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workers world

Workers and oppressed peoples of the world unite

Vol. 21, No. 6

February 9, 1979

25 cents

Claiming to 'improve' CETA plan

Carter slashes jobs for poor program

By NICK DE FREITAS

NEW YORK, Feb. 6—In the true style of Washington double-talk politics, the White House announced last Thursday that it was "improving" the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act (CETA) by putting an estimated 258,000 people back on the unemployment rolls.

"Jimmy" Carter, who attained the presidency on a platform of more jobs, and less money for the military, announced through his chief domestic advisor Stuart E. Eizenstat that those unemployed people "fortunate enough" to land a job in the public works program could do so "for no more than 18 months." At the end of this time they would be terminated with a vague government promise to make an "effort" to find them jobs in private industry. This is not the only job cut that Carter announced this year. In his State of the Union address last month Carter revealed plans to cut as many as 25,000 summer

jobs, denying thousands of poor, unemployed youth a chance for a much-needed income.

A DEPRESSION FOR BLACK YOUTH

It has been estimated by the Wall Street Journal that the present unemployment rate among Black teenagers has surpassed even the overall unemployment rate at the height of the Depression era, and one out of every four Black people cannot find a job. Now, the planned cuts in the CETA program (which at its best never really satisfied the needs of the unemployed) will add to the devastation of the poor, especially in the Black and Spanish speaking communities.

For Daniel Corritz who was a high school teacher in his native Puerto Rico losing his present CETA job would mean getting back to "peanut butter sandwiches everyday." Mr.

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'The shah is out! Somoza is next!' —p. 3



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THE STRUGGLE IN BRIEF

Amnesty for Nazi criminals protested at UN mission

NEW YORK, Jan. 30—About 300 people marched here today outside the West German mission to the United Nations to protest the plans of the West German government to allow a Statute of Limitations on Nazi war criminals to go into effect in December of this year. This would have the effect of a full pardon for all Nazi war criminals still at large at a time when German progressives are facing increased repression.

Under the Nazi government German capitalism murdered over eleven million Communists, Jews, Gypsies, gay people and opponents of fascism. Hundreds of Nazis who carried out these crimes have thus far escaped punishment and are at large in West Germany, the United States and other Western countries.

The protest was organized by the Generation After, an organization of the children of concentration camp and resistance survivors. A concentration camp survivor spoke to the crowd and demanded that the United States return Nazi war criminals living unhampered in this country to the countries where they committed their crimes in order to be tried and punished.

Most of the Nazi war crimes were committed in the Soviet Union and in now-socialist Eastern Europe, where there are no legal loopholes available for fascist members and where, unlike in West Germany, many captured war criminals were put to death for their genocidal crimes.

In West Germany and the United States there has been a revival of Nazism, and law officials either look the other way, or may even join Nazis who organize racist attacks against Blacks, Latins and Jewish people. In the Soviet Union, however, it is a crime to preach anti-semitism or racism in any form.

Ohio women confront 'right-to-life' rally

CLEVELAND, Jan. 22—Determined to defend the right of a woman to choose whether or not to bear children, nearly 200 women and men held a spirited picket line outside a right-wing anti-abortion rally here. Tonight's demonstration, called by the Pro-Choice Action Committee, and supported by many other groups coincided with the anniversary of the Supreme Court Decision legalizing abortion.

This strong show of protest is part of an ongoing fight against a national right-wing anti-abortion campaign. Groups such as the so-called "Right-to-Life" organization want to make it once again impossible for women to obtain safe, legal abortions. Their campaign has escalated since Congress passed the Hyde Amendment, denying Medicaid funds for abortions and thereby denying women their right to an abortion. They are particularly active in Ohio, where ordinances in the cities of Akron, Lakewood, and North Royalton have been passed severely limiting abortion rights. (A similar ordinance was defeated in Cleveland Heights because women repeatedly demonstrated against it.) There have been several firebombings of abortion clinics in this state.

Some of the women on the line came from Akron, where they have fought the right-wing ordinance with demonstrations of up to 1,000 strong.

Slogans called for an end to forced sterilization, defeat of the Hyde Amendment, free child care and free, safe abortion. The picketers' opposition to all right-wing causes came out with the chant "They're racist, sexist, and anti-gay, but we're gonna fight them all the way."

The ETHIOPIAN REVOLUTION & The Struggle Against U.S. Imperialism

... a week-by-week analysis from *Workers World* newspaper; and...

EYEWITNESS ETHIOPIA: The Continuing Revolution

By Deirdre Griswold

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Boston demonstrators say 'U.S. out of Iran!'

BOSTON, Jan. 25—Chants of "U.S. out of Iran!" and "U.S., hands off the Middle East," resounded in Copley Plaza here today as over 250 militant opponents of U.S. intervention in the Middle East demonstrated against a major U.S. State Department conference to plan just such intervention.

As the State Department experts inside the Copley Plaza Hotel were explaining U.S. imperialism's schemes against the Iranian and Palestinian people to the local ruling class, they could not ignore the militant voices and protest of the demonstrators, the majority of whom were from the Middle East.

The demonstration was called by a coalition called the Supporters of the Iranian, Palestinian and Lebanese People. The coalition included the Iranian Student Association, the Supporters of Palestinian Resistance, and the Supporters of the Lebanese National Movement. It brought together all of the major Palestinian, Iranian and Lebanese organizations in the area opposed to U.S. imperialism's role in the Middle East.

Cover-up of police murder rechallenged 21 years later

MILWAUKEE, Jan. 15—A secret grand jury investigation has been in session for seven weeks here, looking into a police cover-up of the murder of an unarmed Black man by a white cop 21 years ago.

The investigation began in November when a former cop told the district attorney that police had fabricated evidence that Daniel Bell, then 22, had tried to stab officer Thomas Grady with a knife before Grady shot Bell in the back. All testimony is being taken behind closed doors; public officials connected with the probe all decline comment.

At the trial of Grady and Klaus, six cops testified that they saw a knife in Bell's hand. However, three Black witnesses testified that there was no knife in Bell's hand when they saw him. Two witnesses said they saw the fatal shot fired, and that they saw no lunge or slash by Bell at Grady. The state crime lab reported that the shot which killed Bell had been fired point blank into his back.

The case did not close with this verdict, however. Mass protests of 500 or more, the first ever in Milwaukee's Black community, took place demanding Grady's removal and an end to police brutality. Though the protest movement put great pressure on city and police officials, the verdict of the inquest jury has stood for nearly 21 years.

With the admission that police made up the story about the knife, that verdict might be expected to change. But observers appear less than optimistic about the current probe being any more fair than the original cover-up, for Bell's case is certainly not the only one where the legal system has defended racist killer cops. The answer to these unprovoked attacks will not come from secret legal maneuvers, but from the same kind of mass protests which the Black community mounted some 21 years ago against the murder of an innocent man.

Join the struggle!

Workers World Party and Youth Against War & Fascism [YAWF] participate in and organize many of the struggles described in this newspaper. All work together in these organizations—Black, white, Latin, Asian, and Native peoples, young and old, gay and straight, working, unemployed, and students. We fight on all the issues that face the working class and oppressed peoples in this capitalist society.

If you would like to know more about Workers World and YAWF, or if you would like to join us in these struggles, contact the branch nearest you.

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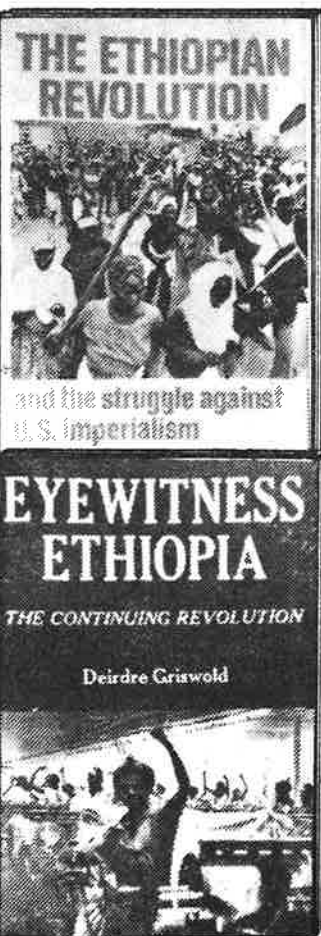
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Feb. 9, 1979



U.S. exposed for backing Nicaragua dictatorship

600 demonstrators denounce Somoza rule

By TANA MARIE LOY

NEW YORK, Feb. 3—Chanting "The Shah is out! Somoza is next!" over 600 people, many from Latin American countries, demonstrated in front of the Nicaraguan consulate here today to show their solidarity with the Nicaraguan people in their struggle against the U.S.-backed dictatorship of Gen. Anastasio Somoza.

The demonstration was called by the Coalition to Free Nicaragua to let the Carter administration

know that the Nicaraguan people and the working people of this country want no more U.S. intervention in Nicaragua under any form.

It was 52 years ago that the Somoza family was installed as Washington's puppet when invading U.S. Marines put down a popular uprising there. Since that time, U.S. banks and corporations have had a free hand to exploit the resources and the workers.

Like the people of Iran, the

Nicaraguan workers and peasants have rebelled against their oppressors. Last September, Somoza's National Guard killed 10,000 people during what amounted to a nationwide insurrection against the Somoza dictatorship. Led by the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN), this mass rebellion shook the U.S.-puppet regime to its very foundation.

Washington, short of a repeat performance of sending in the

Marines as it did 52 years ago, is pushing for what it calls a plebiscite. This call for a vote on whether Somoza should stay in power is an attempt by the imperialists to isolate the progressive forces from the masses. The plebiscite would mean just one thing: Somozism with or without Somoza. Even if Somoza loses the plebiscite the repressive National Guard would be left intact—with Somoza still as its head! In other words, all U.S. investments would continue to be protected.

The demonstration today exposed these plans of U.S. imperialism and truly represented the aspirations of the people of Nicaragua whose support of the anti-Somoza struggle, and particularly of the Sandinist Front, is virtually universal.

Salvador Orochena, speaking for the Nicaraguan community here said, "The roots of the problem of the suffering of my country is U.S. imperialism, the same as it is in Africa. . . . The principal criminal is the U.S.-installed Somoza." He also spoke of the support for the Sandinist fighters and of the fight to defend the dignity of the Nicaraguan

people. Saying that all sectors of population were in the struggle, the women, men, youth, students, workers, he outlined the program of the newly-formed Patriotic Front, a coalition which includes the FSLN, the Nicaraguan Workers Center, the Nicaraguan Democratic Movement, and others. The Front is completely opposed to U.S. mediation and calls for an end to U.S. intervention and the dismantling of the National Guard.

Julie Ocasio, speaking on behalf of the coalition that organized today's activity, said the working people in the U.S. have a "special responsibility to our class brothers and sisters in Nicaragua, because it is this government that is the direct oppressor of the Nicaraguan people."

The Coalition to Free Nicaragua, which called the demonstration, is composed of many groups including: the Association for Human Rights in Nicaragua, the Chilean Anti-Fascist Committee, the New Popular Panamanian Alternative, Chilean Trade Unionists in Exile, NICH, Workers World Party, and many more independents and progressive organizations.



Vieques fisherman Chelao displays the flag that is a symbol of their struggle against the U.S. Navy. Photo: Claridad

Vieques people defy U.S. Navy occupation

By C. BESSON

NEW YORK, Feb. 5—The 8,000 inhabitants of Vieques, a small island belonging to Puerto Rico, continue their determined struggle to rescue their island from the clutches of the U.S. Navy. They were joined this past week by two support demonstrations held in this city.

During the pre-dawn hours of Saturday morning, members of the Crusade for the Rescue of Vieques succeeded in pulling off a bold 2-pronged action in their campaign to disrupt the massive U.S.-NATO naval maneuvers which use Vieques as a target.

While a unit of U.S. Marines slept, about 100 members of the Crusade slipped unobserved into their bivouac area and silently set up camp.

According to Ismael Guadalupe, president of the Crusade, "We caught the Marines with their pants down. You should have seen the look on their faces when they came out of their tents in the morning in their underwear and saw us camped right next to them." According to the New York Times, Rear Adm. Arthur K. Knoizen, Chief of Naval

Operations in the Caribbean, personally inspected the campsites of the Viequeses through field glasses from a boat offshore. The Navy then proceeded with air-to-ground bombardment of the area, in reckless disregard for human life. The fishermen and their supporters withdrew from their encampments on Sunday and there were no arrests.

COURT RULES AGAINST FISHERMEN

Since Jan. 24, the fishermen have defied a court order which prohibits them from fishing in restricted waters, but protects the "right" of the Navy to continue with the destruction of their island. The fishermen have stated that if arrested, they would bring their families with them to jail to be supported by the court, because they have no other means of earning a living other than by fishing.

Meanwhile, two militant demonstrations of support for the struggle in Vieques were held in New York City last week. On Thursday, the Puerto Rican Solidarity Committee called an emergency mobilization in which members of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party, El Komite-MINP, Workers World Party, and other groups participated. Braving freezing temperatures and high winds they brought the spirit of the struggle of Vieques to this city by marching in a picket line surrounding the U.S. Navy recruiting center in Times Square.

On Saturday, the Nationalist Party of Puerto Rico also held a demonstration here calling for support of the people of Vieques in their struggle.

Tomorrow marks the first anniversary of the first protest action taken by the fishermen of Vieques. On Feb. 6, 1978 they first sailed their boats into the line of fire of the Navy ships causing them to suspend temporarily their bombardments and war maneuvers.

International News in Brief

BRITAIN

100,000 more strike

FEBRUARY 7—The current strike wave enveloping Britain deepened with the announcement today that 100,000 autoworkers at British-Leyland have gone off their jobs, joining truckers, sanitation workers, hospital workers, school caretakers and meal attendants, and others struggling against the anti-worker 5% wage freeze imposed by Prime Minister James Callaghan.

The autoworkers' walkout may well prove to be a harbinger of more labor struggles ahead: already there are signs that miners, steel workers, postal employees, and utility workers are considering job actions of their own.

Meanwhile, thousands of public service workers and some truckers remain out. Most of the truck drivers, whose strike in early January sparked the current upheaval, have gone back to work after winning wage increases of 20.75%.

The public service workers, members of National Union of Public Employees (NUPE) and the General Municipal Workers Union (GMWU), had participated in a 24-hour strike on Jan. 22. Many thousands refused to return to their jobs, shutting down schools, hospitals, and other public buildings and halting garbage collection, snow removal, and other service operations. They are demanding a wage hike of at least 14% to bring pay to at least \$120 a week.

ZIMBABWE

Rhodesian racists 'vote'

FEBRUARY 5—In yet another last-ditch attempt to save itself, the crumbling racist government of Rhodesia held a whites-only election on Jan. 31. This charade referendum was designed to give some credibility to the notorious racist Ian Smith's sham "Government of National Unity." Carefully guarding the privileges of the settler minority (which makes up only 4.5% of a population of nearly 7 million) the government has virtually no support from the super-oppressed Black masses who regard the Zimbabwe Patriotic Front as the group that represents their interests.

In the face of the guerrilla forces of the Zimbabwe Patriotic Front, which is leading the armed struggle for national liberation, the Smith government is facing imminent total defeat. Settlers, like rats, are fleeing the country by the thousands. Smith and the giant U.S. monopolies which extract billions in profits each year from Zimbabwe (Rhodesia), are frantically seeking ways of avoiding total collapse.

Although in public the U.S. State Department has chastised the new Smith government and urged fuller participation by Blacks, it is really scheming night

and day to prevent the inevitable victory of the Zimbabwean masses.

The next step in the neo-colonialist plan the imperialists want to impose on the Zimbabwean people involves phony elections which would take place in April. The "Government of National Unity" would offer the Zimbabwean oppressed Black masses just a few seats in what would amount to a rubber-stamp parliament, while the police, armed forces, judiciary—the entire repressive apparatus of the state—would remain in the hands of the racists. All private enterprises would remain in the hands of the settlers and their U.S. backers. There are also loopholes and provisions which would ensure that settler farmers control the fertile farmlands of the country.

Leaders of the Patriotic Front have denounced the Smith-U.S. plan as completely fraudulent and have vowed to press forward in the armed struggle until total victory is won.

THAILAND

U.S. arms to puppet gov't

FEBRUARY 4—Using the existence of the new government in neighboring Kampuchea as his excuse, Prime Minister Kriangsak Chamamand of Thailand arrived in Washington today to ask the U.S. for an increase in military aid and credits. While twelve of the 45 million Thais live below the official poverty line, the Thai prime minister, a retired general installed as head of state in a bloody U.S.-backed coup, is planning to buy more military hardware. Thailand currently spends \$30 million a year importing military weapons, equipment, and spare parts. The additional funds will come from monies diverted from rural development as well as from aid Kriangsak hopes to get from the U.S.

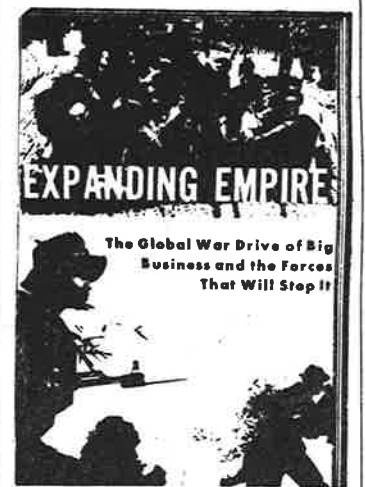
The repressive Thai military regime has been under attack from guerrilla offensives in both the northern and southern parts of the country. According to **Thai Information Center News** of Dec. 31, 1978-Jan. 15, 1979, a series of assaults against the government forces began in late December. The increased arms requested by Kriangsak may well be destined for counter-insurgency use within Thailand itself.

