

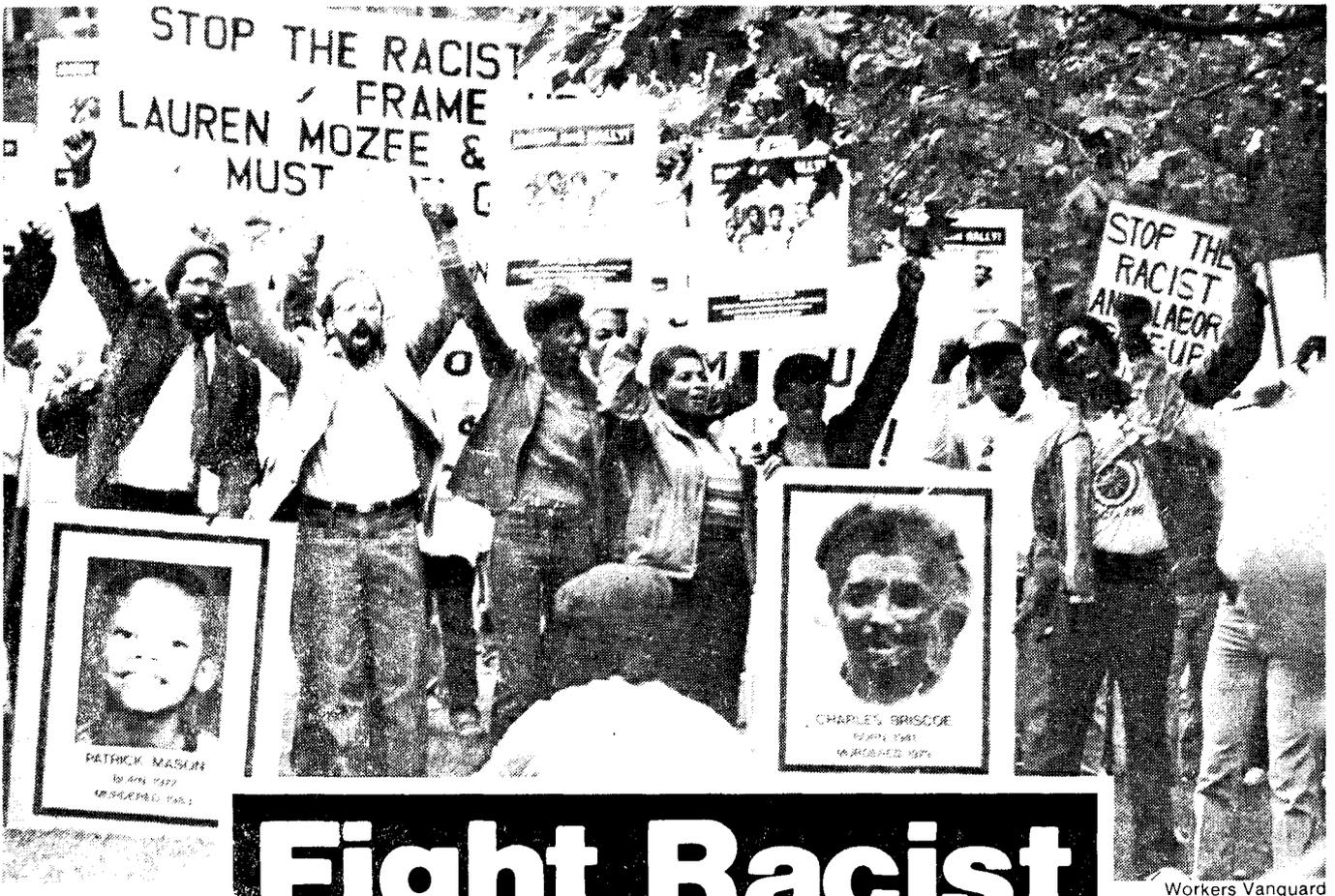
Women and Revolution



Journal of the Women's Commission of the Spartacist League

50¢

Union Militants Mozee and Palmiero Must Not Go to Jail!



Fight Racist Anti-Labor Attack!

SEE PAGE 3

AIDS and the "Mortal Sin" Scam 10
 Under the Terror in Sri Lanka..... 13
 Women and Night Work in Sri Lanka 16
 Turkey: Prison House for Women, Kurds..... 18

"Pro-Life" Gestapo Raids
 Morgentaler Abortion Clinics..... 21
 Defend, Complete, Extend
 Nicaragua Revolution! 24

Editorial Note

Myra Breckinridge and the "Nonsexist" Bible

The National Council of Churches has released a new version of key Bible passages, for "experimental use" by major American Protestant denominations, which is supposed to eliminate sexism in language. Thus "God the Father" is now "God the Father and Mother," "Son" becomes "Child" and Jesus Christ, formerly the "Son of Man," is "The Human One."

Our first reaction to this fascinating news in the *New York Times* (16 October 1983) was an irresistible recollection of Gore Vidal's luscious heroine Myra Breckinridge, defiantly proclaiming her credo: "feminine principle's need to regain once more that primacy she lost at the time of the Bronze Age when the cock-worshipping Dorians enslaved the West, impiously replacing the Goddess with a god. Happily his days are nearly over; the phallus cracks; the uterus opens; and I am at last ready to begin my mission which is to re-create the sexes and thus save the human race from certain extinction."

Does Myra Breckinridge live? We don't think the National Council of Churches meant to go quite *that* far. This timid, unsatisfying compromise is bound to upset almost everyone. After all, if Jesus is now "The Human One," what does that make of the rest of us? E.T.s? Certain factions of the gay community may find appealing the idea of "God the Transsexual," while some lesbian S&M groups may get off on the thought of Raquel Welch (who played Myra in the movie)

undergoing crucifixion instead of all those debauched-but-soulful Peter O'Toole types, but we don't think it's going to play in the real Peoria/Bible belt.

The problem these perfectly well-meaning types in the NCC have is that religion is only, at bottom, worship of human *fait accompli*. This is still a sexist and racist society, because it's based on economic (capitalist) and social (the nuclear family) relations which require the oppression of large sections of society. The gods mankind has made and worshipped throughout history are only reflections of human society. So the vindictive, genocidal "Yahweh" of the Hebrews justified the bitter patriarchal, tribal conditions of the ancient Near East, just as the rather more abstract "God" of the Protestants quickly was pressed into service as the standard-bearer of the vibrantly expanding, imperialist nation-state ("A Mighty Fortress Is Our God").

The Nation of Islam proposed a black god which saw whites as "the devil," some feminists have proposed "the Goddess" as a reflection of their feminine principles—indeed, America is rich in inventiveness in finding a religion and a god for every occasion or cause. But at bottom they're all just myths, attempting to justify somehow the unbearable torments and tragedies of everyday life. Our task, as Marxists, is to change the very real conditions of everyday life which give birth to these mythologies and superstitions. ■

Are You a Target of the Moonies?

The Spartacist League (SL), initiator and principal organizer of the Labor/Black Mobilization which stopped the KKK in Washington, D.C. on November 27 1982, has been libeled and set up by the ultra-right-wing cult of Sun Myung Moon. The Moonies' *Washington Times* article on the massive protest falsely accuses the Spartacists as would-be cop killers and a "violent" criminal organization which should be outlawed. This is a libel that kills.

To defend itself the SL and SYL filed a libel lawsuit on June 14 against the Moonies and their publishing arm, the Times-Tribune Corporation which publishes the *Washington Times* (see SL statement on the libel lawsuit, "Moonie Libel That Kills" and the legal complaint in WV No. 332, 17 June 1983).

The Moonies must not be allowed to get away with targeting the organizers and participants of the largest and most effective protest in decades against Klan racist terror. If the Moonies have their way, any group or individual in the lead of struggle against the KKK and fascist terror will be marked for destruction.

The Partisan Defense Committee (PDC)—a class-struggle, anti-sectarian defense organization which is in accordance with the political views of the Spartacist

League—has launched a campaign to help pay for and publicize this important legal battle. Defeating the Moonies will help to protect all the intended victims of the Moonies. This case can be the instrument to strike back against this ultraright cult's most important

continued on page 17

Women and Revolution

**Journal of the Spartacist League Central Committee
Commission for Work Among Women**

EDITORIAL BOARD: Helen Cantor (editor), Helene Brosius, Liz Gordon, Elizabeth Kendall, James Robertson, Walt Sloan

PRODUCTION MANAGER: Susan Fuller

CIRCULATION MANAGER: Darlene Kamiura

Published by the Spartacist Publishing Company, Box 1377, GPO, New York, New York 10116. Telephone: (212) 732-7862.

Opinions expressed in signed articles or letters do not necessarily express the editorial viewpoint.

Union Militants Mozee and Palmiero Must Not Go to Jail!



Ray Palmiero, Lauren Mozee and her two children.

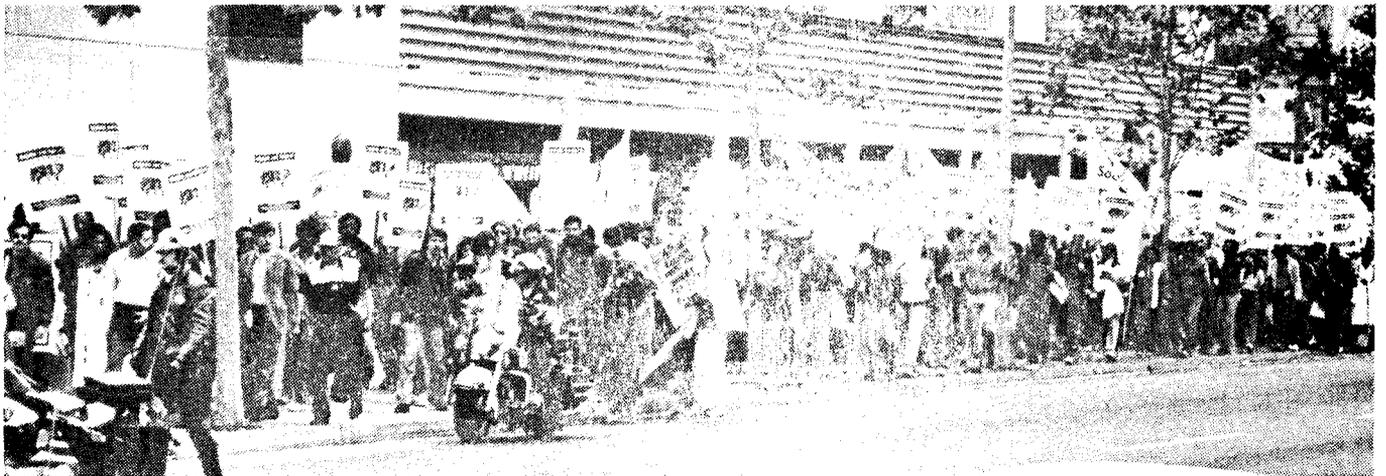
Fight Racist Anti-Labor Attack!

Phone workers Lauren Mozee and Ray Palmiero have been fired from their jobs at Pacific Telephone (PT&T), denied unemployment and face jail sentences (initial charges carried up to 7½ years in state prison!)—for doing their duty on a picket line. During the national phone strike this summer, Lauren Mozee was attacked on a picket line in San Leandro on August 10 by racist scab manager Michelle Rose Hansen who called Lauren a “black nigger bitch” and hit her in the face. Lauren defended herself, and her companion Ray Palmiero came to her assistance. The racist manager still has her job.

On October 29, some 400 mainly black militant trade unionists and socialists defiantly expressed their opposition to the racist anti-labor frame-up of Lauren and Ray, marching from the Oakland City Hall to the Alameda County Courthouse in a drizzling rain.

Chanting, “Hey, D. A. ! Workers say: Hands off Lauren and Ray!” the protesters marched in union jackets and insignia, including organized contingents from the Communications Workers of America Locals 9410 and 9415, American Federation of Teachers Local 771 and the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers Local 1011.

Because Lauren and Ray defended themselves and their picket line, they face multiple felony assault charges. Pacific Telephone, the cops and the D. A. are using this gross frame-up to send a message to the entire population: black people don’t have the right to defend themselves against racist attack, workers don’t have the right to defend their picket lines. This vicious frame-up is a blatant act of politicized racism and union-busting—and many thousands of working
continued on next page



Workers Vanguard

“Hey, D.A.! Workers say: Hands off Lauren and Ray!” chanted 400 mainly black militant trade unionists and socialists at October 29 Oakland march and rally.



people in the unions and black neighborhoods around Oakland understand that. The October 29 demonstration was endorsed by 12 unions, 49 union officials and 24 black, student and civil rights organizations.

