operations.

On May 3 a single currency was established for the whole country. Overnight, the illegal hoards of money accumulated by traders, speculators, usurers, and counterfeiters became worthless paper.

A Workers State

These moves were aimed at large-scale capitalist traders, possessors of enormous economic power. A sizable layer of small shopkeepers, street vendors, and other traders still functioned legally in Vietnam—North and South. And a declining number of industrialists also continued to share in the ownership of factories—although they had now lost the option of selling their goods to private traders.

By smashing the remaining bastions of capitalist economic power, however, the mobilizations

had made possible the extension of the planned economy that had existed in the North. Thus real planning could begin for the whole country. This marked the consolidation of a workers state throughout Vietnam.

These initial measures were followed by others—such as the nationalization in December of large-scale farm equipment—aimed at furthering the mobilization of the poor peasants against the remaining landlords, rich peasants, and other rural exploiters. The regime projected collectivization of agriculture as its ultimate goal.

The overturn of capitalism in South Vietnam occurred under the command of the petty-bourgeois Stalinist ruling caste that had dominated the North for two decades. Having found it impossible to govern after three years on the basis of capitalist property relations, they had no alternative but to mobilize the workers and poor of the city to topple those property relations and establish new ones that were in the interests of working people.

Despite the misleadership of the VCP, the overturn of capitalism is a conquest of the working people of Vietnam. The process of social revolution—beginning with the factory occupations that accompanied the fall of the Saigon regime on April 30, 1975—was accomplished at each step through the mobilization of the workers and their allies.

Expropriations carried out in this way differ qualitatively from the nationalizations carried out by the Pol Pot regime in Kampuchea or by any other capitalist regime.

Whereas Pol Pot's nationalizations fostered the growth of new capitalist layers under extreme crisis conditions, the overturn in Vietnam marked the establishment of the proletariat as the ruling class through the expropriation of its class enemies.

To reestablish capitalist relations in Vietnam would have required massive imperialist intervention and a bloody civil war to overcome the determination of the working people to guard their conquests.

Imperialists Fear Overturn

As part of the current imperialist propaganda campaign against Vietnam, correspondents blame the overturn of capitalism for the continued poverty, shortages, unemployment, and economic dislocations in Vietnam.

Thus Henry Kamm wrote in the March 4 *New York Times*:

"But Vietnam's domestic design to make the south like the north, politically and economically, has been the greatest source of strain. . . . Hanoi has aggravated all problems by a determined program of nationalization of industry and commerce, collectivization of agriculture and vengeful political and economic retribution against former soldiers, civil servants, and Vietnamese of Chinese descent."

By soldiers and civil servants, Kamm means the cops, top military officers, and corrupt bureaucrats of the old regime. By "Vietnamese of Chinese origin" he means the capitalists and their friends and hangers-on. These beneficiaries of the old regime are leaving Vietnam today, as their Cuban, Chinese, and Russian counterparts did after socialist revolutions in those countries. They are taking advantage of the fact that Vietnam (like Cuba and Yugoslavia) is one of the few workers states that permits relatively free emigration.

To Kamm, these are "South Vietnam's most competent people." He spews out class hatred for the worker and peasant masses who toppled the pro-imperialist regime that brought these enemies of progress their power and privilege.

Kamm delicately omits to mention the U.S. economic blockade, and U.S. imperialism's war-time efforts to pulverize Vietnam—the conditions that really do aggravate all of Vietnam's problems today, including hunger.

The preservation of capitalism in South Vietnam was blocking efforts to repair the ruins wrought by imperialist war, leading the southern masses toward the brink of political and economic catastrophe.

The U.S. imperialists know that anticapitalist measures mean economic progress, not decline, for Vietnam.

That is why they are exerting might and main to weaken Vietnam, so as to minimize these gains. Washington is aiding reactionary forces in Kampuchea and Laos. And it is pressing China to exert maximum military pressure on Vietnam's northern border. The imperialists are terrified that the inspiration of Vietnam's socialist revolution will

spread—as indeed it is already doing in Laos, Kampuchea, and Thailand.

The limited anticapitalist measures taken before spring 1978 had already produced improvements in the life of Vietnam's workers, peasants, and poor people—improvements that were bound to be noted by the exploited and oppressed masses in other Southeast Asian countries. Unemployment in the South was reduced from 3.5 million to 1.5 million (in the North, it is virtually nonexistent).

Nayan Chanda wrote:

"Thanks to a campaign for adult education and community schooling for children, the literacy rate has risen appreciably. Notwithstanding shortages of equipment and medicine, a cleanliness and vaccination drive has prevented major epidemics. International agency officials say they are impressed by the purposefulness and devotion with which a rudimentary health service has been set up in the South."

What a contrast to the regime of Henry Kamm's "most competent people," which never made a dent in illiteracy and disease. What a contrast to Pol Pot's reactionary drive against the workers and peasants, which resulted in the near-abolition of public education and medical care.

The overturn of capitalism in South Vietnam makes possible the equitable food distribution under conditions of scarcity. It was a precondition for further advances in all public services for the masses, the improvement of the difficult conditions in the new economic zones, the sharp reduction of unemployment, advances toward industrialization, and growth in the size, weight, and cultural level of the working class. The key to progress in all these fields is the pooling of the country's resources and labor power, and their planned use.

Peking's Reaction

Peking, too, denounced the overturn of capitalism in southern Vietnam. It pictured the measures as a racist move against people of Chinese origin in Vietnam—who number 1 to 2 million. The Chinese Stalinists began a high-powered campaign to panic a large proportion of these people into leaving the country.

The campaign was reminiscent of the efforts by U.S. imperialism and the Catholic hierarchy to spark a mass exodus of Catholics from North Vietnam after the Geneva Accords of 1954.

Peking then barred most of the Chinese who wanted to leave Vietnam from entering China—thus helping U.S. imperialism lay the groundwork for its current propaganda about the "boat people."

Despite the Chinese charges, there has been no evidence of persecution of Chinese in Vietnam.

Nhan Dan, the VCP's Hanoi daily, answered the Peking regime's charges by asking, "Must the socialist transformation of private industry and commerce—a universal law of socialist revolution which has been applied in China—stop in Socialist Vietnam before the wealth of a number of capitalists of Chinese origin (and Vietnamese capitalists too!) [is confiscated], even though this wealth was wrung from the sweat and tears of the Vietnamese working class and people, including quite a few Vietnamese of Chinese descent?"

Peking's motivation in taking this counterrevolutionary stand was to demonstrate to U.S. imperialism that the Chinese bureaucratic caste is a force for capitalist stability in Southeast Asia. By upsetting the status quo, the overturn of capitalism in Vietnam—like the April 30, 1975, victory of the liberation forces—was seen as endangering Peking's hopes for a class-collaborationist deal with the U.S. imperialists.

It is not only the Vietnamese revolution that has been strengthened by the overturn of capitalism in South Vietnam. Despite the Peking rulers' stand, the prospects of the Chinese revolution were enormously brightened by the latest measures. Imperialism's ability to weaken or strike at the Chinese revolution was dealt a blow. The same is true for the Soviet Union, despite the disgraceful stinginess of Brezhnev and his cohorts toward Vietnam.

Need for Democracy

To make the most of the possibilities now opened for social advance, the workers, peasants, students, and poor people of Vietnam need to democratically plan the economy through their own committees. They need the right to form parties and tendencies, and to speak, write, and think as they choose. Only in this way can they root out corruption and mismanagement and

develop an economic plan that really serves the working people.

The ultimate solution to the grinding poverty that a century of imperialist exploitation inflicted on Vietnam lies in extending the revolution—to Laos, Kampuchea, and Thailand first of all, but most decisively to the heartland of capitalism in Japan, Europe, and the United States.

The VCP and the ruling bureaucratic caste that it represents oppose both workers and peasants democracy and the internationalist course needed to advance the Vietnamese revolution. To preserve its privileged position, the caste must suppress democratic rights.

Meanwhile the VCP's strategy aims at a class-collaborationist deal with U.S. imperialism. In exchange, they are prepared—as much as the bureaucrats in Moscow or Peking—to help U.S. imperialism dampen revolutionary fires in Southeast Asia and elsewhere.

That's why the VCP delayed the overturn of capitalism for three years—weakening Vietnam's economic position and providing time for the imperialists to prepare an offensive against the Vietnamese revolution.

U.S. Aid for Vietnam!

The 1978 overturn of capitalism in the South marked no fundamental change in Hanoi's strategy. Quite the contrary.

The Hanoi rulers began a concerted campaign to convince the imperialists, the Thai rulers, and other capitalist regimes that they had no desire to foster similar overturns elsewhere.

That's why the Vietnamese rulers have asked to be admitted to the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN)—that thieves' den of semicolonial governments devoted to defending U.S. imperialism's interests in the region.

Pham Van Dong used his tour of Southeast Asia last fall to underline this stance. He disavowed support for the peasant masses who are fighting the dictatorship of Gen. Kriangsak Chamanand in Thailand. Dong even offered Kriangsak an "anti-aggression and anti-subversion" pact—an implicit offer to trade an end to Kriangsak's support to Laotian rightists for Dong's opposition to anti-imperialist fighters in Thailand.

In Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia, Dong placed a wreath on a monument to soldiers who died fighting Communist-led peasant rebels against British domination. Dong termed the rightist soldiers "fighters in the cause of peace and freedom." There could be no clearer way of offering the Malaysian government Hanoi's help in overcoming growing peasant and worker discontent.

Such actions undermine the defense of Vietnam against imperialism. They help stabilize landlord-capitalist regimes, which are determined to help imperialism wear down and, if possible, reverse the Vietnamese revolution.

Dong got the cold shoulder in Bangkok and Kuala Lumpur. Despite his offers of counterrevolutionary assistance, these landlord-capitalist regimes fear the example of the Vietnamese revolution. They doubt the capacity of the Vietnamese

bureaucratic caste to contain its advance—especially in view of the caste's inability to forestall the overturn of capitalism in the South.

The mass mobilizations that accompanied the economic transformation of South Vietnam convinced the imperialists and their satellites that the Vietnamese revolution is alive, continues to deepen, and endangers their rule.

That is why they came to back the Kampuchean capitalist regime of Pol Pot in its bloody border war with Vietnam. The overturn of the Pol Pot regime and advances in the Laotian revolution showed their fears were justified.

Defend the Vietnamese Revolution!

The VCP has been an obstacle to every advance made by the Vietnamese revolution, from the opening of the August 1945 revolution down to the overturn of capitalism in South Vietnam almost thirty-three years later. The workers and peasants have had to overcome this obstacle to win each advance—often at great cost.

The VCP rulers seek to retain their privileges and achieve a degree of stability by maneuvering between irreconcilably opposed class forces—imperialism on one side, the Vietnamese workers and peasants on the other. They have advanced the struggle only when compelled to do so by the powerful pressure of the mass movement and the intense hostility of imperialism—and even then, they have sought first of all to preserve their privileges.

The tasks of the Vietnamese workers and peasants today are to unite to defend their conquests against the imperialist offensive and to help advance the revolutionary struggles in Laos, Kampuchea, and Thailand.

But to win qualitative new advances, the Vietnamese masses need a new leadership—one committed to advancing the struggle for equality and economic well-being in Vietnam and on a world scale.

