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The truth about Afghanistan

Carter's lies hide support for rightist bands

President Carter claims the presence of Soviet troops in Afghanistan is "the greatest threat to peace since the Second World War."

Democratic and Republican politicians and the big-business news media are trying to convince American working people that our interests are threatened because Soviet troops are helping Afghan workers and peasants defend their country from rightwing terrorist bands.

To combat this "Soviet threat," Carter calls on us to support a series of retaliatory mea-

An editorial

sures. These will mean more sacrifices from American working people:

- lower prices to farmers as grain sales are cancelled;
- fewer jobs as trade with the Soviet Union is curtailed;
- higher taxes and more inflation as the war budget is jacked up to even higher levels.

Meanwhile, the State Department dismisses as "ridiculous" charges by the Soviet and Afghan governments that the CIA was organizing the right-wing guerrillas in Afghanistan with the aim of establishing a power base right on the Soviet border.

But American workers have every reason to be suspicious of these U.S. government denials. We've heard such pleas of innocence before.

We were assured that the Pentagon was not

bombing Laos during the 1960s and '70s.

We were told that Washington had nothing to do with the South African invasion of Angola in 1975.

The White House protested all reports that the CIA plotted to assassinate Cuban President Fidel Castro.

Washington denied it had anything to do with the overthrow of the Allende regime in Chile.

In each case, the facts later surfaced and Washington's lies were exposed.

To understand what is really going on in Afghanistan, we have to step back and look at why the impoverished Afghan people have been fighting to better their lives.

Afghanistan, a mountainous landlocked country about the size of Texas, is one of the world's poorest countries. Annual per capita income is \$160. It was long ruled by a repressive and corrupt monarchy, replaced in 1973 by a dictatorship under Mohammed Daoud.

With economic power in the hands of big landowners and a few capitalists, Afghanistan was a land of inequality and oppression. Five percent of the population owned half the arable land.

The infant mortality rate was 50 percent. Ninety percent of the 18 million people were illiterate. Over half the population, which is mostly peasants, suffered from respiratory diseases.

Daoud developed closer and closer ties to the shah of Iran and the U.S. government. The shah's dreaded SAVAK secret police moved into Afghanistan to hunt down suspected

political dissidents. The death penalty was imposed for opposition political activities.

Then, in April 1978, the Afghan masses rose up and fought to change these oppressive conditions—as the Iranian masses were to do later that year.

Tens of thousands of Afghan workers and peasants took to the streets, a section of the army rebelled, and a new government came to power. It announced and began to implement a series of important social reforms:

- Extensive land and water-rights redistribution was begun.
- The peasants' debts to big landlords were cancelled.
- Trade unions were legalized for the first time.
- Oppressed nationalities were for the first time allowed newspapers in their own languages.
- A massive literacy campaign was initiated.
- Schools and medical centers began to be built in the rural areas.
- The sale of female children was outlawed and compulsory schooling was extended to include young women.

All these progressive measures would be supported by American workers and farmers if they knew about them. But the U.S. news media has suppressed the facts.

Washington never said a word to protest Daoud's vicious repression, nor lifted a finger to improve social conditions in Afghanistan. But it immediately set out to strangle the

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Militant/Cindy Jaquith

Factory committees mobilize against U.S. threats, demand: 'abolish capitalism & plunder'

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Honoring King

As if the Black community hadn't received enough insults from Washington lately, the Democratic-controlled Congress has dealt another blow to efforts to make Martin Luther King's birthday on January 15 a national holiday.

For ten years Congress has successfully blocked official commemoration of the slain civil rights leader.

This time around, to add mockery to insult, some Congressmen offered an amendment last month to declare the third Sunday in January a day in honor of King. The Congressional Black Caucus, sponsors of the original bill, then withdrew it to avoid establishing "a holiday that was not a holiday."

Why do the Democratic and Republican politicians work so hard at denying Black Americans one official hero?

Because King is a powerful symbol of the fight against injustice and inequality.

The celebration of King's birthday as a national holiday would provide the opportunity for young workers to learn about King:

How he mobilized Blacks to struggle against Jim Crow segregation in the South.

How he spoke out—when most national leaders, Black and white, were reluctant—against the U.S. war in Vietnam.

How in his final days he showed an understanding of the necessity of defending the rights of workers by marching with striking sanitation workers in Memphis.

Martin Luther King Day could indeed be an educational experience for all American workers. Little wonder then that Congress, usually eager for another day off, would just as soon keep January 15 a "working day."

...Afghanistan

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gains of the Afghan masses. Just two months after the revolution, Carter cut off all economic aid programs to Afghanistan. American officials tried to block loans destined to help develop that country.

Washington's hostile reaction was not limited to economics.

Especially after the new government's land

reform got under way, armed actions began against it. These guerrilla bands are portrayed as "Muslim rebels" opposed to an "atheist" regime. This is another of Washington's falsifications. The majority of the country's population who support the government are also Muslims. And as the London *Economist* admitted last year, "no restrictions had been imposed on religious practice" (September 11, 1979).

The real reasons for the fighting lie elsewhere. Who are these so-called Muslim rebels? They are former feudal landlords, former military officers, monarchists, opium and heroin dealers, smugglers, money-lenders, and others whose privileges and power are threatened by the gains of the majority.

An "Afghan rebel leader" profiled in the January 8 *Wall Street Journal*, for example, turns out to be a rich landlord with thirty-five houses. He is fighting because the new government took over thirty-four of his houses, explaining that he only needed one.

Unable to launch a direct military intervention because of the deep sentiments of American working people against another Vietnam-type war, Washington has sought to carry out its operations through intermediaries. In this case it has mainly been through the U.S.-dominated military dictatorship in Pakistan. The Pakistani government provides bases for the right-wing guerrillas, money to buy arms, military training, and free access across the Afghanistan border.

Another method of financing the Afghan rightists is the international heroin trade. This dirty and murderous business was also used by the CIA to finance pro-U.S. mercenary armies in Laos.

Evidence has appeared in the international press that the CIA is directly involved in the training of Afghan rightists. One of the guerrilla leaders, a U.S. citizen named Ziya Nezi, visited the State Department in early March to request U.S. support.

With this powerful array of international forces ranged against the revolution, the Afghan government turned to the Soviet Union for aid. Money and advisers were provided. When it looked like the imperialist-backed forces might pull off a bloody Chile-style counterrevolution right on its southern border, Soviet troops came in.

So the issue is not Soviet intervention, but a growing U.S. intervention—aimed at taking back the gains won by the Afghan masses—that finally forced the Soviet government to respond.

If the Afghan and Soviet forces are successful in defeating the reactionary right-wing offensive, the Afghan people will be in a much better position to achieve their aspirations.

The Soviet move in Afghanistan has also put a big crimp in Washington's war drive against Iran, making it harder for Carter to drag us into another Vietnam there. It has gained time for the masses in Nicaragua to advance their struggles with less danger of U.S. intervention. It is a sharp blow to the U.S. rulers' efforts to hold back popular revolutionary upheavals throughout the world.

The real threat to peace and to the interests of American workers and farmers comes from Washington, not Moscow. The real threat is Carter's campaign to aid the right-wing Afghan guerrillas, to beef up the Pakistani dictatorship, to establish military bases in the Middle East and Africa, and to squander more billions on the war budget.

The American people show no eagerness to sacrifice for Carter's campaign. Farmers, who have been most directly affected, are the most vocal.

Russell Arndt, head of the National Corn Growers Association, asserted, "a cutoff of sales and delivery of grain to the USSR is the heaviest blow to American agricultural producers . . . since the Great Depression."

A representative of the American Agricultural Movement explained, "There is no country that will deal with us with any confidence" if Carter's embargo goes through.

Some farmers have begun to raise the idea of a new tractorcade to Washington to protest their victimization by Carter's policies.

For American workers and farmers, the way to promote peace is to support the gains of the Afghan masses. We should reject the demand to sacrifice for Carter's drive against the Afghan revolution.

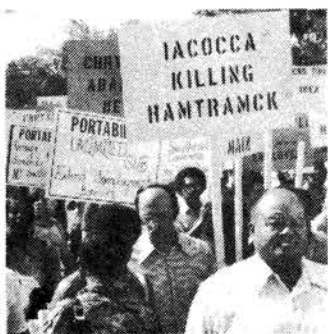
We should oppose any attempt by the U.S. government to intervene in Afghanistan, either directly or by bolstering the regime in Pakistan. We should call for the immediate resumption of full trade and diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union.

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Wage cuts at Chrysler

Congress's Christmas gift to auto's floundering corporation will mean millions more dollars out of auto workers' paychecks. But will it save jobs? **Page 10.**

Mine Workers convention

Coal operators watched intently for signs of a 'tamed' work force, but miners' democratic rights remained intact.

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Zimbabwe: meaning of London accords

Rhodesian government hoped to use cease-fire agreement to contain liberation struggle. But Zimbabweans are mobilizing in support of independence and Black majority rule. **Page 16.**



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FSLN answers opponents of Nicaraguan revolution

By Aníbal Yáñez

MANAGUA—For the first time in more than forty years, the Nicaraguan people celebrated New Year in freedom, a freedom won in the prolonged struggle that culminated in the mass popular insurrection here last July 19.

Now, the Nicaraguan workers and peasants, led by the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN), are entering a new stage of their struggle. During the last weeks of 1979, the Sandinistas took further steps, including important changes in the government, to defend, deepen, and consolidate the revolution.

As Commander of the Revolution Victor Manuel Tirado López explained during a public meeting in Managua on December 27, the main goals of the revolutionary government for 1980 are the literary crusade and planning for economic reconstruction. "The battle now passes from the military field to the field of production and distribution," Commander Tirado said.

The vast majority of Nicaraguans have lived in abject poverty. This is the result of the voracious capitalist system maintained by Somoza and his U.S. imperialist backers. The situation was worsened by the dictator's deliberate destruction of the country's industry during the war of liberation and the accompanying disruption of the planting season.

Today, unemployment, hunger, disease, and child malnutrition are among the tremendous problems that the Sandinista government must begin to solve if the revolution is to march forward.

Its proposed solution is the 1980 Plan for Economic Reactivation. According to Tirado, this plan is aimed at benefitting "mainly the poorest, most backward sectors of the population, those who have always had to bear the weight of the crisis, of social or natural catastrophes."

"It is not a question . . . of only raising production, but at the same time of distributing it in a just way, to progressively close the social chasms that the *somozaist* regime deepened every day," Tirado explained.

The plan will place emphasis on reactivating the production of basic goods, such as food, clothing, shoes, and medicine. It also projects creating 90,000 jobs to help reduce unemployment and underemployment; raising the minimum wage; and protecting the real wages of the poorest sectors through government-supplied basic goods, price controls, and state spending on education, health, and social welfare.

Changes in government

In order to carry through these measures, the government made significant changes in several posts. In early



August rally in Nicaragua. 'The battle now passes from the military field to the field of production and distribution,' says Commander of the Revolution Tirado.

December, the five-person Junta of the Government of National Reconstruction had asked the entire cabinet to resign to free its hands to make new appointments "according to the conveniences and necessities of the Sandinista revolutionary process." On December 27, it announced a thorough-going reorganization.

The most outstanding personnel change, much to the chagrin of the capitalist press, was the removal of Roberto Mayorga, a bourgeois technocrat, as minister of planning. He was replaced by Commander of the Revolution Henry Ruiz, a long-time FSLN leader and a member of the Sandinista National Directorate. Ruiz enjoys tremendous popularity among the workers and peasants because of his courageous role as "Commandante Modesto" in the struggle to overthrow Somoza.

Upon assuming the post, Ruiz explained that the Ministry of Planning is "the key to the present situation, and the FSLN National Directorate has thought it necessary to assign a member of the Directorate to this post."

"I have been and will continue to be a soldier of the revolution," he said, "and I will take my place wherever the revolution needs me."

Key areas of production and services have been nationalized since July 19. This demands a consciously planned economic policy to advance the interests of the toiling masses. The private sector must also be subordinated to the government's overall social goals and investment priorities.

In an interview in the FSLN daily *Barricada* on December 30, Ruiz explained that if the private sector "takes a wait-and-see attitude" with regard to reactivating production, "the Revolution will take measures, and here the unproductive latifundio will disappear. If the private enterprise does not understand that the secret of harmony consists in all of us working for the benefit of the people, they will have made an enormous mistake."

Benefit of the people

Sergio Ramírez Mercado, a member of the Junta of the Government of National Reconstruction, made the same point at a seminar for government workers where he explained the cabinet changes: "We are no longer going to have what is called 'private initiative,' the kind of initiative that means investing in what is most profitable and not in what is required for economic and social needs."

The central slogan propagandized far and wide by the FSLN's political education department is "Raise production, smash the counterrevolution!"

There is no doubt in anybody's mind that high on the list of counterrevolutionaries are any capitalists who attempt to obstruct, sabotage, or boycott the revival of the economy. Those who do not want to join in this effort are called the *burguesía vendepatria* (traitorous bourgeoisie).

Besides the crucial change in the Ministry of Planning, Bernardino Larios, a former National Guard officer

who had defected from Somoza, was removed from his post as minister of defense. He has been replaced by Humberto Ortega Saavedra, commander-in-chief of the Sandinista People's Army (EPS) and a member of the FSLN National Directorate. (Larios never had any control over the army or police and was rarely even heard or seen in public.)

Also, Commander Edén Pastora ("Commander Zero") is now vice-minister of defense in charge of organizing the People's Militias. "One of the great projects we have for next year will be the military training of each and every Nicaraguan to defend our liberated homeland," Pastora declared December 28. He noted that Sandinista militias will be organized at all levels: factories, schools, universities, barrios, cities, and towns.

"They will be the true people in arms to defend our Revolution," Pastora affirmed.

A third key change was the consolidation of the Nicaraguan Institute of Agrarian Reform (INRA) and the Ministry of Agricultural Development (MIDA). A new integrated ministry, also called MIDA, has been created to oversee the most important sector of the Nicaraguan economy. (Agricultural production, primarily cotton and coffee, made up nearly 56 percent of the value of Nicaragua's exports in 1978.)

The new head of MIDA is Commander of the Revolution Jaime Wheelock Román, who replaces an anti-Somoza landowner. Wheelock remains director of INRA, which is now part of MIDA.

In each case, these changes ratified the deepening proworker and propeasant direction of the revolution by consolidating the FSLN's direct control, both actual and official, over planning, agriculture, and defense.

Commander of the Revolution Daniel Ortega Saavedra was interviewed by *Barricada* on December 27 about the government reorganization. He explained that on July 19, when the FSLN took power, "the Revolutionary Government was set up on the same governmental skeleton of the previous regime. We had to respond rapidly and there was no time at that moment to make structural changes; conditions did not allow it. Now, five months after the Revolution, we are carrying out those changes in the structure so that it will be in harmony with the interests of the Revolution, which are the interests of the Nicaraguan people."

Mass organizations

Strengthening the mass organizations of the Nicaraguan workers and peasants is central to the success of the

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A challenge to Klan attacks

No. Carolina socialists launch ballot drive

By Rebecca Finch

WINSTON-SALEM, N.C.—“There’s big changes going on in the South today,” said Douglas Cooper, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Governor of North Carolina at a January 3 press conference in Winston-Salem.

“New struggles are developing with workers—Black and white—fighting side by side. They are fighting for the right to form unions, against racist attacks, and for the ERA.

“The Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance are very much a part of the new developments affecting southern workers today. Today we are announcing our plans to get on the ballot in North Carolina.”

Cooper is a production worker at the Bahnson Company in Winston-Salem, where the SWP has just established a branch.

The SWP is aiming to be on the ballot in thirty states in the 1980 elections. This is the most ambitious effort the party has ever made. In the 1976 elections the SWP was on the ballot in twenty-six states.

“We’re kicking off the national 1980 ballot drive in North Carolina,” Cooper explained.

“This will be the first time that a socialist party has been on the ballot in this state.”

Plans for the drive were announced at two simultaneous press conferences in Winston-Salem and Raleigh, North Carolina.

The two-week drive begins on January 14, when about forty volunteers will fan out throughout the state seeking well over the 10,000 signatures of registered voters required for ballot status.

Socialist auto, rail, and steel workers from around the country will come to North Carolina to help campaign for socialism. They will join Andrew Pulley, SWP presidential candidate, and Matilde Zimmermann, the party’s vice-presidential candidate, in special activities to widely publicize the ballot drive.

The high point in the activity will be a January 19 rally celebrating the



Andrew Pulley (center), SWP presidential candidate, campaigns among textile workers at Cone Mills, White Oak plant in Greensboro, North Carolina.

opening of the SWP’s campaign headquarters in Winston-Salem. Socialists from all over the South will be there to join the petitioners and campaigners. Andrew Pulley will be the featured speaker, along with the North Carolina SWP candidates for statewide offices.

The campaign team will participate in a number of special activities while in North Carolina. Among these will be special classes on southern labor history.

Socialist campaigners will be telling everyone they meet about the February 2 Greensboro demonstration protesting Klan violence. The national march on Greensboro was called in response to the November 3 Klan murders of three members of the Communist Workers Party.

“The North Carolina ballot drive is a big challenge to recent government and right-wing attacks here,” says Cooper.

“Ever since the November 3 massacre the press, police, and government have had a heyday turning the victims into criminals, redbaiting those who express solidarity with the CWP, and covering up police responsibility for the murders.”

Today all but one of the arrested Klan and Nazi killers are free on ridiculously low bonds. And many of those who participated in the massacre, including some who have publicly boasted of it at Klan rallies, were never even arrested. Police have announced that no one else will be charged.

While the Klan killers run free, North Carolina government officials are setting the stage for further attacks on democratic rights.

Gov. James Hunt has proposed that the State Bureau of Investigation be given a free hand to infiltrate “extrem-

ist” groups. He named the Klan, the Nazis, the socialists, and anti-nuclear groups as immediate targets.

“The ultimate target of this infiltration is, of course, the unions,” says Cooper. He recalls that both the Wilmington 10 and the Charlotte 3 were framed up with the help of police informers.

Cooper explains that fifteen years ago the Klan was much bigger in North Carolina.

“That was in the days when the FBI and state police were infiltrating the Klan. The state police so effectively infiltrated it that they had standing invitations to attend all Klan meetings.”

The Klan held sizeable rallies and demonstrations, and openly terrorized fighters for civil rights in the South. Alongside the Klan was the Patriots of North Carolina, a sizeable group of employers, professionals, and small businessmen who openly and actively opposed the civil rights movement. It encouraged the Klan’s terrorist acts.

Today, the Klan is only a fraction of its former size. And though employers in the area seek to undermine the victories won by Black workers in the civil rights movement, they have not succeeded in creating an atmosphere where they can do this openly.

Recently the Klan called for a statewide rally to support the arrested killers and to raise money for their defense. Only 100 people showed up, and only \$217 was raised.

Cooper disagrees with the idea peddled by the media that southern workers are turning to the Ku Klux Klan in large numbers today.

“Under the impact of the economic recession, southern workers are beginning to turn to unions for answers to the problems that face them. They are

How you can help

Getting the Socialist Workers candidates on the ballot is going to be a big job. And you can help.

Volunteer campaigners are needed. If you can come to North Carolina beginning January 14, contact the Socialist Workers campaign committee at (212) 675-3820.

Funds are urgently needed. Transportation expenses to North Carolina and around the state are going to be especially high. Money is needed for supplies, printing, and mailings.

The low wages workers earn in the South mean that contributions from other, more highly paid Pulley-Zimmermann supporters are necessary.

To help cover the costs of the North Carolina ballot drive, we are launching a special North Carolina fund drive which will run through January 30. The goal for the drive is \$3,000.

Checks can be made payable to the Socialist Workers Presidential Campaign Committee, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014.

Campaign Rally

Saturday, January 19, 8 p.m.
216 E. 6th St., Second Floor
Winston-Salem

Hear

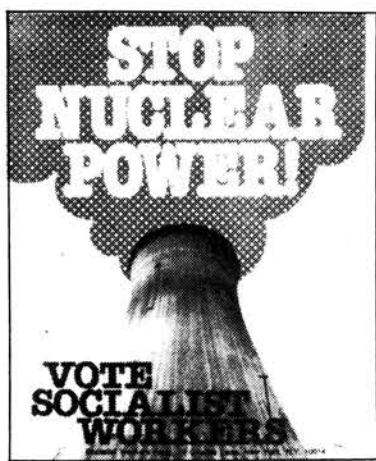
Andrew Pulley, SWP candidate for president

Matilde Zimmermann, SWP candidate for vice-president

Douglas Cooper, SWP candidate for governor of North Carolina

Jeffrey Miller, SWP candidate for Congress, 5th Congressional District

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SWP files petitions in Ohio

COLUMBUS, Oh.—On December 18, Socialist Workers Party supporters filed 11,130 signatures to place the Andrew Pulley/Matilde Zimmermann ticket on the ballot in Ohio. In addition, 10,465 signatures were turned in for John Powers, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate.

This marked the first state where the SWP presidential ticket has filed for ballot status for the 1980 elections. More than twice the number of signatures required were submitted.

At a well-attended news conference to announce the filing, Powers

blasted Carter and all the other Democratic and Republican politicians for trying to lead this country to war. He also denounced the recent closing of steel mills in Youngstown and explained, “A labor party would fight not only for our interests here at home, but also for the rights of the Iranian working people.”

Speaking along with Powers were Becki Aiello of the Ohio State University Committee to Defend the Just Struggle of the Iranian People, and John Quigley, an international law professor at Ohio State.



Powers (right) files petitions

Soviet troops oppose rightist drive

How U.S. backed Afghan counterrevolution

By Ernest Harsch

During the last days of 1979, the government of the Soviet Union sent tens of thousands of troops into Afghanistan to prevent the growing threat that an openly proimperialist regime would come to power on its southern border.

This move by the Soviet rulers came in reaction to increasing military activity over the past year by rightist guerrilla forces determined to roll back the land reform and other social gains that had been initiated following the April 1978 revolution in Afghanistan.

From the outset, this counterrevolution has been organized, financed, and equipped with the backing of Washington and the capitalist military dictatorship in Pakistan.

The offensive against the counterrevolution in Afghanistan comes in the context of a series of popular upheavals and imperialist setbacks throughout the region over the past two years.

This new wave of mass ferment began in Afghanistan itself in April 1978 with the seizure of power by the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA) and the beginning of the Afghan revolution. It continued with the massive urban mobilizations in neighboring Iran that led to the overthrow of the shah in early 1979. It has been reflected in political instability and anti-imperialist outbursts in Pakistan, India, Saudi Arabia, Turkey, and elsewhere.

Appeal to Vietnam, Cuba

Afghan President Babrak Karmal, who came to power December 27 through a Soviet-backed coup, has explicitly linked the anti-imperialist struggle in Afghanistan with those in Iran and throughout the semicolonial world.

In a televised speech January 1, Karmal hailed the "national, Islamic, anti-imperialist" revolution in Iran. At a time when Washington is trying to sow divisions between the two revolutions, such overtures can do much to help win support for the Afghan struggle from the workers and peasants of Iran.

Karmal added that in Afghanistan's fight against the imperialist-backed counterrevolution, "We shall ask for help from . . . Vietnam, Cuba, Angola, the Palestinian Arab people and others. We shall not back down."

Carter has pressed for increased military aid to the Pakistani junta of Gen. Zia ul-Haq and more open assistance to the Afghan counterrevolutionaries.

In a January 4 speech announcing retaliatory steps against Afghanistan and the Soviet Union, Carter declared that he would "provide military equipment, food and other assistance" to the Pakistani regime.

Although Carter maintained that this would only be used to help the Zia regime "defend its independence and national security," it will in fact enable Zia to funnel more assistance to the Afghan guerrilla bands, many of whom operate out of bases in Pakistan's North-West Frontier Province.

Unrest in Pakistan

The White House attempt to bolster the Pakistani regime's military position has already run into some political difficulties, however. Sectors of the Indian ruling class, which has three times gone to war with Pakistan, reacted with concern.

The Pakistani regime itself is reluctant to appear too closely aligned with Washington, particularly at a time of rising anti-imperialist sentiment in the region and in face of sympathy for the Iranian and Afghan revolutions within Pakistan.

That sentiment was reflected in the occupation and burning of the Ameri-



Afghan youth. Mass literacy campaign, along with new rural schools, were among important social reforms implemented by the revolution.

can embassy in Islamabad in November in response to the U.S. threats against Iran. There have also been public expressions of support for the Afghan revolution by some Pakistani political organizations and trade unions.

To partially overcome these political problems, Secretary of Defense Harold Brown was sent to Peking January 5 to urge the Chinese regime—which has declared its support for the Afghan rightists—to send some military aid to Pakistan.

Peking, however, may also be reluctant to get too deeply involved, particularly after the failure of its U.S.-instigated invasion of Vietnam in 1979. According to one "Western diplomat" in Peking quoted in the January 5 *New York Times*, the Chinese government now recognizes that that invasion "was a disaster."

In an effort to provide channels for more direct backing to the Afghan counterrevolution, White House officials have likewise revealed that legislation will be sought to approve assistance for the Afghan "refugees" in Pakistan. Many of these "refugees"—who include former landlords, loan sharks, military officers, and monarchists—are actively engaged in trying to overthrow the regime in Kabul.

As propaganda cover for its current moves against Afghanistan, the White House claims that it is simply responding to a Soviet "invasion." At the same time, it denies that it had already been intervening against the Afghan revolution or had anything to do with the rightist guerrilla forces.

April revolution

But the record shows otherwise. From the very beginning, the American imperialists have opposed the Afghan revolution and have sought to impede its advance.

The seizure of power on April 27, 1978, by the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan was not just a "coup," as the press usually refers to it, but the culmination of a series of mass mobilizations in the streets of Kabul that marked the opening stages of the Afghan revolution.

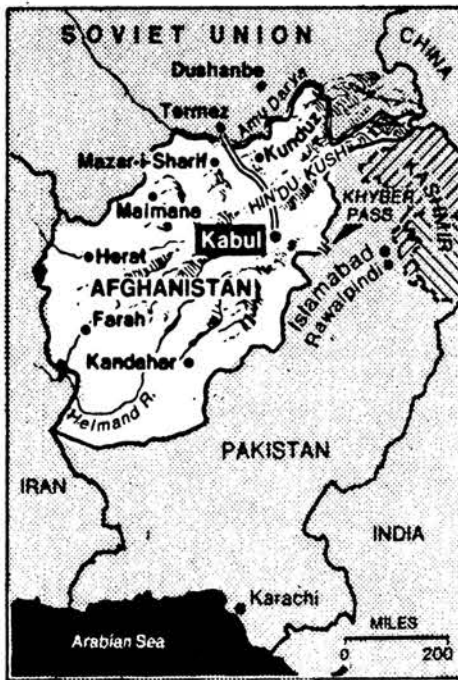
Ironically, the events of April 1978 were precipitated, in part, by Washington itself. In response to inducements from the American imperialists and the shah of Iran, the capitalist regime of Mohammad Daud, which originally had close economic and other ties with

Moscow, shifted toward a more openly proimperialist stance. As part of this shift, Daud cracked down more heavily against all popular opposition, including the PDPA, a pro-Moscow Stalinist party.

On April 18, 1978, Mir Akbar Khyber, a prominent leader of the PDPA, was assassinated. This provoked an immediate popular response.

More than 15,000 persons turned out for Khyber's funeral procession. Led by party leader Noor Mohammad Taraki, the procession marched on the U.S. embassy to denounce the American CIA and the shah's secret police, SAVAK, for their complicity in Khyber's murder.

Daud promptly arrested Taraki, Babrak Karmal, and other PDPA leaders.



In response to both the antigovernment upsurge and Daud's crackdown, the PDPA was impelled to seize power. On April 27, large crowds gathered at the central park in Kabul to protest the arrests.