Picket Lines Mean Don't Cross!

The Bay Area "Phone Strikers Defense Committee," organized to defend Lauren and Ray, noted in a statement on the case that "PT&T has singled out Lauren Mozee and Ray Palmiero to cover for its own violent strikebreaking. . . . The company was particularly enraged at the spirited picket line built by operators—mainly women, largely black and Latin—who the company expects to 'stay in their place' and who instead took a strong stand for unionism." Ray Palmiero told *Workers Vanguard* (7 October 1983) in an interview that he and Lauren, both members of the Militant Action Caucus of the CWA, were singled out in part because "the strike took place in the context of Reagan's war on the unions in general. Everybody knows that since PATCO was destroyed, there's a green light from the Reagan administration to bust unions. . . . Lauren and I were among those advocating mass picketing to stop the scabbing and really shut the phone company down." Had the CWA mobilized its ranks and the rest of labor to shut Ma Bell down, had



If you've got no picket line, you've got no union! Labor contingents at October 29 rally (left); Mozee and Palmiero on CWA picket line during national strike (right).

Workers Vanguard Photos

those picket lines been massive displays of workers power, then racists like Michelle "Scab" Hansen wouldn't be crossing those lines, let alone attacking the workers on them.

Trade unionists who came out for Lauren and Ray know this frame-up attempt is an attack on the right to have real picket lines. And if you've got no picket lines, you've got no union. Tom Sullivan, president of striking USWA Local 1304 in Emeryville, spoke at the rally. Members of that Steelworkers local have been out for five months, fighting a union-busting campaign by Grove Valve. One black member is currently facing charges for picket duty; he served as a leader of the monitors at the October 29 rally. Other labor support included speakers Tim Ligosky, Exec Board, IAM Local 284; Victor Pamiroyan, Business Agent, ILWU Local 6; and Ed Kartsen, currently running on a class-struggle program for president of Transport Workers Union Local 100, New York City.

A number of Democratic Party officeholders endorsed the case, including Alameda County Board of Supervisors chairman John George, Wilson C. Riles of the Oakland City Council, Berkeley mayor Gus Newport and Congressman Ron Dellums. Officers of three NAACP chapters endorsed as did civil liberties activists and black student groups. Backing for Lauren and Ray's defense came also from representatives of a broad spectrum of socialist organizations, including Democratic Socialists of America leaders Dorothy Healy and Manning Marable, Greensboro massacre survivor Nelson Johnson and several prominent Communist Party supporters. Extensive coverage of the case in the capitalist press was also important in putting the heat on the D.A.

Ma Bell and Alameda County D.A. John Meehan may have thought that the black and white working

A Spartacist Pamphlet 25¢

Black History and the Class Struggle

25¢

A Spartacist Pamphlet \$1.00

American Workers Revolution Needs Black Leadership

\$1.00

**Order from/pay to: Spartacist Publishing Co.
Box 1377, GPO, New York, NY 10116 USA**

people of Oakland would quietly "stay in their place" while two left-wing activists in the union were picked off. But they are dead wrong. It is because Lauren and Ray are determined to fight this racist vendetta not just in court but through labor/black protest action that the D.A. has begun backing away from one of the phony charges. Palmiero announced to cheers at the 29 October rally that "your efforts have already paid off to some degree. Now the fight isn't over, but yesterday at our court appearance the District Attorney with a very sad expression on his face made a motion to dismiss one of the charges."

For Labor/Black Mobilizations Against Race Terror!

Lauren Mozee, speaking from the steps of the Alameda County Courthouse, laid out what was behind the frame-up: "As everyone knows, I'm the victim of a racist anti-labor frame-up. Why? One, I'm a black woman. Two, Ray and I are an interracial couple. Three, I'm a militant—I said *militant*—trade unionist. A former member of the Black Panther Party for many years. And I'm a firm believer—I said firm believer—in socialism.... Now for these things, for doing my duty on a picket line, I've been victimized. It's not Ray and myself who are the criminals here. The criminals are Ma Bell, the San Leandro Police Department, this District Attorney."

The demonstration brought out a serious hard core of black, Latin and white unionists who know who the real criminals in this country are. Prominently displayed from the podium in front of the courthouse were large portraits and flowers to honor the memory of two black



Workers Vanguard

In black and working-class Oakland, bitter reality of continuing racist cop killings inspired black youth support for Ray and Lauren, a former Black Panther Party member.

victims of racist killer cops: Patrick Mason, the five-year-old child shot to death by an Orange County cop last March, and Charles Briscoe, the 37-year-old Machinists union official brutally gunned down in 1979 by Oakland cops.

Patrick Mason's killer, cop Anthony Sperl, was recently awarded \$35,000 in bounty by the California Worker's Comp Board for "psychological stress"—an obscene and outrageous decision rewarding the killer for what was the most heart-rending and brutal racist

continued on next page

Muhammad Ali Endorses Lauren and Ray Defense

Muhammad Ali, former world heavyweight boxing champion (and still "the greatest"), renowned for his statement "No Viet Cong ever called me Nigger" when he was once stripped of his title in 1967 for refusing the draft, has joined with hundreds of labor officials, local unions, black and student groups and concerned individuals in backing the defense of Lauren Mozee and Ray Palmiero.

Support for the victimized interracial couple is still snowballing; a recent blues benefit in Oakland, broadcast live over KPFA radio, raised over \$2,000.



How You Can Help:

Here's what you can do to help beat back the racist anti-labor frame-up of phone workers Lauren Mozee and Ray Palmiero:

- **ENDORSE** the demands of the Phone Strikers Defense Committee (and get your local union or organization to endorse), that:

- 1) Lauren Mozee and Ray Palmiero be reinstated at their jobs with full back pay;
- 2) Amnesty be granted to all victimized phone strikers;
- 3) All charges against Lauren Mozee, Ray Palmiero and all other phone strikers be dropped.

Send a letter to the Phone Strikers Defense Committee, P. O. Box 24152, Oakland, CA 94623, with your/your organization's endorsement.

- **CONTRIBUTE** generously. Funds are desperately needed, both for defense expenses and to get the word out on the case. Send contributions to the Phone Strikers Defense Committee.

- **SEND A TELEGRAM** supporting the demands of the Phone Strikers Defense Committee (plus a copy to the Committee) to: John J. Meehan, Alameda County District Attorney, 1225 Fallon St., Oakland, CA 94612; and Ted Saenger, President, PT&T, 140 New Montgomery St., San Francisco, CA 94605.

murder since the Birmingham church bombings! Oakland cop Robert Fredericks pumped 10 rounds of ammunition into Charles Briscoe; this was the same cop involved in the killing of 16-year-old Panther Bobby Hutton and in four other shootings of blacks, two of them fatal. That Sperl and Fredericks walk the streets as free men today says it all about racist "justice" in America.

There's nothing fair or democratic about this sick, decaying system: that's why those killer cops are walking the streets and a five-year-old black child lies in the grave. That's why racist scab manager Michelle Rose Hansen has her job while Ray and Lauren, with three children to support, have virtually no income and are being dragged through the bosses' court, forced to wage a staggeringly costly defense campaign to stay out of jail.

The October 29 demonstration illustrated the Spartacist League's perspective of forging a multi-racial vanguard party to lead the working class in effective struggle to defend the rights of labor and the

oppressed—and to fight for what we really need, a workers government to put the bosses and their racist, repressive state apparatus out of business once and for all. Spartacist spokesman Diana Coleman drew applause at the rally as she stated:

"Reagan and his millionaire cronies, they hate black America and they hate the unions.... You cannot fight Reagan with Democrats. We need labor action to bring down Reagan.... We of the Spartacist League intend to build a mass class-struggle workers party. The working people produced everything in this country and that's what we want. We want everything! We want our own workers government and you need a workers party to get it."

The October 29 rally was an important beginning in the fight to stop the racist anti-labor frame-up of Lauren Mozee and Ray Palmiero. But much, much more is necessary to win this desperately important battle. We urge our readers to support this defense effort—for details on what you can do, see the support and fund box on page 5. Lauren and Ray fought for all of us—now we must fight for them. ■

"No South Africa-Style Justice in Oakland!"

We reprint below excerpts from Lauren Mozee and Diana Coleman's speeches at the October 29 rally in front of the Alameda County Courthouse.

Lauren Mozee

Fired telephone worker facing years in prison for defending her union picket line and herself from racist management/scab attack

I want to thank everybody, and I've had a drink under my belt so I'm a little calm now. I had a frog in my throat, and that washed it down.

As everyone knows, I'm a victim of a racist, anti-labor frame-up. Why? One, I'm a black woman. Two, Ray and I are an interracial couple. Three, I'm a militant—I said *militant*—trade unionist. [Voice from the crowd: "Right on, sister!" Applause.] A former member of the Black Panther Party for many years. And I'm a firm believer—I said firm believer—in socialism. I've always been a fighter against racism and cop terror, and a fighter for unity of the working class against the bosses. Now, for these things and for doing my duty on the picket lines by defending myself against this racist attack, and for defending my picket line and our jobs against those who want to break the unions and take our jobs, I've been victimized.

We have been made a victim by the people who hate blacks, unionists and the whole working class. Blacks, unionists and workers have a right to take a stand in this country. That's what you all are here for. Local 10 is here, from the ILWU. IAM is here, Willie Lee Bell. And all my phone worker comrades—I see a lot of them! [Applause.] And many, many others. I thank you all for being here, I really do. And your support has been of great effect on the District Attorney's office, let me tell you. Ray is going to talk about that a little bit more.

Ray and I aren't the only ones who face this kind of situation. On Wednesday, October 26th, in Oklahoma



Workers Vanguard

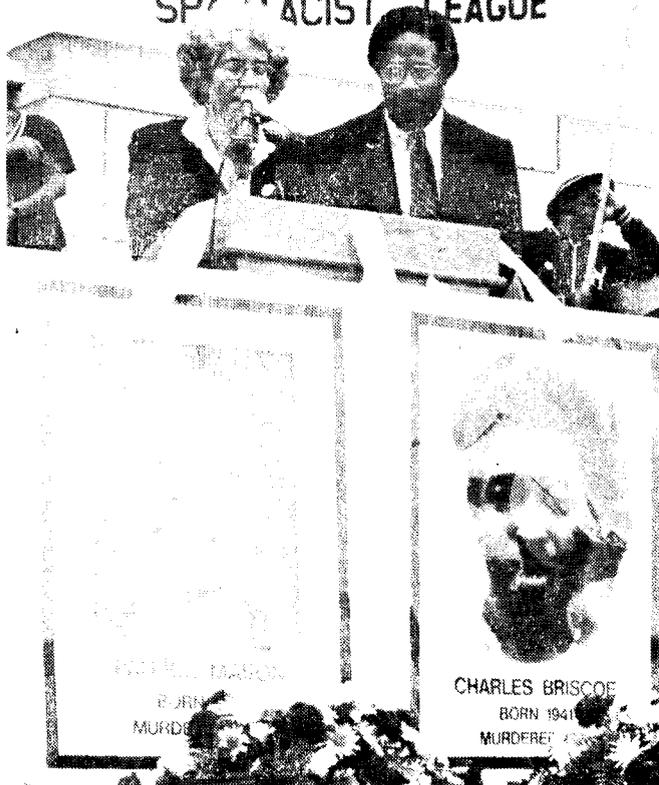
City (I have a brother-in-law and a sister that were deported there from General Motors Fremont), the Klan marched into the plant in full dress—hood, robes and all—and worked on the assembly lines! Until my brother-in-law, my brother and my sister stopped the line. [Applause. Chants from the crowd: "Stop the Klan! Stop the Klan!"] So these people are all over. They're all over, I mean they follow them all the way to Oklahoma. This is their second encounter with the Klan in only five months that they've been there. I mean, two hours after my brother-in-law was in the city they tried to arrest him for armed robbery.

I am a member of the Militant Action Caucus, which is a real, living part of our union. As with Jane Margolis, an elected delegate to the National Convention of CWA in 1979: she was dragged off the convention floor bodily by Jimmy Carter's Secret Service men. Later, in 1980, they sent her a letter of apology and a \$3,500 check which she signed over to the CWA Defense Fund.

FINISH the CIVIL WAR!

BLACK LIBERATION THROUGH WORKERS REVOLUTION!