To achieve their goals, the Vietnamese workers will have to break through the antidemocratic structure created by the VCP to hem in their struggle. Advancing toward the antibureaucratic revolution that this will require, they will come face to face with the need to forge a new revolutionary party with a proletarian, internationalist program.

The struggle of the Vietnamese workers and peasants for a better life is in the interests of American working people. Every blow they strike against the U.S.-orchestrated offensive strengthens our fight against the imperialist war drive. Every blow they strike against poverty, hunger, illiteracy, and disease strengthens our fight to defend and extend the gains won by American working people!

That's why we demand an end to the imperialist offensive against Vietnam, Laos, and Kampuchea!

Recognize the governments in Hanoi and Phnompenh! End the economic blockade!

For massive U.S. reparations to repair the damage done by U.S. imperialism to the peoples of Indochina!

Get U.S. bases, the Seventh Fleet, and U.S. arms programs out of Southeast Asia now!



Despite many gains of revolution, Vietnam's workers and peasants need massive aid to rebuild their country. End the U.S. economic blockade!

Despite court setback

Socialists press fight for FBI spy data

By Duncan Williams

NEW YORK—At a March 23 court hearing, the Socialist Workers Party pressed ahead in its fight to gain access to evidence of illegal activity by FBI informers.

The hearing was called by federal district court Judge Thomas Griesa after the U.S. Court of Appeals threw out a contempt citation against Attorney General Griffin Bell. Griesa had charged Bell with contempt for refusing to turn over the files of eighteen informers to the SWP attorneys.

Leonard Boudin, attorney for the socialists, announced that the SWP intended to appeal the blatantly undemocratic ruling to the Supreme Court. The ruling in effect puts the attorney general and the secret police above the law.

Meanwhile, Boudin proposed that

Judge Griesa proceed with the case along the lines allowed by the appeals court decision.

In their ruling, the judges had suggested that other ways might be devised to make the information in the informer files available to the plaintiffs. The judges admitted that, based on their own review of the files, there was evidence of illegal activity and that the socialists had a right to access to that evidence, so long as the informer identities were not revealed.

Boudin, in line with the decision, suggested that Griesa appoint a master (a special officer of the court) to go through not just the 18 files but the files of all 1,300 informers that the government admits using against the SWP and Young Socialist Alliance.

Three hundred of the 1,300 operated as members of the SWP or YSA. The

other 1,000 informed on the SWP and YSA and presumably on other organizations and individuals as well.

The master would make a public report on the illegal activities documented in the files.

Judge Griesa responded favorably to Boudin's proposal. Brushing aside technical objections raised by the government lawyers, he indicated that he wanted to advance the case quickly and that he was considering the appointment of a master.

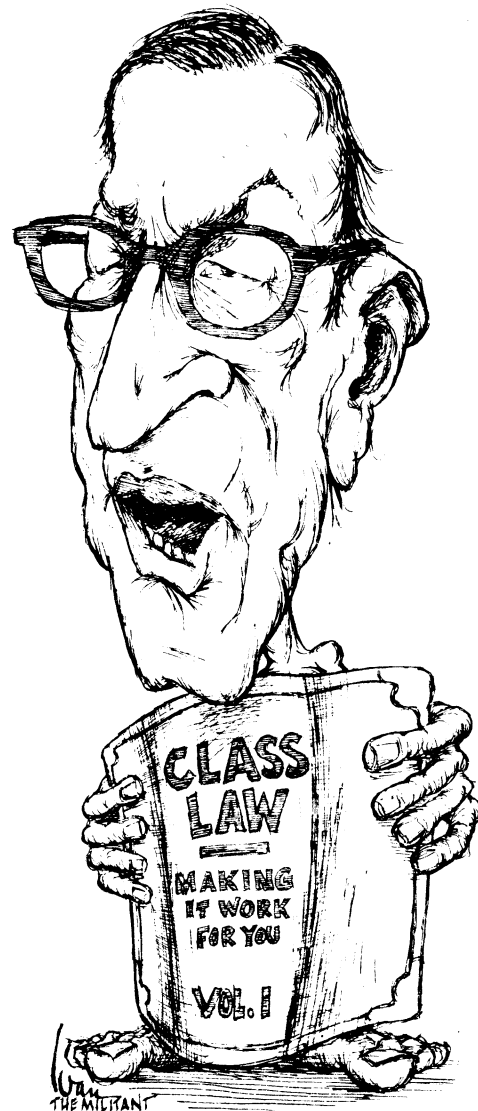
A government proposal that the FBI itself could prepare a report on the files—which provided a humorous note at the hearing—was rejected by Griesa. He also said that while it might not be possible to go through all 1,300 files, he certainly would not limit the number to 18.

In order to prepare the next steps, Griesa told the government attorneys to get him a list of the cities and dates of informer activity, and a catalog of where and when the informers were operating. He also told them to furnish him with a cross-reference index of which informers were involved in the specific acts detailed in documents already released to the SWP, with heavy deletions, from the Cointelpro disruption program.

Margaret Winter, an attorney for the SWP and YSA, told the *Militant*, "The basic issues of this suit are very much alive. Although we lost a round on the informer files, there is still plenty to move ahead on."

"This case has been stuck on the issue of the identities of eighteen informers for nearly three years—since July 1976," she continued. "Of course, we thought it was important and necessary to press as hard as we could on that question; we didn't give an inch to the government."

"Now we have a chance to move forward. We expect the judge to appoint a master, and the public report



GRIFFIN BELL

the master prepares will probably contain some of the most damning evidence yet revealed about the activities of the disrupters and provocateurs the FBI uses against its enemies."

Judge censors 'Progressive'

By Arnold Weissberg

Government stonewalling in the Socialist Workers Party lawsuit is part of an across-the-board offensive against the democratic rights of the American people.

The Carter administration's attempt to block the *Progressive* magazine from publishing an article on the hydrogen bomb—an unprecedented bid for censorship in the name of "national security"—is another key case in this offensive.

On March 26 a federal district judge in Milwaukee granted a government motion for an injunction barring publication of the article. It is reported to be the first time in U.S. history a judge has imposed prior restraint on the press on "national security" grounds.

The government does not claim any of the material compiled by author Howard Morland is secret or classified. It merely asserts a "national security" right to prohibit the article.

In classic Catch-22 fashion, the U.S. attorney's office has also suppressed and censored affidavits by Morland proving that all his information came from sources that are published or otherwise available to the public.

The judge cited the "disparity of risks" involved in allowing freedom of the press.

It's especially risky, he might have added, for a capitalist ruling class that is out to increase profits at workers' expense at home and prepare for the use of U.S. military force abroad.

SWP challenges gov't to settle five-year-old suit

By Duncan Williams

NEW YORK—At a news conference here March 23, the Socialist Workers Party made public a proposal to the Justice Department to settle its five-year-old lawsuit against government spying and disruption.

The proposal called for an injunction, a declaratory judgment affirming the SWP's status as a legal political party, and \$5 million in damages, plus legal fees. (See box on this page.)

Speaking for the SWP, Larry Seigle said the proposal was "reasonable and serious . . . and we think the government should accept it."

"The Carter administration has said repeatedly that it has been fighting only to protect the identities of its informers, and that it no longer defends the decades of illegal activities against our party. Government lawyers have even said they were prepared to lose the case as long as they could keep secret the identities of the informers."

Seigle condemned the court of appeals decision upholding the secrecy of informers as "a blow to the rights of the American people." However, he said, the appeals court ruling, "by letting the government off the hook on the question of the identities of the eighteen informers, which is a secondary issue in this case, clears the way for a settlement of the central issues."

Seigle continued: "If the government was telling the truth when they said that they no longer defend the FBI actions taken against us; if they were telling the truth in 1976 when they said they stopped their 'investigation' of the SWP and the YSA; if they are telling the truth when they say that those policies have been ended, then there should be no obstacle to a settlement of this case

along the lines of our proposal."

The suit is already more than five years old, Seigle charged, because of government stalling and obstruction. "The government has engaged in a war of attrition, which they think they can win simply by outlasting us."

"But we will not be starved into submission. We hope our settlement

offer will be accepted. But if it is not, we are prepared to keep fighting this case—for another five years if necessary."

"If the Carter administration rejects our offer to settle this case, we are confident that the thousands of individuals and the numerous organizations across the country, who through their support have made it possible for us to

get this far in challenging the FBI, will not only continue but expand their support for this suit."

When reporters asked for his reaction to the proposal, Thomas Moseley, a junior government attorney in New York, called it "unrealistic and excessive." There has been no response from the Justice Department in Washington.

Terms of proposed settlement

The following are the terms proposed by the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance for settlement of their suit against government spying, as communicated to the Justice Department March 21 by attorney Leonard Boudin.

A. Injunctive relief from the following government activities against the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance:

1. Use of informers to infiltrate, spy upon, harass and disrupt, or engage in any other activity in relation to the SWP or YSA, or of their members' homes and offices;
2. Burglaries or "surreptitious entries" of the SWP or YSA, or their members' homes and offices;
3. Warrantless wiretapping and electronic surveillance;
4. Mail openings and mail-covers;
5. Trash covers;
6. Cooperation with right-wing terrorist organizations to bomb SWP or YSA offices, beat SWP or YSA members, or commit or threaten to

commit other violent acts against them;

7. Maintaining blacklists which single out the SWP and YSA and their members and supporters for discriminatory treatment, selective prosecution, harassment, or any other arbitrary government action;

8. Cooperating with employers and "security" agencies to maintain files on political and union activity of SWP and YSA members, or their supporters;

9. Interference with SWP electoral campaigns;

10. Use of "dirty tricks" to harass, injure and disrupt the SWP and YSA, and their members and supporters, including, but not limited to such techniques as poison pen letters, disrupting personal lives, using informers in other organizations to create hostility against the SWP and YSA among the members of those organizations and their supporters, and the manipulation of the public media to slander or discredit the SWP or YSA, or any of their members and supporters;

11. The maintenance of any files, dossiers, or records on the SWP or YSA, or the maintenance of any files, dossiers or records on YSA or SWP members and supporters relating to the exercise of First Amendment rights of speech, press and association.

B. Declaratory judgment to the following effect:

1. The Socialist Workers Party is a legal political party, and the Young Socialist Alliance is a legal political youth association, entitled to equal protection of the laws with the Democratic and Republican and other recognized political parties;

2. The government's investigation of the SWP and YSA was not justified at its inception and has been pursued for 40 years without valid law enforcement purpose and without producing evidence of criminal activities by the SWP, the YSA, or their members.

C. Money damages in the amount of \$5,000,000.00, together with the costs and disbursements of this action, including attorneys' fees, as authorized by the Privacy Act of 1974.

Kurds attacked in name of 'Islamic republic'

Referendum in Iran: government tries to

By Gerry Foley

TEHRAN, March 25—On the eve of the scheduled referendum that is supposed to determine what kind of regime succeeds the crowned dictatorship toppled by the Iranian masses, the procapitalist forces are trying to put a lid on the movement of the masses toward social and political liberation, and the movement of the workers and the oppressed toward organizing themselves.

Army sent against Kurds

By the third week of March, the reactionary offensive of the authorities had gone as far as a military attack on the Kurdish people, resulting in hundreds of deaths.

The central government was not able to extend its authority to Kurdistan after the insurrection. The people have kept their weapons and give their allegiance to Kurdish-controlled committees. As an oppressed nationality, they are demanding the right to set up their own local government.

