

# THE MILITANT

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

## Huge Iran demonstration hits killing of gov't officials

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MOJGAN HARIRI-VIJEH

Militant/Salm Kolis



## A budget of hunger and death

President Reagan and the Congress have set into motion a program that will roll back fundamental gains won by working people during the past forty years.

Those most affected are the young and the aged; Blacks and Latinos; the unemployed and unorganized.

But every working person will suffer.

On June 26, the House of Representatives passed a budget that will slash up to \$145 billion—mostly from social services—from the budget through fiscal year 1984. Twenty-nine Democrats joined the Republicans to push the cuts through the Democratic-controlled House.

A few days earlier, the Senate adopted a similar program. The slight differences will be reconciled before the budget is sent to Reagan to become law.

The capitalist parties are using their control of government to impose a sweeping redistribution of wealth in favor of the rich.

They don't care that these measures don't have real majority support.

What they want is money to spend on nuclear weapons of mass destruction and to prepare new Vietnams. They want even more bloated profits for the corporations at our expense.

The budget figures seem abstract. How many of us can conceive of a billion dollars or even a million? But hunger is not abstract.

The budget approved by the House slashes the food stamp program by \$1.4 billion. The Senate wants to slash it by \$1.9 billion.

A million people will be deprived of food stamps altogether, while 22 million will receive less. How are they going to get enough to eat?

The Senate wants to end the summer lunch program for school children. Do the businessmen and corporate lawyers who compose the Senate have any idea what it is like to grow up hungry? Have they ever experienced malnutrition?

The Senate also opted to cut off food stamps to the families of strikers. Workers who demand their rights from rich employers will face an even more unequal struggle than they did before.

For the first time in forty-six years, Social Security benefits are being slashed.

The Senate wants to cut more than \$2 billion in benefits. Congress has now decreed that if retirees worked only a few years for an employer covered by the Social Security program, they will not be entitled to the minimum benefit of \$122 a month.

What are these elderly people to do? Work un-

til they die? What happens if they can't find work or their health fails? What was promised to be a few years of secure retirement is being transformed into a hell by the Reagan budget.

The House and Senate have also agreed to phase out benefits for students who are dependent on the income of Social Security recipients.

How many young people will have to give up plans to go to college as a result? Or as a result of other sharp cuts being instituted in funding for education?

How many plans to escape poverty by acquiring a skill or learning a profession will go up in smoke?

Medicare and Medicaid are being cut. What are sick people to do if they cannot afford medical care without these programs? How many lives will be cut short?

Subsidized housing is being cut back, although the well-housed legislators are still arguing over how much. But what are people who cannot afford decent housing to do?

More will be condemned to live in rat- and roach-infested slums. More will swelter in summer. More will freeze to death in winter.

The Senate wants to slash unemployment payments by \$1.7 billion. They want to cut back on provisions that allow 13 extra weeks of un-

employment benefits when joblessness reaches a certain level.

The members of the House and Senate don't have to worry about unemployment. Even if they lose their seats, they are guaranteed lush pensions and get jobs with big corporations.

But what about auto workers and steelworkers who may face long months of unemployment? What about rail workers being laid off by Conrail and Amtrak? How are they going to provide for their families while they search for jobs that may not be there?

Reagan and the Congress say that taking from the poor and giving to the rich will provide jobs and end inflation.

They don't have much to say, though, about the 300,000 workers hired under the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act who are going to be thrown out of work. How are they going to afford the rent, or feed and clothe their families?

The victims we have cited—and they number millions—are only a fraction of those whose lives will be scarred by this budget.

The AFL-CIO has called a march on Washington September 19 to oppose these criminal policies. The NAACP has called for support for this march.

All who can should be in Washington that day to join the protest.

## Embargo on the First Amendment

In a major new escalation of the U.S. blockade against Cuba, the U.S. Customs Service has begun seizing all Cuban newspapers and magazines sent to the United States.

The new policy, initiated in May without fanfare, marks a break with the twenty-year practice under which the American people were allowed to receive Cuban periodicals despite the U.S. government's economic embargo.

It appears that virtually all individuals and organizations receiving subscriptions have been affected.

Contrary to government regulations, the overwhelming majority of subscribers have not received the required notice from the Customs Service telling them their periodicals have been seized.

Employees of the Customs Service claim that all that is involved is that a loophole had been discovered in the enforcement of the blockade. "There are thousands of these papers lying around here," a U.S. Customs official in Boston told the *Militant*. "The Washington people feel some commercial

transaction must be going on."

This is a brazen lie. Many subscriptions are gifts. Others are exchanges for U.S. periodicals. Still others have been obtained by U.S. visitors while in Cuba—which is legal under U.S. regulations.

The real reason for the tightening of the blockade is Washington's escalating war propaganda and preparations against the revolutionary movements in Central America and the Caribbean. Reagan seeks to portray freedom struggles such as that being waged by the Salvadoran people as Machiavellian plots hatched by a bearded, cigar-smoking tyrant in Havana.

The White House can ill-afford to have thousands of Americans reading Cuban publications that tear to shreds Reagan's lies.

Just two weeks ago, the State Department issued another lying "White Paper" against Cuba. Among other things, it threatened Cuba with an escalation of the U.S. blockade. The first victim of this escalation has been the First Amendment rights of the American people.

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If You Like This Paper...

9-16 International Socialist Review



'Looks like Israel had a bad day in the U.N. again!'

### Debate on the Middle East

In response to a reader, William Gottlieb explains why the state of Israel is fundamentally racist and how its oppression of Palestinians and other Arabs is at the root of the virtually permanent war in the Middle East today.

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## The Militant

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# U.S. gov't, cops continue cover-up in Atlanta murders

By Tom Fiske

ATLANTA—The FBI, city officials, and local media have stepped up their efforts to pin the murders of Black youths here on Wayne Williams, a twenty-three-year-old Black man who was arrested June 21.

Using police "leaks" and informal interviews, the media have sought to furnish a motive, find witnesses, and explain Williams's access to the victims.

Police officials have now told the media they regard Williams as a suspect in as many as twenty-four of the slayings and disappearances on the task force list.

The *Atlanta Journal* reported June 26 that several parents of the victims and friends of Williams said they had seen him with some of the victims.

But many young Blacks in Atlanta knew personally two or more of the slain youths or knew Williams.

Williams was a talent scout and apparently interviewed hundreds of youth in the Black community.

On June 27, the *Atlanta Constitution* and the *Atlanta Journal* both charged that Williams had worked for three months in 1980 as a security guard at two pornographic bookstores and had access to a uniform.

What was the evidence? Two clerks, whose names were not disclosed, had picked Williams out of a police line up, but failed to identify him by his mug shots. Nor could evidence be found to show the bookstores had ever hired him.

But when it comes to hard evidence, police have only come up with dog hairs, several fibers from Williams's house, and a splash.



Atlanta Mayor Maynard Jackson and Ronald Reagan meet at White House.

During the containment hearing of Williams held June 23, the police cadet who first saw Williams's car on the bridge over the Chattahoochee River

May 22 could not testify that he saw the car stopped on the bridge. Police are claiming Williams threw the body of Nathaniel Cater over the bridge.

Mary Welcome, Williams's lawyer, stated to the press, "I think any one of you under the circumstances could have killed Nathaniel Cater because I'm sure that all of you have fibers in your hair of some sort that may match some of the fibers that were found."

It has become apparent that the FBI and White House were urging that Williams be arrested.

Governor Busbee admitted he had held at least ten to twelve telephone conversations with Vice-president Bush since Williams was picked up for questioning June 4.

The arrest of Williams was decided on at a secret seven-hour meeting held at Georgia's governor's mansion, involving Busbee, Fulton County District Attorney Lewis Slaton, Atlanta FBI Bureau Chief Johnny Glover, and others.

At the meeting Glover and acting U.S. Attorney Dorothy Kirkland argued aggressively for the arrest and prosecution of Williams.

The meeting was reported to have received a call from either Vice-president Bush or a high official in the U.S. Justice Department.

The cops claim they have the killer, but their evidence is flimsy or non-existent. And people here increasingly suspect that Williams has been chosen as a scapegoat.

One investigator stated, "It [Williams's arrest] may give people a renewed confidence in the task force and a feeling that the investigation is moving forward. That's something we've needed for quite a while."

Attorney General William French Smith announced on May 28 that Atlanta would be one of ten cities where an "early warning system" would be established to detect signs of a revolt in the Black community.

Ernest Jones, acting director of the Community Relations Service in Atlanta, noted, "As for Atlanta, the slayings of twenty-eight young Blacks has set it apart from every other city."

Jan Douglas, director of the Community Relations Service office here, said, "The string of slayings has made Blacks angry. There is tremendous rage felt by the community against whomever."

The June 23 *Constitution* noted that "those who monitor Atlanta's potential for violence, meanwhile, said the arrest should be a big help in keeping the city peaceful through the hot summer."

## 'I just cannot believe he was involved in killing of anyone'

Georgia State Rep. Tyrone Brooks is speaking out in defense of Wayne Williams.

Brooks told the *Militant* June 23: "I've personally known Wayne Williams since 1970. I met him when he and a group of kids in this neighborhood were in the process of organizing a radio station. I've known him to be a young man who is very involved and very active in his community, and very much involved in the media."

"I just cannot believe for the life of me that Wayne Williams is involved in the killing of anyone."

"I think all of the circumstantial evidence that has been leaked out to the media by the police bureau was designed to get a conviction prior to the time that Wayne was arrested."

Brooks said he believes that "those who are responsible for the killing of Black people in Atlanta over the last two years probably are in law enforcement. . . . I think there's a great possibility that Wayne could have been set up."

He also questions the "interest" the White House and the governor have shown in Williams. "People in Washington tell me—these people are very knowledgeable in the Justice Department—they tell me that the FBI made up its mind a few months ago to get a suspect, but that suspect had to be Black."

"They felt if the suspect was white, Black people were going to react in a very violent way, and there would be a great deal of turmoil."

## AFL-CIO rally Sept. 19 for 'jobs and justice'

The AFL-CIO, which represents thirteen million workers, has announced plans for a national demonstration in Washington, D.C., on September 19.

The action was called to protest the Reagan administration's attacks on vital social services and to demand "jobs and justice."

News of the "Solidarity Day" rally was reported in the June 20 *AFL-CIO News*.

AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland called on the unions to make a "maximum effort" to ensure the biggest possible turnout for the Saturday demonstration.

"A demonstration of grass-roots, rank-and-file support . . . will be the most effective response to the Administration's claim that it speaks for the working people of America," Kirkland said.

According to Charles Hughes, a staff

member at AFL-CIO headquarters, a wide range of organizations—including the NAACP, the National Urban League, the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists, the National Organization for Women, and the Coalition of Labor Union Women—are being encouraged to participate in the rally.

On June 29 the national convention of the NAACP voted to support the September 19 action.

The AFL-CIO Executive Board has designated a committee to organize details of the event. Committee members include Lloyd McBride, president of the United Steelworkers; Murray Finley, president of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union; Charles Pillard, president of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers; Albert Shanker, president of the American Federation of Teachers; and William Wynn, president of the United Food and Commercial Workers.

## Special offer to new readers

The Militant—8 weeks/\$2

From Buffalo to Atlanta to Miami, racist violence has been on the rise. Tens of thousands of Blacks and others have marched and spoken out in protest. For coverage of the struggle against the racist killers, you need the *Militant*.



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# DAY BY DAY

WHAT HAPPENED IN COURT

## DAY 53: WEDNESDAY, JUNE 24

Robert Blakey, law professor at Notre Dame University and adviser to congressional committees, testifies on court decisions relating to FBI investigation of socialists.

John Hodis, top FBI lawyer and 'special assistant to director of FBI,' testifies on application of FBI guidelines, which he helped to prepare. Says Cointelpro-type actions are still possible if attorney general gives go-ahead.

Socialists begin their rebuttal case. Laurel Kelly, YSA member in Arizona in early 1970s, is called to discredit testimony of informer Harding. Says YSA actually opposed building takeovers. After Morris Starsky talked to Harding, he advised YSA to hold classes on terrorism, since Harding does not appear to understand socialist view, she says.

## DAY 54: THURSDAY, JUNE 25

SWP leader Catarino Garza says Bolivian revolutionary Hugo González Moscoso stayed with him and his wife in 1967, but denies testimony of Hedda Garza that González Moscoso had told him the SWP had given him money.

Pedro Camejo, SWP 1976 presidential candidate, denies charges by anonymous paid FBI informers that he had called for violence, explains socialist political opposition to terrorism.

Stephen Cohen, professor of politics at Princeton, explains that Soviets were authentic expression of mass democratic sentiment in Russia in 1917, confirming earlier testimony of SWP leaders.

Jack Barnes, SWP national secretary, explains Marxist view on morality as developed by Leon Trotsky in 'Their Morals and Ours.'

## POLITICAL POLICE ON TRIAL

# Testimony concludes in trial of FBI; socialists prepare next stage of case

By Nelson Blackstock

NEW YORK—At 5:48 p.m. Thursday, June 25, both sides rested their case in the trial of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance suit against government spying and harassment.

But the trial is not over. The judge will not issue his decision until late this year at the earliest.

Even then, his ruling will almost certainly be appealed.

In the meantime, attorneys for the socialists will be busy preparing written briefs, due later this summer. In the fall, the judge will hear oral arguments.

The trial has now lasted three months. Some fifty-four days were spent in the courtroom.

The trial has been rich with lessons and insights into a side of class rule you seldom get to look at.

A big victory of the trial has been getting out the truth on the nature of the capitalist government.

The views of the Socialist Workers Party were a central issue in the trial. It

began with Farrell Dobbs, former national secretary of the SWP and the first witness, who testified about the origins of the Marxist movement and of the SWP. And it continued through to Jack Barnes, current national secretary and the last witness, who returned to the stand to conclude the socialists' rebuttal case.

In his opening statement, attorney Peter Salerno claimed the government would prove the socialists "say one thing in public and another in private."

Not a shred of evidence was produced to back up this charge.

The government was confronted with evidence of its years-long campaign of harassment. The evidence came in large part from the government itself, turned over during the long pretrial discovery process.

It included proof of burglaries, wire-tapping, bugging, and widespread use of paid informers.

The government's defense has been simple. All of this was legal. All of it, up to and including the Cointelpro disruption plots, which the government previously tried to pass off as a deviation of J. Edgar Hoover.

The role of thought-control legislation such as the Smith Act and the Voorhis Act came to the surface. Top government officials admitted the function of these laws today is to provide further cover for their investigations (meaning harassment).

At bottom, they say their entire political police thought-control apparatus gets legal sanction from the "inherent power" of the president to do anything he wants in the name of "national security."

This power, they say, comes directly from the Constitution and is not subject to limitation by the courts or Congress.

These powers give the president the basis for issuing various executive orders. They claim these include the one setting up the loyalty program, under which the notorious attorney general's list of "subversive" organizations was issued.

During the trial, the Immigration and

## Emergency appeal for South African exile

As we go to press, Dennis Brutus, noted South African exile, has been ordered to leave the United States by Sunday, July 5.

Several months ago, the Immigration and Naturalization Service refused to extend Brutus's work permit. He has been teaching in this country for a decade.

Emergency protests to block this deportation should be sent to: Acting Director, Department of Justice, Immigration and Naturalization Section, 219 South Dearborn, Chicago, Illinois 60604.

Send copies to Dennis Brutus Defense Committee, 2730 Hampton Parkway, Apartment B-2, Evanston, Illinois 60201.

## Trial report to open SWP convention

When the Socialist Workers Party convention opens August 1 at 8 p.m., Larry Seigle will give the first major report.

Seigle, a member of the SWP Political Committee, will speak about the importance of the struggle for democratic rights in the United States today and the part played in this struggle by the SWP lawsuit.

Seigle coordinates the party's campaign around the suit. He was in court throughout the trial.

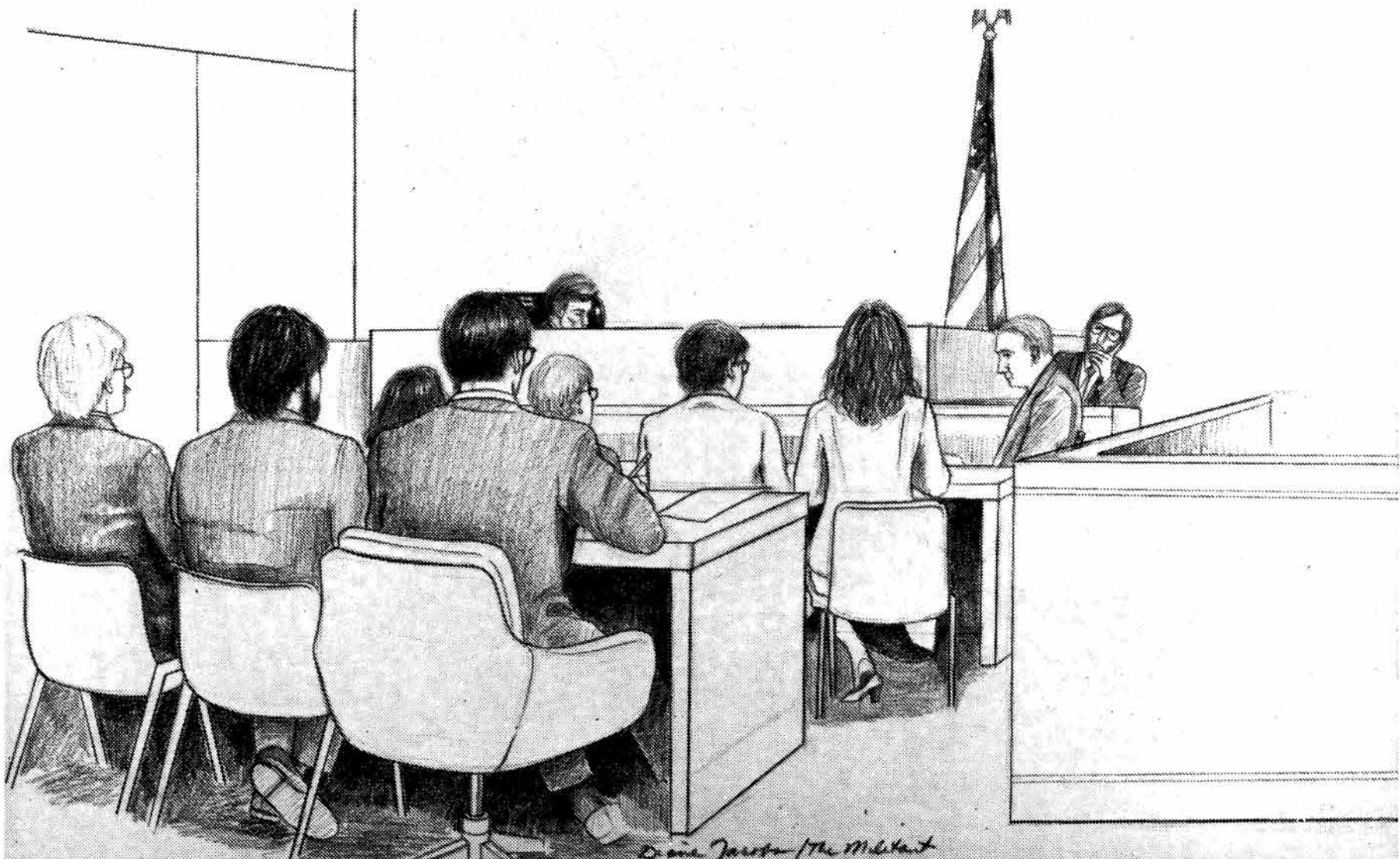
If you are interested in attending the convention, contact the SWP branch nearest you. SWP offices are listed in the "Where to Find Us" column on page 23.

Naturalization Service announced they are taking steps aimed at reclassifying the Socialist Workers Party so as to make it possible to initiate deportation proceedings against members solely on the basis of their views. This ominous new threat has sparked a wave of protest.

Already, the government has initiated deportation proceedings against a YSA member, Mojgan Hariri-Vijeh. While the action is not formally based on her YSA membership, it's clear she has been singled out for special treatment because of her views, including her support of the revolution in her native country, Iran.

In coming months, the case will be at the center of the work of the SWP and YSA. Socialists will be explaining the lessons of this historic fight. The *Militant* will keep readers on top of new developments.

The Political Rights Defense Fund is stepping up efforts to get support and raise much-needed funds. The current round of rallies has registered the wide recognition of the meaning of this case.



Professor Stephen Cohen, at far right, explains democratic character of Russian revolution on last day of testimony in trial.



# St. Louis to Seattle: rallies back socialist suit

## St. Louis: a display of unity

By Jim Foster

ST. LOUIS—A June 13 "Rally for Civil Liberties" was held at the First Unitarian Church here in support of the Socialist Workers Party lawsuit against the government.

Robert Tibbs, business agent for Oil, Chemical, and Atomic Workers Local 5-6, told the crowd, "When the rich say 'get the government off our backs,' Reagan puts them in the Cabinet. When we say 'get the government off our backs,' they want to put us in prison."

Tibbs is a longtime fighter for workers' rights who recently led a militant strike by the gas workers here. Labor, Tibbs said, must fight the political repression that accompanies the government's attack on workers' standard of living.

Laura Moore, from the Campaign for Human Dignity, an organization fighting to reopen a city hospital in the Black community of North St. Louis, emphasized the stake that all working people have in the socialists' lawsuit. She pointed to the government's broad attack on civil liberties—the drive to restore the House Internal Security Committee; Reagan's executive order unleashing the FBI and CIA; and the hearings to exempt them from the Freedom of Information Act.

Professor Dan Bolef, a central leader of the environmental movement in Missouri, called the SWP suit "the only effort which has come close to forcing the FBI to stop its informer program.... Everyone concerned with rights anywhere in the world must support this suit."

Literature tables were set up at the rally by the Coalition of Labor Union Women, the NAACP, the National Alliance against Racist and Political Repression, and the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom.

Harry Ring, a member of the SWP National Committee and of the editorial staff of the *Militant*, called attention to the unity shown at the rally.

Ring gave a brief history of the suit, including recent events at the trial in New York.

National Lawyers Guild member Joseph Lipofsky commended the SWP for refusing to compromise in their case. The SWP suit was a "major contribution," he said, because of the fundamental political issues it raised. It was a precedent, he said, that made a similar suit by the National Lawyers Guild in large measure possible.

A collection for the Political Rights Defense Fund raised more than \$1,200.

Greetings were read from *Moonstorm*, a lesbian-feminist newspaper, and from Audrey Meyers of the Marion Brothers Defense.

## Seattle: 'Labor can't sit back'

By Mary Nell Bockman

SEATTLE—A broad panel of labor figures, civil libertarians, and community activists gathered here on June 13 to show support for the Socialist Workers Party lawsuit against the government's political police. The rally was attended by 100 people.

Oscar Hearde, business manager of Ship Scales Local Union 541, proposed a campaign to educate the labor movement about the issues in the suit. "Labor can no longer sit back and allow groups like the SWP to fight our battles for us.... This new repressive legislation is

aimed at labor itself," he said.

Two other local labor leaders—Dick Mork, secretary treasurer of International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union Local 19, and Roger Yockey, secretary of United Food and Commercial Workers Local 1001—sent messages of support.

Lyle Mercer, a board member of the Washington state ACLU and vice-chair of the National Committee Against Repressive Legislation, told the rally about his first civil liberties fight as a student at the University of Washington. He was involved in the support committee for Jimmy Kutcher, a legless World War II veteran who was fired from his government job in the 1950s because of his membership in the SWP. Mercer warned of new attempts in the House of Representatives to revive the witchhunt committees.

Santiago Juarez, legal services director for El Centro de la Raza, focused his remarks on the Immigration and Naturalization Service. He told the crowd how the INS was used against Chicanos.