SPARTACIST LEAGUE



Diana Coleman and rally chairman Don Andrews. Portraits and flowers on podium commemorate black victims of cop terror, five-year-old Patrick Mason and Machinists' union official Charles Briscoe.

So as you see, we can win with this kind of support. We need to win not only for ourselves, believe me. That's a real important point, important in the long run for all blacks and working people. An injury to one is an injury to all. It's not Ray and myself who are the criminals here. The criminals are Ma Bell, the San Leandro Police Department and the District Attorney.

I thank all of you.

Diana Coleman

Former Spartacist Party candidate for San Francisco Board of Supervisors

Brothers and sisters, I want you all to come over to this party, because not only are we going to have some fun but we're going to plan some organizing that's going to come next. And you out there are the people we want to do that organizing because we know that you are definitely the hard core. Because you have stood out here in the rain. We have had more speakers, we have also had some more rain than we expected, too. So you are the people we want to come over there.

We came out here today to say that Lauren Mozee

and Ray Palmiero must not go to jail. Not for one hour, and not for one minute! The government and the phone company, in their usual alliance, are trying to turn the victims into the criminals. But our campaign has already had some successes, and Ray outlined that. The phone company is backing away from Michelle "Scab" Hansen, and the District Attorney is taking a step backwards from all his charges which he cannot prove, which he knows are lies.

So the frame-up of Lauren and Ray is one more in a long, long list of racist atrocities and union-busting. And that's right, there's a broader picture to this. Reagan and his millionaire cronies, they hate black America and they hate the unions. But I will tell you, you cannot fight Reagan with Democrats. We need labor action to bring down Reagan. Does anyone here think that Walter "Mundane" Mondale is going to stand up for the minorities and the working people against Reagan reaction? [Cries from the crowd: "No!"] Walter Mondale, the weepy, warmongering clone protégé of professional anti-communist Hubert Humphrey. I'll tell you, brothers and sisters, you gotta be kidding. There has to be a better alternative in this country for us. [From the crowd: "There is. A workers party!"]

We of the Spartacist League intend to build a mass, class-struggle workers party. Not the kind that simply participates in elections but a fighting workers party, a multiracial working-class party that can lead the workers and the oppressed, and take power. We're not talking about cutting up a piece of the pie. The working people produced everything in this country, and that's what we want. We want everything! We want our own workers government, and you need a workers party to get it.

When the Klan endorsed Reagan, let me tell you something, they knew what they were doing. They knew! And right now Reagan—with a little shadow-boxing in Congress from the Democrats (he's backed up by the Democrats)—is trying to lead us into a thermonuclear war which will blow up the whole earth. Let me tell you something, brothers and sisters: Yuri Andropov may not be the best friend that black people in this country ever had, but I will tell you he is not the worst enemy. Because the worst enemy is here at home. [Applause.]

So Ronald Reagan was willing to sacrifice a lot of people in that 007 flight, and he was willing to sacrifice a lot of Marines in Lebanon for an imperialist adventure. And now, to cover it up, he is willing to go into tiny black Grenada with 6,000 troops. We say this is an outrage! And we say this is an attempt to cover up the disaster in Lebanon. Believe me, in Grenada our sympathies are with the Cubans who are there fighting. I want to read you what they said from Radio Havana. They said that "The Americans came in with fighter aircraft, with helicopters, with heavy- and medium-caliber artillery and mortars. But at the last, a group of six comrades, clutching our flag, continued fighting. At 11:17 our ambassador communicated, 'There is no further Cuban resistance. The fighters in the final redoubt did not surrender and gave their lives for their

continued on next page

homeland'." And I want to tell you something, these are our brothers and sisters. *These are our brothers and sisters out there!*

So the same reactionary forces that are trying to railroad Lauren and Ray are pursuing armed aggression around the world. And I will tell you something: U.S. imperialism's difficulties are our opportunities, and we welcome them and we will take advantage of them. In El Salvador we say, "Military victory to the leftist rebels in El Salvador! No negotiated sellout!" In Nicaragua we say, "Kill the invaders!" The capitalist fifth column must be smashed and the workers mobilized against the CIA's war. And we call for defense of the Soviet Union, the first workers state, against imperialism. We have our criticisms of the Soviet bureaucracy, but one of them is that they don't send guns to El Salvador and MIGs to Nicaragua. Why are our brothers and sisters in Central America fighting with battered rifles and old machetes? They need modern jet aircraft, and as far as I'm concerned the Soviet Union ought to be providing it. [Cheers. Applause.]

Defense of Cuba and the USSR begins in El Salvador! And defense of Lauren Mozee and Ray Palmiero begins right here with labor/black mobilizations against racist terror, be it at the hands of the racists dressed in the white robes of the KKK, the blue uniforms of the cops or the black robes of the bosses' courts. And, as black people in this country know, a goodly number of those

who wear the white hoods at night are wearing blue uniforms during the day. [Applause. Shouts: "Yeah!" "Right."]

Over the years there have been far too many victims. We have the pictures up here of Patrick Mason, Charles Briscoe. There have been so many, so many, going back to Bobby Hutton. So many victims. But this time we have a chance to defend these two before they go to jail, before they get sent away by this government. [Voice in the crowd: "No more victims!"] Lauren and Ray are fighters. They went up to Richmond with the Labor Black League for Social Defense to fight against police brutality. They went over to San Francisco to demonstrate against South Africa's murder of the ANC black militants. And they've fought for militant, class-struggle policies in the union. These are the kind of fighters we need more of! And you have to fight for them now, brothers and sisters, because they fought for all of us.

So we say: "No way! Smash the racist anti-labor frame-up! No South Africa-style justice in Oakland! Freedom and jobs back for Lauren and Ray! And for a workers government that will avenge all our martyrs!"

IBEW Unionist Interviewed: Picket Lines Are Labor's Weapons

At the October 29 Oakland rally, the videotape crew interviewed Frank Grinnon, a district representative of ORTT/IBEW Local 1011 in Oakland. We reprint here some excerpts from the interview.

[Question: Why did you endorse this demonstration?]

I feel that the old labor slogan of "An injury to one is an injury to all" is not being practiced these days very much by labor. And that if the company can get away with victimizing Lauren and Ray it's just the first step. They go after the more militant workers, and then comes next contract, which I anticipate a serious battle and probably a strike—if they get away with victimizing them, they're going to cool out everybody on the picket lines....

I think that there's a tendency in the labor movement a lot of times to duck the anti-racist issues. And I think it's very clear here, they're going after particularly Lauren, who was a member of the Black Panther Party for ten years... a radical.... We have to defend everybody in the labor movement, particularly some of these more militant people, who are the ones that, you know, *win* the strikes on the picket lines.

And I think it fits in the context of the growing attacks against the black community and against Latin workers by the Reagan administration.... If we can't fight for some of the most oppressed, then all the rest of us are going to go down, it's a matter of time. The way we're going right now, we're going to end up with no unions, unless our unions become totally changed from what they are.

[Question: A lot of people have been saying that they were surprised at the vehemence with which the company attacked workers on the picket lines. How do

International Spartacist Tendency Directory

Correspondence for:	Address to:
Ligue Trotskyste de France ...	Le Bolchévick, BP 135-10 75463 Paris Cédex 10 France
Spartacist League/Britain	Spartacist Publications PO Box 185 London, WC1H 8JE England
Trotzkistische Liga Deutschlands	Postfach 1 67 47 6000 Frankfurt/Main 1 West Germany
Lega Trotskista d'Italia	Walter Fidacaro C.P. 1591 20101 Milano, Italy
Spartacist League/U.S.	Spartacist League Box 1377, GPO New York, NY 10116 USA
Spartacist Stockholm	Spartacist Publishing Co. Box 4508 102 65 Stockholm Sweden
Trotskyist League of Canada	Trotskyist League Box 7198, Station A Toronto, Ontario Canada M5W 1X8
Spartacist League of Australia/New Zealand	Spartacist League GPO Box 3473 Sydney, NSW, 2001 Australia

you see that in the context of the Reagan government?]

I think the phone company, which is a big supporter of Reagan, has got the green light from the government to open season on workers. And they're trying to intimidate the unions.... If they get people so afraid they won't even go to the picket lines, or if they go they stand there like it's a big picnic, then we've lost the weapons that unions have built themselves. I see this attack on Lauren and Ray as part of the whole political offensive against working people and the unions.

[Question: I know the traditional way of dealing with this kind of a case is the grievance procedure and strictly, you know, the union paying for the lawyers. The organizers of this demonstration have obviously taken this one step further. Do you think that's a good tactic?]

Definitely. I think we have to involve a lot of people and put pressure on the company. Because the grievance procedures take so long, you could have somebody out a year, two years off their job, no livelihood, while they're fighting this thing out in the courts. I think for labor we have more advantage taking it to the streets, taking it to public meetings and putting pressure...the telephone company has tremendous influence with the judges and everything, and the media, and we have to put a counterpressure.

Los Angeles NAARPR Backs Lauren and Ray

Statement by Rose Chernin and S. Deacon Alexander

The entire executive board of the National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression, L.A. Branch, is in full support of the Phone Strikers in general and specifically Lauren Mozee and Ray Palmiero. We demand that all charges be dropped and Ray and

Lauren are returned to work with full back pay as labor is our first line of defense and the racist attack on this fine couple is but a part of a pattern to break the back of organized labor.

We congratulate the Defense Committee, the union and all involved for their heroic effort in this matter. Our endorsement will mean that a fund-raiser is just around the corner. We are sorry that we could not be here today. Our spirit of fight back is with you.

Freedom is a constant struggle. Unity is the key. We can fight back and will.

How Much Insult Can Be Endured?

Statement by Flo Kennedy, Co-Founder, Black Women United for Political Action

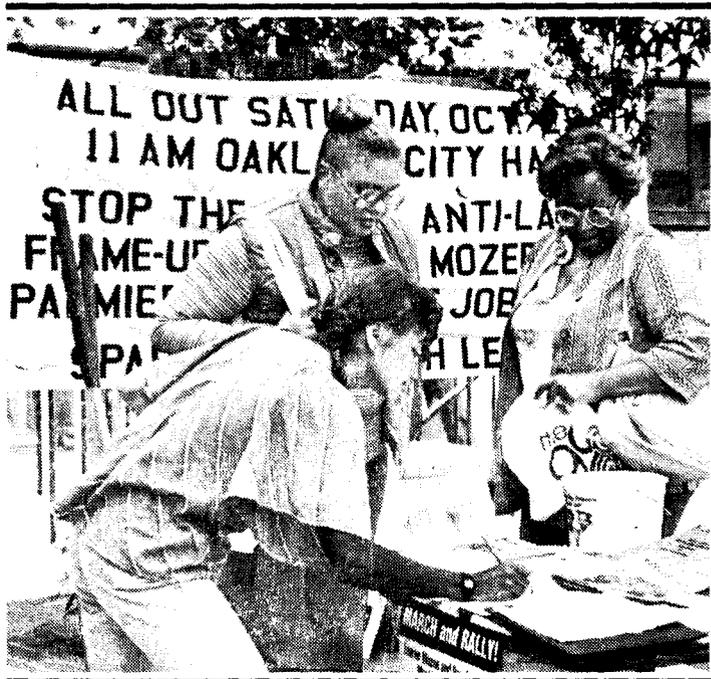
I support this demonstration against the phone company's outrageous attempt to frame up Lauren Mozee and Ray Palmiero.

It is taken for granted that "we" strike out in Lebanon, in Central America, anywhere anybody does anything to displease the Great White Father. It is taken for granted that "we" send cops into black neighborhoods to murder children and barbecue people in Los Angeles.

But anybody trying to strike back, to organize against the phone company, oh no! How much insult can be endured before black women are entitled to strike back in rage and anger? How many times do we have to be verbally and physically abused before we fight back?

When we do fight back, they try to frame us up and put us in jail or worse. And they pay the cops bounty money for murdering innocent children like Patrick Mason!

Beat the phone company! Ray and Lauren must not go to jail! ■



SUBSCRIBE NOW!

