

THE MILITANT

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

Victory in Iran

Iranian masses show the way for workers around the world



TEHRAN, Feb. 10—Soldiers, airmen, and demonstrators celebrate. For eyewitness account of insurrection, see pages 3-5.

The following statement was issued February 14 by the political committee of the Socialist Workers Party.

Revolution strips away the layers of falsehood that disguise the relations between classes; it reveals the real foundations of society. So it has been in Iran.

From February 9 to 12, the old regime crumbled under the blows of a popular insurrection. Ministers and generals fled into hiding. Discipline over the ranks of the army disintegrated. Governmental power had disappeared.

The workers, peasants, and soldiers were in a position to organize their own government and begin reconstructing Iranian society.

Committees arose spontaneously and in many areas took over the direction of traffic, the evacuation of those wounded in the fighting, and the maintenance of public services in Tehran—a city of 5 million.

Popular defense guards, or "Islamic marshals," were also in control of the major cities of Isfahan, Mashad, Qum, Kermanshah, and Shiraz, as well as dozens of smaller towns and villages

throughout the country.

Insurgent soldiers began to elect their own officers. They joined with workers to disarm the few elite military units loyal to the monarchy. Meanwhile, popular committees directed the process of arming the masses, cleaning out police stations, rounding up SAVAK agents, and breaking open the shah's prisons.

Workers in rifle assembly plants ended their strike to assemble weapons for the workers.

Workers took over some key installations and communications centers and

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Imperialism and Indochina: stakes for U.S. workers

Washington reacted to the toppling of the Pol Pot regime in Kampuchea by escalating its political, economic, and military campaign against the Vietnamese revolution. This offensive has been in high gear since the Vietnamese workers and peasants overturned capitalism in South Vietnam last spring, marking the consolidation of a workers state encompassing the entire country.

This was a sharp blow to imperialist domination in all of southern Asia—particularly in Thailand, where the dictatorship of General Kriangsak faces opposition from peasants, workers, and students.

The Japanese and Australian imperialists' decision to cut off the dribble of aid they had been giving Vietnam; Carter's move to beef up Thai military forces; and the Thai regime's covert support to Pol Pot's reactionary forces in Kampuchea and to counterrevolutionary guerrillas in Laos—these are all aimed at containing and rolling back the Vietnamese revolution.

The antiwar sentiment of the American people is a big obstacle to direct U.S. intervention. Nonetheless, the moves by Washington and its allies pose a real danger of new military assaults against the Indochinese peoples.

It is important for American working people—and socialists in particular—to be clear about the contending class forces and what role each is playing in Indochina today. Thus far, however, disorientation, confusion, and gullibility in the face of an imperialist propaganda barrage have been more the rule than the exception among U.S. radicals.

Beginning with articles by Mary-Alice Waters on page 21 and by Fred Feldman and Steve Clark on pages 22-26, the *Militant* is taking up the questions raised in the wake of the Kampuchean war.

• *Was this a war between workers states (or "Communist countries," as the press often calls them)? Was it a proxy war between Russia and China?*

The *Militant* says no to both questions.

Capitalism was toppled in South Vietnam last spring. But the opposite happened in Kampuchea under Pol Pot. Rather than mobilizing the workers and peasants to abolish capitalism, his regime physically dispersed the working class and rolled back the land reform that had begun.

The conflict between opposed social systems in Vietnam and Kampuchea—not the machinations of Peking and Moscow—was the central factor in the war.

• *Is Vietnam on an expansionist drive in Indochina?*

This accusation is an example of what Malcolm X called making the victim look like the criminal and the criminal look like the victim.

Vietnam is defending itself, albeit by Stalinist methods, against imperialist efforts to regain a foothold on the Indochinese peninsula. The imperialist drive to reclaim markets ripped from its control underlies the war in Kampuchea.

• *Was Vietnam's role in the war similar to the Soviet invasion of Hungary in 1956 and Czechoslovakia in 1968?*

The Soviet bureaucracy ordered the invasion of Hungary to crush a proletarian political revolution, which the ruling bureaucratic caste there proved unable to defeat. In Czechoslovakia, the Soviet rulers were convinced that struggles for democratic rights were headed in the same direction.

The Vietnamese Stalinist rulers, in contrast, militarily aided indigenous oppositionists in Kampuchea against a capitalist, counterrevolutionary government that threatened the Vietnamese revolution.

• *Should working people demand that Vietnam pull its forces out of Kampuchea?*

Washington and its allies are now trying to popularize this slogan as a cover for their own aggressive designs on Indochina. Ultimately, the question of whether Vietnamese troops should remain in Kampuchea must be decided by the Kampuchean workers and peasants.

Would Vietnamese withdrawal help them eradicate Pol Pot's tyranny and establish a workers state? Would it help block U.S. efforts to use Thailand against Vietnam, Kampuchea, and Laos? Are the Kampuchean workers and peasants—who greeted Vietnamese forces as liberators in 1970 when they fought the Lon Nol dictatorship—opposed to accepting Vietnamese help in the struggle against Pol Pot's reactionary forces?

If these questions cannot be clearly answered "yes"—and none of them can be today—the call on Vietnam to withdraw cannot be justified and merely plays into the hands of President Carter and his allies.

Not "Vietnam out of Kampuchea!" but "U.S. out of Southeast Asia now!" must be our slogan.

• *Do the war in Kampuchea, the Sino-Soviet conflict, and Teng Hsiao-p'ing's visit to the United States signal a new era of wars between workers states?*

No! Imperialism's profit drive remains the

cause of war. The postcapitalist economic structure of the workers states has eradicated the drive toward imperialist expansion and war.

The fact that bureaucratic castes with often conflicting needs rule all the workers states except Cuba doesn't change this. The bureaucrats seek peace and security along the counterrevolutionary and self-defeating path of collaboration with imperialism, rather than by aiding anticapitalist revolutions to eliminate the source of war. This only emboldens imperialism and heightens the danger of war. Nonetheless, the bureaucratic rulers of the workers states fear and desperately seek to avoid war.

That is why there have been no wars between workers states since the post-World War II revolutions brought new deformed workers states into existence alongside the Soviet Union. This is true in spite of the fact that sharp conflicts (sometimes escalating to border clashes) have occurred between the bureaucratic castes since the Stalin-Tito dispute broke out in 1948.

• *What are the causes of the disorientation among many radicals on these issues?*

The legacy of the Stalinist falsification of Marxism, combined with the pervasive pressures of the imperialist offensive against the working class on a world scale, are at the heart of the problem.

But the imperialist offensive is a product of weakness—of a worsening relationship of forces between imperialism and the toiling masses of the world from Indochina to Iran to London to Newport News, Virginia. Building a revolutionary party based on the industrial working class is the antidote to the demoralization, disillusionment, and pessimism that are being felt by many petty-bourgeois radicals today.

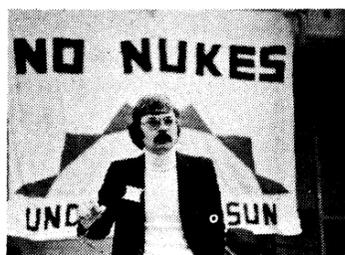
The importance of these questions is indisputable. The misconceptions that have come to the fore challenge the most fundamental Marxist positions on the class struggle, imperialism, the state, the causes of war, the role of the working class, and the prospects for socialism.

But the debate around them is an outstanding opportunity to clarify and sharpen our thinking. In addressing these issues, the *Militant* is confident that clarification will strengthen the capacity of socialists in the United States to combat the offensive of the employing class in all its forms—including the campaign against the Vietnamese revolution.

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Insurrection in Tehran

AN EYEWITNESS ACCOUNT

The following account of the February 9-12 insurrection in Tehran is based on the combined reports of a team of Trotskyist journalists on the scene: Brian Grogan of the British 'Socialist Challenge'; F. Eteffame of 'Informations Ouvrières' and Michel Rovère of 'Rouge', both French newspapers; and Cindy Jaquith, from the 'Militant.'

TEHRAN—Sunday, February 11, saw the culmination of the insurrection in Iran. An uprising of unprecedented proportions overthrew the government of the Pahlavi monarchy.

The Iranian armed forces—with more personnel and weapons than those of British imperialism—crumbled in the face of popular defiance and a soldiers' rebellion.

The death knell of the shah's regime began when the army found itself incapable of keeping exiled religious leader Ayatollah Khomeini out of the country. The February 1 arrival of Khomeini, who is a symbol of the nationalist struggle here, accelerated the upsurge.

Workers had already been on a general strike for nearly 100 days.

Peasants had seized farm machinery, livestock, and some land.

The police stations were vacated in the villages.

After Khomeini's arrival cities such as the highly industrialized Isfahan were taken over by the population.

Airmen join protest

The event that directly led to the insurrection in Tehran was the February 8 demonstration of more than 1 million called by Khomeini to support Mehdi Bazargan, his appointed prime minister in the new provisional government.

Hundreds of airmen from the Doshan Tappeh air base marched in uniform in their own contingents. The day before, the airmen had gone to Khomeini's headquarters to declare their allegiance to his provisional government.

In the face of continued protests by

the airmen and rapidly crumbling discipline on the air base, the elite troops of the Royal Guard were sent to attack Doshan Tappeh February 9 and prevent the airmen's example from spreading.

The battle of Doshan Tappeh began what developed into a nationwide uprising. Backed by the solidarity of the Tehran people, the airmen crushed the Royal Guard invasion.

While the airmen had been in the forefront of the opposition in the armed forces, the next three days revealed that the entire army was disintegrating. The horror of shooting one's brothers and sisters, the powerful appeal of the mammoth demonstrations against the shah, and the nationwide general strike had all had an impact on the soldiers.

Before this insurrection there was an element of doubt about what would happen when the army faced a real test. What in fact took place over the next three days was the army's collapse, which led to the Iranian people's victory over the monarchy.

Royal Guard invasion

At midnight on February 9, the silence of the curfew in southeast Tehran was suddenly broken by cries of "Allah-ho-akbar!"

This slogan, which means "God is great," has become the battle cry of the Iranian people. It is both an expression of their defiance of the shah and a warning cry.

This time the shouts of "Allah-ho-akbar" were coming from Doshan Tappeh air base. The airmen were appealing to everyone living in the surrounding area to help repel the Royal Guard invasion.

The air base had been alerted that guardsmen were rolling down from north of Tehran. The airmen began to organize defense. The ranks elected new officers to lead the battle. Arms were distributed.

As the cries for help reached residents of the area, there was a massive display of revolutionary solidarity.

Thousands poured out of their homes in defiance of the curfew and rushed to



Demonstrators march through Tehran streets with weapons and tools from arms warehouse.

the air base. There they helped the airmen construct barricades.

Others massed in the streets to surround the guards from behind.

The battle lasted all night. Even when ground troops were sent in, they failed to reinforce the guards. The airmen and civilians captured some tanks.

Many guards were killed. Sixty-three people—the majority from the Royal Guards—died altogether.

Weapons issued

By Saturday, February 10, the airmen had taken control of the area around the base.

They issued weapons to civilians. Anyone with an identification card showing they had served in the armed forces got a weapon.

Thousands began digging trenches and building barricades.

People took positions on rooftops. By this time, the rest of the city had begun to mobilize. Cars raced up and down the streets honking their horns to spread the word.

People waved strips of white cloth—a symbol that medical supplies were needed. Signs were posted everywhere describing the types of blood and serum needed for the wounded.

Young people who had served as marshals in the recent demonstrations began organizing the streets. They blocked off some roads so that ambu-

Continued on next page

Iranian Trotskyists unite

By Cindy Jaquith

TEHRAN—At a news conference here January 22, the Iranian Socialist Workers Party (Hezbe Karegaran Socialist) was announced. On the heels of the victorious insurrection February 9-12, four groups that for years had worked to establish the party of the Iranian revolution declared they had fused to found the Socialist Workers Party.

Two of the four groups were formed in exile by supporters of the

Fourth International, the world Trotskyist organization: the Sattar League, in North America, and the Iranian Supporters of the Fourth International in the Near East and Europe.

The third group, also in exile, was the Iranian Supporters of the Organizing Committee for Reconstruction of the Fourth International (OCRFI).

These three organizations fused with a group that had developed in Iran under the dictatorship and that

had recently declared its support for the Fourth International.

Supporters of the new revolutionary party have decided to publish an independent socialist weekly called *Kargar* (the *Worker*). The new paper will incorporate *Che Bayad Kard* (*What Is To Be Done*), which was previously published by activists in the Iranian Supporters of the Fourth International in the Near East and Europe and the group of Trotskyists that developed in Iran.

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...insurrection

Continued from preceding page

lances and cars of supporters could get to their destinations. Other streets were closed to protect people from gunfire. Everyone was urged to go to the hospitals with supplies.

We were in Ferdowsi Square at 1 p.m. Hundreds of people had gathered. Cars rushed back and forth with news of the battle going on about a mile away.

All of a sudden, there were cheers. A motorcycle sped by carrying a soldier who had come over to the side of the people.

He raised his machine gun in the air and gave a victory sign to the crowd. A few minutes later, another soldier rode past.

The entire city was soon in motion. In a desperate move, the military authorities announced at 2 p.m. that

Kavons Hematianpour

TEHRAN—Kavons Hematianpour, a twenty-year-old Trotskyist, was killed here by Royal Guards during the insurrection.

He was shot in the back on February 11 during the mass raid on the Efratabad Barracks.

Hematianpour was a student at the Melli University. He belonged to a group in Iran that has declared its support for the Fourth International.

This group has now fused with other Trotskyist forces here to build the Socialist Workers Party.

the curfew would begin at 4:30 that afternoon. They hoped to isolate the airmen by driving the civilian population from the streets.

Curfew

In a working-class neighborhood of southern Tehran, the immediate reaction was to defy the curfew.

But then there was an appeal from religious oppositionist Ayatollah Taleghani for people to return home and for the army to go back to the barracks. Many people started to get off the streets.

Shortly before 4:30, however, Khomeini called on the people to defy the curfew and protect the airmen. Immediately in both working-class areas and petty-bourgeois and wealthier sections of the city, the people massed in the streets.

They started fires in the middle of the streets and erected barricades. Tires were thrown in the flames to create a thick smoke that diffused tear gas and blocked the view of army helicopters.

In southern Tehran, the most combative area of the city, practically the whole population demonstrated in the streets. Huge barricades were built with cars and sandbags.

The army stood paralyzed. There were only scattered attempts by the Royal Guards to force people to obey the curfew.

In reality, the army had collapsed by Saturday evening. The government evacuated troops to areas outside the city because it was afraid to send its soldiers to confront the people.

That night, people began occupying police stations, taking weapons and files. On Shah Reza Avenue the trees and sidewalks were strewn with police reports and documents that had been thrown out the windows of a police station.

Although there was resistance from some cops, most of the police had long since gone into hiding.

On the western outskirts of the city, huge barricades were erected on the highways to Karaj, a town about forty kilometers away. This was to prevent other troops from invading Tehran.

And in Karaj, thousands of people surrounded the army base to prevent any troop movements.

Sunday morning

On Sunday morning, masses of people poured onto army bases and into police stations in Tehran.

Royal Guards shot demonstrators at some locations, but most of the bases were deserted.

People seized anything they could find: machine guns, bayonets, helmets, walkie-talkies. They drove army trucks and tanks off the bases and into the streets.

At 10 a.m. Sunday morning at Ferdowsi Square, large groups of people—some with knives or clubs, some waving white strips of cloth—marched toward Fowfieh Square, near Doshan Tappe air base.

The atmosphere was less tense now. People felt that victory was at hand.

At 12:30 p.m. there was an explosion of joy: "The radio has just announced that it is on the side of the people," someone told us. (Both the radio and television had been under military control.)

At 2 p.m., the radio announced that the army high command stated that it would no longer resist the people.

At many intersections there were hundreds of people with arms: rebel soldiers, airmen still wearing their blue uniforms, youth in green U.S. army jackets.

Several blocks from one of these intersections, a battle was still raging. Ambulances rushed back and forth. People were trying to take over a military police station.

These takeovers were spontaneous. While some members of two urban guerrilla groups, Fedayeen and Muja-



Woman prisoner is helped out of Qasr prison, where 3,000 political prisoners were held.

hadeen, participated, the decisive factors were the involvement of masses of people and the inability of the military to effectively resist. There was no real leadership or organization of the insurrection.

Other strategic buildings and symbols of the monarchy fell—the general post office, SAVAK headquarters, the Golestan Palace, where the shah held state ceremonies.

Prisoners freed

Demonstrators stormed the walls of Qasr Prison where 3,000 political prisoners were held. All the prisoners were quickly brought out and taken to homes.

People marched on the Israeli embassy, a particularly hated symbol of imperialism. Guards and diplomatic personnel had already left.

Inside, people searched for files. They did retrieve some documents in

English, although many had already been taken by Israeli authorities.

A banner was stretched across the embassy: "Down with Israel; victory to the Palestinians." The building was renamed "PLO embassy."

Meanwhile, at Tehran University, masses of students gathered. One team of women built barricades.

Someone had made a mock report card for the shah, giving him an F for human rights and an A-plus for stupidity. The card said: "Since the shah's father is not here to sign this report card, Jimmy Carter has signed it for him."

The celebration went on all afternoon. V signs were waved from cars, houses, and from the sidewalks.

Many cars and trucks passed by with the occupants waving their captured weapons. Army trucks, sometimes filled with 100 people, many of them armed, drove past.

There was a parade of tanks, covered with people, including some soldiers, down the main streets. The soldiers grinned and waved pictures of Khomeini.

A bus full of sailors went by, with their fists in the air.

One group of soldiers joined the celebration in front of the army hospital. We interviewed them. At first they were suspicious because we were foreigners. But when we explained we were against Carter and for the revolution, they opened up.

"We are very happy to be with the people," one soldier said with relief.

"I can't express my happiness," said another. "Tell the American people the truth."

Give up arms?

At 4 p.m., back at Ferdowsi Square, some mullahs were addressing people from trucks. They urged people to turn in their arms to religious authorities.

Earlier in the day, some mullahs had gone to an arms factory in an attempt to stop people from carrying out weapons.

Revolt sweeps Iranian provinces

TEHRAN, Feb. 13—As word of the insurrection here spread throughout the country, the revolutionary forces in other provinces began mobilizing.

At first there were solidarity demonstrations in other cities. Then the people began to march on police stations and army garrisons.

In contrast to the situation in Tehran, resistance was greater on the part of the armed forces and the police. The masses in the other provinces generally did not have access to weapons. As a result, casualties among the revolutionary forces were proportionally higher.

In Tabriz, the center of the oppressed Azerbaijani nationality, an estimated 500 people were killed or injured before the military was defeated.

According to *Kayhan International*, thousands of people—apparently unarmed—marched on a police station February 11, demanding that the cops come over to the people's side. The police answered with tear gas and then with army troops.

The demonstrators dispersed and then returned fearlessly in the traditional white burial robes to take on the police and army bare-handed.

Hundreds were gunned down from rooftops and by army tanks.

The police were able to escape with their secret files, but the masses eventually took over the city.

In Shiraz, security forces battled thousands for six hours February 11 before conceding defeat. Forty-four people died.

Armed only with Molotov cocktails, the crowds attacked police stations and arrested the cops.

Twenty-six died in Shah-e-rey. As in Tabriz and Shiraz, the people first urged the police to surrender and avoid bloodshed. But when the cops resisted, the gendarmeries were taken over.

In Gorgan, the scene of brutal shootings by the army in recent weeks, masses opened up the city prison and freed the prisoners in the course of taking control of their city.

Five to six hundred prisoners were also released during the battle to take over Hamadan.

And in Rasht, demonstrators seized the SAVAK headquarters. The six SAVAK agents all were killed.

People did not heed them. They held on to their arms.

At 8 p.m. Sunday night we turned on the television. The television workers who went on strike four months ago to protest military censorship had reclaimed the station.

"Good evening. This is the picture of the revolution," the announcer began. He urged people to come down to the station to protect it from possible attack.

"We want to help the nation get injured people to the hospitals," he explained.

The latest news was reported. Javad Saeed, head of the Majlis (the shah's fake parliament), had resigned, and the Majlis was dissolved. The announcer said there was an unconfirmed report that Bakhtiar had also resigned.

"He should have resigned earlier," the announcer commented, "then we would have had fewer martyrs."

Mehdi Bazargan, the prime minister appointed by Khomeini, then made a televised speech.

"The joint chiefs of staff support us," Bazargan claimed. He urged people not to take over any more military bases.

"Do not surround the headquarters of the joint chiefs of staff," he insisted. "Don't let disrupters damage anything."

The main theme of his speech was "have patience": rely on his government and the "good faith" of the generals.

But outside in the streets, the people were relying on themselves. Battles were still raging at one officer training base.

The television announcer appealed for people to go there to aid the freedom fighters.

Revolutionary TV

Other appeals were made through the TV, which had become sort of an organizer in the situation. The electrical workers asked people to use less electricity so there would be adequate power for the hospitals, which were still receiving the wounded.

The firefighters called in to warn that the officers' training base, which had fallen to the people, was on fire and the flames could spread to the surrounding residential area. The firefighters asked for aid as well.

On Monday morning, February 12, 3,500 prisoners from Ghezel Hesar Prison and thousands from Edin Prison were released.

Many of the prisoners from Edin had been severely tortured. One had had his tongue cut out and another was paralyzed.

A final bastion of the old regime, the

Masses bring murderers to justice

TEHRAN, Feb. 13—In the wake of the overthrow of the shah's monarchy, the Iranian people are bringing the crimes of his bloodstained regime before the world.

Many of the most hated figures in the monarchy were captured by groups of armed insurgents before they could escape from the country. Those arrested included former Prime Minister Shahpur Bakhtiar; Special Forces Commander Manuchehr Khosrowdad, a fierce shah loyalist; the martial law administrators in Tehran and Isfahan; and numerous other military officials.

In a dramatic exposé of their crimes, some of the criminals have been brought before television cameras to answer for their deeds. Gen. Nematollah Nassiri, hated head of SAVAK, the shah's secret police, was confronted by angry reporters, SAVAK victims, and their relatives on February 12.

Television here broadcast the entire news conference with Nassiri twice. The top SAVAK cop claimed total innocence. He even had the gall to deny any knowledge of torture by SAVAK agents.

Kahlil Rezaie, father of four guerrillas murdered by SAVAK, was at the news conference. "What did my children do to you that you killed them?" he demanded of Nassiri. "Why did you torture them so much?"

A former political prisoner directly countered Nassiri's lies. "But wasn't it you who beat me in a SAVAK prison, and particularly hit me over the ear?" he asked.

"It wasn't me," Nassiri stonily replied.

At another news conference the arrested military brass faced the media. Lt. Gen. Amir Hossein Rabii, former commander of the air force, revealed there that the Bakhtiar regime had plotted to bomb east Tehran during the middle of the insurrection.

"Bakhtiar called me at 9 o'clock in the morning [of February 11] to bomb with F-4s a weapons factory

overrun by the people off Jaleh Square. I told him I could not kill people," said Rabii.

The planned bombing was eventually called off, probably when the regime realized that there were not enough airmen left to reliably carry out the attack.

In fact, at the Royal Guard's Lavizan base, the troops were preparing for a different kind of air force bombing run. Guards who have defected from the base report that anti-aircraft missiles had been readied because it was feared rebel airmen would bomb the base, one of the last bastions of the monarchy.

Former ministers of the shah's regime, now incarcerated, also appeared at the news conference. Ex-Premier Amir-Abbas Hoveyda conceded to reporters that "there was a system of repression under the monarchy." But he denied any personal responsibility for this repression.

Questioned about the shah's own role in crushing human rights, Hoveyda snapped: "Ask him, not me. I only answer for myself."

Hoveyda said he and the others under arrest had been treated very well by their captors.

Some fifty Americans here were also arrested as insurgents searched for U.S. military and CIA personnel. All have now been released unharmed, with the exception of three Bell Helicopter representatives.

The three were captured after two rebel fighters were shot from a room at the Hilton Hotel. Armed groups occupied the hotel and arrested the three men, whom they believed fired the shots.

One of the Bell officials was a former four-star general in the U.S. Army. Another was a "security specialist" for the company. Radios and receivers were found in their rooms.

In addition to putting the enemies of the Iranian people on TV to answer the charges against them, the media here have featured what the people found when they took over the shah's prisons and torture chambers.



SAVAK chief Nematollah Nassiri

One article in *Kayhan* described the scene inside Comité, a SAVAK headquarters built especially to deal with guerrillas. The report explained that people found many implements of torture. A popular idea here now is to preserve the building intact as a permanent exhibition of the shah's crimes.

The television station visited the central SAVAK headquarters. Cameras wound their way through a maze of underground tunnels used to secretly move prisoners from one building to another.

Then they focused on bloodstains left on the sidewalk outside the building.

SAVAK had placed land mines around its headquarters to ward off attacks. One mine exploded, killing a youth, as the first wave of insurgents attacked the building.

Saltatnad Abad complex—which included the central SAVAK headquarters, garrison of the royal guard, and a number of jails—fell.

Four of the top generals were killed, and many others captured.

In its dying breath, the monarchy killed more than 1,000 people in Teh-

ran and the other cities throughout Iran that followed the example.

The great mass insurrectionary uprising of Tehran, although it broke out in a spontaneous way, climaxed a tremendous mass upsurge that toppled the Pahlavi monarchy and has now opened a new stage in the Iranian

revolution.

We give the last words of this episode to one Iranian worker with whom we spoke:

"Not even the Agha [sir, referring to Khomeini] could have foreseen such great things three days ago," he told us.

Tehran journal: scenes from a revolution

The following account was written before the February 9-12 insurrection.

By Cindy Jaquith

TEHRAN—A taxi ride in Iran is one of the experiences of the revolution here. Because bus drivers have been on strike and gasoline is in short supply, everyone rides the taxis.

And every taxi ride turns into a political discussion. The cab is filled with as many passengers as possible; many are workers.

A discussion may start by exchanging information: Were there any shootings by the army today? Is it true that the shah has sneaked back into the country?

Then there are debates: Are you for or against an Islamic republic? Is Afghanistan better off, now that it has Soviet aid? Are the communists taking over the universities?

One day I was riding down Pahlavi Boulevard. Three other women were in the cab. Suddenly, we approached a long line of cabs parked

against the curb.

Our taxi was surrounded by angry young cab drivers.

"Hey, man, we're on strike. You should strike too," they yelled at our driver. But he didn't stop. Instead, he floored the accelerator and sped away.

The passengers were furious. "You should join the strike," the women sitting next to me told the driver.

"Yes, you should," said another woman.

"We won't ride in this cab while there's a strike going on."

Our driver refused to join his fellow workers. So we demanded that he stop the car, and we all got out.

As the cab pulled away, a long line of orange cabs—passengerless—followed him.

The bourgeois press here—due to deep interest in revolutionary ideas and the relaxation of censorship—has begun to print articles by and about socialists.

The morning daily *Ayandagan*, for instance, devoted half a page to reprinting a short story by Peruvian revolutionist Hugo Blanco. The story was written by Blanco while he was in El Fronton prison in Peru.

Ayandagon's introduction to the story explained that Blanco is a Trotskyist who has been elected to the constituent assembly in Peru. The editor said the story was of interest in Iran because it dealt with the questions of the peasantry and the Indians.

Many people here have had the experience of running into a rank-and-file soldier who apologizes, often in tears, for the massacres of demonstrators. The workers who produce the army's weapons in Iran hate the killing just as much.

On January 30, several thousand workers from a machine-gun factory in Farahabad Jalah marched to Tehran University. They sat down in the middle of the street to protest recent shootings of students and to

make clear their solidarity with the revolution.

At first, the army tried to move them, but then gave up.

The workers marched to the campus chanting, "We built machine guns to kill our foes, unaware they would kill our brothers," and "Woe befalls me if a compatriot is killed by the weapon I have made."

Across the street from a home where I was staying in Tehran, I noticed a car that had been spray-painted with a swastika and slogans in Farsi (Persian). I asked my host what the slogans said.

"The car belongs to a SAVAK agent," he replied. "Neighbors have found him out, so they painted his car. The slogan says, 'The person driving this car is a SAVAKI. You should kill him.'"

I noticed the next day that the car was gone, apparently claimed by its owner late at night after the curfew had cleared the streets and he could make his getaway.

...victory in Iran

Continued from page 1

used them to help organize the uprising.

Workers committees had already been running Iran's giant refineries and oil fields—the country's main industry—for weeks. They needed no help from executives of the imperialist oil cartel nor from bureaucrats appointed in Tehran.

The Iranian revolution demonstrated that the working masses do not need bosses or bankers, they do not need officers or cops, they do not need capitalists or landlords in order for society to function.

The overthrow of the shah's monarchy is a victory for the American workers no less than for the people of Iran.