CHILE

Israel to beef up junta

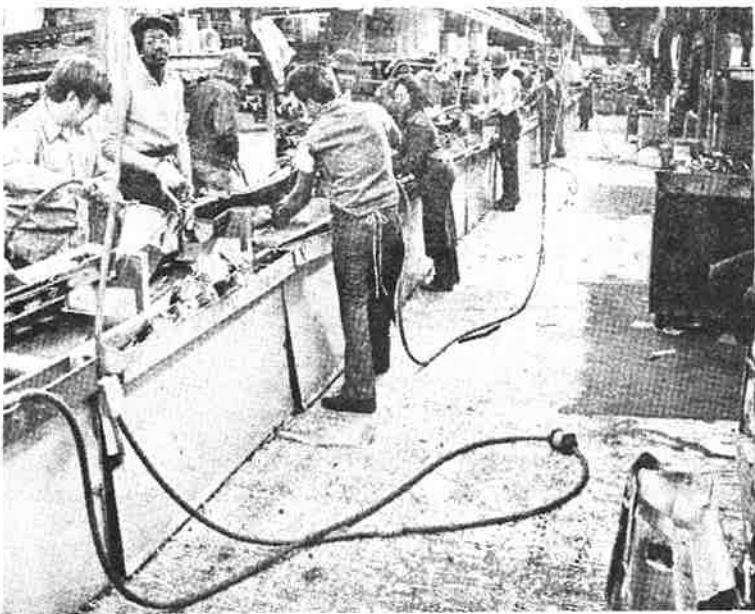
The Israeli Vice Minister of Defense announced on January 23 during a visit to Santiago, Chile, that Israel will provide Chile with all kinds of military equipment and whatever other military assistance that country desires.

In giving direct military aid to the detested and discredited fascist regime in Chile, Israel continues to fulfill its role as a client state of imperialism with no regard for the true interests of Jewish people, many of whom have been persecuted, tortured, and murdered in Chile since the military coup in 1973.



By VINCE COPELAND

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Auto workers in Flint, Mich., have won a quarter-million dollar settlement over an illegal assembly line speed-up.

GM admits secret speed-up

By DIANE ELLIS

DETROIT, Jan. 29—Under threat of an all-out strike by the 7,000 members of United Auto Workers (UAW) Local 598, General Motors has agreed to pay workers at its largest truck plant in Flint, Michigan a quarter of a million dollars because it used a secret assembly line speed-up switch for a year-and-a-half.

UAW Local 598's contract at the Chevrolet Truck Assembly plant, like most auto contracts, sets allowable assembly line speeds, and the union contended that due to the secret switch its members gave the company many hours of free production. Sam Duncan, the local union president, told the press that the money would be divided among 3,000 workers affected by the speed-up.

The secret switch was hidden in a plant superintendent's office and was discovered by the workers last Nov. 20. In addition to a monetary settlement, the union won a conveyor line lock-out system to prevent such speed-ups in the future. Three superintendents involved have been suspended and resigned to other plants.

The news of this settlement has caused a stir among many auto workers. It is a standing joke at many plants in Detroit that when workers demand to have a union

committeeman called to check the line speed, the foreman calls and tells the company to slow the line down temporarily.

Already subjected to exhausting conditions of speed-up due to layoffs and ever-increasing work overloads on individual jobs, already suffering because even the assembly line speeds set in many contracts are inhuman, auto workers frequently sense an insidious increase in the actual line speed during their day.

The discovery of the secret assembly line switch in Flint has confirmed many workers' beliefs that this increase is real, not imaginary, and that it is time for them, with their unions, to fight back against such slave-driving practices on the part of their bosses.

The idea that workers deserve to be paid for the value of their labor, not just the hourly pittance they get while their bosses make enormous profits off their work, is at the heart of the UAW settlement with the GM Truck Plant. The victory in Flint resulted in a compensation of \$250 per worker, but one day there will be a victory that will hand over the entire value of the plants they have built and the goods they produce to working people.

—Newport

(Continued from p. 16)

that last year was in the mountains of western Virginia trying to break the heroic miners' strike.

Twenty people have been arrested to date, including Local 8888 President Wayne Crosby, whose initial bail was set at \$20,000. The majority of them have been arrested under Virginia's so-called right-to-work law. Crosby's "crime" was walking in front of a gate with a picket sign. The real meaning of this "right-to-work" law has become clear in this strike. It means the "right" to break a union.

But even "Dalton's boys" have their limit. As one woman picketer was being arrested this week a state cop raised his club to smash her on the head but another cop, seeing the crowd of steelworkers inch menacingly forward, put out his hand to stop the blow. Undoubtedly on his mind was the strike back in 1967 when workers fought side-by-side against the cops up and down Washington Street outside the yard's gates.

As labor's stake in this strike becomes more and more obvious, support for other unions is becoming more visible. Virtually every union local in the area has

endorsed the strike. On Friday a delegation consisting of several busloads of members and officers of Communications Workers of America locals came to walk the line with the steelworkers. Officials from the Peninsula Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Union have come down to the line to express their support, as have individual members of other unions. Local people have brought coffee and donuts to the picketers, high school students have come by to walk awhile, and even some businesses have been quietly helping out with one local food chain reportedly giving free bread to steelworker members.

"The Steelworkers have to win," Ruth McCrae, secretary-treasurer of Boilermakers Local 684 was recently quoted, "So we can go on and make all of Virginia a union state."

The stakes are high in this battle and the future of all of Southern labor for years to come may be resting on the labor-hardened backs of Newport News Shipyard workers.

"We know we're not out here just for ourselves," said Angela Barnwell, a yard welder on the picketline this week. "We're fighting so every company in the South will know what a real union can do."

Labor briefs

Pink slips go out to 100 in Newark

NEWARK, Feb. 5—The first 100 layoffs of well over 1,100 workers in the Newark school system go into effect today, hitting cafeteria and maintenance workers first. Layoffs of librarians and teachers and elimination of all substitute teachers are scheduled next for Feb. 20. The announced plan by the anti-labor Board of Education under the code name of "program modification" includes shortening the school day by thirty minutes, slashing vital educational programs for Newark's children and includes violations of its contract with the Newark Teachers Union (NTU).

The intent of the Newark School Board first and foremost, is to break the militant school unions. With this goal in mind the local board has the eager support of State Education Commissioner, Fred Burke, who in a recent interview announced his support for the layoffs. Within days, the New Jersey School Boards Association adopted a resolution providing "moral support and encouragement to the Newark Board of Education in its attempt to address its problems by exercising its management rights to run its school district without union interference."

The school unions, including the NTU, Cafeteria Workers Local 131, Operating Engineers Local 68, and Service Employees International Union, have organized together and have militantly answered the Boards' challenges; blow by blow, for the past two months thereby forstalling the layoffs. To date, leaders of the school unions have stated that a work stoppage is their "chief weapon" to rescind the layoffs.

Meanwhile, on Feb. 1, the NTU filed an unfair labor practices complaint against the local School Board for contract violations. In addition the NTU is seeking to block the anti-labor, anti-education school program changes. If these efforts fail, a strike by the school unions and boycott of schools by parents and their children is expected.

59 groups challenge Weber in Supreme Court brief

JANUARY 30—A group of 59 organizations has filed with the U.S. Supreme Court a legal brief that defends the principles of affirmative action. The brief was filed in connection with the suit of Brian Weber, a lab technician who took the United Steelworkers union to court to oppose an agreement with the company that opened job training to Black and women workers who had been discriminated against in the past.

The 59 organizations represent a broad coalition of civil rights, progressive and labor organizations including the Congressional Black Caucus, the Affirmative Action Coordinating Center, the National Conference of Black Lawyers, the Center for United Labor Action, the Black American Law Students Association, the Texas Farmworkers Union, the Farm Labor Organizing Committee, and the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists.

"This country cannot attain true equality of opportunity without the affirmative action," says the brief. "Affirmative action programs for Black and other racial minorities are not preferential treatment or 'reverse discrimination' but rather a step toward the reversal of discrimination."

Farmworkers boycott of Libby's and Campbells

TOLEDO, Jan. 27—Over 250 people rallied today to support a boycott of Libby-McNeill and Campbell products called by the Farm Labor Organizing Committee (FLOC). Last August, 2,000 farmworkers from the tomato fields of Northwestern Ohio went on strike led by FLOC to demand \$3.25 an hour minimum wage, paid transportation to and from their home state, guaranteed 28 hours pay every two weeks, a medical program, and a custodian for each field.

Libbys (owned by Nestles) and Campbells, FLOC has pointed out, bear the main responsibility for the poverty of agricultural workers here because it is these agribusiness monopolies who set the rates for the smaller growers.

The rally was chaired by Tom Nowel of AFSCME. Redwing Blackbird of the North American Indian Cultural Center and American Indian Movement spoke of the common oppression of Native people and Mexicano and Chicano people. People came from Detroit, Ann Arbor, and Cleveland to announce the formation of local boycott committees. Striking workers, who had returned from their homes in

Florida, Texas, and Mexico to help continue the strike and build the boycott, told of the need for better housing, better pay.

The Libbys and Campbells boycott already has international support, with longshoremen in Australia refusing to load or unload these scab products. To find out how to support the strike and how to form a boycott committee in your area contact the Farm Labor Organizing Committee, 714½ South Saint Clair, Toledo, Ohio, 43609, (419) 243-3456.

Undocumented workers win contract in Arizona

FEBRUARY 4—A group of undocumented workers from Mexico has won a labor contract with Goldmar Inc., a large Arizona citrus grower which is half-owned by Robert Goldwater, brother of the rightwing Senator Barry Goldwater.

"This is the first contract signed with undocumented workers," said Lupe Sanchez of the Maricopa County Organizing Project, a group which has been leading strikes in Arizona citrus groves in recent years.

Radiation hazard at Naval shipyard confirmed

FEBRUARY 1—A two year struggle by workers at the U.S. Naval Shipyard in Portsmouth, N.H., to end radiation hazards has won the support of several specialists in occupational health and safety.

The specialists, brought in to study the workers' health by the U.S. Congress as a result of demands made by the Metal Trades Council union, issued a statement yesterday against governmental negligence at the shipyard.

The struggle began after a 1977 study by Dr. Thomas Najarian that found the shipyard workers were dying from cancer caused by radiation exposure and that the workers had a four-to-five times higher rate of leukemia because of the radiation.

The Dept. of Defense and the U.S. Navy have played a special role in trying to suppress these findings on the health status of the workers, who are all civilians employed by the federal government. The Navy refused to give the specialists full access to the data they needed, prompting one, Dr. Thomas Mancuso, to resign in protest. Despite this limitation, the remaining doctors all agreed that the Navy has ignored the dangers posed by radiation exposure.

Boston U strike threatened

JANUARY 30—Faculty members at Boston University (BU) have threatened to strike in April if university President John R. Silber insists on implementing a plan that calls for ending tenure, censure of all course content and textbooks by the administration, and a salary raise that does not keep up with inflation, and in fact does not even come up to Carter's meager 7% guideline.

The faculty is represented by the American Association of University Professors which was recognized in 1975 by the National Labor Relations Board. It is the first union to be organized by university teachers.

Fritz Ringer, chairman of the union, said that the real fight is against Silber's "arbitrary and dictatorial policies and his attack on traditional academic processes."

Fired postal workers to be rehired?

JERSEY CITY, Jan. 31—Federal Judge Frederick Lacey has urged the U.S. Postal Service to reinstate the almost 200 workers fired from the Foreign and Bulk Mail Center here last July. The firings followed a wildcat strike by workers who were angry with a contract settlement that was eventually voted down by the union membership nationwide.

Lacey's advice came to the Postal Service after several arbitration hearings on specific cases has determined that the firings were illegal. Lacey is upset since the workers are being given back pay, so far a total of \$50,000, and the whole thing could cost the government several million dollars if the Postal Service continues to pursue the matter. "It really doesn't make sense," the judge is quoted as saying.

The Postal Service, however, insists it will continue in the proceedings to "punish" the workers. It's this sort of thing that is driving up the costs of mailing a letter, not demands of the workers whose main grievance was the forced overtime and low pay.

Unsafe conditions claim another life

Bethlehem Steel gasses worker to death

By KERMIT LEIBENSPERGER
BALTIMORE, Feb. 1—Last Saturday probably seemed to be an ordinary working day to mechanic Earl Barley as he sat in the locker room near Blast Furnace D, drinking a cup of tea before heading out on his job of keeping the giant blast furnaces running. Barley had had this job at Bethlehem Steel's Sparrows Point plant for 23 years. But 70 feet away a carbon monoxide (CO) line blew out a water seal. The deadly, odorless, colorless CO gas spread throughout the area, snuffing out Barley's life and hospitalizing six others. Altogether 21 workers who survived the gassing required medical treatment.

There was no gas alarm system to warn Barley and the others that a silent death was engulfing them. In fact, the workers who tried to save Barley interpreted his symptoms as a heart attack and were almost overcome themselves. A mechanic was giving Barley artificial respiration when he began feeling sick and couldn't continue. Fortunately paramedics arrived and took over.

Seeing a dead cat nearby and feeling more and more nauseous himself, a paramedic suddenly realized it was gas that had overcome Barley and his companion. Nearing the point of collapse themselves, unable to lift Barley, the paramedics and nearby mechanics had to flee the area in the ambulances. The driver of one ambulance was overcome by the gas and the ambulance full of workers crashed into a concrete culvert, blowing a tire. Someone pulled the unconscious driver out of his seat, took the wheel, and drove them to safety.

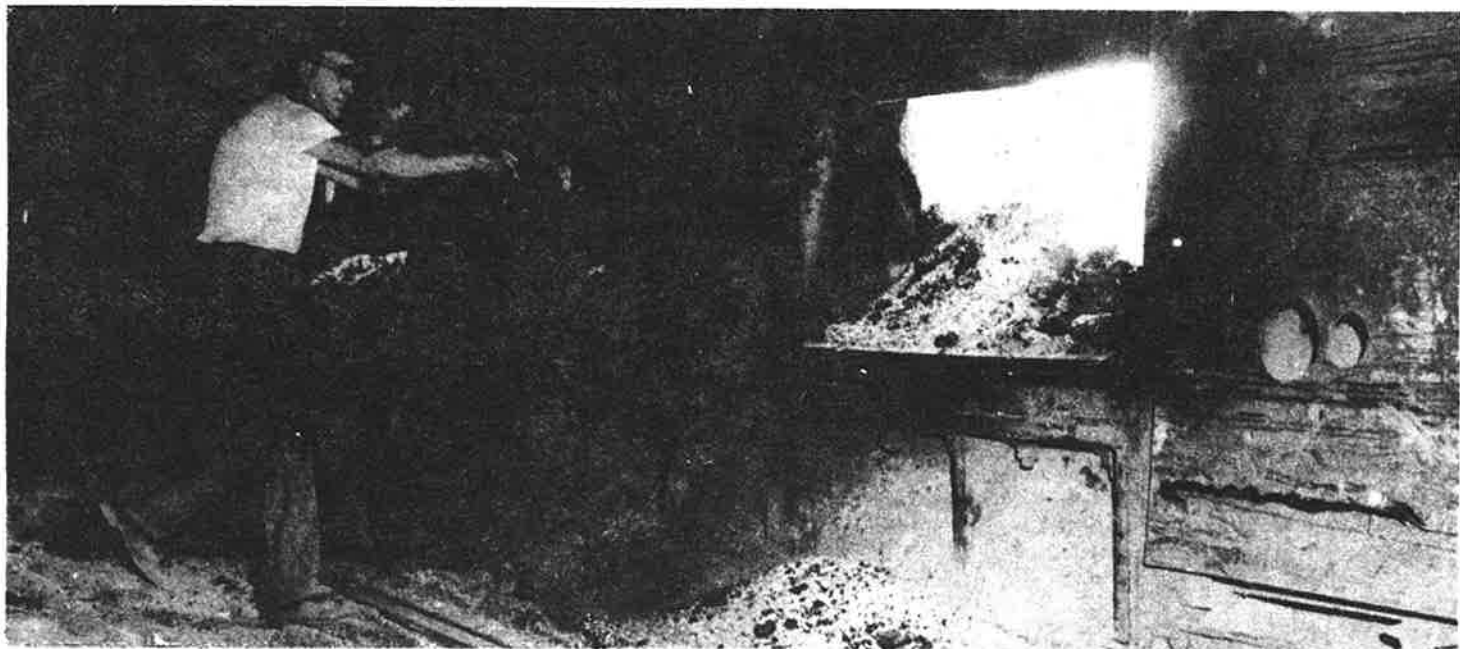
Other paramedics returned with gas masks to get Barley, but it was too late for him, just as it had been too late for hot blastman Robert Carter who also died of CO suffocation three months ago, and just 60 feet from where Barley died.

"A LOT OF THINGS COULD HAVE BEEN FIXED"

"He liked his job," said Mrs. Betty Mae Barley. "He never complained. I'm sure there were a lot of things that were unsafe but he never talked about it much because he didn't want to worry me."

"I don't think any of us ever expect this kind of thing to happen, but the way the conditions are down there you never know. They fix one thing and then something else goes. Safety wasn't carried out enough. There were a lot of things that could have been fixed that weren't."

Because CO gas can't be detected by the five human senses,



Tending a blast furnace. Work in a steel plant can mean sudden death. Seven workers were killed in the past year at Bethlehem's Sparrows Point plant.

special chemical and electrochemical devices are necessary to warn workers of CO leaks. Huge quantities of CO are piped all over every steel mill. CO detection equipment is available and should obviously be required by law. But this writer could find nothing in the Federal and Maryland Occupational Safety and Health (OSHA) standards requiring such equipment.

A standard of 50 ppm of CO in the air has been set by OSHA, so Bethlehem Steel, after exhausting every appeal which has been this giant company's past practice, may be taken to court and fined a few thousand dollars for murdering Earl Barley. In five of the six other deaths in the last year at Bethlehem's Sparrows Point plant, the company has been cited for safety law violations for a total

of \$62,000 in fines.

In the CO gas death of Robert Carter, Maryland safety officials ruled that Bethlehem knew the CO pipe was malfunctioning months before Carter's death, but failed to fix it! So how can Bethlehem be expected to install CO gas warning equipment? The way the company thinks, an average \$12,520 in fines per worker killed is much cheaper than repairing the CO pipe, or

installing detection equipment!

One steelworker standing in line in a Sparrows Point cafeteria spoke bluntly the truth, "Down here, you're just a number. You die and they replace you the same day."

One thing is clear, the steel bosses will install CO warning equipment and other safety measures only when the steelworkers force them to do it.

Despite anti-SALT campaign

Poll shows masses oppose arms buildup

By EDDIE YOOD
FEBRUARY 5—Despite substantial popular support for U.S. approval of a SALT (Strategic Arms Limitation Talks) agreement, the Carter administration, along with practically all bourgeois observers, has admitted that the accord may very well not be passed by Congress, a body that supposedly "represents" the people. Last week, a CBS/New York Times poll reflected the tremendous anti-war, anti-nuke sentiment, feelings generated in large part by the U.S. debacle in Viet Nam. According to this poll, 63% of the people favor signing an armament treaty with the USSR.