Against the background of this mass mobilization, PDPA activists and supporters within the military attacked the government palace. Daud and other government officials were killed in the fighting. By that evening, the PDPA leaders were free and the party was in power.

Moscow was taken by surprise by the insurrection. One American State Department official admitted, "We

have no evidence of any Soviet involvement in the coup."

All the posts in the new government were held by PDPA members and Taraki became the country's president.

On May 9, he described the armed uprising as the beginning of a "democratic and national revolution." He outlined a thirty-point program of democratic and social reforms aimed at breaking the power of the semifeudal landlords and improving the position of the workers and peasants, the overwhelming majority of Afghanistan's nearly 20 million people.

How U.S. intervened

Washington reacted with alarm. In late June, just two months after the beginning of the revolution, some 270 senior generals, admirals, diplomats, officials, and others gathered at the NATO Atlantic Command at Annapolis, Maryland, to discuss the implications of the Afghanistan upheaval. They concluded that it threatened imperialist interests throughout the region.

Acting on this assessment, the Carter administration adopted measures aimed at trying to strangle the Afghan revolution. All new economic aid to the country was cut off and American officials tried to block loans by international financial agencies to Afghanistan.

While a public propaganda campaign against Afghanistan was being put into motion, Washington and its local allies began probing and seeking out counterrevolutionary forces that could be used against the government in Kabul.

Meanwhile, the Afghan leaders started to implement a series of significant social reforms.

- The debts of poor peasants to landlords were cancelled, a measure that was to have benefitted up to 11 million persons.

- An extensive land reform was promulgated on January 1, 1979, setting a ceiling on land ownership of about fifteen acres. All surplus land was to be expropriated without compensation and distributed free to landless peasants and nomads. By June 1979, the government announced, about 1.4 million acres (out of a total of 1.6 million covered by the program) had been distributed to 248,000 families in the first phase of the land reform.

- Trade unions were legalized for

Continued on next page

...Afghanistan

Continued from preceding page
the first time in Afghanistan's history.

- Major steps were taken to recognize some of the national rights of Afghanistan's various peoples, in contrast to previous regimes, which upheld the domination of the Pushtun nationality. Schooling, newspapers, and radio programming were established in previously neglected languages, such as Uzbek, Turcoman, Baluchi, and Nuristani.

- A mass literacy campaign was initiated, and by mid-1979 about 800,000 persons had been enrolled in the campaign. New schools and medical centers were built in rural areas.

- Special measures were taken to improve the status of women, in a society where women are extremely oppressed. Primary schooling was declared mandatory for young women and married women were offered special courses. Child marriages were outlawed and dowries were reduced.

- Anti-imperialist foreign policy stands were adopted, including support for Puerto Rico's independence from the United States.

Despite portrayals in the news media of the Kabul regime as "atheistic" or "anti-Islamic," no restrictions were ever placed on freedom of religion.

When the PDPA seized power in April 1978 it had only a limited base of support in some cities. But the social measures it enacted won it greater popularity.

At least until mid-1979, when the fighting with the counterrevolutionary bands began to escalate, demonstrations in support of the government were held on almost a daily basis in Kabul, some of them drawing up to 150,000 participants.

Ties with Soviet government

The Soviet government had no hand in the beginning of the Afghan revolution, but the Kremlin could not ignore it; Afghanistan was too strategically important. Moscow was impelled to provide considerable assistance.

The two countries share a 1,000-mile border. Some nationalities—such as the Tajiks, Uzbeks, and Turcomans—live on both sides of the border.

Historically, Afghanistan had had very close economic ties with Moscow. The Soviet Union has long been Afghanistan's main trade partner, and has been a major source of foreign aid for decades. Many Afghan officials and technicians have been trained in the Soviet Union.

The unfolding of the Afghan revolution put added pressure on Moscow to come to the new regime's aid.

As a result, some forty new economic aid agreements had been signed by late 1978, and the number of Soviet military and civilian advisers rose to several thousand.

It was not Moscow's increased influence in Afghanistan that alarmed Washington—though there was some concern over that—but the Afghan revolution itself and its repercussions throughout central Asia.

Following the initiation of the land reform in particular, the counterrevolution began to rear its head.

Dispossessed landlords, former military officers, monarchists, usurers, smugglers, opium dealers, and corrupt officials and exploiters of every stripe began to organize small guerrilla bands to oppose the land reform, the literacy drive, and other measures. Many crossed the border into Pakistan to prepare their counterrevolution from a place of sanctuary.

Some groups, like the Hezb-i Islami (Islamic Party), favored the restoration of the monarchy, which had been overthrown by Daud in 1973.

Others, like the Jamiat-i Islami (Islamic Brotherhood), had close ties to rightist Pakistani circles.

Some fought specifically to maintain their control over the opium trade, others were more interested in loot.

Virtually all of the groups claimed to be fighting in the name of Islam against the "godless" regime in Kabul,



Demonstrators in Islamabad, Pakistan, set fire to U.S. Embassy. Carter and Pakistani government back Afghan reactionaries in order to prevent the spread of revolutionary ferment from Iran and Afghanistan to Pakistan.

but this was nothing more than a cover for their counterrevolutionary aims.

U.S.-Pakistani collusion

The support of the Pakistani regime—and behind it, Washington—was vital to the activities of these groups.

In February 1979, Peter Niesewand of the *Washington Post* visited one of the Afghan guerrilla camps in Pakistan's North-West Frontier Province (NWFP), where forces of the Hezb-i Islami were undergoing training at a former Pakistani military base.

"The camp, freshly painted, still contains some Pakistani Army vehicles and is under the guard of Pakistani soldiers," Niesewand reported in the February 2 issue. "The Pakistanis, therefore, are clearly aware of any activity on the base."

Two months later, *New York Times* correspondent Robert Trumbull visited four of the Afghan camps in Pakistan and reported that the "nerve center" of the guerrilla operations was in Miram Shah, in the NWFP.

American officials have admitted, according to a report in the January 3, 1980, *New York Times*, that some of the arms used by the Afghan rebels had originally come from the Pakistani government, though they still



Afghan rightists organized by former landlords, opium dealers, other exploiters.

denied that the Zia regime was behind the assistance.

The Carter administration did not hide its sympathy for the counterrevolutionary forces. When the regime in Kabul sought to suppress them, Washington denounced it as "repressive." When Moscow gave some assistance to the Afghan government, Carter warned against "interference."

An article in the March 2, 1979, *Wall Street Journal*, one of the most authoritative organs of the American ruling class, underlined the hopes that Washington was placing in the rightist

forces: "The large-scale opposition in Afghanistan provides the anti-Soviet forces in the region and the world with an opportunity to increase significantly the price of expansionism for the Soviets and reduce the likelihood of the consolidation of a Cuban-style regime in a crucial part of the world."

The support for the guerrillas was not just verbal. Washington fully backed the Pakistani regime's assistance to the guerrillas and unquestionably provided some of its own.

Months before Moscow sent its combat troops in to help the government forces, opposition politicians in Pakistan itself were accusing Washington of channeling funds to the Afghan guerrillas through that country.

According to a report in the June 17, 1979, issue of the Lahore weekly *Viewpoint*, leaders of the People's National Front "in a statement alleged that the American Government was lavishly spending money in countries bordering on Afghanistan to destabilize the new Afghan regime."

Leaders of the National Progressive Party accused Washington of being behind the Zia regime's propaganda campaign against Afghanistan.

With such backing, the various Afghan counterrevolutionary groups stepped up their activities in many parts of Afghanistan, ranging over wide stretches of the rugged countryside, destroying bridges and schools, ambushing government forces, murdering PDPA members and administrators sent out to implement the land reform, and seeking to create so much insecurity that the government would be unable to carry through with its programs.

Disruption and damage

Although the guerrillas' claims of success were undoubtedly exaggerated to an extent, they did cause severe disruption and damage and wore down the morale of the Afghan army, some units of which reportedly defected to the insurgents.

The fighting was generally confined to the countryside, but armed clashes also erupted in some of the major cities, including Kabul and Herat.

The Afghan government forces managed to hang on to the major cities, but their struggle against the counterrevolution was seriously impeded by factional conflicts within the PDPA.

As early as July-October 1978, one of the two major factions in the party—led by Karmal and known as the Parcham (flag) wing—was purged. Some of its leaders were imprisoned and others, like Karmal, exiled. The victorious faction—known as the Khalq (masses)—was itself rent by divisions.

In September 1979 President Taraki was mortally wounded in a shootout and Prime Minister Hafizullah Amin seized power.

Both Taraki and Amin repeatedly requested increased Soviet military aid to help combat the counterrevolution.

At a time when Washington was threatening military aggression

against Iran and preparing to bolster its military position in the Indian Ocean and Persian Gulf area, Moscow feared that the escalation of the rightist guerrilla activity in Afghanistan, combined with the evident weakness of the Afghan regime, could result in the government's overthrow and the establishment of a staunchly proimperialist regime.

Moscow finally felt compelled to act. The January 1 *Izvestia* pointed out that "it should have been clear to all that we would not permit a neighboring country with a long common border to be turned into a base for the preparation of imperialist aggression against the Soviet state."

In the process of sending Soviet combat troops into Afghanistan to deal with the rightist insurgency, Moscow at the same time backed the overthrow and execution of Amin, in whom they had little confidence. As the Kremlin bureaucrats often do with ousted Soviet officials, Amin was made into a scapegoat for past failures.

Karmal, whom Moscow gambled would be more reliable, was brought back from exile in Eastern Europe and became the new president.

Karmal reinstalled a number of leaders of the previously purged Parcham faction, but also retained at least two Khalq leaders and reappointed to positions of authority several popular PDPA military officers who had earlier been purged, including Gen. Abdel Qader, the leader of the April 1978 insurrection.

The government promptly announced that 9,000 political prisoners had been released.

As the Karmal regime established its authority in Kabul, Soviet troops continued to arrive, many of them Uzbeks and Tajiks. They quickly fanned out to the areas of guerrilla activity, to launch a major offensive against the counterrevolution.

U.S. hands off!

Washington would certainly like to do more than it has so far to stop this Soviet drive, contain the Afghan revolution, and recover its position in the region, but its options are limited under the present circumstances.

It has been limited by imperialism's growing political weakness, especially since its defeat in Vietnam.

Although Washington's ability to press forward with its war drive has been weakened, its threats of military aggression must nevertheless be taken seriously. The imperialists constantly seek ways to intervene abroad and to regain lost ground.

If they are successful in striking serious blows against the anti-imperialist struggle, they will be better able to bolster their political position and lay the groundwork for future war moves. All threats and acts of aggression against the peoples of Afghanistan, Iran, and other countries must be vigorously opposed.

The size and rapidity of the Soviet move into Afghanistan could do much to help break the back of the rightist insurgency and further weaken imperialism's position.

With continued outside support, however, even remnants of the guerrilla forces could cause considerable damage.

The only sure way to definitively defeat the counterrevolution—and to further undermine imperialism's ability to intervene—will be to back up military action with concrete steps to advance the Afghan revolution.

New social measures and the organization and mobilization of the workers and peasants will help consolidate support for the revolution.

An aggressive foreign policy drive by Afghanistan in support of anti-imperialist struggles around the world—particularly in countries like Iran and Pakistan—can substantially undercut Washington's current efforts to isolate the Afghan revolution. It will win the Afghan workers and peasants greater international class solidarity.

From Intercontinental Press/Inprecor

Iran workers march to defend revolution

By Cindy Jaquith

TEHRAN—More than two months after it began, the occupation of the U.S. Embassy here—renamed the “den of spies”—remains at the center of political developments in Iran.

The refusal of the students holding the embassy to compromise on their demand for the return of the shah, and Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini's support for their stand, have inspired new mass mobilizations by workers and peasants in recent weeks.

A powerful example of this was a demonstration held December 23 in Tehran by the Islamic Workers Shora to support the occupation of the embassy and oppose any compromise with imperialism.

The Islamic Workers Shora consists of representatives from shoras (committees) in 128 factories. The December 23 demonstration was called on only one day's notice. Nevertheless, some fifty factory shoras took part. Tens of thousands of workers, organized in contingents from each plant, turned out.

The banner at the head of the march read: “Unity, Martyrdom, Shora.”

Among the most popular slogans were: “America, America, you are our enemy,” “The trial of the spies must begin,” “The Imam [Khomeini] is not going to compromise,” and “Long live the people of Panama” (a reference to the protests against the shah there).

The participants were mostly industrial workers. Many auto factories were represented—General Motors, British Leyland, Mercedes Benz, Renault, and Iran National Car. Another section of the march consisted of textile workers, including many women. There were also workers from the Kian Tire Company and Philips Electronics. The shoras organized their own marshaling teams.

Demonstrators marched to the embassy, where a woman worker spoke of the many martyrs killed in the struggle against the shah. A representative from the students inside the embassy—who call themselves Muslim Students Following the Imam's Line—hailed the workers as “the arm of the revolution.”

“You are organizing yourselves in shoras,” he said, “which you consider the only way to cut Iran's ties to imperialism.”

Also presented was a fifteen-point resolution of the Islamic Workers Shora (see box, page 8).

Spy files released

Prior to the December 23 demonstration, the Muslim Students Following the Imam's Line made public U.S.



Auto workers from Tehran's General Motors plant demonstrate December 23 in front of U.S. Embassy.

Embassy files which show that Amir Entezam, the first deputy prime minister under Mehdi Bazargan, had met with U.S. officials and offered to provide them with information last September. The students announced that Entezam had just been recalled from his ambassadorial post in Sweden and placed under arrest in Qum.

On December 25 two students appeared on television and announced that they had more files.

First, they explained that the press had handled the case of Entezam so as to make it appear that his was an isolated, individual case. The students insisted that Entezam represented “a current of deviation from the revolution.” They then quoted from U.S. Embassy documents detailing Entezam's meetings with U.S. representatives before the overthrow of the monarchy.

According to a report filed by a CIA agent named Stemple, Entezam met with U.S. officials in January 1978 as a representative of the central committee of the Liberation Movement. This was an oppositionist organization headed by Bazargan under the shah's regime.

The documents showed that Washington wanted Entezam's help in arranging a compromise under which

opposition figures would merge with the regency council appointed by the shah in order to form a government acceptable to Carter once the shah had left.

According to the files, Entezam said that the Liberation Movement would accept such a compromise. He also agreed to try to pressure Ayatollah Khomeini—still in exile—to restrain the massive demonstrations demanding the overthrow of the monarchy.

Moreover, the students said the documents showed that Washington had received direct information from somebody in Khomeini's household in Paris. The White House was especially interested in delaying Khomeini's return to Iran as long as possible.

The students said other Iranian political figures were implicated by these files, but they refrained from mentioning any names. Many TV viewers assumed Bazargan and Ibrahim Yazdi, one of Khomeini's aides in Paris and later Bazargan's foreign minister, must have been involved.

The following day, Bazargan announced that he was filing suit against the students for slander. A big campaign in the mass media was opened against the students.

Students at the embassy responded by apologizing for editorial comments

made when the files were released. But then they said that they were waiting to hear from the Iranian nation on whether it wanted them to continue releasing files.

‘Continue exposures’

The response was not long in coming. On December 28, tens of thousands marched from the Friday afternoon prayer meeting at the University of Tehran to the embassy. Their slogan was “Students, continue the exposures!”

On the same day, a memorial demonstration was held in the city of Qazvin to commemorate the anniversary of the massacre carried out there by the shah's forces. According to the television news, some 400,000 participated. One of their slogans was, “Students, continue the exposures!”

Smaller demonstrations have continued in front of the embassy since then. Airline mechanics marched there January 1. Six hundred oil workers came the next day. And in the meantime, the students have declared that they will continue releasing material from the embassy files.

In addition, in a January 4 statement the students accused the embassy's air force attaché, Lieut. Col. David Roeder, of war crimes because he flew bombing missions in Vietnam. The students announced that they would invite the “brave and militant people of Vietnam” to send representatives to Roeder's trial.

Waldheim's visit

UN Secretary General Kurt Waldheim was given dramatic evidence of the revolutionary temper of the Iranian people during his three-day visit here at the beginning of January.

Tehran newspapers published photographs of Waldheim shaking hands with the shah and kissing the hand of his sister, Princess Ashraf. The students at the embassy hoisted a poster of Waldheim kissing Ashraf's hand and refused to meet with him. Khomeini wouldn't see him either. Instead, Waldheim was introduced to some of the shah's victims, including one boy whose arms had been cut off in order to convince his father to talk.

The deepening resolve of the Iranian masses to resist imperialism and take their case to the oppressed people of the world has sharpened opposition to those viewed as compromisers within the government.

The latest incident in the conflict came January 4, when the students demanded that L. Bruce Laingen, the top U.S. diplomat in Tehran, be handed over to them for questioning. Laingen has been holed up at the ministry of foreign affairs ever since the embassy was occupied.

Peasants on the march

Peasants have demonstrated in Tehran, Qum, and other cities, riding on tractors with their shovels and farm tools, and vowing that they will increase production in the face of an economic blockade. In general, the peasantry is more highly mobilized now than during the struggle against the shah. Small peasants have seized many of the big landlords' estates and are calling on the government to carry out a land reform.

Workers have gained in self-confidence and experience. They are taking the initiative in calling demonstrations against imperialism, fighting for workers' control in the plants and establishing links with other factories.

Along with the opposition among American working people to any new wars, the scope and intensity of the mass mobilizations in Iran has prevented Carter from taking any decisive military action against the Iranian revolution. But the Iranian workers

Socialist candidate for Iran president

TEHRAN—The Iranian Socialist Workers Party (Hezb-e Kargarane Sossialist—HKS) has announced it is running Mahmoud Sayrafiezadeh for president in the upcoming national elections. Sayrafiezadeh is one of 106 candidates in the race whose names were published in the Iranian media as qualified to run.

A longtime fighter against the shah and U.S. imperialism, Sayrafiezadeh is an Azerbaijani. His platform calls for solidarity with the struggle to return the shah and to defeat the imperialist attacks on the Iranian revolution.

To unite and mobilize the workers and farmers in this struggle he also urges the expropriation of U.S. holdings and the property of capitalists who are sabotaging production; massive land reform;

full national rights for Iran's oppressed nationalities; and other measures. The kind of government needed to carry out this program, he explains, is a workers and farmers government based on delegates elected by the shoras (committees) of the workers, farmers, and soldiers.

The HKS Central Committee has also announced it is changing the party's name to the Revolutionary Workers Party (Hezb-e Kargarane Engelab—HKE). The change in name is to avoid confusion. Another group, calling itself the Militant Wing of the HKS, also exists in Iran.

The Revolutionary Workers Party (HKE) and the Militant Wing of the HKS are both part of the Iranian section of the Fourth International, the world Trotskyist

movement.

Kargar (Worker), the newspaper of the former HKS, will continue publishing as the voice of the Revolutionary Workers Party. The Militant Wing of the HKS puts out a paper called *Che Bayd Kard* (What Is To Be Done).



MAHMOUD SAYRAFIEZADEH

Iran factory committees appeal to oppressed: 'Join us in struggle against colonial system'

On December 23, tens of thousands of workers turned out for a demonstration at the U.S. Embassy in Tehran. They expressed support for the students occupying the embassy and opposition to any compromise with U.S. imperialism.

The demonstration was called by the Islamic Workers Shora, which represents 128 factory committees in the Tehran area. The following resolution was passed by the Islamic Workers Shora and read at the demonstration.

In the name of God, the beneficent and merciful:

We are going through a very critical period, a time when nations dominated by colonialism are being revitalized by the rise of the Iranian Islamic revolution and its resolute leader, Imam Khomeini.

Day by day grows the wrath of the oppressed peoples of Iran, and of freedom fighters around the world, against U.S. imperialism, the main enemy of our Islamic revolution. Among the U.S. imperialists' schemes is the vile propaganda of the racist and Zionist mass media, which are using the most shameless methods to poison world opinion. But these schemes are now being frustrated, thanks to the justice of our revolution and to the awakening consciousness of peoples—both liberated and oppressed—everywhere.

We, workers in industry, organized in the Islamic Workers Shora, support the great leader of the revolution, and the revolutionary action of the students following the Imam's line. These are our demands:

1. We declare our hatred of world imperialism, headed by the criminals in Washington, and we pledge to continue the struggle with the United States to the end. We will not be intimidated by an economic blockade, and in case of military intervention we will make Iran the graveyard of the American troops.

2. We insist on the extradition of the criminal shah, whom the U.S. has merely transferred from one place to another. We want him back.

3. We demand that the American spies be brought before open, revolutionary trials, which will also be



Peasants march to U.S. Embassy. Resolution passed by Islamic Workers Shora says: 'The land and its fruits belong to those who work it!'

trials of U.S. imperialism for its crimes.

4. We support the struggling people of Panama, and we warn the puppet government of that country to learn a lesson from the shah about what happens to Washington's stooges. The fate of those who trample the rights of the people can only be destruction. The Panamanian government should heed the demand of the oppressed people of Panama, and extradite the shah.

5. We demand a rapid break from our country's abject dependence upon imperialism in the economic, commercial, and military fields. We ask that Islamic ideology be presented more widely on the radio and television.

6. We condemn the shameless conspiracies of the comprador capitalists and looters here in Iran. Cut off

the hand of the capitalists who are sabotaging production! Abolish capitalism and plunder! The government should take complete control of industrial planning, and run industry in the interests of national growth. The government should run all the factories in collaboration with the shora in each plant.

7. We demand fundamental changes in agriculture. Resolution of the land question should be speeded up, to wipe out all the feudal elements and the big landlords with ties to the U.S. Their lands should be confiscated and divided up in accordance with a plan that meets the needs of the farmers and agricultural laborers. We must nip in the bud the conspiracies of these dirty stooges in Seistan and Baluchistan. The land and its fruits belong to those who work it!

8. We demand that the Islamic Revolutionary Council act in accordance with the line of the Imam, a line which is totally clear to our people. We warn the Council of the worldwide ramifications of our deepening revolution. The radius of the revolution is spreading internationally. Revolutionary methods, and economic, political, social, cultural, and military planning must be the guiding principles for struggles throughout the Islamic world, and in all dominated nations.

9. To put an end to the colonial dependence of our industry—a product of U.S. penetration of Iran—we demand the development of basic industry and production of raw materials and spare parts.

10. We call for a general mobilization of all the heroic forces of our country, to create an army 20 million strong.

11. We condemn the cowardly acts of terrorism by SAVAK and the CIA. We warn these lackeys of the U.S. that we will avenge the blood of the martyrs they have slain.

12. We fully support other Islamic and anticolonial movements, especially the Palestinian revolution. We demand deeper ties between Islamic Iran and our heroic brothers in all parts of the world.

13. We emphatically demand revolutionary trials for all the traitors, like Abbas Amir Entezam, who in the guise of intellectuals have conspired against the revolution to the benefit of the U.S. We warn them that the revolution will not leave their crimes unpunished.

14. We demand a purge of persons linked to SAVAK and the CIA from all offices and factories. In particular, all such elements in the Ministry of Labor and the Ministry of Mines and Factories must be exposed. The purge of the Ministry of Labor must be carried out in direct collaboration with the Islamic Workers Shora.

15. We express our gratitude to all Muslim fighters and oppressed people of the world who have stood with us in this struggle. We appeal to all the oppressed of the world to join with us in struggle against the colonial system headed by U.S. imperialism.

Organizing Center for the March of the Islamic Workers Shora

...Iran

Continued from preceding page

and peasants are also under fire from imperialism on another front.

Iran's native landlords and capitalists, in conjunction with Washington's threats of an economic blockade, are sabotaging the country's economy in order to protect their own wealth.

They are hoarding raw materials in expectation of shortages and higher prices. They are holding back new investment, refusing to make needed repairs, and failing to import needed parts and supplies. They are shutting down factories, refusing to maximize agricultural production, and sending money out of the country.

Hardship for masses

The result of all this is hardship for the toiling masses.

In the face of these hardships, the Iranian government has promised to carry out land reform, to initiate extensive housing programs, and to provide jobs for the unemployed. However, such social programs, in order to be

effectively carried out, require the direct supervision of the workers and peasants, organized in their own committees.

The capitalist government also faces deepening demands from the country's oppressed nationalities—especially Kurds, Azerbaijanis, and Baluchis—for their full national rights. Realization of these demands for autonomy within Iran, and for full language and cultural rights, would help strengthen and unite all the nationalities against Washington's counterrevolutionary moves.

Iran's working people lack a mass political party of their own today that could unite the struggles against imperialism, against capitalist sabotage, and for the rights of the oppressed nationalities. But they are developing and expanding their use of shoras as instruments of struggle. Uniting the factory shoras in their common struggles, and seeking to ally them with shoras in the army, in the rural areas, and in the working-class neighborhoods, is the next step in forging the revolutionary leadership that can carry this new upsurge forward.

Court rejects deportation ban

By Janice Lynn

In a serious blow to civil liberties, the U.S. Court of Appeals has given Carter a green light to single out Iranian students for harassment and deportation.

The December 27 decision by the three-judge appeals court panel overruled a federal district judge decision on December 11 that had halted all deportations and the grilling of Iranian students by the Immigration and Naturalization Service.

The lawsuit on behalf of Iranian students in this country was filed by attorneys for the Socialist Workers Party and the National Emergency Civil Liberties Committee. The American Civil Liberties Union had also filed a suit, which was merged with the SWP and NECLC suit.

The appeals court, referring to the crackdown ordered by Carter on November 10, stated, "... it is not the business of courts to pass judgment on the decisions of the president in the field of foreign policy."

Carter's order is intended to intimidate Iranian students from speaking out for extradition of the shah and to encourage anti-Iranian racism as part of Washington's efforts to whip up public support for war.

SWP attorney Shelley Davis announced that a new hearing is being requested before the full U.S. Court of Appeals.

The December 28 *Washington Post* quoted Davis: "The court of appeals decision violates the rights of 50,000 Iranian students."

"President Carter's decision to round up the Iranian students because of their political beliefs and nationality... threatens the democratic rights of all Americans."

The decision on the request for a rehearing by the entire court of appeals is expected within several weeks.

Meanwhile, INS officials report that a search has begun for nearly 9,000 students they say have not reported. Already, 6,784 students were found to be "out of status" and thus deportable.

Mercilessly beat Miguel Bernal

Panama cops assault anti-shah protesters

PANAMA CITY, Panama—The Panamanian government's December 15 announcement that it would grant political asylum to the former shah of Iran, Mohammed Reza Pahlavi, sparked demonstrations against the decision throughout the country.

The first demonstration against the shah's presence in Panama came only two hours after his arrival at Contadora Island in the Bay of Panama. That demonstration, in Panama City, was organized by the Revolutionary Socialist Movement (MSR), a sympathizing organization of the Fourth International.

The capital city has been the scene of a number of confrontations between anti-shah demonstrators and National Guard riot squads, who have attacked protesters with clubs, rubber hoses, shotguns, and tear gas.

For five days, December 17 through December 21, daily demonstrations at the U.S. embassy, the Foreign Ministry building, the University of Panama, and the Instituto Nacional, a secondary school bordering on the former Canal Zone, were attacked by the National Guard.

The most vicious incident was a December 19 assault on a peaceful demonstration in downtown Panama City. As marchers were assembling in front of the Don Bosco church, two National Guard captains told one of the organizers, Miguel Antonio Bernal, that the group would not be permitted to march.

Bernal, a law professor and leader of the Trotskyist MSR, responded that since there was no legal basis for banning the march, it would take place as planned.

Within minutes several dozen motorcycle police roared up to the march and plowed into the crowd, swinging rubber hoses and beating demonstrators with their fists. They were joined by about thirty club-wielding plainclothes cops.