"The SWP has brought to reality the conspiracy between the INS and other police agencies," Juarez said. "This suit is one of the most important issues we can come together on, because it means our political survival."

Omari Tahir brought greetings from the Black United Front.

Also speaking at the rally were Andrew Pulley, the SWP's 1980 presidential candidate, who gave a firsthand report from the socialists' trial in New York; Lonnie Johns-Brown, representing the National Organization for Women; a speaker from Registration Aged People (RAP), a local antidraft group; and Bonnie Murdock of the Revolutionary Workers League of Canada.

Letters of support were read from the Grey Panthers, National Lawyers Guild, Citizens Party of King County, Freedom Socialist Party, and Crabshell Alliance.

The enthusiastic audience pledged nearly \$3,000 to the Political Rights Defense Fund.

## Gary: 'An injury to one ...'

By Carol Burke

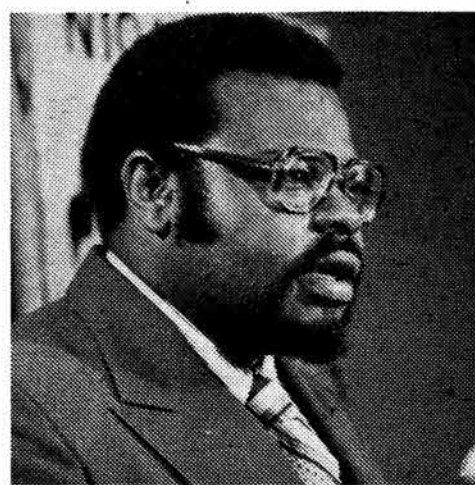
GARY, Ind.—A rally to defend political rights was attended by about forty-five people here June 6. This was the first event ever sponsored by the Political Rights Defense Fund in northwest Indiana. The rally was held in the Hospital Employees Union 1199 hall.

Speakers recounted their own experiences with government harassment and disruption, and echoed the labor movement slogan "An injury to one is an injury to all" in urging support for the socialists' suit.

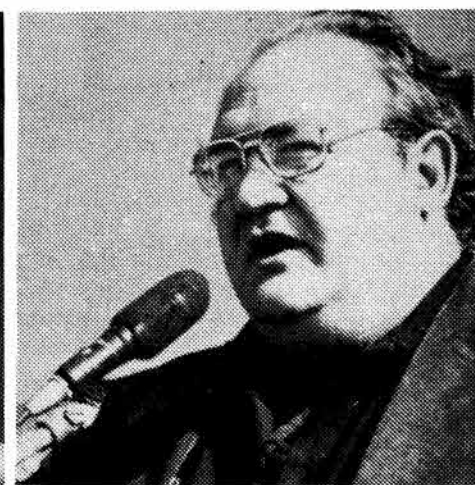
The program included Ed Whitlock, president of the Citizen's Action Coalition of Northwest Indiana and chair of the United Black Steelworkers Caucus; Ron Cohen, president of the Indiana Civil Liberties Union, Calumet Chapter; Jack Weinberg, community activist and co-chair of the Bailly Alliance, which opposes building the Bailly nuclear power plant; Arthur Wallace of the Gary Young Socialist Alliance; Mark Blesoff of the Committee to Defend the NASSCO Workers and the Communist Workers Party; and rally chair Brenda Brdar, a member of the SWP and the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Union.

Andrew Pulley, a leader of the SWP who was a key witness at the socialists' trial against the government, brought up-to-the-minute news on the case.

More than \$850 was collected in donations for PRDF. The rally received ad-



Militant Arnold Weissberg



Militant

SWP leaders Andrew Pulley, left, and Fred Halstead are among trial witnesses touring country on behalf of socialists' suit.

## D.C. evening for Bill of Rights

WASHINGTON, D.C.—"An evening for the Bill of Rights" reception and cocktail party was hosted at the Georgetown home of Ned and Paula Echeverria June 24 in support of the Socialist Workers Party lawsuit.

Sponsored by the Political Rights Defense Fund and civil libertarians James Farmer, Jerry Gordon, I.F. Stone and Dan Sheehan, the fund raising affair attracted more than eighty guests.

Among the prominent individuals in attendance were Hilda Mason, a Black member of the Washington, D.C., city council; Josephine Butler of

the Statehood Party and the Paul Robeson Friendship Society; and Bernard Denczuk, of the American Federation of Government Employees. Russell Carter, a local jazz saxophonist, provided music during the course of the evening.

Fred Halstead, a national leader of the SWP, and Maude Wilkinson, a former teacher and member of the Young Socialist Alliance—both witnesses in the socialists' case—gave short presentations on the significance of the trial for civil liberties.

More than \$650 was contributed to help pay court costs and other expenses for the lawsuit.

## Political Rights Defense Fund rallies planned

Supporters of the Political Rights Defense Fund are planning rallies across the country during June and July. Up-to-the-minute trial news on the Socialist Workers Party \$40 million lawsuit against the government will be a main attraction.

Victims of the government's political police—trade unionists, Black rights activists, participants in the women's movement, and others—will be featured speakers. For more information on the rally nearest you, call the numbers listed below.

|         |                                    |
|---------|------------------------------------|
| July 11 | Washington, D.C.<br>(202) 797-7699 |
| July 12 | Kansas City, Mo.<br>(816) 753-0404 |
| July 11 | Virginia, Minn.<br>(218) 749-6327  |
| July 11 | Boston<br>(617) 262-4621           |
| July 11 | Atlanta<br>(404) 872-7229          |



vance publicity from the Gary *Post-Tribune*, the *Crusader* newspaper, and two area radio stations.

## Twin Cities: UAW local sends support

By Dan Youngdahl

TWIN CITIES—One hundred people attended a banquet and rally for the Political Rights Defense Fund at the St. Paul Labor Centre on May 30.

The theme for the evening was "Stop Government Attacks on Civil Liberties and Democratic Rights." Participants pledged \$2,600 to PRDF. One \$25 donation was sent from United Auto

Workers Local 879. The local had passed a resolution in support of PRDF that was introduced by UAW International Representative Bob Killeen.

Rally speakers included unionists Rick Scott, American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees Political Action Director; George Mische, business agent of Operating Engineers Local 34 and a St. Cloud City Council member; Karen Clark, Minnesota State Democratic Farmer Labor representative; and Tiffany Patterson of the National Black Independent Political Party.

Greetings were read from the Twin Cities El Salvador Solidarity Committee, the Guatemala Solidarity Committee, and from Jessaline Scott, a founding member of the Farmer Labor Party and former Hennepin County commissioner.



By Janice Lynn

The June 28 bombing of the Tehran headquarters of the Islamic Republican Party (IRP), which resulted in the deaths of at least seventy-two top party leaders, is a serious attack on the Iranian revolution.

Among those killed in the powerful blast were IRP leader Ayatollah Mohammed Beheshti; Hojatoleslam Mohammed Montazeri, son of Tehran's main religious leader; four cabinet ministers; six deputy ministers; and twenty-seven elected members of parliament.

This action strengthens the hand of U.S. imperialism against the Iranian revolution. It facilitates Washington's campaign to disrupt Iran's war effort against Iraqi invaders, to demoralize and wear down the working masses, and to open the door to outright intervention by U.S.-supported counterrevolutionary forces.

That is the effect of this violent attack on the elected government of Iran, a government still supported by the vast majority of Iranian workers and peasants who brought it to power in the course of their powerful struggle against the shah and U.S. imperialist domination.

### Millions at funeral

The Iranian masses immediately responded to the attack on their revolution. More than 1 million people poured into the streets of Tehran June 30 to attend the funeral for the IRP leaders. They gathered in front of the parliament building and marched to the Behesht-e Zahra cemetery ten miles away. Tehran Radio announced that millions gathered at the cemetery.

The major chants throughout the march were "America is the enemy" and "Death to America."

As we go to press, no group has claimed responsibility for the bombing. Contradictory statements were issued by Iranian officials as to who they believed was to blame.

Initial government statements charged U.S. imperialism was behind the blast. Tehran Radio blamed "mercenaries connected to the United States." Pars News Agency said it was the work of "counterrevolutionaries."

### Haig's denials

U.S. Secretary of State Alexander Haig immediately held a news conference and strenuously denied any "American involvement in the recent tragic events in Iran." He hypocritically claimed it had always been and continues to be U.S. policy not to interfere in "troubled areas."

Instead, Haig charged that leftists in Iran or the Soviet Union committed the bombing.

The U.S. media have since played up reports that Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini has accused the Mujahedeen, a left group, of the killings. In a statement the day of the funeral, Khomeini blamed "blind people who claim they are strugglers for the people."

Two weeks earlier, after the government executed several of their members, the Mujahedeen declared it had taken up armed struggle against the Iranian regime. It vowed revenge for the deaths of its members.

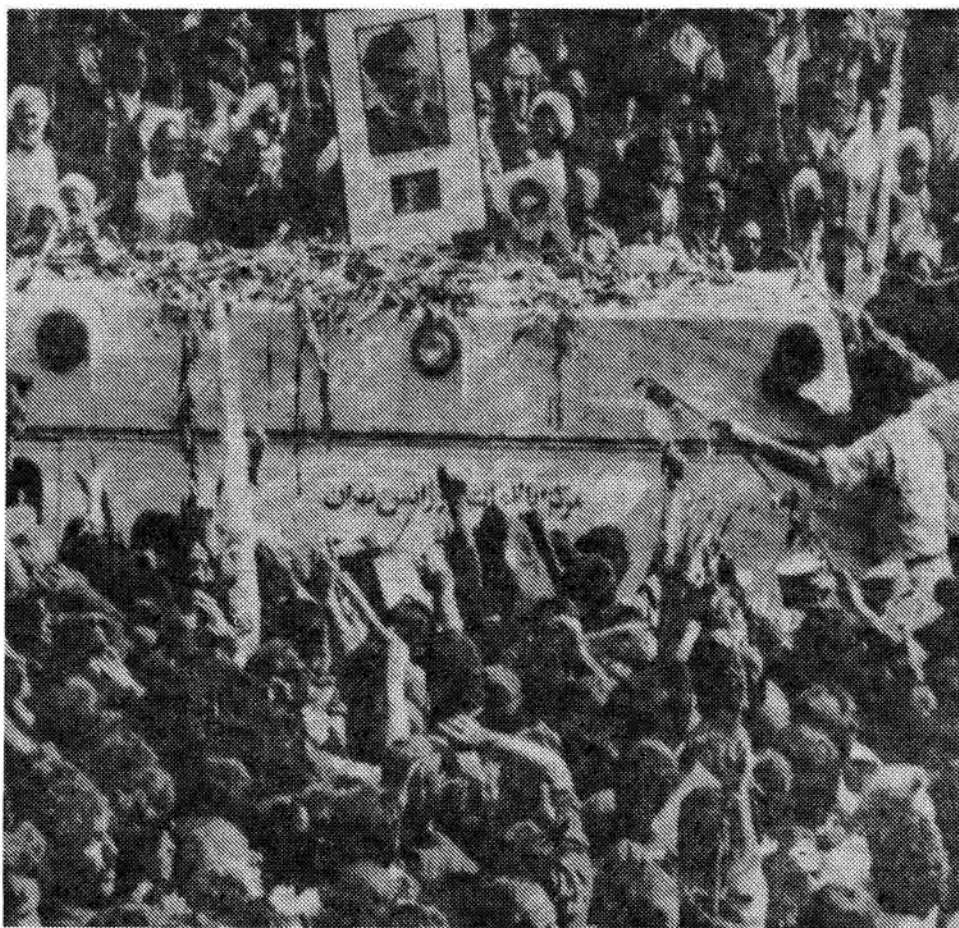
The U.S. media have reported no statements by the Mujahedeen since the killing of the IRP leaders. Nor any statements by recently-deposed Iranian President Bani-Sadr.

A statement was released by Shahpur Bakhtiar, the shah's former prime minister, who has been collaborating with U.S. imperialism and organizing counterrevolutionary forces from exile. Bakhtiar attacked the revolution at the same time he deplored the bombing, saying it "would never have taken place if a minimum of freedom existed in Iran."

His statement appeared after a report in the June 30 *Wall Street Journal* suggested that an underground military group called Negab, which is associated with Bakhtiar, might be responsible for the explosion. The *Journal* quoted one Iran "expert" as saying, "They are the most organized and the most willing to use such power."

Since the overthrow of the hated re-

# Bomb attack on Iran officials deals blow to revolution



Tehran funeral for slain officials June 30. Over one million marched, chanting slogans against U.S. imperialism.

gime of the shah in February 1979, the U.S. rulers have been intent on reversing the Iranian revolution and overturning the Iranian government. Washington sees the Iranian government as an obstacle to its plans in the Middle East and a deadly threat to the giant U.S. oil companies' control of the vast oil resources in this region.

The U.S. rulers also fear that the weak, capitalist government in Iran will not be able to prevent the deepening of the revolution and the independent organization of the Iranian workers and peasants.

At this stage of the revolution, the Iranian working class is not powerful enough to replace the capitalist government with a workers and peasants government. So it defends this government—and its own position and organization—against imperialist-inspired attacks such as the September 1980 Iraqi invasion.

Washington's record concerning "American involvement"—so strenuously denied by Haig—is clear.

It was the U.S. government, through the CIA, that in 1953 reinstalled the bloody monarch to the throne. Even as the shah's reign was falling, the Carter administration sent Gen. Robert Huyser to Tehran to try to block the revolution.

Then, in a carefully planned provocation, the ex-shah was brought to the U.S. in October of 1979. This led to the occupation of the U.S. embassy.

Washington imposed an economic blockade, froze Iranian assets, and tried to whip up an anti-Iranian propaganda campaign aimed at freeing its hands for U.S. military intervention in Iran.

Warships were sent to the Arabian Sea.

And on April 24, 1980, Carter launched his commando raid into Iran. After the raid was aborted, the U.S. gov-

ernment admitted it had infiltrated CIA agents into the country and had set up an elaborate network of communication with counterrevolutionary forces inside Iran.

Just three months later, on July 10, 1980, the Iranian government announced it had crushed a plot by former army officers loyal to the shah who were planning a military coup. This coup was aimed at reinstalling the shah's former prime minister, Bakhtiar.

Washington never disputed Iranian charges of CIA complicity in the coup attempt, which was to include bombings of "various sensitive targets" and diversionary bombings by Iraqi air force planes.

According to the July 14, 1980, *Christian Science Monitor*, the coup plans called for bombing the home of Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini as well as a "teacher's club where most of the deputies in Iran's new parliament are staying, thus wiping out in a stroke the majority of the members."

Then came the September 1980 invasion of Iran by the Iraqi regime—aimed primarily at reversing and defeating the Iranian revolution.

The June 28 bombing and killing of top leaders of the Iranian government fits into this pattern of hostile actions by U.S. imperialism against the Iranian revolution.

The well-organized and carefully executed bombing attack reduced to rubble the entire IRP headquarters during a special meeting of the IRP's executive committee.

The meeting was called to discuss, among other things, the choice of a candidate for the new presidential elections, following the June 22 ouster of Abolhassan Bani-Sadr from the presidency.

The conflict that led to Bani-Sadr's re-

moval was a faction fight between two wings of the capitalist government. None of the fundamental issues of concern to the masses of Iranian workers—the struggle against imperialist threats, the Iraqi invasion, or the economic and social problems—were debated or discussed in this power struggle.

Bani-Sadr's ouster was not comparable to the fall of the government headed by former Prime Minister Mehdi Bazargan in November 1979. That fall was based on the anti-imperialist mass mobilizations surrounding the occupation of the U.S. embassy (Spy Den). It was an expression of the masses' opposition to the complicity of capitalist politicians such as Bazargan with U.S. imperialism. And during this process, workers and peasants raised their own demands and the workers' independent organizations were strengthened. There was an expansion of democratic rights such as freedom of the press and assembly.

In contrast, Bani-Sadr's ouster, by a vote in the parliament, has been accompanied by repressive measures—the banning of newspapers, attacks on leftists, arrests, and executions.

In order to understand what is behind these latest events, it is necessary to step back and take a look at the origins of the dispute between the two wings of the Iranian capitalist government. And especially to look at the role of the working class in the whole dynamic of the Iranian revolution.

### Gains of Iranian workers

The overthrow of the shah's hated totalitarian regime in February 1979 came about through the struggles of the masses who mobilized in the millions in united action. In the course of the year-long mobilizations, the working class came forward as the backbone of the broad mass struggle.

Tremendous expectations were created among the workers, the urban poor, the peasant population, the oppressed nationalities, and women. These layers moved ahead to struggle for their demands.

Some very important gains were won. At the same time disappointment arose at the inability of the government to solve the problems in the country.

The most fundamental accomplishments of the revolution have not been reversed either by imperialism or by its counterrevolutionary representatives inside Iran and throughout the region.

First of all, the monarchy was abolished and an anti-imperialist government that refused to take orders from Washington was established. The Iranian people began to exert their democratic rights that had been completely denied under the shah. Although today many of these rights are under attack, for the most part they have not been reversed.

Factory workers organized their own committees (*shoras*) to fight for their interests. They exercised the right to strike and the right to engage in political activities—all of which had been forbidden under the shah. SAVAK (the shah's secret police) and some of the most hated managers were driven out of the plants.

The workers won some very tangible gains. Wages for most industrial workers were doubled and the work-week was reduced from forty-eight to forty hours per week.

In the countryside, peasants began organizing shoras as well and began dividing up the land of the big landowners and foreign corporations.

SAVAK was abolished and thousands of antishah political prisoners were released from jail.

The revolution also opened the possibility for the oppressed nationalities to organize and launch massive struggles to win their national rights. These struggles are continuing.

For the first time, millions of working-class and peasant women came out of the political isolation of the home to fight for the kinds of economic and social improvements that hold the key for ending women's oppression.

Behind these achievements lay the power and strength of the Iranian working class. There was a marked rise in



the level of political consciousness and revolutionary activity among Iran's workers. Their determination to be free of foreign domination and the increasing awareness of the need for working people to run the country, was repeatedly expressed in many of the massive demonstrations the workers participated in.

The mass mobilizations that surrounded the fourteen-month-long occupation of the U.S. embassy marked a deepening of the revolution, leading the working class to begin relying more and more on its own strength and organization.

Counterposed to this powerful working class stood the weak capitalist government trying to establish a stable capitalist state. But to accomplish this, it needs to curb independent action by the workers.

### Aim of U.S. imperialism

It is precisely because of what the working class has accomplished and the high level of mobilization that exists that imperialism remains intent on seeing the Iranian government overthrown.

This threat from imperialism remains the greatest danger to the revolution.

The capitalist government in Iran is caught between these two powerful forces—the mobilized masses on the one hand and U.S. imperialism on the other, seeking to reverse the revolution.

The Iranian government's defense of capitalism and its fear of the masses prevent it from applying the measures necessary to carry through the war to the end or solve the country's economic and social problems. This leads it to take measures to try to demobilize the masses and erode their rights.

Nevertheless, the working class is in a more favorable position to organize itself than under a regime that is an imperialist puppet.

### Iraqi invasion

Over the last nine months, the central concern of the Iranian workers and peasants has been with winning a decisive victory in the war against the Iraqi regime's imperialist-inspired aggression.

Independent initiatives began to be taken in the factories, in the neighborhoods, in the villages, among youth, and among women to mobilize to defeat the Iraqi invasion. Workers formed mobilization committees in the factories to organize volunteer militias to go to the front. There were demands for massive arming of the population. Military training programs were organized.

At the beginning, the working class was willing to make certain sacrifices for the war effort—working overtime, postponing wage demands, and accepting economic austerity measures.

But as the war dragged on, it had the effect of spotlighting the country's economic problems—especially the severe inflation and unemployment.

Shortages of goods became more acute. The housing crisis was intensified as refugees from the war zones streamed into the cities. The hoarding and sabotage of production by the capitalists became more obvious amid the war-ravaged economy.

Workers stepped up their demands for workers control over production and distribution in order to solve these problems and carry through the war effort. In the process the workers organizations came into greater and greater conflict with factory managers.

### Spreading discontent

Discontent became more widespread at the government's inability to solve these pressing economic problems as well as its inability to win any decisive victories in the war.

As the brunt of the crisis bore down harder on the working class, struggles around economic issues began to revive.

Work stoppages and numerous struggles took place, especially when the government tried to renege on the payment of the workers' New Year's bonuses at the end of March. In some factories victories were won and management was forced to pay the bonuses.

In response, the government tried to curb any expression of this discontent, firing many of the most militant workers in the factories and in some cases even putting them in jail. Protests were lodged by the workers against these illegal expulsions and jailings, and the government was forced to release many of the workers.

At the same time, the Iranian government's failure to carry out effective measures in the war was becoming clearer. There was no response to the workers' demands for massive arming of the population, no nationally organized mobilizations on the scale that was needed, no heavy artillery sent to the front, and no coordination of the various units fighting in the war.

The government's refusal to recognize the national rights of the oppressed Kurdish people and its repeated military attacks against Kurdistan was an obstacle to the kind of united mobilization necessary to win the war. It weakened the ability of the Kurdish nationality to participate fully in the fighting against the Iraqi regime.

At the war front, the top army officers—many of whom were the same as during the shah's regime—sabotaged the war effort, putting their hopes instead in various peace initiatives that were being proposed.

To win a victory in the war entails the massive arming and mobilization of the workers and peasants. Fear of the masses prevents the government from doing this.

To solve the country's economic and social problems entails taking decisive action against the Iranian capitalist and landlord class.

### Divisions within government

As the opposition and discontent with the government among the working class deepened, the divisions between the "liberal" wing of the government and the clergy-led Islamic Republican Party (IRP) wing came to a head. Fundamentally, these divisions are over how best to rebuild the capitalist state and contain the independent mobilization and organization of the workers and peasants.

But the power struggle was weakening the government even more in face of the widespread discontent and questioning.

It was in this context that the IRP stepped up its campaign against Bani-Sadr, reflecting the culmination of more than a year of governmental infighting.

On June 21, after ten hours of publicly broadcast debate, the Iranian parliament voted that Bani-Sadr was "politically incompetent." This paved the way for Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini to remove him from the presidency, as provided by the constitution. New elections are scheduled for July 24.

Socialists in Iran report that workers did not participate in any active or organized way in either pro-Bani-Sadr or anti-Bani-Sadr demonstrations, although most did not support Bani-Sadr's removal.

Bani-Sadr attempted to use the issue of democratic rights to rally people to his side and defend himself. But his record speaks for itself.

His appeal on the question of democratic rights in the eyes of the masses tended to be undermined by his opposition to the occupation of the Spy Den, by his calling for the dissolution of factory shoras a year ago, and his support to a number of repressive measures that were not in the interests of the working class—the government's offensive against the Kurdish people, the attacks on university students and leftists, and his opposition to independent mass mobilizations against imperialism by the various Islamic formations thrown up during the revolution.

### Bani-Sadr's role in the war

When Bani-Sadr was first elected nearly a year and a half ago, many workers and peasants had illusions that he would be able to solve some of their problems, especially since his candidacy had been supported by Khomeini. Leading up to the elections, he had come forth with a number of economic propos-

als. But the country's economic situation has worsened.

Following the Iraqi invasion, Bani-Sadr's support among the working class began to rise somewhat. Because he spent much of his time with the army officers at the front, in the eyes of many people he was identified with the crucial fight against the Iraqi invaders.

Many of the young Islamic militants in the factories and cities who had gone to fight at the front, however, experienced firsthand the traitorous role played by the army officers under Bani-Sadr's command—their refusal to engage in battle or coordinate actions with the Pasdaran, militia units from the factories, and youth brigades.