Fearful of solidarity with the Kurds, the government has carried out its operation in Kurdistan as secretly as possible. Nevertheless, reports reaching Tehran tell of helicopter gunships and heavy weapons being used against the crowds in Sanandaj (see box below).

In the Azerbaijani towns bordering Kurdistan, tens of thousands have reportedly demonstrated against the massacre of their sisters and brothers.

Here in Tehran, there is no indication that any major section of the Persian population supports the central government's actions.

[Newspapers in Tehran reported

gain total control of the struggle committees, and to use them as the means for "restoring order." The "Islamic republic" was the general political slogan for this demagogic operation, and the referendum was to be its crowning touch.

The slogan of an "Islamic republic" has been utilized in a whole series of attacks on the democratic rights, the gains, the living standards, and the aspirations of the masses. It has been wielded against workers demanding their own elected committees to run the factories.

It has been aimed at women, who had been awakened to political life in massive numbers by the struggle against the shah, and had participated in it with full equality and with combativity equal to that of the men."

The slogan of "Just the Islamic republic, not a word more and not a word less," a quotation from Khomeini, began to appear in posters on the walls and in the streets of Tehran. What it obviously meant was "no socialism." For example, it was the main chant of right-wing counterdemonstrators who on March 22 prevented some thousands of students from reaching the Ministry of Labor to show their support for the workers sitting in there, demanding that wages owed to them be paid.

Campaign for 'Islamic republic'

The whole way in which the campaign for the "Islamic republic" has been conducted has made it clear that it is intended to roll back the gains of the people of Iran. According to the scheme originally announced, voters



Kurdish militants in Sanandaj. Government slanders their fight for autonomy as 'counterrevolutionary.'

the religious leaders and those procapitalist forces advancing under their cover.

This situation is not satisfactory to the bourgeoisie. Even dominated by the religious leaders, the committees that arose in the struggle against the shah are a poor tool for exercising the functions of a capitalist state. They are still linked to the masses and heterogeneous in their makeup, including many radicalized militants. As irregular bodies without a well-established command structure, they are hard to control. Even the religious leaders are evidently uneasy about letting the committees continue to carry out certain functions of the state.

On the other hand, Bazargan and other bourgeois political forces, such as the Democratic National Front, apparently hope that they can exploit the uneasiness over the undemocratic attitudes of Khomeini and the other religious leaders to regain some credibility for bourgeois parliamentary politics.

'Imam's committees'

The process of organization among the masses that began in the fight against the shah has not been broken off. It continues to give political life to the organizations that remain from the period of the insurrection, such as the neighborhood defense committees, although these have been brought under the tutelage of the religious hierarchy.

In most of these organizations, there was little consciousness of the need for class independence. As a result, the religious leaders were able to assert their control over the local groups through coordinating committees—the so-called Imam's committees. ("Imam" means messiah, referring to Khomeini.) The committees are not elected, but are chosen through a combination of appointment and co-optation. The local and factory committees have

been subjected to a process of purging and to introduction of right-wing elements, including former SAVAK agents.

The features and contradictions of this process are well-illustrated in Ahwaz. Harassment and intimidation of left activists by the Imam's committees have been widespread in the last few weeks. But this has been particularly intense in this hub of the oil industry and has focused on the Iranian Socialist Workers Party (HKS) branch in that city. Its members report that they are continually arrested by the local committees, often several times a day. They are taken to committee headquarters and threatened. They are followed by members of the central Imam's committee and committee cars are stationed in front of their homes. They are subjected to physical attacks.

But when they are taken in front of the committees and subjected to anti-communist inquisitions, they are able to argue with the groups and sometimes make such an impression on the members that the red-hunters have to back off. On some occasions they have been able to win over members of the committee to their political views.

Although the masses still look to Khomeini for leadership, confidence that he can solve their mounting problems seems to be fading.

Ferment in the plants

Shortages of such necessities as milk and meat are already multiplying here in the Iranian capital. Unemployment is massive, and a large section of workers who are actually working have not received the wages due them, with arrears often amounting to several months' pay.

On March 18, the international edition of *Kayhan*, one of the main afternoon papers in Tehran, featured parallel statements by Khomeini and

Eyewitness report from Iran



'Intercontinental Press/Inprecor' has sent staff writer Gerry Foley to Iran to provide readers around the world with firsthand dispatches on the revolution there.

March 26 that a truce was established in Kurdistan. Ninety-seven Kurdish prisoners were reportedly released by the army. Ibrahim Yunesi, a Kurd, was appointed governor-general of the province, and a Kurdish committee was authorized to choose administrators in Sanandaj. The teaching of Kurdish in the schools—banned under the shah—was legalized.

[While details of the truce agreement remain unclear, these concessions indicate that the central government has retreated on its threat to "crush" the Kurdish militants.]

Referendum

The government's March 30 referendum will take place under the shadow of the Kurdish events.

The referendum was designed to win a mandate for an "Islamic republic," which would sanction the attempt to keep the masses within the limits of the capitalist system. The procapitalist forces are trying to restabilize the bourgeois order, at the moment through the ideology and organization of the Shi'ite religious establishment and the personal prestige of Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini.

By assuming a leading role in organizing the fight against the shah nationally, the Shi'ite clergy managed to keep a grip on the organizations the masses themselves threw up in the course of the struggle.

As soon as the shah's repressive apparatus disintegrated, the religious leaders started a furious campaign to

would be given only one choice, and the question was to be posed in such a way that a "no" vote would imply support for the monarchy. Furthermore, voters would have to put their names and addresses on the ballot.

However, even a few days before the time scheduled for the referendum, it was still unclear what the actual form would be. In response to criticism in the press and apparently widespread and growing uneasiness, the government and religious leaders have continually shifted ground.

At the moment there is an uneasy consolidation of power in the hands of

Doctors in Kurdistan condemn massacre

In a statement written March 21, doctors and workers at the Sanandaj hospital in Kurdistan condemned the army assault on the Kurdish people.

"We respect the democratic and just demands of the nationalities of Iran, including the Kurdish people," the statement said. "We demand the immediate and unconditional end to every form of national, religious, racial, and cultural oppression."

The statement reports that the Kurds have been attacked by phantom jets, bazookas, and machine guns. The army has blocked ambulances carrying the wounded. "The ambulances are punctured with

bullet holes. Nurses and hospital workers bear machine-gun wounds," the doctors state.

Wounded soldiers have told the doctors that their commanders urged them to wage *jihād* [holy war] against the Kurds.

The statement describes widespread solidarity with the victims of the assault.

"Hospitals report that although they have not asked for aid, from the first moments the Fedayeen sent medical help and medicine. This was followed by generous aid from people near and far to the wounded." However, the statement continues, "Despite repeated requests made to the

office of the prime minister, the ministry of health, and the office of Imam Khomeini, these authorities did not help. Rather, through threats and intimidation in the mass media, presenting the militants as counter-revolutionary, they actually placed obstacles in the way of us receiving aid.

"The masses, through their generous aid, have proved that these defenseless victims were not counter-revolutionaries."

The doctors conclude: "We demand the government of Mr. Bazargan immediately stop the mass slaughter of the defenseless people by the garrison in the death-ridden city of Sanandaj."

put lid on revolution

Bazargan calling on the people to "work" and making it clear that they could not expect any satisfaction of their demands.

Kayhan commented:

Although it is more than five weeks since the revolution triumphed, work in the government offices and industrial estates has yet to return to normal. This is being blamed on over-zealous revolutionaries, who continue to insist on their own terms on how to run the places of work.

There has not been a whisper from Khomeini or Bazargan that the workers' wages should be raised, or their conditions of work made easier.

The most that has been offered are some free public services and such things as free medicine for some. These promises are sporadic and some have been taken back after protests from the capitalists. The fact that they have been made, however, shows the pressure the new rulers are under to offer something to the masses.

Forces on Iranian left

The Tudeh Party, the pro-Moscow Stalinist party, is still the largest and most influential organization on the left. Although the Bazargan government has not yet legalized the Tudeh Party, it is continuing its policy of tail-ending and supporting the regime and the religious hierarchy. It has decided to come out from clandestinity to open up headquarters for its official organ *Mardom* (People). But it is doing its best to avoid confrontation with the new authorities.

On March 15, the Central Committee of the Tudeh Party published a statement calling for a vote for the Islamic republic. It explained that it was the content of the Islamic republic that was important and the Tudeh Party had no doubt that it would amount to the same thing as the democratic republic that remains their objective in this "stage."

The attitudes of the guerrilla organizations, the Fedayeen and Majaheeden, have evolved perceptibly. In a communiqué, the Mujahedeen have said both that they are for the "Islamic republic" and that the referendum is undemocratic.

The Fedayeen have announced that they will not participate in the referendum and that they are for immediate elections for a constituent assembly.

The gravest failing of both groups is that they continue to give "critical support" to Bazargan and the religious hierarchy. No matter how sharp their criticisms may be, their support to the authorities does not help to clarify for the masses the class nature of the regime and the future "Islamic republic."

The Revolutionary Tudeh Organization—Iranian Maoists who continue to follow Beijing (Peking)—are calling for a vote for the Islamic republic. Their position is hardly distinguishable from that of the Tudeh Party.

The Union of Iranian Communists—Maoists who identify with the "gang of four"—say:

We have no doubt that even an "Islamic republic" can be a democratic and nationalist government. . . . But the method of deciding on this government is undemocratic. In this undemocratic referendum, we will vote for a *democratic republic*.

We ask the government officials to revise and review the present referendum and allow for voting for a democratic republic.

However, the fact that a bourgeois organization such as the Democratic National Front has decided not to participate in the referendum indicates that there is already opposition to, or at least questioning of, Khomeini's plebiscite. By taking this position, what is apparently the strongest political organization of bourgeois liberals moved considerably to the left of the Tudeh Party.

The Iranian Trotskyists of the Socialist Workers Party are still a relatively new and small organization. They are not able by themselves to mount a campaign for a boycott of the referendum. However, in their press and by every means available to them they are explaining the undemocratic nature of this operation.

In opposition to the demagogic plebiscite of the religious leaders, the HKS is calling for an immediate election of a constituent assembly so that the Iranian people can discuss how to move forward and express their opinions about what they want.

Iranian Trotskyists

The Socialist Workers Party is combining its campaign to expose Khomeini's plebiscite with a campaign in defense of the Kurdish people. In a special issue of their weekly paper *Kargar* (Worker), published just before the scheduled referendum, they explain that the Bazargan-Khomeini government's attacks on the Kurdish people make it absolutely clear that the "Islamic republic" will be just another bourgeois government, that this government will continue to repress the peoples of Iran. They call on the workers, the women, the youth, all the peoples of Iran to mobilize in defense of the embattled Kurdish nation.

The Iranian HKS is raising the call for a workers and peasants republic, the only kind of government that can meet the demands of the Iranian masses who tore apart the dictatorship of the shah. It calls on the Iranian masses to resume the march forward toward taking full control of their lives, their society, and their economy—the march toward socialism.

From *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor*



Women's rights demonstrators have threatened capitalists' goal of restabilizing bourgeois order in Iran.

Socialist leader hits U.S. role in Asia war



HALSTEAD: 'People see it as obvious.'