Women & Revolution

Journal of the Women's Commission of the Spartacist League

- \$2 for 4 issues
- International rate: \$4 airmail/\$3 seamail

Workers Vanguard

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League (includes *Spartacist*)

- \$5 for 24 issues
- \$2 for 10 introductory issues
- International rates: \$20 airmail/\$5 seamail

Young Spartacus

Monthly Newspaper of the Spartacus Youth League, youth section of the SL

- \$2 for 9 issues

Name _____ 27

Address _____

_____ Phone () _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Make payable/mail to: Spartacist Publishing Co., Box 1377 GPO, New York, New York 10116

Reactionary Bigots Breed Anti-Gay Hysteria

AIDS and the "Mortal Sin" Scam

Acquired immune deficiency syndrome (AIDS) is terrifying enough for those who have contracted it: it attacks the body's immune system, allowing the growth of a number of otherwise unusual infections and terminal diseases. No one knows what causes AIDS, and there is no cure so far. In the past two years 2,803 cases have been identified in the U.S., with the number doubling approximately every six months. Another 267 have been reported from 33 European countries. As of August this year 41 percent of those with AIDS—and nearly all who have had it for two years—have died. Moreover, AIDS has an incubation period of up to two years, leaving many to wonder when their first symptoms will appear.

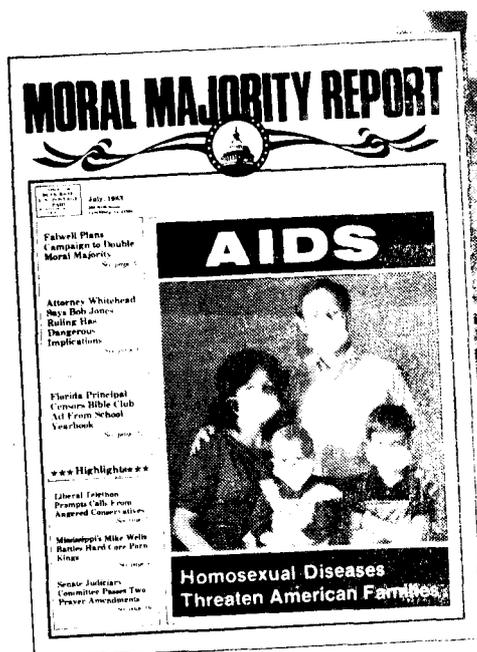
But AIDS victims face an additional terror—they are blamed for causing the disease, then shunned as lepers. And because more than 70 percent of those identified as having AIDS are active homosexuals (others in the "4-H Club," as medical workers cynically call it, are Haitian immigrants to the U.S., heroin addicts/intravenous drug users and hemophiliacs), the disease is being exploited for purposes of sexual bigotry in the most revolting way.

New York Post columnist and former Nixon speech writer Patrick Buchanan sounded a dark note of primitive superstition, claiming AIDS was "nature's retribution" on "the poor homosexuals" because "they have declared war upon nature." Will the Democratic Party, he asks, "heed citizens who claim their 'civil rights' entitle them not to have proctoring their children or handling their food active homosexuals who belong to a community that is a common carrier

of dangerous, communicable and sometimes fatal diseases?"

The Moral Majority predictably seized on AIDS to bolster its anti-homosexual campaigns: "Homosexual Diseases Threaten American Families," headlined the July *Moral Majority Report*. Jerry Falwell has proposed the quarantine of all homosexuals until the medical emergency passes. The all-purpose ultrarightist Larry McDonald, head of the fanatic John Birch Society and Congressman from Georgia until his death aboard Flight 007, suggested that homosexuals be assessed a "users tax" to pay for AIDS research.

"AIDS may mean the party is over," *Newsweek* captioned its August 8 cover story on "Gay America," solemnly stating that "For Gay America, a decade of carefree sexual adventure, a headlong gambol on the far side of the human libido, has all but come to a close." *Time* (4 July) was morbidly categorical: "Anonymous and casual sex can be fatal." Suddenly the "gay lifestyle" is being minutely examined by the bourgeois media. "The average AIDS victim has had 60 different sexual partners in the past 12 months," *Time* quoted the director of the federal Centers for Disease Control (CDC) as saying. *Newsweek* felt obliged to penetrate as far as Dubuque, Iowa in search of the "gay lifestyle." The Cold War liberal *New Republic* (1 August), too, took homosexuals to task for this awful epidemic, featuring an article by NBC News' "science correspondent" Robert Bazell, who concluded: "Even if...modern medicine provides a cure for AIDS or a vaccine to prevent it, health authorities and gay men would do well to remember the dangers to gays and others that a



W&R Photo

Ignorance, fear and loathing: Moral Majority newsletter (left), crucifix-waving bigots opposing NYC Gay Pride Day march this summer.

return to the old pattern of massive promiscuity would create."

Ignorance, Fear and Loathing

The ominous message is clear: gay sex kills, the "gay lifestyle" is responsible for AIDS. And it's had its intended effect of creating a burst of renewed anti-gay prejudice. The CDC has stated that AIDS is not spread through casual contact, to little avail. Hundreds of stories of panicky refusal to hire, serve or have any dealings at all with homosexuals or Haitians have appeared in the press. Right-wing conservatives have called for banning gays from all food-handling, and a New York City prison barred all "overt homosexuals" from food lines. Three nurses at a hospital in San Jose, California quit rather than treat AIDS patients; a Boston hospital placed in quarantine any patient from any of the "high-risk" groups. San Francisco cops have been issued gloves and face-masks to "protect" them when making arrests in gay communities, while "Dallas Doctors Against AIDS" has called for making homosexuality per se a crime—in the name of good health, of course! Tenants in Greenwich Village tried to evict a doctor who treats AIDS patients in his first-floor office, and employers and landlords in several cities have appealed for permission to fire and evict Haitians.

It isn't surprising that such a paranoid, neurotic reaction to the victims of a truly terrible disease can be generated. In this deeply racist and homophobic society, AIDS hysteria compounds the already ingrained superstitions and prejudices encouraged by bourgeois society. Homosexuality is seen as a direct challenge to the repressive nuclear family—an institution that capitalism must bolster as the only means of instilling submission to authority and obedience to a ruling class that blatantly does not have the interests of society at heart. The rulers, politicians and official institutions continually reinforce the belief that sex of any sort outside the legally defined limits of "one man on one woman for life" is immoral and dangerous. Even what "sex education" exists in this country is wrong, inadequate, traumatizing and steeped in lying hypocritical bourgeois punitive morality.

Today, with a government desperate to marshal public opinion behind Reagan's headlong drive into a world war against the Soviet Union, America's ample supply of reactionary ideologues is marched onto center stage. Homosexuals, among the most vulnerable, are the first target of the right-wing attack. Godfrey Cambridge once remarked that for blacks paranoia is simply an occupational disease; no less so for homosexuals in this hysterical atmosphere. Indeed, we wouldn't be surprised to see some wild theory floated that the Moral Majority hired some mad Nazi scientists to invent AIDS, for here is its "proof" that homosexuality is sin—the ultimate "mortal sin."

While the fundamentalist, paranoid Puritan ethic encouraged by our rulers alleges otherwise, the fact is: sex does not equal disease, does not equal death. Any kind of sex. Aside from the fundamental question of saving lives, one damn good reason to get this frightening outbreak cleaned up is so people can enjoy sexual activity in safe, healthy conditions—including

**Now hit by
racist AIDS
hysteria,
Haitians
were thrown
into U.S.
concentration
camps when
they fled "Baby
Doc's" Haiti.
Full citizenship
rights for all
immigrants,
"legal" or not:
everyone who's
made it into this
country has the
right to stay
here!**

Diederich/Time



the baths and bars if that's their scene. Certainly no one advocated an end to the "heterosexual lifestyle" because it was responsible for spreading herpes, gonorrhea and syphilis—the latter a genuinely horrible and fatal disease until the discovery of Salvarsan in 1910. Not to mention all those thousands of women who have died hideous deaths in childbirth, or were killed by bacterial infections spread by doctors in filthy hospitals before the cause of their "childbed fever" was uncovered. And while reactionaries trumpet concern over deaths "caused" by gay sex, these same bigots fight legal abortion—and how many thousands more deaths have occurred at the hands of back-alley butchers! Indeed, it's been suggested that the most troublesome, costly and debilitating venereal disease is pregnancy!

Remember "legionnaire's disease" in 1976? There was a lot of panic before they found the cause, but we didn't notice any dark mutterings about "nature's retribution" on the American Legion for its members' ripping up large hunks of the globe in American imperialist military adventures. Where were the in-depth probes of "legionnaire's lifestyle"—the all-male bonding rituals, the peculiar rites and ceremonies, the striking statistics that the typical legionnaire's disease

continued on next page

victim had been promiscuously drunk at least 60 times in the preceding 12 months? Why didn't they check out obscure aspects of "legionnaire's lifestyle" in backwaters like Dubuque, Iowa; in the taverns where such typically all-male heavy drinking groups congregate? Where were the dire warnings to legionnaires to repent or face slow and painful death?

Conspiracies and Other Theories

There are a number of rather bizarre theories about AIDS, including a far-out one in *Gay Community News* that AIDS is itself a government/CIA plot to kill all gays, involving CIA plans to kill Cuban livestock with some deadly swine flu virus, biological warfare plans, etc. This seems fairly incredible, though one recalls that all those '60s and '70s stories about the CIA dropping LSD in peoples' drinks and trying to poison Castro with pens turned out to be true. There are other theories about AIDS, some involving transmuted African swine fever, that correlate these outbreaks in pigs with the appearance of AIDS in the U.S. and Haiti. There is another, which might explain the "hemophilic connection," that it's well known that one of the main exports of Haiti is blood products. In fact, there was quite a scandal back in 1973 when Jack Anderson revealed that the U.S. company "Hemo Caribbean" in alliance with "Baby Doc" Duvalier's brutal dictatorship was extorting blood from the impoverished, starving people of Haiti under intimidating, hideously unsanitary conditions (*New York Post*, 9 June 1973).

It's particularly shameful that in this already panicky atmosphere attempts have been made to place the "blame" for AIDS on one group as against the other. The *New Republic* article by Robert Bazell angrily insists that there's "no evidence" that AIDS originated in Haiti (although he notes 150 cases of AIDS were recently diagnosed there), claiming that gays are trying to blame Haitians for something that, he insists, is entirely their own responsibility because of "promiscuous sexual habits." On the other hand, as he points out, many Haitians who at first denied either homosexual contact or intravenous drug use to medical investigators—out of legitimate fear of being instantly deported—have since revealed more information which may help lead to the source of AIDS.

There have been hypotheses and intuitions on what causes AIDS and where it comes from. Nobody seems to know, and we don't pretend to have the answers. Many suspect it is a virus because its means of transmission resembles hepatitis-B, via blood and/or blood products, dirty needles and intimate sexual intercourse (involving traces of semen, blood and/or feces). In its effects, AIDS is suggestive of the resulting condition of cancer patients who have undergone chemotherapy or radiation treatment. AIDS appears to be new, but it's only been noticed since 1981—and precisely because AIDS has only been detected in the normal course of things when somebody is already sick with something else, it's hard to know whether there is a far larger population which carries AIDS without necessarily incurring a fatal disease. It is possible that the disease originated in Haiti and has been there for some time. Given the extreme poverty on that island,

deaths due to an acquired immune deficiency could have been diagnosed as something else (in advanced countries, death from starvation is always diagnosed as resulting from some other cause). But it is also interesting to note that, for obscure reasons, there are a number of endemic African diseases that have never made it to the U.S. although many thousands of Africans have arrived, in less than robust condition, in this country. (AIDS has now been reported in several countries in central and western Africa, with indications that an equal number of victims are heterosexual men and women.)

A Hateful and Sick Society

Many point a finger at the government for inadequate resources devoted to researching the cause of AIDS and accuse the medical profession of "homophobia." The rad-lib *Village Voice* responded with a front-page article (1 November) by Anna Mayo who defended the medical researchers and accused gays of succumbing to "flights of paranoiac heterophobia." A gay *San Francisco Chronicle* reporter (quoted by *Newsweek*) commented that some gay leaders are doing a "lousy job in handling the AIDS crisis." "Those dinosaurs from the '60s," he said, are happy to blame the government or the media, but "they absolutely refuse to take responsibility for themselves."