Bani-Sadr's main base of support came from the middle classes—the bazaar merchants, intellectuals, professionals, students, and layers who were becoming disillusioned with the revolution. This amalgam also included layers of the top army officers and bourgeoisie who supported Bani-Sadr's goal of reconstructing the shah's army and state. At the same time various leftist groups such as the Mujahedeen looked to Bani-Sadr.

The IRP meanwhile, tended to be more identified in the eyes of the masses with the anti-imperialist struggle. The Islamic religious ideology of the Iranian workers and peasants is the form through which their progressive social aspirations are expressed, especially their hatred for the years of imperialist oppression and exploitation by foreign oppressors.

Muslim mosques served as organizing centers for the mass movement against the shah and continue to play an important role in organizing mobilizations against imperialism and in the fight against the Iraqi invasion.

But workers also ran up against the IRP's opposition to many of their demands. The IRP-led government has tried to cut back the workers' wages, attacked their organizations, arrested some of the workers' leaders, and curtailed their democratic rights.

Of all the figures in the revolution,

Khomeini continues to have the most prestige and the greatest support from the Iranian people. This is largely because from the beginning Khomeini stood firm against any compromises with the shah and U.S. imperialism.

### Role of Khomeini

Khomeini has maintained his position of balancing between the different factions in the government, sometimes siding with Bani-Sadr against the IRP and other times with the IRP against Bani-Sadr. He reads the anti-imperialist sentiment of the masses, and he bends to it.

### Attacks on leftists

In the days prior to the ouster of Bani-Sadr numerous street clashes took place. These were primarily between leftist groups like the Mujahedeen, Fedayeen (minority), Peykar, and small Maoist groups on the one hand, and street gangs, referred to as "hezbollah" (meaning Party of God).

These well-organized gangs, who are mobilized to attack the leftists, are not from the factories, but from the unemployed city youth. These small groups of hoodlums, under cover of anti-imperialist slogans, are used and led by the capitalist forces to go after the left.

While these gangs have no base in the working class, the working class is still not organized enough to counter the actions of these gangs. Meanwhile, they are able to act with almost complete impunity with the government tolerating the service they perform in attacking the left.

According to reports from the Revolutionary Workers Party (HKE), the HKE headquarters in Tehran was attacked by a gang of "hezbollah." Socialists were beaten up, equipment broken, furniture destroyed, and books, pamphlets, and newspapers torn. Pasdaran who arrived on the scene arrested two of the gang leaders.

In Isfahan, a similar attack occurred. Three HKE members were stabbed and

*Continued on next page*



Revolutionary Workers Party office after attack by right-wing gang earlier in June. Socialists were beaten; literature and equipment destroyed.



# July 7 action to protest deportation of socialist



MOJGAN HARIRI-VIJEH: fighting for right to stay in United States. Baltimore Sun/George Cook

By Nelson González

Baltimore-Washington, D.C., area supporters of Mojgan Hariri-Vijeh's right to stay in the U.S. will protest the government's moves to deport her on July 7.

A picket line and news conference featuring Hariri-Vijeh and others will take place at noon at the Baltimore offices of the Immigration and Naturalization Service. Her deportation hearing is set for 1 p.m.

Recent INS moves underline the seriousness of the government's threat to throw Hariri-Vijeh out of the country because of her political beliefs.

On June 23 the INS denied her request to have her student visa reinstated.

A member of Hariri-Vijeh's family who is a naturalized citizen has filed an application for permanent resident status on her behalf. But under current procedures, both the INS and State Department would deny her a permanent resident visa because of her membership in the Young Socialist Alliance and Socialist Workers Party.

These policies have been challenged in the trial in federal court in New York of the SWP and YSA suit against government spying and disruption. Pending the outcome of the trial, Hariri-Vijeh's attorney Shelley Davis has requested that deportation proceedings be suspended.

New supporters of Hariri-Vijeh's fight to complete her education in the U.S. include Ruth Haynes, chairperson of the Coalition of Labor Union Women in Baltimore, and David Cortright, member of the national executive committee of the Committee Against Registration and the Draft.

At Morgan State, the nearly all-Black university where Hariri-Vijeh is a full-time student, Student Government Association president Alvin Alston is concerned about the outcome of her case. When Alston called the INS June 29 to register his support, he was confronted by an annoyed INS official who complained about being inundated by "an avalanche" of telegrams, letters, and petitions supporting Hariri-Vijeh. The official suggested that Alston and other Morgan State students would be better off studying than concerning themselves with this case. Besides, he said, her deportation hearing will take place in a small room with space for attorneys only.

Morgan students will be among those picketing on July 7, backing Hariri-Vijeh's fight and demanding that the proceedings be moved to a larger hearing room so they can observe American justice in action.

For information on how you can help, contact: Political Rights Defense Fund, 2913 Greenmount Avenue, Baltimore, Maryland 21218, or call (301) 235-0013.

## 'Baltimore Sun' tells Iranian student's story

The following article by Richard Bryant appeared in the June 8 issue of the Baltimore 'Evening Sun.'

A 19-year-old Iranian student at Morgan State University claims she faces possible deportation because of her political activism.

An immigration service spokesman, however, said that is not the case.

Mojgan Hariri-Vijeh, a member of the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance, said the Immigration and Naturalization Service plans to deport her because of her opposition to United States policies on Iran and El Salvador and her "organization" of others who share her beliefs.

An immigration spokesman explained that Ms. Hariri-Vijeh's depor-

tation hearing, scheduled here tomorrow, stems from the expiration of her visa and has nothing to do with her political activity.

Immigration agents visited her February 18, Ms. Hariri-Vijeh said, or about two weeks after she officially joined the SWP and YSA. Until then, she said, she had not heard from immigration "since November 8, [1978]," when her student visa expired.

Ms. Hariri-Vijeh, a sophomore at Morgan, said she believes the immigration service visit so soon after her official SWP-YSA membership and a document she said the immigration service submitted for a suit against the government by the SWP are proof her deportation hearing is politically motivated.

The document states that the immigration service "has begun a review of

the Socialist Workers Party to determine whether its members or affiliates are excludable or deportable," she said.

But the immigration spokesman said, "As far as I am aware we had no knowledge of political activity, if there is any." He said he did not know if the immigration office had contacted or tried to contact Ms. Hariri-Vijeh between the time her visa expired and the time she joined SWP and YSA.

In 1977, within the first month of her residence in the United States in Los Angeles, Ms. Hariri-Vijeh said she sent her 30-day visitor's visa to the immigration service requesting her visa status be changed to student. She said she received her student visa a year later, in January 1979, three months after it expired.

She said she did not return the visa

for an extension because "it was a matter of taking a risk with them [immigration service]. They would have said 'Send it to us and we'll send it back.' What if they sent it back [another] year later?"

She also did not report to the immigration service in 1979, disobeying the Carter administration's order that all Iranian student visas be scrutinized.

Ms. Hariri-Vijeh said the American response to the Iranian crisis was the reason she did not report to the Carter administration's "round-up."

"The whole situation was terrifying," said Ms. Hariri-Vijeh.

She said she heard of incidents involving Iranians in the United States that made her fear for her safety.

Ms. Hariri-Vijeh said she is not sure of how the immigration service will handle the case.

## ...Iranian revolution under attack

Continued from preceding page

one—Naser Farzan—was hospitalized with a punctured lung.

### Mujahedeen declaration

The primary target of these street gangs has so far been left-wing groups like the Mujahedeen who view the revolution as having been defeated and who believe that an autocracy or "clerical dictatorship" has been formed that must be overthrown.

The Mujahedeen and groups with similar views have little or no confidence in the Iranian working class and instead join forces with the "secular-liberal" bourgeoisie and the petty-bourgeois forces around Bani-Sadr. They support this liberal wing of the bourgeois government as a lesser evil to the IRP wing of the government.

On June 18, the Mujahedeen announced it was "launching war" against the Islamic Republic and called on the Iranian people to "resist with all the means at our disposal."

This declaration of armed struggle against the government and the revolution is a suicidal course which completely leaves out any perspective of organizing the working class around its concerns.

At a time when the country is beating back an Iraqi invasion, this declaration of war gives a handle to the government and to counterrevolutionary forces to step up its repression against any opposition. And it plays right into the hands of imperialism and its counterrevolutionary agents who are intent on overthrowing the revolution.

### Executions of leftists

On June 20, at least 50,000 members and supporters of the Mujahedeen had attempted to hold an armed demonstration in Tehran and in several other cities across Iran. Severe fighting broke out between Pasdaran and armed youth from the poor neighborhoods and the Mujahedeen demonstrators. There were some thirty deaths on both sides, more than 200 wounded, and hundreds of arrests.

Since then there have been dozens of executions carried out by the government against leftists belonging to the Mujahedeen, Fedayeen (minority), Peykar, and several small Maoist groups. These executions are an attempt to weaken and demoralize the entire working class and to intimidate anyone from speaking out.

Among those executed was the well-

known poet and playwright Saeed Soltanpour. Before the revolution, Soltanpour had been active in the struggle against the shah, having been imprisoned several times in the shah's jails during the 1970s. Soltanpour had recently signed an open letter protesting repression in Iran.

At least twenty-five young men and women who participated in the Mujahedeen's June 20 demonstration in Tehran have been executed. In Urmia, capital of the mainly Kurdish province of West Azerbaijan, eight Kurds were put to death on June 26.

Also included in the executions have been several former SAVAK collaborators, including the head of a SAVAK antiterrorist team.

On June 25, a dangerous editorial appeared in the IRP newspaper *Jomhuri-e-Eslami* condemning leftist groups it claimed were calling for armed struggle against the government. The editorial falsely accused Trotskyist groups of this, as well as of collaborating with imperialism. It specifically singled out Babak Zahraie, leader of the Revolutionary Workers Party (HKE).

The Trotskyist organizations in Iran, affiliated with the Fourth International, are answering these slanderous

charges, recalling how these types of fabrications were proven to be nothing but lies when fourteen socialists were arrested and imprisoned for many months during 1979 and 1980.

In this type of atmosphere, groups are not free to distribute their newspapers or leaflets. Armed skirmishes continue to take place near Tehran University, although not in the working class neighborhoods.

### Road forward

Neither the government nor Washington has been able to crush the powerful working class, nor hold in check the anti-imperialist aspirations and struggles among other layers of the Iranian masses. While the bombing attack on the IRP headquarters is a serious blow to the revolution, imperialism has not been able to reverse this revolution and reimpose another regime that is directly under its control.

The working class, whose expectations are still high, will continue to build and strengthen its own organizations in order to press forward for its demands.

This is the key to solving the problems facing the Iranian workers and peasants.



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# international **socialist** review

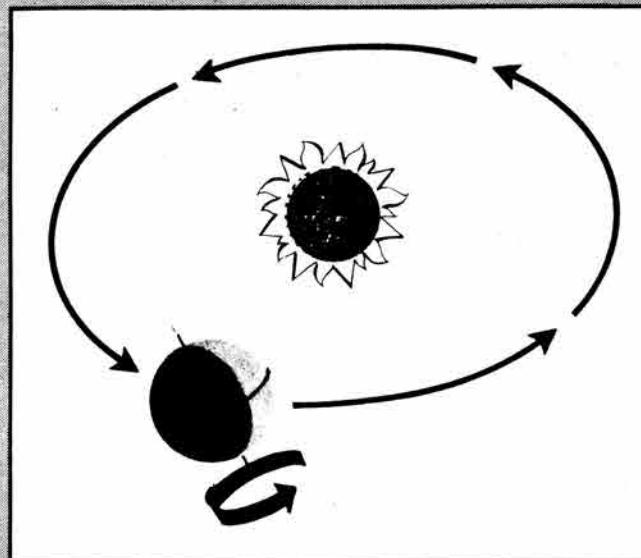
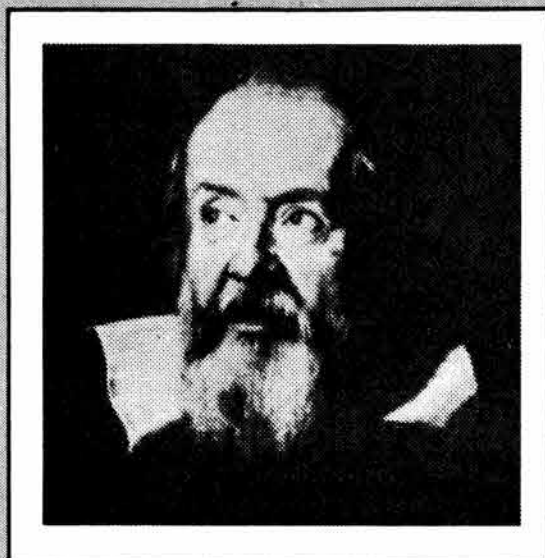
## Workers' Democracy In Cuba

By Peter Moore



## Galileo On Trial Again

By Sue Hagen



## Two views on the Middle East



# THE MONTH IN REVIEW

## Draft decision Aids War Drive

On June 25, the Supreme Court ruled, 6-to-3, that draft registration and the draft are constitutional, and that Congress may exclude women from both.

This decision is another step by the Reagan administration down the road toward war.

The majority of the court's decision explains first that, "The purpose of this registration is to facilitate any eventual conscription." In case you thought they were just talking about registration.

The judges then go on to endorse the constitutionality of the draft, a question that had been left hanging by another court decision last year. "Congress' decision to authorize the registration of only men, therefore, does not violate the Due Protection Clause [of the Constitution]."

Nor do the minority opinions challenge the right of Congress and the president to send young men overseas to fight and die. They just want women to accompany them.

The big business-owned media are trying to portray the decision as a question of women's rights.

That's a lie. The draft is not a right—for men or women—but a violation of rights.

But the decision is being used to legitimize discrimination against women. It provided the basis for a court ruling the next day saying that divorced spouses of military personnel are not entitled to a share of the military pension. This hits thousands of women hard.

Carter's proposal to include women in draft registration was part of an effort to get the American people to accept the first move toward reviving the draft.

The government has been trying to shift the focus of the debate about the draft from whether there should be *any* draft at all to *who should be drafted*.

This helps foster the idea that the draft is inevitable, so we just have to figure out who will go.

Last year's ruling that the draft was unconstitutional because it excluded women had put a legal question mark over the whole registration procedure. This encouraged many draft-age men not to register by lessening the fear of fines and prison terms.

The latest court decision has now removed the legal obstacle to prosecuting resisters.

Paul Brink, a spokesman for the American Friends Service Committee, said the decision "frees the hand of government to prosecute about 250,000 young men who lately failed or refused to register. Selective Service officials have told us that as soon as the court's decision was made today, these names would be turned over to prosecutors."

The June 26 issue of the *Wall Street Journal* claimed 500,000 eligible young men haven't registered.

They pointed out, "The most direct effect of the ruling is to remove any cloud from the law requiring men born during or after 1960 to sign up after they reach 18 years of age."

"Our comment," said Selective Service spokesman Brayton Harris, "is that, if you're a male about to turn 18, don't forget to register within thirty days of your birthday."

The *Journal* also reported that on June 19, "the Selective Service began sending letters to a handful of those [who failed to register], telling them they are in violation of the law."

This ruling is only the latest step in the drive to militarize American society and move toward war.

This process, begun in earnest under Carter, has accelerated under Reagan.

- Congress is massively increasing the Penta-



gon's budget and giving the go-ahead to a new escalation of the arms race, with ever more devastating nuclear arms as top priority.

- Bills that would renew the draft itself have been introduced into both the House and the Senate. At the same time, the Selective Service is preparing training sessions for 10,000 people who have been recruited to serve on local draft boards.

- Washington has sent more than fifty military advisers and stepped up arms shipments to the murderous junta in El Salvador.

- Washington demonstratively resumed aid to the dictatorship in Guatemala two days after 100,000 people marched in Washington protesting U.S. intervention in El Salvador.

- The Reagan crew has stepped up the pressure against revolutionary governments in Cuba, Nicaragua, and Grenada.

- General Haig's trip to Asia this month, with his announcement that Washington would open up arms sales to Peking, was aimed at Vietnam. State Department officials announced plans to increase military as well as economic pressure on Vietnam.

- The military build-up in the Persian Gulf is continuing, aimed first of all at the Iranian revolution.

- Washington's economic, military, and political support to the Israeli government allows it to carry out adventures like the bombing of the Iraqi nuclear reactor. And Washington is going ahead with plans to send Israel six more jets.

- Reagan is increasingly open in his support to racist South Africa against the peoples of Namibia and the rest of southern Africa.

Why is Reagan so hell bent on beefing up the military and moving, step by step, toward a new war?

Why is he defying the massive opposition to war among the American people?

The answer is: *he has to*.

The tiny, very rich group of people who run this country *must* go to war if their system is to survive and they are to prosper. Reagan is devoted to their interests.

It's that simple.

And it's that horrifying.

If you're looking at the world through the glasses of a Rockefeller, Morgan, Dupont, or other big capitalist, you'd see things don't look too good in their vast empire.

From Iran to El Salvador, from Namibia to Vietnam, the oppressed and exploited are standing up and saying, "Enough!" Workers and peasants the world over are getting mighty sick of Uncle Sam.

The corporate giants that run the United States, Western Europe, and Japan are responsible for the continuing underdevelopment of the majority of the world's nations.

And with the international economic crisis we're in the midst of, the oppressed and exploited are footing the bill with unbelievable want and suffering.

Unable to provide even the hope of a better life for the people of Asia, Africa, and Latin America, Washington looks to war preparations as the only way to stem the tide of rebellions and revolutions.

It's the United States government that props up brutal military dictators in so many of these countries.

The shah of Iran, Sir Eric Gairy of Grenada, Anastasio Somoza of Nicaragua—all were typical of the murderers backed by Washington to keep a lid on things.

All three, however, have one other thing in common.

They all got kicked out of power by popular revolutions.

The kind of revolution that is unfolding in El Salvador today.

Given the weakness of puppets like these, Washington must be able to employ its own troops directly to protect oil and other corporate interests.

They must prepare new and vastly more murderous Vietnams.

Washington goes so far as to use the threat of nuclear war and nuclear confrontation in an effort to impose its will on the toilers of the world. These madmen stand ready to destroy the world to preserve their ill-gotten riches.

Reagan is also accelerating the campaign, initiated under Carter, to pressure U.S. allies to shoulder a greater share of the military defense of imperialist interests around the world.

But these governments have the same basic problem Washington does—working people are not interested in another Vietnam.

Reagan will meet deepening resistance from American working people as he presses the drive toward war.

Polls show that U.S. military intervention in El Salvador is not all popular.

Just the presence of several dozen advisers—evoking memories of how the U.S. got involved in Vietnam—brought 100,000 people pouring into Washington, D.C., to protest on May 3.

In the past several months, there have been protest activities across the country involving unions, church groups, students, Blacks, Latinos, and anti-draft and women's rights organizations.

Draft registration didn't go over well either. Particularly among draft-age youth.

This drive toward war is at the center of American politics.

It is a motor force in the offensive being waged by big business and the government against working people in this country.

The billions poured into the military budget are being taken out of our hides with massive cuts in social services, skyrocketing inflation, more taxes, and fewer jobs.

All in the name of national security.

The war drive impels the government to crack down harder on democratic rights. The rulers need to intimidate those they can't convince to go along with the blows being dealt to working people.

That's why the rulers are blocking passage of the ERA.

That's why the U.S. Supreme Court ruled recently that the government can revoke anyone's passport in the interests of "national security and U.S. foreign policy."

That's why the Reagan administration, with strong congressional backing, is moving to strengthen the FBI and CIA.

That's why the government tries to slander the antinuclear movement and the opponents of U.S. intervention in Central America as terrorists and subversives.

War, austerity, and attacks on democratic rights go hand in hand.

Reagan has made it clear it's guns, not butter. Guns, not civil liberties. Guns, not equal rights.

And he intends to push as far in that direction as he can.

That's why the question of the drive toward war is the central question right now facing union members, Blacks, Latinos, women, farmers, students, and youth.

We must mobilize the antiwar sentiment into a mighty national movement if we are to stay Washington's hand.

Preparation for war is at the top of Reagan's agenda.

Opposing the war drive must be at the top of ours.

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# Workers' Democracy In Cuba



## Reviewed by Peter Moore

Cuba: Dictatorship or Democracy? By Marta Harnecker. Westport, Connecticut. Lawrence Hill. 239 pp. \$8.95.

Every year the company I work for—Avondale Shipyards—fires hundreds of workers for the most trivial reasons. People have been fired for arriving back from lunch a minute late, chatting with another worker for half a minute, getting a drink of water ten minutes before lunch, and other ridiculously minor offenses. In one such case, someone was fired for leaving for lunch *one second* before the whistle.

Avondale treats us like this so we'll be too scared to fight back against the rotten, unsafe, and non-union conditions we work under. Workers involved in union organizing efforts are special targets for this unfair treatment.

### Different in Cuba

Avondale is only an extreme example of the problems all working people face in the United States.

This country goes through the motions of being democratic, but we have no real voice in the institutions that affect our daily lives.

Things are different in Cuba. Cuba is a country run by working people.

There are no wealthy businessmen who answer to no one for their actions. The administrators of every institution are responsible to democratically-elected representatives of the people. Working people have a great deal of direct input into the institutions that affect them, especially in the workplace.

The best source of information about democracy in Cuba is a book by Marta Harnecker, *Cuba: Dictatorship or Democracy?* Harnecker is a Chilean journalist who has lived in exile in Cuba since the fall of Allende in 1973.

One of the things I like best about this book is that it doesn't just describe the way things are supposed to work on paper. Most of the book consists of interviews with working people and tape recordings of meetings where working people discussed and decided matters that affect their lives.

(Another useful source of information is the article, "After 20 Years of Revolution: An Eyewitness Account," by José Pérez, contained in the collection *Revolutionary Cuba Today: the Record of a Discussion*, published by the Socialist Workers Party.

Not surprisingly, the mass media in the United States aren't too eager for us to know that there are countries in the world where working people have a decisive voice in running society. To hear them tell it, Cuba has a repressive, totalitarian police regime like the Soviet Union and China.

### Media Lies

This is a lie.

The Castro government came to power through a popular revolution in which the great majority of workers and small farmers participated. Since then there has been abundant evidence of the continuing popularity of the Castro government.

Whenever the government has come under attack, as during the U.S.-organized Bay of Pigs invasion by right-wing exiles in 1961 or the October 1962 U.S. naval blockade, it has been able to count on the active support of millions.

On May 17, 1980, at a time of rising U.S. threats and propaganda against Cuba, five million people

**'Can we possibly create a more effective method of control than the people themselves?'**

**Fidel Castro**

—half the population—marched in support of the revolution.

A poll published in the U.S. press in the early years of the revolution showed that 86 percent of the Cuban people supported the revolution and the government.

Even the U.S. media have often grudgingly admitted Castro's popularity. "The prospects of fomenting a successful uprising against Castro are rated extremely low by most observers. The Cuban leader himself remains popular," declared the April 6 U.S. *News and World Report*.

### Elected Government

In the second place, Cuba has an elected government.

Local government is in the hands of municipal assemblies of People's Power, which consist of delegates from each neighborhood elected by secret ballot. A local delegate represents anywhere from 100 to 3,000 voters. At least two candidates are nominated by majority vote at a neighborhood meeting before the election.

The municipal assemblies elect delegates to the provincial assemblies and the National Assembly.

The National Assembly passes laws and elects the executive and judicial wings of the national government: the Council of State and its president (currently Fidel Castro), the Council of Ministers, the Supreme Court, and the attorney general and assistant attorney generals.

Thus, as in many countries in Western Europe, the head of government in Cuba is not directly elected. Castro has been elected to the National Assembly of People's Power, however.

### Not Repressive

There are many countries in the world that have elections which are meaningless because anyone who publicly opposes the government is thrown in jail.

But not Cuba. Up until 1979, it is true, there were several thousand opponents of the regime who were in prison.