Militant/Stu Singer

By Arnold Weissberg

"People see it as obvious—it's right in front of their faces," said Socialist Workers Party leader Fred Halstead. "The United States is obviously involved" in the Chinese invasion of Vietnam.

Halstead was describing audience reaction to a talk about war in Southeast Asia that he has been giving on a national speaking tour now underway.

Halstead, a member of the SWP National Committee, is the author of *Out Now! A Participant's Account of the American Movement Against the Vietnam War*. His speaking tour is taking key lessons from that book—based on Halstead's experience as a central leader of the antiwar movement—to today's activists in the fight against war, nuclear weapons, and nuclear power.

Halstead pointed to the propaganda barrage from the government and big-business media claiming the current conflicts in Southeast Asia are the product of "nationalism," "communism," or the "destabilizing" effect of U.S. troop withdrawal.

Despite this massive effort to conceal U.S. involvement, Halstead said, "I would say the American working class has no trouble at all in understanding that China is doing the U.S. government's dirty work."

What's involved, he said, is Chinese complicity with the active, ongoing campaign by U.S. imperialism to contain and roll back the Vietnamese revolution. That's the price Washington is demanding of Peking in return for trade relations.

"Everybody says, 'Of course they cooked it up with Carter,'" Halstead went on.

He pointed to the massive shipments of U.S. arms being sent to the military dictatorship in Thailand and funneled from there to rightist guerrillas in Kampuchea (Cambodia). "This is where the real threat of war is being organized," Halstead said.

The socialist leader said he also gets a good response when he explains U.S. war moves in the Middle East. "Sending 'advisers' to North Yemen is what I call the 'Vietnam syndrome,'" Halstead said.

"They send in troops and call them 'advisers.'"

"The biggest danger," he went on, "is if Carter convinces the American people he's peaceful. Then he will try to send in troops 'to save American lives.'"

Halstead noted the deepgoing opposition among American working people to U.S. military involvement abroad. "That's why Carter has to try to appear the peacemaker in the Middle East and Asia," he said.

"The Pentagon is staying up nights trying to figure out a way to sucker us into supporting U.S. military intervention," Halstead asserted.

Halstead has also been speaking around the country about the dangers of nuclear weapons and nuclear power. "Most people know something's wrong with nuclear power because

other people demonstrate against it," Halstead said, "but they don't know what's wrong. They don't know about low-level radiation and how it causes cancer and leukemia. They don't know about the impossibility of permanently storing nuclear waste."

"The anti-nuclear power movement has to do a big educational job, and people are willing to listen," Halstead said.

In his talk, Halstead explains that the dangers of nuclear power are also posed by nuclear weapons—with one big addition. "Nuclear weapons in the hands of the Pentagon can mean the end of the world."

"The United States is the only country to use nuclear weapons in wartime. The United States is responsible for starting and accelerating the nuclear arms race."

"And it's the U.S. government that is behind the war in Southeast Asia, is rattling the saber in Yemen, and has threatened Cuba over the revolutionary government's opposition to imperialist military moves in Africa."

"That's what the nuclear weapons are for—to back up those threats."

"And that's why I tell people that to end the nuclear menace, the U.S. war-makers must be disarmed by the U.S. working class—unilaterally, and unconditionally," Halstead said.

Halstead will be speaking in Denver March 31-April 3, Albuquerque April 5-7, Dallas April 9, and Kansas City April 10-12. For more information contact Viewpoint Speakers Bureau, 410 West Street, New York, New York 10014, telephone (212) 242-7654.

Antinuke protests set

Two protests against California's Diablo Canyon nuclear power plant are set for April 7. In Los Angeles, "Stop Diablo Saturday" will begin with a 1 p.m. rally at the MacArthur Park bandshell, Alvarado and Wilshire. Speakers will include Michael Gray, author of the film *China Syndrome*. The rally is sponsored by the Alliance for Survival. For more information call (213) 937-0240.

In San Francisco, a rally is set for noon at the Civic Center. Sponsors include the Abalone Alliance, Citizens for a Better Environment, and People Against Nuclear Power.

Also on April 7, a protest is set at the launching of the first Trident submarine in Groton, Connecticut. Each Trident sub, which costs more than \$1 billion, carries 408 nuclear warheads.

The protest will begin at 8 a.m. at the Griswold Monument on Smith Street and is backed by a broad range of organizations. For more information, call (203) 376-9970 or 4098.

Evelyn Reed: Marxist

By Matilde Zimmermann

Evelyn Reed, a leader of the Socialist Workers Party and one of the foremost exponents of the Marxist analysis of the origins of women's oppression, died of cancer in New York City March 22. She was seventy-three years old.

All her life, Reed was a rebel. She revolted against small-minded prescriptions as to what constituted proper behavior for a young woman in the 1920s and 1930s. She hated the poverty, suffering, and injustice produced by an economic system based on profit. She had nothing but contempt for the persons of wealth she met through her family.

And she later embraced revolutionary Marxism because it enabled her to understand her rage and pointed the way toward ending the exploitation, oppression, and hypocrisy she detested.

She was born Evelyn Horwit, on October 31, 1905, in Haledon, New Jersey. She thought the world of Haledon too small, and in her teens she escaped to New York City. After graduating from high school, she attended the Parsons School of Design and the Art Students League.

She was serious about her art and over several years studied painting under some of the best-known artists of the period—John Sloan, George Luks, and later Grant Wood. She was part of a free-

national offices of the Socialist Workers Party on University Place and bought fifty copies.

She particularly liked an article on unemployed artists and the Work Projects Administration. She persuaded a fellow painter to put the *Militant* on everyone's chair at the next assembly of the Artists and Writers Project of the WPA, neither of them anticipating the violent reaction this would elicit from the numerous Communist Party members and sympathizers.

The professor also introduced Reed to a student of his named Walter Rourke, a young member of the Socialist Workers Party. In 1939 Rourke was asked to go to Coyoacán, Mexico, to serve as a guard in the home of Leon Trotsky. Reed had been to Mexico before to paint and decided to go again and set up a studio in Mexico City.

Reed began to frequent the Trotsky household and help out in various ways. George Novack recalls that it was in this connection he first heard about the woman who was later to be his companion and political collaborator for almost four decades.

After an attack on Trotsky's life on May 24, 1940, several SWP leaders went to Coyoacán to help organize additional security measures. Novack, who was raising money for the defense in New York, read a report they prepared and remembers the young woman artist was described as a rather off-beat, bohemian type, but very helpful.

It was in Mexico, under the influence and at the initiative of Trotsky, that Evelyn Reed decided to join the Socialist Workers Party. She discussed with Trotsky her personal plans, her place in the party, and her conflict with the sister who was supporting her. (Reed did not come from a rich family, but both her sisters became wealthy through marriage.)

After the assassination of Trotsky in August 1940, Reed for a time remained in Coyoacán, where she provided invaluable assistance and support to Natalia Sedova. During this part of her stay in Mexico, Reed painted some of her finest works, including a portrait of Natalia Sedova.

Building the SWP

After Reed returned to New York City, she accepted the political assignment of working on the staff of the theoretical magazine, *Fourth International*. One of the editors of the magazine was George Novack, with whom Reed developed a political and personal relationship that lasted until her death.

In 1941 the SWP asked Reed and Novack to help out in Minneapolis, where the leaders of the Socialist Workers Party and of the Teamsters union were under fire for their active opposition to the impending U.S. entry into World War II.

When the Roosevelt administration invoked the Smith Act for the first time, and indictments were handed down against twenty-nine leaders of the party and union, Reed and Novack agreed to return to New York to organize the Civil Rights Defense Committee. Reed served as executive director of the CRDC and organized its day-to-day work until all the Smith Act defendants were released from prison by February 1945.

Reed then joined the staff of the *Militant*, where she initiated a new and popular feature, a series of interviews with rank-and-file workers and ordinary victims of capitalist injustice. She would illustrate each story with her own sketch of the individual she had interviewed—one week a fired auto worker, another week two office cleaning women, then a poor Puerto Rican woman with four sons in the U.S. Army, a Black sculptress, a striking newspaper



Militant/Ginny Hildebrand
Evelyn Reed, New York City, 1979. She inspired a whole generation of socialist fighters for women's liberation.

worker, an Italian longshoreman framed up for petty theft.

As a *Militant* writer, she first adopted the pen name Reed, after the revolutionary journalist John Reed, who covered the Russian revolution.

Fighter for women's liberation

Evelyn Reed was most widely known for her writings on the origins and role of women's oppression. She was a historical materialist who made a substantial contribution to Marxism on this subject.

Her indignation at the regimentation, stifling, and abuse of women long predated her knowledge of socialist ideas. She had a deep appreciation of the conservatizing role of the family and of the way this institution perpetuates the subjugation of women. She railed against the distortions and denials of female sexuality.

She had a special personal hatred for the anti-abortion laws, because she had suffered through two illegal abortions in the 1930s that left her unable to have children. She vigorously participated in the campaign organized by the Women's National Abortion Action Coalition to repeal the reactionary abortion laws in the United States.

The method of Marxism gave Reed the opportunity for the first time to make sense out of the oppression she resented so bitterly. She saw the revolutionary implications of the fundamental materialist understanding that females were not subordinated and discriminated against before the rise of a hierarchical class society based on private property. She developed her own contributions to this basic theme and popularized it for a whole new generation of women's liberation fighters.

Reed never lost sight of the fact that it was Karl Marx and Frederick Engels who had elaborated the scientific method for understanding the causes of women's oppression. Once she became convinced that the working class had the power to change society, she devoted all her considerable energies to building the kind of revolutionary workers party that could lead the fight against inequality, exploitation, and oppression in all their forms. She understood the inseparable connection between the struggle for women's liberation and the emancipation of all humanity from the shackles of class society.

Her unwavering commitment to the SWP and confidence in it was the basis for the close relationship Reed always had with workers in the party and with working women in particular. She never missed an opportunity to defend the SWP against any and all detractors.

Reed was elected to the national committee of the SWP in 1959 and served the party in that capacity until 1975.

'Woman's Evolution'

In 1951 Reed began the anthropological research that would eventually produce her pioneering work, *Woman's Evolution*. She and Novack were then

N.Y. memorial meeting

Sunday, April 8, 3 p.m.

Marc Ballroom, 27 Union Square West
(between 15th & 16th streets), New York City

Speakers:

Jack Barnes

National Secretary, Socialist Workers Party

Mary-Alice Waters

Editor, 'Intercontinental Press/Inprecor'

Connie Harris

**Leader of International Marxist Group,
London, England**

Karolyn Kerry

Longtime member of Socialist Workers Party

James T. Farrell

Author

Messages to the meeting should be sent care of
the Militant, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York
10014.

wheeling, radical-minded crowd of artists and intellectuals in the New York City of the late 1920s and early 1930s.

Reed's first overtly political act was to participate in a 1934 demonstration at Rockefeller Center against the destruction of revolutionary murals by the renowned Mexican artist Diego Rivera.

Reed had already developed a passionate hatred for the way in which capitalist society degrades and enslaves women and seeks to break their spirit. During her years as a young artist in New York, she also came to understand that merely breaking with conventional conduct and sexual conformity could not free women from the confines placed on them by this society.