IMPACT OF RIGHT-WING PRESSURE

In the past month there has been an avalanche of right-wing pressures on the Carter administration to reject a SALT agreement. First a group of 170 high-ranking retired military brass issued an "open letter" in a full-page New York Times advertisement, attacking Carter's handling

of the SALT negotiations and ranting the usual "the Russians are coming" type propaganda.

In addition, the Senator from Boeing, Henry Jackson and soon-to-retire NATO boss Alexander Haig have both hinted at their plans to wage an all-out anti-SALT campaign.

And just a few days ago, a meeting of 96 Republican politicians, including 26 Senators, adopted an anti-SALT resolution. This will no doubt influence the 41 Republicans in the Senate where an agreement would need a two-thirds vote for ratification.

CARTER NO CHAMPION OF PEACE

These moves by the rightists may tend to make Carter appear to be something of a champion of peace, but that, however, is far from the case.

First and foremost, if Carter really wanted to heed the wishes of the people of this country, he

could bypass the reactionaries in Congress and adopt the SALT Pact in his executive capacity as Commander in Chief by calling it an agreement and not a treaty. After all, if seven U.S. presidents could ignore Congress in the more than 200 military adventures the Pentagon has engaged in since World War II (including Viet Nam), why should Carter suddenly become powerless to implement an extremely limited arms limitation pact like SALT II?

While Carter may be for a SALT agreement, he is also a hardened militarist. When he broke the campaign promise that helped get him elected—a promise to cut defense spending by \$5-7 billion—Carter blatantly ignored the desires of the people of the U.S. Now he is calling for a 10% increase in the military budget, raising it to an astonishing \$136 billion for fiscal 1980, while at the same time cutting desperately needed social services by almost

\$20 billion! In his saber-rattling speech at Wake Forest University last March, Carter more than proved he was against toning down the cold war.

Moreover, Carter has not only appointed an ultra-rightist Lieutenant General George Seignious as his top SALT negotiator, but has also stated that he plans to develop "new modern weapons systems" even if the SALT accords are ratified.

That the overwhelming majority of the people of this country favor a treaty with the Soviet Union while much of the U.S. ruling elite, both inside Congress and out, oppose it, shows both the warlike character of the capitalist system and the totally unrepresentative character of a political structure which responds more to the wishes of a small clique of militarists and imperialists than it does to the wishes of millions of people.

—CETA

(Continued from p. 1)

Corritz, who has not been able to find a job in New York, told **Workers World** he was "saved" from existing on virtually no income except those "below minimum wage odd-jobs," when he was hired by CETA to teach Black and Latin youths to renovate dilapidated buildings. Now Corritz, and thousands like him, will be back pounding the pavements in 18 months.

While Carter slashes away at jobs and social services for the poor he has showered billions on the Pentagon. Working and poor people have been put on austerity budgets but Carter recently allotted another \$10 billion for new weapons of death and

THE BLAST FURNACE BROTHERS



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destruction, bringing the military budget for fiscal 1980 to an incredible \$136 billion. It is this money that should be used to expand CETA, and create jobs for all.

Angry farmers tie up traffic

By BILL DEL VECCHIO
FEBRUARY 6—The Federal government offices in Washington, D.C., opened late Monday morning as farmers used the tractors they had driven in to the capital city from all over the country to block the rush hour traffic.

Between 3,500 and 5,000 farmers have traveled to Washington to demand that the Federal government increase its subsidies in order to save their individual farms from being wiped out by the multi-billion-dollar agribusiness corporations and their faithful servants in the U.S. Department of Agriculture.

D.C. cops responded to the protest with brutality, smashing windshields, firing tear gas into the cabs of the tractors, and then

attacking the farmers with billy clubs. In all, 19 farmers were arrested and 17 tractors were impounded. After the morning protest the tractorcade protest moved to the mall area near the Department of Agriculture, where the D.C. and Park Police brought in buses and set up a blockade around the tractors to prevent them from leaving.

VICTIMS OF AGRIBUSINESS-GOV'T COLLUSION

While the federal government aids the corporate farmers in a thousand and one ways in both the domestic and world markets, the individual farmers are becoming a dying breed as they fall in debt to the banks to pay soaring prices for farm machinery, for land and for

production costs necessary to compete with agribusiness.

The high profits agribusiness makes by selling enormous quantities of food on the world market are not available to the individual farmers, and so they are forced to sell the produce on the U.S. market on terms dictated to them by the agribusiness monopolies.

The result has been the forced collectivization of the farms, monopoly style, in the heartland of "free enterprise." Since 1950, the number of farms in the U.S. has been literally cut in half as huge corporate farms, managed by foremen and operated by workers, buy out bankrupt family farmers by the hundreds of thousands every year.

Iranian describes Beverly Hills police riot

'There was blood in the streets'

By STEPHEN MILLIES

BALTIMORE, Feb. 2—That the Shah will not be coming directly to the United States from Morocco, as he originally planned, is at least in part due to the militancy of the demonstration against the Shah's mother and sister held on Jan. 2 in Beverly Hills.

Workers World was recently able to interview Farshid, a representative of the International Secretariat of the Confederation of Iranian Students-National Union. Farshid, who was in the front ranks of the demonstrators, is still undergoing treatment for a knee injury, sustained during the march.

The demonstrators, who

numbered between 2-3,000 were attacked by police at the front gate of the mansion belonging to the Shah's family.

A NOISE LIKE BEATING DRUMS

While the cops at the gate, in front of the demonstration, were using tear gas, suddenly from behind the march several police cars drove full speed into the people. "You could hear a noise like beating drums," said Farshid, who only later realized that this was the sound of people's bones being hit by the cars. When asked how he got hurt, Farshid responded, "I saw three of them (police cars) with my eyes and then

I fell to the ground . . . the car hit me." Several weeks after this demonstration this Iranian fighter still has to wear crutches in order to walk.

"There was blood in the street," he said, "about 35 people were injured." Most of the injuries were due to police car's running over people's feet. The cops reacted so viciously he continued, because "They didn't expect the militancy, the size of the demonstration . . . they didn't want people there at all."

Asked by this reporter whether the cops were intentionally trying to kill people, Farshid commented, "It could not have

been anything else."

REFUSED ADMISSION TO HOSPITAL

Among the two most serious injuries were an Iranian male comrade, who suffered a leg injury and an Iranian woman comrade, who was hit in the head by a stone thrown by the police. **Both of these demonstrators were denied treatment by the UCLA Hospital, a public tax-supported institution, until they could pay in advance.**

In the case of the male comrade, it took several days to raise the money until he was even **admitted** to the hospital! Since the woman comrade was in such serious condition, (she suffered a

fractured skull), the hospital was forced to admit her. But up to now, the UCLA Hospital still **refuses to operate** on her to install a metal plate in her head, until they have their money, which according to Farshid amounts to thousands.

WITCHHUNT AGAINST THE IRANIAN COMMUNITY

As the demonstrators were staging a disciplined retreat, the police arrested people. Seven were later charged with serious felonies. Two of those arrested have bail of \$40,000 apiece, (for "assaulting a peace officer"), while the others have bail starting at \$10,000.

Although this enormous bail was raised within 10 days by the Iranian community, and the National Lawyers Guild has volunteered to help on the case, thousands of dollars still must be raised to help pay for court costs as well as for the medical bills of those injured.

To help raise these needed funds a Night of Solidarity will be held in Baltimore on Saturday, Feb. 10, in the Downtown YMCA, starting at 7:30 p.m. There will be Iranian speakers and a film will be shown about the recent events in Iran. Also speaking will be Gavrielle Gemma from the Center for United Labor Action.

Following the Beverly Hills demonstration there has been a sharp increase in government harassment of the Iranian community. Taking their cue from President Carter and Attorney General Bell, both of whom have called for virtual deportation of Iranians "en masse," the Immigration and Naturalization Service has staged midnight "visits" on the homes of Iranians. "They are trying to devise a plan to crush the Iranian student movement," said Farshid. "This is not the end, but the beginning. . . . We expect many things from the immigration authorities."



Cop car speeds through a picketline outside the Shah of Iran's mother's residence in Beverly Hills on Jan. 2.

Violating international law

Israel dynamites Palestinian homes

By HILLEL BAILIN

JANUARY 31—The Israeli Army blew up four homes yesterday in the occupied West Bank of Palestine. The homes belonged to the families of four Palestinians who had been arrested for suspected guerrilla activity. All four had been accused but not convicted. Three of the four have been in jail more than six months and none have had any trial.

Israeli Army officers openly admitted to U.S. reporters in Jerusalem that Israel destroyed the homes to punish the relatives of the accused Palestinians and to scare their neighbors. The Israelis hope in this way to stop the popular support for the Palestinian resistance movement.

Punishing relatives and neighbors for the act of an individual is known as "collective punishment" and is a practice of armies that occupy the land of an oppressed people. The army automatically assumes that everyone hates the occupation and that every one supports acts of resistance against the occupation. Therefore, they reason, everyone

bears "collective responsibility" and everyone is subject to punishment.

TACTICS USED BY NAZIS

The punishment of a group for the activities or suspected activities of an individual was a tactic most widely used by Hitler's army in Nazi-occupied Europe during World War II. The Nazis punished relatives and neighbors and sometimes whole towns for any activities by the anti-fascist resistance.

Collective punishment is a brutal form of government terrorism. It is considered a crime by the internationally recognized Geneva Conventions, which hold the deliberate destruction of civilian homes in occupied territory to be both a war crime and an act of genocide.

This brutal Israeli occupation of Palestine could not continue even for a day without the active military, economic, and political support of the Pentagon, Washington and Wall Street—the real war criminals. Israel was carved

out of stolen Palestinian land in the first place in order to serve these very military, economic, and political interests of imperialism in the Middle East. It is because the establishment media in this country seeks to hide the real rela-

tionship between the U.S. and Israeli governments, which is one of a master and a puppet, that it brands every act of Palestinian resistance as "terrorism," but justifies acts of Israeli government terror as "retaliation."

Moroccan occupiers shaken

Polisario scores new victories

By G. DUNKEL

FEBRUARY 5—In the past month, Polisario has won two stunning military victories against Morocco. It siezed Tan Tan, a city of 20,000 in southern Morocco on Jan. 29 and held it for four hours. In that time, Polisario said it "took a significant number of prisoners, destroyed the army and police barracks, the police headquarters, gasoline tanks and the electrical generating plant."

Two weeks earlier this organization, which is fighting for the liberation of the Western Sahara, intercepted two successive columns of Moroccan troops about 15 miles from El Ajoun, the capital of Western Sahara, and in the two-day battle killed over 600 Moroccan troops, wounded 250 and took over 50 prisoners, including officers. Polisario forces captured tanks and other materials in addition to shooting down 4 helicopters and an F-5 jetfighter.

These two military victories, the most important Polisario has won since it began its armed struggle in the fall of 1975, make it clear that Polisario, which has the overwhelming support of the Saharan people, is capable of settling the question of the Western Sahara by force of arms if necessary. It is, of course, willing to negotiate but it will not let the

terms of the negotiations be set by Morocco and Mauritania, the two countries which divided the Western Sahara between themselves in connivance with Spain, which could no longer hold it as a colony. Polisario welcomes support in the UN and the Organization of African Unity, but it won't allow its right to self-determination to be horse-traded or compromised.

Currently, 17 nations formally recognize the Sahara Arab Democratic Republic, the government which Polisario has established, and the struggle of the Saharan people is beginning to win widespread support from progressive groupings in western Europe.

U.S. WEAPONS USED AGAINST POLISARIO

The Pentagon has been supplying King Hassan II of Morocco with the weapons he uses against the Saharan people. Over the years, Hassan, a staunch reactionary, has been very helpful to Washington. He acted as a liaison between Egyptian President Anwar el-Sadat and Israel before Sadat's capitulationist visit to Jerusalem in November 1977, he was the only Arab leader to receive Sadat after Camp David, and he supplied troops and planes to put down the

uprisings in Zaire last year. Hassan even gave the Shah of Iran a home, something even Sadat was loath to do.

But for all his various services, Hassan didn't get as much support as he wanted from Washington. The Pentagon would still like nothing better than to see Hassan defeat the liberation struggle of the Saharan people. However, faced with significant gains by Polisario, and still reeling from its losses in Iran, U.S. imperialism is unwilling to sell unstable Morocco the ultra-sensitive detection equipment requested by Hassan.

Besides taking a beating in the war with Polisario, Hassan is also facing internal protests. There was a big strike of railroad workers earlier this year, the Moroccan student movement has recently organized actions protesting his fascist repression, and the economy of Morocco is a shambles, both from the huge cost of the war and from the effects of the world economic crisis.

Mauritania, which is still occupied by 8-10,000 Moroccan troops, has given them an April 1 deadline to withdraw. This country has a cease-fire with Polisario and is trying to negotiate a settlement. It has clearly indicated that it does not want to continue the war, and has maintained high-level contacts with Polisario leaders.



The Polisario liberation army is making great advances in the Western Sahara. Above a demonstration in the village of Ausred.

Imperialism and the crisis in the socialist camp —A historic betrayal

This document is a draft memorandum submitted by Sam Marcy, chairman of Workers World Party, for discussion at the February expanded National Committee plenum of the party. (Spellings of Chinese names conform with the new style adopted by the Chinese government.)

The end of the Deng Xiaoping (Teng Hsiao-ping) visit to the United States and the anti-Soviet press communique between China and the U.S. mark the end of a definite historical period in the relations between the socialist states, and in particular the relations between the Soviet Union and the Peoples Republic of China.

To all intents and purposes a virtual de facto alliance now exists between U.S. imperialism and the Peoples Republic of China. It is part of a larger alliance embracing NATO and Japan and directed against the USSR and Viet Nam. This portentous development, which would have been regarded as utterly incredible just a few years ago, must now loom large in the calculations of all the socialist countries, the international communist movement, and the democratic and progressive forces throughout the world as an immense danger to them all. There can be no question that on the part of the Chinese leadership, a historic betrayal on the magnitude of the treachery committed by the Social Democratic leaders in August 1914 has taken place.

It is at the same time a tremendous boon to all the forces of political reaction and will not only do much to bolster the morale of all who rely upon the good graces of imperialism but is bound, at least in the immediate future, to raise the fortunes of world finance capital.

It goes without saying that it cannot but be regarded as a most ominous development in the working class and among all progressives. In any case it is a profound disappointment to all who have championed the cause of the Chinese Revolution. It can scarcely be doubted that virtually all of progressive humanity welcomed the Chinese Revolution, took pride in its accomplishments, and saw in it a source of strength and inspiration for all involved in the struggle against imperialist enslavement and exploitation.

The new Washington-Peking-Tokyo-NATO axis has not of course overthrown socialist China and installed a bourgeois regime, even though the new leadership in Beijing (Peking) has done untold damage at home and abroad to the cause of the Chinese Revolution. However, by and large the new Washington-Beijing alliance rests on the endurance of the current grouping in Beijing in retaining and strengthening its hold on the levers of state power in China. That remains to be seen.

The consummation of the Washington-Beijing rapprochement is testimony to the successful struggle waged by the U.S. and its imperialist allies for decades to instigate, envenom, exploit, and divide the socialist countries and ultimately bring one of them, even if only temporarily, into their orbit.

At the same time it must be

pointed out, however disagreeable it may sound to them, that the respective policies pursued by the leaderships of both the USSR and China have ended up as a monumental political failure. It is necessary that this be said. For if seen from the viewpoint of the origins and development of the struggle, neither anticipated that what was originally an ideological struggle would evolve into the kind of state-to-state struggle which would end up in one consummating an alliance with imperialism against the other. The very result which each sought to avoid! This is the great paradox in the evolution of the Sino-Soviet dispute.

NEITHER SOCIALIST STATE CAN GAIN FROM SPLIT

Certainly if we view it from a subjective point of view, from the point of view of ideological-political tendencies in the struggle for leadership in the working class and liberation movements, neither China nor the Soviet Union can

production and buttressed by the monopoly of foreign trade.

Whatever the setbacks, whatever the inroads, whatever the false policies, so long as these fundamental pillars remain it is the bounden duty of the world proletariat and the oppressed to defend them both against bourgeois political reaction from within and against the external pressures of imperialist aggression from without.

As the struggle intensifies and becomes fiercer, the class definition of the sociological basis of the USSR and China as socialist states is bound to be cast more and more into oblivion. This has the effect not merely of liquidating their class definition, but also of weakening and adulterating the class consciousness of the working class, of blunting the anti-imperialist struggle, and of diverting the course of the working class struggle against capitalist exploitation and imperialist expansion into false channels. It raises the question for all in the movement of how to approach this

socialist states in the Leninist meaning of that term. The glorified, false, and idealistic conception that socialism as a completed, classless society exists in the USSR or China was baseless to begin with and not derived from Marx's or later Lenin's conceptions of what socialism constitutes in its initial stages—that is, merely a proletarian dictatorship.

The attitude of the socialist countries toward Yugoslavia should have served as an object lesson in this regard.

Whatever might have been the merits or demerits, the rights or wrongs, in the expulsion of the Yugoslav party from the Cominform, the fact that all the socialist countries, including China at that time, wrongfully cast not merely the Yugoslav leadership and party but the nature of its social system in the mold of a fascist state and then later were obligated to reverse themselves and go to the other extreme in order to win its friendship and recast it in a wholly socialist mold at a time when there is less reason

economies" (their codeword for a socialist country), and public ownership of the means of production, which, together with the monopoly of foreign trade by the socialist governments, constitute the most formidable obstacle to easy economic and political penetration by finance capital. Only when the leadership of the socialist countries permits itself to be seduced by the wiles of imperialist strategy or succumbs out of weakness, ineptitude, or lack of experience to the tremendous difficulties of socialist construction and thus objectively become representative of alien class forces, can these penetrations be of a real danger to the cause of socialist construction. Under a firm revolutionary leadership they can on occasion and within specifically defined limits prove beneficial.