But in 1978 an investigation by an Amnesty International team, which visited Cuba's prisons, found that all of these prisoners were in jail for violent acts—planting bombs in movie theaters, assassination plots, and the like.

(Amnesty International is a widely respected civil liberties organization that has sharply criticized what it considers to be violations of human rights in both capitalist and noncapitalist countries.)

Soon after, the government freed more than 3,000 prisoners, cutting the ground out from under Washington's propaganda on this issue.

The small minority of Cubans who oppose the revolution often show no hesitation about speaking their minds to visitors or other Cubans. There is no atmosphere of intimidation in Cuba.

### More Democratic

Far from being a police state, *Cuba today is living proof that it's possible to abolish capitalism without sacrificing basic democratic rights.*

Cuba shows how the overthrow of big business can make possible a tremendous expansion of democracy.

The United States goes through the formalities of elections, but in reality the government is controlled by a rich minority. There's no real choice in elections because the Democrats and Republicans are both run by big business. Anyone who represents working people in the elections is handicapped by lack of funds, discriminatory treatment by the mass media, and unfair election laws.

Workers have little or no say over such basic questions as whether they have a job or not, or health and safety on the job, or how many and what kind of goods will be produced.

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They have little power to decide what kind of public services will be provided—they often feel helpless as public transportation, schools, and hospitals decay so that interest payments can be made to banks.

In Cuba there are no rich companies to undermine the democratic process. Industry and much of agriculture is publicly owned. Power is vested in representative institutions. The population participates directly on a day-to-day basis in guiding their communities and the economy.

No one has to be rich to run for office in Cuba. There are no multi-million-dollar election campaigns. Candidates for municipal assemblies are required to come from the neighborhood they seek to represent. In such elections, the candidates are usually already well known to the voters.

The Cubans have taken additional steps to prevent the sort of abuse that takes place in the United States.

In the U.S., elected officials are paid at a scale that makes it possible to live much more like the rich than like working people. The president makes \$300,000 a year. Senators and members of Congress make upward of \$60,000. And this leaves out all the *legal* extras they get—not to mention the illegal ones.

### Cuba's Recall Vote

But in Cuba, government officials receive salaries that, at most, aren't much higher than those of skilled workers.

Most assembly delegates continue to work at regular jobs and fulfill their political responsibilities after hours. If necessary, they take a leave of absence from their job to do assembly work, but continue to be paid their usual salary.

In Cuba, elected officials can be removed from office by majority vote of those who elected them. A recall vote for a local delegate is scheduled if 20 percent of the voters in a neighborhood sign a petition for one. These recall procedures were used seventy-seven times in the first two years the system of People's Power was in effect.

Harnecker describes an instance in which a delegate was recalled for covering up for a local grocer who was short-weighting and otherwise cheating customers.

Of course, in the United States, politicians are able to forge much more elaborate and corrupt ties with big business. But in Cuba, the recall power helps hold corruption in check.

These measures go a long way toward weeding out self-serving politicians of the U.S. variety, who are more interested in lining their pockets than anything else.

### Workers in Office

The social background of the people elected in Cuba is also highly revealing. In the 1976 elections, 39 percent of the local delegates elected were workers, small farmers, and service workers. Most of the rest were technicians, government employees, managers, and full-time activists of the party and mass organizations, many of whom had working-class backgrounds. Some 31 percent were under thirty years of age, 70 percent were under forty-one, and only 5 percent had college degrees.

The voting age in Cuba is sixteen. Cubans sixteen or over are eligible for election to the local assemblies. Eligibility for election to the National Assembly begins at eighteen.

This is a far cry from elections in the United States where almost all politicians are lawyers and businessmen.

Cuban elections are also notable for high voter turnout. In the 1976 elections more than 5 million people participated, 95 percent of the registered voters.

Harnecker describes the excitement the election generated. Working people were convinced that they were taking a step that would make a difference in their lives.

This is in sharp contrast with the United States, where nearly half the eligible voters stay home. When there's no real choice, what's the point?

### Direct Democracy

The most impressive thing about Cuban democracy is the opportunities working people have to participate directly in the decision-making process. Democracy in Cuba involves a lot more than pulling a lever every few years.

In the United States you only hear from politicians just before elections—the rest of the time you can forget it.

In Cuba, local delegates are required to report back to the voters in neighborhood meetings every three or four months. The voters then have an opportunity to discuss what the delegate has done for

the neighborhood and what else needs to be done, as well as other local and national issues. If they are dissatisfied with the delegate's performance they can vote then and there to schedule a recall vote by secret ballot.

Since all local services (stores, restaurants, schools, health care, child care, housing, transportation, and others) are under the direct control of the municipal assembly—which the delegate is part of—these "accountability sessions" are an important opportunity for Cuban working people to have an effective voice in decisions that affect their daily lives.

What's more, the local delegates are required to have regular weekly hours when they are available to meet with any voter and discuss whatever grievance, proposal, or suggestion they care to bring up. In practice, quite a few delegates are available for such discussions almost any time they're not at work.

### Delegates' Tasks

Some of the tasks of the delegates were cited in 1974 by Raúl Castro, one of the top leaders of the

miss officials who refuse to give adequate explanations of their actions or fail to satisfactorily resolve problems. Harnecker cites many instances of this.

### The CDR

These bodies are closely linked to the biggest of the mass organizations in Cuba, the Committees for the Defense of the Revolution (CDR). The great majority of the population belongs to these block-by-block committees, which were initially started in 1961 to guard against U.S.-backed counterrevolutionary efforts.

Today, the CDR still plays an important part in defending the country. But its tasks have broadened out enormously.

The president of each CDR is elected.

As Harnecker writes:

"The four million *cederistas* not only participate but act upon, analyze, and explain in all their complexity problems existing in each neighborhood. And it is from the elderly woman, the common worker, or the young man that the solutions most often come.



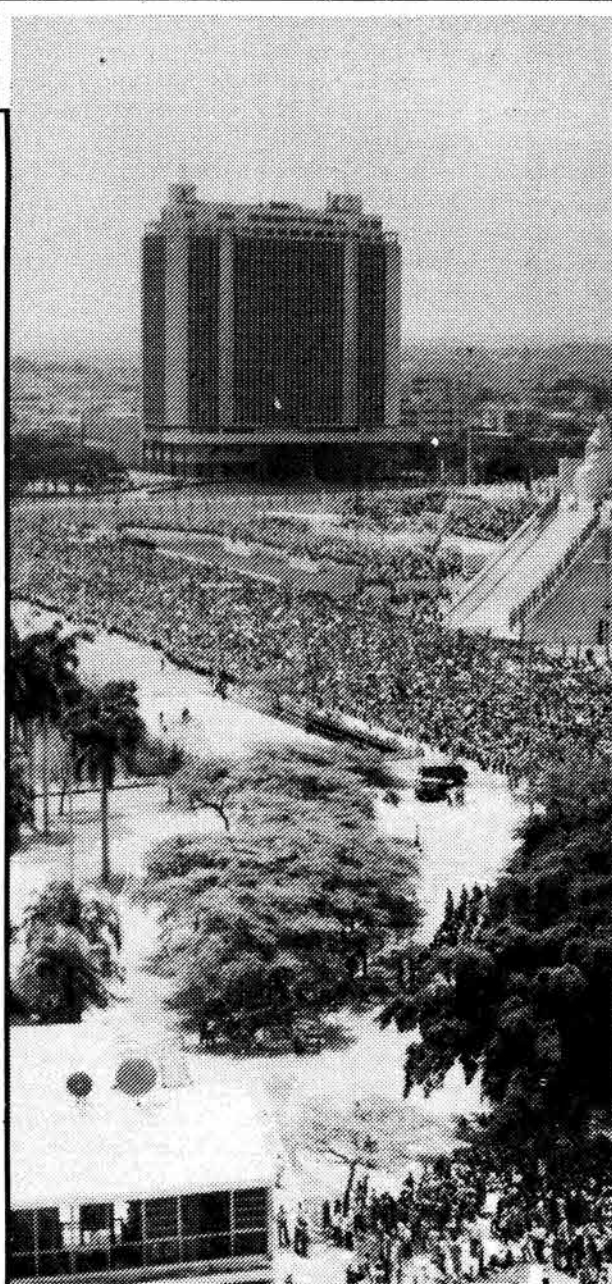
government at a time when the first elections of Assemblies of People's Power were being prepared. The delegates have to do a lot more than make speeches.

"The delegates must learn all the reasons that compel the adoption of a measure taken by the state organs, whether municipal, regional, or provincial People's Power agencies, or the central agencies of the state. If a price goes up, the reasons behind it must be explained; if a distribution quota is modified, the reason must be made clear to the masses; if a product takes longer than expected to reach the people, the causes [for the delay] must be explained; if the schedule on which a particular service is rendered is changed, the people must know the reasons; and in each and every case the explanation must be convincing.

"The delegates must never be bearers to the masses of absurd explanations of convoluted reasonings designed to extricate them from a tight spot; such things convince no one. The delegates must demand on the floor of the assemblies they belong to, and of the corresponding executive committees, all the explanations they need so they can satisfactorily convey these to the masses.

"On the other hand, the delegates must collect all the complaints and suggestions transmitted by their constituents and represent these before the respective assemblies. Any complaint, suggestion, or opinion raised or supported by the majority of the voters must be transmitted by the delegate to the People's Power agencies, even when the delegate happens to disagree with the people. The delegate is not representing himself, but a mass of voters who have selected him, it is their problems and opinions that he must represent and not his personal problems and criteria."

Today, People's Power assemblies can and do investigate any government agency that is under their direction. They can reorganize it, and dis-



Top, left: Although housing remains one of the severe sought to eliminate slums and ensure decent living conditions of institutionalized discrimination against Black march for production and defense in Havana, May 1,



"Every so often an entire neighborhood becomes convulsed with noisy meetings, carried out, as a rule, in the streets. There the performance of various community services is evaluated. These meetings are one of the most important activities the organized Cuban people engage in today. They are part of the new consumption and services section. Convened by the leaders of the respective neighborhoods, they are attended by the residents as well as by those responsible for each of the commercial units in the area.

"Anything can be discussed. Cubans on such occasions display no inhibitions about pushing their complaints. But that is not all. They also show their ingenuity by offering solutions and participating in their implementation."

The assemblies and CDRs enable the Cuban people to exercise a degree of control over the day-to-day life of their communities that is not equaled anywhere in the world.

#### Lawmakers

Working people in Cuba also participate directly in making laws.

Before major legislation is given final approval, every Cuban citizen has an opportunity to discuss it in a workplace or neighborhood meeting. These meetings can vote on proposed amendments.

"When the bill finally returns to the commission charged with drafting it," writes Harnecker, "it has been enormously enriched with proposals and additions. Each sector of the people has legislated according to its specific interests."

The final draft of the Cuban constitution—including a number of amendments proposed in this manner—was adopted in a referendum in 1975 after being discussed and debated in local meetings attended by a total of six million people.

In the United States, the people have no comparable way to influence legislation. Imagine what would happen if these procedures were followed with Reagan's budget cuts! Or the moves to revive the draft!

In this country, the legislators don't hesitate to fly in the face of public opinion to adopt reactionary measures. They are imposing one restriction after another on abortion rights, even though substantial majorities favor women's right to choose.

the workers deeply in running the factories:

"Under capitalism, a management that did not depend on the workers could still function as a managerial force, because capitalism utilizes the simple and cruel device of dismissing those who failed to toe the bourgeois line. . . . But under socialism a management that does not rely on the masses, which does not seek the people's participation, fails."

Like other big decisions, the economic plan in Cuba is widely discussed. By the time it is given final approval by the National Assembly of People's Power, many revisions have been introduced in factory meetings, neighborhood gatherings, and in the municipal and provincial assemblies.

Of course, nothing like that occurs in the United States, where the big economic decisions are made by private capitalists, small groups of monopolists, government agencies and politicians controlled by big business, and by the blind laws of the capitalist market.

#### Mass Organizations

Unlike the United States, the Cuban government encourages membership in unions and other similar organizations: the Federation of Cuban Women, the National Association of Small Farmers, the Federation of University Students, and the Federation of High School Students.

All of these organizations have democratically elected leaders. All of them have significant input into government policy.

The Federation of Cuban Women, for example, played an important role in drafting the Family Code, the law mandating equality for women and regulating marriage and related matters.

The Federation of Cuban Women discribes its basic task as "the full integration of Cuban women into Cuban society on the basis of full equality, not only in the laws and in theory, but also in practice." For that reason, "we will have to exist until discrimination and all its vestiges have been totally eliminated."

#### Cuban Communist Party

In the United States, government is monopolized by two big parties. While they compete with each other for our votes, they act like one party when it comes to providing bonanzas for big business and attacking the interests of working people.

In Cuba there is only one political party—the Communist Party. But unlike the Republicans and Democrats here, this party is based on the workers and small farmers and promotes their interests. They make up a steadily increasing percentage of its members—47 percent as of December 1980. Today there is a campaign to get more industrial workers, women, and youth into leading positions.

Unlike in the United States, it is very easy for people who aren't sponsored by any political party to get elected. In the first elections to People's Power in 1976, for instance, one-fourth of the elected local delegates did not belong to the Communist Party or its youth wing.

The method by which party members are selected also helps assure that the party genuinely reflects the aspirations of working people. Although the party itself has final say over who becomes a member, prospective party members must be nominated by a majority vote of their co-workers.

The single-party setup in Cuba arises out of the historical circumstances of the revolution.

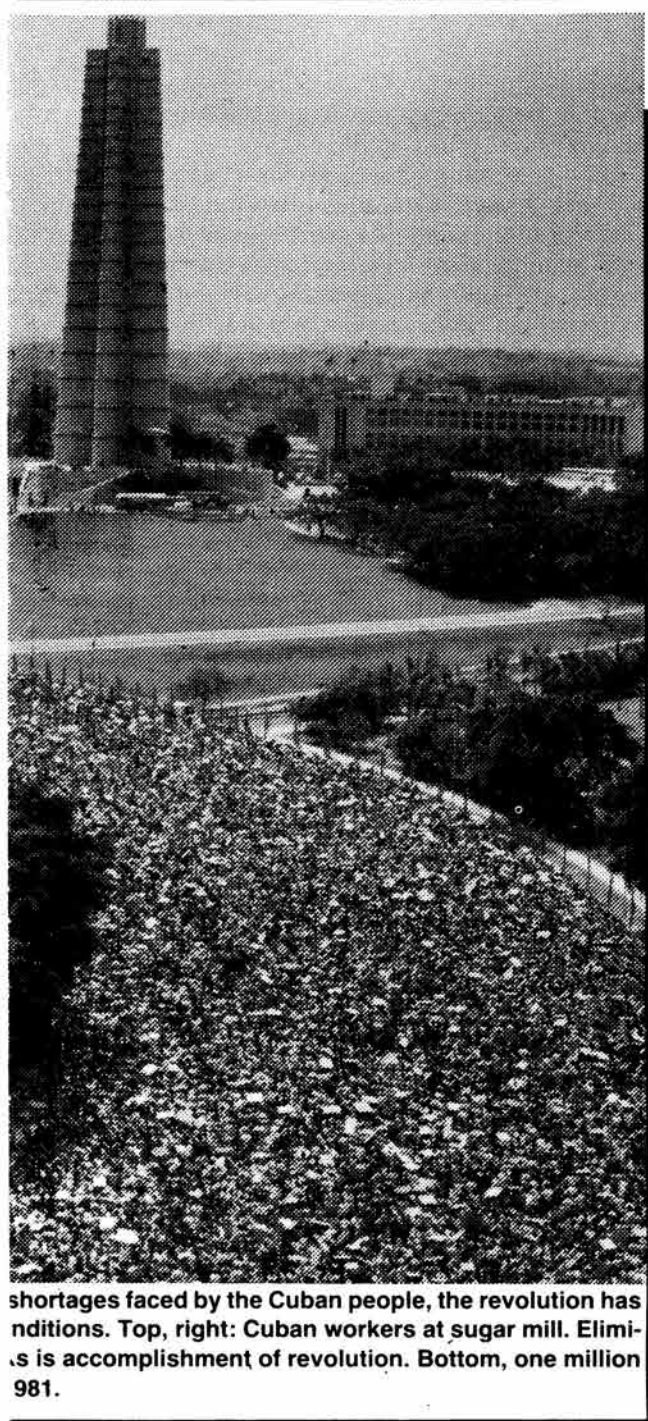
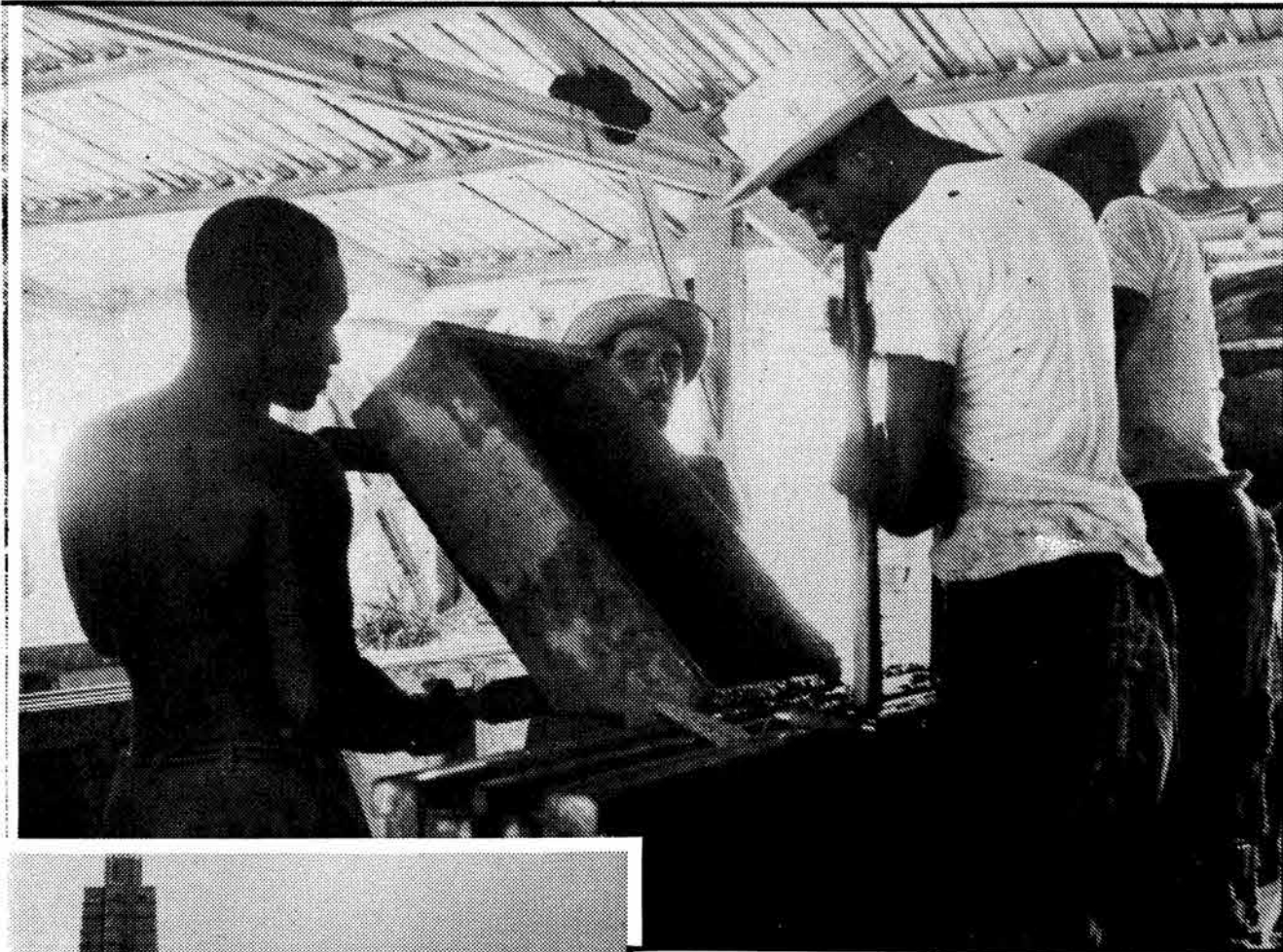
Before the Cuban revolution in 1959, Cuba had a number of parties—mostly corrupt capitalist parties like the Democrats and Republicans here.

For the most part, they voiced support for the revolution when the Batista dictatorship fell December 31, 1958. But when the Castro government began to take measures that were in the interest of the great majority—massive land reform, slashes in rent and utility bills, and others—the political organizations polarized.

On one side, organizations opposed to the revolution turned increasingly to terrorist bombings, assassinations, and sabotage. They saw no alternative since they had no chance of winning majority support. They forged links with the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency, which had been assigned by Washington to prepare an invasion. These parties were gradually suppressed—an elementary measure of self-defense that had overwhelming popular support.

On the other hand, the main organizations that supported the revolution drew closer together. Then as now, unity was vitally necessary to prevent the gains of the revolution from being reversed. In 1961 the July 26 Movement, headed by Castro, fused with the Popular Socialist Party and the Revolutionary Student Directorate to form a

*Continued on next page*



shortages faced by the Cuban people, the revolution has conditions. Top, right: Cuban workers at sugar mill. Elimination is accomplishment of revolution. Bottom, one million 981.

They are blocking adoption of the Equal Rights Amendment, even though this amendment has massive popular support.

If the government here organized the kind of broad discussion of legislation that occurs in Cuba, it would be organizing protest movements against itself. Only a government that truly represents working people can afford to follow such practices.

#### Democracy in the Factory

One of the sharpest contrasts with life in the United States is the grassroots democracy in the Cuban workplace.

Workers have a big say in directing production.

Strong unions exist. The officers are elected and can be removed by the ranks at any time. Union functions include defending the interests of the workers, ensuring good working conditions, and guaranteeing that workers receive the pay they are entitled to. Elected representatives of the workers have a voice in questions of work discipline.

Under legislation implemented during the 1970s, annual production targets are discussed and voted on as part of the process by which the national economic plan is prepared. If the workers differ with the planning authorities on the goals, the union leadership takes this up with the planners and then discusses revised projections with the workers in the enterprise.

Discussion of the plan involves providing the workers with full information on the actual production, equipment, finances, and other aspects of the plant's situation. Unlike the United States, the books are opened to the workers.

Elected representatives of the workers participate in the management councils of all enterprises. Management meets frequently with union representatives to discuss production plans and other questions.

Armando Hart, a prominent figure in the Castro government, explained why it is so vital to involve



Continued from preceding page

single party, which later took the name of Communist Party of Cuba.

This party still commands the loyalty of the great majority of Cubans.

### Mass Mobilization

Underlying all the measures to guarantee democratic decision-making is the continuing, massive mobilization of the Cuban workers and farmers to support their revolution. These mobilizations have deepened, inspired by the victories scored by working people in Nicaragua and Grenada.

In the midst of rising threats from Washington and the anti-Cuba propaganda around the emigrants last year, the Cuban people engaged in the biggest mass mobilizations in their history.

On April 19, one million people marched past the Peruvian embassy, where some would-be emigrants were camped. On May 1, some 1.5 million gathered for a rally in Havana. And on May 17, about five million people participated in the March of the Fighting People.

This year another four million marched in cities across the country on May 1.

These mobilizations forge closer links between working people and their government. And any who would claim special privileges or try to get around majority rule are put on notice by the organization and unity shown by the workers and farmers.

### Armed People

The Cuban government rests on an armed people. No government based on minority rule could do this.

The growing threats of invasion, blockade, or other military moves from Washington have led the Cuban people to put a new stress on this aspect of their revolution by instituting the Territorial Troop Militias.

Last December 17, Castro declared: "We will not rest until every Cuban who wants to defend his neighborhood, his municipality, his work center, and his country—block by block, inch by inch—has a rifle, a grenade, or a mine and has been given the necessary training for carrying out his sacred duty of defending his homeland to the death."