It is a victory for working people all over the world, who will be encouraged in their struggles and heartened with the knowledge that what the Iranian people did, *we can do as well.*

Revolutionary party

Only one thing was lacking in Iran. Only one thing has prevented the working masses from completing their victory by taking power into their own hands.

There was no revolutionary party,



BAZARGAN: Demands workers turn in weapons, as he appoints former officers of shah to command army.

composed in its big majority of workers, experienced in the struggles of the oppressed and exploited, and enjoying the respect of the masses.

Such a party would be the clearest voice explaining the need for the toilers to extend throughout the country their own independent organizations—in the factories, barracks, and villages—and to declare them to be the workers and peasants republic of Iran.

The Trotskyist forces, most of whom have recently returned to Iran from forced exile, are now unified in the Hezbe Karagaran Socialist—the Socialist Workers Party of Iran—and have set out to build such a party.

The bourgeois forces—organized around Ayatollah Khomeini, and led by Mehdi Bazargan and Karim Sanjabi of the National Front—are now racing to establish a stable capitalist regime. They have declared—from above—a provisional government. They are desperately trying to get the workers to give up their arms, get off the streets and back to work. Their efforts are being backed by the Carter administration.

Explaining Washington's fears, *New York Times* reporter Nicholas Gage noted February 13 that "nearly every young man on the street is now armed."

"The possession of such weapons has given the people a sense of personal power that is the opposite of their earlier experience, and they seem unlikely to put down their weapons easily to return to the routine of daily life."

Furthermore, "Once these radicalized young people and workers do go back to their factories and schools, they will be ripe for overtures from the Communists, especially if they feel the new Government's many promises to them are not being fulfilled quickly and completely."

The reported attack on the U.S. embassy in Tehran February 14—by persons whose identities and motives are still unclear—has been seized upon by the Bazargan forces to intensify demands that the masses give up their arms.

Shah's officers return

Instead of relying on the masses who overthrew the dictatorship, Bazargan has turned to some of the same officers responsible for shooting down demonstrators and protecting the monarchy. On February 12, he named Maj. Gen. Mohammed Wali Qaraneh, a long time



Workers who brought down monarchy need arms to defend their gains



stalwart of the shah's officer corps, as the new chief of staff for the Iranian army.

Mohammed Ali Nowruzi, the deputy chief of police under the shah, has been appointed acting chief of police by Bazargan.

But the shah's executioners have not changed their spots, and the Iranian masses know it. That is why they have responded so reluctantly—and sometimes not at all—to repeated appeals to turn in their arms.

Orders from officials handpicked by Khomeini or anyone else will not help the masses to move forward in their struggle for freedom and a better life. What will be decisive is what the masses can do to organize politically in their own interests.

The strike committees and neighborhood committees that are already running many industries and some towns can take responsibility for distributing food and fuel as well as other consumer goods, and for organizing production.

If these tasks are left to the capitalists, they will make sure the result is shortages, unemployment, speculation in essential goods, and inflation.

In the countryside, committees of

poor peasants can organize the distribution of agricultural equipment and land.

Elected committees

Elected committees of the revolutionary masses are not new to Iran. Known as *anjomans*, such committees sprang up during the Constitutional Revolution of 1906 and again in the revolutionary upsurge during and after World War II. Similar committees were called *soviets* (councils) when they arose in Russia in 1905 and 1917.

Joined together in federations on a regional and nationwide basis, such *anjomans* could become the government—democratic and responsive to the needs of the masses, unlike any government appointed from above.

Even on a local level, such committees can counter the appointment of new officials from above and fight for prompt and democratic elections for a constituent assembly—not an appointed or declared "constituent assembly" under the thumb of Bazargan.

Rank-and-file soldiers throughout the country will play a crucial role in this process. They can take advantage

Blacks draw lessons of Iranian revolution

The following are excerpts from a column that appeared in the February 10 issue of the 'Amsterdam News,' one of the country's largest Black newspapers.

By Louis Clayton Jones

The Iranian Revolution teaches at least three lessons:

1. The distinction between reality and illusion:

The Shah and the CIA were able to create the illusion of a viable modern economy while, in reality, the masses of Iranians were wallowing in poverty. A brilliant surface—a rotten core.

In the last few years, we have witnessed the phenomena of a Black representative at the United Nations, a Black Supreme Court Judge. Black mayors in Detroit, New Orleans, Los Angeles and Atlanta, a Black president of the Ford Foundation.

Simultaneously with the rise of the new Black bourgeoisie, the Black majority is increasingly ill-housed, ill-fed, ill-educated and, unemployed. A brilliant surface—a rotten core.

2. The creative power of disruption:

The revolution in Iran is a function of disaffected masses systematically engaged in the sabotage of a vulnerable economy. When the oil workers quit working, the Shah left the country. When two million people took to the streets, the army retreated.

In New York, appeals to [Mayor] Ed Koch on the basis of common sense and common decency are a waste of time. In fact, *appeals* to Koch on any basis are demeaning. One becomes a bit tired of watching Black politicians pleading with Koch to tone down his rhetoric.

Koch means exactly what he says. Why are Black "leaders" suggesting to him that he mislead Black people by acting as if he is sensitive to injustice?

State Senator Vander Beatty has suggested a recall of Koch. One would respectfully suggest that Koch's argument that the City Charter does not provide for recall of the Mayor is irrelevant. The Iranian constitution does not sanction the recall of the Shah, but recalled he was.

Koch will be removed when Blacks learn the difference between a march around City Hall and a march *on* City Hall. Koch will be removed when the Black transit workers and the Black school teachers and the Black social workers and the Black hospital workers and the Black commissioners and the Black deputy mayors refuse to work.

Koch will be removed when the Black Community Planning Boards and the Black School Boards refuse to function. Koch will be removed when 250,000 Black New Yorkers march *on* City Hall day after day after day.

3. The distinction between Civil Authority and Moral Authority:

This writer once suggested to Andrew Young that he could be a powerful world leader because of his moral authority. In his continuing vetoes of sanctions against South Africa, he has lost whatever moral authority he might have had.

The Ayatollah Khomeini, on the other hand, has demonstrated to all the world the power of moral authority.

Khomeini refused to "eat the

King's meat." The Shah would certainly have given him anything he wanted.

The lesson for Black New Yorkers who would be leaders is that one is committed to the masses of people or he is committed to an irrelevant private agenda.

Just as the Iranian masses suffered under the Shah, the Black masses of New York suffer under Koch and Carter. Khomeini never pleaded with the Shah nor did he attend cocktail parties and receptions at the Shah's palace.

Khomeini never accepted any grants from Exxon and British Petroleum nor did he have banquets and dinners in honor of his fellow sufferers under the tyranny of the Shah.

Until such leadership emerges in the Black communities of America, we shall continue to be a race of self-congratulating bourgeois opportunists scrambling for the white man's crumbs and a helpless population of the poor, the sick and the illiterate.

To contemplate such a future is to contemplate an obscenity.

Better to "strike a blow and die."

of being "confined to barracks" to hold discussions, form their own committees, and elect representatives to the workers, soldiers, and peasants *anjomans*.

The ranks of the armed forces themselves are in the best position to identify the nests of conspirators in the military staffs and to take action against them. To assure that the army is responsible to the *anjomans*, the soldiers will have to purge the entire officer corps and elect new officers *from the ranks*.

Alongside the soldiers, the workers who have fought so valiantly against the monarchy are sure to feel the need to hold onto their weapons and organize a militia to defend their gains and enforce the decisions made by their elected deputies.

The Iranian revolution has reached a crossroads. The struggle will go on, through numerous ups and downs. But with the successful insurrection against the monarchy, and the defeat of one of U.S. imperialism's major allies in the Mideast, the struggle of the Iranian people has already pointed to fundamental lessons about our own society.

Capitalists not needed

The first has already been mentioned, and it is no less true in the United States than in Iran: *the working people keep the country running, and the working people can and should run the country*.

In Iran, the capitalist class didn't help society. Just the opposite. Under their rule, agriculture stagnated. A fertile country that had previously been self-sufficient in food has to import about half of its agricultural products.

Capitalism in Iran meant imported luxuries for a privileged minority, and lack of decent housing and even sewage systems for the vast majority.

Under capitalist rule, Iran's "one crop" oil-based economy was distorted and dominated by a handful of British and American monopolies.

And above all, capitalism in Iran meant the "American shah," with his CIA-trained torturers, and his U.S.-trained and U.S.-armed military machine. The shah who outlawed democratic trade unions, filled the jails with political prisoners, denied equality to women, and trampled on the rights of the oppressed nationalities.

What about the United States? Does the American ruling class help advance American society?

The capitalists themselves are telling us that we have to take cuts in our standard of living.

They are slashing social services, closing down hospitals, schools, and child care. They are attacking wages, union rights, and the few rules supposed to assure safety on the job. They are pushing workers to the point of collapse with speedup and forced overtime.

While workers' living standards go down, taxes and inflation keep going



Masses took over Tehran, defeated forces loyal to monarchy, and kept city running

up, up, up. And the escalating military budget underlines the real threat of war, when what the workers want is peace.

When we balk at paying their price, the giant corporations threaten us with shortages of basic necessities, from food to fuel.

American workers, like Iranian workers, need a society based on human needs, not on private profits. And only the working class can lead the masses in establishing such a socialist society.

A second lesson of the Iranian revolution also applies to the United States, no less than to Iran: *the capitalist class is a lot weaker than it looks*.

What Iranians faced

Just look at what the Iranian people faced. The shah's secret police operated in every factory, every college, and every neighborhood. People were imprisoned and tortured merely for reading "suspicious" books.

Behind the secret police stood a 430,000-strong military establishment armed with billions of dollars worth of the most modern weapons the Pentagon could provide.

Not only did the shah have the support of every imperialist government, he could also count on friendly relations with both Moscow and Peking.

Finally, the shah had control of billions of dollars in oil money and was promising rapid economic progress.

But all the things that looked to rulers around the world like the basis for stability in Iran turned into their opposite with a speed that took the shah and his supporters completely by surprise.

As one of the leading mouthpieces for U.S. imperialism, the *New York Times* declared in a February 13 editorial, "It ended up taking only three months for events in Iran to go from the unthinkable to the inevitable."

The shah's petrodollars and the economic expansion they fueled turned into a trap for the regime. Millions of peasants, driven out of the countryside and into the cities by economic pressure, swelled the ranks of the working class and the urban poor.

The giant arms budget and the shah's imperialist advisers became a point of resentment and anger instead of a prop for the peacock throne.

In the last analysis, the shah's tyranny rested not on its repressive apparatus but on the illusion among the masses that they had to bow to the regime. Once the vast majority of society had shed that illusion—through months of determined and self-sacrificing struggle—no amount of arms could stop them.

Guns and tanks, after all, no matter how sophisticated, are only as reliable as the hands that fire them. And these are the hands of workers and peasants in uniform, not the employers or their cops. When the ranks of the army came over to the revolution, the fate of

the shah's regime was sealed.

What about capitalism in the United States? Is it as strong as it appears?

Display of weakness

The real weakness of the American ruling class has been highlighted precisely by the revolution in Iran. One of

Continued on next page



Elite Royal Guards were defeated when ranks of army went over to the people



Strike committees elected by oil workers have been running Iran's main industry for weeks.

...victory in Iran

Continued from preceding page

Washington's most important clients has been booted out of office by a popular revolution, and despite the enormous military might at his disposal, Carter was unable to stop it.

In December, Carter ordered a naval task force to Iran—and then stopped it halfway.

In January, Carter had to be content with flying twelve unarmed jets to Saudi Arabia as a "show of strength." And the government of Spain, fearful of the reaction of its own people, refused to let the jets refuel on its territory.

With the outbreak of the insurrection in Tehran, Carter announced plans to fly sixty-nine marines and six helicopters to Turkey. But he was quickly told by the Turkish government that any such move was "out of the question."

It is a far cry from the days when Lyndon Johnson, with more than 30,000 troops already in Vietnam, was able to invade the Dominican Republic with another 24,000 U.S. Marines.

The truth is that the American rulers are afraid of the working class at home. That is why they could be forced out of Vietnam, and that is why they have been unable to use the American military machine in the same way since then.

But they never cease trying and probing. As long as the capitalists rule in the United States, the danger of

a desperate military action by the imperialists remains—including in Iran.

Blows to imperialism

Meanwhile, a weakened imperialist system is facing new political blows.

- In Africa, since the collapse of the Portuguese empire the Black liberation struggle has been on the rise, and it is being helped by the army of revolutionary Cuba.

- The reactionary Pol Pot regime in Kampuchea has just been toppled, in a process Washington fears could lead to a deepening of the Indochinese revolution.

- British workers have smashed the government's 5 percent wage limit and are carrying out a campaign of militant strikes that sets a potent example for workers in the United States and around the world.

- Revolution in Iran has shattered the Mideast deal worked out under Carter's urging at Camp David, while inspiring Palestinian freedom fighters. And it has undermined the stability of capitalist governments from Pakistan to Saudi Arabia to Turkey.

The offensive at home

Determined to make the workers bear the cost of the worldwide economic crisis of capitalism, the U.S. rulers have been ruthlessly tightening the squeeze on the living standards of

the working class at home. Millions of workers know they are under attack and are eager to fight back.

Only one thing has enabled the American capitalists to carry out their austerity drive with some success. That is the illusion of the masses that there is no alternative to relying on and collaborating with the capitalists and their political agents.

This illusion is instilled and enforced by the class-collaborationist misleaders of the labor movement and other organizations of the oppressed, who keep the masses politically enslaved to the Democratic and Republican parties.

Through their revolution, the Iranian people have shown how quickly that illusion can crumble, how quickly the working class can sweep the exploiters aside. The same thing can happen here once the workers see a leadership that rejects collaboration and stands for struggle against the exploiters on every level.

The Iranian insurrection has once again shown the necessity of building a revolutionary socialist party here in the United States—a party composed of workers who have absorbed the lessons of previous struggles and can help lead our class to political power in the stronghold of world imperialism.

An urgent fund appeal

To get out the truth about the Iranian revolution and counter the lies of the big-business press, the 'Militant' is making an extraordinary effort. We have sent associate editor Cindy Jaquith to Iran, where she is reporting firsthand on the freedom struggle of the workers and peasants.

For a paper not supported by the capitalists, this is a budget-wrenching expense. Round-trip air fare to Tehran is \$1,400. Other trip expenses have surpassed \$1,500.

We think it's worth it—and we think you'll agree. We urgently need your financial help. Please send in a special contribution today.

I want to contribute \$ _____

Name _____

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Clip and mail to: Militant Business Office, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014.

What's behind threat of oil price hikes?

By Dick Roberts

In the wake of the overthrow of the Bakhtiar regime in Iran, the word from Washington is that oil prices will soon be sharply higher.

Dollar-a-gallon gasoline is unquestionably on the way, Energy Secretary James Schlesinger declared. The "disruption in oil supplies" supposedly caused by Iran "could be devastating to Western economies" he said.

Sen. Henry Jackson (D-Wash.), chairman of the Senate Energy Committee, urged the government to take immediate steps to curtail oil usage. "Our lifestyle isn't going to be the same" Jackson warned.

There is every reason to suspect this new alarm raised by Washington and the energy trusts. Higher oil prices will mean higher profits for the U.S. oil companies, one of their paramount aims.

In addition the price rise is aimed at driving a wedge between working people here and the Iranian revolution. If only Iranian oil was back in the hands of the good old shah, the implication is, we wouldn't face a steep rise in gasoline prices.

It shouldn't be forgotten that oil has been used before as a weapon against the Iranian people. In 1951 Iranian premier Mohammed Mossadegh nationalized the oil of that country. From 1951 until 1953, when Mossadegh was overthrown by the CIA and the shah, world imperialism purchased no Iranian oil whatsoever in a boycott aimed at strangling the Iranian economy.

That boycott did not produce an oil shortage necessitating global price increases. And a future boycott of Iranian oil cannot be ruled out if the imperialists decide upon this tactic to sabotage a regime in Tehran they do not like.

The argument that Iran is causing oil shortages needs a closer look.

Oil glut

The fact is that world oil markets have been glutted for the past two years. The coming on tap of oil from Alaska and the North Sea, coupled with declining growth rates of the major capitalist countries, produced world oil surpluses.

At one time California, which produces its own oil and also receives the oil shipped down from Alaska, was awash in petroleum.

These oil surpluses have been an embarrassing obstacle to the giant energy corporations, which aim to lift all U.S. government controls on domestic oil prices and then push the domestic price up to the world level.

The Carter administration, it should be noted, has declared its wholehearted support for these price-gouging objectives.

Meanwhile, what about OPEC—the Organization

of Petroleum Exporting Countries? As the value of the dollar declined, OPEC oil, which is traded in dollars, became cheaper and cheaper.

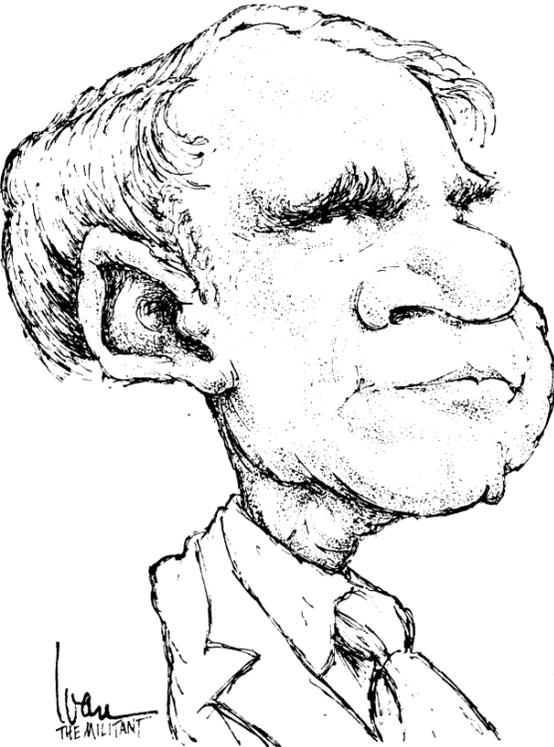
The decline of the dollar also undercut the ability of OPEC itself to curtail production. Since the OPEC nations could buy fewer foreign goods with the cheap dollars they received, they tried to push production up to increase their revenues.

At the same time, because OPEC oil was relatively cheap to the companies, they stood to make great gains by purchasing OPEC oil and stockpiling it with an eye toward future price increases.

"The principal OPEC countries were not then able or willing to cut production," oil expert Walter Levy admits in the current issue of *Foreign Affairs*. "Price advanced by OPEC have not kept pace with the overall rate of inflation and the decline of the dollar since the fourfold price increases of 1974, and the real price of oil has dropped substantially. . . ."

"The present situation is one of oil surplus, stagnating OPEC production and declining real prices for oil," Levy said.

Increasing political instability in Iran all the more encouraged the oil companies to push for stepped-up OPEC production. The imperialists would like to use up OPEC oil as rapidly as these countries will allow.



SCHLESINGER: Looking forward to dollar-a-gallon gasoline.

At the same time the companies have held back on increasing oil production in the United States.

This is because of the controls that still remain on oil prices in this country. Until they win decontrol of domestic oil prices, the energy giants want to keep as much oil in the ground as they can.

U.S. production

The result was a massive importation of OPEC oil, which had risen to 48 percent of U.S. consumption in 1978.

It was under these circumstances that Iranian oil accounted for 10 percent of the oil produced in the capitalist world and 5 percent of the oil consumed in the United States.

The oil trusts may well have stockpiled oil with an eye on the Iranian revolution. They could certainly foresee the possibility of using the Iranian crisis as a pretext for raising oil prices. This would give them a profit bonanza comparable to 1973-74 as they sold off at high prices the oil they had previously stockpiled more cheaply.

Did the oil companies, in fact, do this? Working people have no way of knowing. The international petroleum cartel operates in complete secrecy.

Past experience—for example, with oil in 1973-74 and with natural gas last winter—shows that any energy "shortages" are engineered by the deliberate policies and secret operations of the oil trust.

Open the books!

These gigantic monopolies should be forced to open their books. The truth is we need to follow virtually moment to moment every move they make. Let them go unwatched and the next thing you know there is an energy shortage here, people are freezing to death there, blackouts occurring, prices rising—and there is the escalating threat of catastrophe at nuclear plants.

We need committees of working people—on an international level—to oversee the energy cartel.

The Iranian oil workers have proved they don't need the U.S. corporate overlords in order to run the oil fields and refineries—the workers have been doing it themselves and making their own decisions about how much oil to produce and for what purposes. Their example should inspire not only oil workers but all working people who are fighting the same enemy.

Energy has become a vital necessity to industrialized society. Why should it be privately owned?

Energy should be publicly owned and controlled by the workers in the interests of society—not private profit.

If the Iranian masses succeed in taking this step they will be pointing the way forward for all humanity.

Socialists set plans for 'Militant' sub blitz

By Peter Seidman

Branches of the Socialist Workers Party and chapters of the Young Socialist Alliance are getting ready for the national subscription blitz week that begins February 23.

The week of intensive subscription sales is the first step in a drive to sell 100,000 copies of the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* this winter and spring.

The drive will continue with a ten-week single-copy sales campaign that begins March 9.

Many areas, however, have jumped ahead with subscription sales even before the official drive.

They've been bringing the *Militant* to striking workers who really appreciate our first-hand coverage of—and support for—their struggles.

Portland socialists, for example, have been making special efforts to circulate the *Militant* at the union shacks and campers set up near picket lines of striking members of the Association of Western Pulp and Paperworkers.

"The response has been really good," Portland SWP organizer Curt Johnson reports. "We even found articles about the strike from the *Militant* posted at union locals where we haven't been yet."

Socialists from SWP branches up and down the East Coast have participated in subscription sales to striking steelworkers at the Newport News shipyard.

And in San Diego, socialists are planning to send a *Perspectiva Mundial* sub team to El Centro, where lettuce workers are on strike.

The good response to such efforts shows that socialists will find a ready audience among industrial workers for subscription sales. Such sales are a top priority during the subscription blitz week.

Auto workers in the St. Louis SWP branch talked this over and set a goal for how many subs they thought they could sell.

Part of their total was for a number of co-workers they knew who'd been reading the *Militant* but didn't yet receive it by subscription.

Another part was based on their estimate of how many new people might buy subscriptions from the regular salespeople outside their plant gates. These salespeople will be putting a special emphasis on subs during the blitz week.

A special effort will be made to sell longer-term subs to co-workers on the job. A six-month sub to the *Militant* costs \$8.50; a one-year sub, \$15. (Ten-week introductory subscriptions can be sold for \$2.)

Of course, our supporters will also be selling subscriptions in many other ways.

St. Louis is planning to send teams to canvass local campuses. Socialists there will also be going door to door in working-class neighborhoods near their headquarters.

In addition, socialists active in antinuke, women's liberation, and Black liberation movements there will also be discussing how many subs they can sell to activists they work with.

Besides these discussions, each member of the St. Louis SWP signed up for a personal goal during the blitz week.

The SWP branches in Minneapolis and St. Paul are joining forces to field a regional subscription team during the blitz week. The team will hit five

campuses in Minnesota and western Wisconsin.

The sub blitz week coincides with the official launching of Pam Burchett's campaign as the SWP candidate for mayor of Salt Lake City. Burchett's supporters will combine campaigning with door-to-door sub sales.

All in all, the key to good results will be careful advance planning of every day of the sub blitz. That way, not a minute will be lost when the week opens February 23.

Help us spread the word

We urge all our readers to join the 'Militant' and 'Perspectiva Mundial' circulation campaign. Help spread the ideas of socialism to an increasingly receptive audience among the industrial working class and its allies.

Yes. I'd like to help. Please send me:

- Subscription blanks and sample copies so I can join in the national blitz week.
- A weekly bundle of _____ Militants.
- A biweekly bundle of _____ Perspectiva Mundials. (We'll bill you 35¢ per copy for bundles of five or more of either publication.)

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Clip and mail to: The Militant, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014.

Shipyard strikers: 'Keep up the good work'

By Clare Fraenzl

NEWPORT NEWS, Va.—"Is that the latest copy of the *Militant*?" a picket asked, stepping out of the line.

"I read the last issue. I really liked it," he said. "You people are doing a good job."

"We appreciate what you're doing for us," commented another striker. "Keep up the good work."

"Be sure you put something in your paper about the right-to-work laws," another worker told us. "Don't forget about how the cops and the governor

are using them. The other news media aren't telling about how these laws are used against us."

These were just a few of the comments that greeted *Militant* reporters and salespeople who walked the picket lines during the second week of the steelworkers' strike at Newport News Shipbuilding.

Socialists from New York; Washington, D.C.; and Morgantown, West Virginia, participated in a special national team to sell the *Militant* in Newport News, Hampton, and Williamsburg, Virginia.

The paper's support for the strike won the sales team a warm reception.

Two ten-year-old girls raced up to salespeople in a Black apartment complex in Newport News.

"My daddy's a steelworker," one shouted. "Is this the paper that's for the steelworkers?"

"My mother works at the shipyard," said the other child proudly. "Let me go tell her you're here."

The girl's mother quickly signed up for a ten-week subscription. Striking steelworkers can subscribe now and

pay after the strike is over.

"I don't have anyone working at the shipyard," an older Black woman told a salesperson. "But I'm with them 100 percent. I like what you are doing for them, spreading the word around the country about the strike," she said as she paid for her subscription. "They need all the help they can get."

Students at the College of William and Mary in nearby Williamsburg are engaged in a struggle of their own. They are trying to block administration plans to expand the school's football stadium. The expansion would be financed by a hike in student fees. The students greeted the *Militant* enthusiastically.

On February 10, 1,800 students boycotted classes and rallied outside the alumni house. A *Militant* sales team was there. "This is like 1968," one student grinned. "Look, they're even selling the *Militant*."

"Down with the shah," another group of students shouted, as they approached salespeople near the rally site.

"Support the steelworkers, all right!"

others commented when they caught sight of the *Militant* headline.

Students bought seven *Militants* after the film *Last Grave at Dimbaza* was shown on campus. The film, documenting the horrors of the apartheid system in South Africa, was sponsored by the South Africa Divestment Committee.

The committee is organizing to force the college to divest its stock in corporations that do business with South Africa. Fifty students gathered to see the film and discuss the divestment campaign. Altogether, twenty students bought copies of the *Militant* during the week.

Militant salesperson Steve Forgione summed up the experience this way: "One steelworker said it all: 'You're the only paper that always has something positive about the strike. We really appreciate it. It really makes a difference to us.'"

That response was confirmed by the 110 single copies and twenty-two subscriptions sold to strikers and their supporters on campuses and in the community during the week.

...and farmers, too

"Farmers were impressed with the *Militant*'s coverage of the tractorcade demonstration," said Steve Bride, Washington, D.C., Socialist Workers Party organizer. A special team of *Militant* salespeople sold ninety-six copies of last week's issue to the remaining farmers at the Capitol Mall.

Calif. meeting boosts Hansen publishing fund

Bay Area members and supporters of the Socialist Workers Party met in San Francisco February 11 to pay tribute to the memory of Joseph Hansen. A central leader of the SWP and Fourth International, Hansen died in New York January 18.

The meeting of 150 heard a number of speakers who had been associated with Hansen over the years.

The principal speaker was Farrell Dobbs, former SWP national secretary, who offered an appraisal of Hansen's contributions to the movement.

Tom Kerry, a veteran party leader, recalled his collaboration with Hansen in carrying on party work in the West Coast maritime unions in the 1930s.



JOSEPH HANSEN *Militant*/Walter Lippman

Tim Wohlforth, a member of the SWP National Committee, discussed Hansen's contributions to the political debate within the SWP in 1961-63, during which Hansen elaborated his analysis of the Cuban revolution.

Ruth Schein described her collaboration with Hansen in Paris and New York during the founding years of *Intercontinental Press*, of which he was editor.

Oakland SWP organizer Valerie Libby chaired the gathering.

An appeal for contributions to the Joseph Hansen Publishing Fund was made by Catarino Garza, West Coast SWP field organizer. The fund, with a goal of \$20,000, will be used to finance publication of a major selection of Hansen's writings.

The response to the fund appeal was gratifying, with \$2,942 contributed or pledged.

This brings the total now contributed or pledged to the fund to \$14,241.

To contribute, fill out the coupon below and send it to:

Joseph Hansen Publishing Fund, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014.
I want to contribute \$ _____
Name _____
Address _____
City _____
State _____ Zip _____

Is Carter planning crackdown by 'la migra'?

By Harry Ring

The Carter administration may be planning a new crackdown on undocumented immigrants. This was recently signaled when a top "hard cop" was assigned to the key Los Angeles area of the Immigration and Naturalization Service.

Meanwhile, the news media have been filled with speculation that Carter plans to use immigration policy as a bargaining lever in his talks with Mexican President José López Portillo over exploitation of Mexican oil.

The administration has been in disarray for some time on the immigration issue.