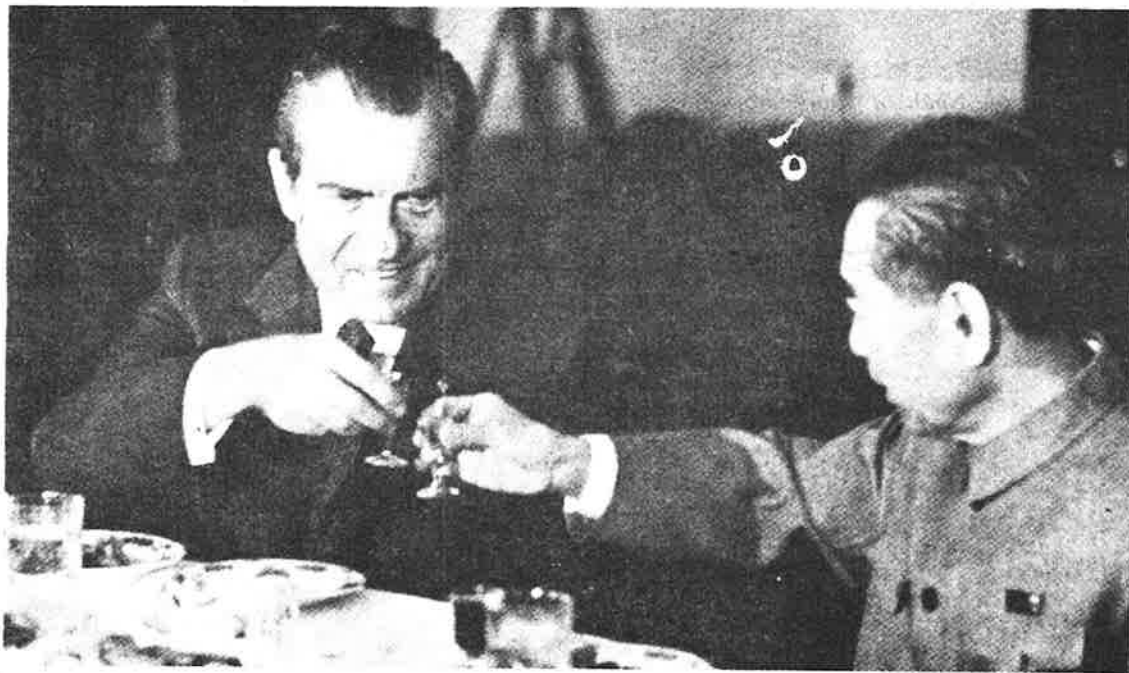
There have of course been endless attempts at penetration by finance capital, especially in Eastern Europe, above all in Poland and in Hungary, not to speak of Yugoslavia. The latter merely maintains the skeletal form of a socialist economy and politically is more in the camp of imperialism.

Nevertheless, in spite of these depredations by finance capital, in spite of the encroachments on the political sovereignty of socialist countries through economic and diplomatic means, in spite of many abhorrent errors in the construction of a socialist system, errors which rekindle dormant political reaction, in spite of all the divisions among the socialist countries including the recent debacle of the U.S.-China alliance, there is no question that with the exception of Yugoslavia it is wholly consistent with objective truth to say that there still exists a socialist camp, if not in the political and diplomatic sense, in the sociological sense, in the sense of class anatomy. All the more is it the duty of the world proletariat and oppressed to fight for the revival of unity in the socialist camp, to defend it against all forms of imperialist aggression, obstruction, and sabotage from without and bourgeois reaction from within.

HOW TO REVERSE THE TREND TOWARD MILITARY CONFLICT?

The great problem in the contemporary phase of world history facing all the socialist countries, the working class, and the liberation movements is how to arrest, how to stop the internecine struggle in the socialist camp from deteriorating into full-scale military conflict. To a limited extent we have already seen this, as witness the Viet Nam-Kampuchea earlier border conflict and the possibility that the threats made by the PRC leadership against Viet Nam may turn into a reality.

In a word, the problem is how to get out from a process which irretrievably leads to an abyss—one which holds out the danger of swallowing up the fundamental achievements of the world proletarian class struggle as embodied in the USSR, China, and other socialist countries. It holds out the possibility of the destruction of



The virtual alliance between U.S. imperialism and the Peoples Republic of China consummated with Deng's recent visit is a historic betrayal of the world progressive forces. Here, Nixon toasts Chou En-lai in his first China trip.

gain anything as a result of this unfortunate turn of events. This is notwithstanding the abundance of promises made by Washington to Beijing, both open and secret, on modernization and technology for China. History will confirm this.

Only those who view either the Soviet Union or China or both as having degenerated into bourgeois states can possibly see any advantage gained by either of the two giant socialist states. But such a false assumption is either born out of blind and unrestrained, fanatical self-delusion, fraud or both, practiced upon themselves and the world movement of the workers and oppressed.

It is our duty above everything else in the course of participating in this crucial discussion on the crisis in the socialist countries to clearly, firmly, and without any equivocation reject and disqualify the false canard that either the USSR or China is no longer a socialist state in the commonly accepted sense as defined by Lenin, that is where there has been the overthrow of the bourgeois-landlord ruling class and the institution of planned economy, which in turn is based on common ownership of the basic means of

utterly new phenomenon.

For those who blindly start out from the viewpoint of defending one of the combatants in the arena, regardless of what political and world policy it pursues, and assumes that in the other socialist state socialism, as they believed it to have existed, has been liquidated, the answers are all too easy. The tactics have all been worked out in advance and fashioned to perfection—until the next disappointment arrives.

NEED A MARXIST, CLASS ANALYSIS OF SOCIALIST COUNTRIES

For serious working-class revolutionaries it is necessary to come to grips with the basic problem—a development utterly unforeseen in Marx's and Lenin's time—a struggle between socialist states which holds out the gravest danger to the socialist future of humanity.

We must begin with the firm foundation of Marxist sociology. We must begin with the clear understanding that it is a falsehood to deny the class character of either China or the USSR as

than ever to do so points up the great danger in throwing aside fundamental Marxist theoretical criteria in developing political assessments out of purely pragmatic considerations.

It should be noted that nowhere in the world is there a serious section of the bourgeoisie which regards either China or the USSR as anything but socialist ("communist," as they call it). It is true that a great many of the learned apologists for the capitalist system characterize the Soviet Union and/or China as totalitarian or having a new governing elite or a new ruling class, as the case may be. But this is for popular consumption by the masses in order to deceive them.

To the extent that it is directed against the more educated segments of the petty-bourgeoisie and intelligentsia, it is shrewdly calculated to divert them from taking a sympathetic and progressive position with relation to the socialist countries.

When it comes down to practical political dealings with the socialist countries, the imperialists deal with them on the understanding that they are governed by "centrally planned

that which has taken millions and millions of lives and labor to construct, that which holds the greatest possibility for humanity to proceed in furtherance of liberation through the socialist reconstruction of society.

The strategic and tactical line which flows from this analysis makes it incumbent upon the world proletariat and oppressed everywhere to aim its fundamental thrust not against this or that socialist country, not against the USSR or China, but against imperialism which first attempted to overthrow both of them, then tried what is called local wars against socialist countries [Viet Nam, Korea], and political and economic sabotage supplemented by para-military intervention against all the other socialist countries.

It is imperialism which engineered the split in the socialist countries. It is imperialism which envenomed the relations between the USSR and China. It is imperialism which exerted the most severe pressures upon them not excluding the threat of atomic annihilation. It is therefore now, as always since the development of the monopoly phase of capitalism, imperialism that is the main enemy.

This, however, tragically enough, is no longer regarded as valid in some quarters(!), precisely at the time when it is most urgent and important. To pursue such a political line means in effect to subordinate the struggle against imperialism by casting either China or the USSR in the role of the fundamental enemy.

The political line which addresses itself to imperialism and which admonishes it not to be taken in by Chinese or Soviet seduction is putting the shoe on the other foot. It is bound to fail.

Leading individual representatives of the bourgeoisie now and then can be won over for a period to championing either the Soviet or Chinese position on the basis of imperialist interests. This, however, should not be confused with the basic attitude of the ruling class as a whole. Individual representatives come and go in the bourgeois camp, but virulent anti-communism is a permanent, integral part, not merely of the ideological armor of the bourgeois camp, but is central to imperialist interest and is driven by the powerful engines of the omnipotent military-industrial complex and supported by the entire banking fraternity of U.S. finance capital.

From this it inexorably follows that working class propaganda has to be directed against imperialism for having attempted all these many, many years to split the socialist countries and having tried to entice their leaderships, as it has enticed, bribed, and corrupted certain leaders of neocolonialist countries into the camp of imperialism.

If, as we said, the struggle intensifies, a class approach and analysis with regard to China and the USSR, as well as Viet Nam and Kampuchea, is bound to become more and more shoved into the background, diluted, or cast into oblivion.

The political motivation for this, it is assumed, is to obtain broad mass appeal, but in reality since it lacks a working class approach it inevitably veers sharply in the direction of currying favor with bourgeois public opinion. The whole class struggle of the proletariat and the anti-imperialist struggle in particular gets lost in the course of this rivalry, supposedly to win progressive allies, but which in reality ends up in entangled and fruitless maneuvers with the bourgeois camp. This can only aggravate the harm done to both the USSR and

China. It will tend to widen the struggle in Southeast Asia. The possibility of Chinese intervention against Viet Nam remains an ever-present danger.

POSSIBILITY OF DETENTE IN SOCIALIST CAMP MUSN'T BE DENIED

In the light of these ominous developments, it would be even more harmful to close the eyes of the proletariat and oppressed to the possibility inherent in the situation for a genuine socialist detente between the USSR and China and the eventual restoration of socialist solidarity in the entire camp.

To proceed on the present basis inevitably and irresistibly leads to an acceleration in the deterioration in the relations among the socialist countries. The imperialists are desperately trying to obtain the broadest possible worldwide bourgeois front in order to isolate the USSR and its socialist allies. This cannot be countered by a reasoned approach to the bourgeoisie not to do it. Diplomatic maneuvers and agreements of all sorts with the imperialists may and in the past have proved to be necessary and helpful, but they are no substitute for a bona fide attempt to rectify and reverse the tragic erosion of socialist solidarity among the socialist countries. It is this which has been the mainstay in the

truly socialist and that the other has turned either fascist or social-imperialist.

Compounding these difficulties is that there is no longer a common language among communists, precisely because of the introduction of the new and utterly spurious and self-serving doctrine of social-imperialism on the one hand and on the other the virtual obliteration of the entire course of the Chinese Revolution with the pretense that a bourgeois restoration in one form or another has already taken place in China, without in so many words saying it.

THE OBJECTIVE BASIS OF THE SPLIT

What is the objective basis of the split?

Examining the political dispute in the socialist camp, and its subsequent degeneration into a state-to-state struggle, in isolation, separate and apart from the reciprocal relations with imperialism, guarantees a false analysis, no matter how exhaustively and minutely this is done. One has to begin with the sum total of world reality as it exists today and its multitude of interrelationships before being able to examine any part of it, however formidable, in isolation.

It is first of all necessary to take into account that the capitalist mode of production, even in the epoch of decadent monopoly

virtually the day of their birth to the present. None of the socialist countries, not even China today with its virtual alliance with imperialism, is free of this pressure. Once this is forgotten, no appreciation on a revolutionary Marxist basis of the current state of relations among the socialist states is possible.

It is best to keep in mind the period immediately after the Second World War. The U.S. emerged from the Second World War as the predominant world force on the international arena. All of Europe was virtually in ruins. So was Japan. The Soviet Union had lost more than 20 million lives in warding off the fascist powers.

The U.S. and its Allied imperialists took a slow boat in launching the second front in Europe. It was not the might of the Nazi armies which caused the delay. It was a shrewdly calculated political maneuver. Its purpose was to bleed the Soviet Union as much as it could and drain off as much of its military power as possible.

Once it was clear that Germany was being defeated, however, and Soviet troops were actually on German soil, then the Allied imperialists launched the D-Day invasion and moved as quickly as possible in what seemed to be an effort more to confront the Soviet army than to defeat the Nazi war machine.

The whole aim was not merely to

diminish their interest not merely in rehabilitating the ruling classes of war-torn Europe but in all kinds of diplomatic as well as political penetration of Eastern Europe with a view to curtailing the possibilities of the socialist countries there establishing a harmonious relationship with the Soviet Union and among themselves while building a socialist order.

With the triumph of the Chinese Revolution, it became an imperative for U.S. finance capital in particular to exert the most acute pressure on the socialist countries, from Poland in the Western part of the socialist camp to the Democratic Peoples Republic of Korea in northeast Asia. There was no let-up in the ruthless campaign unleashed by the Pentagon, State Department, and the Truman administration. Aside from the domestic aspects of the rise of McCarthyism, its foreign policy aspect was an unbridled campaign to move militarily both against China and the USSR.

The revelation was recently made that even before the rise of McCarthy, none other than Churchill recommended the use of the atom bomb during the Berlin Crisis in 1948. This more than any single incident vividly demonstrates the terrifying pressure used against the socialist countries in order to bend them to the will of imperialism.

The period of the 1950s included a number of wars launched by imperialism, the two most important ones against socialist countries—one against Korea and the other against Viet Nam. There wasn't even an interval of two years for China to consolidate the victory of the Chinese Revolution before the PRC was obliged to commit a good part of its army in defense of Korea and its own borders.

In spite of the fact that French imperialism was defeated by the Vietnamese at Dien Bien Phu, and U.S. imperialism had been forced to a stalemate over Korea earlier, imperialism by no means diminished its worldwide counter-revolutionary efforts directed against all the socialist countries. The pressure against them has been constant, unrelenting, and unrelenting.

It has been of a military interventionist character, as we have seen in Viet Nam and Korea, in addition to the economic, diplomatic, and political pressure exerted against all the socialist countries. This has forced them all to divert an ever-larger portion of their gross national product for military defense. It has forced the Soviet Union to become if not the equal, at least a near equal to the U.S. in military strength, a role which has been imposed upon them by imperialism.

IDEOLOGICAL STRUGGLE AROSE IN RESPONSE TO IMPERIALIST PRESSURE

Thus if we are to ask ourselves what is the basic objective cause of the struggle in the socialist camp, and more particularly what is the cause of the struggle between China and the USSR, we must first of all look to the merciless pressures exerted by imperialism.

As a matter of fact, is it not true that the ideological struggle between the USSR and China has from the very beginning been over what approach to take to imperialism? That in sum and substance has been the axis on which the polemics have developed. There would never have been a question of a soft line or a hard line in relation to imperialism if imperialism had no longer existed after the Second World War and the victory of the Chinese Revolution.



It was not a tertiary question like the Sino-Soviet border dispute which drove the two greatest socialist countries apart but the unrelenting pressure of imperialism. Here, Soviet and Chinese soldiers scuffle on the Ussuri river border in 1969.

struggle against imperialism.

The real question all along has been since the development of the Sino-Soviet conflict, where to direct the main thrust of the working class, the oppressed, and the socialist countries. Should the main thrust be against China? Or, as the Chinese leadership would put it, against the USSR? This is the crux of the problem.

It is aided and abetted by what Engels called in his funeral speech at Marx's grave, an "overgrowth of ideology"—in this case, the heavy burden of false polemics over a period more than two decades old, to which the adversaries themselves no longer seem to adhere, and about which some would not even like to be reminded.

It must be borne constantly in mind that for the first time in history since the existence of the socialist camp, one socialist country has openly and avowedly allied itself with imperialism against another socialist state. All the more is it necessary to view the emerging struggle in the light of this new complex phenomenon that the world faces.

The worst of all things is to completely close the eyes of the working class and pretend that no such new phenomenon exists, to continue the false thesis that only one of the socialist countries is

capitalism, is still the predominant one. The socialist mode of production, even after more than 60 years in the Soviet Union and 30 years in China, is only in its infancy.

One of the fundamental differences between the capitalist and socialist modes of production is that capitalism grows spontaneously, blindly, and independently of the will of the capitalists themselves. A socialist society, however, can only be built consciously on the basis of planning and on the basis of the common ownership of the basic means of production. These are the barest minimums necessary to begin the arduous task of constructing a new social system without exploitation and oppression.

Socialist construction also requires a minimum degree of stability and a material basis in technology, science, and the productive forces generally. Above all, it requires freedom from external interference, counter-revolutionary sabotage, threats of invasion, and imperialist military intervention. No socialist country has been free from this for any length of time, not even the Soviet Union.

It is important to go over again and again the preponderant role of imperialism, which has hung over all the socialist countries from

thwart the Soviet Union's military advance but also to insure the survival of the European bourgeoisie against possible proletarian revolutions in Western Europe, aided and encouraged by the presence of the Red Army.

The class perspective of the Allied imperialists was never blurred by the outlandishly reactionary and repressive character of the Nazi regime. Notwithstanding all the protestations of friendship and alliance with the USSR during the war period, the basic aim of imperialism was not only to subdue Hitler but even more importantly to make sure that the anti-Nazi alliance would inflict as little damage as possible on the ruling classes of European, Japanese, and American imperialism.

Thus when the war ended, the first item of business on the agenda of the imperialists was the "containment" of the USSR and the opening of a violent campaign to regain Eastern Europe and bring it back into the orbit of imperialism—an objective they have never lost sight of to this very day.

It must be borne in mind that the victory of the Chinese Revolution in 1949 compelled the imperialists, particularly in the U.S., to turn their attention to the Far East. But this did not substantially

Even in the case of Yugoslavia's virtual defection, at least in part, to imperialism, one must look to the exigencies of the Balkan situation as seen from the vantage point of U.S.-British piratical policy in the Mediterranean. One must not forget that a genuine revolutionary struggle for the liberation of Greece had been going on for several years and that Yugoslavia was the target of imperialism for aiding and assisting the Greek revolutionary liberation struggle. Yugoslavia was a channel for aid from all the socialist countries to Greece.

Without for the moment evaluating the character of the Soviet Union's policy in relation to Yugoslavia, the fundamental objective problem lay in the fact that Yugoslavia was in the front line of the struggle, in alliance with all the socialist countries. Because of its relation to the Greek revolutionary struggle, the significance of the Mediterranean, and also its potential revolutionary attraction to the Italian proletariat, Yugoslavia was targeted for the most intense and unremitting imperialist pressure. Coming at a time of growing friction between Yugoslavia and the USSR over policy in the Balkans and in Eastern Europe, this contributed heavily if not mainly to what may be called the basic objective reason for Yugoslavia's ultimate defection from the socialist camp.

Why is it necessary to go into such detail to demonstrate the severe pressures exerted by the imperialists against the socialist countries? Is this not generally understood among all genuine socialists and communists?

No, not entirely. The differences in the socialist camp are regarded on the whole as stemming purely from internal causes.

Our view, on the contrary, holds that the objective basis for the split and struggle among the socialist countries lies in the external pressure from imperialism and that the internal struggle reflects that pressure in varying degrees and in different forms.

INTERNAL LEGACY FROM EARLIER SYSTEMS

This is not to say that all of the contradictions and antagonisms of both a social and political character are due altogether to the external pressure of imperialism. No. There is also a legacy left over by the previous social order. There are problems left over from both feudalism and capitalism which have been left unsolved.