On May 1 in Havana, one million paraded as part of the Fighting March for Production and Defense. Here is how Melvin Chappell and Anibal Yáñez, two American socialists who were there, described the scene in the May 18 *Intercontinental Press*:

"Thousands and thousands of militia men and women are marching in the recently formed militia units. . . . Students, professionals, workers, youth, old people, men and women. . . ."

"The women's regiments, armed like all the rest with automatic weapons, are the ones who receive the most enthusiastic applause."

### Democracy that Works

The democratic nature of the Cuban government is most clearly shown by the policies it has followed in the interests of working people. The Cuban people today enjoy the highest quality of life of any country in Latin America.

Health care in Cuba is free. The high quality of Cuban health care is shown by the dramatic increase in life expectancy (how long the average person lives): from below fifty-five years before the revolution to over seventy years today, the highest in Latin America. And infant mortality is the lowest in Latin America.

Education is free. Illiteracy has been reduced from 24 percent before the revolution to less than 2 percent today, the lowest level in Latin America.

Because of Cuba's planned economy, the government is able to guarantee everyone the necessities of life despite Cuba's underdevelopment. In the middle of the economic crisis that has affected the entire capitalist world, Cuba has not only maintained but increased its standard of living.

Cuba was the first country in Latin America to develop a comprehensive social security system. Men retire at sixty and women at fifty-five with payments ranging from 100 pesos (\$140) to 400 pesos (\$560) per month. The big majority of working Cubans have salaries in the same range.

These wages are much higher than they seem because there are no taxes in Cuba and basic necessities such as food, housing, public transportation, and child care are subsidized by the government, so the prices are lower than the cost of production. Rent is limited to 10 percent of income and is usually less. Child care is provided at about a third of its cost to the government. And of course

health care and education are free.

The Cuban people have the highest calorie consumption (2,728 grams per person per day) and protein consumption (70.1 grams) in Latin America.

In the early years of the revolution, the government carried out a sweeping land reform, so every small farmer in Cuba now has enough land to make a decent living.

All reports agree that Blacks, one-third of Cuba's population, no longer experience the institutionalized racist discrimination that existed before the revolution.

Cuba has taken big steps toward ending the oppression of women, too.

Abortion and contraception are provided free of charge with no restrictions. The Cuban Family Code makes discrimination against women illegal and provides for equal rights and responsibilities in marriage.

### Economic Blockade

The Cuban government has accomplished all this in spite of a crippling economic blockade imposed by the United States. Before the revolution, most manufactured goods and machinery in Cuba were bought from the United States. For more than twenty years, the Cubans have been unable to get replacement parts for much of their machinery, cars and trucks, refrigerators, and so forth.

Cuba was a very poor and underdeveloped country before the revolution. For sixty years it had been a virtual U.S. colony. Direct comparisons of productivity or wealth with the United States can be misleading.

Workers in the United States are very productive because of the advanced technology and ex-

**The assemblies and CDRs enable the Cuban people to exercise a degree of control over the day-to-day life of their communities that is not equaled anywhere in the world.**

pensive machinery we work with. But it took the United States a long time to develop and accumulate this knowledge and technology. Cuba's advanced social system cannot eliminate its poverty and underdevelopment overnight.

To fully appreciate the significance of workers democracy in Cuba, it's necessary to know some of the historical background.

### Fidel in Chile

For the first years of the revolution, there were no institutions like the Assemblies of People's Power to assure the working people of direct participation in the administration of the state and economy.

In 1971, during a visit to Chile at the invitation of President Salvador Allende, Castro stated:

"Our Revolution is not perfect. We still haven't reached higher forms. We still haven't reached forms of expression of what we could call democracy. But we do say that in our country people feel that they are part of the Revolution, part of the state. In our country, there is solid unity. . . ."

"In our country, the important decisions are no longer discussed in a Parliament. No! They are discussed in the work centers, in the mass organizations. The Revolutionary Government began by governing by decree. But, by now, every important law that has to do with the main interests of the people is discussed by millions of people through our work centers, our mass organizations and our military units, by everybody. This is because we are all part of society, because we are all interested in these problems. . . ."

"Now tell me, could bourgeois parliamentarism ever be more democratic than this. Go ahead, tell me! Tell me if electing a number of representatives for a certain number of years without anybody having any control over them after they are elected is more democratic than a situation in which all the people are the lawmakers! In Cuba we all belong to the Parliament, we are all lawmakers, day in and day out!"

### 1970 Sugar Harvest

By this time, the Cubans had already become convinced that big new steps in this direction were necessary. "Rule by decree" has been abolished.

The decisive experience came in 1970 when the government set the unrealistic goal of a ten-million-ton sugar harvest. Many workers knew that the goals in their areas were unrealistic and that production was being disrupted to meet these goals. But there were no democratic institutions through which they could effectively correct government policy.

Castro drew the conclusions in a speech on July 26, 1970:

"It is no longer possible to direct the social production simply through a Council of Ministers. . . ."

"The revolutionary process itself has been demonstrating the shortcomings of the bureaucratic method. . . ."

### Democratization

"Can we possibly create a more effective method of control than the people themselves?" Castro asked. "Is there a better method of inspection? No! We can corrupt the man in charge of a production micro-unit, we can corrupt the man who inspects it, we can corrupt the whole world! But those who cannot be bought, those who can't afford corruption, are those affected by it, those at the receiving end."

Castro developed these ideas further in another speech given a month later:

"... we have scores of problems at every level, in the neighborhoods, in the cities, and in the countryside. We must create the institutions which give the masses decision-making power on many of these problems . . . the revolutionary process [must] be at the same time—as Lenin wished—a great school of government in which millions of people learn to solve problems and carry out the responsibilities of government."

"This implies the development of a new society and of genuinely democratic principles—really democratic—replacing the administrative work habits of the first years of the Revolution. We must begin to substitute democratic methods for the administrative methods that run the risk of becoming bureaucratic methods."

In the years that followed, Cuba went through a series of democratic reforms, culminating in the adoption of a democratic constitution in 1975 and the first nation-wide elections in 1976.

The Cuban leaders would be the first to admit that Cuba doesn't represent the ultimate in democratic perfection. But in addition to its many other accomplishments in the fields of health care, education and equality, the Cuban revolution has enormously expanded the democratic rights of the workers and farmers.

### Socialism Works

Cuba today is showing that workers democracy is a realistic, practical proposition.

In the truest meaning of the word, the Castro government has always been more democratic than the United States and other capitalist countries. Castro came to power in a revolution made by working people. The Cuban government represents their desires and interests in a way that the U.S. government never has.

But before the democratic reforms of the 1970s, it was easy for outsiders to be misled by the intense anti-Cuba propaganda.

Today the democratic nature of the government has been substantially strengthened and the real state of affairs is crystal clear: Cuba is a country governed by working people.

Cuba's practices are not only more democratic than those of the U.S. government, they are also a refreshing contrast to conditions in the Soviet Union, Eastern Europe, and China, where bureaucratic governments bar democratic decision-making. In Poland today, the independent union movement is having to fight opposition from top bureaucrats and threats of a Kremlin invasion in order to win many of the democratic rights Cubans have today—such as the right to elect their own union officers and to have a voice in running the economy.

What is happening in Cuba has special importance for workers in the United States.

If a revolution in a poor country like Cuba—directly threatened by the biggest military and economic power on earth—can establish such a large degree of democracy, imagine the flowering of democracy that will occur in the U.S. after a socialist revolution!

The accomplishments of the Cuban revolution give us a glimpse of what a workers government could do in the United States.

Cuba today is living proof that the problems of humanity can be solved.



# Two views on the Middle East

## Letter from a reader

Your [Militant] editorial "Israeli rulers drive toward war" (June 19, 1981), is comprised of twisted logic, half-truths and outright lies. Your analysis of the situation in the Middle East would be ridiculous if its anti-Israel goals weren't so deadly.

Just for starters, your statement that Israel prevents Iran-type revolutions is a dubious one. I assume that you consider the events in Iran a positive step in the struggle for freedom of the people instead of the radical, reactionary, theocratic disaster it is. If Israel's presence in the Middle East could prevent the likes of the Ayatollah Khomeini from rising to power—which it can not—it would be a strong reason for Israel's existence.

In presenting your case against Israel, you totally ignore the role the Arab nations play in escalating the hostilities in the area. It was not Israel who threatened to drive the Arab nations into the sea. Rather it was five, armed Arab nations who attacked the fledgling state in 1948 and the Arabs have continued to assert their

pledge to destroy Israel ever since.

The charge that Israel drove the Palestinians out is questionable. There is evidence to support the Israeli position that the Palestinians left voluntarily expecting Israel to be destroyed. Certainly many Arabs remained in Israel and their standard of living is far superior to those Arabs living, for example, in oil-rich Saudi Arabia.

Calling the bombing of the nuclear reactor in Iraq a "sneak attack" and ignoring the sneak attack on Yom Kippur, the holiest day for Jews, is a blatant misrepresentation of the situation. One does not usually announce a military attack in advance.

The annexation of Arab lands occurred following wars started by Arab states, which they lost. It is obvious that these lands are vital for Israel's defense. If Israel were assured of the safety of its borders and sovereignty, the matter of occupied territories would be settled as has been demonstrated in Israel's negotiations with Egypt.

The violations of borders is a two-sided affair.

However in these military forays it is Israel who attacks military positions—such as the Iraqi nuclear reactor—and not schoolhouses filled with children.

Although I am not pleased with Israel's policy of retaliation and its relations with South Africa, given the hostility they face daily it is somewhat understandable. (It is interesting how quickly you point to Israel's relationship with racist South Africa, branding them racist by association, yet never mention that it was Israeli pilots who risked their lives flying food to the starving people of Biafra.)

For peace to be achieved in the Middle East a de-escalation of the hostilities is crucial. Both Israel and the Arab nations have much to offer each other and can learn to live in harmony. Your editorial with its biased perspective does not serve peace, rather it only escalates the hostilities in the Middle East.

In Sisterhood,  
Barbara Goldblatt

## A Reply By William Gottlieb

Reader Barbara Goldblatt refuses to face the central issue in the Middle East crisis: the expulsion of the Palestinian Arabs from their own country. To her, this fact itself is "questionable." She should ask herself, would any people voluntarily leave their homeland in order to live in miserable refugee camps?

The Zionists proclaimed the aim of establishing an exclusively Jewish state in Palestine. This required the ouster of the Palestinians. Over many years, the Zionists worked toward this aim. In preparation for the physical expulsion of the Palestinians, they built up an economy that excluded the Palestinians from economic life.

How this worked before 1948 is described by Peter Buch in *Burning Issues of the Mideast Crisis*:

"There was . . . a Jewish boycott of Arab labor and goods. The prosperous Jewish citrus orchards were picketed by Jewish organizations, which kept Arab laborers out by force. Arab agricultural produce was boycotted by the Jewish consumers and sometimes destroyed, enabling Jewish farmers to sell their goods at two or three times the price of Arab goods. When serious labor shortages developed on the Jewish lands, schools would be shut early and seminarians, office workers, teachers, and students were mobilized to go into the fields, so that none of the Arab workers, suffering from unemployment, could have the jobs and 'Jewish labor' could stay 'redeemed.'"

These policies were acts of war against the Palestinian people; acts of war carried out long before the formal establishment of Israel in 1948. The expulsion of the Palestinians in 1948 was simply the inevitable and, indeed, desired aim of Zionist policy.

The war with the Arab countries in 1948 has to be seen in this context. The very existence of Israel was a threat not only to the Palestinian Arabs but to the surrounding Arab people as well. Born in an act of war against the Palestinian Arabs, Israel can only realize "secure" boundaries by expanding further. The anthem of Menachem Begin's Herut party proclaims, "One side of the Jordan is ours and so is the other."

This inevitably brings Israel into permanent conflict with the surrounding Arab countries. Actually, the 1948 war was only the first in a series of wars, 1948, 1956, 1967, and 1973. The 1956 and 1967 attacks were launched by Israel. In 1973 it was Egypt that fired the first shot.

It actually doesn't matter who fired the first shot in each episode, since these wars are only battles in the war that was started by the Jewish settlers against the Arab people.

Reader Goldblatt writes that if the Arab countries made peace with Israel, Israel would withdraw from Arab lands. But every square inch of Israel is stolen Arab land. This is the nub of the problem! The purpose of agreements like Camp David was to make it easier for the Israelis to hold onto these captured lands, and to remove obstacles



Palestinian refugee camp

to thrusts into Lebanon and elsewhere.

Reader Goldblatt sees nothing wrong with the Israeli government's opposition to the Iranian revolution, which she sees as a "radical, reactionary" movement. This is the impression created by the mass media in this country.

Before the revolution, Iran was one of the world's worst police states. All political opposition was banned. Workers were prohibited from organizing. The press was gagged.

The SAVAK, with its huge army of agents and its torture chambers, was perhaps the most hated secret police in the world. Opponents of the shah were tortured and murdered. Iran's economic and foreign policies were subordinated to U.S. big business.

Since the shah was overthrown in February 1978, major gains have been made. The SAVAK was abolished, and political parties were organized. Workers have doubled their wages and have been able to organize committees to advance their interests.

More favorable conditions were established for minority nationalities to fight for their rights. A republic was established. The country stood up to imperialism and established an independent foreign policy.

In the battle against the shah and afterwards, Iranian women participated massively for the first time in the political life of their country. The masses of working women in Iran are proud of their revolution. They know that deepening and extending this revolution is the key to winning all their rights.

From the beginning, the Iranian revolution has been under attack from Washington. That is not because of Washington's democratic opposition to

a "reactionary, theocratic disaster," but because the U.S. rulers fear and oppose any struggle by the great majority of working people to assert their rights.

Because of the steady drumfire of threats to Iran, including the presence of a massive U.S. fleet near the Persian Gulf, it is especially important for us in the United States to express our solidarity with the Iranian people and to expose the lies about their revolution.

The Israeli government actively aided the shah and, along with the CIA, helped train the SAVAK. In this important struggle between the forces of savage tyranny and democracy, Israel was on the side of tyranny. No wonder Iranians hate the Zionist regime.

Israel supported the U.S. war against the people of Indochina. It was on the side of Somoza in Nicaragua. Today, it is selling weapons to the Salvadoran junta.

Israel maintains close ties with the anti-Semitic government of Argentina! It sells more weapons to the Argentinian generals than to any other country, except South Africa. The alliance between Israel and South Africa is so close that the regimes of South Africa, Israel, and Taiwan are helping each other build atomic weaponry, the June 28 *New York Times* reports.

Reader Goldblatt finds Israel's relations with the racist South African regime "somewhat understandable." The Israeli rulers have good reason to feel close to the apartheid regime. Just as South Africa refuses to recognize the rights of Black Africans or other non-European people, Israel refuses to recognize the rights of Arab people. South Africa upholds a "white state" in Black Africa while Israel upholds a "Jewish state" in the Arab east

Continued on next page



## By Sue Hagen

When Pope John Paul II decided last year to reopen the Galileo case, it seemed like a nice gesture, even if it came a little late. It was, after all, in 1633 that the Inquisition condemned Galileo for declaring that the earth revolved around the sun. No one disputes that scientific truth today—not even the Vatican—so why bring it up?

The pope, it seems, is disturbed over the association of science with atheism. The church needs to "rehabilitate" Galileo as an example of a scientist who was also a believer. Although he spent the last eight years of his life under house arrest, he remained a Catholic until his death.

The pope's action has prompted a new debate by historians and theologians over the causes and meaning of Galileo's conflict with the church.

In April, science historians got together for a conference at the University of Wisconsin. According to a report in the April 28 *New York Times*, conference organizers hoped "to establish a more comprehensive and positive tone for the interaction between theology and science."

Galileo's case stands as a roadblock to that aim, so it became the center of a debate that got rather heated. Not surprising, given the outrageous views expressed by defenders of the Catholic hierarchy's views.

### 'Publicity Seeker'

Galileo was arrogant, some said, "an eccentric publicity seeker."

They argued that Galileo's principal adversary, the inquisitor Robert Cardinal Bellarmine, was equally headstrong. According to this view, Galileo's battle with the church had nothing to do with his scientific ideas. The issue wasn't intellectual freedom, but a contest of personalities. How's that for sleight of hand?

The next argument is a little trickier. The Inquisition, we are told, tried Galileo and found him guilty of refusing to accept the church's interpretation of the Bible. So his scientific views were not the "real" issue.

That's like the Mormon Church saying that Sonia Johnson's views on the Equal Rights Amendment had nothing to do with her excommunication. It was just a little disagreement within the church.

But the conflict between science and religion, and the diametrically opposed world views they represent, is at the heart of the Galileo case. That's the reason the church went after him with such fury in the first place.

In 1609, Galileo built the first telescope suitable for astronomical observations. He soon racked up a remarkable series of discoveries—Jupiter's moons, Saturn's rings, the phases of Venus.

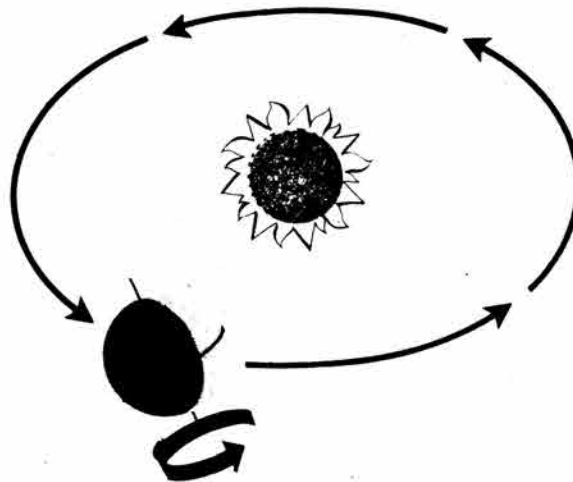
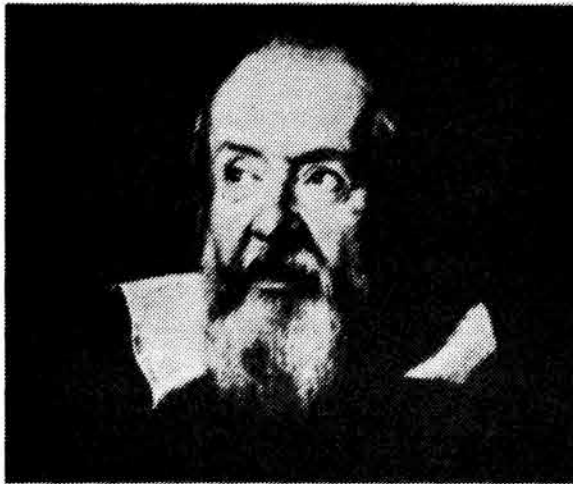
His telescope offered far more than a view of the planets, however. It opened up a brand-new way of looking at human beings and their place in the universe.

### Copernican Theory

Galileo was an early supporter of the Polish scientist Copernicus, who stated that the planets revolved around the sun. It was a revolutionary idea, one that knocked the supporters out from under the church's ideology. According to the prevail-

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# Galileo On Trial Again



ing notion, the earth was at the center, surrounded by an elaborate system of "celestial spheres."

When Galileo offered a proof of the Copernican theory in 1613, based on his sunspot observations, the church wasted no time. Members of the clergy denounced him to the Inquisition.

Galileo tried to defuse the crisis. In an open letter to the Roman authorities, he warned against putting people in a situation where they "found themselves convinced by proof of something that it was made then a sin to believe." He journeyed to Rome to make a personal appeal.

But the church took a hard line. Its 1616 decree declared the Copernican theory "false and erroneous." This made it a crime for Galileo to "hold or defend" the theory, but permitted him to discuss it as a "mathematical supposition."

In 1624, Galileo got permission to write about the theory, as long as he gave equal space to the church's position and agreed to a conclusion dictated by Pope Urban.

The deal was confirmed in writing by the head censor, who granted a license for the book.

### Scientific Arguments

When it came out in 1632, Galileo's *Dialogue Concerning the Two Chief World Systems* caused quite a stir. The strength of its scientific arguments completely undercut its carefully noncommittal conclusions. The pope was furious, but he had no legal recourse.

So the Vatican played dirty. A document was "discovered" in Galileo's file concerning the 1616 decree. It prohibited him from discussing the Copernican theory "in any way." The authorities claimed Galileo had "extorted" his book license under false pretenses.

Despite his age and poor health, Galileo was hauled before the Inquisition in 1633. He denied any memory of the document, but was found guilty of having "held and taught" the Copernican doctrine and ordered to recant. He recited a little formula admitting his errors. In a display of Christian mercy, the pope commuted his sentence to house arrest.

### Galileo Framed Up

Historians generally agree that Galileo was framed up. But apologists for the church don't let facts get in their way. They simply turn the case on its head.

Rev. William Wallace, professor of history at Catholic University, is a Galileo "specialist" who attended the recent conference. He observed that, although Galileo's views turned out to be correct, he didn't have enough scientific evidence at the time to back them up.

So the Vatican had acted within its rights in condemning him! All totalitarian powers claim the same "right" to put the burden of proof on the accused.

But according to Wallace, the church actually did science a favor. It "forced scientists to be responsible in their claims. It is to the credit of the Inquisition that they did not let Galileo get away with it." He admitted that the authorities may have "overreacted," but said that "Galileo's behavior was not beyond reproach."

Here we have the church hierarchy posing as guardian of scientific truth. The whole idea of religion setting itself up to pass judgment on scientists and scientific theories is so preposterous that it's easy to miss the deadly serious intent.

### Distortion of Scientific Facts

More and more today, religion cloaks itself in "scientific" arguments in order to legitimize its views. The "scientific" creationists, for example, claim the whole theory of evolution should be thrown out. Failing that, they want "equal" treatment for the Bible—the same demand the pope imposed on Galileo.

Opponents of abortion distort scientific facts about conception to rob women of the right to control their lives.

That's not to say the religionists can pull it off. This isn't 1633—and science won't be overturned tomorrow. The basic theories of Copernicus, Darwin, and Einstein—to name just a few—are widely understood and accepted as fact.

So it's a good bet that Galileo's reputation and scientific contributions will survive this latest attack.

## ... Two views on Middle East

Continued from preceding page

Both regimes are racist to their very core. That is why both are despised by the overwhelming mass of humanity.

The bombing of the Iraqi nuclear reactor was part and parcel of Israel's policy of trying to keep the Arab countries backward and underdeveloped. The Israeli regime can only hope to hold at bay the more numerous Arab peoples surrounding it by maintaining a monopoly on advanced technology, industry, and weaponry. Economic and social progress in the Middle East would spell the doom of the racist state.

Reader Goldblatt could not be more wrong in saying that Israel does not attack civilian populations. In 1948 the Israelis massacred 250 men,

women, and children in the Arab village of Deir Yassin. This massacre triggered the flight of the Palestinians from their country.

In recent years, the Israelis' attacks on civilian populations have escalated. The RAND Corporation estimates that 2,000 civilians in Lebanon have been killed by the Israeli military operations since 1978. This compares with 300 Israeli civilians who were killed in Palestinian military actions from 1965 to 1978.

The Israeli regime's attacks on civilians are not accidental or the result of unfortunate policies. They stem from the character of the war that Israel is waging. A war not simply against this or that Arab government, but a war against the Arab people.

To carry out its permanent war, the Israeli rulers require and get massive U.S. aid, both financial and military. Even with these massive subsidies, Israel's economy is so distorted that inflation is over 100 percent. Present-day Israel is an illustration of the observation by Karl Marx that a people that oppresses another cannot itself be free.

Israel's war against the aspirations of tens of millions of Arabs cannot be successful in the long run. The permanent war of the Israeli rulers has made the country a death trap for the Israeli Jews.