The federal government, mainly through the CDC and the National Institute of Health, and other medical institutions have begun large-scale research efforts into AIDS. If eventually the cause, and hopefully cure, are

continued on page 17

SPARTACIST LEAGUE/ U.S. DIRECTORY

NATIONAL OFFICE	(212) 732-7860
Box 1377, GPO, New York, NY 10116	
ANN ARBOR	
c/o SYL, P.O. Box 8364, Ann Arbor, MI 48107	
ATLANTA	
Box 4012, Atlanta, GA 30302	
BERKELEY/OAKLAND	(415) 835-1535
P.O. Box 32552, Oakland, CA 94604	
BOSTON	(617) 492-3928
Box 840, Central Station, Cambridge, MA 02139	
CHICAGO	(312) 427-0003
Box 6441, Main P.O., Chicago, IL 60680	
CLEVELAND	(216) 621-5138
Box 91954, Cleveland, OH 44101	
DETROIT	(313) 961-1680
Box 32717, Detroit, MI 48232	
LOS ANGELES	(213) 663-1216
Box 29574, Los Feliz Station, Los Angeles, CA 90029	
MADISON	
c/o SYL, Box 2074, Madison, WI 53701	
NEW YORK	(212) 267-1025
Box 444, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013	
NORFOLK	
Box 1972, Main P.O., Norfolk, VA 23501	
SAN FRANCISCO	(415) 863-6963
Box 5712, San Francisco, CA 94101	
WASHINGTON, D.C.	(202) 636-3537
P.O. Box 75073, Washington, D.C. 20013	

TROTSKYIST LEAGUE OF CANADA

TORONTO	(416) 593-4138
Box 7198, Station A, Toronto, Ontario M5W 1X8	

Under the Terror in Sri Lanka



SL/Lanka

"Comrades, Colombo is filled with guns, bayonets, barbed wire, fire, ashes and burnt remains," came the first message from our Lankan comrades in mid-August, after weeks of bloody terror and massacres. Colombo, 26 July 1983: Tamil shops devastated by arson, looting instigated by Jayewardene's rampaging army.

Hideous massacres and fiery pogroms against the oppressed Tamil minority in Sri Lanka exploded in late July, instigated by J.R. Jayewardene's United National Party (UNP) government and spearheaded by his rampaging, mutinous army. An estimated 2,000 defenseless Tamils were killed—beaten to death and burned alive—while 150,000 more fled for their lives, some to the historically Tamil-populated Northern Province, others held in filthy refugee camps at the mercy of the Sinhalese army. Whole sections of Colombo were burned to the ground, and the Northern Province was sealed off. Fifty-two Tamil prisoners, leaders and activists in the Tamil nationalist movement, were butchered in Colombo's Welikada Jail. Advocacy of a separate Tamil state (Eelam) in Lanka or abroad has been illegalized, under penalty of loss of all "civic rights" including the right to hold property. Seeking to cover for the mutiny by a section of his power base, the bonapartist J.R. introduced the red herring of a "Soviet-inspired" coup attempt, banned three left parties and arrested over 1,000, including many leftists.

As soon as the news began breaking, the international Spartacist tendency launched an emergency international protest campaign to "Stop Anti-Tamil Massacre in Sri Lanka!" which included over a dozen protest demonstrations in six countries, from the Sri Lankan Mission to the UN in New York to the Ceylon Tea Centre in Melbourne, Australia. Key immediate demands were: *Smash J.R.'s massacre—Defend the Tamil people! Immediate withdrawal of Sinhala army units from all Tamil areas! Arms to the Tamil people! For the right of Tamil Eelam!* The Spartacist League/

Australia and New Zealand's call on maritime workers to "Black [hot cargo] Sri Lankan Cargo!" was warmly received by Indian seamen on the *Vishva Kaumudi*, which had Lankan cargo loaded in Western Australia. The general secretary of the Forward Seamen's Union of India, based in Calcutta, cabled our Australian comrades: "Our All India Working Committee strongly support your clarion call for boycott all cargo to Sri Lanka... For international working class solidarity and for advancing proletarian internationalist action. Our members on board *Vishva Kaumudi* shall be in action with you shoulder to shoulder." In London at a July 30 4,000-strong protest, mainly of Indian and Lankan Tamils, many picked up the Spartacist contingent's chant: "Thatcher arms Lankan butchers—Trade unions: Stop it now!"

In southern India, homeland of tens of millions of Tamils, protest strikes and demonstrations paralyzed the state of Tamil Nadu for almost six days. In desperation many Sri Lankan Tamils appealed to India's Indira Gandhi to intervene. After the first days of the bloody massacres, when transportation of Tamils to the North began under the control of the murderous Sinhala army, we demanded: "Patriation of Tamils in Sinhala areas to the North under the protection of the Indian army." At the same time we insisted: *No faith in Indira Gandhi! No "UN" troops!* Gandhi is the brutal oppressor of her own political, national, ethnic and religious minorities in India. It's not the Indian bourgeoisie, but the Indian working masses, alongside their class brothers and sisters throughout South Asia, that must be rallied to oppose communal terror.

continued on next page



International Spartacist tendency protests terror campaign against Tamils with Tamil exiles in Paris (left) on April 22, and in 4,000-strong London demonstration on July 30 against the bloody massacre.

This bloody atrocity was a watershed for Sri Lanka (see "Massacre in Sri Lanka," WV No. 336, 12 August 1983). It has forced mass population transfers through fire and death, virtually separating the two peoples, the Tamils (about 20 percent of the population) and the majority Sinhalese. For "Yankee Dickie" Jayewardene, this bloody rampage by his mutinous Sinhalese army and racist mobs has shattered his bonapartist dreams of presiding over a paradise of super-exploitation, his "gift" of Sri Lankan labor to the American imperialists as a model of "Third World capitalism." This "dream" rested on two bases: the savagely exploited Tamil workers on the tea plantations, the mainstay of the Sri Lankan economy, and the "free trade zones" where predominantly female Sinhalese workers suffer in slave-labor conditions to produce super-profits for imperialist concerns. But "Yankee Dickie's" main power base is the Sinhalese bourgeoisie—and for the U.S. imperialists, the deep-water harbor of Trincomalee, in a historically Tamil area, remains a strategic goal in their plans to encircle the USSR with nuclear launching pads. In pursuit of these global imperialist ambitions, the Tamils were seen as expendable. *J.R.'s massacres pave the way for the bloody USA! U.S. out of the Indian Ocean! Hands off Diego Garcia! No U.S. base at Trincomalee! Down with the anti-Soviet war drive!*

The bloody communal slaughter is the bitter fruit of decades of betrayal and defeats in the class struggle. The so-called "Ceylon Tamils" were a predominant sector of the merchant/professional class when the British left in 1948, but a campaign of chauvinist "Sinhala only" legislation from the mid-1950s on, endorsed by the wretched Sinhalese "left" parties, codified anti-Tamil communalism as official state

policy. The second major part of the Tamil population, the so-called "Indian Tamils," stripped of Sri Lankan citizenship rights in 1948, are the laborers on the tea plantations, who produce most of the island's hard-currency earnings. Now J.R.'s UNP has seized and "nationalized" the devastated Tamil properties in the South, and is forcibly compacting the Tamils into the North. The economy has been set back at least a decade.

Given the terrible slaughter, even with proletarian revolution in Ceylon and South Asia generally, a *federated socialist republic* in Ceylon will be necessary to achieve unity of Tamil and Sinhalese people on the basis of justice and equality. We Marxists are not in the business of revenge of one people (the prior oppressed) against another (the prior oppressor)—and surely the Sinhalese people have good reason to fear the wrath of the millions of Tamils in southern India. We have historically upheld unconditionally the right of the minority Tamils to form their own state in Sri Lanka if they so choose, though we had advised against this solution, especially since such a mini-state would be economically unviable. Now, it appears that a decision has been forced by terror and fire. A plebiscite in the North and East on an independent Tamil state is merely a necessary democratic measure today.

What is desperately needed is to further the building of an internationalist Trotskyist party in Sri Lanka, necessarily substantially based among the exploited Tamil masses. The struggle against the hideous national oppression of the Tamils and against communalism is vital to forging such a party. *For the right of Tamil Eelam! Forward to a federated socialist republic of Eelam and Lanka! For a socialist federation of South Asia!* ■

Greetings from Our Comrades

We reprint below greetings sent to the Seventh National Conference of the Spartacist League/U.S. by our comrades in Sri Lanka as this small Indian Ocean island nation was being torn apart by Sinhala chauvinist terror against the national/religious minority people, the Tamils, in pogroms instigated and organized by sections of the governing United National Party of J.R. Jayewardene. Until shortly before the American conference convened, we had received from Sri Lanka no information on the safety of our comrades, who while a very small group had become known in the course of their work as outspoken and active defenders of Tamil national rights on the island.

Sometimes heroism is not a matter of doing things, but just of being there and standing fast.

REVOLUTIONARY GREETINGS TO SL/U.S.

Spartacist League/Lanka
Colombo
8 August 1983

The Spartacist League/Lanka (SL/L) sends these warm greetings to the seventh National Conference of the Spartacist League/U.S. at a time when Sri Lanka is enveloped in the most severe political complexities ever recorded in its recent history.

The six-year administration of the pro-American, rightist J.R. Jayewardene's UNP [United National Party] government has not solved any problems of the people. Instead, they have become aggravated from bad to worse. The "open economy" and the "free trade zone" theories that the government sought to use as supporting pillars for the crashing economy, are now cracking under the unbearable burdens that rest upon them. By abolishing one by one the rights of the people and by introducing tough legislation the government keeps away the people from the path of struggle. This cruel government that appeared to brighten up not only the earthly life of the people but even their lives after death, and boasted that it laid the foundation for a

"Dharmista" [Buddhist righteousness] society, has now got all its dictators' medals soaked with agony and blood of the Tamil people—the victims of violent suppression during the last weeks. The intellectuals' and students' movements within the judiciary, religious and human rights organisations and also in the other layers of society are filled with unrest. More than at any time before, the poorest sections in the island are now facing brutal military law and the force of thugs.

The government, to keep up with its friends, is using all public media, political platforms and forces to declare a "cold war" against the Soviet Union. To serve American and other imperialists' interests, Sri Lanka is invitingly waving its hand to American forces via capitalist trade tactics. It is seeking to join ASEAN [the Association of Southeast Asian Nations] and other counterrevolutionary organisations in an attempt to disgrace the Red victories in Afghanistan, Vietnam and Kampuchea. The government is highly respectful of the Solidarity trade-union movement activities in Poland whilst denying the right of the local workers to demonstrate, picket and strike! The fierce government, having been unable to get out of the capitalist crisis, is now gradually absorbing military juntas into its administration.

As a part of the International, we of the SL/L today join you not only to fight capitalism, but social democracy, reformism and centrism too. Our part in the world is extremely difficult. Risky. We are devoted, as a propaganda group against all types of reactionaries, to building a party on the lines of Bolshevik traditions.

Comrades, Colombo is filled with guns, bayonets, barbed wire, fire, ash and burnt remains, and refugee camps. And from this city, with deep comradesly feelings we hold your hand that is raising the red banner of struggle in the conference today.

- The main enemy is at home!
- Indian/Lankan workers key to the socialist revolution in South Asia!
- For the rebirth of the Fourth International! ■

Tamils in Sri Lankan refugee camp. Over 150,000 fled Colombo and the upland tea plantations in terror for their lives. The fiery pogrom is forcing the separation of the peoples of Lanka, the Sinhals and Tamils. For the right of Tamil Eelam!

Raghu Rai/Indian Today



Women and Night Work in Sri Lanka

The following exchange is reprinted from *Workers Vanguard* No. 328 (22 April 1983):

Iowa City, Iowa
30 January 1983

Comrades,

... In WV 322, while I have not had time to read the whole paper yet, I did read the item on Sri Lanka among others. Generally the actions of this iSt section seem politically good. However in the slogan (p. 5) on women's issues is included "Abolish night shifts!" This sounds backward and sexist—why can't women work night shifts too? If there are special circumstances there an explanation would be useful, if not the section should reconsider this item.

In solidarity,
Loren Schutt

WV replies: Your observations about the controversy surrounding night shift work for women in Lanka prompted an interesting discussion in the Center. What is in question at the moment is evidently something called the International Labour Office Convention No. 89, which prohibits night work for women. Ten years ago Sri Lanka's government ratified this ILO agreement. They have now decided to pull out of this convention and to revise their own protective legislation on women workers. The July 1982 issue of Lanka's English-language feminist magazine, *Voice of Women*, says the new codes will permit women workers on night shifts if this is "voluntary," and that the new codes would require such employers to comply with "certain provisions such as transport facilities, maternity benefits and overtime pay."