Both in China and earlier in the USSR, as well as in Viet Nam, Korea, and other countries, the new socialist regimes have not only to solve socialist tasks but tasks that have not been solved by the previous ruling classes.

In a country like France, by contrast, the bourgeois revolution of 1789-1793 cut feudalism root and branch. It left for the proletariat the principal task of overthrowing the bourgeoisie.

However, the new underdeveloped socialist countries, which include China, Viet Nam, Korea, and earlier included the USSR, have the two-fold task of combatting bourgeois institutions as well as the more intractable older habits, customs, and institutions left as the legacy of the earlier social order. To this of course must be added the tendency of imperialism (to the extent that it finds an avenue for influence in these countries) to strengthen political reaction left over from the past as against the progressive tendencies emerging to reorganize society on a socialist basis.

In the period immediately following the death of Stalin an ideological dispute was slowly emerging which took definite but somewhat concealed form with the

so-called secret Khrushchev Report at the 20th Congress. From then on it came more and more into the open, although there were brief periods of accommodation and general political agreement.

It was only in the early 1960s that the dispute took an open, public turn. It did not appear then that within the space of a few more years the ideological dispute would take on, slowly but gradually, a state-to-state form and even turn into violent military confrontation. But that finally happened in 1969 with the outbreak of military warfare over the disputed border along the Ussuri river.

HISTORY OF THE IDEOLOGICAL ISSUES

The political issues are important and relevant and go to the heart of the matter if we are seeking to arrive at the axis of the polemics—how to approach the struggle against imperialism. It is not the purpose of this document to go over the issues at the present time in detail. Suffice it to say that the Chinese leadership in its view took a revolutionary, intransigent line in the struggle against imperialism, for the revival of the revolutionary class struggle, and above all for relentless prosecution of wars of national liberation against imperialism.

Most important, the leaders of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) contested the prevailing position of the Soviet CP on the question of peaceful coexistence between capitalist and socialist states. It has been falsely attributed to the CCP leadership that they were against normalizing or conducting relations with imperialist states, particularly the U.S., because imperialist wars of aggression were fatalistically inevitable. But that was not their position.

In a general way, casting aside polemical sallies and exaggerations inevitable in a long period of polemics, the CCP leadership claimed to revive and resuscitate Lenin's teaching on the inevitability of imperialist wars in the epoch of monopoly capitalism.

The Soviet position, as expounded by its leaders, differed widely. They did not reject out of hand Lenin's conception of the inevitability of imperialist war, but their main and fundamental stress was not only on the possibility of a long-term coexistence between the imperialist and the socialist states, but that it was such an over-riding necessity in the age of the atom bomb as to make it a fundamental basis for the conduct of relations between the socialist and capitalist states.

"The struggle for peace," as Soviet political literature abundantly made it clear, was the first priority in the class struggle of the world proletariat, and the national liberation movements had to be fitted into the constricted framework of this global conception of the Soviet leadership. Only on those terms could the struggle be waged at all.

In the eyes of the Chinese CP leadership at the time, this was interpreted to be a subordination of the class struggle against the imperialist bourgeoisie and a virtual renunciation of national wars of liberation. The Soviet leadership accused the Chinese leadership of being "adventurist" in relation to imperialist wars and of in fact abandoning peaceful possibilities for the solution of urgent political problems.

The CCP leadership in turn accused the Soviet leadership of surrendering the national liberation struggle and the class struggle in the West European countries and in Japan to bourgeois parliamentarism and of renouncing the struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat.

This polemic at first took on the character of a dispute between the Chinese CP and the Italian CP. (It was most fully expounded in the Chinese pamphlet, "The Differences Between Comrade Togliatti and Ourselves.") In reality it was directed, of course, against the Soviet leadership.

CHINA VIEWED "COEXISTENCE" AS COLLUSION WITH U.S.

Over the long period in which the dispute continued, it became ever clearer that the Soviet leadership was promoting the conception not merely of coexistence but also of accommodation and cooperation, particularly as regards the U.S. In the eyes of the Chinese CP leaders this meant the defense of the imperialist status quo, and drew dangerously close to bidding for collusion between the Soviet leadership and the imperialists against the liberation struggles, while containing China in an isolated if not subjugated position.

tions, and military interventions of imperialism. Nor is it correct to say that the Soviet leadership reacted mainly out of revolutionary and internationalist considerations contrary to its public accommodationist, cooperative stance politically and diplomatically as imperialist opponents of Soviet policy maintain.

On the contrary, Soviet responses as well as its initiatives over the course of this entire period seem in historic perspective to be born of pragmatic considerations, which does not exclude revolutionary defenses or initiatives. However, pragmatism was, and still is, the hallmark of its diplomacy and world outlook.

For the most part its foreign policy especially is a reaction to imperialist encirclement, imperialist attempts at subversion and counter-revolution. Attempts to meet these challenges of imperialism have made it abundantly clear that Soviet policy had great and urgent need to find points of support on a global scale; supports

espousal of cooperation and accommodation between imperialism and the Soviet Union.

POLITICAL DISPUTES NEED NOT LEAD TO MILITARY CONFLICT

Had the Sino-Soviet ideological dispute continued merely as a struggle for political line in the international communist movement, there is no reason whatever to believe that it could possibly have broken out into military warfare, notwithstanding all the dire predictions (really wishful thinking) in the imperialist press at the time.

If one is to assume that the split or the expulsion, whichever way one views it, of the Yugoslav party from the Cominform was the first phase of the split in the socialist camp, one has to take into account that regardless of the severity of the measures which were imposed upon Yugoslavia by the socialist countries as a whole, which included China, it nevertheless did not lead to a military conflict. And that more than anything explains why they were able to restore normal and even somewhat fraternal relations with both China and the USSR.

The imperialist interpretation of this and also that of the Yugoslav leaders rests mainly on the fact that the Yugoslavs have a strong army and no border between Yugoslavia and the USSR. That, however, cuts little ice when one considers the enormous possibilities which could have been evoked in the potentially explosive Balkan area which would have involved East European socialist countries and the USSR.

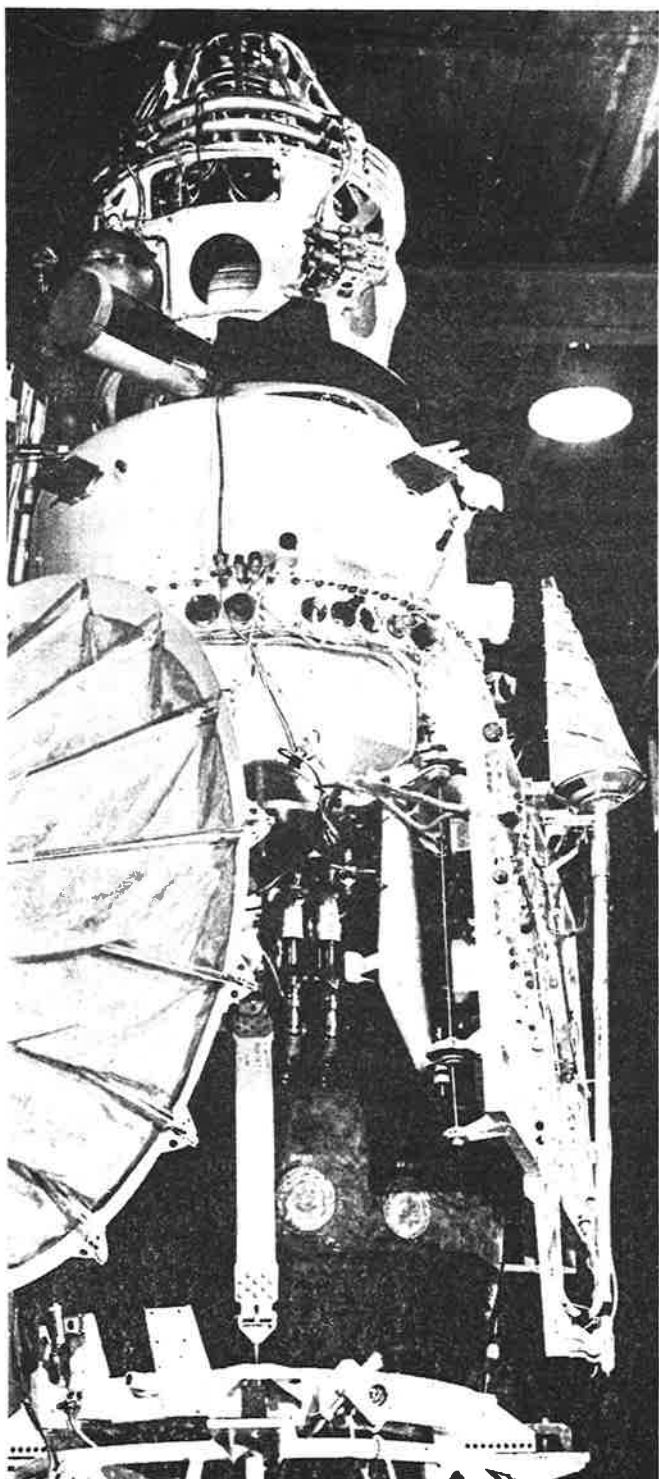
The point is that it did not reach the level of the kind of struggle that is presently being waged between the USSR and China.

Next September will be 20 years since Khrushchev had his Camp David meeting with Eisenhower. It is true that it didn't evoke the kind of euphoria that the bourgeoisie is now pouring out over Deng's visit to this country. The euphoria was more in the USSR and other socialist countries and in sections of the communist and progressive movement (but not in China).

The avowed purpose then was to arrive at a modus vivendi with the U.S. on the part of the Soviet leadership and also to find a basis for cooperation and accommodation. But this was precisely what turned the Chinese leadership off. (Can't the Chinese leaders now say that Deng's visit is merely a Chinese version of the Khrushchev Camp David meeting?) Aside from the fact that there was no prior consultation between the Soviet and Chinese leadership on the agenda for the discussions with the U.S., it was wrong to initiate the Camp David summit meeting because it would inevitably be regarded by the Chinese leadership as conspiracy against China.

This is so because China was still not recognized by the U.S., was still virtually blockaded economically and militarily, and prevented from regaining its proper seat in the United Nations—all due to the obstructive role played by the U.S.

"Accommodation," "cooperation"—the Chinese leaders viewed these terms as codewords for collusion and conspiracy against China when employed by Soviet diplomacy as a strategem for peaceful coexistence between two hostile social systems. But the Eisenhower administration, in line with the policy of its predecessor administrations, as well as its successors, did not at all succumb to the proposition advanced by some in the bourgeois camp of consummating a global deal with



This Soviet Venus probe illustrates why U.S. imperialism considers the USSR its greatest enemy: because it is the most powerful pillar of the socialist camp.

During this entire period, of course, there were innumerable imperialist provocations, counter-revolutionary wars of aggression against oppressed peoples, and outright brazen military intervention in Asia, Africa, and the Middle East. As the leaders of China saw it, the Soviet leadership took a "soft" position as against their own hard line against imperialism.

This is not to say that, notwithstanding the political and theoretical world conception of the USSR leadership regarding the relationship between imperialism and the socialist countries, it did not resist the incursions, provoca-

which if they did not immediately improve the international position of the USSR vis-a-vis the U.S. and other imperialist powers, certainly inflicted tremendous blows against imperialism, circumscribed its area for the extraction of surplus value, and weakened it from that point of view. An example is Soviet support for the Cuban Revolution.

Both China and the USSR passionately supported the struggle of the Cuban people and their leadership against U.S. aggression. As all the world knows, the Cuban crisis very nearly led to a nuclear war. All this happened notwithstanding the Soviet leadership's vigorous

the USSR when Khrushchev was here of a kind which the U.S. is now attempting to entice the PRC into.

Why? Why did not the Truman, Eisenhower, and Kennedy administrations or their successors project the kind of global deal that they presumably now are consummating with China? Their reluctance does not hinge primarily on whether the approach of the Soviet leadership is reformist or revolutionary.

WHY IMPERIALISM VIEWS USSR AS ITS PRINCIPAL ENEMY

It is based on the solid fact that the USSR as a socialist state, as a workers' state, after having gone through all the trials and tribulations of its 60-year existence, through all the vicissitudes of reaction and progress by succeeding administrations of the Soviet state in the post-Lenin era, and especially after having gone through the crucible of the murderous Second World War, has emerged as a strong and viable socialist state, much stronger than any of the other socialist states, including China, of course.

This is the predominant reason why the U.S. in particular and imperialism in general regard the USSR not merely with apprehension but as the principal enemy. By the very strength of its social system, its vast resources, its technological and military prowess, it can play a tremendously revolutionary and progressive role in world affairs.

It has demonstrated this only recently in the cases of Angola, Mozambique, and Ethiopia, not to speak of the earlier and continuing support to the Cuban Revolution.

The imperialists cannot particularly concern themselves, unless under a great imperative need, if a small country which does not have strategic significance and is not blessed with an abundance of oil, gas, uranium, or other precious and strategic materials, carries out a socialist revolution. It is only when that small country solicits aid to build socialism from the Soviet Union and the Soviet Union cooperates by granting such aid that it becomes a "menace to peace."

The U.S. has learned to regard China with less apprehension since the downfall of the left-wing of the Chinese CP and the dismantling of the Cultural Revolution. Even during that period, when the U.S. politically attacked China most vehemently, it was out of fear of the revolutionary repercussions of the Cultural Revolution that the U.S. directed its blows against China. Nevertheless, even during that entire period, the main enemy in the eyes of the imperialists was still the USSR precisely because of its formidable strength as a socialist country and, as we said, its tremendous potential for aid on a worldwide basis in the struggle against imperialism. This has not been the case with China.

It is not only due to the underdeveloped state of the economy in China. It is that China, for a variety of reasons, has never become the center for the worldwide revolutionary movement the way the Soviet Union became after the Bolshevik Revolution the central source for revolutionary energy, determination, political line, and of course, where possible, for material support.

During the trying days when the Chinese leadership met with the Soviet leaders in early 1950, the bourgeoisie, especially the U.S. media, were daily pouring out a barrage of propaganda calculated to show the so-called divergent interests between China and the USSR and the imminence of a split.

The negotiations between the USSR and China proved most difficult. But in our original document in 1950 we addressed ourselves to that very point, to the question of whether temporary, ephemeral, and narrow interests would triumph over the broader class interests which unite the workers and peasants of both countries.



There are limitless opportunities for profound revolutionary changes in the world that can encourage a turn to revolutionary policy in both China and the USSR. Here, Iranians demonstrate against the Shah.

BROAD CLASS INTERESTS SAME FOR BOTH CHINA AND USSR

We answered no. We based ourselves not on speculation born out of abstract theoretical premises but on the hard realities of the day, the urgent need in the struggle against the common enemy—imperialism—and that the current of history favors the triumph of these class interests over narrow interests championed both in China and the USSR.

For well-nigh two decades our thesis seemed to hold, at least insofar as open military hostilities were concerned. Today the current of history is running stronger than ever for the triumph of the broad class interests of the workers and peasants.

Everywhere there are giant leaps in technology, in science, in communication, in all the modern fields of scientific endeavor, the groundwork is laid more and more firmly for cooperation and solidarity of the international working class, of the toilers of all lands and of all nationalities. It is the weight of oppression, of exploitation, and the divisive policy of finance capital which holds down the solidarity of the working class and oppressed. The organic tendencies in contemporary society surge constantly and incessantly forward toward unification on the basis of socialist solidarity.

Everywhere the effort of the bourgeoisie to construct a bogus internationalism is proved to be a fraud because it represents the carnivorous tendencies of the multi-national corporations and not the mass of the people. It exists on the back of the people like an incubus, a parasite, and does not permit the truly giant strides in industry, science, and technology to move forward for the benefit of humanity, but holds them back and seeks to shift them in the direction of imperialist war.

All of this happens independently of the will of the imperialists. And it is the fear of the imperialists which at bottom has caused in the socialist countries the dislocation, chaos, and sabotage of what can truly be fraternal, cooperative efforts to lay the foundations for a socialist commonwealth from the tip of the Korean peninsula to the edges of the Baltic Sea.

The bourgeoisie is only too mindful of the latent possibilities

inherent in the social structures of China, the USSR, and other socialist countries, including those in Southeast Asia, Cuba in Latin America, Ethiopia, Angola, Mozambique, and the progressive democratic regime in Afghanistan, for a peaceful socialist alliance based on an identity of fundamental interests to oppose the incursions, military threats, and

interventionist policy of imperialism.

Most dangerous to the fortunes of imperialism is the revival of a Sino-Soviet genuine normalization of relations, which could proceed to a formalized socialist detente between the two giant socialist countries.

IMPERIALISTS FEAR LATENT POSSIBILITY OF SOCIALIST DETENTE

If it is possible to have a detente, a genuine detente, that is, between the USSR and imperialism, as the Soviet leadership has for so long believed in, then why is it not possible for a socialist detente with China? Why is it possible to have one with imperialism, and not with the socialist countries?

The same question could be asked with even greater force and vigor of the Chinese leadership. If they can find such great virtue in a cozy relationship with the U.S., an imperialist country (the Chinese press has not denied the imperialist characterization of the U.S., at least not as of now), why cannot they find any of at least those same virtues in the USSR? Or is it that the U.S. no longer seeks "hegemony" in Latin America, the Middle East, Africa, and in Asia (Korea)? And what about Taiwan?

Probably one of the lasting elements of a subjective political character in the triangular relationship of China, the U.S., and the USSR lies in the unpublicized efforts of the leadership, both in China and the USSR, not so much to conspire with imperialism against each other, as to get out of the line of fire in imperialism's efforts to foment an imperialist holocaust to which it is daily building up independently of its will and in spite of all efforts to propitiate and mollify the appetites of the Pentagon and the military-industrial complex.

What both China and the USSR objectively need to construct and further develop the socialist economies is peace and stability. It is precisely that which imperialism is determined to deny them.

It is worthy of note that amidst all the euphoria in the capitalist press calculated to embellish the nature of the U.S.-China rapprochement, President Carter went out of his way to deliberately insert a sentence in his formal statement before the press

communique was issued in which the U.S. asserted that it "has its own separate interests" and that China has "its own responsibilities." It was as near a pronouncement as was possible, within the framework of a so-called honeymoon period, of telling the Chinese leadership that they have their own class interests, and that the U.S. has its own

imperialist interests, which China does not share but which the U.S. expects China to approve and help American finance capital to safeguard and secure.