In the mid-1930s, Reed married an aspiring writer named Osborne Andreas and went with him to his home town. But Clinton, Iowa, like Haledon, was not big enough by half. In less than three years, Reed fled back to New York City, got herself an apartment in Greenwich Village, and resumed her life as an independent artist. (The episode was not without political significance; in a 1941 divorce settlement, Reed sold back to Andreas her shares of stock in a joint family enterprise. The \$3,000 she received was enough to finance the first printing of Leon Trotsky's last work, *In Defense of Marxism*.)

Reed was first introduced to revolutionary Marxism in the late 1930s by a professor at New York University who was a sympathizer of the Trotskyist movement. She was in her mid-thirties before she found a coherent explanation for the world she lived in and a realistic perspective for changing it. The prospect of liberation through the struggle for socialism gave essential meaning to her existence.

Excited about the Marxist view of politics, she asked what she could do to get involved.

Her friend suggested she help distribute the *Militant* newspaper.

Reed's response was typically direct. After discovering that the operator of her neighborhood newsstand was a Stalinist who turned purple at the mention of the *Militant*, she hurried over to the



George Novack and Evelyn Reed in 1949.

and feminist fighter

living in London where they were able to participate as SWP observers in the work of the Fourth International. This provided Reed with the opportunity to spend time reading extensively at the Royal Institute of Anthropology in London.

It was almost two decades, however, before the results of her investigations on the origins of female oppression began to be published.

From 1954 to 1965—except for a brief stint in New York working on the 1960 SWP election campaign—Reed and Novack lived and worked in Los Angeles. These were difficult years for the SWP. The party was isolated, under heavy pressures, and in perpetual financial crisis.

Both Novack and Reed had to work at outside jobs to support themselves until, toward the end of their years in Los Angeles, Novack was able to devote full time to his writings on Marxist philosophy and history. But during these years, Reed wrote a number of articles for the party's theoretical magazine in which she began to expound her views.

In 1965, Reed and Novack agreed to return to New York City to help at the party center. By then, the financial problems were less acute, and funds became available to sustain Reed's full-time literary work. Only then was she able to begin systematic work on her book on the female role in the prehistory of humanity.

It was none too soon. Within a few years, the armies whom Reed's writings were especially designed to reach burst upon the scene—new fighters for women's liberation who could be won to revolutionary socialism.

The second wave

No one was more enthusiastic than Reed about the spread of feminist ideas in the late 1960s and early 1970s. She spoke at one of the earliest conferences of the new movement, in Boston in the spring of 1969.

She spoke out strongly against the few people within the SWP who took a sectarian attitude toward the resurgence of the struggle for women's liberation and who advised the party to steer clear of what they scorned as a "petty bourgeois" phenomenon. She organized and taught the first class series for women who were beginning to lead the SWP's activities as part of the new movement.

In response to the hunger for scientific explanations of the social and economic roots of women's oppression, Reed quickly assembled some of her articles for book publication. *Problems of Women's Liberation* came out before the end of 1969.

The hot debates over how oppression developed have been more than a theoretical or historical question in the women's liberation movement. The notion that females have been subject to discrimination since the beginning of time leads logically to reactionary or utopian political positions on what women as a group should do today.

Reed polemicized against a whole series of prevalent false ideas and self-defeating strategies. The concept that biology has been women's destiny, and that nothing fundamental can be done about female oppression, since women will always be the child-bearers. The theory that men, not class society, are the enemy. The idea that women form a social class, or at least a caste, whose role in reproduction is comparable to the working class role in production.



Reed's portrait of Natalia Sedova, 1940.



Reed toured Japan in May 1973. Here she speaks with sixty feminists in Kyoto.

The strategy that claims humanity can be liberated through a women's revolution against patriarchy or heterosexualism rather than through the overthrow of capitalism by the mass of male and female workers and their allies.

Reed jumped into the battle from the very first days of the movement. She outlined the materialist analysis in a series of talks she gave in 1970: a debate with Roxanne Dunbar at the Congress to Unite Women in New York City, and the first-ever women's liberation conference in the South, at Mt. Beulah, Mississippi.

She insisted that women were neither a caste nor a class but the oppressed sex. She argued that the fight for women's rights was not a substitute for the struggle to overthrow capitalism but rather had to be an integral part of the socialist revolution.

Reed never gave an inch to proponents of a dead-end "men are the enemy" approach. She insisted that we must keep our fire directed against those who profit from the institutions of class society, which are built on women's oppression. She also exposed the backwardness and bigotry of pseudo-Marxists who deny the depth of oppression women suffer and pretend that sex discrimination will disappear automatically in the course of a socialist revolution.

Reed the internationalist

The fight for women's liberation, like the struggle to do away with capitalist rule, is international in scope.

Recruited to the SWP itself in Mexico, Reed was an internationalist long before she became known around the world as a Marxist theoretician. She identified with and worked to build the Fourth International as strongly as she did the Socialist Workers Party.

But it was the development of the women's liberation movement as a worldwide phenomenon in the 1970s that made it possible for Reed to help strengthen the Marxist current in the women's liberation movement outside the borders of the United States.

Reed's *Problems of Women's Liberation* has been published in eight languages, including Japanese. *Woman's Evolution* has already been published in Spanish and Swedish and is scheduled to be published in Danish, French, Italian, Turkish and Farsi.

In 1973 Reed made a tour of Japan, Australia, and New Zealand. Some of her meetings drew 5-600 women. In 1975, she did speaking tours of England in the spring and Ireland in the fall. The principal disappointment in the last year of her life was that her illness forced her to cancel a long-awaited speaking tour of Scandinavia and West Germany.

In the course of the 1970s, Reed spoke at more than 100 universities all over the United States and abroad, in addition to countless media interviews and informal meetings with women both inside and outside the party. She was always available to talk about problems of life with the newest member of the movement and helped many arrive at a clearer perspective of struggle.

She was constantly on the go. Her seemingly unlimited store of energy made it hard for people to believe she was in her late sixties and early seventies.

In every speech Evelyn Reed gave, she sought to educate and inspire women with the facts about the creative and productive role females have played in history. She explained how and why women were responsible for the major advances in the productive capacities of humanity and laid the foundation for the development of all civilization.

Both the power of these ideas and the personal example Reed set served to inspire listeners to join the struggle for a world without exploitation and female oppression, a world in which the full human potential of all will flourish.

Evelyn Reed Scholarship Fund announced

In tribute to Evelyn Reed, the Socialist Workers Party has announced plans for a special scholarship fund in her name. The fund will be the first step in raising the money to establish a special school for selected members of the SWP so they can set aside time for intensive study of Marxism.

One aspect of women's oppression that Reed understood well from her own experience was the obstacles women especially face in gaining a thorough grounding in Marxism, and developing the self-confidence as political leaders that flows from such study.

Her self-discipline, determination, and broad capabilities stood as an example to many younger women.

The scholarship fund is designed to help finance in the near future the kind of school that will enable a new generation of women and men to deepen their understanding of Marxism in order to provide a solid foundation for the development of rounded political ability.

The fund will be launched at the New York memorial meeting for Reed.

Contributions may be sent to Evelyn Reed Scholarship Fund, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014.

Quote unquote

"You have to feed the cow instead of kick it if you want to get milk out of it. The problem is not that profits are rising too fast but too slowly."

—R. Heath Larry, president of the National Association of Manufacturers

2,200 PROTEST MIDEAST DEAL

More than 2,000 supporters of Palestinian rights demonstrated outside the White House as the Egyptian-Israeli accords were signed March 26.

"We are here to denounce the treaty and to explain that there will be no peace at the expense of Palestinian national rights," a march organizer told the *Militant*.

Sponsors of the protest included the Organization of Arab Students; Arab Cultural Center; Democratic Committee of Palestine; Lebanese National Movement; Palestinian American Congress; Palestine Solidarity Committee; Organization of Iranian-Muslim Students; Ramallah Youth Federation.

A favorite chant of the marchers was "Iran today, Palestine tomorrow."

TALK TO WINPISINGER

If you've got questions you'd like to ask International Association of Machinists President William Winpisinger, you'll have your chance Sunday, April 29, from 12 noon to 1:30 p.m.

Winpisinger will be part of a panel of speakers discussing the problems of "runaway shops" and answering the question—"Is American labor becoming obsolete?"—on cable TV stations across the country.

Viewers will be able to respond to the panelists by toll-free telephone.

AFSCME VOWS SUPPORT TO D.C. TEACHERS' STRIKE

On March 25 District Council 20 of the American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees, which represents all blue-collar and secretarial workers in the Washington, D.C., school system, voted to honor the picket lines of striking teachers. Beginning March 28, AFSCME members will refuse to enter the schools. Teamster drivers are already refusing to make deliveries to the struck schools.

Also on March 25 the striking teachers, who walked out March 6, voted to continue their defiance of a strikebreaking court injunction. As of March 26 the Washington Teachers Union faces more than \$500,000 in fines.

Some two-thirds of the city's 6,000 teachers are supporting the strike. The outstanding issue in dispute at this point is the school board's insistence on its "right" to take reprisals against individual striking teachers.

NEW YORK: TAX CUTS FOR THE RICH

For working people, New York's economic crisis means higher taxes on lower wages, fewer jobs and social services. For the bosses it means big bucks.

Failing to get quick enough legislative approval for a cut in the state's capital-gains tax, Governor Hugh Carey has simply gone ahead and cut the bosses' taxes by 10 percent anyway. Using a technicality in the tax law, Carey has saved employers—and robbed working people—of some \$125 million.

At the same time, New York City auditors revealed that big corporations like IBM have been "needlessly" granted more than \$56 million in real-estate tax breaks to stay in midtown Manhattan—where construction is already booming.

According to the auditors' report, the city's industrial and commercial incentive board has "simply become a vehicle

Students fight education cuts



7,000 rallied at University of Colorado in Boulder

Big education cutbacks are part and parcel of the ruling-class offensive against working people. And like their union counterparts, students are starting to fight back.

• More than 4,000 students from State University of New York campuses marched on the state capitol in Albany March 21. The demonstrators were protesting a proposed \$150 tuition hike.

• Capped by a March 14 rally of 7,000 in Boulder, thousands of students on Colorado campuses have staged actions protesting proposed state education cutbacks. The state legislature's Joint Budget Committee is recommending drastic cuts, including \$1.4 million out of the community college system and closing the undergraduate school of the University of Colorado at Denver altogether. A state-

wide anticutbacks demonstration is planned for April 4 in Denver.

• Rallies of up to 1,200 students have protested planned cutbacks at San Diego State University. The cuts include closing seven departments, firing 150 faculty and staff members, and consolidating American Indian, Afro-American, and Mexican-American studies into one department.

for granting tax exemptions to any company with the sophistication, resources and persistence to utilize the process."

LABOR SOLIDARITY VS. NATIONAL BORDERS

Who benefits from immigration laws? Workers or bosses?

Ask thirteen members of the Newspaper Guild in Seattle-Tacoma.

On February 25 they boarded a chartered bus bound for Vancouver, Canada, where they planned to join the picket lines of union brothers and sisters striking that city's *Sun* and *Province* newspapers. American Guild members were eager to learn more about the strikers' own interim newspaper, the *Express*.

But the guild bus got no further than the Canadian border. You're not "bona fide" visitors, ruled the border

guards. Not so long as you intend to lend support to striking Canadian unionists.

"What if we refuse to leave?" one unionist asked. Leave or be "detained." Those are your "two choices" was the reply.

Even after canceling plans to picket and asking only to visit the *Express* offices, the unionists were unceremoniously ordered back to Seattle.