When he took office, Carter mapped out a harsh legislative crackdown on the undocumented. The widely debated Carter anti-immigrant bill would have led to massive victimization of the undocumented. To make the bitter pill more palatable, Carter got rid of the Marine Corps general who headed up the INS—who looked, talked, and acted like the prototype of a racist *migra* agent.

In his place as director of *la migra*, Carter put a brown face, that of Leonel Castillo, a Mexican-American Democratic Party politician.

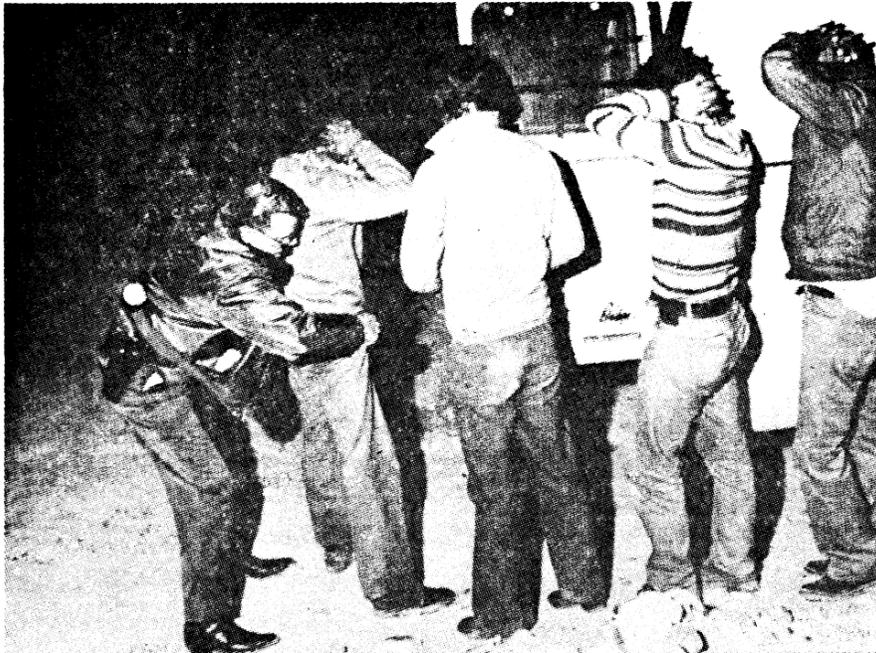
But the Carter plan was so patently racist that the new "image" for *la migra* didn't solve the problem.

In November 1977, a broad coalition of forces gathered in an antideportation conference in San Antonio and went on record as unanimously opposed to the Carter plan.

It was a heavy political blow to the plan, and not the last. More and more of the moderate figures in the Chicano community declared their opposition to the plan. The Haitian community and others mobilized against it.

The plan sat in Congress for a year. Then, last September, Carter quietly shelved it.

Meanwhile, other forces came into motion. In Los Angeles, the Interna-



New INS policy may mean more raids like this one

tional Ladies Garment Workers Union began to organize among the thousands of undocumented workers employed there.

When the bosses responded by trying to use *migra* raids to keep out the union, the ILGWU went to court. The union challenged the legality of the nameless warrants used in these raids.

The administration was forced to retreat even further. Virtually acknowledging that the warrants were illegal, the Justice Department said it would stop obtaining them for *la migra*. The shop raids came to a virtual halt.

Earlier, a massive outcry from the Chicano and *mexicano* communities had put a major curb on *migra* sweeps in the community.

Some forces within the Carter administration and some in *la migra*

weren't happy with these retreats. They began pressing for a new crackdown.

Reeking of the racism they represent, INS officials began to publicly attack their director, Leonel Castillo, charging he was "soft" on the undocumented.

Last November 11, the *Los Angeles Times* carried an unprecedented interview with Noel Doran, a deportation supervisor in the Los Angeles INS.

Without suffering even a reprimand from his superiors, Doran let loose with a blistering public attack on Castillo.

"Mr. Castillo may say he wants our law enforcement efforts to continue," Doran said. "But he is sending a different message to the troops in the field.

"While Congress continues to ignore

the problem," he asserted, "the commissioner has, in effect, gone ahead and granted his own amnesty."

Other *migra* agents, who remained anonymous, were even more plain-spoken.

One official confided to the *Times* that he could "tell an illegal just by his looks."

Others talked about being besieged by "radical" lawyers who apparently had the gall to insist on defending the legal rights of people facing deportation.

A day after the interviews appeared, the administration responded by sending Associate Attorney General Michael Egan for a tour of the Los Angeles INS setup.

On November 12 Egan told reporters in Los Angeles he was "convinced we must put more emphasis on enforcement" of immigration laws.

He wasn't just talking. On January 20 it was announced that Joseph Howerton, a top *migra* cop in the Washington headquarters, was being assigned to head up the Los Angeles office. Another key INS figure, Ray Morris, was assigned to Miami, where there are many undocumented Haitian immigrants.

The *Los Angeles Times* saw Howerton's assignment to Los Angeles as "a significant victory" for "advocates of increased emphasis on enforcement of laws against illegal aliens."

Enforcement officer Doran agreed. "I think," he said, "we will see strengthened enforcement of the country's immigration laws."

To our knowledge, nothing has been heard about the assignment shifts from the person presumably responsible for them—INS director Leonel Castillo.

The entire antideportation movement should carefully note these developments. They underline the need to step up our demand: Stop the deportations!

Socialist Workers candidate attacked in L.A.

By Joan Quinn

LOS ANGELES—On February 9, Pedro Vasquez, Socialist Workers Party candidate for School District 5, and a campaign supporter, Doug Kihn, were attacked by three men outside Garfield High School in East Los Angeles.

Vasquez and Kihn had been handing out campaign literature to students as they arrived for classes. The socialists had received a friendly reception at the predominantly Chicano school.

Vasquez is calling for thorough metropolitan busing to eradicate the heavy segregation of Los Angeles's schools, and for complete bilingual-bicultural programs in every school.

Around 8 a.m. the school principal came to the table to see what it was all about. Vasquez asked her to consider the possibility of a school assembly to hear all the candidates for District 5. She invited him to her office to discuss it when he was through campaigning.

The attack came at 8:10, as Vasquez and Kihn were packing up the literature. Three men approached.

"I told you about this," one of them called out. He kicked over the table and campaign literature and punched Kihn in the face, knocking him to the ground.

As Vasquez rushed to Kihn's aid, a man grabbed the bullhorn the candidate had been using and smashed it on the sidewalk. He then turned and hit Vasquez on the back of the head.

The commotion brought teachers and others out of the school, and the attackers fled.

Vasquez described the men as white and much older than high school students. Two of them wore red windbreakers.

Vasquez and Kihn were examined and treated by the school nurse.

Vasquez called the sheriff's department from the school and demanded that it investigate the incident. The

sheriff's department seemed less than anxious to do this, however. Deputy Cisillas told Vasquez that about all he could do "was file a report."

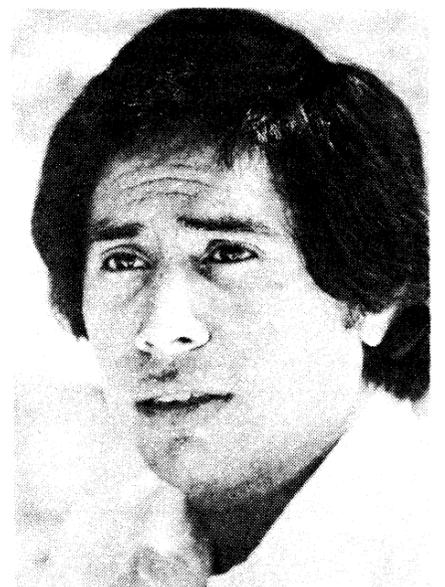
"Sometimes they do these things to politicians," the deputy added.

On February 12 Vasquez held a news conference announcing that he and his campaign supporters would return to the school February 15 to continue their discussions with the students.

"We will not be intimidated by this violent attempt to stifle our basic right of freedom of expression," Vasquez said.

Vasquez also urged his opponents in the race to denounce the attack and to demand that the cops stop dragging their feet and thoroughly investigate the incident.

The following day, Vasquez was slated to tour the predominantly *latino* Miles Avenue Elementary School, the most overcrowded school in the city.



Militant/Nelson Blackstock

PEDRO VASQUEZ

Ominous break-in in Salt Lake

SALT LAKE CITY—On February 11, the apartment of Sheila Towle, a member of the Utah Socialist Workers Party, was broken into in an apparent political attack.

The incident is particularly ominous because of the murder of another SWP member, Tony Adams, in his Salt Lake City apartment last November.

The police have refused to make a serious investigation of the murder of Adams, who was a gay rights spokesperson and NAACP activist as well as a leader of the Salt Lake City SWP.

The break-in at Towle's apartment was discovered by a friend, who noticed that the front door lock had been forced. When Towle's friend opened the

door, a kitchen knife that had deliberately been wedged in the frame sprang out at her.

Although the apartment contained a number of valuables, including a portable television and stereo, nothing was stolen. A used flash cube retainer was found on the floor. The rear door also appeared to have been tampered with. This incident has been reported to the police.

Pam Burchett, SWP candidate for mayor, released a statement explaining the importance of the attack on Towle's apartment and protesting police inaction.

"In light of the recent murder of our state campaign chairperson, Tony

Adams, this break-in must be taken very seriously. The cavalier attitude of the police and public officials toward the investigation of Adams's murder can create a climate in which the person or persons who booby-trapped Towle's door and broke into her apartment feel that acts of this type can be carried out with impunity.

"We reaffirm our determination," continued Burchett, "to press for a vigorous investigation of Adams's death. We call upon the city commission of Salt Lake to publicly condemn acts of violence and intimidation against anyone, and to conduct a full public hearing into the progress of the police investigation into Tony Adams's murder."

Linked to major unions

Human rights group backs Marroquin

By Roger Rudenstein

WASHINGTON—Significant new support for Héctor Marroquín's right to political asylum has been voiced by the Council on Hemispheric Affairs (COHA), a human rights group with close ties to the union movement.

L. Calvin Moore, legislative director of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers union (OCAW), spoke for COHA at a February 8 news conference here. The news conference was called to denounce torture, kidnapping, and murder by the Mexican government.

Moore, Marroquín, and Rosario Ibarra de Piedra spoke on the political repression directed against Mexican workers, students, and peasants.

"Marroquín's case has become a center of international attention because it has as its background, the current state of U.S.-Mexican relations on the eve of President Carter's Mexican trip," Moore explained to a room packed with reporters. Carter is slated to meet with Mexican President López Portillo on February 14.

In a statement released earlier, COHA Director Larry Birns pointed out that Carter doesn't want to "offend" López Portillo "particularly now that Mexico is a potential large scale supplier of oil and natural gas to this country. . . . But we feel such flagrant violations of human rights transcend political or economic considerations."

COHA is backed by the United Auto Workers; American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees; National Association of Social Workers; National Education Association; the Amalgamated Meat Cutters, and others.

In explaining why he was at the news conference, Moore said that his union, OCAW, "believes that the issue of human rights is of overriding importance today."

Marroquín's fight for asylum has received growing support from the labor movement. Last fall *Solidarity*, the UAW magazine, ran an article on his case. Among the latest endorsers of Marroquín's appeal are Victor Reuther, longtime UAW leader, and Mike Ri-



Militant/Margaret Winter

At Washington news conference (from left): Héctor Marroquín, OCAW's Calvin Moore, Rosario Ibarra de Piedra.

naldi, president of the 30,000-member UAW Local 600 at Ford's River Rouge complex.

"President Carter says that his administration stands for human rights," Marroquín told the news conference. "But the Immigration and Naturalization Service, following the advice of the State Department, denied my request for political asylum."

Marroquín told reporters that, while a student activist, he was framed up on false charges of "terrorism" and "subversion" by the Mexican police.

"If the United States returns me to Mexico," he said, "I could be kidnapped, tortured into signing a false confession, imprisoned without a trial, or even murdered, just like hundreds of others. . . ."

The INS has scheduled a deportation hearing for Marroquín on April 3 in Houston. There he can again request

asylum. He explained that his supporters all across the country are on an emergency campaign to raise funds and publicize the case prior to the hearing.

In a statement to the news conference, U.S. Rep. Ronald Dellums called the INS's denial of asylum "a human tragedy of the first order."

"We must stand up for Marroquín's rights," Dellums said. "Not to do so means a weakening of our own under the First Amendment to our Constitution."

Frank Jackalone, national chairperson of the United States Student Association, said: "We shall not remain calm in the face of such hypocrisy. . . . You can be assured that we will publicize our appeal at all 320 member campuses and state-wide student associations, representing over three million students. We will not rest

until Héctor Marroquín is offered the freedom to remain in the United States."

The news conference was attended by reporters from the *New York Times*, *Washington Post*, Associated Press, United Press International, and the *Houston Chronicle*. There were also representatives of the Mexican papers *Excelsior* and *Uno Mas Uno* and the *London Observer*.

The next day's *Washington Post* said Marroquín's case "has become an international cause celebre."

COHA Director Larry Birns predicted that "Marroquín's case will soon be achieving the highest public visibility."

Also speaking at the press conference was Rosario Ibarra de Piedra, a leader of the human rights movement in Mexico. Her son, Jesús, was "disappeared" by police in 1975.

She told reporters that more than 450 people in Mexico have been similarly "disappeared"—kidnapped or arrested by the Mexican authorities, taken to secret jails, tortured, and never seen again.

Piedra explained that she had come to the United States before Carter's trip to give him a message from the mothers of Mexico.

"We want Mr. Carter to speak to López Portillo about human rights—not only about oil. About laws broken every day, about our Constitution violated every day."

She added, "We are afraid for Héctor Marroquín. We are afraid if he is sent back to Mexico he will be 'disappeared' like my son and all the others."

After the news conference, Jane Roland, coordinator of the Héctor Marroquín Defense Committee, told the *Militant* that the entry of COHA into the fight for asylum "is a major advance for the case. Marroquín defense activists in cities across the country will be able to get new support from the many trade-union and other groups represented in COHA. They can work together to expose repression in Mexico and win asylum for Héctor Marroquín."

Piedra blasts Mexican gov't cover-up

By Roger Rudenstein

NEW YORK—In a speech here February 9, Rosario Ibarra de Piedra condemned the Mexican government's attempt to cover up its kidnappings and other secret police crimes.

Piedra is a founder and leader of the Committee to Defend Political Prisoners, the Politically Persecuted, "Disappeared," and Exiled. In 1975 her son Jesús was arrested and "disappeared." He has never been heard from to this day.

Mexican Attorney General Oscar Flores Sánchez recently announced that there are no "disappeared" persons. Flores claimed the government had investigated the cases of 314 people who human rights activists say were kidnapped by police, tortured, and kept in secret jails.

Half of these died in guerrilla confrontations, Flores insisted, and many are in hiding from the cops.

Flores also denied the existence of the White Brigades—a notorious police agency that carries out most of the "disappearances." And he refused to admit that Mexican authorities use torture.

"It is very sad, but we're laughing about what he's saying," Piedra told the New York meeting, which was called to defend Héctor Marroquín and

officials that the documents could not be guaranteed to be accurate and that "if you bring us proof that your relative is not dead—then they aren't dead."

"We are going to publish testimony and proofs that many of the 'disappeared,' are alive and we can save them," Piedra concluded. "Now that Carter is coming to Mexico we are starting a new campaign to make the government present the 'disappeared' and end repression against workers, students, and peasants."

speak out against repression in Mexico. "For years we have been trying to get the government to present the 'disappeared.' That is, we asked them to present either the person live or the body so we can know what the government did to them.

"Now the attorney general tells us that 314 are dead, that some fled wounded; that some were killed by friends; others, he says, died in quarrels with relatives. . . . His statements are a farce."

According to the attorney general's statement, Piedra's son Jesús was among those killed "in confrontations with the security forces."

This is a lie, she said. After his arrest in 1975 her son was seen in Military Camp No. 1, an infamous secret jail and torture center.

She said relatives of the "disappeared" went to the government office because they were told that they could see the files on their sons and daughters, wives and husbands.

"At first," Piedra explained, "they made us copy the documents by hand—we could not use a copying machine. Then they covered up most of the documents, so we couldn't see them anyway."

The relatives were finally told by

Emergency appeal

Héctor Marroquín is a socialist and trade unionist seeking political asylum. Marroquín fled to this country after being framed up by Mexican police.

The U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service is trying to deport him to Mexico, where he would be jailed, tortured, and very likely killed.

The Héctor Marroquín Defense Committee is on an emergency campaign between now and Marroquín's April 3 deportation hearing in Houston. Your help is needed in this campaign:

- Send letters and telegrams to Leonel Castillo, Director, Immigration and Naturalization Service, Washington, D.C. 20536. Demand Castillo grant asylum to Marroquín.

Urge co-workers, union locals, and others to send telegrams and letters. (Send copies to the defense committee.)

- Help raise funds. More than \$15,000 is needed to expand national publicity and pay for travel of witnesses to the April hearing.

- Circulate the appeal for asylum and other materials. Obtain the endorsement of union locals and prominent individuals. Help bring the case to local news media.

Copies of Marroquín's asylum appeal, brochures, buttons, posters, and other materials are available from Héctor Marroquín Defense Committee, P.O. Box 843 Cooper Station, New York, New York 10003, telephone (212) 691-3587.

Strikers defy bosses' pressure



Spirit of steelworker pickets hasn't been dampened by company strong-arm tactics

Militant/John Cobey

By Shelley Kramer

NEWPORT NEWS, Va.—United Steelworkers Local 8888 has passed another hurdle in its two-week-long strike against Newport News Shipbuilding.

Over the weekend of February 10-11—while most strikers were at home with their families—Tenneco intensified its back-to-work pressure.

Workers were called at home by their supervisors, who combined threats and bribes to try to force them back to the job Monday. Shipyard radio and TV commercials pounded away with the same message.

On Monday, the strikers delivered their reply.

More than 500 pickets showed up at 5:30 a.m., forming one long chain from the main Thirty-seventh Street gate up to Fiftieth Street. This time they faced away from the quiet shipyard and out onto Washington Avenue, in full view of executive offices.

"Where's the 60 percent?" they shouted, referring to Tenneco's inflated estimate of work attendance.

"Eighty-eight, eighty-eight on strike! Eighty-eight, eighty-eight on strike!" Their chants reverberated throughout the downtown area.

The shipyard refused to release any new figures for Monday's attendance, sticking to the 60 percent cited the previous week. Tenneco spokespersons claimed they had no intention of playing "this numbers game" with the union anymore.

It's no wonder they don't want to "play" anymore. The egg is too fresh on their faces.

The Norfolk *Virginian-Pilot*, no partisan of the union, conducted its own

count on Monday. The newspaper team tallied a total of 4,300 employees crossing union lines. With 2,500 supervisory personnel and guards, that leaves 1,800 production and maintenance workers.

A far cry from the 6,600 workers Tenneco claims are back to work.

Union counters came up with a somewhat higher estimate of 2,000 workers, or 18 percent.

Organizing mass pickets on Mondays is one way the Steelworkers plan to cut across Tenneco's propaganda. Another is the union's weekly strike bulletin, which is sent to every Steelworkers local and every international union in the country, as well as to unions overseas.

Underscoring the importance of the bulletin, editor Jerry Kelly told the *Militant*, "Especially in a 'right to work' state like Virginia, workers have to want to be in the union. They have to want the kind of information that only the union can provide."

Daily radio bulletins and commercials are also boosting strikers' spirits and helping win over new converts to the union from inside the yard.

When you tune in, you're likely to hear the voice of chief organizer Jack Hower saying:

"Anyone who is presently going to work across the Steelworkers' picket line is absolutely protected against discharge if she or he joins the union in the strike. We invite all employees to join us in this tremendous effort for justice at Newport News Shipbuilding. . . .

"After the heavy snowfall of last night, pickets built up impressive snowmen. All the snowmen are wear-

ing picket signs in good order. So far, none of them have been arrested for violating the right-to-work (for less) law.

"One of our local unions in Chalmette, Louisiana, whose 2,800 members work for Kaiser Aluminum, is right next door to the Tenneco Oil Refinery. Members of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers have struck Tenneco over safety and health conditions. The Steelworkers at Chalmette have sent guest pickets to join the strikers at Tenneco Oil, just as other unions have and will be joining us here."

The union's counteroffensive has not only bolstered the morale of strikers and their families, but has also shaken loose new support in the community. At strike headquarters, a chart lists businesses with "pro-" and "anti-" strike positions. The "pro-" side gets longer by the day.

Graphics companies are donating memo paper. An auto parts business gives discounts to strikers. A furniture store lends free furniture to equip headquarters.

The Norfolk *Journal and Globe*, a Black newspaper, supported the company union in last year's representation election. But no more.

"With the largest and most significant labor struggle in decades taking place right in the heart of Tidewater," a front-page article reported February 9, "this area has become a crucial battleground in the fight by organized labor to defend itself from the growing attacks of anti-union Big Business. And after one week of the strike, it looks like the unions are more than holding their own."

Solidarity from labor, students boosts morale

By Shelley Kramer

NEWPORT NEWS, Va.—Support for the shipyard workers' strike is coming from students and unionists throughout the area and from the labor movement nationally.

On February 8 the United Steelworkers International Executive Board adopted a resolution pledging "the full support and resources of the union for as long as it takes for the successful resolution of the strike."

On February 10 pickets from the Metal Trades Union at neighboring Norfolk Naval Yard joined strikers at the gates. Pay at the Norfolk yard is based on a federal wage survey of the area: 75 percent of the data comes directly out of the Newport News yard.

"We're going to help the strikers any way we can," Metal Trades Council chairperson Jerry Bass told the *Militant*. "We're going to collect food at the shipyard and make a financial contribution through the union local. We feel this strike is as much ours as theirs."

The next day, members of Machinists Local 2461 from Bendix Corporation walked the lines.

On February 13, students at the College of William and Mary in nearby Williamsburg heard a report from USWA spokesperson Bill Edwards and discussed how they could help.

Pat Green, a student from Wise, Virginia, said, "I'm from a coal mining area. When miners go out on strike, everyone is related to or knows a striker. And people know that if the miners win, everyone benefits. Tips go up at restaurants. New houses are built."

She suggested public protests against Tenneco—all across the country—like the campaign that supporters of the Brookside, Kentucky, miners waged against Duke Power Company.

What such expressions of solidarity mean to the strikers here is obvious as soon as you walk into their headquarters.

Lining the walls are the picket signs worn by visiting unionists: "CWA-AFL-CIO supports the steelworkers," "LU 57 Boilermakers, Shipfitters, supports the steelworkers," and "IBEW supports Local 8888."

These visits are a tremendous source of pride and inspiration for the strikers.

Communications Workers (CWA) locals plan to return to the picket lines at noon February 24. "We will be among some 100 other AFL-CIO unions in what will be called the biggest labor show in the state's history," reads a letter to CWA members.

"We need as much support as we can get," Jerry Kelly, editor of Local 8888's strike bulletin, told the *Militant*.

"For starters, unions should honor our picket lines. Sending representatives down to join the picketers really impresses the strikers. It would be particularly helpful on Monday mornings, when we try to organize a big show of force."

"We'll be glad to send strike leaders to talk to other unions," Local 8888 President Wayne Crosby added. "We want everyone to know what we're fighting for in Newport News."

'Going to stick til we win'

By Omari Musa

NEWPORT NEWS, Va.—Larry Williams and Charles Williams are not related by birth. But both are union brothers in United Steelworkers Local 8888.

Larry has worked in the shipyard for seven years. Charles has been there fourteen months. Both are Black.

We ran into them one morning while eating breakfast a few blocks from where they had picket duty.

We asked them to explain the main issues in the strike against

Newport News Shipyard.

"Representation, retirement benefits, and wages," Larry volunteered.

"Without the union, Tenneco can do whatever it wants. The company backed the PSA [the company union] all the way.

"The PSA didn't represent the workers," he said. "We lost everything because of the PSA. We want Tenneco to recognize the Steelworkers."

Charles Williams is solidly with the USWA too. "I don't believe in company unions," he said. "Under

the PSA, you could be gotten rid of any time. You didn't have any benefits. You couldn't take a vacation unless the superintendent let you.

"By having the Steelworkers, the company doesn't own you, and you can have representation."

He said the big issues for him are "working conditions, benefits, and representation."

As they prepared to return to the picket lines the two steelworkers flashed the "V" sign, and Larry Williams proudly said, "We're going to stick til we win—no two ways about it."

Shipyard showdown: a political battle

By Nancy Cole

As the first contingents of excited pickets fanned out in front of the Newport News Shipyard January 30, one striker was moved to christen the scene "Steelworkers City."

But the shipyard workers were soon to learn that—although their labor creates much of the wealth for the entire Tidewater area—it isn't *their* city as far as Democratic and Republican officials are concerned.

To these politicians, it's "Tenneco City."

By the end of the second morning's picketing, events had made this clear:

- Deputy Police Chief Charles Hinman, judging the pickets to be "obstructions" to scabs entering the yard, had ordered the arrest of the president of United Steelworkers Local 8888.

- Police Chief George Austin had defended the use of dogs against the striking workers.

- Gov. John Dalton had ordered riot-equipped state police with an armored car to the picket line to "protect" the scabs.

The U.S. Navy got in on the anti-union bandwagon, citing "union problems" as a reason for denying the shipyard the contract to overhaul its aircraft carrier *Saratoga*. This, the company charges, will cost several thousand jobs at the yard.

No holds barred

Tenneco, which supplemented its private army with off-duty cops and updated its arsenal with a water cannon and barbed wire, was laying it on the line: this is a battle with no holds barred.

Even before the strike began, Tenneco was getting not-so-subtle help from government agencies and big-business politicians. Government officials from the mayor of Newport News to U.S. Labor Secretary Ray Marshall tried to get the USWA to call off the strike. Wait for the courts to decide Tenneco's challenge to the union, they pleaded.

But the shipyard workers had already waited long enough. They had voted by a margin of 1,500 in January 1978 for the USWA. It took the National Labor Relations Board until October 1978 to certify the election. Now it was January—how long could it take the courts to act?

So the strike was on.

For the members of USWA Local 8888, the lineup against them must seem awesome.

That is the point of it all: to intimidate the strikers and to try and convince them that they're alone, few in numbers, and too weak to carry through the fight.

Reservoir of support

But, of course, it's a lie.

The strikers have potential supporters in the 1.2 million members of the United Steelworkers.



Cops arrest Local 8888 President Wayne Crosby for violating 'right to work' law. Democrats and Republicans join in strangling labor with legal restrictions on union power.

They have potential supporters in the millions of nonunion workers across the South and in the North.

They have potential supporters among Black and women activists who are also fighting for equal job rights.

They have potential supporters in the more than 4 million unionists who are up against Carter's wage guidelines in contract talks this year.

That potential support needs to be parlayed into a real show of strength that can force Tenneco to recognize USWA Local 8888.

Last winter, the coal miners showed that when working people rely on their own power—and not on fair-weather "friends" in government—they can make a powerful stand against the employers.

The ranks of the United Mine Workers, with a powerful labor solidarity campaign behind them, defied even the president of the United States when he invoked the Taft-Hartley Act.

They delivered the slave-labor act a hearty blow. But since Congress is made up of Democrats and Republicans only, with not a single genuine representative of working people, Taft-Hartley is still on the books. It's still available for some other phony "friend of labor" politician in the White House to use against shipyard workers, auto workers, or truck drivers.

And despite years of Democratic promises to get it repealed, section 14-b of Taft-Hartley is still around. That's the section that makes possible so-called right-to-work laws, such as the one now in operation against the Newport News strikers.

"At my very first union meeting after the settlement," shipyard striker Dick Hall told the *Militant*, "I'm going to make a motion that Local 8888 go on a campaign to fight Virginia's right-to-work law."

Missouri coalition

Such a political fight was carried out in Missouri last year. The labor movement joined forces with Black and women's groups, farmers, and students to decisively turn back a proposed "right to work" measure.

But working people in twenty states are still shackled with these laws.

A coalition like the one assembled in Missouri is needed—for longer than one election and in more than one state—to wipe out all these antilabor laws and the strikebreaking they authorize.

In Missouri, the unions got no help from the courts and Democratic or Republican politicians. It was only when the union ranks began to mobilize that the tide turned in labor's favor.

It's no accident that whenever there's a battle for labor rights—whether it's against strikebreaking legislation or for workers' health and safety—the Democratic and Republican politicians always end up on the side of the corporations.

The truth is that both parties are controlled by big business.

Both claim to represent "all the people." That obviously can't be true, since the interests of working people on one side, and the superrich corporate owners on the other, are different. In fact, their interests are opposed.

Whenever this clash of different class interests breaks into the open—such as in Newport News—it becomes much clearer that workers have no political representation. Our "representatives" in the two big-business parties turn out to be a fraud.