Thus Carter's line of demarcation, although sketched in the language of imperialist diplomacy, is a class line which the political, diplomatic, and military alliance between China and the U.S. cannot easily overcome. The class line is still the fundamental obstacle. That is why a segment of the bourgeoisie has its fears and doubts about the alliance. And a number of them are apprehensive that a reconciliation, as they call it, between the USSR and China is not only possible but probable.

It is for that reason, more than for reasons of the narrower advantages of super-profits in Taiwan, that the U.S. wants to hold the island as a hostage to prevent a revival of the Sino-Soviet relationship.

If the bourgeoisie is so fearful of that, is that not in itself enough to stimulate a measure of confidence in the broader perspective of socialist solidarity being revived, rather than the deterioration being carried to the length of utter and destructive folly?

SOCIALIST GOAL MUST BE UNITY OF WORKERS' MOVEMENT

Just as Marx, Engels, and Lenin after them continually preached and promoted the cause of unity in the working class movement, regardless of the differences between its reformist and revolutionary elements, so it is our duty today to promote socialist solidarity among the socialist countries in a situation where the lines of demarcation are not at all that between reformists and revolutionaries, Bolsheviks and Mensheviks. No, the lines of revolutionary demarcation in political policy as between the Soviet leadership and the Chinese leadership depend almost wholly on circumstance.

The USSR is in the vanguard of the world movement and stands out as the defender of oppressed people more than any other socialist country because it is capable of assuming that role in the concrete historical situation of today.

The political changes in the USSR and China are not by any

means dominated solely by the external relations with imperialism and the domestic situation in the respective governments of China and the USSR. The rest of humanity also exists. There are limitless opportunities for profound revolutionary changes which can encourage and induce a turn to revolutionary policy in both China and the USSR.

Notwithstanding Deng's promise to give moral support to the efforts of the U.S. and other imperialists to solve the Iranian crisis, the revolutionary momentum in Iran can go far beyond the political horizon envisioned by Khomeini and his supporters and the possibilities for a revolutionary overturn along genuine socialist lines can cause a lot of second thinking both in Moscow and Beijing that perhaps the paper tiger is neither in the Soviet Union nor in China but in the citadel of imperialism, the U.S.A.

At the moment, nothing is as unstable and tenuous as the position of the U.S. in the Middle East, although it is by no means the only area where imperialism is vulnerable and debilitated. The Iranian conflagration may spread far beyond the Persian Gulf. The sparks of the Iranian Revolution may light up areas of revolutionary struggle where tanks, guns, and missiles cannot overwhelm the groundswell of popular rebellion. Such indeed are the prospects American finance capital faces.

It is no wonder that the imperialist media is beginning to ooze with pessimism growing out of its frustrations and failures in attempts to stifle the ever-growing number of rebellions in oppressed countries. Nor is there any peace between exploited and exploiter in Western Europe. The instability of the regime in Italy, the growing number of strike struggles in Britain, the bankruptcy of the reactionary government which took over in Portugal, and the intractability of the world economic situation, make for poor prospects for stability in the precarious situation of world finance capital.

Under these circumstances, do revolutionary Marxists have any reason at all to renounce the existence of virtually the strongest pillars of the socialist camp?

On the contrary, it was never more important to strengthen the revolutionary class camp of the proletariat, which extends from one end of the earth to the other and encompasses a whole grouping of socialist states which includes both China and the USSR. That is what has to be borne in mind as imperialism moves closer and closer to perilous adventures in order to save itself from the destiny which it cannot avoid.

February 6, 1979

Role of Iranian troops key as

Mass movement broadens with Khomeini's return

By JOHN CATALINOTTO

FEBRUARY 6—The Iranian mass movement, the driving force behind the revolution in that country, broadened this week as millions were swept into the exultation of welcoming back Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini after 15 years of exile. Pro-Khomeini forces called demonstrations not only in the cities but also in the villages. At the same time the revolutionary forces extended their control over the production and distribution of goods, and over the direction of society in general.

Despite threats from Prime Minister Shapur Bakhtiar to arrest any revolutionary Provisional Government appointed by the opposition, yesterday Khomeini named Mehdi Barzagan, a bourgeois nationalist with anti-Shah credentials, as prime minister of the projected Islamic Republic of Iran. Barzagan, a former member of the 1951-53 nationalist government of Mossadegh (which the Shah overthrew in a bloody U.S.-backed coup), has close ties with the bazaar merchants, Iran's native bourgeoisie, as well as friendly relations with the religious leadership.

The imperialist press described him as a "moderate," a "skillful negotiator," and even as someone who both Khomeini and Bakhtiar trust.

Barzagan handled negotiations on behalf of Khomeini with striking oil workers last month, and according to most accounts was able to convince the strikers to go back and produce enough oil to meet Iran's internal needs, although there was a good deal of misgiving among the workers about Barzagan's role.

DUAL POWER?

According to the European press almost everything that is functioning in civil and economic areas, whether it be oil production, work in the banks, the post office, or the telephone system, is under the control of the opposition. Food distribution, handled mainly by Islamic cooperatives, has gone on successfully, and with no rise in prices, so no additional hardship is put upon the poor and the striking workers.

The movement has set up an organization which listens in on phone calls, keeping track of all movements of the government or of the military.

Almost the entire civilian population appears to look to the Khomeini forces for guidance, with almost no one following

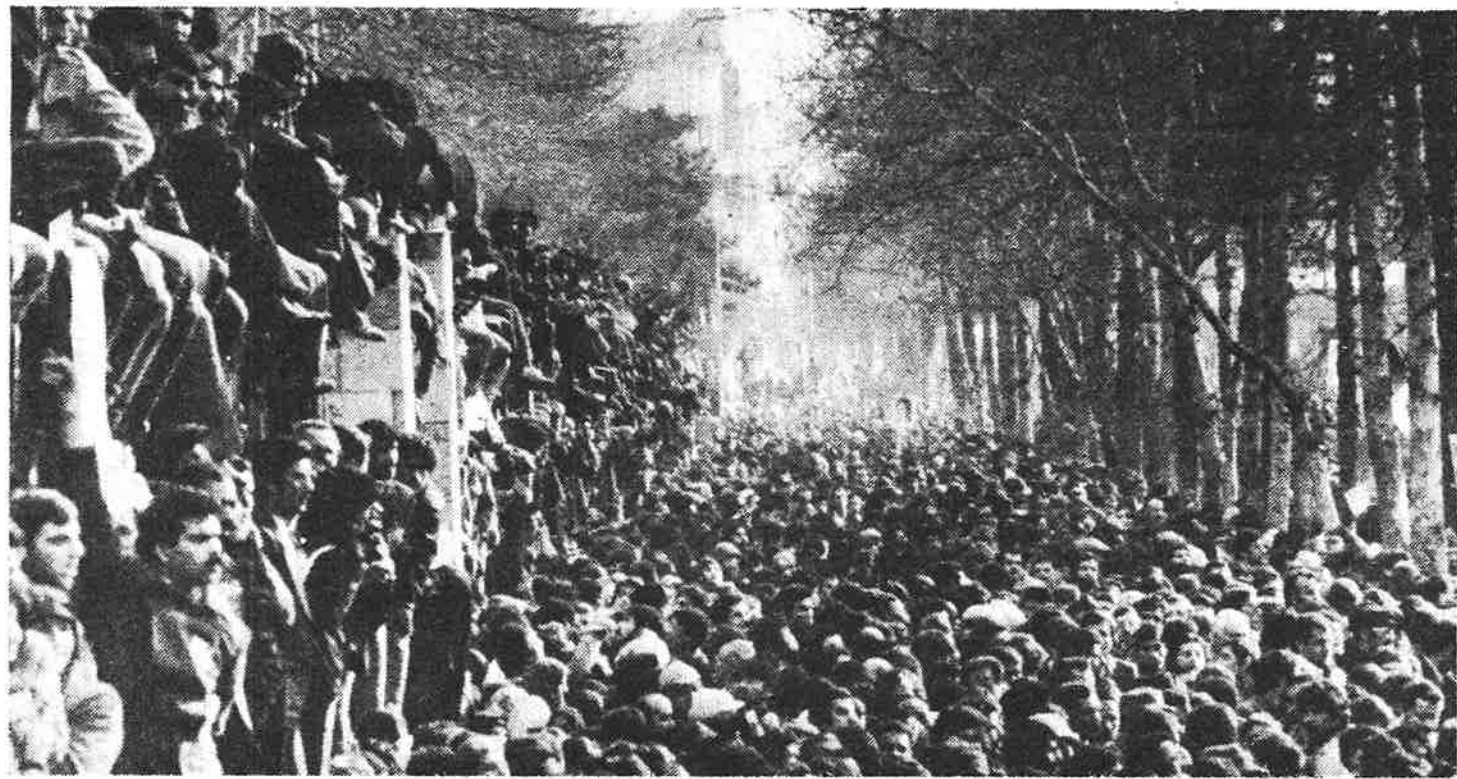
Bakhtiar. However, the real contest is not with the Bakhtiar administration but with the Army. Without some armed group made up of and defending those who brought down the Shah, there is the danger that the power wielded by the Khomeini forces can be smashed by a blow from the old neocolonial state, armed and backed by the Pentagon. However, at this point in the struggle the reactionary U.S.-trained generals may have to contend with mass defections of their troops if they try to crack down on the opposition.

As for U.S. imperialism, the backers of the Shah-appointed Bakhtiar government, Washington is working day and night to prevent an anti-imperialist government from taking power in Iran, for any shift away from the Shah's policies is costly to U.S. finance capital and shakes their entire edifice in the strategic Middle East area. The Bakhtiar regime had to cancel \$12 billion in arms contracts with U.S. monopolies this week, putting a big dent in these companies' future profits and weakening the dollar on the world market.

Khomeini's triumphant return showed that building up a rival force was possible. Some 40,000 to 70,000 people volunteered for the group that kept order among the millions who welcomed Khomeini. These volunteers could come forward to take up arms if a call were made to defend the revolution.



Iranian soldiers and civilians join together in a recent demonstration. If this solidarity deepens, it will mean the end for the U.S.-backed Bakhtiar regime.



Almost everyone in Tehran came out on the streets the day Ayatollah Khomeini arrived in Iran.

Danger of U.S.-backed coup

FEBRUARY 6—The U.S. imperialists continue to look to the Iranian Armed Forces as the main pillar of capitalist stability in Iran. U.S. official statements, reported in today's papers, were full of hope that the Iranian Army was in better shape than a week ago.

The most optimistic reports were from U.S. Gen. Robert Huyser, who was in Iran the past month, coordinating the moves of the Iranian general staff. Huyser portrayed the Iranian army as "sticking together better" now. However, this remains to be tested because for the past week the army has not been called out to face the people in the streets. (Washington Post, Feb. 5.)

U.S. officials also said Huyser was pulled out of Iran because

the mass demonstrations denounced him as a "vice regent." It is more widely believed in Iran that he was seeking to pull together the elements for a successful military coup, instead of trying to avoid one, his stated mission. According to the European press there are rumors in Iran that within the armed forces there is a parallel structure of those officers loyal to the Shah who plan a coup and the arrest or murder of 20,000 of the opposition leaders—that is, if their troops carry out their orders.

With the threat of a Pentagon-orchestrated coup still a reality it is not surprising that many of the left organizations have called for building the armed struggle as the only guarantee that the people's demands will be met.

Opposition seizes Isfahan

By KENNY PETERSON

FEBRUARY 7—The Iranian Revolution took a long stride forward yesterday, with the seizure of the city of Isfahan by anti-Bakhtiar forces. Isfahan is the second largest city in Iran. It is the most industrialized city in the country, with a large and well-organized working class.

According to a report from the Associated Press wire service, "pro-Khomeini personnel had assumed police functions and the administration of municipal offices." This takeover by the forces of the revolutionary Provisional Government was reported to have occurred without violence, indicating a massive lack

of support for the old regime of Shah-appointed Shapur Bakhtiar.

Also, CBS revealed today that supporters of the Ayatollah Khomeini consolidated their control over the southern sector of Tehran where the masses of impoverished residents of the capital-city live. The city of Qum has also begun functioning under an administration loyal to the Revolution.

Tens of thousands of demonstrators filled the streets of Tehran yesterday indicating their continuing opposition to the neocolonial regime of Bakhtiar. While there is no popular support for

Bakhtiar at all, and his ties with the military are reported to be eroding, "there are remnants of the old regime still operating and seeking to cause violence," according to Khomeini-aide Dr. Ibrahim Yazdi.

Meanwhile, Bakhtiar continues to refuse to step down, saying, "I have nothing to do with governments that exist in the imagination of people and are more of a joke." In view of the general strikes and mass demonstrations against Bakhtiar which have kept him isolated and a virtual prisoner in Tehran with no real authority, his statement, if applied to his own regime, would have the ring of truth.

EDITORIAL

Carter refuses to free the Four Nationalists...

A tremendous body of world public opinion has pressed President "Jimmy" Carter during the past month to commute the sentences still being served by the Four Puerto Rican Nationalists in U.S. jails. The international campaign for their release has been so broad that it finally influenced the U.S. Justice Department to recommend to Carter the commutation of the prison terms.

Carter, however, outraged most of humankind last week by refusing to sign the presidential commutation order for the long-imprisoned Nationalists. But he did find enough "compassion" to release Patty Hearst, heiress to the multi-million dollar Hearst empire. Regardless of the merits of the latter's case, the Puerto Rican people, both in the U.S. and on the island, in near unanimous response, were incensed at Carter's lack of fairness and prejudice against the Puerto Rican Nationalists. Thus the Four remain the longest-held political prisoners in the Western Hemisphere and make a mockery out of Carter's "human rights" campaign.

Hypocrisy has been all along a hallmark of Carter's presidency with regards to human rights. How else can this latest decision by Carter be interpreted? Or his praise for the butcher Shah of Iran and the brutal dictator Somoza of Nicaragua? Or his recent embrace of the number one and still-free criminal, Richard Nixon, at the White House?

The "crime" of the Nationalist prisoners was that they dared to dramatize the plight of their enslaved nation-island, at a time when Washington was effectively shutting off all news of Puerto Rico's colonial condition. Oscar Collazo has now been imprisoned 28 years for his attack on the Truman White House in 1950. Lolita Lebron, Irvin Flores, and Rafael Cancel Miranda have each served 25 years for their attack on the U.S. Capitol in 1954. A fifth Nationalist prisoner, Andres Figueroa Cordero, was released by Carter a little over a year ago only after it was revealed that Figueroa was dying of cancer.

PROGRESSIVES WORLDWIDE SUPPORT THE FOUR

But the heyday of U.S. global imperialist rule is over. The entire world is now very conscious of the severe oppression suffered by the colonized Puerto Rican people at the hands of Washington and Wall Street. A UN resolution last September not only recognized the inalienable right of Puerto Rico's independence from the U.S. but called for the immediate release of the Nationalist prisoners.

Various members of the U.S. Congress have joined in the campaign to free the Four. Support for their release has even come from the most conservative, pro-statehood circles in Puerto Rico, from resolutions passed by Puerto Rico's legislature, and from statements of four ex-colonial governors of the island.

Carter, his billionaire ruling class masters, and their present, ultra-reactionary puppet governor in Puerto Rico virtually stand alone in denying freedom to the Four. But this setback is not the last word to be heard on this most crucial struggle to liberate four genuine Puerto Rican patriots. The international campaign for the release of the Nationalists must be stepped up until Carter is made to feel that there is no way for him to avoid humanity's outcry: Free the Four Puerto Rican Nationalist Prisoners!

...Ben Chavis ...Obadele

And speaking about political prisoners, in addition to the four Nationalists there are many, many others incarcerated in the U.S. jails, as UN Ambassador Andrew Young admitted last year. Among the more well-known of these are Ben Chavis of the Wilmington 10 and Republic of New Africa President Imari Abubakari Obadele. Ben Chavis has been in prison for three years, framed up for civil rights activities. Although even the U.S. Justice Department has filed a legal brief charging that Chavis and the other defendants did not get a fair trial, Chavis remains in jail.

Obadele, who has been in prison for four years, is a victim of Mississippi justice and FBI racism. Amnesty International has informed President Carter it considers both Ben Chavis and Obadele to be political prisoners, but Carter has taken no action in their cases.

For the rich and well-connected, it is not hard to get a pardon in the U.S. The former governor of Tennessee just pardoned dozens of people (in return for sizable bribes) before leaving office.

But it is a different matter if one has upheld progressive causes and fought for the rights of the poor and the victims of racism. Then the government sinks its teeth into the prisoner like the notorious Gila monster, determined to hold its captive in a vise-like grip forever. The struggle must continue to break apart those poisonous jaws and restore their prisoners to the people.



New talks scheduled

U.S. obstacle to Korean reunification

By ANDY STAPP

FEBRUARY 7—An exchange of proposals on the question of national reunification has led to the tentative scheduling of a meeting Feb. 20 at the Panmunjom truce site between representatives from the northern and southern halves of Korea.

However, the Pak Jung Hi puppet clique in south Korea appears to be balking at the proposal, put forward by the Central Committee of the Democratic Front for the Reunification of the Fatherland in the socialist north, that a preparatory committee be formed preliminary to setting up an all-nation dialogue in which many different parties could participate.

The Pak regime, which faces a very broad opposition both at home and among Koreans resident in Japan, wants to restrict the discussions on reunification of the country to its own officials and representatives of the government of the Democratic Peoples Republic of Korea (DPRK).

A round of negotiations on reunification between the two state authorities began in 1972, but only lasted for three sessions. The present proposal of the DPRK committee seems intended to try and provide a role in the discussions for the many elements in the south who have opposed or remained independent of the Pak regime.

The two halves of Korea have been divided since the end of World War II when the U.S. military set up a right-wing dictatorship in the southern part of the peninsula, shutting it off from the revolutionary north where the capitalist-feudalist system had been overthrown. For over three decades the government in the south has been in the hands of a series of U.S. imperialist clients.

Currently, the south is ruled by the Pentagon-backed military regime of Pak Jung Hi. The Pak government is considered one of the most repressive in the world.

Last Dec. 19, for instance, the south Korean supreme court upheld the convictions of two stamp collectors who had committed the "offense" of collecting some postage stamps from the north. Under the Pak

regime, anti-communism has been elevated to the status of what almost amounts to a state religion, and in such a suffocating atmosphere even an innocent hobby like collecting postage stamps has been made "a crime!"