Breaking with the racist policy of building a "Jewish state" in the Arab east and supporting the Palestinians will enable Israeli Jewish working people to break out of the trap the imperialists have led them into.



# Reveal gov't ties to Salvador death squad

More than 17,000 people have died in El Salvador since November 1979. Almost all observers agree that the ruling junta and its supporters are responsible for most of the slayings.

But the junta, headed by José Napoleón Duarte, says otherwise. It claims that many of the killings are the work of right-wing paramilitary groups that are completely out of government control. The State Department also uses this story, claiming the 'progressive' Duarte government is under attack by 'extremists of the left and right.'

The following article, reprinted from the May 21 'San Diego Union,' exposes this lie. It was written by Alex Drehsler and Ricardo Chavira.

El Salvador's right-wing death squads, responsible for the torture and murder of thousands of leftist sympathizers and their families, actually are integral parts of the Salvadoran army, says a San Diego resident who identifies himself as a former death squad member.

Jose Rosales, a 26-year-old former army sergeant who recently deserted, said that he volunteered to join an "Escuadron de la Muerte," or death squad, in January 1980. He filed for political asylum here this week, arguing he would face persecution or death if he were deported.

The 10-year army veteran, who entered the United States illegally in November, said he served for four months in the special group but admitted to taking part in only two assassinations because "I would always find an excuse not to volunteer."

Although journalists have filmed what were identified as death squad members working with the army and human rights organizations have compiled eye-witness reports of death squad activities, Col. Alfonso Cotto, a spokesman for the Salvadoran army, denied during a telephone interview that the Salvadoran military employs death squads.

"The armed forces of El Salvador do not have death squads," said Cotto. "In fact," said Cotto, "this is the first time that I have heard of anyone even talking about his experiences as a member of such a squad."

Attempts to confirm Rosales' status in the Salvadoran army were unsuccessful.

Rosales, in an interview, described in chilling detail one of the "hits" he carried out as a death squad member and of his experience fighting guerrillas in the countryside, including the massacre of 600 people at the Rio Sumpul last May.

Experienced soldiers of all ranks volunteered to join the Escuadron de la Muerte, said Rosales, and work out of a central office in San Salvador where



Death mark left on door of peasant leader by right-wing paramilitary group

they receive verbal orders to kill persons suspected of subversive activities.

The soldiers dress in civilian clothes and use unmarked cars without license plates when they go out on assignment.

Many criminally inclined soldiers join the death squad because of the chance to rob their victims after they have been killed, he asserted.

Usually, he said, death squad targets are persons thought too dangerous for arrest by other officials. Tips on persons to be killed often come from neighbors who want to ingratiate themselves with the soldiers.

When pressed for more details, Rosales hesitatingly told of an assassination he took part in that occurred on a March day last year in a suburb of San Salvador.

"A national guardsman brought in the order at around 11 that morning," said Rosales.

Like most such orders, the document contained a description of the individual, intelligence information gleaned by informants and the alleged offense.

In this case, the suspect was a 37-year-old man said to be conducting guerrilla training in his San Salvador home.

"I volunteered and so did three others," said Rosales. "One, a colonel, coordinated the operation."

After working out the details of the hit, the men met shortly before 3 a.m. the next morning at the squad's San Salvador office. There, dressed in civilian clothes and wearing hats and handkerchiefs tied around their mouths and noses, they boarded a Jeep without license plates and headed for the suspect's home. The men were armed with Israeli-made Uzi submachine guns, he said.

"We knocked at the door and said the password so that he would let us in. He thought we were some of his people," Rosales said, "but once we got inside, we told him we had other business."

Rosales said that the man reached for a .38-caliber pistol he was carrying, but did not try to use it because several Uzis already were trained on him.

A man who appeared to be about 18 also was in the house. Rosales said he and the others shot him to death, then hustled the suspect into the Jeep and drove off.

During the course of the next two hours, the soldiers tortured the man. "One of the men drove a nail up one of his nostrils," he said with a nervous laugh. "All the fingers of one hand were broken."

The soldiers also jammed a hypodermic needle deep into the man's wrists "one of the most sensitive areas on the body," Rosales explained.

But the man refused to implicate others or tell about his reported activities.

"He said we were going to kill him anyway, so why talk?" said Rosales.

Finally, the man was taken to Lake Ilopango and executed. He was shot once in the forehead and once in the chest. The soldiers then stole his watch, said Rosales.

Rosales said that his regular army unit, which operates out of Sensuntepeque, the provincial capital of Cabañas in the northeast El Salvador, acted as backup in the Rio Sumpul massacre.

Roman Catholic priests at the diocese of Santa Rosa de Copan in Honduras charged last year that 600 women, children and old men were massacred by Salvadoran troops as the people were trying to flee into Honduras. The priests

had interviewed survivors as have several journalists, some of whom took pictures of numerous skeletons in the area.

"We had been told there was a guerrilla training camp there and that the hiding spots were in the cornfields," said Rosales. When he and his companions reached the area, only mop-up operations were being conducted.

"When we got to San Jose de las Flores, there were a lot of dead people—a lot of women and children," he said. "Some had no heads, some were agonizing in their last minutes of life," he recalled.

Rosales estimated that about 15 guerrillas and eight soldiers were killed during the military operation.

Under conditions in El Salvador, Rosales said, the killing of civilians is unavoidable. Describing military operations in villages suspected of supporting guerrilla activity, he said: "To know who is and who is not a guerrilla, you need to investigate."

"And you're not going to spend 20 minutes investigating one person, risking that in the meantime someone else is going to come up behind you. To be sure, you kill. If someone is running, say, three blocks away, you shoot. They could be guerrillas who will later shoot at you from the bush," he said.

And if they turn out to be women or children? "Some women are very dangerous; I've had to kill some. I have known of 10-year-old messengers for guerrillas."

Asked his reasons for joining the death squad, Rosales thought for a few seconds, and replied, "From the moment one joins the army, you are obligated to serve your country. They tell you you are eligible to join (the squad)."

"But I really can't tell you why I joined except to say it was in a moment of craziness. And once I was in, it was almost impossible to get out."

Still, Rosales found a way. One day in late October of last year he changed his uniform for civilian clothes and drove to Honduras.

From there, he said, he traveled to Mexico where he contracted with a smuggler to take him to Stockton, California. Eventually, he went to Oregon to work.

But early this year he turned himself in to immigration authorities in Eugene.

"I had a lot of time to think about what is going on in my country, of the things I did, and after a while I thought I was losing my mind," said Rosales. "I didn't want to hide anymore."

Nonetheless, he said if he returned to El Salvador, both the guerrillas and his former death squad colleagues would try to assassinate him.

"If I were to get there in the morning I could eat breakfast, but I would be dead before dinner."

## Antidraft committee backs July 19 actions

By Andrew Walden

WASHINGTON—Seventy antidraft activists from across the country gathered here June 20 for the first meeting of the new steering committee of the National Committee Against Registration and the Draft (NCARD). Discussion at the meeting, which was marked by a strong sense of the need for unity, focused on how to respond to Reagan's war moves and steps toward reinstituting the draft.

In addition to the nineteen CARD chapters, many national organizations were represented. These included the American Friends Service Committee, New American Movement, U.S. Peace Council, All-African People's Revolutionary Party, Young Socialist Alliance, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, National Anti-

Draft Network of the Youth Against War and Fascism, Central Committee for Conscientious Objectors, War Resisters League, Citizen Soldier, and others.

A fact sheet distributed at the meeting pointed to the growing number of moves toward the draft. Bills that would renew draft induction have been introduced in both the House and Senate. S.756, introduced by Sen. Ernest Hollings (D-S.C.) and H.R.1210, by Rep. Charles Wilson (D-Texas), would resurrect the old Military Selective Service Act, making no substantive changes in the inequities of that law.

Also being proposed is H.R.1500, introduced by Rep. Sonny Montgomery (D-Miss.) and Rep. Marjorie Holt (R-Md.). This would amend the draft law to allow for the induction of up to 200,000 men per year for twelve weeks of active

duty training followed by a six-year obligation to the Individual Ready Reserve.

The Selective Service is preparing draft law training sessions in October for 10,000 people who have been recruited to serve on local draft boards.

These probes come in the wake of the massive increase in U.S. military aid to the Salvadoran junta and the sending of U.S. military "advisers" to that country.

Participants at the Committee Against Registration and the Draft meeting responded by endorsing and calling for a number of activities.

It voted to endorse and to encourage local chapters to build the July 19 actions called by the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador, the National Network in Solidarity with the Guatemalan People, and the Na-

tional Network in Solidarity with the Nicaraguan People.

These actions will celebrate the second anniversary of the Nicaraguan revolution and oppose Reagan's interventionist policy in Central America.

The demands of the actions are:

Long live free Nicaragua!

No U.S. intervention in Central America and the Caribbean!

No guns! No war! U.S. out of El Salvador!

The steering committee also projected having an antidraft presence in fall actions such as the September 19 solidarity rally called by the AFL-CIO.

The NCARD meeting called for a week of antidraft actions October 5-11.

The NCARD leadership plans to discuss the prospect of calling a united fall action with the Peoples Antiwar Mobilization and other groups.



# Hundreds of thousands celebrate gay pride

By Barry Sheppard

SAN FRANCISCO—A quarter of a million people turned out for a march and rally here June 28 in support of equal rights for gay people in the Tenth Annual Lesbian-Gay Freedom Day Parade.

In the face of attacks on gay and lesbian rights, "the parade was a more somber and overtly political event than in recent years," the *San Francisco Chronicle* reported.

The march proceeded through downtown San Francisco from the Embarcadero to the Civic Center, where the rally was held. Speakers at the rally hammered at the need for gay people and all supporters of gay rights to resist the attack on gay and lesbian rights.

"Moral Majority leaders called for our execution; Congress moves to exempt us from federal programs and protection, and the Immigration and Naturalization Service steps up harassment of homosexuals at the borders," said parade organizer Karen Franklin.

While there were carnival-like aspects to the march, many participants wore the green ribbons protesting the racist murders in Atlanta, carried signs protesting U.S. intervention in El Salvador, and raised other issues such as opposition to nuclear power.

An important victory for civil liberties was scored by the rally organizers



Part of crowd at Boston gay rights rally

Gay Community News

when they obtained a court injunction against the Immigration and Naturalization Service stopping people from other countries from entering the country to participate in the march. The court ruling held that the rights of Americans are curtailed when they are prevented from exchanging views with foreigners

by their exclusion from the country.

By Hank Scheer

NEW YORK—An estimated 50,000 people marched up Fifth Avenue to Central Park June 28 in the city's twelfth annual Gay Pride March. Thousands

more lined the march route.

Signs, buttons, and T-shirts declared, "Gay is Good," "Gays Fight Back," and other lesbian and gay rights slogans.

Many of the participants also wore antinuke and antiwar T-shirts. There were buttons opposing U.S. intervention in El Salvador.

A good number of the marchers wore green ribbons commemorating the murdered Black children in Atlanta. One group, from Washington, D.C., carried a sign, "Gays Demand Justice in Atlanta."

Earlier there were Gay Pride Week marches in many other U.S. cities.

In Los Angeles, an estimated 75,000 people turned out June 21.

In Boston, some 12,000 lesbians, gays, and their supporters participated in what was said to be the largest such action in that city yet. The march to Boston Commons was held as scheduled Saturday, June 20, after city officials failed in an eleventh-hour attempt to change the march route. March organizers obtained a hurried court injunction preventing this. The city had asserted the parade would disrupt business.

In Washington, D.C., some 11,000 participated in the demonstration. Actions were slated in more than fourteen other major cities.

# North Carolina labor leader under attack

By Meryl Lynn Farber

WINSTON-SALEM—Federal and state officials have launched another attack on the union movement in North Carolina. Wilbur Hobby, president of the North Carolina AFL-CIO, has been indicted by a federal grand jury on charges of conspiracy to defraud the government in connection with a Comprehensive Education and Training Act (CETA) grant.

Hobby faces a maximum of eighteen years in prison and \$24,000 in fines, if convicted. A Wilbur Hobby Legal Defense Fund has been set up to raise money and support for Hobby's defense.

The CETA grant which Hobby received was used to train poor people, women and minorities to be computer operators.

Despite the fact that Hobby *undercharged* the government for performing this CETA contract, he is the only person ever charged with CETA fraud in the eastern district of North Carolina.

This is no surprise considering who Hobby is. Hobby has been active in the union movement for thirty-five years.

In 1969, he was elected president of the North Carolina AFL-CIO. Within days of his first election, he led a march of 10,000 construction workers through the streets of downtown Raleigh, protesting the decision by the Carolina Power & Light Company to subcontract its construction projects to nonunion contractors.

He has marched with textile workers at the J.P. Stevens plants in the Carolinas and Virginia. He was in the fight against the anti-union Winn-Dixie grocery chain.

He went to Harlan County, Kentucky, to help the coal miners in their strike at the Brookside mine against the Duke Power Company. He went to Texas to support the striking Farah clothing workers.

He is a staunch supporter of the

Equal Rights Amendment, which has yet to be ratified in North Carolina.

In North Carolina, a "right-to-work" state, the companies and state officials are on a constant drive to weaken and ultimately destroy an already weak union movement. North Carolina has the lowest unionization and the lowest wages of any state in the country.

The attack on Hobby comes at the same time as the Teamsters Local 391, the largest union local in North Carolina, has lost decertification elections at almost all of the plants organized in Lexington during the summer of 1978.

Large numbers of union leaders are coming to Hobby's defense. About 200 supporters gathered in Durham June 13 for a breakfast meeting for Hobby's defense. A past president of North Carolina NOW sent a letter to NOW members urging support for Hobby's case. Endorsers of the Wilbur Hobby Legal Defense Fund include Daniel Pollitt, professor of labor law at the University of North Carolina; Charles Massey, president, North Carolina

Machinist Council; Amanda Stevens, manager, Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union Joint Board; Charles McLean, NAACP field director; union organizer Crystal Lee Sutton, the real "Norma Rae"; Tony Muncus, president, United Food and Commercial Workers Local 525, and many more.

Betsy Soares, Socialist Workers candidate for mayor of Winston-Salem said, "This is not simply an attack against one labor official, but, in fact, an attack against the entire labor movement in North Carolina. The employers and their two parties are on a campaign to divide and further weaken every union in this state. I urge all trade union members, the unorganized, Blacks, and women to support the defense efforts on Hobby's behalf."

For more information on the case, and to send contributions, write to: Wilbur Hobby Legal Defense Fund, P.O. Box 10491, Raleigh, NC 27605.

# House votes to bar Legal Service aid

By Eric Poulos

On June 18 the House of Representatives voted to slash the budget of the Legal Services Corporation and ban Legal Service workers from striking. The Reagan administration has publicly advocated eliminating the program outright.

The establishment of Legal Services was a concession to working people in the wake of the Black ghetto explosions of the 1960s.

LSC is a publicly funded corporation that provides legal representation to those who cannot afford an attorney in non-criminal matters.

In 1980 local programs funded by LSC handled 1.5 million cases. Some 30 million people with incomes below the poverty line set by the government are potential clients.

Under the previous appropriation, the LSC budget was set at \$321 million. This level of funding provides one attorney for every 5,000 poor people. For those with incomes above the poverty level there is one attorney for every 334 persons.

Legal Service workers take up cases involving race and sex discrimination, prisoners' rights, welfare, Social Security, veterans' benefits, food stamps, tenants' rights, farm workers' rights, and other matters. The rights won in these cases benefited the great majority.

Reagan's drive to abolish Legal Services dates at least from his tenure as governor of California. On behalf of his millionaire agribusiness supporters, Reagan attacked the California Legal Service Program for its advocacy on behalf of farm workers seeking union rights. A formal investigation found that every one of Reagan's charges were "totally irresponsible and without foundation."

Reagan's call to eliminate Legal Services has provided the Democrats in Congress with an opening to present their own cutback scheme as a "defense" of Legal Services.

The House of Representatives rejected Reagan's proposal. It proposed instead cutting the appropriation by \$80 million

and forbidding Legal Services workers from striking.

The House also proposed banning LSC from representing women seeking abortion rights, those seeking school desegregation, undocumented workers, and anyone attempting to "legitimize homosexuality."

Restriction of the right of Legal Service attorneys to bring lawsuits defending the rights of large numbers of people—class actions—was also endorsed.

The bill now goes to the Senate, where a committee has recommended reducing the LSC budget by \$221 million.

The move to ban legal workers from striking is aimed at laying the basis for breaking Legal Service unions. Legal Service workers are organized by several unions. The largest is the National Organization of Legal Service Workers, which has 3,000 members.

It is part of District 65 of the United Auto Workers.

It comprises all non-management workers—lawyers, secretaries, maintenance workers, investigators, paralegals, and receptionists.

Chapters have carried out a number of strikes in the recent period, including a twelve-week strike in New York City. In recent months the union organized workers in the Southeast Missouri, Florida Rural, and Gary, Indiana, programs.

James Braude, president of the National Organization of Legal Service Workers, told the *Militant* that if the union is barred from striking by Congress, it will mark the first time since the 1930s that non-governmental employees covered by the National Labor Relations Act have completely lost the right to strike.

Reagan and the Democrats in Congress both say there is a mandate to gut the Legal Services Corporation.

But a poll released April 30 by the *New York Times*/CBS News found that 83 percent of those questioned supported the program (36 percent were for increasing the appropriation, 47 percent wanted to leave it the same, and 4 percent didn't know). Now, that's a mandate!



# Rail unionists discuss gov't, company attacks

By Stu Singer

NEW YORK—About seventy-five rail workers from thirty different union locals met at the Martin Luther King Labor Center here June 24 to discuss the government and management attacks on rail labor.

The meeting was organized by a group of about twenty rail union locals and officials representing virtually every craft.

Copies of the recent wage freeze agreement signed by the heads of thirteen of the rail unions and Conrail management were distributed at the meeting. This agreement (published in the May 22 *Militant*) was accompanied by a letter sent out by Fred Kroll, President of the Brotherhood of Railway and Airline Clerks (BRAC), to members of the union's executive council and general chairmen.

The letter, dated June 3, says that copies of the proposed agreement should not be shown to the union ranks:

"The agreement has not, as of this date, been circulated to the rank and file members for the purpose of ratification. Accordingly the attached agreement is being furnished for your information and *NOT* for circulation."

The June 24 meeting represented the opposite approach.

Not only did these union members circulate copies of the agreement, but they provided the opportunity for rail union members to meet together to discuss the situation they face and what to do about it.

These unionists were brought together by the national demonstration by the rail unions in Washington April 29. That action of 25,000 in Washington, and thousands more in other cities, protested the plans of Amtrak, Conrail, and the government to cut rail service and slash rail workers' jobs and rights.

Opposition to the concessions demanded by Conrail management was a focus of the demonstration. But less than a week later, the same rail union officials who led the demonstration signed the agreement accepting those concessions. They claim the concessions are a lesser evil than the cuts demanded by Reagan.

One of the speakers at the meeting, George Gavallo from Baltimore, predicted, "Congress will probably compromise, taking the worst of both plans."

The organizers of the New York meeting oppose the concessions. They distributed copies of a resolution, "for consideration by railroad workers and our unions."

The text of that resolution is printed below.

The group of unions who called the June 24 meeting can be reached by writing Rail Unions to Save Jobs and Services, P.O. Box M349 No. 79, Hoboken, New Jersey 07030.

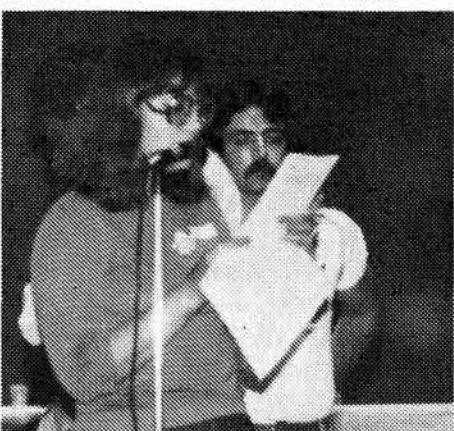
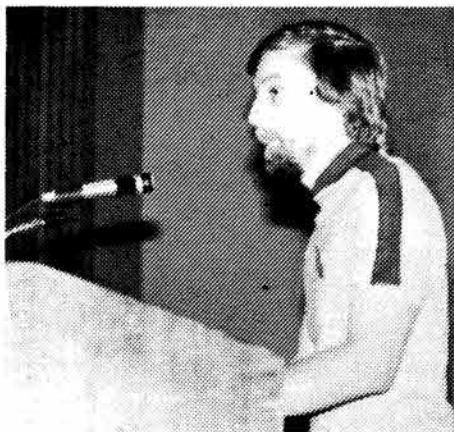
They have produced a button reading, "Stop Rail Cuts," which is already being worn by hundreds of rail workers.

The meeting was opened by Jim Halloran, chairman of Local 604, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, New Jersey. It was chaired by Carol Towner, a member of Local 800, United Transportation Union, New Jersey.

The speakers were Tommy Finn, local chairman of UTU Lodge 1027, New Haven; George Gavallo, local chairman of Lodge 65, Brotherhood of Railroad Signalmen, Baltimore; and Tom Pontolillo, local chairman of Division 501, Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, New York.

Messages of support to the meeting were read from Jack Arnold, local chairman, Local 1418, United Transportation Union, Conway Yard in Pittsburgh; and from the leaders of BRAC District 1909 in Oakland, California.

The open microphones at the meeting were used by many of the rail workers who attended. An interesting



Militant photos by Stu Singer

From top: George Gavallo; Tom Pontolillo; railworkers at open mike.

discussion developed, ranging from the history of the railroads to ideas about how to fight the attacks on rail workers today.

In future issues, the *Militant* will report more on this meeting.

## Carmen strike Burlington RR

By Jim Kendrick

MINNEAPOLIS—At 6 a.m. June 26, the Burlington Northern Railroad was hit by a system-wide strike called by the Brotherhood of Railway Carmen. The one-day strike was to protest job eliminations and shop closings.

BN management has been eliminating the jobs of carmen with almost no warning. The union contract requires at least sixty days' notice.

The protest strike pickets were honored by other rail unions. Operations were disrupted. Amtrak trains running through the BN system had to be operated by management.

The strike ended when management got a court injunction.

In Minneapolis, the last five jobs at the Bridal Veil car shops were about to be cut when the strike began. One striker there told the *Militant*, "Morale has never been lower on the BN."

Another carman pointed out how irrational the job cuts are.

"Instead of fixing a car that needs twenty hours of work, they scrap it. It looks like the railroad is going into the scrap business."

The decision of the carmen's union to call the strike encouraged the union members. One told me that he used to have a low opinion of the union. But, "because of this strike, we're proud of the union."



## FOR CONSIDERATION BY RAILROAD WORKERS AND OUR UNIONS

Various Rail Labor Organizations are consolidating their efforts to support and sponsor this resolution as a proposal for action and a unified statement by rail labor to save rail jobs and services.

Read it, show it to your co-workers, discuss it at your next local or lodge meeting, post it on bulletin boards, pass it around as a petition, etc. If your union endorses it, mail the coupon below and be added to the list of sponsors. Initial sponsors of the resolution are listed on the other side. Let's make our voices heard!

For further information, call (212) 420-9199 or write to the address on the coupon below.