Voice of Women observes that the capitalist countries which did not ratify the ILO convention are the advanced industrial nations—the U.S., United Kingdom, West Germany, Japan. The only ex-colonial country listed in *Voice of Women* as a non-signer is Singapore, which seems to be the Jayewardene government's model for hoped-for industrialization via "free trade zone" foreign capitalist investment. The new "voluntary" regulations are visibly part of the concessions to employers on working conditions and union rights deemed necessary to attract foreign investors.

It's a safe assumption that protest against the abolition of this form of protective legislation for women in Lanka comes mainly from the social-democrats and other reformists, who of course look toward UN pronouncements and domestic legislation to protect women workers, rather than toward the urgently necessary "illegal" unionization of the free trade zone. Even on the narrow level of legislative reform, our proposals are not the same as those of the social-democrats; we stand for the extension of any necessary protective legislation to all workers, not just women. But our first concrete concern is against the abolition of protective legislation, as we made clear in

many of our articles on the early debates over the Equal Rights Amendment in this country.

In other countries, particularly in Britain where the patronizing and puritanical Labourite types often rail against night shifts in general and over night work for women in particular (an agitation of a piece with the archaic, teetotalist, Sunday-blue-law harassments aimed at "protecting" conventional "family life"), sections of the iSt have generally responded by counterposing demands addressing the specific hardships of night work—e.g., demands for "penalty pay" for unpopular shifts, childcare facilities, etc., depending on particular conditions. We have denounced opposition to night shifts in principle as retrogressive and comparable to workerist resistance to automation, for example. A modern industrial nation requires 24-hour capacity in certain industries (e.g., steel plants, oil refineries, sewage plants). If only this were the question in Lanka! What is involved in the Katunayake free trade zone is greedy small entrepreneurs trying to squeeze every last rupee of profit out of the sheds and sewing machines.

Most important, the social overhead for workers involved is by no means comparable to the discomforts of night shift workers in the U.S., where frequently we are talking about a woman who makes \$15,000 a year and drives to work at a Midwestern factory in her own car. Even in a decrepit advanced capitalist country like Britain, the hazards of night work are essentially trivial. But in the ex-colonial world, essential preconditions for the integration of female labor into the industrial workforce virtually do not exist. To make Lanka a place where a married woman with kids can easily enter the industrial labor force requires an "industrial revolution," which is to say in this day and age a socialist revolution and an international division of labor. To care for a family in Lanka is virtually a full-time job. To prepare a curry, one begins by sitting on the floor grating coconut for half an hour. Thus the very real hardships of night work in Lanka, from the lack of public transport at night to the impossibility of getting much sleep in the daytime in the teeming, noisy cities of Asia, are reinforced by the myriad forms of social inequality, oppression and dire poverty. One cannot dismiss the concern for the women workers as patronizing in this context, even though our fundamental approach to a solution is counterposed to the reformism and ultra-legalism of the Lanka "left" epitomized by the LSSP.

Under Lankan conditions the typical worker in the free trade zone is a young unmarried woman who by law is to have no union protection. Many of these workers live in barracks-type housing provided by the employer at a cost which may be half their pathetic salary. If you find yourself on the road in Katunayake at 5:30 in the morning you will see hundreds and hundreds of young women walking miles to work. One can imagine how many of these workers would risk their jobs by refusing "voluntary" assignment to night

Moonies...

(continued from page 2)

thrust for influence and power in America, the *Washington Times*.

It will be a tough fight. We have the truth on our side, but it will take more than the truth to win against the Moonies. The cult seems to be made of money. It has legions of lawyers and right-wing connections in high places. From his giant munitions plants in South Korea to bilking his flower-peddling zombies to his big-money backers, Moon's "holy war" of reaction is well financed.

Everyone on the Moonie hit list has a stake in this case: parents who have seen their children twisted by the cult, the left and civil libertarians who are marked as "Satan" in Moon's drive for theocracy, clergy and professors deceitfully used to increase Moon's sinister influence, and decent Americans everywhere who hailed the November 27 anti-KKK demonstration as their own and want to see the fascist terrorists stopped.

Your financial support and endorsement are urgently needed to win this lawsuit. Order the PDC brochure, "Are You A Target of the Moonies?," and please send contributions to: Partisan Defense Committee, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York City, N.Y. 10013.

AIDS...

(continued from page 12)

found it will undoubtedly be the result of this kind of highly sophisticated, intensive scientific work. But given that both gays and Haitians have historically had more to fear than gain from any sort of official "active surveillance," it's no wonder there's a good deal more suspicion and fear within both populations about what the U.S. government/medical apparatus has in store for them as a result of this epidemic. Richard Goldstein, in a reply to Mayo (*Village Voice*, 8 November) put it nicely:

"Is [Mayo] able to extend a similar empathy toward gay people, who have every reason to fear malfeasance from a society in which they may be denied citizenship on grounds of their sexual orientation, refused custody of their children on those grounds alone, excluded from housing and employment and, in 24 states of this democracy, arrested for private and consensual sexual acts?"

Haitian immigrants, desperately poor and largely illiterate, have even more reason for "paranoia." If not deported, they are locked in concentration camps, some in freezing upstate New York, a deliberate and vicious punishment for refugees of the tropical Caribbean. And those few who "make it" in the U.S. can look forward to the status of American blacks—racially oppressed, discriminated against and pushed to the very bottom of the working class.

Medical research, like every other aspect of society, has always been class biased. Pharmaceutical companies produce for profit, medical care is provided to the rich while the poor and oppressed are left to die in squalor. The CDC is a valuable research facility (for example, they worked to prevent malaria among U.S. servicemen in World War II), and we were opposed to Reagan's attempts to stop funding it last year. But we will never forget that the CDC conducted for decades an "experiment" only one step away from Nazi Germany: in 1932 it began a project with 400 black Southern men with syphilis, who were never told they had it, never treated, and "watched" for 30 years to see what effect the untreated disease had on their mortality rate—and on their children! This hideous "experiment" was only stopped in 1972 when exposed by the press (see James H. Jones, *Bad Blood, The Tuskegee Syphilis Experiment*, 1981). The incoming director for the CDC, James Mason, was commissioner of health services of the Mormon Church, an institution which practiced electroshock "treatment" for homosexuals.

The most extended scream of rage we can imagine would not begin to do justice to the appalling state of medical care in capitalist America, this great "advanced" and technologically sophisticated nation. Suffice to say, not only do zoo keepers treat their animals far more humanely than this state does its citizens, but even a wolf pack does not display the savagery and indifference towards its members' welfare that is the routine fate of the poor, blacks, the aged, the helpless.

They may eventually find a cure for AIDS, but we need a workers government which defends all the oppressed so that health care can truly be put at the service of humanity. And it will take such a fundamental social overturn to even start to lift the terrible load of deforming guilt and misery about sex that is pounded into everyone by this sick society. ■

shift. Nor can one put much faith in the provisions of the new codes requiring employers to provide "transport facilities" and such, when complaints of violations of all kinds of laws on working conditions are already widespread—above all complaints regarding the free trade zone where the government woos investors with promises of good labor productivity and the legal ban on unions there.

We stand for the integration of women into the workforce in Lanka through a class-struggle fight for the necessary social institutions—e.g., childcare centers, free maternity care, etc. We stand for equal pay for equal work and the organizing of class-struggle unions

in the free trade zone and among the agricultural workers. We also stand for the maintenance and extension of whatever protective legislation for the working class there is, however flawed or partial, and against its repeal. Most important, we are guided by the objective conditions and needs confronting the working class. Therefore we must take a different attitude toward the question of night work for women in Lanka than we take in Britain, where protests against it are focused on essentially trivial hardships and motivated centrally by social conservatism toward the disruption of the normal functioning of the bourgeois nuclear family. ■

Der Spiegel



Canadian Dimension

Woman left to die on a snowbound mountain pass as punishment for adultery; Kurds arrested by Turkish militia—scenes from *Yol*.

Turkey: Prison House for Women, Kurds

Güney's *Yol*: A Review

As it follows its protagonists, a group of prisoners homebound on a week's leave from the half-open island prison of Imrali, Yilmaz Güney's *Yol* unfolds its central metaphor with shattering vividness: contemporary Turkey itself is a vast prison. Above and beyond the brutality and oppression of the right-wing military dictatorship which governs Turkey, there is the brutality and oppression of social backwardness and deep-going Islamic feudal relations which imprison the film's characters, particularly women and Kurds, far more securely than do iron bars and stone walls.

Yilmaz Güney is a Kurd and a fugitive from the junta regime. Illegally produced and smuggled out of Turkey (where even speaking Kurdish is *illegal*), Güney's latest film has been widely acclaimed by Western audiences, both for its artistry and as a symbol of liberal opposition to the junta. But in his attempt to faithfully capture the bitter reality of day-to-day life in Turkey, especially in the Kurdish region of Eastern Turkey, Güney has produced a film whose impact transcends his own political limitations. In his depiction of relationships of love and hate, Güney plumbs to the core of this society and offers a depiction of its combined and uneven development. Not only the camera's romantic portray-

al of the stark beauty of Güney's native Kurdish region but also scenes of modern technological progress (the air conditioned bus in which they travel, the snowplough) contrast sharply with bleak and miserable social customs and relations, most strikingly expressed in the condition of women. A young woman, left by her husband and son to die in a snowbound mountain pass as punishment for adultery, screams into the freezing winds: "Don't leave me to the wolves. Have pity on me."

The degree of backwardness and feudalism still existing in a country as comparatively secular and "modernised" as Turkey must prove horrifying to Western audiences. Sixty years after Ataturk separated mosque and state in Turkey at gunpoint and formally abolished traditional Muslim institutions such as *kalym* (the bride price), these reactionary social institutions continue to flourish among the mainly rural population of Turkey. Women from 7 to 70 work in the fields to produce half of Turkey's agricultural output but still do not enjoy the legal reforms promulgated 60 years ago. Instead 80 per cent of peasant women remain illiterate.

The peasants bound to their landlords, the women literally bound in chains and treated worse than horses, the Kurds who are barred from speaking their native tongue—all point to the inability of the bourgeoisie in backward countries in the epoch of imperialism to carry through the tasks of the bourgeois-democratic revolution. The answer, again literally, lies outside

Güney's film—in the mobilisation of the working class as the only social force that can shatter the chains of backwardness. *Yol* offers a powerful argument for the Trotskyist theory and perspective of permanent revolution.

In the story of Omer, one of the five prisoners, is expressed the national oppression of the Kurdish people, and the triple oppression of its women. Omer returns to his native Kurdistan to find the quiet of his village broken by the incessant exchanges of machine-gun fire between government troops and a band of fugitives, among them his brother. Romanticised landscapes of fat sheep grazing on fertile mountains contradict the reality of an economically devastated region. Omer's crippled father is real enough: much of the male population in the Kurdish town of Marrash on the Syrian border are cripples; for many, their only means of subsistence is smuggling. And smuggling means hazarding the minefields of the borderlands.

For the right of self-determination of the Kurds!

Omer is there among the terrified and sullen villagers as they are forced to parade before the cartload of dead fugitives. He cannot even claim the body of his brother Abuzer for fear of murderous reprisal by the army. "Comrades," proclaims the military officer as the bodies are put on display, "this earth is our home; we are all equal." Great Turkish chauvinism does not even acknowledge the existence of the Kurds as a people—nor has it ever. In a review of the film, the left-Stalinist TKP Leninists [exile split-off group from the Turkish Communist Party] hail it as an exposure of "fascism" in Turkey. In fact, the Kurdish people live in much the same conditions and were subjected to the same brutally repressive treatment under the so-called "democratic" bourgeois regime of Bulent Ecevit. The national oppression of the Kurds has continued ever since the birth of "modern" Turkey.

As Omer rides off into the hills on horseback, there is no hope that freedom for his people is any more than a beautiful dream, like the memories that flicker before him of past rides with his brother. And now he is even less free than before. His brother's wife, forced to stay in her room through all the frightening and desperate nights of shooting, is now forced by tradition into being the wife of her brother-in-law. And Omer, acquiescing to the conditions of this social imprisonment, is forced to give up his dreams of marrying a young local girl whom he has loved from afar.

From beginning to end, *Yol* presents a powerful indictment of the subjugation of women in backward societies. It is revealed all the more so when one of the prisoners, Mevlut, having lived outside his traditional family setting, challenges the old traditions to an extent in a scene of blackly comic social contradiction. When Mevlut and his fiancée Merval are chaperoned by two shadowy black-shrouded female relatives during their courtship, he exclaims in exasperation: "What day and age are we living in?" Warned that Merval's father would disapprove if he writes her letters from prison, Mevlut sighs, "How old-fashioned they are!" But here are his instructions on the conduct he expects from his future wife: "If I say something is black, it is black....