Newport News shipyard workers have had bitter experience with such frauds. They are now on strike because for years the only "representative" they had on the job was a company union, the Peninsula Shipbuilders Association. Even though it claimed to represent the shipyard workers, the PSA actually served Tenneco.

So the shipyard workers organized a drive to kick out the PSA and bring in USWA Local 8888—which they are determined will be a democratic organization fighting for their rights.

A party of labor

The Democratic Party, which today has the allegiance of most unions, is the political equivalent of a company union.

To achieve political representation, the labor movement will have to organize to kick the Democrats and Republicans out of office and replace them with a democratic, militant party of labor.

Without labor support, the Democratic Party would be just a collection of shyster lawyers and other aspiring crooks.

Without being shackled to the Democratic Party, the unions would for the first time be able to exercise their own independent power in politics.

A labor party—based on the unions, democratically controlled by the ranks, and fighting for the interests of all working people—could quickly rally the support of millions. Its candidates and leaders would be working men and women like those on strike in Newport News.

With that kind of representation, the scene in front of Tenneco's shipyard would be very different.

Instead of escorting scabs across the picket lines, labor party office holders would defend the right of strikers to picket loudly and conspicuously.

Instead of working behind the scenes to help Tenneco, a labor party would fight for the right of shipyard workers to the union of their choice.

A labor party could insist on strict enforcement of health and safety standards on the job. It could lead a political fight to outlaw discrimination and ensure equal rights for Black and women workers. It could wipe Taft-Hartley and "right to work" laws off the books.

And with a labor party, working people could begin to use political power to resolve the big problems of inflation, unemployment, taxation, and destruction of the environment—resolve them in the interests of the majority, not the profiteers like Tenneco.

Tenneco, with \$8 billion, cries all the way to bank

By Nancy Cole

Tough times are ahead, weeps Tenneco. The shipbuilding industry is in decline.

Tenneco just can't afford United Steelworkers Local 8888 and its demands for decent wages and safe working conditions.

Or so the Texas conglomerate, owner of the Newport News Shipyard since 1968, would have us believe.

But just one week after members of USWA Local 8888 hit the bricks, Tenneco Inc.'s fourth-quarter profits for 1978 hit the papers.

The year 1978 was the best in the company's thirty-five year history. The

last quarter of 1978 was the best quarter ever.

Tenneco chairman and chief executive officer James Ketelsen said that Tenneco expects "to continue our string of record sales and earnings."

Tenneco's profits for just the last quarter of 1978 were \$135 million, up 13.4 percent. For the whole year, profits topped \$466 million.

Tenneco, with assets over \$8 billion, has its tentacles into a lot of the economy. Tenneco Oil Company has tripled its income in the past five years.

Then there are its pipeline operations, which have gained considerably. J.I. Case, manufacturers of heavy

construction and farm equipment, brought in big profits.

Add to that a respectable income from Tenneco Automotive.

Tenneco Chemicals showed healthy profits, especially since it doesn't bother much with the health of its workers. (In Chalmette, Louisiana, workers at Tenneco's chemical plant are now on strike, demanding safer working conditions.)

And Tenneco West owns farmland in California, Arizona, Washington, and Mexico. About a quarter of it is company farmed and the rest leased to growers. "Sun Giant" is Tenneco's brand name for almonds, pistachios, and raisins.

Among Tenneco's board of directors are the chief executive officer of Southern Pacific Railroad, the vice-president of Southwestern Bell Telephone, the president of American University, and the director of Cox Enterprises, owner of TV stations from Baltimore to Los Angeles.

Tenneco Shipbuilding is sort of the prodigal son, which Tenneco Inc. is trying to bring back to the super-profit-making fold. The U.S. Navy has done its part, announcing last fall it would pay the shipyard \$189 million for cost overruns.

But Tenneco Inc. wants more—and it figures the way to do that is to give its shipyard workers less.

Backs call for nat'l protests

Midwest no-nukes conference draws 350

By Arnold Weissberg

GARY, Ind.—Three hundred fifty antinuclear power activists, representing eleven states and dozens of antinuke groups, gathered here February 10-11 at the first midwest regional no-nukes conference.

The conference unanimously and enthusiastically agreed to support a call for a national no-nukes march on Washington, D.C., in the spring of 1980. The call was issued by the Mobilization for Survival, a group that opposes both nuclear power and nuclear weapons, and by leaders of the antinuclear power movement.

Several speakers noted that such an action would strengthen local groups and inspire the creation of new ones. Activists overcame objections that a national action might draw resources away from local organizing by explaining that since nuclear power is a national problem, national action is necessary along with local action.

The midwest activists also unanimously backed a call for a second national no-nukes strategy conference. A national meeting to set a time and place will be held this spring.

The conference called on local no-nukes groups to take part in the International Days of Protest against nuclear power June 2-3.

However, the gathering was unable to agree on a site and date for a midwest regional action, despite majority sentiment for a September demonstration at the Zion, Illinois, nuclear power plant, called by an Illinois-wide meeting in January.

A small group citing vague "local objections" was able to block agreement through use of the undemocratic "consensus" method of decision making. Under the conference "consensus" rules, a one-fourth minority is permitted to block action by the majority.

Bailey Alliance-Illinois activists, however, said that the groups that had called the Zion protest were determined to see a visible mass action in September. While local objections had to be taken into account, these activists said, Zion and every other nuke was not merely a "local" problem, but a danger to people hundreds of miles away.

NIPSCO sabotage

Northern Indiana Public Service Company (NIPSCO), which is building the Bailey nuclear power plant, almost managed to torpedo the entire conference.

On February 2, NIPSCO demanded immediate full payment of back electricity bills from the motel scheduled to house the conference. When the motel was unable to come up with all the money, NIPSCO shut off the power.

Bailey Alliance activists worked feverishly over the weekend to line up alternate sites, and the conference proceeded smoothly.

The conference was an important step for midwest antinuke activists.

Antinuke organizations have sprung up all over the midwest, and the Gary gathering marked the first effort to bring them all together to undertake common strategy discussions and plan common actions.

Especially significant was the participation of trade unionists. Steelworkers from the 18,000-member United Steelworkers Local 1010 in Gary have been leaders of the fight against the Bailey nuke, and many of them were at the conference.

Local 1010 is on record as opposing construction of Bailey I, as is the union's District 31, which encompasses the entire Chicago-Gary area.

There were also members of the United Auto Workers, from Ohio and Michigan, Brotherhood of Railway and Airline Clerks, and steelworkers from throughout the midwest.

Labor workshop

A workshop was devoted to building labor support for the antinuke movement. Led by Joe Frantz, a member of Local 1010's environment committee and a leading labor antinuke spokesperson, the workshop drew about sixty people.

In his opening remarks, Frantz stressed that nuclear power is an issue that directly affects working people. Working people can be convinced to oppose it, he said.

Other unionists in the workshop agreed.

"Joe is absolutely right," said Dick McBride, a member of Local 1010. "I think what we have to do now is convince steelworkers to join the Bailey Alliance." McBride's suggestion received loud applause.

A workshop on "socialist perspectives for the antinuke movement" drew forty people. The session was led by Fred Halstead, a national leader of the Socialist Workers Party and author of *Out Now!*, a history of the anti-Vietnam War movement.

Longtime antiwar activist and writer Sidney Lens led a session on the links between nuclear weapons and nuclear power.

Brenda Franklin, a Gary college student and former member of the Clamshell Alliance, led a workshop on outreach to Blacks, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, and other oppressed nationalities.

Nearly thirty workshops touched on every aspect of the nuclear problem.

Rally nets \$1,500

A Saturday night no-nukes rally drew many Gary residents in addition to the conference participants.

Featured speakers were Rosalie Bertell, a cancer researcher and expert on the effects of atomic radiation; Robert Pollard, a former federal nuclear project safety manager who resigned in protest of the government's lax attitude toward nuclear hazards; and

Anna Gyorgy, a founder of the Clamshell Alliance.

The rally was chaired by Mike Olszanski, chairperson of the Local 1010 environment committee. A fund appeal by USWA Local 1066 member Jack Weinberg brought in \$1,500.

The conference passed resolutions supporting Native American struggles against exploitation of the South Dakota Black Hills by uranium mining and endorsing an April 28 protest at the Rocky Flats, Colorado, nuclear weapons plant.

No nukes!

Notes from the movement against nuclear weapons and nuclear power



Why another column

The *Militant's* decision to start this new column reflects the impressive growth of the antinuclear movement over the past two years.

Faced with Washington's escalating atomic arms build-up and the continued drive by big business and the government to build nuclear power plants, the movement is stepping up its activities from coast to coast. We hope this column can become a clearinghouse of information for antinuke activists.

A busy year

This will be a busy year for the movement. April 7 protests against California's Diablo Canyon reactor are set for Los Angeles, San Francisco, and the plant site itself in San Luis Obispo. Diablo Canyon is only a stone's throw away from an earthquake fault.

On April 28, protesters will converge on Rocky Flats, Colorado; Grants, New Mexico; and Cementon, New York.

Rocky Flats, near Denver, is a plant that manufactures plutonium "triggers" for all U.S. nuclear weapons. Last April, 6,000 protesters gathered there.

Grants is a major uranium mining center. One focus of the protest is opposition to the ripoff of Native American land.

Cementon, in the mid-Hudson Valley, has been targeted as the possible site of a nuclear power plant, sparking major local opposition.

International days of protest

June 2-3 have been set as international days of protest against nuclear power. The call was issued by antinuke groups in Europe. Two actions have already been set for this country.

Demonstrators will protest the Shoreham, Long Island, nuclear power plant site, which is about 85 percent complete. And Texas antinuke activists will gather at Glen Rose for a statewide action sponsored by the Lone Star Alliance.

'Rear end' actions

Tentatively scheduled for next fall are actions against nuclear waste, the so-called "rear end" of the nuclear fuel cycle.

Possible sites for protests include Barnwell, South Carolina; Hanford, Washington; and West Valley, New York.

Barnwell, where 2,000 people demonstrated last spring, is the proposed site of a nuclear fuel reprocessing plant. Although the Carter administration claims to have indefinitely postponed operation of such a plant, Barnwell could easily be turned into a nuclear waste dump.

The Hanford federal nuclear waste complex has been in operation for more than forty years. Hundreds of thousands of gallons of radioactive waste have leaked into the soil and Columbia River.

Six hundred thousand gallons of wastes are stored at West Valley, the site of a fuel reprocessing plant abandoned by its owner, Getty Oil. Clean-up costs are estimated at \$1 billion.

All these actions will publicize the fact that there is no safe way to dispose of radioactive wastes, some of which remain dangerous for half a million years.

Seabrook protester sentenced

A New Hampshire judge last month sentenced Mark Carver to six months at hard labor, with three months suspended, for participating in protests at the construction site of a nuclear power plant at Seabrook. Carver, who is appealing the guilty verdict, said in a statement to the court that nuclear power means "conducting the economic affairs of man as if people really didn't matter at all."

NOW teach-in on Rocky Flats

The Central Denver chapter of the National Organization for Women will hold a teach-in on the Rocky Flats nuclear weapons plant February 21.

The program will include a slide show assembled by the Rocky Flats Action Group and a debate. Speakers will include Linda Gore of the Action Group; Dr. Marilyn Werkema, manager of environmental sciences for Rockwell International, which operates Rocky Flats; J. Robert Passmore, who advocates converting Rocky Flats to peaceful uses; and Carole Mangan, a former NOW chapter president.

The teach-in will begin at 7 p.m. at St. Thomas Church, 2201 Dexter, in Denver.

—Arnold Weissberg



Conference steering committee member Susan Montauk addresses opening session.

Abortion: a woman's right

Action needed to counter new attacks

By Matilde Zimmermann

The most important victory yet won by the women's liberation movement was the legalization of abortion in 1973.

Abortion was one of the central issues around which the new women's movement organized itself and grew in the late 1960s and early 1970s. Many women were first drawn into feminist activity by the campaign to do away with the hated anti-abortion laws, the cornerstone of a woman's lack of control over her own life.

After the 1973 victory, many feminists turned their attention to other issues. The danger that legal abortion would be taken away seemed as remote as the danger of losing the vote or seeing the reintroduction of slavery.

Now, six years later, the right to abortion is in jeopardy. Access to abortion has been sharply limited by the cutoff of Medicaid funds in most states and by restrictive new laws. The momentum seems to have shifted to those who want to do away with legal abortion altogether.

The anti-abortionists raise a great hue and cry about fetuses being babies and abortion murder. But no amount of loud repetition will give these ideas a shred of scientific or social validity.

The mobilizations of the anti-abortionists have been spearheaded and bankrolled by the Catholic Church hierarchy, which has no particular interest in fetuses. It has an abiding interest, however, in keeping women oppressed.

These mobilizations have had an impact totally out of proportion to the real strength of the anti-abortion movement. This is because there has not yet been a countermobilization of the majority sentiment in favor of the right to abortion. The result is that federal and state governments can use the phony excuse of bowing to "popular sentiment" as they chip away at legal abortion.

The international abortion actions called for March 31 provide an opportunity for us to begin to put together forces for the needed countermobilization.

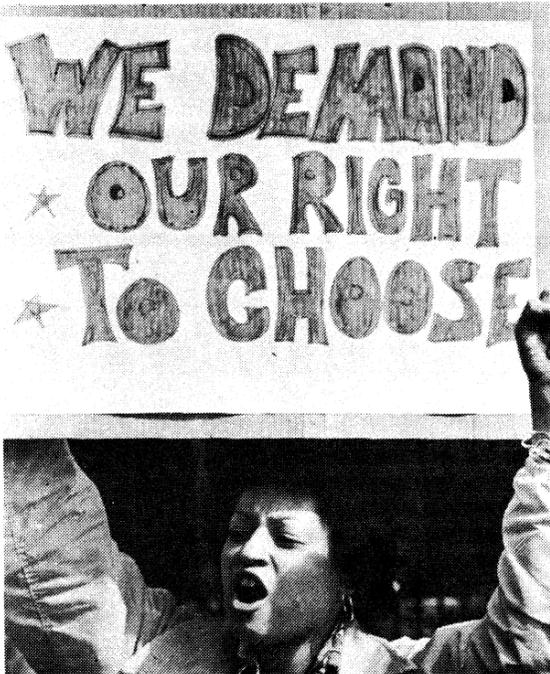
Option for millions

Women cannot and will not sit back and allow this right to be taken away. We know that the basic right of a woman to decide if and when to have children is crucial to every single aspect of women's liberation.

Abortion is not a new phenomenon; nor is it something rare. It is an option that *many millions* of women have chosen, rather than carry an unwanted pregnancy to term.

In the days the anti-abortionists want to drive us back to, masses of women went through terrible pain, danger, and humiliation in order to exercise this option. Even when the procedure was illegal it was estimated that one out of every four American women had an abortion sometime during her lifetime.

Since abortion became legal and real statistics became available, abortions have outnumbered births in some areas. Approximately one million American women have abortions every year, and there is little reason to think this figure will change dramatically as long as no completely safe and effective contraceptive exists.



Militant/Barry Chann

Abortion is not a frill. Throughout history, and in every country in the world, women have fought and died to get abortions.

Women will never win equality without the right to abortion. As long as a woman lives with the threat of unwanted pregnancy and forced motherhood, she cannot break through the other barriers in her path.

Today the majority of American women are in the work force, and indications are that this percentage will increase rather than decrease. For many women, this means new expectations, a hope of economic independence, a fight for advancement on the job, the possibility of a social existence outside the home. But none of these are real as long as everything can suddenly be jeopardized by an accidental pregnancy.

Women are fighting to break into the skilled, higher-paying industrial and professional jobs from which they have traditionally been excluded. When a woman succeeds in getting a better job, she wins a new measure of control over her own life. But this does not mean very much as long as she does not have the simple right to end an unwanted pregnancy.

Susceptibility to pregnancy is a frequent excuse for denying women employment—although it never seems to exclude them from the low-paying, boring, nonunion occupations.

Prejudices

Work is not the only area in which the right to abortion is crucial to ending women's oppression. Forced pregnancy and compulsory motherhood are also at the heart of the subordinate role of women in the family. "Keep 'em barefoot and pregnant," is the old prescription for keeping women down.

Keeping abortion illegal or at least shameful is at the center of a whole system of reactionary anti-woman prejudices.

- The true destiny of every woman is claimed to

be motherhood, so abortion is an "unnatural" act.

- A woman is not really supposed to be a sexual being; therefore abortion is evil. (If a woman needs an abortion, then logically she must have had sex for something other than reproductive purposes.)

- A woman functions on the basis of intuition and emotion anyway; she doesn't make conscious decisions about her future on a rational basis the way a man does. (So it is perfectly all right for her to be a slave to nature when it comes to having a child—an event that can change her whole life.)

Restrictions on abortion play a central role in preventing women from gaining true freedom. So it is not surprising that those who benefit from the oppression of women do not want to see abortion be legal, safe, and easily available.

Who benefits?

The ruling class reaps huge profits from discrimination against women—from the fact that women can be forced to work for lower wages, and from the domestic labor women perform without any pay at all. Acknowledging women's right to abortion was a concession the ruling class made only reluctantly, under the pressure of an explosive new feminist movement.

And the ink was not dry on the 1973 Supreme Court abortion decision before the rulers and the government they control began looking for ways to cut back on the right to abortion.

First to suffer were those least able to defend themselves—poor women who must depend on Medicaid when they need abortions. For women who cannot afford to pay, the effective re-criminalization of abortion has already gone very far.

The addition of an anti-abortion rider to the 1978 pregnancy disability bill jeopardizes the abortion rights of working women.

What's more, a drive is underway to bring back the shame that used to surround abortion by portraying it as—even if legal—a "bad" solution to the problem of unwanted pregnancy.

The opponents of abortion rights are not just a right-wing fringe. They are not just the people who march down the street carrying pictures of fetuses magnified 700 times. The most powerful opponents sit in executive suites, in the halls of Congress, and in the White House.

But they are still a minority. The majority of Americans support a woman's right to abortion. The women's movement can take credit for a dramatic change in attitudes toward abortion. According to opinion polls, the percentage of the population supporting abortion went from less than 15 percent in 1968 to 40 percent in 1969 and 50 percent in 1971. Approval increased again after the legalization of abortion; a 1976 survey by the Knight-Ridder newspaper chain indicated that more than 80 percent of the population as a whole (and 76 percent of all Catholics) supported a woman's right to decide on abortion.

That majority sentiment must be mobilized in visible activity to defend legal abortion and turn back the attacks on women's right to choose. The health and well-being of untold numbers of women depend on it. And our ability to go forward and win new victories in the fight for liberation depends on it.

Carter picks 'right to life' counselor for women

By Priscilla Schenk

Still having doubts about where President Carter stands on women's rights? Well, this should settle the question.

The Carter administration confirmed February 6 its intention to hire anti-abortion fanatic Marjory Mecklenburg to the newly formed federal program on teen-age pregnancy.

Mecklenburg is president of the American Citizens Concerned for Life, Inc., one of the groups campaigning for a constitutional amendment to outlaw abortion. She says legalized abortion is equivalent to the Nazi holocaust.

Even to consider putting Mecklen-

burg in the position of counseling young pregnant women shows Carter's complete disregard for the right of women to control their own bodies.

An estimated 1 million women between ages twelve and nineteen become pregnant each year. Two-thirds of these pregnancies are unwanted; about 40 percent of these women choose abortion.

What alternative will Mecklenburg offer these young women? Forced motherhood?

Very young women forced to carry their pregnancy to term face physical danger, psychological trauma, and job and income discrimination. Pregnancy is the leading cause of young women dropping out of school.

Many young women are uneducated or miseducated about birth control. Of the 4 million sexually active young women, half have no birth control. They have little control over unplanned pregnancies. What choice will Mecklenburg leave them? Back-alley butcher abortions?

The estimated 370,000 women between ages twelve and nineteen who choose abortion each year account for one-third of all abortions. What will Mecklenburg tell these women? That they are murderers and Nazis?

Carter's threat to entrust Mecklenburg with the lives of young pregnant women should be vigorously opposed by all supporters of women's rights.



Militant/Jean Vertheim

By David Frankel

Five months have passed since President Carter triumphantly announced that "prayers have been answered" for peace in the Middle East.

Negotiators came to Washington and declared that an Egyptian-Israeli treaty would be signed before the end of 1978.

Egyptian President Anwar el-Sadat and Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin were awarded the Nobel Peace Prize.

But the December 17 deadline set at the Camp David summit for the signing of a treaty is long gone. It is clear that the deal cooked up by Carter has fallen apart.

Although Carter tried to sell the Camp David accords as a peace agreement, they were never anything of the kind. They were intended to win formal Egyptian recognition of the Zionist state and to lay the basis for a U.S.-dominated diplomatic and military alliance in the Middle East.

Along with cementing U.S. economic and political control of the region, the Camp David accords were intended to establish a framework for liquidating the Palestinian national liberation struggle and wiping out the Palestinian Liberation Organization.

White House adviser Zbigniew Brzezinski bragged openly about this with his arrogant "bye-bye PLO" remark.

Washington's real intentions were indicated by Sen. Henry Jackson shortly after the Camp David summit. "Looking ahead," he declared, "we should encourage the evolution of a mutual defense arrangement within the Middle East. Israel and Egypt, as well as Saudi Arabia, Jordan and Iran all face a common Soviet threat."

"Soviet threat" is the code phrase used by the imperialists to describe their fear of popular revolutions. And it is precisely the revolution in Iran that has blown up Carter's plans for a broader counterrevolutionary alliance in the Mideast.

Sadat's trip

At one stroke, the Iranian revolution has altered the relationship of class forces in the Middle East and cut across the process that was symbolized by Sadat's trip to Jerusalem in November 1977.

As the *Militant* explained at the time, the main factor behind Sadat's trip was the economic and military pressure exerted on his regime by imperialism.

On the economic level, Egypt was staggering under a foreign debt of about \$14 billion—an amount equal to the country's gross national product.

Sadat was desperate for loans and investment capital. But the International Monetary Fund insisted he implement austerity measures directed against the Egyptian workers and peasants as a condition for approving further loans. When Sadat tried to carry out such policies in January 1977 the result was massive protests in Egypt's major cities.

Militarily, the Israeli occupation of the Sinai Peninsula and the constant threat of new Israeli attacks continued to undermine Sadat's regime.

Caught between the pressure of imperialism and the increasingly explosive demands of the Egyptian people, Sadat tried to resolve his dilemma by turning to Washington for help in regaining the Sinai and solving Egypt's economic problems.

Sadat's capitulation gained him neither the Sinai nor any substantial economic advantages. But the main victims of his move were the Palestinian people.

By giving the Israeli state de facto recognition, Sadat served notice that he was willing to go along with its continued dispossession and oppression of the Palestinians. He struck a blow against all those trying to stand up to the Zionist regime.

If Sadat expected gratitude, however, he was mistaken. The Israeli regime—recognizing that Sadat was operating from a position of weakness—simply

demanded further concessions.

In fact, Begin pushed for such a flagrant capitulation that any deal at all began to be called into question. Thus, on January 8, 1978, Begin insisted that even in the Sinai Zionist settlements would "remain in place, defended by an Israeli defense force."

Begin's hard line

In March, Begin ordered the Israeli army into Lebanon, killing and wounding thousands and creating a quarter of a million refugees.

Begin's hardline stance resulted in friction between Washington and Tel Aviv.

Zion and Uri Dan ("The Untold Story of the Mideast Talks") in the January 28 *New York Times Magazine*, Begin went to Camp David with the following objectives, which were outlined in a working paper drawn up by Gen. Avraham Tamir.

"The target for Israel was a separate peace. To achieve it Israel had to be prepared to give back the entire Sinai—air bases, settlements, and all. As to the West Bank and Gaza, the key was verbal flexibility. . . . Whatever the final arrangements, they would have to include three fundamental provisions. Israel would maintain its military forces and settlements in the

All the regimes involved in the Mideast conflict were forced to reassess their plans in light of the events in Iran.

• Talks in Washington were suddenly halted October 20 by the announcement that Dayan and Israeli Defense Minister Ezer Weizman were returning to Israel for "consultations."

• On October 22, Syrian President Hafez al-Assad opened his border with Iraq, and two days later he went to Baghdad. The Syrian and Iraqi regimes announced an end to their long and bitter feud, and declared that they were preparing a "full military union."

• The Israeli cabinet approved a

Iranian revolution: Behind collapse of the



Egyptian-Israeli accord was announced September 17 by Carter, Begin, and Sadat . . .

Carter was and is fully committed to the maintenance of Israel as an anchor for the imperialist system in the Mideast. This includes the continuing expansion of Israeli military power and the continuation of Israeli military control over territories seized in 1967—the West Bank, Golan Heights, and Gaza Strip.

But U.S. policymakers also face the problem of retaining close diplomatic, economic, and military ties with the pro-imperialist Arab regimes at the same time that they build up Israeli power. Begin's belligerent diplomatic stance made it more difficult for Washington to draw Jordan and Saudi Arabia into the process initiated by Sadat.

Carter tried to overcome this difficulty at the Camp David summit in September 1978. He wanted some kind of Egyptian-Israeli agreement, both from the standpoint of U.S. policy in the Mideast and also as a means of bolstering his sagging popularity at home.

Camp David pact

Just how narrow the differences between Washington and Tel Aviv really were, despite the sensationalized reports in the mass media, was shown by the Camp David pact. The accords reached at Camp David under heavy pressure from Carter represented a total victory for the Zionist regime.

According to an article by Sidney

West Bank. Israel would not be required to cede its claim of sovereignty over the area. There would be no independent Palestinian state."

When Israeli Foreign Minister Moshe Dayan read Tamir's working paper, Zion and Dan say, he dismissed it as "pure nonsense" because he was sure "that the Egyptians would never accept an accord that left the Palestinians with a lick and a promise."

But that is precisely what Sadat did. The Camp David accords met the objectives outlined by Tamir point for point.

Begin may have wanted to push Sadat even further. But he was hardly in a position to ask for more concessions right away.

His reluctance to yield even the smallest scraps to Sadat had already provoked massive demonstrations among war-weary Israelis, who feared that Begin would provoke a blow-up in the talks with Egypt.

Iranian masses intervene

Negotiations to conclude a treaty based on the Camp David accords began in Washington, D.C., on October 12, 1978. The following day, both sides approved a draft plan submitted by Washington.

Meanwhile, however, the Iranian revolution was gathering steam. A countrywide general strike and massive street demonstrations were beginning to call into question the ability of the shah's dictatorship to survive.

draft of an Egyptian-Israeli treaty "in principle" October 25. But on the same day, in a transparent provocation, Begin announced that Zionist settlements on the West Bank would be expanded.

• Weizman was again recalled from the Washington talks on November 2. Meanwhile, in Baghdad, twenty of the twenty-one members of the Arab League met in a summit conference and denounced the Camp David accords. Sadat's isolation in the Arab world was total.

By this time it was clear that there was a prerevolutionary situation in Iran.

Not only have the Iranian people struck a blow for their own freedom. They have also struck a blow for the Palestinian people and for peace.

As the *Militant* explained shortly after Sadat's trip to Israel, and again after the Camp David deal was announced:

"If Sadat were to go through with his thinly veiled threat of a separate agreement, the result would hardly lead to peace. On the contrary, a deal with Sadat would greatly strengthen Israel's already dominant military position, and encourage the Zionist rulers to engage in adventures in Lebanon and against Syria. In the long run, it would make war more likely."

With the downfall of the shah and the ongoing upsurge in Iran, the relationship of class forces in the Middle

East has shifted dramatically to the advantage of the working class and its allies. Once again the masses are center stage, and fear of the masses has become the driving force determining the diplomatic strategy of both Israel and the Arab regimes.

Washington's response has been to deny that anything basic has changed in regard to Camp David. Secretary of State Cyrus Vance told the House Foreign Affairs Committee February 5, according to the *New York Times*, "that both Egypt and Israel viewed the turmoil in Iran as a strong reason to resume negotiations rather than as a factor that would delay the talks."

some leverage in its relations with Carter.

Begin has replied to Carter's pressure for a treaty by stressing the lesson of Iran: no semicolonial country—including Egypt and Saudi Arabia—can play the role of a stable outpost for imperialism. *In the Middle East, Washington must rely more on imperialist Israel than ever before.*

Although Begin may be willing to go through the motions of negotiations with Sadat, there is no indication that he is interested in any agreements with him at this point. With the cutoff of Iranian oil, the Israelis have speeded up the development of offshore

Palestinian leaders for the "crime" of speaking out against the Camp David accords.

• On December 4, Israeli occupation forces resumed the practice of blowing up the houses of families of Palestinians suspected of guerrilla activity. This method of collective punishment—perfected by the Nazis and outlawed by the Geneva accords—had been halted after Sadat's visit to Jerusalem.