**WHEREAS** rail labor is united with the travelling public in its desire for safe, clean, efficient, low-cost rail transportation and firmly believes that the railroads continue to be the most vital transportation link in the United States, as well as an essential service for working, poor and elderly people, and for small farmers and businesses, and

**WHEREAS** the Government and Carriers have consistently blamed their deficits on rail labor and have, thus far, been largely successful in the media in selling these gross distortions to the American people, as well as shutting off rail labor's access to the same media to answer these slanders, and

**WHEREAS** rail labor firmly believes that it is rail management's policies, an overstuffed, underqualified supervisory force, mismanagement, non-maintenance of tracks and equipment, and non-adherence to decent health and safety standards and working conditions that perpetuate these deficits, not rail labor's wages and benefits, and

**WHEREAS** it is increasingly clear that the current Conrail/Amtrak crisis is political in nature and that the Government and Carriers are not interested in pursuing any constructive action but rather are united in an attempt to destroy our hard won gains and to impose Chrysler-style givebacks on rail labor, as seen in the recently negotiated wage-deferral agreement, and

**WHEREAS** any solution imposed on Conrail/Amtrak workers will have national, industry-wide, long-term implications, paving the way for the "Conrailizing" of other railroads, just as Chrysler paved the way for the wage/benefit cuts currently demanded by GM and Ford, and

**WHEREAS** the proposed cuts and resulting layoffs will not only wreck the lives of tens of thousands of Conrail/Amtrak workers and their families, but will also rapidly bankrupt the Railroad Retirement System, threatening the pensions, unemployment and sick benefits of all active, furloughed, retired

and disabled rail workers throughout the country, and

**WHEREAS** we cannot rely upon the so-called "friends of labor" in Washington who were tripping over themselves to be first to vote for cuts in rail subsidies and who, despite concessions by rail labor, are determined yet to break our backs, therefore be it

**RESOLVED** that solidarity among rail labor such as that demonstrated by our march on Washington April 29th be the foundation of our fight, and that we enlist and mobilize the support of other unions and groups, and the travelling public through an education and outreach campaign, and unite with those who, like ourselves, want to save rail service and jobs in this country, and be it further

**RESOLVED** that rail labor mobilize its ranks to say NO to this bi-partisan attack on rail service and jobs, and build a national, unified resistance by organizing mass protest meetings and speak-outs, informational picket lines, local/regional demonstrations, press conferences, petitions, etc., and be it further

**RESOLVED** that we call upon our national union leadership to advise the Government, the Carriers and the American people that unless Conrail and Amtrak are guaranteed sufficient federal funding to restore jobs and services on both to at least their highest levels, to maintain passenger fares at no higher than their current rates, and to cover wage and benefit increases negotiated in the National Agreement for all rail workers, that we will have no alternative but to "consider general work stoppages, to show our commitment and strength" (as stated by our international leaderships before the April 29th demonstration), and be it further

**RESOLVED** that, if the Federal Government refuses to provide the above guarantees, and all else fails, we call upon the leadership to effect a nationwide strike as soon as all legal requirements are met.

### INITIAL LIST OF SPONSORS

**New York**  
Division 501, Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers (BLE), N.Y.C.  
Lodge 1474, Brotherhood of Railway and Airline Clerks (BRAC), N.Y.C.  
Joseph Kelly, President, Local 817, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers (IBEW), N.Y.C.

**New Jersey**  
Division 53, Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers (BLE)  
Local 800, United Transportation Union (UTU), Hoboken  
Local 1411, United Transportation Union (UTU), Hoboken  
Local 232, United Transportation Union (UTU), Trenton  
Lodge 331, Brotherhood of Railway & Airline Clerks (BRAC), Hoboken  
Lodge 331, American Railway & Airway Supervisors Association, Division of BRAC, Conrail  
Local 396, Sheetmetal Workers International Association (SMWIA)  
Local 325, Sheetmetal Workers International Association (SMWIA)  
Local 1134, International Association of Machinists (IAM)  
Local 1154, International Association of Machinists (IAM)  
Local 604, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers (IBEW), Hoboken  
Lodge 1053, Brotherhood of Railway Carmen of America, Hoboken  
Romie Fann, Local Protective Chairman, Lodge 173, Brotherhood of Railway & Airline Clerks (BRAC), Hoboken  
Edward C. Snyder, General Chairman, The American Railway & Airline Supervisors Association, Division of BRAC, New Jersey & Eastern Pennsylvania  
Sam Maffei, Local Chairman, Local 1944, International Association of Machinists (IAM)

**California**  
District 1909, Brotherhood of Railway & Airline Clerks (BRAC), Northern California & Nevada

**Connecticut**  
Tommy Finn, Local Chairman, Lodge 1027, United Transportation Union (UTU), New Haven

**Maryland**  
Local 65, Brotherhood of Railway Signalmen (Conrail members), Baltimore

**Massachusetts**  
Mike Maloof, Local Chairman, Local 1473, United Transportation Union (UTU), Boston

**Michigan**  
Bill Connell, Local Chairman, Local 1477, United Transportation Union (UTU), Detroit

**Ohio**  
Al Ransome, Local Chairman, Local 1724, United Transportation Union (UTU), Youngstown

**Pennsylvania**  
Jack Arnold, Local Chairman, Local 1418, United Transportation Union (UTU), Conway Yard, Pittsburgh  
Edmund J. Zaldaris, General Chairman, The American Railway & Airline Supervisors Association, Division of BRAC, Philadelphia & Reading, Pennsylvania

## American Railroads: the case for nationalization by Dick Roberts

Railroads are a public necessity. They are essential to millions of commuters. Hundreds of factories receive vital supplies and ship finished products by rail. But service is being cut, and equipment and roadbeds are deteriorating at an alarming rate. Why are the railroads dying?

This book explains the crisis in rail today by examining the history and economics of the industry: Who owns the railroads? What are their interests? How do they operate?

What have rail workers accomplished in past struggles? How can they defend their jobs and improve their conditions today? And how can the railroads be reorganized to meet the needs of the majority they serve—the farmers, small businesses, and workers?

An important reference for people who want to understand the decline of a vital utility. 109 pp. \$2.45 paper, \$9 cloth. Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014. (Include \$.75 postage)



# Mazzocchi campaigns for OCAW presidency

By Jon Hillson

CHICAGO—Citing the biggest challenges the labor movement has faced in decades as the backdrop to his campaign for president of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers union (OCAW), Tony Mazzocchi told supporters here that if elected he'd press for a wide-ranging discussion on the need for a "new political party, a labor party where working people have control over their lives."

Mazzocchi, the union's health and safety director who narrowly lost to the incumbent Robert Goss two years ago at OCAW's national convention, told Chicago area supporters on June 14 that "for the first time in post-World War II history" the "existence of [the labor movement] is threatened."

"Under siege" from the government and big business, "the labor movement is in retreat," Mazzocchi said. The employers' "period of accommodation" with the labor movement "is over with." Even "a shrinking movement is too much for the bosses."

Accelerating a trend begun with Carter, Reagan's administration has slashed OSHA, elevated the "most racist elements to high position," and encouraged the "resurrection of the Ku Klux Klan" and an "escalation of red-baiting," Mazzocchi said.

The American people, he said, "are ready for progressive direction" and "need a new political direction."

"I think a [new] political party's an absolute necessity if we're going to have peace and if we're going to turn back the forces of reaction and address the real problems of this country," Mazzocchi said. These are the problems of jobs, economic crisis and plant shutdowns.

"Rather than rallying people to contest what is," he said, the union hierarchy is "trying to find a niche."

The union membership, he said, "is totally alienated from their leadership," but people "will forcefully fight for change" if they know what the "nature of [that] change is."

The labor movement must again become society's crusader, he said, which underscored the reason for his campaign: to help "change the direction of the labor movement."

Mazzocchi announced his campaign at the end of March. He blasted Goss for misleadership in the bitter four-month oil workers' strike last year, which brought OCAW members little more than the initial offer from the oil barons.

It was, Mazzocchi told OCAW members in announcing his presidential effort, a "strike without a strategy," an action that was "invisible nationally."

Despite massive public outrage at high gas prices and oil industry profits, Goss refused "to mobilize public opinion behind oil worker demands."

The OCAW contract expires shortly, Mazzocchi explained, with the industry knowing that only half the refineries and a "small fraction" of refinery support systems are organized. During the last strike, Mazzocchi said, the oil kings "knew that our picket lines could not stop production."

But all Goss had, he stated, was "a picket-line strategy."

"Larger picket lines and longer strikes are not the solution," Mazzocchi told OCAW members. The "industry must learn that we are prepared to fully mobilize our union, our brothers and sisters in other unions, as well as the public at large in support of our demands."

The 1980s, Mazzocchi told his Chicago supporters, will be "tumultuous in many respects."

Revelations about work-related cancer epidemics, and the linkage between work and heart disease and birth defects in workers' children will produce an "indignation level of American workers that is going to reach an all-time high," Mazzocchi said.

He termed the Israeli raid on the Iraqi nuclear site a prelude of "what's to come on a grander scale. The threat of nuclear

annihilation is greater today than ever before in our history."

Despite the absence of membership referendum of union officers, who are elected at a delegated convention, Mazzocchi said his "whole campaign is based on reaching the rank and file."

Telling his audience he was not a rank-and-file insurgent himself, Mazzocchi said his views of the problems of the labor movement came from his being "within the mainstream. I've been a bureaucrat for thirty years."

It's from this point, he said, that he finds "a great deal of receptiveness when I raise the question of a new political party."

Mazzocchi says there's no blueprint for a labor party, but that what's needed is to "institute discussion on the grass-roots level, among the rank and file, then formulate a program."

While still supporting "progressive Democrats," the Democratic party, he says, "is not where it's at."

"This decade," Tony Mazzocchi says in Chicago and on the stump around the country, "is going to be full of new revelations, new clashes. And I would certainly like to be in a position to give some leadership to where that should go, because people are going to be angry like they've never been angry before."

## ... Blacks vs. Reaganism

Continued from back page

Since 1953 the country has suffered six recessions. The report points out: "Before Blacks had a chance to recover from one recession, they were subjected to another."

There were more unemployed Blacks in 1980 than at the peak of the 1974-75 recession (1.7 million compared to 1.5 million). Official Black teenage unemployment is 36 percent. But according to the National Urban League's figures, it is 59 percent and in some inner-city areas, closer to 80-90 percent.

During the 1960s there was a period when the gap between average Black and white family income was closing. However, since the mid-1970s the trend has been reversed. In every region of the country the ratio of Black family earnings to those of whites has dropped: Northeast (71 percent to 58 percent); West (77 percent to 62 percent); North Central (73 percent to 63 percent); and South (57 percent to 56 percent). The gap is widening fast.

Reagan's response to this crisis in the Black community is more cruelty: deep cuts in social services and moves to roll back civil rights.

### Roll back civil rights

The Reagan administration argues that the government should play little or no role in protecting Black rights—leave it to the states and big business. The Reagan budget is based on giving more money to the rich and more say to the states—a new "federalism," Reagan calls it. This "federalism" is nothing but a green light for racist state and local governments. The argument is that the richer the rich get, the more jobs they will create for the poor.

Two of the things Reagan's team is most against are busing to achieve school desegregation and affirmative-action programs. These are two of the things that benefit Blacks the most.

Reagan says he favors affirmative-action programs, but without quotas or teeth. In fact, he is for eliminating most of the positive programs in the 1960s. This means few or no openings for Blacks in fields we've been kept out of through decades of discrimination.

On busing, Reagan is dead against it. Already, congressional action prevents the Department of Education from requiring busing as a precondition for federal aid to school districts.

The Justice Department cannot take

legal actions requiring busing to eliminate unequal education. And Attorney General William French Smith has pledged not to seek desegregation through busing.

Thus we have seen no new advances on the school desegregation issue. Many Blacks aren't hopeful that school desegregation is possible anymore. The decision of the California Supreme Court to dismantle the modest Los Angeles desegregation program confirms this fear.

### Voting rights

Another civil rights gain under attack by the government—which is an attack on a basic democratic right—is the Voting Rights Act adopted by Congress in 1965.

This act allowed the great majority of Blacks in the South, for the first time since Radical Reconstruction (the twelve-year period after the Civil War), to vote. It also represents the highest point of the massive civil rights movement.

The racists in Congress and around the country say the law discriminates against southern states. It is also not needed anymore since Blacks can and do vote.

Let's listen to AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland a moment to put this question in perspective: "We cannot . . . pretend that we have in fifteen years returned the situation to what it would have been had there been no discrimination or had there not been a long-term failure to correct that wrong."

In 1964 no Blacks in the South could vote where Jim Crow segregation laws were on the books and enforced. Seventeen years later an equal number of Blacks and whites are now registered.

However, many of the staunch opponents of Black equality, like Senator Thurmond, are still around and still hate Blacks. If the Voting Rights Act is allowed to expire in August 1982, it will be a signal to racists nationwide to step up their attacks.

Overall the aim of the racist assault on Black rights by the government, employers, and right-wing groups is to alter the status quo to the detriment of Blacks.

### Bipartisan attacks

These attacks are not by Reagan alone. They are bipartisan—by Democratic and Republican politicians.

Even Black elected officials, especially Black mayors, are helping to admin-

ister these policies. Two prime examples are Maynard Jackson in Atlanta. He's the man in charge of the racist cover-up of the child murders. The other is Coleman Young of Detroit. He just rammed through a higher tax in the city and plans to freeze wages of the majority-Black municipal employees.

It is no wonder the "old" Black leaders—the misleaders of the traditional organizations—are not leading a mass response to Reagan's attacks. They are shocked by the severity of the offensive. But they are also looking for progress through the Republicans and Democrats. That includes avoiding any clash with the Jacksons and Youngs. As long as they tie the Black community to "friends" in the Democratic and Republican parties, little progress can be made.

### NBUF and NBIPP

However, there are two new Black organizations that present a different view on what to do about the Reagan attacks. They are the National Black United Front (NBUF) and the National Black Independent Political Party (NBIPP). Both were formed in 1980—NBUF in the summer and NBIPP in the fall.

The NBUF convention will take place in New York City on July 2-5. The NBIPP's will occur on August 21-23 in Chicago.

Both these organizations are vanguard formations in the Black movement. They consciously reject many of the old tactics used by traditional Black leaders and openly proclaim the need for Blacks to build a mass-based movement for full equality and self-determination.

The NBUF has sixteen chapters and a presence in thirty-five cities across the country. Since its formation, NBUF has been active around community struggles against police brutality, for better education, and for decent housing. It has supported international struggles—the Grenadian revolution, the Irish and Palestinian freedom movements, and the liberation struggles in southern Africa.

The NBIPP is for independent Black politics. It rejects relying on the capitalist parties—the Democrats and Republicans—to advance the liberation of Black people. History has shown this to be impossible.

The NBUF also stands for mass-based political action by the Black community. It hasn't yet developed a national electoral strategy. Many members and leaders, however, favor working in the

Democratic Party or supporting "progressive" Democrats to move the Black movement forward. Others don't agree.

The NBUF convention will be grappling with this issue and other important questions facing Blacks today.

They will also be discussing its relationship to the NBIPP and other Black organizations. The NBIPP plans to discuss its relationship to the NBUF and other organizations at its founding congress too.

Both leaderships favor united-front actions against the Reagan attacks—with each other, traditional civil rights organizations, the labor movement, and other groups.

### Road forward

What the Black movement needs today is a new program and strategy to fight back. We need a new type of leadership that doesn't buckle to the pressures and blows of the government and employers.

We won the Voting Rights Act in 1965 after decades of struggles against Jim Crow and racist treatment. We mobilized our numbers—and won support from our real friends—against illegal laws and for our just demands. Through this independent political action we scored gains and won big victories.

Today we face bigger obstacles than we did twenty years ago. The country is in a deep economic crisis. The rulers can't give major concessions. They must carry out serious cutbacks. They must reverse gains won by Blacks, women, and the labor movement to reap higher profits. And they will drive forward on this perspective unless there is a fight.

These conditions mean the Black organizations—traditional and new ones—must clearly come to grips in a new way with the issues we face. Otherwise they will become ineffective. We will suffer new setbacks, which will even affect the Black middle-class and professional layers.

We need a leadership that challenges the basic "rights" and prerogatives of the rich, including their foreign policy. We need a mass political party to fight for our interests.

Gatherings like the conventions of the NBUF, NBIPP, and the traditional civil rights organizations can point the way forward by forthrightly dealing with these issues, rejecting previous strategies that have helped bring us to our current dilemma.

That's the challenge we face in the 1980s.



# File suit in N.C. Klan-Nazi murders

By Vivian Sahner

NEW YORK—A \$37 million civil suit has been filed on behalf of those murdered and injured by Ku Klux Klan and Nazi gunmen in Greensboro, North Carolina, on November 3, 1979.

Jim Waller, Sandra Smith, Bill Sampson, Cesar Cauce and Michael Nathan—all members of the Communist Workers Party—were shot to death while they participated in an antiracist rally. Nine other participants were seriously wounded.

Despite the fact that the attack was filmed by television crews, the six Klan and Nazi members charged with the murders were later acquitted by a jury.

Edward Dawson, a police agent and former FBI informer who helped lead the Klan attack, was never called to testify at the trial. Neither was Bernard Butkovich, a Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms agent who urged the Nazis to bring guns.

The lawsuit was filed against the Greensboro Police Department; the FBI; the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms; members of the KKK and Nazi party; and others.

Buck Wong, a staff member of the Greensboro Justice Fund, told the *Militant*, "We're saying it's not a coincidence that all of those killed were members of the CWP and active in the labor movement down there."

"Jim Waller was president of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union local at the Cone Mills in Granite," he said.

"The company fired him. After he was fired the workers elected him president of the local. . . . Later, the local was put into receivership."

"Smith and Sampson were union activists, too. These people were put under surveillance for their labor activity and because they tried to unite Black and white workers, which some people really can't stand."

The security director of Cone Mills Corporation is also a defendant in the lawsuit.

"We wanted to file this suit because there's so much that hasn't been disclosed about this case," Wong continued. He pointed out that no conspiracy charges were raised at the trial.

"The Klan and Nazis pleaded self-

fense and they got acquitted on those grounds, even though there is a video tape. They were not provoked into shooting these people; they just came out and attacked them."

"The government prosecutor openly stated that, in his opinion, the people of Greensboro felt that the commies got what they deserved."

"It's not surprising with that attitude," Wong said, "that the jury selection was such that you got a lot of people who were very anticommunist on it. The jury foreman was a Cuban exile who openly participates in Omega 7-type organizations. . . . Another jury member was a neighbor of one of the Klansmen."

"It was a really dehumanizing trial. All the way to the end—and it was quite a few weeks long—they never referred to the people that were killed by name; they referred to them as 'the commies.'"

Wong added, "To this day, there is a tremendous media distortion about the attack. They tried to say it was a shooting between two extreme groups, and that the left provoked it."

"They are trying to say to the majority of American people—Hey, this doesn't matter to you. . . . But that's not true—it matters to everybody; it matters regardless of how you feel about the CWP."

"In many ways it's similar to the Socialist Workers Party lawsuit," Wong added. "The government says in that case that it has the right to spy on the SWP even if everything that party is doing is legal. We think that's dangerous. That's why the SWP suit and our suit are important."

Wong said that the government agencies named in the lawsuit have filed motions to have the lawsuit dismissed.

"That's our next hurdle in this case—that, and raising money to pay for the suit."

The Greensboro Justice Fund is a non-profit organization established to raise money for this lawsuit. Philip Berrigan and Rev. Ben Chavis are two of the fund's directors. The advisory board includes Anne Braden, Rafael Cancel Miranda, and Ann Sheppard.

For more information about this case, write to the Greensboro Justice Fund, 853 Broadway, Room 1912, New York City, New York 10003; or call (212) 254-4695.

# Mt. St. Helens victims take state gov't to court

By Dennis Richter

SEATTLE—Relatives of eight victims of the May 18, 1980 eruption of Mount St. Helens have filed a wrongful-death lawsuit against the State of Washington, charging all eight died as a result of negligence on the part of the state.

Sixty-one people were known to have been killed or believed to have been buried in the eruption. Of the victims, fifty-eight were killed outside the area set up as the restricted zone or Red Zone around the volcano.

Bette Gadwa's husband Thomas Gadwa, a logger, vanished in the eruption. She said the main reason for the lawsuit was to let everybody know what really happened.

The suit charges that former governor Dixie Lee Ray ignored repeated warnings to expand the restricted zone around Mount St. Helens because she was protecting the timber industry. The area around Mount St. Helens is rich timber land. The timber industry is the largest profit maker in the state.

The former governor claims that she gave no special treatment to Weyerhaeuser, the largest timber company in Washington. George Weyerhaeuser was one of the members of Dixie Lee Ray's economic council.

One day after the eruption, Ray declared that many of those who died

"were people who deliberately ignored the warnings" of officials.

She did admit, though, that "economic considerations" played a strong part in setting the restricted zone boundaries. "The state cannot take away people's way of making a living," she said.

At one roadblock on the mountain, twelve miles from the summit, several people were killed when they were buried by the hot flow that destroyed the supposedly "safe" area. Four days before the huge eruption, geologists and state police had proposed moving the roadblock four more miles away from the mountain. An executive order to move the roadblock had been prepared days before the May 18 blast. It was never signed.

Washington state attorneys are also preparing their defense against a \$1 million suit filed in January by an Oregon man who suffered burns over 40 percent of his body. James Scymanky has charged the state, Weyerhaeuser, and federal authorities with negligence.

"Those people who died were people like my husband," said Bette Gadwa. "They were average decent people. They weren't negligent. I just believe most of those deaths wouldn't have had to happen. Those people wouldn't have gone near it if they had been given suitable warnings."

# National Picket Line



## No money, no work

More than 80 percent of New Hampshire's 9,200 state workers called in sick on June 23 when the state legislature tried to pass a two-year budget that only offered them a 6 percent increase the first year and nothing in the second.

The lawmakers wanted to ignore an agreement already signed with the State Employees Association for a 9 percent increase each year—but the workers had other ideas.

On June 23 there was no state lottery. No roads got fixed. Fifty of the state's sixty-nine liquor stores were closed. So were the motor vehicle registration offices, the unemployment offices, and the welfare offices. The highway toll booths were staffed by supervisors and the state had to shell out \$40,000 for national guardsmen who were called in to work at the mental hospitals.

After orders from the state labor board, the workers went back on the job the next day. On June 26 the governor vetoed the budget, saying that more money was needed to fulfill the wage agreements.

## Thousands of postal workers picket May 25

Thousands of postal workers conducted informational picket lines at post offices across the country on May 25.

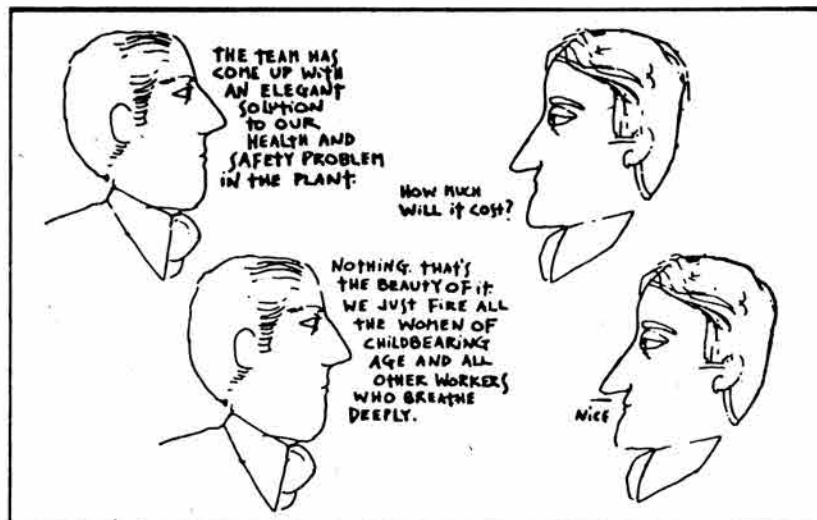
"Postal Solidarity Day" was organized to let the public know the issues at stake in the current contract talks—the forced speed-up, lack of safety on the job, mandatory overtime, and a threat to eliminate the cost-of-living clause from the postal workers' contracts.