The solidarity of workers knows no borders. Neither, guild members discovered, does the solidarity of their bosses.

CUBAN RIGHT-WINGERS CLAIM BOMBINGS

Omega 7—a Cuban counter-revolutionary outfit—claimed responsibility for the March 25 bomb explosion at Kennedy Airport. Had the bomb gone off fifteen minutes later, it could

have killed 155 passengers and crew members on an outgoing flight to Los Angeles.

That same night explosions were set off in Union City, New Jersey, at Almacén El Español, which is a company shipping medicines and goods to Cuba; and at the Office of Cuban Affairs in West New York.

The FBI claims to be "desperately" searching for two suspects in the bombings who are already implicated in the 1976 assassination of Chilean exile Orlando Letelier. It was not reported whether the FBI had checked with the CIA, which organized, financed, and armed the Cuban counterrevolutionaries in the 1960s.

This new escalation of anti-Cuban violence comes at a time of increasing U.S. threats against the Castro government and growing ties between Cuba and its exile community in the United States.

What's Going On

CALIFORNIA
LOS ANGELES: EAST SIDE
NUCLEAR POWER: WHAT IT IS AND HOW TO STOP IT. Speakers: Dr. Irving Lyon; Lou Martin, South Coast Alliance for Survival; Jim Odling, Alliance for Survival, Socialist Workers Party. Thurs., Apr. 12, 7:30 p.m. 2554 Saturn Ave. Huntington Pk. Donation: \$1.50. Aup: Militant Forum. For more information call (213) 582-1975.

SAN FRANCISCO BAY AREA
BENEFIT RALLY FOR HECTOR MARROQUIN. Lucha y Paz; Ballet Folklórico; speakers. Sun., Apr. 1, 7 p.m. La Peña, 3105 Shattuck, Berkeley. Donation: \$3.50. Aup: Héctor Marroquín Defense Committee. For more information call (415) 261-1210.

COLORADO
DENVER
NO NUKES! WHERE DO WE GO FROM HERE? Speakers: Carole Mangan, Central Denver National Organization for Women; Elise Ficarra, Women Against Nukes; Jack Joppa, Rocky Flats Truth Force; Fred Halstead, author of *Out Now!*; Socialist Workers Party; Linda Gore, Rocky Flats Action Group; Jim Walker, Rocky Flats Truth Force. Mon., Apr. 2, 7

p.m. Auraria Student Center Room 330. Aup: Aurarians Against Nukes. For more information call (303) 629-3335.

NUCLEAR WEAPONS & ROCKY FLATS: A PANEL DISCUSSION. Speakers: Sen. Ted Strickland, Colorado state senator; Edward Rozek, professor at Colorado Univ. Political Science Dept.; Fred Halstead, author of *Out Now!*; Socialist Workers Party; Paul Wehr, Rocky Flats Action Group. Tues., Apr. 3, 12 noon. Auraria Student Center Room 330. Aup: CCD Student Activities Planning Board.

RACISM IN SOUTH AFRICA. Speakers to be announced. Fri., Apr. 6, 8 p.m. 126 W. 12th Ave. Donation: \$1. Aup: Militant Forum. For more information call (303) 534-8954.

GEORGIA
ATLANTA
U.S. OUT OF SOUTHERN AFRICA: THE CASE FOR DIVESTMENT. Speakers: Malik Hakim, graduate student, Atlanta Univ.; Sibalala Ntseane, South African student, Clark College; Joanne Kuniansky, Young Socialist Alliance. Fri., Apr. 6, 8 p.m. 509 Peach St. Donation: \$1. Aup: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (404) 872-7229.

KENTUCKY
LOUISVILLE
DEFEND VIRGINIA SHIPYARD STRIKE: EYEWITNESS REPORT. Slides and speakers. Sat., Apr. 7, 4 p.m. 1505 W. Broadway. Donation: \$1. Aup: Militant Forum. For more information call (502) 587-8418.

MASSACHUSETTS
BOSTON
SOCIALISM AND INDIVIDUAL FREEDOM. Speaker: Gerald Cohen, Socialist Workers Party candidate for lieutenant governor in 1978. Fri., Apr. 6, 8 p.m. 510 Commonwealth Ave. (at Kenmore Sq.) Donation: \$1.50. Aup: Militant Forum. For more information call (617) 262-4621.

MINNESOTA
ST. PAUL
WHY FARMERS PROTEST: WORKING FARMERS TELL THEIR STORY. Speakers: Chuck Kanten, member, American Agriculture Movement and participant in Washington demonstration; John Enesvedt, participant in farmers' struggles for more than forty years. Fri., Apr. 6, 8 p.m. 373 University. Donation: \$1.25. Aup: Militant Forum. For more information call (612) 222-8929.

NEW YORK
ALBANY
THE STRIKE AT NEWPORT NEWS: VIRGINIA SHIPYARD WORKERS ORGANIZE. Speakers: Larry Lane, member of USWA Local 12770 and Socialist Workers Party; others. Sat., Apr. 7, 2 p.m. 103 Central Ave. Donation: \$1.50. Aup: Militant Forum. For more information call (518) 463-0072.

NEW YORK CITY
PANEL DISCUSSION ON THE AMERICAN SOCIALIST MOVEMENT. Speakers: Pedro Camejo, Socialist Workers Party; Gus Hall, Communist Party; Michael Harrington, Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee; I.F. Stone, journalist; Susan Sontag, critic; Henry Foner, trade unionist. Moderator: Henry Steele Commager. Sat., Mar. 31, 2:30 p.m. Cooper Union Hall. For more information call (212) 240-6400.

OHIO
CINCINNATI
SOCIALISM WITH A HUMAN FACE: WHAT THE SOVIET DISSIDENTS ARE SAYING AND WHY. Speaker: Barbara Medoff, Socialist Workers Party. Sun., Apr. 8, 4 p.m. 970 E. McMillan (Peebles Corner area). Donation: \$1. Aup: Militant Forum. For more information call (513) 751-2636.

OREGON
PORTLAND
DIVEST NOW! Speakers: Sandy Morrison and Donovan King, South African Freedom Committee. Sun., Apr. 8, 7:30 p.m. 711 NW Everett. Donation: \$1. Aup: Militant Bookstore Forum. For more information call (503) 222-7225.

PENNSYLVANIA
PITTSBURGH
THE WEBER CASE: AFFIRMATIVE ACTION UNDER ATTACK. Speakers to be announced. Fri., Apr. 6, 8 p.m. 1210 E. Carson St. Donation: \$1. Aup: Militant Forum. For more information call (412) 488-7000.

WISCONSIN
MILWAUKEE
U.S. POLICY IN MEXICO: DEPORTATION, POLITICAL REPRESSION & OIL. Speakers: Theresa Delgadillo, Héctor Marroquín Defense Committee; Jim McPartland, Local 82, American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees; Bernadette Palmer, Justice & Peace Center; Charlie Quesada, *La Guardia* newspaper; representative, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., Apr. 6, 8 p.m. 3901 N. 27th St. Donation: \$1.50. Aup: Militant Forum. For more information call (414) 445-2076.



St. Louis: 400 march for ERA

By Helen Savio and Diane Groth

ST. LOUIS, Mo.—On March 24 nearly 400 women and their supporters braved a blizzard-like storm to march here in support of the Equal Rights Amendment. Most stayed for a rally afterwards at Christ Cathedral Church.

Sponsored by the Metro and North County chapters of the National Organization for Women, the march and rally were called to focus attention on the beginning of the ERA's ratification extension and the need to use this time to pass the amendment in Missouri.

Speakers at the rally included Mary Ann Seday, president of the Missouri ERA Coalition; and Cleo Otessa, president of the St. Louis Coalition of Labor Union Women.

Both stressed growing

support in the unions for the ERA. They said the alliance of women and labor that defeated "right to work" last November should now be mobilized to fight for ratification of the ERA.

Other speakers included Susan Frain, president of North County NOW; Linda Woody, Missouri State NOW coordinator; Connie Schwarz, Women's Political Caucus; and Mary Pritchard, Socialist Workers Party candidate for St. Louis school board.

Pritchard reminded the audience that the first major victory for women's rights in recent years—ratification extension—came on the heels of the massive July 9 march in Washington.

"Women won this victory by depending on themselves and their allies in the labor movement," she said. "This points the way for future victories."

Of course—Federal officials confirmed that 4,000 containers of radioactive waste had been dumped into the Atlantic near Boston harbor twenty years ago. They said they weren't sure what was in the drums but it probably presented no health hazard.

The austerity boys—Vice-president Mondale confided that the Boss is so concerned about cost-cutting that he makes guests pay for White House meals. Meanwhile, it was reported that since Carter took office the increase in the number of chauffeured cars for federal officials has upped the cost from \$3.33 million to \$4.86 million.

FBI documents great for petunias—Horticulturalists and those convinced that "top secret" government documents are mainly bull will be interested to learn that the U.S. Embassy in Cairo is fertilizing flowers outside the building with shredded classified documents. The ink and carbon paper, they say, have proven a good fertilizer and are cheaper than the camel and donkey dung previously used.

Hard-times department—Difficulties have befallen James Clark, former Selma, Alabama sheriff who gained notoriety in the early sixties as an enforcer of racist "law and order." He was slated to start a two-year term for smuggling a plane load of marijuana into the state. But sentencing was postponed so he could face fraud charges involving an alleged loan swindle.

Listen to who's talking—Dick Nixon, who taped countless conversations without the knowledge of those being taped, has filed court suit to block creation of centers around the country where people could listen to the tapes. He said it would be an invasion of his privacy.

The march of science—Some 10,000 balding men have been sold an implantation of synthetic "hair" at fees ranging up to \$3,500. The material is the same as found in synthetic furs, fire-resistant clothing and crease-resistant slacks. The *AMA Journal* reports that half the men developed scalp infections and that within ten weeks virtually all the fibers had fallen out.

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**The
Militant
INDEX**

Court to rule on labor rights

Some important cases concerning labor's rights are headed for the Supreme Court.

• **Right to strike:** The Court will decide whether a union can be held responsible for unauthorized strikes.

West Virginia's Carbon Fuel Company has been granted review of an appeals court ruling that lifted fines leveled against the United Mine Workers and its District 17 for "wildcat" strikes in the company's coal mines from 1969 to 1973.

The appeals court threw out claims for nearly \$500,000 in damages and overturned a trial judge's ruling that the UMWA should have used "all reasonable means" to break the strikes.

Like other trade unionists, the miners are tied to a rigged arbitration process. If the Supreme Court rules for the mine operators, the right to strike for all workers will be further undermined.

• **Right to refuse unsafe work:** The Supreme Court is likely to decide whether a worker has the right to refuse an unsafe job without penalty.

The Sixth Circuit Court of Appeals—covering highly

unionized Michigan and Ohio—says yes. The Fifth Circuit Court—covering such "right to work" states as Alabama, Florida, and Georgia, says no.

A Fifth Circuit panel upheld the firing of an iron worker who had refused to continue work on an exposed 150-foot structure in a strong wind.

The Sixth Circuit judges held that the Whirlpool Corporation of Marion, Ohio, illegally disciplined two workers who refused to perform a hazardous job that had already killed a co-worker.