Bernal was surrounded by police and National Guard troops who shouted "Get Bernal, get Bernal!" They beat him mercilessly with clubs and rubber



National Guardsmen beat Miguel Antonio Bernal, singled out for his consistent opposition to Panama's regime.

hoses. After the beating he was taken to a National Guard barracks and finally to a hospital, where he spent a week recuperating from his injuries. He is still confined to his home recovering.

The beating was filmed by television crews and was shown on one station in Panama.

Bernal was singled out by the National Guard because of his well-known consistent opposition to the ruling military regime. As a radio commentator Bernal has exposed the violations of democratic rights and the exploitation of the working class and peasants by the regime and U.S. imperialism. He was a well-known opponent of the Carter-Torrijos treaty regarding the Panama Canal. He also served as the legal adviser to the teacher's union during its more than two-month long strike last year.

In February 1976 Bernal was seized by Torrijos's secret police, the G-2, and forcibly sent into exile. Only in April 1978 was he allowed to return to his country.

The attack on Bernal has been condemned by a number of organizations and prominent individuals, among them the Association of Professors at Santa Maria La Antigua University, the National Council of Lawyers, the Law and Political Science chapter of the Association of Professors at the University of Panama, the Association of Professors at the Instituto América, the Partido Panameñista, and the Panamanian Union of News Reporters.

Despite the opposition to the government's repressive moves, however, the National Guard is continuing to try to prevent anti-shah demonstrations. On January 3, the first demonstration after the schools reopened following

the Christmas holidays was broken up by National Guard troops firing shotguns and tear gas.

About twenty-five demonstrators were wounded as the guardsmen surrounded the Instituto Nacional to prevent the 1,700 students from marching to the center of Panama City. Students resisted the National Guard for more than an hour before being forced to retreat back into the school.

The Revolutionary Socialist Movement is calling for an international campaign to demand the expulsion of the ex-shah from Panama and his return to Iran to stand trial for his crimes against the Iranian people. It is also campaigning to demand an end to the threats and attacks against Miguel Antonio Bernal, who is being singled out for victimization by the Torrijos regime.

From Intercontinental Press/Inprecor

'Protection' for Hitler of Iran is pretext for attacks

By Miguel Antonio Bernal

PANAMA CITY, Panama—The arrival of the ex-shah of Iran in Panama has brought with it bloodshed and suffering. Since his stay began December 15, the Panamanian people have repudiated the Iranian tyrant in demonstrations, rallies, declarations, and radio broadcasts. They have protested this imposition by Carter, which has been abjectly accepted by the Torrijos regime.

Fully aware that the real solution to the problem—one that would secure release of the U.S. hostages in Tehran—is the return of the genocidal criminal to Iran to be judged for his crimes, Carter decided instead to send the shah to Panama.

Carter and his henchmen would no doubt rather have kept the Hitler of Iran closer at hand, say in New York or Washington. But U.S. public opinion has shown no desire to shelter someone who is guilty of tens of thousands of murders, torture, and the exploitation of his country's wealth for personal enrichment.

Sending the ex-shah to Panama is one result of the Torrijos-Carter treaties signed in Washington in 1977, under which Panama remains subjugated in perpetuity to the will of the U.S. government regarding the Panama Canal.

The Carter-Torrijos treaties allow the Pentagon to militarize any part of Panama in the event of danger to the "security" of the waterway. This fla-

grant violation of the principle of national sovereignty is highlighted by the ex-shah's presence in Panama.

The treaties' provisions could be activated to protect Contadora Island, where the Torrijos dictatorship has lodged the ex-shah. An article by Francisco Ruiales of the ACAN-EFE news agency, published in the December 17 issue of the Panama daily *República*, made this quite clear. Under the headline, "Several Security Belts Guard the Shah," Ruiales stated:

"Artillery batteries and short-range missiles from the U.S. bases near the canal can sweep the entire area around Contadora if the need should arise, sources in the deposed emperor's security apparatus told ACAN-EFE. . . .

"Any flying object approaching the island could be brought down within seconds by U.S. Hawk missiles. The location of Contadora Island, thirty-five miles from the Panamanian coast, allows its entire area to be kept under permanent surveillance by the electronic radar installations operated from the U.S. bases that border the canal. In the event of need, supersonic planes could be in the air above the island four minutes after a red alert."

Ruiales also noted: "The current guard force for the ex-emperor is almost entirely Panamanian, although there are two Americans in the team that forms the first echelon of the mission. They could be described as playing a coordinating role."

In addition to the U.S. military pres-

ence here, there is a military dictatorship with a civilian mask that is imposing a more and more restrictive "democracy" on the Panamanian people. The armed forces decide everything through their "strong man" Omar Torrijos, who has committed himself to use all the power of the state apparatus to protect the Iranian ex-monarch.

The criminal attack on me in broad daylight on a public street (see accompanying article)—which was photographed and filmed by a number of international news agencies and viewed by millions of persons—stands as incontrovertible proof that the Torrijos dictatorship, with Carter's blessing, is prepared to kill with impunity to defend the shah and the economic interests that stand behind him.

The repression launched by Torrijos's security apparatus, the G-2, to prevent the December 17-21 demonstrations makes a mockery of the "human rights" policy professed by Carter and Torrijos (which even involves their self-proclamation as candidates for the 1980 Nobel Peace Prize!).

"Protecting the shah" serves as a pretext by the military dictatorship for attacking, dividing, and destroying organizations that demand full respect for democratic rights and the end of dictatorial rule.

We in the Revolutionary Socialist Movement of Panama reiterate our total opposition to the presence of the Iranian ex-monarch on our soil, and we reaffirm our readiness to continue

the struggle against the ruling dictatorship. We call on all the democratic, progressive, and revolutionary organizations of the world to solidarize with the Panamanian people in our struggle against the shah's presence and for the protection of those of us whose lives have been threatened by the Panamanian government.

From Intercontinental Press/Inprecor

'Out with the criminal shah!'

The Revolutionary Socialist Movement of Panama (MSR), Socialist Workers Party of the United States (SWP), and Socialist Workers Party of Iran (HKS) issued a joint statement December 29, calling for "an international campaign to demand that the ex-shah be expelled from Panama and returned to Iran to be brought to justice."

The statement concluded, "We denounce U.S. imperialism and the regime of the dictator Torrijos for their protection of this murderer, who has been repudiated throughout the world."

"Out with the criminal shah!"

"Stop the imperialist attacks against the Iranian revolution!"

"Extradite the ex-shah to face trial before the Iranian people!"

Time to put workers' interests first

Will wage cuts save jobs at Chrysler?

By Frank Lovell

The Big Business Congress and a complicit Carter administration joined hands before their Christmas recess to present Chrysler Corporation a most bountiful gift—one that can be shared by other auto corporations and by the rest of the U.S. ruling class.

It came on December 21 in the form of a \$1.5 billion federal loan guarantee.

This generous offering of public funds had some strings attached, both real and illusory. Chrysler gets the government handout with the proviso that those whose futures seem to depend on the prosperity of this particular corporate enterprise give "adequate assurances" that they will sacrifice for the greater good of all.

Certain banks, parts and material suppliers, automobile distributors and other dealers, state and local governments, and the United Auto Workers and its members are all expected to share the burden of keeping the company in business. Collectively they must contribute \$2 billion in loans, wages, and other concessions.

It is not specified exactly what "sacrifice" attaches to an estimated \$400 million in new bank loans for Chrysler at 15.5 percent interest with first claim on corporate assets of the bankrupt enterprise. Making sure-bet loans of this kind is how bankers get richer.

The suppliers and dealers are being asked to extend credit, also guaranteed by the government. So the "sacrifice" on their part is likewise more illusory than real.

The real strings attached to the federal gift bring additional gifts from the public and most of all from the workers who will be kept on at Chrysler for however long it takes the major investors to liquidate their holdings and pull out without suffering any losses.

States where Chrysler facilities are located and cities that in the past have depended heavily on corporate taxes are now expected to give tax rebates. These will come at the expense of public services.

No wage cut, no gift

What Chrysler workers are required to give under the federal grant is specified by Congress. And it is real.

This is the tie that holds the gift package in place. No wage cut, no Christmas present for Chrysler.

The congressional "compromise"—endorsed by Democrats and Republicans alike—dictates that union members at Chrysler contribute \$462 million in wages and benefit concessions.

On January 7, Chrysler executives, top UAW officials, and assorted Democratic and Republican politicians gathered at the White House to watch Carter sign the aid bill.

Two days earlier, UAW negotiators had agreed to give up an additional \$243 million over the next three years to meet the bill's provisions.

This is in addition to the substantial concessions already made in the new three-year contract ratified November 16. Union officials have said that that contract gives Chrysler "over \$400 million in assistance from the union over the next two years—\$203 million in postponed wage and benefit increases, and \$200 million through a one-year deferral of company contributions to the employee pension funds."



Militant/Elizabeth Ziers
July protest in Detroit. Chrysler workers could begin fighting now for the same benefits as other auto unionists.



January 7 White House ceremony: UAW President Fraser whispers to Carter while Chrysler head Lee Iacocca sits at presidential desk. There is more the auto union can do than trying to bail out Chrysler.

The renegotiated agreement reportedly includes eliminating seventeen more paid personal holidays and a Christmas bonus of one day's pay this year. It also extends the delay of annual 3 percent boosts in base wages to six months in the contract's second year from the previously agreed four months, and extends the delay to five and a half months in the third year from the previously agreed two months.

Membership voting on this new contract is expected to be completed by the end of the month.

Will it save jobs?

The first giveaway was accepted by Chrysler workers on the promise and in the hope that it would save their jobs. This is the big question they are now forced to rethink. Will wage concessions to Chrysler Corporation save jobs?

There is not the slightest evidence that it will.

Auto production is declining sharply. There is no prospect that it will pick up as the price of cars and gasoline increases.

All auto corporations are drastically revising their production schedules for the first quarter of 1980. In November they planned to turn out 2.1 million cars in the first three months of this year. Today their plans call for 1.9 million, the lowest for any first-quarter since 1975.

More than 120,000 auto workers are presently on indefinite layoff, and more are being laid off weekly. Chrysler has laid off more than 35,000 hourly workers in recent months and is closing its two largest Detroit-area factories, the old Dodge Main plant in Hamtramck and the outmoded Jefferson Avenue plant.

This problem of growing unemployment in the auto industry is critical for Ford and GM workers, not only those at Chrysler.

In 1980 about 700,000 hourly-rated auto workers will make all U.S.-produced cars. It won't matter to any of those workers what the name of the car is or which of the giant auto corporations issues the weekly pay check. What will matter is the number of hours they are forced to put in and the amount of the check.

What happens to the 150,000-to-200,000 former and presently employed auto workers who will be permanently laid off will also matter. They will be most directly affected. But there are millions of others who will suffer too.

Auto workers and their families won't be alone. A few million other industrial workers will also be laid off before 1980 ends.

Undermines wage levels

Offering to work for lower wages does not create more jobs. What it does is undermine the established wage level and further depress the working-class living standard.

No member of the U.S. Congress has failed to grasp this fact. They mandated a wage cut for Chrysler workers with this clearly in mind.

An auto worker in Detroit or a steelworker in Youngstown, about to be laid off, may agree to take a wage cut rather than lose the job. But that is not the choice. First comes the pay cut, then the layoff slip.

This has been the history of all financially failing capitalist enterprises. The anarchy of capitalism dictates the rise and fall of business undertakings, the uncertainty of a shifting market, the relocation of production centers, the constant quest for greater profits, and total disregard of human needs.

In the U.S. auto industry, very large and once-prosperous companies have come and gone—Hudson, Packard, and Studebaker among the failures. At Studebaker, UAW officials imposed a wage cut with the promise of "saving" the company. The workers finally—after twice turning down the proposition—accepted the pay cut. Studebaker lasted another year.

At Chrysler there is no hope if the company folds, and this fact prompts many Chrysler workers today to ask themselves what they can do. Is there anything different for the UAW to do besides trying to help Chrysler, assigning Douglas Fraser to serve on the corporation's executive board, and hoping that somehow the company will survive and someday pay the standard union wage scale?

Far-reaching solutions

There are far-reaching solutions to this crisis. There is the general demand for a thirty-hour work week in all industry with no cut in pay to spread the available work around.

And there is the demand for nationalization under workers control of Chrysler and all other industries which threaten to throw their employees out in the streets.

These solutions will take a movement within the unions to organize strikes, call mass demonstrations against unemployment, and challenge the Democratic-Republican political monopoly.

This requires a new political awakening of the working class, rejecting two-party capitalist politics and turning toward the formation of a union-based labor party.

These are ideas that seem perfectly reasonable to a lot of Chrysler workers no matter how far-fetched they may appear to corporate heads.

To workers just beginning to think about and discuss these solutions, however, they may seem off in the distance, while their jobs and livelihoods are threatened today. But there are demands that can be posed right now that move in this direction—toward putting workers' interests before those of their troubled employers.

Auto workers at Chrysler could begin fighting now to obtain the same as all other auto workers receive. Many are being laid off every week. A worker at Ford or GM, with one year of seniority or more, collects supplementary unemployment benefits for a limited period. The worker who is laid off at Chrysler, with less than thirteen years seniority, collects nothing but state unemployment. Chrysler's SUB fund has been depleted and the company is not replenishing it.

Chrysler could do it

It isn't that Chrysler has no money to put into the unemployment fund. As of June 30, 1979, the Chrysler Financial Corporation—a collection

Continued on next page

...FSLN

Continued from page 3

government's social and economic programs, and the FSLN has continued its efforts along these lines.

On December 20 the Rural Workers Association (ATC) held its first congress, marking the consolidation of the organization in fourteen departments of Nicaragua.

The Sandinista Defense Committees (CDS) are now organized on a national scale and centralized at a departmental and national level. The CDSs are scheduled to hold a national assembly in late January, according to Patricia Orozco, national secretary of the CDS. The Sandinista women's and youth organizations have thousands of members all over the country.

The Sandinista Workers Federation (CST) has organized nearly 360 unions throughout the country and has about 100,000 members. It has placed great emphasis on instilling a class-struggle consciousness in workers and has just launched its own weekly newspaper, *El Trabajador*. The CST has also called its first national congress for February 16 and 17.

In late December, the CST publicly answered a document in which the Nicaraguan bourgeoisie—organized in the Superior Council of Private Enterprise (COSEP)—made clear its opposition to the course of the Sandinista-led government.

The COSEP document contained one basic message to the FSLN: Before cooperating in the reconstruction of Nicaragua, the bourgeoisie demanded that the Sandinistas abandon their policy of defending the interests of the workers and peasants and instead promote "private enterprise." The capitalist class also wanted to regain its say over political decisions and block the increasing involvement of the CDSs and other mass organizations in government.

CST statement

Responding to this, the CST published a declaration in the bourgeois daily *La Prensa* on December 22 (the COSEP document had appeared in *La Prensa* a few weeks earlier). Addressed to "our brother workers," the CST

document declared that COSEP "brings together the country's most reactionary and exploitative class," and charged it with "coming out against our revolutionary process and its vanguard, the FSLN and our governmental junta, which is the genuine expression of the consensus of the majority [of the people of Nicaragua]."

The CST denounced "these gentlemen [who] demand a place in this revolution and unity and the consolidation of the revolution, but [who] do not talk about unconditional support of the revolution . . . do not talk about creating jobs with the money they have taken out of the country, nor of taking an honest attitude toward economic development, which is the only way they will be able to have a part in the process."

The CST noted that the only rule of the game for the capitalists is to get to Miami or New York to divide up "the sweat of the people, converted into dollars." And it stated that "here [in Nicaragua] the only game is the will . . . to demand that this process go forward until it culminates in the victory of the working class."

The CST statement concluded:

"We believe that COSEP represents the traitorous bourgeoisie, and that therefore they are playing into the hands of the most reactionary elements, the agents of imperialism, the enemies of this process, to undermine in this way the true economic plans of the Revolution. . . .

"We consider that this COSEP statement is a counterrevolutionary tactic aimed against the working class, which is the only source that generates our wealth and which is conscious about its definitive liberation.

"We reaffirm our stance, taking up the words of the legacy A.C. Sandino. . . .

"Only the workers and peasants will go all the way; only their organized force will bring about the victory."

A widely sold 1980 calendar bears the same message, this one signed by the National Directorate of the FSLN: "The Revolution is not only to defeat the enemy, but to defeat poverty. And the ones who will defeat poverty are those who create the wealth. . . . the workers and peasants."

From *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor*

the financial investments of banks and other stockholders.

As matters now stand with Chrysler, the federal government having promised to underwrite financial losses to the tune of \$1.5 billion, the investors are scrambling to get out with as much as possible before the structure crumbles. They know how to look out for themselves at the expense of the workers.

It is time Chrysler workers and their union look to their own protection against the schemes of Chrysler management. Workers and bosses have nothing in common.

Labor's Giant Step

by Art Prels

Read how the United Mine Workers union defied government strikebreaking—both federal seizure and Taft-Hartley injunctions—during the labor upsurges of the 1930s and 1940s . . . and won.

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Steel notes...

Steel companies kill nine

Greedy steel companies in the Chicago-Gary area killed nine people in the week before New Year's. The biggest body count was at Jones and Laughlin Indiana Harbor Works. Six were killed and twelve injured by poison gas from a blast furnace.

The gas, containing carbon monoxide, escaped because a circulating fan and a manually operated valve broke down.

United Steelworkers Local 1011 President Norman Purdue reported that two workers were killed in an almost identical accident in 1975. He said there have been a dozen other deaths at the plant in the last five years.

Dr. Albert Willardo, the county coroner, said, "I know it's an older plant, but in some of the newer plants they would have backup systems that would automatically shut off valves and do things if such concentrations were detected."

The company blamed the weather, saying the tragedy could have been avoided if dense fog, high humidity, and no wind had not prevented the gas from dissipating.

On December 24, a blast furnace worker at Wisconsin Steel in Chicago was found dead on the job, probably of carbon monoxide poisoning.

That same week two workers were killed at the Bethlehem Steel Burns Harbor Mill east of J & L. One was an outside contractor killed by a train. Another fell from the top of a gondola.

U.S. Steel forces wage freeze at American Bridge

U.S. Steel Corporation has won a battle in its war against steelworkers.

At the American Bridge Division structural fabricating plants in Ambridge and Schiffler, both in Pennsylvania, workers last month voted to accept the company's blackmail offer. They were given the choice of taking a three-year wage freeze or losing their jobs.

When they first rejected this threat in November, the company announced both plants would be closed. With the international union leadership supporting the wage freeze proposal, and no alternative in sight, the Ambridge workers revoted December 28. The result this time was 508-320 to accept the company offer. The Schiffler workers had voted similarly several weeks before.

The third American Bridge plant in Gary, Indiana, also voted in November to reject the wage freeze. Their vote was the most solid—431-16. Originally U.S. Steel announced that the Ambridge and Schiffler plants would close but that Gary would remain in operation. But there was no revote at Gary, and now U.S. Steel says Gary will close, and the other two will stay open.

Newport News contract talks resume

The following note was sent in by *Militant* correspondent Jon Hillson in Newport News, Virginia:

Contract negotiations between United Steelworkers Local 8888 and Newport News shipyard resumed after the holidays, with the Steelworkers strengthened by two recent National Labor Relations Board decisions.

In early December, the NLRB rebuffed an effort by the Peninsula Shipbuilders Association, the defeated company union, to secure a union representation election for shipyard guards. The PSA had taken 200 two-year-old authorization cards out of mothballs in its desperate attempt to maintain a foothold in the yard.

On December 20, the NLRB dismissed claims by PSAers trying to raid Local 8888 of nearly 1,000 technical workers.

On December 20, Tenneco filed suit against the U.S. Labor Department in federal district court, seeking an injunction to prevent the Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA) from referring its findings of conditions in the shipyard to the NLRB. The result of such a court order would mean that OSHA complaints against Tenneco for health and safety violations couldn't be prosecuted through the NLRB, but would have to go through the federal court here, a judiciary body whose "neutrality" has tilted heavily towards the shipyard.

OSHA completed its three-month investigation of the shipyard in early December and reportedly uncovered numerous illegalities. Its report will be out early this year.

Round-the-clock contract negotiations between the Steelworkers and Tenneco were set to begin January 7.

British steel strike

British steelworkers have mounted the first big challenge to the antilabor crackdown by Tory Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher. Most of the British steel industry has been shut down by the first national steel strike since the 1920s. The workers, organized in the Iron and Steel Trades Confederation and the blast furnace workers, struck the giant British Steel Corporation January 2.

In the face of 17-20 percent inflation, the company has offered an 8 percent wage hike linked to plant-by-plant productivity bonuses. The unions are demanding 20 percent, with no productivity clause. The British Steel Corporation is government-owned and produces 85 percent of the steel in this country. It is run in the interests of big business in Britain, who need steel production, but could not make a big enough profit on it. The company chairman is a knight, Sir Charles Villiers.

In early December the company announced a drastic cutback that will eliminate a third of its workers and a third of steel capacity in England. This directly cuts more than 50,000 jobs in steel. And it will cost thousands of others in related industries such as coal mining.

The company is openly planning to import steel from other countries in order to break the strike. In response to this the steelworkers have won the support of other unions to blockade steel shipments into the country.

This strike is an opportunity for steelworkers throughout the world to show active international solidarity. It would be a welcome contrast to the pro-company, anti-import campaigns top union officials usually back.

Compiled by Stu Singer

...Chrysler

Continued from preceding page

agency similar to GM's Acceptance Corporation—had assets of \$4.8 billion. It sold off \$230 million in credits to GM last August. This is only a small part of Chrysler's total assets. It would be easy enough to find money for unemployment benefits if Chrysler management had reason to want to find it.

Chrysler workers are entitled to the same financial help as other laid off auto workers. They should demand through their union that the vast corporate assets be used to pay their unemployment benefits.

Some Chrysler workers are near retirement. Like other workers of their age group, it is harder for them to find a new job and break in with a new company.

One of their biggest worries is whether there will be any money left in their pension fund if the corporation goes under. Will it pull the pension fund down with it?

Chrysler workers have a justified claim against the accumulated assets of the corporation. They ought to be able to discover what the present assets of Chrysler actually amount to, and the UAW ought to demand a complete public disclosure of Chrysler accounts with the aim of recovering all that rightfully belongs to the workers.

The auto union was built by auto workers to protect their interests, not

Church's test will be in coalfields

Miners convention: Democracy remains intact

By Nancy Cole

DENVER—Two years after the 110-day coal strike made labor history, the United Mine Workers of America held its forty-eighth constitutional convention here December 10-19.

It was presided over by a new union president, Sam Church, and watched closely by the coal companies, intent on seeing whether the UMWA would at last provide them with a "trouble-free" work force.

Many mine workers and union observers forecast that this year's meeting would be one of the most important conventions in the UMWA's history.

For union miners, two problems cloud the future. The first is that UMWA miners account for only half of the coal production in the country. New strip mines in the West are opening largely non-union, and in the East, especially in coal-rich Kentucky, the UMWA's grip on production is slipping.

The second is a development since the 1977-78 strike: 20,000 UMWA miners are on layoff.

For the coal companies, this year's gathering was a test of whether Church could exercise "control" over the membership and avoid another convention like the one in 1976 in Cincinnati, "a raucous affair," as one pro-business newspaper described it last month.

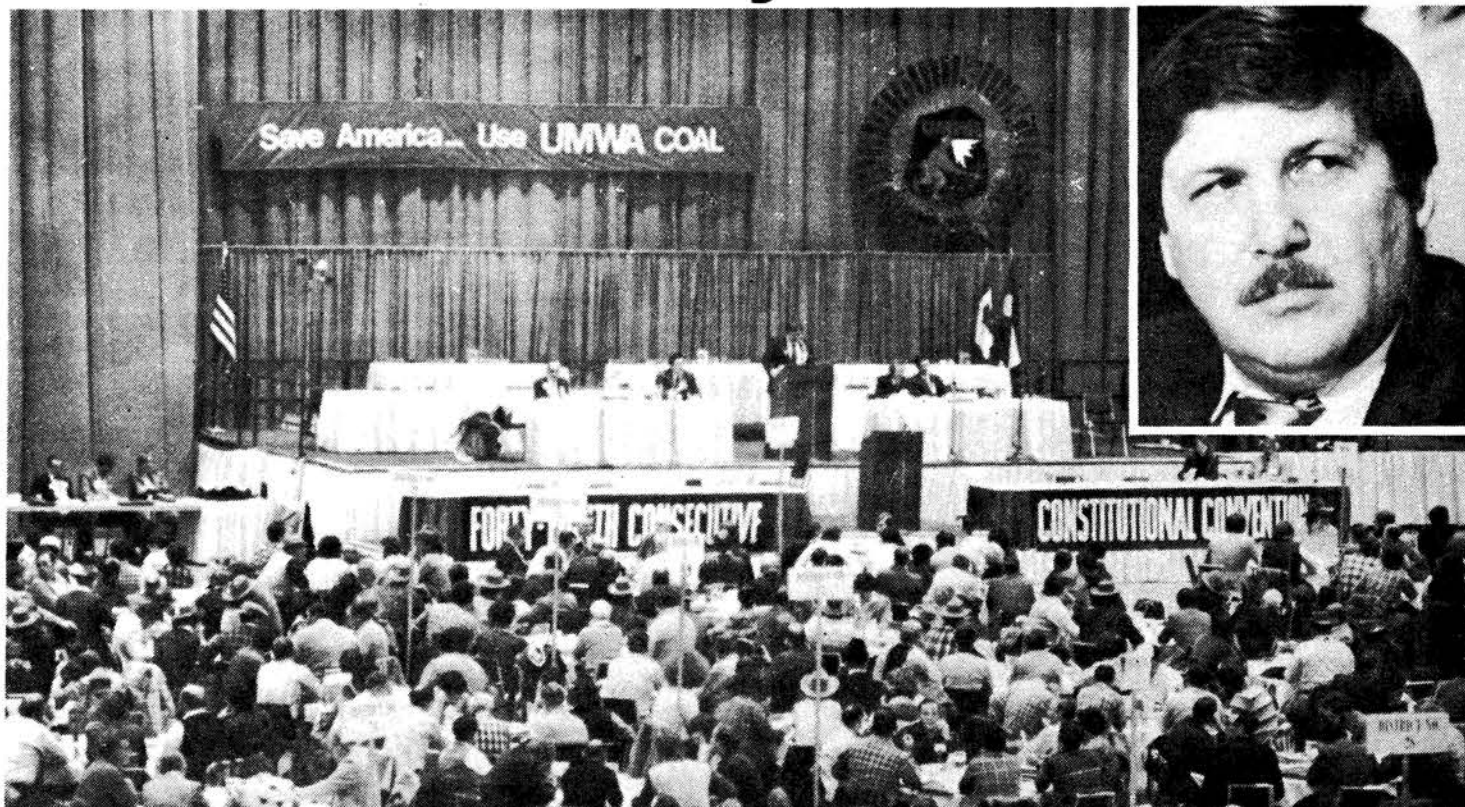
The facts known, the 1976 convention was one of the most democratic union conventions ever held in the United States. And while delegates here were quick to tell the *Militant* that Cincinnati had its "chaotic" element, they were all appreciative of its democratic side.

It was this democracy that the coal operators and their friends in the news media wagered would be curbed at the Denver convention.

Contrary to advance reports of what Church and his predecessor Arnold Miller had planned, no major retreats on union democracy were proposed. But a serious crack in the UMWA's "no contract, no work" tradition was voted into the constitution.

'New harmony'

Once Church had overcome what were considered to be his three hurdles here—a dues increase, the authority to appoint rather than elect a vice-president for the remainder of his term, and the power to assess working miners during a selective strike—the big-business news media pretty much wrapped up their analysis of the convention.



Coal companies hoped convention would show a 'tamed' work force under 'control' of new UMWA President Sam Church (inset). The scene didn't materialize.

"A new harmony at the UMW," concluded *Business Week's* headline.