Spartacist Britain

May 1983 protest at London Turkish Embassy against genocidal attacks on the Kurdish people—Spartacists demand "For the Right of Self-Determination for the Kurds," with signs in English, Turkish, Farsi and Arabic.

Any conversation with other men is out from now on, apart from your family of course." "You're so good with words," she replies. "Where did you learn that—in jail?"

Another prisoner, Mehmet, returns home to retrieve his wife Emine from her family. His return confronts her with an impossible "choice" between two masters: her family and her husband, who are locked in a death feud. Mehmet is marked for death as a coward for having left her brother to be captured and killed by the police when their robbery attempt was foiled. In desperation she decided to join him with their children to escape on a train. When the long-separated couple are discovered making love in the train's toilet, an enraged mob of passengers, shouting "Infidels!" comes within a hair's breadth of lynching them. Rescued from death once (by a railway official who is in turn exasperated when he discovers they have no secular marriage license—their religious marriage is unrecognised by the Turkish state), they are shot down in cold blood before their children's eyes soon after, in a revenge killing by Emine's younger brother. The moral code of Islam and feudalism has been left untouched by the Republic.

The most striking exposure of social relations comes in the story of Seyit and Zine. Returning home, Seyit is informed by his abandoned mother (his father has chosen a younger wife) that his wife Zine fled from the unendurable misery of working for his family to enter a brothel. Captured by her own family, she has been imprisoned for eight months, chained by the feet, fed on bread and water and forbidden to wash, waiting for the retributive code of honour to be carried out by her husband.

Seyit, "torn between pity and hatred," knows what is required of him but confesses that "My mind is my enemy." He finds a solution through Zine's brothers, who tell him of a woman who died of exposure while traversing the snows of Shepherds Rock Canyon. On his journey through the mountain pass to the remote cottage where Zine has been imprisoned, Seyit's horse falters in the snow. Compassionately, Seyit shoots the

continued on next page

animal. No such compassion is allowed to the woman. Indeed Zine is doubly punished. Having resigned herself to death, Seyit revives her hopes by telling her, "God will punish you, not I." Zine is forced to embark on their journey back dressed in nothing more than sheer cotton drapes; their son, Mirza, is dressed in a thick wool coat covering him from head to foot. As they reach the carcass of the abandoned horse Zine, growing numb and exhausted, falls to the ground. Embracing the dead horse, she cries out to the disappearing figures, "Seyit! Don't leave me to the wolves and the vultures. For the love of Mirza." Finally, too late, Seyit turns around. His wife dies on his back.

The fate suffered by Zine is that meted out to countless other "erring" women. This is what the myriad fake-leftists who cheered on Khomeini's "Islamic revolution" were cheering for when they whitewashed the chants of "Death or the veil!" and dismissed Khomeini's promises to stone adulteresses and homosexuals and inflict "holy" punishment on "rebellious" national minorities.

The women, Kurds and workers of Turkey or Iran do not have to look very far at all to find a tangible expression of their hopes of social emancipation. If they look to the other side of the Soviet border they will find, despite Stalinist degeneration and reaction, people speaking and being educated in Kurdish, women of Muslim background from many nationalities who are no longer enshrouded by the veil, who participate in society as human beings and not as animals. The social foundations for this leap through centuries was laid by the victorious Bolshevik Revolution and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Sixty years ago, Muslim women in Soviet Central Asia were no better off than Zine. Among the first tasks of the young Bolshevik government was to create Zhenotdel, an organisation for work amongst women.

The Zhenotdel organisers risked death to venture into backward regions and explain the new Soviet laws and programmes to the women, laws and programmes which were to change their lives. Even in the early years of the embattled Soviet state, they offered instruction in hygiene and crafts and waged a successful campaign to obliterate illiteracy. Cautiously but systematically, they undermined the Muslim institutions while demonstrating the superiority of Soviet institutions (for a detailed description of the Bolsheviks' work amongst women of the East, see *Women and Revolution* No. 12).

Sixty years later, despite the recrudescence glorification of the family fostered by Stalinism, the difference in life between women of the Soviet East, living in a collectivised society, and their cousins in Afghanistan, Iran and Turkey subjected to feudal enslavement is measured not in decades, but in centuries. Such is the scale of the social gains of the Russian Revolution which must be defended against the imperialist war drive. For those gains to be extended, it is necessary to build revolutionary proletarian parties like the Bolshevik party, which will recognise as a central task the need to construct transitional organisations to reach out to the downtrodden women and awaken their capacity for struggle. In addressing the Communist University of

the Toilers of the East in 1924, Trotsky:

"... recalled my recent brief stay in Baku where for the first time I saw and heard a Turkic girl communist and where I could observe in the hall several tens and possibly hundreds of Turkic girl communists and saw and heard their enthusiasm, this passion of yesterday's slave of slaves who has heard the new words of liberation and has awoken to a new life, and where for the first time I came to a quite clear conclusion and told myself that in the movement of the peoples of the East woman will play a greater role than in Europe and here [applause]. Why? Just precisely because Eastern woman is incomparably more fettered, crushed and befuddled by prejudices than is the Eastern man and because new economic relations and new historical currents will tear her out of the old motionless relations with even greater force and abruptness than they will man. Even today we can still observe in the East the rule of Islam, of the old prejudices, beliefs and customs but those will more and more turn to dust and ashes.... And this, moreover, means that the Eastern woman who is the most paralysed in life, in her habits and in creativity, the slave of slaves, that she, having at the demand of the new economic relations taken off her cloak will at once feel herself lacking any sort of religious buttress; she will have a passionate thirst to gain new ideas, a new consciousness which will permit her to appreciate her new position in society. And there will be no better communist in the East, no better fighter for the ideas of the revolution and for the ideas of communism than the awakened woman worker [applause]."

And it is this, the answer to the bitter realities and brutal oppression so vividly depicted in Güney's film, which is entirely missing from *Yol*. The large and militant proletariat of Turkey including its Kurdish component is the social force which, mobilised under the leadership of a Leninist vanguard party whose banner is emblazoned with the perspective of permanent revolution, can elevate the women and Kurds of Turkey from beneath their subjugation. Yet the working class does not even appear in *Yol*, as in most of Güney's films.

The only answer Güney can offer in the struggle against the oppression of the Kurds, not to mention the all-sided oppression of capitalism, is to pick up a gun and go to the mountains. Communists as an elementary responsibility uphold the right to self-determination of the Kurdish people. But history has demonstrated time and again that Kurdish nationalism and isolated struggle is the road to defeat. Nationalism, Stalinism, the ayatollahs and the sheikhs—all have betrayed or oppressed the Kurdish people. And what will Kurdish nationalism offer the women, except a continuation of the oppression they suffer today.

Any fighter for the liberation of women and the national rights of the Kurds who sees *Yol* should draw the conclusion that what is necessary is to repeat the example of the October Revolution of 1917. But the question is how. For that it is necessary to forge an instrument, a Trotskyist party grounded in the revolutionary programme, a party with a banner unblemished by support to bloody Islamic reaction in Iran and anti-Communist feudalism in Afghanistan. That is why we can recommend this film to our readers. It offers a glimpse at the barbarous reality, and our programme offers the only perspective for changing that reality. ■

—Reprinted from *Spartacist Britain* No. 50, June 1983.

“Pro-Life” Gestapo Raids Abortion Clinics

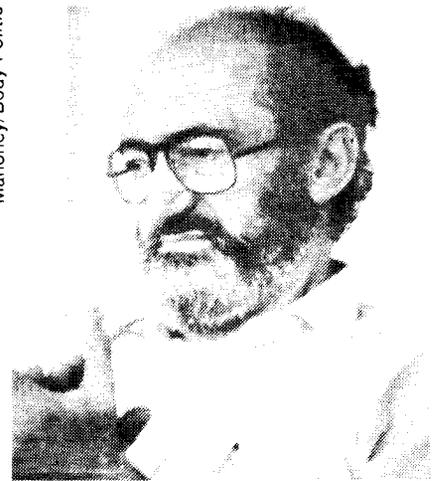
TORONTO—Reactionaries have been on the rampage ever since Dr. Henry Morgentaler's abortion clinics opened in Winnipeg (Manitoba) and Toronto (Ontario), launching a vicious anti-abortion campaign, heavily laced with anti-Semitism, against the Polish-born Jewish doctor, a survivor of Auschwitz. When Dr. Morgentaler attempted to enter Toronto's abortion clinic on its June 15 opening a demented “pro-lifer” lunged at him with a pair of garden shears. Then on July 28 arsonists attempted to destroy the clinic, gutting the Toronto Women's Bookstore on the ground floor. Their murderous intentions were made clear in the death threats scrawled on the clinic door.

The cops have carried out their own campaign of terror. The Winnipeg clinic has been raided twice since its May 6 opening. While having a “pro-choice” position on paper, the New Democratic Party (NDP) in power has charged Morgentaler and his clinic staff with two counts of “conspiracy to procure a miscarriage”—which carries a maximum penalty of life imprisonment. (The 1969 Canadian law states that abortions may only be performed by doctors in accredited hospitals, and only on the recommendation of a hospital committee that will approve the operation only if a woman's life or health is endangered.) In Toronto for three weeks cops harassed clinic patients, climbed fire escapes and peered in windows to gather the “evidence” with which to conduct a brutal, deadly dangerous raid on the clinic July 5. Fifteen cops, including the morality squad (!) charged into an abortion in progress, manhandled nurses, and grabbed everything—from medical records to valuable surgical equipment. It is a measure of the so-called “evenhandedness” of bourgeois justice that while Morgentaler and his colleagues face life imprisonment for their efforts on behalf of women, Morgentaler's murderous attacker was merely charged with assault and is unlikely to spend a day in jail. Drop the charges against Morgentaler and his heroic staff!

In the early 1970s Dr. Morgentaler was charged with performing illegal abortions in his Montreal clinic, and though acquitted *three times* by juries in Quebec, was finally convicted after six years of legal harassment following an “appeal by the crown” (Canada's version of a federal prosecutor; this arcane language is just another expression of the Canadian bourgeoisie's lingering servility toward the rotten British Empire and their nasty queen). Morgentaler spent ten months in prison (suffering a heart attack), but was absolved of all criminal charges in 1976 by the newly elected Parti Québécois government. Today his Montreal clinic operates freely; as a Quebec justice ministry spokesman said, “It was seen to be unfair to this citizen to keep prosecuting when clearly no jury in the province would find him guilty” (*Toronto Star*, 9 July 1983).

Dr. Morgentaler told W&R in the interview below he was deeply saddened and angered by the Manitoba NDP's “most vicious of prosecutions,” and that he found it “a supreme irony” that they were acting in such a reactionary manner. But it's not “ironic,” it's the

Mahoney/Body Politic



**Defend
Dr. Henry
Morgentaler
against Social
Democrats'
persecution!**

logic of Cold War social democracy in power. The NDP is a very right-wing social-democratic party whose origins are more populist than labourite. Whenever and wherever the NDP has been in power it has more than demonstrated its capacity to serve as the loyal administrator of capitalism. From breaking strikes in British Columbia and Saskatchewan to pushing racist, anti-Japanese protectionism the NDP is out to make capitalism “work”—at the expense of the working class. The NDP's predecessor, the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation, cut its teeth purging Communist Party militants from the unions, especially the United Auto Workers.

In the thousands-strong Toronto demonstrations in defense of the clinics the Trotskyist League of Canada marched under the banner: “Free Abortion on Demand! Women's Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!” Our defense of Dr. Morgentaler demonstrates our commitment to combatting every form of special oppression, to building a Leninist vanguard party that can act as a “tribune of the people.” We seek to build a women's section of a mass workers party, to make the fight against women's oppression an integral part of the fight for socialism.

We honor Dr. Morgentaler's courage and determination in his decade-long fight against Canada's reactionary abortion laws. Printed below is an interview with Dr. Morgentaler, conducted by telephone September 8 by a W&R reporter from the Trotskyist League of Canada.

Interview with Dr. Morgentaler

W&R: You have a long history of fighting against Canada's reactionary abortion laws, at great personal cost, often. Can you make some comments about your background? What's bringing you into the fray again?