The law shouldn't "permit an employer to, in effect, chain a worker to his post under dangerous conditions" until the Occupational Safety and Health Administration can investigate, ruled Judge Damon Keith.

On March 21 the Supreme Court decided that states can pay unemployment benefits to strikers—although they don't have to.

Only two states, New York and Rhode Island, pay jobless benefits to all strikers out of work for an extended period. But the Chamber of Commerce has vowed to continue fighting to entirely outlaw such benefits.

Union Talk

Harlan Co. miners strike

This week's column is by Tom Moriarty, a member of United Mine Workers of America Local 1949 in Fairmont, West Virginia.

One scab was killed and two wounded as the bus they and others were riding in was hit by gunfire near the Jericol mine in Harlan County, Kentucky.

The incident occurred around 5 p.m. on March 15.

Dead is Otis Griffith, who was working the Jericol mine as mine owners—the Sigmun brothers—continue their efforts to break United Mine Workers Local 8771.

Local 8771 walked out in December 1977, when the UMWA began its national 110-day strike. The Sigmun brothers refused to sign the industry-wide settlement. They are holding out to bust the union.

From the start, a climate of violence and intimidation against the union has been created by the company. It has included guns fired at the mine site, indiscriminate shooting by scabs near the homes of striking miners, numerous court injunctions, the jailing of nearly a dozen strikers, and the fire-bombing of the union hall.

However, these acts have not been allowed to provoke the union. I talked over the phone to Gerald Cornette, president of UMWA Local 8771.

"The union doesn't condone any such acts of violence," he said regarding the March 15 shooting. "Neither the union nor any of our members had any responsibility whatsoever for that act. We hope that whoever was responsible is apprehended."

The mine owners moved quickly to take advantage of the incident. On March 19 they were in Harlan County Circuit Court demanding that their scabs be armed. This request was turned down by Judge Douglas.

Instead, he ordered more professionally trained hired guns to be mobilized against the union. More state police were provided to the already existing escort given the scabs. Decked out like SWAT units, more police, more cruisers, an armored car, and a helicopter have been added to the arsenal on the company's side.

Cops, including the FBI, are swarming the area, as the miners of Local 8771

struggle to defend their livelihood and their union.

But the miners too have allies.

Eleven jailed union members were brought to Harlan County Circuit Court on March 13 for a rehearing on bail requests, stemming from contempt-of-court citations. According to Cornette, the eleven were charged with throwing stones. A ninety-day jail sentence had been imposed on each.

UMWA Local 7425 at U.S. Steel's Lynch mine organized for a protest march on the courthouse that day. The union was denied a permit by Harlan County authorities, but the march was to take place regardless if the eleven were denied bail.

Bail was granted.

Locals at the Lynch mine and at Brookside—site of the stunning UMWA organizing victory in 1974—planned meetings to discuss further financial and other support efforts to the Jericol miners. Such examples of labor solidarity are the real key to winning the strike and defending the union at Jericol.

Send messages of support and contributions to: Glenbrook Miners Relief Fund, Box 119, Closplint, Kentucky 40977.



GERALD CORNETTE

Militant/Nancy Cole

Trotsky on Iran

The following is an excerpt from an article that appeared in the February 4 'Ettela'at,' one of Iran's main dailies. In the article, well-known columnist Ahmad Ahrar relates the experience of an Iranian student who met with Leon Trotsky shortly after the October 1917 Russian revolution.

The student, Hassan Farzaneh, had just finished his courses at the University of Moscow. He was also a minor official at the Iranian embassy.

Much of his account of meeting Trotsky focuses on the striking differences between the tsarist attitude toward the Iranian people and the attitude of the Bolsheviks.

Under the tsar Russia, along with British imperialism, exploited the wealth of Iran. The people of Iran were in the vise of the Qajar monarchy, later succeeded by the Pahlavi monarchy. Russian troops were used to help crush the insurgents in the Iranian constitutional revolution of 1906-1910. In World War I, British, Russian, and Turkish troops occupied Iran, in part to suppress the revolutionary aspirations of its people.

When the Bolsheviks seized power, they reversed this policy. They adopted an internationalist approach of support to the Iranian masses and their struggle to throw out the monarchy and imperialism.

Below is Farzaneh's account of his discussion with Trotsky. No date is given, but the meeting appears to have taken place in December 1917 or early 1918.

In tsarist Russia, it was not easy to see the directors of the foreign ministry. There was a lot of ceremony and red tape involved, even if you were a member of the official diplomatic corps.

That's why I was very surprised when I passed through the doors of the Soviet foreign ministry without any ceremony at all, even though I was dressed as a student.

The guards, doormen, and servants who used to be inside and outside the ministry [under the tsar] were no longer there. I simply walked through the magnificent corridors and found myself in front of the minister's office.

The door was half-open. There was a pleasant smell of cooking food. Hesitantly, I entered.

In the corner of the room, a pot of food was boiling on a small stove. One of the minister's children was asleep on the couch. Another slept on the floor.

Trotsky was sitting at his desk busy at work. He beckoned me into the room with a kind smile and asked what I wanted.

I told him I was an Iranian student and that my studies had just ended. Consequently, I would soon be going back to my homeland.

I explained that the people of Iran had



LEON TROTSKY

heard many exciting things about the Russian revolution.

"I am sure the instant I arrive in Iran I will be surrounded with questions about your revolution and Lenin's message of freedom and equality," I told Trotsky. "That's why I have come to you for your views about this."

Trotsky nodded in agreement. He talked to me about the policies of the revolutionary government. He explained Lenin's declaration, which was very important for the Iranian government and the Iranian people.

[The declaration apparently refers to the November 24, 1917, statement—signed by Lenin and Trotsky—called "Appeal to the Moslems of Russia and the East." This appeal called for solidarity among all the peoples of the Middle East and Central Asia against imperialism. It pledged that the Soviet Union would withdraw its troops from northern Iran as soon as World War I was ended, and annulled a treaty partitioning Iran into British and Russian spheres of influence.]

When our discussion was finished, I couldn't hide my surprise. "How is it that you trusted an unknown person like myself and openly discussed your government's policies toward a foreign country?" I gasped.

Trotsky replied, "Soon, 'foreign policy' will be nothing but empty words, because soon the oppressed and dispossessed nations of Asia, and then the European nations, will join our revolution. They will get rid of their despotic rulers."

"Then all the people of the world will join as one. They will have one flag and one goal."

Mental health rip-off

I am a twenty-four-year-old democratic socialist who reads your newspaper. I support the war against exploitation, wars, racism, and sexism. But I think there is another oppressed group that many socialists are not aware of: mental patients. When I was hospitalized for my emotional problems in 1969, I saw us put a man on the moon, and also heard about the outrages perpetrated in Indochina. Thousands of us were receiving substandard treatment—maybe even millions of us—while the government spent billions of dollars on murders disguised as patriotism.

In addition, newly released patients ended up on welfare, not because they were lazy but because many of us couldn't get good jobs.

The whole situation rather stinks of discrimination.

Cuba, one of the world's poorest countries, has the best mental health programs in the world. The U.S., the world's richest country, has one that shows no signs of improvement because the politicians are so busy paying back their fat-cat campaign contributors and the murder factory known as the Pentagon.

P.H.

Birmingham, Alabama

Workers need truth

The action of the Revolutionary Communist Party in disrupting sales of the *Militant* in San Jose, mentioned in the letters column in the March 16 issue, betrays the RCP's lack of faith in working people and their ability to make their own decisions.

People don't need to be "protected" from ideas. They

can recognize truth and act on it. This is the *Militant's* strength and its appeal.

It may also be the reason the paper is considered a threat by some groups. But revolutionary organizations should have nothing to fear from truth or from open discussion.

Trotsky said it well: "It is truth that the workers need as an instrument of revolutionary action."

And that is a job the *Militant* does well—publishing the truth.

Lois Remple
Pueblo, Colorado

Shipyard protest

On February 6 more than 1,400 shipyard workers staged a predawn rally and march to the gates of the Puget Sound Naval Shipyard in Bremerton, Washington, to protest proposals to combine the federal civil service retirement plan with the national Social Security system.

Under the present plan, federal workers pay 7 percent of their gross wages into the civil service fund. They can qualify for early retirement at age fifty-five.

Under the Carter administration's proposed plan, workers would lose the money they have paid into the fund and would be forced to work until age sixty-five to collect a pension.

Protesters at the Bremerton march carried signs such as: "We'll fight for our retirement," "Stop the ripoff," and "Kick me, I voted for Carter."

John Cleary, president of the Bremerton Metal Trades Council, said that the Carter plan would "become a national issue" and that "lots of unions that don't get along will be going shoulder to shoulder" in

Auto Workers' strike solid

Morale is still high among more than 1,500 members of United Auto Workers Local 509 in Los Angeles who have been on strike against Norris Industries since February 3.

The two basic demands are for a cost-of-living wage adjustment (COLA) and for better health insurance.

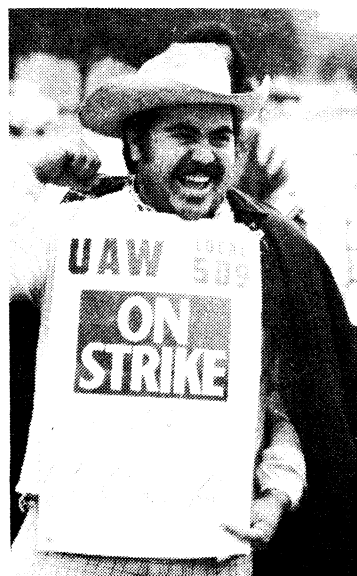
"We're pretty solid. There are no scabs," Rudy Montalvo, picket captain at one of the plants, told me in the fifth week of the strike.

Twenty-four-hour picketing, in four-hour shifts, is designed to keep managers, engineers, and clerical workers out of the plant, according to Montalvo, who has worked at Norris Industries for thirteen years.

"We had a COLA clause in the last contract with Norris Industries, but it was only five cents an hour," Paul Bluto, international representative for UAW Region 6, said.

"We got \$.55 cents in the last three-year contract, but the cost of living actually went up more than \$1.20," he said.

Norris Industries, which



Militant/Della Rossa

makes chrome auto parts, paid its grade-three workers \$5.38 an hour. Grade-fifteen workers, such as Montalvo with thirteen years seniority, got \$7.24.

Militant salespeople, including Pedro Vásquez, Socialist Workers Party candidate for board of education, walked the picket line with the strikers and received a friendly reception.

Della Rossa
Los Angeles, California

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Learning About Socialism

The myth of women's inferiority

fighting the plan.

Similar demonstrations were held at other naval shipyards, including Mare Island and Long Beach, California. *Margaret Trowe*
Seattle, Washington

Einstein anniversary

Albert Einstein, the father of the atomic age, was born 100 years ago in Germany. His theoretical discoveries of the laws governing mass and energy describe the motion and evolution of the universe from minute particles to celestial galaxies.

"The most incomprehensible thing in the world," he wrote, "is that the world is comprehensible." And he considered himself a socialist.

The Nazis thought this humble and gentle man to be a danger. Characterizing him as a radical, internationalist Jew, they drove him from his academic post. He came to the U.S., but would not keep quiet in the face of American reaction.

Einstein understood humankind's steady and progressive conquest over the forces of nature. He understood and warned that atomic physics applied to war meant the certainty of "universal death."

His famous general and special theories of relativity posited that mass and energy are convertible into each other and that the universe is all about liberating energy from mass.