"In a single convention, the United Mine Workers cast off a decade of malaise . . .," began the *Wall Street Journal*.

Yet most of the 1,200 delegates—the vast majority of whom were working miners—did not obediently roll over and play dead.

In the last few days of the eight-day convention, delegates forced one roll-call vote over Church's repeated objections. And they turned down several convention committee recommendations. This included, most significantly, the delegates' overwhelming rejection of the arbitration process that has strangled resolution of grievances in the coalfields.

'Unity'

Sam Church, who moved up from the vice-presidency in November when Arnold Miller resigned for health reasons, opened the convention by proclaiming its theme to be "unity and rebuilding the UMWA."

For many delegates this made sense. Internal problems have beset the international leadership under the administration of Arnold Miller, and rank-and-file opposition to Miller bloomed during and after the national strike. To

these delegates, it seemed only right to give Church a chance.

But for others, it was yet another opportunity to lay siege to the democratic gains made since the Miners for Democracy slate took office at the beginning of 1973. At the time of the MFD victory, Church was a supporter of union dictator Tony Boyle.

Many of the convention's major questions centered around altering the constitution. Majority and minority reports were prepared by the constitution committee. (All convention committees were elected by district delegations.)

On the face of it, no delegate spoke against union democracy. The proposal that Church pick the new vice-president, rather than hold an election as the constitution requires, was argued on the basis of "unity" or because of the money an election would cost the financially troubled union.

"What we've got here is not an issue of unity, it's an issue of democracy," countered James Branson from southern West Virginia's District 17. "Democracy strengthens the union. It doesn't disunite it." Several other delegates also warned of forfeiting any of the union membership's rights.

Under discussion of a minority prop-

osal to elect union safety inspectors, organizers, and COMPAC (Coal Mining Political Action Committee) representatives, western Pennsylvania miner Mary Zins, speaking in favor of election, noted, "I have heard a lot of talk at this convention about how everybody thinks the United Mine Workers is divided." During the national strike, she went on, "all the news media said that the UMWA was divided. But to me it was united. There wasn't another union in this country that could pull off a strike where everybody stuck together for 110 days, and I am proud of it."

Both majority proposals, endorsing appointment rather than election, passed with substantial opposition. By the third day of the convention, however, the minority constitutional report was withdrawn for the sake of "unity."

Dues increase

One of the hottest issues debated was the dues increase. At the current twelve dollars a month, it is one of the lowest for industrial unions. The financial report delivered to the convention grimly detailed the union's cash crisis. This is, explained Secretary-treasurer Willard Esselstyn, due to district loans and subsidies, legal settlements resulting from "wildcat" strikes, and strike benefits paid mainly during organizing drives.

Church's dues proposal brought in by the constitutional committee asked for three hours pay at the lowest rate—which presently would be about \$26.70 per month. While few delegates opposed an increase, many spoke against that much of an increase or against having no fixed dollar amount.

"A lot of the mines around where I am from are down to two days a week," said Willie Freeman from District 29 in southern West Virginia. "Now, how in heaven's name am I going to explain to my members, 'You put up three hours for the international and you keep thirteen for yourself?'"

But Robert Clark from District 22 explained, "I'm one of the miners that are here from the unorganized state of Wyoming where 90 percent of the coal in that state is scab, when the mandate of the last convention was to flood the West with organizers. We have nine organizers out there. The international says, 'We can't afford no more.'"

"I'm here with a mandate from my local union, 436 men. If you need \$1,000 a month from us, we'll pay it."

After debate, a roll call vote approved the dues increase 1,181 to 912. Most union observers considered

Women in coal: Last hired, first fired

DENVER—Nine women were United Mine Workers delegates here—an increase of seven over the 1976 convention.

Yet, when President Sam Church opened the meeting, he referred only to "brothers."

At the afternoon session, he apologized for failing to mention the "sisters." "They are certainly a part of this union," Church said.

One of those who brought the omission to Church's attention was Cosby Totten, a delegate from a Consolidation Coal mine in southern West Virginia.

Totten is the mother of six children, aged from seven to seventeen. She's been working in the coal mines since the end of 1976.

The day before she left for the convention here she was laid off.

Thirteen of the sixteen women at her mine were among the more than 100 laid off.

Just a year ago, Consol settled a nationwide discrimination com-

plaint against it by agreeing to hire one woman for every four male inexperienced miners.

"In the rules they have to hire them," Totten told a gathering here organized by the Coal Employment Project, "but they don't have to keep them."

Because of the problems women miners have in getting training on the job, Totten explained, they will be among the last to be called back. The companies are allowed to call back on the basis of job classification. Only three of the thirteen women are trained for anything other than general labor.

Totten is willing to give UMWA President Sam Church a chance. "I would have liked to have had the chance to vote on the vice-president, though," she told the *Militant*. "It's good that we can stand up [at the convention] and say what's right and what's wrong as long as we're fighting to build the union."

She's confident that the next UMWA contract will be better than the last. "One hundred and ten days or 110 months—next time we'll be better prepared."

Totten has no kind words for President Carter or his energy policies. "He thinks coal is a four-letter word," she says. As for nuclear power, she believes the question of taking jobs away from coal miners is irrelevant. The real issue, she says, is that nuclear power "can affect our great, great grandchildren."

People have a responsibility to future generations, says Totten, and she would be "100 percent behind solar power even if it took away coal miners' jobs" if it were now a feasible alternative.

The coal companies and utilities are trying to weaken the anti-pollution and environmental laws, she notes. "Why, for the money they spend on advertising alone they could put in equipment to clean coal."

—N.C.

Church's last obstacle to be a constitutional proposal giving the International Executive Board authority to assess working members during a "selective" strike.

Since the 1973 UMWA convention, the constitution has read, "When a contract expires, the rule of no contract, no work, shall prevail unless otherwise ordered by the International Executive Board." It has always prevailed.

The introduction of authority for a selective strike assessment was the first alternative ever to be proposed.

'Times have changed'

"Times have changed, and we have got to change," said Church in motivating the selective strike.

Last spring Consolidation Coal Company, the largest employer of UMWA miners, pulled out of the industry bargaining unit, the Bituminous Coal Operators Association.

Church argued that it would hurt Consol more, and therefore win all miners a better contract, if it were the only company struck. Thus, under this plan, 18,000 Consol miners would strike and the approximately 140,000 other members would continue working, each paying \$20-25 a week in strike benefits.

"If striking the coal mines, going out here and pulling these scabs out was good enough for my father," declared eastern Kentucky miner Billy Compton, "it is good enough for me. . . . I don't go along with this selective striking at all."

Compton continued, "If you look at the rail workers, they sometimes work fifteen, sixteen months and never even do get a contract, usually they wind up going back with less than what they had when they started."

Unfortunately, Compton was the only speaker against the proposal before it was rushed to a vote. It was approved.

This doesn't guarantee, of course, that there will be a selective strike—even if the International Executive Board calls one. Overcoming the "no contract, no work" tradition may very well take a lot more than a convention resolution.

After the selective strike vote, Church's supporters were even more eager to move to close debate with little or no discussion. When the health and safety report came to the floor—one of the areas of greatest concern to coal miners—a delegate moved to accept the entire report with no discussion! The no-debate motion passed.

In part this reflected frustration held over from the 110-day strike. Delegates at the 1976 convention had spent long hours hammering out a comprehensive list of negotiating demands only to have top union officials ignore them at the bargaining table.

But by the time of the convention's collective bargaining report, the debate heated up.

Cost-of-living clause

Nearly 100 resolutions were submitted by UMWA locals requesting a cost-of-living clause to the Consumer Price Index with no cap (as is the case with the present contract).

Noting that inflation is running at 13 percent while miners' wages are barely reaching 7 percent, Manuel Ojeda from District 17 in southern West Virginia urged union negotiators to fight for an adequate COLA. "I don't care if it means another 111-day strike," he declared to applause from the delegates.

One hotly contested recommendation was to reduce the allowed period that union members can be "temporary bosses" from 120 days to 30 days. Delegate after delegate rose to say that they wanted no provision at all for union members being bosses.

"If a man is allowed to boss one day and not go company, that is too much," said Clyde Poland from southern West Virginia's District 29. "If he wants a bossing job, let him apply for his bossing job and have his bossing job. If he want to be union, let him be union."

Patrick Burke from District 12 in Illinois noted that the song "Which side are you on?" is a popular song at UMWA conventions. "A man working four years in the coal mines should know by that time what the hell side he wants to be on, whether he wants to boss, give our people a bad time, or stay with us and help us."

The thirty-day recommendation was defeated.

But the most fire was reserved for arbitration. In the 1974 contract, a system was established where work grievances not settled at the mine go to arbitrators. Any arbitrator's decision can then be sent to the Arbitration Review Board.

Arbitration

The coal companies have used arbitration as one of their major weapons against the UMWA. Grievances—some simple, some life-threatening—stack up because the company refuses to settle at the mine site. The arbitrators, most of whom are lawyers, charge exorbitant rates. Not surprisingly, when they get around to ruling it's usually in favor of the company. They have the power to "interpret" the contract in any manner they see fit.

Throughout the coal fields, arbitrators have upheld firings of miners for union activities.

It is this costly, time-consuming, anti-union arbitration process that has sparked many of the so-called wildcat strikes in the coalfields.

The convention collective bargaining report noted the problems with arbitration, but proposed only "more control" over arbitrators and "some sort of penalty" for company violation of the grievance procedure.

From rank-and-file miners to district presidents, delegates soundly condemned the entire arbitration process.

Steve Shapiro from District 29 explained the "staggering" cost of arbitration. Three districts alone—6, 17, and 29—have spent \$1 million on arbitration under the 1978 contract, he said.

"The cost of arbitration has driven the two largest districts [in southern West Virginia] to the point of bankruptcy," Shapiro charged. "So give us a grievance procedure that gives the mine committee the power to get grievances at the mine level settled right there."

William Preston from District 22 in the West said, "The arbitrators have shot this [contract] so darn full of holes that the only thing that you've got left



Militant photos by Nancy Cole

For many delegates—most of whom are working miners—it seemed only right to give Church a chance.

are the two green covers between it.

"I move that we do away with arbitration completely!"

Kenny Crotty from District 29 noted how "nine out of ten" arbitrators "are company people."

"They rule in the company's favor, and they're doing it for a purpose—to get them rich and get the company rich."

'Stealing our union'

The Arbitration Review Board, a delegate charged, "is stealing our union right out from under us."

All recommendations on arbitration were rejected. The second time around the committee's report was approved. It recommended that delegates go back to their locals and discuss the problems of arbitration and take their suggestions to the next district conference. The district conference would then make such a discussion a priority so as to come up with recommendations for the contract negotiators.

tions for the contract negotiators.

The next-to-the-last day here opened with delegates insisting there be a roll-call vote on a constitutional resolution that Church had declared approved the day before. The resolution proposed giving the international authority to assess each miner twenty dollars a year to pay legal judgments. Church ruled the roll-call request out of order.

"At the start of this convention you asked the delegates to support you," protested Clyde Poland from District 29. "Mr. Church, we also need your support."

Poland went on, finishing to applause, "Mr. President, we have given you a lot at this convention. Mr. President, please give us our constitutional rights."

After several other delegates made similar pleas, Church was forced to give in. The roll call defeated the proposal. It was then amended and approved to allow ten-dollars assessment authority.

From there delegates moved on to approve a proposal that the constitutional committee had recommended be rejected. That was a clause requiring that each member be supplied with a printed copy of any proposed contract agreement. (The constitution in effect during the last strike required a "full explanation" and "full opportunity for discussion and debate" at least forty-eight hours before the ratification vote.)

The constitutional provision approved here also prohibits the international from "using union money in promoting a campaign to try and sell the proposed contract to the rank and file by the use of paid advertisements such as television, radio, or newspaper ads."

"We feel that after being given printed copies of the proposed agreement and the proper amount of time for study and debate," said District 17's Manuel Ojeda to applause, "that the vast majority of coal miners are intelligent enough to make up their own minds as to whether or not they want to vote for it or not."

That attitude—and the example it sets for other unionists—remains one of the coal operators' biggest worries.

And the demands spelled out here by rank-and-file delegates for an end to arbitration, for an adequate cost-of-living clause and a shorter workweek, for greater safety rights sharply contradict *Business Week's* vision of the miners' "new harmony."

The real test for the new Church leadership will be in the coalfields.

No alms for Carter

DENVER—Contrary to what the White House schemers must think, miners do not have short memories.

They remember that it was President Carter and his sidekick, Secretary of Labor Ray Marshall, who invoked the hated Taft-Hartley act against their 110-day strike two years ago.

So when Marshall's name appeared on the convention agenda here as a guest speaker representing the Carter administration, there were more than a few grumblings from the delegates. Some even talked of walking out during his speech.

They never got a chance. Marshall was present and accounted for, his speech was distributed to the news media, but UMWA President Sam Church apparently decided against introducing him to the delegates (making him the only guest speaker who showed, but didn't speak).

The next day Assistant Secretary of Labor William Hobgood read Marshall's speech to the convention.

Hobgood was greeted coolly with a few boos. Afterwards, delegates

in different parts of the room chanted slogans about Taft-Hartley.

As soon as Hobgood finished speaking, delegate Willie Freeman, from District 29 in southern West Virginia, went to a floor microphone and began to question him. Church interrupted, but Freeman appealed to the delegates and Church allowed him to continue.

"How does the administration that is supposed to think so much of us feel that we can get to work when Carter's asking every day to deregulate the price of gas?" he asked Hobgood.

Freeman went on, "How are we going to get to the mines to mine the coal?"

Another delegate went to the mike to "state an opinion" on Carter, but Church ruled him out of order.

Then an exasperated Carter supporter took the floor to caution against maligning the president of the United States. "I would also like to point out," he said, "all you Kennedy supporters, how the vice-president of Mobil Oil is [Kennedy's] director."

—N.C.

Welcome to Virginia: Labor joins EF

By Jon Hillson

NEWPORT NEWS, Va.—The billboards here tell tourists that "Virginia is for lovers."

But if you're up against steel layoffs in Lynchburg, auto layoffs in Norfolk, fighting for a decent contract at Newport News shipyard, making \$3.69 an hour at non-union General Electric in Chesapeake, or underpaid as a public employee deprived by law of the right to collective bargaining, that billboard says something different.

Virginia is for bosses.

And if you're a woman, that message is double-barreled. Whatever little that men have, you have less, and a harder time getting it.

The state's Democrats and Republicans have strangled the Equal Rights Amendment in committee for seven years. Despite repeated polls which show the majority of Virginians for the ERA, the huge Democratic Party caucus in the House of Delegates and the State Senate doesn't budge an inch.

The ERA is a hot issue because it aims at the same pro-employer laws which allow southern corporations to run roughshod over workers in the Sunbelt. Of the fourteen states that haven't ratified the ERA, twelve are so-called right-to-work states.

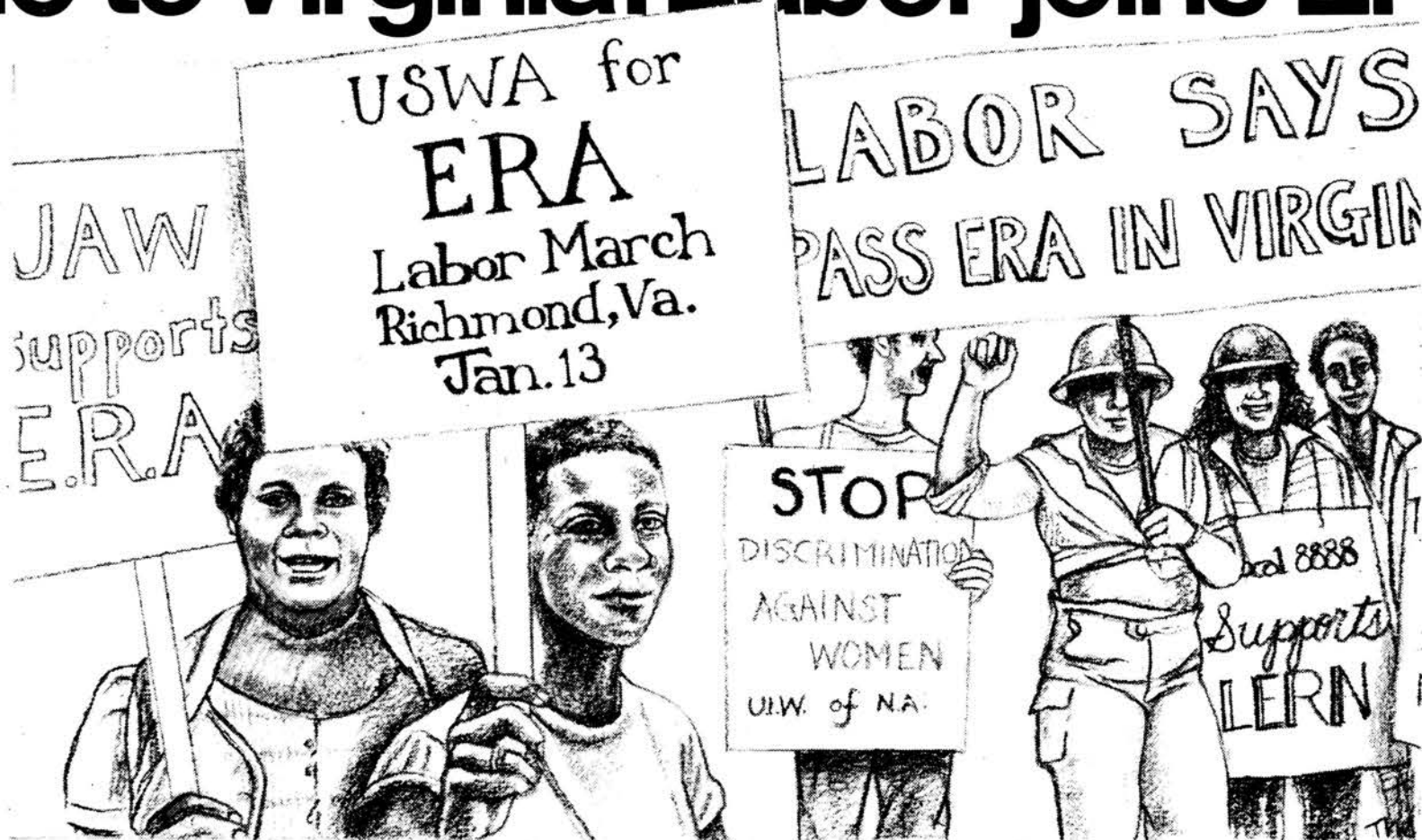
Unorganized millions of women workers are an explosive new ingredient in southern labor's organizing drives, women who bring a new power to the fight for unionization and the drive to ratify the ERA. This whole process confronts employers who are used to browbeating workers, giving crumbs to women, and laughing all the way to the bank.

Right-wing politicians, the Mormon church hierarchy, antilabor ERA-haters such as Phyllis Schlafly, the Ku Klux Klan, and others of their ilk campaign against the ERA in Virginia, smearing it with lies.

These champions of women's inferiority are the shock troops of the Democrats and Republicans. They oppose unions, Black equality, women's rights—and favor new American wars abroad.

They want women to remain second-class citizens, underpaid, underemployed, unorganized, and powerless.

They don't want to do anything that in any way, shape, or form would



inspire labor to challenge "right to work for less" laws.

Which is just what winning passage of the ERA would do.

The only thing that will persuade the Virginia legislature that the ERA should be ratified is the mobilization of the majority in Virginia that supports equality for women.

That's why the January 13 march is so important.

The fighting spirit of working people is on the rise. This is highlighted by the determined battle being waged by the Steelworkers in the Newport News shipyard. They have fought for nearly four years, first for union recognition, and now for a contract, in the state's largest workplace.

Like ERA supporters today, they were told they didn't have a chance.

They were opposed by every traditional power in Virginia—big business, the courts, government, politicians, media, and, when push came to shove, state and local cops, who bloodied their picket lines and attempted to smash their headquarters.

But the Steelworkers refused to be beaten. Black and white, male and female, they remained united, and won recognition last October.

Those Steelworkers are leading the January 13 ERA march.

USWA Local 8888 President Eddie Coppedge told pro-ERA marchers in Newport News last December that the fight for the ERA was like the union drive in the shipyard.

"The struggle that we had was not fought directly in the yard," he said. "It was fought in the streets. It was fought in the living rooms. It was fought in the courts."

"We can look back," Coppedge said, "to the struggles that Blacks had and are still having. When we're talking about equal rights for women, we're talking about equal rights for all."

Just as an "injury to one is an injury to all," a victory for the ERA will be a victory for all.

Welcome to Virginia.

Where the bosses' paradise is a new, national battleground for labor's rights and women's equality.

Minnesota

By Kirsten Murati

VIRGINIA, Minn.—"Virginia supports the Equal Rights Amendment."

This banner led a spirited march of 100 down the street here December 15.

Following the march, a rally of 150 took place at Carpenters Hall. The action was sponsored by the Iron Range chapter of the National Organization for Women.

Speakers included Iron Range NOW President Peggy Metzger, Minnesota AFL-CIO President David Roe, United Steelworkers Local 6115 President Roger Klander, Eveleth Federation of Teachers President Toni Orsack, St. Louis County Commissioner Diedre Dodge, Minnesota State Sen. George Perpich, and Dave Pearsall of the Virginia City Council.

AFL-CIO President Roe held up a

...Kennedy

Continued from back page

In his 1976 campaign, Carter promised to "give" women three more state ratifications if the women's movement would get the fourth to make the total thirty-eight states needed for passage of the amendment.

Once elected, Carter tried to project himself as the leader of the fight for ERA—by making phone calls from the White House to some state legislators on the eve of ratification votes.

In return for the phone calls, the women's movement was to keep a low profile. The result? Defeats, betrayals, and backstabbing in state after state:

• **Georgia:** On January 12, 1977, the state legislature tabled ERA, killing its chance of passage that term.

The next day Georgia NOW leaders made a public announcement that they were betrayed by Democratic state legislators. They had made an agreement, they said, to "only use more conventional tactics"—that is, no demonstrations—in return for a promise that the Georgia senate would ratify.

• **Virginia:** ERA was brought to the state senate January 27, 1977, and lost by one vote. One senator the women's movement had counted on voted against ERA.

• **Nevada:** On February 11, 1977, eleven Nevada Democrats switched their earlier votes and defeated the

amendment in the state assembly. All had taken campaign funds from pro-ERA groups.

• **Florida:** The state senate rejected ERA on April 13, 1977, by a vote of twenty-one to nineteen. Two weeks before, twenty-one senators were reportedly in favor of ERA.

Democrats dictate to women

Thus not only was ERA sabotaged by these Democratic "friends." These politicians actually tried to dictate to their women backers what the priorities and actions of the women's movement should be.

Women's rights leaders were told not to demonstrate for ERA. They were also told to keep quiet about the assault on abortion since speaking out might embarrass the "pro-ERA" legislators and hurt their election campaigns.

Today it is Kennedy who is attacking Carter's record on ERA and promising to make the amendment a "principal moral issue—a matter of national importance."

Is there any evidence that Kennedy is different. The answer is no.

Edward Kennedy is one of the most influential Democratic politicians in the country. Yet in seventeen years in the Senate he has never taken the lead to push forward any pro-woman legislation. Never.

His so-called "pro-abortion" record has amounted to voting for the slightly less restrictive versions of the bills limiting federal funding of abortion.

Kennedy has never led a fight—or even spoken out—for full federal funding of abortion. On several occasions he has voted for the most restrictive bills.

Now, of course, it is expedient for Kennedy to mouth support for women's rights as he looks for votes. But his actions, and those of the party he helps lead nationally, speak louder and clearer.

Is it just a run of bad luck for women that these Democratic and Republican candidates keep taking our money and votes and then betraying us?

No! The doubletalking politicians are carrying out the real policies of the

Democratic Party—a party which, like the Republican party, is run by the big-business interests that are squeezing our rights and living standards at every turn.

These parties represent the capitalist rulers, the tiny group of owners of industry who reap billions in profits by keeping women unequal. They cannot serve our interests.

Not only these defeats for our rights but also the gains made in the early 1970s show that electing Democratic or Republican candidates is a dead end strategy for women and all working people.

Few would argue that Richard Nixon

Join us

If you like what you read in the *Militant* and agree that women and all working people have been betrayed time and again by the Democratic and Republican parties, join us in campaigning for Andrew Pulley and Matilde Zimmermann, Socialist Workers Party candidates for president and vice-president.

Contact the SWP 1980 Presidential Campaign Committee, 14 Charles Lane, N.Y., N.Y. 10014.

☐ Yes, I would like to campaign for Pulley and Zimmermann.

☐ Send me more information on the SWP campaign.

☐ I would like to join the SWP.

☐ Enclosed is \$2.50 for an introductory 10-week subscription to the *Militant*.

Name

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Paid for by the Socialist Workers Presidential Campaign Committee. A copy of our report is filed with the Federal Election Commission and is available for purchase from the Federal Election Commission, Washington, D.C.

A fight in South



on Range rally for equal rights

map of the United States saying, "Take a look at the map of the 'right to work' states, and look at the ones that haven't ratified the ERA. They're one and the same. We have a common bond, but they try to divide us. They try to divide minorities from the labor movement. They try to divide women from the labor movement, and young from old."

At the end of the rally Peg Keefe, a steelworker and NOW member, read a telegram from the USWA international office. The USWA pledged its support and has moved its 1980 convention site from Nevada, an unratified state.

Area steelworkers were behind the march here from the beginning, giving contributions, office space, and copying service.

Minneapolis Star reporter Karin Winegar described the event well in

a sizable story headlined, "Iron Range miners show unity for ERA."

"The room was packed, chiefly with young male miners and young women in pink armbands, parkas and snowmobile boots," Winegar wrote. "Many wore ERA buttons available from USWA and NOW tables: 'ERA is here to stay,' 'ERA Won't Go Away,' 'Give Us This Day Our ERA,' and 'Affirmative Action USWA.'"

"In the crowd was Minntac blacksmith Tom Spolaritch, 56, and his wife, Rita. 'What's to lose?' Spolaritch asked. 'I've worked for the mines for 25 years. I want to capture every benefit that comes to mankind; we have a good life here and beautiful benefits, but we had to come to things like these to get them. It's worth a try.'"

deserves credit for legalizing abortion, winning congressional passage of ERA, or withdrawing American troops from Vietnam. Yet these events occurred under his administration.

Why? Because masses of people demonstrated in the streets for their demands—instead of putting their faith in politicians' promises. And, as any examination of history will show, that's the only way that working people, Blacks, Latinos, or women have ever advanced our rights or improved our lives.

Labor action

Today the prospects are brighter than ever for powerful mobilizations to win women's rights. That's because the labor movement, representing the strength of millions of working women and men, is beginning to put its power behind our fight.

The January 13 ERA march called by Labor for Equal Rights Now, for example, points the way forward for the kind of fighting alliance of labor, women's organizations, and civil rights groups that must be built nationally to force passage of ERA in the three states still required.

Such a fighting alliance also points to how women can take effective action in the electoral arena in our own interests, by breaking from the anti-labor and antiwoman Democratic and Republican parties. Women have a big stake in the organization of a labor party—a party based on and responsi-

ble to the unions.

Unlike and in opposition to the Democratic and Republican politicians, labor party candidates could wage an uncompromising fight for ERA and other issues of vital concern to working people.

Labor party discussion

More and more unionists are recognizing that the two-party system is a failure for working people. The executive council of the California Federation of Labor voted last September to "give serious consideration" to the idea of a labor party and to begin discussions on it.

There are many reasons why this is a popular idea. A labor party could fight for women's rights, for health and safety on the job, against all the ways workers are abused and exploited. It would give working people a political weapon to take on such vast problems as inflation and unemployment.

A labor party could unite working people and our allies in a way never seen before. And millions of working women would make sure that the fight for women's rights would be a central part of a labor party's program.