• On January 16 and again on January 19, Israeli forces invaded southern Lebanon, attacking villages and refugee camps. In the January 19 attack, Israeli ground forces pene-

tor correspondent Ned Temko reported January 24, "feel that the departure of the Shah and the possibility that he may not return means not only a blow to United States interests in Iran but a potential shift in the balance of power throughout the region."

Temko summed up the impact of the Iranian events on the Palestinian liberation movement by describing how "in the rugged hill country of south Lebanon, a Palestinian guerrilla commander broke into his briefing on a Jan. 19 Israeli ground incursion to ask reporters, 'What's happening in Iran today?'"

Inside Israel itself, the heads of more than half of the councils of Arab towns and villages expressed their support for the PLO's struggle for a Palestinian state. And Arab students at Jerusalem's Hebrew University defied the Zionist regime by circulating a leaflet denouncing Zionism and the Israeli state.

These indications of the mood among the nearly 600,000 Palestinians within Israel's pre-1967 borders prompted Begin to renew the use of administrative detention inside Israel. Six Hebrew University students were placed under restriction January 26 without any trial.

In a January 23 speech, Moshe Dayan reminded the Palestinians living under Israeli rule of "what happened with the Arab people" in 1948, when 700,000 Palestinians were expelled from their homes by Zionist forces.

Dayan warned that if the Palestinians allow themselves to be "carried away by the mood of fanatical Islam" and "try to replace Israel . . . they will have to pay for it very dearly."

Writing on the wall

But despite Dayan's bluster and the military strength of the Zionist regime, there is an element of desperation in the renewed Israeli attacks on the Palestinian people.

The Iranian revolution, which ripped away the mask of imperialist stability in the Middle East, represents the handwriting on the wall for Israel. All the military power in the world cannot overcome the hatred that the Zionist state has generated among the Arab masses, nor hide its deepening international isolation and its increasing reliance on a handful of imperialist allies.

Moreover, Israel's most dependable allies—the shah of Iran was considered to be in this category until a few months ago—have their own problems.

For example, in trying to reduce Israel's dependence on oil, the Begin regime signed a contract with South Africa January 15 for 1 million metric tons of coal a year through 1985.

There is no future in the Middle East for a colonial settler-state based on the dispossession and oppression of an entire people.

The Israeli state can promise its Jewish population only endless warfare, increasing economic sacrifices, and continuing attacks on democratic rights—all in the interests of maintaining a fundamental injustice.

Begin can no more crush the aspirations of the Palestinian people through repression than the shah could hold down the Iranian masses. And many Jewish workers in Israel—who are exploited by their own ruling class—must be sensing the power of that revolution and beginning to realize that their destiny is linked to that of the Iranian and Arab masses.

Those who urge the Jewish people to tie their future to imperialism are leading them into a deathtrap. Security and peace can never be found by relying on the Pentagon and its allies in Iran and South Africa.

The Iranian revolution has shown once again why the demand of the Palestinian people for a single state in which both Arabs and Jews can live together—a democratic, secular Palestine—is the only solution for the Arab-Israeli conflict.

and the Middle East Camp David accords



. . . but the deal was shattered by the Iranian revolution.

Of course, the talks have been "delayed," and the reason is clear. The Iranian revolution has struck fear into the heart of the Arab ruling classes. The explosion of anti-imperialist sentiment in Iran, and the identification of the Iranian masses with the Palestinian cause, has forced the Arab regimes to look again at their own home bases.

Sadat has denied more strongly than ever any intention of making a separate deal, and he has begun to insist on stronger language regarding the West Bank to give him cover in the Arab world.

The Saudi monarchy felt it necessary to move demonstratively into a bloc with Iraq and Syria in opposition to the Camp David deal.

And the Palestinian people have found a new ally—the 34 million people of the country that until now had supplied more than half of Israel's oil.

As David Hirst put it in the January 21 issue of the *Manchester Guardian Weekly*, the Iranian revolution "serves dire warning on all those Arab governments which, in open and furtive ways, seek to undermine the popular support which the Palestinian cause can still command."

Israeli leverage

Both Tel Aviv and Washington have suffered a heavy defeat in Iran. But within the context of this overall defeat, the Israeli regime has gained

fields in the Egyptian Gulf of Suez and are even demanding assurance of future supplies from those fields.

A paper recently put out by the Israeli Foreign Ministry outlines the basic answer Begin has to any complaints about his hardline stance.

"Arguing that Israel is the only internally stable country in this region," the *Christian Science Monitor* reported January 30, "it raises the point that the Israeli Defense Forces are called the only effective military substitute for a considerable US military presence in the eastern flank of the Mediterranean."

Nor have the Israelis merely talked about their military capabilities. The Begin regime has been throwing its weight around more and more over the past few months. As usual, the Palestinians have been its main victims.

Lashing out at Palestinians

Among the actions Begin has taken to try to suppress the Palestinian movement are the following:

• On November 17, 1978, the ban on all demonstrations on the West Bank was reimposed. Israeli occupation authorities had temporarily relaxed the ban in order to make Begin's phony "autonomy" plan more palatable and in hopes of gaining some support for the Camp David deal among the West Bank Palestinians.

• During the next ten days, Israeli authorities arrested at least fifteen

trated more deeply into Lebanon than ever before.

• Three days later, Israeli agents exploded a remote-controlled bomb in Beirut. Palestine Liberation Organization leader Ali Hassan Salameh (Abu Hassan), four bodyguards, and five passers-by were killed in the blast.

• On January 23, Israeli artillery carried out the heaviest shelling of southern Lebanon since the massive invasion last March.

It is not surprising that Begin is lashing out at the Palestinians. The Iranian revolution has sharpened the struggle between imperialism and the peoples it exploits in the Middle East. And the confrontation between the Zionist state and the Palestinian people remains at the heart of this overall conflict.

Threat of expulsion

Both Carter and Begin hoped that the Camp David accords would enable them to not only divide the Arab governments but also to divide the Palestinians. This aim was frustrated from the very beginning, and the eruption of the Iranian revolution has brought new hope to the Palestinian people and inspired them in their struggle.

"Palestinian officials, riveted to developments in Iran with barely disguised glee," *Christian Science Moni-*

CWA local discusses affirmative action

By Marcie Kuzeja

WASHINGTON—Imagine a national union whose membership is about half women, but whose leadership is against affirmative action. Or a local union that is predominantly women and Blacks, whose leadership is filing a suit against equal job rights.

The national union is the Communications Workers of America. It filed suit against the consent decree that forced a modest affirmative-action program on the American Telephone and Telegraph Company from January 1973 to January 1979.

The local union is CWA Local 2336 in Washington, D.C. Last fall the local filed its own suit against the AT&T affirmative-action program.

Over the last few months, many rank-and-filers in Local 2336 have been puzzled by our local's anti-affirmative action suit. Questions have been raised at union meetings, and a motion was introduced at last month's meeting to hold a referendum on the suit.

The purpose of the referendum would have been to give unionists the opportunity to educate themselves on the arguments for and against affirmative action—and to give the entire membership a voice in deciding whether to support the suit.

The referendum was defeated after local president Pete Catucci said it would cost thousands of dollars.

The referendum would have provided an opportunity to counter the anti-affirmative action propaganda that Local 2336's leadership has been putting out for years.

A Local 2336 weekly newsletter has listed every "affirmative action override"—that is, instances in which workers with high seniority (usually white males) have been passed over for promotions of workers with less seniority (usually women and Blacks).

The union leadership blocked presentation of the case for affirmative action until a union meeting last September passed a motion for a panel discussion.

During the panel discussion in November, some Local 2336 members argued that affirmative action helps all workers by fighting the racial and sexual discrimination that divides and weakens the labor movement.

Countering the statements of the attorney who filed the local's anti-affirmative action suit, unionists pointed out that AT&T did not "eagerly grasp" the opportunity to start affirmative action. The consent decree was forced on Ma Bell. Years of active, visible mobilizations for Black and

women's rights compelled the federal government finally to take action against Ma Bell's blatant discrimination.

AT&T implemented affirmative action as unfairly as it could. For instance, the company would promote a Black male with low seniority over a Black male with high seniority—all in the name of "affirmative action." The purpose of this arbitrary action was to turn workers—even Blacks and women—against the entire affirmative-action program.

The union's response should have been to demand its right to participate in and supervise the affirmative-action program—not to file suit against it.

Another warning sounded at the panel discussion was the danger the *Weber* case poses for affirmative-action programs. Brian Weber, a white male steelworker, has sued to overturn an affirmative-action program that is part of a United Steelworkers of America contract at a Louisiana plant.

If the U.S. Supreme Court rules in favor of Weber, affirmative-action programs everywhere will be in danger, and a union's very right to negotiate a contract will be called into question.

The gains made by women and minorities under the AT&T affirmative-action program have been small. After six years, Black males still hold only 4.6 percent of skilled craft jobs, and the number of Black men in semi-skilled jobs has actually declined, according to company figures.

Only 162 Black women hold skilled telephone craft jobs, and only 997 hold semi-skilled outside jobs such as telephone installer. Company figures show a total of 53,209 white males holding such jobs.

Overall, however, women and minorities have made gains under affirmative action at AT&T. More is needed.

Members of CWA need to educate ourselves on why affirmative action strengthens the entire union and helps all its members, not just minorities and women.

Instead of letting AT&T run the affirmative-action program, CWA should put affirmative action into its contract. Then the union could make sure the program was run fairly, without company abuses.

CWA needs to join in the fight against Weber's challenge to affirmative action. The United Auto Workers, the United Mine Workers, and other unions have filed briefs against Weber, and CWA should too. All unionists and all working people have a big stake in defeating Weber.

Anti-Weber group offers speakers

By Ron Repps

NEW ORLEANS—The New Orleans Committee to Overturn the Weber Decision and Defend Affirmative Action has announced the formation of a speakers' bureau. This newest arm of the committee will be available to disseminate information and bring to the public the significance of the *Weber* case.

The members of the speakers' bureau are:

- Rev. Avery Alexander, Louisiana state representative and chairperson of the Louisiana state board of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference;
- Sara Jeffries, vice president of the New Orleans National Organization for Women;
- Rashaad Ali, a member of United Transportation Union Local 1060 and coordinator of the committee;
- Connie Goodly, a leader of the United Teachers of New Orleans;
- Cynthia Hawkins, a member of United Steelworkers Local 13000;
- John Gunther, professor at the State University of New Orleans; and
- Rev. Isidore Booker, president of

the West Bank-Jefferson Parish chapter of the NAACP and chairperson of the civil rights committee of Local 13000.

A recent meeting at predominantly Black Southern University drew more than 250 people to hear Alexander, Ali, and Millie Charles of SUNO speak on the latest developments in the *Weber* case. More than half the people at the meeting signed up for more information.

This meeting and another the same day were organized by Vera Warren, who is president of the Junior class at SUNO and will be one of the speakers at a March 4 rally in New Orleans against the *Weber* decision.

Rudy Gordon, a Black woman and the first woman ever hired at the Kaiser Gramercy plant, will also speak at the March 4 rally.

The rally has the backing of a broad spectrum of unions and community groups. For more information, or to obtain a speaker on the *Weber* case, contact the committee at 2803 Martin Luther King Jr. Boulevard, New Orleans Louisiana 70113, telephone (504) 522-9819.

Enthusiastic response to 'Weber' pamphlet

By Helen Meyers

The Socialist Workers Party is on a national campaign to sell the just-published Pathfinder Press pamphlet, *The Weber Case: New Threat to Affirmative Action*.

Jane Van Deusen of the New Orleans SWP reports that she sold a copy to her co-worker Cynthia Hawkins, the first woman ever to get into the skilled-job training program at Kaiser Aluminum there. If Brian Weber wins his lawsuit, the affirmative-action program through which Hawkins got her job will be abolished.

Hawkins is the director of publicity of the Committee to Overturn the Weber Decision and Defend Affirmative Action. Her reaction to the pamphlet was, "This is exactly what I have been trying to say; this is the best thing about Weber I've ever read."

"It's like passing them out," says Lee Artz, a member of Steelworkers Local 15271 in Cicero, Illinois, describing his sale of twenty-six *Weber* pamphlets in two days.

"We've been discussing the *Weber* case on the job, as well as at our union meeting last month. When I brought in the pamphlet, they sold right out. Especially to the many *Militant* subscribers who were already familiar with the case."

Artz is a member of the SWP's Chicago-Westside branch, which initially ordered 100 pamphlets and has now ordered an additional 200.

Barbara Bowman and Norton Sandler work in the hot-strip mill at Bethlehem Steel's Sparrows Point plant in Baltimore. Bowman sold ten pamphlets to women in her department.

She told the *Militant* that "the women at Sparrows Point are currently in a struggle to have our newly-established union women's committee become an official body of the local, so women's rights is a big topic of discussion. All the women in my department know we have our jobs because of affirmative action, and we want to keep them."

Sandler has sold to several older Black workers who took part in the fight to desegregate Sparrows Point in the late 1960s and early '70s. "These workers know what's at stake in the *Weber* case and want to get the facts," Sandler says.

Sandler notes that a lot of workers are interested in the chart in the pamphlet breaking down average weekly earnings by the sex and race of the worker.

"It makes it clear what a lie this whole business of 'reverse discrimination' is."

After selling fifteen pamphlets, Sandler says he drew up a list of seventeen other co-workers he thinks will want copies.

The New Jersey SWP is placing an ad for the pamphlet and for their local bookstore in a special issue of the NOW-New Jersey newspaper to be distributed at an upcoming NOW-conference.

Chris Hildebrand, a NOW activist and a member of the SWP, sold three copies at the New Jersey NOW state board meeting. She says, "The national NOW conference passed a resolution to oppose the *Weber* case and file a friend-of-the-court brief. This makes it imperative that all NOW members read this pamphlet."

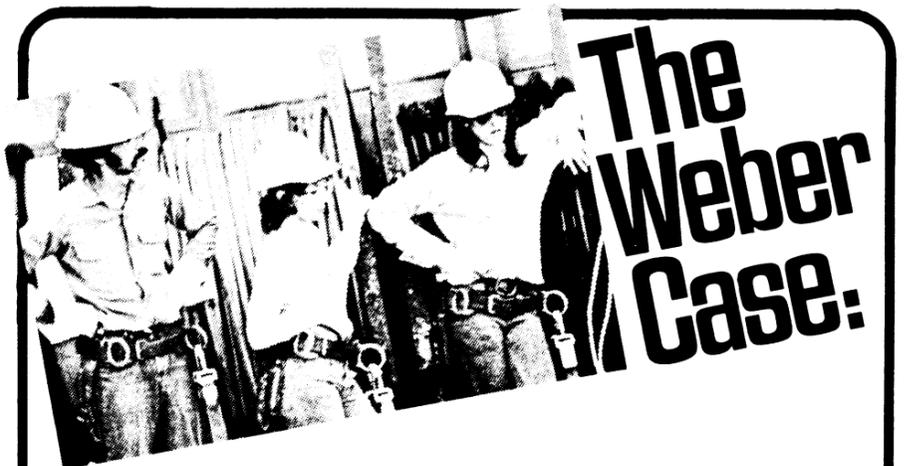
Dick McBride, a member of Local

1010 at Inland Steel in East Chicago, Indiana, outlined the campaign by the Chicago-Gary SWP district to get out the *Weber* pamphlet.

"We are not only going to use this pamphlet where we work, but we're going to take it to other workplaces

and union locals as well. We sold thirty copies at a meeting of fifty people on the *Weber* case, sponsored by the National Steelworkers Rank and File Committee."

The Gary branch of the SWP has ordered another 150 pamphlets.



HELP GET OUT THE TRUTH

The Weber Case: New Threat to Affirmative Action by Militant staff writer Andy Rose presents the real story behind Weber's assault on job rights. It takes up key issues posed by the case: so-called reverse discrimination against white males, seniority, and how the labor movement can win jobs and better conditions for all.

Please send me _____ copies. (75 cents each, 50 cents each for 5 or more. Add 50 cents for postage.)

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AAM protest continues

Carter administration rejects farmers' demands

By Osborne Hart

After a week of demonstrating and lobbying in Washington, D.C., farmers of the American Agriculture Movement (AAM) were bluntly denied any action on their demands.

The Carter administration refused to enact legislation that would help working farmers maintain their living standards in the face of soaring production costs.

Agriculture Secretary Bob Bergland attacked the protesters on the grounds that they are motivated by "greed," that they are "not poor," and that the AAM's chances of success are "from zero to nothing."

As angry farmers watched, Bergland told a congressional committee that the administration would oppose any support for them this year.

Carter admitted during the AAM protest that "I don't know of any other group that has suffered more from inflation than farmers." But he insisted their demands would fuel inflation.

By blaming farmers for high food prices, the Carter administration was making an obvious bid to pit wage workers against working farmers.

The latest government figures show an increase in net farm income for 1978, the White House declared.

True, total revenues were up—but that doesn't nearly make up for the erosion inflation has caused in the living standards of farmers. The 70 percent of farmers who earn less than \$20,000 annually get 80 percent of their income from other employment. They can't make a living on the farm!

The prices of seed, fertilizer, equipment, and land have continued to climb. The price of the average acre of land has doubled since 1972. But the prices farmers receive for their crops have remained relatively stable—and



Tractor in Washington protest. Farmers see themselves allied with others fighting Carter administration.

Militant/Osborne Hart

in some cases even decreased.

Farmers are blamed for high food prices, but the big food processing monopolies and the banks are the real culprits. *Time* magazine pointed out that since 1973, 87 percent of the rise in food prices occurred after the food left the farm.

Only 30 percent of the food dollar goes to the farmer, according to the *Christian Science Monitor*.

Like wage workers in factories, the family farmers are victims of inflation—not responsible for it.

Instead of spending billions on arms, the government should guarantee a

decent standard of living for those who produce the most essential commodity of all—food.

Nearly 3,000 working farmers participated in the AAM protest and several hundred remain on the Capitol mall. The big business media, as well as the government, attacked the action as a "disaster," not representing the sentiment of American farmers.

This year's AAM tractorcade was larger than a similar action last year. The farmers who traveled to D.C. were sponsored by hundreds of others who donated funds and held rallies to build the demonstration.

The AAM was able to involve many more farmers—ranging from the far West to the Midwest and South. The organizers also made a conscious appeal to trade unionists and Blacks.

Since its inception, the AAM has seen direct action as the way to mobilize the forces necessary to sustain the movement.

Public exposure to the conditions of farmers was a real accomplishment of the protest. And it shows that the political movement of working farmers continues. It deserves the full support of the labor movement.

Ala. KKK joins police in attack on Blacks

By Nelson Blackstock

BIRMINGHAM—In the latest series of racist attacks on Blacks in Decatur, Alabama, police and Ku Klux Klan members joined forces February 11 to break up a civil rights protest.

Police refused to arrest a Klan gunman who fired a shot into the car of a Black man, Ronald Williams, in the course of the attack.

Police also jailed Charles Bowman and Rev. R.C. Cottonreader, a project director for the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, on trumped-up charges.

Decatur has been the scene of a concerted effort to intimidate Blacks protesting the racist frame-up of Tommy Lee Hines, twenty-six, a severely retarded Black man sentenced to thirty years in prison for allegedly raping a white woman.

The February 11 attack was directed against Blacks picketing an A & P store. The protesters were demanding that fraudulent shoplifting charges against Bowman be dropped. They were also calling on A & P to remove a racist off-duty policeman working as a private guard.

After two days of picketing, more than 100 armed Klansmen, some hooded, gathered with other white racists in the shopping center where the A & P is located. The KKKers had

come from all over Alabama to reinforce the racist campaign against the Decatur Black community.

Decatur Police Chief Pack Self made what he called a "deal" with the Klan. He arrested and jailed Cottonreader and Bowman, who had been peacefully standing in front of the closed grocery store, and charged them with unlawful assembly and conspiracy to interfere with the operation of business. In return, the KKKers agreed to leave the area.

One member of the racist mob fired a gun into Ronald Williams's car. Chief Self refused to arrest the gunman, even though Williams insisted he could identify him.

A group of twenty-five Blacks, carrying rifles and shotguns, reportedly stood at the edge of the shopping center while the Klan dispersed. Self then ordered the Blacks to leave.

Klansmen also made death threats against a Black television cameraman. "We'll let a white man take pictures," stated one of the racists, "but we ain't gonna let you."

The next day SCLC attorney U.W. Clemons announced he will ask the U.S. Justice Department to investigate the shooting, which he termed "probably attempted murder." The same day Cottonreader and Bowman were released from jail on bonds totaling \$600 each.

African solidarity notes

Midwest coalition meets in Chicago

Plans for the April 4-11 nationwide week of campus anti-apartheid activities were the main topic at a recent steering committee meeting of the Midwest Coalition for the Liberation of Southern Africa. The meeting was held February 4 at the University of Chicago.

Coalition representatives attended from campuses in Indiana, Wisconsin, Minnesota, and Illinois.

The April protests have also been endorsed by regional conferences in the Northeast and Southeast.

Other events are planned during the weeks preceding the April actions. A debate on apartheid and divestment, sponsored by the University of Chicago administration, will be held February 27.

Partial victory at NY seminary

The board of trustees of Union Theological Seminary (UTS) in New York City have voted for partial divestment of holdings in U.S. corporations doing business in South Africa.

The vote was a concession to a coalition of students and faculty demanding total divestment. According to the *New York Times*, the school holds a fourth of its \$26 million endowment in companies in South Africa.

The UTS trustees cited the U.S.-backed "Sullivan Principles" as an excuse for not totally divesting. These phony principles were developed by Rev. Leon Sullivan, a Black director of the General Motors Corporation. They are supposed to put U.S. corporations on record as practicing equal treatment and upgrading of their Black South African employees. Actually, the Sullivan Principles aim to undercut the demand of South African freedom fighters for a total end to U.S. corporate investment in apartheid.

With the growing pressure on campus for total divestment, administrators and trustees are also turning to the Sullivan Principles as a way of trying to divert the movement.

—Osborne Hart

The Florida East Coast

By Dick Roberts

(Seventh of a series)

One of the most notorious companies in railroading is the Florida East Coast.

The company weathered fourteen years of strikes between 1963 and 1976.

It busted unions.

It succeeded in reducing its labor force from 2,541 in 1960 to 765 in 1971—refusing to hire back the workers who had joined in strikes.

Bankrupt for thirty years, the FEC earned over \$11 million in profits in 1978. Its stock is now among the most highly valued railroad stock on Wall Street.

The FEC case is worth a close look. It reveals what the railroad companies really want in their national attack on railroad workers. It offers a glimpse of where the railroad productivity drive would lead if the workers were unable to mount effective opposition.

An article in the May 8, 1978, issue of *Railway Age* heralded the FEC as "Florida's Productivity Showcase."

"On the FEC, as on every well-managed railroad," *Railway Age* declared, "the sacred word in management councils is 'productivity'—and by nearly every known measure, FEC is far ahead of the field."

According to *Railway Age*, the FEC has "by far the lowest labor costs of any major railroad anywhere in the world."

FEC President Winfred Thornton told *Railway Age*, "There's no reason why the industry couldn't do exactly what we have done. . . ."

"All we're talking about is maybe 9% of the work force. They would have to change the rules with respect to four things: the eight-hour vs the 100-mile day; running through terminals; yard and road work separation; and such arbitrary things as starting-time rules."

Work rules

The fact is that the FEC reduced the work force not by the 9 percent Thornton mentioned but by 70 percent. Leaving that aside, the work-rule changes demanded by Thornton underline what the railroad productivity drive is really all about. The four work rules are interrelated.

The 100-mile limit was won in the course of railroad labor struggles over decades. One hundred miles roughly corresponded to what a freight train moved in eight hours. In more congested areas it would be less; on long southern and western stretches, it would be much more. The limit has changed with time and the advance of railroad technology.

The concept is nevertheless vital to railroad workers—that there must be a cut-off point for road service employees. At the mileage limit there are terminals where the road crews are supposed to change.

If for some reason the freight goes the limit in less than eight hours workers are still paid for an eight-hour day. If it takes longer, they get overtime.

The limited distance means that the workers know where they're going to spend the night when they are away from home. It is a place not too far away, and they can regularly return home. They are also guaranteed a full day's pay if they are called in.

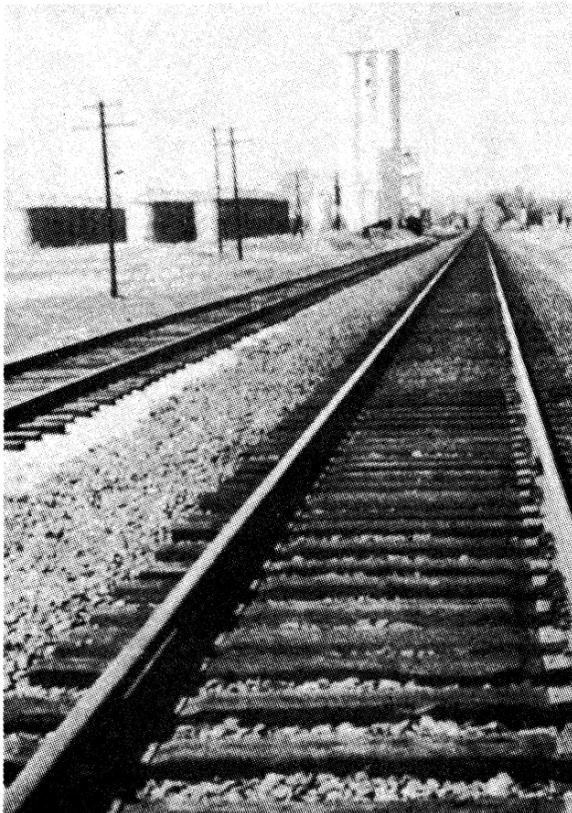
The aim of the railroads in attacking these rules is to make workers completely subservient to the needs of the freight carriers. If this means going 250 miles away from home, whenever and wherever the companies choose, so what?

Terminals

Terminal run-through is part of the same policy. It means the road crews go through the terminal or division points. This wreaks havoc with the lives of workers who happen to live in those terminal points they used to work out of. Either they no longer get much of a chance to return home at all, or they have to move—without compensation.

Running through terminals with a single road crew greatly intensifies the labor of that crew and eliminates other jobs. FEC Chairman Ed Ball told *Nation's Business* in July 1977: "In 1960 a freight train running from Jacksonville to Miami required three five-man crews, or a total of 15 men. Today that train is operating for the entire distance with two men."

Getting the road crews to do yard work also means speedup. After the freight has arrived at the



Edward Ball, billionaire chairman of Florida East Coast, engineered speedup drive.



terminal, the rail bosses want the road crew to get out and do the switching. It's dangerous because the crews are tired after a day's work. They are unfamiliar with the character of the yard and are often working on strange territory at night.

Starting-up time refers to when the shifts start. Instead of a regular schedule of three eight-hour shifts, the companies want to be able to bring in workers whenever it suits them.

Taking all these changes together, we can see what the companies are driving toward: They want

most powerful ruling-class families in America—the duPonts of Delaware and Florida.

FEC Chairman Ed Ball's sister Jessie married Alfred duPont in the 1920s. Together Ball and Alfred duPont built a Florida empire that includes thirty-one banks, more than 1 million acres of land, the St. Joe Paper Company, two railroads, and countless smaller enterprises. The FEC is owned through St. Joe Paper, which controls 52 percent of FEC stock. Ball—at the age of eighty-nine—is still one of the most powerful men in Florida.

The duPont railroad interests aren't limited to Florida. Pierre duPont II was a director and member of the finance committee of the Pennsylvania Railroad from the 1930s until he died in the early 1950s.

Labor efficiency

Ball is a big propagandist for the capitalist private-profit system. In arguing against nationalization of the rails, Ball told *Nation's Business* that "U.S. rail lines, with all their archaic work rules, have an average of only 2.7 employees for every mile of track. In countries where the government owns and operates the lines, the number of employees required per mile of track is considerably greater. For example: 22.1 Germans, 20.9 Englishmen and 12.9 Frenchmen."

The statistics are undoubtedly influenced by the greater population densities of European countries compared to the United States. Nevertheless they raise a pointed question: Is railroad efficiency in terms of workers hired per mile really what society needs? Is this profit criterion a valid basis for making decisions about railroads?

If all the companies go the route of the FEC—and they want to—the end result will be fewer railroad workers, new troubles for American farmers, and no passenger trains. The jobs will be more tiring and more dangerous. Needed rail services everywhere will deteriorate or be eliminated.

Railroad workers who are fighting against the speedup drive should explain to workers inside and outside of rail what happened with the FEC. It is indeed a model of "free enterprise."



to be able to ship freights only when the cars are full—and that means at any time, day or night.

They do not want to take into consideration the health or safety or welfare of the workers. Their message to railroad labor is, "Work for us when and where we want."