But a different kind of energy—masses of people in political motion—people who do not believe their society is incomprehensible—people who act to change it—will be needed if Einstein's warning is to be avoided.

It is they who will build the internationalist and cooperative future in which Einstein, great Einstein, believed.

Michael Smith
New York, New York

Nuke spies

In the article on police spying in the Cal State, Los Angeles, Committee on Nuclear Information, an important fact was omitted. [See March 23 *Militant*.]

The Los Angeles Citizens Commission on Police Repression discovered police agent Cheryl Bell's identity when they recognized her name on a list of police personnel.

The Citizens Commission is a broadly based activist group that is leading the protest against police infiltration and has endorsed demands on the Los Angeles Police Department to see files of all police informers.

Martha Graham
Los Angeles, California

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.

Women in our society are oppressed economically, culturally, and politically. Those seeking to maintain this subjugation of women have attempted to prove that because of our biology, women are doomed to be forever under the thumb of the supreme male.

Marxists have shown this theory of women's natural inferiority to be a myth, similar to the racist claims that Blacks are naturally inferior.

Marxist anthropologist Evelyn Reed reduces the male supremacists' roar to a whimper in her book *Woman's Evolution*. Reed's twenty-year study of women's role in human evolution is based on the materialist approach of Marx and Engels.

Reed explains that far from being the inferior sex, women played an essential role in the development of human society.

Reed begins by examining the factors that distinguish humans from animals. She explains the central importance of labor in the evolution of human intelligence and human society.

Male supremacists denigrate women as the weaker and dependent sex. But from a purely physical, biological point of view, both women and men are inferior to animals in many ways. We have no fur to keep us warm. We have no teeth or claws that can be used in hunting.

But by using their brains and hands our ancestors were able to produce tools, to make knives and spears and clothing, and to learn the use of fire. If our destiny were controlled by our individual physical attributes—and not the development of human society as a whole—neither male nor female humans would have survived.

It was the collective labor of men and women as a group, then, from which human society evolved.

As Reed says, "We have been formed and transformed in and through our own productive activities and social forces, so that we are no longer the slaves of our biological makeup." And this is the key to exploding the myth that women's (or men's) biology determines their role and capacities in human history.

Would-be protectors of male supremacy base their theories on the falsification of the history of human development.

One theory of women's inferiority claims that because women have the physical capacity to be mothers, they must be protected and cared for by men.

Actually, woman's biology was a distinct advantage in primitive society. Because of her maternal responsibilities in caring for the children, her interests expanded beyond the concerns for herself as an individual. She led the way toward group or communal living, where tasks were shared. By her example the group members lived together and protected each other.

A second theory of female inferiority is based on the falsification of anthropology. Women, so this theory goes,

were not capable of carrying out the tasks of hunting and were doomed from the beginnings of human society to the "menial" household chores.

Unlike the present-day conception of housework as a degrading chore suitable only for the inferior sex, work was shared equally and every task was essential to the preservation of the group, since primitive woman was a part of a communal household. Women were not only responsible for the care and feeding of the children, they were also in large part responsible for the tasks which were to lead to basic advances in human society.

The first task of the survival of primitive human beings was to ensure a constant supply of food. The so-called hunting period of our history was actually a hunting and gathering period. While the hunting of animals by men provided some food, the steady source of food came mainly from the work of women. They gathered food and killed small animals near their dwellings. The development of these skills led to planting of grains and eventually the development of agriculture.

Controlling fire for cooking and preserving food, and building of houses as permanent living places, were skills developed through the labor of women.

Women, in fact, held a highly respected role in human social evolution. "The females," Reed notes, "with a capacity for cooperation and collective action, had a strength superior to that of any single individual."

The concept of male supremacy has no basis in human evolution. Women in primitive societies determined the makeup of the social groups, or maternal clans. There was no such thing as a family with a father at the head to rule, protect, and control his wife and children.

The father-family, and male dominance, arose out of the division of humanity into classes of property owners and workers.

"Women's inferiority," Reed notes, "is the product of a social system which has produced and fostered innumerable other inequalities, inferiorities, discriminations and degradations."

From slavery, to feudal landowner rights, she continues, to class society of rich dominating the poor working people, the pattern of oppression, and female inferiority prevails.

Far from being a permanent status, women's so-called natural inferiority will be destroyed along with class society and the falsification of history that is used to justify it.

Humankind developed as cooperative, sharing beings. In their numbers they survived and developed. And this will be the key in overthrowing the decaying system that survives on the oppression of women and the exploitation of working people.

As our sisters in Iran are showing us today—the strength of our numbers and our working-class solidarity will make all the difference.

—Priscilla Schenk

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THE MILITANT

'Energy shortage': the new hoax

Carter pushes for higher prices, profits

By Dick Roberts

The Carter administration is moving full-speed ahead to remove price controls on domestic oil, despite the evidence that there is no present oil shortage in the United States.

Complete decontrol will cost consumers from \$5 billion to \$14 billion a year, according to a congressional study—money taken out of our pockets and handed to the giant oil corporations.

The administration's new energy plan was to be announced by Carter in a nationally televised speech first slated for March 29 but now postponed until early April.

According to advance reports, Carter was also weighing attempts to speed up licensing of nuclear plants—overriding safety and environmental restrictions—and to relax certain air-pollution standards.

All this under the cover of a new "shortage" scare. What are the facts?

A report prepared by the Library of Congress confirmed that the rate of world oil production in February was very little lower than in the first nine months of 1978. Any shortage of oil caused by the Iranian strikes in the last three months of 1978 was more than made up for by increased output of other OPEC (Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries) producers in that period.

"Stocks of gasoline, heating oil, and crude are not seriously low by any measure," *Business Week* magazine said in its April 2 issue.

But these facts are not deterring Carter. From the moment he took office, Carter has been trying to remove the price controls on domestically produced crude oil. These controls were adopted during the Nixon and Ford administrations.

This central demand of the oil trusts was spelled out in a letter to Carter made public by the *Wall Street Journal* March 12: "In exchange for terminating price controls on upper tier oil on June 1, 1979, and phasing out controls on lower tier oil by September 30, 1981," said the *Journal*, "these American oilmen offer the President 'increased domestic oil production of 400,000 barrels daily by 1981 and 2,000,000 barrels a day in 1985. This new production would displace imports barrel for barrel.'"

It's blackmail, no matter how you look at it. The oil companies openly proclaim that they have the oil in the ground. They are refusing to produce it until the prices are raised.

The attempt by Carter and the U.S. oil giants to pin the blame for rising prices on OPEC—which announced a 9 percent increase on March 27—is no less fraudulent.

New York Times reporter Richard Halloran noted March 28 that the OPEC increase "is considered by [Washington] officials to be the smallest that could



be expected, and would add only about \$825 million to the expected American trade deficit. . . ." That figure is dwarfed by the \$14 billion windfall the U.S. oil companies can expect to reap from domestic price decontrol.

The fact of the matter is that OPEC's price increase keeps the posted price of Middle East crude far below recent spot prices (the prices at which oil is traded on the open market).

Spot prices had soared since the Iranian workers—out of solidarity with the struggles of the Palestinians and the Black African masses—enforced a cutoff of oil to Israel and South Africa. Under the shah's dictatorship, Iran had been the main oil supplier to those two racist regimes. Israel and South Africa rushed to purchase oil on the open market, driving spot prices way up.

U.S. oil companies—with long-term contracts for OPEC oil at lower prices—jacked up their product prices internationally to reflect the higher market level. That netted them millions in extra profits,

which OPEC countries are belatedly trying to get a portion of.

In the United States there never was any shortage. According to unclassified CIA material, the U.S. oil stocks in January 1979 were 1.32 billion barrels—*actually higher by a fraction than the 1.31 billion-barrel level a year earlier.*

This means the U.S. oil companies are hoarding oil in order to drive up gas prices.

In an editorial supporting the Carter administration March 5, the *Washington Post* complained that "the energy crisis in this country is essentially a crisis of political purpose and trust. Every attempt at energy policy gets dissolved in public suspicions of the oil companies and hostility toward them."

The labor movement should take the cue: On one hand there is the massive distrust of the oil companies and the government. On the other, there is practically no access to the facts.

The only way to find out the truth is by opening the books of the energy trust.

How much oil and gas really is available in the United States and abroad?

Nationally and internationally oil is marketed by a handful of gigantic companies. Although the OPEC nations own the oil in the ground, these companies reap enormous profits from distributing this oil internationally. Exxon alone, for example, handles 15 percent of world oil.

What are the profits of the oil companies on imported oil?

What are their profits on domestic oil?

Who gets these profits?

Who really owns the oil companies?

These are only some of the questions that must be answered if the American people are to deal with the energy crisis in a scientific and fair way.

The answers are kept secret. We are put at the mercy of hearsay and misinformation.

A big campaign by the unions to force these companies to open their books to the working public would be tremendously popular. It would put the oil companies and the Carter administration on the defensive.

The labor movement should demand an immediate halt to price increases: "If you need the extra money, prove it. Let's see the facts and figures."

The facts hidden in the oil company books—about contrived shortages, manipulation of energy supplies, and incredible profits—will make an ironclad case for taking this industry out of the hands of private ownership.

Energy is a vital necessity. It should be available to all as easily as air and water. Put the oil trusts under the control of working people—instead of the secretive, profit-gouging ruling class. Convert the energy industry into a real public service!

'Weber' key issue at USWA civil rights meeting

By Nancy Cole

PITTSBURGH, March 28—More than 1,000 delegates, two-thirds of them Black and including several hundred women, are meeting here for the first international civil rights conference of the United Steelworkers of America.

There is a shadow over what many call an historic gathering, however. It is the Supreme Court hearing that begins today in Washington, D.C., on the *Weber* "reverse discrimination" case.

In a keynote address yesterday, USWA President Lloyd McBride described conditions that led to the basic

steel consent decree, which was a model for the affirmative-action plan with Kaiser Aluminum negotiated by the USWA. Brian Weber is out to have that plan declared illegal.

Before affirmative action, McBride told the delegates, "you could go to certain sections of the mills and see nothing but white faces. If you looked over in the coke ovens, the blast furnaces, in the dirtier and heavier jobs, you found in the main Black faces."

For the union, he continued, "the effect of this was division."

The USWA is "proud of the progress made under the consent decree," he said. "But now we're confronted with another crossroad"—the *Weber* case.

"Our union is committed absolutely to what we did," McBride declared.

Many delegates here were not aware of the threat the *Weber* decision poses to their rights and their union. This makes it clear that the task of the USWA, if *Weber* is to be defeated, is to get out the truth about the case to the Steelworkers' membership and other unionists.

Chanting, "Affirmative action yes, *Weber* no," seventy people picketed at the federal building in New Orleans March 24 demanding reversal of the *Weber* decision.

The protest was called by the New

Orleans Committee to Overturn the *Weber* Decision and Defend Affirmative Action.

Participants included steelworkers, teachers, activists from the National Organization for Women, Southern Christian Leadership Conference, NAACP, and Southern University and University of New Orleans students.

Meanwhile, in Minnesota, the state convention of the Minnesota Education Association passed a resolution calling for the overturn of *Weber*.

Next week's *Militant* will carry a complete report on the USWA civil rights conference as well as a round-up of anti-*Weber* protests around the country.