As NOW members and other women's rights activists discuss political strategy for the 1980s, that's the kind of power we should look to—not to more false promises from Kennedy and his ilk in the two parties of big business.

Nicaraguan women's group to move revolution forward

The following is an editorial from the November 16 issue of the Sandinista daily 'Barricada.' The translation is by 'Intercontinental Press/Inprecor.'

The epoch of transformations in our country, the difficulties we are going through, requires our total devotion to the task of raising production, of reactivating and developing the economy. Based on that effort, we will progressively overcome the most difficult circumstances. The foundation of our development in all areas is in the development of the economy.

We must integrate everybody in this effort under the direction of the FSLN and the Sandinista mass organizations—the political instruments of our people, with which they will control their own destiny.

As part of this, the "Luisa Amanda Espinoza" Association of Nicaraguan Women has been called upon to play a role. The integration of women into the productive process is fundamental for the development of the revolutionary process.

Throughout our history Nicaraguan women have participated as part of our people in the struggles for our national liberation. The organizational forms of that participation were concretized in the Association of Women Concerned with National Problems (AMPRONAC) during the national war against Somozaism. Now that the revolution has triumphed, we have to fight against economic dependency, poverty, ignorance, and backwardness in all spheres. And women must continue to take up their role, together with all our people, in an organized, disci-

plined, coherent way, as they did against the Somoza dictatorship. It's a question of ending once and for all the history of oppression and exploitation that we Nicaraguans were subjected to by American imperialism, and building a just, humane society worthy of free people.

For this reason, women in our country must not only fight together with our people in the general tasks of rising from economic backwardness. They have, in addition, the duty of fighting against the ideological, cultural, and political backwardness that has affected them in particular as a social sector.

Actually, all our people have been affected by ideological backwardness, but women have been doubly affected. In addition to the oppression carried out through the media under the control of imperialism and the local reactionary classes—which for a long time had closed the eyes of all our people to our fundamental problems—women have also suffered discrimination as a sex. The system imposed by imperialism has set down rules for discrimination against women in the workplace; it has used them as commodities, prostituting them, relegating them to the level of objects of reproduction who are only good for bearing children, keeping house, and advertising superfluous consumer goods such as liquor, cigarettes, etc.

But this discriminatory relationship has no place within the society that we are building. Women have the right to be considered as human beings, like any other Nicaraguan. They have the right to culture, to education, to health, to jobs, to equal conditions, to enjoy the benefits of production like any other Nicaraguan. Women must no longer be considered as commodities, as sexual objects. They must be included like all other Nicaraguans in the exercise of the rights and responsibilities that we have won.

But it is fundamentally the women who must lead this fight. It is they who, in an organized way, must win a real place for themselves in the process of building a society of free people. And this struggle by women must be supported by all the compañeros so that we may all emerge victorious against ideological backwardness.

The revolution has created favorable conditions to push forward this struggle. Through the revolution a new society is being built whose goal is to eliminate the negative conceptions of the past and replace them



with just human values, worthy of revolutionary peoples. And in this sense the "Luisa Amanda Espinoza" Association of Nicaraguan Women is called upon to play an exemplary role.

The first task is to consolidate the organization on a national level. It is necessary to organize all women, promoting a broad political discussion around the principal problems in order to later propose a plan of action that raises the particular demands of women as part of the revolutionary process. The struggle of women alongside the other mass organizations for the general objectives of the revolution, for adequate state mechanisms to assist the liberation of women in the revolution, and for the integration of all the people into this struggle, will yield precious fruits in the construction of the new Nicaraguan society.

Zimbabwe: meaning of London accords

By Ernest Harsch

Following months of stepped-up Rhodesian bombing and military raids on neighboring Black regimes providing sanctuary to Zimbabwean liberation forces, a formal cease-fire agreement was signed in London December 21 between the Patriotic Front and the Rhodesian government.

The imperialist sponsors of the fifteen-week "negotiations"—a diplomatic cover for the white racists' intensified use of naked military force—were quite pleased with the results. Under the intense pressure applied by raids against Angola, Zambia, and Mozambique, Patriotic Front leaders Joshua Nkomo and Robert Mugabe were compelled to make important political concessions. In exchange, the front was legalized and its two constituents, Nkomo's Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU) and Mugabe's Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU), were promised that they could participate in elections scheduled for February.

The British, along with their imperialist allies—particularly Washington—hoped that this agreement would give them an opportunity to defuse the Zimbabwean insurgency, increase their own direct intervention in that country, and better contain the struggle for Black majority rule.

Unfortunately for the imperialist plans, the Zimbabwean workers and peasants themselves did not take the London agreement as a cue to halt their struggles. Taking advantage of the limited opening that had been provided, they began mobilizing in their tens of thousands in cities around the country in support of the Patriotic Front and the struggle for independence and majority rule.

Thousands rally

On December 13—even before the Patriotic Front was legalized—several thousand ZAPU followers rallied in downtown Salisbury, before being dispersed by police. A week later a similar ZAPU demonstration was attacked by police armed with shotguns.

A December 22 Reuters dispatch from Salisbury reported, "Following the cease-fire and the lifting of the bans on the guerrillas' political parties, passions have been running high in the townships where blacks are concentrated. Jubilant blacks sang and danced into the night as word of the cease-fire spread."

The following day, about 25,000 ZANU supporters turned out for an unauthorized rally in one of Salisbury's Black townships.

Three days later, an estimated 50,000 ZAPU and ZANU supporters gathered for a huge demonstration at the Salisbury airport to greet the arrival of several leading Patriotic Front guerrilla commanders.

On December 30 another 50,000 Blacks turned out for a pro-ZANU rally in Salisbury's Highfields township.



Returning guerrillas of Patriotic Front (at left) are greeted by crowds of jubilant supporters. Thousands of Zimbabwean workers and peasants continue to rally for independence and Black majority rule.



These urban mobilizations are a reflection of the depth of popular support for the Zimbabwean liberation struggle. Together with the rural-based insurgency—which had already been successful in wresting day-to-day control of large sections of the countryside away from the Rhodesian army—they underscore the determination of Zimbabwe's six million Blacks to take power out of the hands of the 250,000 white settlers and to advance the interests of the workers and peasants.

To the British, American, and South African governments, that reality makes it even more imperative for them to try to step up their efforts to maintain imperialist domination over the country.

They had already been doing so for some time, but the London talks marked a new stage. Confronted with the inability of the Rhodesian settlers or the proimperialist Muzorewa to contain the insurgency, the imperialists were compelled to step in more openly themselves, under the guise of the London agreement.

Terms of London accords

Under the terms of those accords, Zimbabwe was formally returned to the status of a direct British colony December 12, ending fourteen years of "independence" by the white colonial settler regime of Ian Smith. Official United Nations-sponsored economic and military sanctions against the country were lifted, following unilateral moves by London and Washington.

A new constitution came into effect. It formally provides for the establishment of an "independent" Black majority government following the February elections, but contains provisions giving the white minority disproportional representation in parliament and a strong position in the civil service, courts, police, and military.

The cease-fire accord stipulated that

the more than 17,000 Patriotic Front guerrillas operating in the country report to at least sixteen "assembly points," where they are to be confined throughout the election campaign. If successfully implemented, these measures would have the effect of isolating the freedom fighters from their base of support in the villages and leaving them vulnerable to reprisals by British, Rhodesian, or South African troops.

Formally, Rhodesian troops are also to be confined to bases, but they will be in a much better position than the guerrillas to quickly resume the war—and to continue fighting against those insurgents who refuse to report to the assembly points.

Even before the final cease-fire accords had been hammered out, Lord Soames flew into Salisbury as the new British governor, armed with dictatorial powers and accompanied by a Commonwealth "monitoring" force of more than 1,200 troops. About 900 were from Britain and the rest from Australia, New Zealand, Fiji, and Kenya.

Carter backs intervention

The Carter administration in Washington expressed its full backing for this British military intervention, providing two dozen transport planes and forty-six military technicians to assist in the troop airlift.

The British government maintains that Soames's role is to be a "neutral" one, with the primary aim of preparing the elections before the country receives its formal independence from Britain. But the real British intention of seeking to disarm and demobilize the Zimbabwean population became clear through Soames's first acts as governor.

Police were sent against the initial Patriotic Front demonstrations in Salisbury, and Soames openly approved a police raid against the ZAPU offices in that city. Although the bans against ZAPU and ZANU were lifted and most political prisoners were released, Soames warned that the bans would be reimposed if the Patriotic Front failed to abide by the cease-fire. Some martial law restrictions were eased, yet martial law still remained in effect throughout most of the country.

On December 30, Soames ordered the Rhodesian army—which is now formally under his authority—into action against insurgent forces trying to return home from their places of sanctuary in Zambia and Mozambique. Soames warned that any freedom fighters who did not report to the assembly points would be considered "unlawful" and would face military action.

Soames also persuaded Nkomo and Mugabe, who had been planning to

return to Salisbury over the weekend of January 5-6, to postpone their arrival by a week. He feared that they would be greeted by even more massive support rallies than had already been held, overshadowing a scheduled rally by Muzorewa supporters on January 6.

Besides the danger from the British and Rhodesian forces themselves, the Zimbabwean masses also face the prospect of continued South African intervention, which is being carried out with the complicity of London and Washington.

Between 1,000 and 2,000 regular South African troops and police are now stationed in the country, as pilots, gunners, technicians, and artillery officers in the Rhodesian armed forces. South African armored car units and Mirage jet fighters have been helping to back up the Salisbury regime's war drive.

The cease-fire agreement provides for all "external forces" to leave the country, but London has taken no measures to ensure the withdrawal of the South African troops.

Support for struggle

At least on paper, the London agreement imposes severe restrictions on the liberation movements and gives the imperialists new openings for intervention. But the growing popular support for the freedom struggle will make it difficult for the imperialists to put their plans into effect.

While many of the basic provisions of the London accords are to the disadvantage of the Zimbabwean masses, they at the same time provide some limited openings for political mobilization, openings that the supporters of ZAPU and ZANU have already begun exploiting.

The lifting of the bans on the two groups and their ability to hold mass public rallies has made it possible to more openly air the many important social and political issues facing the Zimbabwean workers and peasants—such as the popular demand for land reform, which has been raised at many of the rallies (whites own nearly half of all land).

The provisions of the cease-fire notwithstanding, the liberation forces are also taking precautions not to leave themselves too exposed to attack.

On December 27, Mugabe told his followers not to give up their arms, warning of possible enemy "trickery." He stated that if the South African troops were not withdrawn, ZANU would not feel bound by the cease-fire.

In a similar vein, a ZAPU guerrilla commander, Sithunywa Zithe, told a reporter that if the Rhodesian forces "start their damned tricks, then it is over with the cease-fire and there will be no more peace until the war is won."

From Intercontinental Press/Inprecor



JOSHUA NKOMO



ROBERT MUGABE

1979: Year of crisis for world imperialism



Iranian high school women at U.S. Embassy call for return of shah

Militant/Cindy Jaquith

By Steve Clark

1979 was a bad year for U.S. imperialism and for the entire international imperialist system.

The year opened with Vietnam's victory over the Pol Pot tyranny in Kampuchea and the revolutionary overthrow of the CIA-installed shah of Iran. These two events accelerated the class struggle throughout Southeast Asia and what the capitalist press dubbed the "crisis of crisis" from Ethiopia to Afghanistan.

By midyear, the stakes for imperialism in these two parts of the world were added to by the Sandinista revolution in Nicaragua. The battle to topple the U.S.-backed Somoza dictatorship, led by the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN), culminated in a deepgoing urban insurrection in Managua. This opened the second socialist revolution in the Western Hemisphere and spurred anti-imperialist struggles throughout Central America and the Caribbean.

And as the year drew to a close, events in all three of these revolutionary arenas were going badly for Washington.

The Nicaraguan revolution has deepened steadily, and the FSLN is preparing the workers and peasants for the showdowns with U.S. imperialism and native capitalists that are on the agenda during the first half of 1980.

Neither Peking's U.S.-inspired invasion of Vietnam, the Pentagon's shipments of arms to the Thai dictatorship and to Pol Pot and other Kampuchean rightists, nor efforts to starve the Kampuchean masses into submission have been able to bring down the Heng Samrin government.

And reports from Tehran testify to the growing challenge to imperialism and capitalist stability by the toiling masses of Iran, and the impact of their heroic struggle throughout the surrounding region.

This article will outline some of the main trends and political lessons of the international class struggle that

have been highlighted by the events of 1979.

The best place to start is with some important generalizations to be drawn from the interplay of the class struggle in the imperialist countries and the colonial revolution.

Urban & proletarian struggles

1. Urban and proletarian forms of struggle—such as strikes, demonstrations, mass uprisings, and the formation and coordination of councils and committees by workers and their allies—are increasingly characteristic not only of class conflicts in the advanced capitalist countries, but of the revolutionary process in the colonial and semicolonial countries as well.

This was dramatically confirmed by the powerful urban mobilizations and insurrections that marked both the Nicaraguan and Iranian revolutions; the growth of neighborhood committees, worker and peasant unions, and other mass organizations during and after the fight for power in Nicaragua; the development of workers committees (shoras) and the vanguard role of the oil workers in Iran.

That such developments are increasingly the rule rather than the exception in the semicolonial world was demonstrated time and again over the past decade: Mexico 1968, Argentina 1969 and 1971, Ethiopia 1974, Thailand 1973, South Africa 1976, Afghanistan 1978, South Korea and Brazil 1979, and many others.

Underlying this trend is the growth in all these countries of the size and weight of the industrial working class and the urban proletarian and semiproletarian masses.

According to a 1979 study by the World Bank, 51.5% of the world's population will be living in urban areas by the year 2000, as against 29% in 1950 and 39.3% in 1975.

The study also predicted that by the year 2000 there will be some forty cities with populations of more than 5 million people in the semicolonial coun-

tries, as compared to twelve in the industrialized countries; and eighteen cities with more than 10 million people in the semicolonial countries.

2. Faced with growing insurgency among the masses of the semicolonial world, the imperialists must increasingly rely on bloody tyrants such as the shah and Somoza to perpetuate their superexploitation and political domination of the oppressed countries.

This very fact, however, only increases the explosive potential; these dictators become more unpopular and isolated as the working class grows and becomes more restive. No matter how brutal the repression, the workers and poor peasants have shown their capacity and determination to sweep away the oppressors.

The imperialists are also learning the limits of their counterrevolutionary deals with Moscow and Peking to preserve the world status quo. While Peking's invasion of Vietnam and Moscow's refusal to pour aid into Nicaragua show how valuable such betrayals are to shoring up the imperialist system, the masses increasingly break through the roadblocks thrown up by the Stalinists and give rise to revolutionists of action uncompromising in their commitment to fight imperialism.

The most striking recent example of this phenomenon is the evolution of the FSLN leadership, itself profoundly influenced by the revolutionary Castro current in Cuba.

Limits on U.S. military might

3. Despite the enormous stakes for world capitalism in Iran, Nicaragua, and Indochina, U.S. imperialism has been incapable of intervening with its own military might to reverse and crush revolutionary advances, which was virtually a knee-jerk reaction throughout the 1950s and much of the 1960s.

The antiwar attitudes and mistrust of U.S. foreign policy aims developed by American workers during the Viet-

nam War have been deepened by the broad recognition that they are being lied to about the energy crisis by both government and big business.

This poses an enormous problem for U.S. imperialism. The rulers must be able to go to war to protect the profits they extract from the cheap labor, raw materials, unequal trade relationships, and export markets in the nations where vast numbers of the world's population live. Capitalist expansionism cannot tolerate the workers' resistance to war.

Throughout 1979 the Carter Administration has staged numerous propaganda efforts hoping to convince the American people that both justice and "all our interests" are at stake in reasserting American military power: the Vietnamese "boat people" campaign; the alleged Soviet combat brigade in Cuba; the attempt to blame the Heng Samrin government and Vietnam for famine in Kampuchea; and now the question of the hostages in Tehran.

Only in this last case have the rulers succeeded to any extent in fanning chauvinistic flames in sectors of the American population. And even here the most striking fact was the outbreak, against the wishes of the Carter Administration, of a widespread public discussion of why and how the shah had been admitted to the United States, his crimes, and whether or not he should be extradited to Iran.

Anti-Iranian protests were limited to small turnouts, largely of confirmed right-wingers.

Supporters of the shah's extradition were able to get a hearing on the streets and in the factories. And there was tremendous sentiment among American workers that—at least so long as none of the hostages were harmed—nothing had happened that was worth going to war over.

On this question, Black, Chicano, and Puerto Rican workers have been an important political vanguard of their class. A Detroit poll showed that 61% of Blacks in that key industrial city thought the shah should be sent back to Iran.

And the Carter Administration's Mideast war drive took a serious blow when pro-Palestinian sentiment among American Blacks spurred key civil-rights leaders to travel to that part of the world to meet with PLO leaders and voice support for Palestinian self-determination.

Relationship of class forces

This changing world relationship of class forces to the benefit of the oppressed and exploited was registered by the militant anti-imperialist positions adopted in September at the Conference of Nonaligned Countries in Havana.

Under the leadership of the Cuban government, that conference condemned Washington's war drive and its oppressive aims in Africa, the Mideast, the Caribbean, and Central and South America.

As chairman for three years of the Nonaligned Movement, Fidel Castro used his speeches in Havana and before the United Nations to launch a blistering indictment of imperialist economic exploitation and political domination of the colonial and semicolonial nations.

The political prestige and moral authority of the Castro leadership among the workers and peasants of these countries reached a new high point, as more and more of them became aware of Cuba's anti-imperialist actions in Africa, the Mideast, and Central America and its internationalist efforts to upgrade the health and educational level of the world's poorest peoples.

Carter's war moves against Cuba

Continued on next page

World Outlook



Hard-fought strike by Newport News shipyard workers resulted in recognition of USWA Local 8888

Militant/Jon Hillson

Continued from preceding page

during the last months of 1979 prove that the imperialists, too, are increasingly aware of, and determined to counter, the internationalist course of the Cuban government in solidarity with liberation struggles. They recognize that this is the opposite of the peaceful coexistence policies that are the be-all and end-all of the foreign policy of the Moscow and Peking Stalinists.

This is why, to cite just one example, the imperialists are so determined to deny Cuba one of the revolving seats on the United Nations Security Council. "The prospect that Raúl Roa Kouri of Cuba might preside over Security Council talks on Iran," Bernard Nossiter reported from the UN in the December 10 *New York Times*, "is one that gives chills to some Western diplomats here."

Capitalist countries

The events of 1979 also confirmed a rising curve of class struggle trends in the advanced capitalist countries. In Western Europe this new stage in proletarian struggles opened a decade ago, and the radicalization of youth, women, and oppressed national minorities over that period had a profound impact in all the imperialist countries.

But the worldwide recession of 1974-75, coming on the heels of the price explosion and energy crisis of 1973, marked a turning point in the intensity of the employers' austerity offensive against the working class on a global scale.

This has lowered the expectations and heightened the insecurity among industrial workers, sparking the beginnings of resistance and greater combativity in the labor movement of even the economically strongest imperialist countries.

World capitalism has entered a period of overall glut and stagnation that cannot be reversed short of a major defeat of the working class in an entire series of major countries. This will be no easy task for the rulers.

In the vanguard of the labor movement today is a generation of rebellious and undefeated industrial workers. They are both attracted in ever-growing numbers to the mass working-class organizations and at the same time more ready than the previous generation to challenge the Stalinist, Social Democratic, and other class-collaborationist leaderships of these organizations.

Nonetheless, workers in all these countries have suffered blows at the hands of the employers. The reformist

misleaders retain their control over the labor movement. Nowhere do revolutionary socialists constitute more than small propaganda parties just beginning to gain a hearing in the unions and among industrial workers.

The events of the past year show that there is no reason for pessimism, however. Just the opposite. Prospects are better than any time over the past quarter century for attracting worker militants around the revolutionary program and building a current in the unions that can be a key component in future developments toward a class-struggle left wing.

Some big labor struggles

Below are just a sampling of important labor struggles in 1979:

- In Britain, strikes by auto workers and truck drivers led the way in shattering the government's 5% wage guidelines, winning settlements of between 15% and 25% hikes. The role of the Labour Party government in attempting to enforce the guideline led to its fall. In recent months, British workers have participated in a series of big demonstrations to fight the social service cutbacks of the new Tory government and its plans for major antilabor legislation.

- Also at the beginning of 1979, 100,000 German metalworkers staged their first nationwide strike in fifty years. Although the strikers did not win their demand for a thirty-five-hour workweek, their six-week-long struggle marked a significant increase in the restiveness and militancy of West German workers.

- In the United States, significant unionization victories in the open-shop South demonstrated the growing tendency of U.S. workers to turn to the unions for protection from the bosses' austerity drive. A hard-fought strike by white and Black workers at the huge shipyard at Newport News, Virginia, resulted in company recognition of United Steelworkers (USWA) Local 8888; it was the biggest unionization victory in the United States for several decades. There was an important unionization success for auto workers in Oklahoma City and a major Teamster organizing drive in North Carolina, as well.

- In Canada, 12,000 members of United Steelworkers Local 6500 struck for eight months to defeat a union-busting effort by Inco, the world's largest nickel mining company. With the solidarity of USWA members and other unionists across Canada, as well as in the United States, the striking workers defeated Inco's attempted

lockout and won significant wage gains and an uncapped cost-of-living escalator. This was one of the most important labor battles in English Canada in many years.

- In France, steelworkers in the heavily industrialized north and east conducted militant strikes and protests against massive layoffs, culminating in a March 23 march on Paris of 100,000. A statement by the Political Bureau of the Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire (Revolutionary Communist League) said these events were an indication "that workers' militancy and radicalization stands at a high level."

- During June and July, a wave of workers struggles and demonstrations shook major Italian cities, including a march by 200,000 steelworkers in Rome. In November, some 13 million Italian workers staged a half-day strike to protest inflation and unemployment.

- The New Zealand labor movement shut down hundreds of factories and other workplaces September 20 during the first general strike in that country's history. This powerful show of labor unity, provoked by a government move to cut a pay raise won by truck drivers, demonstrated the growing determination of New Zealand workers to get rid of the government of Prime Minister Robert Muldoon.

Social & political issues

This year was also marked by growing involvement of the labor move-

ment in struggles around social and political issues of importance to workers and their key allies among the oppressed.

In Britain, for example, 40,000 people participated in a demonstration for abortion rights called by the Trades Union Congress, the national labor federation.

Supporters of the Equal Rights Amendment in the United States are preparing for a labor-initiated march in Virginia in January, and there were important conferences of women industrial unionists throughout 1979. There were important strides in Canada and Italy in the struggle to get women into industrial jobs previously reserved for men.

Progress toward involving the unions and mass workers parties in the fight against nuclear power was registered in Australia, where unionists active in Labor Against Uranium played a key role in building a demonstration of 20,000 in Sydney in response to the near-disaster at Three Mile Island in the United States; in France, where the Pennsylvania accident spurred the French Democratic Confederation of Labor to call for a public discussion and three-year moratorium on construction of reactors; in Germany, where among the more than 100,000 people participating in an October 14 antinuclear rally in Bonn were members of a new group of trade unionists fighting to bring the issue into the German labor federation; and in Sweden, where growing antinuclear sentiment forced the Social Democratic Party, which advocates nuclear power, to call for a 1980 national referendum on the question.

In the United States, the impact of the Three Mile Island accident changed the minds of millions of workers on the desirability of nuclear power, opening new avenues to draw the organized labor movement into the growing antinuclear movement there. The antinuclear stance of the United Mine Workers union has been an important factor in advancing this effort.

The United Steelworkers of America and other U.S. unions also played a vital role in defeating the racist Weber challenge to affirmative-action hiring and upgrading programs for Blacks, Chicanos, and women. Reflecting the changes under way in the American labor movement, this marked an important reversal in the official stance of American unions on this important fight against racist discrimination.

In Belgium and the Netherlands, opposition in the labor movement to placing U.S. nuclear-armed missiles in those countries has pressured the governments to balk at NATO plans.

Opposition among American



Perspectiva Mundial/Anibal Yañez

September 1979 demonstration in Managua. Banner reads, 'All the power of the imperialists could not defeat Vietnam, cannot defeat Nicaragua.'

workers to Carter's war drive has created a situation in which important segments of the labor movement would be among the first sections of the population to respond to a U.S. military adventure, something that began to happen only toward the very end of the massive anti-Vietnam War movement.

Turn to industry

Recognizing the importance of being participants in these changes in the industrial labor movement, the Fourth International, World Party of the Socialist Revolution, voted at its World Congress in November to make a radical turn toward leading a big majority of its cadres on a world scale into the mines, mills, and factories and into the industrial unions.

This turn was projected not only as a key task for revolutionary parties in the imperialist countries, but for those in Latin America, the Mideast, Asia, and Africa, as well. The industrial working class plays a decisive role in the revolutionary process in the colonial and semicolonial countries, particularly given the growing size and weight of the urban proletariat and semiproletarian populations.

At the political heart of this decision was recognition of the growing interconnection of the world capitalist economic crisis and the crisis of the imperialist system of oppressed and oppressor nations. These international political factors create the best opportunities in decades to build the revolutionary proletarian parties necessary to defeat the imperialist profiteers and warmakers.

One manifestation of this interplay is the disastrous impact of the world capitalist crisis on the already distorted and impoverished economies of the colonial and semicolonial countries.

Pointing to this fact in his UN speech, Fidel Castro explained that "the gap between the developed and developing countries not only persists, but has substantially increased. The relative share of the developing countries in the world output decreased considerably during the last two decades, which has still more disastrous effects on such problems as malnutrition, illiteracy, and poor sanitation and health services."

Misery in semicolonies

Castro cited numerous examples to prove his case. He pointed to the serious effects of the U.S. economic blockade on his own country. (The suffering similar economic sabotage has inflicted on the Vietnamese people is among the other great crimes of the American ruling class.)

The Cuban leader also explained:

- that while the countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America import more than a quarter of the world's industrial exports, they export only 6.3% of them;
- that between 400 and 450 million people in the world are undernourished;
- that by the year 2000, according to the World Bank, some 600 million people may still be submerged in absolute poverty;
- that the average per capita income in the industrialized countries is now fourteen times that in the semicolonial countries;
- that the foreign debt of these nations to imperialist financial institutions is now \$335 billion and rising.

On top of all this, since World War II the imperialists have gunned down and napalmed literally millions of workers and peasants who have risen up against this degradation and demanded dignity, human rights, and a decent share of the wealth they produce through their labor.

The imperialists' scramble for superprofits in a world of dwindling new markets exacerbates all these problems of the oppressed nations. At the same time, the increasing misery becomes a tinderbox that fuels anti-imperialist struggles. This was proven by the demands and character of the urban mobilizations that propelled the revolutionary struggles in both Iran and Nicaragua, as well as by countless struggles elsewhere around the world.

The imperialists' need to quell these rebellions and prevent their spread is a prime factor behind the massive growth of military expenditures by Washington and other capitalist powers.

Carter has announced a 157-billion-dollar war budget for 1980! This in turn feeds the inflation that is wreaking havoc on the living standards of American workers and other workers throughout the world. It diverts resources from needed social services, underlying the rulers' austerity drive against spending for education, health, mass transportation, housing, environmental protection, and other beneficial projects.

American and European workers have no more interest in these wea-

"It is necessary to point out that there are many Americans who—with varying degrees of clarity in defining their objectives, posing their demands, or carrying on their struggles—are fighting anti-imperialist battles in their own country," the article explained. And it concluded:

"This reality should be kept in mind, since the potential of these forces is important, and since in their evolution they are objectively allies of our peoples against imperialism."

Growing recognition of the importance of this factor also led to the initiative by the Castro leadership that has become known over the past year as the "dialogue."