Seven years ago, when the first north-south talks took place, the DPRK stated "three principals of national reunification." These were "independence, peaceful reunification and great national unity."

U.S. TROOPS IN THE SOUTH

As a corollary to these points, the DPRK also called for the removal of U.S. military occupation forces in the south "which obstruct the reunification of Korea."

The 40,000 U.S. troops in southern Korea are the only foreign soldiers in either part of the country, north or south. They

stand as the major obstacle to any effort by the Korean people to reunite their divided homeland. This fact has been recognized by practically the whole world, as shown by the passage of several United Nations resolutions over the last five years calling for the withdrawal of all foreign—that is, U.S.—troops from Korea.

While "Jimmy" Carter promised during his election campaign to withdraw all ground troops, there were actually more U.S. military personnel in Korea at the end of this year than last.

A drive in Congress to keep all 40,000 U.S. troops in Korea has been led by the ultra-right legislators in the pay of the military-industrial complex. There is more and more opposition among the people, however, as the growing social burden of the military budget makes itself felt in cutbacks, layoffs, and higher taxes.

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The Deng visit and

Carter's 'secret war' in Southeast Asia

By DEIRDRE GRISWOLD

FEBRUARY 7—There is no need to review the details of the visit of Chinese Deputy Premier Deng Xiaoping (Teng Hsiao-ping) to the United States. The whole affair was orchestrated with virtually 24-hour media coverage that saturated not only the U.S. but that huge portion of the world hooked into the multi-billion-dollar imperialist communications network.

What needs to be understood, however, is that this coverage followed a pre-planned "scenario," as the public relations people in Washington themselves so unashamedly call it. And one purpose of this scenario (along with several other themes, of course), was to cast the Carter administration in the role of wise and responsible statesmen, preoccupied with the tough questions of world peace, who were somewhat "embarrassed" at the strident anti-Sovietism of their guest, but who kept a cool head and accentuated the positive in their relationship.

This is the story for mass consumption, since every capitalist politician knows by now that the more you plan for war, the louder you must shout for peace.

But leaving aside the ballyhoo and chorus of editorial commentaries which all took their cue from White House press briefings, what actually transpired between the governments of China and the U.S.?

JOINT PRESS COMMUNIQUE

The one official statement to come out of Deng's visit was a joint U.S.-China "press communique" which contained an "anti-hegemony" clause—that is, a thinly veiled attack on the Soviet Union. And for all the "reluctance" that Washington is supposed to have displayed over being linked in an anti-Soviet alliance with China's leaders, who insisted on the communique? Deng?

No, the Carter administration. As a matter of fact, it had been announced when Deng first arrived that there would be no joint communique. It was the U.S. that insisted on it, and once again a story was concocted for popular consumption that portrayed the communique as a mere formality to appease the press.

It is the tangible expression of what amounts to a virtual military alliance between U.S. imperialism and the leaders of the Peoples Republic of China that is directed against the Soviet Union and the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam.

However, the whole strategy of the imperialists is to use this alliance to get China to do the fighting, that is, to instigate a conflict among the socialist countries, while appearing to be counseling "moderation."

HOW "HEGEMONY" GOT INTO CHINA'S VOCABULARY

An interesting footnote to the Deng visit that illustrates this point appeared in an article by Joseph Lelyveld of the New York Times on Feb. 5. He notes that the word "hegemony," now so widely understood to be a term used by the Chinese leaders to attack the Soviet Union, did not originate with them at all, but with U.S. President Richard Nixon.

"According to an American diplomat," writes Lelyveld "the term first showed up in a 1970 letter from President Nixon to the Soviet Prime Minister, Aleksei N. Kosygin. Neither the United States

nor the Soviet Union should seek hegemony, Mr. Nixon said.

"It was then inserted by Henry A. Kissinger, Mr. Nixon's national security adviser, into the text of the 1972 Shanghai Communique, which laid the basis for the normalization of relations that has now taken place. **Only then did Peking adopt the word as a way of underscoring themes that were common to China and the United States.**" [Our emphasis.]

Thus, it is U.S. imperialism that has held out to China's leaders (especially to the right-wing of the Chinese Communist Party that has now taken control) an improvement in relations on the basis of a common struggle against the USSR.

And it is the Carter administration that made sure to get this in writing during Deng's visit.

But at the same time Carter stays in the background and lets the leaders of People's China appear to be doing the real hardcore red-baiting against the Soviet Union. When it comes from the leaders of another socialist country, it confuses and demoralizes the masses much more than when it comes from the same, tired old capitalist reactionaries who've been invoking the Red Menace for every mad U.S. military adventure from Santo Domingo to Viet Nam.

U.S. INCITING CHINA AGAINST VIET NAM

The other aspect of the Deng visit which illustrates this point is on the question of Viet Nam. There is no doubt that the fall of the Pol Pot regime in Kampuchea is a great blow to the leadership in China, and that Viet Nam's support for the Kampuchean National United Front and the new government there is viewed by China's leaders as a hostile act, one which they want to "punish" Viet Nam for.

But in the same breath in which all the bourgeois commentators will explain the animosity of Beijing (Peking) towards Hanoi, they will talk of how the U.S. government is only a spectator in the conflict because it is "restrained" from doing any more since the "trauma" of the Viet Nam war era.

Yet it should be obvious that what has made Deng's threats against Viet Nam so ominous is that they have been made in Washington and in Tokyo. This invests them with much more danger to the Vietnamese people than if he had said the very same thing back home.

There's an old proverb that says you can go back to sleep if the frog croaks threats at you from the middle of his lily pad, but beware if he challenges you while sitting on the paw of your enemy, the lion.

The U.S. and Japanese imperialists, by giving Deng a platform for a verbal attack on Viet Nam, are inciting and encouraging a genuine military attack, and that is how it is understood in all the capitals of the world.



Carter's tactic is to let Deng be out front.

And in case anyone missed this point, it was made perfectly clear when, within hours of the end of the Deng visit, Prime Minister (and former general) Kriangsak of Thailand arrived in Washington to discuss first, getting more U.S. military aid, and second, the situation in Kampuchea.

Thailand, of course, was the site of the biggest U.S. air base used to bomb the people of Indochina during the war. The present military group in power was groomed by U.S. imperialism for years and itself relies on the Pentagon's support to combat a long-standing opposition in the countryside and among the Thai workers and students.

It was Carter who took the occasion of Kriangsak's visit to reminisce publicly about a 1972 military treaty between Thailand and the U.S.—in other words, a treaty signed at a time when the U.S. imperialists were using Thailand as a base from which to rain death down on Viet Nam, Cambodia, and Laos in a last desperate attempt to break the revolutionary will of the people.

This treaty was invoked today, of course, in the context of a new threat against Viet Nam and against the new Kampuchean government next door to Thailand. (It should be noted that while the imperialists were eager to exploit the grave problems of Kampuchea under the Pol Pot regime for their own propaganda purposes, they never invoked this treaty against Kampuchea then.)

And to reinforce this point, it was also leaked to the press during Kriangsak's visit to Washington that Chinese weapons and supplies for the forces still loyal to the Pol Pot regime are being shipped through Thailand. What this means is that the U.S., still in reality the military power behind the Thai regime, sanctions and in fact has even arranged with Deng and Kriangsak for the transshipment of Chinese arms to be used against the new Kampuchean government.

The strategic aim of U.S. imperialism is the same as ever: the thwarting of socialist revolutions and national liberation struggles, the strangling of the hopes and ambitions of the world's oppressed in order to guarantee and extend the interests of finance capital, its banks and transnational corporations. Since the Viet Nam War, and with the dangerous deepening of the Sino-Soviet split, imperialism has adopted new tactics. These tactics are meant to give the appearance of greater caution and moderation by the leader, more concern over social issues and "human rights," of their having "learnt the lessons" of their defeat in Southeast Asia.

But in truth they have only become more cunning, more predatory, more rapacious. They pose every bit as much a threat today to the workers and oppressed of the world as during the bombing of Laos and the mining of Haiphong harbor—if not more so.

CHINA

the suppression of the left

China: The Suppression of the Left by Sam Marcy

Analyzes the sweeping developments in China following the death of Mao Tse-tung. Written in the very heat of the events and verified by later developments, these articles deal mostly with the defeat of the left wing of the Chinese Communist Party and the comeback of the rightists purged during the Cultural Revolution. Also explains the significance of the Cultural Revolution, the Shanghai Commune, and the fall of Lin Biao. Defends the position that while there has been an historic defeat and setback in the course of the Chinese Revolution, China still remains a socialist country despite its current reactionary leaders.

111 p., \$2.00



the struggle within

China: The Struggle Within by Sam Marcy, Deirdre Griswold, and Naomi Cohen

Covers developments in the People's Republic of China from 1959 to 1972. Includes: the Peoples' Communes; War in Tibet; China's early revolutionary positions; the Cultural Revolution; and detente with the U.S. Also includes an original analysis of the Cultural Revolution and the fall of Lin Biao. Provides essential background for the events unfolding in China today. 116 pp., \$2.00



New Chinese spellings

With this issue of *Workers World*, we are conforming to a new system of spelling Chinese proper names in the Roman alphabet that has been adopted by the Chinese government. The older spelling will appear in parentheses after the new form the first time it appears in an article, as Beijing (Peking), Hua Guofeng (Hua Kuo-feng), Deng Xiaoping (Teng Hsiao-ping), etc.

71 pp., \$1.50

THE CLASS CHARACTER OF THE USSR

An answer to the theory of "Soviet social-imperialism"

by Sam Marcy

Includes an appraisal of the "History of USSR-China Relations" by Vince Copeland

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New York City Notes

Welfare report suppressed

JANUARY 31—A city agency study revealing that welfare payments here are dangerously below actual need has been suppressed by the administration of New York Mayor Ed Koch.

The never-published 1977 study by the Office of Research and Program Evaluation of the Human Resources Administration, the city agency responsible for distributing welfare funds, was uncovered by the Downtown Welfare Advocate Center. "The study definitely made a statement recommending increases," Christine Larson of the Advocate Center, a welfare rights group, told **Workers World**.

The study ends once-and-for-all the frequently repeated idea that New York City welfare grants are

above the national average. The current rates were set in 1969, with only one increase given in 1974. Inflation has gone up 102% from 1969 to 1977 while the 1974 increase was only 12%, the study pointed out.

"Food prices are 86% higher, housing operations are 63% higher, transportation is 114% higher . . . with such increases in prices it becomes apparent why it would require \$405.00 as of July, 1977 to provide the same purchasing power as \$231.00 did in 1969," the study noted in its argument for increasing welfare payments which have not changed despite the inflation which has continued at an even greater pace into 1979.

Racism of Koch challenged

The latest in a series of slanderous attacks on New York City's Black and Latin community leaders by Mayor Koch has been met with angry opposition by civil rights organizations and heads of anti-poverty agencies.

Last week Koch issued a state of the city message in which he accused Black and Latin community leaders of using "rhetoric" and "confrontation" and threatened that he "won't tolerate civil disturbances in the streets."

This is only the most recent incident in which Koch has told members of the Black and Latin communities not to oppose his administration's cutbacks. His frequent use of inflammatory statements and racist code words, and his witchhunt against alleged "welfare fraud" have whipped up an atmosphere of racist hysteria in the city, aimed at making Black and Latin people the scapegoats for the city's financial crisis.

Last week the New York Urban

League called the Mayor on his racism. The League called for an end to Koch's "name-calling and strident rhetoric" and said "many in the Black community feel those comments were directed at them."

A League annual report also stated that Koch had a very poor record on rights for Black and other minority group members and stated that there had been a decline in youth employment, housing, education, welfare, and health care during the current city administration.

The Mayor has threatened to close one-half of the city's municipal hospitals and to axe the Human Rights Commission. All community corporations have been ordered to dismantle immediately and the city plans to take over all anti-poverty programs.

At meetings around the city, leaders in the Black and Latin communities have begun calling for a campaign to recall Koch from the mayor's office.

Consumers protest Con Ed hike

JANUARY 30—Today, Con Edison's proposed 9.4% rate hike was met by angry opposition by members of labor unions, consumer, church, tenant and senior citizens groups. With the hearing room of New York's Public Service Commission filled to overflowing, speaker after speaker denounced the increase, and called for a rate reduction.

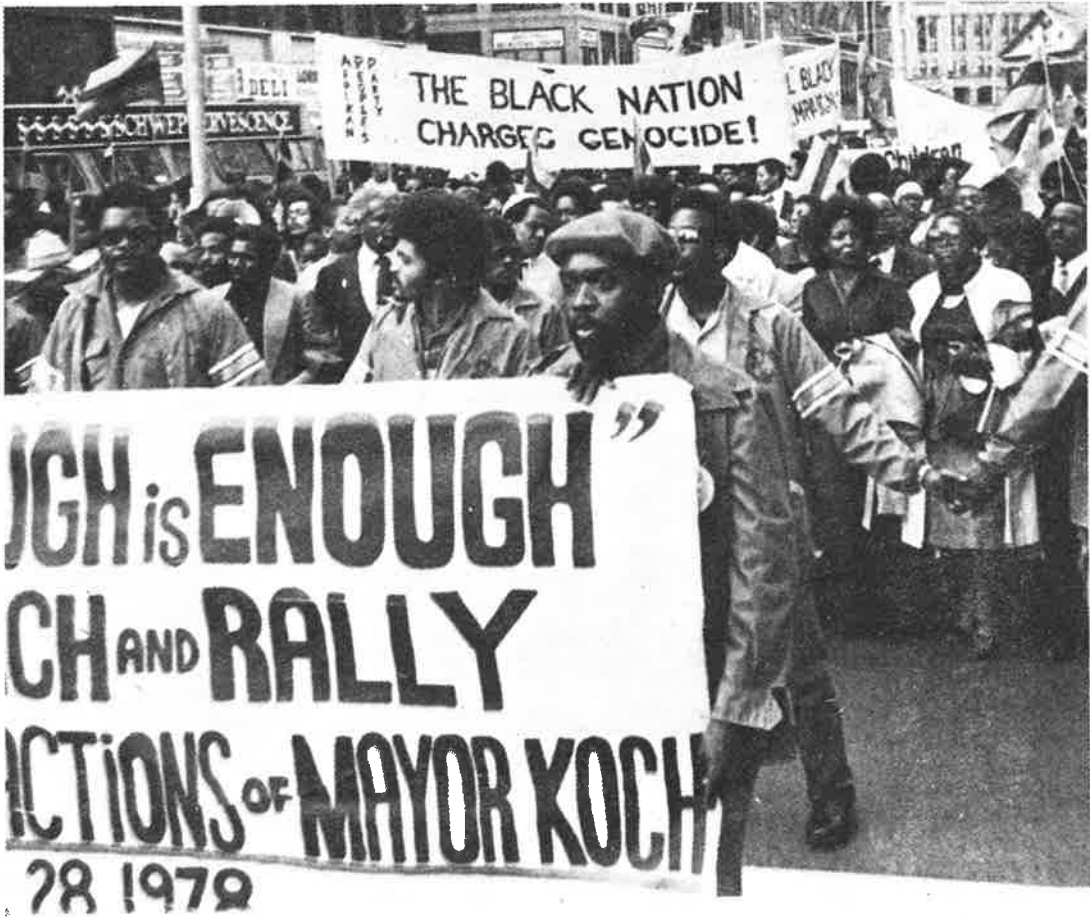
Many from senior citizens' organizations and others on fixed incomes spoke of how the rate hike, which will give Con Edison another \$224 million, will cause tremendous hardships for poor and elderly people and everyone on fixed incomes. One speaker said

that her Con Edison bill of \$138 had forced her and her husband to choose between heating and eating.

While New York City residents currently pay the highest utility rates in the country, Con Edison is able to get tax write-offs based on 41% underutilization of its facilities.

One outraged consumer ended her testimony with a statement which reflected everyone's view—"Let Con Edison tighten its belt for a change!"

But Con Edison shareholders are hardly feeling the pinch—on Jan. 24, the utility company granted an 11% increase in dividends to its stockholders.



The Black United Front leads a demonstration against New York City Mayor Ed Koch. More and more people and organizations are protesting Koch's racism. WW photo: G. Dunkel

Logan Hospital closed

Logan Memorial Hospital was closed last week due to lack of state and city funds. Logan, the only voluntary hospital in New York City run by members of the

Black community, became the 25th hospital to close in New York in the past three years.

Though the board of trustees voted for only a two-week closing,

hospital employees and community residents fear the hospital will not open. Many feel that, although Logan was somewhat rundown due to lack of funding, it was the only hospital that served poor people in the West Harlem community.

Black man attacked in Brooklyn

On Jan. 25, Ronald Holt went to the grocery store to buy food for his family. On his way, Holt, a 26-year-old Black resident of Brooklyn's Crown Heights community, was attacked and brutally beaten by a group of racist whites.

His attackers used pipes, sticks, and brass knuckles while beating him for over 20 minutes. They threatened to shoot him and tried to throw him over a concrete fence. Holt, who was hospitalized after the beating with multiple fractures, cuts, bruises and facial fractures, was temporarily blinded during the attack.

This assault which occurred on Eastern Parkway in Brooklyn is the latest attack on a Black resident of Crown Heights by racists and one of a number of increasing attacks on oppressed people around the city. According

to Holt, his attackers ran into the Lubavitcher Hasidic Synagogue on Eastern Parkway after they beat him. Many Crown Heights residents, including Jewish community members, believe that the Crown Heights Community Patrol, a racist "citizens" group, is responsible for the increasing attacks on the Black community in this area.

In protest of Holt's beating, over 200 Black people marched along Eastern Parkway in Crown Heights, first to the Lubavitcher Synagogue and then to the 71st precinct, to demand an end to racist attacks on the Black community.

Many community leaders have charged that the atmosphere of racism being fostered by the Koch administration has led to the increase in assaults on Black and Latin communities in the city.

For months, Logan officials and leaders in the community sought to prevent the closing, stressing that Logan provided needed health care in a neighborhood that other voluntary hospitals would not serve. They said that terrible consequences would result to community members if Logan were closed.

Logan's administrators blamed Governor Carey for "starving the Black hospital to death" by not allotting enough state monies to maintain the hospital facilities, and as the state withdrew its funds, the financial squeeze became too great for Logan to bear.

Last Saturday, community leaders and residents held a rally in Harlem at 125th Street where they protested this budget-balancing act by state and city officials "on the backs of the poor." Betty Jackson, Logan community advisory board official, told the crowd, "When the cuts are made, poor people are the first ones to get hit."