Passengers

Passenger trains have been increasingly eliminated, for the simple reason that the companies do not like to run trains on schedule—particularly any schedule that might interfere with freight shipments.

They hate like hell to run cars that aren't fully loaded. The trouble with passengers is that we like to leave places and arrive at destinations on time. This could mean—horror of horrors!—dispatching a passenger car that actually has empty (nonpaying) seats.

The FEC eliminated passenger service as soon as the strike began.

The FEC's drastic efficiency measures affect shippers as well. According to Robert Sherrill, writing in *Nation* magazine, Miami-area growers complain about the FEC's policy of shipping cars only when full. "If growers don't like it they can send their produce by truck, at twice the rate," says Sherrill.

"Nothing less than a full-car load will be picked up. All in all, farmers on the Florida tip say that the F.E.C. service is so bad that some of them face ruin."

DuPont control

How was it possible for the FEC to go this far? Part of the explanation concerns the owners of the FEC. This railroad is directly owned by one of the

Reading on rail

A Struggle for Union Democracy by Ed Heisler. 48 pages, \$.75

Hear That Lonesome Whistle Blow by Dee Brown. 312 pages, \$2.50

The Great Labor Uprising of 1877 by Dr. Philip S. Foner. 288 pages, \$3.95

Eugene V. Debs, A Biography by Ray Ginger. \$3.95

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Where does Indochina war danger come from?

By Mary-Alice Waters

The atmosphere in Washington has reeked of capitalist hypocrisy since the end of Teng Hsiao-p'ing's U.S. visit.

"U.S. warns Chinese against an attack on the Vietnamese," read a front-page headline in the February 10 *New York Times*. The article reported an official government statement expressing "serious concern" over tensions along the China-Vietnam border.

"We seek peace and a stable system of independent states in Southeast Asia," the statement said.

Talk of "peace" from the government that waged a ten-year war of annihilation against the Indochinese people! From the government that arms the military dictatorship in Thailand as a dagger against the workers and peasants throughout Southeast Asia!

Talk of "independent states" from the government that until 1975 held Laos, Kampuchea (Cambodia), and Vietnam in semicolonial bondage!

The Carter administration's propaganda game is as simple as it is cynical and dangerous. First, falsely portray Vietnam as an aggressive, expansionist power. Then, hide your own maneuvers to contain and reverse the Indochinese revolution behind hypocritical appeals for China to stay out of Vietnam.

Carter needs this cover because the American people have not forgotten the Vietnam War. They are extremely suspicious of any U.S. military moves, whether in Africa, the Mideast, or Indochina.

The Stalinist bureaucrats in Peking are serving as willing accomplices in Carter's charade, in return for Washington's promises of trade and closer diplomatic ties. During his U.S. visit, Teng said that Vietnam ought to be "punished" and "taught some necessary lessons" in retaliation for its participation in toppling the Pol Pot regime in Kampuchea last month.

Teng's treacherous remarks do pose a threat to peace in Indochina, but not for the reasons that Carter and the capitalist press would like us to believe. *The danger is not a Chinese invasion of Vietnam, but the imperialist maneuvers that Peking is helping to cover up.*

Carter hosts Thai dictator

What Washington is really up to in Southeast Asia was made crystal clear earlier this month when Carter played host to the military dictator of Thailand.

According to the February 8 *New York Times*, "The United States has agreed to speed deliveries of tactical fighters, weapons and ammunition to Thailand in response to the continued fighting in Indochina, Prime Minister Kriangsak Chamanand said at a news conference [in Washington] today."

The *Times* quoted General Kriangsak as saying, "The United States has reassured us and given us



In early February, Carter met with Thai dictator Kriangsak Chamanand (top) and Chinese Stalinist Teng Hsiao-p'ing (bottom). Teng's bellicose remarks about Vietnam provide cover for U.S.-Thai maneuvers to roll back and contain Indochinese revolution.

confidence that if the situation around us escalates, the United States will not stand idly by."

Washington's escalating crusade against the Vietnamese revolution is behind Carter's eagerness to massively step up support to the brutal rightist regime in Thailand. That crusade suffered a blow last month with the fall of Pol Pot.

Ever since its defeat in Indochina four years ago, U.S. imperialism has sought to isolate and economically strangle Vietnam. This campaign intensified last year in retaliation against a series of revolutionary measures that swept away the last major remnants of capitalism in southern Vietnam.

The Pol Pot and Thai regimes were also alarmed by these events, fearing that the revolutionary impulse would spread to the workers and peasants of those countries. The two governments cooled down a border dispute and began to strengthen military, diplomatic, and trade ties.

The imperialists began to see the Pol Pot and Thai regimes as a vital counterbalance against the Vietnamese revolution. The November 10 *Far Eastern Economic Review* noted that the Australian government believed that "it is essential to preserve [Kampuchea] as an independent buffer between non-communist Thailand and communist Vietnam."

Every last imperialist power lined up behind Pol Pot's bloody regime during the civil war in Kampuchea last month, although none were in a position to directly intervene. The Australian government has already cut off all economic assistance to Vietnam in response to Hanoi's massive aid to the Kampuchean insurgents who toppled Pol Pot. The Japanese and Swedish imperialists are threatening to follow suit unless Vietnamese troops withdraw from Kampuchea.

Despite official denials by Carter's cronies in Bangkok, the Thai government is now providing refuge and a base of military operations for the remnants of Pol Pot's army in its clashes with the new Kampuchean government and Vietnamese troops.

Behind China's moves

This imperialist-orchestrated campaign against the Vietnamese revolution provides the necessary context for understanding the Chinese government's escalating hostility toward Vietnam over the past few years.

Ever since Mao Tsetung clinked champagne glasses with Richard Nixon seven years ago, Pek-

ing has increasingly viewed the Vietnamese revolution as a destabilizing factor on its borders and an obstacle to improved trade and diplomatic ties with Washington. With the step-up of imperialism's anti-Vietnam crusade last year, Peking jumped on the bandwagon.

The Chinese Stalinists condemned the big mobilizations that expropriated thousands of remaining capitalist enterprises in southern Vietnam. Using the fact that many of the expropriated capitalists had been of Chinese national origin, Peking portrayed the revolutionary measures in Vietnam as racist.

These same factors explain the Chinese military build-up along the Vietnamese border and Teng Hsiao-p'ing's bellicose statements during his U.S. visit.

In return for economic favors from imperialism, Peking is deliberately lending the prestige of the Chinese revolution to Washington's anti-Vietnam campaign. On the other hand, a major war with Hanoi is the last thing that the Peking bureaucrats are interested in. With economic modernization uppermost in their minds, they stand to gain nothing from the instability and drain on resources that would result from becoming embroiled in a war.

The strategy of peaceful coexistence practiced by the Peking bureaucrats (and those in Moscow, too) aims to buy an indefinite truce with imperialism, at the expense of the world revolution. This is based on the utopian and reactionary concept, originated by Stalin, that socialism can be built within the borders of a single country.

Throughout its entire thirty-year history, the Chinese Stalinist regime has only gone to war, as in Korea, when its survival has been directly threatened by imperialism. This desire for peace and stability was again demonstrated during the war in Kampuchea last month.

If the Peking bureaucrats were angling for an opportunity to back up their ally Pol Pot by a military offensive against Vietnam, that would have been the time—not four weeks later.

Kampuchean Prince Norodom Sihanouk told the *New York Times* February 9 that "The Chinese told leaders of the Pol Pot regime: 'We're helping you as much as we can now. We'll be able to do more only after China has completed its modernization.'"

The *Times* added, "The Prince said that he took that to mean China was unwilling to face a major war anywhere for the time being but that this did not rule out the likelihood of continuing dangerous border clashes between Vietnam and China."

Keep spotlight on Carter

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

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

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

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

Defenders of the Indochinese revolution must mount an educational campaign to expose these real dangers.

Our spotlight must be on Washington—and its allies in Canberra, Stockholm, and Tokyo—not Peking or Hanoi.

Our spotlight must be on the Thailand-Kampuchea border, not the Vietnam-China border.

Our spotlight must be on U.S. and Thai aid to rightist guerrillas in Laos, not Vietnamese aid to Kampuchean opponents of Pol Pot.

Our spotlight must cut through the fog of Carter's "peacemaker" hypocrisy, revealing his threatening moves against the workers and peasants throughout Southeast Asia.

Our demands should be:

Halt all imperialist aid to the Thai dictatorship!

End the economic blockade of Laos, Kampuchea, and Vietnam!

Provide massive aid to reconstruct Indochina, with no strings attached!

Stop the imperialist campaign against the Vietnamese revolution!

From Intercontinental Press/Inprecor



Christian Science Monitor



Workers, students, and poor people of Phnompenh hailed Khmer Rouge forces when they entered city on April 17, 1975, . . .

By Fred Feldman
and Steve Clark

Under the impact of the Vietnamese revolution and the U.S. war in Indochina, a deep class polarization began to develop in Kampuchea (Cambodia) in the 1960s.

In an effort to keep the Kampuchean workers and peasants under control, Prince Norodom Sihanouk brought several prominent pro-Stalinist intellectuals into his cabinet in 1962. These included Khieu Samphan and Hou Youn, later central figures in the Pol Pot regime toppled earlier this year.

Continuing mass unrest, particularly in the countryside, and mounting imperialist pressure, convinced Prince Sihanouk by the spring of 1967 that this maneuver was serving no purpose, so he drove the Stalinists out of his cabinet. They quickly went underground.

The Vietnamese National Liberation Front (NLF) had established base camps, hospitals, and headquarters in the eastern part of Kampuchea. In exchange for toleration of these bases by Sihanouk, the Vietnamese Stalinist leaders offered political support to his landlord-capitalist government. Nonetheless, the struggle for agrarian reform and national independence of the Vietnamese masses won wide support from the peasants, students, and workers of Kampuchea, whether of Khmer or Vietnamese nationality.

The Kampuchean ruling classes, including Sihanouk, became worried that the deepening of the Vietnamese revolution would inspire the Kampuchean masses to follow its example. These worries were confirmed in 1967, when a massive peasant uprising took place in the main rice-growing district of Battambang. The rebellion was brutally crushed. But in its aftermath, guerrilla forces led by the relatively young Cambodian Communist Party began to grow. By 1970, they had an armed force of about 4,000.

Unlike the Vietnamese CP, the Kampuchean CP traced its roots only to the early 1950s. And the grouping that came to dominate the Pol Pot regime, including Ieng Sary and Khieu Samphan, took the party's leadership only in the late 1960s.

The U.S. imperialists placed increasing pressure on Sihanouk to fully throw in with Washington and to allow U.S. and Saigon forces to occupy eastern Kampuchea. Sihanouk moved steadily to the right, but continued to resist the most extreme U.S. demands.

Lon Nol's 1970 coup

In March 1970, while visiting abroad, Sihanouk was toppled by a U.S. supported coup. The bulk of Kampuchea's ruling circles supported the new government of Gen. Lon Nol, who called for help from Washington and the Thieu regime in a military effort to drive the NLF out of eastern Kampuchea.

The Hanoi government and National Liberation Front now reversed their policy of supporting the Phnompenh regime. "The Vietnamese Communists," wrote Malcolm Caldwell and Lek Tan in *Cambodia in the Southeast Asian War*, "hitherto scrupulously correct in their behavior, began passing out arms to disaffected Cambodian groups and helping them with military training. These groups consisted of Cambodian peasants, Cambodians of Vietnamese extraction, and rubber plantation workers—long radical and now incensed by U.S. and ARVN (Saigon army) assaults on their work places and living quarters. . . ."

With Vietnamese help and endorsement from Sihanouk, the Kampuchean Stalinists became the leaders of a peasant army—the National United Front of Kampuchea (FUNK)—that eventually grew to 50,000 or more. The rebellion quickly spread throughout eastern Kampuchea and then to the whole countryside. (Sihanouk dubbed the guerrillas the "Khmer Rouge," a label the CP leaders themselves then adopted.)

Sihanouk's call for armed resistance to the U.S. puppets deprived Lon Nol's regime of its last shred of legitimacy in the peasants' eyes and gave them confidence to begin instituting a land reform and settling accounts with landlords, tax-collectors, usurers, corrupt local officials, and other oppressors.

U.S. forces who had invaded Kampuchea in May 1970 were forced by massive protests in the United States to withdraw the following month. After that, the peasant rebels won the vast bulk of the countryside and held on to it until the fall of Lon Nol in April 1975.

As in Vietnam, the military command structure that headed the peasant army was not revolutionary socialist, but Stalinist. The Kampuchean CP,

Revolution & reaction in Kampuchea

Pol Pot regime: Was it a workers state?



. . . but hours later, Pol Pot regime dispersed urban masses through forced evacuation of millions.

and thus the FUNK, adhered to the strategy of "people's war," which called for peasants fighting in the countryside to the exclusion of the revolutionary mobilization of the urban working class and poor.

As part of this strategy, the Khmer Rouge leaders gave political support to representatives of the old ruling classes, most notably Sihanouk himself and his backers—deadly enemies of the workers and peasants.

Like the National Liberation Front in Vietnam, the FUNK's program promised to preserve capitalism after the fall of the old regime.

With this perspective, the rebel forces had no interest in forging an anticapitalist alliance with the working class, students, and urban poor. It failed to take advantage of the massive anti-Lon Nol, antiwar, and anti-U.S. demonstrations that shook Pnompenh and other Kampuchean cities in 1972.

To the contrary, the Khmer Rouge leaders viewed the cities as enemy bastions to be conquered. The civil war thus settled into a long siege by the peasant army, in which villages, rice paddies, and forests became free-fire zones for U.S. bombers.

Nonetheless, the urban masses erupted in struggle again in the first months of 1975, as the Khmer Rouge closed in on Pnompenh and other major cities. Demonstrations broke out calling for an immediate end of the war and denouncing Lon Nol and his U.S. backers.

Urban masses greet Khmer Rouge

When the first Khmer Rouge troops marched into Pnompenh, they were greeted tumultuously by workers, students, village refugees, and rank-and-file soldiers, who were convinced that an era of war and imperialist domination was ending.

"Three hours after the surrender," reported an April 18 Associated Press dispatch, "thousands of students paraded along the main boulevards, waving banners to greet the Communist forces.

"Communist troops reportedly embraced Government soldiers and lifted them aboard personnel carriers for a victory parade along the waterfront."

"The popular enthusiasm is evident," said Patrice de Beer in a dispatch from Pnompenh to the Paris daily *Le Monde*. "Groups form around the insurgents, who often carry American weapons. They are young, happy, surprised by their easy success. The Republican soldiers quickly put up white flags. Processions form in the streets and the refugees are starting to go home."

U.S. destruction

The Khmer Rouge commanders had come to power in a country whose economic and social structure had been devastated by five years of barbaric U.S. bombing, puppet rule, and civil war.

More than 400,000 tons of bombs pounded the Kampuchean countryside from 1970 to 1973. During the five-year civil war, about 600,000 people were killed, and an equal number wounded, in a population of about 7 million. Hundreds of villages were destroyed.

The systematic bombing of communications, transport, and irrigation networks and the killing of hundreds of thousands of draft animals, compounded the ruin of agriculture.

Millions of refugees were driven into the cities. Pnompenh swelled from 600,000 to nearly 3 million. Industrial production was more than cut in half.

Several thousand people had starved to death during the last months of the war, as food supplies dwindled in the cities. With typical imperialist brutality, Washington cut off rice shipments when Lon Nol's fall became certain.

Masses' irreplaceable role

The mobilization of the urban masses that greeted the FUNK opened the door to the establishment of a workers and peasants government in Kampuchea. Such a government could then have brought to bear the power of the workers, urban poor, and peasants against domestic and foreign exploiters to begin solving the grave problems facing the country.

The work of repairing the damage done by the war and moving forward required the further mobilization of the working class and peasant masses to expropriate the capitalists and landlords, demolishing the old capitalist state and economic relations, root and branch.

This would have laid the foundation for a qualitative step forward in social and economic organization—a planned economy.

The irreplaceable role of working-class mobilizations was clearly evident in the Russian and Cuban

revolutions. But the anticapitalist struggles of the working class were equally decisive, even though subjected to bureaucratic direction and control, when Stalinist governments were forced to overturn capitalism in Vietnam, China, Yugoslavia, and Soviet-occupied Eastern Europe.

The Khmer Rouge commanders, however, quickly demonstrated they had no intention of organizing and relying on the masses to overcome Kampuchea's social crisis or of acting in their interests.

Having come to power on the crest of a revolutionary upsurge in the countryside, they not only brutally smashed and dispersed the urban popula-

'Nationalization of property is not by itself sufficient to establish a workers state. The intervention of the workers, the only force that can establish and maintain a progressive economic structure, is needed.'

tion, but they drove back the land seizures and redistribution begun by the peasants.

This counterrevolutionary assault on the toiling masses by the Khmer Rouge leaders signaled that the new government was preserving rather than abolishing the outmoded capitalist system. The crushing blows dealt to the workers and peasants paved the way for new capitalist layers to begin taking shape among the petty bourgeoisie in the state apparatus and the nooks and crannies of the economy.

This view of the Pol Pot regime contrasts sharply with the attempts by the capitalist press to portray it as a "Communist" nation. The bourgeois media leap at any chance to smear socialism by falsely identifying it with brutal, totalitarian regimes.

For different reasons, the majority of the radical press also viewed the Pol Pot regime as "socialist."

In fact, the *Militant* was virtually alone last January in not analyzing the Vietnam-Kampuchea war as a conflict between "two Communist nations."

Why did the *Militant* differ? To understand this, let's look more closely at how the popular jubilation that greeted the Khmer Rouge victory over Lon Nol was transformed into massive suffering and the opening of a reactionary offensive against the workers and peasants.

Forced evacuation of cities

"Using loudspeakers, or simply shouting and brandishing weapons," wrote Sidney Schanberg in the May 9, 1975, *New York Times*, "they swept through the streets, ordering people out of their houses. At first we thought the order applied only to the rich in villas, but we quickly saw that it was for everyone as the streets became clogged with a sorrowful exodus."

"In Phnom Penh, two million people suddenly moved out of the city en masse in stunned silence. . . .

"Hospitals jammed with wounded were emptied, right down to the last patient. They went—limping, crawling, on crutches, carried on relatives' backs, wheeled on their hospital beds. . . ."

Similar forced evacuations were carried out in other cities, including Battambang and the port of Kompong Som. At least 3 million people were involved in the exodus. How many died is unknown. But adequate medical care—already much reduced by war and U.S. cutoff of aid—was almost impossible to obtain.

Scattered to countryside

The urban population was scattered against its will over the countryside and set to work growing rice, repairing dikes, building dams and canals, digging irrigation ditches, and carving out other projects aimed at restoring and extending agricultural production.

Few were exempted from the forced evacuation. But the top leadership of the Khmer Rouge soon established its administrative centers in the finest government buildings in Pnompenh, remaining there until the Cambodian rebels and Vietnamese troops closed in on the city earlier this year.

Apologists for the Khmer Rouge regime in its early stages, such as George Hildebrand and Gareth Porter in their book *Cambodia: Starvation and Revolution*, initially sought to excuse the brutal evacuation by pointing to the famine threat.

Even Porter and Hildebrand, however, acknowledged the regime's actual political evaluation of the working class by stressing that the urban population was economically "unproductive."

Top leaders of the new regime defend the forced exodus by citing "security" dangers. Thus Pol Pot stated in Peking on October 4, 1977:

"This [evacuation] was decided on before victory was won, that is, in February 1975, because we knew that before the smashing of all sorts of enemy spy organizations, our strength was not great enough to defend the revolutionary regime. . . .

"But when we crushed them, it was difficult for them to stage a comeback. Their forces were scattered in various cooperatives which are in our own grip."

The Kampuchean rulers never considered for a

moment relying on the working people and the urban poor to stamp out counterrevolutionary threats. They never considered calling a general strike to crush the remains of the old regime, as Fidel Castro did when Batista fell on December 31, 1958.

They didn't even go as far as the Vietnamese Stalinists, who countered capitalist economic sabotage by encouraging workers committees under their control to seize factories in the last hours of the Saigon puppet regime.

The Khmer Rouge leaders saw the exploited and oppressed of the cities not as a potential popular base for a new revolutionary regime, but as irreconcilable class enemies. Proclaiming the need to crush "enemy agents," the regime actually crushed the Kampuchean working class and its urban allies.

Trotsky on China

Despite the extreme character of the measures taken by the Pol Pot regime, such policies offer no puzzle if it is understood that Stalinist and other petty-bourgeois nationalist currents are alien from the working class in program and, in China and Indochina, in social composition as well.

Many radicals, however, assume the opposite: that a Stalinist leadership that comes to power in a revolutionary upsurge must inevitably overturn capitalism and institute a workers state. This error led some radicals to prettify the counterrevolutionary acts of the Khmer Rouge commanders, calling them a "unique," or "bizarre" form of socialist revolution.

In fact, developments such as those under Pol Pot were foreseen as a possibility by the exiled Bolshevik leader Leon Trotsky in 1932, in an article titled "Peasant War in China and the Proletariat" (see *Trotsky on China*, published by Pathfinder Press).

After the Stalinist policy of supporting Chiang Kai-shek had led to the defeat of the Chinese revolution of 1925-27, in which the working class had been the driving force, the surviving Chinese Communists retreated to the countryside and began guerrilla war. Having lost its former base in the cities, the party's composition was transformed in a few years from overwhelmingly working class to almost entirely peasant.

Trotsky urged Chinese workers to support the peasant guerrillas against Chiang Kai-shek as part of the anti-imperialist struggle. But he cautioned that their victory would not necessarily lead the Chinese workers to power.

"The commanding stratum of the Chinese 'Red Army' has no doubt succeeded in inculcating itself with the habit of issuing commands," wrote Trotsky. "The absence of a strong revolutionary party and mass organizations of the proletariat renders control over the commanding stratum virtually impossible. The commanders and commissars appear in the guise of absolute masters of the situation and upon occupying the cities will be rather apt to look down from above on the workers. . . .

"Thus, in China the causes and grounds for conflict between the army, which is peasant in composition and petty bourgeois in leadership, and the workers not only are not eliminated but, on the contrary, all the circumstances are such as to greatly increase the possibility and even the inevitability of such conflicts; and in addition the chances of the proletariat are far less favorable to begin with than was the case in Russia."

When the peasant armies marched into China's cities in 1949, the Maoist leaders did implement an

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...Kampuchea

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anti-working-class policy, although not mass evacuations as in Kampuchea. They banned strikes and demonstrations. They sought to draw capitalist forces into the government.

But when the Chinese government was compelled to take on U.S. imperialism in the Korean War, it had to change course. Land reform was extended to all of southern China. (Previous waves of reform had affected only the North.)

The resulting peasant mobilizations spurred urban anticapitalist mobilizations beginning in 1951. A workers and peasants government thus came into being and began carrying out—under the auspices of the Maoist bureaucracy—the urban mobilizations and economic measures that in 1953 transformed China into a workers state.

Because of these factors, the dangers that Trotsky had foreseen in China—although present after the 1949 revolution—did not prevent the destruction of capitalism and ending of imperialist domination.

Went the other way

In Kampuchea, however, the conflict Trotsky warned of took on an extremely sharp form, resulting in defeat for the working people. The counterrevolutionary course of a Stalinist-led peasant army that Trotsky had foreseen occurred in fact under the Cambodian CP with the consolidation of Pol Pot's regime.

The total urban evacuation forced through by Pol Pot's gang dispersed the working class and ruled out the possibility of a workers and farmers government in Kampuchea such as the one that toppled capitalism in China. This initial step was quickly reinforced by imposition of ruthless totalitarian measures on a mass scale.

The totally undemocratic and secretive character of the Khmer Rouge leadership contributed to an atmosphere of fear and intimidation. Not only did the population have no opportunity to elect its leaders and discuss their failings, but systematic efforts were made for a time to even conceal the identity of the leaders.

Instead, the Khmer Rouge apparatus was described simply as the "Angkar" (the organization). Only in September 1977 were the Kampuchean people informed of what foreign observers had taken for granted: at the head of the Angkar was the Kampuchean Communist Party.

Khmer Rouge policies

In the Western press, the Pol Pot tyranny was commonly portrayed as seeking to return to an undefined but precapitalist agricultural past by transforming the whole population into peasants.

But the precapitalist modes of production (whether Asiatic or feudal) grew up over centuries, shaped by complex social and economic forces; they can't be reproduced in a matter of a few years, even if a certain number of policies are implemented that seem to contradict the direction of historical development.

The top Khmer Rouge leaders were not impoverished rural folk with horizons limited to the village. They were Paris-educated, several of them specializing in the economic problems of the "third world." Moreover, they were adherents of Stalinist politics.

For such a grouping, reversion to precapitalist relations of production seemed as unrealistic as it was in fact.

Vice-premier Ieng Sary summarized the economic goals of the regime at the September 5, 1975, session of the United Nations General Assembly:

"[Our] economic policy consists of considering agriculture as the base and industry as the predominant factor. Agriculture supplies the raw materials for industry, which in turn serves to develop agriculture. Our objective is to make our country a modern agricultural and industrial country."

And a radio broadcast promised, "The larger the quantity of rice we can export, the greater will be the possibility of importing machine tools, various engines, and other equipment for Cambodia's economic development."

These statements contain the fundamental economic strategy of the Kampuchean regime under Pol Pot. The new regime aimed to maximize exploitation of labor and minimize consumption, so as to become self-sufficient in food and accumulate an agricultural surplus that could be sold on the world market. Through these exports, it would finance industrialization.

The defeat of Lon Nol's imperialist-backed forces was a devastating blow to Kampuchea's bourgeois-



Women soldiers from insurgent Kampuchean forces celebrate capture of Pnompenh. Fall of Pol Pot creates new opportunities for workers and peasants to fight for socialism.

sie, almost all of whom had fled by the fall of Lon Nol in 1975. The government came into the hands of the "Angkar," as did all urban property and a growing portion of the agricultural land.

For some commentators, this was enough to prove that capitalism had been overthrown in Kampuchea.

Not a workers state

But the nationalization of property is not by itself sufficient to establish a workers state. The intervention of the workers—the only force in modern society capable of establishing and maintaining a progressive economic structure—is needed.

The nationalizations in Kampuchea came about not through mobilizations of the working class—even limited and controlled ones—but following the Khmer Rouge's crushing of the urban workers.

The expropriation of the capitalists by the workers, and the transformation of industry into public property, creates the possibility for the coordination of the means of production under a national (and ultimately international) economic plan.

Economic isolation, bureaucratic mismanagement, and military spending imposed by imperialist encirclement keeps living standards in many workers states relatively low (but usually rising). Nonetheless, the planned economy makes possible vast expansion in fields such as medical care, education, care for the elderly, as well as the expansion of the size and weight of the working class. This is a reflection of the growing replacement of production for profit by production for use.

Who defends expropriations?

Even in the workers states ruled by bureaucratic castes, it is only the working class that is the ultimate guardian of the expropriation of the capitalists and of coordinated economic planning.

Trotsky regarded the bureaucratic caste in the Soviet Union as a threat to the new property forms created by the Russian revolution, because of its rapacious drive for private consumption and privileges.

The bureaucracy "continues to preserve state property only to the extent that it fears the proletariat," wrote Trotsky in *The Revolution Betrayed*. It is that well-grounded fear that has preserved planned economy in the Soviet Union, for all its distortions, in the half-century since the Stalinist bureaucracy took the reins of government.

Property in a workers state does not belong to the bureaucracy, despite its monopoly of political power. The Chinese and Soviet bureaucrats would discover this soon enough if they tried to carry out anything like the cutbacks in public services that Pol Pot's regime undertook, much less try to return nationalized property to private ownership. The Polish Stalinists have found it difficult to even impose price increases without setting off profound working-class explosions.

In its drive to restrict consumption and accumulate a surplus to fund capitalist industrialization, on the other hand, the Khmer Rouge apparatus eliminated most public education; nearly abolished professional health care and hospitals; closed libraries and other cultural institutions; ended phone and

mail service; stopped publishing books or newspapers; and slashed recreation and entertainment.

Labor was intensified to an extreme. The twelve-hour day was institutionalized. Days off were reduced. The "unproductive"—and politically suspect—working class was set to work in the rice paddies. And child labor became universal.

"Did you not have child labor at the beginning of your industrial revolution?" one Pol Pot official told *Washington Post* correspondent Elizabeth Becker during her visit to Kampuchea last December.

And one Pnompenh broadcast boasted, "Democratic Kampuchea is one huge worksite."

If Pol Pot's Kampuchea was a workers state, even with grave bureaucratic distortions, then revolutionary socialists would have to defend the possibility that such a state can come into being and in *no way whatsoever* mark a social and historical advance for the working class.

Revolutionists defend from imperialism or internal capitalist restoration the progressive economic conquests of the toilers in grotesquely bureaucratized workers states such as the Soviet Union and China.