This is an effort by the Cuban leaders to open lines of communication with Cubans living abroad, particularly in the United States, and to mount a campaign in these countries against the U.S. economic blockade and diplomatic boycott of the Cuban revolution.

The impact this initiative has already had on American politics was shown by the sizable protests against the blockade that were held outside the United Nations around the time of Castro's speech. These were the largest

interests are threatened by the masses of Iran, Nicaragua, and Vietnam.

This is simply the application on an international level of the rulers' overall divide-and-conquer approach to keeping the workers weak and confused about their class interests. They claim that white workers are better off because of racism; male workers are better off because of sex discrimination; skilled workers benefit when the wages of less skilled workers are held down; employed workers are lucky when other workers have no jobs.

Boiled down to its essentials, the claim is that every worker is better off when the boss is better off and when every other worker is worse off.

Revolutionary class consciousness can only be forged in an unremitting battle against all such false ideas promoted by the capitalists. Explaining this fundamental need for solidarity and internationalism, and mobilizing this progressive sentiment *in action*, is a key responsibility for socialist workers, especially in the imperialist bastions.

Time for decisive battles

The ultimate battles to ensure world peace and socialism will be fought by the workers in the advanced capitalist countries, above all in the United States. Only when the American workers have established a workers government and disarmed the capitalists will the threat of worldwide nuclear annihilation be lifted from this planet.

The imperialists claim that the threat to world peace comes from revolutionary struggles by the oppressed and exploited. The Stalinists, Social Democrats, and other class collaborationists tell the masses virtually the same thing, warning them not to "provoke" the wrath of the capitalists. They claim that peace and justice can be achieved through deals with the oppressors.

But the truth is just the opposite. The revolutionary struggles of the masses weaken the capitalists and lessen the dangers of world war. This is particularly true of victorious struggles, and even more true of those that triumph over capitalism and establish workers states.

The anti-imperialist battles by the Iranian, Nicaraguan, and Indochinese workers and peasants *buy time* for revolutionists in the United States and other imperialist countries to settle accounts with their exploiters. The militant anti-imperialist internationalism of the Castro leadership *buys time* for revolutionary conditions to ripen in North America, Western Europe, Japan, and Oceania.

The victory of world socialism requires the construction of Leninist working-class parties in countries throughout the world, and of a revolutionary world party that unites them against the imperialist ruling classes and their dependent exploiters in the semicolonial countries.

Just as the Castro leadership and Sandinistas have arisen outside the Fourth International and bypassed the Stalinist and Social Democratic misleaders, revolutionary-minded currents will also emerge from the labor movement as class battles intensify in all the imperialist countries.

The ability of the Fourth International and its national parties to link up with, influence, and learn from these revolutionists of action will be decisive in constructing a massive world party of socialist revolution.

Both the events of 1979 and the worldwide turn by revolutionists toward becoming participants in the battles of industrial workers bode well for the struggles of the oppressed and exploited in the 1980s.

From Intercontinental Press/Inprecor

Sizable protests against the blockade were held outside the United Nations around the time of Castro's speech.



pons of destruction than do the oppressed millions against whom they are directed. As working people learned through the bitter experience of Vietnam, they are the ones who pay and die for wars on behalf of the ruling moneyed minority.

International solidarity

All this points up one of the main lessons that the world's toilers have demonstrated in 1979: the crucial importance of solidarity among working people the world over.

On the one hand, by their opposition to involvement in wars of aggression, workers in the United States and other advanced capitalist countries have shown themselves to be an invaluable ally of the rebelling masses of the oppressed nations. In fact, all the struggles of workers and their allies in the advanced capitalist countries strengthen the hand of the semicolonial peoples in their battle against imperialism.

This was explained well in an article in the October 21 issue of the Sandinista daily *Barricada*.

"Often when we refer to the United States, the concept of *imperialism* gets distorted to include the entire U.S. population. This is understandable—since it's a matter of generalization—but it's incorrect, and even unfair," said *Barricada*.

such Cuba solidarity actions in the United States since the early 1960s, and they were only slightly smaller than the right-wing anti-Castro demonstrations that week.

Class struggle education

Anti-imperialist fighters in Iran, Nicaragua, and Indochina also provide a class-struggle education to workers in the main capitalist world powers. This is an irreplaceable service to the prospects for socialist revolution in these countries, since the workers will never be capable of defeating the powerful imperialist ruling classes unless decisive sections of them have been steered against chauvinism and with a hatred of their rulers that doesn't stop at their own borders.

Large numbers of American workers learned from the struggle by Vietnamese liberation fighters that the U.S. rulers will massacre a million people to protect their interests. The Iranian and Nicaraguan masses have helped teach U.S. workers about the blood-soaked tyrants Washington counts among its best friends around the world.

The imperialist ruling classes try to convince workers that they somehow benefit from the low wages and miserable living conditions of workers and peasants in other countries. The bosses want workers to believe that their

By Fred Feldman

During the last days of 1979 Washington, Bangkok, and Peking were threatening new aggression in Indochina. All three governments have been stung over the past two years by the blows of the Vietnamese, Kampuchean, and Laotian peoples against imperialist-engineered encirclement, economic blockade, and military threats.

The blows began with the expropriation of the last strongholds of capitalist economic power in South Vietnam in April 1978, took another leap with the toppling of Pol Pot in January 1979, and scored a further advance when Peking's imperialist-inspired invasion of Vietnam failed to force a withdrawal of Vietnamese forces from Kampuchea.

Most recently, Washington's efforts to use starvation as a weapon against the Heng Samrin government in Kampuchea have showed signs of failing.

Key to all these victories has been the determination of millions of Vietnamese, Laotian, and Kampuchean workers and peasants to maintain their independence from imperialist domination and to defend their socialist revolution, even at the cost of enormous privation.

The recent spate of military threats from U.S. and Thai officials has been presented in the guise of warnings against "Communist aggression." Reporting from Washington in the December 12, 1979, *Wall Street Journal*, Karen Elliot House stated:

American intelligence analysts expect that Vietnam will soon begin a major offensive to drive anti-Communist guerrillas out of Cambodia into neighboring Thailand. U.S. officials fear Vietnamese soldiers won't stop at the border but will pursue Cambodians into Thailand.

It is the Thai army, however, not the Vietnamese, which has refused to "stop at the border." The military dictatorship of General Kriangsak Chamanand is deeply committed to helping the Khmer Rouge and allied rightist forces bring down the Heng Samrin government.

Thai army units engage in joint military operations with the remnants of Pol Pot's army on both sides of the border. The military regime provides Pol Pot's forces with arms, camps, supply bases, and medical care—often under the cover of United Nations and Red Cross aid for refugees.

And the Thai regime has warned Heng Samrin's forces to stay away from Kampuchea's border regions. This threat completely exposes the charge that it is Vietnam that is threatening a cross-border strike.

Washington's role

The Carter administration is backing up Kriangsak's threats. Karen Elliot House speaks of "American encouragement of the Thais to support Cambodian insurgents against Vietnam. . . ."

U.S. military aid to Thailand has quadrupled since Pol Pot fell in January. U.S. military "advisers" are again pouring into the country, including more than 100 preparing Thai military bases for B-52 bombers. And at least one U.S. army officer has been found in one of Pol Pot's camps in Thailand. He claimed to be an "observer."

As tension increased along the Thai-Kampuchean border, the Peking Stalinists have escalated their military pressure against the Indochinese governments.

Laotian Minister of Information Sissana Sisan charged in early December that Peking has concentrated seven army divisions along the Laotian-Chinese border, and that army units have fired salvos into Laotian terri-

Revolution advances in Indochina



Top: Rural and urban destruction of Southeast Asia wrought by U.S. bombs.

Right: Vietnamese peasants dig irrigation canal as part of effort to overcome widespread food shortages.

tory. With only 3.5 million people and an army already fighting rightist insurgents, some backed by Peking, Laos would be far more vulnerable than Vietnam to a military assault.

Peking has also stepped up naval maneuvers in the South China Sea.

Top Peking officials also insist they will come to the aid of the Thai military dictatorship in the event of an open clash with Vietnam and Kampuchea.

The *Wall Street Journal's* House linked the new war danger to imperialism's inability to bring down the Heng Samrin government. In particular, she complained about the increased aid Kampuchea has received from the Soviet Union. Together with assistance from Vietnam and a trickle of aid from international relief agencies, this has enabled Pnompenh to gain ground against famine, and to begin returning cities and farms toward normal life.

"All this Soviet assistance is undermining U.S. policy in Cambodia," charged House.

U.S. officials had hoped Vietnam would withdraw from Cambodia if Hanoi faced the prospect of a long, debilitating guerrilla war there. But Soviet help has given Vietnam a clear fighting superiority over its Cambodian opponents, both the anti-Communists and the Khmer Rouge under Pol Pot.

The U.S. rulers expect the gains made by the Heng Samrin government to deepen instability in Thailand. ". . . even without a direct Vietnamese attack, Thailand's future is shaky," reported House.

Big stakes

The stakes are high in the new battles in Indochina. The spread of revolutionary upheaval to Thailand would threaten to tear a strategically located country of 45 million people,

with substantial imperialist investments, out of the U.S. orbit.

Today the central role of U.S. imperialism in the drive against Indochina stands in plain view. But it is also increasingly evident that this role is not a new one.

The offensive against the Vietnamese revolution was well under way in January when Hanoi sent some 100,000 troops, supported by 20,000 Khmer insurgents, into Kampuchea and put an end to Pol Pot's tyranny.

Washington's kingpin role in the conflict was forced to the surface by the failure of Pol Pot, the Thai regime, and the Peking Stalinists to hold the line against the further extension and deepening of the Indochinese revolution in Laos and Kampuchea.

While suffering a severe defeat when U.S.-dominated regimes in Indochina fell in 1975, Washington did not withdraw from the region, or give up its battle to contain and ultimately reverse the revolutions.

Economic blockade

A key in imperialism's drive has been the tight economic blockade imposed against Vietnam, Laos, and Kampuchea since 1975. In the face of the devastation of the countries by U.S. bombers, herbicides, and occupation forces, the blockade presented a massive obstacle to reconstruction.

The cutoff of aid and trade left hundreds of thousands of people in the cities of Laos and Vietnam without a livelihood. It blocked the way to the real restoration of agriculture, by barring access to much modern technology.

The disruption caused by the economic blockade was intended to lay the groundwork for stepped-up military pressure when this became possible.

The eagerness of the Peking regime

to offer imperialism its services against revolution in Indochina in exchange for diplomatic and economic deals, and the counterrevolutionary course followed by the Pol Pot wing of the Khmer Rouge, provided the opening Washington was looking for.

The brutal measures taken by the Pol Pot regime—the deportation of the urban and much of the rural population, the establishment of forced agricultural labor camps as the basic economic unit, and the savage reduction of living standards and basic public services to support expanded exports—were accompanied from the start by attacks across the Vietnamese border. This reflected the desire of the Pol Pot regime to seal off Kampuchea from the impact of events in Vietnam where a more progressive development was taking place.

Pol Pot's attacks on Vietnam

This fighting escalated to full-scale border war in mid-1977. Khmer Rouge attacks were directed particularly against agricultural zones along the border. Hanoi was compelled to evacuate hundreds of thousands of farmers, exacerbating the food shortage caused by natural disasters that year.

Hanoi's initial response to Pol Pot's attacks aimed at conciliation. For nearly three years, there was no criticism of Pol Pot's brutal policies. Asylum was barred to refugees of Khmer descent fleeing the country.

While pressing for negotiations, Hanoi struck back militarily in December 1977, assuming that a demonstration of superior military force would deflect the Pol Pot regime from its anti-Vietnamese course.

Instead, Pnompenh broke off diplomatic relations with Hanoi on December 31, 1977, and won public backing from Peking. Pol Pot's territorial demands against Vietnam escalated, with strong hints that all of South Vietnam, including Ho Chi Minh City, belonged by right to Kampuchea.

In late January 1978, Thailand's foreign minister visited Pnompenh to confer with Khmer Rouge leaders. It was agreed to exchange ambassadors. Border conflicts with Thailand simmered down. These events were a clear signal to Hanoi that Peking and the Pol Pot regime were not acting alone.

Expropriations

In March and April 1978 Hanoi struck the first in what became a series of counterblows against the tightening economic and military noose. It mobilized tens of thousands of supporters of the revolution to carry out the expropriation of the Saigon merchants, the last bastion of capitalist property relations in South Vietnam. Until then, the merchants had continued to dominate trade, including in rice.

Zbigniew Brzezinski, Carter's national security adviser, visited China in May. "The day after Brzezinski left China," wrote Helen Chauncey and Lowell Finley in the December 1979 *Southeast Asia Chronicle*, "Beijing began a publicity campaign charging Vietnam with mistreatment of its ethnic Chinese residents. . . . China suddenly cut off its entire aid program for Vietnam."

Large numbers of Chinese troops moved to the Vietnamese border and clashes began to occur frequently.

The imperialists intensified their tilt toward the Pol Pot regime in its conflict with Vietnam. It posed no revolutionary danger to them, since Pol Pot's reactionary measures had no attraction for the masses in Southeast Asia. And Pol Pot increasingly needed the help of U.S. imperialism and its semi-colonial allies to carry on his war with Vietnam and repress dissent at home.

The Australian imperialists moved toward establishing diplomatic relations with Pol Pot, on the grounds that "it is essential to preserve [Kampuchea] as an independent buffer between non-communist Thailand and communist Vietnam."

Japan sought to open economic relations. "Behind Japan's desire to aid Cambodia is also its desire to see that it is economically viable," reported the November 10, 1978, *Far Eastern Economic Review*.

The Association of Southeast Asian Nations stepped up its signals of support to Pol Pot against Vietnam in the border conflict.

And Carter moved rapidly toward cementing diplomatic ties with Peking, while pointing to Vietnam's conflict with the Pol Pot regime as a major obstacle to diplomatic and trade relations with Hanoi.

A team of Western reporters was sent to Pnompenh. The reports they made on their rigidly guided tour were clearly intended to soften up Western public opinion for friendly relations with Pol Pot.

Faced with a menacing anti-Vietnamese alliance that could only grow more open and aggressive with time, the Vietnamese government shifted at the end of 1978 from relying mainly on building up an anti-Pol Pot force in Kampuchea to decisive military action.

In an interview published in the October 12, 1979, issue of the New York weekly *Workers World*, Vietnamese Vice-minister for Foreign Affairs Phan Hien asserted that Hanoi had become convinced that a joint attack on Vietnam by Pol Pot and Peking was in the offing.

If the Chinese succeeded in launching an offensive with 19 divisions of the Pol Pot troops in the southwest of Viet Nam, they would launch at roughly the same time another offensive from the north and be in a position to fight the war on two fronts.

So when we were attacked in Kampuchea on December 23, 1977, we knew their plan. We had to react rapidly. We had to destroy the bulk of the Pol Pot forces.

As 100,000 Vietnamese soldiers and 20,000 Kampuchean insurgents swept

through Kampuchea, Pol Pot's regime fell. It was supported by only a small portion of the population—mostly those who derived privileges and plunder from ties to the Khmer Rouge army and government apparatus. Pnompenh was occupied on January 7.

Heng Samrin, president of the Kampuchean National United Front for National Salvation, became head of state. Initial steps to end Pol Pot's reign of terror won the regime a popular base that it has retained, although the poor health, dispersal, and psychological state of shock of much of the population have been big obstacles until recently in beginning to build a large army of Kampucheans.

The role of Kampuchean armed forces (including factory and village militias) in resisting Pol Pot's forces is systematically understated in the capitalist press.

The disintegrating Pol Pot forces were steadily pushed toward the Thai border. Colonel Thanit, a Thai military officer, "said he and many other Thai officials believed that many Cambodian villagers viewed the Vietnamese-

backed insurgents as liberators from the harsh regime of Mr. Pol Pot," reported the January 16, 1979 *New York Times*.

At this point the Thai government intervened directly to save Pol Pot's forces, warning the pro-Heng Samrin troops to stay out of a zone along the border. This was set up by the Thai army as base areas and sanctuaries for Pol Pot, with supply lines into Thailand. The complete destruction of Pol Pot's Khmer Rouge was forestalled.

Nonetheless, Pol Pot's forces lost their capacity to directly threaten Vietnam. (In addition, the fall of Pol Pot broke the supply lines through which the Khmer Rouge had been sending aid for some time to right-wing guerrillas operating in the Vietnamese highlands.)

This was a big setback to imperialism's aim of stabilizing the Thai regime by using Pol Pot to seal off the Vietnamese revolution.

The counterrevolutionary alliance that had taken shape along the Vietnamese-Kampuchean border was

Continued on next page

Relief agencies in Kampuchea refute U.S. charges

The Carter administration's latest move against the Heng Samrin government in Kampuchea has been a phony intelligence report claiming that Kampuchea, Vietnam, and the Soviet Union are deliberately blocking the distribution of food aid to the Kampuchean people. Carter hoped to use such charges to provide the humanitarian cover for a boycott of aid to the war-torn country.

One Red Cross official reportedly echoed Carter's charges and the World Food Project responded by announcing that it was stopping food shipments until distribution problems are solved. The Red Cross is continuing its modest aid shipments, however.

Both the Red Cross and the World Food Project have been pouring aid to the Khmer Rouge forces along the Thai border. They have made not a peep of protest against the fact that the overwhelming bulk of this aid is going to Khmer Rouge troops and storehouses, and never reaches the Kampuchean civilians for whom it is supposedly intended.

Carter hides the fact that Vietnam and the Soviet Union have provided Kampuchea with nearly 300,000 tons of food—a glaring contrast to his administration's performance in the face of hunger in Kampuchea.

Carter's charges ran into opposition from relief agencies which know the real situation in Kampuchea. Even officials of UNICEF, which retains close ties to the Khmer Rouge, challenged his assertions. Such groups as Church World Service (an affiliate of the National Council of Churches), the American Friends Service Committee, and Britain's Oxfam exposed the falsifications.

Two examples are reprinted below.

* * *

The following are major excerpts from a letter to the editor that appeared in the December 28 'New York Times.'

In his column on Soviet activities in Indochina (Dec. 12), James Reston relies on a recent U.S. intelligence report to make a variety of allegations that have the effect of

discrediting international relief operations in Cambodia.

During two recent visits to Cambodia to examine needs and plan Church World Service's response, I had occasion to meet with representatives of various relief agencies operational there. I traveled in several provinces, visiting cities, refugee camps and villages. I spoke with international observers who have traveled rather extensively in central Cambodia.

I heard no allegation from any source in Phnom Penh which would support charges of massive—or even significant—delays or diversion for political reasons. To be sure, there are serious logistical, administrative and security obstacles to distribution, but these are understandable and are being overcome.

I observed food being distributed

Cambodia. The current crop is, of course, not nearly sufficient to meet the needs of the whole nation. When the harvested crop is consumed, the country will need to rely almost totally on relief supplies now being provided by the international community (including Vietnam and the Soviet Union).

Traditional farming methods require that a portion of each crop be left in the fields to full maturity to provide seed for the subsequent crop. This may explain reports that the harvesting process is being strictly controlled.

Church World Service remains confident that international relief assistance to the people of Cambodia will be an important factor in their future. The present system for distribution is imperfect, but we do not believe that this is the result of a



'It's an aid questionnaire. Is the starvee now, or has he-she ever been, a communist? Would you consider yourself amiably disposed toward the givers of this aid? Explain, in 300 words or less, why . . .'

to civilians in a number of locations and was even able to observe a noticeable improvement in the physical condition of people during the three weeks which separated my visits. I did not observe or hear of actual starvation in areas controlled by Phnom Penh. Conditions in contested areas near the Thai border and elsewhere, where relief distribution is either impossible or quite irregular, may be much worse.

Food is now being harvested in

conscious policy. While we all seek dramatic improvement in the distribution process, attempts to pressure Phnom Penh, Hanoi and Moscow by exaggerated or unwarranted allegations can serve no useful purpose. On the contrary, we believe that the American Government and people can continue to make positive contributions to the people of Cambodia through quiet, creative diplomacy and full cooperation with relief efforts.

Kirk Alliman
Southern Asia Area Director
Church World Service
New York, Dec. 20, 1979

The following communication from Pnompenh appeared in the December 2 issue of the French revolutionary socialist weekly 'Rouge.'

Within the context of operation Cambodia Solidarity, four cargo planes chartered by eight French and ten foreign organizations arrived in Pnompenh between November 18 and December 2. They carried a total of 160 tons of food supplies, medicine, and other materials.

The shipment was divided up between the ministries of health and commerce and the Cambodian Red Cross. The representatives of the various participating organizations, who were present in Pnompenh, helped with the unloading, transport, and distribution of the cargo.

Accompanying officials of the ministry of health, they distributed foodstuffs and medicines in three provincial hospitals (Takeo, Kompong Speu, Kompong Chnang) and to various rural dispensaries.

They verified the enormity of the needs, the destitution of the hospitals and dispensaries, the crying lack of cadres—for the most part massacred by the Khmer Rouge regime. They noted that despite the unimaginable difficulties, the country has been reorganizing itself little by little, especially through the efforts of surviving cadres, the population as a whole, and the government of Kampuchea.

They ask that in France and in Europe that solidarity current that has developed should be intensified in order to provide the population of Kampuchea with the means to assure its own rebirth.

Pnompenh, December 8, 1979
The Representatives of: Catholic Committee Against Hunger, Ecumenical Aid Service, French Committee for Medical and Health Aid to the Cambodian Population, Ecumenical Church Council, TROCAIRE (Ireland), Development and Peace (Canada).

Continued from preceding page

now desperately trying to hold the line in the region along the Thai-Kampuchean border.

Washington and Peking

The imperialists responded with a blast of propaganda against Hanoi and by moves to cut back the minimal aid programs that some had maintained. The United Nations and the International Red Cross did the imperialists' bidding, recognizing Pol Pot's hated regime as the "legitimate" government of Kampuchea.

And Deng Xiaoping's government in Peking was given encouragement for war moves against Vietnam. Deng used his visit to Washington in January to propose that Vietnam be "punished" and "taught some necessary lessons" for helping to bring down Pol Pot.

On February 17, tens of thousands of Chinese troops poured across the Vietnamese border. In two weeks of heavy fighting, they seized a strip of territory about six to ten miles deep.

It was hard to miss the contrast between Washington's response to Vietnam's move into Kampuchea and its reaction to Peking's attack on Vietnam.

The official ceremonies establishing full diplomatic relations between Peking and Washington took place in the midst of the invasion, and Carter sent Secretary of the Treasury Michael Blumenthal to Peking to discuss stepped-up trade.

These actions were matched by Washington's repeated assertions that Hanoi's role in Kampuchea was an insuperable obstacle to trade and diplomatic relations with Vietnam.

When the Soviet government dispatched warships to the South China Sea in a symbolic gesture of support to Vietnam, Washington sent an aircraft carrier to counter it.

After denying it for some time, the State Department admitted that it had been informed well in advance of Peking's plans for the invasion.

Most importantly, Washington and Peking closely cooperated in international diplomatic bodies in pushing the slogan of mutual withdrawal: of Peking from Vietnam and Hanoi from Kampuchea. This revealed the purpose of the operation.

Carter showed his bias in his use of language, as well. Vietnam's presence in Kampuchea was an "invasion," while Peking's assault on Vietnam was a "border penetration."

And Washington's allies in Southeast Asia greeted the invasion. According to Henry Kamm in the March 14 *New York Times*, "The Vietnamese invasion of Cambodia sent shudders through Southeast Asia; the Chinese counterthrust helped to calm the non-Communist countries."

Heavy resistance

But Peking's invasion ran into heavy resistance from Vietnamese forces. While massive demonstrations in Hanoi expressed the unity of Vietnamese workers and peasants against the invasion, antiwar wall posters and other signs of opposition appeared in China.

On March 15, Chinese forces completed their withdrawal, holding onto some small but strategically important salients along the border.

Peking failed to accomplish the political goals it had set with Washington. Far from pulling out of Kampuchea, Hanoi stepped up its aid. Pnompenh and Vietnamese forces began to press hard against Pol Pot's border enclaves.

But the invasion devastated much of Vietnam's northern tier, and brought death to thousands of soldiers and civilians. The economically hard-pressed Vietnamese were compelled to

reallocate resources from reconstruction to military defense.

But Peking's move did not slow the pace of anti-imperialist struggle elsewhere in Indochina. The Laotian government of Kaysone Phomvihane rejected the option of joining the U.S.-Thai-Peking alliance and instead consolidated its cooperation with Vietnam.

The result was a deepening of the socialist revolution in that small landlocked country. The agrarian reforms launched earlier moved toward completion, and nationalizations of industry and state control of trade were extended.

The Laotian government also undertook the task of putting an end to the strongest base of imperialist influence and capitalist power in Laos. This was in the sector of northern and northwestern Laos where opium growing linked a sizable sector of the Meo nationality to Thai capitalists and to U.S. and French imperialism.

Heavy fighting—in which the Laotian government was supported by Vietnamese troops—dealt heavy blows to Meo mercenary armies organized during the Indochina war. And the opium trade was substantially disrupted.

But Peking is acting as a funnel for continuing support to antigovernment military units along China's northern border with Laos.

These developments in Laos were a major new blow to the imperialist drive against Indochina, and to the Peking bureaucracy's claims that it could police the region in the interests of imperialist "stability."

'The boat people'

Mid-1979 saw a major international propaganda campaign against Vietnam centering on the plight of the "boat people."

Many of those who left Vietnam were merchants and former Saigon army officers and government officials. They found it impossible to accept a socialist revolution accompanied by a sharp slash in their living standards.

But many others also left.

The main source of this exodus from Vietnam was the imperialist economic blockade, which compounded the ruin left by the U.S. war against Indochina. The effects of this deprivation were multiplied when Vietnam again found itself at war.

And some Hoa (people of Chinese descent) from the North left after being told to move to New Economic Zones where agricultural reconstruction is being carried on under difficult conditions. The tensions between the Hoa and other Vietnamese resulting from Peking's hostility to Vietnam contributed to the outflow.

The imperialists and their allies launched a virulent propaganda campaign claiming that Vietnam was expelling tens of thousands, forcing them out to sea in small boats.

In addition to vastly exaggerating the toll of deaths due to drowning, the big-business media deliberately ignored Vietnamese offers to airlift 10,000 emigrants a month to imperialist countries—an offer these governments firmly rejected.

Aid programs to Vietnam, such as the food aid sent by the European Common Market, were cancelled in the name of "humanitarianism." Vietnam was equated with Nazi Germany.

This propaganda had an impact on liberals and on many petty-bourgeois radicals. Many took up the cry that, in the wake of U.S. military withdrawal, "Vietnam has lost the peace"—as though U.S. imperialism and its allies have given Vietnam any peace.

The propaganda campaign had nothing to do with aiding the "boat people," as the imperialists showed by

their refusal to admit more than a handful.

The real target was the tens of millions of workers and peasants who were determined to stick it out in Vietnam despite economic adversity and imperialist attacks. The campaign also attempted to soften up public opinion for new military moves against Indochina.

Rightist bloc exposed

As major military defeats hit Pol Pot's forces in Kampuchea, his backers began to court wider international support. In a series of press interviews published in June, Ieng Sary, Pol Pot's chief deputy, declared that units of the Khmer Serei, which the CIA organized in the early 1960s to combat Prince Sihanouk's "neutralist" capitalist regime, were now fighting side by side with the Khmer Rouge. And he praised the Thai regime for its assistance, while stressing the need for more "outside help." (In a year-end interview with CBS television reporters, Pol Pot himself reiterated these themes.)



Young Kampuchean fighters celebrate overthrow of Pol Pot.

Attempts to engineer the proclamation of a rightist front, perhaps headed by Norodom Sihanouk, against the Heng Samrin government accelerated. The effort has been stalled up to now by the reluctance of some rightists to openly admit their ties to the main military component of such a front—the discredited, blood-drenched remnants of the Khmer Rouge.