Dr. Morgentaler: My background—sure. I was brought up in a socialist family in Poland and my
continued on next page

parents have both belonged to the Jewish Socialist Party Bund. And at times, when it was illegal under the [Tsarist] Russian occupation and later on, my father was a union leader at the time when unions were struggling and he had to defend workers in court, because they couldn't afford a lawyer. And he had a long history of being involved with democratic socialism. Democratic socialism in a sense was the religion of my family, in which I was brought up. So I am very sensitized to social injustice, and personally, sensitized to injustice *per se* because I went through a German concentration camp [Auschwitz]. This is part of my background which in a sense gives me the passion to fight for justice.

W&R: In the July 16 Montreal Gazette you were quoted as saying the police "double-crossed" you and used "fascist-style" techniques in their two raids on the Winnipeg clinic. Can you expand on that?

Dr. Morgentaler: They double-crossed us in the sense that I had requested that there should be no raids on the clinic on humanitarian grounds. I was promised that there would not be any raids, and in return I said that we would keep everything above-board, and keep records, and it wasn't necessary for the police to raid and disturb women and put their lives in danger, and frighten women and so on. And they didn't keep their word. So they did double-cross me. As for the tactics which I described as quasi-fascist, I think that to come in the middle of an operation where a woman is on the table and being operated on, and cause her possibly to hemorrhage, or to have her life endangered, I think that is a terrible thing. And the Winnipeg police raided the clinic twice, twice when operations were being done. They really were quasi-fascist acts. Somewhat like a police state—you know? It's never happened before anywhere and I think that the prosecution in Winnipeg is probably one of the most vicious that I've ever seen. And it makes me wonder why it happened.

W&R: In the *Toronto Star* you spoke of the need for the poor and native and immigrant women to have access to abortion. We call for free abortion on demand and couple that with free quality health care for all, as demands that address the needs of such women. Can you comment on this, that is, addressing these women in relation to the present campaign for abortion rights?

Dr. Morgentaler: I mentioned native women and others. What I mentioned mainly is that this law, like most laws, which are discriminatory, is a law which is good for rich people and middle-class people in Canada, and for women who live near big cities, near to hospitals who have liberal abortion policies. Those who suffer most under the present law are women who either don't know where to go or women who live in certain areas where *no* hospitals perform any abortions at all, like in the Maritimes, and women who live far away from the metropolitan center, working-class women, native women—all those who are really outside of the scope of the present legislation. The present legislation favors middle-class women in the big cities and there's a terrible injustice going on here.

W&R: The NDP has a paper position in favor of abortion, and yet it's Howard Pawley's NDP govern-

ment in Manitoba that's allowed these two raids against the clinic, that laid the conspiracy charges against you and the staff there. And then you have Joe Borowski [a fanatical anti-abortionist], a former NDP cabinet minister. They had a "pro-life" caucus, and still do. Can you say anything about the NDP?

Dr. Morgentaler: Well, I am very disappointed in the NDP government in Manitoba. I think they put expediency above principle. I think that they have allowed the most vicious of prosecutions. That's never been done in any other province in this particular case. I'm really saddened and angered by what's happened in Manitoba. I expected much better of the NDP. They've alienated the most progressive and most dynamic elements in their own party. And it's just sad to see that. You'd have thought that they would have acted in a different manner altogether.

W&R: And then you have Bob Rae [Ontario NDP leader], too—at the rally to defend the clinic to protest the raid here....

Dr. Morgentaler: Well, I think Bob Rae finally came across with a good position. So obviously the NDP is the only party to have a pro-choice program—it's clear, the majority of people in the NDP at the convention had pro-choice sentiment. It's just an irony of sorts that the Manitoba NDP government is acting in such a reactionary manner in this case, and I hope somehow, someday maybe they'll change course.

W&R: The conspiracy charge is more serious than anything done in the past, isn't it?

Dr. Morgentaler: Well, it's an irony that the NDP government should bring conspiracy charges. The NDP people, and leftists in general, people left of center, are always the targets of conspiracy charges. And the forerunner of the NDP itself, the founders of the CCF [Cooperative Commonwealth Federation], in the 1919 Winnipeg General Strike, were tried on conspiracy charges, treason charges and all this kind of crap. So it's really a supreme irony that it should happen like that.

W&R: My last question is about international support. It would be of really great interest to people that read *Women and Revolution* to know if you've received any support outside of Canada, North America actually.

Dr. Morgentaler: Well, no. So far we haven't received any support from international socialists. For some reason I believe that in the States they don't know too much about what's going on in Canada on this issue. International support would be welcome, of course, and especially financial support, because we are running into enormous legal costs and this is going to be a tremendous drain on our resources for a very long time. Besides the symbolic value, the material value of support would be very great.

* * * * *

Women and Revolution urges its readers to send contributions to the legal defense of Dr. Morgentaler and other clinic staff to:

Pro-Choice Defense Fund
Box 935, Station Q
Toronto, Ontario M4T 2P1.

Nicaragua Revolution...

(continued from page 24)

tions from the Paris Commune on, women played an active role in the Nicaraguan struggle, including combat roles in the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN). In the final stages of the struggle against Somoza, a full 30 percent of the FSLN combatants were women. This was particularly galling to those for whom "woman's place" is forever the hearth and home. But after the victory, the women were demobilized. Women in the Sandinista People's Army were restricted to non-combat roles. This was part of a conscious attempt to conciliate reactionaries, a guarantee to the bourgeoisie that the revolution would not "go too far." Today, facing the mortal threat of U.S.-sponsored counterrevolution and invasion, the petty-bourgeois Sandinista government has again allowed women to take up arms, in part under pressure from the Nicaraguan Women's Association (AMNLAE). And Nicaraguan women have volunteered by the thousands.

The crushing of the corrupt U.S.-installed Somoza regime and his National Guards' panicky flight over the borders opened up the historic possibility of the overthrow of capitalism in Nicaragua. But this hasn't happened yet. The petty-bourgeois radicals of the FSLN took power with the bourgeois state apparatus in shambles and in the absence of the working class as a contender for power in its own right. As we said in *Workers Vanguard* (17 August 1979), the destruction of the Somoza National Guard "opened up a period in which the class nature of the emerging state is not yet fundamentally determined." The Sandinistas have desperately sought to maintain this neither-nor state of affairs with their utopian schemes of "mixed economy, non-alignment and political pluralism." But history, and Ronald Reagan, won't let them.

Today, in order to survive, the Nicaraguan revolution must be defended, completed and extended throughout Central America. The Nicaraguan capitalists form a "fifth column" for the *contras* inside the country, and when the U.S. invasion is underway they will use their stranglehold to "make the economy scream," as the Chilean capitalists did under Allende. The Trotskyists fight to *expropriate the Nicaraguan bourgeoisie* as a class. Only through smashing the capitalist/imperialist system, establishing a planned economy on an *international* scale, extending to the imperialist metropolis itself, can the Central American masses achieve social liberation.

The fight to liberate women from their centuries-old oppression, centrally in the nuclear family, is key to the fight for socialist revolution. The cashiering of women from the Sandinista armed forces was intended to achieve "social stability." And to this day Nicaraguan women are denied the right to abortion, in order to appease rampant *machismo* and above all the powerful Catholic church. By trying to appease the imperialists, by conciliating the Vatican's conservative Catholic

hierarchy and the Nicaraguan bourgeoisie, both of which are actively attempting to overthrow the revolution, the Sandinista FSLN government risks slitting its own throat.

In the "Third World" of brutally oppressed ex-colonial countries, where home *at best* consists of a tin roof over your head, where soldiers of "free world" dictatorships use their bayonets to rip fetuses out of the wombs of women accused of being guerrillas, once the struggle has begun in earnest the downtrodden women often become the most ferocious fighters for social revolution. They more than anyone have nothing to lose but their chains. Only through workers revolution extended internationally, especially to the proletarian powerhouse of Mexico, and linked up with successful socialist revolution in the imperialist U.S., will it be possible to escape the fate of poverty and brutal oppression.

To ensure the success of this revolutionary Leninist perspective it is urgently necessary to build a Marxist-Leninist, Trotskyist workers party that can unleash the masses of Nicaraguan working people, held in check for four years by the petty-bourgeois regime. International solidarity in the face of Reagan's mad war drive is vital, for behind the CIA's siege of Nicaragua is the U.S. plan to reconquer Cuba for capitalist profits, and to smash the Soviet Union, birthplace of the first workers revolution in history. At the Spartacist League's November 9 demonstration against the CIA's Nicaraguan traitor Edén Pastora in New York City, our slogans expressed this revolutionary determination:

- Smash Reagan's Bay of Pigs—Nicaragua Needs MIGs!
- Military Victory to Salvadoran Leftists!
- Defense of Cuba/USSR Begins in Central America!
- For a Trotskyist Party in Nicaragua!
- Defend, Complete, Extend the Nicaraguan Revolution! ■

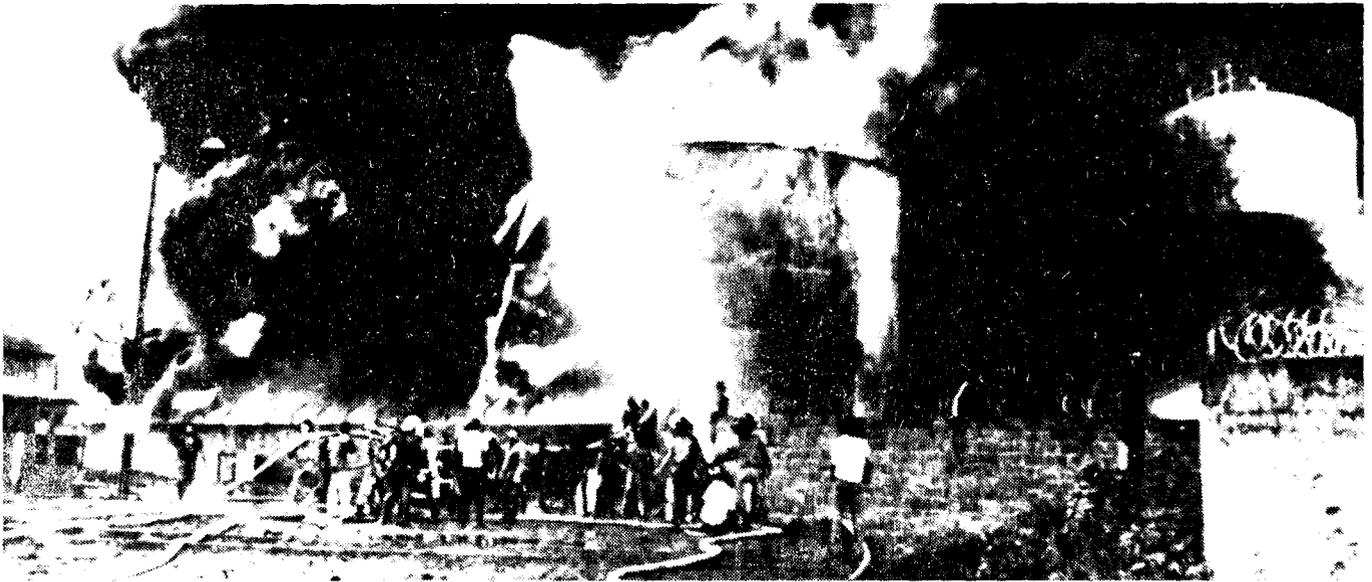
**Spartacist
edición
en español**

número 13
noviembre de 1983



Make checks payable/mail to:
Spartacist Publishing Co.,
Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116

\$.75



CIA's October sneak bombing of vital Corinto oil depots forced 25,000 to flee city. Smash CIA's siege of Nicaragua! AP

Stop Reagan's Rape of Central America!

Defend, Complete, Extend Nicaragua Revolution!

Nicaragua is at the crossroads of social revolution or bloody counterrevolution. The Yankee imperialists are getting ready to invade, while CIA-sponsored former Somoza mercenaries and traitors like Edén Pastora harass and terrorize. But it won't be a repeat of Reagan's rape of tiny Grenada. The Nicaraguan people sacrificed over 50,000 lives to defeat the bloody Somoza tyranny and they will fight to the death to keep the Somozaist killers from returning. The 1979 Sandinista victory was the first popular revolution against a right-wing dictatorship in Latin America since Fidel Castro's Rebel Army entered Havana in 1959, both victories the American imperialists have vowed to undo.

As in all modern revolu-
continued on page 23



July 1983: Militia women in Ocotal (right), a town attacked by the CIA-backed contras. Children of Sandinistas (left), cared for by grandparents while mother and father fight on the Honduran border. W&R Photos