But what would the world working class find to defend in the criminal social and economic policies imposed on the Kampuchean masses by Pol Pot? Nothing!

The Kampuchean working class had no stake whatever in the nationalization of property, carried out without its participation, by the petty bourgeoisie in the Angkar. These were the actions of a new bourgeoisie gestating in the state apparatus. They were not anticapitalist actions by the Kampuchean workers.

Driven from the cities and denied any direct participation in transforming society, the Kampuchean working class had neither a reason nor the capacity to defend the regime's nationalizations. These measures did not even begin to solve any of the social and economic problems facing the Kampuchean masses, from industrialization to real independence from imperialism.

In fact, the policies of the Pol Pot regime rolled back the revolutionary process that had unfolded in the fight against Lon Nol, setting back Kampuchean society.

Not without parallels

Despite the scope of the nationalizations, the degree of disintegration of the Lon Nol regime, and the wartime devastation of the Kampuchean economy, the nationalizations under Pol Pot have numerous parallels in history.

They are in the same family with the extensive nationalizations by regimes in Egypt, Burma, Mozambique, and Angola, which were the opposite of social overturns by the workers, even those accomplished under bureaucratic leaderships.

And they bear no resemblance whatever to the revolutionary mass expropriations led by the Russian Bolsheviks, or by the Castro government in Cuba.

Neocolonial regimes are frequently forced to foster the primitive accumulation of capital through the state apparatus.

Such regimes cannot shatter the economic foundations that keep them under the thumb of impe-

rialism. And they continue to require imperialist backing as their ultimate weapon against the struggles of the workers and peasants. In the end, therefore, these regimes do not and cannot maintain nationalized property or achieve independence from imperialism.

Aside from instances where unprofitable enterprises are taken over by the state, nationalizations undertaken without the mobilization of the working class against the employers and their agents prove transitory.

Imperialist economic dominance reasserts itself through control over the world market and sources of investment capital. New capitalist elements grow up among the petty bourgeoisie in the state apparatus and among the traders in the countryside and city. These elements press first for the relaxation of controls, and ultimately for the denationalization of profitable properties.

This has already happened in Egypt and Burma. It presses today on Mozambique and Angola. It lay in Kampuchea's future, had the Pol Pot regime managed to survive.

Since the masses have no fundamental stake in the state-owned property of these capitalist neocolonies, denationalization can take place without provoking a civil war. Such peaceful reversion to private property could never occur in any of the workers states. It would meet massive popular resistance and even split the bureaucratic parasites who live off the proceeds of these social conquests.

Counterrevolution on the land

In addition to the brutal dispersal of the working class, another indication of the capitalist character of the Pol Pot regime was its drastic reversal of the agrarian revolution that the peasants had begun to carry out during their struggle first against Sihanouk, and later Lon Nol.

"Land to the tillers" was the furthest thing from the minds of the Khmer Rouge commanders who controlled Kampuchea from 1975 until their overthrow last month.

The response of the regime to the passing of the famine danger and the growth of an agricultural surplus was not to ease the pressure on the rural work force or to increase its well being. To the contrary, draconian measures were instituted to assure that the peasants placed the product of their labor at the disposal of the Angkar.

At first most of the population was organized into low-level cooperatives, writes François Ponchaud in his book, *Cambodia: Year Zero*. In these cooperatives, "the land and means of production remain the peasants' property but are placed at the disposal of the co-operative for use by all."

But by the end of 1975 the regime adopted measures expropriating the poor peasants. So-called high-level cooperatives were declared. In these, "all means of production were pooled and the harvest belonged to the co-operative, which distributed it according to the deserts and needs of every individ-



Four hundred thousand tons of U.S. bombs devastated Kampuchea's countryside.

ual. . . . But families still preserved some measure of freedom as regards the arrangement of their meals. This relative autonomy was also abolished in January 1976, when 'communities' (*sahakum*) were set up: food was no longer distributed, meals were eaten communally, and the only thing that belonged to anybody outright was his physical strength, which he contributed to the cooperative."

The new set-up allowed the rulers to assure themselves greater control over the harvest. The mislabeled "communal dining," for instance, was literally forced belt-tightening to assure that peasants would have no right to keep a store of rice for their own use, rather than for accumulation.

A growing number of state farms were also instituted, where the product went directly to the state. This was commonly referred to as the "Angkar's land," according to François Ponchaud.

To forestall any outbreak of opposition to this reactionary attack on the peasant masses, thousands of peasants were forced from their homes and moved to the fertile but underpopulated Northeast.

From this point on, the outbreak of uprisings (often involving sections of the Khmer Rouge apparatus in the East), and a vastly increased flow of refugees into neighboring countries, signaled that the Angkar was losing the support it once had among the peasants.

They, no less than the former city-dwellers, came

to view the Pol Pot regime as tyrants.

These militarized agricultural "communities" were qualitatively different from the agrarian policies accompanying any revolutionary social overturn anywhere in the world, even those carried out in a distorted and bureaucratic way.

For revolutionists, the key task is to forge a lasting political alliance between the workers and poor peasants to topple the capitalists and the landlords and begin the reconstruction of society on a new basis. That requires full support to the poor peasants' demands for agricultural plots of their own, as well as easy access to the machinery, feed, and fertilizer to work it.

It was by fighting to implement *this* that the Bolsheviks won the poor peasants to the side of the proletarian revolution in Russia, and this is the course being followed by the revolutionary government in Cuba today.

The socialist goal of reorganizing agriculture on a more efficient, collective basis can only be accomplished as the peasants *voluntarily* conclude that this will advance their own well-being and that of society as a whole. Forced collectivizations—not to mention the extreme capitalist accumulation squeezed out of the peasants by the Pol Pot regime—are an obstacle both to forging an alliance with the workers and to convincing peasants of the greater productivity of cooperative labor on a large scale.

Attempted industrial build-up

The Khmer Rouge rulers used much of the agricultural surplus thus accumulated to renew some industries and open new ones. François Ponchaud reported as early as 1976 that "the rehabilitation of industry has definitely been launched."

Summarizing official radio broadcasts, he reported, "Mention is made of textile factories in Phnom Penh. . . . At Battambang the radio mentions a jute factory and a textile mill. . . . Elsewhere, there are silk-weaving factories, a fish-pickling factory at Kompong Ampel, a salt works at Kampot, a small blast-furnace at Phnom Dek, another on Mt. Aurel, and a cement works. . . ."

One of the chief industries of Cambodia, rubber, was moving back into full production by the end of 1978.

Of course, industry could not be revived even on this limited scale without reviving urban life. Estimates of the size of Pnompenh at the end of 1975 ranged from a few thousand persons to over 100,000 (the government's claim). By the end of 1978 the government claimed that 200,000 persons lived in the city and its suburbs. Reporters who visited the city at the end of 1978 said workers traveled to the outskirts for work in the factories and returned home in the evening.

The necessity of providing for a more skilled work force required the regime to begin opening make-shift schools and hospitals in more areas.

But the workers who had formerly lived in the

Continued on next page



Figures in Pol Pot regime: At left, Pol Pot; at center, Khieu Samphan, president under Pol Pot, and Norodom Sihanouk, international representative of regime for a time after its fall (picture taken during 1970-75 civil war); and Ieng Sary, Pol Pot's deputy premier.

...Kampuchea

Continued from preceding page

cities often did not return. Instead, Chinese technicians, Khmer Rouge soldiers, peasants fresh from the fields, and children operated many factories.

The shift in the composition of the work force served the political needs of the Khmer Rouge leaders—assuring, they hoped, a relatively inexperienced working class that would more readily submit to militarized discipline and intensive exploitation.

Go it alone?

The capitalist press made much of the Pol Pot regime's alleged aim to develop completely on its own, having little or nothing to do with the rest of the world.

The regime did resort to xenophobic demagoguery to rationalize its policy of conserving foreign exchange by minimizing imports. It also sought to bar outsiders from visiting Kampuchea to witness the brutal measures it was implementing.

But the regime's isolation was never as great as has often been claimed. From the start, it had close ties with China and North Korea, and a little later ties were forged with Yugoslavia and Romania.

And the Angkar's stated goal was always to become a major exporter of rice and agricultural products, and an importer of modern tools and machinery.

By August 1976, when its border with Thailand officially opened, Kampuchea was importing industrial and other products from there.

Trade relations were also established with Singapore, Malaysia, Indonesia, the Philippines, Japan, Madagascar, and other African nations.

Toward the end of 1978, the regime reopened the temples of Angkor Wat. Tourist service was in the hands of Thai businessmen.

And Japanese capital began to eye Kampuchea with interest. "Behind Japan's desire to aid Cambodia is also the desire to see that it is economically viable," reported the November 10 *Far Eastern Economic Review*.

White-jacketed servants

In her reports from Pnompenh last December, the *Washington Post's* Elizabeth Becker made much of the "pursuit of total equality" by the Angkar leaders. But the military command structure and government apparatus was also accompanied by a hierarchy of privilege. Ponchaud reports that regular-army troops "are better equipped and better fed, and do not perform agricultural work." They and other officials also reportedly had access to the remaining stores of foreign medicines.

At the top, privileges took on greater scope. U.S. reporter Richard Dudman described meeting Pol Pot in the "stately palace of the former French governor-general in Phnom Penh." He noted "the curtained, partially opened windows of the reception room which was decorated with tropical flowers and furnished with colorful rugs and rows of overstuffed chairs." He was surprised to notice Pol Pot's "white-jacketed servants."

While insisting on an austere existence—devoid of entertainment, telephones, books, doctors, schools, or other "Western" frills—for the masses, the Angkar leaders had not neglected to grant themselves a somewhat better deal.

A barter economy?

The legal abolition of paper money and coin circulation by the Angkar has also been pointed to as evidence that it must have overturned capitalism.

But this formal abolition proves nothing. No regime—capitalist or noncapitalist—has yet been able to do without currency. No workers state, even the most economically developed, has reached a production level adequate to meet human needs without currency as a circulating medium.

The measure could only be temporary in Kampuchea, as well as artificial. Although there were few consumer goods to be had, all goods—including rice—continued to be valued in terms of *riel*, the old Kampuchean currency. In the countryside, this was supplemented by large-scale smuggling, the use of rice as money, and undoubtedly other forms.

Washington Post correspondent Elizabeth Becker reported that at the Kampong Cham cooperative, "the rice is 'sold' to the central government in Phnom Penh. The cooperative receives a credit for the rice—4 *riel* per ton—and uses those credits to purchase things it cannot produce such as gasoline for its tractors.

"The accounts of each cooperative are kept on a national registry in Phnom Penh, an official told us.

"That is not so unusual," he said. "In your country you don't use money often. You use credit cards and checks."

The expansion of the Cambodian economy and its external trade would have inevitably forced the regime to reestablish the legal circulation of paper money and coins. But for the moment, its formal suppression coincided with the central goal of the Angkar leadership: minimizing consumption, while maximizing the exploitation of the work force—thus maximizing the accumulation of wealth in their own hands.

Ties with imperialism

The drive toward primitive accumulation of capital, and fear of the domestic opposition this inevitably inspired, was pushing the Pol Pot regime toward closer links with imperialism in the last year of its existence.

The mass mobilizations that overturned capitalist property relations in South Vietnam in the spring of 1978 alarmed the imperialists and terrified their neocolonial satraps. This intensified the imperialist drive to isolate Vietnam and made them more alert to the possibility of using a weak, war-torn, but nonetheless capitalist, Kampuchea as a buffer against the Vietnamese revolution. (See article on page 21.)

The extreme, and seemingly bizarre, aspects of the Kampuchean regime were not the product of any special irrationality of the Pol Pot regime. They were part and parcel of the profound irrationality and inhumanity that marks the world capitalist system in its advanced decay.

There were only two roads open to Kampuchean society. Along the road of a workers and peasants government, the masses could have been mobilized to overturn capitalism and move Kampuchean society forward. That road being rejected by the Kampuchean Stalinists, everything, from the forced dispersal of the working class to rural counterrevolution, flowed logically. These repressive policies were built into the drive toward rapid capitalist accumulation.

The capitalist character of the regime also explains why imperialist powers near the scene such as Australia viewed the Pol Pot regime as a "buffer between communist Vietnam and non-communist Thailand" (November 10 *Far Eastern Economic Review*).

The overturn of Pol Pot opens a new period for the Kampuchean workers and peasants.

How can they advance the struggle for democratic rights? For land reform? For freedom from imperialist domination? For socialism?

The Pol Pot regime demonstrated its readiness to sell out the nation's independence when it sent the old imperialist puppet Sihanouk to represent it at the United Nations and call for UN and U.S. military invasion against the Kampuchean rebels and Vietnamese troops.

Far from repudiating Sihanouk's call, Pol Pot's deputy, Ieng Sary, reaffirmed the former monarch's role as the regime's principal spokesman abroad. And Ieng Sary had high praise for Carter's indications of support.

The Pol Pot forces have also been in deepening collusion with the neocolonial military dictatorship in Thailand.

What a revealing end for a regime that claimed to oppose all foreign influences!

Pol Pot's representatives have also not hesitated to call on the rightist forces that supported Lon Nol to join them in fighting the new Kampuchean government.

Such moves are logical. The class character of the Pol Pot government compelled it in its death agony to look toward every counterrevolutionary force that ever infested Kampuchea. This petty-bourgeois, Stalinist-led gang had nothing to do with Kampuchean sovereignty or independence from imperialism. It was a deadly enemy of the working class and socialism.

Which way forward?

It is likely that the Kampuchean masses will seek to take advantage of the openings provided by the fall of this capitalist tyranny to advance their class interests. They will want arms from the new government to defend themselves against punitive raids by Pol Pot's remaining followers, and to extirpate every trace of the tyranny.

And they will press for the creation of a workers and peasants government that will pursue policies in their interests.

A workers and peasants government would establish such basic public services as education and medical care for all, abolish compulsory labor for young children, and reduce the workday and workweek. It could mobilize the working people for public ownership of industry, blocking the re-emergence of a capitalist class in the transition period.

The peasants and workers will seek to return to their own homes.

The peasants will want a real land reform—including the right to own their own plots of land and draft animals, or to work with others on a cooperative basis, depending on *the desires of the poor peasants themselves*.

Working people will find new opportunities to press for workers' control of production and democratic economic planning; for the right to think, write and speak as they please; and for the elementary right to form political parties and elect their own government.

The Vietnamese rulers, who militarily predominate at present among the anti-Pol Pot forces, cannot be counted on to advance such a revolutionary program. A deep-going socialist transformation in Kampuchea could undermine their bureaucratic control in Vietnam, and threaten their efforts to achieve "peaceful coexistence" with the imperialists and their regional satellites.

The leaders of the new Kampuchean regime—who originate in a series of splits from Pol Pot's CP—can also be counted on to try to keep the masses in a bureaucratic grip.

But the peasants and workers who make up the rank and file of the Vietnamese armed forces and Cambodian rebel troops may well respond differently. Such demands will help them in their struggle against bureaucratic misrule.

Despite the fondness Western journalists have for racist phrases about the "ancient hatred" between the Kampuchean and Vietnamese peoples, recent decades in Indochina have often demonstrated the unifying power of the common class interests that the Vietnamese and Kampuchean masses share.

The Kampuchean liberation struggle has been saddled with the misleadership of a Stalinist party. In 1975, this gang and their allies carried out one of history's most grisly betrayals, transforming the revolutionary victory that had been won into a counterrevolutionary reign of terror and exploitation.

No wing of the Stalinist movement can be counted on to advance the interests of the workers and peasants. The Kampuchean masses, like the oppressed in other countries, need a mass working-class party committed to a program of revolutionary internationalism.

Along this road the Kampuchean workers and peasants—who for a decade fought and suffered so much in the struggle for liberation—can take the next steps forward in the struggle against imperialism and for democratic rights and socialism.

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The temporal and the eternal

His Holiness John Paul II arrived in Mexico January 26 in a luxurious chartered jet. The official reason for his trip was to attend the opening of the third Latin American Bishops Congress (CELAM—Confederación Episcopal Latinoamericana). But it seems another important motive was to call to order the nuns and priests who in recent years have participated in movements for human rights or to improve the economic situation of the people.

One of the pope's first acts was to speak to 80,000 people in a soccer stadium.

He devoted most of his talk to attacking as "inopportune and counterproductive" the activities of Catholics who adhere to the so-called liberation theology.

According to John Paul II, "As pastors, you have the vivid awareness that your principal duty is to be teachers of the truth. Not a human and rational truth, but the truth that comes from god. . . ."

John Paul II—head of one of the most spectacularly wealthy institutions in the world—even had the nerve to extol "the simple joys of the poor." Not surprisingly, "an audible hiss ran through the crowd" in response, according to United Press Inter-

national.

The pope went to great lengths to tell the poor they should submit to exploitation and oppression and to tell the Catholic clergy that trying to change the economic and political situation in Latin America constitutes interference in "temporal questions."

It seems his holiness has forgotten that the Catholic hierarchy in the Americas has always been involved in "temporal questions." And, with one or another individual exception, this involvement has always been on the side of the oppressors.

The church as an institution, together with the Spanish conquerors, accumulated tremendous wealth through the Spanish colonial domination of our continent and the genocide against the Indians.

When the Mexican War of Independence exploded in 1810, one of its main leaders was a priest named Miguel Hidalgo. He was defeated and captured by the Spanish—and excommunicated by the Holy Inquisition. Shortly thereafter, the Spanish viceroy finished the job by chopping off Hidalgo's head.

During Benito Juárez's time, in the middle of the nineteenth century, the church opposed all efforts by Mexico's republican government to modernize

the country. The clergy were among the principal promoters of the attempt to impose Maximilian of Hapsburg as emperor of Mexico with the help of a French colonial invasion.

The Catholic hierarchy supported Francisco Franco, the fascist dictator of Spain. And it opposed the Cuban revolution with the same vigor with which it supported the French and U.S. imperialists in their wars against Vietnam.

Currently the church plays a key role in maintaining the oppression of women. It heads movements against abortion and contraception, thereby denying women the right to control their own bodies. This position was explicitly reiterated by the pope during his visit to Mexico.

And so the Vatican's opposition to "temporal" political activities becomes clear.

Legitimizing the participation of nuns and priests in mass movements was "temporal" and must end now.

But the Catholic church hierarchy's alliance with the oppressors will continue. That's really eternal.

From *Perspectiva Mundial*
Translated by Anne Teesdale

Women in Revolt

Matilde Zimmermann



Longshorewomen in New York

New York harbor has female dockworkers for the first time in history. One of the 100 women who signed on at the end of January was Shirley Burgent.

A *Daily News* reporter asked the forty-year-old Black woman whether she was concerned about what her male co-workers would think. Wouldn't they resent the invasion of their masculine turf? Wouldn't they fret about damage to their rough-and-ready longshoreman image?

"I'll worry about that later," Burgent told him. Much later.

Right now she is busy climbing out of the hell of supporting herself and her son on a \$166 welfare check every other week. A gang worker on the docks can make \$18,000 a year.

"This is something I want to do, something I have to do," Burgent said. "I know I can lift. I can do heavy work. All I ask is that they give me a chance. This job can change my whole life."

The women are starting at the bottom level of longshoring, with the dirtiest, heaviest work. They will work between decks and in the holds of ships,

lifting 40-pound boxes of bananas and dragging 135-pound sacks of coffee.

Burgent was not the only one who assured reporters she could do the work. Mary Bey, thirty-seven, told the *New York Times* she came from North Carolina, "so I'm used to hard work." Bey has five children, "and you know how much you lift with children."

Mary Baffi is divorced and the mother of three children. She used to sling around heavy bags as the operator of a pretzel stand. That was hard work too—and she never made \$18,000 a year selling pretzels.

Some of the new stevedores used to be "paper-shufflers." They didn't make \$18,000 at their old jobs, either.

The longshorewomen got their jobs as a result of a lawsuit filed by the New York chapter of the National Organization of Women.

NOW originally filed suit because the Waterfront Commission of New York and New Jersey refused to hire women as cargo checkers, a lighter job than slinging coffee sacks around. A cargo checker counts the cartons being taken off ships and loaded

onto trucks; the job pays \$24,000 a year.

Waterfront Commission rules say that a cargo checker must be able to read and write, and have a "relatively" clean criminal record.

What they don't say is that there is one other little thing a cargo checker needs.

The Waterfront Commission has an "unofficial" rule that only longshoremen can apply to be cargo checkers. Since there had never been a female longshoreman in the history of New York City shipping, they didn't have to worry about any of the coveted cargo checker jobs going to women.

Sure enough, when 250 new checkers were hired in January, every single one was a man.

But 750 longshore jobs opened up at the same time—the first substantial number of new dockworkers hired in the New York-New Jersey area in a decade. As a result of NOW's lawsuit, 100 of these jobs went to women like Shirley Burgent and Mary Baffi.

They will have to fight to keep their new jobs. But they don't sound like the kind of women it will be easy to drive back to collecting welfare, selling pretzels, and shuffling papers.

Capitalism Fouls Things Up

Arnold Weissberg



Court says OK to TRIGA reactor

This week's column is by Robert Hedges of New Yorkers Against Columbia's Nuclear Reactor.

Columbia University has built a 250-kilowatt experimental reactor—TRIGA—right in the middle of Manhattan, on the edge of Harlem. Hundreds of thousands—if not millions—of people would be endangered if TRIGA were started up.

Reacting to public pressure, New York City health officials have required all nuclear reactors to get city licenses. Columbia's TRIGA reactor was turned down in its request.

The city health department found that TRIGA's radioactive wastes posed a serious threat to human life. Other problems:

- TRIGA is located right under air corridors for five major airports;
- the reactor would constantly emit radioactive argon 41 into the air;

- it is situated only 200 feet from Croton Aqueduct, which supplies much of Manhattan's water; and

- in the event of a serious accident, it would be impossible to evacuate the hundreds of thousands of people who live in the vicinity.

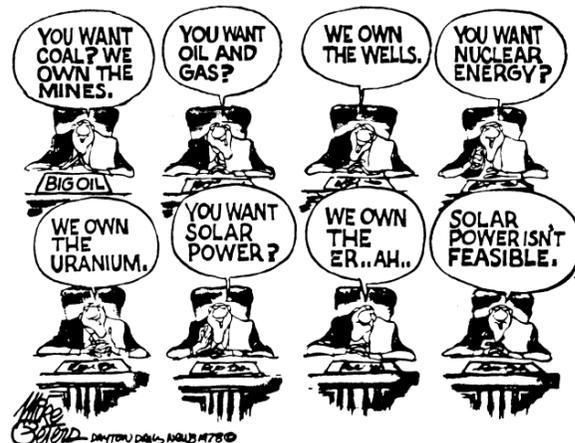
But the federal government and Columbia appealed the city's ruling, claiming the city did not have authority over nuclear facilities.

A federal court recently ruled in Columbia's favor. Start-up of TRIGA, which we have managed to postpone for many years, is now a real possibility.

The city has said it will appeal the decision.

Meanwhile, three state legislators have introduced a bill that would ban nuclear reactors in cities with populations over 1 million.

For more information, call Barbara Charles, coordinator of New Yorkers Against Columbia's Nuclear Reactor, at (212) 865-4936.



Mike Peters/Dayton Daily News

Quote unquote

"All it takes to convert a nuclear advocate into a cautious opponent is to propose dumping waste in his state."

—U.S. Senator Gary Hart of Colorado.

KAZANA SPEAKS ON WILMINGTON TEN

Imani Kazana, national coordinator of the Wilmington Ten Defense Committee, spoke to fifty people at Indiana University in Bloomington February 5. Using a slide show for illustration, Kazana explained the racist victimization of the ten civil rights activists from Wilmington, North Carolina.

Kazana contrasted the government's refusal to pardon the ten with its willingness to free Patty Hearst.

Sponsors of Kazana's appearance included Black Culture Center, Black Student Union, the political science department, and the Office for Women's Affairs.

S. AFRICA DIAMONDS DON'T GLITTER

The Miami NAACP forced the cancellation of a South African diamond exhibit February 1 after threatening to picket the show. "Blacks working in South African diamond mines suffer deplorable living and working conditions," said Miami NAACP Executive Secretary Ray Fauntroy. "It's just like slavery."

FLORIDA BLACKS BACK HAITIAN REFUGEES

Two hundred people rallied in West Palm Beach, Florida, January 21 to protest government jailing of Haitian refugees. The protest was sponsored by the Black Citizens Coalition of Palm Beach. At the rally were representatives of the NAACP, Urban League, and local Black churches. Also in attendance was the mayor of West Palm Beach.

The Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) has been jailing Haitian refugees in West Palm Beach to keep them isolated from the sizable Haitian community in Miami, more than seventy miles away.

Despite the fact that the Duvalier regime in Haiti is one of the bloodiest in the hemisphere, the U.S. government has refused to grant political asylum to Haitian refugees, claim-

White House 11 sentenced

By Jean Savage and Susan Stephens

WASHINGTON — Four hundred antinuclear activists gathered here February 12 to protest the sentencing of the White House Eleven. Arrested on September 4, 1978, the eleven were charged with unlawful entry for unfurling a banner on the White House lawn that read "No Nuclear Weapons! No Nuclear Power! USA or USSR."

Seven Americans who unfurled the same banner in Moscow's Red Square were detained briefly and released.

All eleven activists were sentenced to pay a \$100 fine or spend ninety days in jail, plus a 180-day suspended sentence and two or three years' probation.

Braving heavy snow, the demonstrators marched from the courthouse to Lafayette Park for a rally. Supporters came from Connecticut; Delaware; New York;

Washington, D.C.; and Pennsylvania. Joining in defense of the democratic rights of the eleven were members of the Mobilization for Survival, Socialist Workers Party, and other groups. Also present were twenty-one students from the New York City Mobilization for Survival High School Task Force.

After the rally, demonstrators crossed the street to picket the White House.



Four hundred people gather to support White House Eleven

ing they are "economic" refugees and only looking for work.

On January 15, 700 people marched in Miami, demanding political asylum for the refugees and their immediate release from prison.

OIL RIPOFF

Major oil companies have overcharged customers to the tune of more than \$5 billion, Deputy Energy Secretary John O'Leary revealed February 8. This figure is more than double an earlier ripoff estimate of \$2.2 billion. The overcharging came on gasoline, heating oil, and other products.

O'Leary said that beginning in a few months the federal government would try to force refunds. He said he expected the oil companies to fight any such attempt in court, which would probably tie the case up for years.

Thus far the oil companies have returned a fat \$120 million, including about \$50 million paid out by Kerr-McGee February 8. That's less than 3 percent of their illegal haul.

VIEQUES SEEKS NEW YORK CITY HELP

The mayor of Vieques and the head of the island's fishermen's association asked the New York City Council Febru-

ary 9 to condemn the U.S. Navy's use of their home for target practice.

Vieques, a 33,000-acre island off Puerto Rico, is under constant bombardment. The navy owns 26,000 acres at both ends of the island, and the 8,000 people of Vieques live in the middle.

Carlos Zenon, head of the fishermen's association, said the bombardment had virtually destroyed the fishing industry.

The people of Vieques have been fighting the navy for years and are seeking broad public support.

A council committee said it would take up the matter in two weeks.

PARENTS, TEACHERS, STUDENTS VS. CUTS

Opposition to drastic cuts in school services in Newark is beginning to be expressed. During the week of February 5-9, several Newark schools were closed by parent boycotts. Picket lines outside some schools included 100 people.

A recently formed city-wide coalition has issued a call for a school boycott February 15. This is aimed at supporting a rally that day by Newark municipal labor unions.

When the board of education's cutbacks are fully imple-

mented next month, 1,103 school employees will lose their jobs, after-school recreation programs will be junked, art and music studies will be virtually eliminated from the public schools, and the use of substitute teachers will be severely curtailed.

Six chapters of the Jaycees (Junior Chamber of Commerce) were expelled from the national



Militant/Jean Savage

organization January 19 because they allowed women to join. National Jaycee bylaws restrict membership to males.

Jaycee President Barry Kennedy declared the issue was simply the right of his organization to "maintain and enforce" its bylaws—not discrimination against women.

JOE CAMPOS TORRES: STILL NO JUSTICE

A federal appeals court, while admitting that the one-year sentences handed down to three Houston cops convicted of killing a Chicano were too light, has refused to order any action to stiffen the penalties.

The three cops were convicted in federal court of throwing Joe Campos Torres into a bayou, where he drowned. Judge Ross Sterling sentenced them to one year on a misdemeanor count and suspended ten-year felony sentences.

The U.S. Justice Department appealed, claiming Sterling did not have the power to suspend the ten-year terms.

Judge Irving Goldberg described the crime as "singularly offensive to a free society—a flagrant and violent breach of the law by those charged with enforcing it."

However, the other two judges said that "when we examine the facts, . . . we do not feel the compelling need" to order the ten-year sentence. "Indeed," they said, "we find a more compelling case for declining to exercise our discretion."