In Milwaukee

Rich get snow removal, poor suffer

By JUDY LEVITT
MILWAUKEE, Jan. 31—As if inflation and unemployment were not enough, Milwaukeeans have been hit with three severe snow storms in the past three weeks. The 33-inch snowfall has paralyzed roads in the poor and oppressed communities, caused substantial layoffs and undue hardships for working people.

Last week, Milwaukee was declared a disaster area with the federal government picking up most of the tab for snow removal. However, after the plows had come

and gone, the inner-city neighborhoods were still buried beneath the snow. Most streets were cleared in the Black community by teams of cooperative neighbors.

Parking has become a nightmare for poor and working people who do not own garages. Over 2,000 plowed-in cars have been towed to lots around the city and stacked three deep on top of each other. The city government boasted that only the "older" cars were towed and destroyed in the process.

The most vicious snow-job has

just been pulled off by this city's largest businesses. A.O. Smith, Caterpillar Tractor, A.C. Spark Plugs, and the beer breweries (to name just a few) were threatening layoffs of over 20,000 workers if the state and local governments did not foot the bill for snow clearance on the Milwaukee Road, a private railroad company. The Milwaukee Road, long bankrupt, and long subsidized, is used by these companies to shuttle in raw materials.

Today, under the pressure of these multi-million-dollar companies, Governor Lee Dreyfus

announced that over \$160,000 would be used to clear the switches of the railroad.

Well, \$160,000 would go a long way toward paying for the smashed cars and the lost pay of the poor and working people of this city. It is not the railroad and big business who deserve the disaster aid, but the poor and working people who have borne the brunt of not only three vicious snowstorms but are forced to live and survive under a system that cares more for property than human lives.

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WW photo: Joan Butler

Anti-Klan actions have been organized in Tupelo, Miss., by the United League, including a march of over 3,000 last Nov. 25.

Support mobilized for Miss. United League

By LUCY ESTEPHANOS

ATLANTA, Feb. 2—Support is being organized here and in other cities to help defend the United League of Mississippi from attacks by the Klan and other racist forces, and to spread the program of the League.

"It's time for us all, young, old, Black, poor, to come together and wage a war. . . for all oppressed people against those who oppress us until we win that war!" said Jim Agnew of the League to a founding meeting of the Atlanta United League Support Coalition last month.

The program of the League calls for an end to the beatings, intimidation tactics, and murder of Black people by the cops and the Klan (often the same); militant self-defense against those attacks; real affirmative action by businesses and government to correct the years of discriminatory hiring, firing, and promotion policies, the return of Black-owned land, which has been systematically stolen in Mississippi and throughout the U.S. by giant corporations.

BEGAN WITH SCHOOL BOYCOTT

The United League was formed in 1967 in Holly Springs, Ms., and in 1967-68 led a successful boycott of schools in Marshall county to win back the jobs of Black teachers and principals who were removed during a racist campaign that the County called a "desegregation" process. This is the only county where Blacks were able to keep their jobs in public schools. The League has since been very active throughout northern Mississippi and in some areas of Alabama and Tennessee.

The League has had numerous successes in Northern Mississippi, including very effective and extensive boycotts of white-owned businesses in Tupelo and other cities. These successes have not been without cost, and the League has been subjected to attack by racists. For instance, the Tupelo gas station used by boycotters was

burned to the ground. Supporters of the boycott and residents in the area have been threatened, beaten, and fired upon.

Groups and individuals that aid the League have also run into difficulties. Government agencies in Washington are threatening to cut off funding of the Northern Mississippi Legal Services, which aids poor people, because of its members' support for League activity. Black attorney Lewis Meyers, lawyer for the League and member of the Northern Mississippi Legal Services, is currently facing disbarment in Mississippi for his outspoken support of the League.

The response of the League has been unflinching resistance to the attacks levied against it and its supporters. "We will not beg. We want our rights and that is what we will have," League members have said.

UPCOMING EVENTS

There are a number of upcoming events sponsored by the League which all are urged to support. On March 10, there will be a statewide march in Tupelo, MS. The demands of the action include the dropping of all charges against League members and supporters, an end to racist harassment, and that the hiring and promotion demands of the Black community of Tupelo be met. The Atlanta United League Support Coalition is actively mobilizing to bring people to Tupelo for the march.

On Feb. 17-24 the League will be in the Atlanta area on tour sponsored by the Anti-Bakke Decision Coalition, and on March 7-10, the League will be holding a series of activities in the Oshkosh and Milwaukee area.

For more information on these activities contact Walter Stanfield (601) 767-8720. For more information in the Atlanta area call Workers World (404) 523-8990, or write the United League Support Committee, P.O. Box 5506, Atlanta, GA 30307.

**Free the 4 Nationalists,
Ben Chavis & the
RNA-11!**



Prison news in brief

Terrence Johnson

JANUARY 29—The trial of Terrence Johnson, a 15-year-old Black youth accused of killing two racist cops in Prince George's County, Maryland, has been postponed until March 19. This is a victory for the defense.

The postponement will allow the defense to look into background information concerning the two cops. The judge had earlier denied motions requesting access to police files concerning the possible membership of one or both of the officers in the KKK and past instances of brutality against oppressed people.

The tremendous support that Johnson has received in the Washington, D.C. area and from around the country forced the judge to deny the prosecution motion to revoke the bond allowing Terrence Johnson to remain with his family until the new trial.

In addition to the original plea of self-defense, a plea of "temporary insanity" was entered in the second of the two shootings. This new plea resulted in the judge ordering a psychiatric examination of Johnson.

TRIED AS AN ADULT

Terrence Johnson and his brother Melvin, both under 18, were picked up last summer for supposedly emptying a laundromat coin box. They were taken to the police station and separated for "questioning" that consisted of physical and verbal brutalization. Terrence, who is 5'5" and weighs 110 pounds, is accused of overpowering and killing his questioners. In an outrageous court decision, he will be tried as an adult.

Further support and fund-raising efforts are essential in the next two months in order to free Terrence Johnson and to raise the questions of racism, police brutality, and self-defense. P.G. People to Fight Racism and Police Brutality, which has been active in Terrence Johnson's defense, is urging people to write letters in support of Johnson to: Judge Levin, P.G. County Courthouse, Upper Marlboro, Maryland, and to send contributions to: The Terrence Johnson Legal Defense Fund, c/o P.G. State Bank, George Palmer Highway, Glenarden, Maryland.

For further information, call: (202) 783-6531 evenings.

William Morales

NEW YORK, Feb. 1—The Brooklyn Federal District courtroom was filled today with supporters who heard independentista William Guillermo Morales speak. Morales faces state and federal charges of possession and fabrication of explosives, possession of weapons and interstate transportation of dynamite with intent to use.

On July 12, 1978 an explosion rocked an apartment in Queens, New York. Police arrested a seriously injured man, Morales, in that apartment. Within hours the headlines of the bought press blared that an FALN "bomb factory" was uncovered, and through hysterical and slanderous coverage, a climate of fear was whipped up.

Although police found the fingers of both Morales' hands at the explosion site, they did not send them to the hospital for possible rejoining to his hands. Instead they put them in a chemical solution and shipped them to a police laboratory. The agents threatened to let Morales bleed to death if he did not answer their questions—Morales was in a semi-comatose state.



Russell Means



Terrence Johnson, center, on his way to court.

Interrogation and arraignment continued in the hospital. Supporters of Morales said that city police agents squeezed Morales' mangled arms in hopes of creating intolerable pain that would force him to collaborate with the state.

SUIT FILED AGAINST POLICE AGENTS

Until a federal suit was won this January, Morales received no further medical attention or therapy for his hands or his broken jaw, and 18 sutures were left to rot in his eye. He has filed a \$1.2 million suit against the agents responsible for his torture.

Morales eloquently told the court today "my political beliefs will not be compromised at any time. I am not guilty of any crime except of defending the independence of Puerto Rico."

He has stated that ever since his country of Puerto Rico was invaded militarily by the U.S. in 1898, the island has been an occupied nation. Since he is charged by the U.S. government with military activity, he insists on being treated with Prisoner of War status as called for under the Geneva Convention.

Morales added that the prosecution is threatening him with a much longer possible sentence if he is convicted in an attempt to coerce him to plead guilty.

Morales' family is being harassed by the state. Dylcia Pagan, wife and companera of Morales, has been called before a grand jury which, while claiming to investigate the FALN, is really conducting a fishing expedition into the progressive Puerto Rican community along with the FBI.

Morales' New York State trial will begin on Feb. 13, and a federal trial will take place after the state trial. For more information on this case write: The National Committee to Free Puerto Rican Prisoners of War, Box 83, 161 East Houston St., N.Y., N.Y. 10002.

Russell Means

FEBRUARY 4—American Indian Movement (AIM) activist Lorelei Means told **Workers World** today that AIM leader Russell Means has been freed from prison on work-release in the daytime and reports to a half-way house in Rapid City, S.D., at night.

His release from Sioux Falls Penitentiary is viewed as a victory since his supporters have repeatedly protested that his life was in danger in that racist prison. On Sept. 16, Means was stabbed in an assassination attempt. The knife narrowly missed his heart.

Means was forced to report to prison on July 27 to serve a four year sentence on charges originating from a police SWAT team attack on unarmed native people after they refused to rise for the judge in Minnehaha County courthouse in 1974.

Governor-elect William Janklow personally prosecuted Means and campaigned for governor on an anti-AIM ticket. Janklow also took charge of prosecuting the would-be assassin in the attempt on Means life on Sept. 16 and found him innocent by reason of self-defense although Means was not armed!

Means is now working for the Rapid City Indian Service Council which is controlled and staffed by Native people. He will be organizing programs to expose the plans of giant U.S. energy corporations to steal the Black Hills and its natural resources from the Indian people who live there.

Resist union-busting in Newport News

Determined shipyard workers continue strike

By JOE CELUKA

NEWPORT NEWS, Feb. 5—It's been a long, long time since the American labor movement has seen a strike like the one now being fought in Newport News, Va. Everyday, close to 1,000 workers, Black, white, women, men, old and young walk the picketlines outside the gates of the largest privately owned shipyard in the world.

It's cold; it's been snowing; the cops are out in force; local and state police are assembled; there are dogs, riot gear, even an armored car held in reserve, and the National Guard's on a six-hour alert. But every few minutes, with determined regularity, somewhere on the line someone yells out the question, "What time is it?" and the answer comes roaring back, "It's steelworker time."

Some 14,000 members of the United Steelworkers of America (USWA) are battling the Newport News Shipbuilding and Drydock Company to force it to recognize their union. And as they battle for their own union they are defending all working people against the union-busting campaign of American big business.

Today was seen as a critical test of the union's strength since the last paychecks have been given out and the shipyard has had a full week to try and persuade the strikers to give up and become scabs. But by the end of the day it was clear that the union had won this test as more than 80% of the scheduled shipworkers honored the picketline.

Ernie Bazemore, a 37-year-old rigger, who has been at the yard for seven years, knows why he's on strike. "Cause we need a union, that's why!" he explained this week as he walked the line in front of one of the yard's many gates. "The PSA (Peninsula Shipbuilders Association) was nothing but a company union. We had no sick leave, no safety clause in the contract, no OSHA inspections, we didn't even have union meetings. They were just there to try and keep a real union from coming in."

ROOTS OF THE STRIKE

Over two years ago the 1,200 highly-skilled designers at the yard voted to be represented by the United Steelworkers union. The company retaliated by trying to reduce the bargaining unit by one third, slashing vacation time, pension pay, and other elements and eventually forcing Local 8417 out on strike as a warning to other yard workers not to abandon the PSA. The designers have been out for 22 months. However, this "lesson" apparently didn't take because on Jan. 31, 1978, the yard's 15,500 maintenance and production workers voted in the USWA and became Local 8888, thus ending the PSA's 39-year-old reign at the yard and, in the process, becoming the largest steelworker local in the country.

But the shipyard, a wholly-owned subsidiary of the giant Houston-based conglomerate Tenneco, refused to recognize this steelworker victory and along with



Picket lines outside the Newport News Shipyard, a thousand workers strong, have stood their ground this week despite constant harassment and arrests by the cops.

the PSA filed charges with the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) alleging election misconduct, by the USWA and the NLRB. Last Oct. 27 the board threw out these objections, certified the union and ordered the company to sit down and bargain in good faith. Tenneco refused, and filed an appeal with the U.S. Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals in Richmond. On Dec. 10, Local 8888, faced with the daily firings

of union members, and the prospect of long years of delay in the courts, voted over 7,000 to 15 to go out on strike. All other possible avenues of settling the dispute were explored in vain. The strike date was set and this past Jan. 31 the largest civilian employer in Virginia was shut down tight.

Mary Thompson, a young Black woman who has worked as a rigger at the yard for two years, squinted

her eyes against the cold wind blowing off the James River. "On a regular working day," she said, "that whole yard would be buzzing. You don't see anything moving now. We got 'em."

"The company has been running the cranes," added picketing steelworker member John Sampson, "but they're just moving the same loads from one side of the pier to the other so people will think work is being

done. And supervisors are driving their cars in and out of gates to boost the scab count, but the real workers are out here on the street."

The panic of company officials showed itself this week when Tenneco asked that their appeals court hearing date be moved up from March 7 to Feb. 20, banking on their control of the courts to save their usually hefty profit margins. Steelworker spokesman Bill Edwards has also charged that wiretaps have been placed on phones at the strike headquarters, the union's international office here, and at homes of union leaders. While Tenneco is of course a prime suspect, Edwards explained that, "the shipyard doesn't have to do it when they've got the Navy to do it for them."

But Tenneco's real hope lies in simply breaking the strike. "The state police are just stormtroopers sent down by the governor to harass our people," Edwards charged this week. "Dalton's boys" are what the strikers are calling the State Police, referring to Gov. John Dalton's earlier pledge to send these professional strikebreakers in to protect scabs. This is the same state police force

(Continued on p. 4)

At shipyard

The right to strike vs. 'right to work' laws

By KENNY PETERSON

FEBRUARY 6—A woman steelworker picketing the strike-bound Newport News Shipyard was bitten by a police attack dog. Twenty other strikers, also while picketing, have been arrested. This is how the Virginia State Police, in the first week of the United Steelworkers' strike, is protecting the people's "right to work."

The arrested strikers have been charged with violating Virginia's so-called "right-to-work" law. Among the 20 arrested steelworkers was the president of the Newport News Shipyard Local 8888 Wayne Crosby ("Tenneco is the J.P. Stevens of the shipbuilding industry.").

Despite this harassment the picketlines are still strong and the strikers optimistic. "How are you going to build ships without welders?" Steelworkers spokesman Bill Edwards told **Workers World**. Although it is plainly a union-busting statute, the outcome of the strike will not be determined by the "right-to-work" law.

Nevertheless, by turning "right-to-work" against the strike, the state is turning the workers against that law. The struggle for union recognition has become—under the impact of state intervention—a struggle in defense of the fundamental right of working people to organize, engage in collective bargaining, and to strike.

A LEGAL COVER

The term "right-to-work" was coined in Dallas in 1941 as the fig leaf for a union-busting movement inflamed by the successes of the

CIO in organizing mass industry in the late Thirties. A wave of "right-to-work" legislation swept the Southern states and by January 1947 a special session of the Virginia legislature imposed this union-busting formula on the people residing in the "Old Dominion."

The so-called "right-to-work" legislation on the face of it was simply a ban on the union shop. (A union shop requires all workers protected by a union contract to become a member of the union.) In reality, the "right-to-work" law provides the legal cover for a whole range of activities in which the state intervenes against labor.

There are now 20 states, mostly in the South, which have "right-to-work" laws. Besides having the lowest percentage of union membership in the country (Virginia's is 13.5%), these states boast lower wages, worse working conditions, and less public spending on health, education and welfare than the non-"right-to-work" states. (Last year, working people mobilized in the state of Missouri to defeat an attempt by "right-to-work" forces to subject the labor movement there to this union-busting legislation.)

RIGHT-WING, CORPORATE COALITION

Virginia Governor John Dalton has mobilized the state's army of uniformed strikebreakers (the steelworkers in Newport News have begun calling the State Police "Gestapo"), complete with helicopter, armored car, water cannon, attack dogs, and the usual guns and clubs to protect the

scabs' "right to work." When Tenneco (the owner of the shipyard; assets in 1977: \$8.3 billion) fired 180 pro-union shipyard workers over the past year, the Governor was silent on the violation of their "right to work."

It does not take much digging to uncover the right-wing, corporate forces pushing "right-to-work" laws. The same coalition defeated labor law reform in the U.S. Senate last June. The National Association of Manufacturers, the American Bankers Association, and the U.S. Chamber of Commerce were the principal opponents of the scuttled Labor Law Reform Act.

(It is the present national labor law, the Taft-Hartley Act of 1947, which, in its notorious Section 14(b), authorizes and in fact invites the various states to pass so-called "right-to-work" laws. Without Section 14(b), the U.S. Supreme Court would have been duty-bound to strike down state "right-to-work" laws as illegal.)

(The defeated labor law reform bill was aimed solely at modifying the structure and operation of the NLRB (National Labor Relations Board) in the interest of promoting due process for workers seeking union recognition. It did not aim at abolishing Section 14(b), an oft-stated demand of Southern labor.)

RUNAWAY PLANTS

The position of the corporations on "right-to-work" has been very clear. In 1958 the chairman of General Electric's board of directors said, "General Electric has a very firm stand in favor of right-to-work laws because we are

interested in the rights of individuals." He added, "Right-to-work legislation very definitely is a factor in deciding where General Electric plants are built."

In other words, "right-to-work" laws are an important factor in encouraging corporations to close down their unionized plants in the North and reopen in the anti-union Sunbelt. Put simply, "right-to-work" laws mean "runaway" shops, i.e., unemployment in the North, low wages in the South.

"Employers in no other country," found a study published by the Brookings Institution (an establishment think-tank), "have so persistently, so vigorously, at such costs, and with such a conviction of serving a cause, opposed and fought trade unions as the American employing class. In no other Western country," the study concluded, "have employers been so aided in their opposition to unions by civil authorities, the armed forces of government and their courts."

This is what the shipyard workers of Newport News are now learning. If their right to organize a union and engage in collective bargaining is to be respected, it will not be because there is an NLRB in Washington. Any illusions on that score should have been dispelled by last June's action of the Senate.

No, the rights of labor will be enforced only by the action of the workers themselves—at the point of a picketline. And with the mobilization of the widest possible working-class solidarity, their victory is as certain as the rising sun.

WW photo: J. Long