Negotiations on the contracts, which expire July 20, were stalled for two months by Postmaster General William Bolger, who tried to force the four postal unions to name one bargaining representative instead of the two the unions wanted. Postal workers are barred by federal law from striking.

At a picket of several hundred workers in Washington, D.C., Moe Biller, president of the 300,000-member American Postal Workers Union, said, "We don't want a confrontation, we want a contract." But, he added, "a contract is not something shoved down your throat."

More than 1,500 postal workers carried placards in Chicago. In New York City, several hundred demonstrated outside the city's main post office across from Madison Square Garden.

Five hundred marched in Pittsburgh, several hundred more in Miami.



## Support Kentucky hospital workers

Management at Highlands Regional Medical Center in Prestonsburg, Kentucky, tried to use a "take it or leave it" approach to contract negotiations with District 1199 and 280 hospital workers told them where they could leave it.

The 1199ers—230 of them women—struck the 137-bed hospital March 25. It wasn't a decision they took lightly. Many are the sole support for their families or relatives of miners who were also out on strike at the time.

The main issue is money—197 of them get paid less than four dollars an hour.

So far management's only answer has been terror tactics: Telephone threats carried messages that workers would be killed or crippled unless they end their strike, cars were sabotaged, and the strike headquarters was raked by gunfire.

Strikers have been beaten by club-wielding "security guards." Their small picket line—limited to five by the courts—is surrounded by forty-six hired goons from Nuckols, one of the most blatantly violent strike-breaking companies operating in the South.

"I never dreamed that a hospital would be so cruel," says nurse's aide Flo Music, a miner's widow. "They've tried to run us over, and it's kind of scary. But we've got to make things better for ourselves and the sick we take care of."

Six United Mine Workers locals have sent donations to the 1199 workers.

The hospital workers union has launched a national "adopt-a-striker" campaign to help these workers. In a mailing sent to the *Militant*, Leon Davis, president of the National Union of Hospital and Health Care Employees, urges supporters to send donations to Prestonsburg Hospital Workers, P.O. Box 78, Auxier, Kentucky 41602.

—Vivian Sahner





**Besides, it can only kill you**—A pending Senate bill would redefine a safe chemical as one that shows "an absence of significant risk." The bill would also gradually phase out carcinogenic food substances, rather than banning them. Philosophized Senator Orrin Hatch, "Some degree of risk is necessary."

**Gee!**—Ford's director of energy planning said that what with the surplus of oil, he doesn't think the price of gaso-

line will go beyond two dollars a gallon.

**Morality dep't**—The Department of Health and Human Services said it canceled an anti-smoking ad campaign featuring actress Brooke Shield because it was "slick" and "Hollywood-oriented." An official added that Shield, sixteen, had played a child prostitute in "Pretty Baby" and was not a proper person to persuade teenagers not to smoke. He heatedly denied the campaign was scratched because of tobacco industry pressure.

**How do you manage without it?**—We were never really persuaded that a Rolls Royce was worth \$100,000 until we learned that when you flick on the radio, the antenna goes up automatically.

**Sober appraisal**—"I'm running like crazy"—California's ultra right senator, S.I. Hayakawa, on his bid for reelection.

**Fashion note**—Body Armor International, Inc. is offering a bulletproof "executive vest" in charcoal grey, \$300. Other colors to order.

**Merrie England**—English workers may be afflicted with 11 percent unemployment but, like here, things are not all that bad. For instance, a London gambling joint operator tossed a party for his daughter, sending out hand-painted invitations. The invites cost \$40,000.

**Shopping tip**—If you want to shop early for Father's Day, there's a sterling silver toothpick (won't splinter) which slips into a leather case. But \$12.50.

## Our Revolutionary Heritage

### Two revolutions to celebrate in July

July is the month in which we celebrate the Declaration of Independence of 1776—the birth of the American nation during its revolution—and the attack on the Moncada Barracks that began the struggle that led to the Cuban revolution.

Given the growing amount of anti-Cuba propaganda in the United States, it is worth reviewing some points of similarity between the two revolutions.

For the same kind of false charges now being leveled against Cuba were directed against the American government by the reactionaries of that day.

Just as Castro did not come to power in 1959 with a fully-developed socialist program, so the leaders of the American revolution had begun their resistance to British oppression before they concluded that full independence was necessary.

When the Castro government's efforts to end foreign domination and improve living conditions in Cuba led it to initiate socialist measures, the U.S. media charged that Castro must have been a secret "Communist plotter" all along.

Similarly, the loyalist supporters of the British crown in this country found the movement toward American independence to arise not from the needs of the struggle, but from the sinister plots of the revolutionary leaders.

The loyalists charged, says historian Carl Van Doren, that "unscrupulous usurpers were tightening their hold on the country as their power increased. . . . Were they not . . . rigidly set on the policy of independence they had long denied?"

Each revolution followed the same course of deepening radicalization. A loyalist clergyman, urging Washington to give up the revolutionary cause, wrote: "The most respectable characters have withdrawn themselves, and are succeeded by a great majority of illiberal and violent men."

The opponents of the American revolution, like those of the Cuban revolution, denounced it as a new tyranny worse than the evils of the old order. "You will find these pretended enemies of oppression the most unrelenting oppressors," said the rector of Trinity Church in New York, "and their little finger heavier than the king's loins."

Van Tyne, in *The Loyalists in the American Revolution*, states that the records show that the American rebels indeed made use of repressive measures. These were necessary to counter the sabotage and other efforts of those who, working together with the armed power of Great Britain, would have destroyed the revolution.



The distance between the two countries, and Britain's preoccupation with other wars, placed limitations on its ability to subvert the triumphant American revolution.

U.S. imperialism, on the other hand, engaged in acknowledged sabotage, assassination plots, and an abortive military expedition in the years after the Cuban revolution. Imperialism continues its trade embargo and military threats today, yet has the gall to talk about the "failure" of a revolution that has the enthusiastic support of the great majority of Cuba's people.

No historian estimates the number of emigres from the American revolution at less than 100,000, and many estimate it at 200,000. The total population



then was only 2.75 million. Emigration from Cuba, a country of 10 million, has been proportionately less, despite the embargo and the psychological warfare of U.S. imperialism.

Finally, French aid caused the United States to incur the same charge of domination by a foreign power as Cuba today. "Of all the errors made by the Whigs," says Van Tyne, "[the French alliance] was regarded [by the loyalists] as the keystone. The wretched financiering, the oppressive laws, the despotic powers given Washington . . . were but minor arguments compared with the sinfulness of this wicked alliance."

However, far from the United States having been France's puppet, libertarian ideas spread from the United States to France, contributing to the French revolution.

So too is Cuba a beacon for struggles against injustice around the world today.

—Paul Siegel

## What's Going On

### MASSACHUSETTS BOSTON

**RALLY TO DEFEND THE BILL OF RIGHTS.** Speakers: Morton Sobel; Rep. Mel King; Joseph Feaster, president, Boston NAACP; Mary-Alice Waters, co-chair, Socialist Workers Party; Jim Jordan, Boston Guardian Bureau; Leslie Cogan, Mobilization for Survival; others. Sat., July 11, 7 p.m. Church of the Covenant, 67 Newbury St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Political Rights Defense Fund. For more information call (617) 262-4621.

### MICHIGAN DETROIT

**'THE RISE OF LABOR.'** A documentary film on industrial unionism. Speaker: Seth Wigderson, Ph.D. candidate in labor history, Wayne State University. Sun., July 12, 7 p.m. 6404 Woodward. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (313) 875-5322.

### NEW YORK MANHATTAN

**PROTEST UNITED NATIONS CONFERENCE ON KAMPUCHEA.** Conference has been organized to support murderous Pol Pot forces and condemn Vietnamese aid to Phnom Penh government. Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea—among others—are boycotting it. Protest will be held Monday, July 13, 4:30-6:30 p.m. UN headquarters, First Avenue and 45th Street.

### OHIO CLEVELAND

**POLAND: EYEWITNESS REPORT.** Speaker: Bruce Lesnick, member of Socialist Workers Party. Sat., July 11, 7 p.m. 2230 Superior. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (216) 579-9369.

### OREGON PORTLAND

**'UNACCEPTABLE RISK.'** An antinuclear slide show. To be followed by discussion. Sun., July 12, 7:30 p.m. 711 N.W. Everett. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (503) 222-7225.

### WEST VIRGINIA CHARLESTON

**THE FIGHT FOR SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY IN POLAND: AN EYEWITNESS REPORT.** Speaker: DeAnn Rathbun, member, United Mine Workers Local 1190 and Young Socialist Alliance. Sat., July 11, 8 p.m. St. John's Episcopal Church, 1105 Quarrier St., Room 109. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (304) 345-3040.

### NEW YORK INDOCHINA:

#### U.S. RENEWS WAR THREATS

Speakers:

**Chan Bun Han**, native of Kampuchea, recently returned from visit to Kampuchea

**Fred Feldman**, staff writer for Militant newspaper

A Vietnamese speaker  
**Abe Weisburd**, of Committee in Solidarity with Vietnam, Laos, and Kampuchea

**Friday, July 10, 7:30 p.m.**  
**108 E. 16th St., 2nd floor**

Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (212) 260-6400.



# Letters

## 'Selective reading of history'

I am both amused and appalled by your very selective (to say the least) reading of history as expressed in "Behind Israeli War Threats in Middle East" (May 29 *Militant*).

I am very well aware of the horrible ironies of Israeli history, and it is doubtless true that "the current crisis is actually a continuation of the war that Israel has been waging against the Arab and especially the Palestinian people since its foundation."

How convenient of you, though, not to mention that the Arab nations have also been warring against Israel since its inception; that millions of Arabs surrounded the fledgling state with total hostility; that many Arab armies threatened Israel in its founding with vociferous screams of "Death to the Jews"—a cry still ringing in our ears from European events, in case you've forgotten. It is the Arab nations who have had the most cynical and callous disregard for their Palestinian brethren, using them as pawns in the ebb and flow of their own political games.

It may very well be that the proposed partition of 1948 would have proved unworkable, and it may be that the Israelis would have disregarded the new Palestinian state just as much as the Arab states have; history did not write that chapter. But if the Arab states

had let be, we would at least have been thirty-three years into trying to make the partition plan work, rather than still dealing with the situation that daily creates more blood and more bitterness.

Certainly Israel is neither guiltless nor perfect. But your attitude is one-sided, to say the least. As such, it is not worthy of a socialist organization or its newspaper.

I will be very interested to see if you have the courage to print this in your letters column, which seems to consist mostly of sycophancy.

Joanne Forman  
Taos, New Mexico

## Zionism

Your editorial on the attempt by apologists for the Reagan administration to discredit Jacobo Timerman missed a key point.

You showed how this sordid affair has exposed "neoconservatives" like Irving Kristol and right-wing social democrats like Carl Gershman. But one of the most important aspects is what it reveals about Zionism.

Zionism claims to be a national liberation movement. It claims to represent the only possible defense against anti-Semitism, and the only way to prevent Nazi-type victimizations of Jews.

Socialists have long denied this. We have explained that Zionism is a strategy which puts the Jewish people in

alliance with their natural enemies (anti-Semitic capitalist ruling classes, such as the American imperialists) against their natural allies (oppressed peoples, especially the Palestinians). Israel, far from being a haven for the Jews, is a trap.

Nothing could make this clearer than the Timerman affair. Timerman has written a powerful exposé of the Argentine government's Nazi-like torture system, complete with swastikas and pictures of Hitler on the wall. And the loudest voice in the campaign to discredit Timerman is *Commentary*, the magazine of the American Jewish Committee.

Never has the utter moral bankruptcy of the *Commentary* crew been so thoroughly exposed. Podhoretz, Moynihan, Kirkpatrick, et al. stand naked as apologists for a bunch of anti-Semitic torturers.

But this is not just a case of American Zionists backing a Hitler-loving regime. They're only following the leader. *Israel itself gives military aid and political support to the Argentine dictatorship.*

It may seem absurd that a strategy aimed at defending the Jewish people could wind up supporting a regime that persecutes Jews, but it flows very logically from the false basis of the Zionist strategy: the alliance with the oppressors against the oppressed.

Cliff Conner  
New York, New York

OUTLAWING ABORTION IS  
NOT ANTI-WOMAN—  
IT'S PRO-FAMILY



SUCH LEGISLATION WILL  
ONCE AGAIN MAKE  
MOTHERHOOD...



RESPECTED, CHERISHED,  
HONORED...



AND MANDATORY



## Tax the bosses

The ill fate of mass transit in a capitalist system was accurately commented on in William Gottlieb's article in the June 19 issue of the *Militant*. It is particularly evident in the "suburbanized" cities in the Southeast as well as financially strapped large urban areas.

But please reemphasize his suggestion that big business support mass transit through taxation. In this state, two cities, Greensboro and Durham, have transit systems that are owned and operated privately by Duke Power Company. They are the worst systems in the state, under the most protest from the people.

The bosses should pay for mass transit—but put them behind the wheel and you've got a real capitalist mess!  
Clark Harper  
High Point, North Carolina

## 'We need more socialism'

After twenty-two years at the Budd Company in Gary, Indiana, I got laid off November 24, 1980. The company is closing its Gary plant in the

summer of 1983, because we have the best local contract in the auto industry.

Enclosed is \$5 for three months [of the *Militant*]; I wish I could send a hundred. We need more socialism, not less. We read where people are refused treatment at a hospital even though they have a knife in their back or are in labor, because they do not have the money to pay their bill.

Today I have twelve Supplemental Unemployment Benefits checks coming. I do not know when I will get them, but the bill collectors are going to sue me. However, I cannot sue the Budd Company for S.U.B. checks that are three months late. This is capitalist justice.

Keep up the good work, and when things get better here I will send more money.  
S.A.  
Crown Point, Indiana

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.

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WISCONSIN: Milwaukee: SWP, YSA, 4707 W. Lisbon Ave. Zip: 53208. Tel: (414) 445-2076.



## Blacks vs. Reaganism

### The challenges of the 1980s

By Malik Miah

Over the summer a number of Black rights organizations will be holding national conventions—the National Black United Front, NAACP, National Urban League, Operation PUSH, Southern Christian Leadership Conference, and the National Black Independent Political Party. They will be faced with a big challenge: to develop a fightback strategy to answer the severe cutback programs promised or initiated by the Reagan administration; and to respond to increased racist violence and murders like what we've seen in Atlanta.

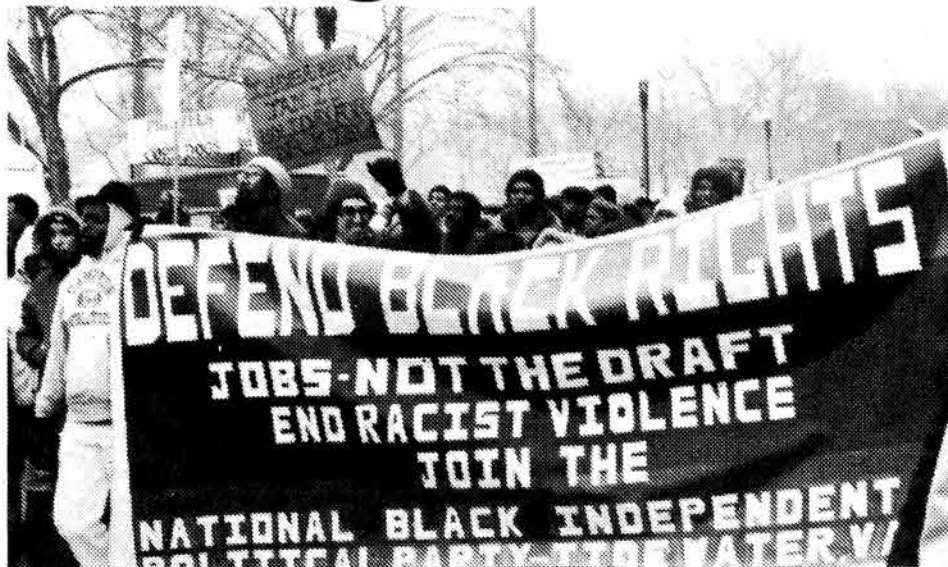
Reagan's proposed budget slashes programs that have benefited working people, especially Blacks: CETA jobs for youth, Social Security, Medicaid, education, and housing subsidies.

At the same time, Reagan's budget has the largest military expenditures in the history of the country.

The old methods employed by the traditional civil rights organizations are not working. The Black community is worse off than it has been in years.

What are the central questions facing Blacks today?

They are identical to the ones facing working people as a whole: the threat of



Tidewater, Virginia, chapter of National Black Independent Political Party organized contingent at the giant January 15 Martin Luther King Jr. march. NBIPP represents new layer of leaders coming forward in the Black community in response to Reagan's attacks.

war, plummeting living standards and cuts in social services, and attacks on democratic rights. All these have an even more severe impact on Blacks than on most white workers because of racism—that is, national oppression.

During the Vietnam War, for example, Blacks were wounded and killed in numbers disproportionate to our size in the population.

It is a sign of how Blacks feel about new Vietnams that the May 3 antiwar demonstration of 100,000 was led by a Black contingent organized by the Black United Front.

#### Economic catastrophe

The effects of the economic crisis on the Black community have been catastrophic. According to Vernon Jordan, president of the National Urban League, and the organization's annual "State of Black America" report, the condition of Blacks is rapidly declining.

Jordan says: "We expect 1981 to be a recession year, with all that implies for record high Black unemployment and an already devastated Black economy. Inflation is expected to remain high, squeezing the family budgets of the majority of Black people who are poor or moderate-income even harder. Murderous attacks on Black people in many cities continue to make headlines. The Klan and similar extremist, racist groups flourish in an atmosphere of revived anti-Black feeling."

The section of the report on the economic status of Black America is revealing—in fact, shocking.

Continued on page 20

## Supreme Court curbs right to travel

By Harry Ring

The Supreme Court decision upholding the right of the State Department to revoke Philip Agee's passport constitutes a reactionary new curb on civil liberties.

Trampling on the constitutionally guaranteed right to travel, the court ruled June 29 that "revocation of a passport undeniably curbs travel, but the freedom to travel abroad . . . is subordinate to national security and foreign policies considerations."

Agee has been a government target since he began his exposé of the reactionary role of the CIA in other countries.

In 1969 he resigned as a CIA agent because he couldn't stomach its dirty tricks. At a 1974 London press conference he announced his determination to expose CIA practices in every way he could. His book, *Inside the Company: A CIA Diary* bared much of what the cloak-and-dagger outfit is into.

In 1979, Secretary of State Cyrus Vance ordered Agee's passport revoked.

The present high court decision upholding that action coincides with the publication of a new book by Agee attacking the U.S. role in El Salvador and exposing trumped-up U.S. claims of Soviet and Cuban gun-running to the rebel forces in that country.

In a suit challenging the loss of his passport, Agee had argued it infringed on his constitutional right to travel, was a curb on his free speech, and that failure to grant him a prerevocation hearing denied his right to due process. Two lower courts upheld him on this.

Now, the Supreme Court has declared that his arguments are "without merit."

Arguing that it is essential that the State Department be armed with the right to decide who is entitled to a passport and who is not, the court asserted that a passport is "proof of identity and proof of allegiance to the United States."

What constitutes "allegiance" is, of course, not defined. The court leaves it up to the State Department.

The decision reaffirms a 1966 regulation authorizing revocation of passports where "the Secretary [of State] determines that the national's activities abroad are causing or are likely to cause serious damage to the national security or the foreign policy of the United States." (Emphasis added.)

Under this ruling, someone opposed to U.S. intervention in El Salvador could be denied a passport, or lose their present one.

Justices William Brennan and Thurgood Marshall dissented.

In his minority opinion, Brennan agreed with the majority's false assertion that Agee's exposure of illegal CIA activity abroad was harmful.

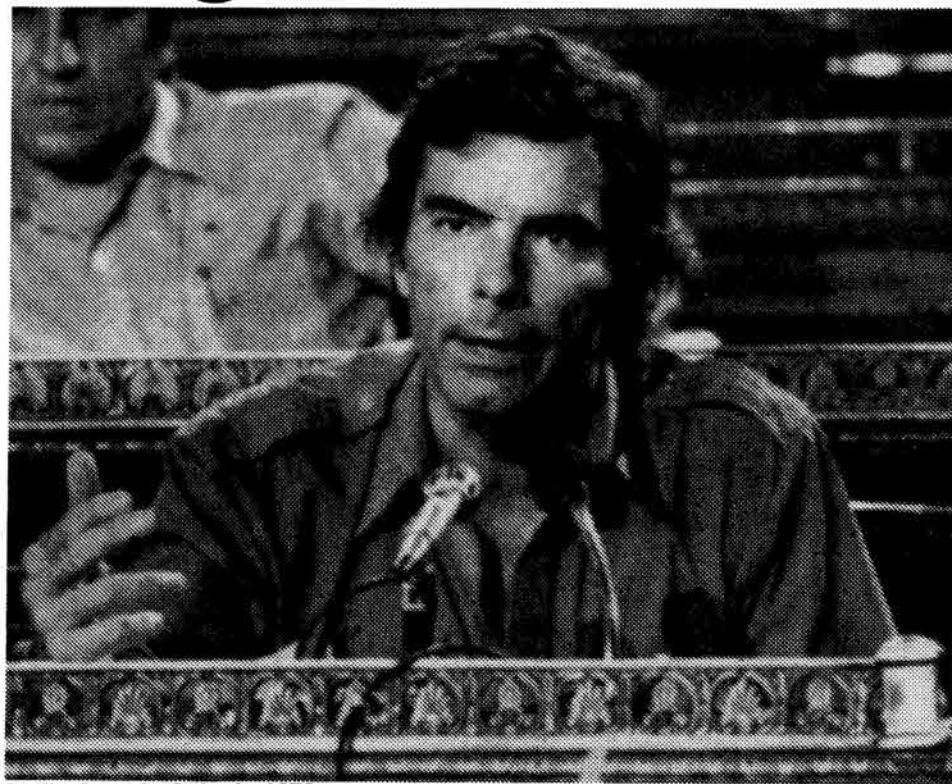
"But," Brennan wrote, "just as the Constitution protects both popular and unpopular speech, it likewise protects both popular and unpopular travelers."

He added: "And it is important to remember that this decision applies not only to Philip Agee . . . but also to other citizens who may merely disagree with Government foreign policy and express their views."

Governmental efforts to impose political curbs on the right to travel reached a peak during the McCarthy era.

Back in 1952, then Secretary of State Dean Acheson issued a policy statement declaring that the department should not issue a passport to someone "if information in its files gave reason to believe that he is knowingly a member of a Communist organization or that his conduct abroad is likely to be contrary to the best interests of the United States."

Like the present high court ruling, this had grave consequences since during that same year, 1952, Congress enacted a statute which for the first time made a passport a legal requirement for leaving or returning to the



Philip Agee in Cuba in 1978.

country.

During the '50s, many people were denied passports. Among them were Paul Robeson, W.E.B. DuBois, and Arthur Miller. Linus Pauling was denied passports three times.

In 1958 however, the Supreme Court sharply limited these travel curbs. After being denied a passport as a "communist," the noted artist Rockwell Kent had filed suit. In his case, and several related ones, the Supreme Court held that particularly since a passport had become a precondition for travel it was unconstitutional to deny someone that right because of their beliefs and associations.

Scrapping that decision, the present court now argues that in stripping Agee

of his passport, the State Department was inhibiting his "action," not his speech.

The justices piously stated, "Agee is as free to criticize the United States Government as he was when he held a United States passport."

To this Justice Brennan responded:

"Under the Court's rationale, I would suppose that a 40-year prison sentence imposed upon a person who criticized the Government's food stamp policy would represent only an 'inhibition of action.' After all, the individual would remain free to criticize the United States Government, albeit from a jail cell."

Meanwhile, the State Department said it was "pleased" with the decision.