We can't help but wonder how "compelled" the judges would have felt if three Chicanos had killed a white cop. . . .

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What's Going On

CALIFORNIA

OAKLAND

EYEWITNESS REPORT ON SOUTHERN AFRICA TODAY. Speaker: Maceo Dixon, national committee member, Socialist Workers Party; slide show. Tues., Feb. 30, 8 p.m. 1467 Fruitvale Ave. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (415) 261-1210.

COLORADO

DENVER

SOCIALIST ALTERNATIVE FOR DENVER. Speaker: Harold Sudmeyer, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor. Fri., Feb. 23, 7:30 p.m. 126 W. 12th Ave. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (303) 534-8954.

TEACH-IN ON ROCKY FLATS: SLIDE SHOW AND DEBATE. Speakers: Linda Gore, Rocky Flats Action Group; Dr. Marilyn Werkema, Rockwell International;

J. Robert Passmore, Social and Economic Analysis Corp.; Carole Mangan, past president, Central Denver National Organization for Women. Wed., Feb. 21, 7 p.m. St. Thomas Church, 2201 Dexter. Ausp: Central Denver NOW.

GEORGIA

ATLANTA

BLACK WOMEN SPEAK ABOUT AFFIRMATIVE ACTION, ABORTION RIGHTS, AND SOUTH AFRICA. Speakers to be announced. Fri., Feb. 23, 8 p.m. 509 Peachtree St. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (404) 872-7229.

MASSACHUSETTS

BOSTON

MALCOLM X STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM. A film. Speaker: Alta Starr, former

activist in Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee. Fri., Feb. 23, 8 p.m. 510 Commonwealth Ave. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (617) 262-4621.

MINNESOTA

ST. PAUL

THE REVOLUTION IN IRAN. Speaker: Stacey Seigle, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., Feb. 23, 8 p.m. 373 University Ave. Donation: \$1.25. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (612) 222-8929.

NEW YORK

BROOKLYN

THE LEGACY OF MALCOLM X. Speakers: Louis Clayton Jones, civil rights

attorney; James Harris, former national coordinator, National Student Coalition Against Racism. Fri., Feb. 23, 8 p.m. 841 Classon Ave. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (212) 783-2135.

LOWER MANHATTAN

SOCIALISM & INDIVIDUAL FREEDOM. Speaker: Harry Ring, staff writer for the 'Militant.' Fri., Feb. 23, 8 p.m. 108 E. 16th St., 2nd fl. (near Union Square). Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (212) 982-4966.

PENNSYLVANIA

PHILADELPHIA

MALCOLM X ON BLACK REVOLUTION. A tape. Speaker: Melvin Burgess,

Black Independent Political Party, Ben Bailey, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., Feb. 23, 8 p.m. 5811 N. Broad St. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (215) 927-4747 or 927-4848.

PITTSBURGH

CHINA: MAO'S LEGACY. Speaker: Ed Pettley, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., Feb. 23, 8 p.m. 1210 E. Carson St. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (412) 488-7000.

TEXAS

DALLAS

WEBER CASE: RACIST AND SEXIST ATTACK. Speakers to be announced. Fri., Feb. 23, 8 p.m. 5442 E. Grand (corner of Samuell). Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (214) 826-4711.



Compiled by Arnold Weissberg

CHURCH AND STATE

An Ohio judge has agreed to stop ordering defendants in his court to join churches, following a protest from the American Civil Liberties Union. Lorrain County Common Pleas Judge Paul Mikus argued that he was merely "a sociological engineer trying to see if a little religion might help them."

In January, Mikus sentenced

a Puerto Rican man on a marijuana charge and threatened to send him to jail for a year if he didn't join a church.

"I also told him and three others to learn the English language well enough so that in one year they will be able to sing 'My Country, 'Tis of Three,'" the judge said. "These people are out of control."

Phila. gay rights conference

On February 23-24 a conference will be held in Philadelphia to discuss a national march on Washington, D.C., for gay rights. The conference will be held at the Friends Meeting House at Fourth and Arch streets. It will begin February 23 at 6:00 p.m. and continue the next day from 10:00 a.m. to 10:00 p.m.

Organizations from around the country that support gay rights—including religious, social, political, Black, Hispanic, and Asian groups, as well as feminist organizations—have been invited to send two delegates to the meetings. Individuals as well as those representing organizations have been encouraged to attend.

The conference will discuss a date for a national march, its focus, and its main political demands. Three central demands have been proposed: for an executive order banning discrimination based on sexual orientation; for passage of a national gay rights bill by Congress; and for action by the U.S. Supreme Court to overturn state and local antigay laws.

Registration for the conference is fifteen dollars.

For further information contact the New York Coalition for Lesbian and Gay Rights at 156 Fifth Avenue, Fifth floor, New York, New York 10010, telephone (212) 924-2970. On the West Coast call (415) 431-1522.



Militant/Lou Howort

Chile dictator tied to assassins

General Augusto Pinochet, the chief of Chile's bloody military junta, personally asked fellow dictator Alfredo Stroessner of Paraguay to provide passports for two Chilean secret police agents for travel to the United States. The two agents have been charged by the U.S. government with killing exiled Chilean diplomat Orlando Letelier in a 1976 Washington, D.C., bombing.

The latest revelation of Pinochet's role in the murder came in a statement given to the FBI by U.S. Ambassador to Chile George Landau.

Testifying February 8 at the trial of three counterrevolutionary Cubans also charged with the killing, Landau would only say the request came from a "high level" of the Chilean government. His sudden reticence to name names suggests a continuing mutual interest on the part of the U.S. and Chilean governments in

keeping the full truth hidden.

The U.S. government has already charged General Manuel Contreras, former head of the Chilean secret police, in the murder, which also took the life of Letelier aide Ronni Moffitt.

However, in a February 8 interview with the *Washington Post*, Chilean Foreign Minister Hernan Cubillos said it was unlikely that the Chilean Supreme Court would agree to a request to send Contreras to the U.S. to stand trial.

In other developments at the Washington trial, Orlando Letelier's widow, Isabel Letelier, charged that the exiled diplomat's mail had been tampered with before his death.

Letelier was called as a defense witness. The Cuban defendants have claimed that Michael Townley carried out the assassination on orders of the CIA and that they had no part in it.

Getting by—Former President Nixon is keeping up with inflation. This fiscal year his pension and federal expense allowance is being hiked from \$241,329 to \$318,874. This includes a new item: \$51,000 annual rent for "office space" at his San Clemente beach estate.

Gone crackers—New York City is seeking to dispose of what had been, in the mid-sixties, a \$30 million stash of fallout shelter supplies. Included are "high nutrition" crackers that have gone rancid and pose a health hazard to anyone who might start munching. Officials say they have no idea of how much is on hand since they've lost track of which 10,000 buildings had been designated as shelters.

A suggestion—Despite record reserves, grain prices will still go up, and the half-billion hungry in the world will remain hungry. "The irony," a federal official explained, "is that even with large grain stocks, many people will remain inade-

quately fed until we solve the financial, distributional, and other developmental problems that plague the world." How about just making a socialist revolution?

Imposters?—The New York Police reported that crimes committed by people "posing" as policemen were up 10 percent last year. Meanwhile, local banks and other civic-minded groups are raising money to provide cops with bullet-proof vests. It's not clear if their use will be restricted to official duties.

Hallelujah!—As Nelson's ashes were deposited in the grave, members of the Rockefeller family recited the Twenty-third psalm: "The Lord is my shepherd; I shall not want."

Good thinking—New York investigators found that forty apartment buildings that had suspicious fires all owed the city taxes and were all covered by the same insurance company. "There is a very distinct possibility" an alert official declared, "that there is some collusion here."

Union Talk

Houston OCAW walkout

This week's column is by Jana Pelusch, a member of Local 4-227 of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers union.

HOUSTON—In the weeks leading up to January 7, workers at the Atlantic Richfield (ARCO) refinery here were preparing for a strike.

We—along with 60,000 other members of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers union—had ratified a national bargaining policy that called on the oil industry to grant a "substantial" wage increase, dental insurance, and fully paid medical coverage.

After Carter announced his 7 percent wage guidelines, the top union leadership appeared adamant. "Free bargaining imperiled . . . OCAW TO DEFY GUIDELINES, BARGAIN AS USUAL," ran the headline in the December/January OCAW newspaper.

But word came late the night of January 7 that the contract had been extended. We were told to continue work. After several further extensions, scheduled unit "turnarounds"—shutdowns and overhauls—were given the go-ahead.

On the tenth day of working without a contract, a large number of maintenance workers were notified that they were being put on ten-hour shifts, seven days a week, effective immediately.

At the next evening's union meeting, workers who went to bring up this matter found that union negotiators had dropped our demands to correct arbitrary changes of shifts and forced overtime.

Word spread throughout the plant the next day. Anger increased as boilermakers on one turnaround were told to perform work that had been done by pipefitters in the past.

There was talk of putting up pickets after the regular 4 p.m. quitting time. The message was spread to stand by the parking lot gates to assess support for a potential strike.

A handful of people grew to more than 100. Calls were made to the negotiating team, which was meeting in a downtown hotel with company representatives, requesting that they leave the session and come meet with us. None ever showed.

Several local union officials made two visits to the protesters. It would be illegal to strike now, they said, since a tentative

national agreement had been signed by our negotiators.

Few bought this argument. Every OCAW contract is subject to ratification by the membership, and we knew we were working without a contract.

What we wanted was an agreement from the company to back off from the forced overtime shifts. The local's president agreed to take this message to the downtown meeting.

We were to disperse and then meet two hours later at the union hall for a progress report. At that time we learned that the agreed-upon discussion had not taken place. We were told to return in a few days to vote on two contracts—national and local—neither of which addressed the issue at hand.

Many members began leaving the union hall as time for the graveyard shift approached. Before too long, several returned to say that pickets were up, and the operators were not crossing the line.

One after another, huge chemical tank trucks made broad U-turns and refused to enter. Everyone cheered wildly at these demonstrations of labor solidarity between workers of different trades.

Soon the plant manager drove up, and on-the-spot negotiations were held. None of the offers were satisfactory: the pickets would stay up.

ARCO got the expected court order against further picketing, and it was served on pickets by union officials, during the twentieth hour of the strike.

Not all the 1,200 unionists at the refinery participated in or supported the January 19 strike. Not all tank and delivery trucks were turned back at the picket line.

But for the first time since 1972, we were presented with a supplemental contract covering local issues that we felt we could approve.

The union also got a written commitment from management that no reprisals would be taken against participants in the strike action.

Our real gain was that of experience. We learned that *we* are the union, and that we can take action on our own.

We learned that we can unite, we can organize ourselves around our common interests.

Our "fight back" action was a long time in coming. The next one should find us better prepared.

Frederick Douglass

February marks the 162nd anniversary of the birth of Frederick Douglass.

Born into slavery, Douglass took the underground railroad in 1838 and became a central leader of the abolitionist movement and fighter for Black rights in the North.

Before and after the civil war Douglass participated in many Black conferences that sought to map out a perspective against discrimination.

He was elected president of the Colored National Labor Union in 1871.

The excerpts below are taken from an article in the May 1861 issue of 'Douglass' Monthly' entitled 'How to End the War.'

To our mind, there is but one easy, short and effectual way to suppress and put down the desolating war which the slaveholders and their rebel minions are now waging against the American Government and its loyal citizens. Fire must be met with water, darkness with light, and war for the destruction of liberty must be met with war for the destruction of slavery. *The simple way, then, to put an end to the savage and desolating war now waged by the slaveholders, is to strike down slavery itself, the primal cause of that war.*

A lenient war is a lengthy war, and therefore the worst kind of war. Let us stop it, and stop it effectually—stop it on the soil upon which it originated, and among the traitors and rebels who originated the war. This can be done at once, by "carrying the war into Africa." *Let the slaves and free colored people be called into service, and formed into a liberating army, to march into the South and raise the banner of Emancipation among the slaves.*

The slaveholders have not hesitated to employ the sable arms of the Negroes at the South in erecting the fortifications which silenced the guns of Fort Sumter, and brought the star-spangled banner to the dust. They often boast, and not without cause, that their Negroes will fight for them against the North. They have no scruples against employing the Negroes to exterminate freedom, and in overturning the Government. They work with spade and barrow with them, and they will stand with them on the field of battle, shoulder to shoulder, with guns in their hands, to shoot down the troops of the U.S. Government.—They have neither pride, prejudice nor pity to restrain them from employing Negroes *against white men, where slavery is to be protected and made secure.*

Oh! that this Government would only now be as true to liberty as the rebels, who are attempting to batter it down, are true



FREDERICK DOUGLASS

to slavery. We have no hesitation in saying that ten thousand black soldiers might be raised in the next thirty days to march upon the South. One black regiment alone would be, in such a war, the full equal of two white ones. The very fact of color in this case would be more terrible than powder and balls. The slaves would learn more as to the nature of the conflict from the presence of one such regiment, than from a thousand preachers. Every consideration of justice, humanity and sound policy confirms the wisdom of calling upon black men just now to take up arms in behalf of their country.

We are often asked by persons in the street as well as by letter, what our people will do in the present solemn crisis in the affairs of the country. Our answer is, would to God you would let us do something! We lack nothing but your consent. We are ready and would go, counting ourselves happy in being permitted to serve and suffer for the cause of freedom and free institutions. But you won't let us go.

Read the heart-rending account we publish elsewhere of the treatment received by the brave fellows, who broke away from their chains and went through marvelous suffering to defend Fort Pickens against the rebels.—They were instantly seized and put in irons and returned to their guilty masters to be whipped to death! Witness Gen. Butler's offer to put down the slave insurrection in the State of Maryland. The colored citizens of Boston have offered their services to the Government, and were refused.

There is, we say, weak and contemptible tenderness towards the blood thirsty, slaveholding traitors, by the Government and people of the country. Until the nation shall repent of this weakness and folly, until they shall make the cause of their country the cause of freedom, until they shall strike down slavery, the source and center of this gigantic rebellion, they don't deserve the support of a single sable arm, nor will it succeed in crushing the cause of our present troubles.

Iran I

I have found the eyewitness coverage from Iran tremendously inspiring: so much so that I sold ten copies of the *Militant* to co-workers last week.

Most of those who bought this issue were people who had read the *Militant* before and really looked forward to reading the truth on Iran, which they knew the *Militant* could supply.

I think it is very important

Iran II

Like many of your readers, I am green with jealousy over [*Militant* associate editor] Cindy Jaquith's good fortune in being able to cover a revolution firsthand. Since I am unable to go to Iran myself, the next best thing is to send a small contribution to help defray her expenses.

Keep it up! Vive la révolution iranienne!

Caryl Sholin
Seattle, Washington

Indian rights supporters demand: 'Free Leonard Peltier!'

The Leonard Peltier Defense Committee and Native American supporters from all over North America are conducting a twenty-four-hour vigil at the U.S. Supreme Court in Washington, D.C.

The vigil began January 10 and will continue until the court decides whether it will hear Leonard's case, and if so the vigil will continue until that hearing.

Native American Leonard Peltier was railroaded through court and into prison by the FBI and U.S. Marshal Service in Fargo, North Dakota, in 1977.

Leonard was found guilty of "aiding and abetting first-degree murder" in the death of two FBI agents.

The charges stem from a fire fight that took place when the FBI invaded the Lokota Sioux Nation at Pine Ridge, South Dakota, in June 1975.

Since then, two co-defendants were acquitted, and charges were dropped



LEONARD PELTIER

against the third on the grounds of self-defense.

Your support is urgently needed. Letters of support should be sent to the Clerk of Court, U.S. Supreme Court, Washington, D.C., and to Attorney General Griffin Bell, U.S. Department of Justice, Washington, D.C. 20530.

For further information on this case, contact the Leonard Peltier Defense Committee, P.O. Box 1, Port Angeles, Washington 98362.

Mark Frederickson
Hawley, Minnesota

that we run two articles on Iran very soon. One is on women and the Iranian revolution. What is the significance of the fact that many women are demonstrating for Khomeini? Are they in favor of his demand for the establishment of an Islamic republic? Wouldn't that be a step backwards for women, even from the status of women under the shah?

Or is there an independent movement of women, with demands of their own, who are demonstrating for Khomeini only in some general sense?

The other is on the revolutionary movement's relationship to the soldiers. The *Militant* mentioned fraternization between soldiers and demonstrators. It is encouraging that the new Iranian Socialist Workers Party has made democratic rights for soldiers a central point of its program. But what is the actual status of this drive to win the ranks of the army?

The question of the military would seem to be especially important since for a semicolonial country, Iran is one of the most heavily armed in the world, thanks to U.S. imperialism.

Marty Pettit
Kansas City, Missouri

Iran III

I see from the news that we can expect gasoline and oil prices to rise considerably again. The excuse that oil company spokesmen and their servants, the politicians, are using is the situation in Iran.

What concerns me is how this may tie into what took place during the so-called energy crisis of 1974-75. These same politicians and oil companies used the energy crisis (which they had a hand in creating) as an excuse to force legislation through Congress that could permit the oil companies to build the Alaskan pipeline.

We were led to believe that the Alaskan pipeline would provide enough oil to meet close to 100 percent of our needs. The Alaskan pipeline has been built; the oil is flowing. But somehow this is now not enough to cover the loss of Iranian oil, which is put at only 5 percent of our needs.

Should the oil companies and the politicians be permitted to rip us off once again and use as their excuse the situation in Iran?

Maybe the *Militant* could do some articles on this. We can no more go trust the oil companies and their servants today than we could during the previous so-called energy crisis.

Ernest Rulli
San Francisco, California

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Save Chilean activists!

After being denied asylum by the Costa Rican Embassy in Santiago, Chile, Gloria Elgueta and Gaston Muñoz went underground to avoid arrest by the junta's secret police. They are still seeking political asylum and have appealed to the international solidarity movement to help them.

Gloria Elgueta, in addition to being the sister of a "disappeared" political prisoner, is a member of the Chilean Resistance. Gaston Muñoz, a student leader at Concepción University until the coup in September 1973, went underground in the face of DINA persecution and joined the resistance in late 1973.

The junta has launched a massive media campaign, accusing them of alleged criminal action and urging the population to help find them.

We are appealing for help in pressuring international bodies, foreign embassies in Santiago, the Vicaría, to act to guarantee freedom and personal safety to Elgueta and Muñoz; have them recognized as political activists, not common criminals as the junta would maintain; to guarantee their right to leave Chile if their personal safety so requires; and to that end, to guarantee their right to receive asylum and protection from foreign governments.

Office for Political Prisoners and Human Rights in Chile
New York, New York

Austin nukes vote

An error appeared in the *Militant's* February 9 issue in the report on an antinuclear rally in Austin, Texas. The article said Austin voters decided January 20 to remove the city from participation in the South Texas Nuclear Project.

Actually, the city council had decided earlier not to give voters this option. The proposition asked authorization for the city to retain only the percentage of the project that the original investment would buy. The initial outlay was supposed to purchase 16 percent of the nuke, but cost overruns drastically reduced Austin's share.

By defeating the proposition, voters forced another election on the issue. Opponents hope to persuade the council to give a complete pull-out option on the next ballot.

Joel Hollis
Austin, Texas

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.

'A fair day's wages...?'

Karl Marx and Frederick Engels were not only the most outstanding theoreticians the working-class movement has ever known. They were also masters at explaining simply and clearly the application of socialist ideas to the day-to-day questions facing workers.

Following are excerpts from an article by Engels written in 1881 for the 'Labour Standard,' which had just been founded as the newspaper of the London Trades Council.

A fair day's wage for a fair day's work. This has now been the motto of the English working-class movement for the last fifty years.

But times are moving on, and a good many things which were desirable and necessary fifty, and even thirty years ago, are now antiquated and would be completely out of place. Does the old, time-honoured watchword too belong to them?

A fair day's wage for a fair day's work? But what is a fair day's wage, and what is a fair day's work? What is morally fair, what is even fair in law, may be far from being socially fair. Social fairness or unfairness is decided by one science alone—the science which deals with the material facts of production and exchange, the science of political economy.

Now what does political economy call a fair day's wage and a fair day's work?

A fair day's wage, under normal conditions, is the sum required to procure to the labourer the means of existence necessary, according to the standard of life on his station and country, to keep himself in working order and to propagate his race.

A fair day's work is that length of working day and that intensity of actual work which expends one day's full working power of the workman without encroaching upon his capacity for the same amount of work for the next and following days.

The transaction, then, may be thus described—the workman gives to the capitalist his full day's working power; that is, so much of it as he can give without rendering impossible the continuous repetition of the transaction. In exchange, he receives just as much, and no more, of the necessities of life as is required to keep up the repetition of the same bargain every day. The workman gives as much, the capitalist gives as little, as the nature of the bargain will admit. This is a very peculiar sort of fairness.

But let us look a little deeper into the matter. As according to political economists, wages and working days are fixed by competition, fairness seems to require that both sides should have the same fair start on equal terms. But that is not the case.

The capitalist, if he cannot agree with the labourer, can afford to wait, and live upon his capital.

The workman cannot. He has but wages to live upon, and must therefore take work when, where, and at what terms he can get it. The workman has no fair start.

But this is a mere trifle. The application of mechanical power and machinery to new trades, and the extension and improvements of machinery in trades already subjected to it, keep turning out of work more and more "hands"; and they do so at a far quicker rate than that at which these superseded "hands" can be absorbed by, and find employment in, the manufactures of the country.

These superseded "hands" form a real industrial army of reserve for the use of capital. If trade is bad they may starve, beg, steal, or go to the workhouse; if trade is good they are ready at hand to expand production; and until the very last man, woman, or child of this army of reserve shall have found work—which happens in times of frantic over-production alone—until then will its competition keep down wages, and by its existence alone strengthen the power of capital in its struggle with labour.

In the race with capital, labour is not only handicapped, it has to drag a cannon-ball riveted to its foot. Yet this is fair according to capitalist economy.

But let us inquire out of what fund does capital pay these very fair wages? Out of capital, of course. But capital produces no value. Labour is, besides the earth, the only source of wealth; capital itself is nothing but the stored-up produce of labour. So that the wages of labour are paid out of labour, and the working man is paid out of his own produce.

According to what we may call common fairness, the wages of the labourer ought to consist in the produce of his labour. But that would not be fair according to political economy. On the contrary, the produce of the workman's labour goes to the capitalist, and the workman gets out of it no more than the bare necessities of life.

And thus the end of this uncommonly "fair" race of competition is that the produce of the labour of those who do work gets unavoidably accumulated in the hands of those who do not work, and becomes in their hands the most powerful means to enslave the very men who produced it.

A fair day's wage for a fair day's work! A good deal might be said about the fair day's work too, the fairness of which is perfectly on a par with that of the wages.

It is pretty clear that the old watchword has lived its day, and will hardly hold water nowadays. Let, then, the old motto be buried forever and replaced by another:

Possession of the means of work—raw material, factories, machinery—by the working people themselves.

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Newport News strikers fight 'right to work' sham

By Shelley Kramer

NEWPORT NEWS, Va.—You've probably done something today—without thinking twice—that could land you in jail here in Newport News.

Like throwing your cigarette butt down on the street. Or swearing. Or just gesturing with your hands.

For committing such "crimes" while picketing, more than forty members of United Steelworkers Local 8888 have been arrested since their strike for union recognition began at midnight January 30. All are victims of Virginia's "right to work" law.

The strikers have been charged with violating sections of the law that pro-

hibit "interfering with" or "intimidation of" scabs.

On January 30 the Steelworkers filed suit in U.S. District Court to overturn these reactionary provisions, charging they deny picketers their constitutional right to free speech, free assembly, and equal protection under the law.

Named as defendants in the union's suit are Gov. John Dalton and City Police Chief George Austin for their role in dispatching riot-equipped state and city cops to enforce these so-called right-to-work statutes.

The arrest of USWA members "clearly demonstrates the distinction between law and justice in this state," said Steelworkers spokesperson Bill Edwards.

One of the first to be arrested was Local 8888 President Wayne Crosby. He dared to walk across a public street wearing his picket sign.

Then there was the case of union organizer John Baker. A scab-driven pickup truck almost ran him down. But Baker, not the scab, was arrested and charged with using abusive language.

France Price, who must weigh all of 115 pounds, made the mistake of straying across a yellow line painted by the cops to help scab traffic through the



Shipyard workers are fighting for union recognition. 'What these right-to-work laws mean is that we have to fight the government as well as the company,' said a picket.

Sixty-eighth Street gate.

She was handcuffed, grabbed by her hands and feet, and thrown into a waiting police van.

"Please don't hurt her," her husband pleaded. That was enough to send him to jail, too.

The Newport News strikers are learning fast and hard what "right to work" laws are all about.

"We won the union election according to the law," one picket told the *Militant*. "But the governor has called in the state police to protect Tenneco. He's using the right-to-work law to protect an illegal company. What these laws mean is that we have to fight the government as well as the company."

"They say these laws are for us, for working people," said another striker.

"But our rights are being violated. Big companies like Tenneco—they're the ones that really benefit."

They sure do. That's why the bosses are seeking to spread these reactionary laws into new states like Missouri and New Mexico. But in Missouri they suffered a stinging defeat when the labor movement and its allies turned out to crush the "right to work" measure on last November's ballot.

Now the Newport News steelworkers are mounting the most powerful challenge to "right to work" laws in the South since their passage after World War II.

"The right-to-work-for-less laws are the worst thing that can happen to a state," Jerry Bass, president of the Metal Trades Council at neighboring

Norfolk Naval Shipyard, told the *Militant*, while leading a group of solidarity pickets.

"What we're doing out here will benefit everyone, even the scabs. The big conglomerates are behind these right-to-work committees. And they're plenty worried about this strike."

The American revolution was fought to secure our rights, explained striker Raymond Anderson in a letter to the local *Times-Herald*, which has been passed up and down the picket line. "Now, fellow steelworkers, we are also fighting a revolutionary war," he continued.

"Jimmy Carter is always preaching about human rights in other countries. But he does not concern himself with the fight for human rights in Newport News, Virginia."

UFW lettuce strike spreads despite killing

By Jesús Santos

CALEXICO, Calif.—Despite the murder of one of their brothers, lettuce workers have extended their strike to two of the biggest ranches here in the Imperial Valley.

The strike by the United Farm Workers union now covers ten ranches that usually produce more than half the lettuce for the country this time of year.

Rufino Contreras, twenty-eight, died February 10 from a single bullet wound just below the eye.

A worker from the Mexican border city of Mexicali, he was among a group that had entered a field of the Saikhan ranch to persuade scabs to quit. He was shot by a foreman.

I arrived at the field a little more than an hour after the killing. Angry strikers were demanding the police go in and arrest the killer.

They told me Contreras had lain on the ground for an hour before armed guards let anyone in to take him away.

He died about an hour after he

reached the hospital.

As we stood there, more angry workers kept arriving.

Finally the police went in. The foreman was taken away in a sheriff's car as the workers cried, "Asesino! Asesino! [Assassin! Assassin!]"

The next night, Sunday, more than 2,000 people marched silently through the streets of Calexico. Among those at the head of the march was Lorenzo Contreras, father of the slain worker.

Most of the demonstrators came across the border from Mexicali. Ninety percent of the strikers are *mexicano* green-card workers who cross the border each day.

The next morning a giant demonstration shut down the field altogether.

We assembled at 4 a.m. at *El Hoyo*—"the hole"—the place in Calexico where the workers usually gather to be hired.

More than 4,000 people marched out to the fields. It had been a day advertised by the growers as one when many scabs would turn out. If they did,

they didn't try to go in. The fields were empty.

Earlier, UFW President César Chávez had announced that four more ranches would be struck in a week. But at the big Bruce Church ranch and Admiral Packing, the workers didn't wait. They walked out the next morning. Papers said Bruce Church workers in Salinas and other areas joined the walkout.

The strike is the result of the growers trying to limit the workers to a raise within President Carter's 7 percent guidelines. The workers refused to accept it. The union has proven that since 1970 lettuce workers have suffered a loss of six cents per carton on piecework rates, when you figure the effect of inflation.

But these workers are fighting for more than a raise. The *mexicano* workers who harvest the rich crops in the Imperial Valley have a long tradition of militant resistance to the racist oppression and exploitation of the growers.

One worker said to me, "We want a different life."

Despite a media campaign of slander against the union, on both sides of the border, the growers have not been able to recruit *mexicano* scabs. A single high school student and housewife. And the growers admit they can't harvest even 5 percent of the crop.

The workers are getting important solidarity from other unions.

The Teamsters Joint Council of Southern California, which fought the UFW so long, has sanctioned the strike and told its members to respect UFW picket lines in the fields and at the packing sheds.

William Robertson, secretary-treasurer of the Los Angeles County Federation of Labor, held a press conference with Chávez and pledged that the AFL-CIO unions would raise money and food.

The strikers, men and women alike, are very strong. With real support, they can win.