In order to facilitate the formation of such a front, Pol Pot stepped down as prime minister in the Khmer Rouge government at the end of 1979. This title was taken by Khieu Samphan, who was head of state during the Khmer Rouge reign of terror. Pol Pot stayed on as commander of the Khmer Rouge troops.

Famine became the imperialists' most powerful weapon against Kampuchea.

Even without civil war, the need to reorganize agricultural production on a new basis would have posed overwhelming tasks for the Heng Samrin government. The masses refused to continue working in the agricultural labor camps to which they had been forcibly transported by the Khmer Rouge. Hundreds of thousands set off in search of their former homes.

But the main source of famine was the scorched earth policy adopted by the Pol Pot forces in their last days in power. Beginning with the near-destruction of Pnompenh, they extended this policy to the countryside.

Writing from the Thai-Kampuchea border, James Pringle wrote in the June 14 *Newsweek*:

As the Khmer Rouge retreat, they are evidently leaving behind one last bitter legacy. Civilians say Pol Pot's men are burning Cambodia's rice barns and sowing paddies with mines to prevent them from

being planted. "It is farming season, but no one can get into the fields to do anything," said Cheam Ly Hour, 31. A few months from now, Cambodia may reap the final harvest of the Khmer Rouge—a nationwide famine.

The Carter administration became more open in its backing for Pol Pot, pressing his cause successfully in the United Nations after he had lost his seat at the Nonaligned conference in Havana in September.

With the active complicity of the Red Cross and the United Nations, a propaganda campaign was launched claiming that Pnompenh was blocking food aid.

At the same time, the Red Cross and United Nations established aid programs purportedly for the hundreds of thousands of refugees camped along the Thai border. But in reality, their aid went to Pol Pot and allied rightist bands, while the refugees are permitted to waste away from hunger and disease.

Gains for Kampuchea

Far from refusing aid, however, the Pnompenh government actively sought it, while resisting the array of political conditions demanded by the Red Cross and United Nations.

The government invited Western reporters to see for themselves the crimes of the Pol Pot regime and the famine conditions Kampuchea was facing. These reports undercut the imperialist efforts to legitimize Pol Pot, and helped spur an international demand for unconditional aid to Kampuchea that even the Red Cross and United Nations found hard to resist.

After its representatives visited Kampuchea, one Western relief agency—Britain's Oxfam—broke ranks and began actually sending aid to Kampuchea. Oxfam's administrators reported that the claims that the government was obstructing aid were false.

Vietnam continued to pour assistance—including 120,000 tons of food—into Kampuchea, and the Soviet government responded to the international call for aid by stepping up its shipments (159,000 tons so far).

Because of this aid, signs of normal life are appearing in Kampuchea's cities and countryside. Starvation is being fended off in the cities, markets are opening, and some factories and public services are getting under way. Rice fields are being cultivated in many districts—an indication of the government's ability to defend the farmers against Pol Pot's raiders.

The new threats from U.S. imperialism and the Thai regime are a direct response to Kampuchea's gains over famine, which the imperialists counted on to starve its people into submitting to a proimperialist government.

International solidarity with the Indochinese revolutions remains a key component of their struggle to survive, deepen, and extend.

Working people around the world must demand an end to military moves against Kampuchea, Vietnam, and Laos—whether from Washington, Peking, or Bangkok. This includes demanding an end to the support funneled to Pol Pot and allied rightist forces by U.S. imperialism, the Association of Southeast Asian Nations, the United Nations, and other sources.

All U.S. military shipments to the Thai dictatorship must cease and U.S. advisers must be withdrawn now.

Above all, the countries of Indochina—Kampuchea in the first place—require massive infusions of aid to heal the wounds of war and meet the basic needs of the people. U.S., European, and Japanese imperialism—which have done so much over four decades to bring ruin to Indochina—must provide this aid.

From Intercontinental Press/Inprecor

By August Nimtz

(fourth of a series)

Earlier articles in this series have argued that the real character of Zionism is racist and reactionary, that it is based on the oppression of the Palestinians, and that it actually threatens the survival of Jews. Supporters of Zionism often respond that such anti-Zionist arguments are an attack on the Jewish people.

This claim hinges on two assumptions, both of which are false.

The first assumption equates Zionism with the Jewish religion and the Jewish people. To the contrary, Zionism has always been distinct from the Jewish religion and its adherents. From its very beginning Zionism has been opposed on religious grounds by various Jewish religious figures and groups. Many leading Zionists, for their part, were militantly antireligious. Even today there are anti-Zionist Jewish religious groups and antireligious Zionists.

Secular Jewish groups have also opposed Zionism. The American Jewish Committee, for example, founded in 1906, had an anti-Zionist position until the late 1940s. And the Zionists were always hostile to assimilationist Jewish community organizations.

Zionism is above all a political movement, one of many political tendencies competing for the allegiance of Jews, and initially not a majority current. Prior to World War II, for instance, socialism was a more popular political current amongst European Jews.

The second assumption that defenders of Zionism make is the claim that Zionism is the national liberation movement of Jews. This claim has its origin in the plight that European Jews faced as victims of anti-Semitism. Political Zionism, the call for the establishment of a separate state for Jews, was portrayed as a solution to anti-Semitism.

'Socialist' cover

Since the Zionists looked for support amongst the Jews of Europe who suffered oppression and leaned toward socialism as the answer to their plight,



Issues in Mideast Conflict

much of Zionist ideology began with a socialist and egalitarian cover. On the surface, Zionism paraded as a progressive movement for the liberation of an oppressed people.

There was, however, a crucial difference between the Zionists and other movements for the liberation of oppressed nationalities. The Zionists did not direct their movement against their oppressors—the capitalist rulers.

Rather than fighting for a Jewish state or even autonomous territory in Europe, the middle-class Zionist leaders sought to make a deal with the imperialist powers that controlled the remaining world territories. This orientation is the origin of what is an essential ingredient of Zionism to this day—its dependence on and support for imperialism.

Rather than seeking to build a Jewish state at the expense of the imperialists, the Zionists built their state in alliance with the imperialists and at the expense of the Palestinian Arabs, who were in no way responsible for the oppression of the Jews.



Jewish settlers in Palestine in 1925

How Israel was founded

Is Zionism national liberation?



Israeli soldiers attacking a Palestinian village in the 1948-49 war. A similar assault on the village of Deir Yassin in April 1948 resulted in 254 Arab deaths.

This is the basic difference between reactionary Zionism and the progressive anti-imperialist national liberation movements in the world today.

The Zionists began working out a deal with the British, who ruled over Palestine after World War I. The Zionists claimed "historical rights" to Palestine for Jews. In truth, even before the Roman conquest of ancient Israel, three-fourths of all Jews lived outside it.

Balfour Declaration

Under the Balfour Declaration of 1917, Britain declared its support for the establishment of a "national home for Jews in Palestine." In return, the Zionists agreed to back British imperialism both during and after the war. This meant opposition to Palestinian independence, because had Palestine obtained independence before there was a sufficient number of Jewish settlers, then the goal of a Jewish state could not have been realized.

With the backing of the British, the Zionists intensified their colonization of Palestine. Whenever possible, Arabs were denied access to land. A common method was to purchase land from absentee Arab landlords and then oust the peasant tenants. In addition, the Zionist boycott of Arab labor and goods made it difficult for Arabs to remain in the region.

Arab resentment toward the Jewish settlers began to grow. Before World War II this culminated in one of the most important struggles in the colonial world, the 1936-39 general strike and revolt by the Palestinians against Britain's pro-Zionist policies.

Before World War II Zionism had been unable to attract the vast majority of world Jewry, most of whom lived in Europe. But the rise of Nazism and Hitler's extermination of Jews changed this situation dramatically.

The extermination of masses of Jewish radical workers and urban poor and the failure of socialist revolutions helped divert Jewish sentiment to the Zionists.

For many Jewish refugees Israel was the only place they could go. The United States, their preferred choice, closed its doors to them during the war. The Zionists, in fact, welcomed the exclusionary U.S. policy since it meant more Jewish settlers in Palestine.

Zionist terrorism

Meanwhile, in Palestine itself, the Zionists were pushing harder, increasingly using terrorist tactics, to oust the Arabs. To the extent that Britain blocked them in this goal, the Zionists directed their attacks against the British also.

With the U.S. emerging from the war as the leading imperialist power, and with British imperialism weakening, the Zionists decided to ally themselves with Washington. Britain in the meantime unloaded its "Palestine problem" onto the United Nations. Under the UN partition plan of 1947 Palestine was divided into two separate areas, one for Jews and one for Arabs. The Palestinians, whose land was being divided, had no voice in the agreement.

Jews, who comprised less than one-third of the total population, got 54 percent of the land—the most fertile—while Arabs got 45 percent. In the Jewish portion there were about as many Arabs as Jews, close to a half-million each.

Almost immediately after the partition Zionist forces, including the terrorist Irgun organization—whose head was the present Israeli prime minister Menachem Begin—set out to grab the territory left in the wake of British troop withdrawals.

Threats were used to get Arabs to abandon their land both in and outside the Jewish portion. However, it was the massacre of 254 Arabs at the town of Deir Yassin in April 1948 by the Irgun that led to the greatest flight of Arabs.

When Israel declared independence in May 1948, surrounding Arab states, under the pressure of mass outrage at the Zionist colonizers, launched an unsuccessful war. When the war was over Israel had seized 80 percent of Palestine and had made refugees of 750,000 Palestinians. Forty percent of the land owned by Arabs who stayed in Israel was also taken. All Arabs in Israel were reduced to second-class citizens.

The reality of Israel's origins was explained frankly by Israeli foreign minister Moshe Dayan, who was quoted in the Israeli daily *Ha'aretz*, May 10, 1973:

"The establishment of the State of Israel was fundamentally at the expense of the Arabs. There is no escaping this fact."

As the Israeli state advances in age, the progressive cloak that Zionism wrapped itself in to justify its pretensions as a national liberation movement is increasingly discarded. Zionism's innately reactionary tendencies—there from the start—become more and more apparent.

In Brief

60,000 OIL WORKERS STRIKE FOR PAY HIKE

About 60,000 Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers union members went on strike against 100 oil companies January 8.

The union rejected a 9 percent wage increase offer from Gulf Oil and other companies on January 3 in part because it wants the pay hike in cents per hour, a spokesperson said.

The union is also demanding a fully paid health-care plan that includes dental and prescription drug coverage.

OCAW's oil unit is renegotiating the second year of a two-year contract reached a year ago. Under that agreement the union had the right to reopen the contract on wages, health benefits, and vacation improvements.

Under pressure from Carter's wage guidelines, the union accepted a wage increase in the first year of the contract far below the official 13 percent rate of inflation.

The oil companies claim the strike will have little or no effect on gasoline or heating oil supplies because the refineries will operate with supervisory personnel. But OCAW spokesperson Jerry Archuleta said the companies are "whistling in the dark" in predicting they can maintain normal refinery operations. Archuleta also warned that plant operations would be increasingly dangerous without the striking workers.

FEMINIST JAILED AFTER TRIP TO IRAN

Angered by the findings of a group of six Americans who visited Iran in December, a Florida judge ordered one of the group jailed on January 4 for a 1977 conviction of "trespassing."

Carol Downer had been free on bail pending appeal of the trespassing conviction. It stemmed from a 1977 "consumer inspection" of the maternity ward and nursery of the Tallahassee Memorial Regional Medical Center.

Downer, of the Feminist Women's Health Center, explained after her trip to Iran that she had come to understand more fully why the U.S. Embassy had been seized and said she was shown evidence that the United States was using the embassy to orchestrate a counterrevolution in Iran.

A news statement released by the delegation in Iran explained, "While we are here we intend to educate ourselves to all aspects of the situation so that we can take back to the American people the truth that is being denied them."

Apparently it was too much for Judge Charles McClure who revoked Downer's bail and threw her into the Leon County Jail in Tallahassee.

After a well-attended news conference, supporters packed the courtroom January 7 at Downer's bail hearing. At 6 p.m. she was released on \$3,000 bail.

Iranian students murdered in San Diego

By Steve Warshell

SAN DIEGO—Two Iranian students were discovered January 4, murdered in their apartment complex here. Both of them were "hog tied"—hands and feet bound together behind their backs—and shot once in the back of the neck.

The two execution murders are the latest tragic evidence of the racist campaign against Iran and Iranians being whipped up by Carter and the government.

The two victims, Masood Barin, twenty-six, and Esmaeil Sanaipour, twenty-four, were students at local universities. Neither of the two had been active in the Iranian movement in San Diego or elsewhere.

While police and city authorities emphatically de-

nied that the slayings were politically motivated, citing the theft of the one of the victim's automobiles, most Iranian students in the area feel otherwise.

An Iranian student ombudsman at U.S. International University told the *Los Angeles Times* that "most of the Iranians on campus [political or not] had received anonymous phone calls, hate mail, and other threats to their lives and property." The student said he personally had received ten anonymous hate letters in the past six weeks.

In San Diego a virtual lynch-mob atmosphere exists. In December, three Chicano students were assaulted at San Diego State University because they were mistaken for Iranians by rightwingers on campus.

Locally, large billboard posters have appeared with a picture of Imam Khomeini saying, "Fight back . . . drive 55." According to the January 8 *Los Angeles Times*, more than 3,000 of these billboards, sponsored by the Pacific Outdoor Advertising Association of America, have been printed.

The San Diego Socialist Workers Campaign issued a statement January 5 denouncing the murders of Sanaipour and Barin and placing full responsibility on president Carter's campaign of racist hysteria against Iran and Iranian students in the United States.

The socialists demanded that "the city of San Diego launch a full investigation into the murders . . . and that it provide special protection for all Iranians living in this area."

PELTIER CONVICTED IN L.A. TRIAL

American Indian activist Leonard Peltier was found guilty on December 22 of escaping from a federal prison.

The Los Angeles jury also found another defendant, Bobby Garcia, guilty, but could not reach a verdict on the third, Roque Duenas, who was charged with aiding the escape.

Peltier charged he was forced to try to escape because the government was plotting to have him murdered in prison. One witness began to testify he had been hired to kill Peltier, but the judge refused to permit him to continue.

Peltier is serving two consecutive life terms for "aiding and abetting" in the death of two FBI agents who started a shootout at the Pine Ridge Reservation in South Dakota in 1975. No one charged Peltier himself killed anyone.

The jury found Peltier innocent of the lesser charge of conspiracy in plotting the escape.

CLEVELAND TEACHERS END 11-WEEK WALKOUT

After an eleven-week strike, 5,000 members of the Cleveland Teachers Union voted overwhelmingly to accept a contract January 3. The agreement includes a 24 percent wage increase—10 percent immediately, 4 percent in September, 5 percent next January, and 5 percent in April of 1981. The teachers also won improved hospitalization coverage and a dental plan.

The CTU rejected two earlier offers which prompted the intervention of federal Judge Frederick Coleman. He ordered the board of education and the union into marathon bargaining. When no settlement seemed in sight, Coleman issued a back-to-work order January 1. The teachers voted to defy it.

The board worked hard at turning parents and students against the teachers. Now schools officials charge the agreement may cause massive cutbacks and set back phase two of the desegregation plan.

Teachers were not without support. For example, United Auto Workers Local 45 at the Fisher Body plant organized a plant-gate collection to aid the strike.

JUSTICE DEPT. SAYS INS MUST BAN GAYS

The Justice Department has ruled that the Immigration and Naturalization Service must ban the admission of gays to the United States. This discriminatory decision is based on reactionary legislation passed by Congress in 1952.

The ruling last month reversed a stand taken last summer when the INS lifted its

official ban on homosexual immigrants pending a Justice Department review.

According to Charles Brydon, co-executive director of the National Gay Task Force, the Justice Department had agreed to meet with gay rights groups before issuing its ruling. However, no such consultation occurred.

In a related development, three San Francisco lawyers are preparing a legal challenge against the present enforcement procedures.

UAW SETTLES WITH CATERPILLAR CO.

The United Auto Workers Union reached a contract agreement with Caterpillar Company December 15.

The settlement ended an eleven-week walkout by auto workers over takeaway demands by the agricultural implement producer.

Members of UAW Local 974 in Peoria, Illinois—some 23,000—began the strike October 1. They were joined by 17,000 other workers October 29. Eight Caterpillar plants in six states were shut down.

More than 35,000 auto workers at International Harvester remain on strike while the UAW continues negotiations. Harvester workers walked out November 1.

NEW YORK CITY ABORTION RIGHTS FORUM

An abortion rights forum sponsored by the New York City chapter of the National Organization for Women will take place Tuesday, January 22, at 7 p.m. at Judson Memorial Church, 55 Washington Square (West Fourth Street).

Speakers include Miriam Wollcott, New York State Catholics for a Free Choice; Bill Baird, abortion rights activist; Marcella Martinez, Special Administrator to the Secretary-General, United Nations' Decade for Women; and others.

For more information, Call (212) 989-7230.

THE MILITANT GETS AROUND

The *Militant's* December 7 poster centerspread headlined "Why Die for the Shah?" was translated into Farsi and appeared in the December 14 issue of *Iran News* with credit to the *Militant*. *Iran News* is circulated across the United States.

Report says Carter lied about oil crisis

The Carter administration kept secret a government study which concluded that the cutback in Iranian oil production and exports as a result of the revolution did not lead to a crude oil shortage in the United States last year.

This is one of the findings of a Congressional subcommittee report based in part on Treasury Department documents.

The reason for withholding the study, the documents say, is that it would be "confusing to the public and Congress" and would contradict Carter's official position.

According to a Congressional subcommittee memorandum, the Department of Energy also "deliberately withheld significant information about a substantial February increase in oil imports from the Congress and the public because," as one Energy Department official explained, "it would have been embarrassing."

The non-existent oil shortage was the excuse Carter and the oil monopolies gave to justify gasoline and oil price hikes last year. Rep. Benjamin Rosenthal, who heads the subcommittee, told the *New York Times*,

"There was no shortage" because of Iran. "The Administration had evidence, but chose to ignore it."

The Carter administration continues to use Iran as an excuse for the fleeing American workers get from the oil companies, so the White House still has reason to be embarrassed by the study.

Thus it's no surprise that the Treasury Department has reportedly decided to abolish the Office of International Energy Research and dismiss Cathryn Goddard, director of the office and a co-author of the banned energy study.

What's Going On

CALIFORNIA LOS ANGELES

REVOLUTION IN IRAN. Speakers: Ebal Ahmad, Institute for Policy Studies, Franklin "Skip" Glenn, member of U.S. Citizens Delegation to Iran. Sun., Jan. 13, 7:30 p.m. Fritchman Auditorium, 2936 W. 8th St. (near Vermont) Ausp: Ad Hoc Committee on U.S. Involvement in Iran. For more information call (213) 380-3180.

SAN FRANCISCO

THE CUBAN REVOLUTION: ITS MEANING FOR LATIN AMERICA. Speaker: Harry Ring, staff writer for the *Militant*. Fri., Jan. 18, 8 p.m. Donation: \$2. 3162 23rd St. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (415) 824-1992.

MINNESOTA TWIN CITIES

NICARAGUA: REVOLUTION CONTINUES. Speakers: Rosangelica Aburto, native of Nicaragua; Gary Prevost, Socialist Workers Party. Sun. Jan. 13, 7:30 p.m. 508 N. Snelling. St. Paul. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (612) 644-6325.

NEW JERSEY NEWARK

ABORTION—A WOMAN'S RIGHT TO CHOOSE. Speakers: Denise Mayer, coordinator of Reproductive Freedom Task Force, Essex County National Organization for Women; Maureen McDougall, previously active in British abortion rights movement, others. Fri., Jan. 18, 7:30 p.m. 11-A Central Ave. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (201) 643-3341.

CRISIS IN AFGHANISTAN. Speakers to be announced Sat., Jan. 26, 7:30 p.m. 11-A Central Ave. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (201) 643-3341.

NEW MEXICO ALBUQUERQUE

THE ORGANIZER. A film starring Marcelo Mastroianni on the struggle of textile workers in Italy in 1880s. Fri., Jan. 11 and Sat., Jan. 12, 8 p.m. University of New Mexico SUB Theatre. Donation: \$2.50. Ausp: Young Socialist Alliance and the Militant Forum. For more information call (505) 842-0954.

OHIO CINCINNATI

STOP RACIST VIOLENCE! Rally to protest Ku Klux Klan terror. Speakers: Iberius Hacker, National Network Against the Klan and Southern Christian Leadership Conference; Marcus Hammonds, president, Middletown NAACP; Rev. Fred Shuttlesworth, pastor, Greater Newlight Baptist Church, Cincinnati; Movement for Human Rights; Mac Warren, member United Auto Workers Local 600, former leader of struggle to desegregate Boston schools; Anne Braden, Southern Organizing Committee. Sun., Jan. 20, 7:30 p.m. Greater Newlight Baptist Church, 710 N. Crescent Ave. For more information call (513) 221-3862 or 751-2636.

PENNSYLVANIA PITTSBURGH

AFGHANISTAN: WHAT LIES BEHIND THE PRESENT CRISIS. Speaker: Kipp Dawson, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., Jan. 18, 8 p.m. 1210 E. Carson St. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (412) 488-7000.

400 protest Miami cop killing

By Pat O'Reilly

MIAMI—Four hundred angry demonstrators converged on the Dade County Courthouse December 29 to protest the brutal bludgeoning to death of Arthur McDuffie by Miami police.

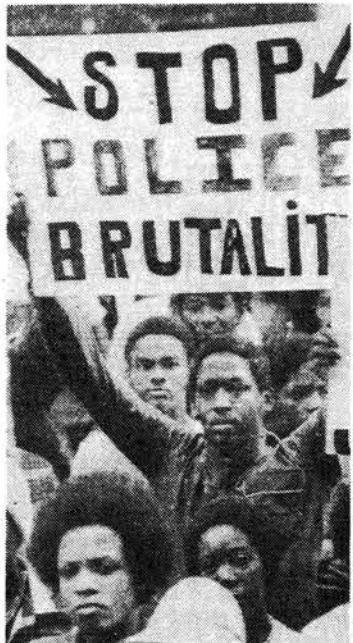
McDuffie, a thirty-three-year-old Black insurance company executive, apparently trying to avoid arrest for a traffic violation, was stopped by cops after a brief chase at 2 a.m. on December 17.

Twelve policemen were present, and several began to beat McDuffie using clubs and heavy duty flashlights. One Miami policeman who witnessed the beating said, "They looked like a bunch of animals fighting for meat."

Another cop tried to justify the murder, saying, "... the adrenalin gets going during any highspeed chase, and it was up to 100 miles an hour, and he did run about 25 red lights..." "The feeling afterward was that this guy was a nigger who was running from police, and he deserved everything he got."

While McDuffie—his skull cracked and face covered with blood—was on route to the hospital, the cops began the cover-up. The motorcycle he was riding was demolished to make it appear his injuries resulted from a collision. The officers filed reports to corroborate their lie.

Metro Public Safety Department and Dade County officials began an investigation a week later only after the *Miami Herald* exposed



December 29 Miami protest

what really happened.

The investigation led to charges being filed against only five of the twelve policemen involved and the suspension (with full pay) of four more "pending further administrative and/or criminal action."

The Dade County state attorney rejected seeking second-degree murder charges against four of the cops and opted instead for manslaughter charges which carry a lesser penalty.

Black leaders here have expressed outrage over the lesser charge.

Protest actions are continuing. An afternoon picket line at the Metro Justice Building on January 2 drew 50 people.

Zabar's: 'Good life' for some, evictions for the poor

By Steve Beck

NEW YORK—Zabar's delicatessen is a symbol of the "good life" to some Manhattan residents, who go there seeking anything from caviar to a bagel.

Recently Zabar's became a symbol of the eviction of the poor and elderly by profit-seeking landlords.

Tenants of the Centre Hotel, located above Zabar's at Eightieth Street and Broadway, accuse the building's owners of withholding heat and hot water, boarding up bathrooms, and threatening to shut off elec-

tricity in an illegal attempt to evict them.

Assisted by the Columbia Tenants Union, the hotel residents picketed Zabar's on December 30. Stanley Zabar, co-owner of the delicatessen, admits to being a major stockholder in the corporation that owns the hotel.

Clearly embarrassed by the unwelcome attention and wide news coverage given the picket, Zabar announced to the protesters that he'd restore services at the hotel and give the tenants an extra three months to move out.

While Zabar claims to want the hotel space only for storage and office space, the Tenants Union charges that the rehabilitation of old residence hotels for luxury housing has netted huge profits for Manhattan developers.

Single-room occupancy hotels like Centre are the last resorts for New York's poor. But with rehabilitated studio (efficiency) apartments renting for \$600 and up, working people are being squeezed dry and the poor often forced into the street.



Militant/Steve Beck

The Great Society

Harry Ring



Most fascinating story of '79—

GOKE, Okla. Dec. 15 (AP)—There was no adverse effect on Kerr Reservoir last year when 1,400 pounds of uranium compound accidentally drained into the Illinois River, says a state health department report that had been filed away by mistake.

Big little liars—

The National Council of Teachers of English gave its 1979 Doublespeak Award to the nuclear industry for its Three Mile Island performance. An explosion became an "energy disassembly," a fire became "rapid oxidation," and a reactor accident, an "event" or "normal aberration."

You better believe it—"We're not going to take our shareholders' money and invest it if we don't see a chance for a decent return." Clifford Garvin, chairman of Exxon.

Murder, Inc.?—Former CIA Deputy Director Ray Cline says the cloak-and-dagger agency has to be rebuilt into what it used to be. But, he adds, "First, the name 'CIA' has to go. The semfictional 'CIA' of world headlines is an international whipping boy on which the KGB

and every tinhorn dictator or ayatollah blame their difficulties. Regrettably, the name is a liability abroad."

Household hint—Bloomingdale's in New York is featuring a satin laundry bag. Washable. \$68.

Vacation tip—If you can get away for a winter break, try the deluxe villa at La Mancha in Palm Springs. Three bedrooms, three baths and a private pool and jacuzzi set in a walled patio for skinny dipping. \$600 a day. (We should add that, according to our intelligence sources, the town is suffering, at \$85 a bottle, a shortage of Dom Perignon champagne.)

What wasteful society?—General Foods spends \$9.8 million a year advertising Grape Nuts cereal.

Touchy—Sheriff's deputies in Carbon County, Utah, refused to look for a taxpayer's lost pet pig. The pig, the owner had explained, responded to the name, "policeman."

Thought for the week—"I intend to open this country up to democracy, and anyone who is against that, I will jail, I will crush."—Brazilian dictator Joao Baptista Figueirido.

Union Talk

Machinist fights for her job

The following is excerpted from a fact sheet being distributed at General Dynamics plant gates in San Diego.

Marcia Scott has filed a grievance through her local union, the International Association of Machinists Local 1125. She has also filed a complaint with the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission. A petition demanding her reinstatement is being circulated within the plant and at union meetings.

On October 18, 1979, Marcia Scott was fired from her job as an aircraft mechanic at General Dynamics (Lindbergh Field) after almost two months on the job as a trainee. Her supervisor, Robert Porter, said that she was "not adaptable" to the work. Yet Porter told her that he hadn't checked her speed or quality but could tell she wasn't adaptable "just by looking" at her.

Scott's co-workers say that she tried and worked harder than other trainees who haven't been fired, and that she was always on the job and made few mistakes. Several workers have said that Wayne Garoutte, her group leader in Department 046, was responsible for her firing through exaggerating a mistake Marcia had made. A Black supervisor in another department has also said that she was fired because Marcia has racially-mixed children.

Degrading racist and sexist remarks are often heard in the plant. In a comment made in early October to Scott, who is white, Garoutte referred to his knife as his "nigger sticker."

For women sexual harassment is com-

mon. Scott states that she was also sexually harassed by Garoutte, who physically handled her despite her protests. This type of detestable behavior should be stopped immediately, but racist and sexist harassment by foremen and group leaders is simply overlooked by the company.

It is common for women and minorities at General Dynamics to be denied promotions and wage increases because of their race or sex. Several years ago the union fought a series of grievances to upgrade a large number of DC-10 assemblers to the A rating who had been stuck in B classification for years because of age, race, or sex.

Another example of this is the recent class-action suit won by Lanelle Smith and nine other women employees of General Dynamics. This case documented discriminatory policies at the company and awarded the women involved significant back pay.

Federal legislation protects workers from firing or denial of equal rights on the job because of race or sex. Certainly workers at General Dynamics should be protected by these laws that women and minorities won by struggle.

This case deserves the support of all union members, feminists, and supporters of civil rights. A victory for Scott will be a victory for the rights of all workers, especially women and minorities. Her reinstatement will also strengthen the union and its ability to fight against this kind of discrimination on the job.

Scott is demanding reinstatement, back pay, job classification to protect her from any new company harassment, and any other benefits lost due to her unjust termination.

Our Revolutionary Heritage

Lawrence textile strike

The current battles to organize Southern textile mills are part of a struggle that has continued for decades. In the early part of this century the textile mills were centered mainly in New England and the workers there waged heroic battles against the brutal exploitation they suffered.

The following article by George Weissman in the 'Militant' of January 18, 1960, was a memorial tribute to Arturo Giovannitti, a leader of the Lawrence, Massachusetts, textile strike of 1912.

The death of Arturo Giovannitti on December 31 [1959] recalls to memory the Lawrence textile strike of 1912—that heroic battle of the American class struggle, with which Giovannitti's name will always be coupled.

Lawrence, Massachusetts, then had the world's largest textile mills. On January 12, 1912, the men, women and little children, who slaved in those mills fifty-six and more hours a week for wages as low as \$5 and \$6, walked out in protest over a wage cut.

Unorganized, divided by national origin and employer-fostered enmities into twenty-seven foreign language groups, mistrusting the AFL labor bureaucrats whose policy of organizing only the skilled crafts had betrayed past struggles, the Lawrence textile workers called on the revolutionary Industrial Workers of the World to send in organizers for their strike.

Two Italian-speaking anarcho-syndicalists from New York, Joseph Ettor and Arturo Giovannitti, were among the first IWW organizers to reach Lawrence. Both were in their late twenties.

Ettor, born in New York, had gone to work at the age of twelve, had been a "wobbly" organizer for six years and a member of the IWW's general executive board for four years.

Giovannitti, born in Ripabottoni, Italy, had completed his formal education in the U.S. He was an intellectual, a poet and editor of a radical Italian newspaper. Their ability, courage and unwavering devotion quickly won them the love of all the strikers.

The strikers from the first were subjected to the brutality of the police and national guard. City and state officials and the capitalist newspapers, all lackeys of textile tycoon William M. Wood, did all in their power to smash the strike. In below-freezing weather, the mills played fire hoses on the picket lines. Strikers were given one-year sentences on charges of throwing snowballs.

On January 20 police "discovered" dy-

namite bombs in three different places. Unionists were arrested, all picketing forbidden, the press cried for the blood of Ettor and Giovannitti.

But it could not long be concealed that the dynamite had been planted, and the police tipped off, by one of Lawrence's leading citizens, a city official. He was let off with a \$500 fine.

Eight months later the dynamite plot was traced to Ernest Pittman, wealthy mill builder and close friend of textile baron Wood. Pittman committed suicide a day prior to being questioned by the grand jury. Though Wood, one of America's top industrialists, was later brought to trial for conspiracy in the dynamite plot, his high-priced lawyers won him an acquittal.

Ten days after the "bomb" fiasco, Ettor and Giovannitti were framed on a murder charge.

Police and national guardsmen had trapped a crowd of strikers at an intersection. A policeman or company gunman fired into their midst killing Anna Lo Pizza, a young woman.

Though they had been miles from this "riot," the two IWW strike leaders were arrested as "accessories" to the murder of their union sister. They spent the rest of the strike in the shadow of the electric chair.

After sixty-three days the solidarity and militancy of the 25,000 strikers paid off in a settlement that was a complete surrender by the mill owners. But victory was incomplete; for Ettor, Giovannitti and Caruso, a rank-and-file striker, were still in prison.

Throughout the country, socialists and unionists organized a great protest movement. A defense fund of over \$60,000 was raised. The international working class added its voice. In Italy, Giovannitti was even put on the ballot as Socialist candidate for parliament.

In Lawrence and other New England textile towns the workers' slogan became: "Open the jail doors or we will close the mill gates!" On September 27, the day before the trial began, a general protest strike took place in Lawrence, Lynn, Haverhill, Barre (Vermont) and other New England mill towns. On November 23 the jury freed all three defendants.

For decades afterwards Giovannitti took part in practically every U.S. strike involving Italian workers. He played a leading role in organizing American workers of Italian extraction into the anti-fascist movement. He continued to write poetry and articles on labor subjects; he held various posts in the garment workers' unions. In poor health since 1945, Giovannitti was seventy-five at the time of his death.

Women & Iran

Why don't you report that Khomeini and his gang have:

1. legalized marriage at thirteen (that means child marriage)
2. legalized polygamy—which everyone knows is the most damaging institution for women
3. legalized unilateral divorce—that is a man can get rid of any one or all of his wives by saying "I divorce you" and throw her out, rob her of her children and her livelihood—this makes women into virtual slaves of men
4. rob women of education—since a girl of thirteen is married she cannot get an education.

The present regime is returning to the middle ages as far as women are concerned and has robbed half of the population—all women—of the basic human rights and made them into slaves of males.

You should be ashamed of yourselves for printing such lies about Iran by omitting the enslavement of women that is proceeding all over Iran—but you are too chauvinist to admit the truth that Khomeini and the Moslems are preaching slavery for women and are determined to make women into breeding machines for the sexual exploitation of males and that they are nothing but servants for the male ego which is too weak to stand up on its own.

I have been looking at your publication out of curiosity for some years but it is a waste of time.

Fran Hosken
Lexington, Massachusetts

'Morally indefensible'

Because of your morally indefensible stand on Iran, and because of your non-scholarly, hate-tactic approach to issues in general, I would prefer to have nothing to do with the *Militant* or the Socialist Workers Party in the future.

Ned Robertson

Cleveland, Ohio

Popular despot?

I find your position in support of the Iranian regime to be outrageous. Those of us who favor a democratic form of socialism are against the despots whether they are the Shah propped up by the United States, or the Ayatollah Khomeini, who is supported by his own people.

When the people of a nation support a dictator such as the Ayatollah, Hitler, or Stalin, it doesn't mean that we have to support these leaders. The Ayatollah has sent Iran back into the dark ages.

Women are worse than second class citizens in Iran. As Engels said, we can measure the degree of civilization in a society by seeing what the status of women is in that country. The new sex laws in Iran are also reactionary. The Ayatollah is another fanatical despot who

has caught the imagination and support of his people.

It should be taboo to capture an embassy staff. Only mad people would think of doing such things. While we condemned the CIA for their wrongdoings in foreign countries, we should also condemn the Ayatollah for his wrongdoings. The Iranian people have also earned our condemnation for supporting the kidnapping of our embassy staff.

For the above stated reasons, I would like my subscription to your paper cancelled immediately.

Tom Menkin
Los Angeles, California

Send back shah

Some news writers are saying "we" have an Iran crisis. Well, the biggest crisis most of us have is getting a decent job.

If Carter is really worried about the hostages' lives, he would let Panama send back the shah.

If Carter worried about "national honor," he would stop paying our tax money to the C.I.A. and the Pentagon. The whole world hates them.

If Carter wants "national security," he can guarantee job security. He could nationalize Chrysler for starters.

If Carter worries about our liberties, he can get the F.B.I. away from our mail and off our phones.

If Carter is afraid of an energy crisis, he can nationalize oil and build trains.

It beats getting killed in Iran.
Blaine Coleman
Williamsburg, Virginia

Einstein

I felt I learned a lot from Cliff Conner's article on Einstein. If it were published as a pamphlet, it could be used along with George Novack's work to introduce people to Marxist philosophy.

K.H.
Toronto, Ontario

ERA: union business

Massive popular support for equal rights for women enables a campaigning unionist to receive a warm welcome among rail lodges. That's the conclusion I've drawn in building the January 13 labor march for the Equal Rights Amendment.

Brotherhood of Railway and Airline Clerks Lodge 1906 at Amtrak Corporate Headquarters has had a functioning ERA committee. People who went to the July 9 demonstration and those much newer to ERA support will be riding the buses to Richmond January 13.

BRAC Lodge 17 at Union Station heard a presentation by myself in November and endorsed the December 9 rally sponsored by Labor for Equal Rights Now in Alexandria, Virginia.

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Learning About Socialism

Trotsky on 'mistakes' in history

As the centenary of Leon Trotsky's birth came to an end, a new collection of his writings was published by Pathfinder Press, *Writings of Leon Trotsky: Supplement (1934-1940)* (available for \$6.95 plus \$.75 postage from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, New York 10014). This brings together materials which were not available for publication in the twelve volume *Writings of Leon Trotsky (1929-40)*. An earlier supplement brought together uncollected writings dating from 1929-1933.

The supplement covers a wide range of subject matter, from the problems of building revolutionary parties to art and literature, Stalin's Moscow trials frame-up and the approach of World War II. There is fascinating material on Trotsky's political relations with figures such as A.J. Muste, Victor Serge, and Diego Rivera.

A favorite item of mine is entitled "Political Personality and the Milieu," dated April 10, 1938. (An incomplete version of this item appeared in the *Writings of Leon Trotsky: 1938-39*).

In this letter, Trotsky discusses the relationship between the mistakes made by individuals and parties and the outcome of big historical conflicts. It was written as a reply to those like the historian Boris Souvarine who argued that "mistakes" made by the Left Opposition—the revolutionary socialists who opposed Stalin's rise to power in the Soviet Union after Lenin's death—were partially responsible for the triumph of the Stalinist bureaucracy.

Trotsky's comments highlight an aspect of the materialist conception of history, as opposed to theories that explain great social changes and upheavals by the role of individual heroes and villains.

—Fred Feldman



LEON TROTSKY

example of the Great French Revolution in which, viewed in retrospect, the relationship between the actors and their milieu appear much more clearly defined and crystallized.

At a certain juncture in the revolution the Girondist leaders [a moderate bourgeois-republican tendency toppled by a popular uprising in 1793] completely lost their bearings. In spite of their popularity and their intelligence, they committed nothing but mistakes and blunders. They seemed to participate actively in their own downfall. Later it was the turn of Danton [a right-wing Jacobin leader who fell from power in 1793 and was executed in 1794] and his friends. Historians have never ceased to wonder at the confused, passive, and puerile attitude of Danton in the last months of his life. The same for Robespierre and his friends [the Jacobin left wing, toppled by a rightist coup later in 1794]: disorientation, passivity, and incoherence at the most critical moments.

The explanation is obvious. At a given moment each of these groups had exhausted its political opportunities and could advance no further against the reality of internal economic conditions, international pressure, the resultant new currents among the masses, etc. Under those conditions each step produced results contrary to what they hoped for. But political abstention was scarcely more favorable. The stages of the revolution and the counterrevolution succeeded one another at an accelerated pace; the contradiction between the protagonists of a particular program and the changed situation assumed an unexpected and extremely acute character. This gives the historian the possibility of displaying his retrospective wisdom by enumerating and cataloguing the mistakes, omissions, and blunders. But unfortunately these historians have refrained from indicating the correct path which could have led a moderate to victory in a period of revolutionary upsurge, or on the other hand from indicating a revolutionary policy which would be both reasonable and victorious in a Thermidorean [counter-revolutionary] period.

In December I gave another presentation and the local chair, a woman, convinced her roommate and another union sister to ride to Richmond January 13. Three other members began discussing formation of a carpool to get down to the march.

The local system board chairman for the Brotherhood of Railway Carmen invited me to a meeting of Lodge 364 (Washington Terminal Company employees) in an enthusiastic response to my suggestion of a presentation concerning equal rights for female employees. The Washington Terminal Company has never kept a woman past probation in any firing or braking positions.

The predominantly Black and female lodge listened attentively and six people zipped up to list their names for transportation to the march.

One woman, a car cleaner, organized her three friends into a carpool on the spot. "If it's for equal rights, we got to go!" she responded to announcement of the action.

Working people are hungry for responses to the indignities that eat away at their paychecks and quality of their lives, I concluded.

The solid labor backing for this march has also served to defeat backward initiatives to read ERA out of the agenda as "not union business." In the one case where this was attempted two women who'd never seen the flyers before read them aloud and asked, "What's not union business?"

Sara Smith
Washington, D.C.

More on economics

I want to applaud your effort and diligence in reporting today's important and significant events and publicizing the vital human rights struggles of both individuals and whole peoples.

The positions you have taken on the major issues match my own and often cause me to realize what I support in today's events.

I would like to see more articles examining and criticizing today's economic situations, myths, and capitalist obfuscations by people like Ernest Mandel and David Frankel.

Joel Bailey
Chestertown, Maryland

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.

Dear Comrades:

In my two books on Lenin and Stalin, on which I am working simultaneously, I find it necessary to clarify a theoretical question which is also of great political importance. Basically, it concerns the relationship between the political or historical personality and the "milieu." In order to go directly to the heart of the problem, I shall refer to Souvarine's book on Stalin, in which the author accuses the leaders of the Left Opposition, myself included, of various mistakes, omissions, blunders, etc., from 1923 on. By no means do I wish to deny that there were many mistakes, blunders, and even stupidities. What is important, however, from the theoretical as well as the political point of view, is the relation or rather the disproportion between these "mistakes" and their consequences. It was precisely in this disproportion that the reactionary character of the new historic stage was expressed.

We committed no few mistakes in 1917 and in the years that followed. But the revolutionary momentum filled in the gaps and repaired the errors, sometimes with our assistance and sometimes even without our direct participation. But for this period the historians, including Souvarine, are indulgent because the struggle ended in victory. During the second half of 1917 and the years following, it was the turn of the liberal and the Mensheviks to commit mistakes, omissions, stupidities, etc.

I want to illustrate this historic "law" again with the

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KENTUCKY: Louisville: SWP, YSA, 131 W. Main #102. Zip: 40202. Tel: (502) 587-8418.

LOUISIANA: New Orleans: SWP, YSA, 3319 S. Carrollton Ave. Zip: 70118. Tel: (504) 486-8048.

MARYLAND: Baltimore: SWP, YSA, 2913 Greenmount Ave. Zip: 21218. Tel: (301) 235-0013.

MASSACHUSETTS: Amherst: YSA, c/o M. Casey, 42 McClellan. Zip: 01002. Tel: (413) 537-6537. **Boston:** SWP, YSA, 510 Commonwealth Ave., 4th Floor. Zip: 02215. Tel: (617) 262-4621.

MICHIGAN: Ann Arbor: YSA, Room 4120, Michigan Union, U. of M. Zip: 48109. **Detroit:** SWP, YSA, 6404 Woodward Ave. Zip: 48202. Tel: (313) 875-5322.

MINNESOTA: Mesabi Iron Range: SWP, YSA, P.O. Box 1287, Virginia, Minn. Zip: 55792. Tel: (218) 749-6327. **Twin Cities:** SWP, YSA, 508 N. Snelling Ave., St. Paul. Zip: 55104. Tel: (612) 644-6325.

MISSOURI: Kansas City: SWP, YSA, 4715A Troost. Zip: 64110. Tel: (816) 753-0404. **St. Louis:** SWP, YSA, 6223 Delmar Blvd. Zip: 63130. Tel: (314) 725-1570.

NEW JERSEY: Newark: SWP, YSA, 11-A Central Ave. Zip: 07102. Tel: (201) 643-3341.

NEW MEXICO: Albuquerque: SWP, YSA, 1417 Central Ave. NE. Zip: 87106. Tel: (505) 842-0954.

NEW YORK: Capital District (Albany): SWP, YSA, 103 Central Ave. Zip: 12206. Tel: (518) 463-0072. **New York, Brooklyn:** SWP, YSA, 841 Classon Ave. Zip: 11238. Tel: (212) 783-2135. **New York, Lower Manhattan:** SWP, YSA, 108 E. 16th St. 2nd Floor. Zip: 10003. Tel: (212) 260-6400. **New York, Upper Manhattan:** SWP, YSA, 564 W. 181 St., 2nd Floor. Send mail to P.O. Box 438, Washington Bridge Sta. Zip: 10033. Tel: (212) 928-1676. **New York City-wide SWP, YSA, 108 E. 16th St. 2nd Floor. Zip: 10003. Tel: (212) 533-2902.**

NORTH CAROLINA: Piedmont: SWP, YSA, P.O. Box 2486, Winston-Salem. Zip: 27102.

OHIO: Cincinnati: SWP, YSA, 970 E. McMillan. Zip: 45206. Tel: (513) 751-2636. **Cleveland:** SWP, YSA,

13002 Kinsman Rd. Zip: 44120. Tel: (216) 991-5030. **Oberlin:** YSA, c/o Gale Connor, OCMR Box 679. Zip: 44074. Tel: (216) 775-5382. **Toledo:** SWP, YSA, 2120 Dorr St. Zip: 43607. Tel: (419) 536-0383.

OREGON: Portland: SWP, YSA, 711 NW Everett. Zip: 97209. Tel: (503) 222-7225.

PENNSYLVANIA: Edinboro: YSA, Edinboro State College. Zip: 16444. **Philadelphia:** SWP, YSA, 5811 N. Broad St. Zip: 19141. Tel: (215) 927-4747 or 927-4748. **Pittsburgh:** SWP, YSA, 1210 E. Carson St. Zip: 15203. Tel: (412) 488-7000. **State College:** YSA, c/o Jack Craypo, 606 S. Allen St. Zip: 16801. Tel: (814) 234-6655.

TEXAS: Austin: YSA, c/o Mike Rose, 7409 Berkman Dr. Zip: 78752. **Dallas:** SWP, YSA, 5442 E. Grand. Zip: 75223. Tel: (214) 826-4711. **Houston:** SWP, YSA, 806 Elgin St. #1. Zip: 77006. Tel: (713) 524-8761. **San Antonio:** SWP, YSA, 112 Fredericksburg Rd. Zip: 78207. Tel: (512) 735-3141.

UTAH: Salt Lake City: SWP, YSA, 677 S. 7th East, 2nd Floor. Zip: 84102. Tel: (801) 355-1124.

VIRGINIA: Tidewater Area (Newport News): SWP, YSA, 111 28th St. Zip: 23607. Tel: (804) 380-0133.

WASHINGTON, D.C.: SWP, YSA, 3106 Mt. Pleasant St. NW. Zip: 20010. Tel: (202) 797-7699.

WASHINGTON: Olympia: YSA, c/o Lynne Welton, 1304 Madrona Beach Rd. Zip: 98502. Tel: (206) 866-7332. **Seattle:** SWP, YSA, 4868 Rainier Ave., S. Zip: 98118. Tel: (206) 723-5330. **Tacoma:** SWP, YSA, 1306 S. K St. Zip: 98405. Tel: (206) 627-0432.

WEST VIRGINIA: Morgantown: SWP, YSA, 957 S. University Ave. Zip: 26505. Tel: (304) 296-0055.

WISCONSIN: Milwaukee: SWP, YSA, 3901 N. 27th St. Zip: 53216. Tel: (414) 445-2076.

Ratify the ERA!

Jan. 13 march is just the beginning

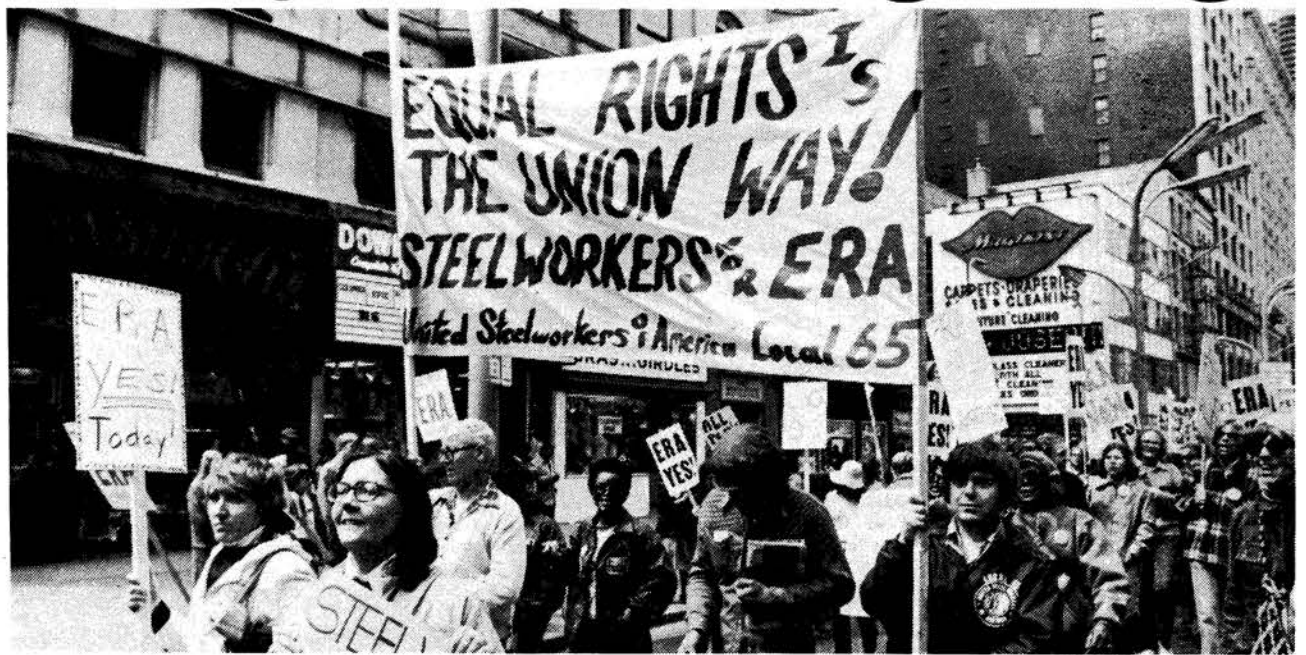


PULLEY



ZIMMERMANN

The following is a statement issued by Andrew Pulley and Matilde Zimmermann, Socialist Workers Party candidates for president and vice-president of the United States.



Militant/Charles Ostrofsky

The January 13 march on Richmond, Virginia, for the Equal Rights Amendment, organized by Labor for Equal Rights Now (LERN), is a giant step forward in women's battle for equality.

Today, a fighting alliance of labor, women, and civil rights supporters has come together in a powerful force led by the labor movement to demand that the Virginia legislature and state legislatures in all fifteen unratified states pass the ERA.

Steelworkers, auto workers, teachers, miners, rail workers, public employees, men and women, Black and white, young and old, have joined together to pledge labor's support to this crucial fight.

Members of the National Organization for Women, the Coalition of Labor Union Women, and other women's groups are here to demand, "Equality now!"

The trade unionists who are here today along with women's rights activists know that we all live in an unratified nation—that's why we have come from all over the country to answer the call of our sisters and brothers in Virginia.

That's why solidarity actions with the Richmond march are being held as far away as San Diego, San Francisco, and Phoenix, Arizona.

Labor has a big stake in the fight for ERA. If this

battle is won, it will be a big step forward in the fight for equal rights for women—42 percent of the work force.

The opponents of equal rights for women are the same as the union busters, the profit-gouging corporations, and the racists.

ERA ratification would spur the fight to organize the unorganized and wipe the so-called right-to-work laws off the books. Labor's stand for ERA will help us win support for our cause from millions of women.

Our action today in support of equal rights for women is also a repudiation of the racist, anti-woman, labor-hating Ku Klux Klan. We must continue to unite in opposition to Klan terror and to official complicity with their violence.

The enemies of labor, women, and Blacks want us divided and fighting among ourselves as prices skyrocket and jobs dwindle. But January 13 is saying no to this divide-and-conquer strategy of big business and its government.

In the months leading up to this march a tremendous educational and organizational campaign was begun that can now be built upon.

In mills, mines, rail yards, factories, and offices ERA was the topic of discussion and debate. People

passed out leaflets to co-workers, who in some cases learned for the first time what ERA really means for them. Male and female workers bought ERA buttons, hard-hat stickers, and shirts and wore them to show their support for this fight.

Committees to organize for the march were set up in unions and in NOW and CLUW chapters across the country.

But the January 13 march has done something else. It has shown the power we have when labor, the women's movement, and civil rights organizations unite in one force.

It is this kind of power that needs to be extended. It is this kind of struggle that needs to be waged until we win ERA!

That is the message January 13 is bringing. And it is just the beginning.

Our enemies would like to kill ERA. But our fight is alive. Labor has brought fire to this battle for equality, and women in turn have brought a new fighting spirit to the unions.

January 13 is truly a fighting way to bring in the decade of the eighties. Let the women's movement and the labor movement continue to join hands in struggle until the ERA is ratified.

Should women support Kennedy?

By Suzanne Haig

On December 10 the National Board of the National Organization for Women announced its decision to oppose Carter's renomination and reelection for president in 1980.

His failure to get the Equal Rights Amendment ratified, as he had promised in his 1976 campaign, and the cutoff of most federal funding for abortion during his term were cited as the main reasons, according to the December 11 *New York Times*.

Carter's record has certainly earned him this opposition.

However, a December 16 *New York Daily News* article quoted NOW President Eleanor Smeal as saying a Kennedy endorsement was "under consideration" but that NOW had not "finished the process for a positive endorsement."

On November 11 the California NOW State Board voted by a close margin to endorse Kennedy and to

take their recommendation to the National Board. The Ohio state conference last November also voted to instruct its political action committee to endorse Kennedy.

These actions—even if no formal endorsement of Kennedy is made—are a serious step away from building the kind of movement needed to win ERA and other women's rights demands. They are a step away from the fighting alliance of women and labor represented by the January 13 ERA march in Richmond, Virginia.

Such actions threaten instead to drain NOW's energies into the swamp of Democratic Party politics, subordinating women's interests to the fortunes of one or another Democratic Party presidential hopeful.

Reliance on Democratic Party politicians as the way to win women's rights is not a new strategy for the NOW leadership. It has been tried many times before. It has never pro-

duced anything but disappointments and defeats for women and for all working people who have a stake in ERA and other women's issues.

In the 1972 presidential election, for example, many feminist leaders argued that the way forward to win ERA and the right to legal, safe abortion entailed becoming delegates for George McGovern at the Democratic Party convention. The idea was to fight "from within" to make the Democratic Party a champion of women's equality instead of a political obstacle.

Despite their best efforts these delegates were forced to stand by helplessly and watch McGovern and his backers engineer the defeat of the abortion plank at the Democratic convention. McGovern strategists claimed that having a pro-abortion plank in his platform would hurt his chances of getting elected.

Unfortunately, the lesson of 1972 was not learned by some leaders of

NOW and other women's rights groups.

At a National Women's Political Caucus benefit on the eve of the 1976 Democratic convention, Gloria Steinem, editor of *Ms.* magazine, had this to say: "We are now a pressure group on the inside that has to be dealt with instead of a few people demonstrating on the outside."

But those who set out to reform the Democratic Party, such as Steinem, Bella Abzug, and Betty Friedan, ended up campaigning for Carter, an avowed anti-abortion candidate. For the past four years he and his Republican and Democratic cohorts in Congress have tried, by cutting off Medicaid funds for abortion, to ensure that poor women seeking abortions would have to go to back-alley butchers.

It is on the issue of ERA ratification that Carter and the Democratic Party have really "dealt with" women.

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